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TYPES OF HABITAT AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE IN OLTENIA

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Since its beginnings, social anthropology gave a special attention to the "inhabited place". Analyzing the spatial disposal of the dwellings, the public places and the cult zones from the interior of a dwelling, anthropologists like Malinowski, Paul Radin or C.Lévi-Strauss[1] tried to explain the propinquity, the formation and the exertion of power, or of social hierarchy in the interior of traditional societies. "Le monde d'occupacion de l'espace a d'ailleurs été reconu depuis longtemps comme l'un des critères essentiels du phénomène politique. Lewis H.Morgan, Max Weber ou Edward E.Evans-Pritchard insistènt sur l'importance particulière du territoire. Meme dans une société acéphale comme celle des Tiv du Nigéria, la structure segmentaire de la société, fondée sur le principe de descendence, produisait une organisation segmentaire de l'espace[2]. A plus forte reson dans des sociétés plus complexes et centralisées la hiérarchie des établissements trouve une traduction inévitable dans l'aménagement de l'espace"[3].

Interesting is the opposition observed, at all the ethnographic analyzed societies, between the inhabited space and the surrounding area, perceived like a hostile, impure environment[4]. Referring to this aspect M.Eliade highlighted "Setting into a territory means actually consecrating it. When the settlement is no longer temporary, such as the nomads, but permanent, such as the sedentary people, it involves a vital decision, which regards the existence of the whole community. Setting down in a certain place, organizing it, living in it are actions that involve a vital decision: choosing a Universe that will be assimilated through creation…this way it becomes the sacred work of the gods… After we have comprehended the cosmogonical value of the Centre, we will understand better why any human settlement repeats The Creation of the World, starting from a central point."[5]

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[1] C. Levi-Strauss *Atropologia structurală*, Bucureşti, Politica Publishing House, 1978, p. 158-196.

[2] L. Bohannam, P. Bohannan, *The Tiv of Central Nigeria,* London, 1953.

[3] P. Brun, La genese de l'etat: les apport de l'archeologie, in Les princes de la protohistoire et l'emergence de l'etat, 1999, p. 31.

[4] C. Lévi-Strauss, *op cit.*, p. 163-164, 169-170; M. Eliade, *Sacrul şi profanul*, Humanitas Publishing House, 2000, p. 25.

[5] M. Eliade, *op.cit.*, p. 29 and the next.

The fact that in the structure of the house (regarded as a part of the living area) it is included the whole cosmic symbolism, from *axis mundi*, to the first brick of the foundation (when sacrifices were made), gives us the right to presume as possible the ethnographic parallels proposed for the prehistorically populations. Even though we can only imagine the entire mythical structure which could have represented the basis of the human settlement that, through the archeologically observed traces, could offer information related to the social and economical structure of communities.

"Les configurations spatiales de sites constituent les principales sources de l'archéologie pour appréhender l'organisation des sociétés disparues" Patrice Brun highlights, which sugests a model of representateing the social relations in traditional socities. "Pour assurer sa reproduction biologique une communauté a besoin de biens, de geniteurs et d'informations qui, partiellement mais nécessairement viennent d'autres communautes. Il en résulte des flux d'échagees conditionnés par les caractéristiques de l'environnement, le niveau technique et l'organisation siciale. Ces flux créent des sphères de relation plus ou moins vaste: celle des relations de parenté qui correspond a un pool génétique autonome, celle des relations d'alliance et celle des relations d'échange indirect. L'arhéologie parvient a saisire ces sphères emboitées a travers la variabilité stylistique de différentes catégories fonctionnelles d'objets."[6] These objects, stylistically variable, become instruments that help the archaeologist to explain different aspects such as the distances up to which the different relations work, their size, shape and content but also the phenomena depended on the nature of the political power or the type of the social hierarchy, too. The study of the spatial distribution of sites, the demographic analysis and the difference in richness or in monumentality of the graves and settlements can offer information regarding the social structure of the prehistoric communities[7]. It is obvious that the decoding of the material culture meaning is a laborious process, because the objects haven't got a meaning of their own, but a multitude of meanings depending on the context, on the purport, on the bearer and on who makes the interpretation[8].

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[6] P. Brun, *op. cit.*, p. 32

[7] A. W. Johnson, T. K. Earle, *The evolution of human societies: from foraging group to agrarian state.*, Stanford, 1987; P. Brun, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

[8] C. Tilley, *Interpreting material culture,* în (I. Hodder, ed.) *The Meaning of Things. Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, London, 1989, p. 190, where he repeated the example given I. Hodder, *postprocessual archaeology. Advances in archaeological theory and method.,* vol. 8, M. Schiffer (ed.), New York, Academic Press.: safety – pin in contemporary Britain which, according to who wears it – an infant, a grandmother or a punk, changes its meaning. However, this is only part of the story. The meaning also changes according to the context in which the interpretation takes place (a kichen or an underground station), who is carrying out the interpretation (to various people the safety pin may mean aggression, pity, children or bondage); and why they are bothering to interpret it in the first place. This last point is an appropriate cue to draw the archaeologist into text.

In the Late Bronze period and especially in the First Iron Age it seems that we assist at the disappearing of vast settlements, with several levels of habitation. This fact could be explained although the climatic changes happened on the whole continent. Based on the palinological, pedological and archeozoological researches, made especially in the areas close to the carpatho-danubian zone, has been observed the installation of a period of cold and gradually dryer climate[9]. A.Vulpe presumed that this climate conditions favoured the growth of the pastoral activities, phenomenon with direct implications on the type of the habitat.[10]

The most settlements from the end of the Bronze Age have, as we said before, only one cultural layer, showing us that they were habited for a short time. We find this situation in the Danube area and around the sloughs or in the islands close to the river, where settlements of Gârla Mare and Bistreț Ișalnița type are present, but also in the hilly and pre mountain area, where we find few traces of habitation of Govora type.

In the Zuto Brdo – Gârla Mare area[11], on the both sides of the Danube there are almost 40 settlements confirmed, but, most of them, were mentioned earlier, they either did not benefit from systematic diggings, or they have been presented very sketchy without digging plans and details regarding the habitation complexes. More information we have about nine settlements Balej, Cârna – Nasta, Cârna – Rampă, Ghidici – Balta Țarova, Ostrovu Corbului, Ostrovu Mare – Colonie, Hajduča Vodenica, Mala Vrbica – Livade, Usije - Grad[12].

In Mehedinti district, at Izvoarele, com. Gruia[13], two Gârla Mare settlments have been identified (figureI), from which only one entirely dug, about which the author of the dig mentioned that it is a hut[14]. But the possibility of the walls to exceed the ground level exists, keeping in mind the presence of numerous adobe fragments with trails of twigs engraved in the mud. It had a right-angled form and the dimensions of 5.10x3.20m, being orientated east-west. The settlement had a high ledge of 0.70m above ground level and a height of 1m and 0.65m.In it has been found peaces of adobe, pottery, ash, snail and oysters shells, animal, bird and fish bones. Near by, a similar pit appeared, from which only a surface of 3.25 x 1.65 m

[9] M. Tomescu, *Holocenul, date cronologice și climatice,* in Cercetări arheologice MNIR, 11, p. 235-270; A. Vulpe, *Problema scitică în România*, în „Identitate națională și spirit European", 2003, p. 122-123.

[10] A. Vulpe, *op. cit*., p. 123-124.

[11] M. Șandor Chicideanu, *Cultura Žuto-Brdo Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară,* 2003, where the author synthesizes the information we have up to now, regarding the Zuto Brdo – Gârla Mare culture, in the same time offering a very utile inventory of the sites.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 40, where is presented the reference material for each site.

[13] G. Crăciunescu, *Așezarea culturii Gârla Mare la Izvoarele*, in „Thraco-Dacica", 13, 1-2, 1982, p. 43-47.

[14] *Ibidem*, p. 29, the author specifies that the stepping level of the hut is situated at 2, 10 m deeper than the actual level.

was examined, being limited by a ledge similar with that presented before, which contained fragments of adobe, pottery, a grinding mill, birds and animals bones, sea shells and snails. At 4m from the first hut existed an oval pit with the diameter of 1.05m and depth of 1.55m, filled with ash, coal and Gârla Mare ceramic fragments and on top, at the depth of 0.25 m, a dog skeleton.

At Ostrovu Mare – Colonie, an oval shaped dwelling has been dogged out (figure I) with the dimensions of 2 x 375m. In the north-eastern corner were found traces of fireplaces, a big quantity of pottery, 12 anthropomorphic statues, one ornithomorphic figurine, a *Brotlaibidol* type piece, a votive axe, a votive axe, a spindle-whorl and a bronze foil[15]. What surprises at this dwelling is the incredible "richness" of what we could call symbolical peaces comparing to the small dimensions of the dwelling, and this aspect is making us wondering if its purpose was that of habitation.

On the south shore of the Bistreț Lake, on Prundul Măgarilor, in the place called by the inhabitants Rampă, between 1994-1996, were dogged several archaeological sites, containing Gârla Mare ceramics, adobe that looks like the remains of a construction destroyed by natural causes[16]. There have been discovered a firehouse partially destroyed by the lake's waters which is conserved on an 1.25 x 0.65 m. (CPL 1/1994) area, a round oven with a diameter of 0.70 m. (CPL 7/1995), garbage pits (CPL 4/1994 şi1/1996), provision pits (CPL 2/1996) and a building trace (CPL 3/1995) which, because of its inventory can be considered as belonging to a potter's workshop. It had a length of 6 m, it spread along the lake's shore, a surface made from adobe and yellow clay, which contained a large quantity of Gârla Mare ceramics, a zoomorphic pot, cylindrical clay stamp for decorating the pottery, a bronze awl, burned bones and a white paste cob[17].

