

ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

ANUARUL

INSTITUTULUI DE CERCETĂRI SOCIO-UMANE

„C.S. NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR“/

“C.S. NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR” INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN
SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

YEARBOOK

XI/2010



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INSTITUTULUI
DE CERCETĂRI SOCIO-UMANE
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XI/2010



Craiova 2010

Anuarul
Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C.S Nicolăescu-Plopșor”/
“C.S Nicolaescu-Plopsor” Institute for Research in Social Studies and Humanities
Yearbook
(ISSN 1841-0898)

is published yearly by the “C.S Nicolaescu-Plopsor” Institute for Research in Social Studies and Humanities of the Romanian Academy and it is printed by Aius Publishing House, Craiova.

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SYMBOL AND MYTHOLOGY: CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL INTERFERENCES/ SYMBOLE ET MYTHOLOGIE: INTERFÉRENCES CULTURELLES ET HISTORIQUES

LA ROSE EN TOUS SES ÉTATS, FESTIFS ET INTEMPESTIFS: IMAGE POETIQUE, SYMBOLE POLITIQUE

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Abstract: The rose, used as a reason for lyric songs ("Mignonne, allons voir si la rose"), had, as an emblem, the same fate as the cherry in the French song "Le temps des cerises". This symbol, used mainly by the lyric poets to express the epicurean pleasures of life, and spring holidays, along with their short duration, was recovered as a political emblem. The rose that adorns the lyrical verses and serves as a backdrop to ancient celebrations of "Rosalie", as to the more modern, if somewhat antiquated, of the "rosieres", is also used as a mark of recognition of a party or of faction: the case for the two hostile families that are delivered to the "Wars of the Roses" in 15th Century England, for the expression of political struggles in Ireland in 20th Century in the drama *Red Roses for Me* by Sean O'Casey, and the choice made by the French Socialist Party. This paper traces, through its range of uses, the multiple meanings of an image, transformed, as the case, in icon, symbol, allegory, symbol, mythe.

Keywords: rose, imaginary, cultural transferts, mythology.

Communication présentée au colloque de l'ACCHLA, organisé à Bordeaux, le 11 septembre 2009.

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«Le mythe Kennedy, c'est une rose qui pousse sur un tas de fumier» (Marc Dugain, auteur de *La malédiction d'Edgar*, extrait du «Monde», 30-31 août 2009, p. 16)

«Yukio Hatoyama et Ichiro Ozawa, au Japon, célèbrent leur victoire /électorale/, en posant une rose rouge sur le nom de leur parti, le PDJ» (extrait de Sud-Ouest, 31 août 2009, p. 5)

Il est arrivé aux roses, surtout aux roses rouges, le même destin qu'à ces fruits, eux aussi rouges, que sont les cerises. Les unes avaient pour vocation d'être l'honneur des poètes lyriques, et de servir à composer couronnes et bouquets pour les fêtes. Elles ont servi à illustrer emblématiquement des combats et des partis politiques. Les autres devaient servir à être le dernier ornement du gâteau et à faire des pendants d'oreille. Elles sont entrées dans l'hymne nostalgique de la Commune de Paris et des luttes sociales qui ont suivi.

En 1868, la parolier Jean-Baptiste Clément et le musicien-chanteur Antoine Renard, composent une chanson sentimentale, *Le Temps des cerises*, créée à l'Eldorado de Paris, qui connaît un grand succès:

Quand nous chanterons le temps des cerises,
Le gai rossignol, le merle moqueur
Seront tous en fête /.../

Dans les premiers temps de la Troisième République, la montée des luttes ouvrières ravive le souvenir de la Commune de Paris. Les paroles du *Temps des cerises*, déviées de leur sens premier, servent à exprimer la nostalgie des luttes révolutionnaires et la pérennité du souvenir du sang rouge versé:

J'aimerai toujours le temps des cerises
C'est de ce temps-là que je garde au coeur
Une plaie ouverte!
Et Dame Fortune, en m'étant offerte,
Ne pourra jamais fermer ma douleur.

Dans le nouvel usage des paroles, la «douleur» n'est plus une peine de coeur, mais une blessure de classe qui se sent frustrée. On voit paraître en 1886, deux chansons politiques, l'une sur des paroles d'Eugène Pottier (le futur parolier de l'*Internationale*), *Elle n'est pas morte*:

On l'a tuée à coups d'chassepot,
A coups de mitrailleuse,
Et roulée, avec son drapeau,
Dans l'argile bourbeuse,

Et la tourbe des bourreaux gras
Se croyait la plus forte:

Tout ça n'empêch' pas, Nicolas,
(la chanson ne dit pas qui est ce Nicolas!
Mettez-y qui vous voudrez)
Qu' la Commun' n'est pas morte (bis)

L'autre est une remise en vogue de l'air du *Temps des cerises*, avec de nouvelles paroles de Jules Jouy et un titre obtenu, comme dans *La Disparition*, le roman de Georges Pérec, par l'élision d'un e muet, *Le Temps des crises*:

Vous regretterez le beau temps des crises
Quand, pauvres sans pain et riches gavés,
Nous serons aux prises.
Les drapeaux de Mars flotteront aux brises,
Ces rouges drapeaux sur qui vous bavez.
Vous regretterez le beau temps des crises
Quand viendra le Peuple en haut des pavés.

Il en fut de même pour les roses. L'année même où naquit *Le Temps des cerises*, en 1868, une autre chanson sentimentale connut le même succès. C'était une «valse chantée» sur des paroles de Marc Constantin et une musique d'O. Métra, intitulée *Les Roses*:

Viens avec moi pour fêter le printemps!
Nous cueillerons des lilas et des roses.
Ne vois-tu pas que ces fleurs demi-closes
Veulent briller sur ton front de vingt ans?

Les «lilas et les roses» sont réutilisés, avec une inflexion politique, par Aragon dans *Le Crève-cœur* (1941). Le refrain de la chanson est repris en boucle ou en *leit motiv* dans la série télévisée de Serge Moati et Françoise Verny, *Le Pain noir* (1974), adaptée du roman de Georges-Emmanuel Clancier, qui relate, entre autres, les émeutes ouvrières de 1905 à Limoges. La rose avait servi auparavant, en 1945, comme symbole des luttes de la Résistance, dans le poème d'Aragon, «La Rose et le Réséda».

Nous voilà aujourd'hui à nouveau revenus, non «au temps des crises», mais de «la crise». Or, malgré la crise, le marché des roses se porte bien. La crise en effet n'empêche pas qu'il y ait des fêtes à souhaiter. Dans ce cas, ce qui peut paraître un luxe en temps normal garde, en temps de crise, son caractère de nécessité minimale de savoir-vivre. C'est ce que nous apprend un article

recueilli dans un magazine d'information plutôt politique et économique que mondain:

Avec 700.000 bouquets de roses vendus par an, le propriétaire du magasin «Au nom de la rose» a la vie belle. «Avec la crise, dit-il, nos clients dépensent un tout petit peu moins, mais ils sont de plus en plus nombreux. Les gens en ont marre de la sinistrose. Ils veulent faire plaisir». Mais, comme il y a moins d'argent, ceux qui offraient des orchidées se replient sur les roses, et ceux qui offraient des roses en offrent toujours, mais moins. «C'est pourquoi, dit le fleuriste, les passants ne doivent pas avoir l'impression d'une enseigne chère. Nos petits bouquets à 7 euros dans leur seau de zinc à 18 euros se vendent super².

Voyez d'abord comme notre manière de parler des fleurs a changé! Autrefois, le nom de la rose aurait appelé des citations lyriques: «Mignonne, allons voir si la rose!... Et rose elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses! ... Rose, un seul regard sous tant de paupières!... Aujourd'hui, que dit le nom de la rose? Il dit: «700.000 ventes, 7 euros le bouquet et 18 euros avec son seau de zinc, ventes super»! C'est ainsi que le lyrique se dégrade en économique, les roses et leur pourpris en choses à moindre prix, et les valeurs littéraires en valeurs financières.

Revenons au propriétaire du magasin «Au nom de la rose». Si cette petite entreprise ne connaît pas la crise, c'est parce que la crise, quand elle ne touche pas de plein fouet, n'empêche pas de faire la fête, de fêter au moins les anniversaires et les succès. Or les fleurs sont les auxiliaires indispensables des fêtes. Ce peut être l'humble présent, de moi à toi, célébré dans l'atmosphère intimiste, feutrée, du genre «baisse un peu l'abat-jour», d'un Paul Géraldy ou d'un Paul Delmet:

Pour vous obliger à penser à moi,
Y penser toujours, y penser encore,
Voici quelques fleurs, très modeste envoi,
De très humbles fleurs qui viennent d'éclore.
Ce ne sont pas là de nobles bouquets
Signés de la main de savants fleuristes,
Liés par des noeuds de rubans coquets
Bouquets précieux, chefs d'oeuvres d'artistes.
(Henri Bernard et Paul Delmet, *Envoi de fleurs*, 1898)

C'est un envoi de fleurs d'une seule personne à une seule personne et pour pas cher. Il y a bien sûr des dépenses plus onéreuses, notamment quand ce sont les collectivités ou de grandes entreprises qui payent pour des réjouissances

² *Le Point*, 16 avril 2008, p. 42.

à grand spectacle. Couronnes florales, colliers de fleurs, guirlandes fleuries, défilés de véhicules décorés, batailles de fleurs, corso fleuri mettent sur les corps, les habits et les chars d'exposition de la fête toutes les couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel. Elles y apportent leur sourire ou leurs rires éclatés. Les fleurs s'y ouvrent comme dans les prairies au printemps, y pleuvent comme étoiles dans le ciel en été, et y persèverent en automne, au temps des colchiques, des chrysanthèmes et des pensées un peu mélancoliques. Même en hiver, où il était autrefois, dans nos pays, avant la mondialisation et les cultures sous serres, plus difficile de trouver des fleurs, les sapins de Noël s'illuminaient d'étoiles, de boules dorées et de fleurs artificielles. Les feux d'artifice, qui accompagnent les célébrations collectives, prennent forme de fleurs lumineuses et s'achèvent traditionnellement par un «bouquet».

Mais dans la hiérarchie des fonctions festives, toutes les fleurs n'ont pas le même rôle. Il y a la foule anonyme de roturières, des petites fleurs des prés, des fleurs sans nom de jeunes filles en fleur, et celles qui n'ont qu'un petit nom, pâquerettes, marguerites, marguerites qui ne sont que reines des prés, qu'on effeuille et qui miment le temps comme une roue qui tourne, aubépines, les plus précoces pour annoncer le printemps. Toutes celles-ci, avec les soucis, les oeillets et les coquelicots, et d'autres sans nom, forment le bas peuple des prés et des jardins, constituent la plèbe de la gent florale. Parmi elles, on trouve encore la violette, à qui un poète du XVII^e siècle, composant une guirlande pour une dame de salon, fait dire:

Franche d'ambition je me cache sous l'herbe,
Modeste en ma couleur, modeste en mon séjour,
Mais si sur votre front je me puis voir un jour,
La plus humble des fleurs sera la plus superbe.
(Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, contribution à la *Guirlande de Julie*, 1634)

Telle est la foule, anonyme et disparate, des simples «fleurs des champs»:

Ce sont d'humbles fleurs, presque fleurs des champs,
Mais ce sont des fleurs simples et sincères,
Des fleurs sans orgueil, aux libres penchants,
Des fleurs de poète, à deux sous, pas chères.
(*Envoi de fleurs*, 1898)

Tel est le tiers-état de la société florale. Le clergé et la noblesse ont leur propre bouquet de fleurs sélectionnées, pour des usages religieux ou aristocratiques. Le lis (qu'on écrit encore «lys» pour marquer, par l'archaïsme du graphisme, ses quartiers de noblesse) se situe à un rang nettement supérieur, et même parfois en tête de la procession, parmi les princes et les rois. Mais il faut distinguer dans la famille plusieurs branches. Il y a les petits hobereaux à peu de quartiers, les «lis des champs» dont parle l'*Évangile*. Ils ont beau avoir des

habits plus somptueux que ceux de Salomon dans toute sa gloire, ils restent paysans, provinciaux, agrestes et rustiques, avec leurs calices d'ocre, de sienne ou de brique.

Il y a les grands lis blancs, hauts sur tige, à usage religieux, qui veulent signifier l'innocence et la pureté, par la vertu de leur couleur. Ils sont l'apanage des vierges, des anges, des saints innocents, et autres sommités morales «vêtues de probité candide et de lin blanc», ou «vêtues de blanc et lavées de pardon», comme disent les poètes (en l'occurrence, Victor Hugo et Agrippa d'Aubigné), ou encore les saints Innocents chantés par Malherbe, qui mêlent la pureté du blanc à l'éclair vif du rouge:

Ce furent de beaux lis qui, mieux que la nature
Mêlant à leur fraîcheur l'incarnate peinture
Que tira de leur sein le couteau criminel,
Devant que d'un hiver la tempête et l'orage
A leur teint délicat pussent faire dommage,
S'en allèrent fleurir au printemps éternel.
(Malherbe, *Les Larmes de saint Pierre*, 1587)

Plus haut encore, il y a le lys d'or sur fond bleu. Celui-là est royal, mais ce n'est plus une fleur. C'est un emblème. Ce lys est associé, plutôt qu'à des fêtes, à des parades ou des cérémonies. Les lis honorent de leur présence les rites festifs de haute lignée et de riche lignage, entrées royales dans les villes de Sa Majesté, Camp du Drap d'Or pour épater son adversaire, ou dais sur trône d'argent dressé dans la Galerie des glaces de Versailles pour recevoir les ambassadeurs de pays lointains et en mettre plein la vue à tous les mamamouchis de l'univers.

Dans la procession des fleurs en fête, la rose a une place de choix. C'est sans aucun doute un fleur aristocratique. Elle ne se mêle pas au tout venant. Mais il y a dans la famille, là aussi, des degrés, qui sont définis par le symbolisme que recèle sa couleur, qui donne du prix et du sens à son blason familial. Voici la rose rouge. C'est le sang. C'est un symbole guerrier. Mais le sang, c'est à la fois la mort et la vie. Le sang répandu, le sang qu'on répand à la guerre, et qui, comme on sait «abreuve nos sillons», est «sang impur». Mais celui de nos soldats combattant pour notre sol, répandus sur notre sol, refléurit dans un souvenir éternel qui se concrétise en roses rouges et en résédas:

Et quand vient l'aube cruelle
Passent de vie à trépas
Celui qui croyait au ciel
Celui qui n'y croyait pas
Répétant le nom de celle
Qu'aucun des deux ne trompa

Et leur sang rouge ruisselle
 Même couleur même éclat
 Celui qui croyait au ciel
 Celui qui n'y croyait pas
 Il coule il coule et se mêle
 A la terre qu'il aima
 Pour qu'à la saison nouvelle
 Murisse un raisin muscat
 Celui qui croyait au ciel
 Celui qui n'y croyait pas
 L'un court et l'autre a des ailes
 De Bretagne ou du Jura
 Et framboise au mirabelle
 Le grillon rechantera
 Dites flûte ou violoncelle
 Le double amour qui brûla
 L'alouette et l'hirondelle
 La rose et le réséda.
 (Louis Aragon, «La Rose et le réséda», *La Diane française*, 1945)

Ce poème emblématique de la Résistance, composé par un écrivain athée, reprend, en le laïcisant et en le nationalisant, le thème religieux du christianisme: «mort et résurrection» en le mettant à la portée des simples combattants.

Le sang répandu, c'est la mort. Mais c'est aussi le sang qui fait battre le coeur. La vie en rose, c'est l'amour doux; la vie en rouge, c'est l'amour fou. Le sang des martyrs qui a rougi le drapeau en fait un étendard qu'on brandit pour la bonne cause, pour des lendemains qui chantent au-delà des fumées des barricades, dans des aujourd'hui qui ont des «trous rouges au côté droit» (Rimbaud, *Le dormeur du val*) et qui crient pourtant toujours plus fort leur espérance. Voilà ce que peut incarner la rose rouge, qui a aujourd'hui un sens politique, mais qui a eu son temps mystique, lorsque le sang du Christ, contenu dans le Graal, illuminait, dans *Parsifal*, les chevaliers réunis d'une lueur rouge émanant de la coupe d'or trembleur comme une flamme.

La rose blanche, soeur jumelle au sens contrasté, généralement désignée par un pluriel, dans un bouquet ou une couronne, est la fleur de toutes les Maries – «Prends ma couronne, je te la donne», comme chantaient les chœurs des rosières au mois de mai –, de toutes les Maries, les sans maris comme les mariées, la Vierge Marie comme toutes les «Maries du port» et les Maries de l'Hôtel-Dieu qui illuminent de leur blancheur de victimes innocentes les lieux souillés où la vie les a obligées à vivre. Comme on a pleuré autrefois, sur cette rengaine à trois temps, où «dimanche», le jour de fête, rime avec «roses blanches»!

C'était un gamin, un goss' de Paris:
 Pour famille il n'avait qu'sa mère,
 Une pauvre fille aux grands yeux meurtris

Par le chagrin et la misère.
Elle aimait les fleurs, les roses surtout,
Et le gamin, tous les dimanches,
Lui apportait de belles roses blanches`
Au lieu d'acheter des joujoux.
La câlinant bien tendrement
Il disait en les lui donnant:

«C'est aujourd'hui dimanche,
Tiens, ma jolie maman,
Voici des roses blanches
Que ton coeur aime tant.
Va, quand je serai grand
J'achèterai au marchand
Toutes ses roses blanches
Pour ma jolie maman.

(*Les roses blanches*, paroles de Charles-Louis Pothier, musique de Léon Raiter (1925), interprétée par Mary Ketty, Line Marlès et Berthe Silva).

Vous connaissez sans doute la suite, de plus en plus dramatique, et de plus en plus aérienne, comme la plume blanche d'une aile d'ange venue s'échouer dans les paturages du ciel:

Et quand tu t'en iras
Au Paradis, là-bas,
Toutes ces roses blanches
Tu les emporteras.

Il y a bien d'autres roses, moins connues et moins communes, la rose jaune, célébrée par un écrivain hongrois, la rose pourpre du Caire, choisie par Woody Allen, la rose noire, que personne n'a vue sauf dans les romans de chevalerie, la rose d'or, la rose de sable, et même «la rose de personne», titre d'un recueil de Paul Celan, et bien entendu celle qu'on oublie toujours, la rose rose. Nous reviendrons sur elle. Quoi qu'il en soit, la rose reste toujours la reine du bal des fleurs; elle accompagne les quadrilles à l'ancienne comme les danses macabres, elle est là pour dire en même temps, avec un sourire attendri, «cueillez, cueillez, votre jeunesse» et avec un sourire averti «si tu t'imagines, fillette, fillette, xa va, xa va, xa va durer toujours, la saison des za, la saison des amours, ce que tu te goudailleras» (*Fillette, fillette*, chanson de Raymond Queneau et Joseph Cosma, interprétée par Juliette Greco, 1949).

Un poète, encore un autre, car la rose met comme nul autre mot la Muse poétique en action auprès d'eux, un autre a célébré les symboles, vices et vertus, orgueil et fragilité, parure et parade, des roses, au point de voir sous leurs poids de qualités, «la parole étouffée sous les roses »:

C'est trop déjà qu'une rose, comme plusieurs assiettes devant le même convive superposées.

C'est trop d'appeler une fille Rose, car c'est la vouloir toujours nue ou en robe de bal, quand, parfumée par plusieurs danses, radieuse, émue, humide, elle rougit, perlante, les joues en feu sous les lustres de cristal, colorée comme une biscotte à jamais dorée par le four. /.../

Du même élan les fleurs débouchent – définitivement – leur flacon. Toutes les façons de se signaler leur sont bonnes. Douées d'une touchante infirmité (paralysie des membres inférieurs), elles agitent leurs mouchoirs parfumés...

Car pour elles, en vérité, pour chaque fleur, tout le reste du monde part incessamment en voyage.

(Francis Ponge, «La parole étouffée sous les roses», *Pièces*, 1962)

Francis Ponge reprend ici, furtivement et partiellement, un thème déjà développé dans *Le spectre de la rose*, sur des paroles de Théophile Gautier mises en musique par Berlioz dans son recueil des *Nuits d'été* (1840-1841). De cette «mémoire de rose» un soir de bal, évoqué par Gautier, il compose tout un bouquet de sens, avec les symboles multipliés que les poètes ont donnés à la fleur, faisant ainsi par les mots accéder à l'éternité cet objet éphémère.

Ainsi volent les quelques pétales effeuillés de la rose poétique, autant de citations de poètes, qui font d'elle par excellence une inspiratrice de poésie lyrique, pour évoquer la vie comme la mort: «Afin que vif et mort ton corps ne soit que roses», ainsi que le disait Ronsard à une beauté enlevée trop tôt à l'existence... C'est un exemple de réussite de carrière comme il y en a peu en littérature. La rose est née d'une fleur bien commune, celle qu'on a appelée «la rose des chiens», *rosa canina*, *cynorhodon*, la fleur de l'égantier, l'égantine à cinq pétales bilobés. Elle redevient églantine à cinq pétales lorsqu'on la transforme en emblème ou en symbole. C'est qu'alors elle sert à des causes politiques ou confessionnelles.

Les deux partis rivaux des «Lancastriens» et des «Yorkistes», au temps du roi Henry VI d'Angleterre, au XV^e siècle, avaient pris pour emblème une rose à cinq pétales, l'une blanche et l'autre rouge, et ils s'entretuèrent, fleur à l'arbalète, pendant près de cinquante ans au cours de cette période appelée par les Anglais «la guerre des Deux-Roses». Ils n'étaient pas les seuls à avoir pris la rose pour signe de ralliement ou d'identité. Saint Dominique a créé le *rosarium*, le rosaire distribué en neuvaines, à partir de la couronne de Marie appelée en l'occurrence «Notre-Dame des Fleurs», dont on fait glisser les grains entre ses doigts, autre manière d'effeuiller les pétales. Plus tard, la rose de Luther était une fleur à cinq pétales, au milieu de laquelle le Réformateur avait planté une croix, pour signifier le Christ présent au milieu de son Église. Un de ses disciples, dissident, nommé Valentin André, reprit le symbole, au début du XVII^e siècle, pour en faire l'emblème d'un groupe d'intellectuels, un peu alchimistes, un peu ésotériques, qui devint l'ordre de la Rose-croix. Si le Parti

Socialiste français a opté, en 1971, pour cet emblème avec une autre forme de représentation, sans doute pour qu'il n'y ait pas de confusion avec ses emplois passés, la rose du parti a tout de même un caractère stylisé. Le langage des fleurs, dans cet emploi emblématique, a quitté les jardins et les cultures naturelles, pour entrer dans le champ des symboles, où les sens comptent plus que les choses.

Ce sont là en effet des applications particulières de la rose comme signe de reconnaissance d'un groupe, d'un parti ou d'une cause. Mais sa signification, dans cet emploi utilitaire, reste restreinte. Les sens et les emplois de la rose, dans le vocabulaire courant, sont beaucoup plus larges, et pour ainsi dire universels. Elle symbolise la splendeur d'une vie épanouie, en même temps que sa brièveté, qui introduit dans les parages de la mort. «On ne cueille jamais deux fois la même fleur», suivant la formulation prêtée à Héraclite, est une manière de dire «va, le temps s'en va», comme le dit Léo Ferré, et simultanément «cueille le jour, ne remets pas au lendemain l'instant de joie qui se présente», comme le recommandait Horace, le poète latin. C'est ainsi que la rose, comme cet autre élément aussi fluide que le temps, l'eau du ciel, de la source et de la mer, fait entendre, comme le dit un poète, «ses grandes heures de lumière et ses grandes pistes de ténèbres» dans une musique de chambre jouée à l'oreille de chacun. C'est Saint-John Perse, qui émettant ce vœu: «l'odeur funèbre de la rose n'assiègera plus les grilles du tombeau», dit que l'Océan du temps, «foulant son poids de roses mortes» «dans l'affluence de ses bulles et la sagesse infuse de son lait», la mer «en nous tissée, jusqu'à ses ronceraies d'abîme, la mer, en nous tissant ses grandes heures de lumière et ses grandes pistes de ténèbres», rappelle sans cesse que la vie d'une rose ne dure «que du matin jusques au soir», dit Ronsard, ou même, dit Malherbe, «l'espace d'un matin».

Parce que la rose, comme la mer, autre symbole du temps, trace en nous de grandes heures, qui restent brèves, de lumière et de grandes pistes, mortuaires, de ténèbres, les anciens Romains célébraient leur «fête des morts» en déposant des bouquets de roses sur l'autel des «Mânes», les esprits des Anciens de la maison, qui habitaient les lieux par leur souvenir, conservé dans chaque demeure par ce sanctuaire. C'était la fête des *Rosalies*, un peu l'équivalent des fêtes qui ouvrent novembre pour nous, Toussaint et le Jour des Morts. Nous avons remplacé la rose par le chrysanthème, c'est à dire littéralement parlant, «la fleur d'or». L'or c'est l'éternité; la fleur d'or, c'est la fleur du lotus qui a, en Orient, le même symbolisme que la rose, la vie et la mort, mais en y ajoutant, dans une perspective plus distanciée, le renouvellement des êtres par réincarnation, qui fait l'éternité. Nous n'avons pas, en Occident, la croyance en la réincarnation, mais nous gardons depuis longtemps le mythe de l'éternel retour, calqué sur le cycle des saisons.

Les *Rosalies*, parmi les fêtes de l'année, fêtes du souvenir et des morts, avaient leur symétrie, les *Floralies*, instituées en l'honneur de Flore, déesse

des fleurs, qui incarnait, avec le renouveau du printemps, à la manière occidentale, successive et non simultanée, le principe de renouvellement et de résurrection. Il est vrai que cette fête avait été récupérée par une corporation féminine, celle du plus vieux métier du monde, et était devenue une autoproclamation identitaire et réhabilitatrice de l'activité et du rôle des courtisanes dans l'équilibre social et psychologique de la société romaine. *Rosalies*, en souvenir des morts, et *Floralies*, en hommage au retour du vivant, étaient en somme les deux manières de réunir les deux sens de la rose – la vie épanouie et brève, et la mort destructrice, mais supplantée par l'éternel retour du printemps –. Il s'agit, on le voit, d'une illustration simultanée d'Éros et de Thanatos réunis dans l'image du cycle et du retour que signifie la rose étalée en roue du temps, en rose des vents.

Passons maintenant aux roses blanches, symbole virginal et d'immaculée représentation du corps de la femme, pour évoquer une fête moins ancienne, bien qu'elle ait aussi ses titres d'ancienneté. Cette coutume festive a réussi, en certains lieux, à se maintenir par une adaptation aux valeurs de la modernité. On appelait «rosières» au XIX^e siècle des jeunes filles qui étaient l'honneur de leur village, par leur vie «sage et vertueuse». Littré en donne la définition suivante: «Jeune fille qui, dans un village, obtient la rose destinée à être le prix de la sagesse. Exemple: la rosière de Nanterre». Le Larousse de l'an 2009 donne la même définition, mais (et c'est un signe important) il la met au passé: «Jeune fille vertueuse, à laquelle, dans certaines localités, on décernait solennellement une couronne de roses accompagnée d'une récompense». Ce temps n'est donc plus, si l'on en croit le dictionnaire. C'était au temps où Nanterre était encore un village, comme l'étaient aussi Fontenay-aux-roses, L'Hay-les-roses, et Puteaux, avec sa rose spécifique, «la rose de Puteaux», *rosa puteola*, appelée ailleurs «rose des quatre-saisons» ou «rose de Damas», *rosa damascena*. La banlieue parisienne n'était en ce temps-là qu'une couronne de villages où l'on cultivait des roses à foison, tissant pour Paris, la grand'ville, une grande ceinture de rosière, qu'elle ne méritait pas forcément. Plus tard, dans l'entre-deux guerres, des roses de fer parcouraient les rues des beaux quartiers: c'était les Rosalies de chez Citroën, ou une Rosengart, types de voiture de fantaisie de cette époque.

Il en était de même des villages de la banlieue bordelaise. Je vais vous dire l'histoire de la fête de «la Rosière», instituée dans un village devenu entre temps une vraie ville. Cette fête a réussi à se maintenir au présent, en s'adaptant au changement des circonstances et des valeurs, suivant la démarche la plus darwinienne qui soit, celle de la sélection de l'espèce par adaptation aux données nouvelles de l'environnement. Voici quelques fragments de l'histoire de «la Rosière de Pessac».

La fête de la Rosière est née, en 1896, des dispositions testamentaires d'un habitant de Pessac. Ce riche et généreux donateur a voulu qu'un capital, pris sur son patrimoine, fût réservé à récompenser chaque année une jeune fille

de la commune pour ses qualités de vertu et de sagesse. Un jury d'experts (ou plutôt d'expertes, pour la vertu, qui avait un sens très précis en ce temps, quand il s'agissait des jeunes filles) procédait à la sélection parmi les candidates proposées. Le choix effectué, après avoir été avalisé par le maire, devenait officiel. La fête instituée pour honorer la rosière se célébrait chaque année le premier dimanche de juin. La rosière défilait, dans le centre ville, en robe de mariée, couronnée de roses blanches, au bras du maire. Le couple d'un jour entraînait à l'église Saint-Martin pour assister à un office, au cours duquel était prononcé l'éloge de la rosière. La sortie solennelle de l'église s'accompagnait d'un lâcher de colombes, et le reste du dimanche était consacré à la fête.

Le rite n'a pas connu d'interruption depuis son origine. Le 6 juin 2009 a été célébrée la 113^e «fête de la rosière», avancée au samedi à cause des élections européennes et élargie en «fête de la jeunesse». Le mode de sélection, les critères de choix, et les modalités de la fête ont en effet subi des modifications qui répondent au changement de sens des mots et des valeurs. Vertu et sagesse aujourd'hui n'ont plus le sens d'hier ni la même place. Les valeurs de socialité et d'implication humanitaire, éducative, sportive ou associative, ont pris la première place.

Le cinéaste Jean Eustache, né à Pessac en 1938, mort à Paris en 1981, connu pour plusieurs longs métrages qui le font classer dans le sillage de la «nouvelle vague» cinématographique, post-soixante-huitiste (c'est à dessein que j'utilise ce néologisme, pour désigner un événement désormais historique, laissant «soixante-huitard», mot méprisant, aux attardés de la polémique), réalisa en 1969 un documentaire de 52 minutes, consacré à l'élection de la 72^e Rosière. Ce film connut un succès mondial. Il fut notamment reçu avec intérêt en Californie, et perçu comme un documentaire ethnologique, sur une antique peuplade de la vieille Europe, les Pessaçais, qui tenait à ses traditions et faisait, pour ainsi dire, revivre au présent la vie des Peaux-Rouges malheureusement décimés pour tenter sur eux de telles expériences. Un nouveau film fut réalisé en 1979, par le même cinéaste, qui montrait que, malgré le changement de couleur politique de la municipalité, la tradition était conservée. En France, le succès des films de Jean Eustache conforta une image culturelle de Pessac, son lieu de naissance, que sa municipalité s'efforça de faire prospérer dans un sens d'ouverture à la modernité. C'est ainsi qu'en 1990, à l'initiative du maire, Alain Rousset, et du journaliste et biographe d'origine bordelaise, Jean Lacouture, auxquels donnèrent leur aval d'autres personnalités locales et nationales, fut institué un «festival» culturel de cinéma qui a pris une ampleur internationale. Le «Festival du film d'histoire» de Pessac, qui se déroule chaque année en novembre, peut s'inscrire dans cette volonté de développement, par le succès médiatique, d'une tradition devenue phénomène historique, vers un horizon culturel ouvert et moderne. Depuis 1989, la «fête de la rosière» est devenue plus largement «fête de la jeunesse», et les critères de choix concernent «une jeune fille de 18 à 22 ans, née à Pessac ou y résidant depuis au moins cinq ans, appréciée pour ses qualités sociales ou son action associative, et présentant un projet d'intérêt

collectif». Quelques particularités de fonctionnement ont émaillé l'histoire récente, autrement très continue, de la fête de la rosière. Dans la liberté et le vent de modernité créé par le concile de Vatican II, après 1965, et dans la suite des événements de mai 68, les prêtres, alors «nouvelle vague», de la paroisse Saint-Martin rechignèrent à valider religieusement une coutume archaïque, mais le maire insista pour sa continuation et prit en main l'organisation de la réunion à l'église. Il y a quelques années la rosière élue était de confession musulmane: il fallut innover dans un sens largement interreligieux pour le service à l'église, ce qui fut fait de manière aussi novatrice que pertinente. On voit ainsi que l'existence perpétuée de ce phénomène folklorique fut bénéfique, en ouvrant, parmi d'autres effets plus communs, la voie à une entreprise de développement culturel.

L'histoire de la «fête de la rosière de Pessac» montre comment une tradition qui peut, en certaines circonstances, être jugée désuète, ou pure survivance (c'est ainsi qu'elle a été jugée dans nombre de communes qui l'ont abandonnée), lorsqu'elle est intelligemment sauvegardée par une adaptation à l'environnement social et culturel, peut servir de moteur pour le développement des activités et pour le rayonnement d'un lieu consacré dans un souci d'harmonisation à la vie de son temps. De la «fête de la Rosière» de Pessac au «Festival du film d'histoire» de Pessac, une inflexion et un élargissement de la fête se sont produits, passant de la survivance folklorique à la motivation sociale et culturelle, qui a abouti à la création et à la distribution de plusieurs prix qui ravivent, dans ce qu'ils ont d'éternel, les jeux floraux d'autrefois, dans l'esprit de ceux de la Grèce antique, en récompensant auteurs, réalisateurs, créateurs par des prix d'experts, des prix du public et même un prix étudiant.

On peut dire que dans les cas précédemment cités, on a affaire à une utilisation familiale, locale, régionale, plus généralement civique et dans tous les cas, positive, du symbole de la rose. Son utilisation strictement politique, a mal commencé dans l'histoire. La rose aurait dû être un symbole de paix. Elle a été associée à une guerre de trente ans et plus. Elle aurait dû garder une valeur universelle: elle a été récupérée par deux clans de féodaux pour assurer leurs ambitions politiques. Elle aurait pu avoir une valeur internationale: elle a été réservée à un épisode particulier de l'histoire d'Angleterre. C'est la tranche d'histoire connue sous le nom de la «guerre des Deux-Roses».

Comme dans les grandes sagas des familles antiques, celle des Atrides, celle des rois d'Albe, tout commence par une usurpation: le roi Richard II, descendant du fils aîné, le Prince Noir, du grand roi anglais de la guerre de cent ans, Edouard III, doit abdiquer, et il est remplacé par un descendant du quatrième fils d'Edouard III, Jean de Gand, duc de Lancastre, qui prend le nom d'Henry IV. Les règnes d'Henry IV et d'Henry V marquèrent des moments d'apogée de la puissance anglaise, qui réussit à rassembler pour un temps sous le même commandement les deux royaumes de France et d'Angleterre. La mort d'Henry V, en 1422, laissait un roi enfant sur le trône, qui prit le nom d'Henry

VI. Cet intermède de gouvernement ravive les ardeurs nobiliaires d'ambition royale. Autour du jeune roi, un ensemble de familles nobles qu'on appellera «les Lancastriens» espèrent diriger en fait les affaires, en se faisant les protecteurs d'un roi au pouvoir symbolique, qu'ils gardent sous leur tutelle. D'un autre côté, autour de Richard, duc d'York, se constitue un autre groupe, qui prétend au trône en raison d'un droit (contesté, car il passe par les femmes) d'antériorité. Les «Lancastriens» ont pour signe de ralliement une rose rouge, stylisée, à cinq pétales, séparés par des sépales verts. Les «yorkistes» ont pour signe de reconnaissance une rose blanche, à cinq pétales, séparés par des sépales verts.

Shakespeare, qui a consacré plusieurs drames historiques à cette période, raconte, en termes naïvement symboliques, la création de ces symboles par la cueillette faite, selon leur couleur, par les deux protagonistes, Henry Beaufort, duc de Somerset, et Richard Plantagenet, duc d'York, des fleurs dans les jardins du Temple de Londres (*Henry VI*, acte II, scène IV). Le Comte de Warwick, celui qu'on appellera, à cause de son attitude opportuniste fort influente, «le faiseur de rois», commente la scène en ces mots: «L'altercation qui a produit dans le jardin du Temple cette division entre la rose rouge et la rose blanche enverra des milliers d'hommes à la mort et dans la nuit funèbre» (*ibid*). Ainsi commence, selon Shakespeare, cette période de batailles entre nobles, pour conquérir le pouvoir ou se maintenir au pouvoir conquis, qu'on appellera «la guerre des Deux-Roses». On pourrait appeler aussi ce début, avec une antiphrase: «Que la fête commence», en reprenant le titre du film de Bertrand Tavernier (1975) consacré à la période de la Régence en France. Comme l'ont relevé les historiens qui se sont intéressés à cette période, ces troubles n'affectent que peu et de manière intermittente la vie du peuple et des marchands qui continuent, pour les uns, à travailler et, pour les autres, à s'enrichir. La vie des Grands du royaume restait toujours festive et tapageuse, et dans Londres, le Lord Maire organisait des fêtes à un rythme presque aussi intense qu'à Rome au temps de Néron:

En 1467, quand l'ouverture du Parlement coïncida avec la grande joute entre le bâtard de Bourgogne et Lord Scales, la capitale du royaume et Chambre du Roi sortait ses musiciens, trompettes et chanteurs; jonchait ses rues de fleurs, et parait ses façades de drapeaux et de tapisseries. Le grand marché de Saint-Barthélemy, où le maire, installé sous un pavillon, présidait des concours de lutte et de tir, attirait à Londres des milliers de personnes. Mais par-dessus tout, les citoyens aimaient la double fête où défilait la Garde, la veille de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste (23 juin) et celle de la Saint-Pierre-et-Paul (28 juin)³.

Bien sûr l'éclat des fêtes était de temps en temps interrompu par le bruit des batailles: la première, en 1455, donnant une ouverture officielle à la

³ Paul Murray Kendall, *The Yorkist Age*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, Londres, 1962; traduction française, *L'Angleterre au temps de la guerre des Deux-Roses*, Paris, Fayard, 1984, p. 127.

confrontation armée, fut celle de Saint-Albans, qui vit le succès d'York, avec son pendant de 1461, la deuxième bataille de Saint-Albans, où les Lancastriens eurent le dessus. La dernière fut celle de Bosworthfield (1485), qui vit la déroute du dernier roi yorkiste, Richard III, rendue célèbre par une phrase de Shakespeare, «Mon royaume pour un cheval». Cette période, avec ses événements sanglants qui ont laissé leur trace dans l'histoire (comme la mort des enfants d'Édouard IV, tués par leur oncle, dans la Tour de Londres) a donné lieu ensuite à des mises en scène théâtrales qui, réalisées par un grand écrivain (en l'occurrence, Shakespeare) ont réussi à faire passer dans les salles de spectacle quelques phrases de choc.

En définitive cette période de troubles s'est prêtée à des représentations dramatiques qui ont nourri le théâtre ultérieur. Un drame d'histoire, devenant drame de scène, change de nature et de fonction. Le drame d'histoire est une phase tragique, analogue à ce que fut l'état de la France au temps de Charles VI. Le roi installé sur le trône, Henry VI, était lui aussi sujet à des pertes de conscience et à des périodes d'aliénation. La passation de l'anneau d'or du pouvoir (car la tétralogie de Shakespeare réalisée sur cette période est prémonitoire de ce que sera le *ring*, l'anneau du pouvoir, qui passe de mains en mains dans la tétralogie de Wagner) se fait entre deux groupes: la famille royale, dans laquelle la reine Marguerite d'Anjou (c'est un nom de Fleur), une Française fille du roi René, entend bien que son fils Édouard soit assuré de la succession. Elle y est aidée par les «Lancastriens», mais avec des retournements qui la laissent souvent seule. Elle n'arrivera pas à maintenir la continuité dynastique: ce sera un autre Édouard, fils de Richard d'York, qui montera un temps sur le trône, sous le nom d'Édouard IV, puis son frère Richard III, avant que l'ultime bataille ne soit gagnée par un descendant, par voie latérale, d'Édouard III, qui tire les marrons du feu, et inaugure, sous le nom de Henry VII le règne dynastique des Tudor. Tous ces tourbillons se prêtent à une mise en scène animée et à des réflexions sur le pouvoir et la condition humaine, comme lorsque les tragiques grecs racontaient, dans l'Athènes du V^e siècle, pour faire réfléchir le public, les histoires sanglantes des familles princières d'autrefois, Atrides, Labdacides ou Alcides. Shakespeare tirera de cette matière confuse et sanglante sa trilogie de *Henri VI* et sa tragédie de *Richard III*. C'est par l'annonce d'une fête que s'achève, comme dans les albums d'*Astérix*, la trilogie de Shakespeare:

Le roi Édouard: Maintenant il ne reste plus qu'à consacrer notre temps à des fêtes triomphales, à des spectacles réjouissants et comiques qui conviennent aux plaisirs d'une cour. Sonnez, tambours et trompettes! Adieu, amers ennuis! Car aujourd'hui, j'espère, commence notre joie durable. (*Henry VI*, troisième partie, V, 6).

Le Roi Édouard a raison d'inciter à la fête, car le triomphe ne sera pas éternel. La vie des roses est enviable, mais dure peu. Après lui, tout recommence, et la rose blanche des York, avec l'assassinat des enfants d'Édouard enfermés dans la Tour de Londres, va, fidèle à sa légende, se teinter

de quelques taches de sang des Innocents. Pour terminer sur une note moins tragique, signalons qu' au cours du XXe siècle, les comtés du Lancashire et du Yorkshire ont renouvelé l'histoire ancienne, sous la forme pacifique de tournois d'aviation, qui ont connu un succès national dans l'entre-deux guerres.

La guerre des Deux-Roses a servi d'arrière-fond et de prétexte mémoriel à une pièce du dramaturge irlandais Sean O'Casey, intitulée *Red roses for me* (Roses rouges pour moi). Sean O'Casey est né à Dublin en 1884. De son vrai nom Sean O'Catasaigh, il est né dans une famille pauvre, dotée de nombreux enfants dont il est le plus jeune. Le père meurt très tôt et il doit très jeune gagner sa vie. Il exerce divers petits métiers, et en même temps s'instruit en autodidacte. En même temps qu'il participe au syndicalisme ouvrier, aux luttes sociales et au mouvement national de libération de l'Irlande, il écrit des pièces de théâtre. L'indépendance de l'Irlande est obtenue en 1921, et sa constitution en république (après partition) en 1937. Sean O'Casey abandonne dès lors la lutte nationaliste. Il reproche en effet au clergé catholique irlandais et aux notables du nouvel état de bloquer, par leur conservatisme, l'évolution de la société. Il reste toutefois fidèle à ses luttes syndicales et sociales. Cette nouvelle position, qui apparaît dans *La Charrue et les étoiles* (1926) l'oblige à quitter son pays. Il s'installe alors en Angleterre où il demeurera jusqu'à sa mort en 1964.

Roses rouges pour moi a été publié en 1943, joué à Londres en 1946, à Broadway en 1956, et à Paris, dans une traduction française, au TNP en 1959. Le titre est la reprise d'une chanson qui revient comme *leit motiv* tout au long de la pièce:

D'un pauvre châle noir elle est toute couverte;
Des fleurs d'écume et de soleil ornent sa robe ouverte;
Du fin fond de la nuit, elle me tend les doigts,
Un bouquet dans la main,
roses rouges pour moi.

Son jupon est de bure, son rire est sa parure;
Elle marche pieds nus, d'innocence vêtue,
Mais au fond de ses yeux, une étoile m'envoie
Un bouquet de rayons,
roses rouges pour moi.

Elle n'a diamants, boucles ni perles fines;
La morgue des bijoux n'altère pas sa mine;
Mais l'écrin de son coeur garde, cadeau de roi,
Un rubis qu'elle tend,
roses rouges pour moi⁴.

⁴ Sean O'Casey, *Théâtre*, traduction française, Paris, L'Arche, 1959, t. I^{er}, pp. 99-100.

La chanson est interprétée par un chanteur occasionnel, ouvrier de son état, mué en porte-parole d'une population entière. Pour le protagoniste, nommé Ayamonn, un ouvrier dont les qualités de penseur et de meneur ont fait un homme respecté par ceux de son état, cette femme qui tend des roses rouges est une allégorie à sens multiples. Elle représente sa fiancée, qui l'attend en mariage; elle est aussi la ville de Dublin et l'Irlande, la «patrie»; elle est aussi une allégorie des souffrances - c'est le rouge - et des espoirs - c'est la rose - d'un prolétariat qui aspire à un peu plus de lumière. La grève menace: les employeurs refusent l'augmentation d'un schilling demandée par les ouvriers. Les roses rouges signifient l'action, la lutte, le sang qui sera versé, et la lumière espérée par le prolétariat en lutte, illustrée sous forme irréaliste par une illumination imaginaire, une «transfiguration» au sens presque religieux, qui se produira lors de l'acte III, du quartier des miséreux de la ville.

La pièce s'ouvre sur une scène de répétition théâtrale. Une mère et son fils s'entraînent pour la représentation d'une pièce de théâtre (théâtre dans le théâtre, selon un procédé cher à Shakespeare). Ayamonn (c'est le nom du protagoniste) et sa mère, Mrs Breydon, s'exercent pour une représentation d'un drame de Shakespeare destiné à une fête prochaine. Les vers de Shakespeare, puissamment imagés de sang et de larmes, viennent mêler leur taches rouges à la prose d'une vie quotidienne:

Quoi ! Le glorieux sang des Lancastre va-t-il donc couler pour se mêler
À la poussière, le sang de cette race destinée à l'ascension au sommet! /.../
Vois les pleurs que verse mon épée sur un roi malheureux!
Ah! Que soient ces larmes pourpres constamment répandues.
Pour ceux-là qui souhaitent la ruine de notre nom⁵.

Le drame retenu, on le voit tout de suite, se passe au temps de la guerre des Deux-Roses. Mrs Breydon se demande si une telle pièce convient à une fête de quartier. Ayamonn répond: «Will Shakespeare? Il faudra bien! Si seulement le roi Henry ne fait pas trop de gestes dramatiques, en battant l'air des mains et en déchirant sa passion en petits morceaux»⁶. L'atmosphère de ce drame d'O'Casey est faite toute d'attentes: attente culturelle. On attend la kermesse toute proche où on doit jouer la pièce de Shakespeare. Attente amoureuse: Ayamonn est fiancé à une jeune fille, Sheila, dont les parents ne le trouvent pas digne d'eux, et leur fille, très conformiste, leur emboîte le pas, en demandant à Ayamonn d'abandonner ses fonctions syndicales. Elle préférerait un mariage sans histoire. C'est une porteuse de roses blanches. Autres roses blanches: un groupe de jeunes filles pauvres, catholiques, veulent orner la statue de la Vierge

⁵ *Ibid*, *Roses rouges pour moi*, t. I^{er}, pp. 82-83. Le texte est un extrait d'*Henry VI*, troisième partie, acte V, de Shakespeare).

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 84.

du quartier, Notre-Dame-des-Pauvres, en espérant qu'elle fera un miracle en leur faveur. On attend le miracle qui viendra, à leurs yeux du moins, mais pas sous cette forme. Il y a aussi une attente sociale: une grève menace, suite à une demande d'augmentation d'un schilling; les patrons ont offert trois pence. On veut mieux. On attend. Ce sera la part des roses rouges. Et puis il y a tout le quartier, et au-delà la ville, et dans la ville un prolétariat qui rêve d'avoir une place au Paradis. On attend. La femme aux bras tendus, porteurs de roses rouges, représente toutes les formes et l'issue espérée de ces attentes

L'attente, cette mise en suspens de l'objet du désir, porte en elle roses blanches et roses rouges. La réalisation sera rouge: la grève échoue, réprimée dans le sang. Ayamonn meurt d'une balle des policiers. La nuit qui suit est longue et noire. Sur son corps étendu le chanteur revient et chante pour lui: «Roses rouges pour moi».

Néanmoins ce dénouement tragique n'est qu'un épisode dramatique et nécessaire dans la lutte engagée, qui porte en elle à nouveau, après le temps du deuil, son lot de roses rouges, qui sont du sang transfiguré en espérance. Ce drame est une introduction à une fête qui a commencé et s'est achevée dans le rouge et le noir. Mais la fête continue: le bouquet de roses rouges, c'est l'horizon d'une attente qui ne veut pas s'achever ici, et ses porte-drapeaux, c'est cette foule de pauvres gens, malgré tout en liesse, et prêts à repartir vers le même horizon, parce qu'ils ont vu, dans un rêve éveillé, les maisons noires de leur quartier se faire porteuses de lumière. Cette métamorphose fait l'objet d'une féerie représentée sur scène. La place de cette féerie fait problème: on l'attendrait en fin de pièce comme un message d'espérance après la tragédie de l'échec. Or elle est placée avant le dénouement sanglant: c'est lui donner sa véritable fonction. L'espérance, présentée comme un rêve de lumière colorée de tous les noms de fleurs, est le moteur de l'action, quels que soient les résultats temporaires. Placée après le drame, elle n'aurait plus de sens et paraîtrait d'une naïveté désarmante, après le spectacle de désolation. Placée avant, elle signifie qu'elle reste en place, quelle que soit l'issue momentanée de la lutte entreprise. Ce qui va suivre est déjà connu: c'est la chronique d'un massacre annoncé: «Les soldats vont nous disperser à coups de fusil, les policiers à coups de matraque. Nos fils et nos maris seront jetés en prison»⁷. Ayamonn donne la réponse:

Ne flanchez pas au premier combat. Puisez force et courage dans la splendeur cachée de votre cité. (*Il lève le bras, l'index tendu*). Oh, Regardez par là. Le ciel a jeté son manteau de lumière verte sur ses épaules nues, cernées de cramoisi et un voile de douceur violette sur sa noble tête. Regardez (*La scène s'est éclairée de magiques et brillantes couleurs, déposées par la caresse du soleil couchant. Les maisons de l'autre rive semblent maintenant s'incliner devant le monde visible, parées de mauve et de bronze striées d'écarlate*). Regardez! Les fourgons et les camions qui roulent avec fracas le long des quais

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 137.

sont des chars montant au combat, blindés par un soleil de bronze et de plomb/.../
La grande coupole des Quatre Cours est une rose d'or dans une immense coupe
de bronze. La rivière qui coule à ses pieds est comme un flot pourpré, marbré de
vagues écarlates. regardez les mouettes qui glissent au dessus-d'elles, perles
blanches qui roulent sur le corset de la reine. Notre ville est posée sur la main de
Dieu⁸.

Si cette vision utopique était placée après le massacre, elle serait difficile
à faire passer. Elle est placée avant. Étant avant, elle est aussi après, car elle est
là toujours. Dès lors on découvre encore un nouveau sens à la femme
énigmatique de la chanson, qui revient pour clore la pièce:

D'une pauvre châle noir elle est toute couverte
Des fleurs d'écume et de soleil couvrent sa robe ouverte;
Du fin fond de la nuit elle me tend les doigts,
Un bouquet dans la main,
roses rouges pour moi.

On connaît le dernier mot de l'*Électre* de Giraudoux. «Comment est-ce
que cela s'appelle, mendiant, lorsque tout est détruit? – Cela porte un beau nom,
femme Narsès, cela s'appelle l'aurore». Dans la pièce d'O' Casey, l'aurore se
manifeste avant la destruction, non pas pour s'éteindre après, mais pour dire
qu'on ne l'a pas éteinte, qu'on ne l'éteindra pas, parce qu'elle était là avant la
mort, parce qu'elle est plus vieille que la Mort, et par conséquent lui survivra. La
femme énigmatique de la chanson, cela s'appelle aussi l'Aurore, et l'Aurore aux
doigts de roses rouges, c'est un autre nom, le petit nom, le nom familier de celle
qu'on tutoie, de sa petite amie, de ce miracle dont Dieu même, selon Péguy,
s'étonne et qu'on appelle l'Espérance.

L'emblème de la rose, au cours de la guerre des Deux-Roses, s'est
multiplié par trois, en une sorte de Trinité rosière à cheminement dialectique.
Les deux roses, la rouge et la blanche, celle des deux factions, a été reprise par la
famille gagnante, celle des Tudor, sous la forme d'une rose à deux rangs de
pétales imbriqués, un de blancs et un de rouges, qui associent, dans une
harmonie retrouvée, les deux fleurs des factions rivales.

La création de l'emblème du Parti Socialiste français, rénové en 1971, a
obéi un peu aux mêmes règles d'élaboration: il veut être inflexion sur le passé en
abandonnant la forme traditionnelle de la rose stylisée à cinq pétales, trop
chargée de sens désuets. Le nombre cinq reste cependant présent dans les doigts
refermés du poing qui tient la rose. La figure est un constat de l'état présent du
programme politique: on abandonne le rouge pour le rose, autre manière de
combinaison le rouge et le blanc, ce qui signifie l'abandon de l'objectif

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 138.

révolutionnaire au profit de la réforme permanente et circonstanciée. On garde le poing et la rose, qui signifient le maintien de la lutte (le poing) en vue d'une amélioration espérée du futur (la rose).

Ce nouvel emblème a été imaginé par plusieurs personnalités, appartenant toutes au courant du CERES, dans le bouillonnement d'idées qui a accompagné le congrès d'Épinay, en 1971. Ce courant était représenté par quelques personnalités politiques, comme Jean-Pierre Chevènement, le chef de file, Didier Motchane et Georges Sarre. Plus tard, ils se séparèrent du Parti pour écart de jugement sur la politique étrangère, lors de la Guerre du Golfe, et pour divergence sur la forme à donner de l'Union Européenne. Le travail de réalisation fut confié à deux artistes, Yann Berriet pour la conception, et Marc Bonnet pour la réalisation.

En retenant cette forme emblématique et en lui attribuant des sens limités, les auteurs du choix de la rose voulaient marquer une direction et des limites du sens. Mais ils ne pouvaient exclure le risque d'introduire en cette forme florale, d'une grande richesse de sens souvent contradictoires, des sens symboliques parasites, qui perturbent la signification de l'emblème en allant au-delà d'elle, y apportant quelquefois des sens contraires aux sens volontairement retenus. C'est de fait ce qui se produisit. Lorsque le Parti Socialiste connut des rivalités personnelles internes, le thème de la guerre des Deux-Roses y fut réintroduit par les journalistes et les humoristes. Mais comme le public ne savait pas ce qu'était la guerre des Deux-Roses, il fallut l'expliquer avant de s'en servir. C'est ce qui apparaît dans un article du *Monde* du 1er juin 2008, intitulé *Les barons du PS se jouent la guerre des Deux-Roses*, à propos d'une rivalité entre deux prétendants au poste de secrétaire général. On voit réapparaître l'allusion en novembre 2008, où la rivalité concernant deux femmes appelle le titre: «La guerre des deux roses». Les difficultés actuelles que connaît le Parti ne manqueront pas de rappeler les vers des poètes de l'éphémère appliqués à la rose:

Las! Voyez comme en peu d'espace,
Mignonne, elle a dessus la place,
Las! Las! ses beautés laissé choir.
O vraiment marâtre nature,
Puisqu'une telle fleur ne dure
Que du matin jusques au soir!

A quoi deux des jeunes postulants actuels du Parti (Manuel Valls et Benoît Hamon), interrogés sur la disparition éventuelle du mot «socialiste» ont déjà répondu par cette évidence connue depuis Héraclite: «Rien n'est éternel». Ce qui est une manière plus simple de dire: «Elle est née dans un monde où les plus belles choses/ ont le pire destin/ Et rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses/ L'espace d'un matin».

Si l'on veut conclure de manière non confuse sur les sens de la rose et ses usages festifs, il convient d'abord de distinguer les divers signifiés que recouvre le même mot. La rose est une fleur, et comme telle elle apparaît doublement festive. Elle met en fête les jardins, auxquels elle donne couleur, odeur et noblesse, et elle sert à faire plaisir comme «envoi de fleurs» à des personnes chères. Elle apparaît d'autre part comme un mot, utilisé par les poètes pour faire la fête avec les mots, faire sonner ses qualités multiples. Elle intervient alors comme élément et ornement d'une langue, en dansant en rime avec belle chose, close et déclose, repose et arrose, toute une gamme d'autres mots où le «o» fermé, l'Oméga, «rayon violet de ses yeux» maintient un charme velouté à la prononciation de son nom.

Elle apparaît comme un emblème: elle change alors de forme et prend artificiellement du sens. Comme emblème, elle est signe de reconnaissance d'un groupe, signe de ralliement d'une cause, et signe de combat contre les causes adverses. Elle est ainsi instrumentalisée en entrant dans des querelles humaines.

Elle définit, à elle seule, sinon un programme, du moins une direction de programme et une situation dans l'éventail politique.

Mais elle est surtout un symbole. Elle est l'objet du désir dans le *Roman de la Rose*, l'idéal d'une féminité vers laquelle l'Amant chemine dans les allées d'un jardin enchanté, peuplé d'allégories. Elle est symbole de la beauté et de la brièveté de la vie: elle prend alors les qualités du bonheur. La rose, comme le bonheur, est dans le pré. Si tu veux faire la fête, cours-y vite, cours-y vite. Le bonheur va filer, et la rose va se faner. Symbole de l'espace, elle est rose des vents. Symbole du temps qui passe, elle est rose étalée en cinq pétales, comme la roue qui tourne, ou l'aiguille du cadran à laquelle elle emprunte ses sens. Rose mystique, elle s'ajoute de couleurs vives, arrangées en corolles, sur les façades et les transepts des cathédrales. «Rose au cœur violet, fleur de sainte Gudule», elle cherche sa croix, dit Nerval, dans le désert des cieux.

Elle est surtout le symbole de toutes les fêtes de la vie: naissance, anniversaire, mariage, enterrement, elle est toujours là, en bouquets ou en couronnes, roses blanches ou roses rouges, partout présente, comme la mer chantée par Saint-John Perse, que l'on pourrait parodier en ces termes: «J'ai vu courir aux feux des pages la grande chose fériée, la Rose en fête de nos songes, et comme fête que l'on fête». Une fille, quand on l'appelle Rose, pour parodier cette fois Francis Ponge, c'est pour lui signifier, en saluant sa venue au monde par un bouquet de roses, qu'elle sera, à chacun de ses anniversaires, douce, belle, fleurante, l'honneur de la famille et la lumière des jours fleuris.

RETOUR SUR UN DIALOGUE OUBLIÉ: AMOUR ET NATURE (BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE)

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Abstract: The present paper aims to reopen the debate about the relation between love and nature, starting from a representative case study for the European history of such a topic. Taking into account the very specific literary and philosophical context of its time, we try to underline the importance of the vision propose through this key concepts. The nature of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Rousseau now become a very explanatory for all major construction of speculative philosophy. In the real order history, love takes place in society, in the territory of a story that gives it a place and supports economic ingredients and time. Practically, we can't discuss about love outside the context of the world and history that produced her. Love outside history, recte only in the simple nature, is not discoverable in what is already known. But is it possible to think such a love? Can we suggest a love out of a minimum standards, conventions and strong moral, all what define a society?

Keywords: Bernardin de Saint Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, love, nature.

Les impuissances de l'amour se vérifient dans la connaissance des modèles culturels, dans l'immunité envers le classicisme, le romantisme ou le réalisme. La marque des modèles culturels n'appartient pas strictement à la zone visible de l'amour: contexte, convenance ou schémas sociaux. En lui-même, c'est-à-dire dans son destin, l'amour devient autre chose par rapport à chaque temps culturel.

Avant que le romantisme ne finît pas sa direction de marche et avant que l'idéologie ne fût pas prononcée, l'amour lui a emprunté sa forme, malgré l'esthétique provisoire. Au moment où Bernardin de Saint-Pierre écrivait *Paul et Virginie*, le romantisme était en train de trouver ses mots (le terme tel quel appartient à Rousseau, sa première utilisation se retrouve dans les *Confessions*).

Ami de Rousseau et adepte de celui-ci, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre écrivait *Paul et Virginie* de la hauteur du texte-réponse à la question de l'Académie de Dijon: «Le progrès des sciences et des arts a-t-il contribué à

purifier les mœurs?», c'est-à-dire de la perspective de la nature, du bien sauvage et des mœurs corrompues des arts et des sciences, c'est-à-dire se situant sur les positions du texte de Rousseau.

Comment l'amour peut-il être de la perspective des personnages pris comme êtres originaux, des mœurs corrompues et de la nature?

a) la nature

Paul et Virginie est l'amour naïf de deux jeunes. Tous les deux sont nés plus de deux cents ans avant dans un Madagascar paradisiaque, un Madagascar d'avant le désastre écologique d'aujourd'hui et sa transformation dans un des plus déserts et arides territoires de l'Afrique de Sud.

Le roman débute avec la description à la manière de Rousseau de l'endroit, du paysage et de la nature. C'est ici la première réussite de l'écrivain. De la nature, mais aussi sous la main libre des rigueurs de la civilisation, la région devient un paradis:

En vivant donc dans la solitude, loin d'être sauvages, elles étaient devenues plus humaines... Paul, à l'âge de douze ans, plus robuste et plus intelligent que les Européens à quinze, avait embelli ce que le noir Domingue ne faisait que cultiver. Il allait avec lui dans les bois voisions déraciner de jeunes plants de citronniers, d'orangers, de tamarins dont la tête ronde est d'un si beau vert, et d'attiers dont le fruit est plein d'une crème sucrée qui a le parfum de la fleur d'orange: il plantait ces arbres déjà grands autour de cette enceinte. Il y avait semé des graines d'arbres qui dès la seconde année portent des fleurs ou des fruits, tels que l'agathis, où pendent tout autour, comme les cristaux d'un lustre, de longues grappes de fleurs blanches; le lilas de Perse, qui élève droit en l'air ses girandole gris de lin; le papayer, dont le tronc sans branches, formé en colonne hérissée de melons verts, porte un chapiteau de larges feuilles semblables à celles du figuier.

Il y avait planté encore des pépins et des noyaux de badamiers de manguiers, d'avocats, de goyaviers, de jaque et de jameroses... Diverses espèces d'aloès, la raquette chargée de fleurs jaunes fouettées de rouge, les cierges épineux, s'élevaient sur les têtes noires des roches, et semblaient vouloir atteindre aux longues lianes, chargées de fleurs bleues ou écarlates, qui pendaient ça et là le long des escarpements de la montagne.

Il avait disposé ces végétaux de manière qu'on pouvait jouir de leur vue d'un seul coup d'oeil. Il avait planté au milieu de ce bassin les herbes qui s'élèvent peu, ensuite les arbrisseaux, puis les arbres moyens, et enfin les grands arbres qui en bordaient la circonférence; de sorte que ce vaste enclos paraissait de son centre comme un amphithéâtre de verdure, de fruits et de fleurs, renfermant des plantes potagères, des lisières de prairies, et des champs de riz et de blé. Mais en assujettissant des végétaux à son plan, il ne s'était pas écarté de celui de la nature; guidé par ses indications, il avait mis dans les lieux élevés ceux dont les semences sont volatiles, et sur le bord des eaux ceux dont les graines sont faites pour flotter: ainsi chaque végétal croissait dans son site propre et chaque site recevait de son végétal sa parure naturelle. Les eaux qui descendent du sommet de ces roches formaient au fond du vallon, ici des fontaines, là de larges miroirs

qui répétaient au milieu de la verdure les arbres en fleurs, les rochers, et l'azur des cieux¹.

La nature n'épuise pas, conformément à son poète – Bernardin de Saint-Pierre ne s'éloignera de rien, de la manière de penser de Rousseau – ses vertus au simple niveau esthétique. Elle, la nature, n'est pas seulement belle – dans l'esthétique de Rousseau la beauté de la nature a des implications qui dépassent la simple position esthétique – elle devient source de toute bonne chose, elle devient purement et simplement source du bien en général. «Je tiens pour principe certain du bonheur qu'il faut préférer les avantages de la nature à tous ceux de la fortune, et que nous ne devons point aller chercher hors de nous ce que nous pouvons trouver chez nous»². La nature devient thérapeutique et prophylactique:

Tout homme qui a eu beaucoup à se plaindre des hommes cherche la solitude. Il est même très remarquable que tous les peuples malheureux par leurs opinions, leurs mœurs ou leurs gouvernements, ont produit des classes nombreuses de citoyens entièrement dévoués à la solitude et au célibat /.../. La solitude ramène en partie l'homme au bonheur naturel, en éloignant de lui le malheur social /.../. La solitude rétablit aussi bien les harmonies du corps que celles de l'âme³.

Les protagonistes sont nés dans cette nature ainsi décrite, ils grandissent et reçoivent l'éducation méritée. La pédagogie fondée sur la nature a la même série de vertus. La manière dans laquelle Paul et Virginie sont élevés est un extrait d'*Emile* ou de *l'Education*». Ainsi donc

Paul et Virginie n'avaient ni horloges, ni almanachs, ni livres de chronologie, d'histoire et de philosophie. Les périodes de leur vie se réglaient sur celles de la nature. Ils connaissaient les heures du jour par l'ombre des arbres ; les saisons, par les temps où ils donnent leurs fleurs ou leurs récoltes. /.../ Leur vie semblait attachée à celle des arbres, comme celle des faunes et des dryades. Ils ne connaissaient d'autres époques historiques que celles de la vie de leurs mères, d'autre chronologie que celle de leurs verges, et d'autre philosophie que de faire du bien à tout le monde, et de se résigner à la volonté de Dieu. Après tout, qu'avaient besoin ces jeunes gens d'être riches et savants à notre manière? Leurs besoins et leur ignorance ajoutaient encore à leur félicité. /.../ Ainsi croissaient ces deux enfants de la nature⁴.

¹ Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, Paris, Garnier Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1873, pp. 307-309.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

b) les mœurs corrompues

Leurs parents sont évidemment cloués, loin de leur pays d'origine, la France – suite aux mauvaises mœurs et à la société corrompue, c'est-à-dire à cause des «... cruels préjugés de l'Europe...»⁵ tombés aux degrés autorisés par la nature.

Le drame des jeunes commence au moment où une tante riche de France, riche et sans successeurs, se souvient de sa nièce malheureuse de Madagascar. Sous le prétexte de l'enrichissement de celle-ci, elle demande Virginie pour lui assurer l'éducation et lui arranger un mariage avantageux. Réservée au début, madame de la Tour, consent à lui donner la liberté de choix. En motivant son option par le soin pour Paul et sa mère, pour sa propre mère aussi, Virginie quitte Madagascar et arrive à Paris. Après l'éducation reçue au couvent et les accords échoués, Virginie quitte Paris et revient au Madagascar. Au moment de son débarquement, une tempête détruit le bateau et Virginie meurt sous les yeux de Paul et de sa mère. Deux mois après la mort de Virginie, Paul s'éteint lui aussi, profondément chagriné. Les deux mères meurent elles aussi en quittant les deux chaumières qui les avaient abritées, témoins de l'amour et du bonheur des jeunes, loin du monde et de la société. La tante méchante est hospitalisée dans un hospice et perd ainsi toute sa fortune qui avait maintenu sa malignité. Il ne reste après leur amour que des ruines et le témoignage de la nature qui l'avait abrité. La morale manque d'équivoque: là où l'on intervient au nom de la civilisation et de la société, des normes et des arts progressistes, le bonheur et l'amour disparaissent. C'est ainsi que Rousseau est confirmé dans le registre de l'amour tragique et l'amour trouve son argument pour sa méthodologie-dans la nature.

Au-delà du commentaire du récit, est-il possible donc de rester en discussion les suppositions de l'idée sur laquelle se construit le scénario rousseauiste?

Tout d'abord on met en discussion la thèse générale de la compatibilité de l'amour et de la nature. L'amour est le fait naturel (parce qu'on part de sa priorité dans le déroulement de l'histoire telle quelle). Il a la priorité devant la nature- la nature lui suit. Deuxièmement ce qui est discutable c'est la nature, c'est-à-dire sa compatibilité avec le premier fait, avec l'amour. L'amour est-il compatible avec la nature? Au besoin, la nature peut-elle servir pour contexte favorable – dans sa logique! – à la nature? Dans l'idéologie de Rousseau, seulement la nature peut servir l'amour. De plus, la nature est la condition essentielle pour la finalité de l'amour. Si l'amour est ce qui est donné, c'est alors que la nature devient exclusivement ce qu'elle peut être. La nature est donc l'ordre idéal de l'amour, son développement vers l'être. La nature est l'amour dans la potence du bien propre réel. C'est-à-dire la nature devient plus qu'un décor ou un contexte aléatoire, elle devient téléologie unique. Il n'y a pas de

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

choix entre la nature et autre chose, entre la nature et la société. Or, quand il est à choisir et ce que l'on choisit c'est la société ou la civilisation, le résultat est dramatique, telle la mort pour les personnages en discussion qui avaient encore des doutes concernant leur monde, le monde de la nature et du Madagascar historique, en le considérant vraiment l'option parfaite. D'une manière sans équivoque dans la construction du destin de ces personnages, la mort, c'est-à-dire la mort de tous, est le prix payé pour les doutes. Ils meurent parce qu'ils croient encore dans l'autre monde, le monde civilisé comme étant le bon monde, vraiment le bon monde. Ils meurent parce qu'ils ne croient pas en eux-mêmes et dans leur monde. Ils ne croient pas à la nature et à ce qu'ils avaient déjà expérimenté. La mort devient punition pour le manque de confiance. Ils souffrent de thomisme tardif. Malgré l'expérience de la générosité de la nature, ils la mettent en doute. La nature tombe et perd devant eux, à la faveur de la société. Le paradoxe et le non thomisme apparaissent ici parce qu'ils avaient aussi expérimenté le déficit du monde. Or, leur option est en faveur d'un mal bien connu, de ce mal qui les avait conduits dans cet endroit. En paraphrasant Méphistophélès ils savent le mal, ils ont vécu le bien et pourtant ils choisissent le mal.

La mort est punition mais aussi argument rhétorique pour les athées, c'est-à-dire pour les opposants de Rousseau y compris ceux de la nature proposée.

Paul et Virginie sont la démonstration artistique, narrative de l'idéologie de la nature du XVIII^e siècle.

La nature de Rousseau protège les quatre personnages des maux de la société. Il n'y a ni vieillesse, ni mort ni souffrance dans cette nature. Ou bien, s'il y en a, le mal est absent dans leur vie. Evidemment, il y a pour les deux femmes vieillesse, maladie, mort. Néanmoins, elles ne vivent pas de la même manière. Il est évident aussi que l'amour est compatible avec la nature par la régénération continue et par la jeunesse de la nature. La nature est la force générative continue. La société, c'est-à-dire la société civilisée, suppose une avance de l'âge, une maturité, même une vieillesse. Là où il y a convention, il y a aussi rigidité, obstacles et manque de liberté.

La nature n'a pas de complexes et elle ne produit pas d'inhibition. L'amour au milieu de la nature suppose l'absence des complexes et des inhibitions artificielles.

Malgré la continuité entre les deux, l'amour dans la nature est une utopie historique. Il ne s'agit pas seulement du caractère utopique des idées rousseauistes, caractère qu'il est possible à soutenir et à être refusé par sa logique intrinsèque. L'utopie de l'amour dans la nature est vérifiée historiquement et au point de vue casuistique. Il n'y a pas d'amours célèbres, histoires d'amour hors de l'histoire. Toute l'histoire de l'amour se passe exclusivement dans le périmètre de la société désavouée par Rousseau.

La beauté de l'amour, c'est-à-dire ses données qui le transporte au delà du déroulement simple de l'instinct, tient à l'histoire. «L'amour est plus jeune que

l'humanité, il n'est pas né en même temps, tel que la faim, le soif ou le plaisir charnel»⁶. Or, la beauté de l'amour se rapporte à son sentiment de diachronie ou de péripétie, de succession. L'instinct de l'amour disparaît instantanément. A vrai dire, l'amour dure, c'est-à-dire il évolue, avance, a besoin de temps pour avoir lieu. C'est pourquoi l'amour n'est pas un simple acte sexuel. L'amour est conditionné de la dialectique compliquée entre l'instant et le temps. Il suppose tous les deux, mais ses différents ressorts exigent soit le moment, soit le temps d'une manière différenciée.

La beauté de l'amour réside dans ce qui résulte de l'alternance dialectique entre moment et temps, de la tension entre les deux et de leur équilibre, de leur puissance mais aussi de leur menace continue et mise en danger.

L'élément sexuel découvre dans la nature sa liberté totale. Dans la nature, le sexe n'est pas prohibitif. Il n'y a pas de pudeur, ni complexe névrotique mis sous le signe du désir incestueux. La nature n'a pas son Oedipe. A une distance surprenante, Rousseau est confirmé par la psychologie. Ce n'est pas clair, si dans sa théorie du subconscient, Freud ne le doit pas à Rousseau. L'angoisse dans la civilisation, c'est-à-dire l'angoisse vers laquelle la civilisation conduit invariablement s'identifie au jugement, *mutatis mutandis*, que Rousseau fait au XX^e siècle. Vraiment, Freud est un Rousseau recyclé qui parle une autre langue et à une autre sensibilité. Toute la thérapie de Freud est la technique que Rousseau n'a pas eu le temps d'achever. L'impulsion, le libre discours, la libération des complexes, le sofa du psychanalyste, les paroles du patient et l'écoute docile du médecin tiennent de la thérapie tardive de Rousseau.

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L'amour dans la nature – avant que Rousseau n'élabore sa philosophie sociale et politique – a son argument dans le couple divin. Adam et Eve se retrouvent sous la protection divine du moment où leur relation se consomme dans le respect envers la nature. C'est-à-dire leurs sollicitations et leurs révérences embrassent la nature, strictement. A un moment donné, pour les deux, la nature est ignorée et on fait place au serpent créature d'autre ordre. Le serpent n'appartient pas à l'ordre de la nature et son apparition vient pour la détruire.

Pour eux, pour Adam et Eve, la nature n'est pas assez. Eve n'a pas besoin de pomme, puisque les fruits étaient à sa portée. On lui crée le besoin artificiel. La tentation est l'alimentation qui vient pour contester la nature et offrir quelque chose de plus. Le fruit interdit est la contestation ayant pour base une pomme. La pomme offerte par le serpent est l'alimentation basée sur les E, et la révolte tardive contre l'alimentation artificielle basée sur les composants chimiques et les modifications génétiques, tout cela est l'expression de l'âge d'or, la nostalgie d'après un temps où rien de cela n'était recommandé.

⁶ Marcelle Tinayre, *Histoire de l'amour*, Paris, Flammarion, 1935 (édition roumaine, Casa de Editură și Presă Viața Românească, 1992, p. 3).

La manière dans laquelle la relation entre Edam et Eve a évolué à l'intérieur de la nature est insuffisante et gâtée à cause d'un manque (d'un besoin). La nature ne peut offrir justement ce dont on a envie.

Dans la *Genèse* il n'y a rien d'une poésie d'amour. On peut y trouver quelque image du bonheur, mais non pas l'image de l'amour.

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Evidemment, on ne doit pas confondre sans limites la perspective de Rousseau avec la perspective moderne de l'écologisme. Pour Rousseau c'était la dimension sociale et morale qui comptait tandis que pour l'écologisme c'est la dimension économique et politique.

Paul et Virginie continue la tradition de l'amour idyllique où l'abandon simple et total protège contre les intérêts de groupe et de fortune, c'est-à-dire de toutes les choses sophistiquées qui, au premier instant, ont un caractère totalement étrange devant l'amour.

Il y a aussi une incapacité d'effectuer une herméneutique de l'amour réduite à sa dimension idyllique et pastorale. La simplicité du trajet de l'amour réduit jusqu'à l'absence les éléments qui donnent, dans un sens physique, relief et physionomie.

Ainsi donc la nature ne participe pas à leur amour, seulement la société peut le faire. La nature n'a ni la volonté ni l'enthousiasme de l'implication. Elle est connue absente dans sa neutralité. La société, par bénévolat et implication naturelle, devient composante de l'amour.

L'absence du caractère épique du roman doit, dans une certaine mesure, au crédit accordé à la nature. La nature n'est pas épique, elle n'a pas d'histoire, elle n'est pas racontée et ne se laisse pas racontée. Les épisodes géologiques où la transformation de la nature est mise au niveau cosmique ne sont pas l'histoire de la nature proprement dite.

L'admiration de la nature chez Rousseau est plutôt en manière idéologique et rhétorique que dans celle ontologique, cosmologique ou scientifique. La signification religieuse qui est donnée à la nature ne remplit pas ses dimensions absentes.

Le nom même de Bernardin montre un attachement à la nature comme pierre, c'est-à-dire pierre de construction. La pierre sur laquelle l'église de la nature va être édifiée, c'est-à-dire l'idéologie dans laquelle la nature se transforme en ce qu'elle ne s'était jamais retrouvée. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre montre aussi, au niveau du nom et dans la mesure où le nom a une certaine signification, comment la pierre, c'est-à-dire la matière anorganique de la nature, sert de base pour la construction de l'esprit. La nature de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre est finalement innovation de l'esprit qui se justifie dans le monde, c'est-à-dire dans le monde qu'il crée. La nature de Rousseau et de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre est leur nature à eux, pas la nature en général, la nature telle qu'elle a été offerte à une histoire entière.

La nature en question devient le germe d'une nouvelle vision pour la postérité. Elle modèlera une histoire dans son ensemble, non seulement littéraire, mais aussi politique, idéologique et économique. La nature de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre et de Rousseau deviendra dorénavant un tout explicatif pour toutes les grandes constructions spéculatives de la philosophie.

Dans l'ordre réel historique, l'amour a lieu dans la société, dans le territoire d'une histoire qui lui donne une place et la soutient par des ingrédients de conjoncture et de temps.

Pratiquement, on parle de l'amour strictement dans le contexte d'un monde existant et d'une histoire. L'amour hors de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire dans la nature simple, n'est pas trouvable en ce qui est déjà connu. Mais est-il possible de penser un tel amour?

Peut-on donc penser un amour hors d'une société minimale, des conventions et des morales solides?

L'ordre impliqué ici par les positions logiques prend la forme de la réponse positive ou négative. L'amour hors de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire dans la nature simple, est difficile d'être retrouvé en ce qui est déjà connu. Mais peut-on penser un tel amour? Peut-on penser un amour hors d'une société minimale, des conventions et des morales solides?

Paul et Virginie resteront hors de tout un modèle pérenne. Le cinéma l'utilisera, de même la littérature et l'art.

TOWARDS A VISUAL DIALECTICS. THE TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ROMANIAN TOTALITARIAN ART

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Abstract: In communist Romania, a questionable reverence for those artists working together with an enduring faith in the labour ethic played a significant role in shaping self – and civic identity from the late 19th till the near end of the second half of the twentieth century. Certainly it was a commonplace assumption that what the artists did as communists was often the most outstanding indicator of who they were. The diversity of images and objects belonging to Romanian socialist realism placed upon the worker's heels a false property of heavenly ingredients for the birth of the new communist man, and the official painters were not far from this commitment. In the present article, I shall dwell upon the way Romanian totalitarian art turned the original role of art into a manipulative tool which legitimately paved the way of the communist political system to a powerful and influential position.

Keywords: Romanian socialist realism, communist art, communist new man, proletariat.

As some art theoreticians have written, such painted and sculpted representations of muscular producers, often accompanied by the fruits of their labors, helped to deflect exploitation era anxieties about unemployment, and undercut worries about the roles and responsibilities of masculine breadwinners. By largely avoiding contemporary labor issues such as collective bargaining, deskilling, mass-production, unionization, work-stoppages, and strikes, the vast body of these images and objects helped also to bolster post-war era government and business intentions to cast and constrict wage labor as a classless and collective enterprise. That is an iconography of labor presented in much Romanian communist art of the 1950s often upheld status quo patterns of corporate management and control, rather than proposing a radical critique of the meaning of work and the relationships between workers and management.

This is most obviously the case among much (but not all) government sponsored “bourgeois” art, and it continued under both government and private patronage during World War II. Comparable with the U.S.S.R., from 1941 to 1945, the success of wartime mobilization demanded the nourishment of an iconography of labor, and Romanian artists produced plentiful militant posters overlays the silk-screened silhouette of an Romanian little boy upon a cannon asking the audience: “war?... who wants WAR?”¹.

Objectified and dehumanized, he symbolically fuel a burgeoning Romanian communist so-called *non militarism*, itself fueled by the economic mandates of socialism. As these type of artworks reveal, from 1947 to 1957, Romanian artists produced a large number of images and objects which meshed with the social mores and political ideology of Romanian communist government and Romanian steel works, both of which were aligned in the revitalization and sustenance of a culture of communism. A vast iconography of labor was marketed to the Romanian public, aimed at persuading people of various tenets of this kind of culture, including faith in work and faith in technology. Many art theoreticians² argued that many images including workers, women or children, were *emblems of production*, and that both the workers and the kind of work depicted emphasized the technological renewal which The Five Year Plan envisioned as essential to modern Romanian society. Some were simply offbeat and oddball. Obviously, neither of these objects is particularly explicable as political propaganda. They might be dismissed out of hand as bad design and bad art but, issues of taste and quality aside, their existence complicates many of our assumptions about the representation of work and workers in Romanian art in the 1950s. So do other images and objects in the different museums or exhibitions collections.

Women, for example, when depicted in much of the “official” government art of the 1950s, are usually cast as tractor drivers, helpmates, mothers, weavers or lathe operators. Women workers were rarely illustrated according to the so-called the turning points of the history of communism in Romania. There are a few pretty rare examples including woman tractor driver³, or a weaver⁴. Both feature depict autonomous female workers. The comparison of the two portraits leads to questions about what kind of work women felt comfortable about doing

¹ Pierre Grant, *război?... cine vrea RĂZBOI?*, reproduced in *Arta Plastică în Republica Populară Română. 30th December 1947-30th December 1957*, București, Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1957.

² Among them I mention the name of Amelia Pavel, Ion Jalea or the Soviet commissar V. S. Kemenov.

³ Francisc Ferch, *Tractorista* (Woman Tractor-Driver).

⁴ Justina Popescu, *La Uzinele „23 August” cresc cadre noi* (New Cadres Are Trained at “23 August” Works).

that work, and how the artists wanted to represent them, and female labor, during the communist era.

Certain women artists, including Justina Popescu or Lidia Agricola, produced paintings which pointedly praise the state of labor, and the relationship between industrial labour and communist vision upon agriculture, in the 1950s. Octavian Angheluță's gloomy painting⁵ depicts several steel workers trying to fuel an abandoned furnace inside a mill and a sculpture done by Maximilian Schulmann⁶ shows the "exploited class" gazing to something beyond them. Near them can be seen a ruined furnace and on their left, a kind of train which awaits the energy to come immediately. All these images present a particularly heroic or idealized Romanian communist worker, and with their emphasis on mine closures and labor strife, the glorifying of the industrial production. More interestingly, because all of these pictures were produced under the auspices of a single ideology, all of them catered to the New World image of a collective and cooperative way of work. This suggests that an "official" ideological or propagandistic agenda was more dominant than we may want to believe. At the very least, such objects show that 1950s government arts patronage was punctuated by uniform declarations of the razing of the bourgeois past and its stability.

Plenty of these "social realist" images, as they are usually called, and more than a few take a dim view of the large-scale mass-industrialization that organized labor, more or less together, pursued in the 1950s.

On one level, the appearance of naked men in 1950s Romanian art signals is a continuation of a long-standing aesthetic interest in the ideal human form, mostly male, from the Greco-Roman era to the Renaissance. Following this, the relatively rare nineteenth century fine arts depictions of Romanian naked sculptures, such as Ștefan Ionescu Valbudea's sculpture, *Sleeping Child* which actually shows a teenager at his resting hour, which romanced the male figure as a pure age figure and with no work ethic.

Artists, trying to devise an aesthetic vocabulary which might nourish the era's struggling labor movement, drew on the traditional academic symbol of the heroic male nude. Some art critics argued that which features five skilled workers clad only in leather aprons or loincloths, such Romanian socialist realism images and objects also functioned as discourses about masculinity and manliness. The male body has historically functioned as both the site and nexus of cultural signification and during the *Golden Age* of art, depictions of muscular, working class male bodies both represented an ideal of manliness feared lost and signaled class fears about the changing nature of work.

⁵ Octavian Angheluță, *Reparații la cuptoare la Uzina Reșița* (Repair of Furnaces at the Reșița Works).

⁶ Maximilian Schulmann, *Furnalistul* (Furnace Worker).

Turn-of-the-century images of nearly nude workers, in other words, upheld notions of a mythical past when manual labor defined manliness, and also spoke to an acute *crisis of masculinity* that was set in motion with the burgeoning of a modern way of work that consisted of big factories, mass-production, and the loss of the independent and autonomous soldiers, for example. The appearance of muscle-bound and seminude male laborers in Romanian art of the 1950s testifies to similarly complex cultural understandings of labor and masculinity in Soviet art. The straining bodies depicted in the Hermitage Museum or in the Tretyakov Gallery, for example, are obviously symbolic, but of what? On a simple level, they serve as icons for the thousands of workingmen who built the socialist edifices from the late 1930s to 1953. In a more sophisticated analysis, their actions-and those of the many other workers illustrated in the art of the 1950s attest to the general desire of Soviets during the post war period to move on and get out of the hard times of the present, and into a better tomorrow. The multitude of coal miners and steel workers in Romanian socialist realist paintings doesn't offer aesthetic alternatives to the "bourgeois economic era" and the same argument can be utilized to explain the number of active male bodies that are illustrated again and again in 1950s pictures and sculpture.

Ironically, when social and industrial progress seemed inert, many Romanian artists chose to depict sturdy, strong, muscular, and dynamic laborers, as if these painted and sculpted symbols of manly might and movement might actually propel Romania out of its economic slump. But what do we make of the nakedness, or near-nakedness, of many of these male workers? The powerful laborer of Boris Caragea⁷, for instance, is nude and bare-chested⁸. Among the many other examples are the Lucaci's sculptures⁹ or Maxy's paintings¹⁰, both of which feature semi clothed working men, one duo operating steel furnace, and the other counting the fish harvest. The Welder¹¹, a 1953 sculpture depicts a similarly shirtless young man, his head turned slightly, and the weight of his torso relaxed in a traditional pseudo-*contrapposto* stance.

While each of these images symbolizes work, they also embody the deep-felt anxieties of nonworking males of the beginning of communism in Romania, for whom labor had been the primary form of identity.

At a time when that identity was obviously in crisis, these pictures suggest that artists attempted to sustain a sense of the masculine self through depictions of the manly body, a body defined by muscles and might. In a fairly typical

⁷ Boris Caragea, *Miner - bronz* (Coal Miner - bronze).

⁸ Mihail Onofrei, *Montarea liniei ferate* (Lying of Railway Track).

⁹ Constantin Lucaci, *Creșterea tinerelor cadre la Reșița* (Young Cadres Are Trained at Reșița).

¹⁰ M. H. Maxy, *Bogăția apelor noastre* (Wealth of Our Waters).

¹¹ Iosif Fekete, *Sudor* (The Welder).

pattern of Soviet and Romanian artistic response, they avoided the real labor issues of power and authority in the workplace and among workers, and focused their attention specifically political manipulation.

In the 1950s, issues of labor collectivity, mass-production unionization, and workplace reform were similarly sublimated by artists who focused on the manliness of the male body and, ultimately, on the immortality of that body. Nearly nude, these manly workers are eternal as objects of the Romanian gaze. Well-muscled, sinuous, and virile, they are the source of visual pleasure and the ideological artistic motto. What may have been desired most is to literally have, hold, or own the body of the worker. First of all, these representations of the worker's body may be seen as signals of collectivist desire to own labor and control the working class. It is worth noting that, aside from purely aestheticized representations of naked men after the World War II in Romanian art, the male most often depicted nude or nearly nude was communist worker, and the act of reducing the Romanian individualism to a savage, exotic, and "primitive" body was akin to their social marginalization. It is also noteworthy that of the many Romanian artists who were openly committed to representing and encouraging labor and the labor movement in the 1950s, workers were consistently illustrated fully clothed. The body of labor is seen marching to work, whereas in Fekete's sculpture, it is the laborer's body that is singled out and openly invites our brazen scrutiny of male flesh. Fekete's worker is, in fact, not working but posing: flanked by the tools of his trade, his protective goggles perched on his head, and his leather safety gloves completely encasing his hands and forearms, The Welder's thumbs are firmly hooked into the beltbuckle of his overall. His downward gaze, and the obvious positioning of his big gloves on his thrusting hips draws our attention to his groin-not to his status as a skilled laborer. But, labors aren't metaphoric: they have only real utility, save as hard bodies whose athleticism serves to pique the admiration and persuasion of spectators.

Dehumanized as permanent working objects, these images of seminude workers are also indicative of a unique line of importance of work for the Romanian communist regime in the 1950s. With the shift from manual labor to the machine operations of the large-scale industrial workplace, bodily strength was increasingly superfluous for the typical Romanian workingman. But, if 1950s artists, and audiences, found everything very heroic or ennobling about the real conditions of factory labor, and the image of the mostly sedentary and highly-schooled worker was found similarly lacking, it is no surprise that they struggled to hold on to an image of dynamic masculine strength. Men continued to identify with and pursue a masculine image defined by muscular brawn and athleticism. The strong male body they promoted was emblematic only for the communist ideology not for leisure and consumption which dominated, for example, the twentieth century American culture and society. As an American

art critic writes¹², the “manly worker” image offered by many American artists of that similar era “embodied nostalgia for an imagined past of individual dignity lost in the modern world of work”. But the prevalent seminudity of that image also signaled a widespread loss of certainty about the centrality that labor had traditionally held as the key indicator of masculine identity in the United States. The ambivalent images imposed a newer model of masculinity, one which dominates today, which posits the strong male body as simply a body, an icon of personal goals and an object of political ideology, of social construction and production.

As these diverse images and objects in the Romanian socialist realist art in the 1950s demonstrate, there were many codes placed upon the bodies of male laborers during that period. While often ambiguous, the image of the worker evoked tensions about masculinity at a time when the cultural construction of the politic was in upheaval. With the exception of the pictures and sculptures generated by specific trade and labor unions, the 1950s also marked the near end of a period in Romanian art which saw the production of a significant number of images and artifacts attuned to the themes of work and workers. Many Romanians claim to continue to believe in the work ethic, but lotto sales and dreams of “easy winning” increasingly dominate our national behaviour. The ways in which 1950s artists portrayed workingmen, and working male bodies, their images and objects bring up many other points for consideration, from analyzing how men and women perceived and valued male worker appearance during the 1950s. However, these are all issues for further speculation in the study of twentieth century Romanian art.

¹² Barbara Melosh, “Manly Work: Public Art and Masculinity in Depression America”, in Barbara Melosh, (ed.) *Gender and American History Since 1890*, New York, Routledge, p. 173.

REDISCOVERING THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION: MEANINGS, ASCETICS, AND PHILOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION/REDECOUVRIR LA TRADITION RELIGIEUSE: SENS, ASCETISME ET INTERPRÉTATION PHILOLOGIQUE

THE CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS CHRIST. THE ORIGINS OF THE CROSS AND ITS ANCIENT MEANINGS*

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Abstract: The present paper deals with historical origins of the cross as torture instrument during Antiquity, starting from the Persian Empire until Hellenistic Epoch. A special emphasis is put on the description of the ways in which crucifixion occurs in 1st B.C and 1st A.C, the additional torture modalities, the places dedicated, as well as on the emotional impact to the audience. Far apart the particular historical aspects and the analysis of how crucifixion penetrated in the area where Christ lived, His crucifixion is seen in the political context of the period, by taking into account the role of the political personalities implied and the essential anamnestic role for that particular event.

Keywords: Hellenism, Judaism, cross, torture.

We cannot integrate the meanings and the impact of the cross, and specifically the process of crucifixion within the context of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., without going to its roots, without trying to understand the origins of the act of crucifixion, and without drawing a pattern of psychological and physical nature which have had occurred on the persons present at the process. Especially, when it comes to our Lord's sacrifice on the cross, the instrument of torture which brought us salvation for sin and the promise of eternal life, we cannot go further with the research without trying to

* This work was supported by the strategic grant POSDRU/89/1.5/S/61968, Project ID 61968 (2009), co-financed by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013

imagine entering the minds and souls of the people who were witnesses to Jesus Christ's redemptive death on the cross. Nowadays we live in a time where anamnesis has the outmost importance in religious and social life, and going back to the times that our Lord Jesus Christ lived and trying to recapture the mood and the actual moments of the people in that time becomes very important. That's what we are trying to achieve in the following study, recapturing the meaning, the impact and the historical importance of Jesus Christ's last moments on the Cross, and reestablishing the traces which brought us salvation through suffering and through the Cross. It's not an easy task, on the contrary, based on the holy apostles testimony in the Gospels we are forced to take into consideration every imaginable aspect of the Cross and its meanings.

First of all we should analyze the etimological meaning of the word "cross" as it appears in the ancient greek language. It is important to know that it had several forms of use, quite different in aspect¹.

It is important to know that in ancient times, punishments often included death sentences, which involved painfull methods of torture leading to the death of the condemned. The fact that the cross was a symbol of torture is not accidental, as we will notice further on. We must observe some interesting aspects regarding the ethymological aspects of the word. For example, When Herodotus uses the verb *anaskolopizein* and *anastauroun*, he undoubtedly makes the distinction necessary regarding semantics, although the two words bear the same meaning, to crucify. *Anaskolopizein* is a more personal verb, reffering only to living persons, while *anastauroun* is used for corpses. In the NT, the verb *stauroun*, is the most frequently used, with emphasis on *stauros* for the cross of Christ. *Skolops* is a variant less used. Both Philo and Josephus are testimony for the use of the verb *(ana)stauroun*².

Probably the first use of crucifixion as a method of punishment ever recorder is found among the Persians (*Herodotus Hist.* I. 128.2; III. 132.2, 2, 159.1). The Persians probably derived it from the Assyrian practice of impalement. Later on, the Greeks adopted it and employed it in their methods of punishment. Especially Alexander the Great and the Carthaginians used this method for slaves and non-citizens. Usually, the Romans came into contact with hellenistic culture and it was in the very nature of this cultural contact the practice of crucifixion became adopted into the roman punishment apparatus. We have testimonies that in the OT, blasphemers were "hanged on a tree", as a

¹ "The greek word for cross (*ανασταυρόω anastauroō*, *ξύλονxylon*, *σταυρός stauros*, *συσταυρόω systauroō*, lat. *crux*, *crucifigo*, I fasten to a cross) means primarily an upright stake or beam, and secondarily stake used as an instrument for punishment and execution". D. R. W. Wood, & I. H. Marshall, *New Bible dictionary* (3rd edition), Leicester, England, Downers Grove, Ill., InterVarsity Press, 1996, p.245.

² David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York, Doubleday, 1996, c1992, S. 1, p.1207.

means of humiliation³. As we can notice, Hellenism was the main vessel through which crucifixion was introduced into Jewish territories, being practiced mainly as a form of cultural contamination. Because of the syncretic nature of the times preceding the birth of Christ, and after His death and Ascension, the adoption of crucifixion by the Jews was obvious. We cannot state precisely the degree of this adoption, but what we can state for certain is that the process was real, especially when the Jews entered under Roman jurisdiction.

It is of utmost importance to know that even if Hellenism was the main element which brought the cross into the realities of Palestine, crucifixion was a form of torture widespread in the ancient world. There are sources which indicate that even in India, Egypt, North Africa and Germany punishment by crucifixion was something usual.

The *Holman treasury of key Bible words* mentions that between 4 B.C. and A.D. 70, the number of people crucified reached at some times into the thousands. This number is not surprising if we take into consideration that most of the capital crimes committed in antiquity was punished by the most horrific deaths ever imagined. The savagery of this method gives us an insight upon the character of that times. From the same source we find that three types of crosses were used as instruments of torture: a cross with the crossbar below the head of the upright bar (Latin cross); a T-shaped cross (St. Anthony's cross); and an X-shaped cross (St. Andrew's cross)⁴.

Regarding the details of the crucifixion itself, the testimonies we have seem to indicate that the torment was unbearable for the average individual, with death frequently occurring immediately after the victim was mounted on the cross. It's not difficult to imagine the psychological trauma which accompanied the tortured one, often leading to heart failure. R.L. Cooper gives us a detailed insight into the moments of crucifixion, enough for us to reflect upon the feelings dwelling into the hearts of the beholders.

Victims of crucifixion did not usually die for two or three days, but this was determined by the presence or absence of the seat and the footrest. A person suspended by his hands lost blood pressure quickly, and the pulse rate was increased. Usually the victim had been severely beaten or flogged before

³ This specific term might be a reference to the cross as mentioned in *Deut.* 21:23. After Hellenistic culture came into Palestine, crucifixion is not specifically mentioned. Antiochus IV Epiphanes was crucifying the Jews who would not accept Hellenization (*Josephus Antt.* XII. 240-41; cf. *1 Macc.* 1:44-50). Josephus states that Alexander Jannaeus executed 800 Pharisean rebels in the town of Bethome (*Josephus BJ I.* 4.6; *Antt.* XIII. 14.2-3). It is thought that the Jewish revolt was precipitated by the crucifixion of 3600 Jews. (A.D. 66; *BJ II.* 14.9) A. C. Myers, *The Eerdmans Bible dictionary*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 1987, p. 246.

⁴E. E. Carpenter, & P. W. Comfort, *Holman treasury of key Bible words: 200 Greek and 200 Hebrew words defined and explained*, Nashville, TN Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2000, p. 260.

crucifixion took place. Orthostatic collapse through insufficient blood circulating to the brain and the heart would follow shortly. If the victim could ease his body by supporting himself with the seat and footrest, the blood could be returned to some degree of circulation in the upper part of his body. To fix the hands to the crossbeam, cords or nails were used; sometimes the feet were nailed as well. The nails were about the size of railroad spikes. When it was desired to bring the torture to an end, the victim's legs were broken below the knees with a club. It was then no longer possible for him to ease his weight, and the loss of blood circulation was accentuated. Coronary failure would follow shortly⁵. It is worth mentioning that the legal procedure before the crucifixion itself included, official papers in which the condemned was inventoried⁶.

Speaking of our Lord Jesus Christ's crucifixion, it is mandatory to analyze a little bit the historical personalities which ruled over Palestine in that time, to understand their motivations, their judgments which brought condemnation upon the King of the Jews. **Caesar Tiberius** was the adopted son of Augustus Caesar. His reign began immediately after Augustus's death in 14 A.D., lasting till his own death in 37. His rule was specifically marked by political tensions and discontent among Roman senatorial aristocracy, which were less confident in the abilities of Tiberius to rule, compared to those of the much admired Augustus. The majority of his life was marked by service to Rome. Before becoming emperor, he activated into the military service and administrative positions, being a successful general. He was the one who succeeded in conquering Pannonia and other areas around the Danube. During his reign, Pontius Pilate was appointed procurator of the province Judea, serving him from 26-36. To understand the respect which he gained among the Palestinian rulers, it is sufficient to state that Herod Antipas founded a city, Tiberias in his honor. The main source of information we have regarding Tiberius is Tacitus work, *Annals*⁷.

Herod Antipas, was the son of Herod the Great and the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (4 B.C. - 39 A.D.). Luke speaks about him, naming him pejoratively "the fox" (*Luke* 13:31-32). The NT mentions him frequently after the simple name Herod. Herod's territories are the places in which most activities of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ took place. (*Matt.* 14:1-12; *Mark* 6:14-29; *Luke* 3:19-20; 9:7-9; *Mark* 8:15; *Luke* 13:31-32; 23:6-16; *Acts* 4:27)⁸. But what was

⁵ R. L. Cooper, *Mark. Holman New Testament Commentary*, 2, Holman Reference, Nashville, TN Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2000, pp. 265–266.

⁶The victim's offense was usually published by a crier who preceded him to the place of execution. Sometimes his crime was written on a tablet that was carried by the condemned man himself. Or if the victim carried the crossbeam, another person carried the tablet before him. The tablet was fixed to the cross at the time of execution. [Ibid.]

⁷D. N. Freedman, A. C. Myers, & A. B. Beck, *Eerdmans dictionary of the Bible*, Grand Rapids, Mich., W.B. Eerdmans, 2000, p.1003.

⁸P. J. Achtemeier, Harper & Row, P., & Society of Biblical Literature, *Harper's Bible dictionary* (1st edition.), San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1986, pp. 386-388.

the most characteristic for Herod Antipas was his evil heart and twisted behaviour⁹.

Pontius Pilate was a typical Roman, not of the antique, simple stamp, but of the imperial period, a man not without some remains of the ancient Roman justice in his soul, yet pleasure-loving, imperious, and corrupt. He hated the Jews whom he ruled, and in times of irritation freely shed their blood. They returned his hatred with cordiality, and accused him of every crime, maladministration, cruelty, and robbery. He visited Jerusalem as seldom as possible; for, indeed, to one accustomed to the pleasures of Rome, with its theatres, baths, games, and gay society, Jerusalem, with its religiousness and ever-smouldering revolt, was a dreary residence. When he did visit it he stayed in the palace of Herod the Great, it being common for the officers sent by Rome into conquered countries to occupy the palaces of the displaced sovereigns¹⁰. Pilate played the main role in the trial of Jesus Christ, being the one who washed his hands when the Lord was condemned to be crucified.

For His contemporaries, Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, was no doubt the most stunning, influential and inspiring character mankind has ever witnessed. The impact which Jesus left throughout His life in Palestine was tremendous, forever marking the lives of those who followed Him and tried to apply His teachings into their lives. The fact that Jesus is found guilty of blasphemy and condemned to the most terrible death ever conceived, surprises us and at the same time when trying to relive the process of crucifixion itself, we are facing the most difficult task possible, asking ourselves, what where the witnesses thinking, what feelings did they have, how did their lives could go on after The Son of God was killed on the cross in terrible pain. Of course, for the apostles it was certain that Jesus promised them that He will return in glory to bring the Kingdom of Heaven and to give them eternal life.

Besides the crucifixion itself, although the testimony of the gospels are very brief in giving us details about the whole trial and death of Jesus, it is most certain that our Lord was condemned to bear the whole suffering brought by the instruments of torture reserved for the lower people.

It is striking that none of the Gospel accounts provides any description of the actual crucifixion. There is likely a number of reasons for this: (a) in the world for which the Gospels were written this barbaric punishment was well

⁹ To better understand the wicked character of Herod, we find out that he married with his niece, married with his half-brother Herod, and by doing this he divorced a daughter of Aretas, king of Nabateans. Because of this ungodly act, Herod was criticized by John the Baptist, this critique being also the bearer of John's decapitation (*Matt.* 14:1-12; *Mark* 6:14-29; *Luke* 3:19-20; 9:7-9). The apostle Luke mentions Herod as playing an important role in the trial of Jesus Christ (*Luke* 23:6-16; *Acts* 4:27) [Ibid.].

¹⁰ M. Easton, *Easton's Bible dictionary*, Oak Harbor, WA Logos Research Systems, Inc., 1996, p.990.

known, and the mere mention of it would evoke powerful images; (b) given the limited descriptions in the secular sources and the tenor of some comments, it would seem that educated Romans considered the subject so unsavoury as to be avoided as much as possible in conversation; (c) the one who had been crucified in this case was the beloved Lord, so to dwell on his agony on the cross felt wrong; and (d) the focus of interest of the Gospel accounts is not on the crucifixion as such, except as having happened, but on the larger pattern of significance within which the crucifixion finds its place¹¹.

More specifically the, New Testament references on Jesus's crucifixion are *Matt. 27:32-44*, *Luke 23:33-43*, *John 19:16-30*, *Mark 15:21-26*.

If the educated romans considered Jesus Christ a mere slave or a blasphemer, no doubt that His crucifixion meant nothing more than the crucifixion of every other villain in the province. Jesus's claim that He is the Son of Man who came into the world to forgive mankind of its sin, meant so little for the Pantheon gods worshippers. Nolland's claim that Jesus being the Lord Himself would be enough not to dwell to much on His death and crucifixion is partly acceptable, because His disciples and followers had His words and the promise of resurrection written on their hearts. So, beside the feeling of uselessness and suffering which the sight of crucifixion might have brought into the hearts of the witnessess, Nolland's claim is perfectly possible in the context of absolute belief into the coming Ressurrection.

Before the Cross, Jesus would have probably been flogged to inflict as much pain as possible. Flogging was the main means of inflicting as much pain as possible, preceding the execution of a capital punishment. The prisoner was stripped, beaten on the back by several guards using short leather whips, studded with sharp pieces of bone or metal. The most shocking fact is that there was no limit on the number of blows inflicted. John tells us that even after Jesus was beaten and flogged to death, they still wanted to see Him crucified (*John 19:1-7*)¹². The crucified one was meant to bear as much suffering as possible being elevated on the cross, for the final moments of his life. Such being the case, torture was inflicted in a variety of ways meant to induce fear and obedience into the hearts of the people.

In describing this sad scene, no less than five forms of beating are mentioned by the Evangelists Matthew and Mark and Luke. The latter has "(1) δέροντες, properly to skin or flay, and then beat severely; (2) ἔτυπτον, imperfect, they kept smiting him; (3) παίσας, to inflict blows or strike with violence; St. Matthew has (4) ἐκολάφισαν, they buffeted with clenched fist; and (5) ἑρράπισαν, they struck with open palms or rods; while St. Mark has ῥαπίσασιν

¹¹ J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek text*. Grand Rapids, Mich., Carlisle, W.B. Eerdmans, Paternoster Press, 2005, pp. 1191–1192.

¹² J. F. Walvoord, R. B. Zuck, & Dallas Theological Seminary, *The Bible Knowledge Commentary: An Exposition of the Scriptures*, Wheaton, IL, Victor Books, 1983, p.459.

... ἔβαλλον, they received him with blows of the hands or strokes of rods. It was on this occasion they did spit in his face and blindfold him, derisively bidding him “prophesy, who is it that smote thee?” with many other vilifications, in some or all of which the members of the council, as well as the menials of the court, took part. We now hasten from such a disgraceful scene – from the scornful spitting, the shameful scoffing, the savage smiting, the ribald revilings, the shocking cruelties, and the savage barbarities of the miscreants of the Sanhedrim – and pass on to his treatment by Herod¹³.

As M. Silva infers, crucifixion was the lowest form of treatment a human being could ever witness, and as such, the fact that our Lord Jesus Christ was meant to bear this stigma, inspire us with awe and divine grace¹⁴.

Because Jesus Christ was called the King of Jews, He instilled fear and illogical behaviour into the mind of the rulers in Palestine. For a man to claim that He is the true son of God who came into the world to establish the Kingdom of Heaven was mindshattering for the political authorities, both roman and jewish. After beating and flogging Him, the soldiers of Pilate crown Him with thorn twigs (*Matt. 27:29*). The crowning with the twigs was not meant by Pilate to inflict pain, but most probably to humiliated the One who was called King of the Jews. The supposed plant used was the thorny nabk, which grew abundantly about Jerusalem. Its branches could easily be platted into the form of a crown¹⁵.

The humiliation and suffering which Jesus Christ endured until His final breath on the Cross, was nothing else than the entire suffering brought by humankind’s sin, and which He had erased through His atonement on the Cross. For His contemporaries, even for the apostles, this holy mission was not only very hard to understand, but was also very frightening in the good sense of the word. With all this in mind, the apostle Mark’s testimony is very scarce in giving us details. Mark does not focus on the suffering brought by the crucifixion, his intentions being much more subtle. Mark’s record of the action of crucifixion is economical but powerful. The focus is not so much on the physical suffering involved (though Mark’s readers would have been well enough aware of what σταυροῦσιν αὐτόν meant without having it spelled out for them) as on the verbal abuse of Jesus both through the mocking placard on the cross and through the remarks of the various bystanders and

¹³*The Pulpit Commentary*: St. Mark, 2nd volume, 2004, H. D. M. Spence-Jones, Bellingham, WA, Logos Research Systems, Inc, 2004, pp. 333–340.

¹⁴Death by crucifixion was the most degrading forms of torture ever conceived, as stated by M. Silva, the fact that the Son of God is crucified, is means of kenosis meant to instill in the minds of His followers that He is the true Son of God. Silva, M., *Philippians* (2nd edition). Baker exegetical commentary on the New Testament, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005, p. 107.

¹⁵ The impact which the humiliating crowning may have had upon the spectators must have been incredible. All the hopes of the apostles and of Jesus’s followers may have been shattered during this horrific sight. But of course, they still believed that this Man, which endured suffering for man kind’s sin, is the Son of God. M. Easton, *Easton’s Bible*, p. 760.

even his fellow victims¹⁶. The place of the crucifixion must have had the character of death itself, mainly to inflict terror into the beholders. Thus Golgotha, a place which is by all means a symbol of death, becomes a symbol of Christ's death. The name, defined by the Gospel writers as "the place of a skull" (*Matt.* 27:33; *Mark* 15:22; *John* 19:17; cf. *Luke* 23:33; KJV "Calvary"), is the Greek transliteration of Aram. *Golgotha*, "skull" (cf. Vulg. Lat. *Calvaria*, whence Eng. "Calvary"). According to Origen, Golgotha was named after the skull of Adam, who was allegedly buried there. It is more likely that the name derived from a rocky protuberance located there that had the shape of a skull, but other explanations have also been given¹⁷. The crucifixion and the death of Christ was understood as a cosmic event, because of the unusual phenomena which took place on Golgotha. Because Christ was the Son of Man, his death would mean the abolishing of death and such it must have been accompanied by terrific signs.

At his crucifixion the sun was darkened; the stars appeared, and in all the world people lighted lamps from the sixth hour till evening; the moon appeared like blood, and the stars and Orion lamented at the sin of the Jews. (The other recension says that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, and Moses and Job, who were seen by the Jews, and many others 'whom I, too, saw', appeared in the body and thus lamented)¹⁸.

The significance of Christ's death on the Cross for his contemporaries and especially for the coming generations was tremendous. Not only that it brought the certitude of the Kingdom of Heaven and the death of sin, but also it brought the certitude that mankind was not alone in its struggle with suffering and injustice. The testimony left by the holy apostles makes us aware that His crucifixion was a symbol of our own selves, because for the believers, Jesus Christ is one whole body, the body of humankind. Thus all the scriptural references we find regarding to the meaning of Christ's crucifixion are meant to strengthen our faith.

¹⁶ "The irony which we noted in the previous scene continues to run strongly through these verses, both in the association of Jesus as βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων with two convicted ληστᾶι and as the reader reflects on the titles of honour which, perverted into sarcastic abuse by Jesus' enemies, nonetheless continue to point to the true nature of his mission as king (Messiah), replacer of the temple, and saviour. His enemies' call to come down from the cross sharply reminds us that it is precisely in order to fulfil these functions that he is there and must remain until the sacrifice he has spoken of at the Passover meal is completed, and his life has been given as a λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν." R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A commentary on the Greek text*, Grand Rapids, Mich. Carlisle W.B. Eerdmans, Paternoster Press, 2002, pp. 639–640.

¹⁷ A. C. Myers, *The Eerdmans Bible dictionary*, Grand Rapids, Mich. Eerdmans, 1987, p. 404.

¹⁸ M. R. James, *The apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses*, Bellingham, WA Logos Research Systems, Inc, 2009, p.104.

Besides this the cross is nothing more than an intermediary between the godly kingdom and the earthly one. Even the form of the cross makes us think as something global, something holy, makes us realize that the cross is a synthesis, between God and mankind, as Jesus was both real human and real God.

Here are the most remarkable New Testament texts related to the cross: Lest the cross of Christ be nullified (*1 Cor.* 1:17); we preach Christ crucified (*1 Cor.* 1:23); I decided to know nothing except Jesus Christ and him crucified (*1 Cor.* 2:2); he was crucified in weakness (*2 Cor.* 13:4); Jesus Christ was placarded as crucified (*Gal.* 3:1); he became obedient to death, even death on a cross (*Phil.* 2:8); having made peace through the blood of his cross (*Col.* 1:20); they crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to shame (*Heb.* 6:6); the city where their Lord was crucified (*Rev.* 11:8); our bill of debt was nailed to the cross (*Col.* 2:14); he bore our sins in his own body on the tree (*1 Pet.* 2:24); reconciled to God through the cross (*Eph.* 2:16); no boasting except in the cross (*Gal.* 6:14); the world has been crucified to me and I to the world (*Gal.* 6:14); the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing (*1 Cor.* 1:18); the stumbling block of the cross (*Gal.* 5:11); that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ (*Gal.* 6:12); enemies of the cross of Christ (*Phil.* 3:18)¹⁹.

Through the cross, the people who witnessed His crucifixion, bear with Him the pain and the suffering of mankind, they follow Him, because He is the source of Light, the Author of salvation, and they probably believed, as we do today, that what Christ is, we Christians shall be, if we imitate Christ²⁰.

¹⁹ C. A. Day, *Collins Thesaurus of the Bible*. Bellingham, WA, Logos Research Systems, Inc., p.209.

²⁰ A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, & A. C. Coxe, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vth volume: Translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, Oak Harbor Logos Research Systems, 1997, pp. 468–469.

MORTIFICATION AND SUFFERING. THE ASCETICS AND THE MYSTICS OF SAINT PAUL

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Abstract: This study attempts to reconsider the issue of mortification or suffering starting from the thesis of Metropolitan Nicolae Mladin, *L'Ascèse et la mystique de Saint Paul*. Our approach focuses on the central concept of ascèse. This is the materialization of baptism is the extension of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ in conscious life: asceticism is the abandonment of the old man (mortification) in favor of that renewed in Christ (*imitatio Christi*). In fact, the ascetic mortification and physical and spiritual pain are the concrete expression of the sacramental and mystical death. The meaning ascetic (Academic) of suffering, which is essential for Christians, revolves around the love for the cross is the supreme form of negation of self (mortification). Martyrage is the development of asceticism. Our study also intends to identify the spiritual meaning of suffering as an expression of two types: human and divine order. The suffering becomes the sign, the event, the externalization of the ontological participation

Keywords: ascetics, mystics, St. Paul, *imitatio Christi*.

The thesis of the metropolitan Nicolae Mladin, *Ascetics and the mystics of Saint Paul* is representative, at least, for two essential points: 1. the presence of the *objective* mystics inside the New Testament, respectively the explicit biblical inspiration of the Church mystics; 2. the sacramental and baptismal-Eucharistical basis (*objective*) of the ascetical effort (subjective) of the Christian mystic. This is what Louis Bouyer will argue for good proving the fact that in the patristics *the mystics* is not always the adjective of the inner experience of the human being, but the adjective of the *mystery* which is Christ and whose experience is offered in the Holy Bible and in the mysteries of the Church. We shall not forget that the Saint Paul the apostle and the paulinism constituted along the Church history and the European culture the object of violent contestations and distortions. When the history of the paulinism reception is written, it will be one of the most instructive chapters of the history of mentalities. Too *Greek* for ones, too *Jew* for others, the one who wanted “to

make all things to all men, that he might by all means to save some” (*I Corinthians* 9, 22), Saint Paul was harshly exalted or blasphemed. If Marcion (the 2nd century) or the reformers (the 17th century) saw Saint Paul as the only person who understood the real essence of the Gospel as the revelation of the true God, a Gnostic God or *the individualist justification of the human being* by faith alone not through good deeds, the contemporaries Jews of the Apostle – who saw Saint Paul as Antichrist – to the Moderns (Bolinbrocke, Lagarde, Chamberlain, Nietzsche, Rosenberg) and the protestant theologians (Bousset, Reizenstein, Bultmann) saw him as the great falsifier and seducer of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. *Deus qualem Paulus creavit Dei negatio*, proclaimed pathetically Nietzsche, in *Der Antichrist* (1888). The paulinical meaning is related to the indissoluble joint between the Cross and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, between our life and death as *living through dying*, the marvellous title of the meditation of Douglas Dales on the specificity of what it might be called: *the spiritual experience of St. Paul*.

There is no Christianity without Jesus Christ and His Resurrection; there is no Resurrection without Cross, and Jesus Christ, crucified and resurrected lives through the Church, His mystical Body. Through Baptism, Eucharistie and the ascetical and mystical life, the Church offers directly to each of us the participation to the central *mystery* of the death and the Resurrection of Christ. Inside the Church, through the Saint Mysteries and the mystics, the life of Christ becomes our life and “our life is hid with Christ in God” (*Colossians* 3, 3-4).

1. Ascetics and mystical life

The Christian life does not end to the mysterious regions of the divine presence and human being. Thus, we could talk about a dedublation of the personality, a distribution of the human being in many compartments that distinguish essentially each other and don’t communicate: after his inner nature, the being is holy and after his external life, he is under the slavery of the Adamic sin. The duality between human being and action, between nature and manifestation, between ontological aspect and psychological one of the Christian life would be an anomaly, because the action must suit with the nature. Each nature has a proper work: *operatio sequitur esse*. The Christian life tends to be an actualisation of the being, by the achievements of the all possibilities included in it¹.

