

THE LANGUAGE OF ‘ȚUICĂ’: REGIONAL AND LOCAL VARIATIONS ACROSS ROMANIA

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Abstract: *The language of ‘țuică’: regional and local variation across Romania.* A previous paper noted how the traditional peasant way of life in the Subcarpathian regions of Romania valued fruit as a major resource and especially plums which remain very useful for making jam, dried fruit and brandy. The latter product (‘țuică’) retains a great importance as a national drink and also a source of taxation. However there are regional and local variations in production methods and also in the terminology: alternative names frequently exist not only for the fruits and products but also to the manufacturing processes, practices and pieces of equipment; while certain names differ in their meaning from one area and another. In this paper we try to record as much of this diversity as possible by considering the different names for plum brandy, the great variety of plums and other fruits, and the harvesting, fermentation and distillation phases; followed by ‘dowstream’ activities concerned with storage, marketing and consumption. Our field studies have covered in all the major regions of the country, although by no means all localities. By recording this material we hope that others may be able to take the work forward in areas that were not visited; with the material also standing as a baseline to which future changes in language and technology can be measured.

Rezumat: *Termenul ‘țuică’: variații regionale și locale în România.* O lucrare anterioară prezenta maniera prin care modul tradițional de viață al țăranului din regiunea Subcarpaților românești a valorificat fructele ca resursă majoră, în special prunele foarte utile în producerea gemului, a fructelor uscate și a băuturii. Produsul de mai târziu (‘țuica’) a căpătat o importanță deosebită ca băutură națională, fiind totodată și o sursă de impozitare. Oricum au fost identificate variații locale și regionale atât în ceea ce privește metodele de producție cât și terminologia: denumiri alternative se întâlnesc frecvent nu doar pentru fructe și produsele obținute din acestea, ci și pentru procesele manufacturiere, practicile și echipamentul folosit; în timp ce anumite denumiri diferă ca semnificație de la o regiune la alta. În această



lucrare încercăm să înregistrăm cât mai mult posibil din această diversitate, luând în considerare denumirile variate ale băuturii din prune, varietatea tipurilor de prune și a altor fructe, precum și fazele recoltatului, fermentării și distilării, urmate mai apoi de activități de stocare, comerț și consum. Cercetarea întreprinsă a acoperit toate regiunile majore ale țării, deși în nici un caz toate localitățile. Sperăm ca, prin publicarea acestui material, alții să preia munca mai departe în arealele care nu au fost investigate; materialul stând totodată ca o linie de bază, prin care pot fi măsurate schimbările viitoare în limbaj și tehnologie.

Key words: *plum brandy ('țuica'), rural industry, Subcarpathians.*

Cuvinte cheie: *băutură din prune ('țuica'), industrie rurală, Subcarpați.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In a previous paper (Muică & Turnock 2008) we noted how specific activities form part of the distinctive economic profiles of Romania's natural regions and contribute to inter-regional trade. In particular the distillation of plum brandy ('țuică') retains a traditional importance – mainly in Subcarpathian areas as a convenient way of converting surpluses of plums (and some other fruits found in the hill country and mountain fringes) into a product that can be efficiently stored and distributed. Plum brandy is deeply embedded in rural culture and inevitably there are variations in the production process and in the terminology used. The variations occur regionally with double distillation typical of Transylvania while single distillation is the rule in Moldavia and Wallachia. But different terms are frequently used with 'țuică' used widely in the latter provinces in contest to 'rachiu' in Transylvania – and while both names may be used almost interchangeably in both areas it is also possible for them both to have separate and specific meanings. And there are many other names concerned with particular practices and items of equipment that apply to specific regions, districts and localities. So – having examined the historical geography of plum brandy distilling in Romania, with reference to the locations and production systems – we are now exploring the terminology in more detail. Over the last 20 years we have collected material across the country and the untimely death of the lead author in 2008 makes this a good time to publish our findings.

We cannot replicate the work by Neiescu (1971) on Maramureș (showing how certain terms are often specific to each individual village or commune) since we are concerned with the whole country and also the entire business of 'țuică' production from the collection of fruit to the consumption of brandy. But we have researched the situation in various parts of the country and have enough material to reflect the complexity of the subject. We are therefore presenting our findings as a significant contribution to a neglected topic that could be expanded in the future. The work is original apart from incorporation of Iordache's (1985, pp.309-321) material on the names of plums (signalled by the prefix '@' and references to the origin of certain words in the classical period or later, following the work of Academia 1975, Candrea 1931 and Scriban 1939. The names are presented in pairs covering both singular and plural forms (without the article) although sentence construction is generally geared to the former (with '#' indicating where only one form is available). The pairs are normally hyphenated (e.g. 'prună-prune') but in the case of phrases where only one word changes with the switch from singular to plural the latter form is quoted in brackets e.g. 'prună (prune) de Bistrița'. Also the

prefix ‘~’ is used to indicate a word that does not appear in the Romanian dictionary. This concerns only a small minority of the terms referred to although they appear to cluster in certain stages in the manufacturing process: especially for different sections of the distillation cycle. Finally we should refer to a three abbreviations which are frequently used: ‘der.’ for ‘derived from’; ‘dim.’ for ‘diminutive form’ and ‘eq.’ for ‘equivalent to’.

Our field work on plum brandy has been carried out in the main areas of production (primarily the Subcarpathians) and more sporadically in lowland areas. The project began in a small number of key areas: Balta commune in Mehedinți since the lead author spent his childhood in the village of Gornovița; Pătărlagele (Buzău) where the Romanian Academy’s Geography Institute maintains a research station; and the village of Rogoz (lying within the boundary of the town of Târgu Lăpuș) visited frequently by the lead author through his wife’s family connections. Friendships with the Bugă family in Curtișoara and Mușetești near Târgu Jiu (Gorj), the Gogonea family in Poiana Mărului near Zărnești (Brașov) and the Borliu family at Vintileasca in Vrancea resulted in particularly intensive fieldwork in these areas. We have grouped the relevant communes and villages into districts around particular towns (but sometimes a rural centre: e.g. Năruja and Podu Turcului) but only in a few cases – mainly Brad, Câmpeni, Cehu Silvaniei, Pătărlagele and Târgu Lăpuș – are the centres themselves active in distilling. We are aware of the problems in attributing specific expressions to particular places because we cannot be sure how widely they are used in places that have not been visited. Therefore the data should not be interpreted exclusively and wherever possible we have tried to combine a place where a specific word is used with indications of usage across a wider area. It should therefore be clear (a) where terms are used throughout Romania – and therefore carry little or no information on specific locations; (b) those used widely through certain stated provinces (Banat, Moldavia, Transylvania or Wallachia), parts of these provinces - or counties; and (c) those used in specific districts or villages where the relevant communes or settlement groups are quoted.

2. LIST ONE: FIELD WORK LOCATIONS

Listed by counties (bold) in groups featuring centres (usually towns) and surrounding communes (with dependent villages in italic). All groups lie fully within the relevant counties except for four central places: Cehu Silvaniei (which lies in Sălaj), Hărlău (in Iași), Râmnicu Sărat (in Buzău) and Roman (in Neamț); while the Podu Turcului area of Bacău includes Gherghești which lies in Vaslui county. Please note that the same system is used for references to plum types made by Iordache (1985, pp.305-9) with county names included to assist recognition for places not included in the list below (which is restricted to our own field work areas).

Main Counties – **Alba** Aiud: Unirea; Alba Iulia: Ighiu; Câmpeni: Abrud, Arieșeni/*Pătrăhăiești*, Avram Iancu, Bistra/*Valea Bistrei*, Gârda, Horea, Scărișoara, Sohodol, Vidra; Turda: Unirea/*Inoc*. **Buzău** Nehoiu/*Bâsca Roziliei*, *Păltineni*: Gura Teghii, Lopătari/*Ploștina*, Siriu; Pătărlagele/*Crâng*, Lunca, *Mărunțișu*, *Mușcel*, *Poieni*, *Valea Viei*; Colți/*Aluniș*; Pănătău/*Begu*, *Botești*, *Lacu cu Anini*, *Râpile*, *Tega*, *Valea Sibiciului*, *Zaharești*; Viperești/*Rușavăț*; **Gorj** Motru: Glogova; Novaci; Târgu Cărbunești/*Pojogeni*; Albeni, Hurezani, Scoarța/*Copăcioasa*; Târgu Jiu: Bălești/*Rasova*, Bumbestești-Jiu, Curtișoara, Dănești, Drăgutești/*Cârbești*, Licurici, Mușetești, Peștișani, Runcu; **Hunedoara** Brad: Buceș/*Buceș-Vulcan*; Deva/*Boholt*; Ilia: Dobra/*Lăpușnic*, *Stâncești*, Gurasada. Lăpugiu de Jos. **Maramureș**

Baia Mare: Cicârlău, Dumbrăvița, Seini; Cehu Silvaniei: Oarța de Jos/*Oarța de Sus, Orțița*, Valea Chioarului/*Fericea*; Târgu Lăpus/*Rogoz*: Cernești; Copalnic Mănăștur/*Făureni*, Cupșeni/*Libotin, Măgureni, Șișești/Șurdești*. **Mehedinți** Baia de Arama: Balta/*Costești, Gornovița, Prejna*, Isverna/*Nadanova*, Podeni/*Gornenți*); Turnu Severin: Breznița-Ocol/*Jidoștița*; Cujmir; Strehaia; Vanju Mare: Poroina Mare. **Satu Mare** Negrești-Oaș; Bixad, Călinești-Oaș; Tarna Mare/*Valea Seacă*, Turț. **Vâlcea** Bălcești: Ghioroiu/*Știrbești*; Râmnicu Vâlcea: Budești/*Racovița*; Drăgășani/Ionești. **Vrancea** Năruja; Râmnicu Sărat: Chiojdeni, Dumitrești/*Motnău*, Jitia, Vintilească/*Bahnele, Neculele*.

Other Counties – **Arad** Gurahonț; Hălmașu/*Brusturi*; Sebis/*Sălăjeni*; **Arges** Câmpulung: Balilești/*Golești*, Mihăești/*Drăghici*; Topoloveni: Călinești/*Vrănești*, Priboieni. **Bacău** Podu Turcului: Căbești, Găiceana, Gherghești/*Corodești*, Glăvănești, Răchitoasă; **Bistrița-Năsăud** Lechința/*Milaș*; Năsăud: Liviu Rebreanu; Beclean: Spermezeu, Târlia/*Agrieș*. **Botoșani** Dărăbani: Coțusca, Hudești; Dorohoi: George Enescu/*Arborea, Dumeni, Șipoteni*, Ibănești, Vorniceni; Hărlău: Flămânzi. **Brașov** Zărnești: Poiana Mărului/*Șinca Nouă, Șinca/Ohaba, Șinca Veche*. **Caras-Severin** Baile Herculane: Cornea; Bocșa: Fârlug/*Dezești*, Vermeș; Caransebeș: Bucosnița/*Petroșnița*, Copăcele, Teregova. **Cluj** Mociu: Căianu. **Constanța**: Cernavodă; Constanța: Murfatlar; **Covasna** Târgu Secuiesc: Poian/*Estelnic*; **Dâmbovița**: Pucioasa: Voinești; **Dolj** Băilești: Bistreț, Giubega; Craiova: Podari. **Galați**: Târgu Bujor: Smulți; Tecuci: Țepu. **Iași**: Roman: Mircești/*Răchiteni*. **Ilfov** Popești-Leordeni; **Olt** Caracal: Drăgănești- Olt/*Comani*, Gostavău, Vâlcele/*Bărcănești*; Corabia: Orlea/*Gura Padinii*; Slatina: Teslui/*Comănița*. **Prahova** Plopeni: Cocorăstii Mislii/*Țipărești*. **Sibiu**: Miercurea Sibiului/Orlat. **Suceava** Fălticeni: Horodniceni/*Rotopănești*, Vadu Moldovei/*Ciumulești*. **Teleorman** Alexandria: Măgura, Purani/*Siliștea*; Roșiorii de Vede; Videle: Gălățeni, Tătăraștii de Jos/Sus. **Timiș**: Deta: Gataia; Lugoj: Bethausen/*Cutina*.

3. LIST TWO: EXPRESSIONS WITH MULTIPLE MEANINGS

While the research is grounded in the diversity of names – often highly complex - for specific fruits, instruments, processes and situations, there is potential for confusion because problem a specific term may well be used to mean different things in different places. To minimise confusion we begin at the outset by listing the names in this category. When they appear later in the text they are marked by ‘+’ so that reference can be made as required. There are two categories:

3.1. Expressions with a general meaning and a different one in the brandy context

‘**alcoholic#**’: a person who is an alcoholic but also to alcohol content.

‘**brad**’ or ‘**dejă**’: a wooden bucket for kitchen use that can also be used for filling/emptying stills and for receiving fresh spirit from the condenser.

‘**cal-cai**’: a horse! but eq. ‘cocae’ (linking ‘capac’ and condenser) at Câmpeni/Sohodol and Lechința.

‘**ciolmic-ciolmice/ciolmicuri**’: a small tool used by masons but also a bucket of seven to eight liters capacity with a long handle (about one meter long) attached – used e.g. at Pătărlagele to fill or empty a ‘cărător’ transporting the mash or ‘borhot’ to the still.

‘colac-colaci’: the name for a knotted loaf of bread used but eq. ‘serpentină’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta; also one ‘turn’ of the condensing coil or ‘șarpe’.

‘găleată emailată’: an enamelled kitchen pot which often replaced the ‘botă’ as a receptacle for fresh brandy in the communist period and after.

‘ierberea-fiertul#’ *der.Latin ‘fervere’ (Scriban 1939, p.500)*: generally means ‘to boil’ but it also used for the fermentation process (‘fermentare’) in Banat and Wallachia.

‘garniță-garnițe’ *der.Bulgarian ‘grune’, Old Slav ‘grunu’, Polish ‘garnieac’ and Russian ‘garne’*: an enamelled pot – partly cone-shaped – used to keep pork dripping; but also used a still for ‘țuică’ in the communist period at Nehiou/Bâasca Roziliei and Râmnicu Vâlcea/Budești;

‘jîmtuire/jîmtuit#’: normally associated with cheesemaking; but used for the mixing of rye, maize and wheat meal to prepare a ‘borhot’ for brandy at Câmpeni/Albac, Horea & Scărișoara.

‘liveș#’ *der.Hungarian ‘lives’* generally means soup, but also used for the ‘must’ or juice of apples and pears at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului).

‘lopețică de lemn-lopețele/lopețici de lemn’ *dim.’lopătă’ (shovel) der.Old Slav ‘lopata’ (Scriban 1939, p.756)*: a tool for scraping the pot after making plum jam (‘magiun’) but also for stirring the traditional type of brandy still before fixing the ‘capac’ at Pătârlagele/Pănătău.

‘mârgea-mârgele dim.mărgica-mărgici’ *der.Latin ‘margella’ (Candrea 1931, p.749)*: generally a small coloured glass ‘marble’ like a coral pearl which is an item of costume jewellery; but also small air bubbles produced when brandy is shaken (indicating strong spirit).

‘moșmon-moșmoni’: the tree *Mesphilus germanica* but also the ‘corcoduș’ (wax cherry tree: *Prunus cerasifera*) at Băilești/Bistreț, with the same situation for the fruit in the case of ‘moșmoană-moșmoane’.

‘oală-oale’ or **‘oală mare-oale mari’** *der.Latin ‘olla/aulla’ (Scriban 1931, p.882)*: a large enamelled kitchen vessel also used for distilling in the domestic kitchen during the communist period.

‘smârc-smarcuri’ *der.Old Slav ‘smruku’*: a pipe or channel; but also eq. ‘tâlv’ for extracting spirit from the cask.

‘steril#’ *der.French ‘steril’ (Candrea 1931, p.1203)*: used in the mining industry for waste material; but now used also in brandy production eq. ‘boască’ at Baia Mare/Seini;

‘șurla-șurle’ *der.Bulgarian ‘zurla’, Serbian ‘surla’ and Turkish ‘zurna’ (Candrea 1931, p.1238)*: a shepherd’s pipe, but also a place for stocking wood fuel for the ‘cazan’ or a woodshed where a small still might have been installed during the communist period for clandestine distilling.

‘teasc-teascuri’: known in all grape-growing areas as the production of the ‘must’ for wine making but it also refers to a cylindrical press to extract fruit to crush apples and pears for brandy in the Apuseni and at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului and elsewhere.

‘tuci de aluminiu/tuciuri de aluminiu’: an aluminium boiler (15-35 liters) for household use, but also relevant for distilling in the communist period.

3.2. Names with multiple meanings in the context of brandy production

‘acov-acoave/acovuri *der. Hungarian ‘ako’ and Serbian ‘acov/akov’ meaning a pail or bucket (Candrea 1931, p.9; Scriban 1939, pp.66,105): a small cask (Mehedinți); but also a 50 liter unit of measurement (Bocșa/Fârliug). ‘alambic-alambice/alambicuri’ der. Arabic ‘alambik’ and French ‘alambique’ (Marcu & Maneca 1978, p.42): usually a modern factory-made ‘cazan’ imitated by Roma but the word may also be used historically for conventional stills (Buznea 1932 at Târgu Jiu/Runcu).*

‘apatoce/apatos#’: fruit juice or liquid from the cooking of potatoes with indifferent taste; but also the last part of distillation (‘poslede’).

‘barilca-barilci’ *der. Russian ‘barilca’ (Candrea 1931, p.126): eq. ‘găletar’, for fresh brandy (Podu Turcului); but also eq. small cask (‘butoi’) of 150-300 liters (Dorohoi/George Enescu; also Vaslui).*

‘bazine-bazine’ *der. French ‘basin’ (Scriban 1939, pp.153,156): a metal tank for transporting ‘borhot’ at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad; but also a cement-lined pit for fermentation or temporary storage of a ‘borhot’.*

‘boștină#/hoștină#’ *der. Old Slav ‘voština’ (Scriban 1939, p.605) and Ruthenian ‘vostyna’ (Candrea 1931, p.164): generally eq. ‘tescovina’ but also eq. ‘boască’ (Bălcești) with ‘boștină fiertă’ known at Bălcești/Ghioroiu.*

‘botă-bote’: generally a receptacle for spirit following condensation but also eq. ‘targă’ or ‘targă de prune’, for dislodging plums from the tree at Târgu Lăpuș.

‘braică#’: residue in the still from a cereal or fruit mash (‘borhot’) at Cămpeni, but a cereal ‘borhot’ specifically at Cămpeni/Sohodol; also weak ‘votcă’ after first distillation i.e. ‘votcă slabă de la urma’ at the latter.

‘brar-brari’ *der. German ‘Brenner’ eq. ‘cazangiu/povarnagiu’ in Wallachia and Baia Mare/Seini; but a specialist distiller of ‘horincă/palincă’ in Transylvania.*

‘budană-budane’ eq. ‘butoi-butoaie’ (Scriban 1939, p.211) but in some places eq. condensing vat (‘țiver’).

‘burie-burii/buriu-buriuri’ *der. Bulgarian ‘buriju’ (Candrea 1931, p.187): eq. ‘botă’ (receiving fresh brandy) in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți but also a small cask (‘balercă’) at Pătărlagele.*

‘bute-buți’ *der. Latin ‘buttis’ (Candrea 1931, p.190): a large cask (1,000-2,000 liters) positioned horizontally for storing brandy but also a smaller vat positioned vertically for fermentation (with a tight-fitting lid) especially in Wallachia.*

‘caldara-caldarari’ *der. ‘caldare’ (a pail or bucket) and Latin ‘caldaria’ (Scriban 1939, p.245): Roma coppersmiths although at Cămpeni and Sebiș the name is used for a distiller: ‘cazangiu’ or ‘palincaș’.*

‘ceagăr#’ dialect ‘șagăr#’ and ‘țigheriu#’ *der. Hungarian ‘csiger’ (Candrea 1931, p.264): a weak vinegar from plums or other fruits (Oltenia) but (mainly) autumn plums at Baia de Aramă/Balta: ‘șagăr’ is best known in Oltenia and ‘țigheriu’ in Transylvania.*

‘cent-centi’: eq. ‘grad’: degrees of alcoholic strength at Pătărlagele but also eq. ‘alcoholmetru’ at Videle/Gălățeni.

'cepul caldării-cepurile caldării' *der.Latin 'cippus' and Slav 'cepu' (Candrea 1931, p.246):* a long, hard bung or plug for the 'descărcător' on a still, but it can apply to the 'botă' and cask also.

'chezaș/chezașe' *der.Hungarian 'keses' (Candrea 1931 p.255; Scriban 1939 p.266):* a piece of wood to close the 'mouth' of the 'corlon' (the jacket round the still) to control the draught at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara; but according to Scriban (1939) also eq.'podvale': blocks of wood on which casks are placed to protect staves from dampness.

'chisăliță-chisălițe' *der.Russian 'kisel' and Ruthenian 'kyselica' (Candrea 1931); also Bulgarian/Serbian 'kiselica' (Academia 1975, p.164):* hot dessert of stewed plums (Moldavia/Wallachia) but also eq.plum 'boască' (Ilia) and 'boască' more generally at Cămpeni and Târgu Lăpuș.

'ciubăr-ciubere' *der.Hungarian 'csobor/cseber and Old German 'Zwibar/Zwobar' (Scriban 1939, p.288):* used widely in Transylvania as vessels (of varying size) made of staves, but also a measurement of capacity (20 liters) used to indicate the size of condensing vessels.

'coadă-coade/cozi' *der.Latin 'cauda/coda' (Scriban 1939, p.306):* eq.'poslede' (the last part of the distillation) at Bălcești/Ghioroiu; but the still residue after the second distillation in Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Negrești-Oaș/Bixad.

'coajă/coji' *der.Old Slav 'koza' (Dex 1975, p.166):* plum tree bark for yellow colouring at Târgu Jiu/Mușești; also sweet cherry bark for the same purpose (Cămpeni); but eq.'pod' or crust on the 'borhot' at Dorohoi/George Enescu & Ibănești; also Strehăia.

'codină-codine/cogină-cogine' *der.Latin 'coda/cauda' (Scriban 1939, pp.306,312):* the last part of the distillation at Târgu Jiu/Peștișani; but the residue remaining in the still after the second distillation at Podu Turcului/Glăvănești & Gherghești.

'comanac-comanace/comanacuri' *etymology unknown (Academia 1975, p.174):* usually known in Banat and Transylvania as the lid of a still resembling the shape of a metropolitan's hat but in parts of Caraș-Severin the name is eq. the crust ('pat' or 'pod') forming on the fermented fruit or 'borhot'.

'corcoduș-corcodușa': generally the wax cherry tree *Prunus cerasifera*), but the plum tree *Prunus domestica* at Râmnicu Sărat.

'crivină-crivine': a damp place where clay may dug for use in sealing the equipment; but also applicable to the clay itself.

'curător-curătoare' *der.verb 'a cura' (to flow) and Latin 'curare' (Candrea 1931, p.380):* generally eq.'sclipuș' but eq.'botă' guiding fresh brandy into the receiver at Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei & Gura Teghii.

'curcudea-curcudele': eq. corcodușă (fruit of the wax cherry tree) at Podu Turcului; but in North East Moldavia it is a dark violet fruit used as a substitute for olives in the production of 'măslinuța'.

'dejă-deje' *der.Hungarian 'dezsă' (Candrea 1931, p.391);* eq. kitchen 'ciubăr' (Scriban 1939, p.399), but this 30-120 liter vessel also receives fresh brandy and has additional uses for filling and emptying stills at Podu Turcului and Negrești-Oaș.

'dreve#': apples mashed for brandy at Cămpeni/Sohodol and Zărnești/Șinca, but in Alba generally the residue of 'merele de oțet' after the liquid for the vinegar has been obtained (e.g. Brad/Buceș); also eq.plum 'borhot' at Cămpeni/Avram Iancu and eq.'tescovină' at Lechința.

‘ghențau-gețâe/gențâuri’: eq. ‘cărător’ at Câmpulung/Mihăești and Pătărlagele but a conical-shaped ‘hârdău’ made of staves at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and a similar vessel – made of sheet iron and shaped like a coffin – at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad.

‘golup-golupi’ a name of unknown origin (*Academia 1975, p.197*): generally eq. ‘chirtoc’ (immature plums); but at Baia de Aramă/Balta it is a small, summer plum used for distilling brandy.

‘lighean-ligheane’ *der. Turkish ‘legen’ (Candrea 1931, p.710; Scriban 1939, p.746)*: the metal basin used for condensation for clandestine distilling during the communist period when the ‘basin’ – filled with cold water – would be placed over the large pot containing the ‘borhot’. It is also a basin used to prepare clay material for use in sealing the joints between the ‘capac’ and the still and the condensation tube.

‘holercă#’: eq. once-distilled ‘rachiu’ (Moldavia) but historically imported twice-distilled brandy based on cereal from Galicia and Podolia.

‘liurcă#’ *der. Ruthenian ‘ljura’ (Candrea 1931, p.720)*: eq. ‘poslede’ (last part of the distillation) but also (after Candrea 1931) a reference to bad spirit or wine.

‘livej/livejuri#’ *der. Hungarian ‘leves’ i.e. soup (Scriban 1939, p.753)*: a type of ‘oțet’ (not too sour) made from wild apples, pears or quinces and slightly fermented (Târgu Jiu/Bumbești & Curtișoara – where it also refers to an autumnal plum) but eq. ‘poșirca’ in Vâlcea.

‘otcă#’: the weak part of the distillation eq. ‘poslede/poslete’ of Buzău/Vrancea and parts of Transylvania); but the entire first distillation (Câmpeni): in both senses corrupted to ‘votcă’ by Russian influence.

‘perj-perji’: eq. ‘prun’ (plum tree) but in Moldavia the name refers specifically to ‘prun vânăt’ or ‘prun brumăriu’.