In the same area, in the Cârna-Nasta point, on the south shore of the present Bistreț lake damaged by the reconditioning work made to the lake, only few pits have been found once with the salvation diggings made in 1996-1997[18], two of them contained, alongside with a large quantity of pottery, 2 miniature clay axes, a bronze dagger, a grinder, animals bones and coal. The third pit had an approximate rectangular form, in the upper part were found massy pieces of adobe that had traces of twigs and thick stakes of 0.10-0.15 m, under which were many Gârla Mare type pots broken not in that area, because none could be reconstituted. The authors of the digging, keeping in mind the absence of the stake hols, put to question the possibility that the hollow could be a hut. There is a possibility to be related with near by the necropolis through functionality. A

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[15] G. Crăciunescu, *Noi descoperiri arheologice din epoca bronzului la Ostrovul Mare*, in „Drobeta", 4, 1980, p.43-58; idem, Drobeta, 16, 2006, p. 143-164.

[16] M. Şandor Chicideanu, *Cultura Zuto-Brdo Gârla Mare. Contribuţii la cunoaşterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie şi inferioară,* 2003, p. 42-44.

[17] *Ibidem*, p. 43.

[18] *Ibidem*, p. 43-44.

similar situation is found at Ostrovu Mare - Colonie and Mala Vrbica[19] where, under small adobe "platforms", were discovered 3 pits with the dimensions between 4 x 2m and 5 x 3.50m which was initially considered to be hut.

At Ghidici, on a surface of approximate 150 X 60m, between the sand dunes and the Danube, were dogged several dwellings, from which six belong to the Gârla Mare settlement, two of Bistreţ Işalniţa type and four from the First Iron Age[20].

The Gârla Mare type settlements have an approximate rectangular form and rounded corners. The dwelling number 1 (figure II) was destroyed in the northern part, only a 5.25 x 5.60m surface part could be contoured, taking into account the adobe and that numerous ceramic fragments covering the area. The dwelling had a tilt from north to south and a 3 x 1.25m "threshold" in the southern end of it. Only one stake hole was found in the southern side and another garbage pit that contained pottery and animal bones near the eastern side. In the interior of it was found a large amount of ceramics, fragments of anthropomorphic and ornithomorphic representations, silex tools, seashells and snail shells.

The dwelling number 3 (figure II) with the 9.60 x 5.50m dimension, having an approximate rectangular form with rounded corners, about which the author of the digging says it had a purse form, was presented as a compact surface formed from intense burned adobe peaces with a thickness of 0.15 m, which kept traces of twigs, reed, and some secondary burned fragments. The habitation's clay floor was greatly cracked because of the fire that burned down the house and looked like a fireplace crust. In the middle was the fireplace in a "shoe horse" form with the dimension of 1.15 x 1.30m, and on the east and west sides were found stake holes. The dwelling's inventory was formed only from pottery.

The dwelling number 4 (figure III) had the dimension of 6.50 x 6m with an approximate circular form. A round fireplace with the diameter of 0.80 m was situated in the southern part where the entrance was placed too, but in the opposite side was found a "silo" pit with the diameter of 0.50m,

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[19] Mirijana Vukmanović, P. Popović, *Livade a Mala Vrbica. Fouille de sondage de 1980,* in „Derdapske sveske", 2, 1984, p. 91; idem, *Recherches archéologique sur la localité "Livade" près de Mala Vrbica*, in „Derdapske sveske", 3, 1986, p. 7-26.

[20] M. Nica, *Locuinţele de tip Gârla Mare şi Hallsattiene descoperite în aşezările de la Ghdici,* in „Thraco-Dacica", XIII, 1-2, 1987, p. 16-38; idem, *Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracică*, I, Bucureşti, 1995, p.199; idem, *Noi date stratigrafice şi cronologice în aşezările de tip Gârla Mare şi Hallstattian de la Ghidici,* in *Symposia Thracolologica*, 8, Satu Mare,1990, p. 127-128; M.Nica, S. Lazăr, *Locuinţele Hallstattiene descoperite la Ghidici*, in „Cercetări arheologice în aria nord tracă", II, Bucureşti, 1977, p. 87-112; S. Lazăr, *Contribuţii la repertoriul arheologic al jud. Dolj*, in „Arhivele Olteniei", SN, 14, 1999, p. 19-37; S. Lazăr, *Cultura Vârtop în Oltenia*, the Publishing House of the Foundation "Scrisul Românesc", Craiova, 2005, p. 88-91.

near which were found two grindings. The inventory was made up of ceramics.

The dwelling number 5 (figure III) with the dimension of 8.25x6.20m., having a form similar to the previous one was presented as a congestion of adobe peaces with twig and reed traces under which two fireplaces have been found, a rectangular one situated in the middle of the dwelling, having the dimensions of 1.25 x 0.75m and another round one with the diameter of 0.75m situated in an apse on the eastern side. Around the last fireplace were found some more ceramic fragments.

The dwelling number 6 (figure III) with an oval shape and the dimensions 6.2 x 4.35 m is presented under a form of a congestion of adobe, ash, coal and shards which where under the floor of habitat 5. The firehouse was arranged in the northern end of the building, the only thing conserved from it was a round surface with the diameter of 0.65m. The ceramics was scattered around the firehouse and in the west part.

The dwelling number 11 had the dimensions 11x6m, orientated N-V it was presented under the form of an adobe congestion with traces of twig and reed. Around the shoe horse shaped firehouse with the dimensions of 0.90 x 0. 60m a lot of ceramic fragments and ash were found.

The dwelling number 2 (figure IV) had the dimensions 10x6,50m, close to the entrance traces of a 1.25 x 1m rectangular fireplace and ceramic fragments of Bistreț Işalnița type were found. In the number 9 dwelling (figure IV) with the dimensions 10.50 x 6.50m, were identified 2 round fireplaces, one in shoe horse shape and another one rectangular, few ceramic fragments of Bistreț Işalnița type, a clay weight of pyramidal form and a lot of ash. The low ceramic content and the presence of the 4 firehouses determine us to think that this served a different role in the community then the one of living.

The best kept of the hallshtatian dwellings was proved to be dwelling number 7 (figure V) with the dimensions of 9x10m, that appeared at the dimension of 0.90 - 1.20m. Its outline of a rectangular form was given by an adobe belt 1-1.25 m wide, representing the traces of the walls collapsed apparently after a fire. This way we could clearly delimitate the form, the dimension and the N-S orientation of the dwelling that had the entrance towards south. The floor made from sand was slightly leaned from north to south, the level difference being of 0.30 m. The fireplace had a circular form, the diameter of 1m and it was approximate in the middle of the dwelling, it was approximate 0.20 m higher then the floor and it had an edge of 6 cm. Around the firehouse were 2 groups of broken pots and in the western and eastern corners were 20 big pyramidal shaped clay weights, together with numerous clay balls, ceramic fragments and a lot of coal.

The dwelling number 8 (figure V) had a rectangular form, north-south orientated and with the dimensions of 7.50 x 4m. Close to the west wall the shoe horse shaped oven of 0.80 x 0.80m was placed, its arch was

preserved on a 0.02m height. Near by 3 grindings and few Vârtop type ceramic fragments were found.

The dwelling number 10 (figure VI) is similar in shape and dimension with number 7 dwelling but it has a very poor inventory.

At less then 200 m from the previously described dwellings, in a place called Balta Țarova II, a new hallshtatian dwelling (figure VI) have been dogged out. The floor was preserved only on a 2.60 x 2m surface and had the aspect of a seriously cracked fireplace crust, the rest being destroyed by the natural causes that disturbed the sand dune. The fireplace, taking into account the burn traces, was probably round and it was conserved on a 1 x 1.50m surface. In the settlement was found pottery, spindle-whorls, a bronze 8.5 cm long knife and a bronze unadorned needle.

The hallstatian settlement from Ghidici was the only one in which two levels of dwelling belonging to the First Iron Age could be observed, the first level of Vârtop type being super positioned by a Basarabi culture lair, to which dwelling number 12 belongs.

Regularly, Vârtop type dwellings had only one level of dwelling and that one for a short period. D. Berciu made the first presentation of Vârtop type habitations in a study from 1934[21] when he presented the diggings made by C. S. Nicolăescu Plopşor in the perimeter of Vârtop and Plopşor. Some years later in *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*[22] are described the tumuli near which a series of mound-settlement were found. At Vârtop (figure III) such a mound was investigated. It contained a "hut that had an oval outline with the diameter of 4.75m and 3.70m. The entrance was in the eastern part and in the northern part were found firehouses, with the diameter of 0.40 x 0.50m, near which some big rocks were found. These kind of rocks have been found before placed along the walls. In the same place and in the centre of the room stake pits have been found. The whole construction was surrounded by a ditch that widened in the west area up to 0.55m and which had the depth of 0.20m. In this kind of hut the archaeologist found ceramics, similar to that found in the graves, and a bronze needle"[23].

During the Iron Age is observed, as a habitat's characteristic, the existence of some small and short period habitations. Most of the sites mentioned as settlements, are presented actually under the form of familiar establishment groups situated at considerable distances one form another. There are few known examples of settlements in Oltenia, from the Early Bronze or the Late Hallshtatt period, that have more levels of habitation and these are usually in the areas privileged with access at natural resources like the Danube's river meadow.

In the same period, we find fortresses strengthened with a defence vallum as those in Transylvania[24] or that from Popeşti, jud. Giurgiu[25]. In Oltenia

[21] D. Berciu, *Memoriile Institutului de Arheologie Olteană*, 22, 1934.

[22] D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, 1939, p. 294-299.

[23] *Ibidem*, p. 294-299, fig. 178, 179.

[24] V. Vasiliev, *Fortifications de refuge et etablissement fortifie du premier age du fer en Transylvanie,* Bucureşti, 1995.

such fortresses were researched at Portăreşti, Dolj district[26], Măru, Gorj district[27] and Grădiştea, Vâlcea district[28]. They are all situated on a higher relief, on circular surfaces with the diameter between 80 and 1.70 m and are defended with an earth vallum, that from Portăreşti also having a ditch. Excepting that from Măru, which had two levels of dwelling (Verbicioara şi Vârtop), the other two have only one level, from the Early Hallstatt period. About the Portăreşti settlement, (better researched), we know that it had a layer of culture thick of 0.30 – 0.40m, fact that doesn't necessarily stands for an intense dwelling.