The ontological renewal requires an ethical and ascetical one. The mystical fact requires a moral improvement, representing the guarantee of the moral pretention². The renewal of the moral life is not a simple advice, but a

¹ Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza și mistica paulină* (The Ascetics and the mystics of St. Paul), Sibiu, Deisis, 1996, p. 121-122.

² Cf. Wilhelm Weber, *Christusmystik Eine religions-psychologische Darstellung der paulinischen Christusfrömmigkeit*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1924, 45, apud Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza...*, 123: the ethical must agree with God’s will; the ascetical intensifies the

duty; it's the natural obligation resulted from the new human being, from the divine energies inner person. It's not about *non posse peccare*, but *posse non peccare*: by the mystical union with Christ the human being is not put in the impossibility to sin, but he has the possibility not to the sin, in order to overcome the temptations and to carry out a sacred life. The ascetical life is not the consequence, the transformation, the development of the divine powers received through the mystical union: it's the expression of the mystical union with Christ. The ontological substantiates the ethical; the mystics is the foundation of the Christian ascetics. That's why the Christian ethics is a mystical one; her sources can be found not only in the human being, but in the person united with Christ.

The ascetics is not only a renunciation or mortification, but it implies also the need of the renewal into Christ. The mortification becomes possible by the consolidation of the virtue in order to achieve it. It's only a process based upon the positive effort on the mortification as the life is superior to death. The ascetics permanentizes therefore the death and the baptismal resurrection

We have died to sin; how could we go on living in it? You cannot have forgotten that all of us, when we were baptised into Christ Jesus, were baptised into his death. So by our baptism into his death we were buried with him, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the Father's glorious power, we too should begin living a new life... So by our baptism into his death we were buried with him, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the Father's glorious power, we too should begin living a new life... Instead, give yourselves to God, as people brought to life from the dead, and give every part of your bodies to God to be instruments of uprightness³.

The relationship between the ontological and psychological aspect that we tried to reveal it, the relationship between the sacramental mystical union and the ascetics can be reflected upon the parallelism between the *indicative* and the *imperative*⁴. It seems that we are in the middle of a contradiction that Saint Paul couldn't avoid it: or *our former self was crucified with him, so that the self which belonged to sin should be destroyed and we should be freed from the slavery of sin*⁵ or our former self is still alive and then the mortification action is justified ; the new being, who is in Christ is or a reality and then it's useless the command *since every one of you that has been baptised has been clothed in Christ*⁶, or the new being is not a reality and then the command is valid. Thus, some ones eliminated the *indicative* (the mystical reality), keeping the

ethical by the aspiration for the perfection: it's the supreme consistency in comparison with the death and the resurrection of Christ.

³ St. Paul, *Romans* 6,2-13.

⁴ Cf. Leon Bouvet, *L'Ascèse dans Saint Paul*, 11-112.

⁵ St. Paul, *Romans* 6, 6.

⁶ St. Paul, *Galatians*, 3, 27.

imperative (the ethical and ascetical effort), the others have chosen the *indicative* instead of the *imperative*. The both solutions are unilateral. Saint Paul states both the *indicative* and the *imperative*: it's a paradoxical statement. The both of them are valid: the *indicative* for the sacramental and mystical field and the *imperative* for the ethical and ascetical field. The mystical relationship becomes an ascetical one because the sacramental and mystical union does not destroy the human personality, offering the opportunity for her manifestation and fulfilment. The *indicative* is the foundation of the *imperative* and the mystics is the root of the ascetics. *Since we are living by the Spirit, let our behaviour be guided by the Spirit*⁷ represents, according to the Pauline conception, the synthesis of the relationship between the objective mystical union and the Christian life⁸. Or in other formula: the being does not go on living *the empty-headed life that the gentiles live*, but he must go on living worthy of Christ, of God, of saints, meaning worthy of the baptismal state so that he remains *faultless and pure, unspoilt children of God surrounded by a deceitful and underhand brood, shining out among them like bright stars in the world*⁹. The mystical union does not dissolve the human person, offering her the power of the supreme fulfilment and calling to the responsibility of her creation in a Christian personality that is the image of Christ reflected in the century.

The mystical union is the cause, the source of the duty and ascetical work. But this is not the only relationship between the mystics and ascetics: the ascetical effort develops and deepens the mystical life of Christ inner being. Any ascetical effort is the organic development of the grain of the supernatural life implanted inner being through the baptism. The Pauline ascetics appears therefore as a factor of mystical development¹⁰.

The sacramental mystical union is the cause of the ascetics: there is no ascetics without it; the mystical life is the aim of the ascetics: the ascetics deepens the union with Christ, opening the ways of the total spiritualization through the powers of grace. The mystics is the foundation and the goal, the source and the purpose of the ascetical action. In deed, the mystical life does not appear at the end of the way: then she can manifest completely; she interweaves with the ascetics along the whole process of spiritualization, supporting the ascetical effort. It's like an organic process: union with Christ gives to the being the power of becoming like Him and the resemblance to Christ intensifies the union with Him. Our assimilation to Christ configures the profile of the Christian by a supreme ascetical effort so we can truly say: *yet it is no longer I, but Christ living in me*.

⁷ St. Paul, *Galatians*, 5, 25.

⁸ Cf. Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza și mistica paulină*, 128.

⁹ St. Paul, *Philippians*, 2,15.

¹⁰ Cf. Leon Bouvet, *L'Ascèse dans Saint Paul*, 172.

So, the ascetics leads naturally to the mystical experience: the sacramental union becomes conscious, being experienced on the top of a perfect life for Christ. This is the condition of the mystical experience, even if her cause is the grace. The unity between ascetics and mystics is reflected also on the Christian life: Christ lives in our being and becomes the inner principle of our existence, but He lives also outside our being as a pattern to imitate – especially the historical hypostasis of Christ¹¹. The historical life of Christ is the perfect materialization of the divine holiness. *Imitatio Christi*, the fulfilment of His commandments is the only way (ascetical way) to materialize and develop the grace by which the being participates to the life of Christ.

*Take me as your pattern, just as I take Christ for mine*¹². To imitate Saint Paul is to imitate Christ, because Paul lives in Christ. To imitate the saints – we can take them as our pattern – is equivalent, after all, to imitate Christ, whose Image is reflected in the saints. To imitate Christ is not to reproduce His exterior aspect or gestures; to imitate Christ is not a simple external mask, but is the spiritual identification with Him. In fact, imitate Christ is the identification with His spiritual qualities. *Make your own the mind of Christ Jesus*¹³ becomes the major rule to imitate Christ. The inner modelling on Christ has as consequence the external manifestation in the image of Christ, in His spirit. This union in spirit with Jesus Christ offers the opportunity to develop in an indefinite multiplicity of forms the image of Christ: we are only the reflections of the grace of the same image of Christ. Therefore, Christ is present not only mystically in every Christian, but also ethically and ascetically: once as a vital principle, another time as a pattern. So, Christ lives mystically in our selves in order to imitate Him; by this act of imitation, the mystical presence of Christ more complete. The mystical presence of the source and the aim of the ascetical presence: both of them round off the human person in the image and in the likeness of Jesus Christ¹⁴.

2. The instruments of mortification

The Pauline logic does not pretend the human death or the destruction of the body; on the contrary, she asks the being – body and soul – to die to sin. In other words, the being must keep and consolidate the baptismal purity: the *child* must grow to the state of a *perfect man* in the likeness of Jesus Christ, without losing his immaculacy. Thus, the vigorous immaculacy, protected as a great treasure, is an immaculacy in the image of Jesus Christ. This is the meaning of

¹¹ Cf. Jean Dupperay, *Le Christ dans la vie chrétienne d'après Saint Paul*, pp. 132-143; Pierre Pourrat, *La spiritualité chrétienne*, I, pp. 44-46.

¹² St. Paul, I *Corinthians* 11,1.

¹³ St. Paul, *Philippians* 2,5.

¹⁴ Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza...*, 131.

the ascetics, of the mortification¹⁵. Naturally, the permanence of the baptismal immaculacy results from the extension of the new life, through the prayer and the practice of the virtues; that is the positive side on which lays stress on in the Pauline ascetics.

The mortification implies a permanent struggle against the sin, a struggle that never ends in this life. This struggle is not against the body or the soul – against the human nature – but it is a struggle against the evil that troubled and still wants to trouble the order of nature made by God and restored by grace: it is the struggle for the transfiguration of the whole being who must become as Jesus Christ. That's why the Christian is compared to a soldier: he is the soldier of Christ, armed with the instruments of justice in order to fight against the enemies of his salvation. The Christian becomes an athlete, the athlete of Christ¹⁶. Furthermore, during antiquity, the athletes were subdued, before the contest, to a severe treatment consisting of some food – except meat, wine. The athlete had to be controlled himself from food, living in a perfect chastity and sleeping in a hard bed. Instead, the athlete of Christ has as goal the unwithering wreath of the eternal happiness, using the same discipline of self-control. In order to express more obviously the severe the severe feature of the mortification, Paul the apostle uses also the image of boxing:

Every athlete concentrates completely on training, and this is to win a wreath that will wither, whereas ours will never wither. So that is how I run, not without a clear goal; and how I box, not wasting blows on air. I punish my body and bring it under control, to avoid any risk that, having acted as herald for others, I myself may be disqualified¹⁷.

This discipline concerns also the soul: the ascetic is an athlete who acts in a struggle, training his psycho-physical forces to grow according to the stature of Christ. His enemies are the *devil*, the *world* and the *flesh*. Satan tempts the Christian and may take advantage of any lack of self-control to put him to the test; He works also directly through world and by flesh. The world enslaved to sin wants to deceive the being by false teachings, full of vanity, by the corruption of the moral life. The flesh is not the body anymore, but his the entire being, as was made by the sin. The body, once an instrument of death, must be an instrument of life. The baptism made him the member of Christ who will

¹⁵ Paul the apostle knows also the case of falling into sin after the baptism; that's why he recommends repentance and a period of testing (punishment) cf. *II Corinthians* 2,6-7; 12,21. Then, the mortification has as goal the recovering of the baptismal purity. Saint Paul takes into consideration the consistent Christian, focused upon the permanence and the development of the baptismal purity.

¹⁶ St. Paul, *I Corinthians* 9,24-27.

¹⁷ St. Paul, *I Corinthians* 9,25-27.

resurrect him for the life to come. Instrument of sanctity, the body *as a living sacrifice must be dedicated to God*.

Concerning the instruments of mortification, Paul the apostle lays stress on the spiritual change, without neglecting the bodily ascetics as an *optional mediator: physical exercise is useful enough, but the usefulness of religion is unlimited, since it holds out promise both for life here and now and for the life to come*¹⁸. So, there is also a spiritual detachment towards the ascetical practices: every one is free to choose the proper way. Any practice is not obligatory and universal: all of them are optional and depend on certain situations. The soul is the one that counts; that's why the bodily ascetics is necessary. To remove it would be against the Pauline conception.

So, first of all, there is the private connection to Christ. The essential tone for the Christian in his struggle is the joy¹⁹. Second of all, the instrument of mortification is the *vigil*, the attention, the permanent effort of the will, guided by an awake conscious and a clear mind. It is about the vigil on senses, on thoughts, on imagination and on passions in order to eliminate the shadow of sin; in fact, it is about the conversion of all of them to Christ. John Chrysostom talks about the purification of the senses through a permanent renewal, a permanent death. The vigil on the self love in order to eliminate the selfishness and the vanity is the way of access to the love into Christ, that is the proper work of the new being, the spiritual one: the sacrificed love²⁰.

The Pauline ascetics is universal, accessible and obligatory for every body, because she consists on a will effort²¹. Even though, Paul the apostle does not eliminate the bodily ascetics from the ascetical practices, but she has a secondary value. Among these ascetical practices, we must mention the *fast* and the *sexual abstinence*. Both of them, along with the prayer assure the opportunity to intensify the union to Christ; the Christocentric orientation confer them the whole meaning. There is no invariable form that is obligatory for all: the zeal and the capacity will design their variable boundaries. To all of them we can add the voluntary exceptional mortifications that Paul the apostle seems to practice, without forcing anyone to achieve them or without informing us about it: he treats his body as a boxer his opponent. Some exegetes affirm that it's about the apostolic sufferings and efforts. In fact, it is impossible for us to

¹⁸ St. Paul, *I Timothy*, 4,8.

¹⁹ St. Paul, *Philippians* 4, 4-7.

²⁰ John Chrysostom, *Comentariu la Romani* (homily. XXI) (Commentaries on Romans), 349-350, 351-355.

²¹ Leon Bouvet, *L'Ascèse dans Saint Paul*, p. 174: "the spirituality of the Paul the apostle leads the being over the external ascetics ... it is essentiel to achieve the spiritual detachment from the material things (my translation). See also St. Paul, *I Corinthians* 7,31: "and those who are involved with the world as though they were people not engrossed in it. Because this world as we know it is passing away".

know, even to suspect what would be the voluntary exceptional mortifications. But an *ascetical exercise* is for sure: the suffering.

Paul the apostle, the great poet of love is also the unsurpassed singer of suffering²². Suffering models the virtue and the life; suffering is the joy source, because she is the instrument of the spiritual renewal, creating the new being: Though this outer human nature of ours may be falling into decay, at the same time our inner human nature is renewed day by day: The temporary, light burden of our hardships is earning us for ever an utterly incomparable, eternal weight of glory²³.

The ascetical (pedagogical) aim of the suffering is valid for all the Christians. And the highest self-denial (mortification) is the love of the cross: this is the supreme ascetics. That's why the martyrdom is the perfection of the ascetics. But suffering has also other deeper meanings that lead to the mystery of the mystical union to Christ²⁴.

3. The mystical meaning of the suffering

The Christian existence is suffering: in an overwhelming manner for Paul the apostle²⁵ and in a variable manner for the other Christians. *To be in Christ*, to be Christian or to suffer for Christ are inseparable *modi vivendi*: *to be in Christ* implies essentially the suffering. The reality of the suffering in the Christian existence supposes different interpretations: the suffering as a human general experience whom the Christian confers a pedagogical and mystical meaning; the suffering as a *primum movens* for any new conception. Both interpretations seem to float on the surface. The interpretation that begins from the objective relationship between the Adamic existence and the Christian one can offer a new perspective on these topics²⁶. The expression of the tension between these two types of existence is the suffering. Further more, the cross – the suffering of Christ – is the power that melts the former order in order to make room to the new order. The Adamic existence was overcome, making possible the reality of the resurrection. The intensity of the suffering is a visible sign of the intensity of the communion with Christ: the cross is the destiny of all the saints, of all who want to belong to Jesus Christ. Who really wants to live in the plan of Christ,

²² St. Paul, *Romans* 5, 3-5: "let us exult, too, in our hardships, understanding that hardship develops perseverance, and perseverance develops a tested character, something that gives us hope, and a hope which will not let us down, because the love of God has been poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit which has been given to us".

²³ St. Paul, *II Corinthians* 4, 16-17.

²⁴ Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza* ..., pp. 147-151.

²⁵ John Chrysostom, *Commentaries on II Corinthians (Homily XXV)*, p. 300-301: "The martyr dies once for all: but that blessed saint in his one body and one soul endured so many perils as were enough to disturb even a soul of adamant; and what things all the saints together have suffered in so many bodies, those all he himself endured in one".

²⁶ Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza* ..., p. 155.

must accept the suffering. It's like a sort of extension of the Christ sufferings in history – because Christ Himself suffers in His members. The Church in present age is more the Church of the suffering, humility and persecutions than the Church of the transfigurations: it is the Body of Christ slapped by all the basenesses, whipped by all the calumnies, teared to pieces by all the persecutions, nailed to the cross of all the pains. As the Christians are the members of this Body: *how could live the members without suffering when they are the members of a sacred head crowing with thorns?*²⁷.

Thus, the suffering is not only the expression of the tension between the Adamic existence (*in body, world, sin, death*) and the existence into Christ, but also the sign, the manifestation, the exteriorization of the ontological participation to the passion and death of Jesus Christ. Without the participation to the cross of Jesus Christ, our suffering would be useless. In fact, the being participates to the death of Christ through the power of baptism; to be in communion with Christ implies to be in communion with His passion, to be included mystically to His death. This *mystical identity* with Christ, the Suffering finds – in the plan of the conscious living – the direct objective expression in our proper sufferings for Christ. So, the suffering is the natural consequence of our baptism into the death of Christ²⁸. The suffering means the mystical communion with Christ, with His passion. Since the baptism the seal of death was imprinted on the Christian:

It is the state of being death... as if the death of historical Christ has manifested in His body (being). The suffering and the prison don't come from people strictly speaking, but from Christ... Because the one who is in communion with Christ and His passion must undertake also the prison (sufferings)²⁹.

The suffering is not an external imitation of Christ, but it is a participation to Christ on the basis of the inner unity with Him. The community in suffering with Jesus Christ, experienced mystically through the baptism, must incarnate and show her effects. That's why, Saint Paul showing the wounds of his apostolate, writes: *let no one trouble me; I carry branded on my body the marks of Jesus*³⁰. The sublime expression of the co-resurrection in Christ is the

²⁷ Friederich Jürgensmeier, *Der mystische Leib Christi als Grundprinzip der Aszetik. Aufbau des religiösen Lebens und Sterbens aus dem Corpus Christi mysticum*, 214, apud Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza...*, p. 156.

²⁸ See St. Paul, *I Corinthians* 15,31: "in Christ Jesus our Lord, that I face death every day" or *II Corinthians* 4,10: "always we carry with us in our body the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus, too, may be visible in our body".

²⁹ Johannes Schneider, *Die Passionmystik des Paulus. Ihr Wesen, Ihr Hintergrund und ihre Nachwirkungen*, 52-53, apud Nicolae Mladin, *Asceza...*, p. 157.

³⁰ St. Paul, *Galatians* 6, 17. This is the text on which substantiates the phenomenon of stigmata in the eastern mystics (Orthodox) and especially the western mystics (Catholic).

martyrdom: the death of Christ in our selves is the supreme act of union with Him. The suffering and the martyrdom have a feature more *objective*; the being must not search for them, but he must accept and bear them with happiness, because they don't come from our selves, but from Christ.

Communion in death is related to the communion in life; the extension of the communion in death is also the extension of the communion in life with Christ. Death and life are inseparable aspects of the Christian existence: *always we carry with us in our body the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus, too, may be visible in our body*³¹. The communion of death is the condition and the premise of the communion in life. But the life of Jesus reveals since then: the mortal body becomes the place of the revelation of the divine living. Even if this life is still secret in her essence, she is visible by the fact that Paul the apostle is victorious from all the sufferings, *though this outer human nature of ours may be falling into decay, at the same time our inner human nature is renewed day by day*³². As a matter of fact, the existence of Paul the apostle is paradoxical such as the existence of any Christian:

But we hold this treasure in pots of earthenware, so that the immensity of the power is God's and not our own. We are subjected to every kind of hardship, but never distressed; we see no way out but we never despair; we are pursued but never cut off; knocked down, but still have some life in us... in times of honour or disgrace, blame or praise; taken for impostors and yet we are genuine; unknown and yet we are acknowledged; dying, and yet here we are, alive; scourged but not executed; in pain yet always full of joy; poor and yet making many people rich; having nothing, and yet owning everything³³.

The sufferings of one member belong also to the Head – Christ and to the Body – The Church. Paul the apostle does not ever confer to his suffering a saviour effect such as the sufferings of Christ; his sufferings help not only himself, but also the whole Church, as a result of a communion with passion of Christ. If the Church represents the fulfilment of Christ, the sufferings of the Church can be the fulfilment of the passion of Christ.

Conclusion

The human suffering for the Church Triumphant proves the community-ecclesial character of the Christian actions. That's why the mortification and the

The signs of the nails and javelin appear on the hands, legs and rib of the mystic, and bleed, being accompanied by physical and spiritual huge pains. It's the expression of the mystical identification with Christ Resurrected. Paul the apostle doesn't talk about all of these, but about the traces of the apostolic sufferings or of those related to Christian existence, superior to mystical stigmata.

³¹ St. Paul, *II Corinthians* 4, 10.

³² St. Paul, *II Corinthians* 4, 16.

³³ St. Paul, *II Corinthians* 4, 7-9; 6, 8-10.

sufferings are included in the vital law regarding the body of Christ. We can understand now why the martyrdom is the perfection of the supreme fulfilment: the martyrdom is not only the highest communion in death with Christ, but also the highest communion in life with Him. The blood of the martyrs is the seed for the Christians, the seed of life for the Christ Church. The martyr is the ascetic and the mystic at the same time. He incarnates the unity between ascetics and mystics, between life and death. He is the greatest ascetic because he gets out of the life of body for Christ and he is also the mystic because he achieves entirely the ecstasy: the union with God. The martyr is the supreme expression of the death and life in Christ, of our participation to the passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

From this point of view, the mortification and the sufferings are the expression of the human participation to the crucifixion and the death of Jesus Christ. The mortification implies an active effort to transpose the death of Christ in the common life, while the suffering is the passive effort to grave the signs of Jesus in our human being. In keeping with the Nicolae Mladin's theory, the mortification is the *subjective* expression and the suffering is the *objective* one, both being orientated to the mystical and ascetic existence. The suffering communion is the power communion and the death communion is the resurrection one.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ROMANIAN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE

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Abstract: The interest for having the biblical text in Romanian has always dominated the conscience of the Romanian people. The first biblical manuscripts found in the north of Transylvania, at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century (1480-1500). The New Testament of Bălgrad (1648), the first complete edition in Romanian was followed by the Bible of Bucharest. After almost a century after its release, the bishop Samuil Micu Clain made a new translation known as the Bible of Blaj (1795). The Bishop Filotei of Buzău printed five volumes, between 1854-1856, known as the Bible of Buzău. Andrei Țaguna (1808-1873), started printing a new edition followed by others in the next years.

Keywords: Bible, New Testament, translation, biblical text.

1. Introduction

As with other old translations of the Holy Scripture in the vernacular languages of the people converted to Christianity, the interest for having the biblical text in Romanian has always dominated the conscience of our people, although it has long been read and heard in Latin, Greek or Slavonic. Considering that the Romanian language was a language in continuous development and transformation, it was natural for the Scripture to be translated from time to time in the common language that evolved with the changing of one generation to another. Translators have always had help from their predecessors, considering their work a holy patrimony they received, and they have adapted the ancient texts to the understanding of the contemporary, seeking the accessibility rather than the originality of the religious language. This is the reason why we have so many translations of the Bible in our language, in which we notice a specialized literary style regarding religious topics. Thus, in Romanian translations it occurs more often the inclination towards “spiritualizing” the expression, sometimes resulting a deliberate archaic text. This doesn’t mean that the text becomes less clear. Due to prolonged use of the Romanian in the Liturgy and due to the fact that, apart from the actual reading,

the liturgical prayers have been “welded” together with the help of biblical words and expressions, literary Romanian was modeled, even since the beginning, by the first quasi-literary translations of the Bible. Therefore, with some renewals required by the evolution of the language, the translations of the last seven decades are accessible to average readers, which is a great advantage. Furthermore, Romanian is favored by the fact that due to high fluxion, the word order is very elastic and can use this important means of emphasizing; analyzing closely the Hebrew or Greek phrase topic, we realize that the same effects are being obtained¹.

Until the beginning of the 18th century, the liturgical language of the Romanians was ancient Slavonic (also known as *Medio-Bulgarian*), used within the churches of all the Romanian territories north of the Danube. In this language there were multiplied, with the help of the copies that monks have made within the monasteries, not only the holy books required for the church services (worship), but also the rare reading books for the scribes of those times. Also, writing in Romanian before 1858 that is before the lord Alexandru Ioan Cuza, was done using the Cyrillic letters, which was also used for the translations of the Bible. After 1858, the Holy Scripture began to be printed using the Latin alphabet. Thereby, for more than five centuries, the Romanian people has the Scripture translated in its own language, according to the first biblical manuscripts found in the north of Transylvania, at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century (1480-1500)². No doubt that the originals of these first translations will have been written long time before, their source being lost in time. The translations we have received are copies, usually fragmented, written later by the calligraphers, of whose names we don't know. These first translations from Slavonic to Romanian, made on the advice of the Hussites of Bohemia, who were chased away to Christian Moldavia, were the answer to the need of the Romanian monks: to be in the know of the sacred writing. They came from the rural area and didn't know the Slavonic, although they were the only scholars during that time, in the same manner in which the monasteries were the only “schools” and cultural establishments. The fact that this sacred texts written in Romanian contain a language and a culture older than the date of their arrival, which were all over the place-especially among the missionary monks- in all the regions inhabited by Romanians, constituted a prologue that aided their acceptance easily everywhere. The translations of the northern monasteries of the country (Maramureș, Bucovina) symbolized the first understanding of this incomprehensible foreign language and they offered Romanians the chance to understand the sacred books in their language. These

¹ For further details, see Monica Broșteanu, *Numele lui Dumnezeu în Coran și în Biblie*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005, pp. 237-290.

² Pr. Prof. Dr. Milan P. Șesan, *Originea și timpul primelor traduceri românești ale Sfintei Scripturi*, Cernăuți, 1939, pp. 104-112.

texts were spread throughout copies and arrived in the southern territory that is Wallachia. In time they were reviewed and the errors and the dialects specific to the north were eliminated³.

2. The New Testament of Bălgrad (1648)

Bălgrad (today's Alba Iulia) represents, after Târgoviște, Sibiu and Brașov, a fourth center of the 16th century where Romanian books will be edited in Cyrillic writing, thus favorably influencing the evolution of the Romanian culture and literature. The intense printing activity held here, starting with 1567 up until 1702 is marked by the release of the New Testament of Bălgrad, in 1648, a reference piece of work in the evolution of the Romanian biblical text. We are talking about the first complete edition of the New Testament in Romanian, an unprecedented achievement in our country and also a premiere for the other people of the South-Eastern Europe⁴.

The book demanded time and expenses. In March of 1643, Simion Ștefan, an ex-monk of the Bălgrad Monastery, is named archbishop of Ardeal (1643-1656), after the removal of Ilie Iorest (1640-1643). Around 1620, the idea of translating the Bible in Romanian was circulating, intention which wasn't completed, but to which the scholars of Transylvania didn't give up. It is supposed that just after the election of Simion Ștefan efforts have begun to translate the New Testament. On the 5th of August 1643, the Calvinist superintendent Ștefan Geleji Katona sends a letter informing the Romanian protopopes that "we are struggling to translate the New Testament from Greek, language used by the evangelists and the apostles, into Romanian and to print it to mend the souls of the numerous poor Romanian villages". He also announces them that he has found someone who knows Greek and Latin, asking for the outstanding tax left unpaid since the time of Ilie Iorest; each and every priest is constrained to pay up a florin. Another proof of the implication of the new metropolitan is indicated by the 15 conditions contained in his confirmation diploma (10th October 1643). This specified the obligation "to preach God's word everywhere following the Holy Scripture translated in Romanian"⁵. After analyzing the documents containing the data about the translation and printing of the New Testament, it was reached the conclusion that the printing started at the end of 1646 or at the beginning of the next year and the paper used, having the

³ Pr. prof. univ. dr. Stelian Tofană, "Tipărituri și ediții critice ale textului sfânt în limba română", in *Biblie și multiculturalitate. Dinamica granițelor culturale ale Europei determinată de traducerea și circulația textului sacru*, coord. Ioan Chirilă, Editura Limes – Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, pp. 16-17.

⁴ Cf. Eugen Pavel, *Carte și tipar la Bălgrad (1567-1702)*, Cluj Napoca, 2001, pp. 14-93.

⁵ Ioan Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, Vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1940, pp. 227-228 (doc. 95). See also I. Minea, "Despre Noul Testament din 1648", in *Cercetări Istorice*, Iași, Nr. V-VII/ 1929-1931, p. 350.

thread-mark with the emblem of Gheorghe Rákóczy I (1630-1648) and indicating the source as being the “mill of Lancrăm”⁶.

Thus, on the 20th January 1648, the first complete translation in Romanian of the New Testament came to light. Apart from Simion Ștefan, its translation has been made also by the hyero-monk Silvestru, ex-abbot of the Govora Monastery, who adds next to his name the appellation *taha*, meaning “the quakerish, the unworthy”⁷. After his death, in 1642, the translation of the New Testament has been recommenced, re-examined and continued by a team of translators, who haven’t been nominated in the 1648’s edition. The financial support of the work was possible thanks to the Transylvanian prince, Gheorghe Rákóczy. Because the book wasn’t one meant exclusively for the cult, the dissemination of the New Testament wasn’t very intense at first within the Romanian Orthodox circles. They realized that during the month of December of the 1648’s, 800 florins were collected from the sale of the book. We have proofs that confirm the buy of a copy with 24 florins by the priest Lascu the Old from Livadea de sub Coastă, county of Hațeg. The price is rather high for that time. However, the New Testament had a fairly large circulation, especially in Transylvania, the number of the copies reaching over 160⁸.

What is seen with the arrival of the New Testament of Bălgrad is the evolution regarding the artistic features and the editing process used. The famous Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga noticed the fact that the monumental work can be singled out because of its “small, delicate, elegant letter, moderate ornaments, carved under western taste”⁹. The edition is indeed generous, containing introductions (*prefaces*) for all the books of the New Testament, in which we find general isagogic information about the their origin, contents and nature. Also the actual text of the New Testament is preceded by two prefaces, the first one signed by the metropolitan Simion Ștefan himself, and the other one unsigned and attributed to the translators of the text or to some scholars, close to the Transylvanian metropolitan. The first preface is addressed to the prince of Transylvania, Gheorghe Rákóczy, to whom the metropolitan brings thanks for the support offered for the printing of the book. The second one is a *Preface to the Readers*, in which it is indicated that the translators used Yugoslav and Latin sources, apart from the Greek and Slavonic ones, leaving often some neologisms not translated. The Metropolitan Simion Ștefan confesses that he gave his best, so all the Romanians could understand the writing. If they are not to understand, the translators are not responsible for this. The fault belongs to the ones that

⁶ Sofia Știrban, *Din istoria hârtiei și filigranului: tipografia românească a Bălgradului* (sec. VII), Alba Iulia, 1999, pp. 50-51.

⁷ Pr. Prof. Dr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 2nd volume, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1981, p. 71.

⁸ Florian Dudaș, *Vechi cărți românești călătore*, București, 1978, pp. 158-160.

⁹ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești*, Ed. II, București, 1925, p. 282.

divided the country in so many regions and lordships, in this way the unity of the language being destroyed¹⁰.

The biblical text of the New Testament is divided into chapters and verses, each chapter having a suggestive title concerning its contents. On the margins of the text we may find short references to similar passages. At the end of the edition, there have been added, a guide in Slavonic for the twelve months of the ecclesiastic year and some antiphons and prokymenons used more often within the liturgical cult. The sources of this edition are indicated starting with the page containing the title, but also in the preface and errata; however, they are not fully revealed. The first source is Greek, but the edition used is not specified, thus we may assume it's about one of the polyglot editions of the Bible that were edited, accompanied by a complex critical apparatus, starting with the second half of the 16th century. Another source, declared by the translators, is the Latin one, thought by the scholars as being the Vulgate, or the new commented translations of the Holy Scripture thanks to the reformed humanists or another edition of the *Novum Testamentum*, a Latin version with the parallel text in Greek, just like the one annotated by Mathias Flacius (Frankfurt, 1659). But the Greek and Latin versions are not entirely edifying, so it has been suggested that they have appealed to the Hungarian and German versions, without exhausting the Latin versions. Another source has been identified in the Sacred Bible, the scholar Alin-Mihai Gherman reaching the conclusion that the direct source of the *New Testament of Bălgrad* would be *Testamentum Novum sive foedus novum*, which appeared in Hanovia (1623), in the Wechelius house. Also, it is said that the last source is represented by a Greek-Latin version realized by Théodore de Bèze, released post-mortem, in 1611.

Being a man reading of wide, a product of his humanistic orientation, the Metropolitan Simion Ștefan has contributed crucially, by the means of vocabulary, style and quality of this translation, to the development and unification of the ancient literary Romanian. His masterpiece wasn't meant to be a regional one, but a Romanian one, a fact that is proved by its use in the various editions of the Bible, which will be released later. To all this we may add the statement of two essential social principles, quite advanced for its time: the principle of people's sovereignty (the statement of the unity of all Romanians) and the principle of the social contract¹¹.

For the first time, the need for unification and standardization of the literary language is being promoted clearly. Alongside with neologisms (*căpitan*, *gangrenă*, *stadie*, *teatron*, *piață*, *teatru*) and the fight for unifying the literary language, we may identify regional or dialectal words or phrases. This is an explicable phenomenon because of the phase of development our language was

¹⁰ See Gabriel Popescu, "Predosloviile Noului Testament de la Bălgrad (1648), in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 5-6/ 1964, pp. 597-599.

¹¹ *Predoslovia către cititori*, p. 116.

reaching in that specific moment. The translators were “priest scholars and wise men”, Latin, Greek and Slavonic speakers, some of them originating from the Ardeal region, fact proved by the use of regional language: *alean, alămojină, corfă, ciurdă, târnat, ocă, beseadă, sudui, marhă, săcriu*. We may find as well dialectal forms such as *foale, poroboc, priiatnic* or verbal forms such as *a scria, a prenoi* (i.e. “to restore, to reconstruct), which shows us that some of these translators were coming from Banat region. Another specific regional words coming from Muntenia (*ginere, scuiپی, scuiپitură*). It has been noticed that some of the New Testament’s words, academic or regional, come either from Latin, or Greek, or Slavonic or Hungarian, another proof for the sources used. In addition we have other words originating in Turkish (*hangeriu, divan, mahramă*), German (*corfă*), but also autochthonous ones (*traistă, mărار*). Thus, by enforcing the Romanian language and culture unity, it has been contributed to the obtrusion of a lexical supradialecatal norm, which makes the New Testament of Bălgrad a literary monument, but also a paradigm of the evolution Romanian reached, in the middle of the 17th century¹².

The text of the New Testament of 1648’s was reprinted after 340 years (Alba Iulia, 1988), in a special edition, directed by the Bishop Emilian of Alba- Iulia. This new edition underlines 36 differences between the studied copies. The preamble (p. 7-30) is signed by the Bishop Emilian Birdaş, and it presents the historical and spiritual setting of the Romanian life of Transylvania during the release of the New Testament of Bălgrad, “a treasure of literary language of large accessibility, released in premiere even for the other people of the South-Eastern Europe”, thanks to the Metropolitan Simion Ştefan, “scholar hierach and the reason why the national conscience was awaken”. The reprinting of the New Testament of Bălgrad in exceptional graphical conditions offers the theologians, historians and linguists the chance to work with a precious instrument, a thesaurus left by our ancestors in order to maintain and propagate the unaltered divine word and the Romanian language, and also the way the Holy Scripture of the New Testament has been used within the divine cult of the Orthodox Church¹³.

3. The Bible of Bucharest (1688)

The New Testament, fully printed for the first time by the Metropolitan Simion Ştefan, in 1648, was followed by the complete print of the Bible in

¹² Prof. Dr. Florica Dimitrescu, “Importanța lingvistică a Noului Testament de la Bălgrad”, in *Noul Testament*, Ediție festivă, Alba Iulia, 1988, p. 97.

¹³ Arhid. Prof. Ioan Ivan, “Noul Testament tipărit pentru prima dată în limba română la 1648 de către Simion Ştefan, Mitropolitul Transilvaniei. Reeditat după 340 ani din inițiativa și purtarea de grijă a Prea Sfințitului Emilian, Episcop de Alba Iulia, Editura Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române a Albei Iuliei, 1988”, in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, Nr. 2/ 1989, pp. 113-114; Pr. Prof. Teodor Bodogae, “Noul Testament de la Bălgrad din 1648, retipărit prin purtarea de grijă a Prea Sfințitului Emilian Episcopul Alba Iuliei, 1988, 908 pp.”, in *Mitropolia Banatului*, Nr. 1/ 1989, pp. 133-135.

Romanian, within the monumental work known as “The Bible of Bucharest”, the *Bible of 1688* or the *Bible of Șerban Cantacuzino* (1678-1688). After his death (on the 29th October 1688), the lord Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714), his nephew and heir, finalized its printing.

Preparations started around the year 1682, once the required materials were collected (foreign editions, partial translations in Romanian) and the coagulation of the scholars’ group. From a marking made at the end of the Book of Apocalypse and a separate preamble we find out that at the making of the translation the scholars Șerban and Radu Greceanu and the Bishop Mitrofan of Huși have participated. The latter directed the typographical work, the redaction and the error correction of the manuscript. All of them were helped by the Bishops Gherman of Nyssa (a famous elenist and the chancellor of the Greek Academy of Bucharest, deceased during the work) and Sevastos Kymenites (the principal of the Greek School of Bucharest), the Steward Constantin Cantacuzino (who studied in Padua, Italy) and probably the Patriarch Dositei of Jerusalem (who signed the preface inscribed to the Prince). As we have seen, the complete text of the translation was printed in 1688, under the rulership of Șerban Cantacuzino and his heir Constantin Brâncoveanu, during the administration of the Metropolitan of Hungarian Vallachia Teodosie Veștemeanu, originating in the Ardeal region¹⁴. The printing started on 5th October 1687, in the typographic workshop of the Bishop Mitrofan. A second set of books, finished on the 10th November 1688 had, on the last page of the volume, 16 lines added, where explanations were given referring the “elenistic source”, printed in Franco Fortu (i.e. Frankfurt).

Șerban Cantacuzino’s Bible is a voluminous creation (41 × 26, 5 cm), containing 944 large pages, of 59 lines each, which transforms it, from the typographical point a view, into a genuine masterpiece for its era. Unlike the New Testament of Bălgrad, the chapters don’t display the representative titles for the contents of the pericope. An *errata* is being added to the book, the first one printed in the history of our country.

The biblical text is preceded by a *Foreword* of the Lord Șerban Cantacuzino for the readers (atributed to the humanist scholar Constantin Cantacuzino, the Lord’s brother), in which the quality and value of the translation is being emphasized, a translation made for the unity of the Romanian people and language¹⁵. A second *Foreword* is signed by the Patriarch Dositei of Jerusalem and is addressed to the Romanian Lord. This important preamble is valuable especially because of the man who wrote it, the Patriarch

¹⁴ cf. Pr. Dr. Ioan Dură, “Mitropolitul Teodosie al Țării Românești. Nevoința lui Teodosie ca monah, la Sfântul Munte Athos. Precizări și contribuții biografice”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 9-10/ 1988, p. 127.

¹⁵ See N. Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii Românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, 1st volume, 2nd edition, București, 1929, p. 407.

Dositei of Jerusalem (1672-1707) who played an essential role in the fight led by the Eastern Orthodox Church against protestantism. The Hierarch speaks eulogistically about the unique origin of Lord Șerban, descendent from the paternal line of the Cantacuzino family and maternal line of the Basarabi family, reminding also about the good done for some churches and monasteries in the country and abroad. Furthermore, he congratulates him on the initiative he took in fully translating the Bible into Romanian, comparing him with Ulfila, Ghots' Bishop, with "Egypt's Emperor" Ptolemaeus, and last but not least, with "the great Emperor Constantine (i.e. Constantine the Great)". Some authors consider this preface belong to a laic person, which is often identificated with chairman N.Milescu, taking into consideration that the Patriarch Dosei had hindered, by the decision of Jerusalem's Holy Synod (1672), the propagation and translation of the Holy Scripture in other languages. But, it is less important that the Patriarch Dositei is the author of this preface, the important thing is that he signs it on his behalf, fact that underlines the significance and importance of the Bible of Bucharest in the European context¹⁶.

After the two introductive words, a white page comes next, which has on its back the contents of the entire work, with the title: *For the divine books of the Scriptures, interpretation*. On the fifth page, on the back, we may find the contents with the title: *Interpretation for the godly books of the Scripture*. Just after this 5 unmarked pages, the actual text of the Holy Scripture comes up, which has the title, written in red: *The old and new Holy Scripture*. On each front page there are two columns written with small letters. The proper names are witten everywhere with small letters, the large letters appearing just in the beginning of each verse. The text of the Old Testament was brought to light thanks to the translation of the Moldavian scholar Nicolae Spătaru (*Necolae*), a close friend of Șerban Cantacuzino, who in 1662 was gone to Constantinople as diplomat, representing the Romanian countries. He was also translating the Scripture "from Greek into Romanian". His work, carried out between 1661-1664, was left in a manuscript (the famous *manuscript number 45*) and we can't know for sure if the Greceanu brothers used it or not. Milescu, for example, had used a Greek text, printed in Germany, in Frankfurt along the river Main. Thus, the text used for choice was the one of the Septuagint, but also the Latin text of the Vulgate, the Slavonic translation and the previous Romanian translations (of Coresi, Palia of Orăștie, ecc.). Both the logic of the Romanian cultural evolution and the linguistic characteristics of the text prove a "synthesis" and a "selection" of the older and contemporary texts, released within the three Romanian provinces. Of course that the precedent versions were redacted, some parts translated again, maintaining a religious continuity according to the previous religious literature. With page 751 the text of the New Testament begins,

¹⁶ Pr. Prof. Dr. Viorel Ioniță, "Biblia lui Șerban Cantacuzino – 1688 în contextul traducerilor europene", in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, Nr. 6/ 1988, pp. 66-67.

offering the four Holy Gospels (p. 751-831). The contents of the last three of them are preceded by a short *Preface*. After the evangelical writings, the Acts of the Apostles come next (pages 831-855), the Pauline epistles (pages 855-909), the epistles of the Apostles Jacob, Peter, John and Judas (pages 909-921) and in the end, “the Apocalypse of John the Theologian” (pages 921-923). It seems that the New Testament’s text was highly influenced by the New Testament of Bălgrad. The four Gospels were taken from it and printed in the Snagov Monastery near Bucharest, in 1697. The Psalms were taken as well from this work and printed separately in Buzău, and named *Psaltery*, in 1701 and 1703. From the linguistic point of view, the Bible of 1688 makes the most of the experience of the previous translations and consecrates, within an environment based especially on vocalicity, the value of the written text, establishing a continuity regarding the literary language, with the entire previous Romanian religious literature¹⁷.

Taking about the “Bible of Șerban” as representing a theological and linguistic monument in the Romanian literature, His Eminence Bartolomeu Anania said, at the 300 anniversary of the release of the book in Bucharest, at the Theological Institute (on 17th November 1988), that it represents the best translation of the Holy Scripture in our country. This doesn’t mean that the following versions are disapproved. He talks about the fact that, despite the errors occurred throughout the translation and its Greek syntax, the pioneer work of translating the holy text of the group of the translators is indeed exquisite. On the other hand, according to the same confession of the high-priest of the Romanian Orthodox Church, an incursion in the history of the Romanian translations of the Bible shows us that no edition can be considered as being perfect; each and every one may be the subject of improvements:

This <completion> has a relative meaning. It’s good to remember the truth that a translation or revision of the Bible in an <complete> version (i.e. “unaltered forever”) it’s not possible anywhere, in any culture and any language; this is due to: firstly, the original texts are released in critical editions that are keep getting better and better; secondly, each and every language evolves¹⁸.

An initial interpretative translation of the Cyrillic text was carried out under the aegis of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchy, in 1988, by a team

¹⁷ Prof. Dr. Dumitru Gh. Radu, “Cartea bisericească – factor de promovare a unității spirituale, lingvistice și culturale naționale a poporului român”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 3-4/ 1979, pp. 373-374.

¹⁸ Valeriu Anania, “Biblia lui Șerban, monument de limbă teologică și literară românească”, in *Biblie și multiculturalitate. Dinamica granițelor culturale ale Europei determinată de traducerea și circulația textului sacru*, Ioan Chirilă (ed.), Editura Limes – Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, pp. 101-103. The same article appeared in *Glasul Bisericii*, Nr. 6/ 1988, pp. 53-62.

coordinated by I. Chițimia, Alexandra and Mihai Moraru. Subsequently, the Bible of Bucharest was republished in 1997. A philological edition was initiated by Paul Miron in the series *Monumenta Linguae Dacoromanorum*, published by the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, in collaboration with “Albert-Ludwig” University of Freiburg (Germany). Until now the first five books have been released (1988-1997). The first volume of a new edition, neat by Vasile Arvinte, Iuon Caproșu, Alexandru Gafton and Laura Manea was released in Iași (“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University’s Publishing, 2001)¹⁹.

The Bible of Bucharest represents a landmark in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church, a climax for the old era of the history’s literary language and a Romanian cultural monument, a genuine “synthesis of all the hard work the Romanian scholars have done in the worst circumstances, for three centuries, in all the Romanian countries, in order to clothe God’s word in the national garments”²⁰.

4. The Bible of Blaj (1795)

After almost a century after its release, the Bible of Bucharest (1688) became so rare that almost nobody could get it. This was the main reason why Samuil Micu Clain (1745-1806), a representative of Ardeal School, decided the making of a new translation of the Holy Scripture in Romanian, after the Greek original one. His work is known by the name of the *Bible of Blaj (the Bible of Clain)*, released in 1795, with the blessing of the Romanian Bishop of Făgăraș, Ioan Bob. It represents a new important contribution for the understanding of the word of God in Romanian and for the development of the modern literary language, of the end of the 18th century. The release of a new version of the Bible represents a key stone for the theological, philosophical, historical and linguistic work of Samuil Micu, who makes a translation similar and even a better one than the one made a century before. Throughout his work we may notice the constant tendency of the translator to get rid of the regional or popular words, which are replaced with terms that bring, semantically, novelty, accuracy and plasticity.

The preamble of this action was the initiative of the Greek-Catholic Bishop, Petru Pavel Aron, of printing the Bible in Romanian. He succeeded in realizing a part of the Old Testament’s writings. After his passing away, the translation work was continued by Samuil Micu Clain, who was a monk during that period in Blaj, an exceptional Greek and Latin speaker, and a gifted writer in Romanian. The idea of taking this important and difficult work and finish it was given by his protector, Ignatie Darabant, at that time general Vicar in Blaj. Micu decides to translate the Bible starting with 1783, while he was prefect of studies in Saint Barbara College

¹⁹ Mihai Moraru, “Prezentarea Ediției Jubiliare a Bibliei de la București”, in *Studii Teologice*, Nr. 6/ 1988, pp. 7-9.

²⁰ Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, București, 1980, p. 195.

in Viena. Unfortunately, once the headquarters of the eparchy were moved, some of the manuscripts of Petru Pavel Aron have disappeared, so Samuil Micu couldn't make a use of his work. In fact, his translation was an improvement of Șerban Cantacuzino's Bible and a correction according to the Septuagint, Vulgate and other versions of what he considered to be misleading²¹. Wanting to offer the text an universal dimension for all the Romanians Of Ardeal region, Samuil Micu offered initially (around 1790) the manuscript to the orthodox Bishop Gherasim Adamovici, of Sibiu, who in his turn asked the governor G. Bánfi permission to print it, in order to remove the lack of having a Holy Scripture in Romanian (lat. *Maxima Sacrorum Biblitorum in Valachico idiomate penuria*). Finding out that the Holy Scripture is going to be printed in Sibiu for the use of all the Romanians from Ardeal, the Greek-Catholic Bishop Ioan Bob asked the same governor to deny the intercession made by Gherasim Adamovici, in order to be him the one receiving and printing the manuscript in question. Subsequently, this happened, and the Bishop formed a commission meant to complete the text with parallel notes, titles for each chapter and introductions for each biblical writing. The whole typographical work was brought to Blaj, in 1738, by the Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein. The work was printed under this form, at the Blaj's Seminary, between the 1st November 1793 and the 15th November 1795, with the full title: *The Bible, i.e. the Holy Scripture of the old and new Law*. Details about the duration of the printed are offered by the note signed by the hieromonk Gherman, an epilogue of the typographical house's prefect, known by the name of Gherman Petralchi (or Petru Gherman of Peterlarca), who also took on the job of correcting the text²².

The biblical text is written, usually, in two columns, excepting some introductory parts of Old and New Testament's books, written in one column. Each page has, usually, 63 lines. The printing was done with characters of three different sizes: line letters of 2 mm, used in introductions, 4 mm capital letters and simple initials of 6mm, used mostly for the titles of the writings; line letters of approximate 1,5 mm, with capital letters of 2,5 m, used for printing the actual text < small letters of around 1,2 mm, used in the scholiasts of the Bible (the arguments of the chapters, foot notes, parallels). Larger characters belong to the type used in the typography of Bălgrad, in 1683-1702. Without excelling in richness, the Bible contains some decorative elements, a stylistically finesse. We find three types of vignette, with one or three occurrences: the first one at the end of the Old Testament, the second at the end of Mathew and John's Gospels and the Epistle of Colossians, the third at the end of the New Testament. Two little xylographs, neo-byzantine in style, illustrate the beginnings of the Gospels mentioned above. The title page generates the same sobriety like the one found

²¹ Eugen Pavel, "Un monument de limbă literară: Biblia lui Samuil Micu", in *Biblia de la Blaj*, ediție Jubiliară, Roma, 2001, p. 5.

²² Cornel Tatai-Baltă, Teodor Smericinschi, "Din activitatea tipografiei de la Blaj (1787-1821), reflectată de un material arhivistic", in *Apulum*, Nr. 19/ 1981, pp. 248-256.

in printed work of Bălgrad and Bucharest. The printing is done in black, on an indigenous piece of paper: a thicker type of paper, a little porous, used especially in printing the Old Testament and another type of paper, thinner, used in printing the New Testament, from Sibiu.

The volume contains some short critical observations and also some exegetic explanations to some of the verses, very influenced by the catholic theology. In the *Foreword*, Samuil Micu justifies his action, based on two fundamental arguments: firstly, the Bible of 1688 was printed “in an obscure and twisting Romanian...”. The preface of the edition, named *Foreword to the Holy Scripture*, contains some elements referring to the canon, substance, integrity and infallibility of the Holy Scripture, and also some succinct biblical hermeneutical information. Furthermore, at the end of the New Testament the list of the Apostles, of the Sunday Gospels and important celebrations during the ecclesiastic year were added. The bible contains the non-canonical books and apocryphal writings (e.g. IV Maccabaeus) and also a philosophical essay, *Treatise on the dominant reason*, written by the Hebrew historian Joseph Flavius.

The translation of the Gospels distinguish itself by the modernity of the expression, from the literary point of view, the text isn't tributary to the previous transpositions. Unlike the Bible of Bucharest (and in part of the version written by Petru Pavel Aron), the New Testament text of the Bible of Blaj doesn't have so many convergent points with the New Testament of Bălgrad. On the other hand, it stands up because of its convergent elements with the Four Gospels of Coresi (gr. *Tetraevangelion*), Samuil Micu knowing, for sure, the version from Brasov of 1561. However, the Bible of Blaj doesn't lack in translational errors of the biblical text or wording errors. Samuil Micu himself, warn against the *Preface* of his work, stating that it present certain ambiguities in terms of wording.

Professor Victor V. Smigelschi tried to reprint de Bible of Blaj at the beginning of the previous century. His transcription, put together with a new edition of the LXX and Vulgate, included some error corrections of the first edition. Its text can be found today in the Romanian Academy Association of Cluj-Napoca (*Ms. rom. nr. 284*). The jubilee edition of the Bible of Blaj was published in Rome, in 2001, with the celebration of 300 years since the unification of Transylvania's Church and Rome's Church.

The work of Samuil Micu is a masterpiece of its times, the 17th century, having a very important role in the process of unification of the literary Romanian. Thus, his work has become, for many centuries, an actual archetype in our ecclesiastical literature and for the Romanian biblical language. We can detect easily the influence Micu has on the following translations of the Holy Scripture (the Bible of Petersburg, the Bible of Buzău, the Bible of Andrei Șaguna, even the Bible of 1914, even though it is not always acknowledged.

5. The Bible of Buzău (1854-1856)

After more than a century and a half from the release of Șerban Cantacuzino's Bible (1688) and almost six decades from the release of the Bible of Samuil Micu (1795), the need for a new edition of the Bible was felt more and more, both for the believers and the professors and students of the newly created Theological Seminaries of Iași (1803), Bucharest, Buzău (1836), Râmnicu-Vâlcea (1837) and Sibiu (1850). Therefore, the one who took the initiative of printing this new scriptural edition was another person who loved books, the Bishop Filotei of Buzău, who printed five volumes between 1854-1856 (Vol. I – 1854; Vol. II, III, IV – 1855 and Vol. V – 1856).

The Bible of Buzău is not, in fact, a translation of the holy text, but rather a reprinting of the Bible of Blaj, edited by himself. In the *Foreword*, the Bishop Filotei mentions some universal principles, regarding the Holy Scripture²³:

- the unequaled importance and indissoluble unity of the Scripture;
- the reading of the Scripture and meditation on the reading leads to salvation, both for the clergy and believers;
- the lack of the holy books in our Church represents an important minus, doubled sometimes by the “lack in theological education of the priests” and “the needs of the people's souls”.

As with the Bible of Blaj, the Bible of Buzău contains the same number of books, including the “apocryphal” for the specific canon of the alexandrine Old Testament and the assignment of the non-canonical Book IV Maccabaeus of “Josephus Flavius”. The text of each biblical writing is divided in chapters and verses (excepting the IV Maccabees Book, divided only in chapters), preceded by a *Foreword*, which contains, as usual, some isagogic fundamental notions (author, addressee, motives, place, purpose, date, integrity). In the fifth volume, which contains the canonical writings of the New Testament, some introductory themes in the study of the Scripture are presented: the inspiration of the Holy Scripture, the integrity of the holy text, the division of the biblical books, the meaning (theology) of the holy text etc.

If we analyze comparatively and carefully it, the Bible of Buzău stands out as a synthesis work which, although is very influenced by the text of the Bible of Blaj, follows actually in some sections the text of both the Bible of Bucharest and the Bible of Petersburg, philologically, translational and theologically speaking. The analysis of certain terms from the New Testament indicates that those who composed the Bible of Buzău have consulted other translations than the ones mentioned above, thing that doesn't make the edition more valuable.

²³ Dr. P. Gârboviceanu, “Sfânta Scriptură sau Biblia”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 8/ 1909, pp. 894-895.

6. The Bible of Andrei Șaguna (1856-1858)

Short time after the release of the Bible of Buzău, the Metropolitan of Ardeal region, Andrei Șaguna (1808-1873), started printing a new edition of the Bible, which took his name. His initiative was in accord with the exceptional cultural and religious environment he had managed to impose within the clergy and believers. After only two months since his arrival in Ardeal, Șaguna sends the clergy a circular letter, ordering them to respect stringently “the useful customs”. One of the most important ones was:

May every priest, wisely, gratify their wishes, and especially to read carefully the Holy Scripture and the Holy Fathers...and by gaining the useful knowledge to be capable of to speak for the people wisely and efficaciously²⁴.

At the time the circular letter was delivered, the orthodox clergy was short of Romanian bibles. Thus, the beautiful volume released in Sibiu, between 1856-1858, written in an exquisite language and endowed with no less than 100 illustrations. The edition had 920 pages and had a very accessible price for that time. Șaguna’s Bible had the complete title: *The Bible, i.e. the Holy Scripture of the old and new Law*. The printing of Șaguna’s Bible has lasted two years and was held in the typography of Sibiu, founded by him in 1850. The Cyrillic letters had one color, on resistant paper used for registers (*Bücherstoff*), in folio size. The text is presented in two columns (27 × 19 cm). The edition opens with a large isagogic-historical introduction (pages III-XXI), with the title: *useful knowledge about the Holy Scripture*. About the *Foreword* of Șaguna’s Bible it has been said that it represents “a short and condensate isagogic treatise about the Holy Scripture; a very good treatise for its times”, that can be considered one of the greatest pages in our literary and ecclesiastic history²⁵.

After the title page and the introductory pages, the actual biblical text follows, which contains the Old Testament (p. 3-920) and the New Testament, with separate pages (3-240). There is also a series of illustrations, after Gustave Doré (1833-1883): 58 replicas for the Old Testament and 37 ones for the New Testament. At the beginning of the four Holy Gospels, all over the page, there’s an icon of the holy author. Talking about the Holy Scripture translations in “our Romanian language”, Andrei Șaguna appreciates the efforts of his predecessors to “turn” the Bible in Romanian and their incontestable contribution to the awakening of the national conscience and the spiritual, linguistic and cultural unity of all fellow Romanians. Thus, the high hierarch doesn’t claim that his translation is original, because, in his mind, the translation of the Bible was done just once,

²⁴ Gheorghe Tulbure, *Mitropolitul Șaguna. Opera literară. Scrisori pastorale. Circulări școlare*. Diverse, Sibiu, 1938, p. 6.

²⁵ Dr. Aurel Crăciunescu, “Mitropolitul Andrei și Sfânta Scriptură”, in *Revista Teologică*, Sibiu, 1909, p. 445.

the rest of the actions representing just the correction or renewal of the existent text: "... our language is a living tree, which in spring changes; its old and sear branches sap and fall on the ground, but new ones will take their place - all that's his appear and disappear, just the body stays the same". Therefore, the Romanian of Șaguna's Bible was already created by the New Testament of Bălgrad (1648) and the Bible of Bucharest (1688). Moreover, the Bible of Petersburg (1819), the New Testament of Smirna (1838) and the Bible of Buzău (1854-1856) were also used. About the Bible of Blaj (1795), nothing is being said, thing that constituted a puzzle (e.g. Gheorghe Tulbure), and sometimes abet in insults (e.g. Ioan Bălan; Mario Ruffini). It is known that the revision of the New Testament's text is based on an edition of the LXX, released in Athens in 1843, highly appreciated by the hierarch. Using all these previous editions of the Holy Scripture (especially the one printed by the Russian Biblical Society in Petersburg), Șaguna renewed and corrected the biblical text, having a signally practical purpose²⁶.

The history of Șaguna's Bible is related to the debate the hierarch had with Ion Heliade-Rădulescu, who wanted to print it in Paris, an individual translation of the Holy Scripture, accompanied by a series of historical, philosophical, religious and political annotations (*The Holy Bible which contains the Old and New Testament*. Translated from Greek by I. Heliade. R., Paris, 1858"). Discontent at Heliade's (a laic) forced Latinization of the Bible, from the philological and theological points of view, Șaguna criticized him in the Romanian Telegraph and afterwards, as a consequence of the famous poet's violent response, he condemned him vehemently in a *Pastoral Letter* addressed to the clergy, transforming the discussion into an unforgettable event.

Next to the Bible of Buzău, Șaguna's Bible of Sibiu constituted, for over a half of century, the main edition used both by the clergy and the believers from Ardeal, educated believers, scholars, but also by all Romanians. The ecclesiastic book promoted and backed up the Romanian cause, animated by the idea of independence and national unity.

In 1867, with the Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna's blessing, a new edition of the New Testament was released, having the full title: *The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, printed with the blessing of our Holiness the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Eastern Orthodox Religion from Ardeal and Hungary, Andrei Șaguna..., Sibiu, 1967*. The volume doesn't have a preface, but has short titles which announce the contents of the chapters. Basically, the edition reproduces the text of the Bible of 1856-1858, with some improvements, especially after the Bible of Buzău.

²⁶ Pr. Prof. Dr. Grigorie T. Marcu, "Sfânta Scriptură în pom românesc" (100 de ani de la apariția Bibliei lui Șaguna), in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Nr. 11-12/ 1958, p. 602.

7.The Synodal Editions of the Bible

In 1905, the New Testament of Bucharest is released and in 1913, also in Bucharest, *the Little Bible* is being printed by Nicodim Munteanu, the Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban and the Hieromonk P. Savin. The volume contains important parts of the Holy Scripture and is illustrated with icons. In 1914 the Bible is printed entirely, as the first edition of the Holy Synod, with Canon Arămescu-Donici as Metropolitan. For its translation previous Romanian editions were used, based on the Septuagint, for the Old Testament. Some of the Old Testament's writings (the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Ecclesiast) contain a rather ambiguous translation. Reverend Academician Gala Galaction and the famous Hebraist Vasile Radu were in charge of translating and editing the text. The release of this first synodal edition of the Holy Scripture in Romanian preceded successfully the Great Unification of 1st December 1918, and also contributed to the rehabilitation of the orthodox believers' lives, who suffered because they didn't have bibles and were confused because of the release of the Romanian editions offered by the Britannic Biblical Society-many of their readers became victims of proselytism.

In 1925, the Greek-Catholic Bishop Ioan Bălan was publishing in Oradea *the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ*, an explanatory edition, continued in Lugoj, in 1938. In 1926, the translation *the New Testament of Neamțu Monastery*, done by the Bishop Nicodim Munteanu, and in 1927 another translation of the New Testament is printed, done by Gala Galaction; both editions were offered the blessing of the Holy Synod.

In 1936, with the blessing of the Patriarch Miron Cristea, a new full edition of the Bible was released. The translation was done by the priests Grigorie Pișculescu (the writer Gala Galaction) and Vasile Radu; later on the Bishop Nicodim (the future Patriarch) joined them. The contract between the three writers and the patriarchy was signed on the 5th of May 1930, for an "exact, clear and lacking in the obscurities of the archaic language translation". On the 1st September 1932 the translation was finished. It was done after the Septuagint (we don't know which edition), the Hebrew text and the modern translations (Russian, French, English and Slavonic), consulted just for the clarifications, confrontation and verifications. The bible was going to be printed in a sample – edition, the complete edition was to be printed after the consultations with the "skilled ones". Two of the most important people in realizing this project were the priest Constantin Dron²⁷ and T. Păcescu of the "Ephoria" of the Romanian Orthodox Church (whose president was C. I. Băicoianu), who always signed next to the Patriarch Miron. On the 27th May 1936, the Patriarch presents the new Romanian Bible of the Romanian Academy, during an important meeting.

²⁷ About the great personality of Father Constantin C. Dron, see Pr. Prof. Vladimir Prelipceanu, "Preotul Dr. Constantin Dron", in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, Nr. 7-8/ 1972, pp. 618-623.

At that time, this was the best biblical text in Romanian, which although was pretty modern, kept some of the archaic forms became somehow sacred, that gave the language beauty and solemnity. The holy text was preceded by Patriarch Miron's *Foreword*, who was displaying the beautiful history of Holy Scripture's printing in our language, and also some information about the genesis of this translation. As novelty, the Bible of 1936 places the "Prayer of Manase" after the four books of Kings, unlike its original and traditional place of the previous editions, at the end of the Old Testament's canon. During the same year, 1936, at the end of October, the volumes printed were sold out. The Holy Synod wrote to the Central Religious Council to print some more books²⁸.

In 1938, after 250 years since the release of the first full edition of the Bible in Romanian, the "King Carol II" Literature and Art Foundation prints the Bible with the help of Vasile Radu and Gala Galaction's translation. The note in capital at the beginning, on the backside of the title page, shows how the two priests and teachers "at King Carol II's highly encouragement" have translated "the Bible, i.e. the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament after the original Greek and Hebrew texts...". In the edition's note there was mentioned the fact that the printing was directed by the Director of the Cultural Foundations, the professor and academician Al. Rosetti. It seems that the linguist professor had an active role in the realization of the Romanian text, participating at the translators' discussions, on the difficulties encountered. The translation of the Old Testament was done after the Hebrew text of Rudolf Kittel (1937), after Septuagint's text edited by R. Rahlfs (1935) and using also A. Merck's text (Rome, 1935). Thus the translators have restated the necessity of a scientific translation after the Hebrew Bible, as a basis for every theological-exegetical fundamental study of the Old Testament, but also as a fight of the orthodox missionary against the sectarian proselytism. The biblical text is preceded by a substantial *Preface*, in which the purpose to "infiltrate like a water system the fields of the Romanian heart and literature" is underlined by the Holy Scripture. For this reason, it "is meant to be spread out in hutches and palaces, on the scholar's tables and on the student's desks, and amongst the ones who love the good and love poetry". The thing that the Bible of 1938 lacks is the parallels. It seems that the genesis of this version is strongly connected with the question: who had the initiative of the Bible of 1936, which shaped a small conflict between the Patriarch Miron and Gala Galaction, but also the latter's wish to offer a better translation of the Holy Scripture? "The Royal Bible" or "Carol II's Bible" was meant to be similar to the English version of *King James* (1611), that is a "Bible of the Church for His Highness and bearing his name", after 11 years

²⁸ There are some interesting details about the genesis of this version from 1936, confessed by Dr. Archbishop Antonie Plămădeală, based on the documents discovered in the Library of the Saint Synod in Bucharest – "Biblia de la 1936", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 3-4/ 1979, pp. 414-439 (and Anexe, pp. 443-450).

since his enthronement. Unfortunately, over the years the name will be change into *The Bible of the Foundation*, after its editing house. Although it represented and was meant to be a second edition of the Bible of 1936, this work has never been officially declared “the second edition of the Holy Synod” by the Patriarch Miron, thing that postponed the reediting of the 1936’s volume. The edition didn’t get the accreditation of the Holy Synod, displeasing Miron Cristea, who considered the work as being a defiance of his authority and a betrayal of his pact with the Metropolitan Nicodim. Gala Galaction loved, however, his work and was proud of it, asking in his will that this Bible to be put in his coffin because he saw it as a guerdon of his entire literary work. *The Bible of the Cultural Foundations* had an amazing success in libraries and was very appreciated. After only few months the whole edition was sold out (10.000 copies) and in 1939 a second edition was printed (other 10.000 copies). It was declared by the most authorized readers of the period to be n extraordinary cultural and literary event²⁹.

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary years since the release of Șaguna’s Bible (1856-1858), the academician Bishop Nicolae Colan edited *The New Testament of Cluj* (1942; 1945), in order to offer the holy text to the believers of Ardeal, in an technical and graphical rendering which is distinguished among the works of this type. The language used by the scholar is a clean, beautiful one, similar to the one used in the old sermon books³⁰.

In 1944 a new synodal edition of the Holy Scripture is released, during the patriarchy of Nicodim Munteanu who translated the text entirely (51 books, the rest of 28 being trranslated by Gala Galaction and Vasile Radu). The text was translated after the one of the LXX and other translations (e.g. Slavonic, French). The *Introduction* of the synodal Bible of 1944 is the same with the one figuring in the Bible of Neamț (1936). It offers some isagogical explanations, resumed in some essential articles: “The composition and designations of the Bible”; “The Language, translations and division of the Holy Scripture’s books”; “The Fundamental ontents of the Bible”; “The division of the holy books of the Romanian and Hebrew Bibles”; “The Translation of the Bible” etc.

In 1951, with the approval of the Holy Synod, a new edition of the New Testament is released, in a reedited and resurged version in comparison with the previous ones, with the help of the theologian and literary man Gala Galaction

²⁹ Father Gala Galaction was a remarkable figure in the process of translation of the Romanian modern Bible and his prolific work stays even today as a basis for all the other versions that issued after the years ‘36-38. See Pr. Gh. Ciunescu, “Gala Galaction traducător biblic. La a 90-a aniversare a nașterii scriitorului”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, no. 3-4/ 1969, pp. 325-329; Diac. Prof. N.I. Nicolaescu, “Sărbătorirea Părintelui Gala Galaction cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 75 de ani, la Institutul teologic din București”, în *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 5/ 1954, pp. 555-557.

³⁰ Pr. Asist. Stelian Tofană, “Vlădica Nicolae Colan ca biblist”, in *Omagiu Mitropolitului Nicolae Colan* (1883-1993), Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 38.

(dead on 8th March 1962), the professor N. Popescu and the Metropolitan Tit Simedrea. After this edition the Gospel and the Apostle were amended and have been used until our days.

In 1968, after 280 years after the release of the Bible of Bucharest (1688), “*The Bible or the Holy Scripture*, printed by His Holiness the Father Justinian, the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church and with the approval of the Holy Synod”. During the synodal meeting of the 3rd June 1967 the Patriarch Justinian announced that “an opportunity for the Bible’s printing in a new edition has emerged”. He suggested that, for the Old Testament (the canonical and uncanonical books) the most accurate text was the Bible of 1936, with its reedited and amended references to the Bible of 1944, excepting the text of the Psalms, for which the Psalter would be used. For the New Testament, the volume contained also the books and uncanonical fragments, plus six polychrome maps. The entire text of the Bible was carefully amended from an orthographical and linguistic point of view, under the direct supervision of the Patriarch Justinian and the commission formed by: Priest Ioan Gagi (editor of the patriarchal magazines and director of the patriarchal administration), Professor Teodor M. Popescu (University of Bucharest), Professor Dumitru Radu (Romanian teacher at the Seminary of Bucharest). At the text’s picking the deacons P. I. David and Șt. Milea (of the editorial office of the Biblical Institute and Orthodox Mission of the Romanian Patriarchy) participated as well. The printing of this edition was backed up by the *United Bible Societies*, by the headquarters in London, which send the special “Bibeldruck” paper for 100.000 copies. The high quality printing was done by the National Printing House “The Graphical Art”. The new edition of the Bible of 1968 was qualified as an anniversary volume, on the occasion of the 20th birthday of the work done by the Patriarch Justinian Marina – an event considered at that time as being “exceptional”³¹.

Also on the celebration of the 24th anniversary since the enthronement of the Patriarch Justinian, on the 6th 1972, *The New Testament with Psalms* was released at the editing house of the Biblical Institute. The volumes opens with a *Foreword* (pages III-VIII), signed by the ruler of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which presents a synthesis referred to the vibrations of the Romanian orthodox believers’

³¹ Pr. Prof. Grigorie T. Marcu, “Un eveniment bisericesc: Biblia din 1968”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 5-6/ 1969, pp. 483-485. See also Prof. Gheorghe Secaș, “Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură, tipărită sub îndrumarea și cu purtarea de grijă a Prea Fericitului Părinte Patriarh Justinian, Patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, cu aprobarea Sfântului Sinod, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1968, 1396 p. + 6 hărți”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Nr. 7-8/ 1969, pp. 845-846; Pr. Prof. Nicolae Petrescu, “Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură, tipărită sub îndrumarea și cu purtarea de grijă a Prea Fericitului Părinte Justinian, Patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, cu aprobarea Sfântului Sinod. București, Institutul Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1968”, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, no. 5-6/ 1969, pp. 466-467.

souls when hearing and reading the Holy Scripture. Then the New Testament's actual text comes next, with its 27 canonical writings that have a suggestive and coherent title. The Book of Psalms (151 psalms), the most read book of the whole canon of the Holy Scripture's completes the text of the New Testament. The editions concludes with a small dictionary, containing 54 fundamental themes the New Testament talks about, disposed in alphabetical order. At the end three colored maps are included, with the Palestine of the New Testament, the Jerusalem of the New Testament and the missionary journeys of Apostle Paul. The text of the New Testament of 1972 is emendated in a way that is better than in the case of the one of 1951, revised after the Bible's text of 1968³².

In 1975 the translation of the Holy Scripture of 1968 is reprinted, with some "amendments of the text that is the revision of the translations and word correction, in order to offerr a close text to the original" (*Foreword*). The new edition presents, at the end, a chart with the units of measurment and coins mentioned in the biblical text. In 1979 a revised edition of the New Testament with Psalms is released at publishing house of the Biblical Institute and Orthodox Mission, reprinted with some emendations in 1983. The New Testament's version accompanied by the Psalms becomes the reference text of the contemporary reprinting works. In 1982, under the same Patriarch Iustin and with the approval of the Holy Synod of the Romania Orthodox Church, a new complete scriptural edition is released, with the title: *The Bible or The Holy Scripture*. The Old Testament's text is reproduced after the edition of 1975, and the New Testament's one after the edition of 1936. At the end there are six mapss and two informational pages regarding the units of measurement and the coins mentioned in the Scripture³³.

In 1988 a new synodal edition of the Holy Scripture, under His Holiness the Father Patriarch Teoctist is released, presenting the same characteristics like the one mentioned previously. After this, the Bible was reprinted eleven times, at publishing house of the Biblical Institute and Orthodox Mission, in collaboration with the United Biblical Societies. All these editions nothing more than what is written in the one of 1988. During the same year the *New Testament* with the Davidic Psalms, constituting in fact a reprinting of the text of 1979, released under the trust of the Patriarch Iustin. The biblical text has three maps: the Palestine of the New Testament with its historical division (Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, Perea) and the enumeration of the most important biblical cities: the New Testament's Jerusalem, with its memorable places (the Palaces of Hirod and Caiaphas, Golgotha, the place where the Archdeacon Stephen was

³² "Noul Testament, București, 1972", in *Mitropolia Banatului*, no. 4-6/ 1973, pp. 349-351.

³³ Nicolae Neaga, "Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură, tipărită sub îndrumarea și cu purtarea de grijă a Prea Fericitului Părinte Teoctist, Patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române și cu aprobarea Sfântului Sinod, Editura Institutului Biblic, București, 1991", in *Altarul Banatului*, no. 10-12/ 1992, p. 182.

murdered); the missionary journeys of the Apostle Paul. The paper is a qualitative one, the printing select, the price convenient, and the size convenient even for travelling³⁴.

In 1993, the Biblical Institute and Orthodox Mission of the Romanian Orthodox Church publishes the *New Testament*, commented by the hierarch, theologian and writer Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania. He is known for his sensibility, faith and creativity in the Romanian literature. In the few words of the edition's *Note*, the author confesses that "the writer has tried to correct the things unfulfilled by others and to obtain an adapted text to the contemporaneity of the language, eliminating both the literaturization, on one hand, and the range of linearity on the other" (p. IX). The new lexical forms, not used in the previous translations, are based both on the analysis of the semantics, specific to the Greek terms and the crystallization of the semantic values of these forms, in the vocabulary of the contemporary Romanian. The importance of this volume is doubled by the presence of the annotations, short explanations, without having commentary connotations, which underline the entire signification of one term or an expression, on the subject of the original and usually of the orthodox teaching. The accuracy of the explanations found in the notes, the richness of the information which goes from the theological notions to the toponymic and onomastic ones, and to the existent relationships between the figures of the period, transform these annotations a genuine treatise, an ample piece of work. At third, or sometimes even half a page are intended for this isagogic, historical, geographical, philosophical, mythological information of the entire ancient world. Indeed, these annotations form the key of the absolute understanding of the New Testament's text and can be considered a manual, a second educational book. The ideal clarity of the entire text was realized not only with the help of the explanatory annotations, but also because of the language quality, plastic expression, semantically concentrated and obtained from the transposition of the Greek correspondences in the style of the old language. At the beginning of each book of the New Testament succinct *Introductions* emerge, containing valuable isagogic informations. Also, drawing on the critical edition Nestle-Aland, the author does a reformulation of the chapters' title. We could, therefore, say that this edition represents, at the moment, the clearest and compelling translation after the Greek version and the most accessible from the point of view of the contemporary Romanian³⁵.

³⁴ Nicolae Neaga, "Noul Testament, tipărit sub îndrumarea și cu purtarea de grijă a Prea Fericitului Părinte Teoctist, Patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române și cu aprobarea Sfântului Sinod, București, Editura Institutului Biblic, 1991", in *Altarul Banatului*, no. 10-12/ 1992, p. 182.

³⁵ Aurelia Bălan-Mihailovici, "NOUL TESTAMENT, versiune revizuită, redactată și comentată de pr. Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1993, 472 p.", in *Studii Teologice*, no. 1-3/ 1995, pp. 110-128.

In 2001, “The Bible or the Holy Scripture, Jubilee Edition of the Holy Synod, printed under His Holiness the Father Teoctist, Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church: version inspired by the LXX, redacted and annotated by Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania, Archbishop of Cluj”. The novelty of the edition comprises the amendment made after the Septuagint, and not after the Masoretic Text. Thus, after more than half a century, it is restored, in the Romanian translations of the holy text Septuagint’s authority. As with the New Testament presented above, the edition is endowed with extremely important exegetical and theological foot notes, and also a biblical conformity. There is, also, an electronic version on CD. Each writing is provided with precious *Introductions*, which represent important information based on the most recent contemporary biblical research.

POPULAR CULTURE AND RELIGION IN ROMANIAN AREA/CULTURE POPULAIRE ET RÉLIGION DANS L' ESPACE ROUMAIN

RELIGION AND POPULAR BELIEFS IN THE ACTUAL ROMANIAN SURNAMES

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Abstract: The anthroponymy holds a great number of lexemes that belong to various fields. Especially the surnames have a unique and rich basis of which resources can be found in all the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the people who once lived on this territory. In this article we intended to present the actual surnames that are related to the religion field and that appeared either through anthroponymical conversion, from a first name or based on a nickname. The greater or smaller number of anthroponyms, in a determined region, allow us to notice the spiritual boundaries within which occur in old people's lives and the importance of faith in the conduct of their daily existence; researching them, we can also establish some aspects of our historical reality – the role played by the church in a community, the church hierarchy, the frequent shift to the orthodox religion etc., or linguistic – the restoring of certain stages of language development on vocabulary, lexical borrows, the change of the value of some appellations through their transfer and use in the terminology of other compartments of the language etc.

Keywords: anthroponomy, Romanian language development, religion influence, popular culture.

The anthroponomy holds a great number of lexemes that belong to various fields. Especially the surnames have a unique and rich basis of which resources can be found in all aspects of the material and spiritual life of the people who once lived on this territory.

Two of the aspects that contributed essentially to the creation and the setting of the patronymic inventory from nowadays are, on one side, the words transfer from one lexical class to another (the heritage of the names from our parents or relatives made that many of the our baptismal names to become surnames) and, on the other side, the using – on a large scale – of the nickname (a callificativ given to a person in connection with a characteristic feature of his external aspect, psychic, behaviour or with the activity he/she is carrying on etc.). The last one constantly accompanied the human being along his evolution, bearing a well-determined statute in the community: that of highlighting the position of members of any social group towards a particular person. Starting from this aspect, that of the individual-group relationship and, in the same time, from the fact that the tendency of satirizing is an intrinsic feature of the human personality, the place and the role of the nickname¹ in anthroponymy, especially before the legislation of the names, was an extremely important one. The results of its using can be easily noticed in the richness of the patronyms (registered in the official denomination system), beard today by the Romanian people that assume as a basis appellatives from the most diverse ones.

In this article we intended to present the actual surnames that are related to the field of the religion and that appeared either through anthroponymical conversion, from a first name, or based on a nickname. The greater or smaller number of these anthroponyms, in a determined region, allows us to notice the spiritual boundaries within which occur in old people's lives and the importance of faith in the conduct of their daily existence; by researching them, we can also establish some aspects of our historical reality – the role played by the church in a community, the church hierarchy, the frequent shift (in a period of relaxation of the economical and social conditions for the foreigners) to the orthodox religion etc., or linguistic – the restoring of certain stages of language development on vocabulary, lexical borrows, the change of the value of some appellations through their transfer and use in the terminology of other compartments of the language etc.

First, we'll focused on the transfer of the first names in the patronyms class. The first step towards the gaining of the identity was, especially during the old times, the baptism. After the baptism, the new-born child joined the group of the Christians and obtained his/her identity both inside the family and the community². A great number of first names had as source of inspiration the

¹ We will use in this article the generic term of "nickname", taking into account the fact that the point of our discussion is other than that of the theoretic discussions on the theme nickname / appellation. This subject had been treated by many onomasts over time and we also approached it several times.

² <http://www.asrocatolic.ro/documente/studiu-antroponimie.pdf>.

Bible and the saints' life. "Treasure of the archetypal characters and destinies"³, the Bible contributed in an essential way to the choosing and the spreading of the baptismal names, not only in our country, but also among all the Christian peoples. Thus, the inventory of the Romanian surnames compresses today a wide range of surnames (ex first names) that are originated in the Holy Book and the older history of the Christianity: *Abel, Abraham, Abram, Adam, Ana, Arie, Aron, Avram, Baltazar, Barabas, Barac, Bartolomeu, Cain, Constantin, Daniel, David, Elena, Emanoil, Eremiea, Eva, Ezechia, Ezechil, Filip, Gabriel, Gheorghe, Ieremia, Ilie, Ioachim, Ioan, Ioil, Iordan, Iona, Iosif, Iov, Irimia, Irod, Irodia, Isac, Isaia, Isaiea, Iuda, Iudita, Lazăr, Luca, Magdalena, Marta, Manase, Marcu, Maria, Matei, Melhior, Mihail, Moise, Nabuconudosor, Naum, Noe, Noie, Pavel, Petre, Petru, Pilat, Rafael, Rafail, Ruf, Ruth, Salomeia, Salomia, Salomiea, Samson, Simon, Solomon, Ștefan, Tabita, Toma, Vasile, Veniamin, Zaharia, Zaheu*. They had been adapted to our phonetic system and can be met in different ways of spelling: *Isaia, Isaiea, Noe, Noie, Petre, Petru, Rafael, Rafail, Salomeia, Salomia, Salomiea*. In this moment, a small number of them is used as a first name (*Ana, Daniel, David, Gabriel, Ioan/Ion, Luca, Maria, Mihail, Petre, Ștefan*). The modern society, characterized by a great feeling of individualization, is permanently looking for exotic sources of inspiration in giving a first name and seldom loses the connection with the historical past. After the role of the religion in society had been weakened in the second half of the 20th century, the result, from the anthroponymical point of view, was the laicizing of the first names inventory.

The custom of naming the children after the saints, trying to place the new-born child under divine protection, was also one of the main sources of the first names. They are still kept in the Romanian families, not as intensively⁴ as they were in the past when was taken in consideration the name of the saint from the day the child had been born or baptized, the saint around the birthday of the child or an important holiday⁵. In centre was almost always placed the birthday

³ Martin Bocian, Iris Lenz, Ursula Kraut, *Dicționar enciclopedic de personaje biblice*, (translated by Gabriela Danțiș and Herta Spuhn), București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1996, p. V.

⁴ Now, music, television, radio, sports are the main sources in choosing a name. The try to find an original, unusual name sometimes lead to extreme, ridiculous situations. There are many cases when the teenagers give up to their names they have or keep only one of them. See also Christian Ionescu, who said that "The general phenomenon, characteristic to all the peoples, the laicization is manifested not only through the elimination of some names but also through their replacement by other names, with no connection to the Christianity and also by the renouncing at the religious factor when choosing a name. The reasons that determine the choosing of the first names are only laic" (*Mică enciclopedie onomastică*, București, Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1975, p. 15).

⁵ See also Șt. Pașca, *Nume de persoane și nume de animale în Țara Oltului*, București, 1936, p. 24.

of the child, with the saint or the saints celebrated in that day, that name being chosen in order to protect⁶ and guide the new family member. From the ritual books – menaions, horologhion – or from the orthodox calendar, many names passed into the frequent use of the people, step by step, during a long period of time. Widely spread were those that belonged to the active militants of the Christianity or those who suffered for this religion. Practically, appeared an “appellativization”⁷ of the anthroponym, by changing its function, namely its transformation into surname that designated a concrete person in the canonical family from the calendar, into a quasi-anthroponym. The connection between the name and its referent became weaker and weaker, fact that led both to the modification of the antropony semantics and of its linguistic statute.

In the Romanian anthroponymy, not only the byzantine culture (of which product is the orthodox calendar), but the Slavic one too (the Christian names from the Slavic calendar of saints were used in our onomastics at least from the 14th century, since the church hierarchy had been organized⁸) influenced the Romanian first names. Thus, nowadays, are kept, as patronyms, names of different origin: *Agripina, Ambrozie, Avacum, Azarie, Bogdan, Bogorodița, Bogoslov, Boje, Calinic, Calistrat(e), Casian, Cazimir, Chiriac, Chiril(ă), Clement, Cristofor, Damaschin, Damian, Duminică, Dumitru, Efrem, Eftimie, Elefterie, Elisei, Emanoil, Epifan, Eufrosin, Eustațiu, Evanghelie, Evlampie, Evlampiu, Exarhu, Filimon, Filon, Filotei, Ghelasie, Ghenadie, Gherasim, Ghervasie, Grigorie, Hariton, Hristodulo, Ieronim, Ignat, Ilarie, Irina, Irineu, Macarie, Mina, Mircea, Mitrofan, Modest, Nazarie, Neofit, Nestor, Nichifor, Nicodim, Nicolae, Olga, Pahomie, Paise, Palaghia, Pantelimon, Parasche/iva, Partenie, Serafim, Serapion, Serghie, Serapia, Sofia, Sofronie, Sofronia, Spiridon, Stahie, Stelian, Tatiana, Tecla, Teodor, Teodosie, Teofan, Teofil, Tihon, Timotei, Trifon, Trofim, Visarion* etc. These are only few surnames, which entered in the Christian onomastics with the certification of the first names (even if they are, sometimes based on common words) of the first martyrs from the Calendar of Saints and in the History of the Christian Martyrs.

A characteristic feature of the popular calendar is the use of the hypocoristic forms of the Christian names and their dialectal transformation, sometimes different from that of the canonical prototype⁹. Thus, once entered in the denomination system, the derived or the reduced forms of a name get different aspects. We can draw a distinction between two categories – those

⁶ See also Aurelia Bălan-Mihailovici, *Dicționar onomastic creștin. Repere etimologice și martirologice*, București, Minerva, 2003, p. 7.

⁷ S.M. Tolstaja, *Antroponimî v narodnoj kalendarnoj terminologhii*, Izvestia Ural'skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2001, nr.20, [http://proceedings.usu.ru/?base=mag/0020\(01_04-2001\)&xsl=showArticle.xslt&id=a07&doc=../content.jsp](http://proceedings.usu.ru/?base=mag/0020(01_04-2001)&xsl=showArticle.xslt&id=a07&doc=../content.jsp)

⁸ N.A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar onomastic românesc*, București, 1963, p. XVII.

⁹ S.M. Tolstaja, *cited work*.

created by the Romania people: *Onu, Onea Ionică, Onică, Nică, Ionac, Nacu, Onigă, Niga, Oniță, Niță, Oana, Oancea, Oaneș* etc. (coming from *Ioan*), all registered today as surnames and those, also of popular creation, but borrowed from the neighbouring peoples: Slavic, Russian, Bulgarian *Ivan*, Serbian *Ianoș*, Saxon *Haneș*, the Neo-Greek language *Iani* or *Ene*, all from the Greek and Latin *Ioannes*¹⁰.

A particularly important role in the formation of personal names was given, rightly, to the nickname. Usually, the moment, the conditions or the happenings that generated the emerging of the nicknames are unknown today; but, their motivation is as transparently as possible: either the need to classify the statute of a person in society (*Botezatu, Călugăru, Diaconu, Popa, Preoteasa, Țârcovnicu* etc.) or the community's desire to banter, to sanction or, not so often, to positively appreciate a particular feature, especially psychic and of behaviour (in this case) of some persons (*Bisericosu, Bodaproste, Dracula, Milostivu, Pomenea* etc.).

The marks from this lexical range are referring, generally, to the religious objects (in a large extent), to the cleric representatives, holidays, superstitions, more or less abstract things, related to the faith.

Searching the inventory¹¹ of the actual patronyms, as much as we could, we have selected and alphabetically ordered the anthroponymical material that is divided in the next categories:

Church hierarchy. In a period where the surname wasn't yet officialised, one of the main ways of personal identification (characterized by objectivity and concision), was the naming of the function or the occupation of a person. In this way, reached to us old professions¹², which were long time ago lost, but with an inestimable value for the history of our society and language. The occupations from the church hierarchy couldn't be an exception, especially if we consider that in the past the church and the priest had an important role in the community's life. The surnames, coming from church occupations, extracted

¹⁰ N.A. Constantinescu, *cited work.*, p. XVIII.

¹¹ The information was taken from the next works: Gh. Bolocan, "Dicționarul numelor de familie din România", in *Studii și Cercetări de Onomastică*, nr. 2, 1996, Craiova, p. 7-45; *Dicționar de frecvență a numelor de familie din România (DNFR)*, vol. I (A-B), Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 2003; vol. 2 (C-D) manuscript; Liliana Lazea, *Nume de persoane din Dobrogea. Dicționar invers*, Constanța, Ex Ponto, 2004; *Inventarul numelor de familie din județul Iași* (manuscript); Aurelia Bălan-Mihailovici, *op. cit.*; Iorgu Iordan, *Dicționar al numelor de familie românești (DNFR)*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983; N.A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar onomastic românesc (DOR)*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1963. We mention the fact that we kept the writing of the names as it is in these sources.

¹² See also Iustina Burci, *Dicționar de meserii și funcții vechi*, Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 2009.

from the material we had, are the next: *Acălugăriței*¹³, *Anagnoste/i*, *Apopei*, *Apreotese(i)*, *Apreutese(i)*, *Apriotese(i)*, *Arhereu*, *Cantor*, *Cântărețu*, *Călugăr/u*, *Călugărița/ă*, *Clopotar*, *Dascăl/u*¹⁴, *Dăscălița/ă*, *Diacon/u*, *Diaconița*, *Diac/u*, *Egumenide*, *Episcopescu*, *Monah/u*, *Popa/ă*, *Preoteasa*, *Preotu*, *Presbiterianu*, *Preuteasa*, *Preutu*, *Prioteasa*, *Protopopescu*, *Răspopa*, *Starețu*, *Țârcomnicu*, *Țârcovnicu*. The most frequent surname in Romania is one that designates a church occupation – *Popa* (meaning Priest) – with a frequency of 171.195¹⁵ bearers, followed closely by its derivate term *Popescu* [meaning “the son of Pop(a)”], with a frequency of 132.424 and on the fourth place¹⁶ is *Pop*, with 111.563 bearers. If to the names mentioned in our list we add, to each of them, all the derivates and all the graphic forms that appeared since then, then our inventory will increase. There are few examples: ***Călugăr/u*** (monk)– *Călugărașu*, *Călugărean/u*, *Călugărescu*, *Călugărici*, *Călugărițoiu*, *Călugăroiu*, *Călugărul* etc.; ***Diacon/u*** (deacon) – *Diaconaru*, *Diaconașu*, *Diaconeasa*, *Diaconescu*, *Diaconesi*, *Diaconică*, *Diaconiuc*, *Diaconovici*, *Diaconul*, *Diakonescu*; *Deaconu*, *Deaconescu*, *Deaconița*; *Dieaconu*, *Dieaconescu*, *Dieaconița* etc.; ***Popa*** (priest) – *Popadiuc*, *Popan*, *Popana*, *Poparcea*, *Popeanu*, *Popăuțanu*, *Popazu*, *Popeci*, *Popei*, *Popel*, *Popescu(l)*, *Popi*, *Popia*, *Popianu*, *Popic*, *Popica*, *Popii*, *Popiță*, *Popițanu*, *Popoaea*, *Popoaei*, *Popoiaia*, *Popoi(u)*, *Popov*, *Popovici*, *Poppa*, *Poppel*, *Popuță*, *Popuțanu*, *Popuțoiaia*, *Popuțoaei*, *Popuțoiaie* etc.

A special construction is *Sânpopa*, where the element *sân* (the Slavic from of “sin” – son), frequently used in the past in the denomination formula, joined with *popa*, resulting the surname *Sânpopa*. We also met surnames where the name of the occupation joined with the name of the person who practiced it: *Popatanasiu*.

The anthroponyms from this category frequently appear as the second surname, helped by the fact that they describe in a concrete and neuter way a certain situation from the personal life. There are few examples: *Radu-Diaconu*, *Popescu-Popa*, *Vasiliu-Apreutesei*.

The shift to the orthodox rite religion. One of the resorts that contributed to the economic development of the Romanian society, especially during the 18th and 19th Centuries, was the presence of the foreign qualified workers and traders; they could especially be found in the urban centres, where

¹³ The form, specific for the Romanian language, with the possessive article “a” before the word and connected with it is particular for Moldavia.

¹⁴ The anthroponyms *Dascălu*, *Dăscălița* could also mean “teacher”. Only after researching each name and the circumstances when it appeared, we could say what is it’s exact meaning; this thing is more difficult to be done, because the explanation regarding many of them was lost in time.

¹⁵ Gh. Bolocan, *cited work*, p. 10.

¹⁶ After the name *Radu*.

they benefit by better conditions and better place to sell their goods, unlike in the rural region. The state had in interest in attracting them, by giving them different privileges, in an attempt to increase the value of the land and to make progresses as regarding the commerce and the religion of the adoptive country. Thus, the inventory books from the past centuries registered frequent situations where the mentioning “botezat” (with the meaning “named”, although can also be translated as “baptized”) appears along with the first names of some foreigners: *Nicolai, leahu* (the Pole), *botezat*; *Tudor, jidov* (the Jew), *botezat*; *Ioan ungureanul* (the Hungarian), *botezat*; *Dumitrache botezat*; *Sava Nălban, botezat*¹⁷ etc., but there are also situations where this mentions already has the role of the patronym: *Botezatul*, *Nicolai Botezatul*, *legătoriul de cărți* (the bookbinder); *Nicolai Botezat, leah* (the Polish); *Constantin Botezat, precupeț* (the trader); *Ștefan calfă lui* (the journeyman of) *Gheorghe Botezat* etc. In the actual onomastics, we registered the next forms of the appellative *botezat*: *Abotezătoae, Abotezătoaei, Abotezătoaeie, Botez, Botezan, Botezat/u, Botezatul, Botezi, Bottez, Botizan, Botizatu*. The greatest frequency has the name *Botezatu* – 10.710.

Holidays names. The tradition of forming a name starting from the term of certain religious holidays was a usual practice to all the Christian peoples from the Western and Eastern Europe, starting with the 4th century¹⁸. In the Romanian onomastics are still kept both the name of an important holiday and, especially, derivatives of the term. The surname *Crăciun* (Christmas) – with 43.900 bearers – and those presented in its lexical area are the most common ones: *Crăciuneanu, Crăciunel, Crăciunesc, Crăciunescu, Crăciunoiu, Crăciunică, Crăciunaș*. Along with them are the anthroponyms resulted from other holidays: *Florii* (Palm Sunday) – *Floarea, Florea, Florica, Floria, Flore, Florean, Floricel, Florescu, Floroiu* etc.; *Paști* (Easter) – *Pascal, Pascale, Păscălin, Pascu, Pașcu, Pașca, Paștiu, Paștea* etc.; *Ispas* (Ascension) – *Ispas, Ispasiu, Ispasoiu, Ispăș, Ispășescu, Ispășiu, Ispășoiu, Ispășeanu*; *Rusalii* (Whitsuntide) – *Rusalim, Rusalin*. The popular name of some holidays was also kept as a surname. Among these are *Cârștov* (The Feast of the Holy Cross), *Drăgaică* [a agrarian ritual (June 24th); in the popular mentality *drăgaicele* were evil beings who were believed to make people look ugly], *Bradoș* (popular name for the feast day of the 40 martyrs of Sevasta – the Saints’ Day, celebrated on March 9th; or boiled or baked knot-shaped breads, coated with honey and nuts).

¹⁷ The examples had been taken from *Moldova în epoca feudalismului, vol. VII, partea I-II, Recensămintele populației Moldovei din anii 1772-1773 și 1774*, Academia de Științe a Republicii Moldova, Institutul de Istorie, Chișinău, Editura Știința, 1975.

¹⁸ Simona Goicu, *Termeni creștini în onomastica românească*, Timișoara, Editura Amphora, 1999, p. 43; also see Ion M. Stoian, *Dicționar religios. Termeni religioși. Credințe populare. Nume proprii*, second edition revised and complete, București, Editura Garamond, 2001, p. 298.

There had also been kept, as patronyms, the names of some Latin origin saints, through the popular names of some Christian holidays¹⁹: *Îndrea, Sâmedru, Sângeorz, Sânzien, Sânicoară, Semedrea, Simedrea, Simedria, Simedru, Sinedru, Sâmpetru, Sânpetru, Sântioana, Sântion, Sinpetru, Sintoader, Sintion, Sintoma, Sintpetru, Sinvasil²⁰* and, also, the popular names, of Slavic origin, of the Feast of the Annunciation – *Blagoveštenie* and the Entrance of the *Theotokos* – *Ovedenie, Ovidenie*. And, not at last, even the appellative *sărbătoare* (holiday, feast) was transformed into the surname *Sărbătoare*.

Objects, church environment in general. The variety of the nicknames is directly proportional to the variety of the features, preoccupations and the environment where people live. In general, any word has the potential to become a nickname at some point. The right context, the psychological associations, the puns and the ambiguity, all these can transform a simple appellative into a lasting surname or with a remarkable history of “life”. The ecclesiastic environment, with all the things that it involves – on material and spiritual level – isn’t an exception. As a proof, we have the surnames from the anthroponymic actual inventory: *Apostol(u), Apostolie, Apostoloiu, Apostu, Biblia, Biserica/ă, Bisericanu, Bisericar, Bisericescu, Bisericosu, Bosuioc, Busuioc, Busuiocescu, Candela, Ceoclu, Colac, Colăcel, Coșciug, Credinciosu, Credință, Creștin, Cruce, Denie, Epifanie, Evanghelie, Feștila, Har, Icoană, Lumânare, Lumină, Mărturiseanu, Mătanie, Mănăstire, Mănăstireanu, Mântulescu, Milostivu, Minune, Miru, Mitra, Mucenic, Mucenica/u, Mucinicu, Măcenic, Măcinic, Măcineanu, Odor, Ortodoxiade, Pasca/ă, Postu, Predica, Predică, Prescornița, Prescura/ă, Proorocu, Pomană, Pomenea, Raiu, Sfântescu, Sfântu, Sfîntescu, Taina/ă, Tămâilă, Tămâianu, Teologu* etc. We can also add to these anthroponyms that came from words of different origin (especially Slavic) and which the Romanian language took and used over time: *Bodaprose, Bodaproste, Bodaprosti, Bog* (God), *Bogdaproste* (God forgives), *Bogonos* (God bearer), *Bogorodea, Bogorodiță / Bohorodiță* (Who gave birth to God), *Bogos, Bogoslov* (God’s word), *Got* (God), *Spasenie / Spăsenie* (repentance, humbleness) etc.

There are names that have a multiple motivation. For example, the patronym *Colac* that assumes as a base the appellative *colak*. But we do not know from which of the meanings of the word comes: bread, round shaped, made from several rolls of doe; a metal, wooden, rubber etc. object, round shaped or wreath. From this perspective, the employment in this category of nicknames may be somewhat arbitrary. This is due to the fact that we don’t have

¹⁹ Simona Goicu, *cited work*.

²⁰ In the preface to *Dicționar al numelor de familie românești* – București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983, p. 9), Iorgu Iordan noticed the fact that because “sân was the perfect homonym of the Latin word *sanctus*, around the name of some holidays, as *Sâmpetru*, was confusion”, the two words – sân “fiu” și sân(t) “*sanctus*” had been confused, many times, being used mostly with the first meaning.

the possibility anymore to know exactly, post factum, the circumstances and the semantic characteristic that led to that certain nickname.

Names of monasteries from our country. In the actual denomination formula also appear the names, simple or derived, of some monasteries. Is a frequent procedure in our anthroponymy and not only here; a person can be identified taking into consideration his/her birth place or he/she adds to his/her surname (especially when it is frequently met), another one, for a better individualization. Here are the patronyms that we have selected: *Agapia, Cernica, Cotmeana/ă, Cotmeanu, Cozia, Cozian/u, Cozieanu, Nicula, Voroneț*.

Local landmarks in the history of the Christianity. The surnames that we have presented in this section can be directly connected to the corresponding toponyms: *Erusalim, Israil, Izrail, Nazaret, Sion*. The person named in this way could have been in a trip in one of the mentioned regions. We don't know for sure that this is true because we don't know, at the moment, as we have already mentioned before, the circumstances in which the nicknames appeared. They could have resulted after some associations made with the mentioned names by the people who gave the nicknames. Their frequency in the Romanian onomastics is a very small one.

Elements that belong to some foreign beliefs. Some anthroponyms, mentioned in the researched material are referring to the beliefs of some minority populations from our country: *Bairam, Barat, Cadiu, Calvin, Capela, Coran, Derviş, Fariseu, Hogeia, Islam, Pastor, Popistaș/u, Ramadan*. They could have appeared both inside the religious communities that they represent and inside the communities where the religious profile is a mixed one. This is as naturally as possible because the nickname functions in the same way, doesn't matter the nation²¹.

The popular beliefs. In the Romanian anthroponymy also appear many surnames that refer to the popular beliefs and superstitions, either customs, fantastic or real characters, seldom having evil powers: *Babe, Babele, Balaure, Balauru, Baubau, Brezaie, Caloian/u, Dochia, Dragon, Drăgaica*²², *Ghionoiu, Mag, Moroiu, Paraleu, Sânziana, Scorpie, Stafie, Vârcolici, Vârgolici, Vrăjitoarea, Vrăjitoriu, Zâna, Zmeu*. In this category we can include also the patronyms based on the appellative *devil* or its euphemisms: *Aghiuță, Benga, Dracea, Dracinschi, Dracu, Dracula, Draculea, Draculovici, Drăcos/u, Drăculeț, Drăcea, Drăceanu, Drăcescu, Drăcilă, Drăconiță, Drăconu, Drăculețu, Michiduță, Nesfântu, Șăitan, Șeitan; Ciortanu*²³, *Ciortea, Ciortescu, Ciortu*.

²¹ A.V. Superanskaja, "Universalii jazika i onomasticeskie universalii", in *Actes du XI^e Congress International des Sciences Onomastiques*, 2, Academie Bulgare de Sciences, 1975, p. 34.

²² Also see supra.

²³ From the Slavic term "ciort" – devil.

The tradition of the nickname have been maintained till today, in the urban, but especially in the rural region, where the people bear their official name, mentioned in the official documents, “only when they get in touch with the state’s life, for example at the mayoralty, at the exchequer, for elections, at school, in the army etc. In the daily life, you call a person by the nickname”²⁴. There is a space where the villagers know each other very well, they tell one another their life stories, the qualities and the defects and this fact is reflected by their nicknames. The newspaper Click, from July 30th 2008, offers us a sample of qualifications people have in a village from Maramureș: Săliște de Sus. Here is a different phone-book (*Paginile lui Aurel*, an analogy to *Paginile Aurii – Yellow Pages*) that presents, near the official name, the nicknames of the dwellers. The motive? The high frequency of some surnames (*Ion* – first name, *Chiș*, *Vlad*, *Iuga* – patronyms) and the inevitable confusion between bearers. Among the numerous registered nicknames (*Haiducu*, *Americanu*, *Robotu*, *Împăratu*, *Libelula*, *Zgârcitul*, *Frunzilă*, *Făt Frumos din Fasole*, *Trei lei 40*, *Păsărelu*, *Godzilă*, *Cucurigu*, *Spânzurău*, *Cap de Chibrit* etc.) is also *Dumnezeu* (God) – “The nickname comes from his grand-father who was a good and faithful person”. If someone would begin now some field investigations, it for sure that would be brought to light some nicknames that have nothing to do with the religious life and the popular beliefs of those communities.

The lexical fund of used nicknames represents the vastest field of a language, where there had been included appellatives – concrete or abstract, simple, derived or composed, archaic, dialectal or literary etc. – from all the other elements of the vocabulary (geography, history, botany, zoology, religion, mathematics, medicine, economy etc.). The anthroponymy “immortalized” those that had the chance to become patronyms and offer us the “concentrate” image – socio-economic, psychological and spiritual – of our past.

²⁴ Henri H. Stahl, “Sistemul onomastic drăgușan”, în *Arhiva pentru știința și reforma socială*, Editura Institutului Social Român, anul XII, nr. 1-2, 1934, p. 86.

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN HOLIDAY IN THE BULZEȘTI COMMUNE, DOLJ COUNTY

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Abstract: The holidays are different from the other days of the year first of all because in the Orthodox Church is officiated the divine service and the believers participate to the holly services and listen the wise words of the priest. Therefore, each Christian enjoys the holidays in a clerical way. Then, the difference lays in the fact that all the responsibilities and other usual duties are ceased and replaced with religious preoccupations. The Assumption of the Virgin, commonly called The Great Saint Mary, is the event that marks the end of the earthly life. In the eve of the holiday takes place the Vespers service, along with The Requiem of the Blessed Virgin that is sung by all the believers. With the occasion of this holiday, on August the 15th is organized in the Bulzești commune an annual fairy where the villagers from this commune and from the neighborhood attend.

Keywords: Bulzești commune, Dolj county, religious holidays, popular culture.

August 15th is the day when the Orthodox Church celebrates The Falling Asleep of the Mother of God (The Dormition of the Theotokos), event that marks the end of her earthly life. According to an older tradition, three days after falling asleep, the Holy Virgin was taken up into Heaven bodily. As following, in the West, this holiday was called *The Assumption of Mary*¹.

Virgin Mary, the Queen of all angels and saints², the holiest of all the women and that who enjoyed the honor of giving birth in body to the Son of

¹ Ene Braniște, *Liturgica generală cu noțiuni de artă bisericească, arhitectură și pictură creștină*, printed with the blessing of the All-Happy Father Teoctist, Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 2nd edition, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1993, pp. 188-189.

² *Preacinstirea Maicii Domnului*, anthology realized by Ierom. Porfirie Nichita, book printed with the blessing of the All-Holly Father Galaction, the Bishop of Alexandria and Teleorman, Bacău, Editura Bunavestire, 2008, p. 175.

God and the Redeemer of the world, is considered to be in the Christian orthodox tradition, the first and the greatest of all the saints³. The Mother of God is “among all the happy people, the stain-less mirror of the innocence and blamelessness: all good, all pure”⁴, as it is called in the Song of Songs by the Holly Spirit: “You are beautiful, my beloved, and there is no blemish in you!” (*The Song of Songs* I, 14). The Mother of God, “is born, full of grace, in the dawn of a new beginning for the mankind; she conceives the light of the world, our Lord, Jesus Christ and gives Him life; she follows Him into the world, full of the immaculate love and she is also accompanies Him on the way towards the cross”⁵.

In the first three centuries, the honoring of the Holly Virgin, especially in the particular cult of the Jerusalem Church and around the tomb of the Mother of God from Gethsemane, knew more discrete forms of manifestation. But, starting with the 5th Century, the Mother of God cult enjoyed a rapid development, being a natural reaction against the Nestorian heresy⁶, which’s followers claimed that Christ the Redeemer had two sides: a divine one and a human one, each existing in two different persons.

Furthermore, the Nestorians didn’t see a hypostatic union of the two sides, but, at the most, a moral union in the Person of the Christ the Redeemer, because they considered that the human nature couldn’t hold the divine one too⁷. Consequently, they admitted that Jesus Christ is only the bearer of God (Theophorus) and not the real God and Virgin Mary is not the mother of God but the mother of a man, at the most of Christ⁸.

The Saint Cyril of Alexandria united the forces against Nestorius and his followers, sustaining, on one side, the oneness of the person of Christ with the two subsistent sides, unmingled, inseparable, and separated but coexistent and theandric and, on the other side, promoting the truth about the quality of Virgin Mary, that of giving birth to God⁹.

Father Stăniloae remarks the involvement of the Holly Spirit in fulfilling this act through which the Son of God is a hypostasis of the human nature

³ Ene Braniște, *cited work*, p. 186.

⁴ Ilie Miniăt, *Didahii și predici*, translated by Dumitru Fecioru, Bacău, Editura Bunavestire, 1995, p. 400.

⁵ Petru Rezuș, “Mariologia ortodoxă”, in *Ortodoxia*, no. 4/1950, p. 515.

⁶ Ene Braniște, *cited work*, pp. 186-187.

⁷ Isidor Todoran, Ioan Zăgrean, *Teologia Dogmatică*, 2nd edition, printed with the blessing of His All-Holiness Bartholomew, the Archbishop of Vad, Feleac and Cluj, Arhidiecezana Cluj, 1997, p. 214.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Dumitru Stăniloae, *Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă*, 2nd, book printed with the blessing of the All-Happy Father Teoctist, the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 3rd edition, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2003, p. 80.

through the Holy Spirit, the One who works upon the woman who is the mother of the Son¹⁰.

The honor shown to the Mother of God in the public cult of the Orthodox Church is mirrored in the great number of holidays dedicated to her memory: *The Nativity of Mary (September 8th)*, *The Entrance of the Mother of God (November 21st)*, *The Annunciation (March 25th)*, *The Assumption of Mary (August 15th)*, *The Protection of the Mother of God (October 1st)* and *The Solemnity of the Holy Family (December 26th)*. All these celebrations commemorate the most important moments from her life, events that laid the foundation of the divine plan, but also the controversies and the apologies of the Saint Parents that protected her against the heresies that denaturalized her quality of “Woman who gave birth to God”, of His and our Mother.

Father Cleopa confessed: “Through the Mother of God, He came on us and our nature rose to the right side of the greatness from above, to the right side of God-the Father. The nature that Jesus has today, such is the sinless human nature, He took it from the alimmaculate blood of His Mother”¹¹.

As chosen daughter of the mankind, she lives her life in a total peace with God, in soul and body, with herself and with the other people. Her parents, Joachim and Ann, who received her as a gift from God in their later years, offered her back to Him, also as a gift¹², sending her to the boarding school of the Jerusalem church since she was three years old, place where she gave herself totally to God in prayer and trying to fulfill His holy will. While she was praying, on March 25th 749 BC¹³, the Archangel Gabriel, sent by God, announced her that she would give birth to Messiah: “Rejoice, you highly favored one! The Lord is with you. Blessed are you among women!” (*Luke I*, 28). When receiving this news, Virgin Mary was frightened, because she didn’t understand what she had seen and heard. The Archangel encouraged her saying: “Fear not! You have found favor with God, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son and you shall call Him Jesus. He will be great and will be called the Son of the Most High and He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of His kingdom there will be no end” (*Luke I*, 31). Excited and concerned, the Archangel calmed her, saying that she will supernaturally conceive, through the divine power and, as an example, he added: “And behold, your relative Elizabeth in her old age has also conceived a son, and this is the sixth month with her who was called barren”. Hearing this, Mary agreed, saying: “Behold, I am the servant

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 87.

¹¹ *Ne vorbește părintele Cleopa*, 7, book printed with the blessing of His All-Holiness Daniel, the Metropolitan of Moldavia and Bucovina, edition supervised by Archimandrite Ioanichie Bălan, 2nd edition, Editura Mănăstirea Sihăstria, 2004, p. 21.

¹² L. Băjău, *În slujirea dreptei credințe. Predici*, Craiova, Editura Policrom, 2007, p. 299.

¹³ *Preacinstirea Maicii Domnului*, p. 171.

of the Lord; let it be to me according to your word” (*Luke I*, 38). After giving birth to the Son of God she still remained a Virgin. As pr. Ion. L. Băjău declared: “The human and the divine nature, maternity and virginity are connected each other in a secret and marvelous manner, like two golden strings, in her own being”¹⁴.

The last aspect from her life is her death that she accepts like any other earthly creature. “As Mother of Life”¹⁵ that gave birth to the Son of God, she receives death as a passage into the real life. Thus, her death means actually the crossing from the earthly to the heavenly side, a slightly falling asleep, “a slumber” that she is given for a short period of time¹⁶. And as a proof we have got the empty tomb from the Village Gethsemane, found, according to the Apostolic Tradition, by Apostle Thomas.

The tradition says that, with three days before the falling asleep of Mary, the Archangel Gabriel announced her that that she will pass from the earthly life to the eternal rest, to the honor and to the glory from heaven¹⁷. The Mother of God prepared herself for the reunion with her Son. After the poor people had received alms and two widows received the two pieces of clothes – the belt and the omphorion – the people, holding torches in their hands and the holly bed, headed to the village Gethsemane, where the tomb was ready¹⁸. Here, her body was oiled with scents, was wrapped in a linen shroud and had a tombstone put at the entrance of the tomb.

Also according to the tradition, after three days, the Apostle Thomas, wishing to see the body of the Mother of God, asked for the tomb to be opened and, by some miracle, was found only the shroud because her body had been taken to heaven by our Lord, Jesus Christ¹⁹. We talk about an empty grave because “the grave can’t hold the Mother of life, the embodiment of the divinity, whose proper place is on the throne of the divine grace”²⁰. As our Redeemer, throughout His death, defeated death, bringing the victory of life after His Resurrection, the Mother of God is, in the same time, the fruit of life and immortality through her Son. The Woman who gave birth to God made the transition from death to the eternal life²¹.

¹⁴ Ion L. Băjău, *cited work*, p. 300.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 302.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 302.

¹⁷ *Preacinstirea Maicii Domnului*, p. 176.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 191.

¹⁹ Gheorghe Zamfir, “Învățătura despre Maica Domnului în teologia ortodoxă și catolică, in *Analele Universității din Craiova, series Teologie*, year VII, no. 9/2002, pp. 138-150.

²⁰ Ilie Miniăt, *cited work*, p. 398.

²¹ A. G. Cosma, “Viața Sfintei Fecioare Maria”, in *Glasul Bisericii*, year XXXVII, no. 10-12/1968, p. 1187.

The Mother of God, full of grace, sends her love to us, the believers. In suffering, need and trouble, only the Mother of God and “her prayer can overflow the mercy of her Son on us, her earthly children”²².

The feast day of The Assumption of Mary starts with the fasting that is a proper moment to think over the pastoral state of mind and over the renewing of the spiritual contact with God, through repenting and humbleness, and also over the love for the nearby people. The fasting before this holiday, that precede the festival, is decided by the Church in order to remember the special virtues of the Holy Virgin and her fasting before the passing over. As Ilie Moldovan noticed, “The fasting is the quintessence of the righteous life that is lived with great love for people, helping and caring, a life that feeds itself with the truth from the Gospel and the liturgical prayer”²³.

As concerning the oldness, it is the newest from all the long fasting periods. Its origin goes probably back in the 5th Century, when the Mother of God cult began to develop and when the feast of The Assumption gained an even greater significance. The fasting before the Assumption of the Virgin is, in the Orthodox Church, after The Lent and The Advent, the third as importance.

While expecting the feast of The Assumption of Virgin Mary, the orthodox Christians from the commune Bulzești prepare themselves spiritually and morally, trying to be better, understanding and caring people, to reconcile with themselves and with the other people around, to forgive and to be forgiven, to learn to love their neighbors. “Fasting is something I had learned from my parents. The fasting period makes us more thoughtful, better people, keeps us away from troubles and brings us closer to God. Before, our faith was different. We were all fasting... even the children. Now we are few people who keep the fast”²⁴.

The fast period begins in the evening of July 31st and if this day happens to be a fasting day, the fast period begins a day before. The conditions of fasting before this holiday are harsher than those during The Advent or during the fast of The Saints Apostles Peter and Paul because the Great Church Formulary and the Teachings regarding the fasting periods from the Breviary recommends to eat on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays before 3 o'clock p.m., when the believer is supposed to eat dry food. On Tuesdays and Thursdays he mustn't put oil in his food, but only on Saturdays and Sundays when he can also drink wine. But, according to the Great Code of Laws, we can use oil and drink wine, not only on Saturdays and Sundays, but also on all the days of Tuesday and Thursday from this period. We can eat fish on the Feast Day of the Transfiguration of Jesus. The believers, during the Fast of the Assumption, can

²² Ion Băjău, *cited work*, p. 304.

²³ Ilie Moldovan, “Postul ca stare teopatică și filantropia”, in *Studii*, no. 3/2005, p. 73.

²⁴ Inf. Ovidiu Mitrache, 80 years old, Prejoi, Dolj county, 2010.

consume this aliment because the fish is a Christian symbol²⁵ that embodies Jesus, our spiritual food. Information from the village Frățila, Bulzești commune, Dolj county goes: “In this day we eat fish cooked in different ways: as broth, fried, roe. For us, the old people, fish is a light aliment, also recommended by the doctors”.

On this day, the relatives give alms for the dead people consisting of fried fish on polenta or bread: “We give alms to the poor people, for our dear family members. For their souls... not because they could be able to eat the food, but because we want God to see we are caring people who desire to ease the suffering of our beloved, if they committed sins while they were alive”²⁶.

According to the popular tradition, the person who gives alms for the departed one, fulfills a double role: on one side is the fact that he is the person who beseeches and mediates before God for the soul of the deceased and, on the other hand, he piously brings the offering, that the dead person could no longer bring before God, as alms²⁷.

In the same time, this act of respect and devotion and, not last, of love for the departed one, is a duty of the still living persons – a belief that has its roots in the idea of immortality and a conviction that, at the end of the world, every human being will meet the dearest people, being judged in accordance with the divine justice. The care for the deceased person is a duty that deals with the observing of the ten commitments of God and His benevolence will reward the people who do this.

In the eve of the holiday takes place the Vespers service, along with the Requiem of the Blessed Virgin that is sung by all the believers: “We sing the Requiem along with the priest. It is something special. We calm our souls. We forget about our worries...”²⁸. In the evening, the believers go to the church to celebrate The Assumption of the Virgin: “We all go to the church. We pray to the Mother of God to give us health, to be better, more caring and forgiving persons. The Virgin helps us when we need. Even today, when we have to deal with so many troubles and concerns... Where to go to, if not to the church? In the power of the mighty God and Virgin we place our hopes, expectations and trust”²⁹.

On this day, in the Bulzești commune, a special event takes place with the occasion of this holiday: the Saint Mary fair, where the villagers from this commune and from the neighborhood attend. The children wait impatiently this event, dressed in new clothes and with the confidence that their parents will buy them sweets and toys: “Dressed in clean clothes, we all go to this fair year by

²⁵ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2006, p. 33.