‘perjă-perje’ *der. Hungarian ‘perzsa’ (Scriban 1939, p.967)*: generally eq. ‘pruna vânătă/prună brumărie’ – the fruit of the ‘perj’ which can be dried or used for distillation; but also the name for ‘corcodușă’ at Harlău/Flămânzi (Șonea 1957, p.16).

‘picuruș-picurușe/picurușuri’: a piece of wood guiding fresh brandy from the condenser to the receiver; according to Scriban (1939, p.977); but sometimes eq. ‘frunte’: the first part of the distillation.

‘poamă-poame’ *der. Latin ‘poma’ (Candrea 1931, p.960; Scriban 1939, p.1002)*: usually fruit (apples, pears and plums) dried in the sun but in Moldavia grapes used for wine; and a general reference to fruit in general at Câmpeni/Sohodol; also Mehedinți.

‘poslede/posledie/poslete/poslet#’ *der. Old Slav ‘posleduce’ meaning ‘at the end’ (Candrea 1931, p.981); also ‘poslieducie’ with the same meaning (Scriban 1939, p.1022)*: variants for the last part of the distillation, eq. ‘codine’ in Moldavia but eq. ‘frunte’ for the first part at Târgu Bujor/Smulți (Scriban 1939, p.1022).

‘poșircă-poșirci’ *der. ‘pușarcă/pișorcă’ (urine) according to Scriban (1939, p.1024)*: the liquid component of the boască (Vâlcea) but also the last part of the distillation at Bălcești/Ghioroiu and Zărnești/Poiana Mărului – and also used ironically for poor quality spirit (or wine) in general.

‘povarnă-povarne’ *der. Old Slav ‘povarinia’ meaning a kitchen (Candrea 1931, p.987)*: usually a still-house (Wallachia) but also a fermentation vat (Podu Turcului) and a large still (over 350 liters) at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara & Mușetești.

'prăștină#' *der. Bulgarian (Candrea 1931, p.990)*: fermented grape residue eq.'comină' in South Wallachia but the last part of the distillation (eq.'buzum'/'poslede') at Podu Turcului; also eq.'prăjină' or 'targă' (Scriban 1939, p.1033).

'prună dulce-prune dulci': a yellowish plum known at Strehaiia; but also eq.'prună roșie/prună de vară' at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului and noted by Iordache (1985, p.307) at Sarmizegetusa (Hunedoara): thus the name is used quite widely for several different types of plum.

'prună gărlană-prune gărlane': a type plum known at Pucioasa/Voinești (Dâmbovița); but also eq.'corcodușă' in the Oravița area of Caraș-Severin (Șonea 1957, p.16).

'pruna neagră-prune negre': a plum known at Pucioasa/Voinești similar to 'prună vânăță'; but also a different type similar to 'prună țigănească' at Craiova/Podari. It is also reported by Iordache (1985, p.306) in specific localities in Arad, Bacău, Bihor, Hunedoara. Iași, Olt, Satu Mare and Vâlcea without differentiation: it is likely that the name is used widely for plums that vary quite widely in character.

'prună roșioară-prune roșioare' or **'roșioară văratică-roșioare văratică'**: a russet-coloured traditional plum from the Pătârlagele area; but the name is also used at Negrești-Oaș for a quite different type.

'punte-punți' *der.Latin 'pons-pontis'*: eq.'cocae/coarbă' linking the 'capac' and condenser (Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz) but also the copper piece attached to the still to support the 'învârtitor' (Câmpeni; also Negrești-Oaș/Bixad).

'putină-putini' *der.Latin 'putina' (Candrea 1931, p.1032)*: a vat made from staves for cooling water for condensation; but also a fermentation vessel in Oltenia and a fermentation vessel only in Moldavia. **'răcer-răceri/răcere'** *der.Romanian 'rece' meaning cold*: eq.'răcitor' at Deva/Boholt but also eq.'serpentină' or 'spirală' at Câmpeni.

'răcitor-răcitoare' *der.Latin 'recens/recentis' (Candrea 1931, p.1055; Scriban 1939, p.1104) and Romanian 'rece' meaning cold or cool*: an umbrella term for condensing vessels made from staves ('doage') which may have special names such as 'cadă', 'cazâlniță', 'durbacă', 'putină' and 'țiver'; also improvised vessels in metal or plastic used in the communist period; but the term also refers to the condensing 'cilindru' in places such as Baia de Aramă/Balta and formerly the name might also indicate an ice safe.

'rudă-rude/ruge': eq.'targă de prune' at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș but also eq.'hârdău': a large wooden tub.

'șopron-șoproane+' *der.German 'Schoppen/Schuppen' (Candrea 1931, p.1255; Scriban 1939, p.1285)*: in Wallachia a farm shed to accommodate a fermentation vat (and agricultural equipment) but used at Năruja for a building with a still and fermentation vat ('tocitori').

'tărățe#' *der.Old Slav 'trice' (Candrea 1931, p.1278); also Old Slav 'tricen', Bulgarian 'trici' and Serbian 'trice' (Scriban 1939, p.1304)*: mill residue used as an alternative to wheat flour in the production of brandy based on cereals; but also used to seal the lid of the still when mixed with ash, cinders or clay.

'tescovină#' *der.Old Slav 'tescu' (Candrea 1931, p.1293) or 'tiescovina/tiscovina' (Scriban 1939, p.1314)*: residual material arising through production of 'must' for vinification; but also brandy made by distilling 'tescovină' (otherwise referred to as 'rachiu de tescovină') after fermentation with added sugar (Dorohoi/George Enescu).

‘terci-terciuri’ *der. German ‘Sterz’ or ‘Storz’ (Scriban 1939, p.1312):* fermentation of fruit for ‘țuică’ but eq. ‘boască’ (remains in the still after distillation) used as a food for animals in winter and also to control sheep pox: Nehiou/Gura Teghii and Pătârlagele. The name is also used for a mixture of ‘poșircă’ and maize flour formerly used as a human food in Vâlcea.

‘toartă-toarte/torți’ *der. Latin ‘torta’ and ‘tortus’ meaning a bend (Candrea 1931 p.1308; Scriban 1939 p.1327):* eq. ‘ureche-urechi’ (the ‘ears’ of a ‘hârdău’) at Pătârlagele; but at Câmpeni/Sohodol four handles may be fixed to the upper part of the still in order to fix it in its ‘cuptoraș’ before starting to distil. The word is also used in Transylvania when fixing the still in the wall of the ‘cuptorul cazanului’ and also for fixing the ‘cuptoraș’.

‘tocătoare-tocători+’: eq. ‘daralău’ for pulping apples etc. at Pucioasa/Voinești but eq. machine for processing sugar beet at Aiud and Unirea.

‘trânci#’: eq. ‘arămită’ at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz (in the sense of medicinal alcohol) but eq. ‘poslede’ at Târgu Lăpuș/Cernești & Cupșeni.

‘trînchi/trinci#’: residue remaining in the still after the second distillation at Târgu Lăpuș but eq. ‘poslede’ – the last part of the distillation – in Baia Mare/Seini; also eq. ‘frunte’ – the first part of the distillation – at Târgu Bujor/Smulți (Scriban 1939, p.1022).

‘țeava cazanului-țevile cazanului’ *der. Old Slav ‘cevi’ (Candrea 1931, p.1354):* eq. ‘cocae’: the copper pipe passing of alcohol vapour to the condenser; but also the condensation system for older distilling equipment, comprising one, two or three pipes.

‘velniță-velnițe’ *der. Old Slav ‘vinnica’, Russian ‘vinnia’ and Ruteian ‘vinicia’ (Scriban 1939, p.1399):* eq. ‘povarnă’ (Wallachia and South Moldavia) but a fermentation vat at Podu Turcului and Vrancea.

‘vinars#’ *der. German ‘Branntwein’ (Candrea 1931, p.1424):* usually once-distilled brandy, but twice-distilled brandy in the Apuseni.

‘voj-vojuri’ *der. Hungarian:* equivalent to a fermenting vessel e.g. ‘cadă’; but also a cooling water vat in Hunedoara.

‘zarzar-zarzari’ *der. Turkish/New Greek (Candrea 1931, p.198):* usually refers to the wild apricot *Prunus armenica* but in Transylvania and the Wallachian Subcarpathians (where the wild apricot does not exist) is refers to the fruit of the ‘corcodușă’ *Prunus cerasifera*; yielding a much inferior ‘țuică de zarzără’ in the latter case

4. BRANDY NAMES

The name ‘țuică’ seems to be purely Romanian: according to Scriban (1939, p.1370) it emerged in Wallachia as a humorous form of address to hard drinkers with slurred speech, but both Candrea (1931, p.1363) and Academia (1975, p.990) suggest a derivation from the Serbian ‘cujka’. Plum brandy names may highlight specific types of fruit e.g. ‘țuică de prună roșie/prune roșii’ uses a mash of ‘prune roșii’ much appreciated in the past in Banat and Oltenia; ‘țuică de prună grasă#’ is from the plum ‘prună grasă’ often considered to be the best available as at Pătârlagele. But there are also many other kinds of ‘țuică’ to highlight the use of different fruits (apples, apricots, peaches, pears as well as sweet and bitter cherries) although plums are the traditional source and the only one used in the past. Thus with regard to apples and pears we have ‘țuică de măr#’ (apples) while ‘țuică de pară puturoasă#’ uses a type of pear known for example at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz; with a particular name ‘țuică de pere’n foi#’ occurring at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara and Mușetești for the brandy made from a mash of pears

(‘pere’n foi’: a name with no credible explanation) for the summer haymaking season: it was known in the past as a sweetish brandy with an agreeable taste (though not very strong) according to local opinion. For other fruits we have ‘țuică de bobolană#’ (Baia de Aramă/Balta); ‘țuică de caisă#’ for brandy made in plain with a distinct bouquet of apricots; ‘țuică de cireasă#’ from cherries e.g. at Gurahonț/Hălmagiu; ‘țuică de cireasă amară#’ from bitter cherries, as at Baia de Aramă/Balta; ‘țuică de coarnă#’ from the cornelian cherry which is prolific in some years in Mehedinți. ‘Țuică de corcodușă#’ is made from the ‘corcodușă+’ (*Prunus cerasifera* or wax cherry); while ‘țuică de drojdie de vin#’ is an alcoholic drink made from wine yeast named ‘drojdie’ in Popești-Leordeni near Bucharest and produced commercially at Murfătlar (Constanța) as ‘spumă de drojdie’: a type of cognac that gained a premium at the Ljubljana competition in 1960.

The list continues with ‘țuică de piersică#’ made from peaches found in steppe/semi-steppe areas and adjacent hill regions: if well made it certainly has the aroma of peaches. Then there is ‘țuică de tescovină#’: alternatively ‘rachie de tescovină’ or simply ‘tescovină’; while ‘țuică de prăștină’ is used for brandy from ‘tescovină’ at Videle/Tătăreștii de Jos. ‘Țuică de vișină#’ is from the sour cherry while ‘țuică de zarzără#’ is from the wild apricot *Prunus armeniaca* known for example at Băilești/Bistreț and Videle/Tătăreștii de Jos: the stones are removed because of their bitterness, though they impart a very good aroma according to L.Badea of Băilești/Bistreț). Confusingly however the name is sometime used for the fruit of the much inferior ‘corcoduș’. ‘Țuică de marmeladă#’ was made extensively (e.g. Maramureș and Mehedinți) during the communist period from ‘marmeladă’ when this kind of jam was very cheap; while ‘țuică de porumb#’ was made from maize (or other cereals) in Mehedinți when plums were scarce. As regards strength, ‘țuică de mijloc#’ indicates a brandy of medium strength: neither strong nor weak, while ‘țuică prau de tare#’ is very strong (Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara) with ‘prau’ a Wallachian expression indicating the firing of a gun or musket. On the other hand ‘țuică trezită#’, from the Old Slav ‘triezviti’ meaning sober (Scriban 1939, p.1345), is appropriately very weak (like water), with alcohol content lost through evaporation from an open vessel: a modified version of ‘țuică trezvită’ – der.Old Slav ‘trezviti’ (Candrea 1931, p.1331) – known at Slatina/ Teslui. Strength has a lot to do with the alternatives of single and double distillation. Thus ‘țuică fiartă de două ori#’ – also known as ‘horincă’ or ‘palincă’ (see below) – involves twice-distilled brandy as at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului. ‘Țuică întoarsă#’ also indicates double distillation (Apuseni and Banat); though more correctly ‘rachie întoarsă’ in Banat where once-distilled brandy is usually called ‘rachie’ (‘votcă’ in the Apuseni). An alternative expression is ‘țuică profriptă#’ used in the Banat, Sălaj and Satu Mare areas (though it is of course more correct to refer to ‘rachie profriptă#’ for a twice-distilled product); while ‘țuică pro-întoarsă#’ is used at Caransebeș/Bucoșnita.

However, although our paper uses ‘țuică’ in the title, this familiar name is highly contested outside Wallachia and it is used interchangeably with others – especially ‘rachie’, ‘rachie’ and ‘vinars+’ in the Apuseni where ‘țuică’ has only been known quite recently. ‘Țuică’ is also a single-distillation brandy and stronger spirit (involving double distillation) requires other names as this section will indicate (although ‘țuică’ may be used for the product of the first round as at Târgu Secuiesc/Poian). ‘Rachie#’ – der.Turkish ‘raky’ (Candrea 1931, p.1037); also the Bulgarian and Serbian ‘rakija’ (Candrea 1931, p.1036; Scriban 1939 p.1084) – is brandy made from various fruits by the distillation of ‘borhot’ in Moldavia (where the name ‘țuică’ is rarely used) but much more widely with reference to a cereal ‘borhot’ (e.g.

Olteanu & Șerban 1969, pp.254-68; 313-5). A number of variants may be noted: ‘rachiu de-a întâia#’ is the product of the first distillation at Fălticeni/Horodniceni with ‘rachiu de-a doua’ for the second; ‘rachiu de drojdie (de vin)#’ is brandy made from wine yeast using the inferior part of wine fermented in a bottle or cask; ‘rachiu de mămăligă/maligă#’ from a ‘mămăligă/maligă’ mash with added sugar and beer yeast in Banat, North Moldavia and South West Transylvania. ‘Rachiu de tescovină#’ is brandy made from ‘tescovină’; alternatively named ‘rachiu de trevere#’ or simply ‘tescovină’ at Miercurea Sibiului; ‘rachiu întors#’ is double-distilled spirit; while ‘rachiu verde#’ is very strong spirit from double distillation before dilution with ‘apă fiartă’ i.e. boiled water (or distilled water) to a normal strength for drinking: such brandy is the usual source for preparation for ‘crampă’ in the Apuseni (referred to in the section on fruit products). Turning to ‘răchie#’, this is dialect for ‘rachiu’ in Banat and Bihor with variants including ‘răchie de bucate#’ (or ‘răchie de bucate’) which is brandy made from cereals (Bocșa/ Vermeș). Meanwhile, ‘răchie de caldare#’ is known in Caraș-Severin as brandy ‘home-made’ in a ‘cazan’ and not obtained through commerce; ‘răchie întoarsă#’ is twice-distilled brandy in Banat and South West Transylvania; while ‘răchie răpita#’ is brandy made with a very strong fire (Bocșa/Vermeș).

‘Vinars#’ is variously used in Transylvania: generally for once-distilled brandy in South West Transylvania but for twice-distilled brandy in the Apuseni (apart from Gurhont/Hălmăgiu where ‘vinars’ applies to the first distillation and ‘ginars’ the second). However ‘vinars întors’ is used at Cămpeni/Avram Iancu for the second distillation and at Brad/Buceș ‘vinars’ is used along with ‘țuică întoarsă’ (though ‘țuică’ has been adopted comparatively recently in the Apuseni area as a whole). ‘Vinars întors#’ and ‘vinars verde#’ are used at Cămpeni/Arieșeni; also Ilia/Dobra & Lăpuș de Jos. Also, ‘vinars de bucată’ is made from cereals in the Apuseni where there is little fruit available: Cămpeni/Albac, Gârda, Horea & Scărișoara. However the usual name for twice-distilled brandy from Transylvania is ‘palincă/palinkă#’ from the Hungarian ‘palinka’ (Candrea 1931, p.890): alternatives are ‘horilcă#’ and ‘horincă#’ (Candrea 1931, p.586). We may note also ‘horincă verde#’: very strong spirit requiring dilution (Târgu Lăpuș/ Rogoz); and at the same place ‘horincă de pară puturoasă#’ from a pear ‘borhod’. ‘Vodcă#’ or ‘votcă#’ from the Russian ‘vodka’ – derived in turn from ‘voda’ meaning water according to Scriban (1939, p.1423) – is frequently used in confusion by younger people for the old Romanian words ‘otcă’ and ‘vutcă’ e.g. at Cămpeni/Arieșeni, Deva/ Boholt and Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos. Thus ‘votcă’ is used for the first distillation at Cămpeni/Bistra where ‘otcă’ was formerly used, while ‘votchii’ is used at Cămpeni/Horea & Sohodol. ‘Vutcă#’ – der.Polish ‘vodka’ – is once- distilled plum brandy in Moldavia and also brandy from the first distillation in North Transylvania where it is often a little whitish (‘albue’) without the crystal clarity of twice-distilled ‘palincă’ (Negrești-Oaș/Bixad, Călinești & Turț; also Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos). The term is also used, especially among older people, as an equivalent to ‘ciuzlă’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos, Ilia/Dobra, Lechința, Năsăud/Liviu Rebreanu and Negrești-Oaș/Călinești & Turț; also ‘suzlă’ in Maramureș. We should also mention ‘holircă/horilcă/horelco#’ – der.Russian ‘horilca’ (Scriban 1939, p.603) – as names which are known in Moldavia for once-distilled plum brandy; also ‘holercă#+’ which historically refers to imported twice-distilled brandy made from cereal in Galicia and Podolia, but is now equivalent to ‘rachiu’. Relatively rarely used is ‘sliboviță/ șliboviță#’ (occasionally ‘slibovițe’) der.Serbian ‘sljiovca’ or ‘sljiva/sliva’ for plums

(Candrea 1931, p.1252; Scriban 1939 p.1282); also Polish ‘sliwowica’ (Candrea 1931, p.1252) and Serbian ‘sljiwowica’ (Academia 1975, p.926).

There are a number of names that indicate the quality of brandy. ‘Țuică veche#’ (old ‘țuică’) is well-matured spirit kept in a wooden cask in a cellar for many years: equivalent to ‘țuică bătrână#’ and much appreciated: ‘răchie bătrână#’ is the Banat equivalent. When it comes to poorer brandy, ‘țuică afumată#’ is a smokey brandy caused by the ‘boască’ (or other residual material) burning on the bottom of the still: an alternative name ‘țuică prăjită#’ is known at Topoloveni/Călinești; while ‘s’a prăjit viarsul#’ is equivalent to smoked ‘vinars’ at Turda/Unirea. ‘Țuică/ horincă arămită#’ is brandy with a bad taste at the start of the distillation cycle due to copper rust: ‘verdigriz’ or ‘cocleală (Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz) although this spirit which constitutes only 0.5-1.0 liters at the start of the second distillation cycle, may be used externally for medicinal purposes. ‘Liurcă+#’ is a reference to bad spirit or wine while ‘poșircă+#’ can be used ironically in the same sense. ‘Samahoancă#’ (arising from Polish or Ruthenian influence) is used by natives of North Moldavia for a somewhat indifferent alcoholic drink made from the distillation of sugar beet; also for other products of distillation using low grade fruit with added sugar. Meanwhile the name ‘matrafux#’ is used ironically at Sebiș/Sălăjeni for brandy made from artificial honey; while ‘basamac’ – der.Serbian and Turkish ‘basamac’ (Academia 1975, p.74) – is inferior brandy formerly produced from poor quality cereal by the Romanian alcohol monopoly. Finally, there are various drinks that may be prepared with brandy as a component e.g. ‘țuică fiartă#’ is brandy warmed by the fireside with added sugar and pepper to protect against the cold and it is also common to massage with strong brandy or ‘arămită’: however these matters are covered in the section on fruit products. It is also worth adding that there is limitless scope for associating brandy with a particular village, district or individual distiller although only in a few instances would such labels command any significant ‘cachet’ and gain wide usage. However ‘țuică de Zalău’ was once well known while ‘țuică moțească’ refers to the brandy made by the Apuseni peasants of the Arieș valley who traditionally traded brandy for maize at Turda.

5. SKILLS

Many different specialisms attract specific names for the relevant practitioners. Following the names for still-houses the distiller is known variously as ‘povarnagiu-povarnagii’ but ‘cazangiu-cazangii’ in Banat and Oltenia and ‘velnicer-velniceri’ at Pătârlagele/Pănătău. ‘Țuicar-țuicari’ is another variant although this name is used at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului for people from Muscel who arrive in the Brașov area selling their brandy. Where ‘răchie’ is usual the word for brandy distiller will be ‘răchier/răchieri’ (Candrea 1931, p.1936). Specialists in double distillation are known in Transylvania as ‘vinarsar/vinarsarii’ (Candrea 1931, p.1424) but ‘-blechner- blechneri’ (Negrești-Oaș/Bixad) – der. ‘Blechner’: a tinner in German – and ‘horincar-horincari’ in Maramureș. ‘-Brar-brari+’ is another alternative while ‘brener-breneri’ – a clearer derivation from the German ‘Brenner’ – is used at Baia Mare/Cicârlău. ‘Palincaș#’ is used at Sebiș and elsewhere in Transylvania while ‘căzănar-căzănari’ is used at Caransebeș/Copăcele. Turning to other skills, the makers of stills are frequently drawn from the Roma population – hence ‘caldara-caldarari+’ for Roma coopersmiths; although at Câmpeni and Sebiș the

name is used in the sense of ‘cazangiu’ or ‘palincaș’. Other names for Roma craftsmen are ‘~sardor-sardori’ and ‘zlătar/zlătari’ – der.Old Slav ‘zlatari’ and ‘zlato’ (Candrea 1931, p.1466; Scriban 1939, p.1442 – for itinerant Roma making stills and other vessels; with ‘țigan nemțesc-țigani nemțesti’ used in Mehedinți – where the more general name ‘sardar-sardori’ is also in use - and other variants are ‘țigan nomad-țigani nomazi’ and the nickname ‘laiece-laieti’ (‘laiete-laieti’ in dialect). Specific communities making brandy may be highlighted by the ‘țuica de Zalău’ formula although noted. ‘Jid-jizi’ was the name given to the Jewish population in Oaș who made much of the ‘palinca’ up to the Second World War, but the name is now forgotten. The cooper is known as ‘butnar-butnari’ – der.German ‘Buttner’ (Candrea 1931, p.190) – but ‘dogar-dogari’ in Moldavia while ‘butar-butari’ is used at Bocșa/Fârlug (meanwhile the trade is known as ‘butnărit/butnărie#’). Farmers are not normally singled out but ‘perjar-perjari’ refers to the local people at Fălticeni/Rădășeni whose ‘perji’ plums traditionally make particularly good brandy.

6. RAW MATERIALS: PLUMS

The plum tree *Prunus domestica* is ‘prun-pruni’ in Romanian. It originated in Asia (Candrea 1931, p.1013) but is prominent throughout the Romanian Subcarpathians. It may be seen as a hybrid between the wax cherry tree *Prunus cerasifera* and the sloe tree or blackthorn *Prunus spinosa* (Constantinescu 1957, II p.123; Șonea 1957, p.9) with many traditional varieties (some virtually extinct) and some improved varieties which are not quite as resistant as the older types. The fruit – ‘prună-prune’ – is generally good for making brandy (as well as other products); not to mention stew or ‘compot’ and direct eating from the table. The various types will be treated individually but first some broad categories. ‘Prune fierte#’ are plums being fermented (although the sense of the word suggests that the fermentation is finished; in which case ‘borhot’ would be more appropriate). The expression is also misleading since it conveys the sense of boiling which is more literally true in connection with the preparation of ‘chisalită’ (a hot dessert of stewed plums). For ‘boiling’ in the sense of fermentation it is clearer to use the familiar Wallachian expression ‘au fiert prunele de țuică’ or the more strictly correct wording ‘au fermentat prunele de țuică’. ‘Prună afumată-prune afumate’ relates to dried plums smoked with heat from a fire; while ‘prună opărită-prune opărite’ – noted by Iordache (1985) in Negrești-Oaș/Tarna Mare & Târșolț – are ripe plums placed in boiling water for a short time and then dried in an oven (without smoke): equivalents are ‘penegae-penegăi’ at Negrești-Oaș/Turț; also ‘prună turțească-prune turțești’ at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad. ‘~Pâscăv/pâscăva#’ refers to rotten fruit of all kinds while ‘~chirtoc- chirtoci’ is a name for immature plums: especially ‘prună de toamnă’ attacked by a fungus *Taphrina deformans* which deforms the fruit and produces a brownish colour; whereupon the fruit dries and falls to the ground (Constantinescu et al. 1967, II p.144). They appear to have been popular among children for eating and are known by various other names: ‘golup-golupi’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta; ‘gurlup-gurlupi’ at Râmnicu Vâlcea/Stoenești and Târgu Cărbunești/Poljogeni; ‘hurlup-hurlupi’ at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz; and ‘urlup-urupi’ at undisclosed locations (Candrea 1931, p.1387). Plums are generally resistant to disease but they have been badly affected in some areas by the insect *Eurytoma sp.* – commonly ‘muscă neagră-muște negre’ or ‘viespea neagră-viespii negre’ – since the larva (‘viermele sâmburelui-vermii sâmburelui’) develops in

plumstones, especially ‘prună grasă’. It first appeared – allegedly from the east – in 1985-6 and was widely reported at Pătârlagele. There is little necessity to examine the improved types, but for the sake of completeness we refer the ‘ennobled’ variety ‘prună oltană-prune oltoane’ (eq. ‘prune colduși’) der.Hungarian ‘oltani’ (Iordache 1985) and improved through grafting (‘altoi’); also ‘tuleu timpuriu/superb’ and ‘nectarine roșii’. Pop (1988, pp.136-7) refers to a range of other improved imported types: Agen, Anna Späth, Renclod Althan/Verde and Vinete de Italia; also the Stanley variety introduced from the USA in 1913 and again in 1958.