The other Hallstattiene fortresses mentioned in the archaeological literature a long time ago (Galicea Mare, Galiciuica, Dobridor, Ghercești from Dolj district and Gemeni, Mehedinți district)[29], weren't dogged or researched previously, and the few information initially known, having the character of some shallow researches, doesn't give us sufficient data to analyze.

At Portăreşti, Dolj district, was dogged a settlement containing pottery very similar with the Vârtop type. The settlement occupies an approximate round shape plateau with the diameter of almost 170m. It is defended by an earth made vallum wide of 7.50 – 8 m and a ditch. Although in the moment of the diggings the earth vallum was flat, the archaeologist estimates that his height was 2.50 m up to the ancient stepping level and 4.50 up to the bottom of the ditch. The vallum was made from a basis of calcareous earth, well rammed, having above, along it, three rows of stones and grit stones pieces, covered with clay containing calcareous fragments. In the exterior part, the vallum descends towards the funnel shaped ditch, wide of 17m and deep of 1.93 m up to the ancient yard.

The dwellings were found in the north part of the plateau. Besides the pottery, there have been discovered a fragment of a bronze bracelet and two needles, one fragmentary and the other with the head rolled (the Rollennadel type). The last one determined the authors of the digging to date the settlement in the A Hallstatt period.

About the role of the fortified settlements some specification must be made. In the past was accentuated their defensive role and was neglected another

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[25] A. Vulpe, in *Istoria Românilor*, p. 366; cf. şi N. Palincaş, *Social Status and Gender Relations in Late Bronze Age Popeşti. A Plea for the Introduction of New Approaches in Romanian Archaeology*, in „Dacia", NS 49-49, 2004-2005, p. 44 and the next.

[26] C. M. Tătulea, *Cercetări în aşezarea hallstattiană timpurie de la Portăreşti, jud. Dolj,* in „Thraco-Dacica", III, 1982, p. 126 and the next.

[27] Gh. Calotoiu, I. Mocioiu, V. Marinoiu, *Mărturii arheologice în Gorj*, Târgu Jiu, 1987.

[28] F. Marinescu, *Cercetări din cetatea Hallstattiană de la Grădiştea, judeţul Vâlcea*, in „Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Militară", 1981-1982, p. 47 and the next.

[29] D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, 1939, p. 143; idem, *Şantierul arheologic de la Verbicioara Dolj*, SCIV, 1, 1950, p. 106.

function – that representing the social prestige. Such a function was presumed to have the fortification from Popeşti, Giurgiu district, as A. Vulpe said.[30]

The apparition of the defended fortresses at the end of the 2nd millennium, wide across the Central and South-West Europe, was interpreted as a tendency of emphasising for the chief of the community "les produits en bronze étaient devenus abondants, fonctionnellment et stylistiquement très varié. Il n'est pas indifférent de sougliner que les outils métallique, qui avaient alors pris une place importante dans tous les secteurs de la productions, ne pouvaient etre fabriqués sans le concours des élites; ce qui pourait induire un déut de controle partiel sur l'économie de subsistance de la part d'une instance supra-locale. Au début de l'Age du fer, la forme de pouvoire politique ne change pas très sensiblement...Des armes et des parures en fer, du sel en grosses quantités, des salaisons et des textiles de luxe font maintenant partie de biens de prestige en circulation."[31]

In the same manner were interpreted some ritual deposits such as the bronze hoard, specially put at the entrance of the Kronach fortress, from the Superior Franconia.[32]

The fact that they don't have only a defensive role against the invaders is suggested also by the anthropological studies. M. Eliade emphasised that "the defensive systems of the settlements and the fortresses had a magic character at first: these systems made of ditches, labyrinths, defensive valli, were conceived to stop rather the entrance of the demons and of the death's souls than the human invasions … the walls of the fortresses were assigned through rituals to serve as a bound against the demon, disease or death. As a matter of fact, in the symbolic thought, the human–enemy is naturally compared with the Demon and with Death. Because the result of any kind of attack, either demonic or military is the same: the destruction, the annihilation, the death"[33].

The archaeological documents from the present stage of the researches, with all the lacks, allow us to observe that, in the same time with the existence of a "spreading" habitat, similar to that of the communities that have as the main mean of existence the grazing, are now present the reinforced fortresses that, along with the proliferation of some fatuous habits (the tumuli from Susani and Lăpuş), denote the existence of some leaders, called şeferi, interested in the affirmation and the maintaining of the social prestige.

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[30] A. Vulpe, *idem*, p. 366; N. Palincaş, *Social Status and Gender Relation in Late Bronze Age Popeşti. A Plea for the Introduction of New Approaches in Romanian Archaeology*, in „Dacia", 48-49, 2004-2005, p. 44 and the next.

[31] P. Burn, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

[32] Quoted by P. Schauer, *Stand und Aufgaben der Urnenfelderforschung in Süddeutschland*, in „Beiträge zur Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen, Monographien " RGZM, Bd. 35, Bonn 1995, p. 165, figure 41.

[33] M. Eliade, *Sacrul şi profanul*, Humanitas Publishing House, 2000, p. 40; idem*, Tratatul de istorie a religiilor* , 1992, p. 341.

It is obviously that the analysis of the dwelling space must be done in tight connection with the funerary space, taking into account the totality of the economical practices regarding the capitalisation of the natural and environmental adapting resources, but also the valorisation of some symbolic practices.

TYPES D'HABITATS DE LA FIN DE L'ÉPOQUE DU BRONZE ET DU DÉBUT DE L' ÂGE DU FER EN OLTÉNIE

(Résumé)

Les recherches d'anthropologie sociale qui analysent les configurations spatiales de site, constituent d'importantes sources pour appréhender l'organisation des sociétés disparues. L'espace d'habitation et les espaces funéraires, par le mobilier induit et les fonctions représentées (armes, parures, outils, vaisselle etc.) offrent des informations pour l'archéologie.