²⁶ Inf. Constantina Gheorghe, 78 years old, Stoicești, Dolj county, 2010.

²⁷ Inf. Gheorghița Gheorghe, 64 years old, Stoicești, Dolj county, 2010.

²⁸ Inf. Valerica Preda, 78 years old, Prejoi, Dolj county, 2010.

²⁹ Inf. Maria Luță, 79 years old, Stoicești, Dolj county, 2010.

year. We can hardly wait for it. We buy sweets and everything our grandchildren want. The young people dance the *hora* (Romanian round dance). Everybody's having fun"³⁰.

There are brought market stalls full with *mici* (forced meat balls), fizzy drinks and bear, together with clothing, toys, sweets and even workmanship items. The folk music entertainers heat the atmosphere along with the dancers – keepers of the folkloric traditions and connoisseurs of the former dances. Charmed by music, young and old people dance the *hora*, celebrating, on one side, The Assumption of Mary and her ascension to heaven and, on the other side, full with optimism, people know that some day will join their Mother, the one who mediates between them and God.

The joining in the *hora* signifies the infinite, the immortality is the game played by saints of martyrs, prophets and apostles mentioned in the Holy Scripture, the characters that were worthy to enter the kingdom of God. All the believers and the lovers of God will enjoy the consecrated charity and will spend their time together with the angels and saints. Valeriu Anania said that: “the *hora* – calm, pure, decent, as it is the classical Romanian dance – is a way to serve God”³¹. This is the reason the people are told about the *hora* of joy even at the weddings when it is recited the next hymn: “O Isaiah dance your joy, for the Virgin is with child; and shall bear a Son, Emmanuel both God and man! And Orient is His name, whom magnifying we call the Virgin blessed”³².

Therefore, the Mother of God is the connection between everything that is human and the heaven above and we worship her as being “more honorable than the Cherubs and greater than the Seraphs”³³ and we mention her in our prayers as an encourager, defender and hope for our redemption, the one who defends us from the devil's temptations and protects us against the evil forces.

The Virgin Mary is celebrated and honored with great feast, not only in the Bulzești commune, but in all the cities and villages from Romania. It is known the fact that, in his visit to our country, Pope John Paul II, called this place “the Mother of God's Garden”.

³⁰ Inf. Maria Stănculescu, 78 years old, Prejoi, Dolj county, 2010

³¹ Valeriu Anania, *Cerurile Oltului*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, edited by the Bishopric of Râmnic and Argeș, 1990, p. 250.

³² *Molitfelnic*, printed with the approval of the Holy Synod and with the blessing of the All-Happy Father Teoctist, the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2006, p. 100.

³³ *Liturghier*, printed with the approval of the Holy Synod and with the blessing of the All-Happy Father Teoctist, the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 2000, p. 166.

CULTURAL CONFLUENCES IN THE TRANS- BORDERING DANUBIAN SPACE. THE CAROLLING

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Abstract: Although border between Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia, the Danube area currently appears as a specific area of socio-cultural interference. Migration of population from one bank to another has contributed not only to trade development but also to intense cultural exchange as it testified by the language, lifestyle, habits or traditions. In this regard, we focused on the carolling tradition in an attempt to identify their characteristics in the border region of the Danube.

Keywords: Low Danubian space, cultural interferences, carolling tradition, present influences.

The Danube, the river that unites the European society's economic life, on its inferior side particularly known as The Low Danube, was limes and boundary for the economic relations of the human communities from the both banks of the river. Along the time, the river divided human communities, peoples and states but also united them in the development of their relations.

Although it is a border between Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia, the Danube appears nowadays as zone of socio-cultural interference¹. The migrations of the populations from one bank to another favoured not only human but also intense cultural exchanges: language, way of living, customs, traditions etc.

Speaking about the aculturation phenomenon in the Clisura Dunării, Carmen Bulzan and Florina Bulzan indentified, from a sociologic perspective, some elements of an identity configuration in this area of interference. These elements are regarded in a merging relation, the authors distinguishing several zones: the nucleus – with elements common to the both cultures, a zone of

¹ Carmen Bulzan, Florina Bulzan, *Interacțiune socială și comunicare interculturală în Clisura Dunării. Contribuții la o sociologie a frontierei*, Craiova, Editura MJM, 2007, p. 29.

interference, with two different layers – the similitude and the creator combination, after taking some elements of material culture, and a zone of specificity (that differentiate them) characterized through elements of identity that didn't transform after the social interaction from the trans-bordering Danubian space².

The traditions and the customs, along the other elements, and the popular clothes or popular and cult artistic creation constituted themselves in reciprocal borrowings of the ethnic communities from the both banks of the Danube.

The Christmas and New Years' Eve carolling is a ritual met not only in the trans-bordering space, but also all over Europe and the places where the first European colonists settled becoming, as Petru Caraman says, "one of the rituals that doesn't have a country, a universal ritual"³. As any ritual, this is also a traditional reality, a phenomenon that influences the order of the human community. Ernest Bernea, in his study published in 1968, mentions that the ritual is a conservative phenomenon, inherited from generation to generation: "in a society, the ritual represents what is crystallized, deposited in time, it represents the forms that the collective spirit takes, being the concrete expression of a system through which the world and its internal connections are perceived"⁴. The author underlines the idea that the ritual is different from the custom, difference that comes from their double relation and direction and also from their way of functioning. Thus, while the custom is a social *act* that actualizes the rituals and brings them to life, the ritual is a social *form*, a face of the collective being⁵.

Stopping on the same problems, Mihai Pop sustains that the ritual is synonym with the custom (there are two words that name the same thing), mentioning that "the custom encompasses all the folkloric manifestations connected with a certain event or date" and "the ritual seems to be the general popular term for everything that uses old rules"⁶.

The carolling ritual is a part of the customs related with the winter holidays, being present, as we have mentioned, at the Romanian people but at other peoples also.

Therefore, we will try to identify all the specific features of this ritual in the trans-bordering Danubian space.

In the calendar of the old people, the time was measured through the important stages of the work, of which necessity determined empirical

² *Ibid.*

³ Petru Caraman, *Colindatul la români, slavi și la alte popoare*, București, Editura Minerva, 1983, p. 3.

⁴ Ernest Bernea, *Introducere teoretică la studiul obiceiurilor*, în *Revista de etnografie și folclor*, volume 13, no. 5, 1968, p. 381.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Mihai Pop, *Obiceiuri tradiționale românești*, București, Editura Univers, 1999, p. 33.

knowledge related with the cyclic evolution of time, according to the stars, the vegetation periods and the stages of the productive activity⁷. Thus, was born the modern myth about the death and the resurrection of nature that, in the imaginary plan, means the death and the resurrection of the mythical hero, of the god⁸.

Each stage of the cycle organized and generated around it a multitude of calendar holidays, with fixe or mobile date, all making the *popular calendar*. The ritual scenarios specific to them remained, in the memory of the archaic collectivities, the main moments in fulfilling the agricultural activities: the beginning, the development and the finishing of these activities. Ion Ghinoiu underlines that

The popular calendar planed all the humans' activities on seasons, weeks, days and moments of the days. The optimal time for ploughing and sowing, for gathering and separating the flocks of sheep, for asking for marriage and engaging, for spells and magic charms etc., were marked by the days when there had been celebrated different mythic Christian or pre-Christian representation⁹.

This Popular Calendar was kept, mainly, at the Bulgarians too, especially in the Timoc area¹⁰.

The pagan popular calendar had been superposed, in time, with the Christian dates, an official calendar recognized by state and church, the Romanian ethnographic space and not only, bearing the mark of this syncretic correlation.

The cycle of the customs dedicated to the New Year's Eve is opened by *the carolling*. This ritual is present in two distinct forms: profane and religious. At the Romanian people there are several types of profane carolling that contain nevertheless Christian elements also: the carolling, the carolling of the children, Plugușorul, the carolling with masque (capra, turca), Vasilca, Sorcova and the religious carolling: Steaua and Vicleimul. Common elements as at the Romanians we find also at the Serbians and Bulgarians, the difference being, most of the time, the name of the carol. So, we find the carolling, the children carolling, the carolling with masque (at the Bulgarians is called *brezaia*), Sorcova (*surva* at the Serbians, *suruvakane* at the Bulgarians), *zvezdari*, especially at the Croatians, and *betlehemari* the going from one house to another

⁷ Mihai Pop, Pavel Ruxăndoiu, *Folclor litarar românesc*, București, Editura Didactică și pedagogică, 1978, p. 312.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Ion Ghinoiu, *Comoara satelor. Calendar popular*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2005, p. 6.

¹⁰ Nicolae Panea, Cornel Bălosu, Gheorghe Obrocea, *Folclorul românilor din Timocul bulgăresc*, Craiova, Editura Omniscope, 1996, p. 50.

caring *betlehem*, singing religious carols, the last two corresponding to the Romanian carols *Steaua* and *Vicleimul*¹¹.

From all this, we have chose to talk in this material about *the Christmas carolling*.

In the New Year's Eve night, after midnight and until dawn, at the Romanians, both in the rural and urban sides of the country, groups of carollers made of three, four or more children and young men go from one house to another, *carolling* (*în colindeț*, *Moș Ajunul* or *bună dimineața la Moș Ajun*). In some Romanian localities the people went carolling even on Christmas, the little ones in the morning and the elder ones¹² in the evening and, in others, the carolling started in the New Year's Eve morning and until the third Christmas day, in the evening¹³. At the Bulgarians too, the 10 and 12 years old children went carolling also in the New Year's Eve, at night.

After the traditional ritual, the carolling was made, at the Romanians, to their neighbours', friends' houses, in the village. The carols were songs that announced the birth of the Redeemer, Jesus Christ, or wishes of prosperity that were especially referring to wealth and health: "*Bună dimineața la Moș Ajun* (*It's good the New Year's Eve morning*) / *Că-i mai bun a lui Crăciun* (*And yet, it is better the Christmas morning*) / *Porci unturoși, oile lănoase, vacile lăptoase* (*We wish you to have fat pigs, woolly sheep and milky cows*) / *Oameni sănătoși* (*Healthy people*) / *Pui mulți și boboci mulți* (*Lots of chickens and ducklings*)"¹⁴. Octavian Buhociu considers the carols that made the repertoire of the children and young men as being, all, magical-religious "because this is their reality", mentioning further more that "the oldest of all these carols, of pagan and laic inspiration, are considered inherited from the Geto-Dacians; a second group is made of the Christian inspiration and generally savant (bookish) carols and, a third category, 'varied' are the carols of Christian and non-Christian mixing"¹⁵.

The ritual text was accompanied by dances and gestures. As for example, the riparian localities, near the part of the Danube that passes through Oltenia, especially those from Dolj County, were put in the stove straws and branches gathered from the yard of each villager, on which one of the carollers sat "for the clucking hen to hatch". At the Bulgarians, the children, gathered in small groups, recited (not sang) very simple carols: "*Bună sara lui Ajun* (*It's good the New*

¹¹ Petru Caraman, *cited work*, pp. 9-10.

¹² Ion Ghinoiu (coordinator), *Sărbători și obiceiuri*, vol. I, *Oltenia*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, p. 245; inf. from Hinova, Mehedinți County.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 245; inf. from Runcu, Gorj County.

¹⁴ Ștefan Enache, Theodor Pleșa, *Zona etnografică Dolj*, București, Editura Sport-Turism, 1982, p. 110.

¹⁵ Octavian Buhociu, *Folclorul de iarnă, ziorile și poezia păstorească*, București, Editura Minerva, 1979, p. 89.

Year's Eve evening), / *Și mai bună lui Crăciun!* (*And yet, it is better the Christmas evening!*)”, followed by wishes of fertility and wealth¹⁶. In Serbia, unlike the Romania and Bulgaria, the children were asked to come to the people who had a prosper year, believing that this happened because a certain child had carolled them last year¹⁷.

Also, the Romanian carollers used with this opportunity, the carolling, different magical instruments, as *colindele* (in Romanian they have the same name as the carols) – thin sticks with which they stirred the fire in fireplace in the house they entered; they were especially used by the carollers in the villages from Mehedinți County. These were made of hazel nut tree that, according to the popular believe, had the property of re-establishing the order in moments of tension and incertitude¹⁸. Through this stirring, the carollers maintained the fire burning, helping, in fact, the Sun to regain its force for the new year¹⁹. The role of the *colinde* wasn't just an augural one but also apothropaic, of favouring the fertility of the land and of sending away the malefic spirits²⁰. By touching an object or a human being with those sticks, were transferred to them growth, health and stretching qualities²¹. The same “magical sticks” were used by the carollers from the Timoc villages in Bulgaria: “When the Christmas Eve came ... my old man cut two rods and blackened them with smoke... saying that this is also a carol”²².

The carollers were expected with ritual gifts: round shaped bread made especially for this event called *colindeți* (also a name derived from the Romanian name *colindă* = carol), apples, nuts, bagels, pork, blood pudding, rarely money, each having its own meaning that remembers of the Sun cult, of

¹⁶ Nicolae Panea, Cornel Bălosu, Gheorghe Obrocea, *cited work*, p. 137; inf. from the locality Bregovo.

¹⁷ Carmen Bulzan, Florina Bulzan, *cited work*, p. 240.

¹⁸ Georgeta Nițu, “Valențe etnologice ale alunului”, in *Oltenia. Studii și comunicări. Etnografie*, vol. VIII, Craiova, 1997, pp. 76-77.

¹⁹ Anca Ceaușescu, Gabriela Boangiu, “Darul ritualic – semnificații simbolice și acte magice specifice zonei Mehedinți”, in *Mehedinți. Istorie, cultură și spiritualitate*, Dr. Tr. Severin, Editura Didahia Severin, 2008, p. 471.

²⁰ Georgeta Nițu, “Simbolurile vegetale și derularea timpului calendaristic (I)”, in *Arhivele Olteniei*, New Series, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2002, p. 237. The sticks were prepared beforehand. After they had previously been peeled, the hazel nut tree sticks were wrapped with strings of wet lime-tree, laid in spiral, upwards and then backwards, forming some kind of eight shapes. They were then turned black using the “smoke from the fire kept with larch tree, cherry tree and birch wood”. The ornaments that resulted after the removing of the lime-tree strips, consisted of an alternation of black and white spirals and rhombuses, suggested the battle between light and dark. (*Ibid*; see also Ion Ghinoiu (coordinator), *Sărbători și obiceiuri...*, pp. 247-248, inf. from Cireșu, Mehedinți County, Olteanu, Glogova commune, Gorj County).

²¹ Octavian Buhociu, *cited work*, p. 88.

²² Nicolae Panea, Cornel Bălosu, Gheorghe Obrocea, *cited work*, p. 50.

the nature's regeneration. The round shaped bread, "with a whole in the middle and embellished with doe flowers"²³, called "the God's bread" and the smaller round shaped breads received by the carollers who stirred the fire, can be interpreted as a reward for the Sun that ritually helped people in those moments of crisis from the end of the year, would assure prosperity and wealth in the new year. Like the Romanian ones, the Bulgarian carollers received as a reward, among other things, a *kravai* – a small round shaped bread, with a whole in the middle.

The proper carolling of the young men and older people, both at the Romanians and Bulgarians, takes place in the Christmas night, until dawn. This ritual presents at two different peoples common features both regarding the organization of the young men, the moments of the ritual and the characteristic phases of the carolling.

According to the tradition, those who went carolling were organized in groups. They went from house to house, only in their village, singing at the gate or in the yard. The carolling custom actually meant some wishes for the householders, implying, in this way the participation of the entire community. As Mihai Pop says, "at its basis (of the custom) stays the principle on which the good order of the living together and of the collective solidarity is established in our villages: all for one and one for all"²⁴.

The carolling was prepared starting with the Advent. That moment, the group of carollers started to prepare themselves and remained in that grouping the entire winter holidays' period. The groups of carollers were constituted according to the age, friendship or family relations. One of them was appointed *bailiff* or *judge* in Romania and *stanenik* in Bulgaria. In the large communities were organized several groups, each with its own chief; the carolling was done each on "its sector", in the yard or inside the house and only one time at a house. The groups gathered repeated times to prepare their repertoire, initially at the leader's house and then, though rotation, at every member's house.

In its traditional form, the ritual scenario of the carolling, kept today in many places, such Țara Loviștei, implied several moments: the meeting with the host, for the carollers to be welcomed; the window carols; carols sang when they entered the house, for the householder; different carols sung according with the age or profession; the carol sang when receiving the gifts and the final carol, when leaving the house²⁵. We meet the same situations at the Bulgarians, where the carols are sung like this: the carol sang at the door, the *na konsea* (at the

²³ Marcela Bratiloveanu-Popilian, "Aspecte ale obiceiurilor de Crăciun în zona Mehedinților", in *Arhivele Olteniei*, New Series, no. 7, 1992, p. 146.

²⁴ Mihai Pop, *cited work*, p. 47.

²⁵ Constantin Mohanu, "Obiceiul colindatului în Țara Loviștei", in *Revista de etnografie și folclor*, 15th volume, no. 3, 1970, p. 218.

window) carol, the *na domovladikata* (for the householder) carol, the carol sung for the persons in the house, *kravai* (wishes when receiving the gifts)²⁶.

Once they entered in the owner's house, the carollers sing for the first time carols near his window, making the ritual wakeup of the householders and announcing the holiday. At the Romanians, the carolling near the window is, most of the times, religious; through it is announced the birth of Jesus Christ and the great Christmas holiday:

Iată vin colindători (The carollers are coming), / Florile dalbe (Lily-white flowers), / Noaptea pe la cântători (At daybreak), / Florile dalbe (Lily-white flowers). / Și ei vin mereu, mereu (And they are coming and coming), / Florile dalbe (Lily-white flowers) / Și-l aduc pe Dumnezeu (And they bring God), / Florile dalbe (Lily-white flowers) / Și-l aduc pe Dumnezeu (And they bring God), / Florile dalbe (Lily-white flowers), / Să vă mântuie de rău (To redeem you), / Florile dalbe (Lily-white flowers).....". At the Bulgarians: "Scoală, scoală gospodine, colinda mea, colindă (Wake up you householder, hear my carol) / Gospodine bun de glume (Joyful householder), / Scoală-te de-ai adormit (Wake up if you're asleep) / Și deschide vechea poartă (And open the old gate), / Vechea poartă luminată (The old lighted gate), / Că-ți vin oaspeți urători (Because the carollers are coming), / Oaspeți dragi, colindători! (Dear guests, the carollers)!"²⁷.

If they are asked to enter the house, they sing carols for the householder and other carols²⁸, finishing with the final wish (thanking for the received gifts) said by the leader of the carollers. Both at the Romanians and Bulgarians, there are differences as regarding the received gifts. The most important of them is *the wish of the round-shaped bread* that has similar moments to the both peoples: the ploughing and the sowing of the wheat and then the journey to the field of the owner to see the crop.

At the Romanians, the wishing is an epic oration with preponderantly agrarian character, where the head of the carollers describes the story of the round-shaped bread, starting from the sowing and until its baking. This is always addressed to the owner of the house and encompasses elements that glorify his rich crop:

²⁶ Petru Caraman, *cited work*, p. 15-16.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 28.

²⁸ The carols are characterized by a great variety, determined by the existence of some wishes, specific to certain situations in which the human groups or the individuals find themselves. Thus, there are carols sung by children, boys or girls (they divided in carols sung by lads or adolescent girls and those sung by young boys and girls who will soon be married), carols sung by engaged people, carols for the young married people, for the mature, husband and wife people, for the old people, carols sung by people who have a specific occupation, the most frequent being that of farmer, shepherded and fisherman, carols for certain functions, as those of mayor or priest (Ovidiu Bârlea, *Folclor românesc*, vol. I, București, Editura Minerva, 1981, p. 307-308).

Stați frați și ascultați (My brothers, wait and listen), / Bine seamă să luați (Mind my words): / Jupân gazdă de dimineață s-a sculat (Our host woke up early in the morning), / Pe față s-a spălat (He washed his face), / Grâu roșu în saci a băgat (He put red wheat in his sacks). ... Și-ncepu a brăzda (And he started to plough) ... Brazdă neagră-a răsturnat (A black furrow he made), / Grâu roșu-a aruncat (Red wheat he sowed)... Și-a făcut acel colac minunat (Wonderful bread he baked), / Pe piatra morii măsurat (Round like the mills' wheel), / Nouă gazda ni l-a dat (And he gave it to us)!²⁹.

At the Bulgarians, when the carols stopped, the stanenik, after he had taken the round-shaped bread, he would tell the good wish in which he would mention about the short time they spent there, starting from the moment they came until they left and then, the proper wish is told. This is made of wishes addressed to the householder, regarding the future crop and the final wish would be:

Acel colac (That round-shaped bread) / Alb, dalb, sucit, răsucit (White, twisted, spun), / În fața Domnului copt (Baked before God), / Nouă merit (Especially for us), / Cât grâu se află în el (And the wheat from it), / Măcinat, răsmăcinat (Grounded again and again), / Răsucit, răsrăsucit (Twisted again and again), / Alb, dalb (White, lily-white), / Atâta sănătate, cinste și spor în astă casă (May him bring health, honour and plenty)! ...³⁰.

The carolling habit has, as Petru Caraman shows, a Roman substrate that comes from its very name, derived in Romanian from *calendae* (*Calendae Ianuariae*), the name of the Romans' New Year³¹. The Calends were Roman holidays dedicated to the Sun. The term "calends" designates a round-shaped object, with referring to the solar disc. That's why the carollers received gifts consisting of nuts and breads, round-shaped objects, symbolizing the perfection.

The same Petru Caraman underlines the agrarian character of the carolling: "At its origin, the carolling was an agrarian ritual *per excellentium* and only later it transformed itself, enlarging its meaning and encompassing all the aspect of the rural life"³². At a closer look, we notice that these agrarian motives are less present at the Romanian people as regarding the Christmas carols, being present more in the New Year's carols, such is *Plugușorul*.

As regarding the gifts received by the carollers, the offering of gifts isn't only a reward for the carollers but, as Petru Caraman mentions, "it has magical

²⁹ Petru Caraman, *cited work*, pp. 163-164.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 161.

³¹ Petru Caraman, *cited work*, pp. 163-164.

³² *Ibid*, p. 3. At the Roman people, the winter holiday cycle, succeeding one after another, included: *Brumalia* that was lasting 24 days (November 24th – December 17th); *Saturnalia* (December 17th – 23rd) – celebrated the god of sowing Saturn and his wife Ops that personified the fruitiness of the earth; *Kalendae Ianuarii* – celebrated on the first days of January and inaugurated the Roman year.

purposes; it has the character of a magic charm”³³. Ofelia Văduva also notices that

beyond its economic, social or cultural value, the gift has the magical valences of a ritual act that influences the way of thinking and the behaviour through its symbols, attitude and gesture, as complementary ways of expressing the feelings and, altogether, as forms of a strategy of excelling the incertitude and the doubt in the relations with the people around us³⁴.

Although apparently it is a material payment for the wishes, the gift is reciprocal. It is a symbolic exchange between the group of carollers that, gaining magical powers, they allow the transfer of a favourable energy towards the human space (wealth, health, happiness) and receive, in exchange, a reward (material gifts) that also bears magical properties.

As a conclusion, both at the Romanians and the neighbouring peoples, the carolling custom is one of the oldest but still observed customs, more or less in its traditional form. The carols recited or sung mix the New Year’s pagan traditions with the Christian holiday that celebrates the Birth of Jesus.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 371.

³⁴ Ofelia Văduva, *Pași spre sacru. Din etnologia alimentației românești*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1996, p. 7.

ARCHAEOLOGIC PERSPECTIVES: FROM ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS TO FUNERAL RITUAL/ PERSPECTIVES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES: DES REPRÉSENTATIONS ARTISTIQUES AU RITUAL FUNÉRAIRES

ATTRIBUTES OF THE GREAT MOTHER GODDESS IN THE NEOLITHIC AND ENEOLITHIC PLASTIC ART FROM OLTENIA

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Abstract: The studies referring to the anthropomorphic plastic art from the Neolithic and Eneolithic era are rich and complex. We must mention that the plastic art, that constitutes the primordial element when defining a culture, reflects the magical-religious beliefs common to all the members of a community. The cult of fertility is attested in the Neolithic and Eneolithic period through the anthropomorphic representations (most of them feminine and rarely masculine) and zoomorphic. The anthropomorphic representations find their essence in the cult, in the belief in the Great Mother Goddess. The plastic representations so rich in the Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures from our country had also a magical-religious function. They can also be regarded as art manifestations, the Neolithic and Eneolithic artisans succeeding to make more than a simply suggest of the reality, moulding in clay, but, with good reason, works that have an incontestably plastic value.

Keywords: the Neolithic and Eneolithic plastic art, anthropomorphic statuettes, the Great Mother Goddess, Oltenia.

The imaginary world, created and enriched through the contact with the material, barely allows us to decipher it and we only understand it thanks to the figurative creations¹ of the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras. The anthropomorphic

¹ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, București, Editura Științifică, vol. I, 1991, p. 43.

representations from Neolithic and Eneolithic had a magical function, were related to a cult act².

Along the time, the anthropomorphic plastic art generated ample discussions referring to its signification and the suggested modalities reflected a certain point of view regarding its interpretation. The Great Mother Goddess cult is documented early in the Neolithic and Eneolithic period. The main characteristics of the Great Goddess are: the fertility, the maternity, the procreation. Not so far ago, the most frequent approach of the signification and functionality regarding the Neolithic and Eneolithic plastic representations started from the premises that they are nothing more than “prototypes” of the later divinities³. Thus, a great number of divinities were the basis of constitution for a real pantheon⁴ in which the dominant figure was the “The Great Mother”, the supreme divinity presented in different hypostases, all related to the fecundity and fertility cult⁵.

The cult of fertility is, nevertheless, related with the earth. The Earth Goddess was, in the Neolithic period, an important divinity having as main attributes: the feminine creative power and the fertility of the soil.

A different interpretation denies the possibility that these representations may bear religious connotations, offering them, in exchange, a practical role⁶, or considering them only simple “toys”⁷. D. Bailey launched the hypothesis that the plastic representations are a way of affirmation regarding the individual and group identity⁸, where the sacred represents a constitutive element of the individual and collective conscience. An interesting approach proposes R. R. Andreescu who evidences the multiple functionality of the different plastic

² Ovidiu Drîmba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, vol. I, 1985, p. 55.

³ D. W. Bailey, “Readig prehistoric figurines as individuals”, in *World Archaeology*, 25 (3), 1994, pp. 321-322.

⁴ M. Gimbutas, *Civilizația Marii Zeițe și sosirea cavalerilor războinici*, București, 1997, pp. 96-97.

⁵ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *Catalogul sculpturilor eneolitice din muzeul raional Oltenița*, Sibiu, 1967, p. 7; Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta neolitică în România*; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, “Unele probleme ale plasticii antropomorfe neo-eneolitice din România și relațiile ei cu Mediterana Orientală”, in *Pontica*, X, 1977, p. 42; D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripole*, Piatra Neamț, 1997, pp. 201-204; M. Neagu, “Statuete antropomorfe ale culturilor Bolintineanu și Boian din Câmpia Munteniei”, in *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, XV, 1997, p. 104; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*, București, 1995.

⁶ P. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with comparative material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mianland Greece*, London, 1968.

⁷ R. Treuil, *Le Néolithique et le Bronze Ancien Egéen. Les problèmes, stratigraphiques et chronologiques, les techniques, les hommes*, Paris, 1984, pp. 410-424; R. Treuil, *Les figurines néolithiques: idols ou jouets? Le grand atlas de l'archéologie*, Paris, 1992, p. 65-66.

⁸ D. W. Bailey, “Readig prehistoric...”, p. 329; D. W. Bailey, *Balkan Prehistory, Excursion, Incorporation and Identity*, Routledge, London, 2000, p. 102.

categories, admitting their cultic character⁹. We must also bring forward the study that belongs to V. Voinea, referring to the ancestral religious gestures on the cult vessels from Gumelnița that evidence the connection between the anthropomorphic representations and the religious life of those communities, admitting, in the same time, the impossibility of making a dissociation between worshiper and divinity, knowing the fact that not all the statuettes are prototypes of the divinity¹⁰. René Guénon states that literarily the human “represents only a passing and contingent manifestation of the real being... The human individuality... shouldn’t own a privileged place outside the line, in the infinite hierarchy of hypotheses of the total being; there, he hasn’t got a rank more important than that of other hypotheses”¹¹.

In the Neolithic and Eneolithic period, the signs were used to define and to sacralize objects. The sign represented an element perceptible through the senses and that indicates something different than itself. The symbol can be defined as sign, object, image that represents or once represented something for someone. With the help of the symbol we can get inside the world of mentalities, which are multidimensional. The symbol is different from the sign because the sign can be defined as a convention between significant and signifiant and the symbol represents the ensemble of the significant and signifiant.

A symbol always illustrates, whatever the context is, the fundamental unity of several areas of the reality: till recently, there has been observed in the Oriental Prussia the custom according to which a naked woman would go to the field and seed the peas. At the Finnish people, the women bring the seeds to the field in the menstrual dress, in the shoe of a prostitute or in the stocking of a bastard, increasing in such way the fruitfulness of the seeds after the contact with objects worn by persons that bear a powerful erotic print. At the Estonians, the girls bring the linseed to the field, the Swedish people don’t allow anyone but women to sow the linseed. At the German people, the women, especially the married and pregnant ones, are also those who sow the seeds.

The existence of a system of myths and beliefs, sometimes illustrated with such plastic-anthropomorphic representations, cannot certainly establish if there was a religion in the true sense of the word, with a pantheon in which’s centre we would find a divinity. We cannot deny that there was a system of beliefs where the magic played an important part, the anthropomorphic figurines and vessels being used with a certain destination during certain practices, but, if both systems existed, it becomes even more difficult to interpret the functionality of this type of plastic representation.

⁹ R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, București, 2002, p. 94.

¹⁰ V. Voinea, “Gesturi și semnificații în arta gumelnițeană”, in *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, XXII, 2005, pp. 383-398.

¹¹ René Guénon, *La Métaphysique orientale*, Paris, 1937, p. 22 și urm.

The objects found in the Neolithic and Eneolithic period, those that lead to the feminine fertility¹², bring forward the fact that the procreative act is associated with some ideas of metaphysics. The fertility of the ground is solidary with the feminine fertility, therefore, the women become responsible for the richness of the crops because they have known the mystery of the creation¹³.

In the plastic art of the Neo-Eneolithic cultures predominates the statuettes that represent orants, the “statuary” type, with the arms spread laterally and bended sometimes from the elbows upwards. The representation of the sexual organs, the accentuation of the hips and buttocks (see sketch I) and the positions of the arms led to the naming of “The Great Mother” or “The Mother Goddess”, with attributes related with the cult of fecundity and fertility. The predomination of the feminine character is an obvious fact, the relation between the woman, fecundity and vegetation being, in the same time, very frequent in the religious system¹⁴. The figurines represented with the hands on the abdomen illustrate the pregnant Great Mother (see the sketches II, fig. 1, 2).

The feminine statuettes with distinct features presented through some anatomic features well illustrated or exaggerated and also through their ritual destination, demonstrate the preoccupation of the Neolithic and Eneolithic people for the cult of fecundity¹⁵. The sexuality is present in several variants and hypostases. One of the most frequent refers to the cult fertility and fecundity.

No matter the way of artistic expression, the feminine character is represented as a “matron”, over-dimensional, with a prominent abdomen¹⁶ having the arms placed on it. Such figurines, with an accentuated steatopygia, were considered to be the ideal of beauty in the prehistoric times, being identified with the Mother Goddess, creator of the Universe “the one who generated energy”¹⁷ (see sketch III).

A great number of beliefs, myths connected with the earth, with its goddesses, with the Great Mother have been kept¹⁸.

The Great Mother – “sacred presence” – amorphous divinity, well-shaped divine figure or just a simple “custom” derived from a “vague memory of the

¹² Alexandru Macovei, *Arta. Din preistorie la renașterea timpurie*, București, Editura Litera, 2010, p. 10.

¹³ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, Ist vol., București, Editura Științifică, 1991, p. 49.

¹⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Tratat de istoria religiilor*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1992.

¹⁵ Ovidiu Drîmba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, Ist vol., București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1985, p. 46.

¹⁶ C. N. Mateescu, I. Voinescu, “Representation of Pregnancy on certain Neolithic Clay Figurines on Lower and Middle Danube”, in *Dacia* N.S. 26, 1982, p. 47-56.

¹⁷ V. Voinea, *Gesturi și semnificații...*, p. 391.

¹⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Morfologia religiilor. Prolegomene*, București, Editura Jurnalul literar, 1993, p. 141.

underground forces” – has always been the destiny of maternity, of the endless power of creation¹⁹.

The Great Mother Goddess is the personification of the everlasting source of creation of this “ultimate fundament of reality”. She is nothing else than “the mythic expression of the primordial intuition” regarding the fact that life, sacrality, immortality are in a “centre”²⁰.

Behind the symbols, the signs there are senses that present some ideas. For example, on an anthropomorphic vessel from Căscioarele, a nicely rendered human figure, is represented with horns and between them is placed a person. In this case, the assembly might reflect a parabola or an apologue (see sketch IV). On the anthropomorphic idols that represent the Great Mother Goddess are stylized signs (hair, sex) referring to the attributes of divinity, to symbols that reflect archetypal myths (see sketch V).

The odd number, three, is very important because it has “symbolic connotations in all the religions and philosophical systems”. The number three makes us think about the three worlds: The Heaven, The Earth and The Underground. In the same time, the number three symbolizes the stages of our existence: Apparition (birth), Evolution (growth) and Destruction (death), this cyclicity being attributed to the Great Mother Goddess through her connection with nature.

The significance of the number three is also present in the triangle, graphic representation that is often seen on the body of the Great Mother Goddess, as a symbol of fertility.

The most frequent signs met in the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras reflect the sexuality. Some signs show the “function” of that woman: active, a woman of gestation.

Another symbol that it is often used in the Neolithic and Eneolithic anthropomorphic representations, is the vulva, in connection with the birth. The vulva, as the first representation of the feminine divinity, appears in different shapes: oval, rhombic, triangular. In the anthropomorphic representations from the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras, the Great Mother Goddess is rendered with an exaggerated vulva and prominent breast. The breast, the source of milk, is believed to be of divine origin. Representing the maternity, the breast is shown, in most of the Neolithic and Eneolithic anthropomorphic statuettes with “exaggerated” dimensions (see sketch VI).

In the sketch VII are gathered examples of signs from the feminine figurines.

The Great Mother Goddess is presented in the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras as having a role of assurance and protection of the fertility, germination of cereals or, for the human, of gestation. One of the most often signs that appears is the rhombus with opened angles (see sketch VIII).

¹⁹ Mircea Eliade, *Tratat de istoria religiilor*, București, Humanitas, 1992, p. 211.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 229.

The rhombus corresponds to the number three. In the prehistoric age the number four is the setting of life: “the space is divided in four horizons, the time is divided in four seasons, there are four pillars that support the universe”. The rhombus represents the symbol of fertility, in connection with the representations of the Great Mother Goddess in the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras.

Also appearing as a hypostasis of the Great Mother, the masculine divinity has a secondary position, of subordination towards the feminine principle, proved by the small number of figurines and by the dimensional differences. The theme of “the divine couple”, met more frequently in the plastic art from Gumelnița²¹, doesn’t suggest the fact that this could portray an inferior position, but a perfect harmony, both characters complementing each other in a “coincidentia oppositorum”.

The accurate definition when regarding the sex of the figurines is extremely important because the appearance of the masculine idols involves on one side the appearance of a differentiated society, where the role of the man becomes preponderant²² and, in the spiritual plan, the imposing a new Uranian cult²³, after the intensification of the Anatolian-Aegean influences and their transmission through the Vinča communities²⁴.

Another problem that needs a special attention and that contributes to some extent to the understanding of the meaning of the Neo-Eneolithic art is the appointing of the characters’ “age”, suggested by some anatomical details. Thus, the figurines with accentuated steatopygia and with fallen breast could be representations of older women²⁵ that find analogies both in the Anatolian space and in the Balkan area²⁶, while the manner of modeling the small firm breast could represent a nubile maiden, another hypothesis of the “Great Goddess”.

The attitude that the figurines have denotes a variety of ritual gestures determined especially by the position of the arms, by posture and even by the figuration of the mouth²⁷. The raised arms mean the calling of the grace and the opening of the soul for the divinity, the gestures of the orant being a sign for the prayer. The most of the anthropomorphic representations are small figurines, with

²¹ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *Catalogul sculpturilor eneolitice din muzeul raional Oltenița*, Sibiu, 1967, pl. IV/1a, 1b; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, București, 2002, pl. IV.

²² S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Cultura Precucuteni pe teritoriul României*, București, 1974, p. 199.

²³ O. Höckmann, *Die menschengestaltige Figuralplastik der südost-europäischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit*, Hildesheim, 1968, p. 144.

²⁴ J. Mellaart, “Anatolia and the Balkans”, in *Antiquity*, 24, 1960, pp. 270-278; Gh. Lazarovici, “Die Periodisierung der Vinča-Kultur in Rumänien”, in *PZ*, 56, 2, 1981, pp. 169-196.

²⁵ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *cited work*, p. 74.

²⁶ J. Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East*, London; J. Mellaart, Çatal Hüyük. *A Neolithic town of Anatolia*, New York, 1967; J. Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar*, I – II, Edinburgh, 1970.

²⁷ R. R. Andreescu, *cited work*.

the arms spread laterally, oriented upwards, the gesture of the heightening accentuating the signification of the orants. This attitude has a ritual connotation that is amplified even greater in the case of the figurines with vessels on their heads that look like type of orants with tubular arms, so they couldn't have been used in domestic activities²⁸. There are presented cases where the modeling of the statuettes had been made from two longitudinal halves that were later attached one another, afterwards being covered with a protective coat of clay, demonstrating the existence of some cannons that should have been precisely observed.

The androgyny, the most spectacular cultic theme, reflects the duality of the main divinity and evidences best the complex character of the spiritual life. The famous statuary group of "lovers" from Gumelnița²⁹ or even the couple from Sultana³⁰ underlines once more the capacity of self-reproduction of the "Great Mother", the communion between the feminine and the masculine principle that forms the totality. The androgyny is the mythological consequence and the plastic reflection of the principle *coincidentia oppositorum*. Mircea Eliade mentions the fact that myths have a double revelation:

They reveal, first of all, the polarity of two divine characters, emerging from one and the same principle, that are meant, in different versions, to involve themselves in an eschatological *illud tempus*; secondly, *coincidentia oppositorum* appears in the profound structure of the divinity that proves to be, alternately or concomitantly, benevolent and frightening, creative and destructive, solar and ophidian. In this respect... the myths reveal, deeper than the rationalist experience could unveil, the structure of the divinity that is placed above its attributions and reunites all the contraries³¹.

The divine paradox, being above the human personality, is manifested through *coincidentia oppositorum* where the contraries attract each other and are transcendent³².

We can interpret the making from two pieces of the anthropomorphic idols as a sign of the contraries coincidence where the two elements receive many connotations and interpretations³³.

In the trying of determining the relation between object and its use, could be made some functional and typological connotations. For example, vessels for the storage of the seeds that contain signs related with the fertility and fecundity; pots used for the preservation of the fluids that have signs related with certain

²⁸ V. Voinea, *cited work*, p. 389.

²⁹ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *cited work*, pl. IV/1a, 1b.

³⁰ R. R. Andreescu, *cited work*, pl. IV.

³¹ Mircea Eliade, *Tratat*, p. 383.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Dan Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripole*, Piatra Neamț, 1997, p. 210.

rituals, signs or “writing” elements (for example “V”, “M”, “W”) associated with the Great Mother Goddess and with her attributes and characteristics (see sketch IX).

The decorative element also plays an important part in establishing the cultic theme, meaning that its presence or absence could impose some criteria of classification of the plastic representations. The decoration of the figurines with incised motives or painting with red of certain parts suggests the tattoo art³⁴ and, apart from the manner of realization, we can observe the presence of the same artistic motives. Thus, on the back are represented concentric circles, on the thighs, buttocks and on the calves of the legs, the strips and the angles, on the abdomen, spirals and the triangle always marks the pubic area³⁵. The presence of the decorative elements on the entire body imposes a separation into categories, those that embellish the face of the figurines and clearly indicate the tattoo and those that represent clothes.

Through the processions with ritual dances, were evoked some primordial events, in this case, the masks worn by dancers had a social and but also magical function. Therefore, the ceremonies became real cosmogonies that regenerated the space and time and took the “disguised one” from the natural course of life, obliging him to “play” the part of another being, capable to protect the entire community.

Olaf Höckmann, in his well-known work³⁶, trying to interpret the signification of the color of the Neolithic and Eneolithic statuettes, considered that the black color might have been connected with the chthonic world³⁷. The red color symbolized, according to other researchers³⁸, life and even the sun.

Nudity is – according to Mircea Eliade – “equivalent with the integrity and the plenitude”³⁹. The ritual nakedness signalizes the existence of a model without relation to time, of a paradisiacal image that lacks the attrition of time⁴⁰.

The Great Goddess has firm features of Great Mother, the deity of life and death with contradictory attributions from which can emerge different hypotheses. Most of the plastic and pictorial representations known in the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods portray generically this archetypal deity, whose main attributes are related with the life and the death of the people, animals and vegetation. It is a deity specific for the communities of agrarians because... the symbolism and the cults of Mother-Earth, of the human and agrarian, of the

³⁴ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, pp. 87-88.

³⁵ V. Voinea, *cited work*, p. 395.

³⁶ Olaf Höckmann, *Die menschengestaltige Figuralplastik der südost-europäischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit*, Hildesheim, 1968, p. 139.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 140.

³⁸ E. Neumann, *The Great Mother. An analysis of the Archetype*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1974, p. 105.

³⁹ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, București, 1979, p. 73.

⁴⁰ U. Pestalozza, *Religione mediterranea*, Milano, 1971, pl. 10.

woman's sacrality, couldn't have developed and transform themselves into a religious system, rich and articulated, but only through the discovery of the agriculture⁴¹. As a divinity of life and death, the Great Goddess, having the characteristics of a Great Mother is in the same time the dispenser of the fertility and fecundity, demonstrating the fact that there is a "solidarity between the dead people and the fertility and the agriculture"⁴².

The material from which had been executed the anthropomorphic figurines constitutes another criterion in establishing the cultic themes, knowing the fact that they had been made from clay of transposed in bone, marble, shells or gold. Most of them represent feminine characters, related with the cult of fertility, but also in the hypostasis of family protector. The presence of the cereal seeds, in the paste from which the statuettes were about to be modeled⁴³, demonstrates the personification of the earth through a feminine deity, but also the practicing of some magical-religious rituals that would symbolize "the seeding".

The Neo-Eneolithic anthropomorphic plastic art can be distinguished through a typological diversity, besides the pieces that denotes an extreme schematism, we can discover exceptional works, veritable masterpieces of the Neolithic art, equilibrated as volume, with the rendering of the anatomical details and with an impressive decorative register. The fact that most of the anthropomorphic representations are feminine, needn't be explained through her autocrat nature, but, more likely, through the part, visible enough, played by her in the process of reproduction, of "sacred procreation", part that confers her a special rank within the society, being promoted to the position of divinity⁴⁴.

The spiritual life of these communities seems to be a merging of magical-religious practices, influenced by the local specific feature, fact that determined a typological diversity. By identifying the structure and the character of a society we can discover many evidences regarding the existence of some specific cults, where the particular had an influence on the spiritual life. Thus, the quality of the figurines and the anthropomorphic vessels can be connected with the structure of the society and their representative character can illustrate the practicing of rituals to which the entire community took part, or only some domestic rituals. The geographic localization of the plastic representations can also be a clue for the particular manifestations of the magical-religious beliefs, according to the specific of the area, fact evidenced through a stylistic typology or manner of modeling and decorating⁴⁵.

⁴¹ E. Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 11.

⁴² Mircea Eliade, *Tratat*, p. 324.

⁴³ O. Höckmann, *cited work*.

⁴⁴ V. Chirica, *Cu femeia prin milenii. Mit și realitate*, Iași, 1997.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 91.

The Neo-Eneolithic was the period when appeared the great myths based on the inventions of the “Neolithic revolution” (food production, building of the house, taming of the animals)⁴⁶. Neo-Eneolithic was the age when there were “crystallized the cosmogonic conceptions” and the division of time received a special connotation⁴⁷.

The identifying of certain cultic themes allows the deciphering, somehow with certain shades of difference, of the signification regarding the anthropomorphic plastic art, because with their help we were able to define a specific plastic category “susceptible of materializing a particular aspect of the religious phenomenon”⁴⁸.

The establishing of the signification and functionality of the anthropomorphic plastic art doesn’t concern an analyze that comes only to the typologies established according to the morphological criterion, but a “primary” approach of all the data that define the whole assembly of a civilization, taking into account the fact that our understanding is limited, under the circumstances that the signification of every cultural act is delimited in space and time⁴⁹.

This search of the Great Mother is important for the way we understand the unconscious nostalgias of the occidental intellect from the beginning of the century⁵⁰.

The signification of the very rich Neo-Eneolithic anthropomorphic plastic art shows an intense religious life and tries to identify those elements that lead to the interpretation of the figurines as “a form of affirmation of the individual and group identity”⁵¹.

⁴⁶ Dan Monah, *Plastica...*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ P. Lévêque, *Bêtes, dieux et hommes. L’imaginaire des premières religions*, Paris, 1985, pp. 57-58. Mircea Eliade, *Aspecte ale mitului*, București, 1978, pp. 5-7. M. Eliade, *Mitul eternei reîntoarceri*, in *Eseul*, București, 1991, pp. 23-24.

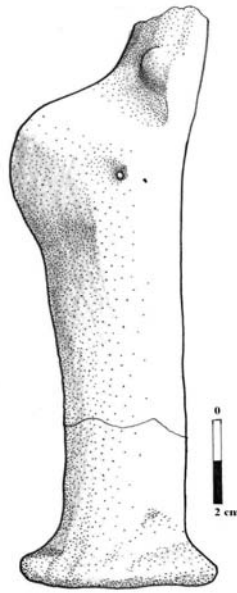
⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 88.

⁴⁹ M. Eliade, *cited work*, pp. 14-20.

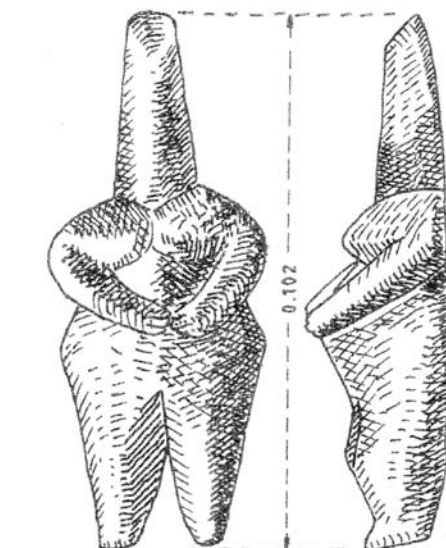
⁵⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Ocultism, vrăjitorie și mode culturale*, București, Humanitas, 1997, p. 16.

⁵¹ D. W. Bailey, “Reading prehistoric figurines as individuals”, in *World archaeology*, 25 (3), 1994, p. 329.

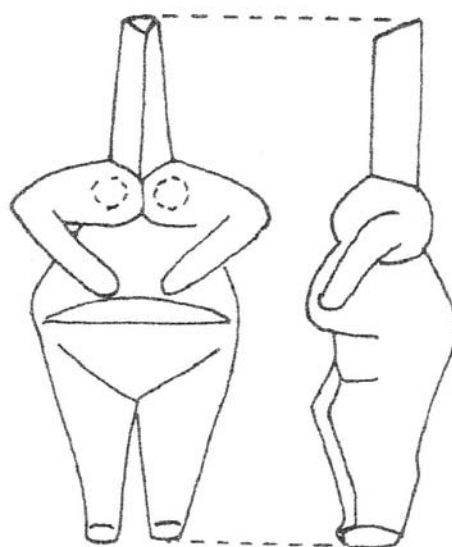
ANNEXES



Sketch I. Burnt clay figurine.



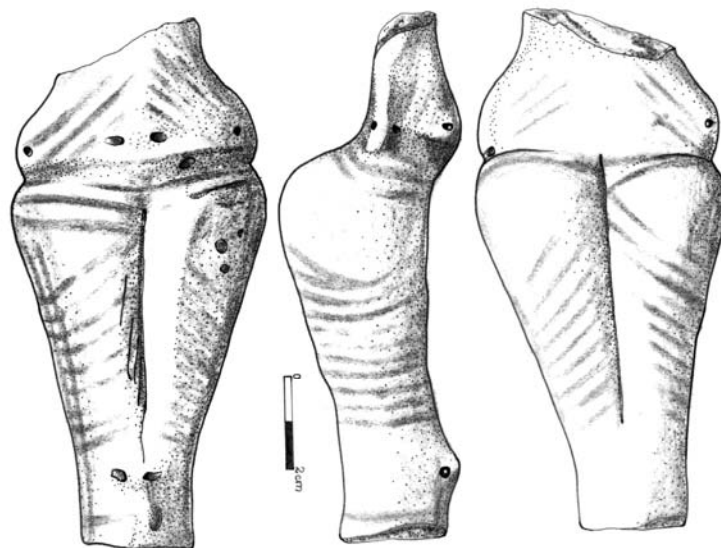
1.



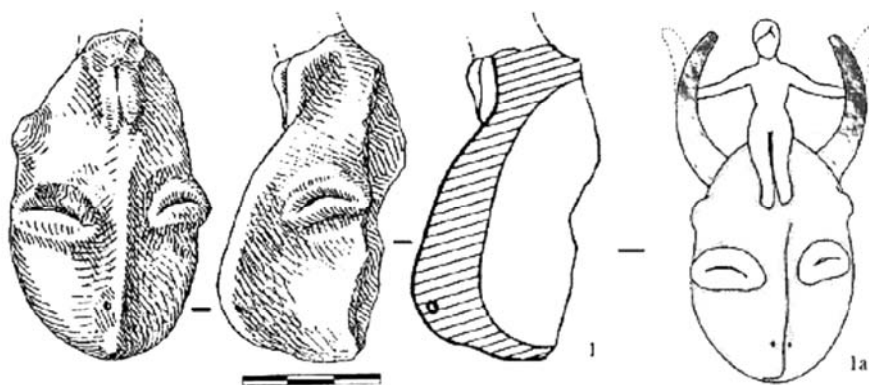
2.

Sketch II. 1. Burnt clay figurine, Cernavodă culture (D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939, p. 100; E. Comşa, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 1995, p. 139, fig. 4). 2.

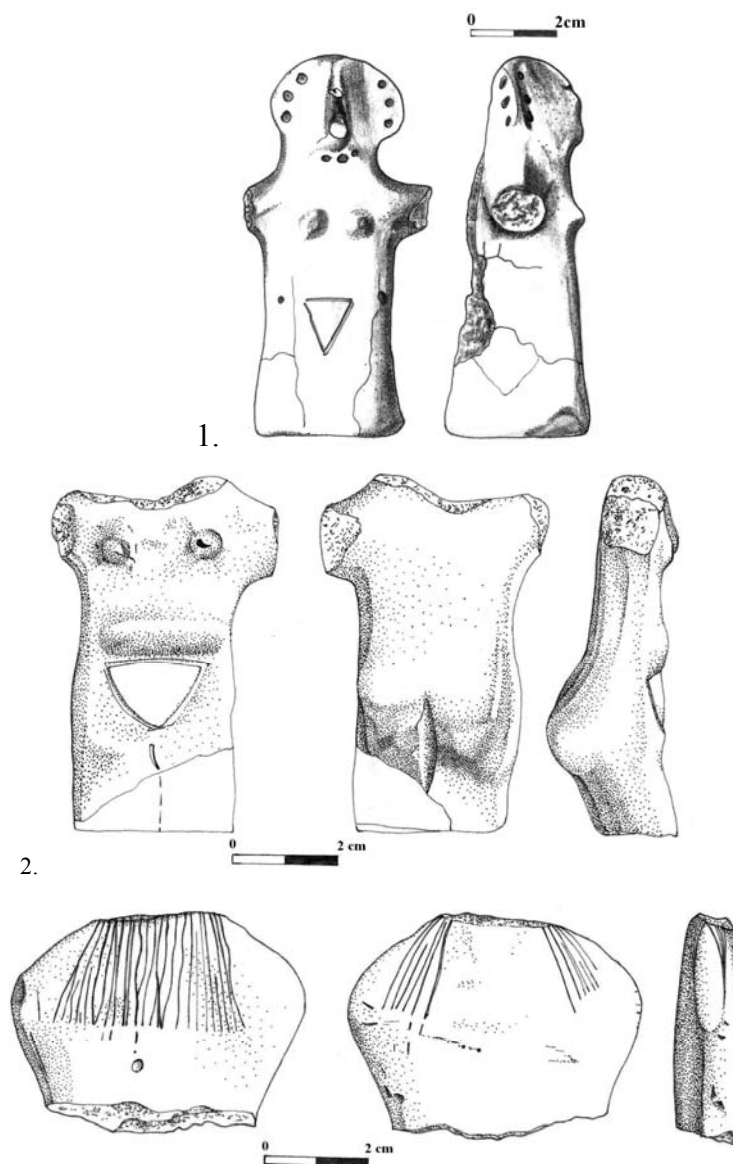
Burnt clay figurine, Cernavodă culture (D. Berciu, D., *Zorile istoriei în Carpaţi şi la Dunăre*, Bucureşti, 1966, p. 91, fig. 46; E. Comşa, *Figurinele antropomorfe...*, p. 140, fig. 4).



Sketch III. Burnt clay figurine, Cucuteni culture.

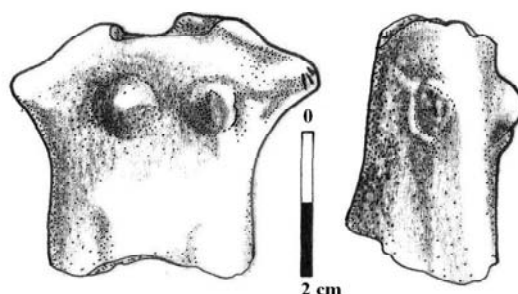


Sketch IV. , Căscioarele Radian-Romulus
 Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a
 României, București, 2002, p. 161, sketch 39

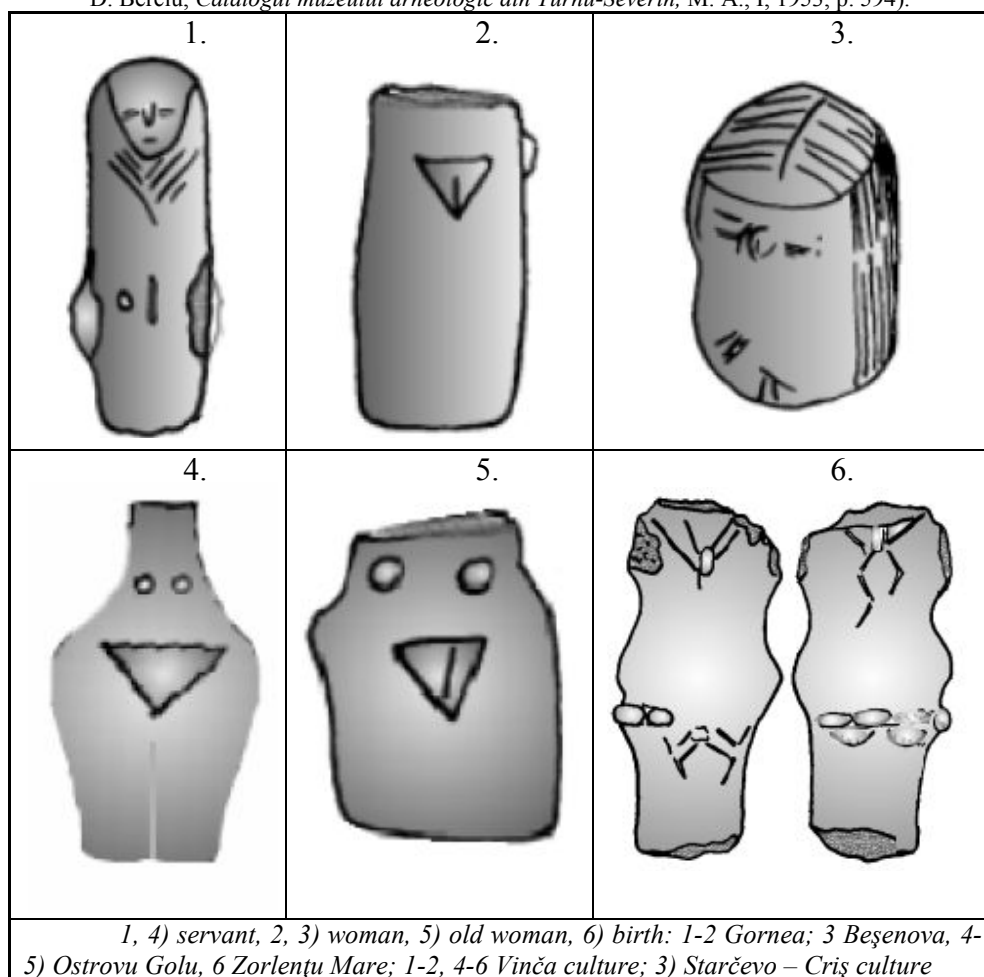


3

Sketch V.1. Burnt clay figurine, Brăilița (Radian-Romulus Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă*, p. 128, sketch 5, fig. 2); 3. Burnt clay figurine, Sălcuța culture (D. Berciu, *Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1961, p. 331, fig. 154/1; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe*, București, 1995, p. 183, fig. 54/6).



Sketch VI. Burnt clay figurine (Al. Bărcăilă, “Antiquités pré et protohistoriques des environs de Turnu Severin”, in *Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne*, I, 1924, p. 293; D. Berciu, *Catalogul muzeului arheologic din Turnu-Severin*, M. A., I, 1953, p. 594).



Sketch VII. Table 1. Feminine

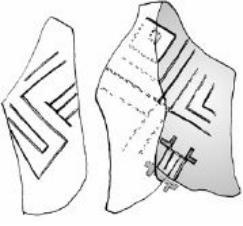
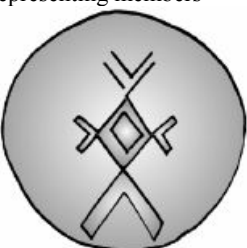
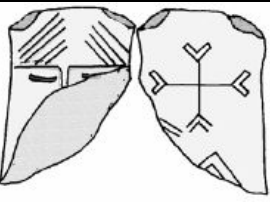
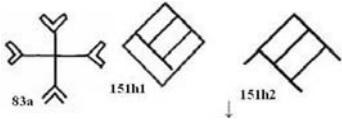
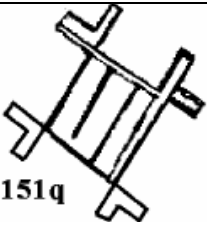
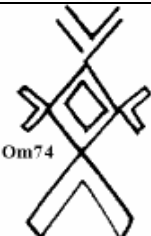

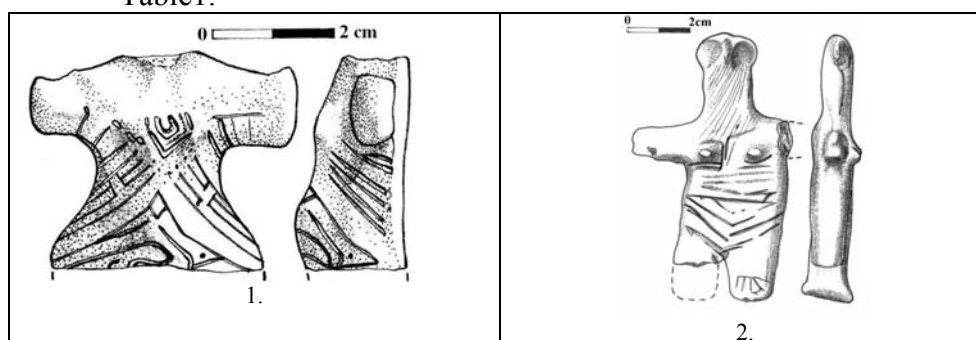
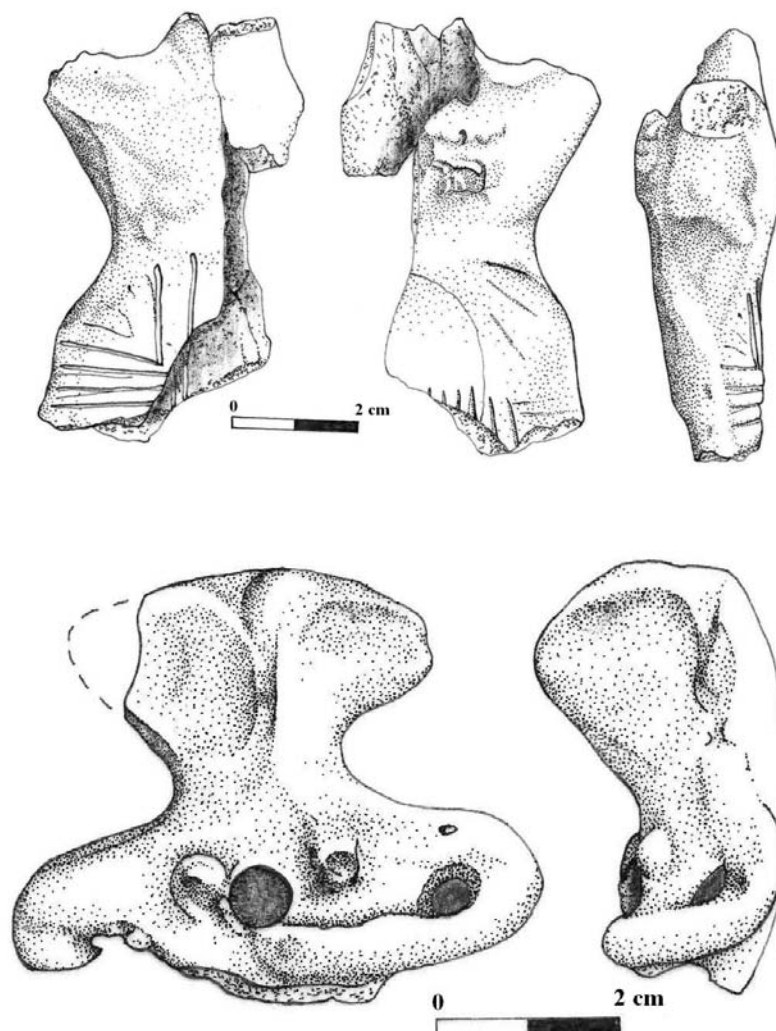
<p>a) Parța, the sacral area, P8, Sanctuary 2 level: rhombus that reproduces care a child in the belly</p> 	<p>Parța, on the bottom of a vessel, with the human body shaped like a rhombus and with angles representing members</p> 	 <p>c) Parța</p> 
 <p>151q</p>	 <p>Om74</p>	 <p>d) Parța, little orant</p>

Table1.



Sketch VIII. Table 1. Representations of the rhombus on idols. Fig. 1,2. Burnt clay figurines.

1.



Sketch IX., fig1. Burnt clay figurine, Vădastra culture; fig.2. Burnt clay figurine, Sălcuța culture (D. Berciu, *Contribuții la problemele neoliticului...*, 1961, p. 329; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe*, p. 183, fig. 54/7).

THE BRONZE HOARDS FROM THE SOUTH-WEST OF ROMANIA AND FROM THE NEIGHBOURING, SOUTH-DANUBE AREAS (I)

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Abstract: The most important thing in discussing about the bronze hoards is that related to the signification and the interpretation of the depositing. For this purpose we believe that it is necessary to enumerate the main interpretations regarding this phenomenon, seen in its general reading. After studying the depositing on the map of the hoards, it results the fact already noticed in the placement of some types of bronze items: on one side, we can observe their concentration in the Danube area, before the entering in the Clisura Dunării and in the Clisura area, and, on the other side, the relative big number of sites in Banat, especially around the town Vârșeț (Vršac). We shall present below the list of the hoards from the south-west of Romania and the neighbouring areas and also their placement on the map.

Keywords: Bronze Age deposits, beginning of the Iron Age, south-west Romania, Danube area.

Up till now, there have been ample discussions referring to the significations implied by the metal objects hoards. The most frequent attempt of classifying was to divide them into profane hoards (utilitarian) and sacred (ritual) hoards.

The profane character of the hoards was offered after understanding that their depositing was done as a sequence of some inter-tribal conflicts or invasions¹. Those that had a small number of objects were considered as belonging to the haberdashers and the hoards with pieces that grew of use or had moulding defects were considered foundries-hoards. Generally speaking, the

¹ M. Rusu, “Die Verbreitung der Bronzehortfunde in Transsilvanien vom Ende der Bronzezeit bis in die mittlere Hallstattzeit”, *Dacia, Nouvelle Série*. 7, 1963, p. 183; idem, in *Omăgiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, București, 1960, p. 490; M. Petrescu Dîmbovița, *Depozitele Depozitele de bronzuri din România*, București, Editura Academiei RSR, 1977, p. 26.

profane hoards were considered those that offered the possibility of ulterior chance to get them back.

The sacred hoards were those related to different ritual practices, called this way either by analogy with the ethnographic information, or in connection with historical sources².

The trying to offer an explaining model for the bronze hoards in the prehistoric period was more and more based in the last decades on ethnographic sources. Following this line, it was thought that the distinction between the “utilitarian” and “votive” hoards it can’t always be considered as definitive in the primitive societies. The American sociologist Marshall Sahlins advanced, in his economic anthropology studies³, ideas such that of “domestic way of production” or the varying regarding the “reciprocity” relations in different levels of the social group, ideas that proved to be fructuous in understanding the role that the objects played in the different transactions (the same type of object being able to have different functions).

Richard Bradley, in an article from 1985⁴, shows that the two types of hoards (utilitarian and sacred) resulted after different types of transactions (as a sequence of the reciprocity relationships), where some objects could be either usual goods or gifts and these different functions should be reflected in three different fields, archeologically observable. The first could refer to the context of the depositing, the second to the situation of the objects (the metallographic analyses being able to indicate whether the object had been recycled several times, whether it had been considered a “good”, being brought into discussion especially the ingots and the objects with standardized weight) and, finally, the spatial model concerning the distribution of the hoards.

His opinion is that some hoards, believed to have a utilitarian character are actually the result of some transactions that took place outside the social group, during the periods of competitions (*potlach*) and rapid exchange. The author relays on the model proposed by Ian Hodder who suggests that, in the periods of “stress” or “competition”, the material culture can be used to underline the differences between the social groups. These differences, hardly seen in the Neolithic period, became, during the Bronze Age, more and more accentuated, developing, in the Late Bronze Age and in the Iron Age (the UFZ period) a stabile system in the regional groups in which the common interest is preponderant, competitive in symbolizing the maintaining of the territorial

² The historical sources are unfortunately for the later periods: Herodotus, Tacitus (for Celts), Pausanias etc.

³ M. Sahlins, *Age de pierre, age d'abondance*, Paris, Editure Gallimard, 1976 (the first edition appeared in 1972 in Chicago with the title *Stone Age Economic*).

⁴ R. Bradley, “Exchange and social distance: the structure of bronze artefact distributions”, in *Man*, 20, 1985, pp. 629-704.

rights⁵. From here, results that the studying regarding the distribution of objects can lead us to the identification of some borders marked by specialized hoards. For the Bronze Age, in England, we can notice the fact that the area of distribution of the specialized hoards and of the individual discoveries is surrounded by a circle of apparently utilitarian hoards.

In the book *The Passage of Arms*⁶, Bradley approaches again the problems anterior discussed and analyses the custom regarding the hoards from the north-west of Europe. With this opportunity, he accentuates the need to distinguish between two different types of deposits. Some of them represent sacrifices that are predominant in this area during the Neolithic and Bronze Age and others, constituted as offerings, are frequent during the Bronze Age. The author emphasizes that the Late Bronze, as a period when the bronze hoards knew their maximum development is also a period of great stability regarding the political power, in opposition with the Iron Age, when the hoards cease and in the socio-political plan can be seen a fragmentation of the power and an accentuation of the conflicts⁷. We can easily notice that this pattern of analysis can also be applied for the central and south-eastern Europe, where the UFZ period can be considered a greater stage in the development of the bronze metallurgy but also one of relative stability.

At the beginning of the Bronze Age, the south-east of Europe and implicitly the Carpathian Basin, situated in the outskirts of the urban culture of the Orient (Mesopotamia, Anatolia) takes part to the spreading of certain techniques of casting or types of weapons or tools, such are the axes with a transversal gap for the handle from the beginning of the Bronze Age⁸, constituting themselves in connection with the rest of Europe as a centre for the spreading of the metallurgic impulses towards the centre and the north of the continent.

In the second millennium, and especially in its second half, the development of the bronze metallurgy and the perfecting of the techniques led to the intensifying of the exchanges and to the socio-economic restructuration of the society. And a proof for this are the discoveries such the hoard from Draşna de Jos (that contains the fragment from a sword blade of Mycenaean type, along with a Reutlingen type sword and a sceptre⁹), the treasure Rădeni and that from Vălcitrăn (that also contains golden vessels)¹⁰, the treasures from Perşinari (12

⁵ R. Bradley, I. Hodder, "British prehistory: an integrated view", in *Man*, 14, 1979, pp. 93-94.

⁶ R. Bradley, *The Passage of Arms*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 1998 (2nd edition).

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 198-202.

⁸ A. Vulpe, in *Istoria Românilor*, I, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, p. 240.

⁹ M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, *cited work*, pl. 91-93.

¹⁰ A. Vulpe, V. Mihăilescu Bârliba, "Tezaurul de la Rădeni-Neamţ", in *Memoria Antiquitatis*, 12-14, 1980-1982, (1986), Piatra Neamţ, p. 41-63.

halberds, a short sword, 4 silver axes)¹¹, Țufalău (4 golden axes)¹², Țigănași and Hinova, Mehedinți county (golden adornments)¹³.

All these discoveries can be attributed to the existence of a group of people, for whom the precious metal objects, as those enumerated above, bear a well-defined signification. There are prestige items that suggest in the same time the fact that they have the capacity to develop relations with distant areas such is Mycenae that, along with the Hittite Empire, represented the most important political power from that period.

The connection between the Mediterranean space and the western area of the Black Sea can be suggestively illustrated by the recent discovery made in Tekirdağ and the load belonging to the wrecked ship from Uluburun¹⁴. The hoard from Tekirdağ¹⁵ own two swords, from which one is Mycenaean, a “Canaanian” type dagger, a spear head with a split handle that is frequent for the Aegean space, 3 double edged axes considered “Cretan-Mycenaean directing fossil” that can also be found in the Balkan and Danube area. The two flanged axes (types that, made of bronze, are present in Central Anatolia and in the south and north Danube region, but made of iron), were found together with a celt and many hooked sickles, frequent in Thrace and near the Danube area, bronze vessels and a Keftiu type ingot. As the author of the article notice,

all the elements of the hoard from Tekirdağ are dated at the end of the 15th century or at the beginning of the 13th century B.C. Its importance is due to the fact that this hoard brings together – as rarely had been seen before in a similar discovery – in such a surprising manner, products from different metallurgic workshops, illustrating remarkably the long distance connections from those times¹⁶.

From the same perspective we can interpret the discovery of the load from the Uluburun ship that “might be interpreted as a gifts sending, accompanied by a court official on his way from Egypt towards one of the Aegean space palaces. In this way, the load should be examined from the perspective of the distance trade,

¹¹ A. Vulpe, “Tezaurul de la Perșinari. O nouă prezentare”, in *Cercetări și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, Călărași, 15, 1997, pp. 265-301.

¹² A. Mozolics, “Goldfunde des Depotfundhorizont von Hajdusamson”, in *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main, 46-47, 1965-1966, pp. 1-67.

¹³ M. Davidescu, “Un tezaur de podoabe tracice descoperit la Hinova, jud. Mehedinți”, in *Thraco-Dacica*, 2, 1981, pp. 7-22.

¹⁴ H-G. Buchholz, “Ein aussergewöhnliches Steinzepter im östlichen Mittelmeer”, in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, 74, 1999, 1, p. 68-78; A. Vulpe, *Istoria Românilor*, I, 2001, p. 358.

¹⁵ S. Hansen, “Noi cercetări asupra metalurgiei epocii bronzului în sud-estul Europei”, in *Descoperiri de bronzuri din Romania*, (ed. T. Soroceanu), 2nd vol, Bistrița-Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 304.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 304.

controlled by the masters of the palaces from the region and made as a gifts exchanging”¹⁷. The wreck of the ship contained copper ingots of 10 t and tin ingots of 1 tone (from which could result 11 t of bronze), along with different other items. It is interesting for us the sceptre with a curved blade and semi-spherical back side, made of black volcanic rock, for which there is an analogy in the Drajna de Jos hoard¹⁸. Similar items had been discovered at Lozova II, in Basarabia¹⁹, at Ljulin²⁰ and in the southern Danube, a fragment from Dodona, in Epirus²¹ and another item at Pobit Kamāk, in Bulgaria²². Must be mentioned that the hoard from Muntenia also contains a Mycenaean type spade, reused and modified²³.

How much do the influence directions that we have discussed before and the intercommunity relations that they imply affect the different behaviour of the communities from the studied area, might be determined after studying the character of few discoveries. Thus, in the hoard from Ovča Mogila²⁴, the explicit joining of two elements of attitude towards the metal pieces might offer some suggestions. On one hand, was deposited the apparently complete equipment, made of prestige items of a warrior under the influence of the Mycenaean palatial impact that they tried to imitate. On the other hand, the 32 celts, all of them of eastern type, can be interpreted, first of all, as an “accumulation of the metal’s value”. In the first case we are dealing with a southern (Mycenaean) behaviour and in the second case with an attitude towards a more likely European continental type metals. This confers to the discovery a special signification because it reflects very well the interference of two types of behaviour.

It seems that between the function that involves the representation of the social statute and that of intrinsic value of the material of which the object was made (value that can be considered as monetary or not), there is a tight connection²⁵. If the Early Bronze, in the Central Europe area, the main metal items considered as representatives for the social statute were the halberd, the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

¹⁸ M. Petrescu Dîmbovița, *cited work*.

¹⁹ V. Dergačev, “Die äneolithische und bronzezeit Metallfunde aus Moldavien”, in *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, München, Stuttgart, XX, 9, 2002, Stuttgart, 37, nr.113, p. 35, 19.

²⁰ H.-G. Buchholz, “Ein außergewöhnliches Steinszepteraus...”, 74, 76, fig. 6a.

²¹ N. K. Sandars, *North and South at the of The Mycenaean Age: Aspect of an Old Problem*. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 2, 1983, 56, fig. 12b.

²² B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Regionalen und Chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, pl. 1, 1-2.

²³ T. Bader, “Die Schwerter in Rumänien”, in *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, IV, 8, 1991, Stuttgart.

²⁴ R. Krauss, “Der Depotfund von Ovča Mogila, Kreis Svištov (Bulgarien): Zur Datierung der Bronzehorte von der unteren Donau über mykenische Schwerter” in B. Horejs, R. Jung, E. Kaiser, B. Teržan (eds), *Interpretationsraum Bronzezeit Bernhard Hänsel von seinen Schülern gewidmet*, Bonn, 2005, pp. 199-210.

²⁵ A. Vulpe, “Tezaurul de la Perșinari...”, pp. 265-301.

triangular daggers, the flat daggers with prominent edge (*Randbeile*) and the necklaces, in our space, a similar role it seems to have been played by the axe with the transversal hole for the handle (*Schaftlochaxt*). Later, in the UFZ period, in the western and central Europe, the forms in which the prestige was represented became diverse, this function being taken by the bronze spade, the spear, the fighting chariots.

It is interesting to notice the fact that in the areas where we have a funerary inventory, rich in deposits of spades and spear heads, such is the area between the Rhine and the northern Trans-Danube zone, the bronze hoards are extremely poor represented. On the other hand, in areas where there are small concentrations of hoards with spades, these items are missing from the tombs' inventory²⁶.

It is obvious that the bronze items hadn't been chosen by chance for the depositing into the ground, but they had been treated differently, according to certain rules characteristic to particular zones and had particular functions that were known and accepted by those communities.

After this assertion, partly theoretical, must be concluded the fact that the bronze deposits discoveries, either those from the hoards or the individual ones (especially the spades), don't represent an exception for the studied area. They reflect the social and the economic interrelations and, not at last, the ideological ones, specific to the communities of which material culture we have presented above.

Truly important, thanks to the great number and the variety of metal pieces, are the hoards that in the Late Bronze and Early Hallstatt increased their number, both in the Central and South-Eastern Europe. Referring to this respect, Svend Hansen, in a study on the metallurgy from this part of Europe, underlines that

the discoveries transmit to us in an impressive manner the creative capacity of the metallurgic workshops from the Carpathian region, products that reached the western part of the Central Europe and the northern Europe, stimulating in those areas the imitation of the Carpathian products. The hoards were the main sources of transmitting the bronze objects in the Carpathian Basin. This holds good especially for the Late Bronze, period when the number and the size of the hoards reached values that haven't been excelled yet (...). There are attested for the period of the 14th century until the 10th century approximately 1000 hoards. To this are added the numerous bronze objects discovered in rivers and other running waters or passes that must be considered, because of the special place where they had been discovered, as isolated deposited objects²⁷.

²⁶ S. Hansen, "Depozite ca ofrandă: o contribuție la interpretarea descoperirilor de depozite din perioada timpurie UFZ", în *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie*, 43, 1992, 4, p. 372.

²⁷ S. Hansen, "Noi cercetări...", p. 301; S. Hansen, "Neue Forschungen zur Metallurgie der Bronzezeit in Südosteuropa", in *Anatolian Metal III. Der Anschnitt Beiheft* 18, (Bochum 2005), pp. 89-103.

In the present paper I've classified 104 sites that correspond to the notion of bronze "hoard" (the map no. 1); such are the deposits of minimum 2 items²⁸, from which 62 are undoubtedly situated in the limited studied area. Among these, 52 belong to the mixed hoards series, of middle and large size, containing complete or fragmentary pieces with different functions (weapons, tools, adornments, pieces of unprocessed material). Ten hoards are mixed or small sized (maximum five different items). To all these are added the hoards that we called them monotypic, meaning that they are made entirely or almost entirely of pieces with the same function (the map no. 2): 12 deposits made of bracelets, nine celts deposits, two of celts and sickles, one of celts and spare heads. About eight hoards no information regarding their composition is available.

After studying the disposing on the map of the hoards, it results the fact already noticed in the placement of some types of bronze items: on one side, we can observe their concentration in the Danube area, before the entering in the Clisura Dunarii and in the Clisura area, and, on the other side, the relative big number of sites in Banat, especially around the town Vârșeț (Vršac). These assertions could be connected with the more intense archaeological activity of the museographs from Vârșeț (starting with Bodrog Milleker) and the intense researches made on the occasion of the works at the electric central from the Iron Gates during 1950-1960. Yet, it is plausible that this fact could also reflect a certain reality, sustained by the types of bronze items characteristic from this area. From the chorological perspective, this area is closer to the hoards from the Carpathian Basin, as this notion is understood in the Central-European archaeology. On the other side, a role that we shouldn't neglect must have had the copper deposits from Bor-Majdanpek, exploited since the Eneolithic period²⁹.

We shall present below the list of the hoards from the south-west of Romania and the neighbouring areas and also their placement on the map.

²⁸ Here, we take into consideration this definition, although we are aware that from the theoretical point of view any kind of deposit, including the isolated deposited items, can be interpreted as a collective deposit.

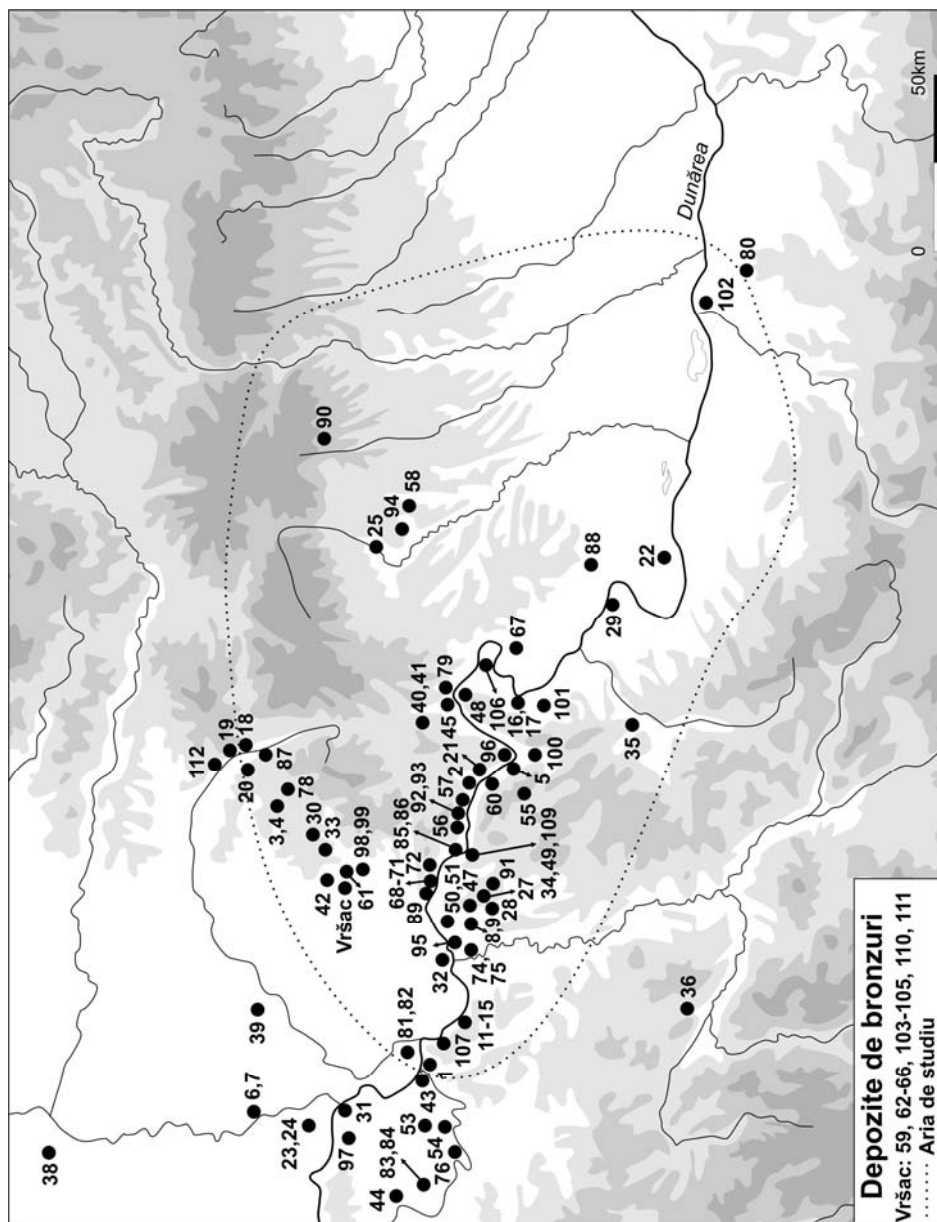
²⁹ B. Jovanović, *Rudna Glava. Najstarije rudarstvo bakra na centralnom Balkanu*, Bor-Beograd, 1982.

List of deposits (Map no.2)

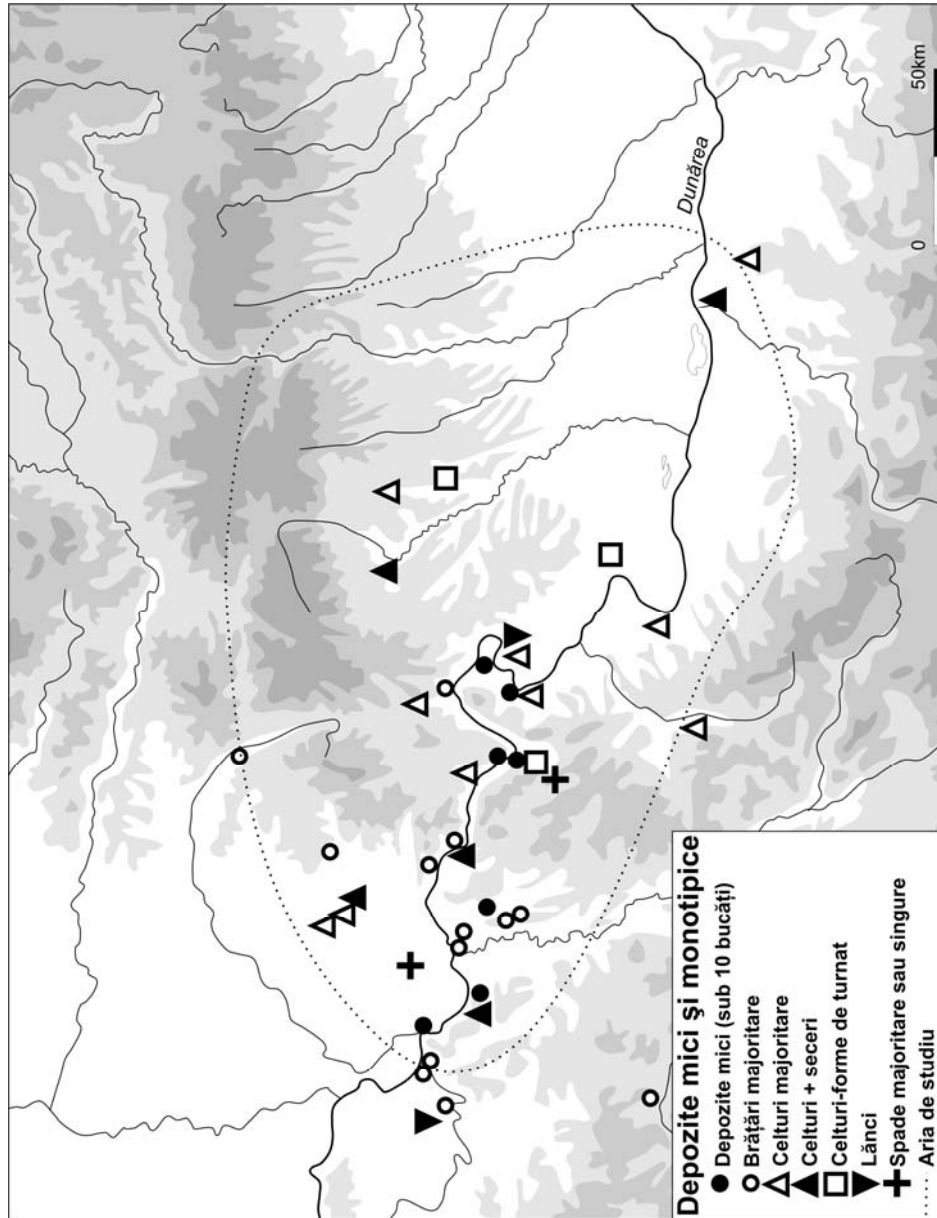
1. Beograd-Autokomanda, S.
2. Berzasca, Caraș Severin district, R.
3. Bocșa Montană, Caraș Severin district, R.
4. Bocșa Română, Caraș Severin district, R.
5. Boljetin, S.
6. Borjas I Cetate, Novi-Becej, S.
7. Borjas II, Novi-Becej, S.
8. Bradarac I, Pozarevac, S.
9. Bradarac II, Pozarevac, S.
10. Brajkovic, S.
11. Brestovik I, Grocka, S.
12. Brestovik II, Grocka, S.
13. Brestovik III, Grocka, S.
14. Brestovik IV, Grocka, S.
15. Brestovik V, Grocka, S.
16. Brza Palanka I, Kladovo, S
17. Brza Palanka II, Kladovo, S
18. Buchin, Caraș Severin district, R.
19. Caransebeș, Caraș Severin district, R.
20. Cornuțel, Păltiniș commune, Caraș Severin district, R.
21. Cozla, Caraș Severin district, R.
22. Desa, Dolj district, R.
23. Donji Petrovci I, Ruma, Pecinci, S
24. Donji Petrovci II, Ruma, Pecinci, S
25. Drăguțești, Gorj district, R.
26. Drenkova, S (nu s-a cartat).
27. Drmno, Pozarevac, S.
28. Dubravica, S.
29. Florentin, Mihajlovgrad, B.
30. Fizeș, Caraș Severin district, R.
31. Futog, Novi Sad, S.
32. Gaj, Kovin, S.
33. Giurgiova, Goruia commune, Caraș Severin district, R.
34. Golubac, S.
35. Gornja Bela Reka, Bela Reka, S.
36. Gornji Milanovic, S.
37. Gorsko Kosovo, Velico Târnovo, B.
38. Hajdukovo, Subotica, S.
39. Hetin, Zitiste, S.
40. Iablanița I, Caraș Severin district, R.
41. Iablanița II, Caraș Severin district, R.

42. Iam, Caraș Severin district, R.
43. Jakovo, Beograd Zemun, S.
44. Jarak I, Hrtovci, Sremska Mitrovica, S.
45. Jupalnic, commune of Orșova town, Mehedinți district, R.
46. Kamenovo, S.
47. Kasidol Pozarevac, Pozarevac, S.
48. Kladovo, Kjuc, S
49. Klenje, Golubac, S.
50. Kličevac I, Požarevac, S.
51. Kličevac II, Požarevac, S.
52. Krčedin I, Srem, S.
53. Krčedin II, Srem, S.
54. Kupinovo, Srem, S.
55. Leskovo, Majdanpek, S.
56. Liborajdea, Sichevița commune, Caraș Severin district, R.
57. Liubcova Țiglărie, Berzasca commune, Caraș Severin district, R.
58. Logrești, Moșteni, Gorj district, R.
59. Mali Zam, Vršac, S.
60. Male Livadice, S
61. Malo Središte, S.
62. Markovac-Grunjac, Vršac, S.
63. Markovac-Leskovica, Vršac, S.
64. Markovac-Urvina, Vršac, S.
65. Mesic-Čikovac, Vršac, S.
66. Mesic-Supaja, Vršac, S
67. Mileni, actualul sat Bistreț, Deveselu commune, Mehedinți district, R.
68. Moldova Veche I, locality of Moldova Nouă city, Caraș Severin district, R.
69. Moldova Veche II, locality of Moldova Nouă city, Caraș Severin district, R.
70. Moldova Veche III, locality of Moldova Nouă city, Caraș Severin district, R.
71. Moldova Veche IV, locality of Moldova Nouă city, Caraș Severin district, R.
72. Moldovița, former Carlsdorf, Moldova Nouă city, Caraș Severin district, R.
73. Novgrad, Ruse, B
74. Novi Kostolac, Požarevac, S.
75. Novi Kostolac II, Požarevac, S
76. Obrež, S
77. Obručište, Stara Zagora, B
78. Ocna de Fier, suburban community of Bocșa city, Caraș Severin district, R.
79. Orșova, Mehedinți district, R.
80. Ovča Mogila, Pleven, B.
81. Pancevo I, S.

82. Pancevo II, S.
83. Pečinci, Sremska Mitrovica, S.
84. Pečinci II, Sremska Mitrovica, S.
85. Pescari (Coronini) II, Caraș Severin district, R.
86. Pescari (Coronini) I, Caraș Severin district, R.
87. Petroșnița, Buceșnița commune, Caraș Severin district, R.
88. Plenița, Dolj district, R.
89. Pojejena, Caraș Severin district, R.
90. Sacoți, Milostea village, Slatioara commune, Vâlcea district, R.
91. Salakovac, Požarevac, S.
92. Sichevița I, Caraș Severin district, R.
93. Sichevița II, Caraș Severin district, R.
94. Socu, Bărbătești commune, Gorj district, R.
95. Stari Kostolac, Požarevac, S.
96. Svinița, Mehedinți district, R.
97. Sviloš, Novi Sad, S.
98. Tigvanu Mare, Caraș Severin district, R.
99. Tigvanu Mare, Caraș Severin district, R.
100. Topolnica, Majdanpek, S.
101. Urovica, S.
102. Vărbica, Plevni, B.
103. Veliki Gaj, S.
104. Veliko-Središte II, Vršac, S.
105. Veliko-Središte III, Vršac, S.
106. Velika Vrbica, Kladovo, S.
107. Vinča I, Beograd, S.
108. Vinča II, Beograd, S.
109. Vojilovo, Golubac, S.
110. Vršac, Majdan, S.
111. Vršac-Kozluk, S.
112. Zăgumeni, Constantin Daicoviciu commune, Caraș Severin district, R.



Sketch 1: Map with the bronze hoards



Sketch 2: Map with deposits types

THE RESEARCH STADIUM FOR THE BURIAL GROUNDS FROM THE LOWER DANUBE IN THE 7TH - 10TH CENTURIES

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Abstract: This article is a presentation of the cemeteries from the Lower Danube in a period in which the river was still a separation line between the Slavs and the natives. The research of the funeral discoveries dated from the end of the Byzantine domination and from the period of the first Bulgarian empire began after the Second World War. A big part of the excavations was made by J. Vážarova and D.I. Dimitrov in Bulgaria and by B. Mitrea in Romania. While the assignments of the Romanian scientists are governed by the idea of pointing out the continuity and liability of the Romanians, the Bulgarian scientists managed to earn their success by classifying the cemeteries. Vážarova makes a distinction between the cremation Slav cemeteries and the biritual Bulgarian cemeteries and introduces a new group, the late inhumation cemetery assigned to the Christian period and to both ethnic groups, the Bulgarians and the Slavs.

Keywords: South Eastern cemetery, Lower Danube, ethnical appartenance, funeral tradition.

The research of the funeral discoveries from the Lower Danube after the end of the Byzantine Era and from the beginning of the first Bulgarian Empire have started after the second World War both in Romania and Bulgaria (excepting three discoveries at Madara, Vărbovka and Buk'ovici)¹.

The main part of the discoveries took place between 1950 and the middle of 1970s. After a break of few years, the excavations from the biritual cemeteries were restarted, in Bulgaria, at the middle of the 8th decade (1980). In Romania, excepting the Platonești and Crivina excavations area, no other excavations were made, and the scientific documents on this subject have a questionable value. Most of the excavations that took place were made by J. Vážarova and D.I. Dimitrov in Bulgaria and by B. Mitrea, on the Romanian sites.

¹ Uwe Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau*, Teil 1, 2, Bonn, 1992.

The research on the funeral discoveries directed to ethnical conclusions², in a vision that was not accurate all the time.

For the Romanian scientists, which are supporting the traditional theories concerning the Latin roots and continuity of the Romanians on this area, the proto-Bulgarians had a minor role in the Romanian history. The archaeological discoveries between the end of the 7th century and the end of the 9th century are constantly pointing towards the proto-Romanian inhabitants. On the opposite, in the Bulgarian history, the Bulgars are a very important part of the national identity, from the ancient days to the Modern Age³.

After the Russian occupation (1944), the archaeological ideas and concepts from Romania and Bulgaria were deeply affected by the Russian version of History, which was pretending that the Slavs had the most important role in the study of Early Middle Ages⁴.

The problem of the Early Slavs had a different approach in Bulgaria. When V. Mikov published his first article concerning the beginnings of the Slavs, he had to admit that in Bulgaria there are very few historical proofs that can be associated with the existence of the Slavs in the 6th-8th centuries. Shortly after this article was published, a group of Russian archaeologists arrived in Sofia with the purpose to develop a new department at the Archaeology Institute. They developed the theory according to which the Slav ceramics has local, Thracian origins⁵.

In Romania, two main objectives were followed: the "russification" and the restriction of contacts with the Western world⁶. The main direction for research was on the discoveries of the Early Middle Ages, with the aim to find enough evidence for the existence of the Slavs in all the regions of Romania. Later on, the partial recovery of the national values was made through the publication of a magazine called "Dacia", in 1957. In this magazine, one article written by Ion Nestor gave birth to a new theory. According to Nestor, the results of the excavations from Dridu, in 1956, can establish a new archaeological culture,

² We can speak about a interdependence of ethnicity with the social and political sphere. However, a ethnic group can not be so distinctly separated from another one because ethnic boundaries are not static, and even less so in a period of migrations - Walter Pohl, "Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies" in *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, 1998, pp. 13-24, W. Pohl http://www.kroraina.com/bulgar/pohl_ethnicity.html.

³ Walter Pohl, "Bulgarian in the Lower Danube region, a survey of the archaeological evidence and of the state of current research" in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, edited by Florin Curta, Brill, 2008, p. 151.

⁴ Florin Curta, 2001 - <http://www.scribd.com/doc/9728046/CURTA-Pots-Slavs-and-Imagined-Communities-Slavic-Archaeologies-and-the-History-of-Early-Slavs-European-Journal-of-Archaeology-42001>.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 371-372.

⁶ Al. Madgearu, *Cultura Dridu și evoluția poziției României în lagărul socialist*, a dissertation kept in 2006 – <http://egg.mnir.ro/studii/Dridu/Dridu.htm>

based on the ceramics type. The most important conclusion is the one of ethnical nature. Nestor made a clear difference between the Slavs and the Romanians, using the ceramics from the excavation, and proved the fact that the Slavs and the Romanians were using different types of ceramics⁷.

Unlike Nestor, another archaeologist, Maria Comsa⁸, linked the Dridu culture to the expansion of the Bulgarians over the Northern Danube, calling this culture The Balkans-Danubian Culture. This culture was defined as a mixt of Romanian, Bulgars, Slavs and even Byzantine influence.

According with the policy of the "Socialist Culture", of the isolation towards the western culture for Romania, and with the increasing conflicts between Romania and the other members of the Warsaw treaty, Ligia Bârză⁹ provides a new way of seeing the Dridu culture: the uniformity of the material culture on all the Romanian territory in the 8th-9th centuries.

While the ethnical assignments of the Romanian scientists are following the idea of proving the continuity and liability of the Romanian inhabitants, the Bulgarian scientists are earning their success with the classification of the cemeteries. Vážarova establishes a clear difference between the cremation Slav cemeteries and the Bulgarian biritual cemeteries. She also establishes a new group of late biritual cemeteries which contain Christian inhumation tombs, which are related to both ethnic groups, the Bulgarians and the Slavs.

The sites can be found all over the Danube, at a distance of 20-30 km, on both shores of the river, in Bulgaria most of them are gathered around the capitals Pliska and Preslav. The way the terrain appears determined the position of the cemeteries. On the left shore of the Danube, most of the cemeteries can be found in the plain zone, on higher grounds, terrasses or heights. On the right shore of the Danube, the smooth heights of the terrain allow the placement of the cemeteries also.

There are two main categories of cemeteries: cremation cemeteries (urn burials) and biritual cemeteries¹⁰. In the first case, there are few cremation in pit. The children burials and the skull deposits can be considered as exceptions. In the biritual cemeteries there are just a few urn burials which can be accurately attest. Most of the times, the urns are small pots, which can contains small amounts of ash from the cremation. A greater importance is accorded to

⁷ I. Nestor, "Contributions archéologiques au problème des Protoroumains. La civilisation de Dridu. Note préliminaire" in *Dacia N.S.* II, 1958, pp. 371-382.

⁸ M. Comşa, "La civilisation balkano-danubienne (IX^e-XI^e siècle) sur le territoire de la RPR (origine, évolution et appartenance ethnique). Étude préliminaire" in *Dacia N.S.*, VII, 1963, pp. 413-438; M. Comşa, "Sur l'origine et l'évolution de la civilisation de la population romane et ensuite protoromaine au VI^e-X^e siècles sur le territoire de la Roumanie", in *Dacia N.S.* XII, 1968, pp. 355-380.

⁹ L. Bârză, "La continuité de la création matérielle et spirituelle du peuple roumain sur le territoire de l'ancienne Dacie", Bucureşti, 1980, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰ U. Fiedler, *Studien ...*, pp. 106-116, 274-316.

the pit cremation grave. The crouched grave and the niche burials are special forms of burial in the biritual cemeteries.

There is a certain series of cemeteries which can not be put in any of the two categories mentioned above, and the possible explanation for this can be the low level of publications and studies regarding these cemeteries or the late chronological placement of the discoveries.

Bulgaria

In 1934¹¹, at a random search upon the burial mound of the prehistoric cemetery from Madara, a new tomb was found, published and dated by V. Mikov (8th-9th century) and belonging to the Bulgars, according to N. Mavrodin (the ethnical appartenance being established after the jewellery discovered in the tomb) who dates the tomb at the beginning of the 8th century.

1934 was also the year when the urn cremation cemetery from Vărbovka (Veliko Tărново region) was found, during some agricultural operations. In 1940, the road maintenance crews dug out few cremation tombs and few Christian ones, at Buk'ovici (Vrača). In both cases there was no research or study. These sites were studied after the second World War. In 1947, Mikov establishes that the cemetery from Vărbovka belongs to the Slavs, and his theory was supported by K. Mijatev for both cemeteries, which are approximately dated on the 8th century, in a study regarding the Slav ceramics.

The first excavation plan, of small dimensions, is published in 1948-1949 for Novi Pazar (Šumen region). Between 1955 and 1958 another two small excavations took place in the Šumen region, at Cărkvica and Dibič, and the results were published by V. Antonova. In 1959, Ž. Văžarova presented the discoveries from Buk'ovici and published the results of her research from the previous year, supporting the Slav origin of the inhumation graves (that appear after the Christian Religion is introduced) and dated the tombs in the second half of the 8th century. In the same year, she starts a new excavation in another urn cremation cemetery at Vărbovka-2.

The excavations made between 1959-1960 by D.I. Dimitrov in the great urn cremation cemetery from Razdelna (Varna region), after the research made in 1957, have a great importance for the archaeological world. In 1959, Dimitrov publishes a preliminary report about 82 tombs, which are dated from the 8th century, and seem to be a part of a mixed Slavo-Bulgarian culture.

One year before a very important monography appeared, regarding the evolution of the research on this domain: the publication of the small biritual cemetery (42 tombs) from Novi Pazar, which is the first cemetery from the Early Middle Age (the end of the 8th century), studied by St. Vaklinov/Stancev. In his

¹¹ The both studies of U. Fiedler (especially *Studien ...*, pp. 106-116 and pp. 369-411) are well-informed, we limit ourselves to present, shortly, funeral discoveries from Bulgaria, pointing out the evolution of archaeological research.

first attempt of dating the cemetery, St. Mihailov considers it is a Sarmatic cemetery and dates it at the 4th -5th century.

The first general overview upon the studies referring to the Bulgarian Cemeteries was presented in 1965 by Vážarova in the publication about the excavations from Popina (Silistra region), where she is trying to point out the Slav and Bulgars component of the discoveries, using the ceramics. In the same year she discovers the two cemeteries from Garvan (Silistra region): one cremation cemetery and the other one was an inhumation cemetery. She dates the cremation cemetery in the period of the first Bulgarian empire, Slav people, and the second as belonging to the Bulgarians¹² (9th -11th Centuries).

The excavations from Preslav (Sumen region) from 1965 were coordinated by St Stanilov. Close to Preslav, in Vinica, was a medieval site with a cemetery from the 8th-9th Centuries. The cemetery was researched by T. Totev who dates the tombs between 9th-10th century, according to the shape of the letters written on some tiles¹³.

In 1969, Vážarova and D. Zlatarski are presenting together few cremation graves, considering the cremation process as an essential argument for their Slav origins.

Dimitrov, in his article from 1967, presents the results of the excavation (1964) from the cremation cemetery from Blăskovo (Varna region), site destroyed almost completely. In this article, he presents the ceramics types, but he avoids to make ethnical assignment. In the same year, he studies the small biritual cemetery from Varna-1 (61 tombs), and in 1968-1969 he studies a bigger biritual cemetery-Devjna-1 (97 tombs - the results were published in 1971). In 1969-1970 he studies the biritual cemetery from Devnja-3 (the results are published in 1972), which is considered to be the biggest cemetery of this type (160 tombs).

In 1975 he is doing his Ph D about the early Bulgarians cemeteries from Varna region. The second part of his study consists in a catalogue of the tombs, with a precise description of the inventory of every grave and the place the inventory occupied in the burrial ceremony. Excepting the part about Razdelna, this study was not published. Referring to the ethnical assignment of the cemeteries, Dimitrov still avoids to be explicit, but he makes a classification of the materials from the cremation and biritual cemeteries. In the case of the biritual cemeteries, he considers the inhumation graves as being proto-Bulgarians, and the cremation ones as being Slav. The stone and tile boxes he found in the cemeteries are an argument, a detail for the Slav burrials in the mixt cemeteries. Dimitrov pleeds repetetely for a tight cohabitation between the Slavs

¹² G.I. Georgiev, T. Ivanov, St. Mihailov, "Résultats des fouilles archéologiques effectuées en Bulgarie en 1965" in *Bulletin d'archéologie sud-est européenne*, I, 1969, Bucureşti, p. 47

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 50-51

and the Bulgarians, which leads to a mixed culture¹⁴ and makes the ethnical assignment very difficult.

A detailed description of the excavations can be found in the publication of few graves searched in 1972 in Tărgoviste-1 (Tărgoviste region) by St. Stanilov, who assigns them to the proto-Bulgarian culture, considering the funeral rite much developed. He considers that the burials with no urn and adding meat offerings are typical for the Bulgars cremation graves, while in here are typical Slav cremation tombs, which he dates at the first half of the 8th century.

Vážarova does a general research extended all over the country, at Sini Vir (research in 1967 - Šumen region), Garvan-1 (1968-1969), Dălogopol-1, 2 (1967-1968), Babovo (Ruse region), and Galiče (1969-1970 Vraca region), Preslav-2 (1970-1971), Preslav-1 (1971), Kjulevča (1971-1974 Šumen region), Bdinci (1972-1976 Dobrič region) and Dolni Lukovit-3 (1974 Plevna region). After the studies from 1971 and 1974, a new monography is published in 1976: *The Slavs and the proto-Bulgarians (according with the discoveries from the cemeteries from the 6th-9th centuries) from the Bulgarian territory*. In this work she presents a catalogue containing all the excavation that were done by herself untill the year 1974 and very often she makes references to Dimitrov and his work. In her catalogue the cremation cemeteries and the biritual cemeteries are very precisely defined. The cremation cemeteries are assigned to the Slavs and the biritual cemeteries are assigned to the proto-Bulgarians, with no exception (this are dated between 8th and 9th century). Vážarova also identifies a third type of cemetery, the biritual ones, with Christian inhumation, what is the first step towards inhumation cemeteries.

The same author published a study in German about the funerals ceremony, the funeral traditions and a detailed inventory of the two biritual cemeteries from Kjulevča and Bdinci and in 1981 she publishes a new catalogue containing the biggest biritual cemetery from Bdinci. In the same year, she publishes another overview upon the general studies concerning the cemeteries from the 6th-9th century found on Bulgarian territory.

Totally opposite to Vážarova is another archaeologist, Vaklinov, who supports the strong nationalist and scientific traditions. In his work, "The development of the proto-Bulgarian culture", published in 1977, Vaklinov considers the passing from the Slav urn burials to the inhumation process was something provoked by the local population and by the introduction of the Christian religion. In his opinion, this process took place in a long period of time.

In 1977 and 1978, Dimitrov explains the burial traditions and cemeteries of the Bulgars from the Lower Danube, including the ones from Romania.

¹⁴ He maintains his theory even in 1986 - Vasilka Tăpkva-Zaimova, "De nouveau sur le protobulgares", in *Études balkaniques*, II, 1990, pp. 114-117.

Observations regarding the parallel discoveries from Romania can be found in other studies also, but this new type of presentation was avoided till then. In his work we can find the three main groups of cemeteries: first group in Šumen region, the second group in Dobroudja and Varna and the third in Valachia. He also proves the existence of some Bulgarian groups of different origins¹⁵, and the fact that the groups from Valachia crossed the Danube later. Ten years later, in his work, *The Bulgars in the northern and Western regions of the Black Sea*, he maintains his classification.

A remarkable fact is that after they publish their studies regarding the Bulgarian cemeteries, both Vážarova and Dimitrov are losing their interest for this subject. Vážarova took charge between 1974-1975 and 1980, to the excavations from the Christian cemetery from Pliska. Dimitrov assigns A.Kuzev, in 1972, to excavate the big Christian cemetery from Varna-2.

In the next years, a systematical search took place in Ruse, and D. Stancev published the results of the excavations in his PhD. Only Christian cemeteries were discovered, excepting Nikolovo, Batin-2 and Betovo cemeteries, in 1988.

After six years with no activity in this domain, a series of Pagan cemeteries were discovered, starting with 1984. The results of the excavations were published vaguely. We can also mention the excavations made by Angelova and Dončeva-Petkova at Topola (Dobič region) by Rašev and Stanilov in Nožarevo (Silistra region) and by M. Dimitrov at Balčik (Dobič region)¹⁶. Another interesting fact is that no more Slav cremation tombs are found, excepting the ones from Kozloduj.

The richest tomb from Early Medieval Bulgaria was found in 2005, near Konovets (Šumen region). It belongs to a 30-35 years old man. The inventory contains the skull and severed bones of a horse, one jag and 51 objects made of metal, including gold earrings and few belt mounts made of silver.

The archaeological monography of Raso Rašev, published in 2008, concerning the material Bulgarian culture before the Christianity, tries to prove the expansion of the first Bulgarian Empire at the North of the Danube and in the South of Moldova. This way, the studied territory includes the Romanian side from the North of the Danube, the map of the first Bulgarian empire going close to the Carpathians¹⁷.

¹⁵ Cited work.

¹⁶ Other excavations in Debič, Vărbiane and Šumen-Divdjadovo (Šumen region) – U. Fiedler, *Bulgars...*, p. 156.

¹⁷ Emilia Corbu, *Sudul României în Evul Mediu timpuriu (secolele VIII-XI). Repere arheologice*, Brăila, 2006 - <http://emilia-corbu.blogspot.com>.

Romania

Untill the beginning of the 90's there was no general analysis of the discoveries regarding the funeral sites between the Danube and the Carpathians. The most important document on this problem is a study made by Uwe Fiedler, published in 1992, who contains a very precise presentation of the cemeteries from the 6th to 9th century, in the space between Portile de Fier and the Black Sea, on one side, and between the Carpathians and the Balkans on the other. The purpose of this study is to obtain a chronological data base using the ceramics, and an ethnical assignment also. The second volume of this study contains the complete catalogue of all the discoveries together with the vast bibliography and illustrations that the author used.

In the Romanian literature we can notice, chronologically, the study written by Al. Madgearu¹⁸, where in a sub-chapter we can find the chronological and ethnic analysis of the first phases of the cemeteries from Izvoru, Sultana and Obârșia, and the study called *The funeral ceremonies and traditions in the extra-carpathian space between the 8th and the 10th centuries*¹⁹, and lately a study that recently appeared at The Museum of Braila²⁰, in 2006.

The study published by Luca and Măndescu is very accurate, and contains important informations regarding the funeral discoveries starting with the Dridu culture (the 8th century) and ending with the migration of the Pecheneg tribes (the 10th century). The work include the discoveries catalogue, ten pages, tables and a brief presentation of the discoveries found between the rivers Prut and Nistru.

The first excavations have been started in Romania at Balta Verde (1948-1949) by D.Berciu and E. Comșa and at Satu Nou-1 (1948). The archaeological research upon the funeral ceremonies from the Early Middle Ages got more intense in the South of Romania starting from 1955: Istria-Capul Viilor (1955-1960), followed by Castelu, (1958-1959 – by M. Comșa, A Rădulescu and N. Harțuche). The excavations started by B. Mitrea at Satu Nou-1 (1948, 1957-1959), Satu Nou-2 (1956-1957 and 1959), and at Sultana (1958-1959 and 1969) must be mentioned also because they had good results.

The research that started in 1950 continued in the following two decades and the most important cemeteries that have been excavated are the cremation cemetery from Păuleasca (1961-1962, 1964-1965 by M. Comșa) and the biritual cemetery from Izvoru (unexpected discovery in 1962, continued between 1963-1974 by B Mitrea).

¹⁸ Al. Madgearu, *Continuitate și discontinuitate culturală la Dunărea de Jos în secolele VII-VIII*, București, 1997.

¹⁹ Cristian Luca, Dragoș Măndescu, *Riturile și ritualurile funerare în spațiul extracarpatic în secolele VIII-X*, Brăila, 2001.

²⁰ Emilia Corbu, *cited work*.

We can also mention Chişcani (1961-1965, excavation started with preservation purposes and led to a partial excavation of the cemetery - N Haţtuche, F. Anastasiu, I Broscăţeanu), Nalbant (1961-1965 and 1967-1968), Chirnogi (1961 and 1968 - D. Şerbănescu), Frăteşti (1968-1969 - S. Dolinescu-Ferche, 1974 - C. Isăcesu), Sihleanu (discovered in 1967, the preservation excavations started one year later and continued until 1971 - N Haţtuche, F. Anastasiu), Obârşia Nouă (1968-1971, 1973-1974, 1976-1977 - O. Toropu and O. Stoica), Canlia (1969 and 1977-1978 - R. Harhoiu) and Tichileşti (1971 - N Haţtuche).

In 1967 is published by Eugenia Zaharia a monography²¹ about the archaeological excavations from Dridu. In here we meet a difference of opinions towards the Bulgarian studies, but the most important works that M. Comşa wrote are not quoted. Zaharia assigns the cemeteries from Satu Nou, Istria-Capul Viilor, Castelu and Sultana to the proto-Romanians, both the cremation gravea, of dacian tradition, and the Christian inhumation tombs. In this ethnical assignment a major role is played by the ceramics, considering the fact that the Slavs, even after they became Christians, continued to use the cremation even in the following century.

The results of the excavations from Satu Nou were published in the excavation reports²². Mitrea is proposing, in 1960, the existence of a new culture group Satu Nou - Vărbovka, referring to the cemetery from Vărbovka, and in 1962 he presents the excavation results from Razdelna. Still, the discoveries from Satu Nou seem to be far from a precise presentation.

The cemetery from Sultana²³ has a full published presentation with detailed illustrations of the graves and an anthropological analyses of the bones.

The big biritual cemetery from Izvoru is dated in the 8th century and has a lot of common points with the one from Sultana. A first report regarding the excavations that took place between 1963-1966 is published in 1970, followed by another in 1973, and, in 1978, some general observations are published²⁴.

The materials found in Obârşia Nouă²⁵ are linked with the ones from Izvorul and the cemetery is dated at the end of the 8th century - the beginning of the 9th century. From 169 tombs, only 115 are known, the other ones are not presented yet.

²¹ E. Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu. Contribuţie la arheologia şi istoria perioadei de formare a poporului român*, Bucureşti, 1967.

²² the first two in 1959 and then in 1961 - MCA VI-VIII.

²³ B. Mitrea, "La nécropole birituelle de Sultana. Résultats et problèmes" in *Dacia N.S.* XXXII, 1988, pp. 91-139.

²⁴ Idem, "Contribuţii la problema formării poporului român: necropola din secolul al VIII-lea de la Izvoru, Giurgiu" in *Ilfov. File de istorie*, 1978, pp. 105-110.

²⁵ O. Toropu, O. Stoica, "La nécropole prefeodale d'Obârşia - Olt (Note préliminaire)" in *Dacia N.S.* XVI, 1972, p. 163-188; O. Toropu, *Romanitatea târzie şi străromânii în Dacia Traiană sud-carpatică (sec. III-IX)*, Craiova, 1976.

In the Romanian archaeology, there is not a lot of interest for the cremation graves. N. Harțuche studied this domain on the excavations from Castelu²⁶, Chișcani²⁷, Sihleanu and Tichilești²⁸. The cemetery from Păuleasca²⁹ is briefly presented, the number of the tombs is never mentioned.

Since 1976 (Canlia³⁰) the excavations for this type of sites have stopped and the number of studies and publications on this theme is pretty small. We can only mention the study made by C. Isăcescu upon the excavations from Frătești³¹ and an inventory note from 1983 regarding a tomb discovered in Adamclisi in 1977³².

The only study which draws conclusions regarding the cemeteries from the 7th-10th centuries from Muntenia and the Romanian part of Dobroudja belongs to Silvia Baraschi³³ who continued the excavations from Canlia between 1977-1978. The map from the study contains the Northern Bulgarian space, but the cemeteries from the region are not presented (the border line that passes through Dobroudja can not be found on the map). The study is based on the cemeteries from Dobroudja, which are presented in two groups: biritual (Nalbant, Istria-Capu; Viilor, Canlia) and cremation (Castelu, Gârlița and Satu Nou). The biggest part of the discoveries is assigned to the Dridu culture, considered to be the Romanian specific culture.

In the same time only a small percent of the old excavations was presented till now as a catalogue and followed by the plans of the cemeteries: Castelu, Brăila-Chișcani, Canlia (1969) and Frătești. (1974). For Istria-Capul Viilor the catalogue is missing and for Gârlița³⁴ the excavation plan is missing.