We proceed to consider the various plum types, supplementing our own observations with those by Iordache (1985). A standard framework is adopted where the types can be considered with various criteria in mind. These are ‘age’ indicated by ‘A’ with the letter ‘t’ indicating an old traditional type; ‘B’ refers to suitability for distilling with ‘g’ good and ‘p’ poor, while ‘a’ indicates that distilling is the only significant use; ‘C’ indicates colour: ‘b’ for blue, ‘bk’ for black, ‘r’ for red, ‘rv’ for red-violet, ‘s’ for russet, ‘v’ for violet, ‘vb’ for violet-blue ‘w’ for brown and ‘y’ for yellowish. ‘D’ covers dimension/size with ‘l’ for large and ‘s’ for small; ‘F’ refers to form or shape: ‘l’ for longish, ‘o’ for oval and ‘r’ for round. ‘H’ considers ease of harvesting in terms of getting the plums off the tree since some plums are much more difficult to dislodge than others: ‘a’ is average, ‘d’ is difficult and ‘e’ is easy. ‘J’ deals with the juice content: ‘a’ is average/poor, ‘g’ is good and ‘v’ is very good. ‘O’ deals with occurrence since some plums are rare: hence ‘r’. ‘P’ covers preparation for processing since removal of the stones (usually not necessary for distilling) can sometimes be very difficult: hence ‘a’ average, ‘d’ difficult and ‘e’ easy. ‘T’ refers to taste which may be ‘b’ bitter, ‘g’: good (to eat), n neutral and ‘s’ particularly sweet. ‘R’ is concerned with the time of ripening: ‘a’ autumn, ‘e’ early summer, ‘s’ summer and ‘l’ late autumn. Finally ‘Y’ indicates a yield that is usually quite prolific: ‘p’. Characteristics can thus be coded in a consistent manner but we can only do this when information is available and while we can summarise our own observations it is unfortunate that although we refer to the substantial fieldwork undertaken by Iordache (1985) – through the prefix ‘@’ – almost all are also marked ‘[]’ to indicate that no profile is available (although we can usually indicate where the plums are found using the same system employed for our own fieldwork). We must however stress again that the locations are only examples of where the different types can be found: the information is in no way exhaustive and much more research is needed before an atlas of plum types can be contemplated. A fairly routine problem is the tendency to use different local names for the same plum, although this is an issue affecting all aspects of our research which is intended to demonstrate the diversity. More challenging is the tendency to use the same name for plums whose characteristics vary. We have noted several examples from our own work but Iordache’s survey evidently does not address this issue.

Prună de Vară

Taking the most important plum types first, we may begin with the summer plum ‘prună de vară-prune de vară’ which is widely available and among the best for ‘țuică’ (especially in Oltenia where the highly-regarded ‘prună grasă’ is not present) with ripening by the end of July [Crv/vbDsFoHeJvPeRsTs]; although being sweet and very juicy it is also good for ‘chisăliță’. It is reported widely in the area by Iordache (1985) in the counties of Dolj (Șegarcea/Drănic), Gorj (Târgu Cărbunești/Căpreni) and Vâlcea (Bălcești/Roșiile). But also in Transylvania – e.g. Oradea/Drăgești (Bihor), Ilia/Lăpugiu de Jos (Hunedoara) and Satu Mare/Socond (Satu Mare);

also in Moldavia at Onești/Căuți (Bacău). However it is likely that there are variations between these areas that need to be clarified. This type is often known as ‘prună roșie-prune roșii’ – or ‘prună roșioară-prune roșioare’ – due to a red-violet colour at the start of ripening (though it becomes violet-blue later). However in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți ‘prună roșie’ (and ‘prună de vară’ itself) do not appear to have the standard characteristics since they seem less ‘meaty’ but rather sweeter than counterparts in Buzău. ‘Prună albă-prune albe’ is another type with affinities to ‘prună de vară’ in Oltenia: Motru/Glogova, Râmnicu Vâlcea/Stoenești, Târgu Cărbunești/Hurezani and Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara & Mușetești; also in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți; and in the Muscel area of Argeș (e.g. Câmpulung/Boteni) where the local name is ‘prună sticloasă-prune sticloase’ may be used. Iordache (1985) also reports on occurrences of ‘prună albă’ with roughly similar characteristics in other area (as noted below) but without differentiation between ‘prună albă’ and two other broadly similar types: ‘prună albăuță-prune albăuțe’ and ‘prună albuță-prune albuțe’. And at Videle/Tătăraștii (Teleorman), ‘prună albă vărâtecă-prune albe vărâtece’, with a red-violet colour, is the local name. Other local varieties are ‘prună capaucă-prune capauce’ at Bistrița-Năsăud; ‘prună încornorată-prune încornorate’ in Caraș-Severin e.g. Bocșa/Fârliug; also ‘prună dulce-prune dulci+’ at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului.

Prună de Toamnă

‘Prună de toamnă-prune de toamnă’ is an important plum maturing in the autumn as its name suggests [BgCvbFo Hd JpPeRaTs]. Accounting for a fifth of the total stock of plum trees (Pop 1988, p.137), this plum is good for brandy but with easy removal of stones and provision of much meaty ‘cârnoase’ material it is also good for such food preparations as jam and dried fruit. It is widely distributed and noted by Iordache (1985) in Argeș (Câmpulung/ Boteni), Bacău (Onești/Căiuți), Gorj (Novaci/Crasna and Târgu Jiu/Dănești), Hunedoara (Petroșani/Câmpu lui Neag) and Vâlcea (Horezu/Slătioara). It is also dominant in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți (along with ‘prună de vară’). However it is known under various other names. Several are associated with ‘Bistrița’: ‘prună bistrițeană-prune bistrițene’ and ‘prună bistrițescă- prune bistrițești’. Meanwhile the name ‘prună vânăță-prune vinete’ points to the striking violet-blue colour: ‘vânăț’; while ‘prună brumărie-prune brumării or simply ‘brumărie- brumării – der.Latin ‘bruma’ (Candrea 1931, p.175) – arises because the ripe plums may appear to be covered with a fine white powder reminiscent of hoar frost or ‘brumă’. Also ‘prună unguerească-prune ungurești – noted at Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei, Gura Teghii, Siriu and Lopătari’ lying in the northern part of Buzău county close to the old frontier with Transylvania – suggests the diffusion of this type of plum from the province formerly under Hungarian administration. There are also a great many local names: ‘prună acră-prune acre’ at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului yet ‘prună toamnă-că-prune toamnă-că’ in the adjacent commune of Șinca Nouă as well as Topoloveni/Călinești to distinguish it from the summer plum ‘prună văratică’. Other examples are: ‘prună mistrață-prune mistrețe or ‘pruna mistreată-prune mistreț’ from Negrești-Oaș/Bixad & Tama Mare; ‘prună neagră-prune negre’ at Pucioasa-Voinești (though it ripens in summer; ‘prună românească-prune românești’ at Pătârlagele (Buzău), Râmnicu Sărat/ Dumitrești, Jitia & Vintileasca (Vrancea) and Vălenii de Munte/ Chiojdeanca (also for a rare variety at Baia de Aramă/Balta); ‘prună slabă-prune slabe’ in Buzău/Vrancea: indicating a poor plum in an area where ‘prună grasă’ is probably more highly regarded;

‘prună de iarnă-prune de iarnă’ at Caransebeș/Bucoșnița (Caraș-Severin); ‘codiș-codiș’ at Târgu Bujor/Smulți (Galați); and ‘perjă-perje’ – der.Hungarian ‘perzsa’ (Scriban 1939, p.967) – in Moldavia.

Prună Grasă

This plum – ‘prună grasă-prune grase’ with an old name ‘prună grasă românească’ or ‘gras românesc’ (Pop 1988, p.137) – is very important type estimated at a tenth of the total stock; being very well adapted to Romanian conditions in contrast to varieties introduced from abroad, like ‘prună vânăță’ from Italy [CbvRaFoHdPdTv]. It is quite symmetrical, like a quail's egg; and is considered the best plum for brandy in North East Wallachia (e.g. in Argeș – where it is noted by Iordache (1985) at Câmpulung/Boteni – as well as Buzău and Prahova); but the same source also refers to many other parts of the country: especially Transylvania: Brad/Ribița (Hunedoara), Mociu/ Cătina (Cluj), Rupea/Bunești (Brașov), Reghin/Beica de Jos and Târgu Mureș/Pogăceaua (Mureș) and Sebeș/ Lancrăm (Alba); but also in the north and west in the counties of Arad (Arad/Pecica & Sântana; also Chișineu Criș/ Șepreus), Bihor (Beiuș/Căbăstii and Valea lui Mihai), Maramureș (Târgu Lăpuș/Cupșeni) and Satu Mare (Baia Mare/ Crucicior, Carei/Berveni and Satu Mare/Socond). However it is again likely that the profile varies in certain respects between these localities. Furthermore, there is an improved variety – ‘prună grasă ameliorată’ - developed by fruit growers to produce a juicier fruit, though the stone is still difficult to separate. Pop (1988, p.137) refers to the type as ‘gras ameliorat’ adopted at Mărculești in Cosâmbăști commune near Slobozia (Ialomița) in 1950; also ‘tuleu gras#’ grafted in Wallachia.

Prună Țigănească

‘Prună țigănească-prune țigănești’ is also known as ‘prună neagră-prune negre+’ [AtBaCyDI FoHdPdRsTb]. It is reported by Iordache (1985) in Banat at Chișineu-Criș/Șepreus; Crișana at Oradea/Drăgești (Bihor) and Negrești- Oaș/Luna (Satu Mare); Moldavia at Bacău/Damienesti and Iași/Țigănași; Oltenia at Bălcești/Stănești (Vâlcea), Slatina/Coteana (Olt) and Șegarcea/Drănic (Dolj); also in Transylvania at Brad/Tomești (Hunedoara). But there is no differentiation between ‘prună neagră’ and ‘prună negrăuță’ so significant variations are likely. There are close similarities with ‘prună ciorască-prune ciorăști’ over colour and taste though the latter is slightly smaller: it is certainly good for ‘țuică’ imparting a distinctive taste at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos where it matures only in late autumn; also Pătârlagele where it has proved resistant to the insect pest ‘vespea neagră’ (since local opinion considers that it flowers when conditions for the insect are sub-optimal). Another equivalent is ‘pruna ciorană-prune ciorane/ciorăci’ – or simply ‘ciorană-ciorane’ – reported by Iordache (1985) in several other locations including Mociu/Cătina (Cluj), Strehăia/Brănești and Târgu Cărbunești/Căpreni (Gorj) and Titu/Odobești (Dâmbovița). Other equivalents include: ‘prună albă mare-prune albe mari’ in Gorj; ‘prună bolundă-prune bolunde’ from Câmpeni/ Bistra & Sohodol (Alba); ‘droancă/droance’ from Baia de Aramă/Balta & Isverna (Mehedinți); ‘prună popească-prune popești’ at Strehăia (Mehedinți) – where the name ‘prună dulce-prune dulci+’ is also known – as well as Gorj and Vâlcea.

Minor Types

These are less important varieties but they nevertheless occur in several different areas. ‘Prună albă-prune albe’ [BgCyPd] is often seen as equivalent to ‘prună de vară’ but it is a name that is widely used by Iordache (1985) and probably covers plums which have significant variations from place to place. His reports cover Banat/Transylvania: Arad/Sântana and Chişineu-Criş/Şepreuş (Arad); Gherla/Sânmartin and Mociu/Cătina (Cluj); Ilia/Gurasada & Lăpugiu de Jos (Hunedoara), Negreşti Oaş/Luna, Satu Mare/Socond and Seini/Crucisor (Satu Mare); Oradea/ Drăgeşti and Valea lui Mihai (Bihor); Reghin/Beica de Jos (Mureş); Rupea/Buneşti (Braşov); and Sebeş/Şugag (Alba). Also Bacău/Damienesti & Sănduleni and Podu Turcului/Stănişeni (Bacău) and Iaşi/Ţigăneşti in Moldavia; and in Wallachia: Băileşti/Orodel (Dolj); Bălceşti/Roşiile and Horezu/Slătioara (Vâlcea); Câmpulung/Boteni (Argeş) and Novaci/Crasna, Strehia/Brăneşti and Târgu Jiu/Dăneşti (Gorj). ‘Prună galbenă -prune galbene’ [CyRs] occurs at Caransebeş/Bucoşniţa (Caraş-Severin), Negreşti/Ipatele (Iaşi), Seini/Crucisor (Satu Mare); also Târgu Cărbunestii/Scoarţa and Târgu Jiu/Băleşti & Curtişoara (Gorj) – with some similarity to ‘bobolană’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta (Mehedinţi) and ‘prună albă mici’ at Câmpeni/Bistra & Sohodol (Alba). ‘@Prună galbenioară-prune galbenioare’[] is found at Brad/Ribiţa (Hunedoara), Carei/Berveni (Satu Mare), Slatina/Coteana (Olt), Şegarcea/Drănic (Dolj) and Titu/Ulieşti (Dâmboviţa); while ‘goldană-goldane’ [BgCryFr Pd] occurs especially in the east and south but with no specific locations available. We are not sure if this is separate or not from (a) ‘goldan-goldani’ [] an old type of ‘prun vârtic’ originating in West Asia (Beldie 1977, p.275); and also ‘prună goldan-prune goldane’ [] which Iordache (1985) believes to have a Greek origin and had a presence at Bacău/ Dămienişti (Bacău) as well as Iaşi/Ţigănaşi & Victoria, Negreşti/Ipatele (Iaşi) and Tecuci/Iveşti (Galaţi). ‘Prună motrună-prune motrone’ or ‘motrună-motrone’ [AtCyDIJg] – der.Latin ‘matrona’: a lady (Scriban 1939, p.837) suggesting high quality – comes from South Moldavia eq. ‘prună motragenă-prune motrogane’ from Mioveni (Argeş) and Podu Turcului/Găiceana (Bacău). It is also quite similar to ‘prună guşată’. Finally, ‘@Pruna renglotă-prune renglote’ [Cs/yDIFr] from the French ‘reine-claude’ and German ‘Ringlotte’ is noted at Arad/Turmu and Chişineu-Criş/Şepreuş (Arad), Haţeg/ Sălaşu de Sus (Hunedoara), Oradea/ Drăgeşti (Bihor), and Negreşti/Ipatele (Iaşi).

7. LIST THREE: LOCAL PLUMS LISTED BY COUNTY

Alba: ‘@prună crichină-prune crichini/crihini’ after the name ‘Krieche’ and the intermediate form ‘Kraichen’: at Ilia/Dobra.

Arad: ‘@prună batosă-prune batoşe’[] at Arad/Sântana; ‘@pruna cachie-prune cachii’[] at Chişineu Criş/Şepreuş; ‘@prună ursăscă-prune ursăşti’[] at Chişineu Criş/Mişca; also in Hunedoara at Haţeg/Sarmizegetusa.

Arges: ‘@prună culducuţă-prune culducuţe’ or ‘prună culduşă-prune culduşe’[DsTb] at Câmpulung/Boteni; also in Mureş at Luduş/Iclânzul and Reghin/Beica de Jos; ‘prună mătrună-prune matrone’ or ‘@prună motrună-prune motrone’[] at Piteşti/Mioveni; also in Bacău at Podu Turcului/Găiceana.

Bacău: ‘perjă albă tomnatecă-perje albe tomnatice’ or ‘perjoaică-perjoaice’[CyRa] at Podu Turcului/Răchitoasa; ‘@prună avramă-prune avrame’[AtCbk/y] der.New Greek ‘avramilia’ – ‘avram’ from the biblical Abraham – and Old Greek ‘brabilon’ at Podu Turcului/Găiceana &

Răchitoasa; ‘@prună de țuică-prune/perje de țuică’ [] *although all plums are good for ‘perje’* at Onești/Bogdănești; also Iași/Comarna (Iași); ‘prună de uscat-prune/perje de uscat@’ [] at Onești/Bogdănești; ‘@prună coadesă-prune coadese’ or ‘prună coadreșă-prune coadrese’ [FI] at Podu Turcului/Găiceana – and also in Iași at Negrești/Ipatele.

Bihor: ‘@prună câinească-prune câinești@’ [Ds]: at Oradea/Drăgești.

Bistrita-Năsăud: ‘prună capaucă-prune capauce’ [DI]

Brasov: ‘prună bășinoasă-prune bășinoase’ [BaCrv/yDsJvRs] at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului & Șinca – also in Vâlcea at Bălcești/Ghioroiu; ‘prună sășească-prune sășești’ [BaPdTb]; ‘@prună strămbă-prune strămbe’ [] *no specific locations*; ‘@prună vărgată-prune vărgate’; ‘@prună dulce-prune dulci+’: *the name appears to be used elsewhere for different plum types: eq. ‘prună de vară’ in Hunedoara and Mehedinți.*

Botosani: ‘prună albă de toamnă-prune albe de toamnă’ [FlsCyPdRa] at Dorohoi/Ibănești *where fruit may remain on the tree until the winter snow.*

Buzău: ‘prună albișoară-prune albișoare’ [BgCy] at Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei, Gura Teghii; ‘prună corcodană-prune corcodane’ [BgCvOrPdSr] at Pătărlagele/Pănătău *eq. ‘prună turcească-prune turcești’*; ‘prună lojnită-prune lojnite’: *eq. ‘prună afumată’* at Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei, Lopătari and Siriu; ‘prună peștrică-prune peștricioare’ [AtBgCyDs OrRs] at Pătărlagele; ‘prună roșioară-prune roșioare+’ [AtBgCsJaResTa] at Pătărlagele *used for brandy particularly at Crâng and Valea Viei.*

Caras-Severin: ‘prună botusă-prune botuse’ [FrHdPd] at Bocșa/Fârliug *an old type with a greenish interior like the fruit of a sloe tree and the ‘poroabe’ from Gorj*; ‘prună de iarnă galbenă-prune de iarnă galbene’: [CwyOrRa] at Caransebeș/Bucoșnița *also known as ‘prune albe’ or ‘prune galbene’.*

Dâmbovița: ‘prună băligoasă-prune băligoase’ [CbFlrJgPdRes] at Pucioasa/Voinești *a fragile plum: hence the irony of the name ‘băligoasă’ relating to cow dung and droppings*; ‘prună gărlană-prune gărlane+’ [FIpe] at Pucioasa/Voinești.

Dolj: ‘@gorgoneață-gorgonețe’ [AtBaCvbDsFrPd] small and spherical (similar to ‘bobolană’ and ‘gogoșea’) at Băilești/Orodel also in Gorj and Vâlcea: Bălcești/Roșiile, Drăgășani/Stănești, Horezu/Slătioara, Novaci/Crasna and Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara, as ‘gogoșea-gogoșele’.

Gorj: ‘poroabă-poroabe’ [AtBgDsFrTb] at Novaci/Bumbești and Târgu Jiu/Drăgulești: a semi-wild plum similar to the fruit of the sloe tree: ‘porumbar/prunus spinosa’; ‘prună corobară-prune corobare’ [BgCvbFoPdRaTb] at Motru/Glogova; ‘prună gorgană-prune gorgane’ [AtBgCyDIFoHePeRs] at Motru/Glogova, but also in Mehedinți at Baia de Aramă/Balta as ‘ciorană-ciorane’ or ‘droancă-droance’ *from the ‘dronc’ tree* at Baia de Aramă/Balta & Isverna or at Strehăia as ‘prună dulce-prune dulci’. It is also similar to ‘prună popească-prune popești’: a name deriving from ‘popă’: a priest – indicating a plum of high standing – as well as ‘prună (prune) albă mare’ in Alba at Câmpeni/Bistra; ‘@prună moțată-prune moțate’ [] at Târgu Cărbunești/Căpreni; ‘@prună poroabă-prune poroabe’ or ‘prună porobească-prune porobești’ [BaCvbDsTb] at Târgu Jiu/Bumbești-Jiu: a name very similar to ‘poroambă’ or ‘porumbă’ (Academia 1975, p.725) which is the fruit of the ‘porumbar’ *Prunus spinosa* i.e. the sloe tree or blackthorn to which there is a resemblance in taste and colour (also known in Hunedoara at Petroșani/Câmpu lui Neag); ‘@prună tâmosivă-prune tâmosive’ [DsFrHlaTg] at Târgu Cărbunești/Căpreni.

Hunedoara: ‘@prună boboloasă-prune boboloașe’ [Fr] at Deva/Muncelu Mare; ‘@prună doranță-prune doranțe’ [] at Ilia/Lăpugiu de Sus and Deva/Muncelu Mare; ‘@prună

murășenească-prune murășenești' [] at Deva/Muncelu Mare; 'prună negruță-prune negruțe' [BgCdDsFrPd] at Ilia/Gurasada eq. 'prună negrăuță' from Satu Mare; '@prună știră-prune știre' at Hațeg/Sarmizegetusa; '@prună țâța caprii-prune țâța caprii' [Ts] at Ilia/Gurasada – also in Mureș at Fânațe but without indication of the commune: Band, Fărăgău or Gomești; '@prună voronească-prune voronești' [] at Hațeg/Clopotiva; '@prună zdroanță/prune zdroanțe' or 'prune doronță-prune doronț' [BgCvbPd] from Ilia/ Dobra, Gurasada & Lăpugiu de Jos; '@prună dulce-prune dulci+' at Hațeg/Sarmizegetusa: evidently the name is used quite widely for many different types of plum. Is it also known in Brașov – and in Mehedinți where it is eq. 'prună.de vară'.

Iași: '@prună boateșă-prune boateșe/botișe' [] at Negrești/Ipatele – also in Bihor at Aleșd/Vadu Crișului and Beiuș/ Cabești; '@prună dăgenă/prune dăgene' [] at Negrești/Ipatele; '@prună dreaptă-prune drepte' [] at Iași/Țigănași; 'prună narangie/prune narangii' [] also at Iași/Țigănași.

Maramureș: 'prună albăuță-prune albăuțe' or 'prună albuță-prune albușe' [BgCwPeResTg] at Cehu Silvaniei/ Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș; '@prună coldușă-prune coldușe' *der.Hungarian 'koldus'* [] at Târgu Lăpuș/Cupșeni; '@prună fortoșă-prune fortoșe' or simply 'fortoșă-fortoșe' [DIFoJvPd] at Baia Mare/Dumbrăvița and Târgu Lăpuș/Cupșeni; also at Oradea/Drăgești (Bihor) and Carei/Berveni and Negrești-Oaș/Târșholț (Satu Mare); 'prună negrăuță-prune negrăuțe' [BaDsFrPd] at Târgu Lăpuș; 'prună negruță-prune negruțe' or simply 'negruță-negruțe' [] at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz.

Mehedinți: 'prună albă mică-prune albe mici' eq. 'bobalană-bobolane' *linked with 'boboleu' meaning a bell piece* or 'ouța-ouțe' [] at Baia de Aramă/Balta.

Mureș: '@prună cacopouă-prune cacopoue' [] at Deleni but not known if this is Idecu de Jos or Pogăceaua commune; '@prună părțigușă-prune părțigușe' probably eq. 'prună bășinoasă' from Brașov [] at Deleni but again with uncertainty over the commune.

Olt: 'prună văratică-prune văraticе' or 'prună văratecă-prune văratece' [AtBgCrvRs] at Drăgănești-Olt also in Teleorman at Alexandria/Purani.

Satu Mare: '@prună căiaseă-prune căiești' [DI] at Negrești-Oaș/Tarna Mare; 'prună grăsuță-prune grăsuțe' *a hardy variety* [BaCrRlsTnYp] at Negrești/Oaș; 'penegae-penegăi' [BaCvbDsFrPdRls] at Negrești-Oaș/Turț; '@prună marghită-prune marghite' [] at Negrești-Oaș/Tarna Mare; '@prună oarzană-prune oarzâne' [] at Carei/Berveni; 'prună roșioară-prune roșioare+' [CryDsJaPeResTn] at Negrești-Oaș *different from the plum of the same name at Pătârlagele (Buzău)*; 'prună turțească-prune turțești' or 'prună penegae-prune penegăi' (or simply 'penegae/ penegăi') [BaCvbDsFrPdRsYp] at Negrești-Oaș/Turț *a spherical/ellipsoidal variety specific to the Oaș also known as 'prună nemțească-prune nemțești'*; 'prună negrăuță-prune negrăuțe' [BaCvbDsFrPdRaTs] at Târgu Lăpuș *similar to 'prună negruță from Hunedoara*.

Suceava: 'cocoș-cocoși' eq. 'chirtoc-chirtoci' and 'hurlup-hurlupi' at Fălticeni/Vadu Moldovei.

Teleorman: '@prună gușată-prune gușate' [BgTs] at Alexandria; also known at Bălcești (Vâlcea) and Slatina/ Coteana (Olt) *quite similar to 'prună motrună*.

Vâlcea: '@prună cloțușă-prune cloțușe' or simply 'cloțușă-cloțușe' [BgTb] at Drăgășani/Ionești also in Olt at Drăgășani/Vulturești; '@prună pișoalcă-prune pișoalce' [BgCyJg] at Bălcești/Ghioroiu & Roșiile and Drăgășani/ Ionești; also in Olt at Drăgășani/Sâmburești.

Vrancea: ‘corcoduș/corcoduși+’ a type of plum tree *Prunus domestica* at Râmnicu Sărat/Dumitrești & Jitia; ‘prună gătlană-prune gătlane’ or simply ‘gătlană-gătlane’ [BgCv/rbRs] at Râmnicu Sărat/Chiojdeni & Dumitrești.