La recherche archéologique démontre l'existence, dans le bronze tardif et le premier age du fer, d'un type d'habitation dispersé, avec des établissements de dimensions plus réduites, qui a laissé non seulement des traces peu nombreuses, mais aussi des habitats fortifiés. Les derniers, présentent l'avantage défensif et en même temps, sont l'expression de l'existence de société hiérarchisée, de type chefferie.
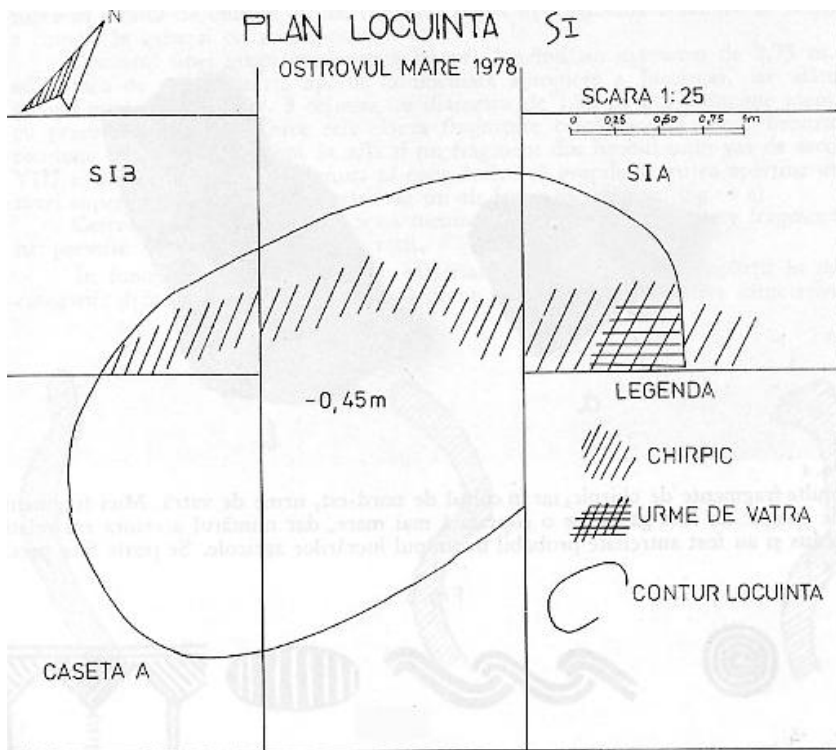
Fig. I. Gârla Mare type of habitats: 1 – Izvoarele, Gruia township; 2 – Ostrovu Mare colony, district Mehedinți (after G. Crăciunescu).
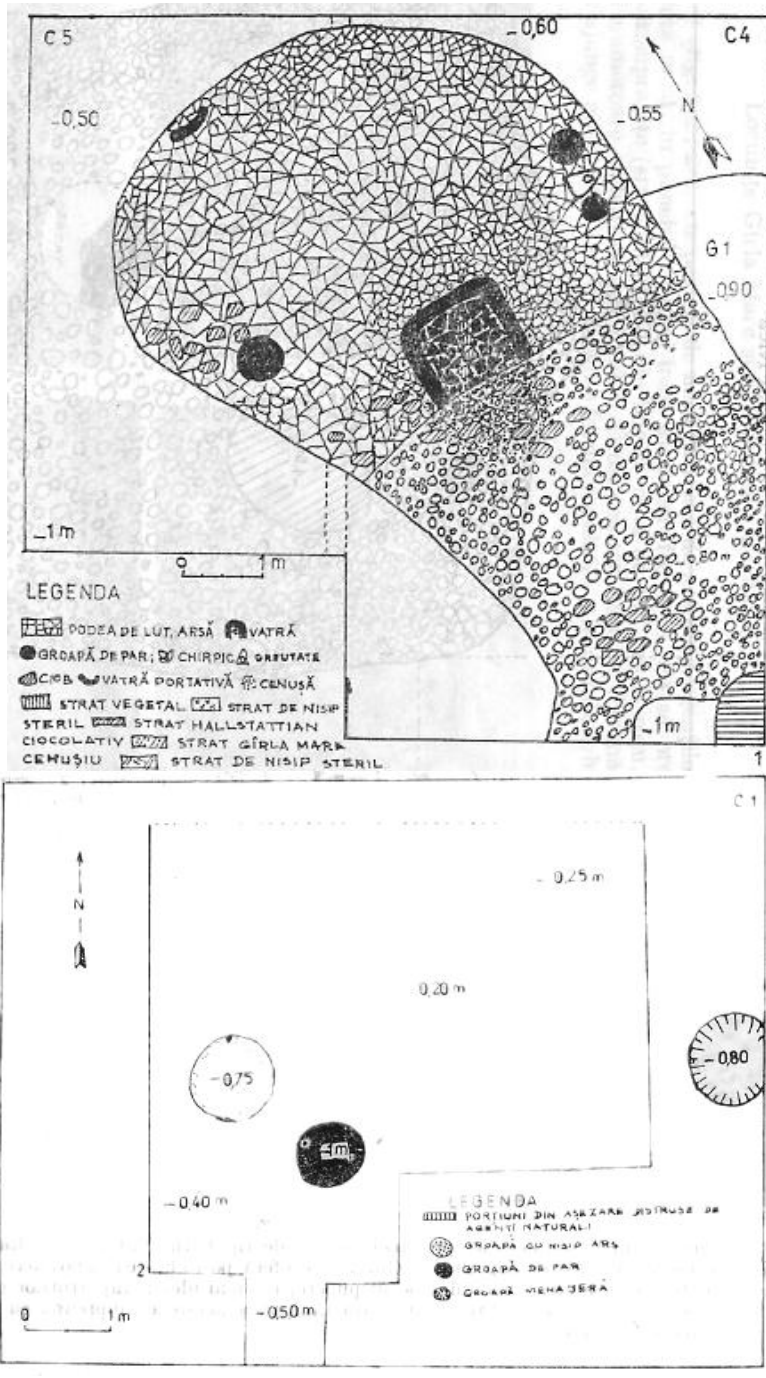
Fig. II. Ghidici habitats of Gârla Mare type: 1 – habitat no. 3; 2 – habitat no. 1.
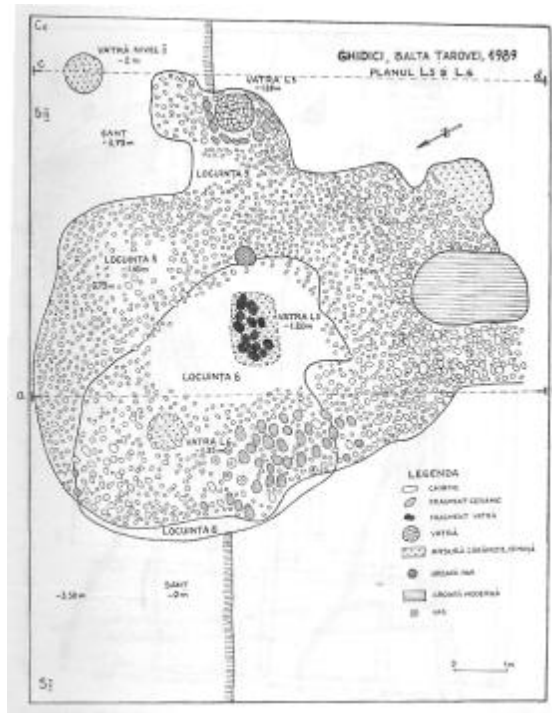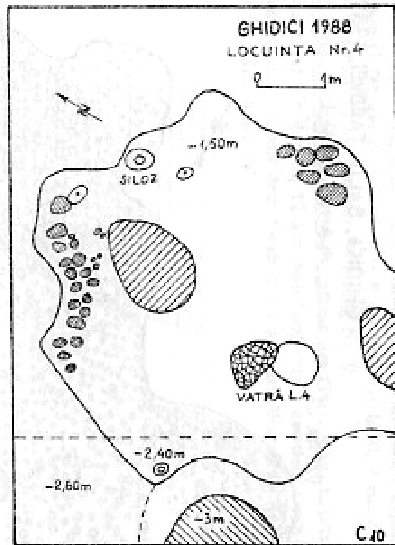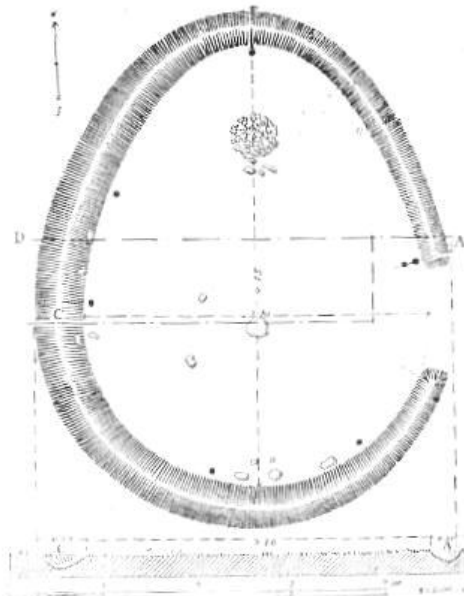
Fig. III. Ghidici, Gârla Mare habitats type: 1 – habitat no. 5 and 6; 2 – habitat no. 4;
3 – habitat from Vârtop (after D. Berciu).
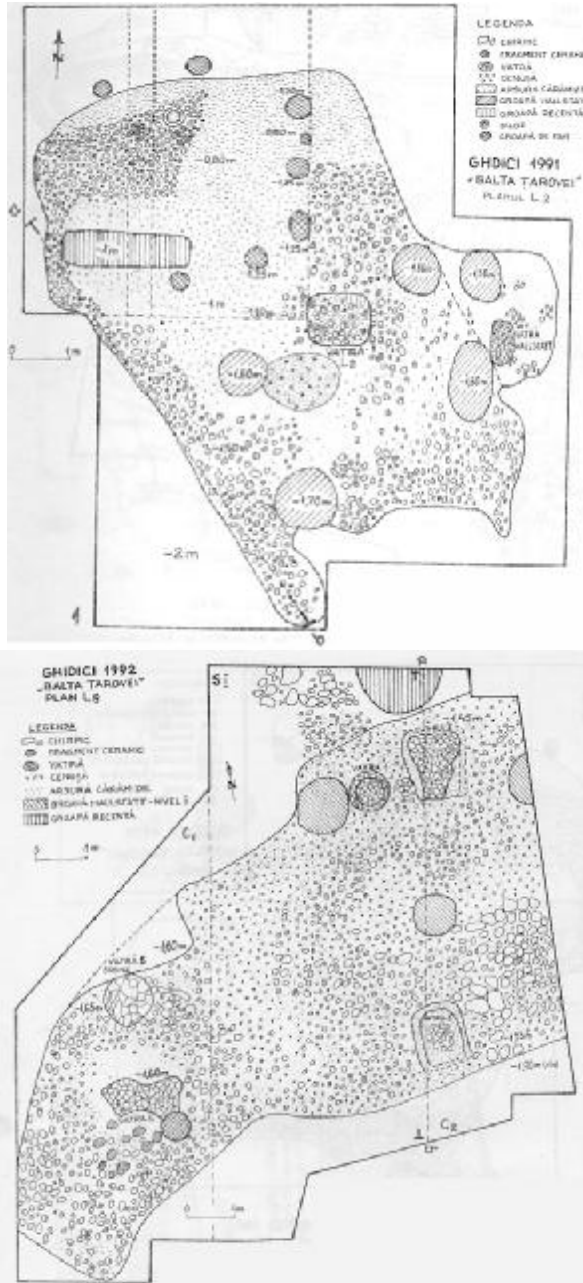
Fig. IV. Ghidici, Bistreț Işalnița habitats type: 1 – habitat no. 2; 2 – habitat no. 9.
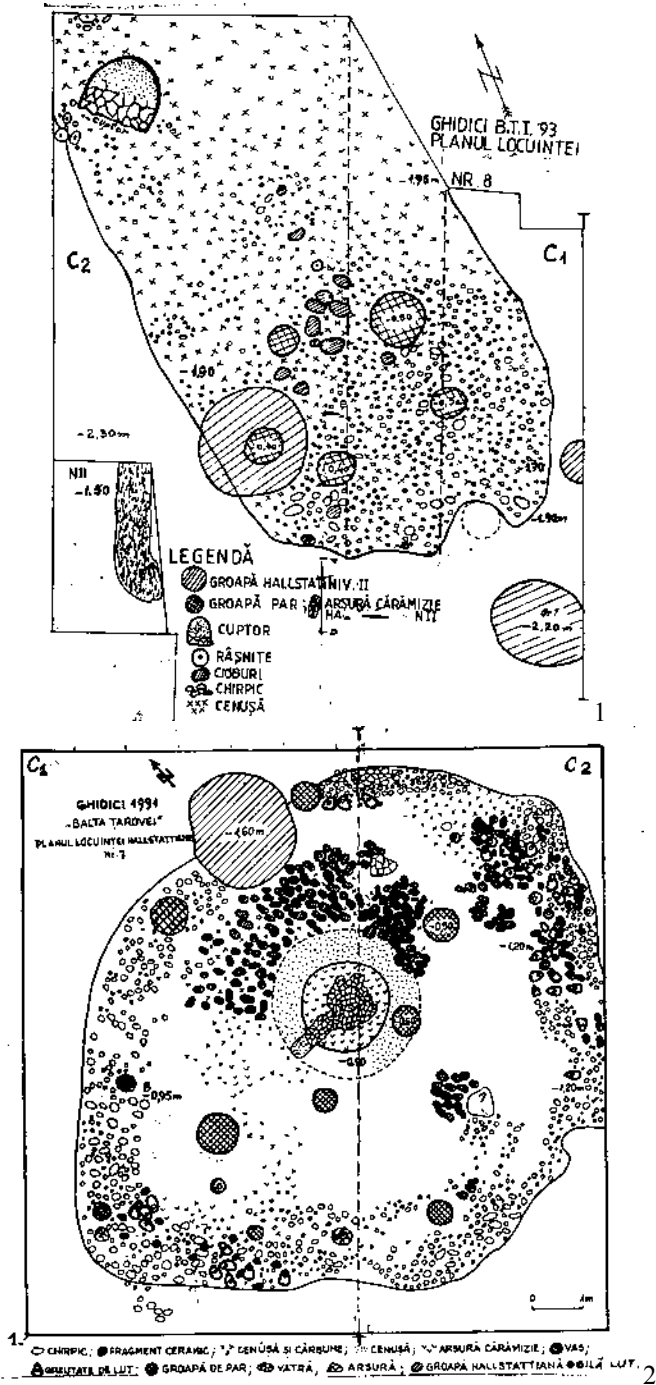
Fig. V. Ghidici, Vârtop habitats type: 1 – habitat no. 8; 2 – habitat no. 7.
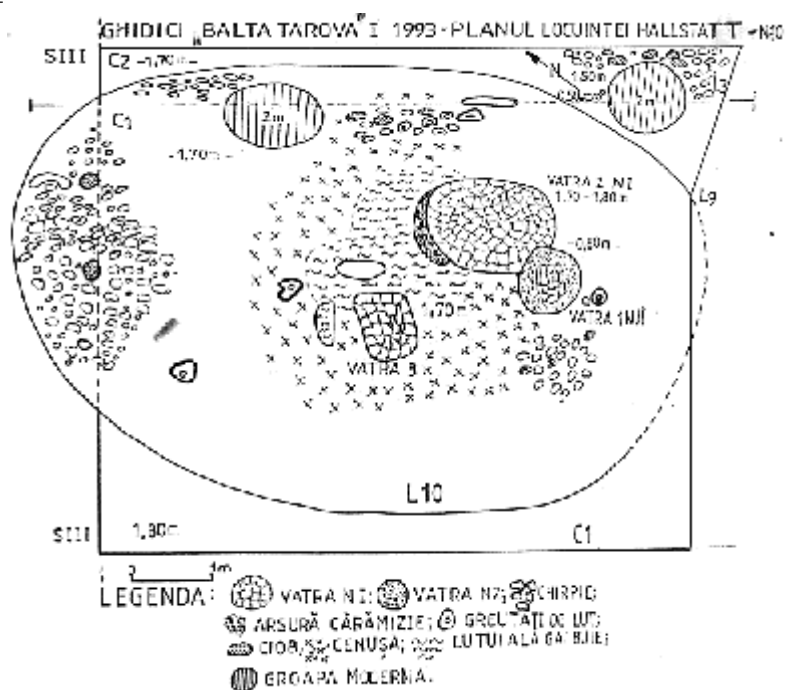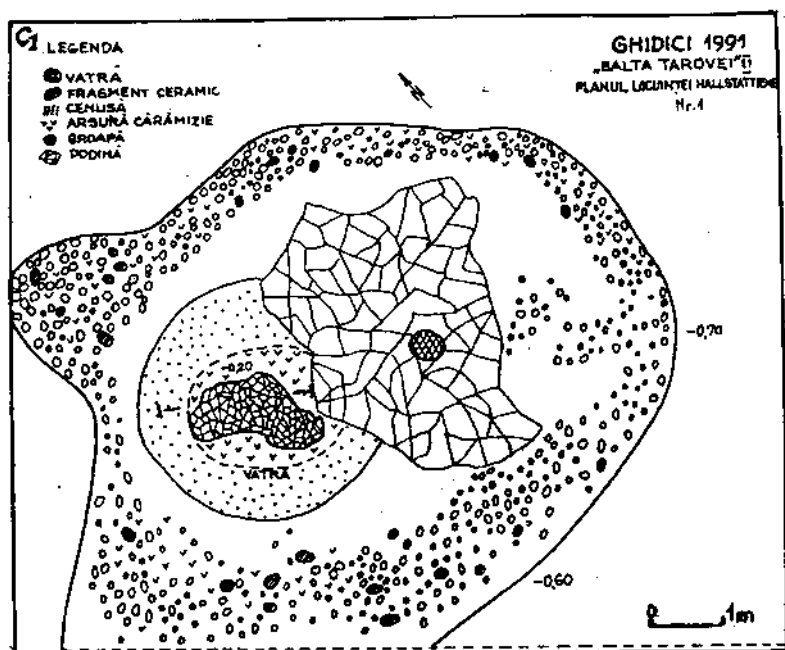
Fig. VI.Ghidici, Vârtop habitats type: 1 – habitat no. 1 Balta Țarova II; 2 – habitat no. 10.