After 1980 begins a period without field research regarding the Early Middle Ages. After a decade with almost no excavation, in 1990 began the

²⁶ A. Rădulescu, N. Harțuche, *Cimitirul feudal timpuriu de la Castelu*, Constanța, 1967.

²⁷ N. Harțuche, F. Anastasiu și I. Broscățean, "Necropola de incinerare feudal timpurie de la Chișcani sat – Brăila" in *Danubius* I, 1967, pp. 137-178.

²⁸ N. Harțuche, "Preliminarii la repertoriul arheologic al județului Brăila" in *Istros* I, 1980, pp. 281-354 și N. Harțuche, F. Anastasiu, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Sihleanu, comuna Scorțaru Nou județul Brăila" in *Istros* I, 1980, pp. 137-178.

²⁹ M. Comșa, Gh. Bichir, "Date preliminare cu privire la necropola de la Păuleasca" în *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche*, XXIV, 1973, pp. 317-320.

³⁰ R. Harhoiu, "Câteva observații asupra necropolei birituală de la Canlia, județul Constanța" in *Pontica*, V, 1972, pp. 565-572.

³¹ C. Isăcescu, *Noi date privind necropola feudal timpurie de la Frătești, județul Giurgiu* – 1982.

³² A. Panaitescu, "Un mormânt de epocă prefeudală de la Adamclisi" in *Hierasus* – Anuar 1983, pp. 157-160.

³³ Apud U. Fiedler, *Studien ...*, p. 115.

³⁴ C. Cârjan, "Cimitirul feudal de la Gârlița-Ostrov" in *Pontice* I, 1968, pp. 409-425.

excavation for a very big cemetery (627 graves³⁵) - the cemetery from Platonești³⁶, excavation made by Gh. Matei.

Early Medieval discoveries are signaled in some excavations which are not based on this age. In Mehedinți County, in Crivina, a new cemetery was discovered but the number of graves is hard to appreciate because the Danube is flooding the area constantly³⁷. In the same county, in Rogova³⁸, at a site which was excavated in 1977-1978, in 1995, three graves were found: one cremation grave, from Basarabi culture and two inhumation graves, dated in the 10th -11th Centuries.

In 2005, The National Railways Services from Constanța (CFR Constanța) signaled the existence of an archaeological objective close to Baia (Tulcea County). The research shows that in the signaled area existed a biritual cemetery from the 8th - 10th Centuries³⁹.

The 8th-10th Centuries represent a very complex period of time, because in the Lower Danube area we have a large number of ethnic groups, and the communities were different from each other, but we can speak about a mutual influence. A precise image over all the funeral discoveries from the Lower Danube would be obtained if all the informations regarding this area would be published, including the analysis on the bones and other relics.

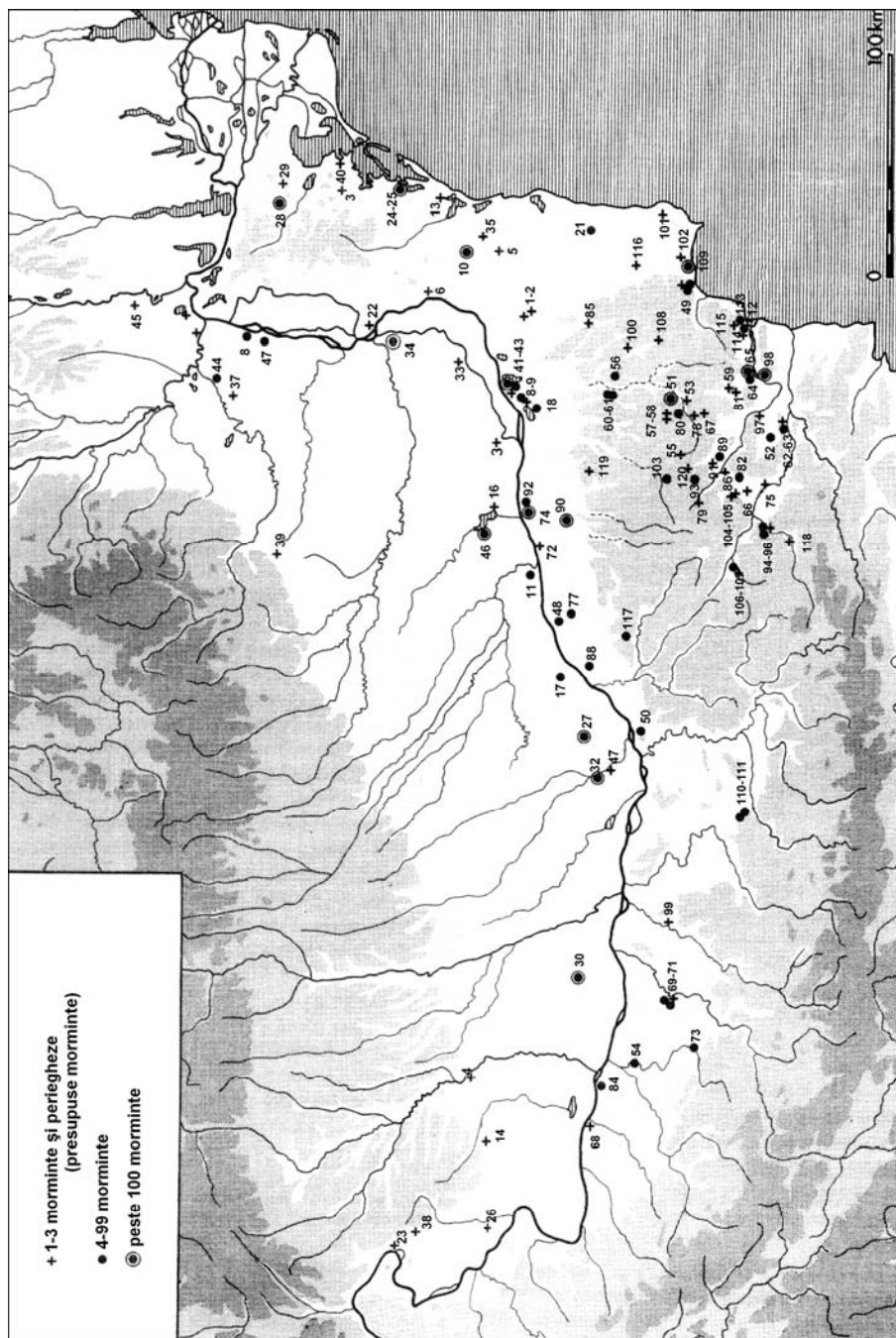
³⁵ Till 2002 - *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, campania anului 2001*, cIMeC, 2002 - the diggings are not finish.

³⁶ The publication is sporadic and chaotic.

³⁷ Ten inhumation graves in the period of 2004-2010 - G. Crăciunescu în *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, campania anului 2009*, cIMeC, 2010; G. Crăciunescu, *Descoperiri din feudalismul timpuriu din județul Mehedinți* in Drobeta, XIV, 2004, pp. 50-67.

³⁸ G. Crăciunescu in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, campania anului 2003*, cIMeC, 2004.

³⁹ V. H. Baumann, A. Stănică și F. Mihail in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, campania anului 2006*, cIMeC, 2007.



After the map in U.Fiedler, *Studien...*, p. 117

Funeral Researches at the Lower Danube in the 7th 10th Centuries

Romania

<i>site</i>	<i>Type of burial ground</i>	<i>Chronological identification</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Observations</i>
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1	Adamclisi-1		yes	isolated
2	Adamclisi-2	incineration	no	
3	Baia	biritual	7-10	no
4	Balta Verde	incineration	yes	Premedieval Age
5	Basarabi		9-10	
6	Capidava		8	yes
7	Călărași - Mircea Vodă	incineration	8-10	no
8	Canlia-1	incineration		yes
9	Canlia-2 Fântâna lui Adam	incineration	8	yes
10	Castelu	incineration	9-10	yes
11	Chirnogi	biritual	8-9	yes
12	Chișcani	incineration	9-10	yes
13	Corbul de Sus			no
14	Corlate	incineration?		no
15	Crivina	biritual	10-11	yes
16	Dorobanțu		9-10	yes
17	Frătești	biritual	8	yes
18	Gârlita	incineration	8-9	yes
19	Gruia		9	yes
20	Gura Canliei		10-11	yes
21	Hagieni	incineration		no
22	Hârșova	incineration		no
23	Hinova		9-10 /10-11	yes
24	Histria	biritual	10-11	yes
25	Istria - Capul	biritual	8-9	yes

	Viilor				
26	Izimâla	biritual	10-11	partially	
27	Izvoru	biritual	8	yes	
28	Nalbant	biritual	9-10	yes	
29	Mihail Kogălniceanu			no	surface survey
30	Obârșia Nouă	biritual	8-9	parțial	
31	Ostrov	biritual	9-10	yes	
32	Păuleasca	incineration	9-10	yes	
33	Pietroiu			no	surface survey
34	Platonești	biritual	8-9	no	not finished
35	Poarta Albă			yes	isolated tomb
36	Răreanca - Bragadiru			no	surface survey
37	Râmnicelu	incineration?	9-10	no	surface survey
38	Rogova			no	Ancient burial ground
39	Șarânga	incineration	8-9	no	surface survey
40	6 (Șase) Marție			no	surface survey
41	Satu Nou-1	incineration	10	yes	
42	Satu Nou-2	incineration	9-10	yes	
43	Satu Nou-3	incineration		no	
44	Sihleanu	incineration		yes	
45	Stoicani			yes	
46	Sultana	biritual	7-9	yes	
47	Tichilești	incineration	10-11	yes	

Bulgaria

<i>site</i>	<i>Type of burial ground</i>	<i>Chronological indentification</i>	<i>Publish ed</i>	<i>Observations</i>
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48	Babovo	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
49	Balčik	biritual		yes	
50	Batin-2	biritual		no	
51	Bdinci	biritual	VIII-X	yes	
52	Blăskovo	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
53	Brestak			no	biritual / incineration
54	Buk'ovici	incineration		yes	
55	Cărkvica			yes	inhumation
56	Černa	biritual		no	
57	Červenci-1			no	biritual / incineration
58	Červenci-2			no	biritual / incineration
59	Černavo			no	biritual / incineration
60	Chitovo-1	biritual		no	
61	Chitovo-2	biritual		no	
62	Dălgopol-1		VIII-X	yes	incineration
63	Dălgopol-2		VIII-X	yes	incineration
64	Devnja-1	biritual	VIII-X	yes	
65	Devnja-3	biritual	VIII-X	yes	
66	Debič	biritual	VIII-X	yes	
67	Dobrotič	biritual		no	
68	Dolni Cibăr	biritual		no	
69	Dolini Lukovit-1	biritual	VIII-X	yes	christian
70	Dolini Lukovit-2	biritual		yes	christian
71	Dolini Lukovit-3	biritual	VIII-X	yes	christian
72	Dunavez			no	incineration
73	Galiče	biritual	VIII-X	yes	christian
74	Garvan-1	incineration	VIII-X	yes	

75	Ivanski			yes	inhumation
76	Izvornik	incineration		no	
77	Juper	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
78	Kalojan	incineration		no	
79	Kamenjak			no	Surface survey
80	Karamanite	incineration		no	
81	Kipra			yes	Surface survey
82	Kjulevča	biritual		yes	
83	Konovets			yes	inhumation
84	Kozloduj	incineration		yes	
85	Krasen Beloklas -			yes	Surface survey
86	Madara			yes	inhumation
87	Nikolo Kozlovo			no	Surface survey
88	Nikolovo	biritual	VIII-X	yes	christian
89	Novi Pazar	biritual	VIII	yes	
90	Nožarevo	biritual		yes	
91	Pliska-7	biritual	IX-XI	yes	
92	Popina-2	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
93	Pravenci	biritual		no	
94	Preslav-1	biritual	VIII-X	yes	christian
95	Preslav-2	biritual	VIII-X	yes	christian
96	Preslav-8	incineration		yes	
97	Provadija			no	biritual / incineration
98	Razdelna	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
99	Riben			no	Surface survey
100	Rosenovo			no	Surface survey
101	Šabla			yes	inhumation
102	Selče			no	Surface survey
103	Sini Vir	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
104	Šumen Divdjadovo -			yes	inhumation
105	Šumen Smesenite lozja			yes	Surface survey
106	Tărgoviște-1	incineration	VIII-X	yes	

107	Tărgoviște-2	biritual		yes	
108	Tolbuchin			no	inhumation
109	Topola	biritual		yes	
110	Vărbovka-1	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
111	Vărbovka-2	incineration	VIII-X	yes	
112	Varna-1	biritual	VIII-X	yes	
113	Varna-2	incineration		yes	
114	Varna-3	incineration		no	
115	Varna-Saskăna	incineration		yes	
116	Velikovo			no	Surface survey
117	Vjatovo	incineration		no	
118	Vinica-1	biritual	IX-X	no	
119	Vodno			yes	Surface survey
120	Vojvoda			yes	inhumation

INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL MECHANISMS/ STRATÉGIES INSTITUTIONNELS ET MÉCANISMES POLITIQUES

THE CHILD'S IDENTITY IN THE VIEW OF THE ROMANIAN PEDAGOGY OF THE 19TH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract: The present study invites to a more attentive approach of Romanian Pedagogy from the 19th century Transylvania. If the pedagogical vocation is a constant trait of the Transylvanian intellectual's profile, however it's difficult to make a correct evaluation of the models, especially for a historiography that continues to make confusions between political and intellectual spheres.

Keywords: cultural history, 19th Century Transylvania, Romanian pedagogy, cultural models.

The importance of education in the nation's socio-cultural emancipation is a recurrent theme in the public discourse of most of the Transylvanian politicians and learned men, and the pedagogical vocation is a constant trait of the Transylvanian intellectual's profile, an aspect numerous past and present historiographic researches have underlined. However, a frequent tendency among the Romanian historians is confusing the vision of education in the political sphere with that in the specialized institutions. The programmes of the 'forty-eightist' (*pașoptist*) generation and the ideas put forward by the journalists writing for the Romanian political papers have encompassed only a part of the discourse on school and education. What the historians have failed to take into consideration is the profusion of ideas found in the pedagogues' treatises. *The school's contribution to the social and cultural emancipation of the nation*, the favourite motto of the Transylvanian intellectuals of the 19th century, became *the school's contribution to the struggle for national unity*

in the post-1960 historiography, thus reducing the pedagogical discourse to a single one of its dimensions. Creating a one-dimensional image of the school's social role determined the loss of certain aspects which were not connected with politics.

In the present study I set out to present the most representative Transylvanian pedagogues' conception on the role of the school education and to identify the image they had of the child. The field of research will be limited exclusively to the specialized writings in order to separate the more complex didactical discourse from the political one. The main authors I have researched are Visarion Roman¹, Ioan Popescu², Vasile Petri³, Petru Pipoș⁴ and Petru Șpan⁵,

¹ **Visarion Roman** (1833-1885) graduated the Theological-pedagogical Institute in Sibiu where he also taught as a substitute professor of pedagogy for a year (1854-1855). In 1855-1857 he was a teacher in Rășinari. He translated arithmetic and geography schoolbooks from German, and in 1862 he published the first reading manual for the primary school in Transylvania, written by a Romanian author. In 1860-1865 he edited the first Romanian pedagogy review, *Amicul Școalei*. He was editor of two other reviews: *Amicul poporului* and *Albina Carpaților*. In 1870 he specialized in bank crediting in Vienna. Together with other Romanian intellectuals he founded *Banca Albina* in 1871 – he was the bank's general manager from 1873 to 1884 (the bank closed in 1948). In 1877 he was elected correspondent member of the Romanian Academy.

² **Ioan Popescu** (1832-1892) studied pedagogy in Sibiu and Leipzig. At the Leipzig University he studied under Tuiskon Ziller, one of the most famous Herbartians. He carried out his didactical carrier in the Theological-pedagogical Institute in Sibiu, where he taught psychology, logic, pedagogy and canon law. In 1888-1891 he was also the principal of the Astra School for girls in Sibiu. He was also a priest, a protopope, and a member of the National Ecclesiastic Council. As secretary at Astra he was also editor of its journal, *Transylvania*. In 1877 he became correspondent member of the Romanian Academy. Ioan Popescu is one of the most important Romanian pedagogues in Transylvania. He published the first pedagogy compendium in 1868 and the first psychology in Romanian (1881); one of his works was published posthumously in 1892: a pedagogy *written on the ethical and psychological bases of the Herbartian realism*. In 1863 he edited the review entitled *Organ pedagogic*, which contained a series of pedagogy lectures. He had a rich activity in the sphere of didactical literature: the first illustrated Romanian spelling book (1st edition in 1870, the 18th in 1911), two reading books (one in 1874 and the other in the 1880's – the year of the first edition is unknown), a book on the method of teaching arithmetic (1864) and another on teaching spelling (1870).

³ **Vasile Petri** (1833-1905) graduated the 6 months preparatory school in Năsăud and from 1853-1857 he attended the courses of the Pedagogical Institute in Prague, with excellent results. He was a teacher at the normal school in Sângeorz, then at the superior primary school in Năsăud; from 1860 to 1869, and from 1870 to 1871 he was a professor of the Preparatory school of Năsăud, and Deva, respectively. Due to health problems he had to abandon his didactical activity and devote himself after 1871 until 1885 to work as a school inspector (in the areas of Orlat and Rodna). At that time he was considered *the best Romanian method expert in Transylvania*. But his most important activity has been that of schoolbooks' author for the primary education. His didactical literature has been published until the First World War in a record number of editions: *Elementariul* (1861), *Noul*

the creators of Romanian systematic pedagogy in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th century. I have also used the anonymous work entitled *Manuductor pentru învățătorii școlasticești* [Guide to school teaching] (Buda, 1818), one I consider illustrative for the spirit of school didactics of the first half of the century. The *Manuductor* is a compilation that makes use of previous works published in German at the turn of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, favouring the figure of A. H. Niemeyer, the most popular German pedagogue at that time. In fact, the professors teaching in the Romanian preparatory schools until 1850's held this illustrious forerunner of the modern pedagogy for their role model, just as they will regard the work of J. F. Herbart, the founder of scientific pedagogy, in the next period.

School was steadily becoming a factor that was able to create an identity as the system of primary education gradually became generalised, and all those involved in the process of decision-making for this educational segment were well aware of that. In the social psychology of nowadays a theory has asserted itself, namely one that states that each individual has more than one identity whose actualisation depends on the historical, social and cultural milieu. A person's identity consists of a *social self* – the introversion of his social roles and a *psychological self* – the *psyche*'s reaction to the others' attitudes. Therefore, the *personal identity* and the *social one* thus formed are closely interrelated, depending on the complex interactions between man and society. To conclude, each individual is a member of

Abecedar românesc [The new Romanian spelling book] (1878) was published in 17 editions until 1908, *Legendarul* of 1878 reached its 13th edition in 1904. Another remarkable work was his method book on how to teach spelling, entitled *Scriptologia* (1872). He edited the pedagogical reviews *Magazin pedagogic* [Pedagogical magazine] (Năsăud, 1867), *Școala practică* [The practical school] (Năsăud, 1882-1886) and *Școala română* [The Romanian school] (Sibiu, 1875-1879, Năsăud, 1881), where he published many theoretical articles expanding on his conception of education.

⁴ **Petru Pipoș** (1859-1913) studied philosophy in Cluj (received his Ph.D. title in 1882), he taught pedagogy at the preparatory school in Arad, where he published a series of manuals, in multiple editions: *Didactica* (1887), *Metodica* (1889), *Psihologia* (1896), *Pedagogia* (1900).

⁵ **Petru Șpan** (1860-1911) studied pedagogy in Sibiu, Vienna and Jena (where he studied under Wilhelm Rein). In 1877 he became a Ph. D. with a thesis entitled *Dezvoltarea pedagogiei lui Herbart de către Ziller* [Ziller's development of Herbart's pedagogy]. He was a professor at the Theological-pedagogical Institute in Sibiu. Some of his most important works: *Întrebări de educație și instrucțiune* [Questions on education and instruction] (1891), *Treptele formale ale învățământului* [The formal steps of education] (1898), *Idei pregătitoare în pedagogie* [Preliminary ideas for pedagogy] (1902), *Poveștile în educația școlară* [Stories in school education] (1905), *Lecții de didactică în uzul școlilor pedagogice* [Didactic lessons for the use of pedagogical schools] (1906), *Lecții de psihologie în uzul școlilor pedagogice* [Psychology lessons for the use of pedagogical schools] (1906), *Lecții de pedagogie* [Pedagogy lessons] (1908).

various groups in the social reality and he can present himself as part of one or the other groups depending on how his perception is structured⁶.

With these theoretical perspectives in view I intend to study the ways in which social and personal identities were constructed in 19th century education. One could naturally ask if the psycho-sociologic model above mentioned once applied to a society which was mentally different from the one in which it was created would lead to an artificial dichotomy which would only complicate the restitution of the historical past. The answer is “no” and to support this approach there are many arguments to be found even in the texts of that time where there is often talk of what today’s sociologists call multiple identity. The 1818 *Manuductor* explains the use of the public school in view of *a better fulfilment of the necessary duties* of the peasant *in all his states as a citizen, husband, parent, it* [i.e. the school] *advises him towards a wiser conduct, making him more respectable and ennobling all his life*⁷. These *states* are none other than the various social roles in modern psychology. Visarion Roman in his *Method* of 1853, a work preserved as a manuscript, believes that the education’s aim is to *make people good Christians and good citizens*⁸. Petru Pipoș multiplies the number of groups one individual can belong to when in his teaching methods of 1887 he argues the necessity to promote in the elementary school a *human general culture* on the base of which the student will become a *true Christian, a good citizen, a faithful son of his nation, and a practical man ready to work*⁹. Ioan Popescu, in the first Romanian psychology work in Transylvania, even sketches a short theoretical approach to the multiple identity:

the most relevant changes among those occurring in the self-awareness are those issuing from the alteration of the self-idea when it is divided in more than one parts, each of which represents another self [...]. This is how a given person may consider himself to be divided in as many self’s as his callings, having for example a different self-awareness as a man of state, another one as a writer and another as head of a family¹⁰.

The role of the education in the pedagogical thought of 19th century.

The main goal of education in the 19th century pedagogy was to impose moral guidelines, whereas passing on knowledge was secondary. This idea can

⁶ See Maria Nicoleta Turliuc, *Imaginar, identitate și reprezentări sociale. Imaginea elementului alogen în mentalul colectiv românesc*, Iași, Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2004, chap. “Identitatea socială și condiționările sale multiple”, pp. 51-106.

⁷ *Manuductor pentru învățătorii școlasticești sau îndreptare către cuviincioasa împlinire a dregătoriei învățătoarești*, Buda, Tipografia Universității Ungariei, 1818, p. 63.

⁸ Visarion Roman, *Methodul*, 1853, manuscript, State Archives, Cluj, fond Visarion Roman, file 58, 118v.

⁹ Pipoș, *Metodica școalei populare*, vol. I, Arad, Tipografia Diecesană, 1887, p. 14.

¹⁰ Ioan Popescu, *Psihologia empirică sau știința despre suflet între marginile observațiunei*, Sibiu, Tipografia lui S. Filtsch (W. Kraft), 1881.

be found with all the Romanian Transylvanian authors¹¹, in a form close to the words of Petru Pipoș:

the public school is called upon to awaken and to strengthen the whole of the student's spiritual activity, to guide their souls towards all that is good and noble, so that their culture may culminate in what is called a "moral character", which is the supreme aim of education¹².

Herbart had laid down the principle of *educating instruction* showing that true moral teaching is based on a systematic intellectual culture; the final aim of literary, scientific and aesthetic education is forming the pupil's character due to their influence on his will. Through this principle Herbart changed the means by which moral education was formed; before him, the moral framework was constructed through sayings, parables, advices, stories with exemplary values. The Herbartian school stressed the intellectual culture in moral formation to such an extent, that at the end of the 19th century the schoolbooks had become instruments of erudition rather than education. As a consequence, the ratio of moral and intellectual education had practically tilted towards the latter, despite the fact that the pedagogues were stating the contrary.

As we assess the theme of moral education in the pedagogical literature of Transylvania we may observe there are two theoretical directions: one in which the moral education comes under the religious one, and a second, which identifies the two. The former follows the German pedagogical school of Niemeyer and Herbart which is based on Kant's moral philosophy – the categorical imperative and the will's autonomy – in which God is no longer the moral source, but man himself. As Kant said,

the practical or moral education is that through which the one becomes learned, so that one may become a being acting freely. (We call practical all that is connected with freedom). The practical education is the education of the personality, of a free autonomous being who can be a member of society and have at the same time an inner value, for itself¹³.

¹¹ See Visarion Roman, *cited work*, 118 r-v; Ioan Popescu, "Organ pedagogic pentru educație și instrucție", I, 1863, p. 13; Petru Șpan, *Întrebări de educație și instrucție*, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidieceșană, 1891, p. 11.

¹² Petru Pipoș, *cited work*, Ist vol, p. 12.

¹³ See *Din istoria gândirii pedagogice universale. Antologie*, Ist vol., București, Editura Didactică și pedagogică, 1959, p. 204.

Following the Kantian philosophy Herbart believes that *the true end of pedagogy is to promote virtue. It is the idea of inner freedom, constantly developed and made manifest in a person*¹⁴.

This type of moral education filtered to adapt to school needs, regards religion as playing a fundamental role in forming the moral conscience but not as being identical to it. In the Transylvanian pedagogy this orientation is to be found in the 1818 *Manuductor* as well as in the works of the Herbartian Ioan Popescu – in his later works – Petru Pipoș and Petru Șpan. The *Manuductor* places the *moral sense in close connection with the religious sense*, the latter being *a very helpful power for the moral sense*¹⁵. Ioan Popescu writes in his *Compendiu de pedagogie* [Pedagogy compendium] that *the supreme aim of education is morality and religiosity*¹⁶. Petru Pipoș believes that education should allow the pupil to follow *the path of righteousness and virtue towards moral freedom*¹⁷. Șpan is an advocate of the educational plan proposed by Ziller (the foremost representative of the Herbartian school) in which the ethical-religious sciences are at the very centre of education. To support his choice he argues that *the foundation of character lies with the will*¹⁸.

Although the Romanian pedagogy in Transylvania is dominated by this rationalistic trend originated in the German pedagogy, I believe that if seen from a practical angle its spirit is actually far closer to that direction which identifies the moral with the religious education. My assessment is based on the frequency of the articles published in pedagogical papers – many of which written by teachers – in which religion is the basis of a sound and efficient moral education. What's more, even the texts used in the books for the primary schools point to an education in which *righteousness* has all the coordinates of biblical pedagogy and finds its meaning in relation with God and not with a concept as abstract as the autonomy of human will. From this perspective the purport of education is the accomplishment of the human being, following the Saviour's command *Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect*. This recurrent biblical verse in the pedagogical press and literature¹⁹ is fully put to use in the articles of Visarion Roman, editor in chief of "*Amicului școalei*" [The friend of the school] the first pedagogical paper in Transylvania. Visarion Roman – the single one of the preeminent Romanian pedagogues who had not

¹⁴ Johann Frierdrich Herbart, *Prelegeri pedagogice*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1976, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Manuductor...*, cited work, p. 145.

¹⁶ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu de pedagogie pentru părinți, educatori și toți bărbații de școală*, Sibiu, Tipografia arhidieceșană, 1868, p. 57.

¹⁷ Petru Pipoș, cited work, Ist, p. 13.

¹⁸ Petru Șpan, cited work, p. 39.

¹⁹ *Amicul școalei*, III, 1862, p. 62; *Organ pedagogic pentru educație și instrucție*, I, 1863, p. 12; *Sionul românesc*, II, 1866, p. 132, Zaharia Boiu, *Manuducere pentru învățători la întrebuițarea abțdarului*, Sibiu, Tipografia diecesană, 1862, p. 11.

studied abroad, a self-taught teacher who remained faithful to the theological-pedagogical school of Sibiu – is the link between the German pedagogical school, too rigid and grave for a people of peasants deeply attached to the Christian faith, and the Transylvanian rural world. Regardless of their denomination, the Romanian teachers may easier approach their pupils with the principle stating that *God is the apex and higher point of our thought. We live, we are and we move in God*²⁰.

The obvious ideal of the Christian life is that of perfection, namely of holiness, as preached by the Holy Fathers of the Eastern Church; the way to spiritual perfection was presented in a didactical form by St. John Climax in his famous *Ladder of Paradise*. In his view, the goal of this life is neither “the good man”, nor “the virtuous man”, but “the holy man” who is united with God by the means of the three virtues of faith, hope and love which represent the lack of passions and reaching the highest degree of spirituality²¹. Visarion Roman saw the school as a place where the youth prepare themselves for both the eternal life and the citizen one. The education strives to promote everything that develops the powers of the soul and those of the body and gives them a direction that is pleasing to God, and on the contrary it tries to hinder anything that could add leaven to the rise of evil²².

In the wake of these observations the Orthodox Theology and the German pedagogy may be deemed the poles of the Transylvanian educational philosophy. What is the purpose of human life as seen from a Christian perspective? How is the human as an individual perceived and what is his social role in this world? Where do the German rationalistic pedagogy of the 19th century and the Orthodox dogma converge and diverge with regard to the identity perception of the child? The answers to these questions are indispensable for understanding the educational model in Transylvania. We will begin by analysing the two perspectives on individual identity: the personal and the social one.

Personal identity

Even though the human is perceived as a dual being of body and soul, the pedagogues' entire attention is focused on perfecting the spirit, the body needing merely be preserved. Physical exercises had been nominated as a compulsory object by some pedagogues such as Locke, Basedow, Rousseau or Pestalozzi. Even more so, from the pedagogical method of Petru Pipoș we learn that the first theoretical paper on physical education in schools dates back to 1816 and was

²⁰ “Opiniuni mai noue despre spiritul omenesc”, în *Amicul școalei*, IV, 1863, p. 154.

²¹ See the introductory study in Ioan Scărarul, *Scara Raiului*, ed. IV, translation, introduction and notes by metropolitan archbishop Nicolae Corneanu, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord, 2000, pp. 53-54.

²² Visarion Roman, *cited work*, 118v.

written by Ludovic Jah²³. All these isolated theoretical initiatives have no spectacular practical consequences in the 19th century. The body's inferiority with regard to the spirit is explained by Ioan Popescu in the following way:

As to the development of the physical life, it somehow serves as a base for the development of the spiritual life and it precedes it at the very beginning. Even so, the body becomes in time greatly inferior to the soul, and this happens because the body's development is restricted to certain known limits while the spirit is capable of a growth whose limits cannot be foreseen. The spirit in its development manages to have the body as an instrument, as its organ [...] the spirit is the means given the human in order to progress towards perfection more and more, oriented towards the ideal of all perfection, towards God in whose image and resemblance he is created²⁴.

But he also believes that completely ignoring the body is also a serious mistake by mentioning the Latin adage *mens sana in corpora sano*²⁵.

At the beginning of the 19th century the physical education is limited in Transylvania to elementary rules of hygiene; the 1818 *Manuductor* has a short chapter entitled "On the education of the body" providing some information on the clothes' and the body's cleanliness, on the parts of the human body, on the role fresh air, rest, balanced eating etc. have²⁶. This "theoretical" niveau of the physical education will be surpassed only at the half of the century by Ioan Popescu, who recommends exercising. He explains that gymnastics is meant to help develop one's body harmoniously but also to *strengthen one morally*, because a child is thusly *less subjected to the bad inclinations which are born out of weakness and indolence*²⁷. Besides gymnastics he also suggests playing, riding and swimming and produces medical arguments to support this revolutionary idea:

moving the whole body has a propitious influence on the blood circulation, breathing and digestion; it is therefore obvious that exercising helps preserve the body because it facilitates and promotes the functions which determine the body's health²⁸.

Popescu's initiative is very important because it introduces a different view of the body in the Romanian pedagogy. If up until then one of the "sacred" duties of a school-child had been to pay attention (this implying sitting in a

²³ Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, 2nd vol., Arad, Tipografia Diecezană, 1887, p. 159.

²⁴ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, pp. 1-2.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 54.

²⁶ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, pp. 100-105.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 99.

²⁸ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 93.

position as static as possible), Ioan Popescu shows that movement is a normal attitude for a child: *there is nothing more unnatural than to prevent the pupil to move as he pleases, to play*²⁹. In the method book written by Petru Pipoș physical education is endowed with a practical dimension, when he describes various types of gymnastics exercises: free exercises, exercises for the head, for the trunk or for the extremities, which the children were performing on rhythm; order exercises, in which the individual is regarded *as a tactical unit of a group of individuals*; exercises with various instruments during which the hands, arms and legs have to assume different positions³⁰.

While the issue of the body is quickly done away with, the problem of the spirit becomes the object of debates among the pedagogues. Firstly there is a distinction made in the literature between *soul* and *spirit*: *seen as different from the body, the soul is thusly called because of its relation to the body, but when seen as an immaterial substance it is called a spirit*³¹. This separation is pedagogically irrelevant, but it does, however, prove a certain amount of compatibility between 19th century psychology and Christian theology since both consider the spirit to be eternal. By studying the Orthodox conception on how man was created and the on the traits of the human psyche we may find a key to explaining some aspects of the identity model put forward by the 19th century Romanian school.

The first thing we will notice is how deeply the dogma of the original sin is rooted in the minds of the people. Visarion Roman argues the importance of education by appealing to the theological explanation of human imperfection.

The man has taken from God various bodily and spiritual faculties and powers so that he may reach his aim and his end. These powers had been in themselves so fine created that they were able to guide the man towards God, but they were weakened by the original sin and their good orientation ceased so that man can reach his completion solely with the help of Christ our Saviour. But for this end the youth need help from the learned people [...] so that they may live and work in all circumstances abiding by God's commandments. This help is called upbringing or education³².

The Christian theology has explained the evil's existence in the world through the original sin. Saint John Climax – just as the whole Orthodox ascetics – sees it as metaphysical power capable of transforming the human being a fact which makes the divine intervention indispensable – an intervention which

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 94.

³⁰ Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, 2nd vol., *cited edition*, pp. 157-159.

³¹ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, *cited edition*, p. 21; a similar explanation can be found in the following article: "Spiritul și sufletul", in *Amicul școalei*, IV, no. 22, June 1st, 1863, p. 169.

³² *Ibid*, 118r-v.

sanctifies the human and helps him to achieve deification. The result of the sin is presented in the *Ladder* as a pathology of evil, as Metropolitan Nicolae Corneanu explains, and the key element in this pathology is the passion. Any passion is an illness of the soul and all passions have their own causes, symptoms, diagnostics, and therapy³³.

Father Dumitru Stăniloae in his work *Ascetics and Mystic of the Orthodox Church*³⁴ illustrates the eastern conception of the human psyche by analysing the passion. The most frequently quoted patristic texts belong to Saint Maximus the Confessor. The spiritual life is divided into an *active phase* aimed at freeing the human from passions and a *contemplative phase* of silently contemplating God. Only he who has cleansed his soul of passions is able to aim at gnosis or at contemplation³⁵. The passions are as low as a human being can fall, depriving it of its will and enslaving it. The man loses his rationality precisely because although he knows that the finite things cannot fulfil his aspiration for the infinite – an awareness filling him with boredom and despair – he lets himself be carried away by his egocentric passion. The passions hold the human being in the darkness of ignorance by the means of their irrationality³⁶. The possibility of the passions being born is given by the existence of natural affects Saint Maximus the Confessor calls *the natural affects*. They belong to the sphere of our nature and not our will and that is why they are not to be blamed, nevertheless they are not part of the original structure of our nature but have entered after the sin. *The affects can become passions just as they can become good inclinations, just as the man's thirst for infinity orients itself either towards the world or towards God*³⁷. The eastern ascetics isn't opposed to the biological life: it is a *break and a discipline for the body, it does not fight to exterminate it* because when it refrains and limits the material pleasures there occurs a transfer of our being's energies in favour of our spirit³⁸.

The German pedagogue J. F. Herbart fundamentals his educational guidelines on a conception of the human nature which resembles the biblical one; even though he does not mention the original sin his idea that in any child there is a natural tendency towards disorder leads him to draw the traditional conclusions regarding the aim and the role of the education.

The true light-mindedness which is made manifest in forgetfulness, disorder, instability, jokes is inherent to the individual dispositions and it does not allow for a radical cure; it is nevertheless possible that later on we may be able to

³³ Ioan Scărarul, *cited edition*, p. 52.

³⁴ Dumitru Stăniloae, *Ascetica și mistica Bisericii ortodoxe*, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2002.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 66-67.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 75-78.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 84.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 85.

make it disappear through numerous admonishments and precautions against exterior excitements. The moral education (meant to protect the individual) is even more necessary here in order to avoid the consequences of evil or at least to attenuate them. Because once the frivolous individual begins to feel pleasure in their actions, he will begin to rebel against order and perseverance and to think of ways to gain his freedom and live a life with no rules³⁹.

The same Herbart points out the danger lurking in constant and recurrent desires which may turn to passions if they are not curbed⁴⁰.

We will now turn our attention to how Ioan Popescu and Petru Pipoș, who follow Herbart's principles, explain how passions are formed. Popescu presents a gradual evolution of the *sensual needs* from *goads*, to *instincts*, *desires*, *passions and addictions*. He calls "goad" what modern language designates through "instinct"; however, in his psychology work the instinct is thought to be an unconscious movement of the body determined by a "goad". *The desires are the consequences of the satisfied goads*, as each time a goad is taken heed of a desire is born. The more often the desires are satisfied, the more their numbers and intensity grow. Completely reprimanding them is not recommended, because this *damages the organism*, but neither is partially satisfying them because in this case they intensify⁴¹. The solution is offered by the psychology of the time: *he who does not wish to be overwhelmed by desires – writes Popescu – must learn to be moderate in his needs and not to satisfy them*⁴². The same idea is shared by Petru Pipoș who believes that the desires become more numerous, the more frequent they are satisfied. In his manual there are many practical advices for tempering desires: avoiding the objects which excite them, focusing on serious occupations such as studying, and especially avoiding the ways in which these needs are satisfied⁴³.

The passions originate in *the desires, inclinations and interests which prevail in the spiritual life*. They are based on very strong and permanently active stimuli; for the *sensual desires* these stimuli lie with the *natural goads* and that is why the desires may easily turn to passions, especially the man does not satisfies them in a rational fashion: gluttony, drunkenness, and other passions are thusly born⁴⁴. The passions are seen in a negative light and they are deemed by 19th century psychology and the Christian thought as the cause of ignorance and limitation of the human freedom:

³⁹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *cited edition*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 65, 69, 107.

⁴¹ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, *cited edition*, pp. 245-251.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 251.

⁴³ Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia pentru instituttele pedagogice și școalele medii*, Arad, Editura Autorului, 1896, p. 168.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 275-276.

one hears often of noble passions in one's life. But this beautiful epithet cannot be correctly applied to the actual passions because even if the aim of such passions were a noble one, on the count of their being passions they do not allow the subject to freely chose moral means to fulfil them, any means are good as long as they are practical in achieving the purpose⁴⁵.

The passions make the man blind with their vehemence; they oppose the freedom of the will and are therefore unsound psychological states⁴⁶.

Other extreme psychological states are the *affects* which are placed by Popescu in the *sentiments*' category, as opposed to the passions which are dealt with in the chapter dedicated to desires. The affects are very powerful sentiments which lead to a complete loss of temper; someone who is seized by them *looks as if he were out of his mind*⁴⁷. The affects can be *sthenic*: joy, wonder, enthusiasm, hope etc. or *asthenic*: sadness, melancholy, fear, apathy, shame etc.⁴⁸. In his psychology manual for secondary schools Petru Pipoș presents the main differences and resemblances between passions and addictions (the origin of passions is psychological, that of addictions is physical; the addiction clouds the judgement and takes the means for purpose), as well as those between passions and affects (affects are temporary, passions are durative; the affect's intensity diminishes in time, but the passion's increases; the affect makes a person lose his temper, the passion does not block reason, but makes work for its ends)⁴⁹.

The psychological processes and their connection with moral education

Prior to 1860 when the experimental school appeared the views on psychological life belonged to the framework of Associationism – Herbart was one of its most illustrious figures. Its followers thought that any superior psychological process or formation is the result of a chain or of associative combinations; psychological life was explained as an association of irreducible elements: the association of sensations forms the perceptions, whose association forms the representations, whose association forms the concepts and so on⁵⁰. Experimental psychology meant elaborating techniques, procedures and methods to investigate psychological processes and to express them by the means of mathematical symbols⁵¹, proving among other things, the Associationist theories

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 279.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 280-281.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 232; the same idea is found in Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia...*, cited edition, p. 155.

⁴⁸ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, cited edition, p. 233.

⁴⁹ Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia...*, cited edition, pp. 174-175.

⁵⁰ Rodica Popa, *Istoria psihologiei. Curente, școli, direcții, perspective*, Timișoara, Editura Eurostampa, 2000, p. 52.

⁵¹ Petroman, *Incursiune în istoria psihologiei universale și românești de la origini până în prezent*, Timișoara, Editura Eurobit, 1996, chap. "Metoda experimentală – experimentalismul", pp. 117-135.

wrong. The entire pedagogical literature in Transylvania, including Ioan Popescu, makes use of the Associationist psychology's concepts and notions. The first one to use the literature of the experimental school in his psychology paper for secondary education is Petru Pipoș, but he does not break off completely from Associationism.

Taking into consideration that most of the assertions of the pupil's identity were based on the scientific assessments of the human psyche we will illustrate the notion the pedagogues had on the psychological processes and their characteristics. Ioan Popescu describes how the *ideas* of the surrounding world are formed. The sense organs record information on objects, which they relay to the spirit; they are deposited in the spirit and after the *impressions* which had generated them have stopped, they are accessed whenever necessary in the form of ideas. A consequence of amassing a multitude of information is forgetting them: the ideas form strains of association in which the first ideas grow dimmer, and are gradually lost because others are added after them. An idea can be remembered if a given object exerts a similar *impression* on us to that which had generated the idea the first time⁵². In pedagogical praxis this associationist theory on how ideas are formed is mirrored by intuitive learning, a method created by Pestalozzi based on carefully observing objects with the use of the five senses, describing their constituent parts and the connections they form with one another.

The spiritual education of the pupil – the one mainly responsible with structuring his identity – is based on a series of considerations concerning the psychological processes: memory, imagination, attention, will. **The memory** is the most important of them in the 19th century school, proving the Latin proverb *the man knows as much as he can remember* right⁵³. The *Manuductor* believes the *memory, which guards all that it receives from the outer and inner senses*⁵⁴, is essential for the process of instruction. Ioan Popescu explains how the memory is formed and why it is so important:

it is the recreation of ideas such as those that had associated with each other. [...] the better the ideas are associated, the more precisely can they be reproduced and the better and more accurate is the memory⁵⁵. The clearer the ideas are to begin with and the more frequent repeated in the same order, the better will they be associated with one another⁵⁶.

Visarion Roman addresses in one of his articles the practical effectiveness of a good memory regardless of the day-to-day interests of each person: the memory should be carefully trained in school because its lack leads

⁵² Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 17-19.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 21.

⁵⁴ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, p. 113.

⁵⁵ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 111.

to inconveniences, damages, time squandering. The article underlines the importance of memorizing moral sentences, a guarantee for a life-long exemplary behaviour: *he who in his childhood has enriched his mind with moral religious sentences has in them a shield against temptations, a soothing balm in unhappiness, and a good advice in uncertainties*⁵⁷. Nonetheless, the pedagogues constantly draw attention on the fact that something should be firstly understood and only then memorized, and that memorizing without understanding is useless. The intuitive method was considered to be an efficient way to improve the memory logically and not mechanically, the way it was done in the traditional school.

The imagination, called *fantasy* at that time, had a different status in the 19th century educational theory and praxis than it does today. Fantasy is useful up to a point, but when let to run unbridled it may become harmful because an excess in this direction is a sure way to immorality and it may even damage the intellectual development! The 1818 *Manuductor* shows that the child's *capacity to imagine* is useful for re-actualizing the image of absent objects but also that it should not be encouraged in the village schools because *these states are damaging* as they are the cause of fanaticism and immorality⁵⁸. These arguments, born out of an aristocratic society's fears during the revolutionary changes at the end of the 18th century were no longer valid 50 years later.

Ioan Popescu in line with the pedagogical researches of his time defines imagination as the reproduction of modified ideas. Depending on the ideas' degree of originality there are several forms of fantasy: abstractive (it reproduces essential ideas), determinative (it adds to the general ideas), combinative (it combines the abstractive and determinative fantasies, both omitting and adding)⁵⁹. When exactly is the imagination good and when is it bad? Popescu states that "a well organized fantasy can become the source of enthusiasm for everything beautiful, noble, and great, but a unruly fantasy gives birth to superstitious characters, weird talents, the so-called extravagant spirits and to a multitude of utopias and passions"⁶⁰.

This assessment of the imagination is presented in a clearer form in his pedagogy paper of 1868. He believes an unfortunate consequence of imagination is to believe in monsters, ghosts, and spectres and a positive result are the arts⁶¹.

If the pupil is allowed to form combinations as he pleases these combinations might *hinder the formation of the memory and consequently the*

⁵⁷ "Este oare de folos memorisarea în școalele populare?", in *Amicul școalei*, III, no. 17, 28 April, 1862, p. 133.

⁵⁸ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, p. 112.

⁵⁹ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, pp. 115-117.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 122.

⁶¹ *Idem*, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, pp. 22-23.

*development of his intelligence*⁶². In order to properly develop the imagination he recommends games and toys which show *the pupil's intellectual productivity* for the first time, fables, poems, and stories, but only those through which “the pupil is not likely to go astray. In fables the pupil is able to distinguish fiction more easily, whereas in stories, just like in novels, everything is presented in a more credible fashion and therefore in most cases they can seduce him and make him fanciful”⁶³.

In fact the harmful imagination is considered to be the one that transforms the person into an irrational being.

The attention is one of the mental processes the 19th century education favours, as it is the first condition for learning successfully. Visarion Roman affirms that attention is important because the teacher's effort *would be futile if he taught one thing and the mind of the pupil were wondering about*⁶⁴. Popescu in his turn said that in order to make the pupil understand he must first pay attention to what he is being taught⁶⁵. In the 1818 guide and in the book Visarion Roman wrote on pedagogical methods there are sensible advices to getting the children's attention: the matter being taught should be adapted to their level of understanding, the explanations should not be too long, the children should not be stressed with more subject matters at a time⁶⁶, anything that is likely to distract their attention should be removed from the school, the pupils *should not sit too closely*, they should be asked randomly and not in turns⁶⁷ etc. Ioan Popescu recommends explaining any new notion by relating it to the notions the pupil has already learned⁶⁸.

The will is the psychological process responsible for the moral and intellectual education. The *Manductor* perceives *training the will faculty* as identical to moral education and it suggests that a child should be taught to want only *what the sound mind knows to be good* and to stay away from what it *knows to be bad*⁶⁹. Ioan Popescu sees it as a *power within the spirit* which guides the thought and the movement nerves, setting the whole body in movement in order to act.

Before the will becomes action a judgement awakens in the spirit deciding to begin with whether the deed is good or bad, and after that whether a given means by which the deed may be done is appropriate or inappropriate, practical or

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 115.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁴ Visarion Roman, *cited work*, D. 58, f. 124v – 125r.

⁶⁵ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, *cited edition*, p. 30.

⁶⁶ *Methodul...*, *cited edition*, p. 111.

⁶⁷ Visarion Roman, *cited work*, D. 58, f. 125r-v.

⁶⁸ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, *cited edition*, p. 32.

⁶⁹ *Methodul...*, *cited edition*, p. 124.

impractical. The first judgement proceeds from the conscience, the second from the skilfulness the man has acquired through experience⁷⁰.

It is necessary to develop the conscience more than the skilfulness *because a moral will shall later grow from it, vanquishing the lower, egoistical, and sensual interests and impelling the man towards moral deeds*⁷¹.

Petru Pipoș designates the differences between will and the other tendencies as impulses, desires, and wishes which appear unbeknownst to us and aren't always followed by appropriate actions. The will is conscientious and it is followed by a deed. *We want something only when we think we can achieve that; without this conviction there is no will*⁷².

It can be observed that 19th century pedagogy is concerned with grasping the child's psychology only so that it could correct what it believes to be excessive impulses and not in order to nurture the child's individuality. Personal identity requires the existence of a body which has to be kept healthy. The views regarding the body change with time depending on the evolution of knowledge on how to take care of it: at the beginning of the century this knowledge is merely a collection of elementary hygiene rules, whereas in the second half physical exercises will be added. All the same, the body will remain inferior to the spirit, a relation which constitutes one of the fundamental rules of school education. The goal of the education is forming a well balanced spirit, namely one devoid of passions and addictions; the child should be taught to control all types of physical and psychological excesses his human nature may prompt him to. In order to benefit from all the opportunities the instruction process has to offer, the pupil's attention and memory have to be the first things trained. Attention is directly connected to the educator's ability to attract the children's interest by structuring his explanations with the help of notions they have already learned. The memory does not only mean remembering a large amount of information, it also requires a technique of learning things logically. In order for the imagination to be useful for the learning process it must not trespass certain rational limits, otherwise it becomes harmful. The pupil's will has to be educated in accordance to the morality.

The social identity

A slogan frequently used especially during the first half of the 19th century said that the school should educate the pupils to become good Christians and good citizens. Both dimensions of the educational purpose foster mainly the social identity just as the personal identity is built clearly in view of social integration. Being a good Christian essentially means loving God and behaving

⁷⁰ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 43.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

⁷² Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia ...*, cited edition, p. 177.

properly with regard to your neighbour, a fact abundantly substantiated by the texts in the primary school textbooks.

The idea that there is a distinction to be made between social and individual identity is clearly theorised only Petru Șpan's work of 1891 *Questions on education and instruction*. According to Herbartian pedagogy, one of the education's priorities is to develop a multilateral interest explained by Șpan as everything regarding natural and human life. He shows that the individuality opposes this principle "because it favours certain spheres in which it likes to move, it is dominated by certain penchants, desires, and wishes which determine its interest for the world and all what goes on around it. The individuality is restricted to its circle, does not like to move outside of it, and moreover, it is not in the very least interested of what happens outside of itself"⁷³.

Șpan then asks himself how can *these two powerful adversaries*, namely the purpose of education and the individuality, get along. He therefore formulates in a very unambiguous manner one of the characteristics of the 19th century education: the pedagogues effort to limit the pupil's personality and to interest him in honouring and perpetuating the social norms. He specifies that a society, in order to exist,

must aspire to resemble a cultural system in which all the members know there are certain higher principles which demand the society's organism be based on relations of coordination and subordination⁷⁴.

A specificity of Șpan's work is his attempt to strike a balance between the conflicting tendencies manifested by the education's theoreticians, between idealists and materialists, the representatives of ethics and those of science. He attempts the same thing in the context of the link between personal and social identity by stating that the individual character *which based on the physical organism and which is known in pedagogy as the innate talent [...] cannot be suppressed by any human force*, and the society *is not interested in oppressing the individual predilections* because it needs talents⁷⁵. The ideal solutions would be for the society to distribute the occupations of the human life according to individual preferences. Nevertheless, in those schools which try to form a general culture – namely the primary schools – the individuality must be subjected to the purpose of the education, otherwise the education would produce *unilaterally* developed people.

At the beginning of the 19th century the school aimed at educating the children in accordance to the needs and the duties of their respective social class. The *Manductor* considered that the peasant's instruction *has its limits* because *his occupation, his poverty and dependence, as well as many other wants of his*

⁷³ Petru Șpan, *cited work*, p. 53.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 54.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 55.

life impair the free development of his spirit⁷⁶. This guide also mentions the negative effects an attempt to educate the peasant beyond his needs could have: this would make him *unsatisfied with his state*, it would give him *unjust ideas*, and it would fill him *with much pretence*, or would make him rise *above his sphere*⁷⁷. The same book proposes a studies' plan for every type of school: rural, urban, and schools for girls. For instance, in the rural schools it was advised to teach the fundamentals of morale, knowing the laws, the body, and the nature *so that they could teach others*, the pupils were supposed to know their country and their land, their rights and duties, to read and count *as much as is needed to live together with others*⁷⁸.

This slightly ambiguous inventory of types of knowledge is merely the reflection of an educational ideal because actually the pupils in the rural schools barely learned writing, counting and the catechism. The urban schools held the languages (the mother tongue, Latin, German, and Hungarian) for important, then the history and geography of the country and of the *cultivated nations*, nature's history and drawing. A clear reminder of the mediaeval education is the recommendation that the craftsmen and traders' sons should mostly pursue their parents' trades. The urban schools emphasised religion and virtue, and the girls were obviously educated to be mothers and housewives⁷⁹.

In the middle of the 19th century the perspective on the social role of the school changes. The fundamental principle is pointed out by Ioan Popescu in his compendium: the pupil is to be provided with a general culture *which should be able to serve him in his life for any calling, any profession*⁸⁰. He also explains that the moral and religious education make the child *a both useful and happy member*⁸¹ of the society. The same ideas are to be found with Petru Pipoș: he shows that each human has to attain a certain degree of culture so that he may live *a life worthy of the noble nature of the human being* and become *a useful member of the society, working together with others for the common good*⁸².

As we approach the end of the century, the educational ideal is increasingly marked by the encyclopaedic spirit: *the elementary culture* – sais Pipoș – *may be regarded as a small universe as compared to the greater universe of the human culture [...] the education imitates on a smaller scale the greater historical development of the human culture*⁸³. This evolution is mainly due to the generalization of the Herbartian pedagogy, which was later criticised

⁷⁶ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, p. 63.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 78-89.

⁸⁰ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 57.

⁸² Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, cited edition., p. 11.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 25.

for the exaggerations manifested in the direction we have just mentioned. Herbart imposed principles such as educating instruction or multilateral interest transforming the schoolbooks in small encyclopaedias. Petru Șpan explains the dimensions of the multilateral culture as follows:

its intention is that the spirit should have a general view of natural and human life, that it may resonate to everything the culture of a given time has produced, that it should not be ignorant of any cultural current of a nation's or of a people's spiritual life, or even of that of the whole humankind⁸⁴.

Some pedagogues' fantasy reached unbelievable heights in idealizing the children's capacities to assimilate knowledge, if we look at the utopian operational objectives mentioned by the Swiss professor Thomas Scherr, who Petru Pipoș enthusiastically quotes. Thus, at the end of the school years, the pupil knows

how to read works of general culture, knows to remember the things read and heard, knows to distinguish truth from fallacy with accuracy [...]he knows to solve the problems of every-day life [...]. He knows in detail the position and the nature of his country and no country on the face of the earth is unknown to him, he admires the celestial bodies in the sky, the gleaming worlds eternally rotating in their gigantic orbits. He is aware of the brave deeds of the ancestors of our national history, and he reads about them eagerly, he knows the memorable events in the history of humankind. The nature with its wonders is an open book to him. [...] His hearing knows to discern accurately the tones of the harmonies [...] He contemplates the arts with aesthetic taste and his hand can skilfully paint the traits of simple objects⁸⁵.

In order for the pupil to fulfil his duties to society he must learn which are the proper relations established between him and the other people, *the social references* as Ioan Popescu calls them. The parents and the teachers are responsible for this education: their duty is to instil *love, piety, reverence, thankfulness, obedience and submission* in their child. They are the first who should show the child their *love, benevolence, parental care, seriousness and manly constancy* so that their offspring may gain these virtues. Honour and emulation should be emphasised in the relationships among brothers. The parents' duty is be just and loving towards their children, so as not to give way to hatred and rivalry between them⁸⁶.

Popescu then underlines the *friendship references* which in time become as important as those connecting brothers, reason enough for the parents and the teachers to make sure the pupils find *dignified friends*. So as not to fall victim to

⁸⁴ Petru Șpan, *cited work*, p. 53.

⁸⁵ Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, *cited edition*, pp. 39-40.

⁸⁶ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, *cited edition*, pp. 126-127.

bad company, the teacher should also introduce the pupil to those he is not friends with *making him manifest kindness and Christian love towards all people, regardless of their state, religion or nationality*⁸⁷. The goal of education is precisely this Christian love the teacher should inculcate in his pupils

through the humanity and the compassion shown to those who suffer, through acts of charity, by helping the needy, through magnanimity and generosity, by forgiving the harm done unto them, by speaking well of people, and even by protecting their right and their honour from those who attack them.

National education is mentioned in the Romanian pedagogical literature only in the second half of the 19th century when not only translations, but also works written by Romanian authors are being published. However, this aspect is dealt with only tangentially in the classical works such as those belonging to Ioan Popescu and Petru Pipoș. There is another state of facts if we analyse the numerous pedagogical reviews of Transylvania, where the entire educational “philosophy” is centred on the national issues. The first articles of this sort appeared, obviously, in *Amicul școalei*, the first Romanian pedagogical review. *The teacher’s duty inside and outside of the school is to awaken and strengthen patriotism*⁸⁸ is an illustrative title for how the purpose of the school was thought to be in creating the national identity. Visarion Roman avows that *loving one’s country is a classical virtue of the free peoples* (adjoining a most evocative addition: *the slave does not love the country in which the rods that whip him grow*); not only the submitted nations lack this quality but also those for which *the material gain is their unique and egoistic condition of life*⁸⁹. The author brings to the foreground the issue of what we call multiple identities saying that *the school must provide the man with everything he needs to be, and because he must be, among other things, a good patriot and a good nationalist, these characteristics too*⁹⁰.

The responsibility of accomplishing this mission naturally belongs to the teacher. Visarion Roman stipulates a series of tasks in order to fulfil this goal: he must firstly be himself a patriot, he must then form the national sense by recounting the events of the county’s history, underlining the endeavours *of those men who illustrate the true Romanian character*, he must teach the mother tongue with utmost seriousness, because it is *the people’s sanctuary*⁹¹, and must see to it that the national customs do not die out, but become more firmly rooted. Roman relates to the nation in Herder’s terms, and the whole text is a testimony to this, especially the fragment where he talks of the role the language plays in

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 128.

⁸⁸ *Amicul școalei*, I, 1860, pp. 329-332.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 330.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 331.

forming the identity: *the people is alive in its language, therein is its spirit embodied, the language is the type, the expression of its inner being*⁹².

During the dualist period the political national discourse became more radical, a fact reflected in the Romanian pedagogical reviews. The article *Educațiunea să fie națională*⁹³ [Let the education be national] published in “Școala Română” [The Romanian school] (1879) and written by Vasile Petri, gives in my opinion a clear image of the new combative spirit. It begins with a polemic tone:

All who have seriously dealt with and still deal with our history admit that ever since Trajan settled us in these regions, never has our existence so menaced as it is now. We have lived together with our Hungarian brothers for almost a thousand years, for better and for worse, without them thinking of assimilating us. There have passed 40 years since their aim in this matter has completely changed. They have found out all of a sudden that their number is a small one and that it is a great disaster not all the inhabitants of this country are Hungarians⁹⁴.

Education is the most important element in preserving identity, and therefore the school's institution becomes exclusively the bearer of the national message:

the schools are organs by the help of which the nation who founded and supports them wants to ensure its cultural interests. Under no circumstance are they allowed to become the channel, and even less so the instrument of an anti-national culture; their single reason to be is being organs promoting that nation's own life⁹⁵.

Once again we are faced with the paradigm of the hereditary nation, because national education means *raising the young generation in the views, the feelings and the customs of the forefathers*, fostering their virtues and eliminating their vices⁹⁶.

The author then presents the key means achieving national education depends on. The first one is the *teacher's personality*: he should be *Romanian in his heart, his word, his deeds*. Then comes *the education*, the principles of which should be nurturing the pupils' will, attention, interest, and understanding of what they've learned so that they can apply those notions in real life, as well as their sense for everything true, beautiful and good. The study matters contributing to the development of national conscience are language, history,

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 332.

⁹³ *Școala Română*, III, 1879, pp. 481-496.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 481.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 483.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 484.

geography, religion, and... gymnastics! The arguments in favour for the first three are the usual ones of the national discourse, and therefore we will concentrate on the rarely mentioned religion and gymnastics. Christianity offers in this case too an exemplary model in Jesus Christ, who before sending his apostles in the world, offered salvation to his own people. Moreover, he regarded them with love even when they persecuted him. With respect to gymnastics, it is important for forming a healthy people just as the Latin adage says: *mens sana in corpora sano*.

To the end of the 19th century Ioan Popescu in his work *Pedagogy* (1892) signalizes the need to limit excesses in forming national education; he openly states that the idea of humanity is superior to that of the nationality. Beginning with the mission of education as conceived by the pedagogical science – namely offering the pupil *a humanistic general culture, meant to increase his personal value and dignity*⁹⁷ – Popescu wonders whether it may have a national character. His positive answer is based on the idea that the most relevant group appurtenance of the pupil, one which is encoded in his genes, is the one connecting him to his national community:

in reality none of the pupils presents himself as an abstract person, as one who does not belong to a race or to a nationality. The pupil's nationality, namely the total of characteristics he is endowed with by his origin, is thusly a starting point for the teacher, indicated in his very nature⁹⁸.

Consequently, the national culture is the basis of the human culture *of general ethic character* and is the only natural and rational education, because it begins in the first years of childhood through the contact the child has with its parents. But the educators must prevent excesses, because exaggerating this type of education may lead to hating and despising other nationalities, a fact which denies the principle of morality

and as such that tragic exaggeration is both pedagogically and humanly blameable just as denationalisation. It should be noted that if it were heard say that the culture, which is to be given the people through education, will level national differences, this levelling cannot be understood as identical to the erasure of ethnic particularities which separate a nation from the others, but only to remove their separatist tendencies meant to turn them against one another⁹⁹.

It must be taken into account that not everything what's been deposited in a nation's psyche, beliefs, and hopes is worthy of being passed on to the youth

⁹⁷ Ioan Popescu, *Pedagogia lucrată pe bazele psihologice și etice ale realismului Herbartian*, Sibiu, Tipografia lui W. Krafft, 1892, p. 38.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 43.

because there are not only virtues but also vices in a nation's life. Among those vices Ioan Popescu mentions the national pride which often degenerates in hatred and intolerance.

In order to stop [...] the development of national selfishness the national education itself should make sure that as the development of the national consciousness progresses in the youth the human and ethical consciousness should simultaneously do the same. It must be observed that the idea of humanity is superior to that of nationality¹⁰⁰.

Though seldom, the pedagogues speak of the structuring of self-consciousness in a child. In Ioan Popescu's opinion the pupil should be made to reflect on his self often, to assess his thoughts and actions because this exercise of knowing one's self is the path towards one of the most beautiful virtues: modesty¹⁰¹. He also underlines the importance of developing the child's self-confidence¹⁰², however without giving details on how to actually achieve that. This omission actually reflects the fact that this aspect was marginalised in pedagogical practice. Closely connected to accepting a child's self-consciousness is the principle of respecting a pupil's individuality, the most frequently proclaimed principle from Comenius to this day, yet, the most difficult one to apply. In order to make it comprehensible Ioan Popescu explains the way in which the pupil's personality (*nature*) restricts the influence of the educational act. The factors the educator has to take into consideration to make it more efficient are age, family, and social milieu (*the outer circumstances*) of origin¹⁰³. The pedagogical works give us an image of the ideal pupil which is valid throughout the 19th century. His qualities are: obedience and submission, attention, diligence, seriousness, perseverance, constancy, love, modesty, gratefulness. His flaws are idleness, disobedience, lying, ill-will, selfishness¹⁰⁴.

Conclusion

The Romanian pedagogical literature in 19th century Transylvania follows the European direction of pedagogy's affirmation as a science, a process which occurred when psychology notions were used in the elaboration of education theories. The conceptions on human personality explained in the above-mentioned works had been taken from the rationalist German pedagogy. The model of personal and social identity proposed on those scientific bases largely corresponds to the one inherited from the religious tradition: the pre-eminence of

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, p. 131.

¹⁰² See "Organ pedagogic pentru educatiune și instructiune", I, 1863, p. 253; Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, p. 65.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-87.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-153.

the social identity over the personal one, and that of the spiritual over the physical one. Despite the fact that in the Orthodoxy introspection should play a crucial role in the constitution of a human personality, constantly exercised in the act of confession, this side remained secondary in the educational practice, where the duty to the community, and so, the social identity, have prevailed.

Nevertheless, how can it be explained that the two educational models studied, generated by two apparently different philosophies – rationalism and Orthodoxy – find themselves in such close proximity? A possible answer is to be found in Ernst Cassirer's book *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. He writes that evil's existence in our world was explained by all Christian denominations through the original sin. The philosophy of the Enlightenment rejected this psycho-social model but wasn't able to establish a possible cause for it, for a long time. Rousseau suggested an alternative to the original sin, believing that the first impulses of human nature are good and innocent. Herbart's and Niemeyer's German pedagogy although it does not support its demonstration on this dogma does assume it by perceiving the child's nature as permanently predisposed to disorder and rebellion.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GREAT BANK: THE BANK OF COMMERCE FROM CRAIOVA (1897-1948)

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Abstract: The present article deals with the apparition of a great financial institution in Romanian urban space at the end of 19th Century which builds its strong reputation as the largest bank in Romania in 20th century. This was due to an intelligent strategy that we could identify today. First of all, the Commerce Bank inaugurated an active policy of setting up subsidiary or sponsored banks. Second, the financial institution was particularly interested in strenghten its position as essential pillar of Oltenia solidarity bank during major crises that undermine also the Romanian financial markets. Finally, she takes a role no less important in the activity of large industrial enterprises of the time.

Keywords: 20th Century, Romania, Oltenia, bank capital.

This article proposes a short incursion in the history of the most important private bank in Oltenia, The Bank of Commerce from Craiova, during the period 1897-1948. In order to establish the place of this society in the national bank and credit system became necessary to study a great number of archive documents that preserved the most numerous and significant papers, useful for our topic. The studied materials (reports, correspondence, official reports, statistics etc.) present certain deficiencies when expressing exclusively official points of view, making the vision they present to be in a great extent and equally affected, especially for certain periods (1916-1919, 1945-1948), lacking the details. The space doesn't allow us to detail much the organization and the functioning of this institution, to which, in the near future, we shall dedicate a monograph.

In the second half of the 19th century, the intensifying of the economic life rhythm was followed by an amplifying regarding the loan request that encouraged, in an important degree, the usury. The peasants, the traders and also the office workers took monthly, yearly or life long loans. The interest varied from one period to another and from one region to another, being determined by request and offering. After the establishment of the Romanian National Bank

(1880) that adopted a discount rate much smaller than the interest asked by the usurers and after the extension of its networks, the traders and the industrial workers got rid of the usury's pressure. But the peasants, the small clerks and traders didn't share the same privileges and they continued to appeal to the usurers because "That who didn't own capital found it hard to do something¹". In their support and not only, was founded, in Oltenia, the Bank of Commerce.

The Bank of Commerce² was established on December 12th 1897, as a credit cooperative society with unlimited duration, with an initial social capital of 200.000 lei³. The initiative of the founding belonged to C. Neamțu⁴ (appointed director on May 1st 1909) and the founding act of the society was signed by 134 persons from Dolj and Gorj Counties. Exact data regarding the profession of the founders and their social provenience hadn't been recorded because the published balance sheets didn't have such references and the economic periodical magazines, existent in that period, approached only tangentially such recordings. Altogether, following the social structure of the founding members we have noticed the presence of some well-known persons in the financial world, the great landlords, the traders and the politicians from those times. Among these, the next ones distinguished themselves: N. N. Popp, banker and great landlord; C. N. Mihail, great landlord, president of the Dolj County Council starting with 1888; I. G. Plessia, solicitor and senator of the Dolj County 1st College; Grigore D. Pencioiu, solicitor in the Dolj bar association from 1899, mayor of Craiova during the German occupation from the First World War; Matheiu I. Dănăricu, famous trader from Tg. Jiu, awarded with the bronze medal at the exhibition of products commercialized in Paris in 1900⁵; Constantin M. Dănăricu, son of Matheiu I. Dănăricu, member in the temporary commission of the city Tg. Jiu during the governing of Lascăr Catargiu, deputy in the Romanian Parliament, during the governing of Alexandru Marghiloman, trader; Ștefan Nicolăescu, the son-in-law of Matheiu I. Dănăricu, important trader from Tg. Jiu, in the first decades of the 20th century⁶.

The same names we would find among the shareholders from other banks founded in Oltenia during 1900-1912. Their participation and involvement in the

¹ C. Pajură, T. D. Giurescu, *Istoricul orașului Turnu Severin (1833-1933)*, București, 1933, p. 169.

² National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 1/1899-1948, f. 7).

³ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Jean Mihail Foundation, file 423/ 1899-1926, f. 1.

⁴ C. Neamțu was: accountant at The National Romanian Bank from Bucharest (1890); chief accountant at The National Romanian Bank from Craiova from 1891; bookkeeping teacher at Școala Superioară de Comerț (The Superior School of Commerce) from Craiova; manager at The National Romanian Bank from Craiova in 1893; headmaster at Școala Superioară de Comerț from Craiova in 1894; during 1910-1948, manager at The Bank of Commerce from Craiova.

⁵ Constantin P. Andrița, *Comerțul gorjean – file de studiu și istorie* -, Tg. Jiu, Editura MĂIASTRA, 2007, p. 55.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.56.

banking operations offered, on one side, the most certain warranties regarding a correct management of the affairs and, on the other side, they desired the rentable investing and capitalization of their own capitals. In his first meeting, the administration board, chose the staff: N. N. Popp (president); members – Paul Lazar, Enache Manea, Ilarie Marian, Vasile P. Andreescu, Marin V. Mirică, A. D. Damianoff, Const. S. Prejbeanu; censors G. D. Pencioiu, Ilariu Marian, Enache Manea; substitute censors: Dr. I. Augustin, Gr. Petrino, M. V. Mirică⁷.

At only one year from the beginning of the bookkeeping operations, on March 29th 1899, the general assembly decided the transformation of the cooperative society into anonymous company of share-holders with a social capital of 1 million lei, divided in 5.000 shares of 200 lei each. On this occasion, was presented the new administration board, made of “distinguished traders from Craiova”⁸.

The activity of the Bank of Commerce, the most important private bank from Oltenia, founded with Romanian capital, was based on the following banking operations: keeping money: with savings cheques starting from 5-5.000 lei refunded at request; loaning with cereals, merchandises, public assets and promissory notes mortgage; buying and selling; rent, land documents and shares; making payments in the entire country to the Rural and Urban Land Credit, to banks and to the private persons; making payments to: Austro-Hungary, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, England etc.; exchanging different currencies⁹.

In order to satisfy the requests of the clients, until the First World War, the Bank of Commerce founded several agencies in Caracal¹⁰, Bechet¹¹, Drăgășani¹²,

⁷ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 1/1899-1948, f. 8.

⁸ National Archives, fund The Jean Mihail Foundation, file 423/1899-1926, f. 7.

⁹ National Archives, fund Camera de Comerț și de Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry), file 6/1931-1948, f. 4; The report of the Administration Board and the report of the Censors Council to the Ordinary General Assembly from March 7th 1910, Craiova, 1909, p. 8.

¹⁰ *The Agency from Caracal* was founded in 1908 after taking the due and the debts of “The Commercial Credit” from the locality. The Agency had in Caracal two buildings, one in str. Carol, no. that became the main branch and another in str. Unirei, no. 10, ex property Har Hertenberg that was the dwelling place of the clerks. The sale from the branch in Romanați County, until the First World War, led to a sum of money of 15 million lei. With the help of these sales, large properties (estate Mărăscu-Zvorsca, estate Leontopol-Ghizdăvești, estate Ivăvescu-Islaz) were divided and entered in the possession of the small farmers. Until the First World War, the leadership of the bank was taken by Titu Colțescu (1907-1908), D.G. Soreanu (1908-1912), Chiriac Mihăilescu (1912-1914), Nichita Bicescu, Terente Dobrescu. The Agency didn’t have any activity during 1914-1918, (National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 11/1927-1936, f. 1-55).

¹¹ *The Agency from Bechet* carried on its activity in the houses rented from Ștefan G. Popescu (landlord from Bechet) (National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 41/1914, f. 11).

Turnu-Severin¹³, Tg. Jiu¹⁴, Corabia¹⁵ and Balș¹⁶. Thanks to the extension of the activity, it managed to inaugurate after the First World War, two more agencies, one in Filași and another in Lugoj and a branch in Bucharest. The agencies were anonymous societies, with the purpose of promoting the interests of the bank and had been built with local help. They participated to the capital of different societies and commercial, industrial, mining and agricultural factories, they rented buildings and gave mortgaging loans on short or medium term¹⁷.

After the agencies had been founded, the affairs of The Bank of Commerce enlarged considerably and the social capital increased significantly. Following the evolution their own ways of exploiting (social capital and reserved funds), during 1899-1914, one could see an obvious increase. At only one year of existence, the social capital of the bank was raised from 200.000 lei to 1 million lei (in 1899)¹⁸. The progress of the bank determined the shareholders to enlarge their social capital. Thus, the extraordinary general assembly of the shareholders, convoked on March 4th 1907, decided the increasing of the social capital to 2 million lei and on March 17th to 5 million lei¹⁹. In parallel, were also

¹² *The Agency from Drăgășani* started its activity on May 9th 192, after taking the due and debts of the cooperative society “Unirea Comercială” Drăgășani. The bank gave credits to the traders, the ploughmen and farmers from the commune Vaideeni. The first manger mentioned in the archive documents was M. Crețeanu (National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 30/1931, f. 1 and next).

¹³ *The Agency from Turnu-Severin* was founded on 1st of July 1911 and the first banking operations were appeared on 1st of August the same year. The building of the agency was on B-dul Carol, no. 23. The agency enjoyed the faith of the dwellers, thus, until 1981 this realized sales of 1.560.255 lei and had deposits that brought money of 1.669.377 lei. From the beginning and until the First World War, the bank was led by D. Sbenghe, in C. Pajură, T. D. Giurescu, *cited work*, p. 177.

¹⁴ *The Agency from Tg. Jiu* carried on its activity in the building from str. T. Vladimirescu, no. 22, former property of Felix Pogoweltz (National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 11/1927-1936, f. 2).

¹⁵ *The Agency from Corabia* carried on its activity in str. C. A. Rosetti, no. 68, former property of Toma Iliescu. C. Georgescu (director), N. Celnic, Gr. Dimitriu, G. M. Dănescu (head-clerks), took care of the agency (National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 11/1927-1936, f. 2).

¹⁶ *The Agency from Balș* started its activity on 1st of May 1912. It had the main branch on str. Principele Mihai, no. 3. Until the First World War, the activity of the bank was coordinated by: Alex. Crivăț, director, St. I. Șerban, accountant, Grigore Nemțeanu, cashier, M. Oprea și T. Ionescu, clerks (National Archives, Dolj, fund The National Bank of Romania, the branch from Craiova, file 43/1912, f. 1).

¹⁷ National Archives, Gorj, fund Camera de Comerț și Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry) branch Tg. Jiu, file 6/1931-1948, f. 4.

¹⁸ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Jean Mihail Foundation, file 423/1899-1926, f. 84.

¹⁹ National Archives, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 1/1899-1948, f. 6.

increased the reserved funds. If in 1900 the reserved fund was of 64.554 lei, at the end of 1913 it became 4.970.899 lei²⁰.

The main source for the bank's capital was the deposits that brought in more money. For the savings deposited in custody, the bank offered, until the First World War, an interest of 5-6%²¹. The sums deposited to bring money had been increased from 208.569 lei, valuable in 1899, to 1.246.872 de lei in 1900. Being in a regular ascension, these sums of money increased in the next years, as following: in 1903 to 3.373.560 lei, in 1907 represented six times over the social capital, therefore 12.359.246 lei and in 1913 the deposits came to 40.439.972²².

The most frequent form of credit, activated by a bank, both in the rural and urban sides of the country was the mortgaging loan, given on 2, 3, 5, 10 or maximum 20 years with an interest that varied between 9-11%²³. The mortgages consisted of land, houses, vineyards, forests and different plantations. The applicant was obliged to present previously to the bank many documents, in this way the loan being able to be activated. Thus, the property was supposed to be registered in the land registry, the applicant need to present the documents that proved the fact that he is the owner of a building and didn't have any obligations to other credit institutions. From the archive documents, we find that this type of loaning was mostly requested by the peasants. The dweller from Valea Boului, Stoenesti, Stoina, Slăvuța, Țânțăreni, unsatisfied by the credits given by the rural popular banks, appealed to the credit given by The Bank of Commerce²⁴. With the loans from the bank, the peasants from this county and not only, built houses, bought tools, animals, seeds etc. As regarding the evolution of these loans, we can observe that: in 1900 they represented 641.190 lei and in 1913 they went to 19.347.219 lei²⁵.

Until the breaking out of the First World War, The Bank of Commerce, credited certain industrial, commercial and land factories, obtaining important benefits after using its capital in these directions. The need of affiliation was dictated by the operations of the bank itself that were limited not only to the perimeter of the city Craiova from Dolj County. Thus, in 1901 was founded, at the initiative of C. Neamțu, The Bank of Calafat, with a social capital of 150.000 lei. The Bank of Commerce participated at the subscription of this capital and was represented in the administration board by C. Neamțu (president) and N. Mihăilescu (member)²⁶. In 1908, The Bank of Commerce participated to the founding of the Bank of Tg. Jiu, society founded on the initiative of Constantin

²⁰ C. Neamțu, *Banca Comerțului din Craiova*, Craiova, 1939, p. 12.

²¹ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 9/1920, f. 4.

²² C. Neamțu, *cited work*, p.12.

²³ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 41/1914, f.1-2.

²⁴ *Ibid*, file 19/1926, f. 101-176, file 20/1926, f. 220-232.

²⁵ C. Neamțu, *cited work*, p. 12.

²⁶ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Calafat, file 1/1923-1929, f. 67.

M. Dănăricu²⁷. On July 10th 1909, 32 traders from Drăgășani subscribed a social capital of 200.000 lei, laying the foundation of the Bank of Drăgășani from Vâlcea County. To the subscription of the capital also participated The Bank of Commerce²⁸. Other affiliated banks were: *Prima Casă de Păstrare din Timișoara*, founded in 1945, for banking commerce; *Cassa de Păstrare S.P.A. Petroșani*, founded in 1901, having as activity the bank commerce²⁹.

The economical development of the country imposed the increasing of the traffic, not only by land but also by sea, and, because The Romanian Maritime Service didn't correspond to the real necessities of the maritime transportations, was founded, in 1913, The Romanian Society of Maritime Navigation from Bucharest. The founding of it, led to the creation of the navigation society of Danube. It was therefore founded: *Societatea S.R.D.*, to which The Bank of Commerce participated with a capital of 500.000 lei³⁰.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, 80% from the population of The Romanian Old Kingdom produced clothes for their needs. The Romanian market lacked the raw material (there was produced only flax, hemp and wool) and the workers didn't have a specialization. Around 1900, The Bank of Commerce participated to the Factory Kasper&Herbert, industrial unit that produced frieze and addressed to the needs of the rural population³¹. In 1902, it was destroyed in a fire. At the date of the fire, The Bank of Commerce invested here, a capital of 414.143 lei. In order to rehabilitate the factory was necessary a capital of 500.000 lei, the most important creditor being also The Bank of Commerce³². Until the First World War, *Fabica de postav Oltenia* (The cloth factory from Oltenia) – the name after the rehabilitation – produced military cloths³³.

As regarding the alimentary industry, The Bank of Commerce participated, in 1909, to the founding of the society *Mercur S. A. Craiova*, a sparkling water factory³⁴.

In the year the First World War broke out, the bank had 909 shareholders from the localities where their agencies functioned³⁵. With reference to the resulting evolution during 1914-1918, this was:

²⁷ National Archives, Gorj, fund The Bank Tg. Jiu, file 2/1938, f. 7.

²⁸ National Archives, Dolj, fund Camera de Comerț și Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry), file 6/1931-1948, f. 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ ****The Bank Marmorosch Blank&Co. 1848-1923*, 1923, 104-105.

³¹ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 27/1913, f. 6.

³² *Ibid.*, f. 1-3.

³³ *Ibid.*, f.10.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, file 23/1916, f. 1.

The year	The social capital	Reserved funds	Credits for clients	Deposits that brought money	The net benefit
1914	7.818.000	6.709.190	8.708.547	35.745.456	1.006.001
1915	7.831.500	7.000.000	7.194.114	34.669.801	1.051.127
1916/ 1918	9.500.000	8.303.536	7.315.456	36.780.722	3.000.365

At the end of 1914, the bank had its own capital (social capital and reserved funds) of 14.527.090 lei, credits of over 8 million lei, deposits of over 35 million lei and a profit of 1 million lei. After the breaking out of the War, its own capital increased with 21%, the credits decreased with 15% and the deposits increased with 3%. In our opinion, after analyzing these situations, it results that The Bank of Commerce was a solid bank, permanently preoccupied by the discovery of new resources and investors. In the same time, the growth of the profit resulted from the increasing of the interests and the commissions.

During 1915-1916, the bank activated only few months and during 1917-1918 in the central agency from Craiova none of the banking operations were carried on anymore. The activity of the bank was resumed at the end of 1918 when, as regarding the fulfilment of the economic purposes that the bank had previously established, the society desired to make some modifications in the policy of capital. Thus, in 1920, in the 23rd year of functioning, The Bank of Commerce from Craiova presented a capital of 30 million lei and, only few months later, on March 1921, the administration board decided to increase the capital to 60 million lei. With this capital, the bank functioned until 1928, when the general assembly decided the growing to 100 million lei³⁶.

For the proper capitalization of the local agricultural and industrial products, The Bank of Commerce supported, after the First World War too, the industrial, commercial and financial factories from Oltenia. From all the banks that benefit by the credit of the Bank of Commerce, we mention here: The Bank of Băilești, The Credit Bank of Piatra Neamț, The Commercial Credit Bank of Pitești, The Central Bank from Ploiești, The Bank of Commerce and Industry from Pitești, The Bank of Credit from Dolj, The Bank of Calafat, The Bank of Dolj, The Bank of Dobrogea, The Bank of Jiu, The People's Bank of Băilești, The Bank of Tg. Jiu etc³⁷.

Using the method of the participation, The Bank of Commerce supported the development of some important industrial factories, among which: *Fabrica de cherestea Filiași* (The Timber Factory from Filiași); *Fabrica de postav Munca din Craiova* (The Cloth Factory "Munca" from Craiova)³⁸; *Moara Victoria* (The Mill

³⁶ C. Neamțu, *cited work*, p. 12.

³⁷ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 9/1920, f. 1-23.

³⁸ *Ibid*, file 9/1925-1948, f. 3.

Victoria); *Uzina Electrică Craiova* (The Power station from Craiova)³⁹; *Concordia Craiova*, founded in 1919, for the reparations of the agricultural machinery and cars⁴⁰; Clădirea S.A, founded in 1920⁴¹, for the exploitation of its own buildings⁴²; *Fabrica de cărămidă Cernele* (The Brick Factory from Cernele)⁴³; *Societatea Traiul* (The Society Traiul)⁴⁴, founded in 1923⁴⁵; *Uzinele Chimice Române* (The Romanian Chemical Factories), București, founded in 1920, for the manufacturing of rubber products; *Librăria Românească "Jiul Cultural"* (The Romanian Bookshop "The Cultural Jiu") from Petroșani, founded in 192; The commercial society of wines from Drăgășani; the industrial factory Patria; *Fabrica de oțet Orșova* (The Vinegar Factory from Orșova)⁴⁶; V. T. Oroveanu, Cereal mill, Craiova; "*Frații Cumpănașu*", the Factory of Salami and Sausages from Craiova; *The Society "Astra"* from Arad; The tannery-Petroșani; Edilitatea; *Fabrica de paste făinoase* (The pasta factory) from Craiova; *Fabrica de Cherestea* (The Timber Factory) from Tg. Jiu; The mill Bârsești-Gorj; Cuptor-Tg. Jiu⁴⁷.

Along with The Bank Blank, The Discount Bank and The Mining Society, The Bank of Commerce participated to the founding of the society *Techirghiol S.A.* Bucharest, founded on April 20th 1920, with the purpose of building in Techirghiol sanatoriums, public baths and hotels. In 1920 too, it participated to the founding of the society Petroșani, anonymous society for the exploitation of the coal mines, and of the society Lupeni⁴⁸. In the same year, was founded *Construcția Modernă*, in Bucharest, with a capital of 20 million lei. At the subscription of this capital participated many other banks, among which The Bank of Commerce. *The Radio-Romanian (Marconi)* society from Bucharest, created in 1920, with a capital of 6 million lei, with the purpose of producing and commercializing many materials, devices and telegraphic and telephonic installations with wire and wireless and any other industry and electric exploitation. On August 1921, it merged with the Radio-Electric society and appeared The Radio-Romanian Society, enlarging the capital, after the 12

³⁹ *Ibid*, file 6/1923, f. 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, file 1/1899-1948, f. 13.

⁴¹ National Archives, Gorj, fund Camera de Comerț și de Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry), branch Tg. Jiu, file 6/1931-1948, f. 7.

⁴² National Archives, Dolj, fund The National Bank of Romania, Craiova, file 41/1912, f. 30.

⁴³ National Archives, fund Camera de Comerț și de Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry), file 67/1931, f. 1.

⁴⁴ The anonymous society "Traiul" from Craiova was founded in 1923 to make and sell bakery products, with a social capital of 2 million, in *Gazeta Craiovei*, no. 48/Friday July 20th 1923, p. 3.

⁴⁵ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 5/1920, f. 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, file 1/1899-1948, f. 13.

⁴⁷ V. Slăvescu, *Organizația de credit a României*, Bucharest, 1922, p. 97-98.

⁴⁸ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 5/1926, f. 3.

million fusions. In 1921 the society had two representations: The firm Marconi's Wireless and Compagnie Générale de Télégraphie sans fil from Paris. The social capital was subscribed by: *Banca Țărănească* (The Villagers' Bank), *The Bank of Commerce* from Craiova, *Banca Națiunii* (The Bank of the Nation), *Banca de Scont* (The Bank of Discount) and The Blank Bank⁴⁹.

The development of the activity from this institution with Romanian capital results from the dynamic of its financial resources during the period of time 1921-1928:

Resources	1921	1922	1923	1925	1926	1928
Social capital	60.000.000	60.000.000	60.000.000	60.000.000	60.000.000	100.000.000
Reserved funds	57.015.590	58.619.892	60.643.407	64.806.691	67.159.430	100.696.891
Account current of the clients	166.708.513	178.570.706	217.551.023	276.330.628	256.887.030	407.268.577
Deposits that brought money	119.653.899	160.106.373	151.686.543	355.294.670	355.640.135	514.996.674

From the data mentioned above, we can see that, during the analyzed period, the resources increased after growing the reserved funds, the obligations in creditors and the deposits that brought money. All these increases are proves for the extension of the activity and the confidence The Bank of Commerce enjoyed. The faith of the clients in the activity of the bank could be also observed through the fact that numerous banks and factories from Romania bought The Bank of Commerce's shares. Thus, in 1928 among the important share holders were: *Banca Marmorosch* – The Marmorosch Bank (with 1876 shares); *Banca Românească* – The Romanian Bank, București (898); Bank of Roumania (463); *Banca Chrissoveloni* – The Chrissoveloni Bank (187); *Banca de Credit Român* – The Romanian Bank of Credit (127); *Banque Belge* (110); *Banca Franco-Română* – The French-Romanian Bank (22); *Banca Dacia Traiană* (50); *Banca Generală a Țării Românești* – The General Bank of Wallachia (250); *Banca Viticolă a României* – The Viticultural Bank of Romania (38); *Clădirea S.A. Craiova* (1.000)⁵⁰ etc.

The economic crisis during 1929-1933 was a world-wide phenomenon that took different shapes, ranging from one country to another. In this period manifested concomitantly the financial crisis, the social crisis, the commercial exchanges crisis and the production crisis. Because its amplexity, intensity and duration, the crisis had a very acute character, manifesting through the mass dismissals of the workers and functionaries, the decrease of the wages, the growth of the fiscal obligations, the worsening of the living standard etc.

The years 1929-1933 leaved the mark, negatively, on Oltenia too. The crisis encompassed all the branches of the agriculture where there had been registered reductions of both the sown surfaces and the production. Lacking the

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, file 17/1927, f. 49.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, file 41/1928, f. 3 and next.

credit and stricken by the high price of the transportation taxes, the industry knew hard times during the period of economic crisis. Without the needed capitals and the raw material, the metallurgical industry suffered, the tanning industry covered only the local needs, the mills didn't bring profit, the furniture factories reduced their production, the cloth and fabric factories ceased their activity and the small unities worked only two-three days a week.

Having the profile preponderantly agricultural, the banks from Oltenia felt the effects of the economic crisis. Difficult moments experienced *The Bank of Commerce* too, of which agencies registered important losses. The society had to deal with the liquidation of The Bank of Vânu from Mehedinți County and of The Bank of Jiu⁵¹, at which it was the main stockholder. In the same time The Factory of Tiled Stoves from Cernele, the property of the Bank, ceased its activity, the building being hired, starting from 1935, with 36.000 lei a year⁵². The economic crisis also affected the activity in The Cloth Factory "Munca", another property of the Bank, this building being as well hired, with 300.000 lei a year⁵³. In 1932, the administration board of The Bank of Commerce faced a difficult decision: that of giving away the shares from the society Steaua Română. Until September 27th 1935, The Romanian Bank and The Romanian Credit Bank from Bucharest took the possession of the shares.

The breaking out of the Second World War brought major changes in the banking and credit system from Oltenia. The Bank of Commerce sought to regulate the financial operations, according to the directives imposed by The Superior Banking System, as concerning the remaking of the credit. In consequence, after 1940, it gave long term credits for the farmers (on maximum 2 years) and the priests, teachers and clerks from the urban localities (on maximum 10 years)⁵⁴.

As for the financial domain, at the end of 1941, the society participated to the next credit institutions: *Prima Casă de Păstrare din Timișoara*, of which shares, The Bank of Commerce had 41.667, with a value of 20.833.500 lei, *Casa de Păstrare Petroșani*; where it had, on December 31st 1941, 20.000 shares with a value 10 million lei; *Banca Calafatului* (The Bank of Calafat), at the same date, it had 15.400 shares with a value of 7.700.000 lei; *Banca Motrului Strehaia* (The Bank of Motru Strehaia), at the end of 1941, from a capital of 3.872.500 lei, 2.565.000 lei representing 25.650 shares were subscribed to The Bank of Commerce; *Banca Drăgășani* (The Bank of Drăgășani), in 1941, The Bank of Commerce had 500 shares here, with a value of 250.000 lei⁵⁵.

⁵¹ National Archives, Dolj, fund The National Bank of Romania, Craiova, file 41/1912, f. 30.

⁵² National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 1/1935, f. 8.

⁵³ *Ibid*, file 9/1925-1948, f. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, f. 47.

⁵⁵ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 1/1935, f. 6.

As regarding the industrial, commercial and the alimentary domains, on December 31st 1941, The Bank of Commerce participated at: *Societatea Petroșani*⁵⁶ (The Society Petroșani); The commercial society of wines from Drăgășani, the industrial factory Patria; The vinegar factory from Orșova⁵⁷; *Societatea S.R.D.*, where it had 4.124 shares, with a nominal value of 2.062.000 lei; *Creditul pentru întreprinderi Electrice*, Buchaest (it had 7.010 shares with a value of 3.505.000 lei); *Clădirea S.A. Craiova*, where it had 14.182 shares with a value of 7.091.000 lei⁵⁸; from the capital of 8 million lei that it had on December 31st 1941 at the society Concordia, 5.373.000 lei was subscribed by The Bank of Commerce, that had 53.732 shares⁵⁹; at *Mercur S.A. Craiova*, the bank had 5.272 shares that valued no less than 2.636.000 lei; at the *Uzinele Chimice Române* (The Chemical Romanian Factory), on December 1941, 2.400 shares belonged to The Bank of Commerce; at *Techirghiol S.A.* Bucharest, at the end of 1941, The Bank of Commerce had 1.000 shares, with a nominal value of 375.000 lei.

On August 31st 1945, *The Bank of Commerce* had a social capital of 100 million lei and a reserved fund of 30.115.232 lei⁶⁰. The bank had agencies at Corabia (with funds of 5.263.360 lei); Caracal (8.555.401 lei); Tg. Jiu (1.882.128 lei); Turnu Severin (9.547.101 lei); Drăgășani (3.598.272 lei); Balș (2.539.567 lei) and a branch at Bucharest (24.557.115 lei)⁶¹. The society obtained important sums of money, on that date, from the shares owned at The National Bank of Romania, The Industrial National Credit, The Romanian Bank, The Society Govora - Călimănești, Petrol – Govora and Radiodifuziune. We have found the same data registered in the balance sheet from March 31st 1948, after this date the bank going into liquidation.

Seen from the perspective of a long period of time, the history of an institution becomes relevant if its deeds had a weight in the life of the community that created it. As a consequence, the age must be followed by permanently taking upon itself the role of an agent that stimulates the progress, role that The Bank of Commerce played indeed. The results of the operations proved themselves profitable for the shareholders of the bank and demonstrated the stable support that the bank offered especially to the commercial businesses and generally to the national economy. The financial ways that it used, situated it among the top places in our financial affairs.

⁵⁶ National Archives, Gorj, fund Camera de Comerț și de Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry), branch Tg. Jiu, file 6/1931-1948, f. 7.

⁵⁷ National Archives, Dolj, fund The Bank of Commerce, file 1/1899-1948, f. 13.

⁵⁸ National Archives, Gorj, fund Camera de Comerț și de Industrie Craiova (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry), branch Tg. Jiu, file 6/1931-1948, f. 7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ National Archives, Dolj, fund The National Bank of Romania, Craiova, file 146/1945, f. 7.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, f. 1.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ON DECEMBER 1937 IN OLTENIA COUNTY*

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Abstract: In this paper we present two principal issues. In first part of the paper, we present the election campaign realized by local organizations of the main Romanian parties engaged in competition, the focus being on the actions of Legionary Movement. The sources used for documentation are, especially, confidential reports and bulletins elaborated in that period by the Regional Inspectorate of Gendarmes Craiova. In the second part of the paper, we present the results of the Parliament election, the accent being set on the options of the Oltenian electorate. Thru this paper, we want to integrate the political local events in the national history and to fill a blank space in the speciality literature.

Keywords: Parliamentary elections, Oltenia, Romanian electorate, political parties.

On 1937 Romanian democracy was in full process of degradation. That situation reflected, mainly, the result of King's Carol II actions and his collaborators, actions started on 1930 and pursued in the following period. Between 1930 and 1937, on Romania political scene, major movement took place. This way, in interior of major democratic political parties – National-Liberal Party and National-Peasant Party – tensions and repeated ruptures appeared, and their attempts to oppose King's authoritative plans had, especially after 1934, just a formal character, with no results. Prodictatorial political parties, especially Legionary Movement (represented from 1935 by political formation “Totul pentru Țară” – All for the Fatherland), knew a considerable ascension, phenomenon partially allowed by the King itself (the rupture between the King and the legionaries took place on January 1937), who wanted to create a favourable climate to install a personal regime. The executive power grew against the legislative power, especially because Gheorghe Tătărescu's liberal government (January 4, 1934 – November 17, 1937) was receptive to King's

* The study represents part of the doctoral research named „Royal Residency of Olt County (1938-1940)”, in progress in Craiova University, Faculty of Socio-Human Science, History Department, thru Project POSDRU/6/1.5/S/14 - „Improving the attractiveness, quality and efficiency of university studies by offering doctoral scholarship”.

Carol II plans to undermine Romanian democracy and becoming a quasi-personal cabinet of the King¹.

Therefore, in seven years King's politics obtain major successes, getting close more and more to fulfilling his objectives. Probably the most important movement was *de facto* increase of the monarchy in the state, because of exceeding by the King of prerogatives given by the Constitution. One proof in this sense is the way of solving the problem of government succession, by forming a new Tătărescu government (November 17 – December 29, 1937) who represented the will of the King². In theory, the main task of this government was to organize new parliament elections, but the program announced in the day of taking the oath was a perspective one, betraying the protagonist's intention of turning it into a long term one.

On November 20, 1937, by royal decree the Parliament was dissolved, and the electoral core was convened for election of the Deputy Assembly on December 20 and the Senate on December 23-28 1937³.

Starting with the 2nd half of November until the end of December, in Romanian political life the main issue was the competition between political parties to obtain the power. The 1937 elections "give the opportunity of a powerful trial of democracy and totalitarianism forces"⁴. On King's suggestion, who wanted to ensure the Government success in elections, the president of Ministerial Council, Gheorghe Tătărescu, concluded, in the name of National-Liberal Party, electoral deals with National-Democrat Party (Nicolae Iorga), Romanian Front (Alexandru Vaida Voievod) and The German Party, the last two known for their antidemocratic position. On the other side, Iuliu Maniu, president of National-Peasant Party, engaged into an open fight against King's Carol the 2nd manoeuvres and, in November 25, he made a nonaggression pact with National Liberal "Georgist" Party (Gheorghe I. Brătianu) and the Legionary

¹ Cristophe Midan, *Carol al II-lea și teroarea istoriei 1930-1940*, Romanian version by Daniela Codruța Midan, București, Editura Militară, 2008, p. 18; Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria Românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947)*, IIIst vol., *Carol al II-lea*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, pp. 175-177, 182; *Istoria Românilor*, VIIIst vol., *România întregită (1918-1940)*, Ioan Scurtu (coordinator), secretary: Petre Otu, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, pp. 329-336, 338-362, 368.

² See Apostol Stan, *Ion Mihalache. Destinul unei vieți*, București, Editura Saeculum I.O., 1999, pp. 242-243; Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX (1918-1947)*, București, Editura Paideia, 1999, pp. 329-330; Armand Călinescu, *Însemnări politice 1916-1939*, edition published by Al. Gh. Savu, București, Humanitas, 1990, pp. 357-358.

³ Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *România după Marea Unire*, IIst vol., 2nd part, *noiembrie 1933 – septembrie 1940*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988, p. 724.

⁴ Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947*, translation from English by George G. Potra and Delia Răzdolescu, București, Humanitas, 1996, p. 446.

Movement – Everything for the Country (Corneliu Zelea Codreanu). At this pact adhered also Constantin Argetoianu, president of Agrarian Party⁵.

The nonaggression pact represented, in initiator's opinion, "a deal with the purpose of defending and protect the liberty and fairness of the elections. (...) it means removing violent and denigration actions and language; it does not stops affirmation of own ideology and good faith discussion"⁶. It will be valid only until the end of the elections, the base of the pact being just "the idea for saving the national dignity, ensuring the free and legal affirmation of her voice and *discomfiture of eventual attempts to falsify the national will* (D.P. underlying.)"⁷.

Iuliu Maniu has motivated the electoral agreement from 1937 in the following manner:

Making this agreement was necessary because of the electoral practise used by so called liberal party. All elections organized by the liberal Party have been characterized by corruption, by terror, by the interfering of state's forces and by physical-moral violent acts. (...) The actual government is an arbitrary one, who has falsified the national will, a King's personal government and nothing characterized better this circumstance like the fact that parties with opposed ideologies united to fight against the common danger that threatens the country (...) ⁸.

Therefore, is desired to ensure, trough this pact, the freedom of parliament elections and put a barrier to King's dictatorial ambitions. But this has incite to controversy and confusion in the ranks of members of the political parties the sign it, and, especially, in the ranks of electorate. In fact, the nonaggression pact and the political cartels mentioned above have been pretty unrealistic and did not broth the wanted results. The Legionnaire Movement was the most advantaged the deal with the "Georgist" liberals and the national-peasant has given them an extra credibility and respectability in the ranks of population with right to vote.

The parliament elections in the year 1937 have represented a culmination point in Romanian political life. They offered King Carol II the possibility to speculate the situation created by not obtaining the electorate majority by the ruling party⁹ (National Liberal Party - Dinu Brătianu) for giving the task of

⁵ Ioan Scurtu, *cited work*, pp. 211-212.

⁶ Iuliu Maniu, *Testament moral politic*, Edition by Victor Isac, București, "Gândirea românească" Publishing House, 1991, p. 185.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 183.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 186.

⁹ Results of parliament elections from December 20 have been: National Liberal Party (Dinu Bratianu) obtained 35,92% from expressed votes (152 mandates in Deputy Chamber); National Peasant Party, 20,4% (86 mandates); Everything for the Country, 15,58% (66 mandates), National Christian Party, 9,15% (39 mandates); Hungarian Party, 4,43% (19 mandates); National Liberal Party – Gheorghe Brătianu, 3,89% (16 mandates); Peasant Radical Party, 2,25% (9 mandates), Rest of the votes going to other

forming the government to a party with no authority and without the majority in Parliament, the National Christian Party, and as a extension consequence of the parliament elections, the King could pose, on February 11, 1938, in posture of “saviour” of the country. Under this shield he had accomplished the most important objective, pursued perseveringly for seven years, respectively: installing a personal regime, royal dictatorship, with multiple consequences in Romanian’s history.

Starting from these arguments, our opinion is that the analysis of the political and social situation in Oltenia County created by the 1937 parliament elections is more then welcome mainly because have not been, yet, studied by the specialists. For knowing and analysing the socio-political events that took place in Oltenia County on November – December 1937 very important are the documents kept in local archives, some of them being confidential reports made by the Regional Inspectorate of Gendarmerie from Craiova¹⁰, and also the documents coming from prefect’s office archive.

Setting up, on November 17, 1937, the Tătărescu government was capable of confusing the population, and the main political party’s representative in local organisations.

The public opinion was surprised and disoriented by the outcome of government crises. For most of the population, especially for the intellectuals from the villages and cities, the new government’s structure shows an obvious orientation towards right, cooperation with Vaida’s “revolutionary nationalism” being done not to save the electoral majority, but for completely different reasons: “this pact is just like an infusion of nationalism made to a old organism like liberal party or, more likely, is the first step that is made to consolidate this State from national ethnic point of view”¹¹. Putting together a right government would have never been allowed by the context of Romanian foreign policy and would have never been possible without total reconciliation of all nationalist groups¹².

The game with government’s resignation, the repeated audiences to the King of the Party’s leaders, imposing some conditions for joining the power, using compromises with modifications, all of these has created to the majority of

parties, political groups and independent lists (Mircea Muşat, Ion Ardeleanu, *cited work*, p. 736).

¹⁰ Regional Inspectorate of Gendarme Craiova was a institution that had under control the Gendarmes Legions from Dolj, Gorj, Olt, Mehedinţi, Romanaţi, Vâlcea and Argeş counties, last county not being the object of our research. We specify that, in the areas east of river Olt from counties Olt and Vâlcea are included in historical province Muntenia, we will take into consideration also the information coming from these townships to offer an image as unitary as possible.

¹¹ National Archives, Dolj, fund Regional Inspectorate of Gendarmery from Craiova; file no. 3/1937, f. 1534.

¹² *Ibid*, f. 1503.

the population the feeling that extending the time and kipping the National Liberal Party in government was premeditated. In many occasions, the opposition tried to confirm that truth, but the government did not denied or approved¹³. The population, the leaders of different political organizations, especially the national-peasant, believed that it was a mistake of the leader of National – Liberal Party, Ion Mihalache, that he did not accepted the formation of the government in the formula imposed by the King, living the party in the opposition. It was the hope that, with the change of the ruling par, the financial situation will became better “by decreasing the taxes witch they consider to be to big by compare with their income and the life that have become to unbearable will became cheaper”¹⁴.

The reports from the gendarme legions contain also unrealistic appreciations related to perception of the political events by the population. A suggestive example can be the appreciations that the authorities included in the report of the Gendarmerie Legion Dolj, issued for November 1937:

What is unanimous recognized is the undisputed merit, wisdom and patriotism of H.M.S. King, who could not give to this country, agitated enough, another government without producing a social lack of balance, who could transform in an undeserved intense struggle with serious foreign complications. (...) the program announced by the Prime Minister was received with live satisfaction by all and this way have been saluted with an obvious relief the 3 major problems proposed to be solved by the new government: strengthening and equipping the army, removing the politics from the administrative apparatus and acceleration the task of equipping and rebuild the national economy. Off course – the people are saying – if the actual government would not have behind it, the State of service done by the past 4 years government, we could not look with total confidence, solving the future problems mentioned above. In conclusion, the rural population puts all the hope in today’s government and most of them are decided to support it¹⁵.

The local authorities often inserted in official papers fraises of commendation for any activity and action of the King Carol II. But the compliments about solving the government crises did not reflect the truth about the perception Dolj county population had in the mater, the events in the following period proving that the population will not support the ruling party.

Amongst the local political organizations, the members of National Peasant Party have been without moral and agitated because their party have not been invited to be part of the government, like they expected. They had, still, the

¹³ *Ibid*, f. 1710.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, f. 1722.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, f. 1534-1535.

hope that after the general elections they will get the majority in Parliament and, based on population support, they can claim the power¹⁶.

The electoral campaigns have been officially open on November 19, 1937, when the parliament has been dissolved. In the initial phase, it was pretty calm. The lists of local political organisations have been issued to the electoral bureau, containing only the “heads of the list”, the exception being All for the Fatherland, who issued complete lists. Propaganda using manifests was reducing. In return, popularization of electoral sings was a method used often – “Nothing is respected anymore, the signs are painted using template over night”¹⁷, the most perseverates being the members of All for the Fatherland Party.

The relative calm from the beginning of the campaign was because the leaders of the local organisations have been waiting directives from the centre, especially those regarding the electoral pacts maid in Bucharest.

Also, in initial phase, the local authorities, based on local election results and information gathered from the population, writhe down in reports to be sent to central authorities a series of prognostications for parliament elections. For example, in Dolj county, for the ruling party it was foreseen to obtain 38-40% of the votes, taking into consideration that the percentage could became even higher in the context of nonaggression pact of the opposition, the introduction of the legionnaires that produces a bad impression in electorate ranks; for national-liberal, 28-30%, in conditions of them having many problems in the county, and for national-liberal georgisti, 4-5%, the partisans of this political group condemning their leaders for not making the pact cu old liberals, therefore not having the hope of a soon reconciliation. Regarding the pattern of national-liberal and national-peasant political man from the rural areas, the following quote is very suggestive:

Multiple passings have been made from Peasants to Liberals. The perspective of a new four year government has made many people to think twice. What does that mean? In the rural areas the politic is not made from convictions, is made from interests. All are opportunists. Nobody sais today: I am in this political group because X was solved, good problem for the country and nation. Today you will hear everybody: I will join the Peasants or Liberals because I have 2 children or I have to occupy for them that function or promotion etc. This is politic in the village world. Few are mature enough to understand it in its all meanings¹⁸.

Therefore, politicians in the rural area (the affirmation can be extended to those in urban area also) lack the civic education, their personal interests being

¹⁶ *Ibid*, f. 1567, 1610.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, f. 1535.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, f. 1536.

in front of the country's interests. Being a member of a political party was not the result of the conviction that ideology and actions of that party are the ones giving consistence to their option to be part of an organism thru witch a politician will serve his country, the community he represents, the people that gives him their vote etc. More important was the social position and influence offered by a political function, all these giving the possibility of obtaining easy some personal advantages.

Regarding the legionnaire, their initial start went suddenly to a halt (for the moment) because of the nonaggression pact made by the leaders in Bucharest with national-peasants and national-liberals georgişti. The central legionnaire leadership considered that by signing the pact (the purpose of that was to remove the aggressions during electoral campaign and to fight for abolition of censure and siege state) the other political groups that sign it has recognize the Legionary Movement as force and party, legionnaire in the territory have been disoriented:

It was a political moment understood fundamentally wrong by the Legionars. The effect was immediate. Stupefaction in Legionary world. Then the need for explanations, the Captain declares textual "Our deal can not upset anybody; it is a deal of peace" (...). The unanimous believe is that a mistake was done who sent the legionnaire movement way back and made it to lose popularity. This agreement did not bring any practical winnings because from moral and ideological point of view they will collect only damages (...). People are wandering how these people will rule the country, when they have no political sense and when in fact have no leaders¹⁹.

In this context, the authorities considered that the elections in Dolj County will bring to this party no more then 10-12% from the total of the votes, maybe even less. It was the believe that a good part of the votes reserved for them will go to the national-christian or to the government²⁰.

For the National-Christian Party, the prognostic given by the authorities was at least 12-14% from the total of the votes. On county elections on 1937, the party obtained 16.000 votes in Dolj County that meant a real success for national-christian movement. But, becoming dizzy by the victory they have obtained, until the end of October, the national-christian lost contact with the population, disoriented by the existing divergences between the leaders. In parliament elections perspective, they have organize, on October 31, a rally in "Minerva" garden in Craiova, where more then 800 listeners participated, including delegates from the county. The discussions had nothing new related to main ideas of party's ideology, concentrated on antijew propaganda

¹⁹ *Ibid*, f. 1539.

²⁰ *Ibid*, f. 1540.

(*jidovească*)²¹. Proposals to adhere to the agreement proposed by the national-peasants have been unanimously disapproved, because the following have been considered:

Any agreement with the Peasants will mean a abnegation of an entire past of struggle on the nationalism's barricades. A mixing between these two groups on any considerate will be seen here as a desertion from the straight line of struggle in the service of national idea and the end will only be the downfall²².

With the exception of Dolj County, where the prognostics given by the local authorities have been complete, in the other counties the authorities either not made these kind of provisions or they limited themselves to make appreciations, especially, about the possible success in elections of local organisations of All for the Fatherland Party. Therefore, in Olt County, in Gendarmerie Legion's report for November is written that while the number of local organisation's members is rising, the legionnaire propaganda is unsuccessful for the population because "all the people are cemented between the two parties National-Liberal and National-Peasant and less in the organization of National-Christian party"²³. In Romanați County, it was considered that Everything for the Country "will have chances to succeed because is an untested party and has a promising program of justice desired by the entire population and is the hope that will bring something new in political life, especially in the ranks of the youth will find increased support"²⁴.

On the other hand, the Jews, who were used to vote for the Peasants, were extremely indignant with the pact made by the Peasants with the legionnaire. Some Jews started to look towards the liberals, an option uncomfortable as the previous one because of the cartel made by the ruling party with Nicolae Iorga's Nationalist Democrat Party and Alexandru Vaida Voievod's Romanian Front. Others pushed the idea of separated lists, a more disadvantaged option like the first one because it was considered that "a separate list will increase the conviction that Jew element – even locals – are not willing to be assimilated in Romanian population's mass and they like in this situation to be considered in minority regime"²⁵.

Most of the prognostics made by the local authorities regarding the votes that local political organisations will receive have not been verified by the parliament election's results. This shows, mainly, that political realities in the territory were not known by the authorities as good as they would like.

²¹ *Ibid*, f. 1539.

²² *Ibid*, f. 1540.

²³ *Ibid*, f. 1579.

²⁴ *Ibid*, f. 1592v.

²⁵ *Ibid*.

On the other hand, authorities from Bucharest imposed a series of security measures for the elections. Therefore, on beginning of December 1937, Ministry of Internal Affairs was sending to county prefects a series of instructions regarding the liberty of propaganda of recognized political parties, and also to maintain public order and safety. These had to be issued to authority's prefects under their control. By December 31st, 1937, right to gather was free, according to article 28 from Romanian Constitution²⁶ and to valid instructions. The following were forbidden: night meetings and clandestine ones; marches in paramilitary formations and wear of uniforms in group or individual; participation under any circumstances of school children and students at meetings, manifestations or political propaganda (according to relative dispositions of school children's discipline and art. 15 from the law for completing some dispositions from law of university education from March 24, 1937); showing electoral signs and inscriptions on public buildings; on private ones is allowed only with the consent of the owners and the inhabitants²⁷. Can be considered that most of these instructions were targeting, mainly, limitation of legionnaire's activity in electoral campaign.

These instructions specified that persons from another city, coming with the purpose of making political propaganda had to have on them the member card of that party and had to identify itself to police, administrative and gendarmerie authorities. Also, the weapons can be carried only with a legal permit, but not in public assemblies, gathering of any kind, in electoral buildings or those of public authorities. Identified students of making electoral propaganda – showing or distribution of political manifests, painting electoral signs, holding speeches of electoral interest – had to be recorded on paper issued as soon is possible to Police General Direction. In the case of attacking the Monarchy, the King or members of royal family on a public meeting, the papers written for those persons had to be issued for solving to the *Parchet*. Instructions ended with specification that all those who respected the measures for public safety and order had complete freedom of action. In return, those who break them had to be stopped immediately in the strict limit of the law²⁸.

The prefects have issued ordinances in which they notified the population and persons involved in politics that starting with December 14, 1937 all the

²⁶ The content of art 28 in Constitution from 1923 was: "Romanians, indiscriminate of ethnical origin, language or religion, have the right to meet peaceful and without weapons, in compliance with the laws that regulates the execution of this right, to treat all kind of problems; for that there no need for previous authorisation. Meetings under the open sky are allowed, except markets and public roads. Meetings, processions and manifestations on public roads and public markets are subject to police laws".

²⁷ National Archives, Dolj, fund Dolj county Prefecture, Administrative Department, file no. 434/1937, f. 160.

²⁸ *Ibid*, f. 161.

street manifestations are forbidden. In case of noncompliance the fine 5000 lei if the infraction would happen on urban territory and 500 lei for rural territory²⁹.

In the report issued on December 1937 by Regional Inspectorate of Gendarmerie Craiova, signed by Colonel Emil Broșteanu and major Florian Stoienescu, was specified that political parties have not made a very intense electoral campaign, because of bad condition of the roads the travels into territory being very reduce. From the parties in electoral competition, tree have been more active: National-Liberal Party, the ruling party, has made political propaganda in all the counties in Oltenia, on their meetings numerous people have participated; Everything for the Country was considered the 2nd party who activated day and night on entire territory of Oltenia, his teams went to all the villages and made contact with the population, wining numerous adhesions; National-Peasant Party has situated, in authorities opinion, on 3rd place. Representatives of the rest of the Parties: National-Christian, National-Liberal Georgist, Radical Peasant, Agrarian and Peoples moved harder in territory, their electoral propaganda being seen the least. In big picture, the political propaganda happened in order and, except a few incidents, was considered to be the quietest electoral campaign from all that took place in the last time³⁰.

The action of left and extreme left currents seems to have been disappeared completely. The authorities considered that most of the members and the sympathizers of those movements have joined the right parties, because in their programs they have seen an accomplishment of their aspirations. Especially, the Legionary Movement attracted most of the manufacturers and workers from the cities, this fact being verified with the opportunity of parliament elections³¹.

During electoral campaign, all political organisations in competition made contact with the population, either in different meetings, either by personal contact "from man to man", either by spreading manifests. Each party exposed his program and requested people's vote. The population was dazed and disoriented by the critics and promises made by the politicians. On one side, the one in government bragged with their "achievements" in the last 4 years of ruling, and on the other side the parties in opposition placed the expensive life and all the lacks of society on the actual government. All promised a better life and asked the votes for the organisations they represented³².

²⁹ National Archives, Vâlcea, fund Valcea county Prefecture, file no. 38/1937, file 110.

³⁰ National Archives, Dolj, Fund Regional Inspectorate of Gendarme Craiova, file no. 3/1937, f. 1642-1643.

³¹ *Ibid*, f. 1648. Information about the left and extreme left currents are with gaps, incomplete because of the selections done by state authorities in 1947 having as effect destruction of documents with fascist and/or anti-soviet character, according to a note left by exactly those authorities (*Ibid*, f. 1647).

³² *Ibid*, f. 1746.

Considering the way electoral propaganda was handled, from the political parties in competition All for the Fatherland distinguished itself. The Romanian Legionars diploid an intense political propaganda, legionnaire teams moving around on entire Oltenia territory, “facing all weather and privations and going across the most remote places and visiting even the isolated houses”³³. Large meetings were not frequent. Such a meeting happened on December 1937, in Craiova, in the garden of “Rio” cinema. Around 1000 members and sympathizers of All for the Fatherland attended, leaders of Legionary Movement spoke to them, like Alexandru Cantacuzino, professor Radu Gyr and others about the Legionary program and about the sacrifices from Spain for the triumph of nationalist cause. Rest of the propaganda was done man to man, from house to house, and also by making contacts with small groups of members and sympathizers³⁴. The teams sent in this purpose showed a methodical organisation of the propaganda and complete discipline³⁵. In the beginning they have tried propaganda with marches, but confronted with the authorities did not allow them this kind of activities because of legal dispositions, they renounce at this system³⁶.

A particularity of Legionary propaganda was introducing a new system meaning propaganda using patephone. Patephone plates, most of them containing the speeches of Captain Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (head of Legionary Movement), were plaid to be listen by those who participated in Legionary meeting, their number being, in average, between 50 and 300³⁷.

Romanian Legionars acted in electoral campaign different by comparison with the representative of the other parties, still fixed in political stereotypes practiced over the years. Therefore, leaders in the counties have run last on electoral lists, because they wanted to remove the mentality according to witch a county was the property of a county leader where this one invested capital only to recover it later from daily allowance, interventions and business. Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, believing in the force of personal example, run not at the top of the list, but de second. In all the counties, he has established the running's without personal interest and without a favour³⁸.