No Location: ‘prună bardacă-prune bardace [DI] known in Serbia (Scriban 1939, p.151); ‘@prună rânduri- prune rânduri’ eq. ‘prună gogoșea-prune gogoșele’[]; ‘prună tovăcea-prune tovăcele’ [BgDsFr].

8. RAW MATERIALS: OTHER FRUITS

Most important in this category are apples and pears. The apple tree – known as ‘măr-meri – originated in Europe (Constantinescu 1957) and the sweet variety ‘măr dulce-meri dulci’ was planted over large areas under communism in preference to plum trees. The fruit is known as ‘măr-mere’ – der.Latin ‘malus/melus’ (Candrea 1931, p.745; Scriban 1939, p.787) – was widely used for brandy at this time as a result of Transylvanian influence while the tree bark was used for colouring brandy at Năruja. There is also a wild apple ‘măr (mere) de pădure’ which is variable in shape, colour and taste: it is used for eating (especially in winter) but also for brandy and ‘oțet’ or vinegar – hence the ‘măr (mere) de oțet’ known at Câmpeni/Bistra, Scărisoara & Sohodol. Another name for the wild apple tree is ‘~coricov-coricovi’ (fruit ‘~coricov-coricove’) which is known at Baia de Aramă/Balta although it also covers the wild pear as well. The pear tree – der.Latin ‘pirus’ – is known in Romanian as ‘păr- peri’ and originates in the south of Europe. The fruit ‘pară-pere’ is used for the table and also for ‘compot’, jam and brandy, although there many varieties, several of which are known in Romania: ‘pară oifă-pere coaife’ – at Târgu Cărbunești/Pojogeni as well as Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara & Mușetești – represents the optimum for brandy: mellow and juicy with a slight brown colour, and without a tendency to putrefy (‘pară moale-pere moi’ is the equivalent in Gorj and Mehedinți). ‘Pară dulce-pere dulci’ is a summer pear that is appreciated for the table and for ‘poame’ as well as brandy at Târgu Jiu/Bălcești; ‘pară de liveș-pere de liveș’ and ‘pară malaiată-pere malaiete’ are quite similar with a consistency that is reminiscent of eating flour: hence a choking sensation (as with some traditional types of apple) giving rise to the alternative name ‘pară înecăcioasă’. ‘Pară motrună-pere motrone’ is an old variety – mentioned by Scriban (1939, p.837) – that is very sweet and juicy; and good for ‘poame’ and brandy at Baia de Aramă/Balta; ‘pară’n foi-pere’n foi’ is much appreciated for brandy at Târgu Jiu/Bălești, Curtișoara & Mușetești; while ‘pară puturoasă-pere puturoase’ has similar characteristics at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz: the latter is known as ‘pară stelnițoasă-pere stelnițoase’ nearby at Cehu Silvaniei/Valea Chioarului (Maramureș) though it is also used in Banat and adjacent areas and comes from an insect ‘stelniță’ *Climex lecturarius* der. Serbian ‘stjenica’ (Candrea 1931, p.1202). Finally ‘pară pădureață-pere pădurețe’ is a wild pear known at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz and widely used (especially in the past during periods of scarcity) for vinegar and animal fodder as well as brandy.

Cherries

Also very important is the cherry tree *Prunus cerasus* called ‘cireș-cireși’ (‘șiușeș-șiușeși’ in Banat and Mehedinți) – der.Latin ‘cerasum’ and Old Greek ‘kerasos’ (Scriban 1939, p.287) –

which involves both bitter and sweet varieties. The bitter cherry is known as ‘vișin-vișini’ (dialect ‘ghișin-ghișini’) at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos (Maramureș) and is rarely cultivated in contrast to the sweet cherry, though the wood has been valued for the ‘țevi mici’ required for traditional stills (e.g. Târgu Cărbunești/Licurici and Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara) while the bark is useful for adding colour to the brandy. The fruit of the wild cherry is known as ‘cireașă amară-cireșe amare’ but also ‘vișină-vișine’ – der. Slavonic ‘visnja’ (Candrea 1931, p.1428); also Turkish ‘visna’ and Serbian ‘visnja’ (Scriban 1939, p.1410). It is quite bitter and is used for jam and liqueur (‘vișinată’) as well as brandy as noted at Brad/Buceș, Câmpeni/Arieșeni & Sohodol, Gurahonț/Hălmațiu and in Mehedinți. Meanwhile the sweet cherry ‘cireașă-cireșe’ or ‘șiureasă/șiurese’ is used for the table as well as liqueur (‘cireașată’) and brandy e.g. in Banat and Mehedinți. ‘Oltană-oltane’ – der. Romanian ‘altoi’ meaning a graft – is a general name for the large sweet cherry which is black or red in colour and used for the table, but also for brandy at Baia de Aramă/Podeni. Mention should also be made of the cornel tree (*Cornus mas*) known as ‘corn/corni’ which produces the Cornelian cherry (‘coarnă-coarne’): it is only rarely used for brandy by poor families although a liqueur called ‘comată’ (of Latin origin) is reported from Brad/Buceș as well as Buzău, Mehedinți and Satu Mare/Oaș. The mulberry tree *Morus alba/nigra* is widely known as ‘dud-duzi’ – der. Turkish ‘dud’ (Scriban 1939, pp.451,1446) – but ‘agudă-agude’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu, ‘zug#’ in North Moldavia and elsewhere as ‘frăgar-fragari’ or ‘-pomițar-pomițari’. The wood is appreciated for cask staves since the brandy gains a golden colour but the fruit can be used for distilling. It is known as ‘dudă-dude’ in the plains of Banat, Moldavia and Wallachia (also South West Transylvania) while other names are ‘iagudă-iagude’ – der. Old Slav ‘aguda’ (Scriban 1939, pp.80; 611) – in Mehedinți, as well as ‘pomiță-pomițe’ in Baia Mare/Dumbrăvița and Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos.

Also of great interest is the wax cherry tree *Prunus cerasifera* known widely as ‘corcoduș-corcoduși+’: the traditional name in Wallachia which may have a Traco-Dacian origin after Șonea (1957, pp.10,17). The tree exists in both wild and cultivated states and is often used for ornamental purposes and for grafting quite apart from the fruit which can be used for distilling. The tree grows quickly under varied soil and climatic conditions, has a long life and produces substantial quantities of fruit. The tree is known under many other names of which the commonest is probably ‘zarzăr-zarzări+’ or ‘zarzăn-zarzănit’ (‘zarzănă-zarzâne’ for the fruit) in Transylvania and Wallachia (reflecting relatively recent Turkish or Greek influence) but other names are ‘bombar-bombari’ at Alexandria/ Măgura and Videle/Gălățeni (Teleorman); ‘corcodel-corcodeli’ – der. Albanian ‘korkodheli’, New Greek ‘krokodilos’, Old Greek ‘krokodilos’ and Latin ‘korkodilos’ (Scriban 1939, p.381) – an autumnal variety in North East Moldavia; ‘curcodel-curcudei’ at Podu Turcului/Răchitoasa & Gherghești; ‘mășmaș-mășmaș’ at Râmnicu Sărat/Chiojdeni & Dumitrești (Vrancea) (Șonea 1957, p.160); and ‘zarzăn-zarzăni’ at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara, Hurezani & Mușetești. The tree is also known as ‘rogodel-rogodeli’ in the Bărăgan (Șonea, 1957, p.16) and ‘mirobolan-mirobolani’ has also been reported by the same source. The dark violet fruit – appreciated for souring soup and jam making (occasionally) as well as distilling and animal feed – is noted by Iordache (1985) not only in the Râmnicu Sărat area but in the counties of Bacău (Onești/Bogdănești, Dămieniști/Pădureni & Stănișești, Cluj (Gherla/Sânmartin) and Galați (Berești/ Bălășești and Tecuci/Ivești). Other names are ‘boambă-boambe’ from the trees noted above in the Alexandria and Videle areas; ‘buburuză-buburuze’ and ‘calabău-calabăi’ at Roman/ Mircești; ‘colducuță-colducuțe’ in the Târnăveni area of Mureș; ‘corcodea-corcodele’ in Moldavia

generally; ‘curcudea-curcudele+’ at Podu Turcului/Răchitoasa & Gherghești; ‘mășmășă-mășmășe’ at Râmnicu Sărat/ Dumitrești; moșmoană-moșmoane+’ (from the ‘moșmon+’); ‘mușmușă-mușmușe’ (without specific location); ‘perjă-perje+’ at Harlău/Flămânzi; ‘prună gărlană/prune gărlane+’ in the Oravița area of Caraș-Severin; and ‘@prună rotundă-prune rotunde’ in Timiș (Șonea 1957, p.16).

Apricots and Peaches

Turning to apricots and praches, the wild apricot *Prunus armeniaca*, known as ‘zarzar-zarzări+’, originates in Mongolia and Turkestan and is present in parts of Transylvania and Wallachia. (e.g. Strehaia) while ‘cais-caiși’ is a superior variety of (Constantinescu et al. 1957, I p.62; II, p.180). ‘Zarzără-zarzăre’ – der.Persian/Turkish ‘zerdalu’, where ‘zerd’ means plum and ‘alu’ is yellow; also New Greek ‘zerzalon/zerdali’ (Scriban 1939, p.1428) – the fruit of the wild apricot, used for dessert, and ‘poame’ as well as a very good brandy with a distinct aroma in North East Moldavia and South Wallachia (though the stone – highly convex in form – is bitter and should be removed before fermentation). Meanwhile ‘caisă-caise’ – der.New Greek ‘kaisi’ and Turkish ‘caisy’ (Scriban 1939, p.216) – is the fruit of the domesticated variety used for the table, but also for jam and brandy with a special aroma though the stone is now flat like a disk and has the savoury taste of ‘migdală’ or almond *Amygdalus communis/prunus amygdaloides*. Meanwhile, the peach tree *Prunus piersica* comes from Asia and is known in Romanian as piersic- piersici’ with a dialect form ‘chiersic-chiersici’ at Podu Turcului/Gherghești. The tree was planted extensively in the steppes (especially the Danube floodplain and Dobrogea) in the communist period. The fruit is known as ‘piersică- piersice’ – der.Latin ‘persica/persicus’ (Candrea 1931, p.934; Scriban 1939, p.968) – and any that is not acceptable for the table may be used for brandy. The quince tree ‘gutui-gutui *Cydonia oblonga* known in Romanian as ‘gutui- gutui’ – der.Latin ‘cotoneus’ and Serbian ‘gđunia’ (Candrea 1939, p.566) – is common in the Mediterranean, while originating in the Caucasus and Central Asia (Constantinescu 1957, I p.87). It exists in both wild and cultivated states and is known in Oltenia e.g. at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara. The fruit ‘gutue-gutui’ – der.Latin ‘cotonia/cidonia’ (Scriban 1939, p.583) – is used for jam, a type of vinegar (‘livej’) and even for brandy when ground down and sugar added, as was evident in kitchens in Bucharest in the communist period. Finally reference should be made to vines since the branches generated by pruning – ‘curățatură de la vie#’ with local names like ‘hripcă#’ – provide fuel for the fire at places like Băilești/Bistreț (Dolj) and Dorohoi/George Enescu (Botoșani). But more significantly the grapes (‘strugure-struguri’) used for wine generate substantial residual material (when the ‘must’ is drawn off) which is known as ‘tescovină+’ – der.Gepidic ‘thrubilo’ and German ‘Traube/Traubline’ (Scriban 1939, p.1254); though the etymology is unclear after Academia (1975, p.901) - which can be used in the plains and Subcarpathians as the basis for distilling brandy which may be called ‘țuică/rachiu de tescovină’ or simply ‘tescovină+’.

9. THE PRODUCTION PROCESS: FERMENTATION

The process is summarised in Figure 1 and will be discussed under the headings of fermentation and distillation; followed by a range of ‘downstream activities’.

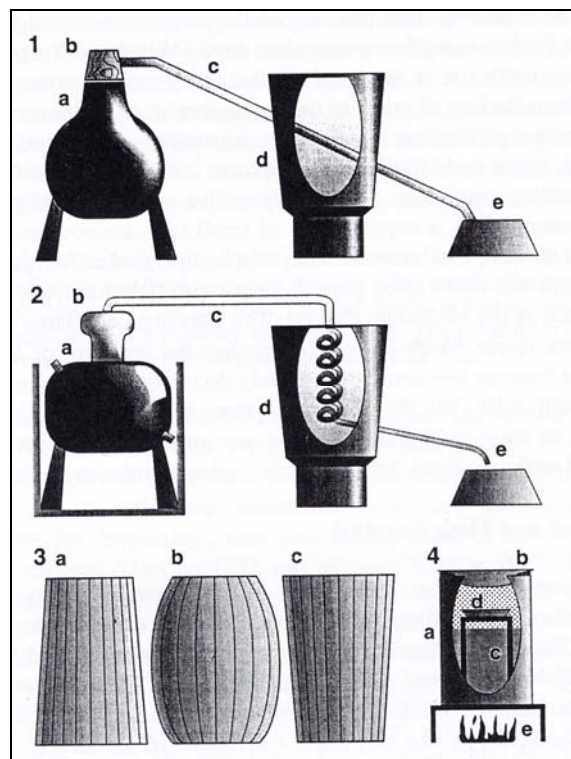


Figure 1: The production system showing:

- 1 Traditional equipment : the copper ‘cazan’ and trivet (a) with a wooden lid or ‘capac’ (b), a wooden connector or ‘bubă’ and copper pipe or ‘țeava’ (c) to the condensation vat or ‘puțină+’ (d) and spirit receiver or ‘botă+’ (e).
2. Modern equipment showing the copper contained within a ‘corlon’ (a), a copper lid that is normally attached permanently (b), a horizontal pipe or ‘cumpană’ (c) to the condensation vat with its coil (‘țeava spirală’) or cylinder and spirit receiver (e).
3. Fermenting vats in three shapes: ‘streadz’ from Mehedinți (a), ‘zăcătoare’ from Wallachia (b) and ‘cadă’ from Banat (c).
4. Equipment commonly used in a domestic kitchen during the communist period: an ‘oală mare’: enamelled pot of 30-40 liters (a), a metal basin containing cold water and sealed to the pot by wheat meal paste or ‘cocă’ (b). a stand or ‘scaun’ (d), a small spirit receiver (e) and fire or burner (e).

This section includes the harvesting of fruit as well as the fermentation process itself, which is known under various names: basically ‘fermentarea/fermentatul’ or ‘fermentarea fructelor/fermentatul fructelor#’ but there is also a range of expressions

including ‘ocrirea/ocritul’ and ‘terci-terciuri+#’; also ‘fierberea/fiertul+#’ in Banat and Wallachia (literally boiling) developed into ‘fiertul prunelor#’ or ‘fiertul prunelor pentru vinars#’ for example; but ‘putrezire’ or ‘putrezit’ in Moldavia – der.Latin ‘putridus’ (Scriban 1939, pp.1080-1) – or in a more elaborate form ‘putrezirea (putrezitul) fructelor pentru rachiu’ with the local expressions ‘hiertul perjelor#’ used at Dorohoi/George Enescu is dialect form for ‘fermentarea prunelor vinete’. In Transylvania we may hear ‘dospirea/dospitul’ der.Old Slav and Serbian ‘dospeti’ meaning to ripen (Academia 1975, p.278; Candrea 1931, p.430; Scriban 1939, p.444): hence with ‘speti’ meaning ‘to work to death’ we have the idea of a final or ultimate ‘ripening’. In the Apuseni (Câmpeni) ‘prune la dospit#’ means plums for fermenting to make brandy in Transylvania, in contrast to ‘prune la fiert pentru țuică#’ in Wallachia and ‘prune la putrezit#’ in Moldavia including Podu Turcului and Fălticeni/Horodniceni. The process is known generally as ‘acrirea/acritul’ or ‘acrirea (acritul) fructelor#’ – der.Latin ‘acrus’ (Academia 1975, p.8) – but ‘fiert’ at Brad/Buceș and ‘hiarbă’ at Câmpeni/Avram Iancu.

9.1. Fruit Collection and Initial Processing

The first task is to gather the fruit, so work begins in the orchard which in the case of plums may be known as ‘pomăt-pomături’ or ‘pomet-pometuri’ – from ‘pom’ which is a fruit tree (Iordache 1985, p.305); with the latter pairing being known at Câmpeni/Bistra as a large area of fruit trees (Photo 1).



Photo 1: A plum orchard at Horezu (Vâlcea): the friendly party enjoying the shade on a warm September day includes the lead author on the far right of the group

But ‘padină-padine’ – from Bulgarian/Russian ‘padina’ (Candrea 1931, p.884) – is a sheltered depression used as a plum orchard in Mehedinți; while ‘pagină-păgini/pagine’ is a dialectical variant known in the same area and ‘honcă-honci’ or ‘huncă-hunci’ refers to a grassy depression or small, dry valley good for fruit trees in the context of a rolling, well-drained ‘muscel’ landscape with stabilised landslides from which the salt has been largely washed out. On the higher ground where scattered fruit trees may be found, it is typical for a south-facing slope (‘față’) to be much better endowed than the north facing ‘dos-dosuri’ (but ‘doștină-doștine’ at Brad/Buceș and Câmpeni/Abrud & Bistra) der. Latin ‘dossum/dorsum’. Activity will involve ‘strângerea (strânsul) picăturii#’: an expression used at Topoloveni/Călinești for gathering fallen fruit (i.e. ‘picătură#’ – from the verb ‘a pica’ meaning to drop) before proceeding further. Unfortunately the plums do not all ripen at the same time but labour is not always available to collect the fruit in stages, while fermentation works better with a large quantity of fruit. Therefore much of the fruit must be dislodged from the tree and the main harvest will come from ‘scuturarea (scuturatul) prunelor’ – der. Latin ‘ex- cutulare’ (Scriban 1939, p.1181) – which means shaking the tree; before additional material is brought down by a long pole which is known variously as ‘paleața-palețe’ (from Old Slav ‘palice’); ‘pravită-pravita/praviti’ in Mehedinți and ‘targă-tărgi’ – der. Bulgarian ‘targa’ and German ‘Trage’ (Candrea 1931, p.1277) – or ‘targă (tărgi) de prune’ if plums (or any other specific fruit) is being specified. ‘Botă-bote+’ is another name in use while ‘rudă-rude/rugi+’ is the equivalent of ‘targă de prune’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. ‘Pocie- pocii’ or ‘poliță-polițe’ is known at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului; also ‘prăjină-prăjini’ – der. Bulgarian (Candrea 1931, p.989) – in Mehedinți. ‘Paleață-palețe’ – der. Old Slav ‘palice’ (Scriban 1939, p.925) – is another name for a long pole to dislodge fruit and ‘nuia/nuiele’ – der. Latin ‘novella’ (Candrea 1931, p.846) – is the equivalent at Slatina/Teslui. But there is also the option of ‘culegerea (culesul) fructelor#’ which means taking plums (apples, pears or cherries) from the tree by hand or with an implement (rather than have the fruit fall to the ground). Either way it is usual to take the fruit back to the farm in a plastic bag: ‘sac (saci) de plastic’ which could even be used for fermentation when conventional vessels are not available. Plastic tubs – ‘butoi (butoaie) de plastic’ are another possibility (Photo 2); while ‘pritoacă-pritoace’ – der. Old Slav ‘prie tociti’ (Scriban 1939, p.1054) – is a small ‘cadă’ (made of wooden staves) which can be placed in a cart and used to transport grapes from the vineyard to the house but it may also be used for plums at Năruja.

When sufficient material is available – a situation indicated by the phrase ‘se fac de-o fiertură#’: a local expression used at Câmpeni/Scărișoara to indicate that there is enough fruit to generate the mash required to fill the still – fermentation can get under way. The fermented material also has a range of names: basically ‘borhot’ – der. Hungarian ‘bor’ meaning wine (Candrea 1931, p.163) – which is usually associated with plums and has a light chestnut colour – though lighter for yellowish plums – and is sweet-sour in taste. But the name, which can be modified to ‘borhod’ in various places including Năruja, Nehoiu and Negrești-Oaș (while both expressions are known at Pătărlagele), can relate to all fruit e.g. at Câmpeni/Bistra and Horea. The expression can be extended to ‘borhot gros#’ where there is much solid material and ‘borhot subțire#’ (‘borhot apos’ at Năruja) where it has been thinned by adding water. Various other names are known: ‘comină+’ – der. Serbian ‘komina’ (Candrea 1931, p.312; Scriban 1838 p.321) – in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți

(while relating to fermented grape residue in South Oltenia); ‘dreve nefierte’ at Câmpeni/Avram Iancu & Vidra (though ‘dreve#+’ alone for plum ‘borhot’ at Avram Iancu); while the same word refers to mashed apples for fermentation at Câmpeni/Sohodol and Zărnești/Șinca); ‘coajă-coji+’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu & Ibănești; but ‘terci fiert’ at Pătărlagele/Zaharești; while ‘monturi#’ is the name used at Baia Mare and also Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos for a ‘borhot’ prepared for double distillation i.e. for ‘palincă’. Fermented grape residue – known generally as ‘tescovină+’ – but ‘comină’ in South Oltenia – may be used in various areas and is known as ‘drebe’ at Zărnești/Șinca. Finally, ‘a doua mână#’ relates to the recycling of the residual waste material from the still (known as ‘boască’) as a new ‘borhot’ by adding bread, sliced potatoes, fruit, sugar or beer yeast (‘drojdie de bere’).

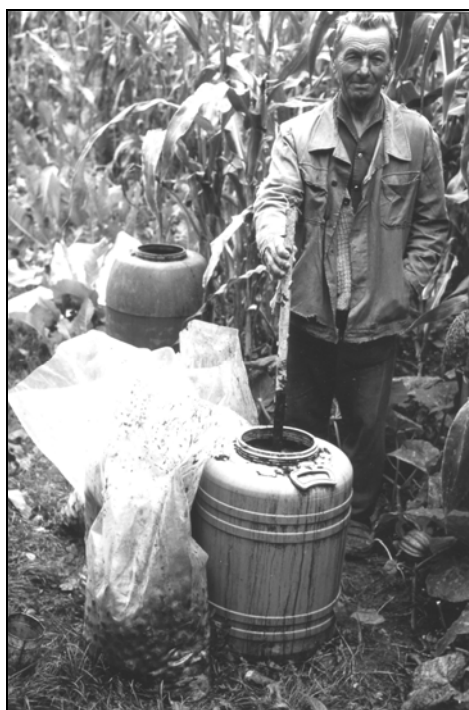


Photo 2: Instead of traditional wooden utensils it is now common for plums to be harvested in plastic sacks and for fermentation to make use of plastic drums (‘butoaiele de plastic’): a small farm operation at Lacu cu Anini in Pănătău Commune near Pătărlagele (Buzău)

Plums are usually fermented without any processing, but apples and pears may be cut up using the ‘optari-optare’ which is a rust-proof long-handled knife known at Dorohoi/George Enescu. However especially in the case of apples, pulping – ‘flectuirea

(flecuiitul) merelor#’ at Cămpeni/Scărișoara – is normal practice in the preparation of ‘oțet’, paste or juice and even fruit for fermentation (Candrea 1931, p.458): the apple pulp is known as ‘dreve+’ at Cămpeni/Sohodul although not far away in Avram Iancu the same name is used for fermented plums. ‘Mai- maie/maiuri’ – der.Latin ‘mellus’ (Academia 1975, p.518) – is a wooden tool used to pulp apples and pears for fermentation especially in the past at Dorohoi/George Enescu. A stone with a cylindrical shape may well be suitable for this purpose as in Gorj where such stones (known as ‘pisoai-pisoaie’) were found among the alluvial deposits of the Jiu river. ‘Piuă-piue’ or ‘pivă-pive’ is a wooden tub or trough used in Mehedinți to prepare apples and pears for fermentation (and for the kitchen); while ‘chiuă-chiue’ a dialect variant known at Podu Turcului/ Gherghești; and ‘covată-coveti’ – der.Turkish ‘kovata/kuvata’ (Academia 1975, p.205) – refers to a wooden trough in which apples and pears are mashed with a wooden hammer in the preparation of brandy at Cămpeni/ Avram Iancu & Vidra. ‘~Daralău-daralăe/daralăuri’ is a mill consisting of a cylinder with metal teeth used to produce paste from apples and pears needed for brandy (Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Negrești-Oaș/Bixad; while ‘daralit/daralire’ refers to work with the ‘daralău’ in preparing fruit for ‘palincă’. ‘Cioclodar–cioclodare’ – from ‘cioclod’: the core of the apple that is not edible (Scriban 1939, p.282) – is the equivalent to ‘daralău’ at Caransebeș; while both ‘tocătoare-tocători+’ and ‘zdrobitor-zdrobitoare’ are known at Pucioasa-Voinești where they are used for both grapes and plums. But at Negrești-Oaș the equipment is known simply as a mill: ‘moară- mori’. Another important piece of equipment is the ‘teasc-teascuri’: a cylindrical press normally used to extract juice from grapes to prepare a ‘must’ for wine making; but it may also crush apples and pears for distilling (and also for ‘oțet’) in the Apuseni, though apples alone at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului.