HUNTING FOR FOOD IN THE MIDDLE AGES

MARIN TOMA

The life as we know it is a strange object made through time by all kind of things, events and feelings. In any case, today life is a word that lives because the history gives her the air she needs to breathe. I really don't want to begin a philosophical essay but to show that every part of what we do is called history. Even the smallest roads go to a well known place. Just like them, every single thing made by man represents and defines a science named by us history.

I am sure that every one of us is interested in the social life of our ancestors; we all need to find out what they thought about life, how they believed, in what they believed or how powerful their faith was. It is in our nature to question our past in order to bring to light those events and all those years that are no longer kept in our collective memory.

Sometimes, even today, a man or a woman is being judged by his or her clothes and of course by their manners. Normally, this is not moral at all but as we surely know it is the way for our society. One thing though, can make us feel better. People had the same ideas about each other four hundred years ago.

In the Middle Ages, one of the most important aspect concerning the relations between people was the act of eating. The action, natural for all people, of eating had a lot of interesting habits brought to perfection by the going time. So, during the 17th and the 18th century, men and women had an obsession regarding purity and individualism[1].

From now on, individual plates, knives, glasses, spoons, forks raise a real wall between those that eat at the same table. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, it was a custom to put forth in the common plate, to lap up your soup with other two, from the same porringer; to eat your piece of meat from the same dish; to drink from the same pot without even thinking to use a spoon or a fork[2].

Starting with 1600 everyone begins to use his cutlery in order to take his food to his own plate from the common dishes or saltcellars. But, why all these precautions in a society that did not know very much about cures, microbes and biology?

Maybe, people did not fear filthiness, but they fear to get closer to each other. Then how can it be explained why the writings of those days that show us how to eat, with what or how to prepare the food uses for many times the word cleanliness or purity? A possible explication and I think it is a correct one is that

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[1] Philippe Aries, Georges Duby (coord.), *Istoria vieţii private, vol. V, De la renaştere la epoca luminilor*, trad. De Constanţa Tănăsescu, Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 1995, p. 326.
[2] *Ibidem.*

what they understood by cleanliness is more similar to the word purity as the elegance of the manners.

In those years people thought about filthiness, greedy and agitation to be a lack of consideration to all who were sitting at the table. It was forbidden, as a defiance of the good manners, to bring the food to your mouth using the knife but it was a habit to use him to offer your neighbors the cheese cut to pieces[3].

Another example: the fork was used in order to take almost all the food but was considered to be inappropriate for handling the olives. They were to be taken with the spoon, whilst the nuts were eaten using the fingers. From the 18th century it wasn't necessary to cut the bread but only to break it.

The medieval writings tell us that those people who served the food were very careful and they had specific orders not to collect the rests remained from the meal in front of the guests because they might feel offended. On the other hand, if you want to use your spoon to take some food from a common plate you must clean it first if you used it before. Everyone at a table must be very careful not to stain the napkin because a very filthy one might make someone feel bad or make him nausea.

But it is more to be told about how a meal took place 4-5 centuries ago. Kings and nobility used that protocol to show their power and authority. The Romanian people posses from the 16th century a book known as "*The teachings of Neagoe Basarab written to his son Theodosie*"[4].

This book is very similar to Machiavelli's "Prince", but it is more than some pages with advice about republics, it is a masterpiece of knowledge describing how a prince of Valachia must be in order to rule an orthodox country. It is hard for someone not orthodox to understand these moral and diplomatic way of life.

In one of his chapters, the author (not very well known, unfortunately), says it's normal for the Goodman to eat among his best *boyards*. These meetings were an opportunity of great joy and the prince alone was the one who had to make sure that no matter how drunk his nobles were, he remains with his clear head and will[5].

To delight us, the author of the book says that not the people who drink, eat or make jokes put him in charge of the country, God did. So the king must do the God's will not the one of his nobles. And then we are told what shameful things happen to a drunken prince. It is a good advice for every person that gives a meal to let the people invited to sit how they want. By moving them as you want and divide them in people you like and whom you don't like is going to make the last of them either sad or disappointed either with great anger towards you. Cause the heart of a man is like glass. Once broken, it is impossible to repair[6].

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[3] *Ibidem*, p. 328.
[4] *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, trad. de G. Mihăilă, Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1970, p. 258-265.
[5] *Ibidem.*
[6] *Ibidem.*

Fig. 1. The "Serving of the Peacock" banquet. A facsimile of a Vergilius edition,
published in Lyon, 1517[7].

Another great writer, also Romanian, Dimitrie Cantemir describes in his
book "*Descriptio Moldaviae*" how a meal organized by the ruler of Moldavia
took place at the beginning of the 18th century[8].

When the prince has his lunch, he is always joined by two of his most
powerful nobles and by other two with lower importance. Sometimes at the meal
participates the captains and the old soldiers. The queen usually has her lunch in
separate room with her best friends. Rarely she joins her husband at meal.

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[7] http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/0/9/4/10940/10940-h/images/fig095.png.
[8] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, București, Editura Ion Creangă, 1978, p. 137-140.

In the sound made by clarions, the servants bring the food. After the food is put on the table the Bishop blesses it and water is brought for hand wash. The prince sits at the table first and after him all the others do. The bishop has separate food because he is not aloud to eat meat, made from fish and milk.

After a while when the heads are a little heated, it is time to drink a glass of wine; first in the name of the Creator, then to honor the sultan, but without naming it. The third glass belongs to the bishop who drinks praying the king. Then he blesses him and all of the people at the table raise and kiss the prince's hand. At the end of the meal, a lot of glasses of wine are drunk in honor of every person they can still remember.

The meal is over only when the prince puts his napkin on the table. One of his servants understanding that, hits with his silver stick in the floor. At this sign, all the people raise up. At least, those who still can. Those that are too drunk to move are carried away. When the prince turns his back to wash his hands after the meal his servants grab everything they can because for them it is an honor to eat from the meals organized by the prince.