The Legionary propaganda represented an obvious contrast next to electoral propaganda based on pluses or minuses of political parties who in various periods have been in control of the government. The electorate can not place on members of Legionary Movement the lack of achievements or lying attitude towards the people that are about to give them their trust because they

³³ *Ibid*, f. 1649.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁵ *Ibid*, f. 1650.

³⁶ *Ibid*, f. 1749.

³⁷ *Ibid*, f. 1538.

³⁸ National Archives, Vâlcea, fund Vâcea county Prefecture, file no. 37/1937, f. 27.

have never been previous in the ruling structures of the country. On top of that, they came with new strategies for promoting their party, with a new mentality. All of these can explain a part of the success the Everything for the Country Party had in parliament elections.

Although it was the believe that the pact made in Bucharest cu National Peasant Party will decrease the sympathy for this movement, the result of the elections proved the contrary. The vote obtained by the legionnaire got over the most optimist expectations, even those of the Legionary Movement's leaders. Thereby, the votes obtained by the legionnaire in elections for the Chamber placed All for the Fatherland Party on the third place after the liberals and national-peasants. By counties the number of votes has been split in the following way: in Dolj, the legionnaires got 22.109 votes; in Gorj, 8.318; in Mehedinți, 5.429; in Olt, 4.248; in Romanati, 6.437; in Valcea, 6.201. The election results in Dolj County exceeded all expectations, the explanation given by the authorities was that many votes have been given to legionnaire by the partisans of other political parties who showed this way their discontent towards their own parties³⁹. The same officialises considered that, although have reached the higher level of votes in their existence, the real number, for Dolj county, was a lot higher, it could have reached 30.000, if they take into consideration the minor sympathizers and those who did not vote⁴⁰.

Regarding the exact results obtained by the other political parties in competition, they are specified only partial in the documents we have studied for counties Gorj, Olt, Mehedinți and Romanati, these being limited to results obtained in elections by the legionnaire, government or to appreciations of the authorities regarding the parties in opposition in general. Complete data have been written in reports for counties Dolj and Valcea. Of course the numbers are important, but we consider far more important the information's regarding the causes of losing the elections by the Government.

The election results for the Chamber, on December 20, in Valcea county was: Government obtained 18.958 from expressed votes; National-Peasant Party, 16.298; All for the Fatherland, 6.201; National-Liberal Georgist Party, 2.358; National-Christian Party, 855; Radical-Peasant Party, 2.041; Agrarian Party, 931; Peoples Party, 275, and in those for the Senate on December 22: Government 10.392; National-Peasant Party, 7.288; Georgists, 897; All for the Fatherland, 2.138 votes⁴¹.

In Dolj County, the results for the Chamber have been: Government, 30.831; National-Christian Party, 7.925; Georgists, 7.817; National-Peasant Party, 17.038; Independent, 969; Agrarian Party, 3.755; Radical-Peasant Party,

³⁹ National Archives, Dolj, fund Regional Inspectorate of Gendarme Craiova, file no. 3/1937, f. 1650.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, f. 1682.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, f. 1747.

1.263; Peoples Party, 562; Independent, 53; Independent, 87, and in the Senate: National-Liberal Party, 17,038; National-Liberal Georgist Party, 3.494; National-Peasant Party, 8.699; National-Christian Party, 1.689; All for the Fatherland, 9.255 votes⁴².

According to election results for the Chamber from December 20, in Gorj county, All for the Fatherland was the second after ruling party National-Liberal Party, who got 20.101 votes (on July, 1937 in county elections obtained just 16.546, still his popularity was down from the 1933 elections). Rest of the opposition has lost a number of their voting people who voted for All for the Fatherland. The number of votes received in Gorj County by the opposition parties was reduced to half since the county elections from July the same year⁴³.

Options of oltenian electorate, expressed thru votes given to different political parties, have been determined by a series of general and local discontents. In Oltenia's locality's severe problems existed, ignored over the years, more or less, by every party in government. Decrease of popularity of the local organisations of the two parties considered, traditionally, democratic – National-Liberal Party and National-Peasant Party – can be better understand by description of some of the frequent realities in Oltenia.

One of the biggest problems was considered the deplorable situation of the roads, most of them being impracticable, and in rainy times the access to communes was impossible. In commune Moșătești (Dolj county), the villagers reproached the prefect this situation when he came to ask their votes: "Do you like Mister Prefect the roads: now you come to ask for our votes?"⁴⁴.

Other discontents were related to pore local administration, witch cause o series of problems. There were only a few mayors onsets, most of them being "recruited from the worst people of the villages. People without scruples who have been in all parties, some of them with penal convictions..."⁴⁵. Administration system, way of spending the public money was relay hated, and control was nothing but fiction, commune's budgets being made to satisfy the personal interest of mayors and their partisans. In the same time, the communes were in ruins, no initiative was taken, and everything was done just in form:

Unpaid staffs, bad roads in commune, broken bridges, fights between intellectuals, total lack of respect towards authority, chaos in everything.

There is no commune without politic and where we see the village split in political groups. The saloon gathers all, takes their minds and the murder is set⁴⁶.

⁴² *Ibid*, f. 1681.

⁴³ *Ibid*, f. 1689.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, f.1679.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

In the same time, the prestige and authority of order organisms, especially of Gendarmerie, were quite low, and that makes it harder to fulfil the duties:

If one gendarme intervenes and enforces the law, is transformed in oppressor. The sleazebags are prepared to go and whisper to Prefect that the gendarmes only persecute their people. Perhaps none of the administrative and police institution is more expose to interventions and vexations of all kind, like the gendarmes.

During the last elections we had so many interventions for relocation from one place to the other, that, if somebody stood against them, there will not be left any employees in their place⁴⁷.

In Dolj County, during elections, the gendarmes have been accused of being legionnaire, one report being made at the Prefecture against the Commandant of Gendarme Legion Dolj, Major Istrati George, and “his legionnaire”, the gendarmes under his command. Commandant considered: “a more ridiculous situation like this one has never been heard and that shows how ungifted they are (*informed* – our emphasis) those who are on top of the county’s when they appreciate the things so wrong and without discernment”⁴⁸.

Next to the abuses made by local administration, was the rises of prices for material for first necessity, in general the life was more expensive, without being find by the Government a possibility to solve the situation.

Other situations that provoked discontents to a good part of oltenian population came from the fact that people from administration, priests and teachers got involved in politics:

Priests, Praetors and Teachers have made political propaganda, held meetings, had speeches and made demagogic promises to *a population that proved not to be deceived any longer by such promises* (our emphasis).

The Priests have left their altars; teacher their desks and started the electoral fight, like any paid agent, forgetting their high mission to the State.

(...) They all wonder to get set, and because of that they have lost any ascendant in populations eyes⁴⁹.

In Valcea county, in an address of Prefecture sent, on December 11, 1937, to School Inspectorate, was specified that teacher Marin I. Popescu from commune Fumureni was absent almost everyday from the school and he made propaganda against National Liberal Party⁵⁰. On December 16, 1937, Cultural and Missionary Direction of Râmnicului Noului Severin Episcopy, was sending

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, f. 1679-1680.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, f. 1680.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, f. 1646.

⁵⁰ National Archives, Vâlcea, fund Valcea county Prefecture, file no. 37/1937, f. 16.

an address to Prefecture of Valcea county in which he notified them that disposition has been given that all priests will not be involved in any political agitations, which contravene dispositions given by the Government. Never the less, according to the report of *Pretura plășii* Horezu from December 14, two students from commune Pietrarii de Sus have been surprised by the authorities when transporting electoral manifests of National-Peasant Party addressed to the commune priest⁵¹. Examples could go on, because this kind of situation has been frequent and there are written in documents for other counties to.

Besides the realities described above, have been – in local authority's opinion – other causes that led to losing a significant number of votes by the Government. Thus, in elections from December 1937, there were no more electoral abuses and different pressure made usually on the people that want to vote, "unaware most of the times of his role in public life"⁵². Also, the government people rely on optimistic report and prognostics given by the heads of sectors and left "elections completely free, decreasing this way the government inheritance and allowing the opposition to share it"⁵³.

Loosing such a number of votes by the government happened also because of the way the legionnaire did their electoral propaganda, the most intense by compares with the other political parties in competition. Suggestive in this sense are the appreciations made by the local authorities:

Only the agents of Everything for the Country party have been loyal (*honest – n.n*) in propaganda, is true they did not had to brag with a past political activity, because they were for the first time in political arena, but by fact that, in most of these cases they did not asked the votes for themselves, provoking a big curiosity and perplexity in the people. That curiosity made them listening and *pay more attention to what they say* (our emphasys.).

Promising an honest administration, using the public money in an honest manner, addressing to them and conversations only (with) people that can understand, only honest, hard working, not drunks, not political emigrants, provoked interest (...) and the support was given to them⁵⁴.

Contrary to the system until then, the followers of All for the Fatherland Party did not provoked anybody and they avoided any conflict, and when they were provoked, they report any incident to the authorities, despite the fact that

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, f. 17, 19.

⁵² National Archives, Dolj, fund Regional Inspectorate of Gendarme Craiova, file no. 3/1937, f. 1711.

⁵³ *Ibid*, f. 1712.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

they could have responded to provocations⁵⁵. Also, on the election day they came to the voting place in perfect order and discipline⁵⁶.

In contrast with the interest shown to legionnaire propaganda, population attending at different political meeting was listening; generally, with no interest what traditional politicians were promising, without making any comments and without showing any predilection towards any political organisation⁵⁷. The reluctant attitude manifested by the population came from conviction that regardless of the ruling party the taxation will not be diminished nor will be taken measures to improve life⁵⁸.

During parliament elections in December 1937 a change was seen in oltenian population's mentality, authorities considering that "it should be taken into consideration in the future". Suggestive in this sense are the notes kept in confidential reports of Regional Inspectorate of Gendarmerie Craiova:

Indeed, although apparently the rural population showed indifference next to all political manifestations in the last time, this fact means exactly a disapproval of the system used until now by the Romanian politician, who promise everything during electoral campaign and accomplish nothing of what he propose when he will be in charge of the country.

Everybody has seen that and is no need to be demonstrated⁵⁹.

Just that misbelieve, perpetuated over the years by lack of interest towards the promises made to the people in electoral campaign, led to those surprising results for National-Liberal Party and National-Peasant Party. Nobody would ever imagine that a party with tradition and authority would suffer such a failure without precedent in Romanian political history⁶⁰.

Another situation that shows a change of mentality was the fact that electoral campaign was done in calm and order, the population demonstrating an unusual reserve in this kind of circumstances, and small and few incidents appeared have not been noticed by compares with the violent acts done in past elections.

In election day the population presented - contrary to tradition – like a real "mute sea". Have not been the demonstrations from the past, with plenty of alcohol, with biting, crimes and abuses from authorities. *Each voted how he wanted and did not reviled his thought, when he was asked. It seems that this fact is the result of an ad(-)hoc education given by the legionnaire leadership to his*

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, f. 1713.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, f. 1652.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, f. 1688.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, f. 1722.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, f. 1636.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

*members, who became contagious to a good part of the population (our emphasis)*⁶¹.

The biggest surprise was the change of the government, because of not getting the majority in the Chamber by the National-Liberal Party and putting Octavian Goga, head of National Christian Party, in charge with forming the government, with collaboration of “centers” from National-Peasant Party. The authorities expressed the rural population reaction in the following manner: “It was a lightning strike, in the middle of insecurity that took over every body and a deep satisfaction brot to public sentiment, which vibrates with a powerful nationalism in this region”⁶². The 20th December was a surprise also in urban area in Oltenia County, where almost half of the votes went to All for the Fatherland Party, rest of the votes being divided between the rest of the parties. Intellectual population from the cities received with happiness the news of ascending to power of National-Christian Party and the ruling program they have announced, especially solving the prices and black market problems find approval with urban population⁶³. Besides the national-peasant organisations, who remained loyal to Iuliu Maniu, rest of the political parties made no opposition to the new government⁶⁴. Regarding approval by the population of Goga’s government, this has to be looked with reservation, because was normal for the local authorities not to criticize the King’s decisions in written documents. But the fact that National Christian Party received few votes by compares with the other parties, shows reduced popularity in population’s ranks of the new ruling party.

Regarding the position of Legionnaire Movement, although he reaches with the occasion of parliament elections maximum of intensity and obtain the highest number of votes from his existence, legionnaire central leadership, knowing his limits, did not thing in coming to power, for now. They had the believe that the events of after the end of national-christian mandate will definitely indicate the for ruling the country⁶⁵.

The parliament elections from December 1937 can be seen as a test with political parties, weakened and severed because of internal tensions, lost it. Also, can be said that the options of oltenian electorate have been determinate, not by a state of disorientation, but by the high level of saturation next to the politics shown by the political parties who ruled the country in the past.

Their results demonstrated, therefore, a maturity of the electorate, his options showing clearly that demagogy, used on a large scale over time by the representative of liberals, peasants and other parties, can no longer be a

⁶¹ *Ibid*, f. 1637.

⁶² *Ibid*.

⁶³ *Ibid*, f. 1645.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, f. 1646.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, f. 1652.

conviction element for winning population's trust, who had enough of traditional political games.

Also, the parliament elections from December 1937 represented a test for Legionnaire Movement to, and All for the Fatherland Party successfully past it, although the party was "popularized" by the adversary as being extremist. A good part of Oltenia's population with voting right give trust to this organisation just because it came with new element of propaganda, conduit and action, representing a plus of credibility also the fact that have not been "compromised" by former rulings.

These elections demonstrated that just theoretical promotion of some democratic principles are not enough, but more important are the facts. Any democratic regime loses his substance if the welfare of the population is left last just by those elected to represent them in leadership institutions of the state. Of course, can appear voices to sustain that responsible for degradation of democratic system is king Carol the 2nd, but a good part of guilt belongs to those who, guided by personal interests and ambitions, forgot the main role they should play on Romanian political scene: defend the Romanian democracy with religious believe and, implicitly, the interest of Romanian's citizens.

THE CROWN DOMAIN AT THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (1884-1948)

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Abstract: Through the participation at exhibitions, the Romanian products issued from the Royal Estate had the chance to enter and be known on international markets. It testified by so many requests over time for acquiring some products, especially wooden products and wine. The international exhibition from Paris in 1900 has been a success for the Royal Estate of Romania, as it evidenced by the receipt of 21 medals. Starting with this year, this institution has been regularly present to all international exhibitions where Romania was invited to exhibit. We could note in this regard the exhibitions from Lemberg - Ukraine (1925), Warsaw - Poland (1929), New - York - SUA (1938).

Keywords: Romanian Crown Domain, the international exhibitions, Paris, New York.

The Romanian presence at the international exhibitions was registered starting with the second half of the 19th century. Preponderantly agricultural country, but having important performances in this economic branch and also in the traditional household industry, where Romanian made itself noticed at the Brussels exhibition from 1897 when it was, because of the awarded prices, on the 17th place among the countries in Europe and on the 25th place in the world classification¹. Among the main commercial partners of Romania we must mention Belgium, France, Austro-Hungary, Italy, England, Turkey, Germany, Russia, Holland and Switzerland. Starting with this year, Romania became a constant presence at the international exhibitions organized during the between-wars period, both on the European continent and in the United States of America.

The exhibition from Paris, at the end of the 19th century, the first international exhibition the Crown Domain attended, paved the way of this institution for the international and universal exhibitions where, not few times it was noticed.

¹ Laurențiu Vlad, *Propagandă și identitate. România la Expozițiile universale belgiene, 1897-1935*, București, Editura Arta Grafică, p. 34.

Instituted through a presidential decree, emitted on July 13th 1892², the exhibition organized at the confluence of the two centuries, wished to be a “synthesis” of the 19th century and a landmark for the evolution of the new century. The inauguration was made on April 15th 1900 by the president of France, Émile Loubet and reunited, on a surface of 230 hectares, 41 countries, from four continents³ (see Figure 1).

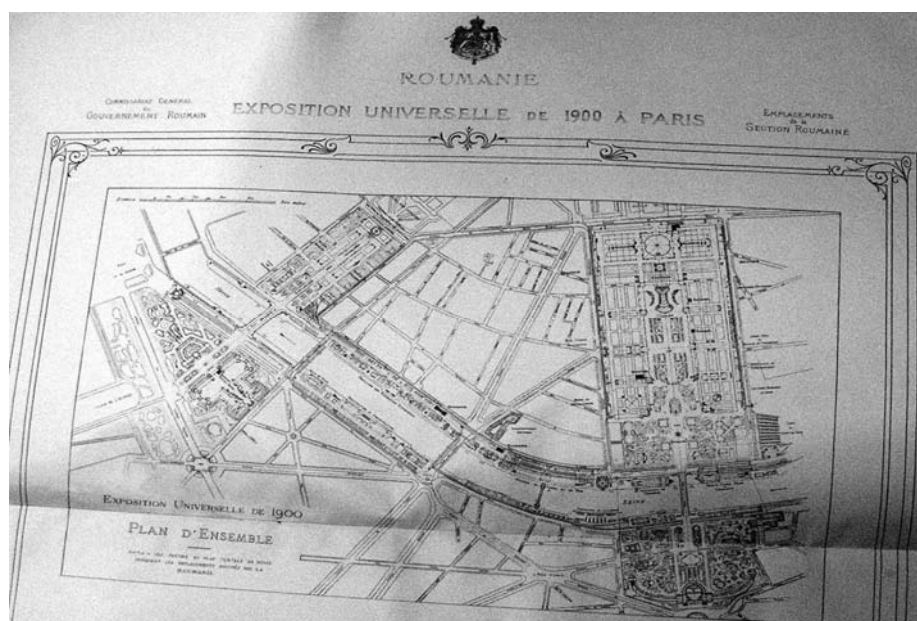


Fig.1. General plan of the exhibition

Romania received the invitation to participate in 1895, but the refusal of Ioan Kalinderu to be appointed General Commissar, delayed the official answer until 1898. Yet, The Crown Domain Administrator was a member of the Consultative Central Commission of the exhibition.

On March 1898, the Parliament voted the law through which the Agriculture, Commerce, Industry and Domains Ministry authorized the spending of 1.300.000 lei for the participation of our country to the exhibition and organized, through a Regulation of the public administration, the special service for the preparation of the activities. Article 2 from the regulation stipulated the organization of exhibitions of the Crown Domain' Ministries and of different public administrations by each Minister or administration.

² Laurențiu Vlad, *Imagini ale identității naționale. România la expozițiile universale și internaționale de la Paris (1867-1937)*, 2nd edition revised and enlarged, Iași, Institutul European, 2007, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The initiative regarding the participation took place in the same time with the continuous dispute between the conservatives and the liberals, the firsts being discontented by the too large sums of money that was supposed to be spent and the liberals arguing that “the participation to the exhibition was requested, first of all, by the common sense of answering to the demand of a friend-country and then by the political and especially economic interests, being necessary to bring foreign capital in our country”⁴.

The exhibition was structured on 18 groups: *I – Education, Enseignement; II – Oeuvres d’art; III – Instruments et procédés des lettres, sciences et arts; IV – Matériel et procédés généraux de la mécanique; V – Electricité, VI – Génie civil. Moyens de transport; VII – Agriculture; VIII – Horticulture. Arboriculture; IX – Forêts. Chasse. Pêche. Cueillettes; X – Aliments; XI – Mines. Métallurgie; XII – Décoration et mobilier des édifices public et des habitations; XIII – Fils. Tissus. Vêtements; XIV – Industrie chimique; XV – Industries diverses; XVI – Economie sociale. Hygiène, assistance publique; XVII – Colonisation; XVIII – Armée de terre et de mer*⁵.

From the total number of 18 groups, Romania entered in 17, most of the Romanian exhibitors being registered at the agricultural, alimentary and clothing sections.

During the exhibition, The Crown Domain constituted a special group in the upper gallery of the Royal Pavilion (see Fig. 2), in the cupola from the end of the left gallery of the first floor, along with the sections: stationery, public industry, public assistance and hygiene. The participation was made on the expense of the Domain Administration. In this pavilion were exhibited all the agricultural and industrial products, arranged on different domains, miniatures of the schools, buildings and forestry operations, furniture and rural houses, birds and animals that lived in the forest of the Domain, fishes from the waters of the Domain, the products of the stone and granite quarries, ceramic pieces, pottery art, cotton, woollen and silk woven materials realized in the rural schools, a plan in relief of the Bicaz Domain, a collection of stuffed animals and birds, agricultural tools, graphic paintings, maps, albums etc⁶ (Fig 3).

The cultural part was represented through many brochures and books from the Administration’s library, studied and appreciated by both the jury and public, as C. Ollănescu mentioned.

Taking advantage of the presence at this exhibition, in order to promote the image of the Crown Domain, the Administration edited, in French language, a brochure named *Notice sur le Domaine de la Couronne de Roumanie* (Notes on the Romanian Crown Domain) that was given free of charge to the French

⁴ Dimitrie C. Ollănescu, *Raport general asupra participării României la Expoziția universală din Paris (1900)*, București, 1901, pp. 23-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

authorities, the cultural, agricultural, industrial and commercial institutions from France and to all the General Commissariats of the participant countries. The book contained information regarding the situation, activity and the results seen from the establishment of the Domain until that moment.

Giving such works (in different European languages) about Romania was absolutely necessary in order to allow the other states to better understand our society and economy. This measure was initiated by Dimitrie C. Ollănescu who often dealt with the insufficiency or the wrong opinion about our country of the foreigners and with the ignorance of the Romanian people who, in such cases, considered that “the French people don’t know geography”⁷.

The juries, appreciating the activity, the effort and the results obtained in such a short time, awarded the Crown Domain with 21 prizes. These prizes proved to be important for obtaining the 8th place in the classification.

The Crown Domain Administration was rewarded with:

- **10 big prizes** for: the realisations from education; the dairy produces, butter and cheese installations from Cocioac; the studying of the land from the agricultural point of view, presented as analyzes, field samples in vertical section (2 m height), agricultural statistics; the complete collection of cereals; a railway installation and a cable railway for wood transportation, arrangements plans, the mechanic saw from Mălini, a miniature, unique model of a forest range, the plans in relief of the Domains Bicaz and Mălini with the installations for the exploitation of the resinous essences, postcards presenting forestry installations; for the products of forestry exploitation and industry (there had been presented in an album different types of forestry essences – leaves and buds, leaves and fruit, resonance pieces of wood in different shaped board, planks, piano backsides realized by the Gaston Eichler factory from the Domain Mălini and the factory owned by Mr. Torok and Compani from Bicaz), the miniature of a resinous seeds drying house, the section made on a fir tree representing the annual growths of the tree, the birch tree trunk representing the debit manner of the tree, a 95 years old fir tree trunk, wooden works, species of wood used for matches, packing wood, kitchen objects (two-handled tub, barrels, staves), a miniature cart with tree trunks, boards for Venetian shutters, wooden chests made in Dr. Havel’s workshop from Bicaz, doormats; mine exploitations and quarries;

- **1 big prize** awarded to the administrator Ioan Kalinderu for the entire activity at the Crown Domain;

- **2 gold medals** for products belonging to different rural exploitations, postcards presenting constructions and hunting products (bear, fox, squirrels, wild boar, wild cat, stag head and the horns, chamois horns, eagle, pelican, mountain cock and hazel hen, partridge, raven, owl, bugles, bag and other hunting related objects);

⁷ Laurențiu Vlad, *Imagini ale identității naționale...*, p. 141.

- **5 silver medals**⁸ for: the school library publication; for the non-alimentary agricultural products (flax, hemp); the national carpets, linen and hempen threads and woven materials, different types of ropes, gymnastic instruments, belly bands, strings, cloth, halters etc., for the section of laces, embroideries, haberdasheries (silk threads and wooden materials, cocoons, white and yellow, school workshops); baskets, bottles, canteens, furniture, osier and mace reed doormats, hats;

- **1 bronze medal** obtained for the ceramic objects⁹;

- **3 mentions** for: the seeds collection; cheap and luxury furniture (different pieces of furniture and works used in a village house); embroideries, made on silk and regular cloth, and the national industry.

The success that this institution enjoyed in Paris is proven by the prizes mentioned above and by the appreciations published in the French press. For example, “Le Temps”, remarked the exemplar exploitations from the Crown Domain and the effective realisation from the cereals domain¹⁰.

Among the numerous visitors of the Romanians pavilions was also the president of France, on June 15th. Referring to this moment, Dimitrie C. Ollănescu, remembered that, when the president had came in the Crown Domain compartment “he had stopped for a long time in front of the beautiful cereal samples, pieces of wood and forestry exploitation installations, woven materials and he had been indeed impressed by the beauty of the wild boar and birds”¹¹.

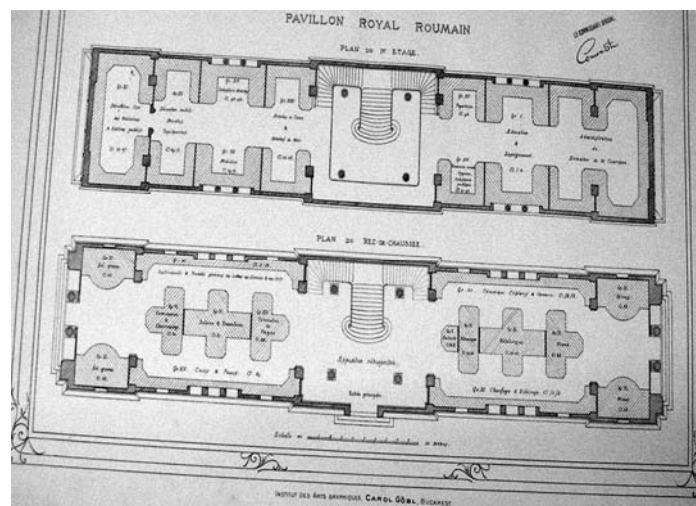


Fig. 2

⁸ Dimitrie C. Ollănescu, *cited work*, pp. 442-444, 447.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 443.

¹⁰ Laurențiu Vlad, *Imagini ale identității naționale...*, p. 174.

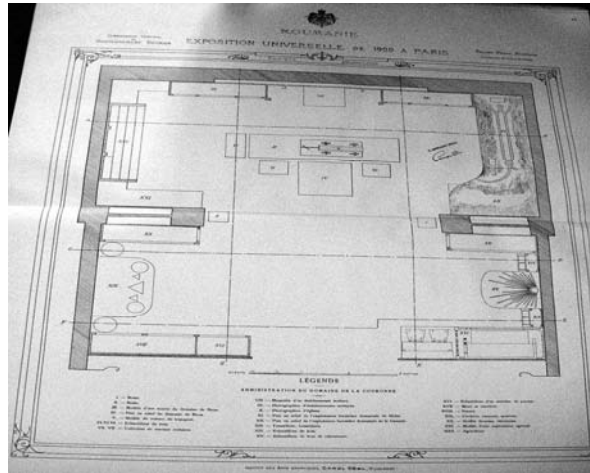
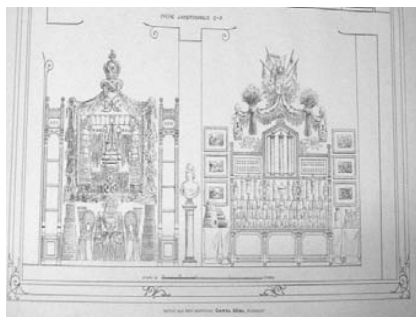
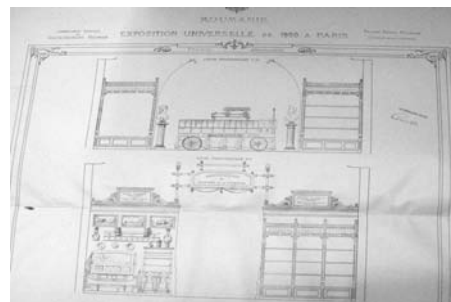


Fig. 3.



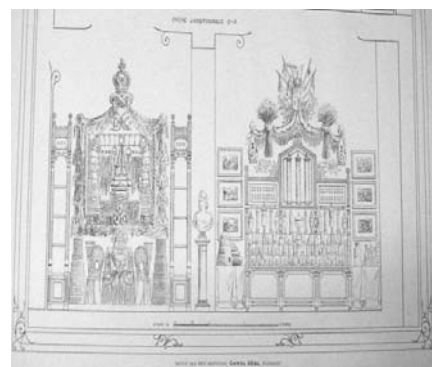
(Fig. 4) The transversal facade A-B



(Fig. 5) The transversal facade C-D



(Fig. 6) The longitudinal facade I-K



(Fig. 7) The longitudinal facade G-H

¹¹ *Ibid.*

A new international exhibition on which the crown Domain participated is that from Lemberg, Ukraine, in 1925, on which there had been presented the same types and quantities of products as those from the exhibition organized at Chişinău, as we shown before, in the same year¹².

After the commercial convention concluded with Poland, the leading circles organized, in 1929, at Warsaw, a wine, grapes and other fresh or conserved fruit exhibition. Accepting the invitation, Segarcea Crown Domain, of which wines enjoyed international appreciation, was expected to send until November 10th 1929, $\frac{3}{4}$ wine bottles with the next sorts: 5 bottles of the wine Negru de masă (dark red table wine) from 1927 and 1928, 5 bottles of Crâmpoşie wine from 1928 kept in barrels, 2 bottles of Alb Superior (superior white) wine from each year 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923, 2 bottles Riesling wine (both 1921 and 1923), 2 bottles of Frontignon (1921-1924), 2 bottles of Fetească (1921-1923), 2 bottles of Tămâios (1919 and 1923), 2 bottles of Bordeaux (1920-1923), 2 bottles of Pinot Noir (1920-1923), 2 bottles of dark red wine (1922 and 1924) bottled; but also wine kept in barrels, the next quantities: 2 bottles of Alb superior (superior white) (1924-1926), 2 bottles of Riesling (1924-1926), 2 bottles of Fetească (1924-1926), 2 bottles of Tămâios wine (1925 and 1926), 2 bottles of Bordeaux (1924-1926), 2 bottles of Pinot (1924-1926). Along the wine there had been exhibited 2 bottles of brandy, made in 1922 and 1929 at Sadova Domain¹³.

In 1935, with the celebration of the Belgian state of 100 years from the inauguration of the first continental railway and 50 years from the creation of the independent state of Congo, took place the universal exhibition from Brussels. Placed on a surface of 125 hectares on the Osseghe plateau, near Laeken Royal Park, was inaugurated in the presence of King Leopold III, on April 27th 1935¹⁴. The exhibition lasted 194 days, housing the stands of 8.930 exhibitors from all continents countries. The exposed objects and products were grouped in 9 sections and 167 classes: I. *Sciences et arts*; II. *Produits du sol et du sous-sol*; III. *Industries de transformation*; IV. *Production et utilisation de l'énergie*; V. *Génie civil Moyens de transports*; VI. *Edifices public set habitations*; VII. *Vêtements et accessoires*; VIII. *Economie générale. Activité des nations*; IX. *Tourisme, sports, jeux*¹⁵.

Receiving the invitation on July 1934, the government Gheorghe Tătărescu officially accepted Romania's participation to the Brussels exhibition¹⁶. The presence at this exhibition was under the patronage of King Carol II, initiative due to the Committee leaded by Ion Manolescu Strunga, the

¹² National Archives, Dolj, fund Segarcea Crown Domain, file 4/1925, f. 308.

¹³ *Ibid*, file 2/1929, f. 483

¹⁴ Laurenţiu Vlad, *Propagandă şi identitate ...*, p. 74.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 78.

Minister of Industry and Commerce. General commissary of the exhibition was appointed Cezar Popescu. The Romanian pavilion, with a surface of 1.000 m², situated at the junction of the streets Avenue de Bouchout and Avenue du Gros-Tileuil, built in a sober style that merged perfectly the elements of the classic architecture with the modern one, was the work of the architect Constantin Moșinschi. Three from the four facades of our pavilion were decorated with incised drawings, representing scenes from the every day life of the peasants and in the centre of the main façade was situated the equestrian statue of Carol II¹⁷.

In the pavilion there had been organized sections for agriculture, transportations, textile products and ancient, religious and rural art. We find the Crown Domain at the agrarian section, exposing different samples, along with the Institute of agronomic researches, The State Farm Zorleni, Jean Cămărășescu, The Viticulture School from Chișinău etc¹⁸. The exhibition was marked by the artistic dimension. The awarding ceremony of the participants to the exhibition, organized on October 15th 1935, offered to Romania 97 rewards, placing it on the 15th place¹⁹.

The last participation of The Crown domain, at some universal exhibitions, was that from New York in 1939. Its presence was facilitated by the election of the first president of the American confederate nations. It was called one of the most grandiose exhibitions in the entire history, having 44 million visitors. It took place at Flushing Meadows – Corona Park, in two seasons, 1939-1940, and named “Building the World of Tomorrow”²⁰.

Romania presented two very beautiful and imposing edifices – The Romanian Pavilion and The Romanian House, both plated with marble, very luxuriant, presenting architecture that maintained the characteristic of the Romanian style. The interiors were decorated with statues made by Milița Pătrașcu, Ion Jalea, C. Medrea, frescoes, mosaics, bas-reliefs, friezes. The Pavilion was the creation of the architect G. M. Cantacuzino and the Romanian House, the work of the architect Doicescu²¹.

Among the exhibitors from New York was also the Administration of the Segarcea Crown Domain, with a new presentation of wines. The range of wine exposed here were the noble ones internationally recognized: dark red wine (Bordeaux) from 1929, 1930 and 1934; Pelin wine from 1934; Riesling from 1930, 1934 and 1937; Alb Superior (superior white) from 1936, Fetească

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 85-86.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 93.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 101.

²⁰ Idem, “New findings on Romanian’s participation to the New York world’s fair (1939-1940)”, in *Arhivele Olteniei*, New Serie, no. 20, București, Academia Română, 2006, p. 104.

²¹ I.A. Roceric, Horia Oprescu, “Expozițiile”, in *Enciclopedia României*, IVst vol, Economia Națională, circulație, distribuție și consum, București, 1939, p. 323.

from 1934 and 1936, Frontignon²². The total number of wine bottles that went to America was 15.240²³. Besides wine, there were sent 400 bottles of brandy and 200 bottles of sterilized must of grapes²⁴. These drinks could be tasted and bought from the restaurant-pavilion.

All these exhibitions offered the opportunity for our products, obtained in the thirteen administrations, to be recognized and appreciated. Thanks to this possibility of promotion, many requests had been registered for our wines and wood products, the proof being the contracts concluded with different foreign societies.

Images from the international exhibition from Paris, France, in 1900



The wood industry – forestry products



*Stone quarries – ceramic – Woven materials
– ropes, knitted work – furniture*



*The agriculture section. Land plans and
models of administrative houses*



*Carpets, household industry, school
workshops, the mechanic saw from Mălini,
hunting, cereals, agrarian and forestry
exploitations*

²² A.N.I.C. Bucharest, fund The Central Administration, file 96/1939, f. 46.

²³ *Ibid*, file 268/F.D., f. 23.

²⁴ *Ibid*, file 96/1939, f. 50.

**PAST AND PRESENT CRISIS: INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND
CONTEMPORARY MEDIA/ CRISES PASSÉES ET
PRÉSENTES: RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES,
SOLIDARITÉS SOCIALES ET MEDIA
CONTEMPORAINE**

**ROMANIAN-YUGOSLAV MILITARY RELATIONS
BETWEEN 1934-1939**

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Abstract: The present paper deals with the history of military relations between two states from Eastern Europe. Using both diplomatic and military documents we try to underline the importance of such relations in a period when both Romania and Yugoslavia were actively implied in foreign policies regarding the national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, international cooperation, defense of territorial status quo and the international treaties concluded after the First World War. Regional security system in central and southeastern Europe during this period was based on two documents of great importance: The Pact of the Reorganization of the Little Entente (February 1933) and Balkan Pact (February 1934).

Keywords: military alliances, protocol, Balkan Entente, army

The period between 1933-1938 is characterized by the consistent foreign policy of Romania and Yugoslavia to comply the national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, international cooperation, defense of territorial status quo and the international treaties concluded after the First World War. Regional security system in central and southeastern Europe during this period was based on two documents of great importance: the *Pact of the Reorganization of the Little Entente* in order to transform this “institution” into “a unified international

body,” open to the accession of other States (February 1933)” and the *Balkan Pact* (February 1934) under which the Balkan Entente was formed. The diplomats of the two countries have seen the “European continent covered by regional pacts”¹ which “by binding to each other” should be “the peace barbed wire”².

The End of 1933 marked a new turning point for Europe. On October 14, 1933, Germany withdrew from the League of Nations and left the work of Disarmament Conference, which marked a new phase, characterized by a long string of territorial revisions imposed by fascist states. On November 16, 1933, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Paul Boncour said to ambassadors of London, Rome and Berlin that “the lack of unity of powers entitled to defend the treaties of Versailles does nothing more than to encourage the attitude of Germany, especially on the arms issue”³.

Together with its partners in the Little Entente, Romania pursued a policy designed “to respect the current organization of central Europe based on existing treaties, in other words, to preserve the integrity of national territory, to prevent the kneeling of its allies”⁴. Such a policy would need concrete measures to counter climate of international instability and to ensure legal and military instruments of national security defense⁵.

On December, 11, 1933 in Košice, Nicolae Titulescu and Edvard Beneš met to express the decision of the countries they represented to remain on the front of the anti-revisionist and to stand firm on the maintenance of peace. Edvard Beneš, after few days in Paris, said to the French Foreign Minister that he considered necessary to improve relations between the Little Entente and Russia before the German threat⁶.

Romania and Yugoslavia military experts have compiled since 1933, when Hitler took power in Germany, analysis materials of the situation both of the domestic and international situation. These documents were sent to the offices of Prime Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs. On their basis, the foreign ministers have set topics for discussion at the conferences and meetings in the two regional organizations: Little Entente and Balkan Entente. At the session of the Little Entente Permanent Council in Zagreb, which began on January, 22, 1934, the foreign ministers of the three member states, after considering the international political situation, have decided to intensify their

¹ See Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *Romania after the Great Union*, IIst vol., 2nd part, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988, pp. 1340-1341

² Nicolae Titulescu, *Documente Diplomatice*, București, Editura Științifică, 1967, p. 187

³ *Documents Diplomatiques Françaises* (Hereinafter will be cited DDF), 1^{ère} série, tome 5, doc. no. 20.

⁴ Romanian Military Archives (hereafter will be cited AMR), fond 948, dos. 438, f. 484.

⁵ Campus Eliza, Mica Antantă, București, Editura Științifică, 1968, p. 166.

⁶ DDF, 1^{ère} série, tome 5, doc. no. 137.

cooperation and to peacefully pass “from the defensive lesson, observed, so far, to the offensive lesson, deciding to widening participation in plans and projects designed to strengthen European security”⁷. During the same session, in order to counter revisionism that threatened south-eastern Europe, it was decided that it was imperative to accelerate negotiations for the Balkan Pact. The result was reflected in the work of the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente, which occurred as a strong military alliances engaged in the fight to eradicate revisionism⁸.

French and British policy, having not a response to the review actions of the terms of the Treaty of Trianon and the expansionist tendencies of Italy and Germany in Central Europe and the Balkans, were affected the interests of Romania and Yugoslavia.

The Balkan Pact, signed on February, 9, 1934 in Athens by Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, was an important step in the vicinity of the Balkan countries in support of a defensive system against the revisionist current which was manifested on the European continent. Balkan Entente aimed “maintaining the territorial order established in 1918-1920, ensuring mutual security for all Balkan borders”⁹, the obligation of signatory states to consult on measures to be taken in circumstances that could affect their interests. According to art. 2 from the annex-protocol, “the Balkan Entente Pact is not directed against any power. Its aim is to ensure the security of the Balkan borders against any aggression from a Balkan state”¹⁰.

On March 17, 1934, in Rome, Mussolini and Dollfuss Gömbös have signed agreements which put up a new revisionist bloc in central Europe. In order to coordinate foreign policy, the three states pursued a common goal: the promotion of Italian and Horthy interests and plans¹¹.

The intensification of the revisionist pressure worried political and military circles from Romania and Yugoslavia. Expressing his approval of the

⁷ Eliza Campus, *cited work*, p. 166.

⁸ For details, see Cr. Popișteanu, *România și Antanta balcanică. Momente și semnificații de istorie diplomatică*, București, Editura Științifică, 1971, pp. 114-130, Elizabeth Campus, *Mica Antantă*, București, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 95-142, Mihail E. Ionescu, “Alianța balcanică 1936” in *Magazin istoric*, volume 27, no. 12/1974, pp. 1689-1703.

⁹ See Dumitru Tutu, “Romanian military alliances (1921-1939)”, in *Romania’s foreign policy issues 1918-1940. Collection of Studies, vol. II, Institute of Historical and Social-Political addition to the RCP*, București, Editura Militară, 1977, p. 125.

¹⁰ Romanian Foreign Ministry Archives (hereafter will be cited AMAER), the Balkan Entente fund, dos. 39 Balkan Entente Pact with Protocol-Annex, signed in Athens on February 9, 1934.

¹¹ L. Bányai, A. Petric, *The Vienna Diktat in August 1940 and the struggle for its cancellation*, in *The Unity and continuity in the history of the Romania*, Bucharest, Academy Publishing RSR, 1968, p. 431.

Romanian foreign policy directions and objectives, Iuliu Maniu, head of the largest opposition political party, called all national political forces to join for supporting an active international policy, according to national interests. The Policy Makers of military leadership have supported this point of view. The working paper of the Chief of the General Staff Office from March 18, 1934, sent to the Foreign Minister stated "the need for unity and peace-loving forces of those people who kept and loved Romania."¹²

In the next period, Romania had an intense international diplomatic activity and expressed its point of view in favor of penalizing the perpetrator, for effective measures to strengthen peace and security of peoples. Given that the League of Nations ceased to be sufficient guarantee for the security and sovereignty of states in central and southeastern Europe, Romanian and Yugoslav government tried to strengthen the defense capacity. Balkan Pact was followed by two military agreements signed by Romania and Turkey on the one hand, and Yugoslavia and Turkey on the other hand. Turkey has provided military support to Romania and Yugoslavia in the event of a Balkan conflict, and thus the two bilateral agreements have been turned into a military convention between Romania, Yugoslavia and Turkey, similar to that of the Little Entente, which was initialed in Belgrade on November 29, 1935. Military representatives of the three Little Entente Member States met in Belgrade in the autumn and discussed in detail the situation created by the Italian-Abyssinian conflict. Alliances between France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, Franco-Italian relations were considered favorable because Yugoslavia had come under threat by the convention with Turkey Italian, treaty guaranteeing free passage through straits.

Since the end of 1933 until the summer of 1936, policymakers and military authorities in Romania have taken all military and diplomatic measures that it considered necessary in view of a new outbreak of a world conflagration. On January 9, 1934, the Romanian General Staff submit to the Minister of National Defense a study that highlighted the need to coordinate military action with the new European politico-strategic terms. Analyzing the financial situation of the Romanian army and its ability to fight and comparing it to the dangers which lurked us, the General Staff has asked the Superior Council of Country's Defense, on February 21, 1934, the adoption of urgent measures for quick reorganization and equipping of the army. Among the military measures that the Romanian state has sought to take in order to defend the unity and independence, included the trip to Romania at the Gh. Tătărăscu's invitation, the secret mission led by General Victor Petin between 3-8 April 1934, an occasion for French General to mention that N. Titulescu and Charles II agreed to achieve, yet in peacetime, a full and rapid coordination of the military actions that would be jointly undertaken if Germany implemented the Anschluss and

¹² AMR, fond 548, dos. 93/1934, f. 314.

Hungary violated treaties. In his turn, Ion Antonescu informed French General about the Additional Protocol signed at the Conference of the Chiefs of the Little Entente armies in Bucharest on March 1934, stressing the importance of the provisions of this act if a probable military cooperation between France and the Little Entente a generalized conflict. In conclusion, Petin expressed his agreement and aid to support the efforts for the endowment of the Romanian army¹³.

Internally, in the years that followed the crisis of overproduction were developed concrete measures to ensure the material base for Romanian Army. On April 18, 1934, the Chief of General Staff ordered to Sections III, IV and VI of this organism to produce each of them, until April, 25 a study "regarding the equipment of the Western Front for a preventive mobilization."¹⁴

On April, 24 was presented the "Western Front equipment study on the preventive mobilization" and next day the movement plan towards the western border of the 6th and 7th army troops, the Mountain Rangers and 1st and 2nd Cavalry Division, works that included the whole set of measures and military actions which were on the base of the "Hypothesis X" which provided the Romanian military response in the case of an outbreak of a generalized war. On July 25, 1934 (the day of Dollfuss's assassination), Charles II had approved the "Directive no. 1", document which laid down measures to be implemented in the case of outbreak of the conflict on the Western Front.

The political situation in Austria has determined the accelerating of the Romanian strategic measures. For preparing the army to intervene if the situation required it, the Chief of General Staff ordered to Section I, through the provisory note no. 169 of 30 July 1934 "to follow the speeding up the dispatch of the call-up for "Hypothesis X" so that in the shortest time (several days) application of this hypothesis would be possible."¹⁵ Also, Division II Information, received the mission to concentrate its entire activity on events in Austria, to closely monitor movements of troops from Italy to produce the final form of the "information plans and searches for Hypothesis X."¹⁶

The main concern of the Romanian state on the military plan until the outbreak of the Second World War became the strengthening of the west side of the national defense system. A note from the General Staff which concern the military measure determined and implemented in the first period of 1934, warned that it must "undertake measures concerning only this front in order to not cause suspicions from the other neighbors and in particular from the Russian side which we found in the negotiations for the recognition of borders and the

¹³ DDF, 1^{ère} série, tome 6, doc. nr. 70.

¹⁴ AMR, fond 332, dos. 30, f. 247.

¹⁵ AMR, fond 332, dos. 30, f. 99.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, f. 100.

resumption of diplomatic relations.”¹⁷ Military measures that have been taken and politico-military relations initiated in early 1934 responded to the management imperatives of foreign policy and implicitly internal issues.

During 1934-1936, both Romania and Yugoslavia signed military agreements with Turkey and Greece. Bilateral alliances have been evolved under the impulse of some political and economic military needs, to set up the mentioned groups. Military Conventions that Romania and Yugoslavia initiated or to which they adhered during 1921-1936, had a defensive character, in accordance with the principles of their foreign policy, with the provisions of the pact of League of Nations. Governments from Bucharest and Belgrade have tried and succeeded that their political and military commitments “to not harm in a some way the security of other states, or to generate apprehension or equivocs about the honesty of peace policy and good neighborhood that they promoted”¹⁸.

Little Entente and then Balkan Entente exerted a positive acting upon the international environment in general, upon the stability of the Balkans. Hungary, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union had to take into account the response capacity of Romania and its allies. Military Documents speak about the fact that Little Entente could mobilize, if it needed, 356 battalions, 486 batteries, 92 squadrons and 43 flotillas”, and Balkan Entente could mobilize “435 battalions, 540 batteries, 88 squadrons and 36 flotillas”¹⁹.

In October 1935 the favorable premises opened by the agreement Laval-Mussolini were extinguished, the Italian attack on Abyssinia forcing Balkan Entente to take place. In December 1935 the UK government has asked the governments of Turkey and Yugoslavia that “if the special military measures would be directed against Great Britain by Italy, they would be willing, if necessary, to give competition to the resistance and had the power to do so”²⁰. After consulting the governments of Romania and Czechoslovakia, the Greek, Turkish and Yugoslav governments responded affirmatively to The Great Britain, informing the governments of France and Italy on this. Seeing in Fascist Italy a danger that threaten their independence, the three countries from the south-eastern Europe were ready to respond to a possible fascist aggression, putting it under the aegis of Great Britain. Bulgaria was considered under the military and human potential of the four allied countries. The Military Convention was intended to stipulate only the common defense of any attack by a great power, alone or in alliance with a Balkan state.

Romania and Yugoslavia have acted to close the two countries to France. Nicolae Titulescu protested against the entering of the German units in the

¹⁷ *Idem*, fond 948, dos. 437, f. 401.

¹⁸ *Pagini din istoria militară a poporului român*, vol VIII, București, Editura Militară, 1980, p. 26.

¹⁹ AMR, fond 948, dos. 1371, f. 6-12; *Ibid*, dos. 1362, f. 47-52; *Ibid*, dos. 1543, f. 1-9.

²⁰ *Ibid*, f. 110. The foreign minister of Romania's note.

demilitarized zone, on March, 7, 1936. The same day, Yugoslavia declared that “its army sit at France’s disposal if circumstances should require it”²¹.

The position of Romania and Yugoslavia, favorable to the implementation of some effective action under the dome of the League of Nations to counter the revisionist aggressive policy pursued by the Third Reich, was presented internally in military terms by adopting urgent measures that have targeted border coverage of the two countries. Romanian Government convened on March 9, 1936 the meeting of the Supreme Council of Country’s Defense which have discussed possible political and military implications of German act, deciding “to urgent the actions aimed at putting into combat the great army units intended to intervene in the case of the outbreak of a generalized conflict”²². The decisions have been included by the General Staff in a package of measures aimed at “improving the army mobilization plan” to meet commitments “concerning operational connection with the Allied armies”²³. Next period, the Operations Department of the General Staff presented to the policy and military makers the study called *Little Entente’s strategy in a generalized conflict*.²⁴ According to the assumed obligations, the authors have found who are the allies and enemies of Romania and Yugoslavia. The decisions adopted by the Romanian General Staff were communicated to the Yugoslavia General Staff. 1936 ended with the conclusion of two military agreements in the Balkan Entente. On November, 10, 1936, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey signed at Bucharest the military convention which provided in art. 14, that “if one of the contracting powers is at war with another state, whatever it may be, the other Contracting Powers pledge to let them pass through their territory and waters for the transport of war material destined to the so-called contracting powers, and, in the same time, giving them the facilities that they will need, including the supply.”²⁵ The Convention had a great importance for Romania, opening a gateway to the Mediterranean, Thessaloniki, in the case of the closure or blocking of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits. After in February 1937, were settled Greece and Yugoslavia’s reservations made upon signature, military convention took the final shape, being signed in Bucharest on May 12, 1937. The preamble of the Convention contained the specification that it was obligatory for Greece only to the extent required for Italy. The Convention provided that:

²¹ See Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *cited work*, p. 1387.

²² AMR, fond 948, The Secretariat of Country’s Defense Supreme Council, dos. 12, f. 5-6.

²³ *Ibid*, dos. 456, f. 178.

²⁴ AMR, fond 948/R.S.S.3, dos. 1414, f. 180.

²⁵ AMAER, dos. 37, f. 216. Four military Convention, signed on November, 10, 1936, by Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

If one of the contracting powers threatened by “military preparations or hostile procedures of Bulgaria or Albania (working alone or together, or each of these two countries together with Hungary alone, or all these countries together) would be obliged to take special military measures or to decree the mobilization, the government of the called contracting power will inform about this the governments of the other contracting powers, which pledge to take at once, against Bulgaria (respectively against Albania – Romania and Turkey having not common borders with Albania, all measures concerning the actions against this country will be ensured by Greece and Yugoslavia) and against Hungary – Greece and Turkey having not common borders with Hungary, all the actions against this country will be ensured by Romania and Yugoslavia²⁶”.

In the same time, it is mentioned that once the mobilization was decreed, the allied powers “do not suspend this action, even if other powers, whatever it would be, joined to the enemy”²⁷.

By overcoming the tight framework of the relations between the four countries allied with Bulgaria, this military convention is part of the large framework of the European antirevisionist policy pursued by Balkan Entente because it hinder the Balkan revisionist states to openly promote an aggressive policy, and also it hinder the great fascist powers to use these states as “pawns in a large-scale military action in south-eastern Europe”²⁸. The importance of this convention, also, lies in the consolidation of the regional security.

Although many of the four states’ interests were the same, they also pursued distinct goals. The main objective of the policy pursued by Greece and Turkey was the maintenance of the status quo in Mediterranean, which is why, in the second half of 1937 the two countries have concluded a military alliance against Italy. This was motivated by suspicion aroused by Yugoslavia following the conclusion of the Italian-Yugoslav pact in March 1937 and perpetual friendship pact Bulgarian-Yugoslav, in January 1937 that stated “between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will be eternal peace”²⁹. Through this promise of “eternal peace”, the pact contravened the military obligations which were incumbent on Yugoslavia on the base of the two military conventions which resulted from the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente because in the case of a Bulgarian aggression against one of its allies (Romania or Turkey), Yugoslavia could not act against Bulgaria.

Regarding the Mediterranean, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey had the same interests: keeping good relations with Italy and the alliance with Great Britain which can use in case they need. About this aspect, the Chief of the General Staff of Greece stressed at the Ankara Conference in October, 1937, that

²⁶ *Ibid* dos. 37, f. 132. Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in February 1939.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ Dumitru Tuțu, *cited work*, p. 132.

²⁹ AMAER, fond Balkan Entente, dos. 38, f. 29.

“this military collaboration ends as soon as one of the four contracting parties were at war with another power except those mentioned in the military convention in four, namely: Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania”³⁰. This point of view were shared by the Yugoslav delegation but not by Romanian one, who shown that “this exclusively regards Greece; military cooperation of the Romanian, Yugoslav and Turkish army must remain valid even if Greece doesn’t intervene”³¹. Greece’s reservations led to the conclusion of a military convention between the other three allies (Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia) signed on November 6, 1936, the exchange of ratification instruments being made in Bucharest on April 19, 1937. Although almost identical in content to the convention in four, this agreement still had something more: the commitments to the three states were regulated more firmly while under the Convention in four, the Greece’s participation depended on the Greek government’s unilateral decision³².

Between October, 28 – November, 4, 1937, the military representatives of the four member states of the Balkan Entente met in Ankara, to a conference, to elaborate the cooperation plan of the four army if one of the combatant powers has been aggressed by a Balkan state (plan which included four hypothesis). The protocol was elaborated by the military delegations of Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece according to the provisions of the printed military agreement which stipulated that, once the action started, it had continued even if one of the great powers join to the aggressor Balkan state. With this occasion, the Chief of the Turkish General Staff, Marchal Fawzi Cakmak, sent a letter to the Chief of the Romanian General Staff, General Ion Sichitiu, through which it was mitigated the Turkey’s reservation about the signing of the Balkan Pact³³, pointing out that in case of a Bulgarian attack against Romania, which occur at the same time with a Soviet attack, Turkey would fulfill its obligations by attacking Bulgaria³⁴.

In December 1938, in Athens, was held the last conference of the four allied countries’ military delegates, where there have been occurred some modifications and additions to the operations projects established by the Protocol. 1 from 1937, and, in the same time, had been ended special protocols for cooperation and ties between Turkish and Greek armies³⁵, Yugoslav and

³⁰ *Ibid.* dos. 38, f. 392. Note by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, March, 8, 1938.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Dumitru Tuțu, *cited work*, p. 134.

³³ AMR, Microfilm collection, roll 184, frame 11,109; AMAER, fund 71/Balkan Entente, dos. 38, f. 392.

³⁴ According to the friendship and nonaggression treaty between Turkey and the USSR none of the party could enter in a “combination” with one of the neighboring states of the other party without its consent (AMR 948/RSS fund, dos. 456, f. 67)

³⁵ AMAER, fund 71/ Balkan Entente, dos. 38, f. 203. In July-September 1938 were held as meetings of experts Staffs: July 1938, Ankara - experts meeting broadcast links, July-

Greek, respectively, special protocols for aviation cooperation, naval cooperation, links and transmissions for national collaboration³⁶. Due to the Greek government hesitation concerning the maintenance of a neutral position if a conflict between Italy and Balkan Pact would have burst out, the Romanian government tried to find to what extent he could rely on the usage, during war, of Yugoslav free zone at Thessaloniki, in case Greece hadn't taken part in the conflict³⁷. Thus, discussing the political situation from Balkan at the end of 1938, the chief of the great Romanian staff declared that, taking into account "Bulgaria's geographical position as well as the ratio forces, there was a slight chance that it would attack alone one of the ally in a completely Balkan conflict and that it would lead all alone the war"³⁸.

The situation from Balkan could have been redressed by a convention concluded between Bulgaria and Balkan Pact, which it really happened, the five states signed, at Athens, on 31 July 1938, an agreement through which they pledged to "refrain from resorting to force in their mutual relations"³⁹. At the same time, they renounced the application of the part IV dispositions (the military, naval and aerial stipulations) of the Neuilly Treaty, as well as the provisions of Lausanne Convention from 24 July 1924.

The Czechoslovak crisis unleashed in September 1938 worsened increasingly the international situation. Right after the Nürnberg speech (12 September 1938) through which Hitler made public his intention of annexing, without plebiscite, the south region from Czechoslovakia, inhabited by German population, the governments from Budapest and Warsaw joined the revisionist pretentions of Berlin, adding their own demands. The Balkan states were in the extreme delicate situation of searching other methods of counteract the foreign dangers, without stirring Germany and Italy's violent reactions. That's the reason why, in the military meetings from Athens the participants proved a lot of precaution and lack of firmness in taking the decisions.

On February 4, 1939, Stojadinovic cabinet resigned. The new Yugoslav government, led by Dragisa Cvetkovic, proved to be more favorable to the maintenance of relations "more cordial and sincere" between Romania and Yugoslavia than Stojadinovic government that "even though, generally, it priced, for certain events, the alliances with Romania, were not its focus."⁴⁰ The refreshing of the relations between the two countries was due also to other factors such as meetings between King Charles II and Prince Paul, Gregory

August 1938, Athens - naval experts meeting, 1938, Belgrade - aero expert meeting, in September 1938, Bucharest - gathering material for your cooperation.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 37, f. 171.

⁴⁰ AMR, fond 456, dos. 321/1939, f. 263.

Gafencu's visit, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, the arriving at Belgrade of Victor Cădere, the Ambassador of Romania and last but not the least, the Balkan Entente conference⁴¹. According to the Report no. 86 from 3.II.1939⁴² of Romania's military attaché in Yugoslavia, Gheorghe Popescu, Grigore Gafencu's visit was at a very opportune moment since it was preceded by the visit of Count Ciano, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister's visit was regarded as "necessary for the Yugoslav people because it was in the sense of mass, which does not trust the honesty of Italy friendship demonstrations, but cherishes the Romania alliance",⁴³.

A positive impact had the presentation of the Victor Cădere's letters of accreditation, an event organized with great fast. The accreditation "had, among other things, the gift to flatter the vanity of Yugoslav people, which received for the first time an Ambassador and to update [...] the good relations between Romania and Yugoslavia",⁴⁴.

The period in which Romania has acted as an active factor in establishing the means and of legal and material policy instruments of collective security, seemed in 1939, as a remote past. The second great global conflagration was fast approaching, the revengeful and revisionist powers had achieved the victory in the confrontation with those powers which loved peace, understanding and maintaining the status quo of Versailles System.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, f. 145.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, dos. 638, f. 478.

RETREAT OF SOVIET OCCUPATION TROOPS FROM ROMANIA DURING THE SUMMER OF 1958

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Abstract: The article briefly reveals some of the main actions that established the soviet military occupation on Romania since World War II and by the summer of 1958 and also pursues the steps that have made possible this event taking place successfully, which will undoubtedly foster a new direction in the Romanian politics. Unless subsequent Albania, Romanian People's Republic was the only member country of the Warsaw Treaty of which the Soviet Union withdrew its troops. Also on this issue are different views: was it the result of the subtlety of Romanian Workers' Party leadership, especially Gheorghiu-Dej, as evidenced in memoirs, or higher was for economic and military purpose of the Soviet Union, especially Nikita Khrushchev, as researchers considered in terms of studying the Romanian and Soviet archival sources?

Key words: soviet troops in Romania, Khrushchev, Gheorghiu-Dej, communism, 1958.

Perceived as a strategy of the Soviet leadership to improve the image of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on international field, as a consequence of the brutal repression of the Hungarian Revolution during the 1956 Autumn and the involvement in the Swedish Crises and in the Arabian – Israeli conflict, as well as a re-organization measure of the Soviet Block in the Eastern Europe from a military point of view, the event of Soviet troops retreat from Romania, which took place during the summer of 1958, had consequences of first significance for the subsequent political evolution of the regime in Bucharest. It could follow its own distance course to the Moscow trusteeship, at first on internal plan, and then progressively in the relations with other states¹.

In the Romanian historiography, especially, as well as in the foreign one, the retreat of the Soviet troops from Romania represents a problem on which there are some different points of view. On one side, it is considered that the event represents mainly a consequence of the Bucharest leadership subtlety,

¹ See Dan Cătănuș, *Între Beijing și Moscova. România și conflictul sovieto-chinez (1957-1965)*, Ist, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, București, 2004.

which knew how to use its credibility and manage this delicate problem in the relationship with Moscow. This is usually the position which arises from the memoirs of some communist leaders of those times, such as Alexandru Bârlădeanu, Gheorghe Apostol, Silviu Brucan.

On the other side, it is said that the retreat was made because of economical and military reasons, so the decision would have been made, in last instance, by Moscow, without denying the merit of the Romanian communists. This is mainly the position of the researchers, in the light of the information offered by the Romanian Archives, but also by the Soviet ones.

The presence of the Soviet troops on the Romanian territory had found legal grounding at the same time with the September 1944 Truce Convention. With this purpose it had been established that the participation of Bucharest in the Anti-Hitlerist War was going to be made under the general leadership of the High Ally Commander, meaning the Soviet one. It had also been foreseen in this sense a full freedom action for the Soviet troops on the entire territory belonging to Romania, with the concurrence and the expense from the Romanian side.

The maintenance of the Soviet troops on the Romanian territory was going to pursue the insurance of Kremlin control on this one, even if it had been justified in a different manner, as specified in article 21, the 4th part – Retreat of Ally Forces – of the Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947. According to this article, all the ally military forces were going to be retreated from Romania, in a 90 days term from the date the Treaty entered in force, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics reserved the “right to keep the army force on the Romanian territory, forces that could be necessary to maintain the communication lines of the Soviet Army with the occupation area in Austria”².

The same aspect results from article 1 of the Romanian Economic Tasks after the Peace Treaty signed on February 10, 1947 between Romania and the Allied and Associated Countries.

The Treaty sets a time limit: 90 days (three months), for the retreat of the ally forces from Romania. But this term issues from the date the Treaty enters in force, meaning its ratification. It is not exaggerated to foresee that the completion of the retreat operation of the troops will not take place any sooner than the end of the current year. Until then we will have (the government of Popular Republic of Romania) the task of supporting these troops. It goes today to up to 18-20.000.000\$ on trimester, meaning 72-80.000.000\$ each year. Even if at the end of the year the task may become less of a moment obligation, during the year there will be supplementary performances for the purpose of compensation of some deficiency in the past³.

In the following it was recalled that

² National Central Historical Archives (in the following it will be read as A.N.I.C.), Fund “Royal House - Mihai”, file no. 4/1947, f. 8.

³ *Ibid*, f. 26.

“there will be – after that too – Soviet troops on the territory to assure the communication lines with Austria. The term for their retreat is unpredictable in this moment. The same goes for the volume of the troops. It is true that the Treaty foresees the compensation “of the supplies and facilities” assured by the Romanian Government to these troops. But it is very probable that it will not be total”⁴.

The Soviet military domination on Romania was accomplished through the Presence of the Red Army and of the Soviet counselors on the Romanian territory, until the year of 1958, as well as through the transformation of the military system and of the Romanian security system according to the model adopted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Additionally, the new regime from Bucharest had a precious help in repressing the dissidence trials in the system, and on external plan it was pursued the assurance of the necessary force in the communist block to “protect itself in front of the Imperialist aggression from Europe”⁵.

This way under the legal frame offered by the foresights of the Peace Treaty from Paris, important Soviet military forces were kept on the Romanian territory. Their quantum on the Romanian territory, during the period starting with the end of the World War II to the retreat in 1958, is variable. If during 1945-1946 there were 400-500 000 solders, after 1948 the effectives vary between 20 000 and 30 000 solders⁶. Relative to this aspect, in his memoirs, Nikita Khrushchev mentions that in the period after 1955 there were on the Romanian territory “a few Soviet divisions”, whose retreat “in the vicinity” (Moldavia or Ukraine) had come to the conclusion that would not affect the security of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics⁷.

From strategic reasons, but also because of the moment necessities, the Soviet troops were placed in more regions in the Romanian territory. A first concentration of forces was in Banat, with garrisons close to localities such as Timișoara, Arad, Radna and Lipova⁸. From here, they could easily be redirected to Yugoslavia and Hungary, if the moment situation would have been asserted.

Another area that hosted the Soviet troops was Walachia, these being present around the localities of Bascov (County Argeș), Ploiești and Crângul lui

⁴ *Ibid*, f. 27.

⁵ Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, *O politică românească de realizări democratice*, București, Editura Partidului Comunist Român, 1946, p. 17.

⁶ Sergiu Verona, *Military occupation and diplomacy: Soviet Troops in Romania, 1944-1958*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1992, pp. 47-49.

⁷ Ioan Scurtu (coord.) *România. Retrăgerea trupelor sovietice. 1958*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, Bucharest, 1996, p. 234.

⁸ Ioan Scurtu (coord.) *cited work*, pp. 326-327.

Bot (County Prahova). From here it was easy to operatively intervene in the south area of the Carpathians, inclusively in the Capital.

In the east of the country, around the localities of Focșani, Râmnicu-Sărat, Brăila, Galați there was a significant group of armies, probably even a division (a Soviet division of tanks usually had 10.000 solders, and an infantry of 12.000 solders). Also, in Dobrogea there were troops at Medgidia, Constanța, Mangalia, Basarabi. Additionally, in these two area aviation Soviet regiments activated, using for this purpose the aerodromes from Otopeni, Boboc - County Buzău, Alexeni - County Ialomița, Ianca - County Brăila, Mihail Kogălniceanu – County Constanța⁹.

From this disposal in the territory of the “friendly” Soviet troops we can reach the conclusion that the power from Bucharest was submitted, at least under psychological aspect, to a considerable pressure from the occupant.

The decision to retreat the Soviet troops from Romania was taken, beyond the Romanian communist actions, in a favorable international context.

A first factor which favored this process of the Soviet troops retreat we consider it to be, even if in ideological plan, the relative thawing which followed the death of the Soviet Dictator, Iosif Stalin. This event could allow the typing of the *Pospelov Report*¹⁰, document that underlined the abuses and the mass repression of the Stalinist regime and which culminated in the presentation made by Nikita Khrushchev through the report *Concerning the cult of personality and its consequences*, with the occasion of the 20th Congress’ works of the Communist Party (b) of the Soviet Union, in the night of February 24 to 25, 1956¹¹. Here we call a project that was dear to Khrushchev: De-Stalinization.

Then, the signing on May 14, 1955 of the Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Treaty between the countries in the Soviet block with the occasion of the second Conference of the European countries to assure the security in Europe, which took place in Warsaw. This treaty, which subsequently was known as the Warsaw Pact, must be the answer, in some way, of the Soviet block to the adherence of the German Federal Republic in 1954 to N.A.T.O. structures¹².

According to Article 11, the Treaty from Warsaw was in force for 20 years, with the possibility of extension on another decade for the contracting parts which officially denounced it a year before its expiry¹³. Its supreme action

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Nicolas Werth, “Revelații despre Raportul Hrușciiov”, în Doina Jela, Vladimir Tismăneanu (coordinators) *Ungaria 1956: revolta minților și sfârșitul mitului comunist*, București, Editura Curtea Veche, 2006, p. 86 and the foll.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹² Vasile Buga, “Relațiile politice româno-sovietice, 1953-1958”, I, in the *Arhivele totalitarismului*, no. 1-2/2004, p. 111.

¹³ A.N.I.C., Fund C.C. of Romanian Communist Party– Section external affairs, file no. 48/1955, f.11.

forum in military plan was the Unified Commander of the Army Forces, whose supreme commander was nominated the Soviet Marshal Ivan S. Konev. Each signatory state had to “complete and endow with armament and technique, in the first place, the troops destined in the Unified Army Forces”¹⁴. Romanian contributed with “8 divisions of the troops on land, 3 divisions of hunting aviation, a division of hunting – bombardment aviation and the entire military maritime navy”¹⁵.

Another favouring factor is represented by the signing of the State Treaty for Austria. At only one day after the official establishment of the Treaty Organization from Warsaw, on May 15, 1955, the *State Treaty for the re-establishment of independent and democratic Austria* was signed in Vienna between U.S.A, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, Great Britain, on one side, and Austria, on the other side, the signatories being the Ministers of External Affairs in the five states: Viaceslav Molotov, John Foster Dulles, Antoine Pinay, Harold Macmillan, respectively Leopold Figl.

The Treaty was going to enter in force on July 27, 1955 and it foreseen the retreat of the troops of the four great powers from the Austrian territory, whose Parliament proclaimed then a permanent neutrality of the country. In this situation, if we analyze the motivation suggested by article 21 of the Peace treaty from February 10, 1947, the presence of the “friendly” Soviet troops is not justified anymore in Romania, even if it was easy to invoke the fact that Bucharest was signatory of the Warsaw Pact.

But, in August 1955, Moscow decided the reduction of the Organization military troops on peace time, letting the Romanian part know through a letter that, due to the relaxation of the international situation after the Geneva Summit from July 1955 and “in the purpose of the expense reduction for the support of the armies, we consider that it is the moment to examine the problem of the total effective of the army forces on peace time established through the Protocol of Conference (the Treaty from Warsaw) from 250 000 to 210 000 people”¹⁶.

This strategy from Kremlin was seen by the occidental countries, and probably by the Romanian communists, as a sign that Khrushchev and the people close to him were taking into account the gradual retreat of the military occupation effectives from Romanian and Hungary.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who was required by a “united Press” Agency representative to confirm the information according to which the Soviet troops which stayed on the Romanian territory were going to be retreated around the date of October 1, 1955, says that, even if their presence in Romania to assure the communication with the troops in Austria was according to the Peace Treaty

¹⁴ Details in Gavriil Preda, Petre Oprea, *România în Organizația Tratatului de la Varșovia, 1954-1968*, vol. I, București, Institutul Național pentru studiul Totalitarismului, 2008, p. 63.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Apud Ioan Scurtu, *cited work*, p. 216.

from 1947, in the European situation there were some changes that arose at the same time with the State treaty with Austria and at the same time with the Pact Organization from Warsaw, and “if the foreign troops belonging to the occidental states would be retreated from the Western Europe in the limits of their national borders, and the military groups in the Occident would be terminated, the situation in Europe would change and the necessity of the Treaty from Warsaw would be discarded, as well as those measures to assure security which are foreseen in this Treaty”. Case in which, says Dej, “it is obvious that the necessity of the Soviet troops would be discarded from Romania too and these troops would be retreated from Romania”¹⁷.

The problem to set in discussion the retreat of the soldiers from Moscow was proved not to be so simple. It should take place at a high level, and a possible refusal would not be seen as positive by the initiators. Under these conditions, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej arranged that Emil Bodnăraş, who “enjoyed a certain political credit before the Soviet leadership and, additionally, knew Russian very well”¹⁸, to be the person who approached the problem of the Soviet troops retreat. Bodnăraş proved to be an inspired choice. In his memoirs, Khrushchev presents him as “a good friend of the Soviet Union, an old Bolshevik friend who had been in the prisons from Romania and who enjoyed our entire trust and respect”¹⁹.

This casting, made without consulting the other members of the Political Office, was not made toll free by the Gheorghiu-Dej’s adversaries, Miron Constantinescu accusing him of avoiding the responsibility, on the occasion of a meeting in the Political Office of C.C of Romanian Communist Party, developed on April 1956: “In August 1955, when it was decided by the Political Office to raise before Khrushchev, with consulting character, the problem of the Soviet troops in our country, it was established that Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej should be the one to submit the problem. To our surprise, Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej did not accomplish this task, but used Comrade Bodnăraş to submit it”²⁰.

Prudence made the Romanian part to set this problem in an unofficial way before the Kremlin leadership. The occasion chosen by the Romanian communists was the festivities organized on August 23st, 1955, the 11th celebration of the “liberation day from the fascist leadership”, the Soviet dictator was also invited, and who was already on a visit to Sofia. In his memoirs, Khrushchev noted with surprise the problem raised by the Romanian leaders: “without warning me, [Bodnăraş] raised the problem: “What would you think about the retreat of the Soviet troops from Romania?” The arguments brought by Emil Bodnăraş, that Romania had as neighbours only socialist states and that the

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 218.

¹⁸ Vasile Buga, *cited work*, p. 112.

¹⁹ Khrushchev, *Remembers*, London, Publishing House Edward Cranksaw, 1971, p. 514.

²⁰ A.N.I.C., Fund C.C. al P.C.R. – Chancellery, file no. 32/1956, f.9.

Soviets could come if it was necessary, determined the Soviet leader, to later make a note, “he was more than satisfied by the explanation given for the proposal to retreat the Soviet troops from their territory” and that “the Romanians re-affirmed their sincere belief to build socialism”²¹.

But the events developed in a turn somehow different to the version offered by the Khrushchev’s memoirs. In a speech from August 22st at Bucharest, with the occasion of the above mentioned visit, and in the those times press, Khrushchev was content to say that the Soviet people remained the “faithful, trustworthy friend of the Romanian people, and that he will support it also in the fight to build socialism, to continuously strengthen the popular democratic state”²², and from his memoirs we find out that this problem tormented him in the following period, being rather sensitive if we consider the events in the next year that were developed in Poland, respectively in Hungary²³.

Still about the speech that Khrushchev gave, Grigore Gafencu noted in his diary: “Khrushchev spent the day of August 23st at Bucharest, to celebrate the □liberation□. He took advantage of the discouragement feeling and the Genevian fogs provoked by Romania, to show the Romanian the Soviet solicitude. Talking about the problem of disarmament, he was not eager to talk about the eviction”²⁴. As it can be easily see, the same problem of the occupation troops eviction was pursued by the important members of the Romanian Immigrants.

There is a certain contradiction in the paternity of the success concerning the retreat from 1958. The memoirs of some leaders of the Romanian Labour Party from those times (Alexandru Bârlădeanu, Ion Gheorghe Maurer) give the merits of obtaining this desideratum to Gheorghiu-Dej, respectively to Emil Bodnăraș. The latter, leading a Romanian Delegation which took part in Moscow at the festivities in November 7, 1955, was announced by Khrushchev that the decision to retreat the troops was already made. According to different sources, the Romanian communists would have been fallen in disgrace, being stigmatized as promoters of a “nationalist line”²⁵.

²¹ Khrushchev, *cited work.*, p. 514.

²² *Scânteia*, August 23st, 1955.

²³ Silviu Brucan says that after the defeat of the Hungarian revolution, in November 1956, he was called back in the country by Gheorghiu-Dej, who would have required an informative material on the means through which a gradual statement could be made for a more independent position of Romania on international ground, which shows, especially to the Romanian people, that we give a high priority to our national interests, and not, as until now, to the Soviet ones”. Silviu Brucan, *Generația irosită. Memorii*, București, Editura Univers/Calistrat Hogaș, 1992, p. 73 ssq.

²⁴ A.N.I.C., Fund Gafencu Grigore, file no. 294, pp. 404-405.

²⁵ Cf. Dan Cătănuș, “Destalinizarea în viziunea lui Emil Bodnăraș”, in *Dosarele Istoriei*, no. 5/2001, p. 28.

In reality, the decision was taken only in stages, after much calculus, and as proof we have the long period which passed between the moment the discussion was first made and the moment the problem was finalized. After some consultation Nikita Khrushchev made with the members of the Central Committee Presidium of the Soviet Union Communist Party, especially with the marshals Gheorghe Jukov and Rodion Malinovski, who succeeded in that period in the function of Minister of Defense of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government expressed on October 1956 the availability to approach at official level the problem of the Soviet troops:

The Soviet government starts from the general principle that the deployment of the troops of a state which participated at the Treaty from Warsaw on the territory of another state that was a participant at the Treaty from Warsaw is made based on the agreement between all the socialist states which participated at the Treaty and only with the consent of that state on whose territory, at his request, the troops are deployed or the troops will be deployed²⁶.

In this context, from Kremlin there will be the idea to set in discussion the abidance of the Soviet Counselors in Romania. Though a letter of January 14, 1957, The Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party was sending, the principle position concerning this matter:

Presently, when you country has qualified personnel, who acquired an important experience in building the socialism, the permanent stay of the Soviet Counselors in Romania doesn't correspond to the cause's interests, and this form of collaboration was practically exceeded. More than that, even the name of "Soviet Counselors" does not correspond to the role they accomplish, and in fact, maybe in an involuntary way can lead to a wrongful opinion that through his counselors a country interferes in the internal affairs of another country²⁷.

The proposal was immediately accepted by the leadership in Bucharest.

On April 15, 1957 a Romanian – Soviet agreement was signed concerning the temporary deployment of the Soviet troops in the Romanian territory, on condition that they "don't interfere in the country's internal affairs"²⁸, as well as some conventions relatively to the crimes judging, solving the civil trials of the Soviet soldiers, at the way and the conditions to use the casernes, the service buildings, the warehouses, the aerodromes etc.²⁹.

²⁶ Mioara Anton, *Ieșirea din cerc: politica externă a regimului Gheorghiu Dej*, Institutul Național pentru Studierea totalitarismului, București, 2007, p. 107.

²⁷ Ioan Scurtu (ed.), *cited work*, pp. 241-242.

²⁸ Florin Constantiniu, *O istorie sinceră a poporului român*, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, București, 1997, pp. 491-492.

²⁹ Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria contemporană a României (1918-2005)*, București, Editura Fundației "România de Măine", 2005, p. 137.

The process was speeded a year later, when, in April 17, 1958 Nikita Khrushchev underlined in a letter sent to the Central Committee of the Romanian Labour Party that: “the deployment of the Soviet troops is not necessary on the Romanian Popular Republic territory anymore”. Their presence was speculated on by the occidental propaganda, and Romania, showed Khrushchev in the following, had at that time “trustworthy army forces”³⁰.

On the occasion of the Consultative Political Committee of the Treaty Organization from Warsaw, which took place at Moscow on May 24, 1958, an agreement was approved between the two states concerning the retreat, in the near future, of the Soviet troops from Romania. Subsequently in the same sense an agreement was signed between the Minister of Defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the Minister of Army Forces of the Romanian Popular Republic, which contained a foresight in favour of keeping on the Romanian territory of a “consistent quantity of munitions in two warehouses and 9 800 tons of fuel and lubricants in three warehouses belonging to the Minister of Defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic”³¹; in the same sense a Convention was signed on October 22st, 1957:

The Convention between the governments of Romanian Popular Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic on the temporary dislocation of a part of the military navy belonging to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic in the military maritime bases, ports and aerodromes belonging to the Romanian Popular Republic, if this were to be imposed by situation³².

On June 21, 1958 the minister Council of the Romanian Popular Republic issued a decision to set in application the Agreement signed at Moscow on May 24, 1958, through which the retreat of the Soviet troops from Romania was established³³.

To supervise the eviction process of the Soviet troops from the Romanian territory, it is already constituted, on April 10, 1958 a mixed Romanian – Soviet Commission, the Romanian part being represented by the General Lieutenant Floca Arhip, General Lieutenant Corneliu Mănescu, General Justice Major Bucșan Gheorghe, and for the Russian part by the General – Major A. Kosenko, Colonel V. Markareanț and Colonel V. Soprun³⁴. Several trains were set in function to travel on the period of June 15 – August 13, 1958, in the frontier points from east (Ungheni - Iași, Reni - Galați), where most of the Russian soldiers are retreated, as well as from west (Curtici-Lokoshoza)³⁵. Under these

³⁰ Ioan Scurtu (ed.), *cited work*, p. 273.

³¹ Idem, *România. Retragera trupelor sovietice ...*, p. 277.

³² A.N.I.C., Fund C.C. of P.C.R. – Chancellery, file no. 21/1967, f. 245-251.

³³ Ioan Scurtu, *România. Retragera trupelor sovietice...*, pp. 342-344.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 272

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 293.

conditions, at the end of 1958 summer, the last Soviet soldiers left the Romanian Popular Republic territory.

The retreat was celebrated, and there is a special plan on the improvement of the importance concerning the event, in the use of the internal and international socialist propaganda. Among the activities and ceremonies dedicated to this event, we can recall: sanctification of the Romanian – Soviet army brotherhood, friendship evenings between the two armies, sessions, and communication of A.R.L.U.S. (Romanian Association for Connections with the Soviet Union). In the end, the medal for the “Liberation under Fascist Leadership” was conferred to all the military and civil personnel from the units belonging to the Soviet armies deployed on the territory of the Romanian Popular Republic³⁶.

The action to retreat the Soviet troops deployed on the Romanian territory was considered by the Bucharest leadership propaganda as a contribution to the cause of peace and detention consolidation in Europe and in the entire world. To drop off the Moscow vigilance, the leaders from Bucharest tried to present this event as a good will action from the Soviet Union, and the Romanians seem to be the beneficiaries of this measure. But, no matter, the appearances Romania was going to be the only country in the Treaty from Warsaw in which the Soviet troops retreated completely³⁷.

From a geostrategic point of view, this retreat could not affect the security if Moscow. As Bodnăraș once stated to Khrushchev, Romania had no borders with any enemies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics because from all the length of the Romanian frontier of 3 153 de km, only 546 km were bordered by a country which was not a member of the Warsaw Treaty – Yugoslavia, the rest of 2 607 km representing a frontier with the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, respectively the Black Sea.

The development of this event with certain implications on the evolution of the communist regime from Bucharest was under the attention of the occidental states, which had different positions in this sense.

At Washington it was considered a minor action, which “had no impact” and which had as purpose “to bring a closeness of the Soviets to Yugoslavia”³⁸.

At London, the action was perceived only as a part of a more vast script. The Soviets wanted to obtain a new balance of the military power in Europe, which could allow them to guide the economic resources “without any danger for them or for the actual government in Romania and Hungary”³⁹.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 287.

³⁷ Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria contemporană a României...*, p. 141.

³⁸ Sergiu Verona, Donald R. Falls, “1944-1958, 14 years of Soviet military presence in Romania”, in *Magazin istoric*, no.5/1995, pp. 51-52.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

At Paris too some diplomatic dispatches were sent on this problem by the French Embassy from Bucharest⁴⁰. In a document on June 4, 1958 it results that the number of the Soviet soldiers in Romania did not exceed 40 000 people and that, according to the military diplomats' reports, the Soviet military occupation was not as considerable as one could think. Additionally, the representative of France in Bucharest considered that the retreat of the Soviet troops from Romania was not going to bring any changes in the internal politics of the country, having a propagandistic value⁴¹.

After the retreat of the Soviet troops from Romania, the leadership from Romania oriented itself more and more to the edification of a "own way" in building socialism. From here, more quarrels appeared in the relation with Kremlin, which were caused by the desire the Romanians had to escape the tutory which the Soviet Union understood to exert on its satellites through the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, i.e. the Warsaw Treaty. The divergences extended also on the external policy problems, the Romanian state finding a counter-balance by maintaining good relations with the other great communist state which is China and, thing that was appreciated, though the mediation of the ideological conflict they had with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

But, if from this to the Soviet intervention as the one which took place in the 1956 autumn in Hungary or later, in August 1958 in Czechoslovakia, it was proved to be a long way, it is due to the fact that the Romanian Communist Leaders never considered to change the political regime; this is the reason for which Kremlin tolerated some tendencies, and this is the explanation for the success Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and his collaborators had in gradually obtaining the freedom to act, in an era which followed the retreat of the Soviet occupation troops.

⁴⁰ Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, Ion Pătroiu, "Retragerea trupelor sovietice din România în documente diplomatice franceze", în *Omagiu istoricului Ioan Scurtu*, Focșani, Editura D.M. Press, 2000, p. 683.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY IN EUROPEAN UNION NORMS AND ROMANIAN LAW

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Abstract: Solidarity itself is a guiding principle for social policy. This document consists of reviewing the legal framework of a theory of solidarity. The theory of solidarity is the theoretical basis of the principle of social solidarity, which applies national law, European law and international law. The results of investigation of the concept of solidarity will be compared to the legal concepts at two levels: national law and European law. An explanation and analysis of the meaning of the concept of solidarity is essential in the current European debate and the global economic crisis. It is suggested that attempts to promote growth and economic prosperity of every member of society can only be for the universal good.

Keywords: assistance, insurance, solidarity, security, social, policy.

Social intercourse is specific for mankind and it is supposed to be a benefit and a blessing for individuals, not a source of envy, malice or corruption. Thus, even though an individual may look after his own interests, he must at the same time take into consideration the legitimate interests of others who, as human beings, have an equal claim to happiness (“the pursuit of happiness”, as in Thomas Jefferson’s *Declaration of Independence*), welfare, and the benefits derived from social living.

The examination of the principle of social solidarity is very important because it is at the core of many social security systems. According to the solidarity principle, all citizens face a series of social risks (unemployment, illness, ageing, death), that make them dependent on one another.

But the concept of solidarity has multiple meanings, being used in many ways. Its meanings change according to the domain and context in which it is used and, of course, to the particularities of each country/culture:

The issue of solidarity with different social groups is a particular interesting case in the context of the European welfare state: solidarity is what unifies; exclusion/ inclusion is what divides. This issue is, however, embedded in a national as well as international sociopolitical context that might have very different meanings across cultures¹.

The ambiguity of the notion of solidarity has resulted in the absence of a coherent theory of solidarity until now and in the lack of deep justification for its enforcement in the context of world economic crisis. In the course of time, most Western legal systems of social security enforced forms of solidarity, relying mainly on concepts of “welfarism”, but the difficulties faced by the welfare state are encouraging moves towards the British model of tax-based (rather than insurance-based) financing of social provisions.

The principle of solidarity was the basis of the creation of the European Communities and led to the concept of “European social model”². With the Treaty of Rome in 1957, social policy of the European Communities was formed by a set of complementary policies, which have grown and multiplied over time and who acted in those sectors of activity that affect or lead individual and social level of welfare³.

In the process of European construction, economic objectives have always been the priority. Treaty of Rome (1957), which established the European Economic Community, spoke of the need for a single European market on which competition and free trade are the core principles and desired that they should not be affected by national barriers. At the beginning, social issues were passed in the background. However, with the relaunch of integration in the mid '80s (the time coincided with the installation of Jacques Delors at the presidency of the European Commission in 1985) concerns for the social dimension has intensified and culminated in the development of the European Social Charter which was signed in December 1989 by eleven of the twelve members of the Community. Greater social protection in European communities has resulted in enhanced social solidarity especially for a family policy that relies on allowances and tax reduction for families, help with housing policy, in nurseries and children raising⁴.

¹ Miloš Kankaraš, Guy Moors, “Measurement Equivalence in Solidarity Attitudes in Europe. Insights from a Multiple-Group. Latent-Class Factor Approach”, in *International Sociology*, vol. 24(4)/2009, p. 558.

² *Ibid.*

³ See the book *Social Policy*, developed under Phare RO 0006.18.02 – “Training Civil Servants in European Affairs and Project Cycle Management”, implemented by the European Institute of Romania, in cooperation with Human Dynamics, 2003. This paper is part of the series “Micromonografii – Politici europene”, updated version.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The '90s marked a new development of social policy at the supranational level, the most notable success was the inclusion of this field in the basic EU treaties, namely the Maastricht (1992) and Amsterdam Treaty (1997)⁵.

The idea of a united Europe were laid on fundamental ideas and common values to which the Member States also subscribe and which are translated into practical measures by the Union's operational institutions. These acknowledged fundamental values are the securing of a lasting peace, unity, equality, freedom, security and *solidarity*. Of course, the meaning of solidarity in the European context is the *solidarity between Member States*. The principle of solidarity of the European Union is a fundamental principle based on sharing both the advantages, i.e. prosperity, and the burdens equally and justly among members. The permanent concern of the European Community for social policy issues led, in time, to the ceation of a "European social model".

The preamble of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) states a desire "to deepen *solidarity (among European nations)*, to respect their history, culture and traditions". In the article 128.1 of the Treaty on the European Community (new art. 151.1) it is shown explicitly that the burden of Community is to contribute to "the full development of the cultures of the Member States while respecting their national and regional diversity and highlighting the common cultural heritage".

The Union's aim, as shown in the article I-3, is to promote peace, its values and welfare of its people. The Union shall offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, and a single market where competition is free and undistorted.

The Union shall work for sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth, a highly competitive social market economy aiming at full employment of labor and social progress and a high level of protection and improvement of environmental quality. EU promotes scientific and technical progress, combates social exclusion and discrimination and promotes social justice and protection, equality between women and men, *solidarity between generations* and protection of childrens' rights. It also promotes economic, social and territorial cohesion and *solidarity among Member States*. The Union shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity and ensure the preservation and development of cultural heritage.

In relations with the rest of the world, the Union affirms and promotes its values and interests, contributes to peace, security, sustainable development of the Earth, *solidarity and mutual respect among peoples*, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and human rights protection, in particular child's, and the strict observance and the development of international law, particularly the United Nations Charter principles.

⁵ Fr. Démer, *Histoire des politiques sociales*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1996, Romanian edition, Iași, Institutul European, 1998, p.12.

The third paragraph of Article 1 of TEU explicitly refers to the principle of solidarity, an affirmation crucial for the concept of Social Europe. The EU principle of solidarity has implications for the various rights concerned with employment, industrial relations and social protection in the EU Charter.

Chapter IV (Articles 27-38) of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* is entitled 'Solidarity.' Articles 27 to 38 bear directly on employment and industrial relations: workers' right to information and consultation (Article 27), right to collective bargaining and action (Article 28), right to access to employment services (Article 29), protection in the event of unjustified dismissal (Article 30), fair and just working conditions (Article 31), prohibition of **child labor** and protection of young people at work (Article 32), family and professional life (Article 33), social security and social assistance (Article 34), health care (Article 35), access to services of general economic interest (Article 36), environmental protection (Article 37) and consumer's protection (Article 38). These are solidarity rights in the sense of the European Union's law on social protection.

The Lisbon Treaty introduced Article 1a which stipulates that "the Union is founded on values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law and respect human rights including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society characterized by pluralism, nondiscrimination, tolerance, justice, *solidarity* and equality *between women and men*".

Solidarity also implies the right of access to social security benefits and social services that are provided in case of maternity, illness, work accidents or professional illness, dependency or old age, and in case of loss of employment, in accordance with rules laid down by Union law and national laws and practices. Social security is defined as "the protection which society attaches to its members through a mix of public dispositions against the economic and social misery that threatens in case of loss or reduction in earnings due to illness, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, disability, old age or death, and providing medical care and benefits to families with children"⁶. Thus, any person residing and moving legally within the EU is entitled to social security benefits and social assistance benefits. Also, every worker is entitled to protection against unjustified dismissal in accordance with Union law and national laws and practices.

The principle of solidarity is often used in the context of social protection but, as we can observe, the concept of solidarity has multiple meanings: solidarity between EU Member States, solidarity (among European nations), solidarity between generations, solidarity between the members of society, solidarity between women and men. From the Solidarity Chapter of the EU Charter we can also make the difference between two categories of rights:

⁶ Bureau International du Travail, *La sécurité sociale*, Genève, 1995, p. 4.

programmatic social and economic solidarity rights (social assistance, health, education etc.) and justiciable civil and political rights (e.g. trade union freedom of association, information and consultation, collective bargaining and collective action). The EU Charter aims at opening a new chapter in the legal enforcement of solidarity rights, both at transnational and national levels.

According to article 63 b of the Lisbon Treaty, “The policies of the Union set out in this Chapter and their implementation shall be governed by the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, between the Member States. Whenever necessary, the Union acts adopted pursuant to this Chapter shall contain appropriate measures to give effect to this principle”. In this way, the Lisbon Treaty makes the principle of solidarity “an almost socialist-styled principle of the Union's asylum, immigration and border control policies”⁷. Article 63b also makes an explicit reference to “financial implications”.

The idea of solidarity and burden-sharing between the EU Member States in the response to migration and asylum challenges, however, is not new. In 2005, the Commission adopted a framework program on solidarity and management of migration flows for the 2005-2007 period: “The Commission proposed financial solidarity mechanisms covering the areas of controls and surveillance of external borders, return of third-country nationals residing illegally in the EU, integration of legally resident third-country nationals and asylum”⁸.

The principle of “solidarity” has derived originally from the French legal system, brought into Community law by the Court of Justice. For example, this principle was applied by the European Court of Justice in a case concerning the complaints made by self-employed workers that compulsory contributions to the mutual funds established to provide social protection violated the principle of free competition in the common market as laid down in Articles 81-82 of TEC. In *Poucet v. Assurances générales de France (AGF) et Caisse mutuelle régionale de Languedoc-Rousillon (Camulrac)*, *Pistre v. Caisse autonome nationale de compensation de l'assurance vieillesse des artisans (Cancava)*, Cases C-159/91⁹ and C-160/91¹⁰, the French government in its arguments to the Court cited Article L 111-1 of the French Social Security Code, which defines the principles of social protection in France: solidarity and compulsory affiliation. In its decision, the Court rejected the complaints of the self-employed workers. The motivation was that the French social security regime has a social objective in accordance with the principle of solidarity; its function is

⁷<http://www.europeanfoundation.org/docs/Tuesday%2029%20January/ARTICLE%2063b.mht>.

⁸<http://www.europeanfoundation.org/docs/Tuesday%2029%20January/ARTICLE%2063b.mht>

⁹ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:61991J0159:EN:PDF>.

¹⁰ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:61991J0159:EN:HTML>.

exclusively social and does not constitute economic activity necessary to constitute an enterprise within the meaning of Articles 81-82.

Although modified through adaptation to other Member State systems and diffused through the entire European Community, solidarity became one of those principles which characterize the European law on social protection.

In specialized French literature, there are identified at least two variants of solidarity: national solidarity and occupational solidarity. National solidarity means “solidarity across all social and professional groups and involves a tax-financed, non-means-tested system of social protection offering flat-rate benefits”¹¹. Occupational solidarity involves “solidarity within a given professional group and it proposes a system of social security funded through insurance contributions and offering earnings-related benefits”¹². Occupational solidarity is present in those schemes founded on insurance: social insurance (pensions, unemployment allowances and other rights of social insurance) and health insurance.

Having its roots in the social teachings of the Catholic Church¹³, the principle of solidarity was developed by the leading architects of the communist system, Karl Marx. Karl Marx opposed the working class —or proletariat— to the owning class — the bourgeoisie — and the individualism to a constricted kind of class solidarity. Building communist society is, in Marx’s opinion, a process of class conflict and revolutionary struggle that would lead to the victory of the proletariat and the establishment of a classless socialist society in which private property would be abolished and the means of production and subsistence belong to the community. For Marx, communism was the result of material development, especially of productive forces. He believed that the most important issue is to change the world and not interpret it. Under the slogan adopted by the communist movement, communism was to be the world in which each received “by its capabilities beyond its needs”. Morality being abolished with the shortcomings, the main criteria that should govern the choice of projects were the scientific and aesthetic life. In other words, the communist society was

¹¹ Daniel Béland, Randall Hansen, “Reforming the French Welfare State: Solidarity, Social Exclusion and the Three Crisis of Citizenship”, in *West European Politics*, no. 1/January 2000, vol. 23, p. 51.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Roman Catholic popes emphasized its importance and relevance specifically for the economic order, starting in 1891 with the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* by Pope Leo XIII. For the first time, the term “social charity” was used by Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). In 1987 Pope John Paul II renamed and detailed the principle of solidarity in the second of his three encyclicals addressed to the economic order: *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, saying that “Solidarity is undoubtedly a Christian virtue”. He also emphasized the applicability of the principle also to the international order among nations. John Paul II had become known also as “the Pope of Solidarity” because of his support to the Polish workers organization named *Solidarnosc*.

not a society of consumption, but it was a society that mobilized all people, either poor or rich in intellect, to show virtue and noble sentiments in producing goods¹⁴. True communism meant the complete abolition of the principle of property which had to end human alienation to create authentic moral relationships between individuals, between man and nature. The institution of property is one that caused man to be unable to enjoy an object that another man possess and want an object that does not hold. This has distorted the desires of individuals. In terms of true communism, Marx considered that it would be possible joint use of property. Communist production activity was meant to be a process of collaboration and finally, between physical and intellectual work there should be no difference. Marx did not consider it was possible that the impoverished working class had no place in advanced capitalist world, where he considered revolution to take place. Facts have shown that the size of the extremely poor class depends on political and institutional factors and is not an inevitable consequence of capitalism as such. Words such as “equality” and “fraternity” were characteristic for communism, their translation into practice being designed to provide end of private wealth and private ownership of means of production, together with a new way of life based on cooperation and community solidarity. Communist ideal has always been proclaimed as an antidote to selfishness, especially selfishness materialized in particular property. Ideal communism action occurs very rarely in the historical evolution of mankind. Some researchers¹⁵ consider that it was done only in some religious communities and secular communities (the few still existing primitive peoples), where ownership and joint work is a way of life. In any case, and here there is a consensus in contemporary world political analysts, it seems not to have been made in communist countries.

Romania’s transition from communist regime which promoted, at least theoretically, full employment of labor, egalitarian distribution of earnings, solidarity with the disadvantaged, equal opportunities for all members of society to the capitalist regime has generated many negative social phenomena: poverty, social exclusion, high unemployment, labor migration. So we can say that the biggest challenge that Romania had to face after the transition to democracy was, perhaps, building a social security system and promoting social policies to resolve or at least mitigate these problems.

The principle of solidarity is the foundation of the Romanian state¹⁶, a principle of direct relevance to social security, and for all socio-economic domain, as underlying economic and social rights such as right to social security

¹⁴ C. Avram, *Regimuri politice comparate. Partea I. Autoritarismul și totalitarismul secolului XX*, Editura MJM, Craiova, 2002, pp. 145-151.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ D. C. Dănișor, *Constituția României comentată. Titlul I. Principii generale*, București, Editura Universul Juridic, 2009, p. 166.

and right to information and consultation of employees, right to negotiate collective agreements and to initiate collective actions (including the right to strike), the right of access to services and employment placement and the right to protection against unfair dismissal.

According to the solidarity principle, all citizens face a series of social risks (unemployment, illness, ageing, death), that make them dependent on one another. It is universally assumed that social risks – illness, invalidity, unemployment – are randomly distributed. Social solidarity requires social risk assessment and involves pooling of contributions in order to provide a common fund from which benefits are paid after people contributed to the fund. In the event of a social risk, the insured receiving social security benefits only if he has satisfied the obligation to pay contributions. According to Law no. 19/2000 concerning the public system of pensions and other rights of social insurances, the principle of social solidarity means that people assume mutual obligations in return for which enjoy rights for the prevention, restriction or elimination of social risks under the law¹⁷.

Social solidarity works as long as each participant in public social insurance system fulfills its obligation to contribute a certain time to form a pool which will then cover losses sustained by insured persons from the production of certain risks (aging, temporary work incapacity, disability, maternity, death, etc.) that prevent them to perform an activity to normal parameters imposed by the workplace. Functioning mechanism of social solidarity is best illustrated by social insurances. Their social nature makes the colectivity to take the task of material insurance: “active population assume maintenance of those unable to work”¹⁸.

The principle of solidarity is in close relationship addition to the principles of obligativity and contributivity, the three principles being unable to function in one or other’s absence. The principle of obligativity or compulsory insurance requires that individuals and legal entities participate in the public system of social insurance, health insurance and unemployment insurance. Employees and others who have a legal labor relationship are compulsory insured in the public system. Persons who are not compulsory insured and those who are not insured in other insurance systems, not integrated into the public system, can benefit of voluntary insurance by concluding a contract of insurance under the law. Contributivity principle is a principle according to which contributory benefits (social insurance benefits) is entitled under social security contributions paid by individuals and legal entities. But there is still a risk: contributivity can unbalance the principles of solidarity and equality if not

¹⁷ Article 2 letter c) of Law no. 19/2000 concerning the public system of pensions and other rights of social insurances.

¹⁸ Sanda Ghimpu, Al. Țiclea, C. Tufan, *Dreptul securității sociale*, București, Editura All Beck, 1998, p. 32.

observed, for each insured, proportionality between benefits provided and contributions paid¹⁹.

Another Romanian law that mentions the solidarity principle is Law no. 95/2006 on health reform which stipulates, in article 208, par. 3, that health social insurances are compulsory and based on solidarity and subsidiarity in the constitution and use of funds. Solidarity is seen, in this case, as mandatory participation to pay health insurance contribution for the formation of Single National Fund of Health Insurances.

In any developed society all disadvantaged population groups should receive the minimum necessary income or services necessary for everyday life. This is the reason for the functioning of any system of social security. Due to the fact that, currently, there are, in the public pension system, pensions whose levels stands still under the income necessary to ensure a minimum standard of living, Government Urgency Ordinance no. 6/2009 introduced guaranteed minimum social pension. It is a case in which social solidarity is manifested by the fact that pensioners of the public pension system, with residence in Romania, benefit of the guaranteed minimum social pension regardless of date of registration to pension system if the pension amount, due or in payment, is below the guaranteed minimum social pension.

A form of social solidarity is providing a minimum income which is regarded as strictly necessary to sustain everyday life. In Romania, Law no. 416/2001 on guaranteed minimum income regulated such income which is based on the principle of solidarity, being the first time when a Romanian law referred to the homeless²⁰.

Social benefit is also a form of social protection/solidarity which is reflected in the provision of money in relation to the number of distinguished persons in the family, ment for helping families, single persons with incomes below a threshold considered basic minimum and homeless people living in need, money funded from local budgets and from certain revenues of the state budget²¹. Social benefits are non-contributory welfare benefits, consisting of money and benefits in kind, granted to individuals or families whose incomes are insufficient to cover minimum needs.

The term “solidarity” is mentioned also in Law no. 116/2002 on preventing and combating social marginalization. This law defines social marginalization as a “peripheral social position, characterized by to isolation, of individuals or groups with limited access to economic, political, educational and

¹⁹ Pierre Rosanvallon, *Noua problemă socială*, Institutul European, Iași, 1998, pp. 65-67; D. C. Dănișor, *cited work*, pp. 166-168.

²⁰ See also Loredana Belu, “Repere privind reglementarea ajutorului social în concordanță cu cerințele Uniunii Europene”, in *Revista de Științe Juridice*, no. 3-4/2005.

²¹ See also Al. Țiclea, *Dreptul securității sociale. Curs universitar*, ediția a II-a, București, Editura Universul Juridic, 2009, p. 336.

communication resources of the community”, being manifested by “the absence of a minimum social conditions of life”²². Law no. 116/2002 introduces the notion of “contract of solidarity” which is a contract concluded between an employer and a young man aged between 16 and 25 years at risk of professional exclusion. Under a contract of solidarity, the young in this category qualify for work placement with an employer approved by the National Agency for Employment. Besides the solidarity contract, the employer will close with the young a labor contract for a fixed term, equal to the contract of solidarity (two years). Employers hiring young people in terms of a contract of solidarity would enter into agreements with National Agency for Employment that it undertakes to repay the monthly basic salary set on youth employment, but not more than 75% of net average salary per economy²³.

Another act of social solidarity is the creation of Special Social Solidarity Fund for People with Disabilities (replacing Accident and Risk Fund), established by the Urgency Ordinance no. 102/1999. Financing of social assistance for the disabled is done mainly from the Special Social Solidarity Fund for People with Disabilities which consists of penalties due by law for non-payment of amounts due within this fund; individuals and legal persons’ donations made under the law, in compliance with destinations established by donors; amounts due from companies, autonomous corporations and national companies, other economic agents which employ people with disabilities within 4% of the total of employees; grants from state budget to supplement the fund, when the sources provided by law are not covering the needs. The costs of free city transport with means of public transportation are also supported from the Special Social Solidarity Fund for People with Disabilities.

Companies, autonomous corporations and national companies and other economic agents that have a total of at least 100 employees are required to hire disabled persons with an individual employment contract at a rate of at least 4% of the total of employees²⁴. Refusal to hire persons with disabilities as provided by law requires drawing monthly to the Special Social Solidarity Fund for People with Disabilities an amount equal to the minimum gross salary per economy, multiplied by the number of jobs in which they did not employ disabled. Disabled people employed by individual contract of labor by such operators shall have all the necessary adaptations and facilities to remove any impediments to the activity which is carried.

Another term used by Law no. 217/2003 on preventing and combating domestic violence is “familial solidarity”. The aims of this law were care and family support, development and consolidation of “family solidarity”, based on friendship, affection and mutual moral and material support between family

²² Article 3 of Law no. 116/2002 on preventing and combating social marginalization.

²³ Article 8 of Law no. 116/2002 on preventing and combating social marginalization.

²⁴ Article 42 par. 1 of Urgency Ordinance no. 102/1999.

members. Local government authorities and local communities, through legal representatives, provide conditions for strengthening families, preventing conflicts and violence in the family. If an act of violence occurs, local communities, through legal representatives, and government authorities offer logistical, informational and material support to the National Agency for Family Protection. The National Agency for Family Protection is a specialized body with legal personality, subordinated to the Ministry of Health and Family, established in February 2004, following the adoption of Law no. 217/2003 on preventing and combating domestic violence. Mayors and local councils work together and cooperate with religious organizations, NGOs, and any other legal entities and individuals involved in charitable actions, giving them the necessary support to achieve the objectives of preventing conflicts and violence in the family. As we can see in this case, social solidarity comes in support of family solidarity.

As Law no. 47/2006 says, national social assistance system is the body of institutions and measures that the State, through central government and local authorities, local collectivity and civil society, intervenes to prevent, limit or eliminate the effects of temporary or permanent situations that may lead to marginalization and social exclusion of individuals, families, groups or communities²⁵. The principle of solidarity put at the base of social assistance system stipulates that “the community is involved in supporting people who can not provide social needs, to maintain and strengthen social cohesion”²⁶.

Unlike social insurance, social assistance is universal because the need, once established, will allow access to all categories of people in need or unable to develop their capacity for social integration, to the benefits and social services which are granted in such situations²⁷.

State, being the guarantee and protector of public order, is concerned that individuals receive the benefits and social aid and is interested in controlling that this aid, expression of social solidarity, should not be diverted from its purpose. In Romania, especially after 1990, social security policies are oriented towards increasing state's role, but also towards developing a partnership under which the state, through public institutions, cooperates with civil society organizations in organizing and developing social services, as Law no. 47/2006 concerning the national social assistance system shows. Risks deepening social background and the limited capacity of state issued a new direction in social policy orientation, namely the launch of social support and community development programs. Decentralization of social services is an enabling framework that allows the

²⁵ Article 2 par. 1 of Law no. 47/2006 concerning the national system of social assistance.

²⁶ Article 4 letter c) of Law no. 47/2006 concerning the national system of social assistance.

²⁷ Sanda Ghimpu, Al. Țiclea, C. Tufan, *cited work*, p. 27.

community to become active and to mobilize resources and human efforts to solve its problems²⁸.

In the present state of society, the state assumes responsibility for achieving welfare measures provided by law and ensure transfer of powers and financial resources needed by local authorities, civil society and decentralized public services.

Another feature of social assistance resulting from the way in which it is done the financing of the social security system. In this respect I note that, unlike social insurances system whose birth is conditioned by the payment of contributions, for social assistance, according to art. 53 par. 1 of Law no. 47/2006 on the national system of social assistance, financial support of social benefits and social services is provided from local budgets and state budget and from extrabudgetary funds from sponsorships, donations or other contributions from natural or legal persons of the country or abroad.

Benefits financed from state budgets are non-contributory, reflecting the most meaningful society solidarity to support people who can not provide social needs, for strengthening and maintaining social cohesion, without any effort on their part²⁹. In other words, solidarity implies interdependence of individuals in a determined community, "from a restricted family to the largest international community - fact illustrated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"³⁰.

Thus conceived, the existence of solidarity induces social assistance of a group or a whole community to individuals which are in a difficult situation. Under this principle, the community is involved in supporting people who can not provide social needs, for strengthening and maintaining social cohesion. According to an author, "the weakness of the theory of solidarity can arise because social assistance is likely to be achieved as a punishment to those who were guilty of antisocial behaviour"³¹.

Taking into account the pressures and risks caused by internal and external economic developments, the need to sustain growth and reduce inflation, in the years 2009-2010 were adopted "immediate measures to ensure a climate of social protection based on the principle of solidarity and contribution in promoting social progress"³², such as Government Urgency Ordinance no. 28/2009 on the regulation of certain social protection measures, Law no. 49/2010 on certain measures in the field of labor and social insurance, Government Urgency Ordinance no. 4/2010 on the regulation of social

²⁸ *Asistența socială în România și Marea Britanie*, București, Unicef, 2000.

²⁹ Sanda Ghimpu, Al. Țiclea, C. Tufan, *cited work*, p. 15.

³⁰ Al. Athanasiu, *Dreptul securității sociale*, București, Editura Actami, 1995, p. 178.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 179.

³² Government Urgency Ordinance no. 28/2009 on the regulation of certain social protection measures, reason exposure.

protection measures for 2010, Government Decision no. 23/2010 approving the payment standards for social services etc.

Ideal of a democratic society is that each member of the community be protected by measures of social security but this ideal is extremely to achieve. In the present conditions of economic crisis - aging population, growing unemployment, low employment rate of workers in rural areas – the question is if we have sufficient resources left to sustain social security expenditures. It results that “Under the thesis of compensation, if the state does not provide an adequate social insurance net, and if it cannot guarantee a minimum level of subsistence, then this deficit is compensated for by increased recourse to social networks and private coping strategies”³³.

Before the generalization of the economic crisis, some authors said that in all eight new EU members “there are grounds for optimism in their future capacity to sustain social solidarity through social protection and support”³⁴. But this was before...

In light of the new evolutions at social and economic level and having in view the rapid spread of poverty, in order to widespread solidarity and found a new base for the common welfare, society has to provide support for the poor and excluded through private social networks: “Thus, both cultural and religious traditions which emphasize solidarity and family cohesion, and social security systems covering only basic needs, can be at the root of this compensatory response”³⁵.

³³ E. Sik, B. Wellman, “Network Capital in Capitalist, Communist and Post-communist Countries”, in B. Wellman (ed.), *Networks in the Global Village. Life in Contemporary Community*, Boulder, CO, Westview, 1999; M. Prisching, “Solidarität: Der vielschichtige Kitt gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens”, in S. Lessenich (ed.), *Wohlfahrtsstaatliche Grundbegriffe. Historische und aktuelle Diskurse*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 2003, cited in Petra Böhnke, “Are the poor socially integrated? The link between poverty and social support in different welfare regimes”, in *Journal of European Social Policy* no. 18/2008, p. 135.

³⁴ Nick Manning, “Diversity and change in pre-accession Central and Eastern Europe since 1989”, in *Journal of European Social Policy*, no. 14/ 2004, p. 211.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

IS ADVERTISING A SOLUTION IN THE CURRENT TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS?

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Abstract: As an after-effect of the global economic crisis, the world economy has suffered major disruptions. Supply-demand relationship has been affected both economically and between advertising producers and their customers. In this context, the advertising market sought to exploit new means of communication, using the latest production and promotion technologies for their advertising products. During the early stages of economic recession the persuasive power of the advertising message is highly overrated, which can generate an increasing demand for advertising, while in latter stages of recession, it faces its own recession, due to budget cuts, reduction of the target audience and less spectacular results, while, paradoxically, customer demands are much higher.

Keywords: advertising, economic crisis, market share, advertising instruments.

1. Overview of the problem

Promotional activities must meet the demands of a market where purchasing power is lower and where low-cost products with a higher value for money are sought, both in economy and in advertising.

In the context of the deepening economic crisis, a comprehensive analysis of economic phenomena and processes is necessary, combined with the implementation of effective measures and strategies to promote trade. In this respect, Einstein considered the economic crisis as the most fortunate event which may occur for countries and people, for it entails progress. In times of crisis inventions, discoveries and great strategies are made. Who overcomes the crisis overcomes himself, does not remain “obsolete”. He noted in 1955 that the incompetence is the source of the real crisis and “the true problem of peoples and countries is laziness and indifference regarding the solutions for these issues”.

Without a crisis and competition, life is just a slow agonizing routine. Crisis creates values and brings out the best in each of us. Einstein urges us to

work and ignore the crisis in silence, because voicing our concerns only helps to strengthen it.

In the current climate of financial uncertainty, in order to avoid the apocalyptic blockage, when nobody can buy or sell, **advertising is needed for communication between producers and consumers**, and also to encourage private sector investment, innovation and job creation. Since people still need food, clothing, housing and other essential goods in times of crisis, companies and small retailers need advertising in order to sell their products.

Moreover, in times of recession, businesses are forced to adapt to the new conditions, where consumer behavior changes based on their income but also based on their social status due to job loss or job security uncertainty. The economic depression, characterized by reduction of economic sectors, should usher the use of the most effective tactic, communication.

2. Exploiting new means of communication

Reduced marketing budgets will urge companies to seek new beneficial communication opportunities, and this seems to lead to the migration from traditional media advertising to online advertising, publicity on the Internet being the cheapest and most effective method by which one can make himself known. This phenomenon is beginning to take shape and publicity over the digital media is having the same or even greater impact than advertising through traditional media.

Why is digital advertising more attractive in times of economic crisis? This is demonstrated by the following:

A first aspect would be the *return of the investment*, i.e. invest very little in the interactive global internet market, which is offering new opportunities to make yourself known and know others. Secondly, *routing information* is an important issue, because a message will reach any region of the world in a much shorter time.

Message attractiveness and user interest can be determined by monitoring the number of people accessing the information, so the impact of advertising can be more easily determined in a much shorter period, both by analyzing the number of visits and by sales volume, which can contribute substantially to changes in price and presentation strategies.

Internet advertising has the advantage of being always accessible and can be modified or discontinued at any time. **The advertising interactivity** is determined by its speed and accessibility and also by the ease with which it can be acquired and forwarded when the information catches the attention of many visitors.

Even if the budget is reduced and investment in communication has to be efficient, in times of crisis it is necessary to invest in the creation or maintenance of an image in order to boost sales. Maintaining a company's brand identity costs much less than having to rebuild it after the crisis. Creating a favorable

competitive position for a production company is also a key objective to be considered for any business.

Branding, as a competitive strategy, comprises all methods by which an organization or a product stands apart from the competition and is a process that creates and maintains a brand. Temi Abimbola, professor of marketing, believes that branding is “the identification, creation, and operation of sustainable competitive advantages”. Philip Kotler also considered a brand as “a logo, symbol or design, a name or their combination, defining and differentiating a product or a company” and is distinguished by “six types of positive meanings: attributes, benefits, values, culture, personality, the consumer type to whom is addressed”.

All these ideas lead us to believe that **a brand means everything we want to communicate to consumers about the product or our company**, but also everything we communicate unwittingly. A brand is a reflection and represents everything the consumer and the public generally thinks about the product or company when he hears or sees the name, symbol etc

Some analysts (Aneta Bogdan¹) in the Romanian marketing and advertising industry argue that the Romanian “marcă” would be our equivalent to “brand”. In our view, however, the term “brand” has a different meaning, different from “marcă”. “Marcă” is a benchmark that differentiates a product or service from other products or services, allowing consumers to distinguish the products or services offered by business competitors.

Brand advertising is essential to the brand owner trying to demonstrate the value of his products on the market. The art of creating and maintaining a brand is called **brand management** and the high recognition rate of a brand on the market is called **brand recognition**.

Global brands are sold on international markets and are perceived to reflect the same set of values around the world, in order to create lasting relationships with customers from all countries regardless of language, culture and religion. As examples of global brands we can mention Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Marlboro, Levi Strauss, etc.

As the surrounding world is becoming more complex brands become familiar landmarks and simplify the purchasing decision, which currently causes many companies to recognize their importance for marketing.

Generally most companies focus on building **individual brands**. But one of the main problems to be solved is structuring and managing the entire portfolio of brands by creating an optimal “brand architecture”.

Brand architecture defines and establishes relationships between brands, between corporate entities and between groups of products and services, finally

¹ “Mărci, dialog, reputație - un interviu cu Aneta Bogdan” în *PR România*, <http://www.pr-romania.ro/articole/csr/70-marci-dialog-reputatie-un-interviu-cu-aneta-bogdan-partea-i.html>.

leading to the creation of a system, a kind of road map that helps consumers and policy makers in the organization to “surf” without difficulty among brands and reach the right decisions.

The advantages of branding cover a wide spectrum, from the protection of names to the intrinsic values of the product or service, increasing competitiveness and the ability to create sub-brands (brand extension). The main disadvantage is the high cost. Market players in the field agree that it is expensive to create a brand in all its aspects and in all respects to the public, especially when the contractor itself does not demonstrate competence in brand building and management.