9.2. Other Raw Materials: ‘Grape Rest’ and Cereals

At the same time the ‘rest’ or residue from the vinification process – normally known as ‘comină’ or ‘tescovină+’ from the Bulgarian/Serbian ‘tikva’ (Candrea 1931, p.1297) – but ‘tiscovină#’ at Podu Turcului – can be used as the basis for brandy distilling with some addition of sugar and wine yeast (‘drojdie de vin#’) at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos where the grape press is called ‘citău-cităuri’ and the residue used for ‘palincă’ is known as ‘hoaspe#’ or ‘boștina#’. At Dorohoi, ‘tescovină deasă#’ indicates the presence of much solid material while ‘tescovină rară#’ indicates relatively little. ‘Prăștină+#’ is the name used in South Wallachia e.g. Caracal/Gostavățu and Roșiorii de Vede/Crăciunești; with ‘mastachina’ at Podu Turcului; also ‘dreve+’ at Lechința; ‘~trebe#’ at Aiud/Unirea (but ‘~treve#’ at Alba Iulia/Ighiu and ‘~trevere’ at Miercurea Sibiului as well as Aiud and Blaj) and ‘moante de struguri#’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos. When fresh fruit is not available it is also possible to work with ‘marmeladă#’: a name taken from the French language (Candrea 1931, p.751) which refers to a jam made by boiling apples, pears, plums or quinces with added sugar. The jam may be mixed with lukewarm water with yeast added to start fermentation: the yeast is ‘drojdie de bere’ which is normally known as ‘țaic#’ in Bistrița-Năsăud and Maramureș. Another source is ‘țiger#’ – known at Târgu Jiu/Bumbești and Curtișoara (and similar to ‘livej’ in other parts of Gorj) which is slightly-fermented apple, pear or quince juice (with a pleasant taste), again with added sugar. Another source is apple ‘must’ variously known as ‘țigeriu#’ or ‘țigher#’ in Transylvania but also ‘ceagăr’

in Oltenia and ‘șagar’ in Banat and Mehedinți – all der.Hungarian ‘csiger’ (Candrea 1931, p.1356). Finally, ‘a doua mână#’ or ‘mână a doua’ refers to ‘borhot’ obtained by recycling ‘boască’ (suitably fortified).

However it is quite common to use a cereal ‘borhot’ known as ‘slad’ – from Bulgarian/Serbian ‘slad’ (Candrea 1931, p.1161) – or ‘borhot faină/farină’ at Târgu Lăpus/Rogoz. Typically a cereal mixture is used and at Câmpeni/Albac & Horea rye *Secale cereale* sprouting about one centimeter is dried, milled and mixed with wheat meal and maize (usually ‘porumb’ but ‘papușoi/papușoaie’ in Moldavia) which is selected for distilling when the grains solidify – as ‘bănuț-bănuți’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu – and change in colour from white to gold. The corn cobs (‘știulete-știuleți’) are then milled into maize flour for partial use in a cereal ‘borhot’ (or ‘bucate’) with the process of mixing the ingredients known as ‘încolțitură- încolțituri’. However, ‘jîmtuire/jîmtuit#+’ – a word normally associated with cheesemaking – is used for the mixing of rye, maize and wheat meal to prepare a ‘borhot’ for brandy at Câmpeni/Albac, Horea & Scărișoara. But also in the Apuseni cereal alone may be used for brandy (or meal may be added to fruit to create a mixture known as ‘înmulțitură#’). Cereal can also be used in the form of maize pudding or ‘mămăligă’ with warm water, sugar and yeast added: ‘ciorbă (ciorbe) de mămăligă’ is maize porridge mashed in warm water to prepare a ‘borhot’ known as ‘măliga-măligi’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu & Vorniceni. While a cereal ‘borhot’ is fermenting it is customary to use a wooden shovel with many small holes – ‘lopașcă gauriță-lopașce gaurițe’ – for stirring to homogenise the mixture of cereal meal, yeast and warm water (e.g. at Câmpeni/Albac). A ‘borhot’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu may also be prepared from sugar beet (‘sfeclă de zahăr-sfeclă de zahăr’ or *Beta vulgaris cicla*) chopped up with a kitchen tool known as ‘răzătoare-răzători’; and while the mangal wurzel (‘sfeclă furajeră-sfeclă furajere’ or *Beta vulgaris macroriza*) is normally reserved for animal fodder, a small quantity may be added to the sugar beet because it enhances the quantity of the brandy including the aroma. ‘Tocătoare-tocători+’ is the name used for a machine processing sugar beet at Aiud/Unirea.

9.3. Completion of Fermentation

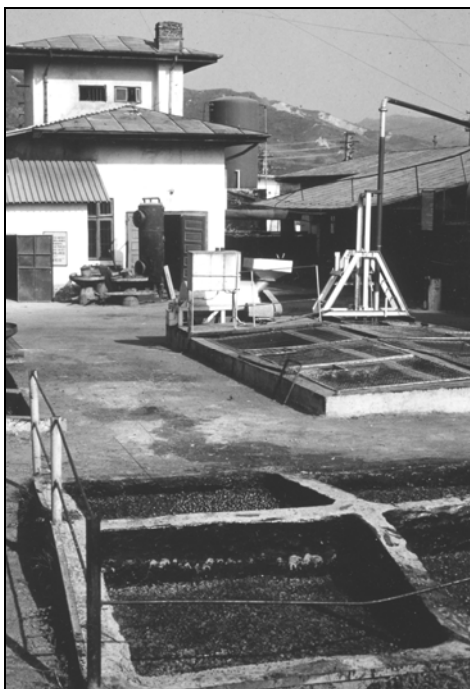
This is communicated by ‘joacă prunele#’ at Sebiș/Sălăjeni; or ‘stau din fiert’ (Pătărlagele/Zaharești). But knowing just when the ‘borhot’ is ready calls for some skill and experience. ‘Betie- beție’, ‘bețivă-bețive’ or ‘muscă bețivă-muscă bețive’ relates to a small fly *Drosophila funebris* (‘găzuliță’ in Moldavia) – der.Latin ‘bibitivus’ (Candrea 1931, p.141) – found near fermenting fruit and is ‘appreciated’ as a useful indicator at Fălticeni/Horodniceni and elsewhere. Equivalent expressions include ‘rostocuță-rostocuțe’ in Gorj and Mehedinți; while the insect is known as ‘muscă (muște) de oțet’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta; ‘musculiță (musculițe) de oțet’ at Popești-Leordeni and ‘mușită-mușite’ – der.Bulgarian and Serbian ‘musica’ (Candrea 1931, p.813) – at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos. Furthermore, the raft or ‘pat-paturi’ forming on the top of the fruit – der.Greek ‘patos’ (Candrea 1931, p.912; Scriban 1939, pp.942-3) – and otherwise known as ‘pod-poduri’ – from the Bulgarian/Serbian ‘pod’ and the Old Slav ‘poda’ (Scriban 1939, p.1004) – but ‘pojghita-pojghite’ in North Moldavia (Academia 1975, p.718) with etymology unknown – is a very good sign. Indeed fermentation must take place before the raft begins to descend

because alcohol will be lost at this point. Equivalents are ‘căciula borhotului/căciulile borhotului#’ – after old local names in Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian (Candrea 1931, pp.141,194-5) – at Topoloveni/Călinești; ‘chida-chită’ at Pătârlagele/Pănătău; ‘coajă-coji+’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu; ‘crusta-cruste’ at Dorohoi/Hudești & Ibănești; while ‘floarea borhotului#’ is the hard surface layer of a cereal ‘borhot’ at Câmpeni/Albac, ‘pită-pite’ – der.Bulgarian, Hungarian and Serbian ‘pita’ (Candrea 1939, p.942) – at Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei and Pătârlagele/Pănătău; and ‘pchită-pchite’ (a variant of ‘pită’) at Pătârlagele/Pănătău. Other variants are ‘piclită-piclițe’ at Gurhont/Hălmagiu; ‘plută-plute’ – der.Old Greek ‘plotos’ and Old Slav ‘pludva’: a reference to floating (Scriban 1939, p.1001); also Serbian ‘pluta’ – with no specific locations; ‘pojghița-pojghițe’ in North Moldavia; and ‘scoarță-scoarțe’ – der.Latin ‘scorteia’ (Scriban 1939, p.1172) and Vulgar Latin ‘scorteia’ (Candrea 1931, p.1120) – at Dorohoi/George Enescu & Ibănești. Still more indicative of a completed fermentation is ‘dezgardinarea (desgardinatul) căciulii borhotului#’ when the ‘pod’ separates itself from the staves of the wooden vessel. It may also be expressed as ‘se gardinează comină#’ (or dialect ‘se gardinează comină’ known in Banat) suggesting the ‘unhooking’ of the crust from the sides of the vessel; whereupon distillation must take place immediately because the raft will sink.

9.4. Fermentation Vessels

Fermentation may take place in plastic sacks as already noted and also in a plastic container – ‘butoi (butoaie) de plastic’ – which can also be used for transporting fruit from the orchard: indeed it could even be used as a condensing vessel or ‘răcitor’ in connection with clandestine distilling in the communist period (and subsequently) in such areas as Podu Turcului and Vâlcea. In the past many peasants have simply dug a shallow pit (‘groapă de prune-groape de prune’) in the clay soil, especially in years of high production at Pătârlagele/Pănătău. Indeed this latter method was revived under communism when some new central distilleries installed cement-lined pits: referred to simply as ‘bazin-bazine+’ or more elaborately as ‘bazin (bazine) de cement pentru fermentat’ (Photo 3). This method has been copied since 1989 for apples at Pucioasa/Voinești (using ‘apă-stop’, which is an industrial substance, to ‘waterproof’ the pit) and also at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului. However the normal procedure for plums and other fruits is to use a large wooden tub: ‘vas (vase) pentru prune’ – der.Latin ‘vasum’ (Candrea 1931, p.1404). Such a vessel is typically made from staves – ‘doagă-doage’ der.Latin ‘doga’ (Candrea 1931, p.423) – but ‘dăoagă-dăoage’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta (as is also the case for the ‘hârdău’ – noted below in connection with the transport of ‘borhot’ to the still – the condensing vat at the distillery and the cask in which the finished brandy is stored). In each case the vessel is made by placing staves in the groove cut in the circular bottom board (‘fundul de jos’): the groove being known as ‘gardin-gardină/gardine’ – der.German ‘Gargel’ (Candrea 1931, p.529) – in the Apuseni and Mehedinți, but ‘gardinar-gardinare’ in Pătârlagele. However for fermentation (and also condensation) it is quite common for the vessel to be cone-shaped with a smaller diameter at the bottom (indicated by ‘=’ below) to help prevent the raft or ‘pod’ from descending into the ‘borhot’; while fermentation vats also need a close-fitting lid – ‘caftar-caftare’, but ‘~zaplet-zaplete’ at Drăgășani/Ionești, Zărnești/Poiana Mărului and Vânu Mare/Poroina Mare – to prevent the loss of alcohol when fermentation is complete. The vessel is usually

placed on a wooden block – ‘scaun-scaune’, der. Latin ‘sacamnun’ (Candrea 1931, p.1113-4; Scriban 1939, p.1166) – to avoid damp. However there are various other names: ‘chituc-chituci’ – der.Bulgarian ‘kitjuku’ (Candrea 1931, p.262) – at Dorohoi/George Enescu; ‘podval-podvale/podvaluri’ – der. Serbian ‘podvalak’ (Candrea 1931, p.914; Scriban 1939, p.1005) – in Mehedinți; ‘sasc/sascii’ in Mărginenii Sibiului (Irimia et al. 1985); and ‘talpă/tălpi’ – der.Bulgarian/Serbian ‘tapla’ and Hungarian ‘talp’ (Academia 1975, p.937; Candrea 1931, p.1272) – used on a larger scale e.g. for buildings including stillhouses. The vessels are left in a cool sheltered place on the farm; typically a ‘șopron-șoproane+’: a shed or shelter made from boards, planks or ‘knitted’ twigs (only rarely with brick or stone) which will also accommodate a cart and/or agricultural equipment; also known as ‘polata-polate’ – der.Bulgarian/Serbian ‘polata’ (Candrea 1931, p.966; Scriban 1939, p.1009) – at Pucioasa/Voinești; ‘șap’ or ‘șopru-șopruri/șoapre’ in Mehedinți; ‘~șup-șupuri’ at Băile Herculane/ Cornea; and ‘șura-șure’(generally larger and stronger) in Transylvania.



***Photo 3:** Fermentation in cement-lined ‘bazine’: the distillery erected in the communist period at Pătârlagele: a centralising measure at a village that was the centre of a ‘raion’ until 1969. Brandy production was increased by additional mash or ‘borhot’ delivered by peasant farmers*

The wooden vats have a number of names, many of which are specific to particular areas, but there are also names widely used (roughly according to capacity)

although it is impossible to quote definitive liter capacities for each type with any certainty in terms of usage across the country. What we attempt here is a classification into large, medium and small. A very large cask known as a ‘bute-buți+’ (but ‘butie-butii’ in Transylvania) – der.Latin ‘buttis’ (Candrea 1931, p.190) and using curved staves so that it is wider in the centre than at either end – may have as much as 2,000 liters capacity and can be used for fermentation. Much more conventional however are large vats of 200- 300 liters; known variously as ‘bădan-bădane’= – der.Serbian ‘badanj’ (Candrea 1931, p.110) – in Banat and Vâlcea; ‘bute trasă-butii trase’ – with curved staves – at Târgu Lăpuș; ‘cada-căzi’= – der.Old Slav ‘kadi’ (Candrea 1931, p.195) – in Banat, Moldavia and Transylvania (sometimes considered smaller than a ‘voj/voz’); ‘ciubăr mare-ciubere mari’= known at Baia Mare/Cicârlau & Seini; ‘povarnă-povarne+’ at Podu Turcului; ‘putină- putini+’ in Oltenia and (for a fermentation vessel only) in Moldavia; ‘strez-streazuri’ or ‘stredz-steadzuri – der. Serbian ‘sraz’ (Candrea 1931, p.1214) – known in Banat and Mehedinți, with the top smaller than the base; ‘velniță-velnițe+’ in Podu Turcului and Vrancea; ‘~voj-vojuri+’ or ‘voz-vozuri’ – der.Hungarian – especially in Hunedoara; and ‘zăcătoare-zăcători’ – der.Latin ‘jacere’ and the Romanian verb ‘a zăcea’ meaning to rest (Candrea 1931, p.1454) – known in Wallachia; with a variant ‘tocitoare-tocitori’ der.Old Slav ‘tociti’ (Candrea 1931, p.1309). Vessels in the medium category include: ‘brădoane-brădone’ – from ‘brad’ meaning a fir tree – in Mehedinți, but ‘brădoi-brădoaie’ at Motru/Glogova; and ‘cădățuie-cădățui’ i.e. a small ‘cadă’ known at Podu Turcului. Smaller vessels below 100 liters include ‘ciubăr-ciubere+’ (with the much larger version usually differentiated as a ‘ciubăr mare’) normally used as a ‘galetar’ to collect fresh brandy; and ‘~ghioabă-ghioabe’ – der.Hungarian ‘dóbárny’ (Academia 1975, p.372) – noted at Câmpeni/Arieșeni and typically of 70-100 liters capacity: generally larger than the ‘ciubar’ and (like the ‘hârdău’) used for transport in Wallachia (see below).

9.5. Transport to the Still

For transporting the ‘borhot’ to the still buckets and other small containers may be used where the distance is very short e.g. across a courtyard: thus ‘~videre-videri’ – probably from the Hungarian ‘veder’ – is an enamelled pail or bucket used generally for water, but also to carry ‘borhot’ to the still (and even as an alternative to the ‘botă’) at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. When the distance is a few hundred meters then it is appropriate to use a ‘hârdău-hărdăie’ – der.Hungarian ‘hordo’ (Candrea 1931, p.582): a small wooden vat or bucket carried by two people with the help of a pole – ‘par-pari’ der.Latin ‘palus’ (Candrea 1931, p.898) – inserted through the holes or ‘ears’ known as ‘urechea (urechile) hârdăului’ – der.Latin ‘oricola’ (Candrea 1931, p.1385) – but also ‘măner-mânere’ e.g. at Negrești-Oaș and Sebiș; also ‘toartă-toarte/torți+’ at Pătârlagele. The ‘ears’ are provided through holes drilled in two specially extended fir staves – ‘coadă brădiei-cozile brădiei’ – at opposite sides of the vat. Rudă-rude/ruge+’ is an alternative name for a ‘hârdău’ which – like other wooden vessels of appropriate size – may also be used for fermenting small quantities of fruit and for receiving fresh spirit from the condenser. Another variant is the ‘~șaf-șafuri/șafe’ known at Ilia/Dobra, Lăpugiu de Jos & Stâncești. This has additional holes so that it can be carried using a pair of poles i.e. a ‘ploster-plosteri’.

Where the distance is considerable (perhaps several kilometers from a farmhouse to a still that is being hired for a day) a ‘cărător-cărătoare’ – der.Latin ‘carrus’ meaning a cart and the Romanian verb ‘a căra’: to transport – is most convenient. Common throughout Wallachia, it is a cylindrical wooden tank (made of staves) some 1.8-2.0m long and 75cms in diameter (greater in the middle than at the ends (Photo 4).



Photo 4: A ‘borhot’ may be transported to the still using a ‘cărător’. Note the bucket (‘ciolmic+’) with a long handle used for charging and discharging; also the large square opening or ‘gaură’ in the ‘cărător’ that must be provided by cutting through three of the curved staves. The picture was taken at Constantin Butucă’s distillery in Pătărlagele and shows empty metal drums that are frequently used as the ‘corlon’ for a small still or a ‘răcitor’ (condensation vessel)

‘Butilău-butilăe/butilăuri’ is the equivalent at Târgu Lăpuș and ‘cărătoare-cărători’ at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara; but ‘~ohlon-ohloane’ at Târgu Lăpuș/ Copalnic Mănăștur. ‘Ghențău-gețăe/gețăuri+’ is known at Câmpulung/Mihăești and Pătărlagele, though it has a conical shape 2.5-3.0m deep and 60-80cms in diameter: confusingly the name is also used for the equivalent of a ‘hârdău’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and also a similar vessel – but made of sheet iron and shaped like a coffin – at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad. It is also confusing to find that at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos a ‘cărător’ is known as a ‘hurdău-hurdăe’ or ‘hordau-hordae’ (Scriban 1939, p.599): variants of ‘hârdău’ but with quite a different meaning! ‘Pritoacă-pritoace’ – from Old Slav ‘prie tociti’ (Scriban 1939, p.1054) – is a small ‘cadă’ made of staves which can be used to transport grapes by cart, although it may also be used for plums at Năruja. And finally ‘bazin- bazine+’ is a metal tank for transporting ‘borhot’ at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad. At the distillery it is convenient to use a

‘ciolmic-ciolmice/ciolmicuri+’: a bucket of seven to eight liters capacity with a long handle (about one meter long) attached. In this way the ‘cărător’ – well known at Pătărlagele – can be filled and emptied and the still charged. An alternative name is ‘găleată-găleți’ – der.Latin ‘galleta’ (Candrea 1931, p.526); while ‘cofer-cofere’ – from Transylvanian Saxon ‘Schufel’ and German ‘Schaufel’ (Scriban 1939, p.313) – is an equivalent at Pătărlagele/Pănătău though it has a longer (two-meter) handle; while ‘~hodorog-hodoroage/hodoroguri’ has a volume of 10-12 liters at Plopeni/Cocorăștii Mislei. Finally, at the distillery it is quite common for the ‘borhot’ to be channelled into the still along an iron gutter known as ‘valău-valăe’ – der.Hungarian ‘valu’ (Candrea 1931, p.1399) – into which the contents of the ‘ciolmic’ or equivalent can be emptied.

10. THE DISTILLATION PROCESS

The still is normally referred to as a ‘cazan-cazane (de țuică)’ – from Turkish ‘kazan’ (Candrea 1931 p.240) and New Greek ‘kazani’ (Scriban 1939 p.242). A ‘cazan cu etaj-cazane cu etaj’ is a still with a pre-heater for the ‘borhot’ known as ‘blajă’ or ‘pre-încălzitor’ in the pre-communist period at Pătărlagele/Pănătău and today at Topoloveni/Priboieni. An alternative to ‘cazan’ is ‘calpac-calpace’ at Caransebeș/Teregova – der.Bulgarian, Serbian and Turkish ‘kalpac’ and Hungarian ‘kalpag’ with the sense of a cap or hood (Candrea 1931, p.205; Scriban 1939, p.220). Another variant is. ‘caldare-caldări’ (literally a bucket) – der.Latin ‘caldaria’ (Candrea 1939, p.202; Scriban 1939, p.245) – used instead of ‘cazan’ especially in Transylvania where Turkish influence was historically much weaker. We also have ‘caldare de fiert palincă-caldări de fiert palincă’ at Cehu Silvaniei/ Oarța de Jos; also Negrești-Oaș; ‘caldare de rachiu-caldări de rachiu’ at Podu Turcului/Glăvănești; ‘caldare de fiert horincă-caldări de fiert horincă’ at Târgu Lăpuș/Cupșeni & Rogoz and ‘caldare de vinars-caldări de vinars’ at Beclean/Spermezeu & Târlișua as well as Baia Mare/Dumbrăvița and Mociu/Căianu. ‘Căzăniță-căzănițe’ is a small still (at Caracal) while ‘căzăniță mare-căzănițe mari’ is a large still (over 400 liters) of the kind operated in the communist period by cooperative farms. It is equivalent to ‘povarnă-povarne+’ (Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara & Mușetești) or ‘velniță-velnițe’, but ‘baterie-baterii’ – connected with the French ‘batterie’ (Candrea 1931, p.134) – at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad. However confusion arises over the term ‘alambic-alambice/alambicuri+’ which can refer to a modern factory-made still, imitated by local craftsmen or ‘zlătari’, but is also used historically to refer to smaller (transportable) stills of up to 200 liters capacity as Runcu (Gorj) (Buznea 1932). Fundamental to the traditional still is the lip or shoulder at the top: ‘buză cazanului-buze cazanului’ from the French ‘bouder’ (Scriban 1939, p.211) – or ‘~oznă-ozne’ in Gorj and Mehedinți and ‘uzmă-uzme’ at Bălcești – to attach the lid. The latter is known as ‘capac-capace (de cazan)’ made of wood or copper; with variants including ‘capul cazanului-capatele/capurile cazanului’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu; ‘pălăria cazanului-pălăriile cazanului’ at Gurahonț/Hălmașiu; and ‘clopul cazanului-clopurile cazanului’ – der.Hungarian ‘kalop’ (Candrea 1931, p.294) – at Gurahonț/Brusturi. Rent for the hire of a still is known as ‘uium#’ from the Serbian ‘ujam’ (Candrea 1931, p.1367) with a variant ‘oium#’ at Podu Turcului/Gherghești. ‘Vamă-vămi’ – from Hungarian ‘vama’ (Scriban 1939, p.1390) – is an equivalent; as is ‘căzănit#’ used at Târgu Jiu/Mușetești. A

significant problem is ‘verdigris’ or ‘cocleală#’ – der.Old Slav ‘koklitu’ meaning copper (‘aramă’) in Romanian (Candrea 1931, p.301) – a toxic material appearing on copper vessels. It may be removed by washing but another solution is ‘spoirea/spoitul cazanului/caldării#’: covering the inside of the still with a thin coat of tin to prevent the possibility of such formation in the first place – as noted at Podu Turcului/Gherghești; also Strehaia and Târgu Secuiesc/Poian. ‘Căzănel#’ is a popular name used in Baia de Aramă/Balta and other parts of Mehedinți for an illness caused by ‘țuică’ produced from a still including of some lead to make it heavier.

Distillers will say that they are making brandy using a wide range of expressions: basically ‘fac la cazan#’ but ‘coc la cazan#’ at Caransebeș/Teregova; ‘fac la caldar#’ at Iliia/Dobra; ‘fac răchiiu#’ in Moldavia (and sometimes Wallachia too); or ‘fac vinars#’: working at the still to make ‘vinars’. The list continues with ‘lucrez la cazan#’ at Pătărlagele; ‘fierb horincă#’ in Maramureș; ‘fierb la caldarea de rachiu#’ at Podu Turcului/Glăvănești; ‘fierb prunele’ at Sebiș; ‘fac rachiu’ at Miercurea Sibiului/Orlat; and ‘fierb țuică#’ at Târgu Secuiesc/Poian. ‘Sunt băcioni#’ is known at Caransebeș/Teregova while ‘fac sămanță de vorbă#’ – literally ‘I make seeds of the speech’ – is an ironic expression from Câmpulung/Balilești and Topoloveni/Vrănești. The fire must be prepared (see below) the still filled with ‘borhot’: ‘încărcarea cazanului-încărcatul cazanului’ – from the verb ‘a înărca’ (to load) der.Latin ‘carricare/incarricare’ and ‘carrus’: a cart (Scriban 1939, p.678) – or ‘umplerea cazanului/ umplutul cazanului#’: der.Latin ‘implere’ (Candrea 1931 p.1372; Scriban 1939, p.1376); ‘punerea în cazan#’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta; and ‘pusul în cazan#’. The next significant event is the start of the alcohol flow from the condensing tube. This signalled by the statement ‘pornirea/pornitul cazanului#’ der.Old Slav ‘porinati’ (to push) and New Slav ‘poriniti’ (Scriban 1939, p.1019). But variants include ‘a pornit caldaria#’ (at Câmpeni), ‘a pornit cazanul#’ in Gorj and Mehedinți, or simply ‘a porni#’ at Motru/Glogova and Turnu Severin/Jidoștița. Somewhat more elaborate is the observation that spirit will soon start to flow quickly – ‘pleacă repede cazanul#’ at Pătărlagele or ‘the still begins to weep – ‘cazanul începe să plângă#’ – at Dorohoi/George Enescu. Scriban (1939, p.977) also reports on ‘picuș-picușuri+’ indicating the first spirit to flow; from the verb ‘a pica’ meaning to drip.