On the prince's command, the nobles are taken to their houses with music. The day after, they all go to him, they thank him for the honor given to them and they apologize for the mistakes made at lunch when they were drunk. Another example of how such a meal was given by the ruler family is the one in the honor of Paul from Alep and his uncle, the Patriarch Macarie by the prince Constantin Şerban[9].

Paul from Alep says that he observed the Romanians have the custom of bringing the food to the table with music. His remarks about the habit of drinking a large number of glasses in the honor of several persons are very funy because he says he felt like being shudder after all those cups of wine. Paul from Alep tells us that at the beginning of the meal, a candle was lighted near a Madonna[10].

The Swedish diplomat Clas Brorsson Ralamb, another guest of Constantin Şerban, appreciated that the food was very good and that there were a lot of dishes brought during the meal. He also observed the whole ritual of drinking in honor of different persons and, of course, he participated[11].

It is time now to see what people ate. In 1526 the citizens of Sibiu send for the wedding of Radu from Afumati with Ruxandra, daughter of the former prince Neagoe Basarab, wine, fresh fish, 2 oxes, 32 lambs, chickens, flour, bread and oat[12]. The inhabitants of the town of Cluj also served the ambassadors who went to Wiena or Buda with chickens, ducks, sheep, lambs, rams, cows, rabbits, pigs, sausages, fish, vegetables, fruits, milk, drink and many more[13].

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[9] Dan Horia Mazilu, *Voievodul dincolo de sala tronului. Scene din viaţa privată,* Editura Polirom, 2003, p. 213.

[10] *Ibidem.*

[11] *Călători străini despre Ţările Române*, vol. V, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică, 1973, p. 610-611.

[12] Dan Horia Mazilu, *op.cit.*, p. 218.

[13] *Ibidem.*

The Romanian people treated their guests in the same manner; their kings paid for the food brought to all of the diplomats that came to their country. So, a Polish secretary crossing Moldova in 1557 writes that he received at the place were he was staying an ox for food. The same treatment was given to Jacob the Paleolog to whom Alexandru II Mircea sent chickens, meat, candles, bread, wine, oat and hay[14].

A very important food was the fish, used by Romanians when they were keeping the fast. John Newberic, an English merchant wondering in south Basarabia around 1582 describes how the roes were prepared. Therefore, they were cut in very small pieces and kept salted for three days and three nights in a barrel with a hole made in order for salted water to flow[15].

Then the roes were washed very well and put again in the barrel for another three days. After that, they were pressed with some heavy rocks, being now ready for transportation. Another Englishman, Bargrave[16] tells us that the town of Galati is a market were you can find great fish at a very cheap price. He writes that sometimes the villagers caught huge sturgeons.

The same Paul from Alep, whose writings we have mentioned above, describes a royal hatchery near the city of Iasi. We should remember first that these hatcheries were a royal monopoly. Paul writes to us that the fishes from the hatchery were those with roes[17].

Here is one example of how fish was prepared for the meal. The fish is taken, cut into small pieces and salted. After that, you take a pan and pour wine, sugar and vinegar into it, but you got to be careful with the amount of each one of them. When the wine is boiled, it is time to put in the pan the pieces of fish. After a short time, you can put oil over the fish, as well as cinnamon, thyme, mace, onion and pepper. The fish is ready when the juice is thick[18].

At the beginning of the 18th century, there are around 64 recipes involving fishes known in Romania, 20 recipes of food made from different vegetables alongside with recipes that used meat, eggs, sausages and fruit. Many of these recipes had advices of how to use the drink if the food was too spicy. For a perfect meal with more dishes, the cook must choose the perfect sauce for each dish.

The same Paul from Alep, in one of his writings, tells us that in Valahia he found orchards with apples, peaches, pears, cherries, plums, quinces that are very well tended[19].

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[14] *Călători străini despre Ţările Române*, vol. II, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică, 1970, p. 413.

[15] *Ibidem*, p. 516.

[16] *Călători străini despre Ţările Române*, vol. V, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică, 1973, p. 486.

[17] Dan Horia Mazilu, *op. cit.,* p. 219.

[18] Ioana Constantinescu, *O lume intr-o carte de bucate*, Bucureşti, Editura Fundaţia Culturală Română, 1997, p. 103 , apud Dan Horia Mazilu, *op. cit*., p. 222.

[19] *Ibidem,* p. 217.

Across time, history showed that the nobles and the kings loved to hunt. Greeks and Romans appreciated hunting boars. The same feeling was shared by Germans and Celts. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, till 1000 A.D. hunting the boar was considered a ritual by nobles and kings.

Fighting the boar face to face was a heroic act. But around the 14th century, the boar was an animal that was no longer appreciated and his hunt became discredited. The Romans loved this animal for his willing to fight and his force, naming him with words like *acer* (tempestuous), *ferus* (ferocious), *fulmineus* (flying), *rubicundus* (wroth), *saevus* (furious), *torvus* (forbidding), *violentus* (violent);   Christianity transformed him in an impure animal, part of darkness[20].

If Romans considered the hunt of the deer to be without passion and glory because the animal keeps on running, starting with the 14th century the deer changes places with the boar. And this is not a particularly thing known only in France and England but in entire Europe.

Romanian prince Dimitrie Cantemir[21](1710-1711) writes to us that hunting it is a habit considered by rulers to be very pleasant. He says that for the country of Moldavia the hunt made possible his medieval appearance.   The noble Dragos came in the territory of Moldavia by chasing a bison. That is the legend of how Moldavia was established.

Cantemir tells us that the princes used when hunting peasants from the villages surrounding the forest in order to scare the animals and direct them where the hunters with hounds were. The king paid for every animal caught. The most valuable were the deers and the bears. The animals considered impure such as foxes, bears and wild cats were given to the peasants[22].

Writers from Middle Ages thought about the boar that he was ugly and black, that he was a traitor and full of pride having two terrible weapons worthy of hades. The boar was described as an animal that don't looks up, only with his snout in the earth, and when he was satisfied he wanted rest. He was the enemy of Christ. He was the devil[23].

This change of opinions has not only religious fundaments but political as well. From 13th century only the kings possessed large forests were hunting a deer riding was possible. Nobles and captains remained as servants with the hunt of the boar, which is done even by foot. The Christian Church made the boar an animal despised by everyone by putting him in her book of beasts.

The only sin from the mythological seven that it's not associated with the boar was that of being avaricious. The deer becomes with the Christian church a blessed animal. His ten antlers are considered to be a symbol that comes from the Bible as being the Ten Commandments that Jesus gave to the people to protect

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[20] Michel Pastoureau, *O istorie simbolică a evului mediu occidental*, trad. de Em. Galaicu-Păun, Bucureşti, Editura Cartier, 2004, p. 72.

[21] Dimitrie Cantemir, *op. cit.*, p. 140-142.

[22] *Ibidem.*

[23] Michel Pastoureau, *op. cit.,* p. 76.

them against their three great enemies: sorcery, devil and human world[24]. Many authors wrote about the deer making him the animal of Christ, symbol of fecundity and resurrection because his antlers grow every year.

The deer becomes an image of baptism, an enemy of evil. Plinius says that the deer fights all snakes by forcing them to get out of their hole in order to kill them. The Christian writers use that phrase to show again what benefic animal was the deer. It is invoked even the psalm 42 that says "as the deer pleases the water from the well, like wise my soul pleases You, my Lord"[25].

The hunter can now become a saint. An example is the legend of saint *Eustache*, a roman general that sees one day, when hunting, a crucifix between the antlers of a deer. From that day the hunter and his family choused for eternity the Christian religion[26].

The Church didn't manage to suppress the hunting as she wished. It was impossible: during the Middle Ages kings and nobles hunted and shared their capture. But the Church was able to transform this desire to hunt, making them less savage and cruel. In order to do that, the bear and the boar were to become despised animals.

Strange or not, it was for sure effective.

CHASSER POUR LA NOURRITURE AU MOYEN ÂGE

(Résumé)

Dans le Moyen Âge, les gens n'avaient pas les mêmes coutumes culinaires qu'aujourd'hui. La nourriture, aussi que les bonnes manières, utilisées à la table, ne supposait pas l'usage de la fourchette ou du couteau. Toutefois, dans les siècles à suivre, ces coutumes vont changer. Ainsi s'explique-t-il, aussi pour l'espace roumain, que les banquets donnés pour les princes deviennent une vraie occasion de fête pour les nobles (les boyards) et pour les serviteurs. Le prince prenait place le premier et les autres après lui, selon des normes codifiées qui consacrent et mettent en scène l'hiérarchie sociale autour de laquelle toute la société s'organise .

Les goûts des Roumains de Moyen Âge, leur sensibilité alimentaire, ont été observés et décrits par des voyageurs étrangers, intéressés non seulement à la qualité des plats et des vins roumains mais aussi aux cérémonies engendrées .

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[24] *Ibidem*, p. 82.
[25] *Ibidem,* p. 83.
[26] *Ibidem*, p. 85.

HISTORY, LITERATURE AND ART
IN THE SPANISH GOLDEN CENTURY

OANA ANDREIA SÂMBRIAN

The Spanish Golden Century does not really represent a number of one hundred years, but a period. The term „century" has known a lot of significants in time, such as epoque or age. Another acception is that of the people who lived in the same time, while Eugen Cizek proposes a fourth variant, representing a key moment in history[1]. Therefore, we can talk of „the century of Pericle", or „the Spanish Golden Century".

The top moment for the Spanish art is considered to be during the 16th and 17th century, corresponding to the Renaissance and the Baroque, respectively. The 16th century, in turn, is divided in two big periods, the one of Charles V's reign and the one of his son, Philip II.

The Spanish Golden Age is the Spain of some great personalities of mankind. Names such as Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Lope de Vega, Velázquez, Calderón de la Barca, El Greco, hallmarked extremely visible the European world. Their teach us about their own reality, about their most intimate thoughts, making us the great honor of sharing their vision of the world.

The Spain of Velázquez

Diego Velázquez de Silva was born in 1599[2] in Sevilla, son of Gerónima Velázquez and Juan Rodríguez de Silva, descendent of a Portuguese family, who claimed to be the heir of the Alba Longa kings.