3. Advertising concepts

The impact of recession on advertising methods is subject to some new conceptual approaches to defining and streamlining communication through advertising and also regarding the replacement of inefficient practices with other techniques and strategies capable of generating the elaboration of a plan of revenue. It is well known that a reputation is hard to establish, and is important not to neglect its maintenance. In times of trouble the image plays an important role in the selections the clients make, but any price adjustment to market requirements or innovation are not to be neglected, otherwise it is likely that even large companies with strong brands will lose their market position, the brightness of their past glory transformed into a dusty vintage picture.

4. Above the line advertising and below the line advertising during the crisis

The criterion of distinction between advertising “above the line” (Above the Line - ATL) advertising and “below the line” (Below the line - BTL) is the main means of communication used to disseminate messages.

Advertising above the line (ATL) refers to conventional and traditional channels and it's done through media such as print media, radio, television, cinema, web banners and web search engines. In general this type of advertising is used to promote brands, being more effective when the target group is very large and difficult to define.

Advertising below the line (BTL) refers to unconventional channels that exhibit more inspiration and originality. This type of advertising is done by means of direct communication with customers in order to provide immediate information on product features and leave to the viewing public the decision to listen to the advertisement. Thus, advertising is adapting to these channels without being influenced by technical constraints. BTL techniques generally involve sales personnel and uses unconventional brand-building strategies

(brand building) such as: direct mail (flyers, letters, emails, brochures, posters, etc.) and promotional items (lighters, matches, t-shirts, caps etc)².

BTL is a sales promotion incentive that has a shorter duration and proves efficient and profitable when is directed at small groups. In this respect we can talk about event centered advertising:

- Significant calendar days;
- Visits from local and foreign personalities;
- Book launches, fairs and exhibitions;
- Sponsorship of public events;
- Organization of receptions, balls, concerts, charity etc.
- Promotions face-to-face.

Other types of unconventional advertising are outdoor advertising and indoor advertising, which is generally based on creativity. Outdoor advertising provides advertising services by street billboards (mesh or net banners, posters, street signs, TV screens, etc.) and mobile carriers (buses, trolleybuses, trams etc.). Outdoor billboards are generally installed in towns and cities, the strategic areas of roads, intersections and highways.

The advantages of outdoor advertising are: prolonged exposure, drawing the attention of the target audience, reduced costs compared to other media, greater impact due to the scale of the advertisement and increased efficiency for campaigns aimed at increasing a product or brand reputation.

Indoor advertising shall takes place in closed places (cinemas, supermarkets, airports, bars, beauty shops, medical clinics, intercity trains, pharmacies, media distribution centers, schools, universities, subway, etc.) with a large amount of traffic and aims to draw attention of potential customers who attend these facilities. This type of advertising can be done by: billboards, radio networks and closed circuit TV, plasma video merchandising services (techniques and methods to stimulate consumer), information stands.

Indoor advertising serves to permanently and completely inform visitors passing through these locations regarding events, products and services that they use regularly³.

While ATL promotions are designed for a mass audience, BTL promotions are targeted to individuals based on their needs or preferences. ATL promotions establish a brand identity and BTL actually lead to a sale, so the effectiveness of BTL promotions is more easily measured, which will provide valuable insights for marketing and return on investment.

² "Impact of Recession on Approaches to Brand Promotion// Community Marketing Blog". Posted by Aditya on December 12, 2009 at http://www.communitymarketing.typepad.com/my_weblog/2009/12/impact-of-recession-on-approaches-to-brand-promotion.html

³ <http://www.agresivmedia.ro/promovare-media.html>.

Some specialists argue that the two terms actually refer to the distinction between advertising and other forms of promotion: public relations, promotional sales, door to door sales, etc., especially since events can be considered related to public relations.

The current trend is to find other terms to express the best means of promotion used, such as the notion of advertising **On the line**, (online, offline) which combines and unifies the characteristics of both types above, without replacing them.

Through the line is a concept that has arisen because of the hybrids of communication, which make impossible the sharing of advertising types. This method of advertising encompasses elements from both ATL and BTL and is designed to allow the sending of the same message through multiple media, without the need to make a distinction according to the means used for promotion.

Above the line (ATL), below the line (BTL), and through the line (TTL), are considered advertising techniques in the organization of business and marketing communications.

Globalization had an essential and complex role in both economic progress and in the stimulation of competition, so by mid-2008 considerable budgets were allocated for ATL activities, as the world economy was experiencing an optimistic growth.

The rapidity with which the economic crisis has spread, affecting the economies of many countries, imposed a new rethinking of the mechanisms of globalization. Implicitly, growing financial pressure had negative effects on advertising budgets, which required new approaches in order to make the marketing activities more efficient by using cheaper techniques and methods but with a larger impact on sales. The idea of optimizing the investment begins to take shape by increasing the importance of promoting through BTL and TTL approach techniques, which are actually a combination of ATL and BTL.

5. Advertising techniques used by companies during the crisis

The advertising techniques used by companies in times of crisis include:

Advergaming - is the method of using video games to advertise a product, organization or viewpoint. The term “advergaming” was first used in January 2000 by Anthony Giallourakis and was then applied to various free online games commissioned by big companies. With the development of Internet networks and the increase in the number of users, advergaming have proliferated, becoming an integral part of the brand media due to their role in promoting websites.

Players choose to register to be eligible for prize winners and in turn can invite other users to participate by sending a link by e-mail or messenger. Promoters of these games realized that the ease of entry into the game creates more and more internet users, so they make it more attractive by awarding bonus

points for each new gamer invited, but also by systems of votes that can help the player advance in the game.

Publicity games may have educational or training purposes, information or simply entertainment. Generally these games are advertised through social networking sites or other sites having a large number of visitors. Romania has witnessed several advertising games. An example is the stimulating “Coffee World” competition, started by the “Eva” magazine, on their site www.eva.ro, which registered a number of 44,356 participants.

By using ATL Advergaming, a company usually provides interactive games on their websites in hopes of attracting potential customers or simply to make the participants become more aware of a product. BTL advergaming games are normally published and have a stimulating role, or a guidance role, such as the military games designed to boost recruitment for the U.S. Army and also others focused on stimulating education.

Though advergaming is commercial advertising, there is a new technique that uses the game itself, which begins to define game advertising propaganda. Thus, billboards, sponsored product placement and interaction of the player with these elements in the game provide an outlet to advertise products.

The TTL Advergaming technique started to become more common and refers to the use of hyperlinks in the game, designed to take the user to web pages which contain advertisements. Hyperlinks are reference and navigation elements which can be accessed instantly by sending the user to a specified destination. This technique is designed to lure the player to visit other websites and varies from one game to another. Other games lead users to additional links, which can sometimes become annoying in obtaining additional information about the game⁴.

Product placement is a very interesting and promising opportunity to promote them. This type of promotion uses two virtual worlds: games (such as Second Life, a game that emerges you into a fascinating virtual company where you can buy, sell, traveling and meet people from all over the real world) and universal business simulations. For example the emergence of virtual banks that serve the brand in the real world offers more opportunities for virtual currency transactions as business simulation appear to allow players to produce and sell virtual goods. The main objectives of the game are goods, services and brands. Recent studies indicate that the impact of brand in these games reminds consumers of that brand or product and also stimulate purchase intention, which contributes to raising brand measurement attributes.

Advertainment refers to the combined forms of advertising and entertainment, commercials that are packed as mini-movies, generally about 30 seconds long. This advertising technique has a video content regarding a brand

⁴ Ernest Adams, *Sorting Out the Genre Muddle.*, online at http://www.designersnotebook.com/Columns/101_Sorting_Out_the_Genre_Mudd/101_sorting_out_the_genre_mudd.htm.

or a trademark; using these online can be more personalized and more interactive than through the broadcast media.

By advertainment brands have a better chance of increasing visibility, creating awareness and preferences when the consistent message is broadcast over a longer period of time.

Nike, Apple and many other brands globally distributed cinema-grade short films. However, the high production cost of the short videos prevented the development of this technique.

In Romania, the first advertainment attempts were made in late 2005, with a Zapp advertising spot that used only 10 seconds to inform the public about the Zapp offer, the remaining 20 seconds being used for a “noble purpose”: “Zapp offers during the remainder of the ad quality entertainment”. Of course, it was only an early attempt to change the direction of classic advertising⁵.

Promoting a brand by advertainment constitute an exercise in commercial communications and integration of disciplinary knowledge. The necessity to integrate marketing, the audiovisual sector, business, art and culture determined advertising agencies to collaborate with directors and producers in the issuing of joint projects in order to produce “advertising movies”.

Bait and switch are two forms of fraud in the retail business, which rely on attracting potential customers by advertising a product or service at a low price or more features, and then to be offered something else. These tactics are intended to steer customers to believe they are making a bargain, so the vendor will not show the original product or the product advertised but instead will demonstrate a more expensive product or a similar product that may have a greater impact on the consumer public⁶.

The switch tactics is used by some bloggers as a means of entertainment, which is called **rickrolling**, in which users, when accessing a link, they are taken to another destination by a false trail, and in most cases can even lead to infection of their operating systems with viruses. Another aspect of this tactic is an online presentation of a software as being original and functional, available for a very small fee, this being a common practice in internet piracy. Generally these practices are sanctioned by law.

Store demonstration or “demo” is a promotion where product samples are distributed to customers in a shop. The purpose of the demonstration is to convince customers of the quality and usefulness of a particular product. In general these are new products or new versions of existing products.

The trial version is a way to promote a new or improved version of an existing product. This type of advertising is used for various games or software in order to demonstrate their usefulness. Demonstration versions can be

⁵http://www.iqads.ro/SpotLight_read_9782/advertainmentul__evadarea_din_calup_.html

⁶ N. Hicks, “Consumers complain about deceptive gas advertising along I-80” [Internet] in *Lincoln (Nebraska) Journal Star*, 2008 Aug 16.

downloaded from the Internet and can be used for a determined period that can reach even 6 months (e.g. antivirus software, video software, etc.).

Celebrity branding is a type of branding and advertising which appeals to a celebrity or a person with a high status in society to promote a product or service.⁷

Celebrity branding can take many different forms, from a celebrity simply appearing in advertisements for a product or service to a celebrity participating in PR events and even up to the creation of a line of products or services using celebrity names as a brand. The most popular forms of celebrity brand are for clothing and perfumes. Many singers, athletes, models and movie stars now have at least one licensed product or service that bears their names.

Lately there has been a *celebrity voice* trend in advertising. Some celebrities have distinct voices that are recognized even when not present on the screen. This is a more subtle way to add celebrity branding to a product or service.

The window display is a display window or a store window in which objects are exposed for sale in order to attract customers in areas of product marketing.

Employee pricing is a sales strategy launched in 2005 by the automotive industry in order to attract customers using low price programs. It was first offered by General Motors and later followed by Ford, Chrysler and some local dealers. While 2005 was the best year for this kind of promoting, this strategy has been used several times even during the crisis of 2008 by the automotive industry, in order to stimulate sales.

Fast Marketing is a marketing tool, designed in 1992 as a way of advertising by rapidly saturating a market with samples of a product.

Trailer or preview is a lengthy advertisement for a film that will be in cinemas in the future. These demonstrative ads have become increasingly popular on the Internet. The duration of a trailer is generally two minutes and a half, this being the maximum length allowed by the United States. Each studio or distributor is allowed to exceed this time limit only once a year when needed for a particular film. These trailers are made for advertising purposes, trying in a very condensed way to explain the story of a movie. The structure consists of three acts. Act I begins with the story premise, Act II continues the story usually ends with a climax, Act III usually consists of a video montage that includes powerful and emotional moments of the film and also presents the cast (accompanied by a soundtrack - a song or an orchestral piece) which could play an important role in selling the film if some stars act in it. Some trailers are especially coveted by collectors because some of the scenes presented are not in the actual movie⁸.

⁷ <http://www.frankwbaker.com/celebrityads.htm>

⁸ <http://www.straightdope.com/columns/read/2270/why-are-they-called-trailers-if-theyre-shown-em-before-em-the-movie>

Promotional merchandise, promotional items, promotional products or advertising gifts are commodity items that are marked with a logo and used in marketing or communication programs. They are designed to promote a company, a brand image or an event.

A logo is a trademark or symbol commonly used by commercial enterprises, organizations and even individuals, in order to promote instant recognition. Logos are either pure graphics (symbols, icons) or consisting of the organization's name (a logo or wordmark). Almost anything can be personalized with logo or name of a company and then used to promote the exhibitions or product launches. These elements include: shirts, caps, key chains, pens, stickers, calendars, lighters, watches, etc. In general these promotional items are relatively small and inexpensive, but may vary according to circumstances.

Companies often offer expensive gifts to celebrity participants at the event, which then allow themselves to be photographed with the gift, photographs that can be used by the company for promotional purposes. Other companies provide the participating celebrities with luxury gifts such as scarves, handbags, watches in the hope that these will be worn in public, which would be a successful advertising for the company and for the product image.

At the end of the twentieth century a new industry has evolved around the concept of gifts, such merchandise being used worldwide to promote a product or even corporate identity.

Propaganda is a technique designed to project a positive or negative quality (praise or blame) to an entity, object or value in order to create the emotional response of acceptance or rejection. Propaganda, “misinforms” and “manipulates” and is a special form of public relations that has the role of “informing”.

Propaganda often presents selective facts (e.g. lying by omission) to encourage certain messages to produce an emotional response rather than a presenting information in order to get a rational response from the target audience.

The Trojan Horse is an advertising offer, made by a company, which is designed to attract potential customers by offering money or anything of value, but after accepting the purchaser is obliged to spend a greater amount of money by signing long-term contracts out of which is difficult to come out. Negative consequences may include customer facing costs well over market share, large amount of debt, or even identity theft. This practice is a trick, apparently referring to an item offered at a bargain price. Marketing business using the trojan horse include banks, Internet and mobile service providers and other companies which need to have a continuing relationship with the customer.

Internet advertising is one of the main mechanisms that help the Internet survive. Internet advertising is of several types, each with its own fee. We mention two new concepts, which we will take into account later on:

The Advertiser is a company or individual who pays the web masters for publishing advertising on their sites.

The Publisher refer to owners of sites that display the advertiser's ads and are paid for it⁹.

Forms of advertising:

CPT - Cost per thousand. You are paid per thousand impressions, or number of guests who visit pages with ads.

CPC - Cost per click. This type of ad is paid by the number of clicks on data links or advertising banners. This is a type of Internet advertising very often met.

CPA - cost per action. You get paid for an action (buying of a product, registration) made by users who click on the advertisement placed by you.

The above methods can be applied in two ways. As a publisher you can put the advertising directly from the advertiser, this being a method that involves a previous agreement between the advertiser and the publisher. Another method is to use online advertising agencies the advantage being that we need not look for new advertisers or advertisers for publishers. By subscribing to an Internet advertising agency, ads from various advertisers will be displayed on our site automatically. The disadvantage is that these agencies pay only a part of the ad, usually 75%.

Conclusion

In a time when the economic crisis affects the global economy the question that often arises is "How to sell if people won't to buy?" This kind of question is a challenge for the advertising businesses, as advertising is not the optimal solution for business relief in times of crisis, it also depends on innovation and the creation of a climate of trust and more efficient investments. We can say however that advertising is a good incentive for consumers to purchase but also an energizing incentive for the money and goods flow.

Reducing advertising budgets in times of economic crisis is a common temptation, but is highly counterproductive. Major effects occur after the economic recovery and consist especially in the reduction of market share. If the correct solution, namely budget growth is not applicable, a suitable alternative is focusing on mix marketing elements that have proved successful. In times of recession, an effort to keep existing customers and markets is more sustainable than exploring new opportunities. The brand must continue to be promoted, otherwise long-term negative effects will be difficult to counter.

⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Online_advertising.

***HISTORY OF ELITES: SOCIO-CULTURAL AND
POLITICAL DIMENSIONS / HISTOIRE DES
ELITES: DIMENSIONS SOCIO-CULTURELLES
ET POLITIQUES***

**CULTURE FESTIVE ET COMMUNAUTÉ
ÉMOTIONNELLE AU XIX^E SIÈCLE.
RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'HISTOIRE CULTURELLE DU
POLITIQUE**

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Abstract: The festive culture is nowadays a successful topics, especially when is associated with new methodologies as they are those proposed by the Cultural History of Politics or History of Emotions. The present paper aims to open a similar debate in the Romanian space, starting from a critical discussion about some hypothesis of research and a briefly view on Romanian historiography to the analysis of opportunities to submit documents from the Romanian archives about 19th Century to a new interpretive grid, especially from the study of the relationship established between power, festive culture and emotional community.

Keywords: Cultural History of Politics, festive culture, emotions, 19th Century Wallachia.

Les réflexions y incluses ont comme point de départ un programme de recherche, récemment assumé¹, qui nous permet d'analyser un sujet moins

¹ *Dimensiunea festivă a puterii în spațiul românesc* («La dimension festive du pouvoir dans l'espace roumain»), programme de recherche, 2010-2011, Institut de recherches socio-humaines «C.S.Nicolaescu-Plopșor» (membres: Oana Sâmbrian, Diana Păunoiu, Silviu-Gabriel Lohon, Nicolae Mihai-coordonateur).

fréquenté par les historiens roumains² mais qui jouit d'un beau succès à l'étranger notamment aux renouvellements des méthodologies et des questionnements érigés. C'est pourquoi notre texte vise principalement deux objectifs. Tout d'abord, il se propose de récapituler les contributions récentes concernant la culture festive en tant que sujet de l'histoire culturelle du politique, telle que ce domaine semble être mis en place aujourd'hui, sans exclure une discussion critique inhérente en marge des nouveautés méthodologiques y apportées. Le second objectif de notre démarche vise une analyse des possibilités de soumettre les documents des archives roumaines concernant notamment le XIX^e siècle à une nouvelle grille interprétative, à partir de l'étude de la relation qui s'établit entre le pouvoir, la culture festive et la *communauté émotionnelle*.

De l'anthropologie culturelle à l'histoire culturelle

A notre avis, une des sources de la repensée de l'histoire dans une variante forte *culturaliste* peut aisément être identifiée chez Clifford Geertz. Le bien connu anthropologue nord-américain a énoncé une définition de la culture qui allait comme un gant aux certaines tendances, nouveau-nées dans le sein de quelques historiographies de référence³. Le fait que des représentants illustres de l'histoire culturelle, comme Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton⁴, pour ne citer que

² On peut y retenir parmi les contributions significatifs les études de Radu Păun notamment sur les cérémonies des princes phanariotes du XVIII^e siècle, un chapitre important de la thèse doctorale de Simona Nicoară, *Mitologiile revoluției pașoptiste românești. Istorie și imaginar*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999, pp. 254-258, l'ouvrage de Doru Radosav, *Arătarea Împăratului. Intrările imperiale în Transilvania și Banat, sec. XVIII-XIX. Discurs și reprezentare*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002, le volume édité par Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu et Maria Pakucs-Willcocks, *Spectacolul public între tradiție și modernitate. Sărbători, ceremonialuri, pelerinaje și suplicii*, București, Institutul Cultural Român, 2006 ou plus récemment Andi Mihalache, *Mănuși albe, mănuși negre. Cultul eroilor în vremea Dinastiei Hohenzollern*, Cluj-Napoca, Limes, 2007. On signale aussi deux intéressants numéros thématiques des revues *Caiete de antropologie istorică*, année IV, no. 1 (7), 2005, *Sărbătoare, celebrare, comemorare*, Simona Nicoară (éd.) et *Xenopoliana. Buletinul Fundației Academice «A. D. Xenopol»*, XIV, 2006, 1-4, *Ritualuri politice în România modernă*, Andi Mihalache, Adrian Cioflâncă (éds.).

³ Cf. Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures*, New York, Basic Books, 1973, p. 89, his well known definition of culture seen as "a pattern an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life".

⁴ Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes of in French Cultural History*, Basic Books, 1984 (Romanian edition, Polirom, 2000) est un excellent exemple. En parlant sur cette influence, Peter Burke remarquait le succès du volume, un des résultats d'un séminaire tenu à Princeton à coté de l'anthropologue cité. Le pari du

quelques exemples, rappelaient leur trajet professionnel, en reconnaissant l'importance et l'influence des recherches de Geertz, mérite d'être signalé. Dans une étude publiée il y a un demi-siècle, l'anthropologue nord-américain avait attiré l'attention sur les principales faiblesses de ses collègues en ce qui concerne la relation entre culture et structure sociale. Proposant une interprétation sémiotique, qui favorisait aussi une interprétation symbolique plus profonde, Geertz prenait distance par rapport aux interprétations marxistes selon lesquelles, le culturel était seulement une annexe des relations sociales. Roger Chartier remarquait justement que la définition de la culture comme « une totalité des langages et des actions symboliques propres à une communauté » a marqué pour les historiens un déplacement de leur intérêt vers les « manifestations collectives où s'énonce de manière paroxystique un système culturel : rituels de violence, rites de passage, fêtes carnavalesques etc. »⁵. Nous retrouvons ici des contributions signées par des classiques comme Eugène Le Roy Ladurie⁶, Maurice Agulhon, Mona Ozouf⁷, Natalie Zemon Davis, Carlo Guinzburg ou Lynn Hunt qui ont attiré l'attention sur une autre lecture, anthropologique, on peut dire, des réalités mal connues ou trop souvent ignorées.

Parmi les contributions récentes qui nous semblent extrêmement fertile, nous signalons celles signées par Sudhir Hazareensingh, Joseph Clarke et Emmanuel Fureix et qui portent sur une période chronologique importante (1789-1870)⁸. Commémorations, funérailles, fêtes de pouvoir deviennent le terrain du débat des émotions politiques, un concept loin d'être extravagant dont la compréhension est facilitée par le biais des contributions de Barbara H. Rosenwein concernant la *communauté émotionnelle*. Dans la préface signé à l'ouvrage de son ancien doctorant, Alain Corbin affirmait que, malheureusement, les émotions qui prennent naissance lors des événements tels processions, banquets, réunions diverses ont été mal ou jamais étudié au moins tant que l'histoire politique a continué être l'histoire des institutions, des mécanismes de décision, de la répartition sociale et géographique des opinions.

Darnton qui a suggéré que l'historien de même que l'anthropologue, "can read a ritual or a city, just as one can read a folktale or a philosophic text", paraît avoir eu du succès. Voir Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 38. Quant au Roger Chartier, nous envoyons à une contribution plus récente de l'historien français « La nouvelle histoire culturelle existe-t-elle? », *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, 31/2003, [En ligne]. URL: <http://ccrh.revues.org/index291.html>

⁵ Roger Chartier, « La nouvelle histoire culturelle », *ouv. citée*

⁶ *Le Carnaval de Romans, 1579-1580*, Paris, Flammarion, 1980.

⁷ Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire 1789-1799*, Paris, Gallimard, 1976.

⁸ Sudhir Hazareensingh, *La Sainte –Napoléon. Quand le 14 Juillet se faisait le 15 Août*, Paris, Editions Tallandier, 2007; Joseph Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007; Emmanuel Fureix, *La France des larmes. Deuils politiques à l'âge romantique (1814-1840)*, Paris, Editions Champs Vallon, 2009.

Au contraire, la mise de la recherche d'Emmanuel Fureix était justement de mettre en lumière que pour le Paris de la Monarchie censitaire les luttes partisans ne sont pas seulement des conflits des idées que plutôt des affrontements des sentiments. Elles résultent tout naturellement de l'intensité des traumatismes récents et de l'anxiété suscitée par l'inclusion difficile du pouvoir.

Si on passe dans l'espace est-européen, la lecture du chapitre que le chercheur roumain Andi Mihalache consacre aux funérailles de l'ancien prince régnant des Principautés Unies de la Moldavie et la Valachie, Alexandru Ioan Cuza en 29 Mai 1873⁹ en est un exemple pareil. Bien qu'il soit circonscrit à la relation entre les rites funéraires et ce que l'auteur préfère d'appeler «la rhétorique patrimoniale», on y trouve la même démonstration. Les émotions politiques s'avèrent donc plus forts qu'on s'imagine d'habitude et ils dépassent légèrement les clivages ordinaires. Leur représentation où s'entremêle des croyances religieuses et des convictions personnelles semble traduire à la fois «un besoin et une manque de sacralité» (Emmanuel Fureix).

Le concept de *communauté émotionnelle* introduit récemment par Barbara Rosenwein renforce une telle perspective de recherche. La définition proposée, «des groupes ou les gens adhèrent aux mêmes normes d'expression émotionnelle et valorisent – ou non – des émotions identiques ou connexes»¹⁰, permet une relecture de l'histoire, plus proche de sa dimension humaine tel que le regretté Alexandru Duțu aimait en faire le plaidoyer. Il y a toutefois quelques particularités en ce qui concerne les *emotional communities* et toute lecture linéaire devient réductionniste et non-valable tel que le spécialiste nord-américain en souligne. Et cela parce qu'on ne peut nier la possibilité de coexistence des plusieurs communautés émotionnelles ou de leur mobilité en temps. «D'autres sont presque cachés de nous, même si on peut imaginer qu'elles existent et nous pouvons même voir certains de leurs effets sur les groupes visibles». L'auteur affirme qu'ils peuvent donc être identifiés, par exemple, en termes de production de textes.

Une archéologie du concept de l'émotion elle-même semble s'imposer. Barbara Rosenwein remarque son manque de l'usage quotidien au sens de «psychological turmoil» au moins jusqu'à 1800, les gens préférant parler plutôt des passions, affects. «All of these referred to fairly clear subsets of the worlds and ideas that today come under the umbrella of emotions. It was the scientific community that privileged the term "emotions" and gave it the portmanteau meaning that it now has»¹¹.

Il y donc une plage sémantique large qui est enregistrée aujourd'hui sous le terme fédérateur des émotions, mais des nuances s'imposent car un exercice

⁹ Andi Mihalache, *ouv. cité*, pp. 29-70.

¹⁰ Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional communities in the early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 2002, p.2.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

comparative montre des différences parfois surprenantes¹². Pour les Français, par exemple, l'amour est un sentiment, pas une émotion. Mais les deux concepts se trouvent dans une évidente relation de continuité, et pas d'opposition, d'ailleurs les dictionnaires de langue spécifiques en confirment. L'usage du concept d'émotions est inévitable soumis à de telles conventions. Toutefois, le débat en soi doit être bien équilibré car tout excès peut bien entraîner ce que Christophe Prochasson a nommé «l'émotionalisation» de la recherche historique¹³.

Qu'il s'agit de la peur ou de la haine, de l'amour ou du plaisir, du deuil ou du désir, l'importance accordée par la recherche historique contemporaine au sujet des émotions soit devenue une réalité de plus en plus évidente. Toutefois, cela ne suppose pas encore l'existence d'un courant officiel historiographique ou des directions claires. Parfois, les approches et les méthodes semblent se distinguer fortement.

Quand les sociologues et les anthropologues sont convoqués par les historiens

Il y a quelques théories sociologiques sur les émotions dont l'historien peut en profiter aussi. Dans un ordre aléatoire, la première est appelée «la théorie dramaturgique des émotions». La société vue comme une scène n'est pas une nouveauté mais sa manifestation moderne en tant que théorie doit beaucoup à Erving Goffman¹⁴ qui a argumenté que, en général, le comportement individuel implique toujours la présentation de soi aux autres. Le processus implique l'appel à un code culturel des idéologies, valeurs et normes, plus un réglage approprié (vêtements, espace, objets) qui mettaient en lumière le soi non seulement d'une manière «dramatique», mais aussi stratégique. Ce que nous y essayons de construire du point de vue méthodologique peut aisément être inclus dans ce que les sociologues appellent la «théorie des rites d'interaction»¹⁵. Un de ses principaux représentants serait Randal Collins. S'appuyant sur les contributions de Goffman sur le «focused encounter», il soutient que les rites d'interaction commencent lorsque les individus sont co-présents, la co-présence étant associée à l'écologie de la situation et avec la limite dans laquelle les individus sont engagés dans des activités ordinaires. La co-présence implique plusieurs facteurs importants et interrelationnés, y compris *les formalités stéréotypiques*, ce que Goffman nommait *félicitations rituelles*, *l'attention* parce que la force mutuelle

¹² Barbara Rosenwein attire justement attention sur des situations telle celle rencontrée chez les Français pour lesquels l'amour n'est pas une *émotion* mais un *sentiment*.

¹³ Christophe Prochasson, *L'empire des émotions. Les historiens dans la mêlée*, Paris, 2008.

¹⁴ *The presentation of self in everyday life*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1959; *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*, Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, 1967.

¹⁵ Jonathan H. Turner, "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments" in *Emotion Review*, vol. 1, no. 4 (October 2009), pp. 347-348.

de l'attention est augmenté grâce à de tels rituels. On leur ajoute la synchronisation rythmique de l'acte langagier et du langage du corps, avec le résultat de la croissance du niveau de l'effervescence collective et de l'énergie émotionnelle positive, le feedback nécessaire pour stimuler l'attention et un certain état de groupe partagée. Pendant la manifestation de ce processus au double sens, nous assistons à l'augmentation de la cohésion de solidarité de groupe, bien visible dans la production des symboles de sa nouvelle identité (mots, phrases, emblèmes, objets etc.) dans leur circulation qui mène à la construction d'un capital «culturel» (modèles de discours, expériences, souvenirs). Sa théorie sera complétée par Erika Summers-Effler (2002)¹⁶, qui va introduire quelques nuances importantes, liées, par exemple, à l'expérimentation des émotions négatives ou à la préoccupation de l'interactionnisme symbolique avec le soi¹⁷.

Comment les historiens ont-ils réagis à ces théories? William Reddy, l'un des meilleurs spécialistes du sujet, estime que la découverte et l'acceptation de l'existence de styles émotionnels qui «toujours incluent des standards, compromis et refus» est une belle victoire, mais la discussion ne devrait pas s'arrêter là. Plus important serait si les historiens,

concernés par l'importance de l'ego et des émotions, peuvent dépasser la description des styles émotionnels et de leur changement dans le temps et se diriger plutôt vers la compréhension *de la manière selon* laquelle les styles émotionnels apportent leur contribution à déterminer la forme de changement, qu'au simple enregistrement des modifications qui prennent naissance lors des arrangements institutionnels, politiques ou internationaux¹⁸.

Plus attentif, Emmanuel Fureix résume les évolutions majeures. Reconnaisant la contribution des débats du sein de l'anthropologie, notamment en ce qui concerne la définition et l'extension du terme de rituel, de son efficacité symbolique et de l'interprétation politique, il remarque néanmoins quelques inconvénients. L'un concerne le risque de dilution du rite dans un vaste ensemble des productions symboliques, de le faire pareil à la simple cérémonie

¹⁶ Erika Summers-Effler, "The micro potential for social change: Emotion, consciousness, and social movement formation" in *Sociological Theory*, 20, 2002, pp. 41–60; "Defensive strategies: The formation and social implications of patterned self-destructive behavior" in *Advances in Group Processes*, 21, 2004, pp. 309-325.

¹⁷ Summers-Effler documents that individuals are often trapped in interaction rituals where they have little power, with the consequence that they experience negative emotions, such as fear, anxiety, shame, and guilt. Under these conditions, individuals will adopt strategies for minimizing the loss of emotional energy instead of trying to maximize positive emotional energy.

¹⁸ William Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions" in *Emotion Review*, vol. 1, no. 4 (October 2009), pp. 302-315.

et de perdre de vue sa relation avec le sacré et la structuration de la société. C'est ce qui arrive aux rites d'interaction de Goffman.

La version durkheimienne semble plus pratique. En acceptant le rituel comme acte producteur de réalité qui transforme le statut de la personne qui le met en scène, en contribuant fortement - à travers toute une série de médiations - à l'intégration et à la cohésion d'une société, le rituel produisait du consensus et pourrait offrir à la société une forte conscience de soi, intériorisée par chacun de ses acteurs.

Victor Turner s'avère plus intéressant à cause de la relation proposée entre *comunitas* et liminalité. En faisant distinction entre les configurations sociales spécifiques pour tout rituel des hiérarchies ordinaires, plus égalitaires, pour lesquels il préfère utiliser le terme de *comunitas* qui se manifeste en situation liminaire (*seuil*). Au lieu de représenter la structure sociale, le rituel pourrait la transcender, d'une manière plus ou moins transitoire. Et la phase de liminalité serait toujours suivie par un nouveau regroupement envers la société, sa structure et son statut. La critique exprimée envers la variante durkheimienne lui semble, cependant, trop sévère. «Un rituel de masse qui reposerait sur la seule mise en scène d'émotions inconsistantes, même intériorisées socialement aurait peu de chances de survie, en l'absence d'une contrainte violente»¹⁹. Pour Emmanuel Fureix, plus approprié apparaît l'attention aux

échos (complexes) entre les signes du rite et l'imaginaire socio-politique partagé (ou non par les acteurs); les déformations et la manipulation du sens rituel qu'ils font subir au rituel, par nature polysémique; la subjectivation du message rituel par les individus, qui requiert un changement d'échelle d'analyse; l'association possible du jeu et de la conviction, de la routine et de la croyance, au cœur de tout anthropologie du sacré; les multiples gradations entre indifférence, divertissement et engagement²⁰.

Il vaut moins la sémantique du rituel que son relation avec le spectateur. C'est qu'on trouve à Mona Ozouf qui a étudié les greffes d'un rituel révolutionnaire, pensé comme nouvel par une société encore fidèle à son système de croyances et qui semblent partiellement résister au changement. Ou Joseph Clarke qui analyse la dimension privée du deuil révolutionnaire pour mettre en lumière l'incapacité de la Révolution de célébrer ses morts anonymes et consoler les familles et leurs proches.

Quel modèle pour la réalité roumaine du XIX^e siècle?

Les considérations méthodologiques exposées auparavant nous seront utiles quant aux recherches récemment lancées à partir d'un projet qui vise offrir

¹⁹ Emmanuel Fureix, *ouv. cité*, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 20.

une image relativement cohérente sur la relation entre le pouvoir (n'importe qu'on parle des princes de la Valachie du régime des Règlements organiques tels Alexandru Ghica 1834-1842, Gheorghe Bibescu 1842-1848, Barbu Știrbei 1849-1853, 1854-1856, le gouvernement révolutionnaire ou les princes Alexandru Cuza 1859-1866 et Carol de Hohenzollern, le futur roi Carol I de Roumanie après le 14/26 Mai 1881) et les communautés locales à travers ce que nous avons appelé *culture festive*. La constitution de la nation roumaine moderne suppose aussi la création des solidarités avec un fort contenu émotionnel autour de l'image/des images de l' élu/des élus de la patrie. Si les communautés ont besoin de partager certains styles au cas qu'ils veulent communiquer les uns avec les autres, on ne peut pas négliger la signification politique considérable, attaché à l'expression émotionnelle dans des formes spécifiques de cohésion socio-culturelle. Le message véhiculé par le pouvoir généralement princier si on passe sur le court épisode révolutionnaire de 1848, met en évidence la coexistence d'un certain style émotionnel ou la co-existence des plusieurs.

C'est exactement la curiosité de savoir comment ce processus dynamique façonne la relation pouvoir-société qui a constitué le point de départ pour proposer un projet de recherche dans notre institut, sous le titre: *Le Prince, la Révolution et la Fête: Une histoire culturelle festive des pratiques politiques en Valachie (1821-1860)*. Plus précisément, nous avons l'intention de faire le lien entre les recherches initiées par Radu Păun (Institut d'études sud-est européennes, București/EHESS) et visant les rituels politiques des princes phanariotes du XVIII^e siècle²¹, et celles qu'Andi Mihalache a consacré aux rituels politiques commémoratifs à l'époque de Carol I^{er} de Roumanie²².

Le manque des recherches approfondies pour une période qui est définie essentielle pour les experiments de modernisation des Roumains au sud des Carpates (le régime des Règlements Organiques, le régime révolutionnaire quarante-huitard, le règne du prince Alexandru Cuza) appauvrit la compréhension des questions importantes telles que la transition des *solidarités organiques* (famille, village, paroisse, quartier) à celles *organisées* (la nation, l'armée), la légitimation et la construction symbolique du pouvoir dans l'espace roumaine.

²¹ «Fêtes et prises en possession de la capitale au XVIIIe siècle roumain: quelques réflexions sur la centralité du pouvoir » in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, 1-4, 2002, p. 125-139. «Scenă și simbol: reprezentatii ale puterii în Vechiul Regim românesc », in Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Maria Pakucs-Willcocks (éds.), *Spectacolul public între tradiție și modernitate. Sărbători, ceremonialuri, pelerinaje și suplicii*, București, Institutul Cultural Român, 2007, p. 79-121. «Mémoire d'un jour, mémoire d'un siècle: espaces et vécu du pouvoir sous l'Ancien Régime » in *New Europe College Yearbook*, 2005-2006.

²² Andi Mihalache, *Mănuși albe mănuși negre. Cultul eroilor în vremea dinastiei de Hohenzollern*, Cluj-Napoca, Limes, 2007.

Si pour la Moldavie des Règlements Organiques on dispose des quelques analyses promettantes (Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu²³, Cristian Ploscaru²⁴, Arcadie Bodale²⁵), l'espace valaque de la période 1822-1859 n'a pas été soumis à de telles recherches. Les documents des archives ou le *Bulletin officiel de la principauté de la Valachie* enregistrent de tels moments qui font part d'une tradition des fêtes publiques. Toutes ces célébrations écoutent à un rituel qui se veut à la fois didactique et créateur de la solidarité autour du chef de l'Etat, soit-il prince « réglementaire » comme Alexandru Ghica, Gheorghe Bibescu ou non, comme Alexandru Ioan Cuza. On retrouve un schéma commun dans lequel les manifestations religieuses et politiques sont liées aux formes de « divertissement » populaire. Mais nous ne trouvons pas des formes avancées du type des sociétés musicales ou bals populaires qui témoignent de certains idéaux collectifs et égalitaires, tels qu'ils ont été surpris par Rémi Dalisson²⁶

Inséré répétitivement dans la vie quotidienne, groupés autour des dates fondamentales des biographies princières (naissances, mariages, décès, ascension au trône), les rituels festifs politiques contribuent également au contrôle social et culturel de l'espace public. L'Eglise, l'administration, l'armée (« militia pamanteana ») et la gendarmerie (« dorobanti ») sont parmi les institutions fréquemment convoquées afin de soutenir le cadre de légitimation de telles manifestations.

Mais il serait une grave erreur de ne pas saisir leur croisement avec le calendrier des fêtes locales, leur influence dans la reconfiguration symbolique de la topographie urbaine par les trajets proposées, la transformation de la population dans un acteur active (la période révolutionnaire, par exemple), leur codification et propagande qui démontrent une politisation croissante dont la population reste parfois assez inconsciente. Une telle enquête peut s'avérer donc plus intéressante qu'on pourrait estimer dès le début.

²³ « Ceremoniile domnești din vremea lui Mihai Sturdza. Sărbătorile instalării la putere (1834) » in Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Maria Pakucs-Willcocks, *ouv.cité.*, pp. 122-162.

²⁴ « Politici culturale și influență franceză în primii ani ai regimului regulamentar din Moldova » in *Analele Științifice ale Universității Iași, serie Istorie*, 2005, pp. 114-142. « Sărbătoarea culturală și imaginea publică a puterii în Moldova primilor ani ai regimului regulamentar » in *Xenopoliana* XIV, 2006, no. 1-4, pp. 34-50.

²⁵ « Contribuții privind ceremoniile organizate pentru primirea și înscăunarea lui Mihail Sturdza » in Andi Mihalache, Adrian Cioflâncă (éds.), *Ritualuri politice în România modernă, Xenopoliana. Buletinul Fundației Academice « A. D. Xenopol »*, XIV, 2006, 1-4, pp. 18-33.

²⁶ Rémi Dalisson, « Fête publique et citoyenneté. 1848, une tentative de régénération civique par la fête », *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle evue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, no. 19, 1999/1, pp. 44-72.

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA CATÉGORIE DES BOYARDS DANS L'OLTÉNIE DE LA PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU XIX^E SIÈCLE

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Abstract: Based on studies of other specialists but also on documents of the time, this study proposes an analyse of the evolution of the aristocratic elite from Oltenia. The author notes the changes that have affected the elite category, forced to seek new repositioning in modern society. Prestige derived from administrative and military career or success in business will try to sustain a position in a society where membership in a social group begins to meet new definitions. The statistic dimension of the Oltenian boyards presence in the state affairs is also taken into account.

Keywords: Wallachia, first half of 19th Century Oltenia, social history of elites, statistics of boyards.

Les stages urbain ou demi-urbain qu'on rencontre chez les agglomérations peuplées de l'Olténie, classées comme des villes et des foires, sont directement liés à la dynamique économique du XIX^e siècle et, implicitement, aux structures sociales bourgeoises qu'elles entretiennent. Dans l'intervalle chronologique des années 1821 – 1918, conformément à la chronotomie de l'Ere moderne de l'Histoire romaine, les mutations et les transformations économiques et sociales ont compris des formes différentes et des dénominations nuancées, des catégories d'artisans et commerçants du XVIII^e siècle et des premières décennies du XIX^e siècle, organisées sur le système de guildes (des *isnafs* et des compagnies), jusqu'aux catégories socioprofessionnelles des travailleurs et des employeurs (propriétaires des entreprises).

Étant donnée les coordonnées de la vie et le niveau de développement générale incluses dans les structures liées au pouvoir suzeraine (Turquie) et, après 1829 au pouvoir protecteur (Russie), la société roumaine apparaît polarisée entre deux très différentes classes sociales, les boyards (nobles) et les paysans. Peu à peu, la structure sociale s'est diversifiée tant horizontalement qu'au niveau

de la hiérarchie. La noblesse (les boyards), la classe dirigeante de l'époque médiévale, a donné, par l'intégration, des éléments de la classe bourgeoise à l'époque moderne. La même classe bourgeoise a intégré les éléments nouveaux, tout en les admettant dans une première étape, l'achat des titres de noblesse. Dans un processus continu de réforme, sous l'impulsion de la révolution, les facteurs conservateurs, toujours prédisposés à une politique réactionnaire, ont été confrontés aux promoteurs des idées de modernisation, tous placés par leur statut dans les limites mentales, juridiques, économiques et politiques de la noblesse locale (les boyards). Chaque classe est difficile d'être soumise à une analyse, mais surtout les groupes sociaux, étant donné les connexions et les interdépendances humaines dans une époque de transition.

La noblesse de l'Olténie, en tant qu'élite politique de la société, comptait 425 familles et 1000 porteurs de noms¹ avant l'année 1858. Elle s'est impliquée dans tous les grands moments de 1821, 1848, 1859 qui ont décidé les grands phénomènes de «renaissance», «émancipation», modernisation et ascendance politique nationale.

Dans *Catagrafia oficială de toți boierii Țării Românești la 1829* (La catagraphie officielle de tous les boyards de Valachie en 1829) ont été mentionnés 313 boyards². Après la réforme des rangs nobles de 1837, *Arhondologia Țării Românești* (Le répertoire des familles nobles de Valachie) a enregistré 262 boyards³ avec des rangs ou des degrés militaires assimilés mis en neuf niveaux, du prince Brâncoveanu, Barbu Știrbei, Gheorghe Bibescu, aux petits boyards («pitari»), écrivains et lieutenants («praporgici»)⁴. Dans les limites proches du nombre de boyards recensé en 1829-1831 et 1837 on trouve les *Listes électorales* des départements de l'Olténie préparées en Décembre 1858, pour les assemblées électives, lorsque se sont inscrit 283 personnes ayant le droit d'élire et d'être élu, des électeurs primaires directs ou de ville, avec des titres de noblesse ou des degrés militaires équivalentes⁵. Les chercheurs de l'histoire de la noblesse considèrent que dans toute la période Réglementaire, le nombre de boyards d'Olténie «a augmenté dans une plus grande mesure, environ 4-5 familles de nouveaux boyards chaque année»⁶. Il reste relevant le fait que cette croissance numérique s'est reflétée surtout pour la catégorie de petits boyards (avec ou sans des dignités), de fils de boyards, de ceux qui avait des «rangs militaires» ou des élites des paysans libres (des boyards de village, des *mazili* et

¹ Mite Măneanu, *Boierii din Oltenia în secolul al XIX-lea*, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Editura TipoRadical f.a., p. 1, 28.

² I. C. Filitti, *Catagrafia oficială de toți boierii Țării Românești*, București, 1929; Dinică Ciobotea, «Structura socială în Țara Românească (1828-1831)», dans *Revista Arhivelor*, année LXIX, 1992, vol. LIV, no. 1, p. 53 et les suivantes.

³ La Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, Mss, ms. nr. 872.

⁴ n.t. Le *praporgic* signifie le lieutenant de l'ancienne armée russe.

⁵ *Acte și documente privind Renașterea României* vol. VIII, București, 1900, pp. 62-85.

⁶ Mite Măneanu, *Boierii din Oltenia...*, p. 29.

postelnici). Au début de l'Epoque Réglementaire, les boyards (*caftanlâi*, avec de rang) de l'Olténie étaient répartis de cette manière: en 1831 - 124 en Dolj, 30 en Gorj, 28 en Mehedinți, 33+7 en Romanati, 25+2 en Vâlcea⁷. La plupart des boyards résidait dans les villes principales qui étaient aussi des sièges des districts. Leur présence était due aux emplois (fonctions) que seulement eux, dans la vertu des privilèges nobiliaires, pouvaient occuper. Une grande famille de boyards, comme celle d'Otetelișanu, avait des représentants (avec le domicile) tant à la propriété du foyer ancestral de Benesti-Otetelișu (le comté de Valcea) qu'à Craiova, Targu Jiu, Turnu Severin, Ramnicu Valcea et Bucarest⁸.

Un seul d'entre eux a atteint le haut rang d'état de grand chancelier de la justice, en 1856. Longtemps après le retour de l'Olténie à la Valachie, les grands boyards de cette partie se sont établis à Bucarest et se sont impliqués dans la gestion de l'Etat⁹. Plus tard, après le retour au pouvoir des princes roumains (1822), mais surtout dans l'époque réglementaire quand les frères Gheorghe Dimitrie Bibescu et Barbu Dimitrie Știrbei sont arrivés en tête du pays, on remarque une croissance du nombre des représentants des boyards d'Olténie dans les structures du pays¹⁰. Les catagraphics des années 1829¹¹, 1831, 1832 les surprennent de la manière suivante: 67 dans la première classe, 162 dans la deuxième classe et 416 dans la troisième classe, 228 petits boyards. En 1721 tous les boyards de première classe demeuraient à Bucarest et environ 94% de la deuxième classe demeuraient dans les plus importants sièges des districts, Bucarest et Craiova¹². En même temps, c'est le Règlement Organique, la loi qui a considérablement augmenté le nombre de fonctions et des dignités publiques. La plupart concentrées dans les villes ont été occupées par les boyards de toutes les catégories, y compris les petits boyards. En

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 30-34; Paul Cernovodeanu, Irina Gavrilă, «Considerații istorice pe marginea datelor statistice oferite de arhondologiile din Țara Românească (1837-1858)», dans *Revista istorică*, nouvelle série, tom VI, 1995, no. 7-8, p. 683 et les suivantes.

⁸ Archives Nationales, Buzău, *Préfecture du district Buzău*, dossier 89 (102)/1831 («Catastife de toți boierii caftanlâi și feciorii de boieri caftanlâi din cuprinsul județelor Buzău și Vâlcea»).

⁹ Theodora Rădulescu, «Sfatul domnesc și alți mari dregători ai Țării Românești din secolul al XVIII-lea», dans *Revista Arhivelor*, année XLIX, vol. XXXIV, no. 2, 3, 4, pp. 293-324, 441-471, 659-691.

¹⁰ I. C. Filitti, «Corespondența lui Petrache Poenaru», dans *Arhivele Olteniei*, année XIII, 1934, no. 74-76, p. 383; Paul Cernovodeanu, Irina Gavrilă, «Considerații istorice...», p. 683 et les suivantes; Paul Cernovodeanu, *Arhondologiile Țării Românești de la 1837*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2002, p. 7 et les suivantes.

¹¹ I. C. Filitti, *Catagrafia oficială de toți boierii Țării Românești*; Dinică Ciobotea, *Istoria moșnenilor*, I^{ère} vol., première partie (1829-1912), Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 1999, pp. 24-27.

¹² Une systématisation des informations concernant la Catagrapie de l'année 1829 on trouve chez Dan Berindei, Irina Gavrilă, «Analiza situației clasei dominante din Țara Românească în temeiul Catagrafiei din 1829», in *Revista de istorie*, tom 36, 1983, no. 4, p. 349 et les suivantes.

Olténie, le nombre des hautes dignités a augmenté de 70-80 pendant le règne de Grigoria IV Ghica à 175 pendant les années du régime réglementaire¹³. Après la disparition de la concurrence allogène pour les hautes dignités, un grand nombre de boyards d'Olténie a reçu des fonctions administratives, judiciaires et militaires. Après 1821, même la direction du Caïmacan d'Olténie a été retournée aux boyards autochtones ou à ceux qui étaient de leur proches¹⁴. Un nombre important de petits boyards et boyards de la troisième classe a reçu pour leurs compétences, efficacité et fidélité face à la politique des princes, des titres militaires comme ceux de colonels (de police, de chasseurs etc.). Parmi ceux qui ont commencé leur carrière à ce moment là, on mentionne Ioan Solomon, Gheorghe Magheru, Nicolae et Ioniță Ciupagea, Constantin Bălțeanu, Stan Grecescu etc. Après la mise en œuvre des dispositions du Règlement Organique, lorsque l'occupation de toute fonction publique était conditionnée par la qualité de boyard, les boyards (grands et petits) sont devenus les principaux arbitres de la médiation des intérêts sociaux. À travers eux, les familles de boyards, par un ou plusieurs membres, ont réussi à étendre leur contrôle de la vie publique. Lors de ce phénomène socio-institutionnel, aux boyards actifs dans les années de la révolution de 1821 s'ajoutent les boyards petits et les anciens boyards¹⁵, les Glogoveni, les Poenari, les Otetelișeni, les Pârâieni, les Zătreani, les Vlădăieni, les Filișani. De nombreuses fonctions ont été créées juste au moment de l'apparition de nouvelles institutions administratives et judiciaires. Seulement les derniers comptaient des tribunaux dans chaque siège du comté (chaque ayant 7-8 postes : présidents, juges, *cileni*, procureurs, greffiers, secrétaires-registres) mais aussi d'autres institutions avec un caractère régional, toutes groupées à Craiova (Le Divan Civil, Le Divan Criminaliste, Le Tribunal de Commerce avec plus de 27 postes)¹⁶. À côté des noms des anciens boyards se sont affirmés maintenant les Bibești, les Niculești, les Miculești, les Socolești, les Vișorenii, les Chintești etc. Au total, environ 60-65 postes dans les institutions judiciaires pour lesquelles seulement les boyards et les petits boyards (pour celles inférieures) avaient de «vocation», ont été occupés par le magistrat Iordache Otetelișeanu, l'aga Grigore Otetelișeanu, l'aga Nicolae Brăiloiu (dans les années

¹³ Mite Măneanu, *Boierii din Oltenia...*, p. 173 et les suivantes.

¹⁴ Ioan C. Filitti, «Banii și caimacamii Olteniei» dans *Arhivele Olteniei*, année III, 1924, no. 13, p. 216.

¹⁵ Par exemple, en 1829, au Divan de Craiova étaient encadrés le maréchal de la cour Arghiropol, le *clucer* C. Brăiloiu, le *clucer* I. Vlădoianu, le *căminar* Iancu Bibescu, le *stolnik* C. Zătreanu, le *serdar* Otetelișeanu, le *medelnicer* C. Brătășanu, le *sluger* N. Otetelișeanu, le *pitar* I. Pleșoianu, le *serdar* Th. Păianu, le *vel vistier* Th. Vulcănescu, le *pitar* M. Alboteanu, le *șetrar* Gh. Tetoianu, le *vistier* I. Sultănoiu, le *vel vistier* I. Stănescu, *treti scribe* Scarlat Stănescu, le colonel N. Dimancea – voir Ioan V. Căncea, « Oameni și fapte din trecutul Craiovei » in *Arhivele Olteniei*, années IX, 1930, no. 49-50, p. 202.

¹⁶ Ilie I. Vulpe, *Divanul Craiovei*, Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 2002, p. 9 et les suivantes.

18400-1844), l'*aga* Petrache Obedeanu, l'*aga* Gheorghe Coțofeanu, le grand chancelier Dimitrie Bibescu comme des présidents des divans civil et criminel (transformés en 1849 en cours appellatives, les sections I et II) de Craiova ; par le *paharnic* Dimitrie Bibescu, le *paharnic* Dimitrie Chinezu, le *sluger* Nicolae Otetelișeanu, le *serdar* Nicolae Izvoranu (en Dolj), le *medelnicer* Petrache Poenaru, le *stolnic* Constantin Zătoreanu, le *sluger* Ioan Sâmboteanu, le *serdar* Scarlat Stăncescu (en Gorj), le *clucer* Barbu Obedeanu, le major Ioan Ciupagea, le serdar Barbu Prisăceanu, le *paharnic* Manolache Pârâianu (en Mehedinți), le *stolnic* Constantin Zătoreanu, le *paharnic* Alecu Bujoreanu, le *serdar* Ghiță Capeleanu, le capitaine N. Greceanu (en Vâlcea), le *paharnic* Grigore Bengescu, le *medelnicer* Gh. Mainescu, le *paharnic* Dinu Jianul, le *serdar* Nicolae Chintescu, le *clucer* Iorgu Geanoglu (en Romanați) - comme présidents des tribunaux de districts et le tribunal commercial de Craiova¹⁷.

D'autres fonctions (directeurs de quarantaine, fonctionnaires-*cinovnici*¹⁸ de frontière, présidents des conseils municipaux, policier de ville) ont été occupés par les boyards qui ont étudié à l'étranger, au Collège Sfântu Sava, et au Lycée de Craiova (la seconde école supérieure de garçons de la Valachie, fondée en 1826). De nombreux avocats se sont instruits en Occident (N. Glogoveanu, C. N. Otetelișeanu, N. C. Zătoreanu, D. Strâmbeanu, Emanoil Chinezu, Anastase Stolojan, G. Orman, M. Măldărescu etc.), les professeurs ¹⁹ (Gr. Pleșoianu, Ștefan Căpățâneanu, Toma Serghiad, la Râmnicu Vâlcea D. Frumușeanu, Costache Zăman, Chiriță Barbovici, Ioan Grecescu la Caracal, etc.), mais surtout les ingénieurs des frontières. Par la mise en œuvre du Conseil municipal en 1831 et 1832 l'administration de ces établissements a été attribuée aux boyards et aux représentants de la bourgeoisie: le clucer Constantin Brăiloiu (président) et le stolnic Ioan Otetelișeanu, Nicolae Emanoil, Constantin Braboveanu (à Craiova, 1831), le medelnicer Răducan Sărdănescu (1832), le medelnicer Zamfir Bălțeanu (1831, 1838, 1844, 1848), Nae Măldărescu (1836), Bănică Politimos (1837). Constantin Măldărescu (1839), le serdar Gh. Magheru (1840-1842), Radu Barbovici (1842), le fils de pitar Mălăiță Șisescu, le pitar Zamfir Broșteanu (1844-1845), tous à Târgu Jiu, le pitar Al. Crișeru à Râmnicu Vâlcea (1842), le major en réserve L. Ciupagea à Turnu Severin (1842) etc.²⁰.

Par le rétablissement de l'armée nationale en 1831 et la dislocation en garnison à Craiova des militaires de ses six régiments, la ville a cumulé des

¹⁷ *Almanahul Statului din Prințipatul a toată Țara Românească pe anul 1840*, București, 1840, les annexes.

¹⁸ n.t. Cinovnic signifie une personne engagé dans une fonction administrative (ayant un rang inférieur). / <rus. *činovnik*

¹⁹ Nicolae Andrei, Gheorghe Pârnuță, *Istoria învățământului în Oltenia*, I^{er} vol., Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 1977, p. 201 et les suivantes.

²⁰ *Regulamentul pentru sfaturile orășenești de prin orașele prințipatului Valahiei*, f.a., f.e., p. 1-2.

nouveaux facteurs dans son évolution, en s'ajoutant une autre fonction importante, celle de grand centre militaire, comme la ville était au Moyen Âge quand y résidaient, sous la direction du grand ban, «les armées de Craiova». L'établissement de certaines unités militaires à Craiova a conduit à l'apparition des hôpitaux militaires et au développement de l'institution de l'armée conformément aux aspirations nationales des Roumains. La Réforme du prince régnant Barbu Dimitrie Știrbei, «d'alignement européenne, modernisée», de nombreuses actions «ont maintenu en permanence en tête les questions liées à l'organisation de l'armée»²¹.

Tout au long de la période avant 1859 il y a certains aspects structurels spécifiques :

1. La prévalence de la fonction au détriment de la propriété, bien que la dernière soit la base du rang nobiliaire;
2. L'augmentation du nombre des porteurs de titres de noblesse par le patent princier;
3. La présence résidentielle de la plupart des boyards à Craiova, ce qui a conduit au fait que dans toute la Valachie soient seulement deux grands centres de domicile pour les boyards, Bucarest et Craiova;
4. Le grand groupement de boyards à Craiova a déterminé non seulement le placement (dans la poursuite des siècles précédents) de la ville après Bucarest, mais aussi la multiplication de ses fonctions comme facteur polarisateur pour toute l'Olténie et d'équilibre pour la position territoriale des représentants des puissances dans l'état²²;
5. Les villes d'Olténie, et Craiova en particulier, ont acquis de nouvelles fonctions dans l'espace social, de plus en plus complexe.

On peut conclure que peu avant l'Unification de Principautés de la Moldavie et la Valachie (1859) le phénomène (le courant) social qui a marqué la

²¹ ²¹ *Istoria Românilor*, VII^e vol., I^{er} tom, p. 411.

²² Dans l'habituelle Adunare Obștească de la Valachie, élue pour une période de cinq années, participaient de l'Olténie - de droit - l'évêque de Râmnicului Noului Severin et d'autres 42 de députés (20 boyards de première classe, par 70 grands boyards, 19 boyards des districts, par 3000 boyards de deuxième et troisième classes) de chaque comté et un pour Craiova. En 1831, par exemple, dans l'Obșteasca Adunare, Olténie était représenté par le *căminar* Iorgu Bibescu (Craiova), Ioniță Viișoreanu, le fils du *postelnic* Barbu Viișoreanu (Romanți), l'ancien grand *stolnic* Ioan Lahovari (Vâlcea), le *stolnic* Iancu Otetelișeanu (dolj), le *stolnic* Barbu Viișoreanu (Gorj) et le *serdar* Ștefan Niculescu (Mehedinți). Dans la suivante Adunare Obștească, après cinq années, originaires d'Olténie étaient les boyards suivants: le *clucer* Gh. Coțofeanu, le *căminar* Ioan Otetelișeanu, le *serdar* Dimitrie Chinezu, le *paharnic* Nicolae Brăiloiu et Grigore Racoviță et de Craiova, le *stolnic* Costache Zătreanu etc. Paul Emanoil Barbu, «Sistemul politic, administrativ, judecătoresc și militar al Olteniei în perioada regulamentară (1831-1848)» in *Arhivele Olteniei*, nouvelle série, no. 16, 2002, pp. 61-62.

société roumaine a été celui qui a concrétisé, chaque jour, l'augmentation du nombre des boyards. La stimulation des classes inférieures de la société pour atteindre le stade convoité des privilégiés a totalisé – comme s'est exprimé quelques décennies plus tard A. D. Xenopol – «tous les souffrances du monde» («pour acquérir un titre de boyard et se vantait du rang de *șetrar* ou de *sluger* plus qu'un *postelnic* se vantait de ses boyards ancêtres des centaines d'années»²³).

Les hauts niveaux de la croissance numérique des boyards dans l'époque réglementaire²⁴, en Olténie, dans une proportion «importante, mais pas exagérée»²⁵, ont conduit au phénomène d'«embourgeoisement» de la noblesse, en multipliant ses lignes avec des éléments du statut social inférieur, d'une part, et par son implication dans les activités spécifiques à l'économie de marché, d'autre part. La nouvelle qualité de la noblesse est admirablement mise en relief par ce chiffre de «1.000 propriétaires» de Craiova qui se sont distingués dans la vie de la ville après la suppression des rangs nobiliaires en 1858, mais ou, si «on regarde à travers leur croute de noblesse», on distinguera la physionomie indubitable des classes moyennes²⁶, apparue avec l'économie de marché de l'époque réglementaire²⁷.

²³ Apud Alexandru Florin Platon, *ouv. cité*, p. 278.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Mite Măneanu, *Boierii din Oltenia...*, p. 29.

²⁶ Alexandru Florin Platon, *ouv. cité*, p. 281.

²⁷ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Contribuții la studiul originilor și dezvoltării burgheziei române până la 1848*, București, Editura Științifică, 1972, pp. 8-9.

THE SĂVOIU BOYARS' CULTURAL ROLE

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Abstract: In this article the author tries to analyse the cultural role of a local family from the Oltenian aristocracy, the boyars Săvoiu. Still unknown, this family beside Bengescu and Părăianu families in the northern Oltenia, the Hotărani family from Romanați district and the powerful Craiovescu family, played an important role in the history of Wallachia. Their position and prestige is visible also through their patrimonial policy and presence in public space. Their names is associated with the construction of churches in Lupoia and Borăscu, as well as with a school in Targu Jiu.

Keywords: social history of elites, boyars Săvoiu, cultural activity, churches.

The descendants of the boyars from Oltenia remained in history thanks to some important families: Bengescu, Părăianu and Săvoiu in the upper side of Oltenia, the boyars from Hotărani, in Romanați, the family Craioveanu in the central parts of the area closed by the Carpathians, Danube and Olt and the Glogoveanu boyars in Mehedinți County.

From all these families we chose to describe, in the beginning, the family Săvoiu, who didn't represent too much a preoccupation for the specialists in different areas. Coming from Borăscu, Gorj County, the boyars Săvoiu, who still present an interest for the historians and art historians, were attested for the first time in the beginning of the 18th century, when Constantin and Nicolae bought the estate Lupoia from Mehedinți County on which they would built later a lordly house and a church.

The successors of the two brothers started, shortly before the breaking out of the Russo-Turkish war from 1769 – 1774, the building of the church with the patron “St. Nicolae” from the village Lupoia¹. The building remained

¹ Radu Crețeanu, “Însemnări despre istoria bisericii Sf. Nicolae din satul Lupoia, comuna Cătunele, raionul Baia de Aramă”, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, year IX, no. 1-2, 1960, pp. 83-84.

unpainted, as the inscription from the entrance in the church reveals, until 1816:

In the name of our Holly Mother and the Holly Trinity, with the blessing of the St. Hierarch Nicolae, during the ruling of our lord Ion Georgiu Caragea, with the blessing of our Bishop Galaction and at the expense and endeavor of these founders, was made this holly Church for their eternal memory: Nicolae Săvoiu, Iacob Săvoiu, Constantin Săvoiu, Matei Săvoiu, Constandache Săvoiu, Ion Ciocănel, Dumitrașcu Săvoiu, Gheorghe Săvoiu and Ion Săvoiu. The painter Simion. 1816 September 14th².

The church has a rectangular shape, without lateral apses.

The church porch has five archways, three in front and two in the lateral side, supported by very simple cylindrical masonry pillars. The arches, united by a wooden tie, have the shape of a deformed trilobite. The church porch that had been walled up with bricks in 1895, was reopened after the works from 1953, reconstructing in the same time the wall that separated it from the narthex.

The narthex and the nave are vaulted with a calotte that stands on four arches-groins propped up on consoles. The wall that once had separated the two rooms was pulled down in 1895, excepting a part of almost 1 m, in each side.

The altar, separated by the nave through a part of wall that goes till the groin-arch has a niche in the altar and a door where once had been the bishop's niche.

Above the narthex, leaning on a square tambour, is the octagonal steeple. The access to it is allowed on a spiral stairs made of oak beams.

The external decoration is characteristic to the 18th century. The facades are divided in two by the round frieze between two rows of brick pieces. The inferior part of the walls has no decorative element on it; the upper part is embellished with a string of semicircular narrow arches, with a double round cornice. On the church porch, in the front side, a wider, round niche for the icon of the patron, is surrounded by two joined niches, painted with the Saints Gheorghe and Dumitru. The socle and the cornice, with straight profiles, complete the external decoration of the church.

The windows are modern, the old ones being walled up with masonry. In the nave are two air holes, one on the north side, with sculpted stone frame and perforated rosette and another that lost its perforated stone is on the south side.

On the north wall of the nave are rendered scenes as The Harrowing of Hell, St. Thomas Sunday, The Sunday of the Mirth-bearing Women, The Healing of the Lame Man, but also portrays as that of St. Gheorghe, Dumitru, Nestor and Mercurie.

² Radu Crețeanu, "Bisericile de zid de pe Valea Motrului (Raionul Baia de Aramă)", in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, year IX, no. 1-2, 1957, p. 38.

On the upper sides of the church porch are painted four scenes from St. Nicolae's life, among which three can't be found in any of the churches from around, nor in the explanations regarding the Byzantine paintings, the painter drawing his inspiration directly from the saints' lives.

The church was entirely repaired in 1859 and later in 1953-1954 when the church porch was reopened, the wall that separated the porch and the narthex was built and the vaults were repaired³.

Another member of the family Săvoiu, Constantin⁴, built in 1865 on Dealu Mare (a place known in that area as Cioaca lui Surcel) the monastery with the patronage "The Assumption of the Virgin".

From the architectonic point of view, painted by Nicolae Popescu⁵, the church follows the neoclassical structures with three gables, a semicircular hall and an octagonal tower with arch-shaped frame on the windows. The cover of the church was made of copper. On the east side, beneath the altar, in a burial vault that allowed access, were, according to the desire of the founder, the Săvoiu family's coffins.

³ *Ibid*, p. 41.

⁴ Named by Alexandru Ștefulescu "great landlord and philanthropist", he had estates at Lupoiaia, Borăscu, Groșerea and Urdari. Besides these, he also had a mill on the river Jiu and a cement factory at Gura Văii. He took part to the Revolutions of 1848. After the defeating of the Revolutions he had to leave the country and to go in exile to Vienna where he met Gheorghe Magheru. He came back in the country in 1853 he spread the news that all the revolutionary immigrants are in Vidin and are preparing a new revolution for the spring of the next year (DANIC, fond *Ministerul de Interne al Țării Românești*, Serviciul Administrativ, dosar 2/1854, f. 8-25; Leonid Boicu, *Austria și Principatele Române în vremea războiului Crimeii*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1972, p. 136). On December 21st 1853, the leader of the Gorj County announced the Minister for Internal Affairs that the reactionary Constantin Săvoiu was arrested. Yet, he escaped but he had to go back again in exile. Returning in 1857, he was elected with 16 votes in the Ad-Hoc Assembly of Wallachia along with the patriarch Gheorghe Magheru (30 votes) and the cavalry commander Zamfir I. Broșteanu (26 votes) as a representative of the liberal current (*Documente privind unirea Principatelor*, vol. I, *Documente interne (1854-1857)*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1961, p. 526). He was elected several times as deputy (1867 and 1883) and senator (1899) of Gorj (Mihai Sorin Rădulescu, *Elia liberală românească (1866-1900)*, București, Editura All Educațional, 1998, p. 171, 207, 234). He was a member of the Steaua lui Sever freemasons' lodge (*Școala târgujiană - Biografii și destin*, Târgu Jiu, Editura Gorjeanul, 2005, p. 160).

⁵ Lavinia Popica, "Familia Săvoiu", in *Litua. Studii și cercetări*, IX, 2003, p. 302.



1. Church from Dealu Mare

The church from Dealu Mare worked as a particular church of the boyars Săvoiu, who built it and took care of it, until 1914. After this date, through a decision of the Holy Synod, the church was declared a hermitage, a succursal monastery of the monastery Strâmba-Jiu. In 1977 the church was closed and the cult objects were shared between the monastery Strâmba-Jiu and the church from Borăscu.

On February 1st 1992, the church from Dealu Mare, through a decision of the Oltenia Metropolitan, sustained by Damaschin Severineanu, became once more a monastery.



2. The cells of the Dealu Mare monastery

It was also Constantin Săvoiu who founded in the town Târgu Jiu, where he owned several houses, along with Ștefan Frumușanu, Z. Părăianu and his wife Sevastița, between 1867-1875, the church with the patrons “St. Constantine and Helen”. On the west wall is the picture of the main founder, Constantin Săvoiu and on the walls of the entrance hall, south and north, are the pictures of the founders Ștefan Frumușanu and his wife.

The church was built in the Austrian baroque style and the painting made by Mișu Popp had an oriental influence⁶. The church suffered, along the time, several reparations and modifications. Thus, in 1914, the portico was added and in 1929 the tower was covered and the eaves were enlarged. Reparations were also made in 1942-1943, 1950, and 1965 and in 2002.

This church benefited by many donations made by its founders. Therefore, in 1873, the Săvoiu family gave a silver gilt cup with the following inscription: “Gratitude for mighty God who protected Annette Săvoiu on June 15th 1873. Anica, Annette, Constantin, Anna, Constantin, Emanuel, Magdalena, Elena, George”⁷.

The church with the patronage St. Constantine and Helen is situated on Victoriei Street, opposite to the store Parâng. It was preceded by other two churches that had been demolished, to which we shall refer below.

The same member of the family Săvoiu contributed as well to the development of the education in Oltenia. Consequently, on January 16th 1855, Constantin informed the magistrate of the town Târgu Jiu that he offers an area from the centre of the town, bought by the Lady Steward Smaranda Călinescu, on which he would build a school for “the apprenticing of the young poor girls from the town and county”. He asked the authorities to give the necessary funds for the payment of two teachers: a Romanian language teacher and a teacher of a foreign language chosen by the community, but also to allow the students to sell the manufactured objects “in all the practical occasions of the household economy”⁸. On February 25th the same year, the magistrate of the town presented the proposal of the baker Săvoiu to the ruler Barbu Dimitrie Știrbei who, on August 19th, asked the Ephors to “send in a month the plan for the building of mister Săvoiu that is supposed to be raised on the place he had given. When all the material would have been brought there and the foundation started, we shall have been shown, in order to be made public this good action and to

⁶ *Ibid*; Alexandru Ștefulescu, *Istoria Târgu Jiului*, Târgu Jiu, 1906, p. 156.

⁷ Alexandru Ștefulescu, *Încercare de a face o istorie a Târgu Jiului*, Târgu Jiu, 1898, p. 278.

⁸ Nicolae Andrei, Gheorghe Pârnuță, *Istoria învățământului din Oltenia*, 2nd vol., Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 1981, pp. 86-87; Gheorghe Gămănesci, Vasile Arimia, Petre Rădulea, *Școala gorjeană în contextul dezvoltării învățământului românesc. Istorie, vocație și profesionalism*, 1st vol., Târgu Jiu, Editura Măiastra, 2007, p. 131; Grigore Pupăză, C. Cheznou, *Istoria învățământului din Gorj*, Editura Neweast, f.l., 2005, p. 131.

have the proof of our content”⁹. The school first began with two classes of 55 students.

On September 5th 1860, the school entered under the administration of the Așezămintele Brâncovenești that contributed to its maintenance, also founding a boarding school.

This boyars’ family contributed furthermore to the improving of an important culture institution. Among these is The Foundation “Alexandru and Aristia Aman”, imagined, according to the desire of the two founders, as a complex center of culture that included a library and a museum with free access for all the interested people¹⁰. Thus, Emanuil Săvoiu donated to this institution a great number of books¹¹.

Through all their accomplishments, the building of churches and schools, the boyars Săvoiu contributed to the cultural development of the region situated between the Carpathians, the Danube and the river Olt.

⁹ Em. E. Săvoiu, “Școala primară de fete, contribuții la istoria învățământului din Târgu Jiu”, in *Litua. Studii și cercetări*, vol. I, 1978, pp. 221-222

¹⁰ Gabriela Braun, Mariana Leferman, Tudor Nedelcea, Toma Rădulescu, *Familia Aman*, Craiova, Editura Aius, 2000, pp. 24-64.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 86.

LES AGENTS DU POUVOIR CENTRAL DANS L'ADMINISTRATION LOCALE : LES PRÉFETS, LES SOUS-PRÉFETS, LES DIRECTEURS DE PRÉFECTURE, XIX^E SIÈCLE -1916

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Abstract: This study aims to propose a new perspective on the organization of public officials in social and professional elite, starting from research of the legislative construction of this important institution for the modernization of Romania. The foreign influences are also subject of our interest. We have chosen a chronological presentation taking into account the three categories submitted to analyze: prefect, director of the prefecture and district chief. The inconsistency of Romanian legislators with regard to the prefects was also observed in the successive changes of the names of the function of district chief and director of the prefecture. This presentation of the legislation highlights the duties of officers of the central government at local level.

Keywords: socio-history of elites, modern Romania, public officials, legislative framework.

Dans l'historiographie roumaine la recherche sur l'histoire des institutions modernes, l'histoire politique de l'administration et l'histoire des groupes sociaux et professionnels en est encore à ses débuts. La «construction» d'un État Nation roumain a entraîné et en même temps a exigé l'édification d'un système législatif et institutionnel moderne, européen. Pour mieux comprendre le fonctionnement de l'État, l'application des lois, les mécanismes administratifs nous avons choisi de nous pencher sur l'étude des représentants de l'administration centrale dans le territoire: préfets, sous-préfets, directeurs de préfecture. En France, qui a servi de modèle à son correspondant roumain, la notion de corps préfectoral recouvre les préfets, les sous-préfets et les chefs de

cabinet¹. Cette désignation est utilisée également dans le contexte roumain où la notion de corps préfectoral réunit trois types de fonctionnaires : les préfets, les directeurs de préfecture et les chefs d'arrondissement. Du point de vue professionnel et même social, nous pouvons classer les membres du corps préfectoral en deux catégories: d'une part les préfets, et d'autre part leurs adjoints. Premièrement, le salaire est un critère propre à différencier des hauts fonctionnaires, les préfets, des «fonctionnaires de second rang». Deuxièmement, nous retenons le critère hiérarchique qui sépare le préfet de ses subalternes. Troisièmement, il s'agit de parcours de carrière, d'origine, de statut social et de formation intellectuelle assez distincts. Du fait de l'existence d'une « communauté d'intérêts » de l'ensemble du corps préfectoral, des interdépendances entre ces deux catégories socio-professionnelles peuvent être observées.

Dans les principautés médiévales de la Valachie (Țara Românească) et de la Moldavie, dès leur constitution au XIV^e siècle, le prince régnant (*domnitor*) exerçait son pouvoir non seulement au niveau de l'administration centrale, mais aussi au niveau local par l'intermédiaire des dignitaires nommés par le prince et dépendant de lui, qui avaient comme attributions la collecte de taxes et des impôts, la défense du pays, la surveillance des routes, l'application des décisions du prince et les procès. Néanmoins, dans les Principautés Roumaines un processus de centralisation et de renforcement des institutions étatiques, analogue à celui des pays de l'Europe Occidentale, n'a eu lieu que tardivement. Ce retard allait être récupéré à partir de la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle et notamment dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle par l'édification d'un cadre institutionnel et d'un corpus de lois ayant comme modèle les pays occidentaux et tout spécialement la France et la Belgique.

Les modèles de l'institution préfectorale roumaine

Les principes de liberté, égalité et fraternité n'ont pas été les seules valeurs répandues en Europe par la France révolutionnaire. L'établissement d'un nouveau cadre institutionnel et législatif, la promulgation de trois constitutions (la Constitution de l'an I, la Constitution de l'an III et la Constitution de l'an VIII) et celle du Code civil ont modifié substantiellement non seulement la France, mais aussi le droit européen. Au niveau de l'administration locale, les décrets révolutionnaires de 1789 ont créé le département comme circonscription administrative², organisé sur le principe de l'élection et celui de la collégialité.

¹ Voir Jeanne Siwek-Pouydesseau, *Le corps préfectoral sous la Troisième et sous la Quatrième République*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1969, p. 9.

² Même si le département est une création révolutionnaire, ce mot a été proposé par le marquis d'Argenson dans l'ouvrage *Considérations sur le gouvernement de la France*, paru en 1764, où il proposait un nouveau découpage du territoire en circonscriptions plus petites que les provinces, nommées «départements», Jean-François Auby, Jean-Marie Pontier, *Le département*, Paris, Economica, 1988, p. 7.

La loi du 28 pluviôse an VIII (17 février 1800) a réglé le fonctionnement et le contrôle du pouvoir central au niveau local, même si elle s'est limitée à présenter un nouveau schéma organisationnel et à désigner les agents chargés d'apporter à la France l'unité, la stabilité et le respect des lois. Depuis son application, en plus de deux cents ans, le concept de service public a évolué, mais cette loi a marqué le système administratif européen, imposant une direction de développement de l'administration territoriale, qui, dans le cas français, n'a été abandonnée que pendant la Révolution de 1848. En bref, la loi du 28 pluviôse an VIII a confirmé la division du pays en départements et en communes³. Une nouvelle circonscription administrative a été créée: l'arrondissement, dirigé par un sous-préfet⁴, l'arrondissement avait remplacé le district.

L'article 3 de la loi du 28 pluviôse précisait, sans mentionner ses attributions, que le «préfet sera seul chargé de l'administration»⁵; ce nouveau fonctionnaire remplaçait l'intendant royal. En confiant l'autorité administrative dans le cadre du département seulement au préfet, la volonté de Napoléon d'avoir un régime fort et centralisé était un fait accompli. Durant le Consulat et l'Empire les attributions du préfet, qui d'ailleurs sur la longue durée n'ont pas fait l'objet de changements radicaux, seront mieux définies dans les circulaires de Napoléon et de ses ministres⁶ et, après 1815, dans des décrets-lois, arrêtés ministériels etc.

Le préfet français était le chef de l'administration départementale et l'agent du gouvernement au niveau local: il devait transmettre et accomplir les ordres du gouvernement; il avait des attributions de nature administrative, de maintien de l'ordre et de police, d'animation politique, des attributions militaires (la conscription). Le préfet était nommé par le Premier Consul, à partir de 1804 par l'Empereur, et il était assisté par le Conseil général (dont la tâche était la répartition des impôts) et par le Conseil de préfecture (surtout un tribunal chargé du contentieux administratif). Ces conseils ne participaient en rien à

³ En 1789, 83 départements ont été créés, eux-mêmes divisés en districts. En 1798 on comptait 98 départements, sous l'Empire 130, en 1814 leur nombre a baissé à 86, et en 1860 on comptait 89 départements.

⁴ En 1800, le nombre d'arrondissements français était de 398.

⁵ Jean Amet, *L'évolution des attributions des préfets de 1800 à nos jours*, Paris, 1954, p. 15.

⁶ Ainsi par exemple de la circulaire du 21 ventôse an VIII du ministre de l'Intérieur, Lucien Bonaparte, adressée aux premiers préfets: «Votre mission s'étend à toutes les branches de l'administration intérieure. Vos attributions embrassent tout ce qui tient à la fortune publique, à la prospérité nationale, au repos de vos administrés. Vous êtes appelés à seconder le gouvernement dans le noble dessein de restituer la France à son antique splendeur et d'asseoir enfin ce magnifique édifice sur les bases inébranlables de la liberté [...] Si vous êtes fidèles aux principes que je vous ai posés [...] l'influence de vos travaux sera telle que, dans quelques années, le voyageur, en parcourant votre département, dira avec émotion: ici administre un homme de bien», cf. Jacques Régnier, *Les préfets du consulat et de l'Empire*, 1907, cité par Jean Amet, *oeuv. cit.*, p. 18.

l'administration proprement dite. Le préfet était aidé par un secrétaire général. Plus tard on a créé la fonction de chef de cabinet du préfet, distincte de la fonction de secrétaire général de préfecture.

La fin de l'empire napoléonien et l'arrivée de Louis XVIII sur le trône de la France n'ont pas été accompagnées par la suppression de l'institution préfectorale qui est devenue un point fort du maintien du régime autoritaire; tout au contraire, elle a été mieux délimitée du point de vue juridique. Pendant le Second Empire, deux textes constitutionnels, ayant pour but déclaré la décentralisation, ont été promulgués: le décret du 25 mars 1852 complété par le décret du 13 avril 1861, par lesquels on a étendu et mieux précisé les compétences des préfets et des sous-préfets et on leur a donné plus de cohérence, autorité et prestige⁷.

L'établissement de la III^e République a eu comme effet la promulgation, le 10 août 1871, d'une nouvelle loi, dite de décentralisation, qui complétait une autre loi du 10 juillet 1871. La loi de décentralisation affermissait le pouvoir du conseil départemental, et précisait d'une manière plus claire le double rôle administratif du préfet: organe du pouvoir central et organe du département. Cette loi maintenait le préfet en tant qu'administrateur de droit commun conformément à l'article 3 de la loi du 28 pluviôse an VIII; le président du Conseil général était le représentant du département, sans être son administrateur⁸. Suite à une autre loi du 5 avril 1884, le préfet n'a plus bénéficié de pouvoirs directs sur l'administration communale.

Le décret-loi du 5 novembre 1926 a modifié et a complété les lois de 1871 et de 1884, en consolidant les pouvoirs et même le statut du préfet. À partir de 1935, on assiste à un renforcement de la tutelle administrative et, à la fin des années 1930, les préfets recevaient plus d'attributions militaires et des attributions concernant la défense nationale, prérogatives qui leur avaient été déjà confiées pendant la Première Guerre mondiale.

En ce qui concerne l'exemple et les emprunts belges, nous rappelons que la Constitution belge de 1831 a servi de source juridique au Principautés Roumaines/Roumanie pour le projet de constitution de 1859 et pour la Constitution de 1866; l'administration locale belge n'était pas inconnue aux acteurs politiques roumains. Le principe d'autonomie locale et la structure de l'administration étaient mentionnés dans la constitution de 1831 qui avait consacré la division de la Belgique en neuf provinces et «l'autonomie des provinces et des communes, en leur reconnaissant une vie propre et une

⁷ Le préambule de la loi de 1852 était le suivant: «on peut gouverner de loin, mais on n'administre bien que de près», Bernard Le Clère et Vincent Wright, *Les Préfets du Second Empire*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1973, p. 37.

⁸ J. Amet, *ouv. cité*, p. 87.

administration jusqu'à un certain point indépendante du gouvernement »⁹. Les représentants du pouvoir central au niveau local, le gouverneur provincial et le commissaire d'arrondissement, tous les deux nommés par le Roi, avaient moins de prérogatives et d'autorité que les préfets et les sous-préfets français, ce qui est un des aspects ayant éloigné les législateurs roumains du modèle belge. Si les principes d'organisation de l'administration locale ont une origine française, autant pour la législation roumaine que pour celle belge, les institutions créées en 1864 ont comme source principale la législation belge en matière¹⁰. L'administration locale roumaine a été édifiée en réalisant une symbiose entre l'administration française et son homologue belge, qui, peu de temps après, s'est estompée dans la faveur de la première.

Le choix et la préservation du modèle français ne s'expliquent pas seulement par sa modernité en comparaison avec les anciennes réglementations législatives roumaines sur l'administration locale, par le prestige de la France ou par une certaine efficacité de ces institutions en France, mais aussi par le fait que jusqu'à la loi de 1929, au-delà des buts déclarés, tous les gouvernements roumains ont voulu centraliser le pouvoir pour mieux contrôler et mieux gouverner. La législation sur l'administration publique française et notamment le régime des agents du pouvoir central et leur contrôle sur le niveau local répondaient au mieux à la volonté des hommes politiques et des politiciens roumains de bâtir un État unifié et fort.

Les agents du pouvoir central dans les Principautés Roumaines au XVIII^e siècle et dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle

Une première démarche significative dans le processus de consolidation du pouvoir central a été essayée par Constantin Mavrocordat, en 1740 pour la Valachie, et en 1741 pour la Moldavie. Constantin Mavrocordat était ouvert aux idées des Lumières, il possédait une riche bibliothèque et, également, il avait en tête les changements administratifs introduits en Olténie¹¹ par les Autrichiens.

Pour un meilleur profit économique et le maintien de la stabilité dans la région, l'Empire des Habsbourg a introduit en Olténie des principes administratifs avancés : l'institution de fonctionnaires spécialisés et rétribués, la hiérarchie et la division administrative, la responsabilité et la gestion des actes, alors signes d'une administration moderne. Le décret impérial autrichien du 22

⁹ Eugène Bernimolin, *Les institutions provinciales et communales en Belgique. Traité théorique et pratique de la législation provinciale et communale. Ainsi que des lois électorales qui s'y rattachent*, Bruxelles, 1891-1892, tome premier, p. 74.

¹⁰ Manuel Guțan, *Istoria administrației publice locale în statul român modern*, București, All Beck, 2005, p. 82.

¹¹ L'Olténie est une région située dans l'ouest de la Valachie, gagnée par l'Empire des Habsbourg suite de la paix de Passarowitz du 21 juillet 1718 et perdue en 1739. En ce qui concerne l'Olténie sous domination autrichienne, voir Șerban Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânire românească*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1998 [1971].

février 1719, complété par d'autres actes émis la même année, a réglé la structure administrative de l'Olténie. Ainsi, le nouveau territoire a été organisé en province dirigée par un conseil, ayant son siège à Craiova, formé de quatre conseillers et d'un président (ou *ban*)¹², ayant des attributions administratives, fiscales et judiciaires, sous le contrôle direct du commandant militaire de la Transylvanie, résidant à Sibiu, qui a pris le titre de *Principatus Valachie Supremus Director*¹³. Pour une administration plus efficace, l'Olténie préservait son ancienne division en cinq départements (*județe*)¹⁴, dirigés par un *vornic*¹⁵, chaque département étant divisé en quatre cercles/arrondissements (*plase*), ayant à leur tête un *ispravnic*¹⁶.

Le changement de structure administrative réalisé par le prince Mavrocordat dans les années 1740 faisait partie d'un corpus de réformes sociales, économiques et juridiques qui visaient à la croissance du pouvoir central, la rentabilisation du système fiscal au bénéfice de la croissance du pouvoir central, donc de l'autorité du prince et pour un meilleur contrôle des ressources économiques du pays. Ces changements ont été envisagés, afin de réduire l'autonomie des boyards et de diminuer le grand nombre de familles exemptées du paiement de l'impôt, ainsi que de combattre la vénalité des agents publics, la coutume de l'achat des fonctions, le démantèlement de l'autorité du prince. Une innovation législative, qui a influencé pour beaucoup de décennies autant l'évolution de la noblesse (les boyards) que le statut de l'agent étatique, a été l'imposition d'une règle par laquelle la qualité de boyard dépendait de la fonction publique¹⁷ remplie au niveau central ou local. Cette fonction était une sorte de titre nobiliaire, non héréditaire.

En 1740 pour la Valachie et en 1741 pour la Moldavie, l'administration territoriale et les agents du pouvoir central ont fait l'objet d'une réorganisation par l'uniformisation et la codification de la coutume et par de nouveaux règlements et lois. Ainsi, dans chaque unité administrative territoriale (*județ* en

¹² Si au début tous membres de ce conseil étaient des boyards roumains, graduellement cette instance va se germaniser. En 1726, trois membres sur cinq, y inclus le président étaient allemands (Manuel Guțan, *Istoria administrației publice românești*, deuxième édition, București, Hamangiu, 2006 [2005], p. 92).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Au début, le nom de *judet* a été employé pour désigner l'agent du prince régnant dans une contrée, et cette division administrative a pris à son tour ce nom.

¹⁵ En 1732 à la tête des *județe*, le *vornic* roumain a été doublé par un (fonctionnaire) allemand, M. Guțan, *ouv. cité.*, 2006, p. 92.

¹⁶ Un arrondissement était composé de plusieurs villages, chacun dirigé par un *pârcălab* ou *vătaf*, nommés au début par les propriétaires terriens, et quelque temps après directement par les autorités autrichiennes.

¹⁷ Au XVIII^e siècle il existait des dignités publiques liées à une fonction exercée ou pas ; les fonctionnaires sans emplois bénéficiaient du titre conféré par une ancienne fonction.

Valachie et *ținut* en Moldavie)¹⁸ fonctionnait un *ispravnic*, représentant du pouvoir central, recruté parmi les boyards de la première et la deuxième classe. Peu de temps après, à la tête de chaque *ținut* ou *județ* on a nommé deux *ispravnici*. En lignes générales, ces «fonctionnaires» étaient chargés de la distribution de la justice, de protéger les pauvres des abus des agents fiscaux, de surveiller les notables des villages dans la collecte des impôts¹⁹. Dans chaque département fonctionnaient des troupes armées, subordonnées à l'*ispravnic*, ayant comme buts de préserver l'ordre, de combattre les cambrioleurs, les révoltes et utilisées aussi à lever les impôts. Même si les réformes de Constantin Mavrocordat prévoyaient le fonctionnement d'un juge pour chaque département, l'implication de l'*ispravnic* dans les affaires judiciaires n'avait pas cessé. Quelques décennies plus tard, Alexandru Ipsilanti (Ypsilanti), un autre prince phanariote a essayé de faire mieux fonctionner l'administration. Ainsi, la *Pravilniceasca Condiță* (1785), adoptée en Valachie, mentionnait, une fois encore, que chaque département devait avoir un juge, même si l'*ispravnic* ne perdait pas entièrement son rôle dans les affaires judiciaires.

Se servant du modèle introduit en Olténie, Constantin Mavrocordat a créé les divisions de département, les futurs arrondissements : *plai* (pour les contrées montagneuses et collinaires) et *plasa* (dans les plaines) en Valachie et *ocol* en Moldavie - unités administratives qui rassemblaient plusieurs villages. Les *vătafi de plai* et *zapcii*²⁰ en Valachie et les *ocolași* en Moldavie étaient directement subordonnés aux *ispravnici*, ayant à l'échelle de leur unité administrative les mêmes attributions que leurs supérieurs²¹ : administratives, judiciaires et fiscales. Il faut noter qu'ils ne bénéficiaient pas de traitement. Si le *zapciu* et l'*ocolaș* étaient nommés par l'*ispravnic*, le *vătaf de plai*, dans la mesure où il avait aussi des attributions militaires, était normalement nommé par le prince régnant²². À la fin du XVIII^e siècle, Alexandru Ipsilanti a changé l'institution du *zapciu*, en se donnant le droit de le nommer. Le *zapciu* a reçu

¹⁸ Les divisions territoriales (*județe* et *ținuturi*) sont attestées dès la fin du XIV^e siècle et surtout à partir du XV^e siècle, sans qu'elles soient des entités précises. Au début, le nom de *județ* désignait l'agent du prince dans une région. Pour plus d'informations voir Paul Negulescu, «Istoricul județelor» din România, in *Revista de Drept Public*, XVII, no. 1-2/1942, pp. 82-105.

¹⁹ Ovidiu Sachelarie et Nicolae Stoicescu (dir.), *Instituțiile feudale în Țările Române*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1988, p. 238.

²⁰ Le mot *zapciu* est emprunté à la langue turque (*zapytie*), alors que le mot *vătaf* est d'origine slave (de l'ucrainien *vataha* et du polonais *wataha*). Le mot *ispravnic* est lui aussi d'origine slave, russe. Voir Manuela Saramandu, *Terminologia juridic-administrativă românească în perioada 1780-1850*, thèse de doctorat, Université de Bucarest, 1986, p. 44, 49-50.

²¹ Ioan C. Filitti, *Principatele Române de la 1828 la 1834. Ocupația rusească și Regulamentul organic*, București, 1934, p. 117.

²² M. Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2006, p. 109.

aussi des tâches policières et le droit de ramener les coupables en justice, le pouvoir d'être juge dans des petites affaires judiciaires ; on a prévu également qu'il soit payé²³.

Dans de nombreux projets de réforme rédigés par les Moldaves et les Valaques dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle et dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, le statut des agents étatiques et l'administration constituent des thèmes importants censés résoudre beaucoup de problèmes et faire évoluer la société²⁴.

L'acclimatation des idées novatrices sur le champ de l'administration et la croissance du degré d'indépendance par rapport à l'Empire ottoman, directement liée au désir de l'Autriche et de la Russie de s'assurer le contrôle de ces régions, ont conduit à l'évolution institutionnelle des Pays Roumains. Une première étape a été le rétablissement des princes autochtones. En ce qui concerne l'administration locale, on rappelle les essais du prince valaque Grigore IV Ghica d'améliorer le fonctionnement de l'administration. Dans ce but, par un acte du 3/15 août 1823 il avait réglementé les attributions des agents territoriaux (les *ispravnici*, les *sameși*²⁵, les *zapcii*), démarche qui s'ajoutait à bien d'autres, dont l'interdiction du trafic de fonctions publiques (un acte du 15/27 septembre 1822) sous la menace de punitions physiques²⁶, action qui n'a pas empêché l'essor de ce phénomène.

Du point de vue administratif territorial, les Règlements organiques ont maintenu la division des Principautés en *județe* en Valachie et *ținuturi* en Moldavie²⁷ – qui n'ont pas reçu de personnalité juridique²⁸ - dirigés par un *cârmuitor / ocârmuitor* (en Valachie) ou un *ispravnic administrativ* (en Moldavie). Sur le moment, le nombre de ces unités administratives est resté inchangé, mais suite à la création, à l'initiative du général Kiseleff, d'une

²³ O. Sachelarie et N. Stoicescu, *ouv. cité*, p. 518.

²⁴ En ce qui concerne les principales demandes concernant l'administration et les fonctionnaires contenues dans les projets de réformes et les programmes politiques de cette période voir: Manuel Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2006, p. 130-131, 130 n.

²⁵ Fonctionnaire administratif qui avait des attributions fiscales dans le département: comptable, cassier et responsable de la collecte des impôts.

²⁶ M. Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2006, p. 128.

²⁷ En ce qui concerne ces unités administratives territoriales, leur nom remonte à l'époque médiévale. On précise que si en Moldavie les *ținuturi* et *județe* ont pris le nom de la plus importante ville et seulement quatre ont pris leur nom d'après la rivière dont ils étaient traversés (Cârligătura, Putna, Covurlui et Tutova), en Valachie on observe la situation inverse: seulement deux départements ont pris le nom d'une ville (Brăila et Buzău) et les autres étaient nommés du nom de la rivière ou des montagnes. Pour Negulescu ce constat s'expliquait par le fait qu'en Valachie la création des *județe* a été antérieure aux villes; par contre, en Moldavie les villes étaient plus vieilles que les *ținuturi*. P. Negulescu, *ouv. cité*, pp. 88-89.

²⁸ Les villes avaient personnalité juridique.

commission pour chaque pays qui établisse une meilleure découpe du territoire, en Moldavie leur nombre est tombé de 16 à 13²⁹. En Valachie sont restés 18 districts jusqu'au 1^{er} janvier 1845, quand on a supprimé le département de Saac, dont le territoire est revenu aux départements de Prahova et de Buzău. En 1856, suite à la guerre de Crimée, par l'incorporation du sud de la Bessarabie, le nombre de *ținuturi* de la Moldavie a monté à 16.

Les administrateurs du «département» (*cârmuitor /ispravnic administrativ*) – un dans chaque unité administrative – étaient nommés pour trois ans par le prince régnant parmi deux candidats choisis par le Conseil Administratif (Règlement organique de la Valachie, art. 352). Ils étaient subordonnés au ministère de l'Intérieur, mais ils pouvaient recevoir également des ordres des autres ministres (Règlement organique de la Valachie, art. 147). Il est important de souligner que ces «préfets» n'étaient plus des simples agents du prince régnant, mais des représentants du pouvoir exécutif au niveau local.

Pour un contrôle plus efficace on a maintenu la division des «départements» en *plaiuri* et *plăși* en Valachie, *ocoale* en Moldavie dirigés par un *sub-cârmuitor* et respectivement par un *privighetor de ocoale*, nommés, dans les deux pays, pour trois ans. En Valachie ce «fonctionnaire» d'arrondissement était nommé par le prince, suite à la recommandation du Conseil administratif parmi deux candidats choisis par les propriétaires du département et le «préfet» (Règlement organique de la Valachie, art. 353)³⁰, tandis qu'en Moldavie il devait être propriétaire dans la circonscription et était choisi par les dirigeants des villages (une sorte de maire, les *vorniceii*) et le «préfet» (Règlement organique de la Moldavie, art. 404). Ce système d'élection suivait le modèle russe, il encourageait la nomination dans ces fonctions de propriétaires terriens, de petits ou des moyens boyards de l'arrondissement concerné, bons connaisseurs des problèmes locaux et insérés dans les réseaux locaux d'influence.

Une autre innovation était prévue dans le Règlement organique de la Moldavie : il stipulait que si le «préfet» ne prenait pas de mesures pour résoudre les problèmes constatés par le chef d'arrondissement, ce dernier pouvait faire appel à la hiérarchie administrative en s'adressant directement au «ministre» des Affaires internes (Règlement organique de la Moldavie, art. 405). L'historien du droit administratif Manuel Guțan considère que les Règlements organiques ont voulu créer par l'institution du chef d'arrondissement «l'exécutant fidèle des lois et des ordres des supérieurs hiérarchiques et d'autre part, le gardien des intérêts

²⁹ Adrian Macovei, «Organizarea administrativ-teritorială a Moldovei între anii 1832-1862» (II), in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol*, XX, 1983, p. 173.

³⁰ En 1851, une autre loi a changé la modalité de nomination des chefs d'arrondissement en Valachie, selon laquelle ils étaient nommés par le gouvernement parmi quatre candidats proposés par les propriétaires des terres, locaux.

autant des propriétaires que des paysans»³¹. À notre avis, ces fonctionnaires d'arrondissement étaient plutôt une sorte de relais administratif, politique, relationnel et même social. Cette fonction était un liant entre les petits notables locaux et les grands boyards, assurant l'enrôlement des premiers dans les affaires publiques. Les agents du pouvoir central au niveau local n'avaient pas de juridiction dans les villes.

L'administration militaire russe n'a pas imposé seulement un cadre législatif (les Règlements organiques), aussi limité fût-il, elle a également fait des efforts pour que les lois et les réglementations soient appliquées. Si le contrôle de l'administration centrale était plus facile à réaliser, la présence d'une administration correcte et le maintien des règles étaient difficiles à accomplir au niveau local où la fonction publique reste une source de revenu illicite et de pouvoir. Dans cette période on voit se mettre en place un contrôle plus étroit du centre qui va créer les instruments lui permettant une appropriation plus efficace du territoire : l'envoi dans le territoire de fonctionnaires du centre³². La croissance du nombre d'archives administratives, la création des Archives Nationales et la conservation des archives constituent d'autres éléments qui attestent de la constitution d'un appareil bureaucratique.

Dans la hiérarchie des rangs nobiliaires la dignité publique de « préfet » était assimilée en Moldavie à la cinquième classe ; ainsi la personne qui remplissait cette fonction pouvait recevoir le titre de *comite*, *ban* ou *spătar*.

Les droits, les obligations, les charges et les attributions des agents du pouvoir central au niveau local seront revus par divers lois, réglementations et circulaires ministérielles. Ainsi une circulaire de décembre 1840 émise en Moldavie nous dévoile les attributions du chef d'arrondissement concernant la situation sanitaire, les travaux agricoles, l'entretien et même la construction de ponts et de chaussées, l'organisation des stocks (*magazii de rezervă*), la tutelle sur l'administration des villages³³. Une autre circulaire de juillet 1847 du ministre de l'Intérieur de la Valachie pendant le règne de Gheorghe Bibescu décrivait les devoirs du sous-dirigeant (*subcârmuitor*), parmi lesquels l'obligation d'habiter l'arrondissement, de ne pas prendre des terrains en fermage³⁴. En outre, cette circulaire incluait comme devoir du chef d'arrondissement la mission de défendre les intérêts des paysans, en agissant contre ceux qui abusaient des paysans.

L'administration locale ne pouvait pas manquer de figurer dans les programmes de la révolution de 1848 dans les Pays Roumains. Le programme

³¹ Manuel Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2005, p. 29.

³² Un tel ordre a été donné au Conseil administratif par le général Kiseleff le 16 juillet 1831, qui a dû envoyer des agents pour mettre en ordre et organiser les chancelleries des districts, y compris les registres administratifs. M. Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2006, p. 156.

³³ *Ibid*, 2006, p. 157.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

rédigé par Mihail Kogălniceanu, intitulé *Les aspirations du parti national de la Moldavie*, et inspiré de sources occidentales, offre le modèle de régime administratif souhaité. Le pays continuait d'être divisé en départements (*ținuturi*), ayant à leur tête un administrateur (*administrator*) – dénomination plus occidentale, mais pas introduite par Kogălniceanu - nommé par le prince régnant et par un conseil départemental (*sfat ținutal*) - une nouveauté -, des arrondissements (*ocoale*), dirigés par un sous-administrateur (*subadministrator*), nommé également par le prince, et des communes. Le département et la commune devaient ainsi devenir des circonscriptions administratives ayant des institutions propres et des membres de conseils locaux élus.

L'effort timide de codification, par la politique des petits pas, des fonctions d'agent du pouvoir central au niveau territorial a continué dans les deux pays après 1848. Le processus de codification et l'essai de centralisation, en étendant le contrôle du «gouvernement» à tous les niveaux, étaient des manifestations de l'«étatisation» du pays - trait de la modernisation. En 1851, en Valachie, le «gouvernement» a essayé de limiter le pouvoir des notables locaux et de «nationaliser» l'administration publique locale par une loi qui modifiait les modalités de recrutement du chef d'arrondissement (le *sub-cârmuitor*), en décidant de faire lui-même les nominations, parmi quatre candidats proposés par les propriétaires de l'arrondissement³⁵.

En Moldavie, un arrêt du 7 avril 1852 du prince Grigore Alexandru Ghica a voulu réglementer le processus d'admission, voire l'élection, des chefs d'arrondissements (*privighetori de ocoale*). Une commission formée de boyards devait vérifier si les candidats remplissaient les conditions d'admission et assurer l'impartialité du processus d'élection. Les candidats à cette fonction devaient satisfaire plusieurs conditions: d'âge (avoir au moins 25 ans), de fortune (des propriétés immobilières d'au moins 10.000 lei), professionnelles («connaître leur métier») et morales (n'avoir pas fait l'objet d'une condamnation pénale ou civile, n'avoir pas été auparavant sanctionné disciplinairement par le licenciement d'une autre fonction, ne pas être suspecté de questions immorales)³⁶.

Ces essais des gouvernements des deux pays, continués les années suivantes, de se doter d'une administration efficace ont été encouragés par la Commission créée suite au Traité de Paix de Paris. Cette instance internationale a accordé une attention spéciale aux fonctionnaires délégués qui devaient être un relais entre le gouvernement et les villages. Sur ce sujet, la Commission, composée des représentants des sept Grandes Puissances de l'époque, recommandait que le gouvernement assume en exclusivité la décision de sélection et de nomination de ses fonctionnaires, comme « une expression de

³⁵ Manuel Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2005, p. 32.

³⁶ Adrian Macovei, *ouv. cité*. (III), in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol*, XXI, 1984, pp. 210-211.

l'unité et de la hiérarchisation stricte de l'administration publique étatique »³⁷. Dans les années 1850 et au début des années 1860 plusieurs projets de réformes de l'administration locale, militant pour la décentralisation administrative, ont été proposés par Barbu Catargiu en 1857, Vasile Boerescu (*La Roumanie après le Traité de Paris du 30 mars 1856*, parue en 1859) et Ion Ghica (*Reorganizarea României. Partea întâi. Comuna*, 1861).

La dénomination utilisée pour désigner le chef du département a été changée au cours des années 1850 en celle d'*administrator* (administrateur). À partir du début des années 1860, dans les actes administratifs, dans la presse et dans l'ensemble de la population commence d'être employée la dénomination de *prefect* (préfet), terme qui s'est maintenu jusqu'en 1949.

Le plus haut fonctionnaire dans l'arrondissement (*sub-cârmuitor /privighetor de ocoale*) a vu aussi son nom remplacé dans les années 1850 par une dénomination moderne, *sub-administrator* (sous-administrateur) qui reflétait une certaine occidentalisation de la société. La population employait encore en un sens péjoratif l'ancien terme de *zapciu*, par lequel on voulait souligner le caractère oppressif des sous-préfets envers les paysans. À partir de 1860 dans les dossiers administratifs, parallèlement avec l'emploi du terme préfet, on a commencé à utiliser celui de sous-préfet pour désigner le principal agent du pouvoir central au niveau de l'arrondissement. Dans la Dobroudja, acquise par la Roumanie en 1878, jusqu'au début des années 1890 le chef d'arrondissement était désigné du nom d'*administrateur (d'arrondissement)*³⁸. En 1901, pour peu de temps, on a essayé un changement dans l'administration territoriale par la création du réviseur communal (*revizor comunal*) qui avait des attributions semblables à celles du sous-préfet, fonction qui continuait d'exister. En 1904, l'ancien sous-préfet est devenu inspecteur communal (*inspector comunal*), dénomination changée encore une fois en 1908 en celle d'administrateur d'arrondissement (*administrator de plasă*).

Évolution du nombre de départements

Année	1862	1880	1914	1920	1925	1940
Nombre	33	32	34	76	71	60

Évolution du nombre d'arrondissements

A.	1864	1880	1882	1892	1896	1904	1905	1906	1908	1914	1925	1938
N.	163	167	119	227	116	406	150 ³⁹	258	372	221	407	429

³⁷ M. Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2005, p. 52.

³⁸ Le choix du gouvernement roumain de désigner autrement le chef d'arrondissement dans la Dobroudja peut paraître étrange et l'explication n'en est pas évidente. Nous considérons que par la dénomination d'administrateur, les autorités roumaines voulaient exprimer leur attention à l'égard de cette nouvelle province, tout en soulignant, d'autre part, son statut particulier dans l'État roumain.

³⁹ Loi du 1^{er} avril 1905.

Dans l'entre-deux-guerres le chef d'arrondissement apparaît sous la dénomination de préteur (*pretor*), dans les lois administratives de 1925, 1936, 1938 et prime préteur (*prim pretor*)⁴⁰ dans la loi décentralisatrice de 1929. Par la loi de l'unification administrative du 14 juin 1925, la dénomination qui désignait l'ancien directeur de préfecture a été remplacée par celle de sous-préfet. Pour assurer une lecture facile du texte nous avons choisi d'utiliser plutôt la dénomination de chef d'arrondissement pour désigner le sous-préfet/ inspecteur communal/ administrateur d'arrondissement/ préteur/ prime préteur et d'employer le moins possible celle de sous-préfet. En ce qui concerne le chef de la chancellerie de la Préfecture nous avons préféré sa première dénomination, celle de directeur de préfecture au lieu de celle de sous-préfet.

Conservatisme versus modernisation. Essais et projets de réforme, 1859-1892

L'un des premiers décrets-lois sur l'administration locale après la réalisation de l'unification administrative de la Moldavie et de la Valachie visait, en 1861, une nouvelle fonction : celle de chef de la chancellerie de la préfecture, une sorte d'adjoint du préfet⁴¹. Il est intéressant de souligner d'abord qu'en ce qui concerne le préfet et le sous-préfet nous ne disposons pas d'un tel règlement, constat qui s'explique simplement par le fait que seule la fonction de directeur de préfecture était une création. Le directeur de la préfecture était le chef hiérarchique de tous les fonctionnaires de la préfecture⁴² ; en outre, il devait mener à bien les devoirs du préfet dans son absence du chef-lieu du district ou en cas de maladie. La fonction de directeur de préfecture était semblable à celle du secrétaire général de préfecture en France. La création de cette nouvelle fonction et l'étude de

⁴⁰ La dénomination de *pretor* tire son origine du latin (*praetorius*) où elle désignait la plus haute fonction dans l'armée après celle de consul, ainsi qu'un haut magistrat élu. En Transylvanie, le (*proto*) *pretor* est la traduction roumaine du chef de cercle administratif (*főszalgabíró*) sous le régime hongrois. Il est intéressant de noter que le mot *pretor* dans l'espace roumain n'a survécu que dans la République de Moldavie (l'ancienne Bessarabie) où il désigne le chef de l'administration des arrondissements (*sectoare*) de la capitale Chişinău. Les *pretori* de la ville de Chişinău sont des fonctionnaires publics, nommés par le Conseil de la ville, sur proposition du maire; ils sont les représentants du maire dans l'arrondissement.

⁴¹ Décret n° 697 du 1861, in *Collecțiune de legiurile României* ..., p. 803.

⁴² « Le directeur de préfecture a le devoir d'observer le degré de discipline de ses adjoints et de tous les employés de la chancellerie de la Préfecture, et pour n'importe quelle désobéissance de la règle ou non-accomplissement de leurs devoirs, le directeur expose au préfet ses constats et si la situation ne s'améliore pas il présente au préfet un rapport par écrit, et si dans ce cas non plus le préfet ne prend pas des mesures, le directeur peut rapporter au Ministère en lui présentant les abus en question ». *Collecțiune de legiurile României* ..., pp. 803-804.

l'activité des préfets et des demandes faites par les ministres de l'Intérieur de l'époque nous révèlent que les devoirs et même le statut des membres de l'administration préfectorale s'occidentalisèrent par l'adoption et surtout l'adaptation du modèle français dans l'espace roumain. Ce phénomène a été mis en place par la modification de la législation et par les administrateurs (les ministres de l'Intérieur et certains membres de l'administration préfectorale).

Même si jusqu'en 1892, la Roumanie n'a pas connu de loi sur l'organisation du ministère de l'Intérieur ou de lois qui se penchent exclusivement sur la fonction de préfet et de sous-préfet, certains des devoirs de ces «serviteurs de l'État» étaient esquissés dans d'autres actes législatifs et circulaires ministérielles. Les attributions, les devoirs et même la conduite des agents du pouvoir central ont été mieux précisés dans des circulaires du Premier ministre Mihail Kogălniceanu⁴³. Ainsi, en ce qui concerne notre étude de cas, dans une lettre de janvier 1860, le Premier ministre de la Moldavie demandait aux préfets de nommer comme dans les préfectures, les sous-préfectures et la police des fonctionnaires ayant au moins une formation gymnasiale⁴⁴. Comme en France au début du XIX^e siècle, dans la Roumanie du XIX^e siècle l'absence d'une codification d'une manière précise les devoirs des préfets et des sous-préfets a été suppléée par des arrêtés ministériels concernant le maintien de l'ordre, la tutelle administrative, la santé publique, la lutte contre les brigandages, les calamités naturelles, les émeutes et les révoltes; par des articles de loi sur d'autres institutions étatiques ou par des décrets-lois qui leur ont accordé des devoirs précis et surtout les textes législatifs sur l'organisation des communes et des départements.

Deux des lois qui ont réduit la nécessité d'une codification spéciale des attributions des préfets et des sous-préfets ont été *La loi des communes rurales et urbaines* (le décret no. 394)⁴⁵ et la *Loi des conseils départementaux* (le décret no. 399), toutes les deux promulguées le 31 mars/12 avril 1864 et parues dans le

⁴³ De tels écrits administratifs de l'époque de Cuza peuvent être consultés dans l'ouvrage de Vasile C. Nicolau, *Priviri asupra vechii organizări a Moldovei*, Bârlad, [1913], pp. 243-251.

⁴⁴ Cf. Nicolae Corivan, «Mihail Kogălniceanu și organizarea administrativă a Moldovei în prima sa guvernare din timpul domniei lui Alexandru Ioan Cuza », in *Studii și articole de istorie*, vol. XII, 1968, p. 96.

⁴⁵ La loi des communes rurales et urbaines de 1864 ne décrivait que la relation administrative entre les agents du gouvernement et l'administration locale représentée par les maires et les conseils communaux. Les membres du conseil d'une commune rurale devaient présenter leur démission au sous-préfet et ceux d'une ville au préfet (art. 52). Le sous-préfet était un agent de médiation entre les conseils des communes rurales et le Comité directoire (art. 70), *Lege pentru comunele urbane și rurale a Principatelor-Unite Române*, București, 1865.

Moniteur officiel le 2/14 avril 1864, sous un gouvernement dirigé par Mihail Kogălniceanu⁴⁶.

Par la loi des conseils départementaux de 1864, même si le texte ne le disait pas explicitement, le département recevait la personnalité juridique⁴⁷, conséquence implicite de l'existence d'un patrimoine du département⁴⁸. Le conseil départemental roumain et son organe exécutif, *Comitetul permanent*, ressemblaient beaucoup au conseil provincial et à la députation permanente belges, ainsi qu'au conseil général français⁴⁹. Manuel Guțan apprécie à juste raison qu'«il est difficile de faire une délimitation stricte de l'influence française de l'influence belge, en raison, d'une part, du fait que le législateur roumain n'a pas toujours requis les sources, et d'autre part, du fait que, au moins en matière de principes d'organisation de l'administration publique locale, le droit belge est entièrement tributaire du droit français»⁵⁰.

Le Conseil départemental était une autorité collégiale élective⁵¹ avec des attributions délibératives⁵², alors que le Comité permanent était son organe exécutif, formé de trois membres et trois suppléants élus pour une période de quatre ans parmi les conseillers départementaux⁵³. La loi sur les conseils départementaux mentionnait également l'arrondissement, comme unité administrative-territoriale, et le sous-préfet.

En ce qui concerne la loi sur les communes rurales, nous nous limitons à faire seulement quelques remarques. À la tête de la commune rurale, qui jouissait de personnalité juridique, il y avait un conseil et un maire, élus par les habitants jouissant du droit de vote dans la commune. L'élection du maire des

⁴⁶ Ces lois visant l'administration départementale et respectivement rurale avaient comme fondement les projets de loi du 20 novembre/2 décembre 1861 et du 11/23 juin 1862, issus de la Commission Centrale.

⁴⁷ La personnalité juridique du département sera expressément reconnue dans la loi sur l'organisation des autorités administratives extérieures du ministère de l'Intérieur de 1892, et ensuite par la loi des conseils départementaux du 31 mai/12 avril 1894.

⁴⁸ M. Guțan, *ouv. cité.*, 2005, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Dans le cas de la loi communale, son principal artisan M. Kogălniceanu avait indiqué très clairement l'influence belge (*Ibid*, pp. 98-99).

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 98.

⁵¹ L'élection pour le conseil départemental se réalisait sur la base du suffrage censitaire, en respectant les conditions de la loi électorale du 2/14 juillet 1864, mais les électeurs de chaque arrondissement étaient rassemblés cette fois-ci dans un seul collège électoral. Le nombre de membres du conseil départemental a eu l'évolution suivante: par la loi de 1864 deux conseillers pour chaque arrondissement leur nombre variant ainsi de 2 (pour le département de Ismail) à 14 (pour les départements de Dolj Argeș, Iași, Râmnicu-Sărat, Prahova, Mehedinți, Vâlcea, Dâmbovița), se fixant ultérieurement pour chaque département à 12 (1872), 24 (1883), 18 (1894), élues sur quatre ans et demi, et renouvelés tous les deux ans.

⁵² M. Guțan, *ouv. cité.*, 2005, p. 85.

⁵³ L'institution du *comité permanent* a été transformée suite à la loi de 1894 en délégation départementale.

communes rurales devait être approuvée par le préfet, pratique qui s'expliquait par le fait que le premier était également agent du gouvernement. Dans les villes – les communes urbaines – le processus d'élection était un peu plus compliqué, le maire était nommé par le prince régnant parmi les trois premiers conseillers communaux qui avaient réalisé le meilleur résultat.

Même si ces deux lois ne concernaient pas directement l'institution préfectorale⁵⁴, on imposait ainsi une certaine direction de développement du système administratif local, caractérisé par la centralisation administrative et le contrôle politique exercé par le gouvernement. Le préfet recevait le rôle d'organe exécutif, étant seul chargé de l'exécution des actes du Conseil du département ou du Comité permanent. Le préfet, agent (commissaire) du gouvernement auprès du conseil départemental (La loi des conseils départementaux du 2 avril 1864, art. 3) était le président du Comité permanent, ayant le droit de vote et, en cas de partage des voix, le vote décisif. En cas de dissolution du conseil, jusqu'à la nomination d'un nouveau comité directeur choisi par le nouveau conseil départemental, le préfet restait le seul à administrer les affaires départementales (La loi des conseils départementaux du 2 avril 1864, art. 108). La loi sur les conseils départementaux⁵⁵ a interdit aux fonctionnaires des préfectures et des sous-préfectures d'être membres du conseil départemental.

Les législateurs roumains ont préféré et soutenu - jusqu'à la loi administrative du 3 août 1929 - le double rôle du préfet: agent (*commissaire*) du gouvernement et chef de l'administration départementale décentralisée⁵⁶. En ce qui concerne le sous-préfet, il devait informer le Comité permanent sur les irrégularités, les manques administratifs et les abus des administrations des communes rurales, mais, en réalité, il répondait seulement devant le préfet.

La loi sur les conseils départementaux du 31 mars/12 avril 1872 affermissait le processus de centralisation: la relation des agents du pouvoir central dans le territoire avec le Conseil départemental et le Comité permanent était explicitement présentée, ce qui nous permet de mieux comprendre la place de ces fonctionnaires dans le système administratif roumain. Un des principaux changements que cette loi a apportés consistait dans la modification des modalités de nomination des conseils départementaux: le système collégial unique de l'arrondissement a été remplacé par celui des collèges électoraux, utilisé pour l'élection des membres du Parlement.