10.1. Phases of distillation

The distilling phase may be broken up into a sequence of events. The first part of the distillation produces relatively strong spirit: ‘frunte#’ or ‘fruntea cazanului#’ (Moldavia and Wallachia) but ‘fruncea#’ or ‘fruncea cazanului#’ in Banat, Hunedoara and Mehedinți and ‘poarnă#’ – der.Latin ‘poarna’ - in the southern/eastern parts of the Mehedinți (e.g. Turnu Severin/Breznița-Ocol) but also Motru/Glogova. ‘Floșpoc#’ is used at Năsăud/Liviu Rebreanu; ‘fațată#’ – from ‘fața’ meaning a face – is used in the Câmpeni area; ‘tarie#’ at Podu Turcului/ Gherghești and ‘vutcă#’ at Topoloveni/Călinești. ‘Chicuș-chicușe/chicușuri+’ – from ‘a chica’ (to drip) – occurs at Zărnești/Șinca Nouă and also in Vrancea; though in Moldavia the dialect variant of ‘picuș’ – from the verb ‘a pica’ (Scriban 1939, pp.267; 977) – is more usual. And finally ‘poslede+’ appears Târgu Bujor/Smulți (Scriban 1939, p.1022) although the word has a very different meaning in other parts of the country (see below). It should be added that at Podu Turcului it is customary to separate

some three liters of spirit at 50-70deg as ‘aragneală/ arămoi#’ – from ‘aramă’ meaning copper – for strong ‘rachiu’ or for liqueur (e.g. ‘vișinată’); while ‘caneală’ is used for a very small part at the start that lacks clarity and has a bluish-green colour caused by ‘verdigris’, especially at the resumption of work with the still after a long period of repair (Topoloveni/Călinești). Towards the end of the distillation the spirit becomes very weak and may be used for acetic acid (‘oțet’) or recycled. It is often referred to as ‘otcă’ e.g. at Câmpulung/Mihăiești; Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos; Miercurea Sibiului and Pucioasa/Voinești – though sometimes corrupted through with confusion with ‘vodcă’; but ‘buzum’ at Podu Turcului/Gherghești and other parts of Moldavia (Scriban 1939, p.211). ‘Poslede+’ is used frequently in this context – with several variants: ‘posledie/poslete/posleț#’ – in Bacău, Buzău, Suceava and Vrancea. But there are numerous local variants: ‘apatoce#’ in Caraș-Severin; ‘apatos’ in Mededinți; ‘~bortoșagă’ at Nehoiu/Plostina; ‘coadă+’ at Bălcești/Ghiroiu; ‘codină at Târgu Jiu/Brădiceni; ‘cogină+’ (a dialectical variation of ‘codină+’) in Banat and Mehedinți; ‘leoască#’ at Drăgășani/Ionești; ‘liurcă##’ at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului and Râmnicu Sărat/ Vintilească; ‘olercă#’ at Caransebeș/Teregova and Topoloveni/ Călinești; ‘~poriz#’ (or occasionally ‘~porizuri#’) in Mehedinți; ‘pușarcă#’ at Podu Turcului/Glăvănești; ‘trânc#’ at Deta/Bethausen; ‘trinc’ at Bocșa/ Vermeș; ‘~țopaică#’ at Motru/Glogova; ‘~țovie’ at Târgu Jiu/Bumbești; and ‘vurt (sometimes ‘vurturi’) at Râmnicu Sărat (Scriban 1939, p.1423) for the last part of the distillation. ‘Trenchi’ is also known and also ‘urmă/urme’ – der.Latin ‘osmare’ and Old Greek ‘osme/odne’ meaning a smell or odour (Scriban 1939, pp.1383- 4) – though with no clear reference to specific places. Eventually the distillers will decide that it is pointless continuing: hence such sayings as ‘e pe țaiete#’: the strong alcohol (‘tăria’) is finished and distillation must stop; or ‘s’a tăiat de la țeavă#’: the flow of alcohol from the ‘țeavă’ is finished (both at Pătârlagele/Pănătău). Again, ‘nu-i mai bun#’ is a local expression at Câmpeni/Albac & Horea to indicate that the alcohol is finished or the ‘vinars’ is smoked; or else ‘iese numai aereală#’: a greatly reduced flow of spirit and low strength. Also ‘tae-l#’ is known at Popești-Leordeni.

Since there may be two distillations, the first as a whole has a specific name: ‘~suslă#’ at Târgu Lăpuș/Cupșeni and Rogoz; but ‘~suzlă#’ at Lechința (also ‘~ciuzlă’); also Năsăud/Liviu Rebreanu. ‘Votcă#’ has almost completely replaced the old name ‘otcă+’ due to confusion with the Russian drink ‘vodka’: but quite inappropriately however because the Russian drink is stronger. Meanwhile ‘băgăm la fațat/fațață’ or ‘băgăm pe limpezeală’ – der.Latin ‘limpidus’ – signifies the progress to the second distillation to transform ‘otcă+/votcă’ to ‘pălincă’ (or the alternative names already noted) and obtain a clear product i.e. ‘with a clear face’ (Câmpeni); equivalents being ‘băgăm pe pistulaș’ (Maramureș) and ‘băgăm pe chistulaș#’ (Negrești-Oaș) from Hungarian ‘tisztit’ (to clean). These ideas give rise to such names for the second distillation itself as ‘~fațat#’ at Câmpeni/Arieșeni and ‘limpezeală#’: indicating a clear (‘limpede’) product – der.Latin ‘limpidus’ (Academia 1975, p.501) – at Câmpeni/Sohodol. The second distillation is also known as ‘chistulire/chistulit#’ – der. Hungarian ‘tisztit’ (to clean) – in North Transylvania: Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos, Negrești-Oaș/Bixad and Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. ‘Chistulit’ is much easier to pronounce in Romanian than ‘tistulire’ or ‘tistulit’, both of which are known in these same areas and are closer to the word of origin, but much less frequently used. ‘Prefăcnie#’ is used at Târgu Bujor/Smulți for the second distillation while the product is

‘prefăcătorie- prefăcătorii’ from the Romanian verb ‘a pre-face’ (to repeat the process). ‘Spirt#’ – der.Russian ‘spiritu’ (Candrea 1931 p.1186) – is used in North East Moldavia where the process only occurs very rarely.

Once again there are names for the different phases. ‘~Redeș#’ or ‘~rezeș#’ indicates the first part of second distillation where a small amount of spirit (perhaps just 0.5-1.0 liter) is a little milky in colour and not good to taste or drink i.e. ‘limpezitului’ occurs due to the presence of some organic material (indeed the problem can also occur during the first distillation if ‘verdigris’ is present). There are other names including ‘~rozolic#’ and ‘~roizolaș#’ (e.g. Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos; also Negrești-Oaș/Bixad); also ‘albește vinarul’ at Aiud and Târgu Lăpuș; while ‘floarea de vutcă’ (involving the use of ‘flower’ in derogatory sense) may be transferred from its original application to a layer forming on the surface of wine or juice in a bottle. This small ‘cut’ should always be separated out – and set aside for external medical use – in order to ensure purity, although some distillers neglect to do and the quality of the brandy may suffer somewhat in consequence. ‘Rizli#’ may be used for particularly strong brandy at 90-100 degrees delivered early in the second distillation at Negrești-Oaș/Turț while ‘trinc#’ is a name for weaker spirit arriving at the end of the cycle at Cămpeni/Sohodol. The conclusion of distillation is signalled in Wallachia – e.g. Popești-Leordeni – by the phrase ‘rupe cazanul’ (meaning stop the distillation) but there is also a dialect variant ‘rumpe caldarea’ – from the Latin ‘rumpere’ (Candrea 1931, pp.1087; Scriban 1939, p.1143) – known at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz, along with other sayings: ‘interupe cazanul’ and ‘oprește cazanul’.

10.2. Sealing the Equipment

This was crucial matter for traditional stills: involving the contact between the still and the lid or ‘capac’ and also between the lid and the ‘țeavă’: the operation being known as ‘lipirea cazanului#’ from the Old Slav ‘lupiti’ (Scriban 1939, p.750); with the slightly modified expression ‘lipitul cazanului’ known at Baia Mare/Cicârlău & Seini. ‘Muruitul (or muruirea) coldurii cazanului#’ is an equivalent known at Dorohoi and Caransebeș/Copăcele. Clayey material may be dug from a damp place or ‘crivină-crivine’: a name that may be used for the clay itself; otherwise it is known as ‘clisă#’ – from the Bulgarian ‘klisa’ – at Pătărlagele and Motru/Glogova; but also ‘~adig#’ (dialect ‘agig’) at Târgu Lăpuș and ‘~agag#’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos. ‘Pământ călcat#’ – der.Latin ‘pavimentum’ (Scriban 1939, p.948) – is also used for clayey earth which is worked by the feet or hands; alternatively with a spade or ‘sapă-săpe/sape’ (Candrea 1931, p.1101). ‘Postava-postavi’ – from Old Slav ‘podistava’ and Serbian ‘postava’ (Candrea 1931, p.982) – was a piece of wood used in the past to prepare the material. ‘Pământ freat#’ indicates moist clayey earth at Brad/Buceș and Cămpeni/Avram Iancu; it is widely known in Sălaj too. ‘Humă-hume’ – from the Bulgarian ‘huma’ and Old Greek ‘homa’ (Scriban 1939, n.p.) – refers to the bluish-green clay known in Gorj and Mehedinți. Other alternatives are ‘lut-luturi’ at Brad/Buceș and Strehaia; while ‘tină#’ (dialect ‘cină#’) – der.Old Slav ‘tina’ (Candrea 1931, p.1298) – is known at Deva/Boholt, and ‘pământ galben#’ is yellowish clay used at Miercurea Sibiului/Orlat.

Sticky paste to seal the still – typically made from wheat meal and warm water – is widely known as ‘aluat#’ with ‘ciriz’ an equivalent derived from Turkish (Academia 1975, p.164) and known at Câmpeni; while another variant is ‘ciraz’ (Ibid, p.154). Other local variations appear in the Câmpeni area with ‘olat#’ at Câmpeni itself and Sohodol but ‘oluat#’ or ‘olut#’ at Avram Iancu and Vidra where the standard expression ‘ciriz’ is unknown. ‘Cocă#’ – from the Latin ‘cocum’ and Old Greek ‘kokkos’ (Scriban 1939, p.309) – is known at Dorohoi/George Enescu and Zărnești/Poiana Mărului: maize meal and ash may be added. An equivalent to ‘cocă’ is ‘scrob -scrobur’ – from the Bulgarian ‘skrobu’ and Serbian ‘skrob’ (Candrea 1931, p.1125; Scriban 1939, p.1177) – known at Baia de Aramă/Balta. Inferior quality meal – known as ‘derțe’ or ‘faina roșie’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos – will obviously be preferred and may be mixed with bran. ‘Tărățe+#’ is mill residue used to seal the lid of the still, mixed with ash, cinders or clay. Cereal may also be used as ‘mămăligă-mămăligi’ with ash added. A metal basin known as ‘lighean-ligheane+’ may be used to mix the material which can then be applied with the aid of a wooden spoon known as ‘albie (alibi) de lemn’ – der.Latin ‘alvea’ (Candrea 1931, p.31). At the end of a distillation cycle a strong wooden knife – ‘cuțit de lemn pentru cazan#’ at Plopeni/Cocoraștii Mislui – is used to remove sealant from the lip of the still (a metal knife could damage the copper): while ‘mistrie-mistrii’ – from New Greek ‘mystri’ (Scriban 1939, p.815) – is a trowel used for the same purpose; likewise the wooden spoon already referred to. An alternative is the ‘razalău-razalăe’ – from the Romanian verb ‘a rade’ (to rub out), the Latin ‘radere’ and the French ‘reser’ (Candrea 1931, p.1038) – which is a pointed metal tool like the spatula (‘scarpăr’) of a house decorator: it is also known as ‘răzuș-răzușe/răzușuri’ and the diminutive form ‘răzușcă-răzușci’ is known at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad.

10.3. Modern Stills

It is also important to consider matters relating to the modern type of still. A very significant feature is the containment of the still inside a ‘corlon-corloane’: a cylindrical wall of brick or stone to conserve heat. ‘Cotlon- cotloane’ – der.Hungarian ‘katlan’ and Czech ‘cotel’ meaning a pail (Candrea 1931, p.345; Scriban 1939, p.357) – is equivalent to ‘corlon’ at Falticeni/Horodniceni, Pătârlagele/Pănătău and Pucioasa/Voinești; while ‘cotron-cotroane’ is used in Vâlcea and ‘cloton-clotoane’ is a jacket made from brick at Deva/Boholt where the local stone (‘pușca’) could fragment or ‘explode’ (Photo 5). However, a petrol drum (‘butoi de fier’) may be used as an improvisation in which case the still is placed over a very simple grate or ‘pirostrii#’ – from New Greek ‘pirostria’ (Candrea 1931, p.939) – as at Pătârlagele/Pănătău and Zărnești/Poiana Mărului; and ‘butoi de fier-butoaie de fier’ is an iron drum (of the kind widely used for chemicals or petroleum products) that can be modified to serve the same purpose (even a ‘răcitor’ or a small ‘cărător’). There are two types of ‘corlon’: one characteristic of Moldavia and Wallachia with a simple hearth/fireplace or ‘vatră-vetre’ – from the Albanian ‘vatr’ and Serbian/Slavonian ‘vatra’ (Candrea 1931, p. 1406); also the Greek ‘vathra’ (Scriban 1939, p.1393) – and another that is specific to Transylvania and adjacent areas of Moldavia where the name ‘cuptorul (cuptoarele) caldării’ or ‘cuptorul (cuptoarele) cazanului’ is more commonly used (although at Bocșa/Vermeș it is a very simple ‘corlon’ that is endowed with the name ‘cuptorul (cuptoarele) cazanului’).



Photo 5: A typical modern still enclosed within a very substantial stone-built ‘corlon’. The copper lid or ‘capac’ in the shape of a ‘comanac’ can be seen: also the fire and the wood fuel consisting of tree branches. Photographed at Mușcel near Pătârlagele

The more sophisticated type has a space below – ‘focar-focare’ – where the wood fire is lit in a grate with an ashpan below: hence the various expressions ‘grătar-grătarile’ ‘grătar (grătarele) corlonului’ and ‘corlon (corlone) cu grătar’ – der.Latin ‘gratalis’ (Candrea 1931, p.556) – though ‘ciur-ciururi’ is the word used for a grate at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. With this system there is an ashpan under the grate: ‘cenușar-cenușare’, as at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad, or ‘cenușar (cenușare) la corlon’ – der.Latin ‘cinusia’ (Candrea 1931, p.246); also Latin ‘cinisia’ (Scriban 1939, p.258) – while in Romania ‘cenușa’ refers to ash or cinders. On the other hand, ‘corlon cu vatră-corloane cu vatră’ refers to a situation encountered in Moldavia and Wallachia where the fire is made on the ground but under the firewood is a ‘lăturoi’ or vent (‘chezaș’ in Gorj and ‘căpătâi’ in Mehedinți) to allow a draught; whereas with the more sophisticated type ‘chezaș-chezașe+’ – der.Hungarian ‘keses’ (Candrea 1931, p.255; Scriban 1939, p.266) – or ‘căpătâi la focul cazanului’ – der.Latin ‘capit/capitaneum’ meaning a head (Scriban 1939, p.247) – refers to a wooden piece fitted across the mouth of the ‘corlon’ which presumably controls to the draught e.g. at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara. ‘Zătulă-zătule’ – der.Serbian ‘zaton’ (Scriban 1939, p.1432) – refers to a device for closing the chimney of the ‘corlon’ to moderate the heat under the still, as known at Pătârlagele. ‘Horn-hornuri’ refers to the chimney of the ‘cuptorul caldării’ and often there are two. There is also a diminutive form ‘cuptorașul

(cuptorușele) caldării’ – der.Latin ‘coctorium’ (Candrea 1931, p.370) – which more closely resembles the Wallachian system already referred to: a modest construction of brick or stone (but not limestone) for a small still. It could be just an iron drum sealed with clay e.g. in a region with little fruit (perhaps where the still is only used for a few weeks of the year and otherwise stored under a small improvised roof). Such equipment is often situated beside a brook for easy operation of the condensing vessel or ‘răceri+’ as at Câmpeni/Abrud & Sohodol. In some cases the still is placed on iron rails but they may be deformed by the hot fire: e.g. a ‘cuptoraș’ at Brad/Buceș and Câmpeni/Sohodol. Of course the still has to be secured in some way to its ‘jacket’ and in this connection we hear of ‘șorof-șoroafe’ referring to four copper screws or rivets used to fix the handles or ‘toarte/torți+’ on the still to its ‘cuptoraș’ at Câmpeni/Sohodol. Finally however it should be stressed that many small stills of the modern type have no ‘corlon’ since they are meant to be portable and easy to dismantle and store (Photo 6).



Photo 6: *A typical small still using the modern system at Mușetești near Târgu Jiu (Gorj): the ducts for charging with ‘borhot’ (‘incărcător’) and discharging ‘boască’ (‘descărcător’) are clearly visible (especially the latter); also the horizontal pipe (‘cumpană’, but usually ‘cocae’ in Gorj) leading to the condensation ‘spiral’ contained within an oil drum. All the equipment is easily transportable: note the handles on the still and the ‘capac’. The latter is removable and hence the joint must still be sealed before operations commence although the use of metal for both the still and the lid ensures a tight fit with little distortion. Unlike the situation in Plate 5, there is no proper grate and the fire is not so easy to control*

The modern equipment has a number of other refinements. In order to agitate the ‘borhot’ at all times (to prevent burning) there is a device known as an ‘învârtitoare-învârtitori’ or ‘învârtitor-învârtitoare’: der.Latin ‘vertere/ invertere’ and Old Slav ‘vrutiti/vratiti’ (Scriban

1939, p.708); also the Romanian verb 'a învârti' meaning to whirl. 'Mestecător-mestescătoare' – der.Latin 'masticare' and the Romanian verb 'a mesteca' meaning to chew (Scriban 1939, p.800) – is an equivalent noted at Pucioasa/Voinești; also 'cocae/cocăi' at Bocșa/Fârluig. The system can be worked by hand turning a crank handle – known at Câmpeni/Albac and Sohodol as a 'cârjă-cârje' – der. Slavonic 'cruzi/kruzi' meaning a cross (Academia 1975, p.159) – with 'manivela-manivele' an equivalent noted at Câmpeni/ Sohodol. This can be fixed at the end of a vertical rod or operated on the horizontal through a gear mechanism; very much to be preferred because it does not interfere with the 'capac' (Photo 7). The system is supported by a '~prepețiță-prepețițe' or 'punte-punți': a piece of copper fixed at the mouth of the still, as noted at Câmpulung/ Călinești; while the system is often powered by electricity as at Câmpulung/Vranești, Lechința and Pătârlagele; and occasionally water power may be used e.g. Zărnești/Șinca. There are also openings provided on the still to simplify charging (the 'borhot') and discharging (the 'boască'). The former is the 'incărcător-incărcătoare' – der. Latin 'incarrico-incarricare' from 'carrus' meaning a cart (Candrea 1931, p.642; Scriban 1939, p.678) – placed on the 'umăr' or shoulder of the still (where the still has a wide shoulder) as at Pătârlagele/Valea Mușcelului or in the 'capac' in the case of stills with a large lid and narrow shoulder, as at Baia de Aramă/Gornovița. The other opening is the 'descărcător-descărcătoare' – again der.Latin 'carrus' meaning a cart – a large copper duct (8-10cms) at the base of the still to drain out the residue without removing the 'capac': again as noted at Câmpulung/Călinești, but also in Pătârlagele and North Transylvania (while '~șaităn-șaităe' is known at Bocșa/Fârluig). Flow may be controlled by a copper tap: 'robinet' or '~slavină-slavine' from the Serbian 'slavina' (Scriban 1939, p.1211); but 'ciurcă-ciurci; at Brad/Buceș. However, a simpler alternative (also for the 'incărcătoare') is 'cepu caldării-cepurile caldării+' – der. Latin 'cippus' and Slav 'cepu' (Candrea 1931, p.246): this is a long, hard wooden bung or plug, slightly cone- shape: noted at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos, where a cylindrical piece of wood (known as 'boc-bocuri') may be needed to press it down. Another name for this system is 'dop (dopuri) de descărcător' from the Saxon 'dop' (Academia 1975, p.277). The emptying operation is known as 'descărcare/descărcatul cazanului/căldării' – der.Latin 'discarrico/discarricare' (Scriban 1939, p.408) – with 'golirea (golitul) cazanului' at an equivalent, from Serbian 'goliti' (Scriban 1939, p.567) and the Romanian adjective 'gol' meaning empty. With these refinements the lid of the still ('capac') can be permanently attached. It is often known in Banat and Transylvania as a 'comanac- comanace/comanacuri+'; resembling the shape of a metropolitan's hat – with the etymology unknown according to Academia (1975, p.174). Other alternatives are 'clop-clopuri' at Gurahont/ Hălmațiu; 'coif-coifuri' der.Latin 'cofia/ cuffia' meaning a night cap (Scriban 1939, p.314); and 'cupolă-cupole' at Târgu Bujor/Smulți. A useful refinement in some cases is a 'preîncălzitor-preîncălzitoare': a copper vessel (with the same capacity as the still) installed above the still so that the 'borhot' for the next batch can be pre-heated. The system was known in Pătârlagele/Pănătău before communism as 'cazan (cazane) cu claj' and is now being revived.



Photo 7: A picture from Lacu cu Anini in Pănătău Commune near Pătârlagele, showing a compromise between the older and more modern distillation systems.

The still is placed inside a metal 'corlon' and also has a metal lid but the condensation system employs the traditional method of two small pipes passing through the wooden condensation vessel at a steep angle. The picture also shows the 'învârtitor' and its crank handle ('cârjă') above the 'capac' (between the two tubes): the rod extends vertically to the bottom of the still to connect with a horizontal blade that prevents 'borhot' from sticking to the bottom of the still and 'smoking' the brandy. Obviously in this case the handle must be removed before the 'capac' can be lifted: hence the advantage of operation on the horizontal plane (with a handle below the capac) although this requires a gearing mechanism to mesh with the vertical component

10.4. The Fire

The fire that is lit in grate or 'pirostii/pirostrii#' under the still is obviously crucial. It needs to be quite strong initially to get distillation under way: hence the process of getting a good draught through the chimney of the 'cuptor': 'să aibă țug hornul' as they say at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. Later it can be moderated and 'jar

la cazan# – from the Serbian 'zar' (Candrea 1931, p.677) – alludes to an advanced stage when the wood is reduced to red charcoal and maize – 'porumb-porumbi' from the Latin 'porumbus' (Scriban 1939, p. 1021) – may be cooked: hence 'fripti porumbi verzi/copti' eaten with the new brandy along with baked potatoes. As the fire cools fragments of charcoal/ash known as 'spuză#' (dialect 'spudză#') in Banat and Mehedinți – from the Albanian 'spuza' and Latin 'spodium' (Candrea 1931, p.1192) – can be saved since this material is valued by local blacksmiths, as at Pătărlagele. Fuel is always an issue, although near the mountains e.g. Caransebeș/ Teregova, where the fuel supply is referred to as 'suari#', there is often an adequate supply of beechwood used as fuel for the still as well as domestic heating and typically stocked in a sheltered place or 'șurla -șurle+'; a word also used for a shepherd's pipe. By contrast wood is scarce in steppeland areas and hence the use the stalk ('cocean') of various plants. Most widely available across East Moldavia and the Romanian Plain is 'ciocălău- ciocălăie' – der.Hungarian 'csuklo' (Candrea 1931, p.270) and the Serbian 'cokov' (Scriban 1939, p.181) – comprising the remains of the maize stalk ('strujeni' or 'știulete') after the cobs ('ciocean/cioceni' in Wallachia and 'strujan/strujeni' in Moldavia) have been harvested and domestic animals have taken what they can. There are variants such as 'ciocan-ciocani' at Dorohoi/George Enescu & Vorniceni; also 'ciucălău-ciucălăie' in the Jijia valley. Elsewhere the same material is known as '~covrag-covragi' at Băilești/Bistret: from the Turkish dialect 'kavzak' meaning bent (Candrea 1931, p.347) or 'kyvray' meaning twisted or distorted (Scriban 1939, p.515). It is common to see a bunch of stalks ('snop-snopi de ciocan') – der.Old Slav 'snopu' (Candrea 1931, p.1168) – in storage wherever roof space is available. There is also fuel value in the sunflower stalk ('băt de soreancă-bețe de soreancă') as well as the husk from the seeds as noted at Dorohoi/George Enescu and the steppelands of South Wallachia. Vineyards are another source (as observed at Dorohoi) through the branches removed by pruning each spring: a process known as 'curătătură#' but also 'grifă#' – from the Bulgarian 'agripca' and Ruthenian 'hripka' (Scriban 1939, pp.577,606) – and the equivalents 'hripcă#' and 'zgripcă#'. A further option in North Moldavia is '~tazăc#': cow dung mixed with straw and sun-dried in blocks of some 25cms square and 15cms thick.

While the fire must be hot enough to generate vapour for condensation as spirit, it must be carefully controlled because excessive heat causes problems. A common phenomenon is the burning of the 'borhot' on the bottom of the still (especially in former times when stills did not have an 'învărtitor' to stir the mash throughout the cycle). Once the problem has arisen and the brandy is smoked there is no solution and therefore the exercise is one of prevention through careful control of the fire but also by ensuring that the 'borhot' is thinned by watering down: hence 'borhot subțire' or 'apoș' at Năruja. At Dorohoi/George Enescu plant material ('fân de iarbă curată#' – without taste and smell) may be inserted before the 'borhot' to insulate the base of the still and avoid spoiling the brandy. But perhaps most effective is the use of a birch twig ('măturoi demeasteacăn-măturoaie de measteacăn') to agitate the 'borhot' until alcohol vapours start to appear and the 'capac' is fitted and sealed e.g. Câmpeni. However a further hazard arising when the fire is too hot is the appearance of a reddish colour in the condensation system which affects the vapour and also the spirit. This scenario is referred to with such phrases as 'vine roșu pe țeavă#', 'dă roșu pe țeavă#' or 'pleacă roșu#' but alternatively 'caldarea dă roșu pe țeavă#' at Ilia/Dobra & Lăpușiu de Jos as well as Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara & Mușetești; also

‘caldarea dă în roșu#’ at Bocșa/Fârlug, ‘răchia curge roșie#’ in Banat, ‘trece mustul#’ at Sebiș/Sălăjeni and ‘buvnește zeamă pe țeavă#’, from ‘bufnire’ (bursting out) at Bălcești (Vâlcea). However this problem is usually accompanied by an escape of alcohol vapour (with the smell of brandy) from the still before the first spirit condenses – while vapour may also emerge from the pipe if the fire is too strong and the water in the ‘tiver’ is not cold enough. This is covered by such phrases as ‘răsuflă caldaria#’, ‘ies aburi#’ or ‘ies aburi de pe țeavă#’, but there is also ‘bulzește cazanul#’ – der. Bulgarian ‘boll/bulz’ (Scriban 1939, pp.206, 671) – in Mehedinți and ‘caldarea dă cu abur#’ at Pucioasa/Voinești. The action needed is immediate damping down of the fire and the application of cold water to the lid of the still.