The artistic school of Sevilla was the most important in Spain during the first half of the 17th century, dominated by the Baroque spirit, so well represented by Velázquez, the most important Spanish painter of the Baroque époque.

When talking about don Diego's life, Ortega y Gasset said that "it was one of the most natural and simple a man could ever imagine (…) In the case of Diego Velázquez, the very little information we have about his life, has a strange character. We know so little about him, but we do not need to know more, as there was only one big event in Velázquez's life: he was named the king's painter when he was very young"[3].

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[1] Eugen Cizek, *Istoria Romei*, Bucureşti, Editura Paideia, 2002, p. 237.
[2] According to Richard Cumberland, Antoine Dezallier D'Argenville, Antonio Palomino, this event took place in 1594.
[3] José Ortega y Gasset, *Velázquez. Goya*, Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 1982, p. 39.

Till the day of his death, on the 7th of August 1660, Diego Velázquez spent his life at king's Philip IV court, accompanying him all over, including a very important meeting between the Spanish monarch and Louis XIV, on the Pleasant's Island. He was one of Philip's protégés, being named the king's knight in 1659 and decorated with the cross of the Order of Santiago.

By the order of his sovereign, Velázquez painted many portraits of the royal family, like the ones of Philip III or Philip IV riding and in armor, of prince Baltasar Carlos and queen Margarita.

The Spanish society of the 16th century, envied Velázquez for his wealthy position, which brought him many animosities. One day, shortly after being named the king's personal painter, Philip IV told him people said he only knew how to paint heads. The young, 24 year old painter, replied: "Sire, this is a great honor, as I have not seen yet a well painted head"[4].

In his paintings, most of them portraits, Velázquez showed the reality of the Spanish society, dominated by mad people, brought at court by the king himself. The realism of his paintings was, most of the times, overwhelming. In 1776, Mayans y Siscar told an extremely amusing moment, related to the painter's biography. While he was in Italy to make a portrait of the pope Inocentiu X, Velázquez left the finished painting in the pope's room and one of the servants of the latter, when he entered the chamber, thought that the pope was still there[5].

The minuteness of Velázquez's paintings made famous two of his works: "Las Meninas", which was first called "The family" ant "The surrender of Breda", also known as "The Lances"[6].

The first painting reproduces a scene of Velázquez's studio, having princess Margarita and her servants in the forefront, then in the back seat stood the king and queen, whose figures are reflected in a mirror and don Diego himself appears painting on the easel. The technique used was that of light and shade.

Regarding the second picture, it presents a great historic interest. "The Lances" show an event that took place in 1625, when Ambrosio de Spínola, marquis of Los Ballases, the best commander of Philip IV in the 30 year war, conquests the city of Breda, one of the key – places of the Dutch, situated in Brabant. In 1634-1635, Velázquez immortalizes the scene where the Spanish general receives the key of the town from the hands of Justin of Nassau, the brother of Mauriciu of Orania, on the 5th of June 1625, after a four month siege. Spínola allowed the conquered army to leave Breda, keeping their guns and waited at the gates of the town. Afterwards, he saluted the Dutch general who was the first to get out of the fortress, followed by his wife.

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[4] *Ibidem*, p. 49.
[5] Mayans y Siscar, *Arte de pintar. 1776*, f. ed., Valencia, 1854, p. 86.
[6] J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia del arte español*, Madrid, Editorial Plus Ultra, 1968, p. 353.

The notice of the victory had been received with great joy by the people of Madrid and by pope Urban VIII, who congratulated Spínola on washing his hands in the heretic's blood[7].

In November 1625, a play written by Calderón de la Barca was performed at Madrid, based on the surrender of Breda. The author puts in Spínola's mouth the words that were to remain famous: "The value of the conquered ones is what makes the winner famous". Velázquez must have seen the play and, nine years later, after many studies, he forged a historic painting.

On huge canvas, the battle field appears, full of smoke, clouds and blur. On each side of the painting, there are nine figures: the Dutch on the left, and the Spanish, on the right. The group of the defeated ones is achieved with a bigger variety of light and color. The Spanish are more elegant and sophisticated.

Among the multitude of figures, each one of them individualized by the way it was painted, it is believed that the figure of the painter also appears on the canvas. One of the most important elements of the painting are the 28 lances, only four of them being bent. The lances of Velázquez's painting are a national symbol, as they were the characteristic weapon of the Spanish *tercios*, "an obsession for the Spanish, both positive and negative. They sustained the empire, but, at the same time, they cost a great deal of money, much more than the country could spend"[8].

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[7] Norbert Wolf, *Diego Velázquez 1599-1660. The face of Spain*, Taschen, 1999, p. 50.
[8] José Ortega y Gasset, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

Secondly, the lances were the symbol of Spain's menacing power, showing both skill and compassion (Spínola looks at his enemy with kindness and puts his hand on Nassau's shoulder)[9].

The dark haired officer on the right, situated behind Spínola intends to be don Pedro de Barbera, one of the knights of Calatrava, whose portrait had been painted by Velázquez in 1631/1632.

"The surrender of Breda" does not contain any allegoric or mythological reference, representing also the first picture, entirely historic, of the modern European painting.

Many things have been written on don Diego Velázquez de Silva. It is proved by the selection of biographies of the 17th and 18th centuries, commentaries, letters and poems dedicated to him by well acquainted poets, such as Francisco de Quevedo, autographs and documents published in 1960 in the volume "*Velázquez. Homenaje en el tercer centenario de su muerte*" (*Velázquez. Homage on the third anniversary of his death*), by the Diego Velázquez Institute of Madrid. Francisco Pacheco, don Diego's father in law, wrote in 1638: "*Diego Velásques de Silva, mi yerno, ocupa (con razón) el tercer lugar, a quien después de cinco años casé con mi hija, movido de su virtud, limpieza y buenas partes, y de las esperanzas de su natural y grande ingenio*"[10] ("*Diego Velásques de Silva, my son in law, has the third place in my heart, the*

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[9] Norbert Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[10] Francisco Pacheco, in *Velázquez. Homenaje en el tercer centenario de su muerte*, Instituto Diego Velázquez, Consejo Superior de Investigación, Madrid, 1960, p. 15.

man to whom, after five years, I gave my daughter in marriage, impressed by his virtues and qualities and also by my trust in his big and natural talent").

The great painter died on the 7ᵗʰ of August 1660, being laid out in the Alcázar, wrapped in his mantle of the order of Santiago. He was buried during the night at the San Juan Bautista church, in the presence of many royal dignitaries. His wife, Juana Pacheco, survived him only for a week and was buried next to him.

Today, there is no trace left of the church or the tomb of don Diego. But his work did survive.

The Spain of Lope de Vega

Lope Félix de Vega y Carpio was born in Madrid in 1562, and lived a life full of historical events. Maybe, that is the reason why his works are full of such elements, either we refer to his drama or his poems. First and foremost, the figure of the king is evoked as a positive one, playing the role of the best judge, like in Lope's plays "*El mejor alcalde, el rey*" ("*The best mayor, the king*"), "*Fuenteovejuna*" or "*Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña*" ("*Peribáñez and the comendador from Ocaña*").

Regarding the historic events Lope assisted during his 73 years of life, they were so many, such as the personalities that were contemporary to him. The period when Lope lived is one of great flowering for the cultural and spiritual life of Spain. Merchandise from all around the world arrived at the Spanish court, books from Italy and Sevilla, students from Salamanca, the oldest university in Spain and fourth of Europe and Alcalá de Henares, painters from the South.

In 1561, one year before Lope's birth, Antonio de Berruguete, the most representative plastic artist of Spain's Renaissance, died. In 1563, when Lope was still a child, the works of the Council of Trento came to an end, establishing the spiritual dogma of the Spanish life. In 1568-1570, there was the rebellion of the Moors from Alpujarras and Lope will observe the joy in his own home ant of his neighbors for the revival of the *Reconquista*.

In 1568, the prince Don Carlos and queen Isabelle of Valois, died. Close to Lope's house, in López de Hoyos' studio, a young man called Miguel de Cervantes wrote his first verses in honor of queen Isabela. In the same year, the duke of Alba executed the Dutch rebels Egmont and Horn, while Mary Stuart was overthrown.

At the age of nine, Lope heard the first stories about the heroic battle of Lepanto. In 1580, Francisco de Quevedo, one of the most important authors of the novella *picaresca*, was born.

When Lope was 35, the great poet Fernando de Herrera, died. In 1599, Velázquez was born. In 1616, both El Greco and Cervantes die. Lope de Vega witnessed the publishing of the two parts of Don Quijote, in 1605 and 1615, the birth of Don Juan's legend and Calderón's philosophic play "*Life is a dream*".

But Lope did not only witness important historic and cultural events, but was also a part of them. In 1583, we find Lope on the lists of volunteers who were about to leave for the Azore Islands, under the command of the marquis of Santa Cruz, don Álvaro de Bazán, in order to pacify the last island that did not recognize king's Philip authority. In 1588, Lope took part at the war against England, along with the Invincible Armada.

In 1598, king Philip II died and with his successor, Philip III (1598-1621), 23 years of minor politics were to come. In 1600, Philip III moved the court for short time at Valladolid[11].

In 1609, the Moorish were expelled from Spain and in 1621, Lope got to know the third Spanish king in his life, Philip IV. In 1623, Charles I of England came to Spain, together with the duke of Buckingham, looking for a wife. In 1640, Portugal separated from Spain.

In his works, Lope did not only talk about the historic deeds that included him directly or not, but also about the popular feasts, the way how the people of Madrid enjoyed bullfights and religious *fiestas*. One of the center characters of Lope was the city of Madrid, whose buildings and churches, the author described, along side with the Retiro palace.

Lope de Vega, also known of "El Fénix", is not only the author of more than 426 comedies, but also of a big number of poems which try to recreate scenes of day to day life.

Among them, there I one which requires a special attention, as it refers to the visit of Charles I in Spain in the year 1623.

The verses reveal the following:
"*Carlo Estuardo soy*
Que, siendo Amor mi guía,
Al cielo de España voy,
Por ver mi estrella, María"[12].