⁵⁴ La loi communale de 1864 a eu elle aussi une grande importance dans le processus de développement institutionnel de la Roumanie: elle donnait la personnalité juridique aux communes, créant les prémisses pour un régime d'autonomie locale dans un État moderne.

⁵⁵ Loi du 2 avril 1864 sur les conseils départementaux, in *Collecțiune de legiuriile României* ..., pp. 866-876.

⁵⁶ En France, ce problème a engendré de nombreux débats et modifications de lois qui ont limité le pouvoir du préfet, notamment la loi du 10 août 1871, changements qui pourtant n'ont pas influencé le statut de leurs homologues roumains.

Dans le règlement d'application de la loi on précisait pour la première fois les devoirs et le fonctionnement de la chancellerie de la préfecture, comparables à ceux du Comité permanent. Le personnel de la chancellerie, payé en égale mesure par la Trésorerie et par le département, devait s'occuper des activités d'administration générale et d'administration départementale⁵⁷. Le directeur de préfecture était chargé de gérer la préfecture et d'accomplir les obligations du préfet en son absence. Un changement significatif visait le préfet qui cessait d'être le président de l'exécutif du Conseil départemental, le Comité permanent, tout en conservant en échange un rôle de *commissaire du gouvernement* auprès des deux instances administratives et en restant le seul chargé de l'exécution de ces décisions.

En ce qui concerne le sous-préfet, la loi de 1872 prévoyait qu'en plus des attributions d'administrateur, policier et juge de paix, il était aussi responsable de l'inspection des communes rurales en rapportant au Comité permanent, par l'intermédiaire du préfet, les problèmes de son arrondissement, les améliorations, les résultats de ses inspections dans les caisses communales et des contrôles des registres de l'état civil⁵⁸. La loi de 1872 transformait le sous-préfet en un agent de surveillance et de transmission; il n'exerçait aucun pouvoir administratif propre⁵⁹.

Le processus de centralisation de l'administration locale, bien visible dans la loi des conseils départementaux de 1872, a été accentué par la loi des communes rurales et urbaines du 9/21 avril 1874, fait qui contrevenait aux principes énoncés dans la Constitution. La loi de 1874⁶⁰ prévoyait que le maire des communes rurales était nommé parmi les conseillers par le ministère de l'Intérieur, sur proposition du préfet et, que dans les villes, le maire était nommé parmi les conseillers, par décret du prince, sur proposition du ministère de l'Intérieur (art. 82)⁶¹. Le maire est devenu lui aussi un agent, un délégué de l'administration centrale, sous l'autorité du gouvernement (art. 88). En outre, le maire était le seul désigné à administrer la commune, rurale et urbaine (La loi du 9 avril 1874, art. 81). Une fois les libéraux revenus au pouvoir, a été rapidement votée une autre loi communale, celle du 10/22 août 1876, qui était en grande

⁵⁷ Règlement d'application de la loi sur les conseils départementaux, le 1/13 avril 1872, in *Appendice la Collecțiunea de legiurile României Vechi și noi, cite s-au promulgatu de la 1 ianuarie anulu 1871 până la 1 ianuarie 1875 și în continuare*, București, 1875, p. 53.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Christodul Suliotis, *Elemente de drept constituțional*, București, 1881, p. 66.

⁶⁰ Loi sur les communes urbaines et rurales, décret du 5 avril 1874, promulgué le 9 avril 1874, in *Appendice ...*, p. 149-151.

⁶¹ Dans la loi de 1864, le maire des communes rurales était choisi parmi les électeurs en même temps que les membres du conseil. La nomination du maire devait être approuvée seulement par le préfet. Dans les villes, le maire était nommé par le prince parmi les trois conseillers qui avaient obtenu les meilleurs résultats à l'élection.

partie un retour à la loi de 1864. Les changements initiés par la loi de 1876 ont été achevés par la loi de novembre 1882.

La loi libérale du 1/13 mars 1883 sur les conseils départementaux a mis fin à l'ambiguïté existant au niveau départemental, en renforçant la décentralisation administrative: à la tête du Comité permanent il y avait un président, désigné par le prince régnant parmi les membres du conseil, chargé, à place du préfet, de l'exécution des décisions du Conseil et du Comité. Le préfet restait commissaire du gouvernement auprès du Conseil, mais son obligation principale était d'assister le président et les membres du conseil.

Dans un des premiers traités de droit administratif roumains, à coté des attributions administratives et d'agent de police judiciaire, George D. Bildirescu en rappelait une autre qui paraît échapper aux autres juristes de l'époque: les attributions du préfet dans l'ordre judiciaire, en ce qui concernait la composition des listes de jurés et des listes de membres de la chambre de commerce⁶². Ainsi, dans cette «fonction», le préfet devait juger les contestations relatives à l'inscription sur les listes en vue de la constitution des chambres de commerce, conformément aux articles 8 et 9 de la loi du 2 octobre 1864, de même qu'il devait se prononcer sur les contestations visant les listes des jurés, conformément à l'article 268 du code de procédure pénale, qui lui donnait le droit de juger cette question en première instance⁶³.

Un texte législatif important qui n'a pas encore fait encore l'objet d'une recherche juridique ou historique est la loi du 21 avril 1867, par laquelle les sous-préfets et les policiers recevaient temporairement des attributions de juges de paix⁶⁴, notamment le droit de juger des affaires civiles. Par la loi du 21 avril 1867 les sous-préfets et les policiers ont reçu d'une manière provisoire des attributions de juges de paix, notamment le droit de juger des affaires civiles. Cette loi, en vigueur jusqu'en 1879, contredisait le principe de séparation des pouvoirs énoncé clairement par la Constitution de 1866. Les sous-préfets ont accumulé la fonction de juge de paix suite aux manques financiers nécessaires à la création de justices de paix, comme le prévoyait la loi judiciaire du 9 juillet 1865⁶⁵.

Les essais d'organisation du ministère de l'Intérieur et surtout d'administration territoriale, promues par Mihail Kogălniceanu, ont été continués après 1866, mais les nombreux projets de loi et les débats dans le

⁶² George D. Bildirescu, *Elemente de drept public și administrativ*, Craiova, 1895, p. 59.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ On rappelle que les agents de l'administration centrale dans l'arrondissement détenaient des compétences judiciaires bien avant 1867, accordées par *Procedura condicii criminale* (La procédure criminelle) du prince Barbu Stirbey ou par la *Code de procédure pénale* de 1864.

⁶⁵ Ioan M. Bujoreanu, *Colecțiune de legiurile României vechi și noi cîte s-au promulgat pene la finele anului 1870*, București, 1873, p. 799.

Parlement ne se sont pas concrétisés avant 1892. Comme dans la France de la même période ou dans d'autres pays européens, la réorganisation de l'administration territoriale a été un thème majeur de débat dans l'opinion publique et au sein des forces politiques. Dans la période 1866-1892, les premiers ministres Ion Ghica, C. A. Rosetti, Theodor Rosetti, le général George Manu (1890)⁶⁶ ont initié des projets de réformes concernant les administrations centrale et locale⁶⁷.

Ion Ghica n'a pas détenu longtemps la fonction de chef du Conseil des ministres de la Roumanie, fait qui ne l'a pas empêché d'être l'auteur de plusieurs initiatives législatives ayant comme but la fondation d'un appareil étatique moderne. Pendant le gouvernement de Ion Ghica, du 15/27 juillet 1866 au 28 février/12 mars 1867, on a rédigé un projet de loi concernant le ministère de l'Intérieur, un texte moderne dans sa conception et ses buts, par lequel on établissait les fonctions et la structure de ce ministère⁶⁸ et les attributions des fonctionnaires publics. Ce projet n'abordait pas les conditions d'admissibilité ou les sanctions appliquées aux fonctionnaires en cas d'infractions ou désobéissance à la loi. En revanche, on accordait plus d'attention à la fonction de préfet, de sous-préfet et de directeur de préfecture et à d'autres fonctions publiques. Le projet ne précisait pas, mais ne niait pas non plus le double rôle du préfet (agent du gouvernement et chef des autorités locales), en présentant d'une manière très claire les nombreuses attributions du préfet dans sa qualité d'agent du pouvoir exécutif – l'agent de tous les ministres et le gardien de tous les services publics.

⁶⁶ M. Guțan, *ouv. cité*, 2005, pp. 150-151.

⁶⁷ Pendant cette période, parallèlement au processus officiel de rédaction des projets de loi, nous signalons aussi des projets de réforme rédigés par des notabilités locales, politiciens, juristes, une pratique qui se poursuivait depuis la première moitié du XIX^e siècle. Parmi ces essais on y trouve le mémoire du général Theodor Balș envoyé en 1867 au Conseil des Ministres et à Carol I. Écrit en français, le texte plaidait pour une plus grande indépendance dans l'administration locale, pour ce que de nos jours on appelle déconcentration administrative. L'auteur se demandait comment il était possible d'abandonner la Moldavie à la discrétion des préfets, des sous-préfets, des maires et des tribunaux judiciaires, en proposant comme solution un gouverneur pour cette région. *Mémoire sur l'administration actuelle de la Moldavie*, ANIC, fonds *Ministerul de Interne. Divizia administrativă* (2601), ds. 397/1867, passim.

⁶⁸ Dans ce projet, le ministère de l'Intérieur était organisé en deux services et plusieurs directions: le service central (la direction générale administrative – deux directions, la direction du service sanitaire central, la direction du Télégraphe et de la Poste, la direction générale des prisons) et le service extérieur (les préfectures, les sous-préfectures, la préfecture de la police de Bucarest, la police des villes, auxquels s'ajoutaient les établissements pénitentiaires et les centres de travaux forcés et correctionnels et les services locaux du télégraphe et de la poste), ANIC, fonds *Ministerul de Interne. Divizia administrativă* (2601), ds. 396/1867, f. 3 v. – 4 r.

Les attributions du préfet touchaient toutes les sphères de la vie publique (art. 16-31): la police et l'ordre public, la salubrité et la propreté, l'administration des biens des fonds publics, l'application de la loi, la moralité publique, le développement de l'industrie et du commerce, la tutelle sur les Églises et les prêtres. Ce projet contenait beaucoup d'éléments de modernité, dont l'article qui mentionne que les décisions du préfet étaient obligatoires, mais qu'il était, d'autre part, responsable de ses actes. Nous considérons que les initiateurs de ce projet prévoyaient la bureaucratisation excessive du pays et la nécessité de nommer dans cette fonction des hommes forts avec un champ d'action et de pouvoir étendus. Ainsi un article qui a été effacé précisait que: « toutes les questions d'ordre administratif prévues par les lois sont résolues par le préfet sans qu'il fasse appel au ministre »⁶⁹.

Un seul article présentait la fonction de directeur de préfecture qui devait recevoir une autorité plus limitée que celle prévue par le règlement de 1861, en vigueur en 1867. Il restait chef de la chancellerie de la préfecture, remplaçant le préfet en cas d'absence, mais tout en étant responsable de ses actions⁷⁰. En outre, le directeur de préfecture devait contresigner la correspondance et les actes du préfet. En ce qui concerne le sous-préfet (art. 33-41), il devait seulement remplir la fonction d'agent de transmission, de renseignement et de surveillance, administrant l'arrondissement sous les ordres du préfet. Pourtant, comme le préfet, le sous-préfet avait dans son arrondissement des attributions de police, il participait à la collecte des impôts et accomplissait les demandes venant de la part des juges⁷¹. Faire des inspections dans les communes et corriger les problèmes devaient figurer aussi parmi les charges du sous-préfet.

Pendant un nouveau gouvernement dirigé par Ion Ghica (15 décembre 1870 – 11 mars 1871) on a proposé plusieurs projets de loi, y compris sur le ministère de l'Intérieur, démarche continuée sans succès par le gouvernement suivant dirigé par le conservateur Lascăr Catargiu. Par rapport au projet de 1867, les attributions des préfets, des sous-préfets et des directeurs de préfecture étaient presque les mêmes, à l'exception du fait que le préfet pouvait suspendre, en cas d'infraction, n'importe quel fonctionnaire qui lui était subordonné, sous réserve d'en rendre immédiatement compte au Ministère ; quant aux sous-préfets, aux policiers et aux directeurs de préfecture, le préfet ne pouvait pas les suspendre sans l'accord préalable du Ministère⁷².

Sous les gouvernements libéraux de 1876 à 1888, l'institution sous-préfectorale a été un des sujets principaux dans deux projets de loi sur

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, f. 6 v. – 8 v.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, f. 8 v.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, f. 8 v., 18 r.

⁷² *Ibid*, (2602), ds. 299/1871, f. 11 r.

l'organisation du ministère de l'Intérieur⁷³, plutôt deux vaines tentatives de changer les attributions et les devoirs du sous-préfet pour en faire un fonctionnaire modèle. Le premier projet de loi, rédigé par le ministre de l'Intérieur, C. A. Rosetti, a eu comme conséquence la réduction du nombre des sous-préfets de 167 à 119, à partir du 1/13 avril 1882⁷⁴. Six ans plus tard, en 1888, sous l'impact des émeutes paysannes, le Premier ministre, et ministre de l'Intérieur, le conservateur Theodor Rosetti a cherché à changer d'une manière radicale la fonction de sous-préfet. La démission de son gouvernement a rendu impossible la promulgation d'un projet de loi qui prévoyait le remplacement des sous-préfets par des chefs de canton/*șef de canton* ou des commissaires d'arrondissement/*comisar de ocol*, pour lesquels on aurait dû créer 400 postes ; leurs attributions ne différaient pas trop, mais on codifiait mieux leurs devoirs et leur rôle dans l'engrenage administratif.

La législation sur les agents du pouvoir central dans le territoire dans la dernière décennie du XIX^e siècle: les lois de 1892

Longtemps attendues, la loi sur l'administration centrale du ministère de l'Intérieur (du 19/31 avril 1892) et la loi sur l'administration territoriale du même ministère ont accordé plus de stabilité et des droits pour les fonctionnaires, contribuant ainsi au processus de professionnalisation des fonctionnaires publics et à la modernisation de l'appareil étatique. À partir de 1892, plusieurs lois et modifications significatives des lois ont été adoptées, la grande partie d'entre elles concernant la fonction de sous-préfet.

La loi du 1/13 novembre 1892⁷⁵ sur les « services extérieurs » du ministère de l'Intérieur prévoyait que dans chaque département, les affaires générales de l'État soient gérées par un préfet aidé par une administration constituée au niveau de la préfecture formée d'un directeur, un chef de bureau, un archiviste, un greffier (*registrator*) et des copistes (art. 8-9) et par le personnel des sous-préfectures. Au niveau de la division du département, l'arrondissement, figurait comme agent du gouvernement un sous-préfet, aidé par un adjoint et un « archiviste-registreur-copiste » (art. 10-12).

Par la loi sur l'administration extérieure de 1892, la place du préfet dans la hiérarchie du ministère de l'Intérieur ainsi que dans l'administration territoriale et sa subordination envers diverses institutions ont été bien précisées. Il était subordonné au ministre de l'Intérieur et, en raison de ses attributions, également, aux autres ministres. Le préfet était responsable de la préservation des droits de l'État dans sa relation avec les citoyens, les départements, les communes et toute

⁷³ D'autres projets sur l'organisation du ministère de l'Intérieur ont été débattus en 1868, 1871, 1874, 1878.

⁷⁴ *Dezbaterile Adunării Deputaților, DAD*, no. 74, 11 mars 1882, séance du 10 mars 1882, p. 1190.

⁷⁵ *Monitorul oficial (MO)*, no. 169, 1/13 novembre 1892, pp. 4905-4908.

personne juridique ; il avait l'obligation d'inspecter régulièrement les sous-préfectures et les communes de son département; il assumait la charge de publier et de veiller à l'exécution et au respect de la loi. Une des obligations essentielles du préfet consistant à maintenir l'ordre et la sûreté publique (art. 15-16)⁷⁶, il disposait du droit d'user de la force publique contre des rébellions, des émeutes, des manifestations bruyantes ou d'autres événements imprévus qui pouvaient menacer l'ordre public, la sûreté de la population et des propriétés ; il devait rapporter sur ces problèmes au ministre de l'Intérieur (art. 17). Le préfet avait en charge la police administrative et préventive de son département, ayant aussi le droit d'instituer des règlements, s'ils étaient approuvés par le Ministre de l'intérieur (art. 16).

La dignité de chef de l'administration départementale conférait au préfet de vastes attributions, caractéristiques aux directions spéciales du ministère de l'Intérieur ou aux autres ministères. Ainsi, le préfet avait aussi comme devoirs l'inspection des routes nationales et départementales, la responsabilité de veiller sur l'administration des biens des églises communales, l'administration des hôpitaux, des asiles, des établissements charitables d'État ou privés et des écoles publiques, autant d'institutions où il était qualifié pour faire des inspections. Il devait intervenir en cas de calamités naturelles (inondations, incendies, épidémies). Il était délégué par le ministère des Affaires Étrangères à délivrer des passeports, à l'exception des villes où il y avait un préfet de police (art. 25). En sa qualité de représentant du gouvernement central, le préfet devait être présent et présider toutes les cérémonies publiques et officielles dans le chef-lieu du département, à l'exception des villes où étaient cantonnés des commandants de corps d'armées.

Dans la loi du 1^{er} novembre 1892 on prévoyait de restreindre l'indépendance des fonctionnaires publics, le préfet ayant le droit de veiller sur tous les employés administratifs de l'État, du département, des communes et des établissements d'utilité publique et rapportant immédiatement à l'autorité de laquelle dépendaient ces fonctionnaires (art. 19).

L'institution du préfet a fait l'objet d'une réforme deux ans plus tard, en 1894, par la loi sur les conseils départementaux du 31 mai/12 avril 1894. À l'intérieur de l'administration locale décentralisée le changement visait l'organe exécutif du conseil départemental, le comité permanent. Un premier changement concernait son nom, changé en celui de «Délégation départementale», ainsi que sa structure et ses attributions. La Délégation départementale était composée de trois membres et trois suppléants, dirigés par le doyen d'âge, tous élus pour deux ans parmi les membres du conseil. Cette instance avait son siège à la préfecture, le

⁷⁶ Les attributions du préfet et du sous-préfet de maintenir l'ordre et la sûreté publique se sont accrues à la suite de la promulgation de la loi du 1^{er} septembre 1893 sur la gendarmerie rurale. La gendarmerie était subordonnée aux ministères de l'Intérieur, de la Guerre et de la Justice.

préfet étant obligé d'y participer. On observe que la Délégation départementale recevait moins d'attributions par rapport au comité permanent, qu'elle remplaçait tout en gardant néanmoins les attributions de contentieux électoral et de tutelle administrative en matière fiscale et budgétaire⁷⁷. En échange, le préfet redevenait le chef de l'administration « décentralisée » du département. Il recevait également des attributions délibératives en dehors des sessions du conseil départemental ; en cas de dissolution du Conseil, le préfet restait seul en charge de l'administration des intérêts locaux du département jusqu'à l'installation d'une nouvelle délégation, choisie par le nouveau Conseil⁷⁸. Un autre changement réalisé par la loi sur les conseils départementaux de 1894 consistait dans le fait que le conseil perdait le droit de nommer ses fonctionnaires.

Par la loi du 1/13 avril 1903 sur l'organisation de la police générale, à l'exception de Bucarest et de Iasi – où il y avait un préfet de police – sous les ordres des préfets ont été mis les bureaux de police des communes urbaines⁷⁹. En ce qui concerne les communes rurales, la loi de 1904 précisait très explicitement que les maires exerçaient leurs attributions policières sous le contrôle des préfets.

La fonction de directeur de préfecture était décrite en quatre articles seulement (Loi du 1^{er} novembre 1892, art. 26-28, art. 48). Ce fonctionnaire était le chef de la chancellerie de la préfecture et il devait remplacer le préfet en cas d'absence de celui-ci⁸⁰. À la différence des textes des lois antérieures, ce fonctionnaire cessait d'être simultanément le chef de la chancellerie de la Préfecture et le secrétaire du Comité permanent. Par la loi sur les conseils départementaux de 1894, le caractère fort centralisateur opéré par les conservateurs est aussi visible par le droit que le directeur de préfecture, jusqu'alors seulement agent du gouvernement, prenait, sous l'artifice de la délégation, en cas d'indisponibilité du préfet et dans les responsabilités de celui-ci dans les affaires locales du département.

Les articles concernant la fonction de sous-préfet occupaient un espace plus grand. En principe, le sous-préfet préserve son rôle d'exécution, mais dans les cas de force majeure il pouvait prendre des mesures qu'il considérait utiles. Il avait l'obligation de prendre des mesures garantissant la sûreté générale de son arrondissement, la protection et la police des foires, des locaux publics et des routes, l'intervention contre les rébellions, « les réunions séditieuses ou bruyantes » ou contre d'autres événements qui auraient pu menacer l'ordre public. A cette fin, il avait le droit d'ordonner l'intervention de la force armée cantonnée dans son arrondissement. Comme officier de police et comme

⁷⁷ M. Guțan, *ouv. cité.*, 2005, p. 157.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 158.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 198.

⁸⁰ Les devoirs incombant aux trois catégories d'agents de l'État dans le département ont été plus explicitement présentés dans le Règlement d'application de cette loi, *Monitorul oficial (MO)*, no. 171, 3/15 novembre 1892, pp. 5033-5038.

auxiliaire du ministère public, le sous-préfet recevait des fonctions policières et judiciaires⁸¹ : arrêter les personnes qui tombaient sous l'incidence du Code Pénal et l'obligation de collaborer avec le tribunal. Comme le préfet, au niveau de son arrondissement, le sous-préfet devait prendre des mesures en cas de calamités naturelles, et il avait le droit d'inspecter les hôpitaux, les prisons, les institutions de bienfaisance, etc. Il était en contact et à la disposition des agents techniques chargés de la construction ou de l'entretien des routes. Le sous-préfet devait accomplir tous les ordres et les instructions qu'il avait reçus de la part du préfet, pour l'application des lois et l'exécution des mesures propres à l'administration, il devait informer le préfet sur toutes les activités qui avaient eu lieu dans son arrondissement, préfet auquel il présentait d'ailleurs des rapports mensuels.

Les lois de 1892 sur le ministère de l'Intérieur et d'autres lois et règlements sur les ministères et les institutions publiques établissaient des conditions d'admissibilité pour les fonctionnaires publics qui démontraient une certaine volonté des législateurs d'édifier un appareil étatique moderne et efficace.

La loi sur l'administration territoriale de 1892 mentionnait le niveau minimum d'études requis du directeur de préfecture et du sous-préfet, mais non du plus important agent de l'État au niveau local : le préfet. Ainsi, pour devenir sous-préfet, il était obligatoire d'être diplômé d'une faculté de Droit ou des Sciences de l'État. Cette condition était considérée par le député libéral C. I. Stoicescu comme normale, vu le « progrès de civilisation que traverse le pays » et de fait que « le nombre d'hommes aptes à être nommés dans l'administration a augmenté »⁸².

Le préfet, le directeur de la préfecture et le sous-préfet étaient nommés par décret royal, à la suite à la recommandation du ministre de l'Intérieur⁸³.

La loi de 1892 a donné de la légitimité à la fonction de sous-préfet à une époque où la question de leur suppression était envisagée, notamment par l'opposition libérale (le programme de Iasi de 1892). Le statut et l'importance dans l'engrenage administratif du sous-préfet ont été confirmés : il pouvait être perçu comme une sorte de préfet au niveau de l'arrondissement, il avait des devoirs d'administrateur et de tutelle des communes de sa circonscription

⁸¹ Les attributions qu'avaient le sous-préfet de maintenir l'ordre et le contrôle qu'il exerçait sur les communes rurales au nom de l'autorité centrale se sont renforcées avec la *Loi de la gendarmerie rurale* du 1^{er} septembre 1893. La gendarmerie rurale dépendait du ministère de l'Intérieur, du ministère de la Guerre et du ministère de la Justice. À cette époque-là, au niveau de l'arrondissement, les unités de la gendarmerie étaient subordonnées au sous-préfet.

⁸² *DAD*, no. 24, 31 mars 1892, séance du 20 mars 1892, p. 278.

⁸³ Si le préfet était considéré comme haut fonctionnaire, dans le cas du directeur et du sous-préfet ont appliqué l'article 25 de la loi sur l'administration centrale du ministère de l'Intérieur par lequel les fonctionnaires rétribués avec plus de 200 lei par mois étaient nommés par décret royal (*MO*, 19 avril/1^{er} mai 1892, p. 412).

d'arrondissement, mais sa fonction essentielle était celle d'agent de transmission, par accomplissement des ordres du préfet et remontée d'informations vers celui-ci.

Supprimer les sous-préfets ou faire augmenter leur nombre?

Si les fonctions de préfet et de directeur de préfecture ont connu une relative stabilité jusqu'à la loi d'unification administrative de 1925, l'institution du sous-préfet⁸⁴ a fait l'objet de nombreux projets de réforme et de lois qui posaient la question de sa suppression ; ces débats étaient contemporains avec les discussions sur le même sujet en France⁸⁵. Dans les deux pays, cette question a été envisagée pour des raisons d'économie budgétaire, pour réaliser la décentralisation administrative du pays ou par ceux qui voyaient le sous-préfet comme inutile. L'insécurité de la fonction de sous-préfet n'est pas due uniquement à la lutte politique entre les libéraux et les conservateurs, mais essentiellement à la tentative de certaines forces progressistes (non seulement des libéraux, mais aussi des conservateurs), de combattre la corruption, le contrôle des élections par l'intermédiaire de l'administration, d'une part, et, d'autre part, de faire de l'administration un corps efficace et moderne. La modernisation de l'appareil étatique et notamment de l'administration territoriale du ministère de l'Intérieur, la moins avancée et la plus exposée à une image négative, a trouvé dans la fonction de chef d'arrondissement un point d'application idéal. Au niveau local la professionnalisation de cette fonction moyenne (diplôme universitaire en sciences administratives requis, ancienneté, examen de capacité, la stabilité dans la fonction) a donné le signal pour la professionnalisation des fonctions d'agent d'État en bas de l'échelle (le notaire, l'adjoint de sous-préfet) et en haut (le directeur de préfecture).

L'action législative qui devait exprimer la pensée des libéraux, revenus au pouvoir en octobre 1895, était un projet de loi sur l'organisation de l'administration locale (1896) ayant comme but la décentralisation administrative. Parmi les libéraux il y avait des voix qui militaient pour accorder à l'arrondissement la personnalité juridique, comme c'était le cas pour la commune et pour le département, et pour la suppression des sous-préfets. Ce

⁸⁴ Il nous semble utile de noter qu'en Roumanie, le département (*judet*) a fait l'objet sinon de demandes de suppression au moins de rénovation, visant essentiellement la création d'unités administratives plus grandes, les régions. De grandes juristes de l'entre-deux-guerres comme Anibal Teodorescu considéraient le *judet* « en grande partie comme une création artificielle » (A. Teodorescu, «Viitoarea organizare administrativă a României», in *Constituția României în dezbaterile contemporanilor*, Bucarest, Humanitas, 1990 [1923], p. 416).

⁸⁵ Sur la question de la suppression des sous-préfets en France: Vida Azimi, «De la suppression des préfets. Chronique d'une mort ajournée», in Marc Olivier Baruch et Vincent Duclert (dir.), *Serviteurs de l'État: une histoire politique de l'administration française (1875-1945)*, Paris, La Découverte, 2000, pp. 245-260.

dernier point a engendré des dissensions à l'intérieur du parti. Les élections approchaient et, d'autre part, le gouvernement n'avait pas réussi à proposer une alternative législative. Le Premier ministre libéral, D. A. Sturdza, observait : «Les sous-préfets sont un élément inutile dans l'administration du pays [...]. Par qui pouvons-nous les remplacer? Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse mettre quelqu'un d'autre à leur place [...]. Il faut penser comment organiser la commune et l'administration supérieure, de manière à nous dispenser de cet intermédiaire inutile et coûteux [...] les préfets, les sous-préfets pourrissent dans leurs bureaux et ils ne vont pas inspecter, conseiller, instruire»⁸⁶. Néanmoins, à ce moment, les libéraux ont renoncé à la suppression des sous-préfets.

Le rapport de la commission de députés responsable de ce projet de 1896 a exprimé la volonté de changer le régime de l'arrondissement qui jusque là «avait comme but d'avoir dans le département d'autres agents directs du pouvoir central à côté des préfets. Vous comprenez donc que nous parlons de cette institution maudite des sous-préfets condamnée solennellement dans notre programme»⁸⁷. Par ce projet, le sous-préfet devait devenir un fonctionnaire au pouvoir limité à celui d'agent de surveillance, nommé par le conseil départemental, et non pas par le ministre de l'Intérieur suite à la recommandation du préfet. Un pas en avant dans ce projet échoué a été la tentative de constituer à Bucarest une Commission Supérieure de Contrôle, destinée à contrôler l'activité des autorités administratives. Ces actions législatives et les débats sur l'institution de la sous-préfecture n'ont eu comme résultat que la diminution du nombre de sous-préfets de 226 à 119 individus.

Au début du XX^e siècle, notamment pendant les gouvernements libéraux, le sous-préfet et parfois aussi le préfet sont revenus dans les projets de réforme législative. De nombreux membres libéraux se sont rappelés les stipulations du Programme de Iasi de 1892. En 1901, le ministre de l'Intérieur, le libéral P. S. Aurelian, a initié un projet de loi pour limiter le nombre des sous-préfets à 96 personnes, en essayant de créer une autre fonction destinée à se charger des attributions du sous-préfet : le *chef de canton* (*șef de canton*), ultérieurement appelé *réviseur communal* (*revizor comunal*). Cette démarche n'a pas eu le succès escompté. Recruté parmi les anciens sous-préfets, le réviseur communal a reçu des attributions semblables à celles du sous-préfet, qui était maintenu. Le réviseur communal n'était pas responsable d'un arrondissement précis et dans chaque département, l'un d'entre eux accomplissait également la dignité de directeur de la préfecture. Même si on voulait faire disparaître le sous-préfet, au moins comme dénomination, une année plus tard on allait renoncer aux réviseurs communaux.

⁸⁶ DAD, 6 février 1896, no. 21, séance du 31 janvier 1896, p. 198.

⁸⁷ *Présentation des motifs au projet de loi de l'organisation de l'administration locale*, DAD, no. 60, 25 avril 1896, séance du 19 avril 1896, p. 944.

Une modification importante du système de l'administration territoriale a été réalisée par la loi portant sur «l'organisation des communes rurales» du 1/14 mai 1904⁸⁸ modifiée le 1/14 avril 1905. L'intention du législateur était d'accroître la stabilité de ce fonctionnaire, et même de le dépolitiser. On assiste à la dégradation symbolique de la fonction de chef d'arrondissement, non seulement au niveau des attributions, mais aussi en ce qui concernait son niveau professionnel, et même son recrutement. Le nom de sous-préfet cessait d'exister, fait qui pour les libéraux équivalait à l'accomplissement de l'un de leurs buts politiques (la suppression de la fonction de sous-préfet), mais la plupart de ses attributions allaient être reprises par un nouveau fonctionnaire, l'inspecteur communal (*inspector comunal*). Et pourtant, l'institution en tant que telle ne changeait pas essentiellement, l'inspecteur communal était en fait l'ancien sous-préfet roumain, semblable au sous-préfet français. Il n'avait pas le droit d'administrer des propriétés agricoles, ni même de posséder des propriétés dans son arrondissement (Loi du 1/14 mai 1904, art. 189-190)⁸⁹, faits qui s'expliquent par le souci du PNL de limiter le nombre de notabilités locales qui pouvaient accéder à ces fonctions publiques. La voie était enfin ouverte aux jeunes diplômés. En outre, l'inspecteur communal n'avait pas le droit d'exercer des activités politiques, fait considéré comme un délit d'abus de pouvoir. Une seule exception a été admise : son droit de vote. L'inspecteur communal était obligé de faire des inspections dans les communes, non pas une fois par mois comme avant, mais au moins deux fois par mois. Une des attributions nouvelles mentionnées par la loi de 1904 concernait son rôle d'agent statistique.

L'évolution législative, comparée aux lois antérieures était donnée par la stabilité des inspecteurs communaux – adoptée en 1905 par un décret de modification de la loi de 1904 -, par l'imposition d'un concours de capacité et par la condamnation de la fonction d'agent électoral du chef d'arrondissement.

L'attribution principale de l'inspecteur administratif était le maintien de l'ordre. Pendant la révolte paysanne de 1907⁹⁰, dans de nombreux arrondissements, les préfets et les inspecteurs communaux n'ont pas su apprécier l'ampleur des révoltes et ils n'ont pas réussi à étouffer les mécontentements dès leur début, même s'ils pouvaient faire appel à la gendarmerie ou même à l'armée. Les hommes politiques ont changé la fonction d'inspecteur communal en celle d'administrateur d'arrondissement. Cette dénomination mettait l'accent sur son attribution principale d'administrateur, perçue comme étant plus

⁸⁸ MO, no. 26, le 1/14 mai 1904, pp. 985-1009.

⁸⁹ L'inspecteur communal ne pouvait pas occuper d'autre fonction publique et il n'avait pas le droit d'exercer une autre profession ; on lui interdisait de pratiquer des activités commerciales, d'être membre des conseils d'administration ou d'être censeur des sociétés commerciales, industrielles, agricoles ou financières.

⁹⁰ À ce sujet voir Philip Gabriel Eidelberg, *The Great Romanian Peasant Revolt of 1907. Origins of a modern Jacquerie*, Leiden, 1974.

importante que ses devoirs classiques de contrôle, et qu'il ne devait plus être un intermédiaire entre le préfet et les maires des communes rurales. La loi mentionnait aussi que l'administrateur était le délégué du procureur dans les enquêtes judiciaires.

Les administrateurs étaient nommés comme auparavant par décret royal, mais cette fois-ci selon leur classification à l'examen, passé à l'entrée dans le corps. Leur nombre avait monté à 393 personnes⁹¹ et ils étaient divisés en deux classes⁹² (160 dans la première, 233 dans la deuxième) et distribués dans 372 arrondissements (les administrateurs de la première classe sans poste devaient être délégués comme directeurs de préfecture). Le législateur a essayé de rendre cette fonction accessible uniquement à ceux qui possédaient autant d'expérience professionnelle que d'études. Un aspect négatif de la loi de 1908 a consisté en cela que, si en 1904 c'était le Ministère Public ou cinq électeurs de l'arrondissement qui pouvaient rappeler en justice l'inspecteur communal, la loi de 1908 fait monter leur nombre à dix⁹³.

En 1911, à l'occasion de la discussion d'un nouveau projet de loi sur l'administration locale, le ministre de l'Intérieur, le conservateur Alexandru Marghiloman, s'est concerté avec les préfets sur l'avenir de la fonction de chef d'arrondissement. Dans ce projet, le pouvoir de décision de l'administrateur d'arrondissement était renforcé, son autorité étant étendue non seulement sur les fonctionnaires administratifs et communaux, mais aussi sur les percepteurs, les agents du service technique, du service sanitaire et vétérinaire, et cela d'une manière différente du contrôle exercé auparavant par la préfecture⁹⁴. En compensation, on proposait l'augmentation du traitement des chefs d'arrondissement, considéré comme insuffisant, comparé à celui d'autres fonctionnaires publics recrutés dans des conditions d'admission semblables, leur inamovibilité, l'amélioration des conditions de travail, un logement et un secrétaire archiviste à leur disposition. De plus, s'ils passaient en jugement, les chefs d'arrondissement restaient en fonction au moins jusqu'à la sentence de la Justice⁹⁵.

Les suggestions des préfets concernant la modification de « la loi des communes » comprenaient des propositions différentes d'un département à l'autre. Ainsi, certains préfets proposaient de revenir, pour l'administrateur d'arrondissement, à l'ancien terme de sous-préfet, de lui donner des garanties de

⁹¹ *MO*, no. 22, 29 avril 1908, p. 934.

⁹² La loi de 1908 disposait que les administrateurs ayant passé au moins quatre ans dans le poste appartenaient à la première classe.

⁹³ *MO*, no. 22, 29 avril, 1908, p. 934.

⁹⁴ ANIC, fonds *Ministerul de Interne. Divizia administrației centrale* (330), ds. 8/1911, f. 18 r.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, f. 18 r., 18 v., 19 r.

stabilité et l'augmentation du salaire (le préfet de Ialomița)⁹⁶. Nous avons rencontré même des cas où les préfets soutenaient la suppression des administrateurs (le préfet de Vaslui)⁹⁷.

Conclusions

Dans un État centralisateur comme ce fut le cas de l'État roumain, la fonction de préfet avait une importance particulière. Le préfet avait une double qualité : agent du gouvernement et chef de l'administration locale décentralisée. L'intérêt du gouvernement était de confier cette fonction à des personnes fidèles au parti politique au pouvoir, prêts à servir leurs demandes officielles ou d'autres requêtes. Ce problème était au cœur de la nomination des préfets et acquiert un caractère plus particulier après la Première Guerre mondiale. Dans le Vieux Royaume, les hauts fonctionnaires du ministère de l'Intérieur n'étaient pas assez forts et manquaient des moyens pour imposer leurs candidats, alors qu'au niveau local c'étaient les notables qui réclamaient ce poste.

Avant 1925, l'absence d'une procédure d'admission à la fonction de préfet a suscité de nombreux débats. Le préfet était censé ne pas être soumis à des critères d'admissibilité parce que «c'est un poste de confiance inconditionnée et nous ne pouvons pas limiter cette confiance par certaines conditions d'admissibilité imposées à l'individu qui bénéficie de la confiance du ministre ; par conséquent, nous ne demandons aucune condition d'admissibilité »⁹⁸. De cette manière, les fidèles du parti et les notables du département pouvaient aisément accéder à ces postes. Néanmoins, pour toute la période étudiée, les préfets avaient une formation scolaire supérieure aux autres catégories de fonctionnaires : nombreux sont ceux qui ont obtenu leurs diplômes à l'étranger, et il y en a qui sont docteurs en sciences juridiques ou en sciences administratives. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, le diplôme d'une faculté de sciences juridiques ou administratives devient une condition d'admissibilité, ce qui, avec toutes ses dérogations, témoigne bien d'une évolution dans les pratiques politiques. En effet, les anciens propriétaires terriens du XIX^e siècle sont remplacés dans l'exercice de ce métier par des avocats ou d'autres représentants des professions intellectuelles. Néanmoins, cette fonction reste une fonction politique.

Quant aux autres projets de réforme de la fonction de chef d'arrondissement, que ce soit dans les débats parlementaires ou dans les programmes politiques, les hommes politiques roumains ont toujours exprimé leur volonté de modifier les conditions d'admissibilité ou le rôle des sous-préfets dans l'arrondissement, jusqu'à la suppression de cette fonction. Même si la volonté de conférer aux fonctionnaires publics une certaine stabilité dans le poste et d'assurer la décentralisation administrative est exprimée, les débats

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, f. 25

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, f. 77.

⁹⁸ *DAD*, no. 48, 23 mai 1892, la séance de 18 mai 1892, p. 683.

politiques révèlent l'existence de deux courants dominants : les libéraux, qui sont plus favorables à la suppression des chefs d'arrondissement, et les conservateurs, qui leur accordent une plus grande importance dans l'appareil administratif. Après 1908, à la suite d'une épuration dans l'administration régionale, le chef d'arrondissement tend à devenir un personnage d'un prestige moindre, mais il reçoit plus de stabilité et d'indépendance dans l'exercice de ses actes administratifs.

Le fonctionnement de l'État moderne devait reposer non seulement sur une législation cohérente et précise, mais également sur un personnel instruit et expérimenté. D'autre part, le fonctionnaire public a été perçu comme un agent électoral et (ou) un électeur du parti de gouvernement. Dans le dernier tiers du XIX^e siècle notamment, chaque parti politique arrivé au pouvoir changeait une partie de l'appareil administratif, tout d'abord pour gratifier ses partisans politiques en leur offrant des emplois. Mais, par l'adaptation, voir l'imitation du modèle institutionnel et législatif français, par l'imposition des lois novatrices, l'élite politique roumaine témoigne d'une volonté de changement.

La Constitution de 1923 représente un moment essentiel pour le nouvel État, démontrant que du point de vue juridique la création d'un organisme fonctionnel était possible. La même année, après un demi-siècle d'attente de la part des «serviteurs de l'État», le 19 juin 1923 a été promulgué le statut des fonctionnaires publics, en vigueur à partir du 1^{er} janvier 1924. Finalement, le 14 juin 1925⁹⁹ a été promulguée la loi d'unification administrative. Un des objectifs du gouvernement, considéré comme accompli par cette loi, a été la décentralisation administrative. Par cette loi on voulait consolider l'appareil bureaucratique roumain et créer une relation efficace centre-périphérie. La solution envisagée a été de réaliser une déconcentration des pouvoirs, elle aussi limitée. En fait, le contrôle de l'administration centrale, c'est-à-dire de Bucarest, et des facteurs politiques du Vieux Royaume (Roi, Armée, politiciens) se voulait renforcé. Les sujets de notre recherche, les agents du pouvoir central dans le territoire, représentaient pour les hommes politiques du Vieux Royaume une institution-clé dans la construction d'un État Roumain fort ; cette loi continuait la tradition administrative du Vieux Royaume, même si les nouvelles dénominations de sous-préfet et *pretor* étaient originaires de la Transylvanie.

⁹⁹ Contrairement à la pratique ancienne du Vieux Royaume, en 1925 on a réglementé dans une seule loi tant l'organisation administrative du département que celles des communes rurales et urbaines. *MO*, no. 128, 14 juin 1925, pp. 6850-6893.

ENGAGEMENT ET PRODUCTION SCIENTIFIQUE. UN PROJET A L'ŒUVRE CHEZ LES INTELLECTUELS ROUMAINS

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Abstract: Starting from an inquiry made with Romanian intellectuals, from an analysis of books published by intellectuals of various professions (philosophers, sociologists, historians, psychologists), and from the texts published in the press of the time, especially in the review '22' of the Group for Social Dialogue, we would like to study herein the relation between intellectual engagement through journalism and the interest for science of intellectuals after 1989. We are going to identify hereby the possible functions of the intellectual engagement, as well as the benefit and the risk it may encounter along with the form of political engagement of the intellectuals. The question here points to the assertion for a new authority of alumni and young intellectuals aiming at achieving a university statute and at building a new competence in order to satisfy the demands for renewal in social science and the humanities.

Keywords: intellectuals elite, commitment, neutrality, political participation.

Nous nous proposons ici d'esquisser le tableau du passage de l'intellectuel, notamment des membres du *Groupe pour le dialogue social*¹, au statut d'universitaire et de la position de ces intellectuels, et plus précisément, des nouveaux spécialistes du politique, dans le champ académique de l'après 1989. Nous essayerons de voir comment se construit une compétence, à quelles bases et par quels moyens on obtient une reconnaissance en tant que spécialiste du politique, pour présenter quelques idées concernant le recoupement des intérêts proprement intellectuels et des buts qu'ils assignent à leurs activités à vocation politique ou à celles proprement politiques, cela pour montrer le rapprochement entre leurs intérêts proprement intellectuels et leur engagement ou leurs activités proprement politiques.

¹ Constitué les jours mêmes de la révolte populaire de décembre 1989, le groupement rassemblant des écrivains, des essayistes et des chercheurs se présente devant le public le 31 décembre 1989.

Nous aborderons la question des rapports qui s'établissent entre les écrits journalistiques des membres du *Groupe pour le dialogue social*, parus dans l'hebdomadaire 22, publication de ce groupe, et leurs écrits scientifiques² et de leur rapport au journalisme (en tant qu'activité parmi d'autres), la place que ces activités journalistiques (l'investissement dans le journalisme, dans 22) occupent dans leurs stratégies visant la spécialisation dans le domaine du politique. Plus précisément il nous préoccupe ici (c'est la question qui sera discutée) de signaler les profits et les risques liés à la politisation des activités intellectuelles, les critiques auxquelles s'exposent ceux qui prennent position sur des sujets qui sont (faits) objet(s) de leurs études. L'analyse de ces études, des écrits scientifiques, qui ont constitué aussi de nos références pour traiter de la situation des « intellectuels » au temps du communisme nous a renseigné sur les limites que posent l'utilisation de ces analyses dans une étude qui se pose de détecter la position occupée par ces intellectuels et leur rapport au pouvoir sous le communisme ainsi que les relations entre divers champs de la production culturelle et les modes d'articulation du champ intellectuel et du champ politique dans la période postcommuniste.

Nous inscrivons notre analyse³ dans le courant de l'historiographie et de la sociologie des intellectuels qui traite des attitudes politiques des intellectuels en les rapportant à leur position d'intellectuel, à leur profession ou à leur métier⁴. Nous nous servons pour ce faire des textes publiés récemment au sujet de l'engagement (politique) des intellectuels⁵ et des analyses menées par des politistes et des sociologues qui traitent des rapports entre science et politique, des intellectuels et des organismes de décision, plus largement le pouvoir politique, en France et aux Etats-Unis. Le cadre théorique dont nous nous

² Sur la relation qu'entretiennent le journalisme et les sciences sociales, voir Jean-Marie Charon, «Journalisme et sciences sociales», *Politix*, 36, 1996. Mais plus intéressant encore pour notre propos c'est l'article de Jacques Chevallier sur les «relations entre les sciences sociales et le politique», voir Jacques Chevallier, «L'entrée en expertise», *Politix*, 36, 1996.

³ Les quelques idées présentées ici au sujet des rapports entre préoccupations scientifiques et engagement sont ressorties de notre travail de recherche portant sur les intellectuels roumains dans la période postcommuniste (thèse de doctorat de sociologie et de science politique, qui est en cours, à l'EHESS (Paris) et à l'Université de Bucarest).

⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, coll. « libre examen », 1992 (édition roumaine, *Regulile artei*, préface Mircea Martin, trad. Bogdan Ghiu, Laura Albulescu, București, Art, 2007); Christophe Charle, *Naissance des «intellectuels». 1880-1900*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1990; Gisèle Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains 1940-1953*, Paris, Fayard, 1999.

⁵ *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 176-177, «Engagements intellectuels», numéro dirigé par Frédérique Matonti et Gisèle Sapiro, mars 2009.

inspirons pour cette analyse est emprunté à Pierre Bourdieu⁶. Avant de discuter de l'engagement et des nouveaux intérêts scientifiques chez des intellectuels roumains, il s'impose de revenir sur la conception des rapports entre science et politique défendue par Weber. Pour ce faire nous nous servirons du dernier ouvrage, paru en France, qui traite de l'œuvre de Weber⁷:

La problématique du terme allemand *Wertfreiheit* n'est pas celle de l'existence des valeurs mais celle de l'usage malhonnête qui peut être fait des valeurs lorsqu'elles sont présentes sans être données comme telles, lorsqu'elles sont « masquées », « cachées », connotées, au lieu d'être explicitées et assumées au grand jour. Weber ne pose pas le problème de la possession ou non de valeurs, mais celui, relationnel, de leur mode de transmission: la *Wertfreiheit*, dont le sens exact serait ainsi la 'non-imposition des valeurs', doit selon lui prévaloir dans le domaine de la science et de la connaissance, par opposition aux domaines de la croyance (religieuse, politique, etc.), régis par la propagande, et dans lesquels on cherche à imposer des valeurs par tous les moyens. La situation de transmission [décrite par] Weber [...] c'est la situation d'enseignement, classiquement décrite dans la conférence sur la science [...] loin de prôner une 'neutralité' politique du savant en général, il se réfère beaucoup plus précisément à une conception de la pédagogie, qui insiste sur ce qui doit séparer la communication scientifique de la propagande politique ou religieuse⁸.

De nouveaux spécialistes du politique

Nous nous concentrerons ici sur les prises de position politiques et sur le parcours professionnel de ceux qui, participant à des degrés variables, à la vision dominante du GDS, ce qui s'impose comme projet collectif, à savoir l'« anticommunisme », traitent du phénomène politique et tendent à la spécialisation. Ils se distinguent par leur investissement dans un domaine ou dans des sous-domaines qui se constituent comme « nouveauté » par rapport à la période communiste. Ils traitent des sujets proprement politiques, thèmes et acteurs politiques. Parmi ceux qui tendent à une spécialisation, qui traitent du phénomène politique on distingue trois catégories: des membres (fondateurs) du GDS qui dans les années 1980 ont fait leur début dans une carrière littéraire ou scientifique⁹, des membres de la rédaction qui ont été des journalistes dans les

⁶ Et notamment ses travaux sur le monde scientifique. Pierre Bourdieu, *Science de la science et réflexivité. Cours du Collège de France*, Paris, Raisons d'Agir Editions, coll. «Cours et travaux», 2001; «Le champ scientifique», *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 3, pp. 88-104.

⁷ Max Weber, *La Science, profession & vocation* suivi de *Leçons wébériennes sur la science & la propagande* par Isabelle Kalinowski, Marseille, Agone, coll. «Banc d'essais», 2005.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

⁹ Bien que tous ne soient pas des membres cooptés au début des années 1990, comme ce sera le cas de ceux qui ont été «oubliés», selon les témoins participants à la création de

années 1980, des membres du GDS cooptés vers la moitié des années 1990 ou plus tard presque au même moment où ils faisaient leur entrée dans le monde universitaire. Les deux premiers sont nés dans leur grande majorité dans les années 1950, s'ils ont pu se manifester en tant qu'auteur avant 1989, ceux qui semblent plus enclins à se spécialiser dans l'étude du politique sont de ceux dont la position n'est pas encore définie. Leur entrée dans le monde intellectuel date depuis peu de temps. Pour ce qui est des derniers, nés dans les années 1960, leur consécration date de la période postcommuniste, mais on peut inclure ici et ceux qui sont nés dans la première des années 1970, peu nombreux mais qui s'engagent sur le modèle de leurs aînés surtout qu'ils sont de leurs proches.

Mais tous ne seront pas de ceux qui obtiennent leur reconnaissance en tant que spécialistes du politique. Parmi les membres du GDS ceux qui sont formés dans et par une culture humaniste (formation en lettres classiques) et occupent des positions déjà en 1989 dans le champ académique ne seront pas parmi les nouveaux spécialistes du politique mais ils s'engagent avec plus de force dans les années suivantes en soutenant les prises de position politiques du GDS. De même, des journalistes qui se préoccupent à une spécialisation dans le domaine du politique, ils sont peu nombreux ceux qui signeront des ouvrages d'auteurs et seront des universitaires, les autres sont des journalistes qui travaillent par la suite pour des médias étrangers, notamment RFE ou, par la suite, BBC.

« L'université était à ces temps-là [au temps du communisme] un ghetto », cette affirmation vient d'une universitaire, enseignante à la faculté des langues étrangères, en parlant de la situation des universitaires à cette époque-là. Et pourtant, les jeunes intellectuels des années 1950, jeunes diplômés de la faculté de philosophie espèrent et parfois tentent leur entrée au monde universitaire. Cela s'explique par la position occupée par l'université dans le monde académique et plus largement dans le monde intellectuel dans l'espace roumain (elle procure à ses membres une plus grande visibilité, et cela dès sa constitution, et dans la période communiste une certaine liberté par rapport au pouvoir, si on compare le degré de dépendance du travail d'enseignant à celui du chercheur, de plus à certaines périodes l'universitaire est assimilé au statut de chercheur, des instituts de recherche fonctionnant comme centres affiliés à l'université). Mais tout comme dans le cas de l'Union des écrivains, dans les années 1980, l'université reste fermée aux nouveaux prétendants, les entrées se font à titre exceptionnel et parfois en fonction de la proximité des prétendants avec des membres de la nomenklatura. Quand ils ne peuvent pas avoir accès à des postes dans des institutions d'enseignement technique ou dans des centres d'expertise créées pour répondre aux demandes des politiques publiques (urbanisme), c'est vers une carrière littéraire qu'ils se dirigent. L'attrait de la littérature et d'une carrière littéraire tient non seulement au poids d'une tradition

ce groupement, lors de la constitution de la liste des membres fondateurs, ils publient dès le début des années 1990 dans 22.

culturelle¹⁰ mais aussi à la place accordée à ses instances de consécration sous le communisme¹¹. C'est au sein de cette génération et parmi ceux qui sont formés dans les facultés de philosophie (en philosophie ou en sociologie), dans les facultés de psychologie et de sociologie, que se recrutent ceux qui sont des auteurs d'ouvrages sur le communisme, sur la culture politique, sur la transition, autrement dit des futurs, nouveaux spécialistes du politique. Ils ne sont pas des enseignants et ils sont peu nombreux ceux qui sont des chercheurs avant 1989, ils sont des chercheurs-experts, des écrivains peu connus (leur consécration ne dépasse pas celle des pairs) ou des journalistes (mais ayant une formation en philosophie).

Mais la formation suivie ne suffit pas pour rendre intelligible la spécialisation au domaine politique surtout que d'autres qui n'ont pas suivi une formation en philosophie ou en sociologie seront des spécialistes du politique. C'est plutôt du côté de leur position dans le champ intellectuel en 1990 qu'il faut regarder, du côté de leurs préoccupations et de leurs attentes d'avant 1989 et de leur engagement après 1989, ainsi que du côté des réseaux d'alliances qui se construisent en lien avec l'étranger dans la période postcommuniste. Dans la plupart des cas ceux qui sont nés dans les années 1950 s'intéressent après 1989 à une spécialisation à l'étranger, mais les premiers à suivre des stages à l'étranger sont de ceux qui s'intéressent plus à la culture, aux médias (et ceux qui sont des chercheurs et ceux qui n'ont pas de poste avant 1989) et aux arts (de par leur domaine de spécialisation). Le plus souvent, ils ont une formation en lettres, en histoire ou en histoire de l'art. Alors que de ceux qui seront des futurs spécialistes du politique ceux qui restent au moins pour l'année 1990 et la suivante en Roumanie s'investissent dans le journalisme.

À ce moment-là les jeunes intellectuels des années 1990 sont plus intéressés à se spécialiser, à suivre de nouvelles formations parfois dans la continuation de leurs intérêts d'avant 1989, parfois plus étroitement liées à leurs activités du début des années 1990. Tout comme ceux qui n'ont pas encore débuté dans une carrière intellectuelle. Certains s'intéressent ainsi à acquérir une compétence dans un domaine, dans un sous-domaine en lien avec les sujets dont ils traitent au début des années 1990 dans la presse. Ils seront ainsi des spécialistes des sous-domaines qui n'ont pas suscité l'intérêt des scientifiques avant 1989 ou qui ne faisaient pas partie des préoccupations du monde universitaire/académique avant 1989.

¹⁰ Dont les aspects ont été exposés par Ion Ianoși, *O istorie a filosofiei românești în relația ei cu literatura*, Cluj, Biblioteca Apostrof, 1996.

¹¹ Voir Ion Ianoși, «Uniunea Scriitorilor în sistemul culturii socialiste și segmentul literar» [L'Union des écrivains dans le système de la culture socialiste et le segment littéraire], in Adrian Miroiu (éd.), *Instituții în tranziție* [Institutions en transition], București, Punct, 2002, notamment pp. 231-255. Voir aussi Lucia Dragomir, *L'Union des écrivains. Une institution transnationale à l'Est*, Paris, Belin, 2007.

De nouveaux intérêts scientifiques, et notamment chez ceux qui seront des nouveaux spécialistes du politique, apparaissent et se construisent en lien direct avec l'importance qu'on accorde à certains courants d'idées nés ou qui circulent à l'étranger (libéralisme notamment) et/ou à des idées et des concepts véhiculés, promus par ceux qui se sont exilés dans la période communiste et qui semblent innover dans le champ de la production culturelle après 1989.

En 1990 au moment où l'Université ouvre ses portes et que des prétendants au statut d'universitaire font leur entrée, aucun membre fondateur du GDS de la jeune génération (ceux qui sont nés dans les années 1950) ne semble être intéressé à se faire accepter par leurs anciens maîtres. Ceux qui tentent et parfois réussissent leur entrée dans les facultés «traditionnelles», déjà existantes, sont (parmi la jeune génération) de ceux qui ont entretenu des relations plus étroites avec leurs maîtres, du fait de leurs activités qui se déploient dans les institutions des plus proches à l'université ou même à l'université et de ceux qui ont reçu déjà leur consécration sous le communisme. Ils sont déjà connus et reconnus non seulement dans les milieux littéraires mais aussi dans et par le monde universitaire.

Le trajet parcouru par certains des intellectuels qui constituent notre objet d'étude, parmi les membres du GDS, est étroitement lié à celui de la (re)naissance d'une discipline, celle de la science politique en Roumanie¹². Ils seront ainsi parmi ceux qui contribueront au renouvellement du champ universitaire, notamment celui des sciences humaines et sociales, des années 1990. C'est dans leurs stratégies visant le renforcement de leurs positions et dans celles des autres intellectuels (écrivains, critiques littéraires, scientifiques ou experts avant 1989) qui font leur entrée dans l'enseignement qu'on peut lire les cheminements suivis par la culture légitime.

Ils sont des alliés-rivaux de ceux qui ont investi déjà l'université et des concurrents-alliés de ceux qui appartenant à la génération plus ancienne se préoccupent à démontrer de leurs intérêts et de leurs aptitudes à traiter de la politique après 1989. Ceux-ci, à l'opposé de jeunes spécialistes du politique, ne peuvent pas (dans la grande majorité des cas) miser sur un capital moral acquis avant 1989 ni sur le pouvoir symbolique qui découle d'une participation à un groupement qui rassemble des très peu nombreux opposants au régime communiste, par contre ils peuvent être des points d'attrait pour ces nouveaux prétendants puisqu'ils ont reçu leur consécration avant ceux-ci.

L'engagement de ceux qui sont nés dans les années 1960 suit à l'obtention d'une position dans le champ universitaire (ils sont cooptés vers la moitié des

¹² Nous préférons pourtant à ce terme celui des «sciences du politique» qui nous semble mieux rendre compte de la construction de cette «nouvelle» compétence en Roumanie après 1989. Nous retrouvons dans ce sens le point de vue de Bernard Pudal exposé dans «Science politique: des objets canoniques revisités», *Sociétés contemporaines*, 20, 1994, notamment pp. 5-7.

années 1990 dans le GDS presque au même moment où ils intègrent l'Université). En apparence, leur cooptation se fait en lien avec le choix d'un sujet ou d'une spécialité qui prétend à l'innovation, présenté comme résultat de leur passage par des milieux intellectuels étrangers. Alors que si l'on suit le parcours de ces jeunes impétrants, les milieux où ils s'insèrent, le choix du sujet, de leur spécialité, le changement de leurs intérêts intellectuels doit plus aux alliances, à leurs relations avec des intellectuels des années 1990 car les décisions quand au sujet de leurs recherches, du directeur de leur thèse, des intellectuels et de l'école à l'étranger sont prises sous l'avis des intellectuels roumains, qui sont de leurs aînés. Avant de se faire accepter par le GDS, ils signent des traductions et sont des collaborateurs de leurs aînés, avant de discuter sur des sujets qui tiennent de leur spécialité, ils discutent des sujets qui préoccupent un plus grand nombre d'intellectuels. Ainsi on discute du nationalisme avant de traiter du libéralisme, on critique les idées promues par des intellectuels étrangers et on explique l'importance du projet de la constitution d'un parti politique qui se veut représenter la « société civile ».

Leurs intérêts scientifiques « nouveaux » se précisent en fonction des demandes apparues dans le champ politique. Après avoir traité de l'histoire des idées, après avoir fait l'histoire d'un courant de pensée tel qu'il se construit dans l'espace national, ayant acquis une forte consécration dans le champ universitaire et dans le champ intellectuel, l'intérêt pour des sujets plus techniques de la politique précède à l'occupation d'un poste politique.

Groupe et vision « commune »

Certains intellectuels discutent dans la publication du GDS de leurs intérêts strictement liés à leur domaine de compétence ou d'activité (comme les historiens, par exemple ou les juristes ou comme les historiens de l'art) quand ils ne prennent pas position dans le débat concernant la manière de traiter du communisme. Leur interprétation du passé récent se fait en lien avec leur position dans un champ spécifique (universitaire ou scientifique) ou avec leur histoire familiale. D'autres interviennent sur des sujets de l'actualité politique à la faveur de leur identité religieuse dans le contexte de la réapparition, la « redécouverte [...] du politique »¹³. L'appartenance à l'Église orthodoxe et l'identité religieuse comme identité investie dans le champ artistique ou, plus tard, dans le champ intellectuel, servent dans certains cas comme fondement aux prises de position politiques. Car la résurgence du religieux dans l'espace public est une autre manifestation du désir de (re)créer des liens de solidarité ou/et de participer à la vie publique, simultanément avec l'apparition de la contestation au sein de l'Église orthodoxe comme une autre manifestation du changement politique.

¹³ Marcel Gauchet, « Les tâches de la philosophie politique », *Revue du MAUSS*, 19 (1), 2002, repris dans *La condition politique*, Paris, Gallimard, 2005.

Les plus notoires membres du Groupe pour le dialogue social (GDS), des écrivains-philosophes, des critiques littéraires et des essayistes contribuent à construire et à imposer une vision, à savoir l'anticommunisme, qui devrait influencer sur la manière de traiter du communisme. Aux côtés des plus notoires membres du GDS se rangent des écrivains et des rédacteurs moins connus, des jeunes et des moins jeunes. Le terme «anticommuniste» intervient pour la première fois dans un témoignage signé par un des intellectuels aînés qui se donne d'offrir une interprétation en lien avec l'événement de décembre 1989 de sa dernière protestation datée quelques jours avant la chute du régime communiste. Le «procès de l'anticommunisme» est situé dans la continuation du «procès de Ceausescu» par celui même qui se présentera comme le porte-parole du GDS, il appelle à initier le «procès historique» du communisme, refaire le procès de Ceausescu pour «arriver à Lénine et à Marx [ceux] qui ont rendu possibles toutes ces choses»¹⁴. Ces deux premiers textes qui marquent le moment où des intellectuels du GDS se déclarent «anticommunistes» datent de la période qui précèdent de peu les premières élections. Les intellectuels des plus notoires de la période communiste s'érigent contre les politiques installés en décembre 1989 et contre les intellectuels qui «ont rendu possibles [...] l'horreur communiste»¹⁵. Bien que des intellectuels de l'exil font appel aux intellectuels pour qu'ils témoignent de leurs expériences au temps du communisme toujours dans le but de fournir la base pour une histoire du communisme, tâche pour les générations futures, ils sont peu nombreux ceux qui seront prêts à faire ce travail sur soi, concèdent à l'importance de parler de soi et de ses pratiques au temps du communisme (bien que certains le feront, ces récits de mémoires ne seront publiés que plus tard).

Et pourtant le projet du Groupe, à savoir l'anticommunisme, tel qu'il s'impose à travers les prises de position des membres du GDS sera repris et soutenu par des intellectuels exilés qui leur sont proches, les écarts entre les deux conceptions concernant la manière de faire l'histoire du communisme s'effacent en l'absence de ces témoignages¹⁶ et en vertu d'un accord sur l'importance d'une redécouverte du passé moins récent et des intellectuels de l'entre-deux-guerres¹⁷ et sur le besoin de donner la parole aux victimes¹⁸.

¹⁴ 22, 14, 1990.

¹⁵ 22, 1, 1990.

¹⁶ Les présentations de soi sont pourtant nombreuses. Elles sont l'œuvre notamment de ceux qui ont pris la parole contre le régime ou de ceux qui ont été des victimes du régime. Et on met en relief les contraintes ou les souffrances subies.

¹⁷ Selon un des plus jeunes membres du GDS, l'historien Florin Turcanu (né en 1967), «cette époque apparaît comme le pivot d'une renationalisation de la mémoire». Pour le jeune historien les discours sur la période de l'entre-deux-guerres constituent une «mémoire-carrefour» ou une «mémoire-refuge» pour «cette partie de l'opinion publique – notamment de l'opinion intellectuelle – qui demeure frustrée à cause des premières évolutions politiques postcommunistes» cela étant en partie du au fait qu'

De l'intérieur, au sein du monde intellectuel et parfois même dans 22, certains traitent de l'orientation politique des intellectuels constitués en « repères » du GDS, constituant des références pour un nombre important des membres du GDS. On conteste alors leur légitimité à discuter des attitudes politiques des intellectuels de l'entre-deux-guerres et même de certains intellectuels étrangers, ou à publier les textes de ces auteurs¹⁹. Si le GDS s'ouvre à d'autres intellectuels, à travers sa publication, cela contribue à donner plus de force à ses prétentions, l'attrait de ses initiatives chez des intellectuels qui ne sont pas des membres du GDS accroît son importance en conférant à celui-ci la légitimité à se poser en instance de consécration du monde intellectuel.

La vision de l'anticommunisme se construit en étroite liaison avec la nouvelle position des intellectuels et leurs attentes, prétendants au statut de politique et ambitionnant le rôle de guide dans le nouvel ordre pour contribuer à la sortie du communisme. Le présent pèse sur la vision de l'anticommunisme, dans ce que sera nommé par ces initiateurs le « procès [historique] du communisme » on dénonce les politiques et les intellectuels qui ont soutenu le régime. Le « procès du communisme » tel qu'il se précise initialement de par les prises de position des plus notoires intellectuels du GDS, « esthètes » ou victimes du régime, rencontre pourtant des résistances de la part de ceux qui se situent désormais dans le camp des nouveaux politiques et de ceux qui dans la période communiste occupent des positions dans le champ universitaire (ils sont des héritiers). Les premiers dénoncent le jugement hâtif porté sur les attitudes des politiques ou des intellectuels (pourquoi les intellectuels ne seraient-ils responsables tout comme les politiques ?), on met en évidence la difficulté de juger des attitudes de ceux qui se situent au carrefour des deux mondes, celui de la nomenklatura et celui des lettres, le monde intellectuel; les seconds pensent que le fait de se rapprocher du pouvoir communiste avait permis dans biens de cas aux « professionnels » de la culture et de la science de préserver une certaine autonomie, c'est par leur contribution à la professionnalisation des activités intellectuelles que les intellectuels devraient être évaluées et non pas en fonction de leur appartenance et de leur proximité à la nomenklatura.

«aucune analyse historique sérieuse, même marxiste, du fascisme roumain n'avait été publiée à l'époque communiste». Cf. Florin Turcanu, «A la recherche de l'Age d'or: la mémoire de l'entre-deux-guerres en Roumanie au début des années 1990», in Bogumil Jewsiewcki, Erika Nimis (dir.), *Expériences et mémoire. Partager en français la diversité du monde*, L'Harmattan, 2008, pp. 419-420. De ce «recours à l'histoire [qui] se traduit tout d'abord par un déferlement de souvenirs exposés dans les très nombreux journaux d'opposition, de style et de tendance diverse [...] l'histoire [...] affective et individualisée par le biais des témoins [...] interviewés par les journalistes» discute et une des spécialistes de l'histoire de la Roumanie, Catherine Durandin [«Roumanie, retour à l'histoire et révision, *Relations internationales*, 67, automne 1991].

¹⁸ 22, 21, 1990.

¹⁹ 22, 47, 1990.

Deux autres facteurs, cette fois-ci, venant de l'extérieur, nous semble-t-il, contribuent à faire oublier ce « débat » sur la situation et la contribution des intellectuels au maintien du régime, sur la responsabilité des intellectuels pour concentrer le débat sur la responsabilité des politiques, anciens et/ou nouveaux, ces deux facteurs tiennent à la position actuelle des intellectuels: d'un côté, ils sont les concurrents des politiques et ils s'opposent dans le champ intellectuel à un pôle véhiculant des idées extrémistes regroupant des écrivains proches du pouvoir communiste, des écrivains dominés symboliquement; d'autre côté, ultérieurement, lorsqu'ils font leur entrée en politique en tant que politiques à titre entier, ils doivent faire valoir, tout comme les nouveaux politiques ou les « professionnels » qui leur sont proches (ou contre ceux-ci), leurs compétences.

Si les politiques sont faits responsables des « l'horreur communiste », aux intellectuels ont dénié toute responsabilité puisque on tend à dénier l'existence d'un espace de liberté lorsqu'ils n'occupent pas des positions politiques. On tend à responsabiliser les auteurs/les intellectuels pour les idées et les auteurs auxquels ils font référence (c'est le cas de Marx).

La spécialisation et le journalisme

Le travail scientifique implique que celui qui s'en investit prend une double distance, prise de distance car le « chercheur ne peut arriver qu'après la fête », les questions dont ils traitent sont « des énigmes plutôt que des problèmes », cette distance dans le temps lui permet de replacer « l'événement extraordinaire dans la série des événements ordinaires »²⁰ pour le rendre intelligible, mais aussi « prise de distance vis-à-vis des impératifs de l'action », le travail scientifique « par essence critique [...] ne peut s'accomplir qu'à l'abri des engagements militants »²¹. Mais qu'est-ce qu'on peut dire quand ils se préoccupent à se poser en spécialistes du politique parallèlement à leur investissement dans le journalisme?

Dans la plupart des cas c'est dans leurs écrits journalistiques qu'ils manifestent dans un premier temps leur intérêt pour certains sujets, ces sujets qui sont liés à l'actualité politique intéressent un plus grand nombre d'auteurs, signataires des textes dans 22 mais la manière dont ils posent les questions et l'accent mis sur certains aspects correspondent aux questions dont ils traiteront plus tard dans leurs ouvrages. C'est dans les dialogues avec des étrangers invités²² ou lorsqu'ils discutent d'un même sujet qu'on peut détecter comment leurs interprétations sur un même sujet divergent. Les dialogues qui se déploient entre des intellectuels appartenant à la même génération nous enseignent sur le partage de leurs intérêts scientifiques en matière de politique²³. Leurs

²⁰ Bourdieu, *Homo academicus*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, [1984], 1992, p. 210.

²¹ Jacques Chevallier, « L'entrée en expertise », *Politix*, 36, 1996, p. 33.

²² 22, 15, 1990; 22, 21, 1990.

²³ 22, 11, 1990.

préoccupations pour l'étude du politique se précisent au début des années 1990 en lien avec leur vécu, et surtout des expériences qu'ils ont pu faire peu avant la chute du communisme, elles se développent par la suite en fonction des activités déployées dans divers espaces.

Si le fait d'intervenir dans la presse exige de prêter attention à l'actualité et à ce qui est en train d'advenir, le journalisme est pour eux l'instrument principal pour s'acquitter de leur devoir envers la société (c'est dans ce but qu'on imagine et présente la revue 22), contribuer à la « sortie du communisme » et ils le font en détenteurs d'un pouvoir dont la majorité avait été dépourvue, pouvoir qu'ils ont acquis par l'accumulation des savoirs. C'est de la culture engagée, des savoirs qu'ils ont acquis, en large mesure au temps du communisme et qu'ils mobilisent au but de désigner les lignes à suivre pour s'adapter aux exigences du moment.

En effet, ils sont peu nombreux ceux qui ont une expérience en tant que journalistes, rédacteurs (non que leur contribution ne soit pas importante, mais bien au contraire), les principaux membres de la rédaction au long des années sont des littéraires ou ils ont une formation en philosophie ou en histoire, et en psychologie parfois et ils n'ont jamais faits partie des rédactions des publications. Par contre, parmi les membres du GDS un seul rédacteur de 22 coopté ultérieurement dans le GDS d'ailleurs avait été rédacteur dans une maison d'édition avant 1989 alors que plusieurs ont fait l'expérience du secteur éditorial. Deux seulement des membres du GDS qui seront cooptés au cours de l'année 1990 sont un ancien rédacteur et un journaliste, leur cooptation est liée à leurs relations avec des membres fondateurs du GDS et ils ne seront pas des membres de la rédaction et ils publieront moins que d'autres.

Quels sont les instruments utilisés et quels savoirs ils peuvent mobiliser pour construire les problèmes qu'ils se donnent à voir, à résoudre? Ils se posent de répondre à une demande sociale qu'eux-mêmes ils participent à construire de par le regard qu'ils portent à la réalité. Les politiques, les intellectuels et surtout leur histoire récente, les médias et les mouvements de rue pour une certaine période, les protestations sont les choses qui préoccupent le plus; on s'intéresse à l'Europe de l'Ouest, à l'espace ex-communiste; on traduit, on interroge des intellectuels de l'étranger, notamment de France. Quelles sont leurs sources où ils puisent leur réflexion, de quelle(s) culture(s) on peut parler dans chaque cas ? Car si de par le journalisme le Groupe se construit une identité, au sein de ce qui semble être leur projet commun, ce qui s'impose progressivement comme un projet, à savoir « l'anticommunisme », au sein du Groupe, il y a un partage par thème et les formes de la rhétorique varient au sein d'un corpus de textes traitant d'un même sujet.

Traiter d'une publication, à savoir celle du GDS, la revue 22, permet de suivre les changements intervenus dans leurs préoccupations proprement intellectuels en lien avec leurs nouvelles activités, celles liées au journalisme mais aussi en lien avec leur participation à des structures civiques. La

publication apparaît et se construit dans la continuation de celles littéraires tout en constituant une nouveauté, les sujets dont elle traite sont liés à l'actualité politique, on discute du politique (dans ses manifestations diverses), de la politique et de la culture dans le sens large du terme. L'hebdomadaire 22 marque les changements intervenus dans le monde des lettres (recomposition du champ intellectuel, rassemblant des intellectuels de diverses professions) tout en étant dans le même temps marqueur d'identité de ceux qui prétendent un rôle dans le processus de démocratisation. L'étude d'un groupement (auto-intitulé) d'intellectuels et de sa publication permet à la fois de détecter le poids d'une appartenance à un groupement qui jouit de la plus forte notoriété à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du pays (rassemble des individus dotés d'un capital moral et des écrivains et des scientifiques munis d'un capital symbolique variable selon les générations) dans l'accumulation du capital symbolique par ses membres après 1989 ainsi que des postures diverses que l'engagement peut induire aux intellectuels. Qui fait le Groupe et qu'est-ce que le Groupe fait ou apporte à chacun?

Si aucun des membres du GDS ne rejette explicitement ce qui semble être, s'imposer comme projet qui tient ensemble, qui préoccupe le Groupe en ensemble, cela ne signifie pas que tous adhèrent de la même manière ou, pour mieux le dire, avec la même croyance dans le projet de l'anticommunisme tel qu'il se construit, tel que les plus notoires des membres du GDS et ceux qui leur sont ou deviennent de leurs proches, surtout lorsqu'ils sont des moins dotés en capital symbolique.

Les revendications d'une nouvelle identité scientifique, à savoir celle des spécialistes de la science politique, des « politistes », dans l'espace intellectuel se déploient en lien avec les changements du rôle de l'intellectuel et des principales tendances dans la production culturelle au début des années 1990. Elle se veut répondre aux demandes d'un renouvellement de l'espace des savoirs après 1989 comme prise en charge de nouveaux problèmes dont témoignent les nombreux discours sur le politique²⁴ et comme modalités pour les intellectuels de contribuer au processus de démocratisation, à savoir inciter à l'apparition d'une « culture politique », ou bien d'utiliser les instruments scientifiques pour rendre compréhensible et faire connaître le passé récent.

Ils préparent leur entrée en politique, et à part un faible capital moral, ils peuvent miser sur le capital social obtenu dans le champ intellectuel et ils

²⁴ Nous reprenons les définitions données par Marcel Gauchet qui propose de réserver *le* politique à la désignation de l'essence politique des sociétés humaines, alors que *la* politique désigne la spécificité de la politique démocratique. Le problème étant pour le philosophe si tout *le* politique est absorbé dans *la* politique démocratique. Ces définitions nous semblent utiles pour rendre compte des manifestations diverses du politique notamment au début des années 1990 en Roumanie.

peuvent dès lors légitimer leurs activités politiques sur l'accumulation d'une nouvelle compétence.

En producteurs d'un nouvel discours sur la politique, ils peuvent subvertir les rapports de force qui s'esquissent dans le champ intellectuel, et plus précisément dans le GDS. Ils sont des responsables des premières institutions qui prétendent faire de la «science politique». Avant de parler des sciences politiques comme domaine d'enseignement, on assiste à la construction d'un espace de savoirs qui se construit comme résultat de l'investissement des sujets à la fois intellectuels et politiques par les intellectuels prétendants ou confirmés. Cet espace de discours révèle les alliances qu'entretiennent les intellectuels avec des professionnels de la politique et avec des intellectuels qui sont de leurs aînés, ceux qui ont été formés dans et par une culture humaniste, ceux qui traitent de la politique en légitimant leurs entreprises par une reconnaissance acquise antérieurement à la (re)naissance de la science politique, ceux qui sont des écrivains ou des critiques littéraires ayant reçu leur consécration avant 1989, parfois étant des intellectuels contestés au sein du GDS, critiqués ou marginalisés.

Alors qu'ils prétendent une nouvelle posture, celle de scientifique, celle du spécialiste dans le domaine du politique, d'où découle une nouvelle autorité qui met en question celle de leurs aînés, ils sont contraints, pour obtenir leur reconnaissance, de se «référer aux débats propres au champ intellectuel [plus précisément aux thèmes et à la vision qui s'impose au sein du GDS, dans 22], sous peine de s'en exclure²⁵». Leurs nouvelles initiatives et leurs nouveaux investissements dans une carrière scientifique et dans une nouvelle spécialité marque aussi leurs distances vis-à-vis du GDS, de l'engagement sur le mode collectif.

Leurs essais, leurs ouvrages d'auteurs devraient nous permettre de détecter leur rapport au Groupe. Leur spécialisation se fait en lien avec des activités journalistiques. Avant d'intégrer le monde universitaire, ils innoveraient dans le champ journalistique. Avant de signer des ouvrages à visée scientifique, ils interviennent dans la presse ou ils publient leurs écrits pour la presse datés de la période communiste (publiés dans la presse de l'exil). Lorsque leur passé suscite des critiques et met en question leur légitimité à traiter du communisme, ils peuvent s'allier à d'autres intellectuels, parfois des écrivains ou de ceux qui s'intéressent à poursuivre leur formation et à une spécialisation dans le domaine politique, ces derniers sont aussi des membres fondateurs du GDS. La préoccupation à faire l'histoire du communisme est le résultat des intérêts apparus parmi des jeunes prétendants au statut d'universitaire dans les années 1980. A part leurs études qui s'inscrivent dans l'historiographie du communisme où ils traitent en principal des politiques, de la classe politique, les « nouveaux »

²⁵ Gisèle Sapiro, «Modèles d'intervention politique des intellectuels», *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 176-177, «Engagements intellectuels», mars 2009, p. 9.

spécialistes du politique, des jeunes intellectuels des années 1990, signent des ouvrages appartenant à l'histoire des intellectuels.

Pour faire valoir le capital acquis à l'étranger, quand ils ne sont pas déjà des proches du GDS, ils sont contraints de faire des alliances. Leurs savoirs, leur capital social peuvent servir à ceux qui prétendent de se poser en innovateurs dans le champ universitaire ainsi qu'à ceux qui n'ont pas les ressources nécessaires pour sortir de leur domaine d'activité ou pour étendre leur compétence ou reconverter le capital obtenu antérieurement, dans la période communiste.

En guise de conclusion

Mais qu'en est-il lorsque les intellectuels sont aussi des politiques et qu'à des moments précis bien que souvent pour une durée limitée participent à l'exercice du pouvoir ? Ils ne sont pas alors seulement de ceux qui imaginent au niveau symbolique les directions que le processus de démocratisation devraient emprunter ils sont parmi ceux qui ont accès aux instruments permettant de mettre en œuvre ce qu'ils ont pu construire sur le plan symbolique. Plusieurs témoignages faits à ces temps-là ainsi et surtout aujourd'hui présentent ces acteurs parmi les principaux désabusés de la transition. Ils accusent ceux qui étaient de leurs concurrents, nouveaux politiques, anciens membres de la nomenklatura et des organismes de l'Etat communiste, de les avoir privés de leur capacité à mettre en pratique ce qu'ils ont espéré, imaginé alors ou ils accusent leurs collègues concurrents (lors qu'ils étaient parmi les politiques) qui n'ont pas accepté leur collaboration en tant qu'experts. Des pressions quant à l'engagement dans le monde intellectuel, de l'attrait de la politique au début des années 1990 discutent bon nombre d'intellectuels. Mais aussi de l'impossibilité pour eux de se dédier exclusivement à la politique (au moment où précisément d'autres possibilités existent pour eux dans le champ intellectuel, dans le champ universitaire) ou de leur marginalisation dans le monde politique au moment où les décisions ne dépendent plus tant des acteurs principaux, où les structures politiques tendent à fonctionner comme un appareil²⁶. Leur retrait du monde politique, notamment dans les années 1990, n'est pas toutefois sans lien avec leurs intérêts à se faire connaître et reconnaître en tant qu'intellectuel.

Quelles sont les stratégies, y inclus celles discursives ou notamment celles-ci (puisque nous nous appuyons sur leurs témoignages et sur leurs textes), pour garder l'apparence d'une distance ou de l'indifférence soit vis-à-vis des conditions matérielles soit des enjeux politiques en vue de préserver l'autorité qui en découle de la représentation qu'on se fait du spécialiste «neutre»? Les termes («société civile», «marché libre», «service envers la société », « devoir civique», «talent » ou «succès du public» etc.) qu'ils invoquent et qui sont partie

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Propos sur le champ politique*, introduction de Philippe Fritsch, Lyon, Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2000, pp. 65-67.

intégrante de leur réflexion ou même objet de leurs études sont de même érigés, présentés comme but de leur engagement ou en lien avec leur engagement. Des catégories qui fonctionnent sur le terrain de la politique peuvent être convoqués et recevoir des traductions diverses visant leur accord avec «des croyances du monde intellectuel: gratuité, universalisme, vérité»²⁷. Ils rendent compte de leurs activités et/ou de leurs intérêts à traiter de certaines questions, à aborder certains thèmes, à s'inscrire dans des courants de pensée, etc. Car ces termes renvoient dans le même temps à des réalités sociales. Ils ne sont pas (ou pas toujours) le résultat des stratégies cyniques, comme on pourrait le croire, pour effacer leurs doubles appartenances (qui font contradiction et suscitent des critiques quant à leur prétention de neutralité) et légitimer leurs entreprises à visée politique ou leurs réussites professionnelles qui ne sont pas toujours sans lien avec leur engagement. Parfois ils sont des emprunts « inconscients » à d'autres espaces intellectuels dans un but de raccorder leur pensée et leurs attitudes à celles des intellectuels de l'étranger, auxquels ils tentent de se rapprocher. L'étude des termes utilisés sous lesquels ils placent leurs entreprises nous dévoile leurs croyances et leurs attentes liées à leur position après 1989.

Comment peut-on expliquer que des analyses du communisme qui ont joui d'une forte adhésion dans le champ intellectuel et qu'elles ont constitué des repères pour d'autres recherches ont été contestées lorsque celles-ci ont reçu une reconnaissance officielle (symbolique) et qu'elles ont institutionnalisées ? Pour rendre compte de cette situation et des changements intervenus, il faudrait regarder de plus près, voire étudier: la demande de la part du public avait permis que ces textes soient acceptés et qu'ils reçoivent leur consécration (un public sur lequel nous n'avons pourtant que certaines idées par une lecture des textes envoyés par leurs lecteurs à la rédaction de certains journaux); les alliances que des intellectuels nouent avec d'autres intellectuels et qui dépassent l'espace où ils déploient leurs activités; les demandes nées dans le champ politique surtout que le « champ intellectuel participe du champ de production idéologique »²⁸.

Les réponses peuvent apparaître alors si on regarde en deux directions: le contexte politique des années 1990²⁹ et l'état du champ intellectuel et du champ

²⁷ Frédérique Matonti, «Les 'bricoleurs'. Les cadres politiques de la raison historique: l'exemple de *La Nouvelle critique*», *Politix*, 36, 1996, notamment p. 95. Sur la « dénégarion des mécanismes sociaux » caractérisant des «activités généralement liées à la notion de "service" – service des autres, service de la communauté – qu'il s'agisse de la religion ou de la science», voir *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 168, «Vocations artistiques», numéro dirigé par Gisèle Sapiro, 2007.

²⁸ Gisèle Sapiro, «Modèles d'intervention politique des intellectuels. Le cas français», *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 176-177, 2009, p. 9.

²⁹ Bien que les politiques des années 1990 ont été considérés, notamment ceux en position dominante, comme les continuateurs de la politique communiste (notamment au niveau de leurs actes), ils ne se présenteront jamais de par leur passé communiste ni ne seront pas enclins à justifier le communisme mais au contraire ils se présentent comme

spécifique là où les intellectuels dont nous discutons ici ont reçu leur consécration en tant que spécialistes du politique, puisque c'est là qu'ils ont pu obtenir une position ou qu'ils ont pu être reçus et perçus, acceptés comme spécialistes.

On sait que l'intellectuel critique universaliste conteste l'ordre, l'autorité en affirmant son autonomie par rapport aux politiques, alors que dans ce cas-ci les intellectuels (écrivains ou intellectuels spécialisés) sont captés par les politiques et afin de voir leur «projet» accompli on leur demande de produire un travail d'expertise. Ce qui au préalable avait permis de fonder la posture critique de l'intellectuel dans le postcommuniste arrive à son terme en entraînant la dépendance des intellectuels par rapport aux politiques, au niveau collectif des initiatives, des organismes qui se voulaient indépendants par rapport à l'Etat finissent par accepter voire rechercher la reconnaissance des pouvoirs politiques. Mais parmi ceux qui justifient leurs engagements au nom de la morale, de la justice, on peut dégager des types d'engagement différents: de l'intellectuel universaliste au conseiller du prince, de l'intellectuel spécialisé (qui s'engage au nom d'un savoir spécifique) au militant et à l'expert ? Comment alors interpréter cela, le signe de leur pouvoir ou le signe du déclin de la posture de l'intellectuel critique universaliste?

La constitution des comités d'expertise ou même des instituts de recherche qui fonctionnent sous la tutelle non des instances spécifiques (traditionnellement autonomes par rapport au pouvoir) mais du gouvernement, l'élaboration d'un travail d'expertise, qui se veut neutre politiquement, auprès des hommes politiques, témoignent de l'absence de visibilité des instances proprement culturelles, des institutions traditionnelles. Ces nouvelles structures qui sont créées avec le soutien des hommes politiques sont les lieux où de nouvelles formes d'expertise sont produites. On peut dire qu'il est question d'un déclin des institutions traditionnelles (académie et université) dû à leur inertie ou à leur politisation, ce à quoi ces intellectuels ont pu y contribuer, ou bien ce n'est qu'un autre mode d'intervention politique des intellectuels qui trouvent de cette façon les moyens pour se faire reconnaître par l'Etat?

L'encadrement des institutions, consacrées au domaine de la culture, placées sous la tutelle du pouvoir politique (par ses organismes de l'Etat), atteste du mode de construction et des lieux de la diffusion d'une problématique politique dans l'après 1989.

les représentants du mouvement révolutionnaire à la faveur de leur visibilité les jours de la fin décembre 1989. Mais ni ceux qui se constitueront dans le pôle opposé dans le champ journalistique au GDS, les groupes et ensuite les politiques d'extrémistes, ne seront pas disposés à justifier le régime communiste mais ils seront des critiques des intellectuels du GDS au nom de leur revendications comme les gardiens de la «nation» et de leur «patriotisme» qu'ils associent à leurs discours dénigrants et justiciers.

OPINIONS

‘CLASSICO’ E DIRITTO ROMANO. CONSIDERAZIONI IN LIMINE A UN DIBATTITO ‘INTERDISCIPLINARE’ (III)

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Abstract: This is the final part of a research focused on the notion of ‘classic’ on Roman law and also about the future of these studies. The evaluation of the rapports that the classic philology had with the Roman law is important to understand the force of the “classic” term. Using a lot of examples from the intellectuals of 18th and 19th Centuries, the author underlined how important is become today the revalorisation of a cultural heritage, in terms of not only assuring a technical preparation for a social reality, but transmitting a minimum model of valours.

Keywords: classic, philology, Roman law, jurisprudence.

8. Filologia e diritto romano

Detto del ‘classico’ in generale e del diritto romano come parte di questo ‘classico’, si può porre la questione del metodo da applicare per continuare a progredire nella conoscenza di questo patrimonio sapienziale (e quindi per conservare ancora meglio).

Un ruolo emblematico lo svolge da molti decenni la romanistica italiana.

Aiutata forse dalla precoce diffusione del fenomeno codificatorio napoleonico, che di fatto impedì che attecchisse fino in fondo nel paese la moderna dogmatica storica, la romanistica italiana non ha mai veramente sentito la necessità di ricavare la norma da applicare al caso di specie da materiali antichi. Il metodo *storico-comparativo* (sia in funzione di interpretazione del diritto nazionale che come modo di adeguare il diritto nazionale agli altri diritti

europei continentali) in Italia in effetti non ha mai attecchito fino in fondo¹. E' significativo che studiosi di estrazione diversa dall'asse franco-tedesco-italico-spagnolo come ad esempio Tomasz Giaro riconoscano con schiettezza che temi spiccatamente storici come l'ordinamento gentilizio, le magistrature repubblicane e le biografie dei giuristi 'classici' fiore all'occhiello di una scuola storica del diritto romano veramente consapevole del suo ruolo siano studiati solo in Italia².

La recente moda del *dogmatismo continuistico* (volto a riconoscere negli istituti civilistici vigenti il germe sviluppato e 'attualizzato' di una dottrina giuridica 'classica'), del resto, non sembra avere la forza di snaturare per la sua *astrattezza e apoditticità* una scuola scientifica che si può dire ancora ben viva.

Tanto è vero che Mario Bretone (che si è ri-posto di recente la domanda della sopravvivenza del 'classico' dal punto di vista del diritto romano) sembra vedere come alternativa alla visione di Savigny e della Scuola storica, addirittura un certo modo di intendere il *classico* da parte della storiografia romanistica tedesca della metà dell'ottocento. Eminentissimi personaggi scientifici come Paul Jörs, Friedrich Daniel Sanio o Hermann Usener si proposero infatti di adoperare il metodo filologico (che quindi non può essere inteso come mero asservimento alla 'furia interpolazionista') per studiare il diritto romano³. E' qui che secondo Mario Bretone (se non ho inteso male) si dovrebbero concentrare gli sforzi per dare ancora una *continuità* ed un *futuro* alla nostra disciplina⁴.

¹ G. IMPALLOMENI, "La validità di un metodo storico-comparativo nell'interpretazione del diritto codificato", in *Rivista di diritto civile* 1 (1971) 369 ss. e 374 ss.; T. GIARO, "Diritto romano attuale", in *Le radici comuni del diritto europeo*, cit. 110.

² T. GIARO, "Diritto romano attuale", in *Le radici comuni del diritto europeo*, cit. 110.

³ A parte Mommsen, estremamente indicativi sono i luoghi dove studiosi del calibro di Paul Jörs, e prima ancora di questi, come Friedrich Daniel Sanio, enunciano i punti programmatici del loro lavoro. Il primo che vide «nella comprensione profonda del diritto esistente la cifra della giurisprudenza classica» [P. JÖRS, *Römische Rechtswissenschaft zur Zeit der Republik* 1 (Berlin 1888) 1 ss., 5; M. BREONE, *Diritto e tempo* 220 ss., in part. 222], scrive in premessa alla sua *Römische Rechtswissenschaft* (pag. VI) che: «Una storia della scienza, quale ne sia il ramo, non deve mai dirigersi solo ai cultori di una disciplina specialistica, ma deve cercare di guadagnarsi un posto nella storia della letteratura come tale». Prendo la citazione da M. BREONE, *Diritto e tempo* 222.

⁴ Sulla necessità di adoperare il metodo filologico per conservare l'approccio più giusto allo studio del diritto romano Paul Jörs, recepì l'insegnamento del Sanio consapevole del fatto che *molto* ancora avrebbe dovuto farsi (si era nel 1858) nella direzione dello studio del diritto romano e che questo *molto* i filologi e gli storici puri avrebbero potuto compierlo nel modo migliore soltanto unendo le loro forze con i giuristi. F.D. SANIO, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Rechtswissenschaft. Ein Prolegomenon* (Königsberg 1858) 11-13. Le seguenti parole che Bretone cita per esteso [*Diritto e tempo* 223] e che ripropongo (pp. 3-5) sono certamente indicative: «Una storia approfondita della scienza giuridica romana esige lavori storico-critici preliminari, di cui ancora oggi manchiamo

Non si tratta di una novità assoluta. Un percorso esemplare in questa direzione è stato già compiuto ad esempio da uno studioso che mi piace qui ricordare, Valentin Georgescu, il quale (anche recependo l'aria di novità portata in Francia agli inizi del Novecento dalla *nouvelle école*⁵) ha testimoniato con coerenza lungo tutta la sua vita di studioso una ferma propensione nei confronti del metodo *interdisciplinare* tradottosi anche in una forte sensibilità per il diritto e la filologia insieme⁶.

Si sta parlando di una propensione che ha radici lontane. Sono costretto a semplificare un discorso che in realtà è molto più complesso, ma si capisce, una volta di più, l'importanza di Giambattista Vico che già in una sua *Prolusione* del 1719 ammoniva ai filosofi e ai filologi del suo tempo una colpevole mancanza di unità tra filosofia, filologia e diritto⁷. Il filosofo napoletano fu capace, come è

in larga misura. O forse la giurisprudenza storica ha da mostrare lavori che si pongano accanto alla teologia biblica, accanto ai lavori storico-critici dei teologi su singoli libri biblici o sull'intero canone, o accanto ai contributi dei filologi su singoli scrittori profani e sui loro frammenti?». La ragione di questa chiarezza d'idee è ben evidenziata da Mario Bretone con le seguenti parole del Sanio: «In Sanio e in Jörs riascoltiamo la lezione di August Boeckh, di Heinrich Eduard Dirksen, di Johann Gustav Droysen, più che quella di Winkelmann, di Goethe e di Wilhelm von Humboldt». H. USENER, *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft* (1882)=*Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Leipzig-Berlin 1907) 33 nel 1882 segnalava la necessità di ricostruire in modo filologicamente attendibile le opere della letteratura giuridica romana sulla base della loro tradizione frammentaria. Per tutto si v. M. BREONE, *Diritto e tempo* 224.

⁵ In alternativa alla scuola tedesca già foriera di sviluppi nuovi e interessanti fu la *nouvelle école* rappresentata sin dai primi anni del '900 da Paul Huvelin che applicava al diritto romano la *méthode sociologique* di Durkheim. Si v. E. DURKHEIM, *La méthode sociologique* (Paris 1895)[tr. it. F. Airolti-Namer (Milano 1963)] e per ampio ragguaglio S. RANDAZZO, *Un ponte fra filologia e diritto*, in *Fides Humanitas Ius*, cit. 4694 e ss.

⁶ Cfr. S. RANDAZZO, *Un ponte fra filologia e diritto*, cit. 4690, in part. p. 4701 per qualche esempio concreto. A partire dagli anni '10 e '30 del secolo scorso, fino agli anni '80, eminenti personalità del Novecento come Paul Huvelin, Axel Hägerström, Pietro De Francisci ed altri, dimostrano che mentre in Germania il dibattito sul 'classico' e sul 'diritto romano attuale' impegnava le menti migliori a fronteggiare una crisi che pareva allora esiziale, in Francia, in Romania [V.AL. GEORGESCU, *Remarques sut la crise des études de droit romain*, in *Tij.* 16.4 (1940)], in Polonia [con forte propensione in senso storicistico. Cfr. W. OSUCHOWSKI, *Les études du droit romain en Pologne*, in *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 2 (1949) 511 ss.; W. WOŁODKIEWICZ, *Il diritto romano nella cultura giuridica polacca*, in *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino* 7 (1984) 524 ss.] e altrove (negli ultimi anni specialmente la Spagna) sono state cercate nuove vie e non di rado con successo. Sulla scuola italiana che a partire da Pietro Bonfante è riuscita a prendere le distanze dalla pandettistica tedesca v. l'ampia prospettazione di problemi in R. ORESTANO, *Introduzione allo studio del diritto romano* 513 ss., 490 ss. e *passim*.

⁷ L'argomento di questa prolusione recitata per l'inaugurazione di un corso di studi alla Regia Università di Napoli (di cui si hanno solo pochi frammenti) è *Omnis divinae atque humanae eruditionis elementa tria: nosse, velle, posse: quorum principium unum*

noto, di porsi con il suo *verum* ('ciò che è') *et factum* ('ciò che è accaduto', ma 'può anche accadere') *convertuntur* in una linea di continuità ideale che unisce gli eruditi delle scuole alessandrine della metà del III secolo a.C. agli illuminati esploratori del *classico* di ogni tempo (*verum?*)⁸.

Sono perfettamente consapevole che il problema della trasposizione del principio del *verum factum convertuntur* dal *De antiquissima* (1710) alla *Scienza nuova* (1725, 1730, 1744) è ancora uno dei più controversi della critica

mens, cuius oculus ratio, cui aeterni veri lumen praebeat Deus. Si v. per questo C. GRECO, *Dualismo e poiesis in Giambattista Vico*, in *Metafisica e metodo*, cit. 51. Sulla coniugazione tra filologia e filosofia si v. sempre C. GRECO, *Dualismo e poiesis in Giambattista Vico*, cit. 547 ss., 548.

⁸ Giambattista Vico ebbe sicura coscienza del valore etimologico delle parole latine, come strumento per arrivare a conoscere l'antica sapienza italica. Rinvio per un approccio generale al tema a O. SACCHI, *Spunti per un'archeologia giuridica del linguaggio. Suggestioni ancestrali e terminologia giuridica nella lustratio agri in Cato de agri C. 141*, in *Drevnee pravo-lus Antiquum* 2(12) (Mosca 2003), pp. 94-105. Ora, sulla posizione di Giambattista Vico, si v. il testo del filosofo napoletano nella recente edizione del *De Antiquissima Italicorum sapientia ex linguae Latinae originibus eruenda libri tres Joh. Baptistae a Vico Neapolitani regii eloquentiae professoris* con traduzione, note e apparati a cura di Ciro Greco (Milano 2008), pp. 185-315 e *Polemiche relative al De antiquissima Italicorum sapientia* 1711-12, *ibidem*, pp. 319-385; C. GRECO, *Dualismo e Poiesis in Giambattista Vico*, in *Giambattista Vico, Metafisica e metodo* cit. 461-553. Il discorso è forse più complesso di quanto sembri perché con Vico comincia una vera e propria decostruzione della concezione tradizionale del linguaggio. La ricerca del fondamento originario di tutte le lingue (una lingua madre?) lo portava alla consapevolezza di una condizione originaria selvaggia, non convenzionale, fantastica e iconica. Al fondamento di tutte le parole Vico vedeva i *sémata* e la sua critica è già rivolta contro la *boria dei dotti* [«ossia ritenere prisca la propria sapienza, collocarla alla origine, quando di questa nulla sanno, quando mai hanno veramente arrischiato di visitarne le tenebre profondissime poichè hanno ignorato gli unici mezzi di cui disponiamo per tentare l'impresa»: M. CACCIARI, *Ricorsi Vichiani*, in *Metafisica e metodo*, cit. 557] e la loro arroganza logocentrica. Grattando un poco i *significanti* viene subito fuori l'origine selvaggia e ferina della ragione (*logos*) dei dotti. Riflesso speculare della boria dei dotti è per Vico, come molti sanno, la *boria delle nazioni*, cioè l'arroganza etnocentrica dei popoli che tanto danno farà durante il Novecento [M. CACCIARI, *Ricorsi Vichiani*, in *Metafisica e metodo*, cit. 557: «ritenersi ciascuna la più antica, custode delle memorie del mondo»]. E Vico esorta a non considerare la cultura e la lingua nazionali come qualcosa di straordinario. Non si tratta che della percezione parziale di qualcosa che è molto più ampio. Alla base di ogni linguaggio vi è un dizionario mentale comune e il filosofo napoletano si propose di individuarne le tracce. Dista impressione il fatto che nei vent'anni successivi alla pubblicazione della prima *Scienza nuova*, Vico si sia dedicato alla rimeditazione completa della sua opera, giungendo a dichiarare nella seconda *Scienza nuova*, subito all'inizio nei paragrafi 28, 32 e 35, quali fossero i tre luoghi della prima *Scienza nuova* che risultavano ancora validi dopo la sua revisione. Ebbene, essi sono la dottrina vichiana della *lingua armata*. Il luogo sulle *cagioni della lingua latina* e la ricerca di un *dizionario mentale comune*.

vichiana⁹. Nondimeno è utile rileggere, in apertura al capitolo primo (del primo libro intitolato *Metaphysicus*) del *De antiquissima Italorum Sapientia* (nel paragrafo intitolato *de vero et facto*), come il filosofo formuli il principio: «*Latinis 'verum' et 'factum' reciprocantur, seu, ut scholarum vulgus loquitur, convertuntur; atque iisdem idem est 'intelligere', ac 'perfecte legere', et 'aperte cognoscere'*».

Come si vede, *verum factum convertuntur* significa *intelligere*, ossia 'leggere perfettamente', ovvero 'conoscere distintamente' come il *verum* e il *factum* '*reciprocantur*' [ossia, letteralmente *muovono* 'avanti' e 'indietro' (*interagiscono?*)]¹⁰. Difatti poco più avanti si legge nello stesso testo: «*ita intelligere sit colligere omnia elementa rei, ex quibus perfectissima exprimantur idea*». Non è ancora tutto. Giambattista Vico, da profondo conoscitore (come pochi) del diritto romano *trasse*, a sua volta, proprio dallo studio approfondito della *storia* di *questa materia* la sua idea di *vero* (ciò che è; e quindi ciò che *vale-per-tutti-e-ovunque?*) e di *fatto* (ciò che è *accaduto*; ma, quindi, anche tutto ciò che è *certo?*)¹¹ giungendo, alla fine di lunghe e meditatissime ricerche, alla conclusione che il *grande insegnamento* delle *leggi romane* fu la «*giurisprudenza della natural equità*»¹².

⁹ Paolo Cristofolini nega che il *verum ipsum factum* del *De Antiquissima Italorum Sapientia* sia presente nella *Scienza nuova* cfr. P. CRISTOFOLINI, *La Scienza nuova di Vico. Introduzione alla lettura* (Roma 1995) 62; D. PICCINI, *Dalla Scienza nuova all'ermeneutica* 145, nt. 35. In particolare in P. CRISTOFOLINI, *Vico pagano e barbaro* (Pisa 2001) 15 si legge: «(...) il *verum ipsum factum* del *De Antiquissima* (1710) non ricompare nell'impianto assiomatico né in altri luoghi delle tre redazioni della *Scienza nuova*».

¹⁰ Traggo dall'edizione C. Faschilli, C. Greco, A. Murari (curr.), *Giambattista Vico, Metafisica e metodo* (Milano 2008) 7-603, in part. pp. 194-195.

¹¹ Giambattista Vico, *La Scienza Nuova Seconda giusta l'edizione del 1744 con le varianti dell'edizione del 1730 e di due redazioni intermedie inedite* (Bari 1953⁴), a cura di Fausto Nicolini, 76 [Libro primo, sezione seconda, X.138]: «La filosofia contempla la ragione, onde viene la scienza del vero; la filologia osserva l'autorità dell'umano arbitrio, onde viene la coscienza del certo».

¹² Si v. per tutto ora C. Faschilli, C. Greco, A. Murari (curr.), *Giambattista Vico, Metafisica e metodo*, cit. 7-603; M. CACCIARI, *Ricorsi Vichiani*, in *Metafisica e metodo*, cit. 571. Come si legge testualmente nel capo IV della *Scienza nuova* dell'edizione del 1725: «**Tale scienza si medita sopra il diritto natural delle genti che n'ebbero i giureconsulti romani**» [*Principi di una Scienza nuova intorno alla natura delle nazioni per la quale si ritrovano i principi di altro sistema del diritto naturale delle genti* (1925), in A. Battistini (a cura di), *Opere* (Milano 1990), pp. 975-1222, per il luogo 987. Si v. per questo G. CRIFÒ, *Vico e la storia romana. Alcune considerazioni*, in M. Agrimi (a cura di), *Giambattista Vico nel suo tempo e nel nostro* (Napoli 1999) 589-603, in part. 591; Id., *Sviluppi possibili e ritardi ingiustificati. Qualche considerazione sugli studi vichiani*, in F. Ratto (a cura di), *Il mondo di Vico/Vico nel mondo, in ricordo di Giorgio Tagliacozzo* (Perugia 2000), pp. 29-37. Anche D. PICCINI, *Dalla Scienza nuova all'ermeneutica* 183, nt. 124]. Quindi prendendo dalla edizione definitiva del

Sarebbe ingenuo pretendere di affrontare un tema così vasto e denso di implicazioni (particolarmente per i romanisti contemporanei) filosofiche, storiche e soprattutto giuridiche senza alterare il disegno complessivo di questo contributo, eppure non si può tacere sul fatto che Vico, nella sua '*immensa solitudine*' (la frase è di Federico Maria d'Ippolito¹³), riuscì ad essere un interdisciplinare *ante litteram* perchè sarà lui per primo ad applicare ai suoi (ai nostri) studi (che erano anche di diritto romano) il *metodo filologico* per la ricerca della *verità scientifica*¹⁴. Stiamo parlando di un tipo di filologia che non è *filologia sedentaria* come direbbe Aby Warburg o mero *trastullo* come ha scritto Gustav Droysen¹⁵, o *ancilla iuris* come volevano Huvelin¹⁶ o Levy-Bruhl¹⁷, ma

1744: «CXIII. **Il vero delle leggi è un certo lume e splendore di che ne illumina la ragion naturale; onde spesso i giureconsulti usan dire 'verum est' per 'aequum est'. Questa diffinizione come la centoundecima sono proposizioni particolari per far le pruove nella particolar materia del diritto natural delle genti, uscite dalle due generali, nona e decima, che trattano del vero e del certo generalmente, per far le conchiusioni in tutte le materie che qui si trattano**» [La Scienza Nuova Seconda giusta l'edizione del 1744 con le varianti dell'edizione del 1730 e di due redazioni intermedie inedite, cit. 115].

¹³ F. M. D'IPPOLITO, Francesco De Martino nella storia giuridica europea, in *Modelli storiografici fra otto e novecento*, cit. 85. Usa l'espressione 'lucida solitudine' P. VIGHETTI, *Giambattista Vico, pensatore politico?*, in M. Sanna e A. Stile (curr.), *Vico tra l'Italia e la Francia* (Napoli 2000), p. 94. Sul rapporto tra Vico e la cultura del suo tempo v. anche A. SCHIAVONE, *La lezione romanistica di G.B. Vico*, in *Labeo* 14 (1968) 56-65 che giudica falsa e superficiale l'immagine di (p. 64): «un Vico che, fuori dalla sua epoca, viva una vita tutta sua di "precursore" - per usare una formula trita - dello storicismo idealistico e romantico del primo ottocento». L'isolamento di Vico riguarderebbe solo (p. 65): «la sua vicenda umana, non la sua scienza».

¹⁴ Rinvio alla lucida lettura di G. CARILLO, «*Ordo nascendi seu natura*». *Appunti di genealogia e diritto in Vico*, in *Vico tra l'Italia e la Francia*, cit. 33: «Quando Vico, nella *Scienza nuova* del '25 scrive: "[...] dal Diritto Ciclopico de' Polifemi, si venisse al Diritto Romano umanissimo de' Papiniani; di cui nella *Divisione delle cose* si ravvisano gli stessi *Principj eterni della metafisica de' Platonici* circa i *sommi generi della sostanza*; che le cose tutte, altre sono *corporali*, altre *incorporali*; e che le *corporali* sono soggette a' sensi, e si toccano; l'*incorporali* s'intendono [...]"

, non si limita a dar conto di un dibattito dottrinario tormentato quanto annoso anche per la scienza romanistica moderna (si pensi fra l'altro a Doneau). [...] quanto piuttosto lo stabilimento di principi ordinativi - metastorici e metapositivi - attraverso i quali la materia bruta del diritto possa prendere forma di scienza».

¹⁵ M. CACCIARI, *Brevi inattuali*, in *Di fronte ai classici*, cit. 24: «13. Sia chiaro: sedentaria filologia (che è espressione di Aby Warburg) *non* è filologia. Filologia è amore per il *logos*, per l'inesauribile energia della parola vivente, dei *ritmi*, che assume, delle voci che la incarnano. Una ricerca interminabile del *logos*, così come la filosofia lo è della sapienza. Filologia e filosofia sono assolutamente inseparabili ed è per questo che vanno insieme nella condanna che l'ora ha pronunciato nei loro confronti». G. DROYSSEN, *Istorica* 341.

di una disciplina che può fornire prova certa non soltanto degli *eventi*, ma anche delle *idee* (*ita intelligere sit colligere omnia elementa rei, ex quibus perfectissima exprimentur idea*)¹⁸.

¹⁶ P. HUVELIN, *Cours élémentaire de droit romain* 1 (Paris 1927) 4.

¹⁷ Come in H. LÉVY-BRUHL, *Addicere. Étude de sémantique juridique*, in *Deux études: Addicere et Auctoritas* (Paris 1942) 5 ss. per questo v. S. RANDAZZO, *Un ponte fra filologia e diritto*, cit. 4695 e *passim*.

¹⁸ Si v. *La Scienza Nuova prima* con la polemica contro gli atti degli eruditi di Lipsia, a cura di Fausto Nicolini (Bari 1968, rist. an. 1931) 18: «*I filologi, per lo comun fato dell'antichità, che, col troppo allontanarsi da noi, si fa perdere di veduta, ne han tramandato le tradizioni volgari così svisate, lacere e sparte che, se non si ristituisce loro il proprio aspetto, non se ne ricompongono i brani e non s'allogano i a' luoghi loro, a chi vi mediti sopra con alquanto di serietà sembra essere stato affatto impossibile esse nascere tali*». Si v. per questa citazione anche C. GRECO, *Dualismo e poiesis in Giambattista Vico*, in *Metafisica e metodo*, cit. 549. Per avere la dimensione esatta della portata innovativa del discorso vichiano dobbiamo ricordare che la prima storiografia europea (intesa come impresa cognitiva) che fondò programmaticamente la propria metodologia sulla distinzione tra 'fatto' e 'finzione' sorse solo col Rinascimento. Notizie per questo in J.M. LEVINE, *The Autonomy of History* (Chicago London 1999) 3 ss. Mentre la data di nascita della contemporanea (postmoderna?) storiografia romanistica viene fatta risalire unanimemente alla portata innovativa della Scuola umanistica francese (la cd. *scuola culta*) dove non a caso si negò una vigenza 'attuale' del diritto romano e la *ratio scripta* finì per vincolare non più *ratione imperii*, ma solo *imperio rationis*. Oltre Cuiacio ricordiamo Denis Godefroy (1549-1622), Jacopo Godefroy (1587-1652), Antonius Faber (1557-1624), Francis Hotman (1524-1590), Ugo Donello (1527-1591). Cfr. per maggiori ragguagli e bibl. F. WIEACKER, *Storia del diritto privato moderno* 1 (Milano 1967) 243 s. A tal proposito, molto perspicuamente, Tomasz Giaro ricorda che Jacques Cujas (1522-1590) nella dedica delle sue *Observationes* distinse per la prima volta e in modo esplicito tra *veritas* e *opinio*. E. LANDSBERG, *Über die Entstehung der regel "quicquid non agnoscit glossa, nec agnoscit forum"* (Bonn 1880) 37. Gli esponenti di questo umanesimo giuridico si rivolsero quindi per la prima volta nella storia della tradizione romanistica alla ricostruzione testuale delle leggi romane repubblicane o agli scritti dei giuristi romani. Essi cominciarono a studiare il diritto romano non più come legge vigente ma come fenomeno del mondo antico utilizzando anche altre fonti, sia giuridiche che letterarie, per una più completa cognizione storica. T. GIARO, *Diritto romano attuale*, in *Le radici comuni del diritto europeo*, cit. 84. Si trattò, come grosso modo per i Paesi Bassi che raccolsero idealmente l'eredità dei giuristi colti colpiti duramente dalle guerre di religione in Francia, dell'insorgere di una «scienza giuridica provveduta sotto il profilo filologico e sistematico e metodicamente rigorosa anche per la cultura giuridica in generale e per la qualificazione della prassi». F. WIEACKER, *Storia del diritto privato moderno* 1.243. Ulteriori approfondimenti in T. GIARO, *Diritto romano attuale*, in *Le radici comuni del diritto europeo*, cit. 84 ss. e *passim*. Questa tradizione che nacque in Francia e fiorì nei Paesi Bassi del nord (dunque in Olanda), si diffuse in Europa e rimase fortemente radicata nella cultura europea fino a tutto il Settecento e parrebbe, in una visione allargata, annoverare tra i suoi esponenti anche Ugo Grozio (1583-1645).

Tutto ciò qualifica quindi senza dubbio Giambattista Vico (in una catena ideale di eccellenza che può tranquillamente collegare il nostro anche a Grozio e Cuiacio) come un *antecedente* - evito di usare il termine *precursore* per non essere accomunato nella critica che Aldo Schiavone rivolge a Croce (e quindi anche al De Sanctis, allo Spaventa¹⁹ e ad Emilio Betti²⁰) - non solo della

che naturalmente Vico, insieme a Cuiacio, conosceva molto bene e molto più da vicino. La pubblicazione dell'*Inleyding de hollandsche Rechts-Geleerdheid* di Grozio dimostrerebbe per M. KASER, in ZSS. RA 81 (1964) 6 ss. un rapporto di continuità tra lo studioso nato a Delft e gli esponenti della scuola olandese [come Vinnius († 1647), Huber († 1694), Voet († 1714), Noodt († 1725), Schulting († 1734), Westenberg († 1737)]. Ugo Grozio, nella edizione della Seconda Scienza nuova del 1744 con emendazioni, curata da Fausto Nicolini [*La Scienza Nuova Seconda giusta l'edizione del 1744 con le varianti dell'edizione del 1730 e di due redazioni intermedie inedite*, cit. *passim*] viene citato 27 volte [ai cpvv. 135, 310, 313, 318, 329, 338, 350, 394, 395, 493, 553, 662, 972, 974, 1062, 1109, 1180, 1273, 1359, 1360, 1362, 1372, 1376, 1384, 1397, 1404, 1472]. Cuiacio 7 volte [ai cpvv. 961, 1057, 1259, 1272, 1390, 1397, 1398]. Dunque conosceva bene entrambi. Un altro luogo comune crociano sembrerebbe in effetti essere stato quello dell'isolamento culturale di Vico rispetto alla cultura europea a lui contemporanea. Si v. per questo P. CRISTOFOLINI, *Vico a confronto con i contemporanei*, in *La Scienza nuova di Vico. Introduzione alla lettura*, cit. 52-57; D. PICCINI, *Dalla Scienza nuova all'ermeneutica* 198, nt. 153. Molto esplicito A. BATTISTINI, *Vico tra antichi e moderni* (Bologna 2004) 20: «In realtà, lungi dall'essere frutto di un genio romanticamente isolato e ispirato, non c'è a ben guardare, opera vichiana che non sia nata da una risposta personale a precisi e concreti problemi culturali dibattuti in Europa».

¹⁹ A. SCHIAVONE, *La lezione romanistica di G.B. Vico* 64. A parte la celebre definizione di Vico che «fu nè più nè meno il secolo decimonono in germe» che troviamo come è noto in B. Croce, *La filosofia di Giambattista Vico* (Bari 1911) 257 l'idea di precursore dell'idealismo tedesco (Kant), Benedetto Croce la sviluppò da uno spunto del suo maestro Gaetano De Sanctis che vedeva Vico come parte di quella tradizione che avrebbe dato vita alla critica kantiana [riferimenti bibliografici e ampia disamina ora in D. PICCINI, *Dalla Scienza nuova all'ermeneutica* 185, nt. 127] e secondo Cesare Vasoli [*A proposito del Croce e dei suoi "precursori" vichiani*, in *Forum italicum* 2 n.4 (1968) 424-447] anche da Bertrando Spaventa sostenitore di una stretta solidarietà filosofica tra Vico e Kant [da Croce frequentato dopo il terremoto di Casamicciola del 1883: si v. J. KELEMEN, *Idealismo e storicismo nell'opera di Benedetto Croce* tr. it. Saveria Mennelli (Catanzaro 1995)] 18.