A further complication in extreme cases is ‘borhot’ forced to rise into the ‘capac’ and the condensation system. The phenomenon is referred to by the such phrases as ‘a dat cazanul în foc’ – or ‘dă cazanul în foc’ at Cujmir: old expressions recalling the time when the fire was lit on the ground to prepare food and, if the fire was too strong and liquid flowed from the cooking pot, people would say ‘dă oală în foc’. Another phrase is ‘buește cazanul’ – from the Serbian ‘bujati’ (Candrea 1931, p.180) – in Mehedinți, but there is great variety across the country including ‘dă borșul#’ and ‘varsă cazanul#’ at Râmnicu Sărat/Jitia; ‘dă (cazanul) cu zeamă#’ at Nehioiu/Bâsca Roziliei; ‘dă (cazanul) cu terci#’ at Pătărlagele; ‘dă pe țeavă#’ at Caracal/Drăgănești-Olt and Vâlcele; ‘dă peste răscol borhotul#’ at Corabia/Orlea; ‘dă pe țevi#’ at Câmpulung/Călinești; ‘borșește caldaria’ at Sebiș; ‘cazanul s’a umflat#’ (suggesting that the ‘cazan’ is swollen) at Bocșa/Vermeș; and ‘dă pe tăghe#’ (dialect for ‘dă pe țeavă#’) at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. In extreme cases the ‘capac’ is forced off by vapour pressure; a situation described at Zărnești/Poiana Mărului by the words ‘a pușcat aburul#’; or ‘aruncarea (aruncatul) capacului cazanului’ – der. Latin ‘eruncare’ (Candrea 1931, p.85; Academia 1975, p.54) – at Bălcești; or ‘sărirea/săritul capacului cazanului’.

10.5. Condensing

This traditionally involves a single copper pipe (but possibly two or three) passing through a tub of cold water at an inclined angle: hence ‘țeavă cazanului-țevile cazanului+’: a single tube may typically have a large diameter of 15cms while two or three tubes will have a smaller diameter of 6-7cms each: also pipes may cone-shaped with a slight difference in diameter between the two ends (while others are exactly cylindrical) e.g. Bălcești/Ghioroiu, Motru/Glogova and Topoloveni/Călinești. A dialect word for ‘țeavă’ is ‘țaghie-țaghii’ at Negrești-Oaș. A small but crucial piece of equipment is required to connect the pipe(s) to the ‘capac’. This is known usually a ‘~bubă- bube’ (e.g. in Gorj and Mehedinți: a short hollow wooden tube of about 45cms in length and 10-12cms in diameter). A shorter pipe (‘țeavă mică-țevi mici’) using the wood of the cherry or sweet cherry tree, which withstands heat without cracking or significant distortion (as at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara) may be called a ‘țeavă de lemn de cireș/vișin’ or more simply a ‘burnea-burnele’ in Gorj and Vâlcea, and specifically a ‘~burnel-burnele’ or ‘burlan-burlane’ at Bălcești/Ghioroiu. Other local alternatives are ‘bucică-bucele/bucici’ at Târgu Jiu/Licurici and ‘burlănel-burlănele’ at Slatina-Teslui. The condensation process (‘răcire’ or ‘răcitur’) requires a vessel – typically made from staves (‘doage’) – known as a ‘răchitor-răchitoare+’ or a ‘cazâlniță-cazâlnițe’ (as in Caraș- Severin and Mehedinți) from the Romanian ‘cazan’:

a vat used for cooling water made of thick oak staves and often cone-shaped with great difference in diameter between the top (wider) and bottom (shorter). Regional equivalents are ‘ciubarcă-ciubărți’ noted at Târgu Jiu/Runcu (Buznea 1932, pp.268-9); ‘durbacă-durbace’ – from the Turkish ‘dibek’ (fulling mill) and Albanian ‘dubek’ (Scriban 1939, p.455) – in Moldavia (e.g. Vrancea); ‘putină-putini’ in Banat and Oltenia; also ‘țiver-țivere’ (from ‘țeavă’) in Argeș, Buzău and Prahova (with ‘chiver- chivere’ a dialect form known at Pătărlagele/Colți). Other names are: ‘cadă-căzi+’ – der.Old Slav ‘kadi’ (Candrea 1931, p.195) – in Banat, Moldavia and Transylvania (but ‘cadă de răcire-căzi de răcire’ at Târgu Secuiesc/Poian); and ‘voj-vozuri+’ or ‘voz-vozuri+’ in Huneedoara; though all may also be used for fermentation vessels previously mentioned. Some vessels are elliptical in shape to better accommodate the condensation pipe(s) and get the full benefit of the cold water, though the circular form is more usual.

With modern condensing systems accessed by a horizontal pipe or ‘cumpană’ from the top of the still, the straight tube (or tubes) is replaced by a coil, originally known as a ‘șarpe-șerpi’ literally a snake, but now more usually a ‘spirală-spirale’ or ‘serpentină-serpentine’ der.Latin ‘serpentis’ and French ‘serpentin/serpentine’ (Candrea 1931, p.1138). However there are several other alternatives: ‘colac-colaci+’ is equivalent to ‘serpentină’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta and it also indicates one twist of the coil at Câmpeni/Sohodol and Zărnești/Poiana Mărului. ‘Gândac- gândacuri’ is equivalent to ‘serpentină’ at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz but ‘snek’ is also known in this area (whereas in the rest of Romania ‘snek’ is equated with the older name ‘șarpe’) and ‘~lance-lancii’ is known at Dorohoi/George Enescu. However it is also common to use a condensing cylinder: ‘cilindru (cilindri) de condensare’, alternatively known as ‘răcitor/răcitoare+’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta. The cylinder is some 15cms in diameter and 50cms long, containing four copper disks conducting the low temperature of the water and increasing the cooling surface. In view of these various new arrangements – and also the fixed lid or ‘capac’ – there is no need for a ‘bubă’: instead there is a single copper pipe from the lid of the still to the coil or cylinder. This pipe is known as ‘cocaie- cocaie/cocăi’ at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara and Mușetești; but ‘coarbă-coarbe’ – der.German ‘Kurbel’ (Candrea 1931, p.298) – in Buzău and Muscel; also ‘coacă-coace’ – der.Bulgarian/Serbian ‘kuka’ meaning a hook – at Târgu Jiu/Runcu (Buznea 1932, pp.266-9) and ‘țeava cazanului-țevile cazanului+’ at Motru/Glogova and Mehedinți. Finally it should be emphasised that several traditional features persist in the business today. Plate 7 has already demonstrated the persistence of the old method of condensation while Photo 8 shows how the wooden ‘capac’ is still convenient in areas where the quantities of fruit are small.



***Photo 8:** The traditional distillation system maintained for a small family operation at Bălcești/Ghioroiu (Vâlcea). The small copper still is fitted with a wooden ‘capac’ (albeit one constructed from staves with iron hoops like a small inverted bucket). Two copper pipes pass through the condensation vessel while a domestic kitchen pot serves as a spirit receiver. The leader author is pictured with the householder and his son*

10.6. Collecting the Brandy

As the spirit condenses it is collected in a special receptacle known as a ‘botă-bote+’ or ‘botă (bote) de țuică’ – der.Hungarian ‘bot’ (Candrea 1931, p.165) – a closed wooden vessel with a small hole for sampling and a facility for pouring the contents into a larger cask. An alternative is ‘ciubăr-ciubere+’– der.Bulgarian ‘cebar’ (Academia 1975, p.155 and Hungarian ‘gobar’ (Candrea 1931, p.277) – which is an open vessel of 12-50 liters with a smaller diameter at the bottom than the top (opposite to the ‘botă’). In both cases there are many variants. For ‘botă’ there is ‘buri#’ at Bocșa/Fârlug; ‘burie-burii+’ in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți (but ‘buriu-buriuri+’ in some Caraș-Severin villages); ‘butic-butice/burticuri’ at Târgu Jiu/Bumbești & Curtișoara; ‘ciup-ciupuri’ at Caransebeș/Copăcele; ‘sofei#’ in Gorj (Candrea 1931, p.1186) and ‘șofei/șofee – der.German ‘Schaff’ (Candrea 1931, p. 1253) – in Mehedinți and Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara. Probably der.German ‘Leuten’ is ‘laitan-laitane’ at Târgu Lăpuș but ‘laiter-laitere’ at Ilia/Dobra & Lăpușiu de

Jos; though the latter is also used at Târgu Lăpuș (as well as Brad/ Buceș) in the sense of a ‘ciubăr+’ rather than a ‘botă+’; also for ‘ciubăr (ciubere) de țuică’ at Baia Mare/ Ciocârlău and Seini and ‘ciubărul (ciuberele) caldării’ in many parts of Transylvania. Meanwhile ‘găletar- găletare’ is used in Vrancea and ‘găleată (găleți) de țuică’ at Pătârlagele, as well as: ‘bârdac-bârdace/bârdacuri’ (30-40 liters capacity) – der.Turkish ‘bardak’ (Candrea 1931, p.126) – at Craiova/Podari and Olt; ‘barilca-barilci’ at Podu Turcului; ‘caldare (căldari) de țuică’ at Nehoiu/Pălțineni and also Pătârlagele. Other variations are: ‘cofă-cofe’ – der.Latin ‘cupa’ and German ‘Kufe’: pail or bucket (Scriban 1939, p.313) – at Podu Turcului/ Gherghești; ‘curătoare-curători’ (Scriban 1939, p.380); ‘dejă-deje+’ – der.Hungarian ‘dezsă’ (Candrea 1931, p.391) – with a capacity of 30-120 liters and additional use for filling and emptying stills at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad & Turț; also Târgu Bujor/Smulți, Tecuci/Țepu and Podu Turcului; and finally ‘șiștar-șiștare’ – der.Latin ‘sistarius’ and Old Slav ‘sestaru’ (Candrea 1931, p.1251) – at Bălcești. It should be added that ‘fucie-fucii’ – der.Albanian ‘fuci’, Serbian ‘fucija’ and Turkish ‘fıcy’ (Candrea 1931, p.516; Scriban 1939, p.531) – is a vessel of up to 40 liters; lighter than the normal ‘botă’ and made from thin staves and used for transporting brandy; while ‘fușie-fușii’ is a dialect variation known in Banat and Mehedinți. Also ‘arămie-arâmii’ – from ‘aramă’ (copper) der.Latin ‘aramen’ (Academia 1975, p.48) and Bulgarian ‘aramia’ (Candrea 1931, p.70) – is a copper or other vessel receiving fresh brandy at Popești-Leordeni; while ‘borcan (borcane) de sticlă’ – der.Bulgarian burkan’ and Hungarian ‘borcanso’ (Scriban 1939, p.188) – is a glass bowl replacing the ‘botă’ at Nehoiu/ Lopătari.

Great interest also attaches to the tiny pieces of wood which are inserted at the end of the ‘țeavă’ to guide the spirit into the ‘botă+’ or its equivalent. The wood is shaped like a ‘half-moon’ with an arrowhead and usually referred to as a ‘picuruș-picurușe/picurușuri+’ (known for example at Pătârlagele/Pănătău) or as a ‘~schlipuș- schlipușe/sclipușuri’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta and Motru/Glogova. The alternatives (which are not totally identical in shape but serve a similar purpose) may be listed as ‘căluș-călușe/călușuri’ at Corabia/Orlea; ‘chichiș- chichișe/chichișuri’ at Podu Turcului and also Tecuci/Țepu; ‘chicuș-chicușe/chicușuri+’ at Podu Turcului/ Glăvănești; ‘crăcană/crăcane’ – der.Bulgarian/Serbian ‘krak’ (Scriban 1939, pp.360-1) – at Bălcești/Ghioroiu; ‘țug-țuguri’ – probably after the Romanian ‘țugui/țuguiat’ (a peak or point) – at Zărnești/Șinca Nouă; ‘țuvlică- țuvlici’ at Pătârlagele, with the very similar ‘țuvlică-țuvlicsi’ at Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei and Gura Teghii. Finally, ‘țâncușă-țâncușe’ is a piece from a wood tile (‘șită’ or ‘șindrilă’) shaped like a pencil (pointed at one end and split at the other) while ‘țăpușă/țăpușe’ is an equivalent known at Podu Turcului/Răchitoasa. We would add that there are various traditional ways of sampling the brandy in the ‘botă+’: ‘țeavă (țevi) buciniș/cucută’ is a fragment from the trunk of the ‘buciniș’ (hemlock: *Conium maculatum*) used in Gorj and Mehedinți, while ‘țeavă de soc-țevi de soc’ is part of a branch of the ‘soc’ (common elder: *Sambucus nigra*) used for components on a weaving loom but also for drinking new brandy at Baia de Aramă/Balta and Motru/Glogova. In the absence of either of these instruments there is the option of ‘coadă (cozi) de frunză de dovleac’ which is the stem from the leaf of a pumpkin *Cucurbeta sp.* And to assess the quantity of spirit in the ‘botă’ there is the ‘țanc-țancuri’ – der.German ‘Zink’ but Zanken’ in dialect (Candrea 1931, p.1352) – at Baia de Aramă/Balta and Isverna; also Motru/Glogova; while ‘măsură-măsuri’ – der.Latin ‘mensura’ (Scriban 1939, p.790) – is the equivalent in Mehedinți.

10.7. Home Distilling during Communism

Special reference may be made to communist period because distilling became more highly centralised and while this gave rise to large stills used by cooperative farms – hence ‘cazania satului-cazaniile satului’ or a ‘bateria’ involving several stills as noted at Băilești/Giubega and Corabia/Orlea – many peasants preferred to distill on a small scale in a clandestine manner to avoid a costly dependence on other sources. If conventional stills were still available (most were confiscated at the time of the revolution) the fire would be lit in secret usually at night while minimising the risk of detection through smoke and smell; perhaps by operating in a forest some distance from the village. But usually new equipment had to be assembled by improvisation (Photo 9).

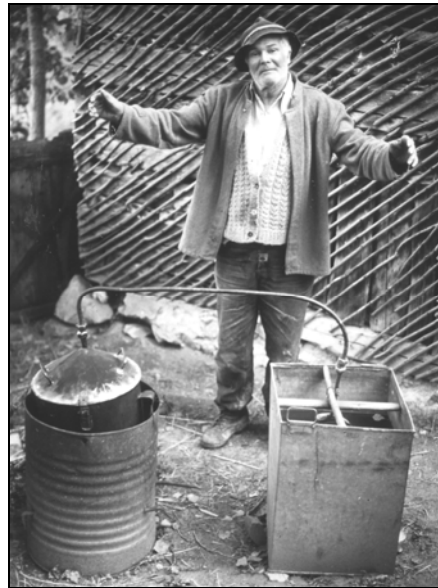


Photo 9: Communist restrictions on private distilling - in order to control the supply of alcohol (for financial gain as well reducing drunkenness) - resulted in widespread illicit activity. The danger of informing was much reduced in the outlying farmsteads around Poiana Mărului (Brașov) where this farmer was able to fabricate small pieces of equipment that could be quickly dismantled and concealed if necessary. The still on the left is a small metal container with the lid secured by metal clips and placed above a fire burning at the bottom of the small iron drum. Another small ‘multifunctional’ metal container houses the condensation ‘spiral’

‘Răcitor-răcitoare+’ came to signify improvised metal or plastic vessels; while ‘căzanel-căzânele’ might be applied to a small still of 35-60 liters for clandestine use.

‘Tingire-tingiri’ was used ironically for a small still used secretly at Topoloveni/ Călinești; while ‘tuci de aluminiu-tuciuri de aluminium+’ was an aluminium boiler (which could range over 15- 35 liters capacity) reported at Pătărlagele/Pănătău – and ‘garniță-garnițe+’ was used for an enamelled pot adopted as a brandy still at Nehiou/Bâsca Roziliei and Râmnicu Vâlcea/Budești. Another name was ‘oală-oale+’ or ‘oală mare-oale mari+’ – der.Latin ‘olla’ or ‘aulla’ (Scriban 1931, p.882): an enamelled vessel (or a copper ‘cazan’) as large as 50 liters used for distilling in a domestic kitchen and known at Roșiorii de Vede. At the same time, the availability of pottery clay opened the possibility of acquiring ceramic pots that could be used for distillation as well as other household purposes: hence ‘cazan de pamânt-cazane de pământ’ for ceramic stills at Târgu Cărbunești-Albeni and also at Novaci. A ‘crățița-crățiți’ was a small pan of one or two liters into which spirit condensed when using an improvised system of production suitable for the domestic kitchen: the ‘crățiță’ was placed on a stand within a large enamelled vessel containing the ‘borhot’ and capped by a ‘lighean’ or basin containing cold water. In the case of a small conventional still, the ‘botă’ was often replaced by an enamelled kitchen pot: ‘găleată emailată-galeți emailate’ or ‘oală emailată-oale emailate’.

10.8. Still Houses

Special still-houses – typically built with beams: bână-bârne – der.Old Slav ‘bruvino’ (Candrea 1931, p.151) – exist in many areas and may have enough space to allow fermentation as well as distillation; while also providing shelter for domestic animals during the winter when the equipment is in store. ‘Povarnă-povarne+’ is typically used for a complete building especially in Wallachia but many other names are used locally: ‘cazanie-căzării’ at Baia de Aramă (traditionally made of logs without inner walls) but ‘căzănărie-căzănării’ is also used in Gorj and Vâlcea, though ‘cazangerie-cazangerii’ at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara and ‘căzâneță-căzânețe’ at Caracal. ‘Velniță-velnițe+’ is commonly used in Wallachia and South Moldavia as the equivalent of ‘povarnă’ while ‘răchierie- răchierii’ is known in areas where strong brandy is called ‘rachieu’; with such equivalents as ‘horincie-horincii’ and ‘horincărie-horincării’ known in Maramureș. Clearly related to the other major name for strong brandy (‘pălincă’), ‘pălincie-pălincii’ is used at Negrești-Oaș/Bixad & Turț with the alternative ‘pălincărie-pălincării’ (Candrea 1931, p.890), although both imply an establishment much better endowed – and with a higher production – than the typical ‘povarnă’; as does ‘horincie-horincării’. Likewise ‘vinarsărie-vinarsării’ indicates a small ‘factory’ (Candrea 1931, p.1424). A steady water supply is usually laid on, with ‘scoc-scocuri’ – der.Old Slav ‘skoku’ (Scriban 1939, p.1172) – the name used for a leat supplying a distillery (likewise a mill wheel or irrigation system) as at Pucioasa/Voinești. Often there may be only a simple shelter for the still: ‘cășoaiă’ – der. Latin ‘casa’ (Candrea 1931, p.229) – with the alternative name ‘coliba caldării -colibele caldării’ in use at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz. A still-house (of brick or stone) at Brad/Buceș is known as ‘cotlan’ or ‘șofru caldări’. And finally it is appropriate to mention ‘șurlă-șurle+’ as a woodshed where a small still might have been installed during the communist period for clandestine distilling. Many new still houses have been built since 1989; some using building blocks while others are constructed less substantially using whatever wood is available (Photo 10).



Photo 10: Small still houses have become more common since 1989: this one is situated on the west side of Pătârlagele in the Mușcel valley near the confluence with the Fundăturile stream and is sited for ease of water supply. It is privately owned and rented on a daily basis to family groups who will arrive with 'borhot', fuel and utensils

11. DOWNSTREAM ACTIVITIES

The remains in the still after distillation are generally known as 'boască' – der.Serbian 'vosca' (Candrea 1931, p. 155) – but there are many other names used locally: 'borhot' at Zarnești/Șinca Nouă; 'borhot fiert' at Lechința, Podu Turcului and Negrești-Oaș/Turț; also 'boască fiartă#' in Mehedinți; '~borodele#' at Sebiș; 'boroghină#' at RâmnicuVâlcea/Budești and Videle/Gălățeni; '~bortilă/~bozon#' at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara; and 'boștină##' at Bălcești (though 'boștină fiertă#' at Bălcești/Ghioroiu as well as Zărnești/Poiana Mărului and Șinca Nouă). Other names are 'braică##' at Câmpeni for fruit but cereals at Câmpeni/Sohodol; 'ceagăr de boască#' in Caraș-Severin, Mehedinți and Vâlcea (and the dialectical variant 'șagăr de boască#' in Banat and Mehedinți); 'comină fiartă#' at Bocșa/Vermeș and Caransebeș/Bucoșnița; 'comină groasă#' (with much solid material) at Bocșa/Fârliug – as opposed to 'comina subțire#' with little solid material; 'drojdie#' – der.Old Slav 'drojdu' (Scriban 1939, p.449) – at Podu Turcului/Gherghești; 'dreve fierte' at Câmpeni/Avram Iancu & Vidra; 'hâlbe-hâlburi' – der.Bulgarian 'bolvotina' (Scriban 1939, p.598) – in Maramureș, linked with 'bolbotină/boștină' i.e. 'tescovină##'; 'lături#' – der. Latin 'lavaturae' (Candrea 1931, p.698) – at Deta/Gataia and Negrești-Oaș/Călinești; 'mastahat#' at Podu Turcului/Gherghești; 'rămășiță-rămășițe' in Wallachia and Negrești-Oaș/Bixad; and

‘steril+#’ at Baia Mare/Seini; ‘terci fiert#’ Nehoiu/Bâsca Roziliei; also Pătărlagele (Buzău); and ‘~zăborină#’ at Câmpulung/Mihăiești. Reference should also be made to ‘poșircă/poșirci#’: normally used in Vâlcea for the liquid component of the ‘boască’ which may be strained when distillation stops and re-fermented. It was used commonly for human food (mixed with maize flour to make ‘terci+’), but only very rarely now in some isolated villages. An equivalent is ‘zeamă de boască#’ – der.Latin ‘zema’ (Scriban 1939, p.1436) – in Mehedinți. Other names are specific to the second distillation: ‘codină/ codine+’ at Podu Turcului/Gherghești & Glăvănești; but ‘cogină-cogine+’ (a dialectical variation) in Banat and the Mehedinți also ‘coadă-coade/cozi+’ at Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Negrești-Oaș/Bixad; also ‘trinchi/trinci+’ at Târgu Lăpuș. In the case of fermentation for ‘oțet’ (vinegar) we have ‘drojdie de oțet#’ but also ‘torofină#’ at Pătărlagele – and generally in Buzău with regard to wine making – also known as ‘boștină’ (Scriban 1939, p.1332). ‘Cauc-cauce/caucuri’ – der.Latin ‘caucus’: a cup (Scriban 1939, p.240) and also Turkish (Candrea 1931, pp.237-8) – is a ladle of 2.5-3.0 liters with a long handle (0.8-1.0m) for removing hot ‘boască#’ from the still – with a fine example noted at Târgu Jiu/Curtișoara preserved from the beginning of communism when farm- based distilling was forbidden; while ‘groapă (groape/gropi) de terci’; is a shallow pit in the ground to hold the hot residue after the distillation process at Pătărlagele (obviously very well concealed in the communist period).

11.1. Maintaining the Equipment

Cleaning the equipment and utensils after use is absolutely essential. The expression is ‘spălarea (spălatul) cazanului#’ – der.Latin ‘lavare’ (Candrea 1931, p.1178) – while ‘expellavare’ (Scriban 1939, p.1226) means washing the still to remove toxic oxide (‘verdigris’). Distilling should always begin with a clean still, with cleaning after each batch (following removal of the ‘boască’) to eliminate any burnt material at the bottom of the still which will otherwise ‘smoke’ the brandy of the next batch. ‘Prăftură-prăfturi’ – der.’praf’ meaning dust (Scriban 1939, p.1030) – is a long-handled brush used for washing the still and tubes at Podu Turcului/Glăvănești; while at Bălcești ‘zeamă de pătlăgele roșii#’ (the juice of green or ripe tomatoes) is considered good for washing the still, the lid and other copper pieces. Equipment is often stored in a ‘celar-celare’: der.Latin ‘cellarum’ (Scriban 1939, p.256) and known at Baia de Aramă/Balta and elsewhere as an area for general storage comprising the space under the roof of a house; equivalent to the ‘polata’ in Gorj and Vâlcea as well as the dialect form ‘șelar-șelare’ known in Banat and Mehedinți; while ‘gârlici-gârliciuri’ – der.Serbian ‘grlie’ (Candrea 1931, p.546; Scriban 1939, p.542) – is another option noted at Podu Turcului: the space at the entrance the cellar (‘beci’).

11.2. Brandy Storage

Meanwhile the brandy must be stored in casks, which are made from staves with boards at the top and bottom (‘fundul de jos/sus’) unlike the open fermentation vessels which have a bottom board only. The largest, which may hold up to 1,000-2,000 liters is a ‘bute-buți+’ with curved staves (not be confused with a fermenting vat – of somewhat smaller size, but also with curved staves); although the slightly different name ‘bute trasă-buții trase’ may be used as at Târgu Lăpuș. An equivalent is ‘budană-budane+’ known at

Pătărlagele; also ‘butoi-butoăie’ (Scriban 1939, p.211); while ‘butie-buții’ is used widely in Transylvania e.g. Câmpeni/Sohodol although nearby at Bistra the more conventional term ‘cadă-căzi’ is in use; also at Brad/Buceș and widely in Wallachia. By contrast many smaller casks hold c.150-300 liters and may be known as ‘burie-burii+’ or ‘buriu-buriuri+’ in Moldavia and North East Wallachia; while ‘barilca-barilci+’ – der. Russian ‘barilca’ (Candrea 1931, p.126) – has a similar size and is known locally in Vaslui and at Dorohoi/George Enescu where staves from the mulberry tree are often preferred and carry the name ‘agud-aguzi’ (Photo 11).



Photo 11: A typical wooden cask (‘fucie’) for storing brandy during maturation photographed at Curtișoara near Târgu Jiu. The picture shows the opening or ‘vrană’ and also includes a ‘tâlv’ and also two small measuring glasses: ‘toiuri’ of 50gr and 100gr.

Meanwhile, ‘balercă-balerci’ dim.‘balercuța-balercuțe’ – der. Russian ‘barilco’ (Candrea 1931, pp.116,126) and Ukrainian ‘barylka’ (Academia 1975, p.71) – is even smaller at around 50 liters. ‘Acov-acoave/acovuri+’ is the equivalent of ‘balercă’ in Pătărlagele where ‘antal-antale/antaluri’ – der.Hungarian ‘antalog’, Polish ‘antal’ and Russian/Ruthenian ‘antalu’ (Scriban 1939, p.105) – is also known. ‘Barerea/barerci’ is the equivalent in Năruja. Turning to some matters of detail, ‘vrană-vrăne’ – der.Serbian ‘vran’ (Candrea 1931, p.1446; Scriban 1939, p.1422) – or ‘gaură-gauri’ is the opening in the middle

stave of the cask for filling and pouring; though a 'fucie' will have another bored at the edge of the top baseboard ('fundul de sus') through which large quantities can be taken with the cask in a horizontal position; 'neleu-nelee' is the funnel inserted into the 'vrană' when filling the cask – with 'nelei-neleiuri' the equivalent in Mehedinți (Buznea 1932) while 'leică- leici' – der.Russian 'leika' (Scriban 1939, p.738) and Ukrainian 'lijka' (Academia 1975, p.495) – is a funnel made of small staves known at Dorohoi/George Enescu & Vorniceni (Candrea 1931, p.704). Other names are 'tolcer-tolcere' – der.Hungarian 'tolcser' (Candrea 1931, p.1311) – which is an old name used in Banat, Oltenia and Transylvania; also the variant 'tulcer-tulcere' known at Târgu Jiu/Bumbești, Curtișoara & Mușetești. 'Cep-cepuri' – der.Latin 'cippus' and Slav 'cepu' (Candrea 1931, p.246) – is the name for the wooden plug or 'spigat' for the 'vrană': known at Dorohoi/George Enescu, Ibănești & Vorniceni; while 'preduf-predufuri' – der.Old Slav 'preduh': an air hole (Candrea 1931, p.993; Scriban 1939, p.1037) – is known at Pătărlagele as a wooden cork (short and thick) made from odourless softwood (e.g. lime wood) in contrast to the hardwood 'cep'.

Casks need to kept in a cool, dry place for the spirit to maintain volume and mature. In the main fruit-growing areas houses typically include a cellar variously known as 'beci-beciuri': der.Hungarian 'becs' (Candrea 1931, p. 137); 'pimniță-pimnițe' or 'pivniță-pivnițe': der.Old Slav 'pivnica' (Candrea 1931, p.944) and 'pivnica' (Scriban 1939, p.896; Stănculescu et al. 1973). It is usually necessary to check the strength of the brandy (especially when twice-distilled) given the common phenomenon of 'butoiul fură țuică/vinars#': as noted at Câmpeni for the loss of alcohol through the staves of the cask. Measurement of alcohol content ('alcoolic#+') can be done with an alcoholmeter ('alcoolmatru-alcoolmetre') widely used, especially in Transylvania. But curiously at Videle/Gălățeni 'cent-centi' is used (normally indicating degrees of alcoholic strength, as at Pătărlagele, with 'grad' as an alternative); meanwhile the phrase for measuring strength is 'centuirea (centuitul) țuicii#' at both Gălățeni and Pătărlagele. Other systems are 'deț-dețuri' i.e. bars, at Zărnești (Poiana Mărului), 'foc-focuri' in North Transylvania for 'palincă' and 'pușcătură-pușcățuri' – der.Old German 'puhsa' and Old Slav 'pusika' (Scriban 1939, p.1079) – at Cehu Silvaniei/ Oarța de Jos and other parts of Transylvania. However the presence of small air bubbles, known as 'mărgea- mărgele+' dim.'mărgica-mărgici+' – like glass pearls produced when a glass of brandy is shaken - are a good indication of strength. If dilution is necessary it can done, as noted at Câmpeni, by adding distilled water ('apă distilată#') or boiled water ('apă fiartă#') with additional sweetening in the form of burnt sugar or syrup. Water may also be flavoured with local tea plants collected from the pastures. Small quantities of spirit can always be taken from the cask by inserting a small bottle held by a piece of string: known generally as a 'toi#' but 'spânzurată#' in Muscel and 'spânzuratu/spânzurate#' at Topoloveni/Călinești. Alternatively there is the 'tâlv- tâlve/tâlvuri' – der (Photo 12). New Greek 'tuvlon' (Scriban 1939, p.1323) and otherwise known as 'smârc-smârcuri': a stalk of 60-80cms with a 'balloon' of one to two liters' capacity obtained from the cultivated fruit *Lagenaria vulgaris* from which the seeds can be removed; with equivalents known as 'trăgace-tragaci' and 'trăgulă- trăgule': the latter known in Banat and Transylvania from the Romanian verb 'a trage' (Candrea 1931, p.1321).



Photo 12: A typical cellar or 'beci' below the living quarters at Horezu (Vâlcea). The lady is demonstrating use of the 'tâlv' to take a sample from the cask or 'fucie'. Also visible are two glass bottles or 'damigene' protected by wickerwork

11.3. Taste and Colour

The taste (bouquet) of brandy and also its colour can be modified within limits after distillation. A yellowish colour can be imparted either by the material used for the 'sclipuş' (or similar device) to direct brandy from the condenser into the 'botă' or other receptacle; or by the wood used for the cask since just one of two staves using a particular type of wood can make a big difference as the spirit matures. As regards the interventions at the condensation stage, a chip from the bark of the plum or mulberry tree – 'aşchie (aşchii) de prun/dud' der.Latin 'astula' (Academia 1975, p.59) – is used at Caransebeş/Teregova; but in the case of the plum tree the word is 'coajă-coji' – der.Old Slav 'koza' (Academia 1975, p.166; Scriban 1939, p.307) – at Strehaia and Târgu Jiu/Muşeteşti. Bark from the sweet apple tree ('coajă de măr dulce') is used for a yellow colouring for brandy at Năruja; while wood (with sap) from the inner part of the bark of the sweet cherry tree – 'scoarță (scoarțe) de cireș' – is preferred at Câmpeni/Gârda & Sohodol; but apple tree leaves ('frunze de măr dulce#'): at Nehoiu/Gura Teghii. Finally, 'lemn (lemn) de scumpie' refers to wood from the branches or trunk of the wig tree *Cotinus coggygria/Rhus cotinus* (only rarely found) which is used at Nehoiu/Lopătari and Pătârlagele/Vipereşti. Where staves are concerned, we have 'băgrin-băgrini' – der.Serbian 'bagrena' (Candrea 1931, p.111) – from the acacia *Robinia pseudacacia* used in Caraş-Severin; while the wood is also valued as firewood in steppeland areas. There is also the wood of the mulberry *Morus alba/nigra* – known variously as 'dud-duzi' – originally a Turkish word according to Scriban (1939, pp.451,1446) – or 'frăgar-fregari', but 'agud-aguzi' at Dorohoi/George Enescu. 'Stejar roșu-stejari roșii' – equivalent to 'gorun' *Quercus petraea* – is appreciated at Bocșa/Fârliug. And 'salcâm/salcâmi' – the locust tree *Robinia pseudacacia*, often grown along boundary paths or hedges in North Moldavia – imparts a golden brown colour to the brandy when used for 'balcercă' staves (though it also provides fuel for the

kitchen). As for the ‘bouquet’ or aroma, ‘creața#’ is a mint which can be introduced with honey or sugar at Câmpeni/Bistra; while in the case of ‘izma#’ *Mentha sp.* – der.New Greek ‘dyosma/gyosma’ (Scriban 1939, p.667) – the entire plant (apart from the roots) may be used to flavour brandy at Baia de Aramă/Balta and Nehoiu/Lopătari. The sweet cherry (already mentioned with regard to colour) can also improve the taste of the brandy which is marketed from the Câmpeni area: Avram Iancu, Gârda, Sohodol & Vidra. Plumstone known as ‘os de prună-oase de prun’ – der.Latin ‘ossum’ (Candrea 1931, pp.877-8) – provides a flavouring in Banat as well as adjacent areas of Transylvania (including the Apuseni) and Oltenia: also in some other parts of the country where the stones are known as ‘sâmbure de prună/sâmburi de prun’: der.Albanian ‘gumbul’ (Candrea 1931, p.1157).

11.4. Brandy Consumption

When it comes to consuming brandy it is usual to drink it ‘neat’ but as with other spirits it may be diluted with water and this practice may be partially institutionalised with ‘bătură-băuturi’ – der.Latin ‘bibitura’ (Candrea 1931, p. 135) – a much-diluted drink of one part alcohol to two parts water known at Dorohoi/George Enescu; while ‘beătură-beuturi’ is used in Mehedinți. Brandy may well be poured from a decanter and typically today from plastic bottles used initially for soft drinks or mineral water. However ‘damigeană-damigene’ – der.French ‘dame- janne’, New Greek ‘damtzana’ and Italian ‘damigena’ (Candrea 1931, p.381; Scriban 1939, p.387) – is a 3-50 liter glass vat frequently used for brandy or wine and often covered with ‘knitted’ branches of osier, wicker or other materials. Variants are ‘damigeană/damigene’ known at Dorohoi/George Enescu and ‘ol-oluri’ in Transylvania; while ‘cârceag-cârceaguri/cârcege’ – der.Serbian ‘krčag’ (Candrea, 1931 p.284) – is an earthenware jug used at Bocșa/Fârlug. For taking brandy into the fields it has been traditional to use a wooden bottle or ‘plocă-ploști’ – der. Old Slav ‘plosku’ (Candrea 1931, p.958) – which can also be handed round at wedding feasts or other celebrations. Meanwhile, ‘tiugă-tiugi’ – der.Bulgarian/Serbian ‘tikva’ (Candrea 1931, p.1297; Scriban 1939, p.1322) – with several variants including ‘tigvă-tigve’, ‘tvdă’ or ‘tivgă’ – is a gourd (from the plant *Lagenaria vulgaris*) with similar functions. Of course in commerce great importance attaches to measures sometimes known as ‘țuici’: the only context which the plural form of ‘țuică’ is used. ‘Țoi-țoiuri’ is a small measure of 50g or 100g used in bars (and also for taking brandy from the cask with a ‘spânzurată’); while ‘ciocan-ciocane’ is a liqueur glass with a long neck – looking like a small bottle and resembling a foundry hammer after which it is named – used for measuring alcoholic drinks of 100gr (with ‘ciocanel-ciocănele’ a diminutive form with a 50gr capacity, also known as ‘fif-fife/fifusi’ probably from the German ‘funf’ meaning five). ‘Feli de horincă/palincă#’ is equivalent to a half-liter at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz while ‘cinzeacă-cinzeci’ equals one sixteenth of a liter (Academia 1975, p.151), though Candrea (1931, p.267) says that half a liter is ‘cincizeci de dramuri’. Finally, ‘vadră-vedre’ – der. Bulgarian/Old Slav ‘vedra’ (Candrea 1931, p.1396) and Old Slav ‘viedro’ (Scriban 1939, p.1388) – is an old unit of capacity using an ‘oca- ocale’ scale in tens: formerly equivalent to 15.2 liters in Moldavia and 12.9 in Muntenia but now exactly equal. The unit of 15 liters is known as ‘dej’ with ‘brăd-brădii’ (from the fir tree) a local variant at Sebiș.

12. OTHER FRUIT PRODUCTS

Fruit may be processed for liqueurs e.g. ‘cireșată#’ from sweet cherries and ‘vișinată’ from sour cherries, while liqueur from the bilberry (‘afină-afine’) is ‘afinată’ – and ‘cornată#’ is made in Buzău, Gorj and Mehedinți from the ‘cornel’ (Cornelian cherry) fermented with sugar for up to two weeks, with brandy added. Brandy is also used to make special drinks like ‘țuică fiartă#’ which is once-distilled brandy warmed by the fireside with added sugar (and pepper) to protect against the cold. Rather more special is ‘~crampă-crampe’, known in the Apuseni and elsewhere. It is roughly similar to ‘țuică fiartă’ but consumed on family occasions (burials, christenings and marriages) using very strong brandy (‘vinars verde’) which is boiled with water or ‘cumin’ tea in a one to two ratio with burnt sugar (and more sugar besides). Various additives may also be used such as ‘chimen#’ or ‘chimer/ chimin/chimion’ – der.Turkish ‘kimyon’ (Academia 1975, p.146) – which is the caraway plant *Carum carvi* with a distinct aroma appreciated for eating, drinking and medicinal use. ‘Hidromel/hydromel#’ is a fermented drink made from water with honey and is used for distillation in some places. Several preparations have religious significance: ‘lapte de cloambă#’ (meaning literally the milk of a curved branch – of a plum tree) is an ironical name for plum juice after fermentation when the ‘borhot’ liquid is eaten with ‘mamaligă’ on fasting days in the Câmpeni area where ‘zeamă de borhot cu picioici#’ combines the juice with potatoes. Also, ‘rachiu ars#’ is brandy with some burnt sugar prepared at Podu Turcului for the customary visit by the priest on the day before Christmas: it is placed on the table beside the icon (brought by the priest) showing Christ’s birth. As already noted, brandy also has external medical uses: especially poor spirit at the start of the cycle: ‘țuică/horincă arămită#’ is brandy at Târgu Lăpuș with a bad taste due to copper rust (‘verdigriz’ or ‘cocleală’). At Sebiș the name is ‘aramit#’ dim. ‘arămită’ (from ‘aramă’ meaning copper); applying to just 0.5-1.0 liters at the start of the second distillation cycle. Furthermore ‘ciumuleală-ciumuleli’ refers to rheumatic plains relieved by massage with ‘oțet’ or weak brandy from the end of the distillation cycle (Câmpeni/Sohodol). Where animals are concerned there is experience in the Wallachian Subcarpathians (e.g. Pătărlagele and Râmnicu Sărat) using ‘boască’ against sheep pox ‘galbează’.

12.1. Dried Fruit

There are also various fruit preparations that are quite separate from distillation. Drying sliced fruit in the sun to produce ‘poamă-poame+’ (or ‘#poamă uscată-poame uscate’, but ‘prună uscată-prune uscate’ in the case of plums) is a major traditional occupation, providing food for the winter and spring when alternatives were traditionally very scarce. The word can be coupled with specific fruits e.g. ‘poamă (or poame) de mere’ (apples), ‘poamă (poame) de pere’ (pears) and ‘poamă (poame) de prune’ (autumn plums). In the latter case the stones must of course be removed: a requirement which makes many types of plum unsuitable while ‘bistrițene’ plums are usually preferred. Indeed, for other fruits as well particular types may be preferred e.g. at Râmnicu Sărat/ Dumitrești the ‘pară vâratecă-pere vâratece’ is used for ‘poamă’ as well as ‘magiun’ (see below) and brandy. The operation to remove the stones and cut the plums in half (also necessary for the preparation of ‘magiun’) is known as ‘dezghiocarea prunelor#’ or ‘dezghiocatul prunelor#’

– der.Latin ‘coclea/cochlea’ and Old Greek ‘kohlias’ (Scriban 1939, p.419) – at Lechința and Pătărlagele. However in Moldavia ‘poamă’ relates to grapes used for wine and at Câmpeni/Sohodol and in Mehedinți ‘poame#’ refers to fruit in general (while ‘ciorovete#’ is used at Bocșa/Fârluig). Drying in the open air is aided by smoking with the aid of a slow fire and simple trays plaited from suitable materials e.g. ‘coșeri-coșere’ is an installation in the ground used to dry and smoke plums in Câmpeni/Sohodol and Miercurea Sibiului (Irimie et al. 1985, p.279); while ‘lignița-lignițe’ is the equivalent in Moldavia and adjacent areas of Wallachia. It is also common to use the ‘leasă-lese’ – from the Bulgarian/Old Slav ‘lesa’ (Candrea 1931, p.701) and Serbian ‘liesa’ (Academia 1975, p.492): made from hazel branches *Corylus avelana* in Mehedinți but, where hazel is not available: ‘osie’ *Salix* in North Moldavia and Transylvania or again osier *Salix* in the Apuseni where then name is ‘leasă/lese de nuele’: hence ‘prună uscată pe leasă-prune uscate pe leasă’ or ‘prună afumată-prune afumate’ (Iordache 1985; pp.314-5).

The same system is named ‘lojniță-lojnițe’ – der.Ruthenian ‘loznica’ (Candrea 1931, p.701 – to produce ‘prune afumate’ at Nehoiu/Siriu and Podu Turcului: hence ‘prună lojnită-prune lojnite’. However it is also common to use the bread oven as a ‘cuptor-cuptoare’ – from the Latin ‘coctorium’ (Candrea 1931, p.370; Scriban 1939, p.379) in the autumn; while Iordache (1985, pp.316-7) illustrates a typical ‘uscătorie’ from Râmnicu Vâlcea/ Bărbătești. In this context, ‘cociorbă-cociorbe – der.Ruthenian ‘kocerhu’ (Candrea 1931, p.301) – refers to a primitive tool to draw dried plums from the furnace (Nășăud/Liviu Rebreanu). At Topoloveni/Vrănești the tool is two-meters long and made of metal (also useful in bread ovens). Oven-dried pears are known as ‘pară uscată-pere uscate’ at Dorohoi/George Enescu. Dried fruit may be also watered down and eaten as a dessert or ‘compot’ (traditionally without sugar which used to be a very scarce commodity), but with unfermented bread made from a mixture of maize and wheat at Câmpeni/Sohodol. ‘Ciorbă de poame-ciorbe de poame’ is prepared from ‘poame’ without sugar at Baia de Aramă/Balta. Of course fresh fruit is available in season: in the Apuseni in general the names for ‘compot’ are ‘zeamă de mere uscat#’ for apples, ‘zeamă de pere uscate#’ for pears and ‘zeamă de prune fierte#’ for plums. ‘Chisăliță-chisălițe+’ is a hot dessert of stewed plums (Moldavia/Wallachia) with fruit forced through a mesh. ‘Poame’ is usually stored in jars (‘oală de pământ-oale de pământ’) but when left out overnight it is usual to cover it with a flax/hemp tablecloth known as ‘~masai-masae’ at Baia de Aramă/Balta. Finally, ‘must de poame#’ is juice from boiling ‘poame uscate’ eaten with ‘mamaligă’ (Câmpeni/Sohodol) while ‘liveș+#’ is the ‘must’ or juice of apples and pears preserved for the winter (Zărnești/Poiana Mărului).

12.2. Jam

Jam (without sugar) is another basic product, known as ‘magiun’ – der.Hungarian ‘mandzuni’ and Turkish ‘magun’ (Candrea 1939, p.737; Scriban 1939, p.766) – with slight variations ‘majiun’ and ‘majun’ noted at Podu Turcului and South Moldavia generally. ‘Prune de toamnă’ or ‘prune grase’ are normally used. However in Moldavia ‘povidlă#’ or ‘povirlă#’ – from the Polish ‘powidla/powidlo’ (Candrea 1931, p.987; Scriban 1939, p.1028) – is normally used e.g. at Podu Turcului. ‘~Silvoiță#’ is known in Bistrița-Nășăud and there are also local names in Maramureș e.g. ‘silvoiț’ or ‘silvoriț’ at Cehu

Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos and Târgu Lăpuș/Suciu de Sus. ‘Lecvar#’ is also known in the Târgu Lăpuș area and ‘legvar’ at Negrești-Oaș/Tarna Mare (Iordache 1985, p.307). Other variants are ‘lictar#’ – from the jargon of chemists based on the Latin ‘electarium’ (Candrea 1931, p.710) and Hungarian ‘lekvar’ (Academia 1975, p.499) – at Câmpeni and Zărnești/Poiana Mărului; although the same name is used at Câmpeni/Avram Iancu for jam made from small white plums (prune albe mici) and the larger ‘prune albe mari’. The name is adjusted to ‘liptar#’ at Câmpeni/Avram Iancu and Vidra. ‘Mnere de prune#’ is used at Sebiș/Sălăjeni while ‘pecmez-pecmezuri’ – from the Bulgarian ‘pettezeu’ (Candrea 1931, p.912); also the Bulgarian, Serbian and Turkish ‘petmez’ (Scriban 1939, p.957) – is used at Bocșa/Vermeș. ‘Magiun’ is normally eaten with maize bread known as ‘mălai-mălaie/mălaiuri’, from the Ruthenian ‘malai’ or ‘melai’ (Scriban 1939, p.785); also with ‘mămăligă-mămăligi’ and formerly with the liquid component of the ‘boască’ i.e. ‘poșircă+’ in Vâlcea. The wooden spoon is basic equipment: ‘găvan-găvane’ – der. Bulgarian ‘gavana’ (Scriban 1939, p.546) – as regards the ‘dish’ at the end of a spoon, which may vary from less than 0.1 liters for a conventional small spoon to a large ladle (‘cauc-cauce/caucuri’) of 1.5-4.0 liters capacity in Mehedinți and also at Motru/Glogova and Târgu Jiu/ Curtișoara. ‘Lopețică de lemn-lopețele/lopețici de lemn+’ is the tool for scraping the pot after making ‘magiun’. Reference should also be made to ‘corcodel-corcodeli+’ – der. Albanian ‘korkodheli’, New Greek ‘krokodilos’, Old Greek ‘korkodeilos’ and Latin ‘korkodilos’ (Scriban 1939, p.381) – which is equivalent to ‘corcoduș+’ at Podu Turcului/Gherghești & Răchitoasa; while the dark violet fruit (‘măslinuță-măslinuțe’) is used in North East Moldavia for as a substitute for olives (before it is ripe) using salt and edible oil – noted by Iordache (1985, p.309) at Dorohoi/George Enescu.

12.3. Vinegar

This refers to low-strength acetic acid which has important culinary and medical uses. It is known as ‘oțet#’ – der. Old Slav ‘otici’ (Candrea 1931, p.880), but also according to Scriban (1939, p.917) from Bulgarian ‘ocet’, Latin ‘acetum’, Old Slav ‘ocetu’ and Russian ‘ocet’. However, ‘cighir#’ – der. Hungarian ‘csiger’ (Candrea 1931, pp. 241,264) – is the name widely used in Transylvania for apple vinegar, while ‘ceagăr+#’ or ‘șagăr+#’ (from the same source) is a weak vinegar from plums or other fruits (Banat and Oltenia); though (mainly) autumn plums at Baia de Aramă/Balta where they are fermented over two or three years to produce the best ‘oțet’ in the district. Rather different is ‘oțet de boască’ or ‘șagăr de boască’ known in Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți as well as Târgu Jiu/Bumbești – which refers to liquid part of the ‘borhot’ residue, with a certain food value in the past (already discussed). Vinegar can be made through the process of distilling plum brandy: e.g. ‘oțet de prună#’ or plum vinegar comes from well-fermented ‘borhot’. Meanwhile ‘oțet de mere#’ comes from sour, wild apples mashed and placed in a vat with water: after four or five days the liquid is strained and placed in a large bottle for fermentation to continue while the residue is fed to animals or discarded: ‘dreve+#’ is the name for the residue of ‘merele de oțet’ in Alba and Brad/Buceș. ‘Oțet de vin#’ is specific to vineyard areas e.g. Dorohoi/George Enescu. ‘Livej-livejuri+’ is also a type of ‘oțet’ (not too sour) made from wild apples, pears or quinces and slightly fermented (Târgu Jiu/Bumbești & Curtișoara). As regards the vessels, a ‘~ton-tonuri’ is a small cask of 20-35 liters (with a hole at the top) used

to make 'oțet' (vinegar) from wild pears at Târgu Lăpuș/Rogoz; also Cehu Silvaniei/Oarța de Jos where larger casks of 150-200 liters reflect the better conditions for fruit trees.

13. CONCLUSIONS

We have presented a complex picture of the terminology involving the distilling process, arising from research carried out mainly during the years 1990-2005. We have covered virtually all aspects of the business and noted the principal regional variations, as well as local differences in the terminology that are particularly complex in the Câmpeni and Pătărlagele areas. Hopefully other researchers may be able to extend the research. On a broader plane, taking the two papers together, we hope that this record may help to document a traditional business in an early stage of transition. Many rural activities have declined sharply over the last half-century e.g. production of clothing based on local wool, flax and hemp has virtually disappeared; although by contrast distillation remains a prominent activity. Evidently it is attractive option when the cost of alcohol purchase from commercial sources is set against the local fruit supply (available with relatively little maintenance work) plus the available labour, skill and equipment. But it is quite possible that with an increase in farm size and further diversification of the rural economy through better access to waged employment the business may switch much more comprehensively to urban locations with farmers perhaps continuing to collect fruit to make a 'borhot' that can be sold on: the arrangement that prevailed in some areas during communist collectivisation (albeit under coercion). Another possibility is that country distillers may be able to guarantee a standard product that could be branded and distributed through commercial channels; thereby competing with the urban sector or at least working in closer liaison through carefully-controlled double distillation which we suspect is already happening to some extent.

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