²⁰ E. BETTI, *I principî di Scienza nuova di G.B. Vico e la teoria dell'interpretazione storica*, in *Nuova rivista di diritto commerciale diritto dell'economia diritto sociale* (1957) 1-12, ora in G. Crifò (a cura di), E. BETTI, *Diritto Metodo Ermeneutica* (Milano 1991) 484 considera Vico precursore della tradizione ermeneutica facente capo a J.G. Droysen [*Istorica*, cit.], Georg Simmel [*Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie* (München-Leipzig 1982, 1921⁴)=V. D'anna (a cura di), *I problemi della filosofia della storia* tr. it. G. Cunico (Casale Monferrato 1982)] e Max Weber [Betti cita *Die Objektivität sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis* (1904), in

splendida stagione della filologia tedesca facente capo ad August Boeckh (1785-1867) di cui furono allievi, fra gli altri, proprio Gustav Droysen (1808-1884) e K.O. Müller (1797-1840)²¹ [il quale, a sua volta, fu celebre maestro di Ernst Robert Curtius (1814-1896)²²], ma anche della solida stagione della romanistica

Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre (Tübingen 1922²)=L'oggettività conoscitiva della scienza sociale e della politica sociale, in P. Rossi (a cura di), *Il metodo delle scienze sociali* (Torino 1958), pp. 53-141].

²¹ Sul valore e sul contributo del grande filologo e dei suoi allievi [fra gli altri K.O. Müller (1797-1840) e Gustav Droysen (1808-84)] si v. C. AMPOLO, *Storie greche. La formazione della moderna storiografia sugli antichi Greci* (Torino 1997) 48 ss. e *passim*.

²² Per un riscontro della chiara influenza in Vico del concetto stoico di etimologia che si legge in Varrone rinvio all'*Introduzione* di Antonio Traglia dell'edizione Utet (Torino 1974) delle *Opere* di Marco Terenzio Varrone (p. 13 ss.). Mi lasciano perplesso giudizi espressi da studiosi del pensiero vichiano assai esperti e autorevoli come V. VERRA, *Linguaggio storia e umanità in Vico e in Herder*, in *Omaggio a Vico* (a cura di P. Piovanì (Napoli 1968), pp. 335-362; Id., *Vita del linguaggio e senso della storia in G. Vico e J.G. Herder*, in *Quaderni contemporanei* 2 (1968), pp. 185-204 e E. AUERBACH, *Vico e il Volkgeist* (1955), tradotto da V. Rubel in *San Francesco, Dante, Vico* (Bari 1970), p. 114; Id., *Vico e lo storicismo estetico* (1948), *ivi* 88-102; *Il contributo di Vico alla critica letteraria* (1958), *ivi* 78-87 tendenti a negare che Vico possa essere considerato un precursore della scuola storica tedesca. V. anche F. TESSITORE, *Vico nelle origini dello storicismo tedesco*, in *Comprensione storica e cultura*, cit. 67. Si intravede quindi una linea di continuità anche se, a questo riguardo, c'è da rilevare che nella parte della sua trattazione dedicata alla storia e al compito del metodo storico, Gustav Droysen parla del filosofo napoletano in questi termini: «...e nel campo della storia prevalse o il *metodo esplicativo*, rappresentato da Giambattista Vico nella sua *Scienza nuova* intorno al 1725, nella quale egli sviluppa, dalle datità naturali di popoli e Stati, il tipo e la storia di questi...». La citazione è tratta da J.G. DROYSSEN, *Istorica* 135. L'omissione dell'edizione del 1744 del capolavoro vichiano è un equivoco (uso la stessa espressione di Silvia Caianiello da cui ho tratto la notizia) che si ripete anche nell'edizione del 1930 del *Meyers Conversationslexicon*, a dimostrazione del fatto che allora nella cultura tedesca dell'epoca la ricezione di Vico sia stata alquanto superficiale. Si v. la nota 19 di Silvia Caianiello che è la curatrice della versione italiana del testo di Droysen [*Istorica*, cit.] a p. 135. Naturalmente non è possibile fare qui la storia dell'*equivoco* in cui dimostra di essere caduto Droysen. Basti considerare però che Herder nei *Briefe* del 1797 [*Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, Zehnte Sammlung, (Riga 1797)=B. Suphan (hrsgs. von), in *Sämtliche Werke* 18 (Berlin 1883)=ed. fot. Hildesheim 1968), pp. 245-246] cita i *Principj d'una scienza nuova* nella prima edizione del 1725. Bisogna poi tenere conto del fatto che l'opera di Vico ebbe una 'stroncatura' negli *Acta eruditorum* di Lipsia nel 1927 e poi che la prima traduzione tedesca dell'edizione del 1744 del capolavoro vichiano risale al 1822 ad opera di Wilhelm Ernst Weber [G. VICO, *Grundzüge einer neuen Wissenschaft über die gemeinschaftliche Natur der Völker*, aus dem italienischen von Dr. W.E. Weber, Professor am Königlich preussischen Gymnasium zu Wetzlar (Leipzig 1922)] in questo spinto dal dotto pastore zurighese Giovanni Gasparo degli Orelli. Sul rapporto tra Vico e lo storicismo tedesco v. anche I. BERLIN, *Vico and Herder* (London 1976) 90-92; F. TESSITORE, *Vico nelle origini dello storicismo tedesco*, in *Comprensione storica e cultura*.

contemporanea che ha saputo uscire bene dalla ‘crisi’ del ‘*diritto romano delle Pandette*’.

Se è vero che per Giambattista Vico (che non conosceva le Istituzioni di Gaio) il grande insegnamento delle leggi romane (ossia il lascito più importante del diritto romano alla modernità) fu la «*giurisprudenza della natural equità*»²³, come non vedere in questo anche una *sintonia d'intenti* (se proprio non vogliamo dire una *continuità*) tra il grande filosofo e la romanistica contemporanea nell'analogo riferimento di Wieacker alla *prevalenza della giustizia sul diritto* (anche questo un *ricorso storico*? Un *eterno ritorno all'eguale*?). In questo quadro potrebbe trovare giusta collocazione quindi l'attività di uno studioso presente (e futuro) del *classico* (anche quindi del diritto romano), che sappia usare bene il patrimonio di conoscenze di cui può disporre. Quindi un approccio *storico* (filologico) e *interdisciplinare* alla *scienza giuridica* perchè è con i giuristi romani che questa disciplina (la *scientia iuris*) diventò serbatoio di conoscenza per tutto il genere umano. Il lato formativo di questa esperienza non può essere messo seriamente in discussione.

Per continuare a sopravvivere nelle Università bisogna però *scendere dalla torre d'avorio* e non dimenticare l'ammonimento di Giorgio Pasquali (pronunciato in occasione del giubileo dell'Università di Göttingen) attento, fin da tempi non sospetti, alla necessità che la *ricerca scientifica* non perdesse mai nelle Università il contatto con la realtà²⁴.

Revisioni storicistiche (Napoli 1979), pp. 59-93. Anche in generale M. GIGANTE, *Vico nella storia della filologia classica*, in *Classico e mediazione. Contributi alla storia della filologia antica* (Roma 1989), pp. 15-20 [già in *Bollettino del centro di Studi vichiani* 2 (1972), pp. 52-58.

²³ M. CACCIARI, *Ricorsi Vichiani*, cit. 571.

²⁴ G. PASQUALI, *Il Giubileo di Gottinga*, in *Pagine stravaganti* 2 (Firenze 1968), p. 246: «Ma ognuno si sarà, sopra di ogni altra cosa, ricordato che in Gottinga, prima che in ogni altra università, insegnamento e società delle scienze furon congiunti e che qui per la prima volta fu proposto quale ideale della scuola superiore la preparazione alla professione pratica attraverso il lavoro scientifico. L'università che sconfessa tale ideale pronunzia contro se stessa sentenza di morte». Sull'università di Gottinga, Droysen offre una descrizione che dovrebbe far riflettere: «Parallelamente a ciò, venne poi la grandiosa attività storiografica della giovane università di Gottinga, dove Schlözer, Spittler, Michaelis, Heyne, Pütter, fino a Hugo, dunque teologi, giuristi, filosofi e docenti di diritto pubblico, operarono tutti essenzialmente nella stessa direzione. Questa è la prima vera scuola storica; da essa deriva la scuola storica nella giurisprudenza (Hugo), nella filologia (Heyne), nella teologia (Joh. Dav. Michaelis). Qui per la prima volta fu abbandonato il vecchio schema delle quattro monarchie del profeta Daniele, che continuava a dominare la riflessione sulla storia universale, qui si cominciò a smettere il calcolo secondo gli anni del mondo, e a contare partendo dalla nascita di Cristo anche per la storia antica, col che per la prima volta si aprì lo spazio per la rappresentazione di un tempo infinito a venire». Pragmatismo ed erudizione, alto livello scientifico e preparazione per la futura professione non sono quindi in contraddizione necessaria.

Quale funzione può assolvere, allora, questo particolare tipo di ‘classico’ (ossia la scienza giuridica romana) per il presente e per le generazioni future?

Sembrerebbe di poter dire che la celeberrima formula vichiana (*verum factum convertuntur*) possa servire (se ben applicata anche ai nostri tempi) per riscattare davvero l’attuale crisi del *classico* anche in campo giuridico. Con la giurisprudenza della *natural equità* (un dato filologicamente riscontrato di conversione del ‘vero’ nel ‘fatto’ che è già avvenuto), il *verum* (‘ciò che è giusto’; la *dike*; il ‘classico’ in senso assiologico), dovrebbe potersi convertire nel *factum* (‘ciò che fa l’uomo’; il *nomos*; la legge positiva).

E’ già successo una volta, potrebbe succedere di nuovo, e se Vico non si sbaglia dovrebbe poter (ri-)accadere sempre.

Conclusione

Alla fine di tutto questo discorso mi chiedo (e quindi ritorno per chiudere alle riflessioni di Salvatore Settis) se, metafora della metafora, sia più vera la rappresentazione che degli déi ‘classici’ ha fatto Ezra Pound, in *The Return* (1912), in cui questi sono visti timidi ed esitanti nella loro perfezione, timorosi ed incerti dopo essersi ridestati da un lungo sonno; ovvero la cruda e toccante visione di J.L. Borges che, nel racconto *Ragnarök* (1960), immagina che questi arrivino all’improvviso in un’aula dell’Università di Buenos Aires, accolti da applausi e lacrime di commozione²⁵.

L’epilogo del racconto è noto. I presenti ben presto si avvidero di avere di fronte figure orrende, dalle fronti basse, i denti gialli, con baffi radi di mulatti o cinesi e musi bestiali. Figure astute, ignoranti e crudeli, evocanti più animali da

²⁵ Per l’etimo di *ragnarök* si v. R. CLEASBY - G. VIGFUSSONN, *An Icelande - English Dictionary*² (Oxford 1962) sv. *regin*, da cui *ragna*, che è definito come parola nel significato di ‘dei in quanto fattori e sovrani dell’universo’. *Rök* è invece ‘ragione’, ‘fondamento’, ‘origine’. Seguendo F. RENDICH, *L’origine delle lingue indoeuropee* 44, 299 si arriverebbe alla seguente proposta etimologica. Si partirebbe da una presunta *lingua madre* (di sanscrito, greco e latino) dove *r* dà il senso di ‘andare’ o ‘determinare’ nel senso di ‘modificare qualcosa’; *agna* dà il senso di ‘nudo’, ‘denudato’. Così *Ragnarök* = *r* + *agna* + *rök* = ‘crepuscolo degli dei’, ‘disillusione’, ‘disincanto’. Una prospettiva decisamente nichilista. Cfr. G. DE SANTILLANA-H. VON DECHEND, *Il mulino di Amleto. Saggio sul mito e sulla struttura del tempo*⁴ (Milano 2007)[*Hamlet’s Mill. An essay on myth and the frame of time* (1969)] 189, nt. 2. Sulla pericolosità dei ‘classici’ rinvio ancora a M. CACCIARI, *Brevi inattuali*, in *Di fronte ai classici*, cit. 23: «11. Che i classici rappresentino qualcosa di *periculosum maxime* è stato splendidamente ricordato dal Leopardi: ‘è un curioso andamento degli studi umani, che i geni più sublimi liberi e irregolari, quando hanno acquisito fama stabile e universale, diventano *classici*, cioè i loro scritti entrino nel numero dei libri elementari, e si mettano in mano de’ fanciulli, come i trattati più secchi regolari delle cognizioni *esatte*. Ecco un’autentica filologia, uno studio dei classici, di cui valga davvero la pena, dovrebbe farne rivivere la pericolosità».

preda che esseri umani. Alla fine quindi gli astanti presero delle rivoltelle e diedero la morte agli dèi²⁶.

Spostando la riflessione sul piano della realtà storica vedremmo senza difficoltà che anche i personaggi più illustri della storia di Roma, (anche coloro che furono protagonisti nella costruzione del *classico del diritto romano*), portano egualmente con sé qualcosa di orrendo e di bestiale (sarebbe non difficile constatare che quasi nessuno degli uomini che veramente ha contato qualcosa nella Roma dell'ultimo secolo della Repubblica sia morto in modo naturale)²⁷.

La metafora di Borges può diventare allora un'allegoria fuori dal tempo sulla difficoltà di comprendere l'uomo costretto a convivere da sempre (e forse per sempre) in una dimensione in cui l'*orrendo* e il *sublime* sussistono come facce di una stessa medaglia. Questo significa che non tutto quello che proviene dall'esperienza greco-romana antica debba essere salvato solo perchè appartiene ad un 'classico'. Soltanto ciò che è veramente edificante, quale che sia la prospettiva di approccio (giuridico, etico, estetico, epistemologico, storico, didattico, divulgativo, etc.). La precisazione è per i contemporanei sostenitori di un 'classico' soltanto in senso *meramente assiologico*.

La questione ovviamente investe anche il problema dell'*universalità* di questa esperienza. Salvatore Settis parafrasando Arnaldo Momigliano si chiede se «l'eredità greco-romana è davvero più "nostra" (lo è ancora?) di quella delle civiltà giapponese, cinese, indiana?». Da romanista, a mia volta, mi chiedo se il diritto romano possa davvero rappresentare un modello di epistemologia giuridica esportabile verso ogni realtà giuridica senza limiti di collocazione geografica o culturale (ne sanno qualcosa i primi apologeti cristiani del mondo

²⁶ Cfr. con rif. bibl. M.T. FÖGEN, *Storie di diritto romano. Origine ed evoluzione di un sistema sociale* (Bologna 2005) 12 s. e *passim*. Viene subito in mente la teoria di Darwin che ancora oggi si tende ad accogliere con esitazione (anzi, si cerca addirittura di ripudiare) per paura di scoprire che i nostri predecessori in realtà avevano ben poco di umano e molto più di bestiale. Quasi come se la scienza si fosse presa la rivincita sul mito e noi non lo volessimo accettare. Eppure l'idea di un'evoluzione progressiva, ovvero di uno sviluppo graduale è frequente nella letteratura specializzata.

²⁷ Cicerone, Tiberio e Caio Gracco, Cesare, morirono tutti assassinati in modo brutale. La stessa sorte spettò a Q. Mucio Scevola, l'ultimo pontefice massimo degli Scevola, assassinato dai sicari mariani che lo inseguirono per finirlo fin dentro il tempio di Vesta (Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.* 12.33; Aug. *civ. dei* 3.28; Lucan. *Phars.* 2.126-129; Val. Max. 9.11.2) per poi buttarlo nel Tevere. La testa e le mani (o soltanto una) di Cicerone, ucciso dai sicari di Antonio, restarono esposte sui rostri perchè tutti potessero prendere contezza della sua morte. Si v. per questo E. NARDUCCI, *Introduzione a Cicerone* (Roma-Bari 2005), p. 206.

antico o i missionari europei che portarono ad esempio la religione cristiana in Asia nel XVI secolo²⁸).

Ad ogni buon conto, anche se l'utopia di Savigny è svanita per sempre e l'avvento del cristianesimo forse è veramente servito a *salvare* il mondo antico dall'oblio del classico, tra le cose che noi dovremo salvare dal *nichilismo culturale* contemporaneo non dobbiamo aver paura di includere anche questa esperienza. E penso anche che per gli studiosi di diritto romano il *recupero* del *classico*, come *salvataggio* di un *valore che altrimenti andrebbe perduto*, possa ricominciare proprio dall'insegnamento di August Boeckh che stabilì per primo in linea di continuità (ideale?) con l'insegnamento vichiano un primato dello studio in chiave filologica(=storica) delle fonti antiche, dove per filologia si debba intendere *anagignoskein* ('conoscenza del conosciuto'). Difendendo, appunto, questa scienza non come un *trastullo*, una *disciplina sedentaria*²⁹, o un'*ancilla iuris*, ma come una palestra di amore/interesse, o attenzione (=filo-), per un *logos* (ecco il *senso* da dare a *filo-logia*) inteso non come *mero discorso*, ma come *conoscenza*³⁰.

²⁸ Già nel XVI secolo il gesuita Matteo Ricci (il fondatore della missione cinese che arrivò in Cina nel 1583) si trovò di fronte al problema di costruire un 'linguaggio' che potesse adattarsi in Cina per la diffusione della religione cristiana in questo paese e per il catechismo di cristiani cinesi. Il nome del Dio cristiano [M. RICCI, *T'ien-chu shi-i* (1603)=*De Deo Vera Disputatio* 1597] fu chiamato utilizzando i nomi cinesi correnti della divinità: *Shang-ti*=‘Signore supremo’ e *T'ien*=‘cielo’ a cui fu aggiunto *T'ien-chu*=‘Signore celeste’. Si trattò di un compromesso raggiunto utilizzando i nomi di Dio usati nei testi confuciani originali, che non ancora contaminati dal buddhismo e dall'antibuddhismo, erano frutto di una fusione tra due tradizioni precedenti confluite appunto nei ‘classici’ confuciani. In Giappone Francesco Saverio (morto a 46 anni nel 1552) aveva invece scelto come nome del Dio cristiano la terminologia latina (*Deusu*). In seguito si adattarono in Giappone anche altre parole come persona, sostanza (*susutanshija*), grazia (*garasa*), fede (*diidesu*). L'effetto però fu di far apparire il messaggio del Dio cristiano agli asiatici come una merce d'importazione straniera. Si v. H. KÜNG, *Dio esiste?* 654 ss. La questione non si pone con la stessa gravità per il linguaggio giuridico perché, sempre per restare all'esempio della Cina, le autorità hanno scelto di adottare per la formazione dei giuristi proprio l'esperienza romana. E così anche altri paesi extraeuropei.

²⁹ M. CACCIARI, *Brevi inattuali*, in *Di fronte ai classici*, cit. 23: «10. Chi infiacchisce lo spirito dei classici, trasformandolo in sedentaria filologia; che ne fa un “armadio” di ricordi disposti in bell'ordine storico; chi non sa farli vivere in *divergente accordo* con l'ora, ne distrugge l'essenza diecimila volte più dei suoi volgari detrattori. Anzi, proprio chi vorrebbe annullare ogni *paideia*, proprio gli idolatri dell'ora dimostrano di intuire il *pericolo* rappresentato dai classici molto più profondamente della gran parte degli “specialisti”, degli addetti al ramo».

³⁰ In questo quadro non trova posto quindi la *filologia* pedante e autoreferenziale in cui l'aveva relegata anche un suo *antico* modo di essere, come dimostra Svetonio quando riporta maliziosamente un vezzo di Tiberio che sarebbe stato solito chiedere ai suoi

Per lo scienziato in genere e per lo storico dell'antico in particolare, è giusto che tutto meriti attenzione. Per l'uomo e la donna *preparati* ad agire a qualsiasi titolo nella realtà sociale dovrebbe invece valere come *modello* solo ciò che è oggettivamente (=scientificamente=sul piano *valoriale*) *migliore*. Tra questi due poli la Scuola e l'Università dovrebbero essere in grado di offrire una proposta didattica all'altezza³¹.

In termini molto semplificati si tratterebbe di assicurare in generale alle nuove generazioni un *corredo minimo indiscutibile di valori* ('*verum*'?) insieme alle *nozioni tecniche* di ciascuna specifica disciplina ('*factum*'?). Nel caso del diritto romano e a proposito del problema del futuro e della conservazione degli studi romanistici, possiamo restare fedeli alle nostre radici culturali (tra cui giganteggerebbe Vico se solo lo si togliesse dalla naftalina in cui è stato relegato da troppo tempo ormai dallo storicismo crociano e da una certa pigrizia dei *suoi* addetti ai lavori) si potrebbe arrivare persino a sostenere che è proprio con la *giurisprudenza della natural equità*, che il *verum* dell'esperienza storico giuridico romana, potrebbe *convertirsi* positivamente in un *factum* e trarne le dovute conseguenze. Ecco perchè al di là di ogni prospettiva possibile resta il lavoro degli uomini di buona volontà³².

grammatici di scoprire quale nome si fosse dato Achille con la fanciulla di Sciro e quale canto avessero intonato le sirene con Ulisse (*Tib.* 70.3): *nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue, ut diximus, appetebat, eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur: 'quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter uirgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae*; ma una disciplina che può acquistare nuova dignità scientifica perchè può essere portatrice di una potenzialità euristica di cui non solo l'epistemologia (Vico), la storia (Boeckh, Droysen), ma anche il diritto e la storia della sua tradizione hanno necessità di avvalersi. Sull'avversione nei confronti della filologia si v. ancora M. CACCIARI, *Brevi inattuali*, in *Di fronte ai classici*, cit. 24: «14. Vi è una ragione essenzialissima per cui una civiltà come l'attuale, fondata sull' "universale" dell'individuo, dell'*idiotes* consumante, deve combattere la filologia. Il *logos* è *comune*: *logos* è ciò che non mi appartiene, che non può ridursi a un io possesso. La vera filologia educa ad amare ciò che non è e che mai sarà "mio" - quell'ininterrotto fiume della parola che germina da chissà dove, che ci abbraccia come l'aria che respiriamo, e che è in ogni istante infiniti mondi possibili. La filologia nel suo costruire e ricostruire testi, nell'interpretarne il significato, costruisce questa comunità di parlanti, di enti in colloquio con il *logos*».

³¹ Sulla non neutralità del lessico usato dai contemporanei denigratori del 'classico' v. G. LIMONE, *L'emergenza scuola fra i saperi e il senso* 4: «[Bisogna] liberare il lessico scolastico da terminologie non neutrali nè innocenti, fortemente incongrue con i fini della scuola (si pensi alla 'economicità', ai 'crediti' e ai 'debiti', alla 'domanda' e all'offerta formativa', alla valutazione dei libri intesi come 'prodotti', alla scuola come 'azienda' e 'agenzia', al dirigente come 'manager', etc.)».

³² Pone l'accento sulle capacità soggettive del singolo docente ai fini della utilità dell'insegnamento indipendentemente dal metodo espositivo e dai contenuti specifici A. BURDESE, *Diritto romano e formazione del giurista* 18. Secondo J.G. DROYSSEN,

Giova per questo rileggere la traduzione di un passaggio del discorso di August Boeckh intitolato *De eruditorum virtute* e pronunciato nella sua università (in latino) dal grande filologo di Karlsruhe nel 1823: «*Per ogni scienza ed anche per la filologia le condizioni fondamentali per un vero studio sono, oltre ad una diligenza tenace, un animo puro, un sentimento aperto ad ogni cosa bella e buona, ugualmente ricettivo a quanto c'è di più elevato e astratto, ma, contemporaneamente, a quanto c'è di più piccolo, sentimento e fantasia congiunti ad acutezza di ragione, un armonico compenetrarsi di sentire e meditare, di vita e di conoscenza*»³³.

Boeckh si ispirò notoriamente per questa sua prolusione a Cicerone che nel *de oratore* scrisse che nessun *retore* potrà mai essere veramente tale senza aver coltivato una cultura di base vasta e approfondita (*est enim et scientia comprehendenda rerum plurimarum*)³⁴. Non basta conoscere l'essere umano, si devono anche acquisire diffuse conoscenze di storia e di diritto (*tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis, neque legum ac iuris civilis*

Istorica 211 s., sarebbe questa l'immagine del ricercatore che aspira a quanto c'è di più alto: «Non voglio ripetere l'immagine fino alla noia; è chiaro di cosa si tratti. Ci vuole molta pazienza, molto lavoro, serietà e ispirazione per non stancarsi di attendere che questa scintilla ardente giunga nell'anima. Ma colui presso cui è giunta è ancora assai distante dall'obiettivo. [...] Cercando materiali, verificandoli, interpretandoli, si rielabora quel pensiero, ed esso, mentre si sviluppa sempre più finemente, si determina in modo sempre più ricco, si trasforma; si corre il pericolo di perderlo, nella turgida pienezza del particolare e singolare esso sembra svanire; si è sul punto di dubitare del compito. «Mille volte», dice Montesquieu nella Prefazione all'*Esprit des lois* «ha abbandonato ai venti ciò che aveva conquistato, aveva trovato la verità solo per perderla nuovamente». Molti s'indeboliscono in queste fatiche, si perdono per strade laterali, inseguono possibilità sempre nuove, si muovono nell'estensione invece che nella profondità, o secondo la legge dell'ozio operoso o della crapula erudita. E' una questione di carattere il persistere e giungere al fine. [...] Chi ha però vissuto questa folgorazione, chi informa l'insieme di tutte le intuizioni vissute interiormente in un pensiero creativo, in un seme maturo e fruttifero, questi è in grado di porre la domanda, questi non ha posa nel congetturare e rendere possibile, e i materiali si piegano sotto la sua mano. La beatitudine del lavoro è la sua ricompensa».

³³ A. BOECKH, *De eruditorum virtute*, in *Kleine Schriften* (in 7 voll.) (Berlin 1854-1874) 1.112 ss.; Id., *La filologia come scienza storica* 60.

³⁴ Cic. *de orat.* 1.5.17: *Est enim et scientia comprehendenda rerum plurimarum, sine qua verborum volubilitas inanis atque inridenda est, et ipsa oratio conformanda non solum electione, sed etiam constructione verborum, et omnes animorum motus, quos hominum generi rerum natura tribuit, penitus pernoscendi, quod omnis vis ratioque dicendi in eorum, qui audiunt, mentibus aut sedandis aut excitandis expromenda est (...); [18] tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis, neque legum ac iuris civilis scientia neglegenda est.*

scientia neglegenda est)³⁵. Questo perchè una preparazione completa non può essere raggiunta soltanto col nozionismo che è alla portata di tutti (*neque eis aut praeceptis aut magistris aut exercitationibus, quibus utuntur omnes*), ci vuole qualcosa che neanche Cicerone riesce a definire. Qualcosa che ora, come allora (e chiudo davvero), è in grado di fare la differenza (*sed aliis quibusdam se id quod expetunt, consequi posse confidunt*).

A queste condizioni chi può avere paura del 'classico'?

³⁵ Cic. *de orat.* 1.5.19: *...hortemurque potius liberos nostros ceterosque, quorum gloria nobis et dignitas cara est, ut animo rei magnitudinem complectantur neque eis aut praeceptis aut magistris aut exercitationibus, quibus utuntur omnes, sed aliis quibusdam se id quod expetunt, consequi posse confidunt.*

POOR OLD MARX

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Abstract: The present paper aims to discuss about the posterity of this classic of the Left, to underline the failures of an utopia almost never sustained by the historical realities. Its only success was to be adopted by an ideology whose regimes illustrated themselves by crime, terror, famine against their citizens.

Keywords: Marx, Marxism, historical development, failure.

The above title was inspired by a French children's poem which goes more or less like this: "Pauvre Charlmagne, il avait cette idée folle qu'il a inventé l'école". Paraphrasing this text, which I quote from memory, I would like to say: "Pauvre Charles Marx, il avait cette idée folle qu'il a inventé sa vision du monde".

If in summing up a person's life we included the posthumous fate of their ideas and memory of them, then Marx could surely be considered one of the more tragic figures of today's world. As a philosopher, he dreamt of making the world a better place – and today in many places he is seen as a patron of misery. By and large, his ideas did not work in practice. He would make an ideal hero of a Greek tragedy, although it is highly improbable such a tragedy will ever be written.

Marxism was a philosophical theory that was meant to change the face of the Earth – but one that was not sufficiently down to earth. True, many of Marx's observations can be defended; many phenomena can be explained in Marxist terms. What failed was their global and universal application. Its basis was the transformation theory, which held that humankind goes through successive stages of social development, known as formations: the primitive tribal community, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism. The problem is that history does not bear out this succession. In various regions and countries this sequence of formations has not been ascertained. In many cases, their elements mix with each other and their sequence is different than postulated by Marx. In historical reality, "pure" formations have practically never been encountered. A significant portion of possible transitions between the formations cannot be explained using Marxist theory. Marx's formations may possibly serve as heuristic models – but no more than that.

However, the predominant part of the Earth evolved along an entirely different route than Western Europe, which served as the basis on which this

scheme was – better or worse – designed. This was actually something Marx realised. In order to overcome this difficulty, Marx developed yet another– the “Asian” or “hydraulic” – formation. The name was interesting, but there was still one problem, namely that Marx did not notice that his “Asian” or “hydraulic” group inadvertently included the history of the larger part of humanity.

One can also point out other problems with the theory of formations. Even if we assumed that the history of each and every nation really did progress along the same path, Marxist theory offers no explanation for why certain nations progressed faster and others slower or why even among countries in the same closely connected area, some became industrial powers while others remained their agricultural and raw-material suppliers. Or why even our continent has become divided into a “first class” and “second class” Europe, to say nothing of the division into first, second, and third worlds.

When developing his theory, Marx did not pay much attention to the question of economic underdevelopment, the national question, the peasant question and the question of democracy – because these issues were not the fundamental ones in the developed Europe of the 19th century. At the heart of Marx’s vision of future change was the working class which – created by the bourgeoisie as a result of industrial development – was to sweep that bourgeoisie off the face of the earth with a wave of socialist revolution.

History did not bear out this element of Marx’s vision, even in highly-developed Western Europe. Despite Marx’s expectations, the proletarians of various countries did not in fact unite against the bourgeoisie. On the contrary – in 1914 they took up arms against each other. They didn’t start a world revolution, but even without it they ceased to be pariahs who have nothing to lose but their chains (speaking of which, is it really those – or mostly those – who have nothing to lose who start revolutions?). Proletarians generally stopped occupying the social position and playing the social role they possibly had in Marx’s time. In developed societies, their place as the bottom class was sometimes taken by immigrants – but immigrants differ sharply in the way they defy, and possibly rebel against, the receiving society.

Society did not split into two opposing classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as Marx had foretold. Quite the opposite happened: the rise of the middle class, as well as of a huge sector of trade and services.

If something united on a global scale, then it was capital – although it only did so after two world wars. Over time it became clear that contrary to Marx’s supposition workers do love their homelands, whereas it is capital that is stateless. If we were to assume for a moment that the Soviet Union was a country of the proletarian masses, then its World War Two alliance with countries which Marxist terminology defined as bourgeois against another bourgeois country was yet another paradox. Naturally, it is debatable whether the USSR was really a proletarian state (although I personally believe that the Russian proletariat, such as it was, actually had a much bigger influence over Soviet life than is generally thought today). Naturally, it is also debatable whether the system of alliances that

finally formed during World War Two was not the result of coincidence or the ravings of a sick mind. One could finally ask whether the consequential political decisions of those times can even be considered in Marxian terms.

Another great paradox of the practice of Marx's theory was the fact that Marxism was implemented almost exclusively in underdeveloped countries where industrial capitalism was weak. It was built in countries where the important issues were economic development, modernising social relations, religious thought, the national existence and the position of the peasants. It is worth asking why it was in these countries that Marx's thought was implemented. When pressed to explain this, Lenin developed the idea of the "weakest link" of capitalism; it was this link which allegedly broke. However, this concept at most explains the situation in Russia in 1917. The socialist transformation of Eastern Europe (with the exception of Albania and Yugoslavia) doesn't require any explanation – it is enough to recall that it was concurrent with the appearance of the Red Army's tanks. Cuban communism can also be explained through the existence of a similar element – the policy of the United States. What the concept of the "weakest link" cannot explain is communism in Asia.

It also remains debatable whether even in the case of Russia the only factors that have to be taken into consideration are the feeble resistance put up by the Russian establishment in 1917, a system that was coming apart and the almost universal wartime desperation. At least as important to the development of events was the position of the broadly defined intelligentsia class. As usual in a backward country, the Russian intelligentsia consisted of a mass of frustrated people whose ideas and concerns were totally different from the majority of the population. This was the revolutionary force that became the fuse when it encountered a reservoir of social and possibly national frustration. I suspect that a basically similar model – embellished with all the local nuances – was realised in China. Many Latin American countries were also marked by similar patterns of rebellion and revolution.

Lenin hated Tsarist, backward, peasant Russia. He overthrew it – and then, together with his comrades, attempted to modernise it and industrialise it and make it into a new Manchester. Stalin was against "bowing to the West" ("niskopokłonstwu pieried Zapadom"), but in fact in the area of industry he copied everything from the West (by stealing industrial designs, frequently through espionage). His successors followed in his tracks in this area *per fas et nefas* with such fervour that they didn't even notice that heavy metallurgy was ceasing to dominate as a mechanism of world development. And anyway, this development – selective and fragmentary, not bringing with it new spiritual and material ideas, grandiose, created numerous pitfalls. The production of the tiny Polish Fiat automobile certainly did not require communism, and Chernobyl served as an ample reminder of the dangers of a policy of selective development.

The communists did not always have to move toward modernisation of the "base" (a Marxian term) and European-style industrialisation. China's post-revolutionary policies were probably much less consistent and constant in their development

aspects, while the rulers of Cambodia (the Red Khmer) were nationalistic – but opposed to modernisation. Eastern Europe, however, followed this path.

The paradox of the development of Marx's ideas was the position of workers under socialism - which did, after all, treat him as its prophet. The system which was to bring an end to the alienation of labour gave rise to a situation where in the working class, which supposedly ruled, actually had no influence over either the actual rulers or over labour relations. Trade unions, integrated with the party/state apparatus, were intended to pass information from the government to the masses and look after social services. The Marxists fought against various forms of mandatory worker identification booklets used under capitalism, claiming they were an instrument used to oppress the workers, but the Polish People's Republic had its own version (with workplaces putting their stamps in personal IDs). There are many more such examples.

That is not to say that workers, or workers and peasants, or finally peasants who became workers had no influence whatsoever over the political system. The issue was much more complicated. Earlier I said that that the proletarian masses had a much bigger actual influence over Soviet life than is generally thought today – and I stand by my words. It was just that this influence was indirect – manifesting itself mostly as an impact on the national mentality. Socialism became similar to a religion also because the people, brought up in a religious atmosphere, had taken power and entered the palaces of the rulers. Many people in the USSR really liked the style of art promoted by Zhdanov. Stalinism was the product of the working people of the USSR's cities and villages. Most of the generals in the Polish armed forces at the end of communism came from the people (to keep using the term). At the same time, Stalin destroyed the people, and the army – commanded by the “people's generals” – shot people in the streets of Poland. Both things were true.

The working class, allegedly liberated by socialism, dreamed of nothing but the West and the material wealth which symbolised it. True, maybe the workers' image of the West was naive – precisely because it was contrasted with their own poverty. Perhaps they mistook the black-market value of the dollar for its actual worth. Still, the fact remains that it was the capitalist West and not the socialist East that served as the point of reference. There was a little story told before 1989 – surely anecdotal – of two workers looking at a Marks & Spencer sign, and one saying to the other, “This is the only Marx I believe in”.

Contrary to what Marx had predicted, socialism did not cause people to abandon religion. Quite the contrary. Also, national values generally outweighed internationalist ones, and the communist authorities themselves were at times simply jingoistic. And frequently so were their policies – even though the front pages of party newspapers and magazines bore the slogan “Proletarians of all countries, unite”. As an additional paradox, the authorities of the Polish People's Republic frequently feared the USSR.

The fundamental paradox from the Marxist point of view was the way out of communism – at least in Poland. It was paradoxical not just because the workers rose up against a system that was based on Marxism, but because this struggle can largely be explained using Marx's transformation model. What had happened in Poland between 1945 and 1981? The party and state apparatus that replaced the bourgeoisie from Marx's model had built up a heavy industry and formed concentrated masses of workers. These workers produced an added value, much of which was taken over by the state, represented that very apparatus. In accordance with Marx's theses on the revolutionary potential of the working class, this class rebelled and deposed the state apparatus ("bourgeoisie") – although in the name of capitalism. Interestingly, this revolution finally proved the existence of a supra-national proletarian community: labour unions as well as individuals from various countries provided assistance to the Polish unionists.

The above picture is naturally both exaggerated and simplified. It should take into account the role of two factors which played a very important role in the transformation and which Marx did not consider in his model: the struggle for national emancipation and religious thinking. However, much of the above model paradoxically came to mark the 1980s.

Another paradox in relation to Marxian thought is the fact that it was a workers' revolt that attained capitalism with all its inherent social contrasts. Moreover, Solidarity initially provided a protective umbrella to the strongly negative aspects of the transformation; later on the union became, to a large extent, marginalised, so as not to stand in the way of transformation. Today numerous Poles live below the "social minimum" level, and the role of trade unions in many workplaces is negligible. Maybe this situation will improve along with the development of capitalism in Poland, as it once improved in the West.

Here we come to another, final – at least for now – paradox connected to the history of Marxist thought. This paradox is that Marxism, having inspired the communist episode in the history of humankind, also thereby contributed to bettering the lot of the working class in the West (and thus caused itself to become insufficient as an instrument for describing Western reality). It is probably no coincidence that the welfare state is going out of fashion, and some regions of the world are left to fend for themselves at a time when communism is no longer available as a viable system alternative. Of course, it is not the only reason for these occurrences.

Is the Marxian-Communist episode in history truly over and done with? Such a question is of course difficult to answer; we don't know what the future will bring. History has seen renaissances of various schools of thought and various forms of action. Today, it seems unlikely. However, social conflicts still exist and will most likely continue to exist – including conflicts between labour and capital. In 2005, on the French national holiday, the Polish employees of companies owned by France Telecom, threatened by lay-offs, held a

demonstration in front of the French embassy in Warsaw. They carried a sign: “Il nous reste encore une Bastille à prendre: France Telecom!”.

History has certainly not ended – although a repetition of the road from the French to the October Revolution within a hypothetical cyclical development is extremely unlikely.

CONTRIBUTIONS

CONTRIBUTIONS DES PERSONNALITÉS D'OLTÉNIE À LA CONFIGURATION DE LA FOLKLORISTIQUE EN TANT QUE DISCIPLINE

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Abstract: The cultural space of Oltenia is well known for its personalities who brought a special contribution to the Romanian folklore and to Romanian identity as well. The Oltenian folklorists played an important role by opening specific fields of research, by opening collaboration chains with other ethnographic regions and also by creating specialized reviews in the scientific field. From this perspective, it is important to mention: Gheorghe N. Dumitrescu-Bistri'a who published "Izvorasul/ Review of Ethnography and Folklore"; Tony Brill with his well known studies regarding the legends; Ioan G. Bibicescu – who built the Collection of Folklore dedicated to the League for cultural unity of Romanians; Nădejde Iosif – with his well known collection of stories "Păcală's Prodigies"; Monica Brătulescu – with her ample studies regarding the folkloric poetics and also her researches regarding the classification of winter carols and folklore editions. All these studies are inscribed with honor in the Romanian spirituality, highlighting the importance on the creation of bridges between folkloric regions with a rich cultural patrimony but also between specialists that come from different fields of research and can bring important interdisciplinary contributions.

Keywords: personalities, Oltenian folklore, local researches, ethnographic characteristics.

L'étude présente vise à mettre en évidence les principaux axes de recherche spécifiques pour les folkloristes de l'Olténie¹, tout en insistant sur les réseaux de collaboration entre eux, les caractères particuliers de leurs recherches et notamment leur contribution à la mise en place de la folkloristique en tant que

¹ Ancienne province historique, située au sud-ouest de la Roumanie.

science. Nous allons essayer d'identifier les personnalités marquantes dans le domaine, la thématique des leurs projets, les études consacrés à des catégories particuliers du folklore, leur activité éditoriale, de que leur capacité de coagulation, de mettre le fondement des vraies écoles-directions de recherche dans le domaine. Notre attention est aussi dirigée vers les revues utilisées comme soutien pour de telles recherches et la mise en évidence des œuvres principales des intellectuels olténiens qui ont contribué à la systématisation de la folkloristique en tant que science. Qu'il nous soit donc permis, comme une première remarque-soutien pour notre démarche, de faire mentionner que c'est grâce aux travaux de Ioan G. Bibicescu – folkloriste olténien et fondateur d'une Collection spéciale de folklore dédiée à la «Ligue pour l'unité culturelle des Roumains» – qu'on a pu renoncer à l'expression de «collecteur de folklore» en faveur du terme de «folkloriste».

Il y a toutefois des caractéristiques spécifiques et distinctes entre les folkloristes locaux et ceux spécialisé en philologie et folkloristique; l'analyse de telles distinctions s'avère notamment important pour la mise en évidence correcte tant des contributions de toutes les deux directions de recherche que des conséquences de leurs études – la réalisation des collections de matériel folklorique, la publication des revues spécialisées, réseaux de collaboration. Nous soulignons que les deux branches de la recherche représentent des différentes manières d'approcher le folklore qui apportent à la fois des importantes contributions. Ainsi, une était-elle axée davantage sur la collecte du folklore tandis que l'autre portait sur sa valorisation et systématisation, la définition et l'amélioration de la méthodologie de la folkloristique, sur l'élaboration des principes efficaces d'étude et interprétation, mais à partir de la collaboration de tous les deux directions, la folkloristique a réussi assez souvent avancer vers une authentique valorisation du patrimoine non matériel.

Les folkloristes locaux ont apporté une contribution substantielle à la collecte de matériel folklorique d'Olténie et pas seulement parce que à travers le lancement des différentes revues spécialisées, ils ont réussi à diffuser des études du folklore spécifique à d'autres régions. Ainsi, le circuit qui fonctionnait entre les réseaux des folkloristes au niveau local – régional – national s'organisait-il sur l'axe élaboration-publication-collaboration. Qu'il nous soit permis de mentionner quelques noms qui s'étaient remarqué dans ce sens. Le premier qui nous attire attention est Gheorghe Dumitrescu- Bistrița – qui par des moyens personnels a édité *Izvorașul – Revistă de etnografie și folclor* («Le Rouisseau. Revue d'ethnographie et folklore», initiateur aussi de la collection *Biblioteca populară a revistei muzicale Izvorașul* («la Bibliothèque populaire de la revue musicale Izvorașul») et collaborateur à *Apostolul, Cuvântul nostru, Nădejdea, Viața* et bien d'autres. Il fut à la fois auteur de nombreuses anthologies de folklore (*Cântece naționale* rassemblées, sélectionnées et publiées par Gheorghe Dumitrescu-Bistrița, Collection de la bibliothèque populaire de la revue musicale «Izvorașul», 1921; *127 doine și cântece din folclor*, Craiova, Maison

régionale de la création populaire, 1960; *Doine, cântece și strigături din Oltenia*, dans la série «Folclor din Oltenia», 3^e vol., 1968).

Nădejde Iosif est connu pour sa collection *Năzdrăveniile lui Păcală* (Histoires populaires, traitées par..., Bucarest, Librairie Universelle Leon Alcalay, 1914) qui peut nous retenir l'attention par son style narratif, la présentation des personnages et de l'action, la verve du langage, tout en invitant à la réflexion sur la fonction sociale des narrations – moralisation, éducation et /ou débouché comique, l'importance de l'étude du contexte de la mise en pratique des narrations.

N.I.Dumitrașcu, réputé folkloriste d'Olténie, membre de l'association « le Group des folkloristes olténiens », collaborateur aux revues d'intérêt local, mais aussi de spécialité telles: *Calendarul « Ion Creanga »*, *Calendarul « Izvorasul »*, *Comoara satelor*, *Doina*, *Floarea darurilor*, *Ramuri*, *Suflet Oltenesc*, *Veselia*, *Vorbe bune* etc. Iordan Datcu le caractérise comme « le plus actif folkloriste d'Olténie, sa bibliographie faisant preuve d'une longue et riche activité de collectionnaire et éditeur (faisant son début) en *Gazeta nouă* (1904) avec des productions populaires, la plupart provenant de son village d'origine »². Il a publié de nombreuses collections de folklore - anecdotes, histoires, poésies traditionnelles, légendes: *Snoave și legende populare*, *Culese de ~* (1908); *Povești oltene*, *Cântece oltenești*, *Cântece ale poporului*, *Basme și povești populare* etc³. Ce qui retient l'attention est l'espace assez large couvert par ses collections. Malgré quelques erreurs méthodologiques tel le manque parfois des noms des personnes questionnées, des localités ou les dates exactes quand ont eu lieu les recherches sur terrain, ses travaux restent «une des contributions les plus remarquables à la connaissance de la littérature populaires d'Olténie»⁴.

Il y a une série de collections folkloriques, publiées à Baia Mare en 1962 et le premier volume du *Folclor din Transilvania* inclut aussi la collection de N.I. Dumitrașcu - *Cântece și strigături din Maramureș*, comprenant 131 pièces, à côté des collections de Petre-Lenghel Izanu, *Folclor din Maramureș*, constituée par 265 pièces – *doïnas*, chansons sociales, chansons d'amour et de nostalgie («dor»), poésies populaires criées («strigături»), ballades, chants de Noël («colinde»), et Vasile Doniga - *Poezii populare din Oaș, Maramureș și Năsăud*, qui regroupe 291 *doïnas*, chansons sociales, des oraisons, des ballades représentatives pour le spécifique folklorique des régions. Ces collections montrent une collaboration fructueuse entre les spécialistes locaux en folklore qui appartiennent à des régions ethnographiques différentes, matérialisée soit par la publication du folklore local dans des revues, séries ou volumes spécialisés, soit par la publication du folklore inédite d'autres régions, en témoignant d'un

² Iordan Datcu, *Dicționarul etnologilor români*, București, Editura Saeculum I.O., 1998, pp. 243-245.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

vif intérêt pour les traits caractéristiques de celui-ci, tel le cas de N.I. Dumitrașcu.

Iordan Datcu est un autre chercheur attiré par la folkloristique, notamment par la réalisation des grandes études sur des zones ethnographiques diverses. Né dans une région d'interférence entre Olténie et Munténie, il s'est préoccupé par l'enquête du folklore au delà de son espace d'origine. Les résultats, des importants instruments académiques tels dictionnaires, éditions dirigées, collections de folklore, sont vraiment remarquables par la thématique proposée et en particulier par la réalisation des vraies études-repère à la fois pour toute la communauté scientifique et tout passionné de folklore, initié quand même au langage spécifique pour la folkloristique. Il dirige l'apparition des volumes consacrés au folklore de Maramureș (la collection d'Ion Bârlea, *Literatură populară din Maramureș*) en signant une précieuse étude introductive à travers duquel il fait preuve d'une connaissance profonde des recherches sur le sujet. D'ailleurs, il a déroulé lui-même des recherches dans la région investiguée par Ion Bârlea, le village Berbești (dans la première *Annexe* il ajoute encore 40 textes nouveaux, identifiés la par lui-même, 50 années après l'enquête y initiée par Bârlea). Il a soumis à une recherche comparative toute une série des matériels folkloriques après ses recherches dans le village d'origine d'Ion Bârlea et ou celui-ci a identifié plus de la moitié de pièces de son collection, en essayant de déterminer «la mesure dans laquelle les chansons collectionnés par d'Ion Bârlea, il y a plus de 50 années, sont encore conservés»⁵.

Iordan Datcu a remarqué

la circulation de certains motifs à l'échelle de tout l'espace folklorique roumain, en tirant ainsi la conclusion que la poésie populaire de Maramureș communique d'une manière parfaite avec la spiritualité d'autres zones folkloriques roumaines, elle s'insère harmonieusement lui offrant une couleur particulière (...); le folklore de Maramureș présente des similitudes structurelles avec celui d'Oaș, Ugocea, Lăpuș, Năsăud, avec celui d'Olténie et de la Moldavie⁶.

Les similitudes entre les régions ethnofolkloriques avec une forte veine d'originalité, telles Olténie et Maramureș, sont mises en évidence par Datcu à partir d'un motif folklorique particulier, «le char de fleurs», largement étudié par Alexandru I. Amzulescu, un autre folkloriste en circulation de l'Olténie, par rapport aux versions existantes dans le Maramureș. Alexandru I. Amzulescu se fait remarqué par ses préoccupations à l'égard du folklore, par l'identification facile des connexions entre les différentes régions ethnographiques et notamment par son raffinement méthodologique et capacité de généralisation

⁵ Dumitru Pop, *Folcloristica Maramureșului*, București, Editura Minerva, 1970, p. 126.

⁶ Ion Bârlea, *Literatură populară din Maramureș*, București, Editura pentru Literatură, 1968, p. LXVI.

sans oublier les détails importants. «Avec la persévérance de sa propre initiative, il a réalisé à la fois de tenaces recherches sur le terrain et des collections (avec de nombreux retours) dans tous les districts de la plaine du Danube (de Mehedinți à Brăila), des enquêtes qui ont conduit à l'enregistrement de plus de 600 ballades. La découverte d'un des meilleurs et réputés gardiens de la tradition vive du chanson épique dans les années 1950-1960, l'observation directe, l'imprimé sélective à l'aide du magnétophone de leur répertoire à côté de la notation de nombreuses informations, témoignages et observations concrètes et détaillées sur la personnalité et la mentalité, le répertoire et le style, l'évolution du goût et le processus créatif, de même que sur la circulation des variantes dans la culture orale vive constitue une mine d'informations»⁷ précieuse et utile pour des études ultérieures. Connue pour sa passion à l'égard du chant épique, elle offre à la communauté scientifique l'anthologie *Cântecele bătrânești* qui comprend «107 variantes, représentant 71 types de chansons fantastiques, héroïques et sur la cour féodale»⁸. Dans la même série des ouvrages de référence on inclut: *Balada familială, Tipologie și corpus de texte poetice; Cântecele noastre bătrânești; Repere și popasuri în cercetarea poeziei; Cântecele populare din Muscel – monografie folclorică zonală*. Adrian Fochi le considérait comme «le meilleur connaisseur que nous avons jamais eu sur les problèmes posés par l'étude de notre chanson épique»⁹. Cette vaste perspective lui a ouvert de larges possibilités pour l'étude des phénomènes folkloriques.

À travers la recherche *Contribuții la cercetarea metaforei în folclorul din Maramureș*¹⁰, il souligne l'importance accordée à la méthodologie dans les études de folkloristique, notamment l'attention qui doit être portée aux particularités du matériel folklorique lors de l'application des certains moyens méthodologiques qui proviennent du répertoire des sciences voisines telles la philologie (par exemple la stylistique). Monica Brătulescu établit une distinction claire dès le départ entre la qualité d'être un «émetteur de folklore» et «écrivain», autrement dit entre «folklore» et «littérature», étant donné que la méthodologie de la recherche appliquée est la stylistique:

L'émetteur de folklore dispose non seulement du mot, mais aussi du geste ou de mimique en cas de nécessité, il peut contrôler *a loco* et *de visu* le décodage de son message. L'écrivain, qui ne peut pas établir un contact matériel avec son destinataire d'une autre manière sauf qu'à l'écrit doit être plus consciencieux dans l'opération du codage et de prêter une attention spéciale à la façon dont son message sera décodé¹¹.

⁷ Iordan Datcu, *ouv. cité*, p. 43-44.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁰ «Revista de etnografie», an VIII, nr. 3-4.

¹¹ Monica Brătulescu, «Contribuții la cercetarea metaforei în folclorul din Maramureș» dans *Revista de etnografie*, année 8, nr. 3-4, 1963.

Elle distingue également entre le folklore et le langage ordinaire, et nous pouvons y mentionner le fait qu'Ovide Densusianu a souligné cet aspect lors de son conférence *Folclorul cum trebuie înțele* («Le folklore, comment doit-il être compris»), exhortant les chercheurs se concentrer sur l'étude du langage quotidien, en portant attention au caractère archaïque et stable qui caractérisent la langue de certaines catégories folkloriques - signe évident du respect pour la transmission intacte de la tradition. Par conséquent, «la langue du folklore est clairement distincte de la langue usuelle populaire», et le style folklorique représente «un système poétique renforcé et bien défini par rapport à la langue populaire quotidienne»¹². Ainsi, si l'esthétique du folklore est différente par rapport à celle de la littérature, résulte-t-il que pour une meilleure connaissance de la structure stylistique, il faut identifier les lois et les critères des élaborations folkloriques. L'approche du folklore par le biais de la perspective proposée par la recherche de la structure stylistique soulève des questions particulières. Monica Brătulescu attire l'attention sur certaines situations qui pourraient conduire à des résultats de la recherche pas toujours évidents lorsque les critères d'identification des thèmes de recherche pourraient recourir à une enquête partielle du matériel folklorique. Les résultats ne seront pas ceux envisagés quand les moyens d'investigation sont empruntés à une autre discipline - dans ce cas, la stylistique littéraire. La recherche du matériel folklorique doit prêter une importance particulière à l'établissement de ses critères d'enquête, tout en reconnaissant ses limites (l'impossibilité d'une recherche exhaustive). Toutefois, «le folklore comprend certains éléments liés à des rites anciens et superstitions», en d'autres termes, il faut faire la distinction entre le texte et le phénomène folklorique - plus complexe, impliquant le contexte de l'observation, de la mise en acte proprement-dit, les actants, le public destinataire et de nombreux autres facteurs qui individualisent le phénomène folklorique. Une autre observation vise le fait que l'enquête de la «structure stylistique dans le domaine de la littérature est basée sur des textes dont la forme a été établie et complétée par l'auteur même» tandis que par sa nature même, le folklore a plusieurs versions ce qui permet de parler d'une fluidité plus grande du folklore. En fait, l'étude du texte folklorique n'est qu'un aspect – une branche particulière de la recherche du folklore; on a besoin toujours d'une perspective plus étendue qui contient aussi des références au contexte de son mise en action. Afin de réaliser une recherche stylistique, attire l'attention Monica Brătulescu, il ne faut pas faire une sélection aléatoire du matériel folklorique, autrement dit, on doit prêter tout d'abord plus d'attention à l'établissement des critères d'enquête, d'identification des catégories folkloriques soumises à l'analyse. Le dialecte populaire est un autre aspect que le chercheur doit considérer lors du choix de la stylistique comme méthode de recherche. Le dialecte folklorique et ses représentations peuvent conduire à des résultats pas toujours valables en raison de ces particularités

¹² *Ibid.*

langagières, donc la recherche implique «de manipuler d'une manière prudente le matériel et chaque fois que nous doutons de manifester une réserve scientifique».

La structure de l'étude est construite sur plusieurs séquences visant à soutenir ses arguments ; ainsi, la première se réfère-t-elle aux «types rudimentaires de métaphore», la seconde aux symboles et indices de prédictibilité dans leur contexte, et la troisième à la métaphore proprement-dit, «coalescence, processus de typisation, clichés populaires » à condition que, quant aux «clichés» il s'agit d'une certaine standardisation et la coalescence suppose tant la présence du terme propre que du celui figuré à l'intérieur du vers étudié.

Ainsi, une des métaphores primitives est «la métaphore infirmé» ou «l'antithèse slave» comme l'appelle Bogatârev, qui «est composé d'une phrase interrogative, un parallélisme négatif qui représente en fait la question réfutée; il vient ensuite le contenu de la réponse positive à l'interrogation initiale». La métaphore acquiert une structure double «Aurore, aurore, aurore/ Petit champs de fleurs/ Celui-la n'est pas champs de fleurs/ Mais c'est les Cieux eclaireux / et la couronne du Christ»¹³. Dans la même direction, des métaphores rudimentaires, c'est-à-dire simples du point de vue de leur structure, on peut mentionner la métaphore de type onomastique et celle de relation, relative aux personnes, faisant usage «des rapports de parenté, amitié ou servitude pour faire illustrer la ressemblance, la contiguïté, la familiarité, la subordination ou la filiation (...). La métaphore de relation peut être envisagée comme une personnification»¹⁴. L'usage de la métaphore a lieu en but de mettre en question la qualité de la ressemblance entre le terme propre et celui figuré qui améliore ou mène vers le rapprochement au premier.

En ce qui concerne le symbole, on préfère d'emprunter la définition de Warren Wellek: «un objet qui fait référence à un autre et dans le même temps requiert attention par son droit propre, à travers la qualité propre de la présentation» ; dans le folklore, les proverbes, par exemple, utilisent à l'échelle large le symbolisme. Néanmoins il souligne toutefois qu'il y a une nette différence entre le symbole et la métaphore, celui-ci «représentant un remplaçant qui, pris littéralement, est contraire à la logique stricte et exige une représentation spécifique tandis que le symbole garde sa valeur de vérité, et son sens figuré est sous-jacent et seulement suggéré», le symbole représentant un «procédé de contexture des concepts de grande généralité»; par différence au «concept littéraire moderne, dans le folklore, le symbole est transparente; de nombreux indices de prédictibilité dirigent la compréhension du symbole dans un certain sens. Grâce à leur dense répétition et association aux éléments auxiliaires, de nombreux symboles sont fixés en ce sens dans la mémoire de l'auditoire. Ainsi, le blé et les roses (*rujii* en dialecte de Maramures) sont-ils

¹³ O. Bârlea, *Folclor literar românesc*, I^{er} vol., București, Editura Minerva, 1981, pp. 21-23.

¹⁴ Monica Brătulescu, *ouv. cité*, p.102.

facilement interprétés comme un symbole de chance, de succès ». De cette manière, le symbole devient associé dans ses interprétations avec certains indices de prédictibilité, comme nous avons vu dans les exemples précédents, et le besoin de clarté caractérise généralement la métaphore; alors «l'explication des substitutions métaphoriques est nécessaire qu'il devient processus de composition (...). La variété des métaphores est réduite; associées aux significations bien établies à travers leur circulation, les métaphores reviennent fortement dans des formes proches». L'étude de leur fréquence et toute tentative de typologisation de leur mode de structuration sont une féconde direction de recherche, avec des résultats viables.

Il faut mentionner la contribution des revues spécialisées, publiées dans l'espace oltenien et sa systématisation dans le sens de la formulation des principes de base pour orienter les recherches en cours et la constitution de la folkloristique comme discipline ayant une identité distincte parmi les sciences sociales. À cet égard, il convient de noter les revues *Suflet oltenesc* și *Izvorasul*. Ainsi, la première se fait remarquer par ses collections et recherches folkloristiques réalisées; le premier numéro était paru en janvier 1927 en tant que revue de «Tovărășia folcloriștilor olteni» (l'Association des folkloristes d'Olténie), son comité rédactionnel étant à Craiova. Parmi les fondateurs de cette association on peut retenir les noms de Teodor Bălășel et N.I. Dumitrescu-Bistrita. La mission de la revue a été clairement indiquée: «pour la collection, la sélection et la mise à la lumière du folklore d'Olténie folklore, ainsi que pour la recherche et la mise en relation avec tout le savoir de la folkloristique comme science»¹⁵. La revue comprend des catégories folkloriques - légendes, histoires, chansons, «mots olteniens» et des commentaires sur ces matériaux.

Izvorasul – revue musicale populaire était une publication mensuelle, son premier numéro étant publié en 1919 et dont l'initiateur fut Gheorghe Dumitrescu, Bistrita; dans la troisième année, son direction était en collaboration avec son épouse, Olimpia Dumitrescu. *Izvorasul* fait partie d'un vaste programme culturel d'impression et de commentaire du folklore, un de ses objectifs étant également d'aider à la création d'une conscience nationale¹⁶.

Dans la collection *Folclor din Oltenia și Muntenia* ont été édités de nombreuses collections de folklore dont on peut citer quelques-unes¹⁷: le premier est *Folclor din Oltenia și Muntenia*, avec des textes sélectionnés de collections inédites, I, avec une préface signée par Tudor Arghezi, Ion Șerb, le titre complet est *Introducere în folclorul Olteniei și Munteniei*, Editura pentru Literatură, 1967 qui contient les collections de Mihail Gregorian, *Folclor din Oltenia și Banatul răsăritean* et *Folclor din Oltenia de sud* et celle d'Alexandru Gregorian, *Cântece*

¹⁵ Iordan Datcu, *Dicționarul...*, p. 218.

¹⁶ Cf. Gh. N. Dumitrescu-Bistrița, «Educația națională prin muzică», I^{ère} année, no. 4 și 5, Septembre et Octobre 1919, pp. 9-11.

¹⁷ Pour leur dossiers complets on renvoie à l'ouvrage d'Iordan Datcu, *Dicționarul...*

bătrânești din Oltenia de Mijloc. Dans la même série on retrouve les collections de folklore de Teodor Bălășel, N.I. Dumitrașcu, Vasile Cărbăiș, Gheorghe N. Dumitrescu-Bistrita et beaucoup d'autres folkloristes olténiens: *Folclor din Oltenia și Muntenia*, avec des textes choisis des collections originales, vol II, avant-propos de Nicolae Iorga, édition critique Gheorghe Alexe et D. Vasile Nicolescu, Editura pentru Literatură, 1976 qui inclut la collection de Teodor Bălășel, *Cântece populare oltenesti, Folclor din Oltenia și Muntenia*, avec des textes choisis des collections originales, vol III, Editura pentru Literatură, 1968 contient des collections de N.I. Dumitrașcu, *Folclor din Oltenia*, Gh. N. Dumitrescu – Bistrița, *Doine, cântece și strigături din Oltenia*, Ion N. Popescu, *Doine și Cântece din Oltenia și Muntenia*, I Stănculescu, *Folclor din Oltenia*, V. Cărbăiș, *Folclor din Oltenia și Muntenia* et Marin Buga, *Folclor de pe Argeș; Folclor din Oltenia și Muntenia*, avec des textes sélectionnés des collections originales, vol VII, Editura Minerva, 1979, 854 p. qui inclut les collections Elisabeta Moldoveanu, *Cântecele Oltului*, Angela Dumitrescu-Begu, *Cântece bătrânești și doine și Mărul de aur. Basme populare*.

Les exemples invoqués nous permettent de saisir aisément la contribution des folkloristes olténiens dans la configuration de la folkloristique en tant que science, soit directement, par des formulations centrées vers les structurations théoriques et méthodologiques, soit à travers leur activité de collection, sélection et publication des matériels folkloriques.

BOOKS REVIEWS/ COMPTES RENDUS

Pavel Florenski, *Imena*, Sankt-Petersburg, Azbuka-klassika, 2007, 334 p.

Diplômé de l'Académie Théologique Russe et connu par ses ouvrages dans les domaines de la mathématique, de la philosophie et de l'histoire de la philosophie, de l'histoire de l'art, de l'électrotechnique, de la chimie, le Père Pavel Florenski nous découvre dans l'ouvrage *Imena* (Le nom), son autre facette, peut-être mieux connue: celle de fin observateur de la typologie humaine et, en étroite liaison avec cette-ci, de la relation entre la personnalité d'un individu et le nom qu'il porte.

Le livre est fondé sur un cahier de «Notes d'onomatologie»¹ que Pavel Florenski a rédigé au fil du temps, en différentes étapes de sa vie. L'intérêt pour les prénoms a pris naissance dès sa vie d'étudiant; puis il l'a suivie comme professeur lorsqu'il analysait les noms des ses élèves; en fait, il ne l'a quitté jamais, même dans la période de son emprisonnement dans le camp.

L'introduction (pp. 3-19), signée par K. Vasiliev, permet au lecteur de connaître les conditions sociales et politiques de la vie et activité de Père Florenski: La Grande Guerre mondiale, la chute de la monarchie russe, l'instauration du régime communiste, la guerre civile, les répressions physiques et psychiques des opposants aux changements introduits par le régime bolchevique, les prisons et les camps communistes. Les jeunes étaient invités à renoncer à des anciennes valeurs pour les nouveaux et de rompre tous les liens avec l'Eglise. Dans l'effervescence créée, nombreux étaient ceux qui avaient choisi changer leurs noms [ces exemples abondent dans les journaux de cette époque; d'entre eux, une jeune femme, *Maria*, s'appelait maintenant *Oktiabrina* (oktiabr' – octobre) et un jeune *Dvorjankin* (vieux nom de famille Russe) – *Krasnî Boeť* (Le guerrier Rouge)]. Tout cela a amené l'auteur des *Notes* à conclure que, dans le passé, le nom représentait l'essence même de l'être humaine, contrairement au présent quand il n'a plus resté qu'un son vide. C'est son désir de rédiger un dictionnaire où il pourrait mettre en lumière les traits spécifiques de chaque nom – à partir des écrits populaires, la littérature culte, les écrits religieux, et, néanmoins, sa propre expérience – qui l'a fait chercher constamment des informations même de l'Antiquité, depuis Homer.

La première partie de son ouvrage *Onomatologia* (pp. 21-134), comprend ses recherches et son point de vue sur: la connexion entre le nom et son porteur; leur signification mystique; le nom religieux; les changements de nom – par le mariage, l'esclavage, la naturalisation au sein d'une société et un peuple étranger; les influences des certaines personnalités de l'époque sur la croissance ou la diminution quantitative des certains prénoms; des noms diminutifs ou méprisants; la fonction sociale des noms etc. Il a suivi et étudié particulièrement ceux qui l'ont impressionné beaucoup [des noms de divers œuvres littéraires signées par Prosper Mérimée, Flaubert, Emil Zola, A.S. Puşkin et alii, noms de saints etc.] en arrivant même à leur décomposition et

¹ *Onomatologie* – terme ancien pour onomastique.

transcription avec des lettres hébraïques afin d'obtenir une analyse plus approfondie (telle le cas du prénom *Mariula* du poème *Les Tziganes* de Pouchkine). Il ne peut éviter de noter qu'au fil du temps, les gens qui ont joué un certain rôle dans l'histoire de la société humaine (parmi eux, les templiers, francs-maçons, Jacobins etc.) ont porté des noms similaires.

Le dictionnaire² proprement dit comprend les noms suivants: *Alexandru* (p. 134-140), *Alexandra* (p. 140-145), *Aleksei* (p.146-154), *Anna* (p. 155-160), *Vasili* (p. 160-166), *Sofia* (p. 166-177), *Vladimir* (p. 177-189), *Olga* (p. 189-200), *Konstantin* (p. 200-208), *Elena* (p. 208-217), *Nicolai* (p. 218-229), *Ecaterina* (p. 230-241), *Dimitri* (p. 241-252), *Varvara* (p. 252-263), *Pavel* (p. 263-293), *Liudmila* (p. 293-300), *Vera* (p. 300-304), *Mihail* (p. 304-310). Les personnes qui les portent sont soumises à une analyse extrêmement approfondie en termes de traits physiques et mentaux, de la façon de penser, d'agir et de réagir par rapport à eux-mêmes et à d'autres membres de la communauté.

La plupart des pages sont consacrées au prénom de Paul. Le Père Florenski avouait, par ailleurs, que pour ce nom il n'a pas trouvé dans toute l'histoire un représentant plus célèbre que l'Apôtre Paul.

Au fil des années, bien avant son emprisonnement, on trouvait parfois la note suivante, en marge de son cahier: «Telle nom, telle vie», témoignage du succès de l'auteur dans son activité de trouver une correspondance entre le prénom et son porteur. Mais, vers la fin de sa vie, après une longue expérience, dans une lettre envoyé du camp Solovetki, Pavel Florenski écrivait: «le nom en soi n'apporte dans la vie de l'homme ni bien ni mal, il est seulement une forme musicale sur laquelle on peut créer une bonne ou mauvaise œuvre». L'ironie du destin, a fait que celui qui a signé sa condamnation à mort portait un nom prédestiné: Zakovski³ (d'un mot qui en Russe signifie «menotter, mettre en chaînes»).

La tâche de la vie est de ne pas passer ta vie dans la paix, mais de vivre dans la dignité et ne pas être inutile et un ballast pour ton pays. C'était le principe que le père Florenski a toujours suivi, en donnant entièrement de sa personne, par son activité, à tous les compatriotes .

Iustina Burci

² L'ouvrage est resté inachevé. Au long de son activité, le Père Florenski a fait quelques notes sur les porteurs de beaucoup d'autres noms. Ainsi, *Ivan* est le nom le plus Russe, *Roman* est un joli nom, mais il n'a pas des haut idéaux, *Gheorghi* est un nom actif, *Serghei* est un nom délicat mais fragile sans pouvoir et a besoin de soutien etc. entre les noms féminins, *Maria* est le meilleur, le plus beau, le plus harmonieux, puis il est suivi du nom *Ana*; une personne qui s'appelle *Iulia* est capricieuse et confuse, *Natalia* est honnête, mais pour elle la vie est difficile, le nom *Valentina* a des traits masculines et n'est pas propre pour une femme et *Parascovia* possède une certaine sévérité intérieure, le nom correspondant plutôt aux religieuses etc.

³ Leonid Zakovski a été abattu, comme le père Florenski, un an plus tard.

Hugo Hernán Hernández, *Fiesta, espectáculo y teatralidad en el México de los conquistadores*, Frankfurt/Madrid, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2009, 229 p.

Le Mexique du XVI^e siècle a été la scène de nombreuses parades, processions, fêtes des Maures et des Chrétiens, et des jeux qui mettaient en place les affrontements militaires, auxquelles prenaient part presque toute la population. Dans son livre, Hugo Hernán Hernández, professeur et chercheur à l'Université des Andes de Colombie, analyse l'évolution des festivités et des spectacles au Mexique, mise en étroite liaison avec la tradition espagnole et pas seulement celle du type évangélisateur. En même temps, l'ouvrage souligne l'importance du fait que les cérémonies et les représentations n'ont pas été touchés que d'une manière réduite par les traditions autochtones, et que vers la fin du XVI^e siècle, on a construit des espaces spécialement conçus pour les représentations théâtrales, perfectionnement de l'utilisation des costumes et des scènes de construction, qui montrent le début d'un processus complexe de l'ouverture du théâtre urbain.

Les espaces de représentation les plus souvent utilisés, à la fois pour les cérémonies religieuses et les fêtes civiles, étaient la rue, le marché, le temple et les chapelles ouvertes. La ville entière devenait une grande scène où on représentait les rites d'une société en développement. Les vêtements étaient toujours en harmonie avec l'événement mis en scène; par exemple les clercs savaient se vêtir différemment pour un *Te Deum*, un requiem ou pour une procession du *Corpus*.

Dans le premier chapitre, à partir de l'affirmation de José María Díez Borque's selon lequel il est difficile de savoir si le spectateur du XVI^e siècle disposait de la capacité de discerner entre les différents degrés de théâtralité contenus dans des dialogues, *coplas*, farces, églogue, comédies, l'auteur se penche exactement sur la recherche du concept de théâtralité de recherche. Le deuxième chapitre vise à démontrer la mesure dans laquelle ce qu'on a préféré appeler théâtralité se fait manifester à Ciudad de Mexico, en examinant deux aspects fondamentaux du concept: la construction de la ville et l'organisation des spectacles. Ces activités ne renvoient pas seulement à un certain processus de l'urbanisation ou de transplantation institutionnelle, qu'à une stratégie visant à renforcer la ville comme espace hispanique.

Le troisième chapitre examine, sur la base des documents d'archives, les caractéristiques de deux des plus importantes fêtes solennelles de Ciudad de Mexico: San Hipólito et Corpus Christi. La documentation sert à mettre en évidence le faste associé aux processions, notamment celui visant les musiciens et les décors. A partir des récits des chroniques, le dernier chapitre est consacré à l'étude du spécifique théâtral des meilleures significatifs fêtes spontanées du Mexique des conquistadors: celles des Maures et Chrétiens (1539) et du tumultus impérial, construit à l'occasion de la mort de Charles Quint. C'est ainsi qu'on peut explorer le contexte dans lequel les pièces *La conquête du Rodas* et *La conquête du Jérusalem* ont été représentées à Ciudad de Mexico et Tlaxcala, de même que le pompe funèbre du *Tumulus impérial*, écrit par Francisco Cervantes de Salazar.

L'ouvrage de Hernán Hernández attire l'attention sur le caractère théâtral et l'évolution des spectacles, conçus comme des clefs de la compréhension de l'apparition du théâtre à Ciudad de Mexico. La période choisie est marquée par deux repères importants: l'arrivée d'Hernán Cortés, en 1521, et l'arrivée de son fils, Martin Cortés, second marquis de Valle, en 1563, autrement dire, à partir de la chute du Tenochtitlan jusqu'à ce que la critique spécialité appelle la Renaissance au Mexique.

Oana Andreia Sâmbrian

Loredana Maria Ilin-Grozoiu, *Sistemul constituțional românesc 1821-1923 (Romanian constitutional system 1821-1923)*, Craiova, Publishing House Aius, 2009, 395 p.

In 2009, the Publishing House Aius from Craiova edited the book *Sistemul constituțional românesc (1821-1923), Romanian constitutional system (1821-1923)*, of the scientific researcher Dr. Loredana Maria Ilin-Grozoiu. The author had researched this theme with a lot of perseverance, her striving to deepen a subject so ample, being finalized into a valuable scientific contribution, impressive both through its documentaries basis, and its volume, 395 pages. The scientific approach was based on the study of a vast bibliography, from which does not lack the unpublished sources, the edit ones, the documents, the correspondence, the speeches, the memoirs and official publications.

On the ground of this documentation, systematically approached, the author has structured her work into seven chapters, respecting the chronological criterion for the issue classification and the evolution of the Romanian constitutional system, for the period of 1821-1923. To the seven chapters - *Începuturile constituționalismului în Principatele Române* (The beginnings of constitutionalism in the Romanian principalities); *Texte cu caracter constituțional până la Regulamentele Organice* (Texts of a constitutional nature untill the Organic Regulation regime); *Regulamentele Organice – între anacronic și modern* (Organic Regulations - between anachronistic and modern); *Proiecte constituționale în perioada regulamentară: 1838-1847* (Constitutional projects in the regular period: 1838-1847); *Momentul 1848 – programe și constituții naționale* (The 1848 moment – national programs and constitutions); *Modernizarea Principatelor Române sub raport constituțional în perioada 1849-1866* (The Romanian principalities modernization under the constitutional rapport in the period 1849-1866); *Constituția din anul 1866* (1866 Constitution of Romania); *Constituția din anul 1923* (1923 Constitution of Romania) – are added the conclusions, an English summary and the bibliography. Each chapter has several subchapters, serving to the orderly undertaken analysis, and the appropriate language denotes the easiness with which the authors place herself in the logic of facts and conclusions. The approaching of the subject was done by the double qualification of the author, the historian and the lawyer one.

After a series of historical considerations, in the introductory study, the author thoroughly examines the historiography of the broached subject, stressing on the merits of the authors who were concerned with the research, in various ways, of the subject.

In the first chapter, the author has found it necessary to analyze the normative writings, emerged since the beginnings of modernity in the Romanian principalities. Thus, a special attention has been given to constitutional formulation in the context of the Tudor Vladimirescu's action. There were not even forgotten the memories and reform projects, sent to Russia and to Ottoman Empire in the period 1821-1832, the authors analyzing: the project sent to Russia, at the end of 1821, by Alexandru Villara; Wallachian boyars statement, *Îndreptarea țării (după cele) ce a pățimit țara la 1821 de la străini* (The Correction of the country (after) what it suffered in 1821 from the foreigners); Alexandru Villar's statement of 1822; *Cererile cele mai însemnătoare ce se fac din partea obștei Moldaviei, Constituția cărvunarilor* (The main demands of the Moldova's people, the Constitution of the *cărvunari*).

In the second chapter, the author treats the *Organic Regulations*, which was a transition stage from feudalism to capitalism, prefacing the modern organization of the Romanian state. The Regulations have played the role of the constitution, being introduced in 1831 in Wallachia and in 1832 in Moldova. They have organized on modern basis the public services, have established the national militia, have modernized the financial system, have abolished the purchasing of functions, have formed a legislative assembly, have provided the choice of the ruler for life etc.

The memoirs issued to some officials of Russia, by the nobility and rulers of the Romanian principalities, between 1834-1839, were treated by the author in the third chapter of the paper. A large part of this chapter was devoted to the life and work of John Câmpineanu, one of the foremost fighters for independence and national dignity, the author of key documents, including: *Act of Union and independence* and *the Constitution Draft*.

In the fourth chapter were analyzed, from historical and legal point of view, the principles inserted in the memoirs, the political acts and the drafts of the 1848 Constitution. The Revolution of 1848 was an important moment in terms of the relations between the Romanians from all historical provinces, helping to clarify and to establish the appropriate means, for building the modern Romania.

In the fifth chapter, the author studies the evolution of constitutional forms in the context of historical events, among which, the reign of Al. I. Cuza or the brink of the foreign prince.

The Constitutions of the years 1866 and 1923 are analyzed in Chapters VI - VII of the paper. There were stressed the changes intervened in the formulation of these constitutions, for achieving the goals, both liberals and democratic. The 1866 Constitution laid the foundation of the representative system of government in the modern Romanian state. They were proclaimed the civil rights; it was provided the removal of privileges, free education, press freedom, the separation powers principles, the switch from elective to the hereditary rule, there were established the prerogatives of the king etc. The 1923 Constitution was viewed and analyzed by the author, as a natural fulfillment of the previous Romanian constitutional aspirations.

Through the way of approaching the topic and through its conclusions, the presented paper, *Sistemul constituțional românesc (1821-1923)* (Romanian constitutional system (1821-1923)), enriches the Romanian historiography with concrete evidences, regarding the constitutional formulations and historical circumstances that they have generated.

Georgeta Ghionea

Georgeta Ghionea, *Istoria băncilor urbane din Oltenia (1880-1948)* (The history of urban banks from Oltenia (1880-1948)), Craiova, Publishing House Aius, 2009, 298 p.

This impressive book on the history of urban banks from Oltenia and edited by the Publishing House Aius, from Craiova, at the end of 2009, is the result of an intense, close and solid research, in the National Archives of Oltenia, carried out with accuracy and dedication to rebuild a troubled period in the history of the banking system to the west of Olt. The documentary basis of the book is valuable, the author managing to bring an important contribution concerning the banking history in the period 1880-1948. It is of great interest for the Romanian historiography and comes to enrich the suite of studies and books devoted to the knowledge of the history of national economy.

The work is structured in four chapters - *Repere istorice privind organizarea sistemului bancar în România și evoluția lui până la naționalizare* (Historical marks concerning the organization of the banking system in Romania and its evolution to the nationalization); *Oltenia bancară între anii 1880-1918 (Oltenia banking between 1880-1918)*; *Organizarea și consolidarea băncilor urbane din Oltenia într-un sistem economic financiar național* (The organization and consolidation of urban banks from Oltenia in a national economic and financial system); *Rolul cooperăției de credit și de consum (1880-1944)* (The role of credit and consumer cooperatives (1880-1944)) – to which it is added an introductory study, the conclusions and the bibliography.

In the first chapter, the author has tried, and succeeded the chronological reconstruction of the projects that preceded the establishment of the National Bank of Romania, since 1832, and the most important moments in the organization and its evolution by the transformation of the State Bank, in 1948, when the institution was the subject of the nationalization and became the Romanian People's Republic Bank.

The main reasons, which required the establishment of National Bank, were both the lack of the national coin and of a specialized credit institution, and the great interests, between 18-24%, collected by the usurers, money-changers and money-lenders (*preteurs a gage*), in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Romanian National Bank was founded in 1880, as a mixed bank, by the Belgian model, and cumulated in its existence two functions: of emission bank and commercial bank.

The second chapter was dedicated to the development of the banking system in Oltenia, in the period of 1880-1918. It started with the establishment of the National Bank branch in Craiova, founded on March 1, 1881, then spread to other counties in the region: Turnu Severin (1890), Caracal (1896), Tg. Jiu (1899) and Rm. Valcea (1901). Subsequently, the evolution has been spectacular, leading to the fact that, before the outbreak of World War, in Oltenia to be established 23 local commercial banks, 8 branches with headquarters in Bucharest and over 400 popular urban and rural banks, with an activity, for the most part, to the agrarian economy.

The author has given a special attention to the *Commerce Bank from Craiova*, founded in December 1897, to the initiative of C. Neamtu, as a company of credit and economy. The interest face to this bank was determined by the important role played in the conducting financial transactions in Oltenia.

In the third chapter, the focus was on banking and credit developments in Oltenia, after 1918, the economic crisis (1929-1933) and the subsequent development by private banks liquidation, following the nationalization of the Romania National Bank.

To the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party in October 1945, have been taken a series of measures to rebuild the economy; among these measures we mention: liquidation of speculation, fair tax, removing tax evasion, balancing the budget with ordinary means, using credit for productive purposes, liquidation of inflation, etc. Together with the entry of private banks in liquidation, credit relations between the National Bank of Romania and business have changed fundamentally, the operations of loans being made directly by the National Bank units, scattered throughout the country.

A particular concern expressed Ms. Georgeta Gheonea for the credit and consumer cooperatives, discussed in the last chapter of the book. Besides commercial banks, they have helped, with the tools they had, to cover the capital needs of the population.

An undeniable merit in setting up the credit cooperatives had Spiru Haret, which received the support of Dr. Istrati, I.G. Duca, Fotin Enescu, Emil Costinescu, Tache Protopopescu. Until 1918, under the law for organizing the cooperative were established in Oltenia, the following federal: Michael the Brave in Craiova, Federal popular banks in the county, Federal Dacia Caracal, Federal Cozia in Rm. Valcea and Federal Mehedinți in Turnu Severin.

The evolution of the popular banks declined in the First World War because of the transformation of the cooperative credit institutions into limited liability companies. Reorganized after the war, they reach the peak year in 1930, when cooperatives in Oltenia recorded the highest number of banks so far (27 popular urban banks). The years of economic crisis have seriously affected their activity. They were forced to merge or were liquidated. After 1944, the cooperative movement from Romania was integrated into a system of directed economy, the state controlling it totally.

In the work *Istoria băncilor urbane din Oltenia (1880-1948)* (The history of urban banks from Oltenia (1880-1948)), the author approaches an ample and complex field, the research of banking and credit system from the region above-mentioned being only to the beginning. However, the book is a valuable contribution that deserves to occupy a suitable place in the contemporary historiography.

Narcisa Maria Mitu

Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *Récits et mythes de fondation dans l'imaginaire culturel occidental*, Pessac, PUB, 2009, 385p.

Dans le prolongement de l'ouvrage *Mythologies de l'Occident. Les bases religieuses de la culture occidentale* (Paris, Ellipses, 2007), cette étude sur *les récits et les mythes de fondation dans l'imaginaire occidental* constitue une incursion analytique à quelques aspects essentiels de l'imaginaire occidental: *mythologies fondatrices dans le paganisme antique, bases historiques et modélisations symboliques dans le christianisme, élaboration de mythologies identitaires de peuples*. Selon la taxinomie de Claude-Gilbert Dubois sur les mythes en fonction de leur signification, il y trois types: *les mythes d'origine ou de fondation; les mythes d'individuation ou identitaires et les mythes de finalité ou eschatologiques*. Les mythes de fondation ont comme but «l'explication de la dénomination d'un lieu, de la formation, de l'évolution historique et des principes qui régissent la vie d'une communauté; par là, ils sont partie intégrante de mythes identitaires, et constituent la part du mythique infuse dans le discours épique; ils se caractérisent par l'action d'un héros, généralement éponyme, dotée d'une mission fixée par Dieu ou le destin, qui la réalise en un territoire, matrice d'une histoire de la communauté» (cf. Claude-Gilbert Dubois, «Les modes de classification des mythes»; dans Joël Thomas, *Introduction aux méthodologies de l'Imaginaire*, Paris, Ellipses, 1998, p.34).

Le chapitre propédeutique de l'ouvrage s'arrête sur l'appareil conceptuel des récits mythiques de fondation: *principes, schèmes et modèles*. Les mythes fondateurs des nations repose, selon Claude-Gilbert Dubois, sur le *mode de triangulation aëdipian*: il s'agit de trois actants: la mère, le principe matériel, le père, le principe formel et le fils, l'incarnation des *vœux parentaux*. L'illustration de ce schéma est évidente au niveau de deux mythes de fondation de la civilisation occidentale: le mythe du peuple hébreu «qui deviedra Israël, par la révélation et la promesse faite à Abraham et par l'injonction donnée à Moïse» et le mythe fondateur de Rome, «par le destin réservé à Énée, puis par l'action de reconquête et de formalisation politique et sociale propre à Romulus» (p.14), mythe réitérée dans une autre variante visant la «fondation d'Athènes, par les aventures redoublées, à dix générations de distance, de Cécrops et de Thésée». À partir de ces deux mythes fondateurs de la culture occidentale, Claude-Gilbert Dubois offre une lecture parallèle assez incitante, accentuant «quelques invariants parmi les multiples variations liées à l'histoire, à la géographie et à la culture des peuples chez lesquels ils ont été élaborés». Ainsi, y-a-t-il six invariants: le premier visant «une lecture de l'histoire du peuple en fonction d'un projet préétabli et d'origine transcendante, qu'il soit directement inspiré par le Dieu unique de la Bible, ou par la loi immuable d'un destin»; le second visant «le choix, pour l'exécution de cette volonté, d'un homme d'élite, dépassé par le dessein qui lui est confié, et qui n'arrive pas à réaliser jusqu'à son terme le programme imposé»; le troisième visant «le déroulement en deux temps séparés, et par deux hommes différents, mais liés entre eux par filiation biologique ou dynastique, de la réalisation du programme»; le quatrième visant «l'institution d'un ordre politique et social»; le cinquième visant «les bases d'une histoire» et enfin le sixième souligne que «cette construction littéraire, faite avec une distance de plusieurs siècles par rapport aux faits racontés, sert à justifier un état de fait situé dans le présent» (pp.24-25).

Dans l'imaginaire collectif, les mythes de fondation qui ont constitué «l'histoire réinventée des principales nations occidentales», sont les engrammes identitaires qui

façonnent le profil de chaque espace. Le but de ces mythes est «de faire épouser une idéologie (de justification généalogique, de politique nationale ou de nature religieuse), de susciter une adhésion ou de renforcer un attachement au groupe dont on fait partie, en lui donnant des assises et en lui magnifiant le passé par incantation poétique et magique» (p.30). Ce sont des mythes qui agissent dans un ordre *mythologique*, faisant entrer les faits, les événements dans un *logos*, puis faisant entrer celui-ci dans la forme littéraire de l'*epos*, du récit épique, et enfin en doublant l'*epos* par le *mythos*, le dépositaire de la mémoire collective traduit par le réseau des symboles cryptés.

La première partie de l'ouvrage est consacré aux *mythologies fondatrices dans le paganisme antique*. C'est ici que Claude-Gilbert Dubois propose des analyses raffinées sur l'archétype de l'héros civilisateur (*Hérakles – Hercule: aux origines du principe d'humanité; de la performance à la perfection*). Outre son caractère épique, le mythe d'Héraklès qui refait *la trajectoire exemplaire du héros*, est l'essor de la civilisation contre la barbarie et le chaos. Le Professeur Claude-Gilbert Dubois propose aussi des séquences analytiques significatives sur *les étapes de fondation de l'au-delà dans l'antiquité gréco-latine*, en y insistant sur l'aspect des *voyages vers l'au-delà: du pays des morts odysseén aux inferi virgiliens*. L'auteur offre quelques hypothèses à cette problématique de l'au-delà dans la perspective de la dissociation entre identité et altérité, par la mise en évidence de ses représentations, un véritable «témoignage de mentalité, de l'organisation d'une société perçue à travers son ordre symbolique» (p.109).

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage dédiée aux *bases historiques et aux modélisations symboliques dans le christianisme* est assez incitante par la thématique abordée: *Saint Pierre: pierre de fondement ou pierre d'achoppement ou bien le modèle de David dans l'élaboration de la sensibilité religieuse du protestantisme*. Claude-Gilbert Dubois reconnaît plusieurs aspects de l'Église romaine visant sa structure formelle: le légalisme, l'organisation, mais il s'interroge aussi sur la question de la primauté romaine, en y invoquant, par exemple, le patriarche Photius qui rejette les arguments théologiques de l'Église de Rome. Car l'auteur n'aborde pas dans les questions strictement dogmatiques, doctrinaires qui séparent le Catholicisme et l'Orthodoxie, on s'arrête justement au problème de la primauté romaine. L'exégèse catholique considère le passage de *Matthieu XVI, 18* sur la fondation de l'Église dans la personne de l'Apôtre Pierre comme étant l'expression d'un principe fondamental pour *l'ordre ecclésial*. Et aucune exégèse sérieuse ne peut annuler ce verset où Christ se réfère explicitement au futur de la communauté qu'il va fonder. Quand même, le problème exégétique que ce passage pose ne se réduit seulement à la question si l'Église fonde sur la *foi* de Pierre, selon l'ancienne et l'unanime tradition patristique. Mais, selon les critiques catholiques, le problème central représente plutôt la question de l'éventuelle succession de Pierre, car, dans la perspective de la tradition du christianisme (occidental et oriental), on ne peut parler de l'Église sans ce que ce terme implique une permanence dans l'histoire.

Pour le protestantisme, «David n'est pas seulement l'objet essentiel dans la relation historique des événements qui précèdent et prédisent l'arrivée du Christ, il est aussi l'auteur des *Psaumes* qui chantent la gloire de Dieu; il est la voix humaine qui fait mieux résonner le nom de l'Éternel» (p.197). Il y aussi des prolongements politiques du mythe de David; enfin il s'agit du *royaume de David* comme préfiguration de la *Jérusalem céleste*. Ce modèle a été récupéré par les mouvements millénaristes qui ont fait du royaume de David une anticipation du royaume de Dieu en ce monde. *Les*

résurgences modernes du mythe davidien sont décelées par Claude-Gilbert Dubois au niveau de la dimension protestante américaine qui fait ressusciter l'utopie millénariste.

Si la troisième partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée à *l'élaboration de mythologies identitaires de peuples*: l'auteur discute sur la naissance et l'évolution du mythe gaulois à partir de son archétype jusqu'au stéréotype de *nos ancêtres, les Gaulois*, ainsi que sur l'histoire de la Florence, sur la *thèse indépendantiste des aramei au XVI^e siècle*, la dernière partie de l'ouvrage s'attarde sur les *processus fondateurs d'images littéraires: des signes au symboles*. C'est ici que l'auteur offre une interprétation exemplaire au symbole de la rose, dans les paradigmes de la *fondation d'une lignée de noblesse littéraire*: la rose en tant que femme, *la rose entre dans le temps, la rose entre dans la religion, la rose en tous états, roses des vents*. En littérature, « l'histoire de la rose a pour fondement un produit ancien, bien réel, importé comme beaucoup d'autres, d'Orient; de la Perse à la Grèce, la fleur des jardins de Saadi devient attribut de beauté dans l'Aurore d'Homère, par transfert métaphorique; elle sert d'emblème pour contribuer à la constitution d'un signe de reconnaissance: associée à la croix pour la Société des Rose-croix, et tenue par le poing, pour logo du Parti Socialiste » (p.274). En élargissant son champ d'applications littéraires, lorsqu'elle passe de la valeur emblématique et allégorique à un emploi symbolique, la rose rassemble les attributs de la féminité.

La dernière séquence de cette partie est dédiée aux *deux images fondatrices de pouvoir et de savoir*. Claude-Gilbert Dubois propose une incursion synthétique à la symbolique du soleil et de la lumière en y insistant sur quelques aspects essentiels: fonction de la lumière dans la religion des Hébreux, lumière et soleil dans le paganisme gréco-latin, le traitement chrétien de l'héritage, soleil des poètes etc. La lumière, associée à la connaissance est perçue en opposition avec l'obscurité, associée à l'ignorance, dans le cadre des *structures anthropologiques de l'Imaginaire, diurne et nocturne*. La recherche de toutes les formes dérivées de la nuit « s'est efforcée de faire la lumière dans les ténèbres ». Du dialogue incessant entre « les deux modes de propagation de la lumière, la lumière solarisée ou la lumière uniformément matérialisée » ou bien « de la confrontation permanente entre le jour et la nuit, il ressort que ce réseau signifiant de symboles imbriqués n'est pas près de se défaire. Pour l'homme qui se sent plongé dans la nuit, la lumière est porteuse d'espérance dans le domaine du savoir comme dans celui de l'ordonnance du pouvoir. Elle est la figure du désir de promotion dans l'ordre du savoir ou du pouvoir. Dans les régimes placés sous l'emblème du soleil, elle est déjà investie de pouvoir et de savoir » (pp.337-338).

L'étude proposée par Claude-Gilbert Dubois sur les récits et les mythes de fondation dans la culture occidentale est une autre contribution substantielle à la recherche permanente de l'Imaginaire, à ses outils essentiels en vue de mieux saisir la profondeur de l'anthropologie symbolique. Ses hypothèses de travail, ses analyses novatrices, son raffinement méthodologique sont des qualités indéniables qui soutiennent l'édifice de cet ouvrage incitant.

Constantin Mihai

JOURNAL REVIEW

Association des Amis de Gaston Bachelard, *Bachelard et la musique*, Bulletin, No.11/2009, 157p.

Le Bulletin no.11 de l'Association des Amis de Gaston Bachelard dirigé par l'infatigable chercheur Jean Libis, nous propose comme sujet de réflexion le rapport entre Bachelard et la musique, un complexe thématique inédit et en quelque sorte audacieux vu les dimensions épistémologiques et créatives bachelardiennes. «Que Bachelard ait été – tout comme sa fille Suzanne – un mélomane averti, c'est ce que nous rappellent deux témoignages capitaux: ceux de Jean-Claude Pariente associé à son épouse Francine, et celui de Alexis Galpérine» (Jean Libis, *Présentation*, p.5).

Le dossier thématique sur Bachelard et la musique gravite autour de plusieurs perspectives plurielles qui témoignent une fois de plus la complétude de l'œuvre du savant, une création qui continue à fasciner. Marie Pierre-Lassus « nous montre précisément comment, dans le corps même des textes bachelardiens, font irruption tout un vocabulaire, une inspiration, un souffle proprement musicaux » (pp.5-6). S'appuyant sur la phénoménologie poétique de Bachelard, Marie Pierre-Lassus démontre l'existence d'une *phénoménologie de l'écoute*, fondée sur le sens de l'ouïe, et non sur la vue, comme dans la tradition philosophique depuis Platon. La thèse de l'auteur vise le fait que l'univers bachelardien est un *univers musical et actif* dans lequel *la vie doit vouloir la pensée*. En dépit d'une absence des travaux sur Bachelard et la musique – il faut mentionner quand même les études sur la musicalité de l'écriture bachelardienne – Marie Pierre Lassus propose une lecture sur Bachelard et la *musique du ciel (du chant de l'alouette au phénix-musique)*, par le biais de deux hypothèses: *l'alouette ou l'activité facile et heureuse; l'écriture ou le vol des oiseaux*. Marie Pierre-Lassus repose dans sa démarche sur l'idée que « l'écriture bachelardienne ne passe pas tant par le langage que par le langage et le silence qui la constitue » (p.10), idée illustrée par la praxis de Sergiu Celibidache, dans une possible approche phénoménologique de la musique. Il y a aussi des aspects discutables dans la théorie de Marie Pierre-Lassus, tout comme la similitude entre la phénoménologie poétique des éléments chez Bachelard et une virtuelle phénoménologie des sons imperceptibles ou bien des éléments musicaux au niveau aperceptif, dans la mesure ou la théorie pythagoricienne de la musique des sphères est une propédeutique à une ontologie. Et pourtant, en forçant la démonstration de Marie Pierre-Lassus dont le complexe thématique ne peut être fixé dans une méthode rigoureuse, on peut admettre « la thèse phénoménologique de l'écoute bachelardienne selon laquelle ce n'est pas dans le monde que l'énergie se déploie en nous, dans cette activité propre que nous avons la charge de faire vivre, et qui détermine tout notre rapport au monde. Pour Bachelard, l'expérience du son, dans la poésie comme dans la musique, se présentait avant tout comme une expérience communicative de vie, transmise au lecteur par une activité susceptible de devenir un *art* lorsque, entre le poème et son interprétation, naît un dialogue d'*être à être*, issu d'une profondeur inconnue » (pp.32-33). Selon l'exemple de Nietzsche qui plaçait la musique sous le signe du Phénix, pourquoi ne peut-on considérer l'aventure créative bachelardienne sous

la marque de la musique, les proportions gardées – ce n'est pas la réitération de l'adagio de Verlaine? C'est plutôt une supposition, la certitude se dissipant dans les *epektasis* de Grégoire de Palamas, avec la diffusion des énergies, dans notre cas avec les profusions des images bachelardiennes.

La reconstitution des variantes temporelles et des invariants métaphysiques chez Bachelard est réalisée par Eric Emery, musicien lui-même, et spécialiste de la philosophie du temps musical. À partir de l'intuitionnisme de Bergson, de sa philosophie sur l'intuition de l'instant sur la dialectique de la durée, Eric Emery argumente la théorie de la régularité et de la liberté; tout comme dans la musique, ce n'est pas la mesure qui fait référence, mais le rythme, la véritable métaphore de la philosophie de la durée (pp.45-46). L'étude de Michel Guiomar nous montre un Bachelard fasciné par les forges de Richard Wagner, une étude visant quelques perspectives méthodologiques sur cette symbolique qui semble être marquée par une ambivalence des images.

Ce Bulletin inclut aussi deux études substantielles, un de Jean-Jacques Wunenburger sur la pédagogie bachelardienne, et une autre de Julien Lamy sur la psychanalyse de la connaissance. Dans le sillage de ses recherches sur la philosophie de l'Imaginaire, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger nous offre une interprétation incitante sur la *paideia* (éducation et formation) de Bachelard. « Les analyses bachelardiennes de la dialectique du concept et de l'image, loin de cautionner l'organisation dominante de la formation scolaire, servent en fait de point d'ancrages à des indications subversives, à des propositions révolutionnaires sur l'école » (p.88). *Éduquer l'homme à imaginer* - et on peut ajouter à raisonner – c'est une étape essentielle de sa philosophie, en dépit du fait que Bachelard ne s'est pas proposé de faire des réformes pédagogiques. Et pourtant, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger découvre en Bachelard un possible modèle pédagogique, placé sous le signe de *l'humanité bifrons* – la réalisation de l'équilibre entre *mythos* et *logos*, entre la raison et l'imagination. Le seul amendement vise la spiritualisation de cette humanité qui est en train de se déchristianiser, avec des conséquences terribles pour son profil ontologique. À son tour, la psychanalyse de la connaissance proposée par Julien Lamy, en investissant deux champs d'application – épistémologique et pédagogique – se manifeste comme exercice absolument indispensable pour la culture scientifique. « Dans l'horizon du surrationalisme et du nouvel esprit scientifique se dessine ainsi un *idéal régulateur* pour un nouvel esprit pédagogique, *une pédagogie de l'ouverture*, une éducation inventive dont Bachelard pose encore plus explicitement les jalons avec *La Philosophie du non* » (p.122).

Ce Bulletin inclut aussi une rubrique de documents signée par Gérard Vassails (avec sa chronique scientifique), d'images et de documents photographiques, ainsi qu'une utile rubrique de recensions et des informations. Dans ce numéro, le Bulletin accorde une place importante au Cahier No.10 de l'Université de Bourgogne, consacré à l'influence de Bachelard sur certains philosophes et sociologues contemporains. Il y a aussi des renseignements sur des colloques organisés sur la problématique de Bachelard. En somme, c'est un numéro fécond et incitant du Bulletin qui essaie de continuer les recherches sur Gaston Bachelard, offrant de perspectives multiples sur sa personnalité et sur son œuvre.

Constantin Mihai

Association des Amis de Gaston Bachelard, *Images rêvées, images réalisées. Bachelard et les arts plastiques*, Bulletin, No.12/2010, 156p.

Ce numéro du Bulletin de l'Association des Amis de Gaston Bachelard est consacré à la relation de Gaston Bachelard avec les arts plastiques, un thème moins connu en dépit du fait que le philosophe a publié de nombreux textes concernant des œuvres artistiques, qui témoignent d'un intérêt constant pour les images plastiques. Bachelard « y évoque les artistes dont la main dynamisée par l'imagination matérielle éveille la matière, ceux qu'il nomme des *poètes de main* » (p.7).

Le premier volet de ce recueil dédié au *peintre sollicité par les éléments* rassemble des études composites dont les approches littéraires et philosophiques mettent en évidence la connaturalité entre l'imagination artistique et la dynamique des éléments (l'eau, l'air, la terre et le feu). Michèle Pichon nous propose un texte sur *naturalisme abstrait et rêverie des éléments* à partir justement d'un corpus de textes bachelardiens sur l'imagination artistique, textes rassemblés postérieurement dans le volume *Le droit de rêver*. La thèse de l'auteur repose sur la présupposition que « les images picturales comme celles des poètes peuvent trouver leur source dans les créations de l'imagination matérielle; mais la fonction de l'imagination matérielle dans le processus créateur et la place qu'occupe ce type d'images dans une œuvre diffèrent profondément selon les styles considérés » (p.10). En fait, l'auteur s'interroge s'il est vraiment possible d'analyser la pratique picturale de certains peintres abstraits comme l'expression d'une sollicitation de l'imagination matérielle par la phénoménologie des éléments. En ce cas, elle essaie d'inscrire leurs œuvres dans le paradigme de *l'abstraction naturaliste*, que ces peintres reconnaissent ou non dans la nature une source d'inspiration. La question vise la signification de cette démarche dans le mécanisme de compréhension et de la connaissance de l'art abstrait. L'hypothèse de travail de Michèle Pichon réside dans le fait que « la démarche picturale où l'imagination formelle serait entièrement subordonnée à l'imagination matérielle... Il en résulterait une œuvre contenant exclusivement des formes *en germe* dans l'élément, internes à celui-ci et engendrées par sa dynamique » (p.19). L'approche bachelardienne de l'abstraction naturaliste permet à Michèle Pichon de saisir trois types de démarches: premièrement, *le naturalisme abstrait élémentariste* se distingue du *paysagisme abstrait*, dans les termes de Michel Ragon. En ce cas, la faculté abstractisante et la sensation. Deuxièmement, *le naturalisme abstrait élémentariste* se différencie d'une autre approche qui « consiste à abstraire des détails d'un paysage ou d'une chose ». Et enfin, la troisième démarche propose *l'esthétique du fragment* dont la faculté abstractisante est la mémoire affective.

Le texte de Jean Libis s'attarde sur l'aspect des *Nymphéas de Claude Monet*, offrant une lecture incitante du peintre au niveau métaphysique, esthétique et pourquoi pas, éthique. Les nymphéas de Monet appartiennent à *l'esthétique de l'apparence*. En échange, chez Gaston Bachelard « le vouloir-vivre schopenhauerien est tout aussi bien un vouloir-imaginer qu'une volonté esthétique généralisée » (p.42). Maryvonne Perrot nous offre un texte sur *Bachelard et Dali. Métamorphose et démiurgie de l'image*, un texte qui remet en question la problématique de l'onirisme de la métamorphose et de la dynamique de l'espace – temps en tant que principes régulateurs de l'image, le *metaxu* (médiateur) de la métaphysique. Le texte de Claude-Henri Rocquet – l'auteur de l'admirable ouvrage d'entretiens avec Mircea Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe* – nous propose une nouvelle herméneutique sur Bachelard (*Bachelard. Une leçon de lumière*), s'axant sur la consubstantialité entre la picturalité et la matérialité de l'Imaginaire bachelardien dans les paradigmes de la tradition spirituelle. Ce sont les leçons de la charité, de la grâce de l'amour, de l'espoir dans la perspective de la lumière. L'œuvre bachelardienne devient « un miroir fidèle de toute beauté », le philosophe essayant de

« réconcilier, comme en un arc-en-ciel, la charité et la beauté » (p.75). C'est la charité en tant que don de soi, don de sa propre vie, pour l'amour de Dieu et pour l'amour des hommes. Par l'univers artistique des grands peintres, le rationalisme bachelardien tend à se métamorphoser en une métaphysique de la lumière.

Le dernier texte d'Aurosa Alison sur *Les eaux de l'imagination matérielle dans l'île des morts d'Arnold Böcklin* nous propose une analyse, par étapes successives, du rapport entre imagination matérielle et représentation picturale, en particulier entre l'imagination matérielle et ce tableau du peintre suisse. « Les éléments de la mort, des eaux profondes, de la transcendance entendus par Bachelard comme des éléments et des parties d'un système philosophique, sont repris par Böcklin avec un naturel extrême et modelés en matière immobile et imaginante » (p.92).

Le second volet du Bulletin inclut un extrait d'un texte de Bachelard consacré à l'œuvre de son ami Flocon, ainsi quelques témoignages de plasticiens sur Bachelard. Jean-Philippe Pierron présente *le land art: le paysage est un poème*. Le syntagme *land art* « évoque davantage l'idée d'un onirisme du paysage plus qu'elle ne convoque la définition d'un mouvement artistique ou d'une technique artistique » (p.99). Ce concept se prête à une analyse développée dans le sens de la poétique bachelardienne des éléments. *Le land art* construit une véritable phénoménologie matérielle de la perception des espaces naturels, irréductibles à des données objectives. Analysant les paradigmes: *terre, territoire et volonté; le land art, la marche et la quête de l'espace, la nature de l'art*, Jean Philippe-Pierron trouve la signification de *l'herméneutique de soi de l'art*: la nature est un poème, avec un langage spécifique où « la pédagogie des images fait le plus défaut à une culture de la rationalité instrumentale qui tend à géométriser le monde » (p.112). La métaphysique de l'art repose sur l'expérience de la perception que cultive le *land art*, les images matérielles, dans le sens de la phénoménologie de Merleau-Ponty, de la recherche des expériences énigmatiques, porteuses de *significations en touffe*. Jean-Pierre Treille écrit sur *Bachelard et l'art contemporain*, en vue de saisir les traits saillants du *médium* – la différence spécifique entre un artiste plasticien et un artiste classique; autrement dit, ce n'est pas la matière signifiée de l'œuvre, mais c'est son matériau signifiant –, tandis que Julia Chauchard offre un *instantané d'une fidèle bachelardienne*, s'appuyant sur l'hypostase poétique de Rilke: la poésie en tant que devenir de l'être, la conscience de son trouble, qui nous fait penser à la théorie heideggérienne de l'habitation poétique de l'être.

Le troisième volet, intitulé *l'image cinématographique*, présente une étude incitante de Michel Serceau sur *Bachelard et le cinéma: la question de l'imagination sensorielle*. Dans le sillage de la définition d'Edgar Morin sur le cinéma en tant qu'« art paradoxal, né d'une trahison dans la mesure où il dénie la fonction de reproduction du réel » (p.131), Michel Serceau essaie d'argumenter la valeur de l'image dans le cinéma classique, un *analogon* du prétendu langage littéraire. L'image cinématographique est apte à transgresser le naturalisme, s'ancrant justement au niveau de la représentation iconique, mais pas symbolique. Le cinéma peut donner corps à l'imagination matérielle.

Ce numéro inclut aussi un texte du romancier Michel Tournier sur l'œuvre de Bachelard, un témoignage pour la dimension de sa phénoménologie poétique, ainsi qu'une petite séquence littéraire de Pascale Charbonneau, *L'art de tailler*, selon la tradition de cette revue.

Ce numéro du Bulletin est un apport à la recherche de cette relation moins connue entre Bachelard et les arts plastiques, ouvrant la voie pour d'autres études substantielles en ce domaine.

Constantin Mihai

Cultural & Social History. The Journal of the Social History Society, volume 7, issue 2, June 2010, 284 p.

Édité par la Société britannique d'Histoire Sociale (*Social History Society*), la revue a gagné depuis sept années un prestige scientifique, reconnu même par sa récente inclusion dans le célèbre ISI Arts and Humanities Citation Index. Le numéro présent garde la même haute tenue, les sujets y inclus témoignant des nouvelles perspectives et débats qui animent l'historiographie britannique et pas seulement en matière d'histoire sociale et culturelle. Professeurs et chercheurs de universités anglaises, irlandaises et nord-américaines signent des contributions traitant de la sorcellerie dans un microcosmos comme Isle de Mans (Robert Hutton), l'importance de la géographie locale dans l'interprétation de événements majeurs telle les Guerres civiles de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle (Daniel Mc Cannel), la relation entre la mythologie du bon sauvage et l'héritage culturelle du XVIII^e siècle (Kate Fulgar), les stratégies narratives et éditoriales des intellectuels russes tels Chekov et Tolstoï vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, les politiques « préférentielles » concernant l'assurances-chômages en étroite liaison avec les modèles masculins de la société britannique de l'après Grande Guerre (Marjorie Levine-Clark), l'importance d'une histoire de la music comprise notamment comme une histoire culturelle du son (David Maw).

Une série de neuf compte rendus permettent au lecteur d'entrer au contact avec des ouvrages concernant l'évaluation du statut de l'histoire culturelle aux Etats-Unis (*The Cultural Turn in U.S History: Past, Present and Future*, edited by James W. Cook, Lawrence B. Glickman and Michael O'Malley, Chicago, University of Chicago Press), la dimension sensorielle de la de la vie quotidienne dans l'espace urbaine européen XVI^e-XX^e siècles (*The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*. Edited by Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward, Ashgate, 2007 et *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England 1660-1770*. By Emily Cockayne, London, Yale University Press, 2007), les « politiques » d'assistance sociale pour les pauvres en Allemagne (*Poor Relief and Welfare in Germany from the Reformation to World War I* by Larry Frohman, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008), la représentation de la prostitution et les politiques de contrôle du phénomène dans la société irlandaise de XIX^e et XX^e siècles (*Prostitution and Irish Society 1800-1940* by Maria Luddy, Cambridge University Press, 2007 et *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Arhitecture of Containment* by James M. Smith, Manchester University Press, 2008), les dimensions sociales et culturelles du vagabondage (*Vicarious Vagrants: Incognito Social Explores and the Homeless in England 1860-1910*, edited by Mark Freeman and Gilian Nelson, Lambertsville, N.J, The True Bill Press, 2008).

On remarque la finesse des interprétations, attentives à la dynamique des rapports modèle-reception, norme-pratique, national-local, circulation-isolation. En s'attaquant au sujet de la sorcellerie dans une petit isle (*The Changing Faces of Manx Withcraftes*), Ronald Hutton propose une vision différente par rapport au recherche du professeur James Sharpe. La richesse du materiel, notamment pour l'époque victorienne, lui permet de parler de la *circulation* et de la continuité de l'« héritage » des traditions découvertes dans la période prémoderne ou de mieux comprendre le processus de « l'invention de la tradition » d'Eric Hobsbawm et Terence Ranger. Le traitement de la sorcellerie devient notamment sujet pour une reconstruction de la mémoire, liée étroitement à la manière dont ceux qui fait enregistrer diverses histoire sur le sujet s'en

rapportent-ils eux-mêmes, soit-ils illuministes ou ethnographes de la fin du XIX^e siècle. Tous sont impliqués plus ou moins conscients dans un processus de reinvention, enregistrement et transmission d'un héritage culturel, d'autant plus intéressant qu'il s'agit d'un microcosme. Comme l'auteur attire l'attention en guise de conclusion, les historiens doivent porter toute attention à l'évolution des attitudes pour une période comprise entre la fin des procès criminels de sorcellerie et fin du XX^e siècle). De même, Marjorie Levinie-Clark souligne le changement de l'hierarchie sociale des modèles après la Grande Guerre, le soldat vétérane étant dépassé par les modèles plus domestiques. Sa recherche sur le sujet des politiques d'assistances sociales (*The Politics of Preference. Masculinity, marital status and unemployment relief in post-first World War Britain*) met en lumière de tels aspects.

Nicolae Mihai

SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLES

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS *IMAGE AND POLITICAL POWER: THE EUROPEAN FESTIVE CULTURE BETWEEN REPRESENTATION AND INSTRUMENTALISATION*

Craiova, 21st-23rd of October 2010

On the 21st-23rd of October 2010, the “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities (Cultural History Group) organized, in collaboration with the Group PROTEO of the University of Burgos (Spain) and the Brukenthal Museum, the international congress *Image and Political Power: the European Festive Culture between Representation and Instrumentalisation*.

Coordinated by Oana Andreia Sâmbrian (Academia Română, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”, Craiova) and María Luisa Lobato (Universidad de Burgos) and cofinanced by the Consolider-Ingenio 2010 Program and the Spanish Embassy from Bucharest, the congress aimed to integrate the Romanian scientific community in the much wider area of international research, as well as to engage the media and civil society knowledge of the key developments of Hispanism. Through communication sessions, plenary lectures and round tables, the organizers focused on the promotion of the most valuable results of Hispanism concerning the chosen items. The plenary sessions, assigned to personalities in the field, such as acad. Carmen Sanz (Universidad Complutense, Madrid) or María Luisa Lobato (Universidad de Burgos), informed the public regarding the newest professional achievements and most relevant knowledge about the topic proposed for discussion.

The first plenary session was assigned to Carmen Sanz, academician of the Spanish History Royal Academy, whose excellent study, entitled *Political service and Culture in Court: Sigismund Bathory, the construction of his idealized image*, highlighted the figure of the 16th century Transylvanian prince Sigismund Bathory, using a wide range of sources.

The first session of communications held on the 21st of October, *Political propaganda and literature*, gathered two studies concerning the propagandistic construction of the image: Jessica Castro Rivas (Universidad de Chile/Universidad de Navarra), *The oath of prince Baltasar: exaltation and political propaganda in La banda y la flor by Pedro Calderon de la Barca* and Fabrice Quero (Université Bordeaux III), *Popular feast and the cult celebration of the person: leitmotifs of the public image of the archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Siliceo, in four avvisi (1545-1556)*.

The construction of image during the public feast was the main theme of the second session of communications, illustrated by Lidwine Linares (Université Toulouse II), *Saint Teresa or apostle Santiago? The feast of the patron, resonances of a political and religious conflict* and María Martos Pérez (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha), *Image and power in the cult epics of Golden Age: Sansón Nazareno by Antonio Enríquez Gómez*.

The congress continued with the second plenary session, held by Oana Andreia Sâmbrian (Academia Română, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”, Craiova), who debated on *The feast of the other: the festive representation of*

Christians, Moors and Indians in the Spanish Baroque theatre. The first day concluded with *Portraits of power in Premodern Romania*, a section which included the communications of Teodor Sâmbrian (Universitatea din Craiova), *L'image postbyzantine dans l'exercice du pouvoir des voïvodes roumains (XVI^{ème}-XVII^{ème} siècles)*, Anca Parmena Olimid (Universitatea din Craiova), *European Personalist Model of State-Church Relations (Political and Legal Fundaments in the 16th-17th Centuries)* and Ileana Cioarec (Academia Română, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor", Craiova), *Unité de la politique anti-ottomane des Roumains au milieu du XVII^{ème} siècle: Matei Basarab, Vasile Lupu et George Rakoczi*.

On the second day of the congress, Francisco Sáez Raposo (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid) opened the series of debates with a discourse on the comedy of Agustín Moreto, *Moreto at the palace, the palace at Moreto*, where he approached the historic comedies of one of the important Spanish dramatists of the 17th century.

The following session of communications, *Matter as image of power*, grouped two studies about how power can be conceived and utilized through coats of arms and taste: Constantin Ittu (Muzeul Brukenthal), *Coats of Arms as Images of Power on the 16th-17th Century Transylvanian Maps* and Marin Toma (Universitatea din Craiova), *Hunger for Power: Gastronomy and Government in 16th Century Europe*.

The day concluded with a section dedicated to New Spain, *Allegory and power in the Baroque of New Spain*. The three communications, presented by Sofia Brito Ocampo (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), *Representations of feasts and ideology in the Novohispanic Baroque*, Ramón Manuel Pérez Martínez (Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí), *Political iconography of the sea in Neptuno alegórico by Sor Juana* and Laurette Godinas, Mihaela Liana Mihailescu (UNAM), *Las tristes ayes del águila mexicana or a poetical and homiletically pyrotechnics of late Baroque in New Spain* showed an unitary image of the New world although the 17th century.

The last day of the congress started with the plenary session of Jesús González Maestro (Universidad de Vigo), *The Golden Age theatre in front of the idea and concept of power in the political society*, followed by the session of communications *Public power and literature at Lope and Calderón*. This last section illustrated the results of the studies of two young Romanian researchers: Sorina Dora Simion (Universitatea din București), *The rhetoric of discourse in the play El prodigioso príncipe transilvano* and Andreea Iliescu, whose research interests concentrated on *Calderón de la Barca, the paradigm of Baroque Aesthetics*.

The closure plenary session was assigned to María Luisa Lobato (Universidad de Burgos), who build her discourse around „*Cante Himeneo/ pues calla Mercurio*”: *theatrical feasts celebrating the arrival of Mariana de Austria at Madrid (1649)*.

Image and power have been to date the subject of international congresses, such as *Power and Authority in Spanish Golden Age*, 2-3 November 2009, organized by the University of Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, in collaboration with the Oxford Research Group and GRISO (University of Navarra). A similar conference was held in Lerma on 26-29 September 2005, *Festive Drama and Aristocratic Culture in Don Quixote's Epoch*, coordinated by María Luisa Lobato (Universidad de Burgos) and Bernardo García (Universidad Complutense, Madrid). Consequently, our event came on the already internationally drawn line of how to promote the relationship between image and power, through appropriate congresses and conferences and their subsequent proceedings.

Oana Andreia Sâmbrian

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