("*I am Charles Stuart and*
Guided by my love
I came to the sky of Spain
To see my star, Maria").

This quatrain is extremely well known among the English and Spanish historians, who studied the visit of Charles I in Spain. The reason why the verses are so popular among the English is that they appear in James Howell's chronicle, from the 17th century, entitled "*Family Letters*". Finding himself by accident in Madrid in the spring of 1623, Howell attended the demand of the English ambassador to accompany Charles in his visit.

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[11]Alonso Zamora Vicente, Lope de Vega: su vida y obra, in
http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=7082
[12] *Lope de Vega. Edición crítica de Rafael Iglesias*, Brnedictine University, Lisle, Illinois, 2001, p. 85.

The verses were sent by Howell in a letter delivered to captain Thomas Porter, on the 10th of July 1623. The Spanish society of that time thought that Charles came to Spain to become a Christian, and, on the other hand, the people at court, evaluated the benefits that a personal union between Spain and England could bring to them.

Through this virtual marriage, Charles I was trying to become a mediator for the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, whose misunderstandings devastated Europe at the time. The Spanish were extremely refractory to the idea of giving their infant in marriage to a heretic, and that is why they postponed the offer for some years, managing to maintain Charles' hopes and to keep away from an English military offensive. The heir to England's throne remained in Spain till September 1623, but he will not receive a positive answer from the Spanish authorities, that would lead to hostilities in 1625, when the English attacked Cádiz. Lope alluded to this event with a series of allegoric elements, comparing Charles to a rainbow which left London to arrive in Spain:

"*Iris del cielo de la Gran Bretaña*
Después de tanta tempestad, España
Te mira en breve esfera luminosa")[13].

("*Rainbow of the sky from Great Britain*
After this great storm, Spain
Sees you in a big bright sphere").

As for Lope's historic plays, there sometimes came up the question whether they were based on real facts or not. For many historians who studied Lope's works, the most real from the historic point of view, seems to be "*Fuenteovejuna*", which narrates the collective vengeance of the villagers of Fuenteovejuna against the abuses of their *comendador*. The event is mentioned in the "*Chronicle of Rades*", and the *comendador* is historically attested.

Lope is the author of many plays with universal history events or characters, such as "*The slave of Rome*", "*The great feats of Alexander*", "*Rome in flames*", "*The great duke of Moscow*", "*The famous Transilvanian prince*", which evokes the figure of Sigismund Báthory.

Lope de Vega is the typical example of the genius, of the man who surpassed his contemporaries in order to observe and to surprise better their day to day life. Lope fought and created. He fought for the ideal of a great Spain and he created an impressive work. Lope de Vega is, for sure, the spirit of a historic period, his life being a lived and assumed history.

But not only Lope was a warrior and untamed spirit. His contemporaneous, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, fought and lost the use of one arm during the battle of Lepanto, wrote two Odes dedicated to the Invincible

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[13] Lope de Vega, *En la entrada del Serenísimo Príncipe de Gales*, in „Lope de Vega. Edición crítica de Rafael Iglesias", Brnedictine University, Lisle, Illinois, 2001, p. 95-96.

Armada and some plays about him being captured by the Moors and brought in captivity to Alger.

In the 18th century, almost every Spanish home gave the country a monk, a soldier or both[14].

The king and the church have always been the symbols of the Middle Ages, the symbols of power. The king sent his army to fight in order to conquer new territories, and to increase his country's influence upon the others.

But to me, the real symbols of the époques through time are always the ones who immortalize the reality of their day to day life, the painters and the writers. The borders have not survived through time, but the works of these great creators of art, did. Politics have changed, the entire world has changed, but the works of art are eternal.

HISTOIRE, LITTÉRATURE ET ART DANS L'ESPAGNE DU SIECLE D'OR

(Résumé)

L'époque Dorée de l'Espagne, qui porte sur la période comprise entre le XVI- ème et le XVII- ème siècle, a été très importante, notamment pour le champs de la littérature et de l'art. Lope de Vega et Velázquez constituent sans aucune doute uns des plus représentatifs personnages de cette époque, car ils ont su réaliser une image si réaliste de leur temps, en utilisant les verses et la peinture. Des tableaux très impressionnants parmi l'oeuvre de Velázquez comme "Las Meninas" et "Les lances" constituent une vive et vraie image de l'Espagne de la monarchie autrichienne, de même que les verses de Lope qui parlent des évènements remarquables qui ont marqué la vie quotidienne de l'Espagne du Siècle d'Or.

Lope de Vega a été un personnage vraiment complet, car il a écrit et a lutté, comme son voisin, Cervantes, pour l'idéal d'une Espagne grandiose. Le premier Siècle d'Or de l'histoire de l'Espagne représente évidemment pour celle-ci une période importante, car c'était la qu'elle a connu une des plus grandes floraisons de sa culture.

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[14] Ramiro de Maeztu, *Don Quijote, Don Juan şi Celestina*, Cluj, Biblioteca Apostrof, 1999, p. 78.

THE ESTATES OF THE GLOGOVEANU BOYARS IN THE DOLJ AND THE ROMANAȚI DISTRICTS

ILEANA CIOAREC

Original from the locality Glogova, neighbouring with Baia de Arama, from which the family took the name, the Glogoveanu boyars are attested for the first time in the 15th century, when the documents mentioned a certain Stanciu from Glogova, married with Anca, the sister of the ruler Basarab the Young (Basarab Țepeluş)[1].

Owning a wide landed property, the Glogoveanu family, could join other families with an old and far off origin as boyars, probably before the foundation of the feudal state Walachia. The existence of their estate is proved by a great number of testaments and many others documents in which are specified the frontiers (*hotărnicii*) that have remained as a testimony along the time.

This noble family owned properties in four from the five districts of Oltenia: Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți and Romanați.

The estate in which they actually dwelled and the centre of theie socio-economic and political life was Glogova, situated in the north-eastern parts of Oltenia. After the members from this family had established a residence in Craiova, the main city of the province, to the end of the 17th century, they tried to extend their dominions in the districts from the field region, Dolj and Romanați.

In the Romanați district the Glogoveanu family had many possessions: Popeşti, Corlăteşti and Boanta.

The village Popeşti (near Pârşcoveni, the Olt district, lost nowadays) is mentioned in a document emitted in May 31st 1596, through which, the *logofăt* Vladislav from Fălcoiu received a written permission from the ruler of that time to buy properties (*ocine*) in this village from the priest Radu and the priest Albu for the price of 2400 *aspri*[2].

At September 5th 1626 the estate was owned by Florica, the daughter of the *comis* Radu Corlătescu. Preda enclosed "by force" this land and gave it lately

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[1] Constantin Rezachievici, *Cronologia domnilor din Țara Românească şi Moldova 1324-1881*, vol. I. *Secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucureşti, The Enciclopedic Publishing House, 2001, p. 127; Radu Crețeanu, *Biserica din Glogova*, in „Mitropolia Olteniei", year VIII, 1956, nr. 6-7, p. 360; Ion Florescu, *Note istorice din ținutul voievozilor Jiului*, in „Viața Românească", year XXXVII, nr. 5-6, 1945, p. 47-48.

[2] *Documenta Romaniae Historica, B, Țara Românească*, vol. XI (1593-1600), Bucureşti, The Publishig House of the Romanian Academy, 1975, p. 221 (further below will be quoted DRH).

to his brother-in-law the purveyor Antonie and to his consort Smaranda. They sold the estate to lady Elina, the wife of Matei Basarab. In 1658 Necula Glogoveanu bought the Popeşti property (near Pârşcoveni, the Olt district, lost nowadays) from Elina[3]. It is unknown for how long this property remained in their possession because, starting from that year no data are available regarding the estate from Popeşti.

Another estate from Romanaţi, which belonged to the Glogoveanu family, was Corlăteşti (near Cezeni, the Olt district). It was obtained after the marriage between Necula Glogoveanu and Florica, the daughter of Radu a *comis* from Corlăteşti. In a document emitted in 3rd November 1516 Neagoe Basarab sanctioned the decision taken by the *logofăt* Stanciu and the priest Frâncu that, after their dying, if they won't have any descendents from the Corlăteşti family, the property should remain to the monastery Cornet[4]. At 5th September 1626, the estate was belonging to Florica, the daughter of the *comis* Radu Corlătescu, and to the *pitar* Nicola Glogoveanu. After this date, the *vătaf* Necula, having some dues to pay towards Preda, a former great ban of Craiova, had to sell several villages, among which Corlăteşti was too[5]. During the reign of Matei Basarab, the village – occupied by the Buzeşti boyars – was bought by lady Elina, who let it to lady Bălaşa, the wife of Constantin Şerban. In 1658, the *pitar* Nicola bought back the village with 300 ducats and became again the landowner of the estate. In 1722, the estate was the property of Matei Glogoveanu. Six years later, Ilinca Strâmbeanu appeared as the owner and she would leave the possession to his son Ioan (a document from March 6th 1728). At the end of the 18th century the *biv vel serdar* Ioniţă Glogoveanu was at law with the *serdar* Ştirbei regarding the estate from Corlăteşti. The *serdar* Ioniţă Glogoveanu sustained that Ştirbei enclosed, without any right, this estate. As an argument he brought the charter of Mihnea the Third from 1658, through which was confirmed the possession of Nicolae Glogoveanu over the Corlăteşti, Boanta, Voineşti and Popeşti villages[6]. The *serdar* Ştirbei contested the validity of the document, saying that the village mentioned above had been in the possession of Nicola's sister, Aniţa Rusiţa, who sold it to Constantin Strâmbeanul. Glogoveanu mentioned that this sale wasn't correct. After the measurements were done, was decided that half of the village should be due to Ioniţă Glogoveanu, and the other half to the *serdar* Ştirbei[7]. At 1st September 1811 was mentioned another owner, the *vornic* Barbu Ştirbei, who let it to his granddaughters, the daughters of Stanca Pârşcoveanu.

[3] Marin Matei Popescu, Adrian N. Beldeanu, *Mihnea al III-lea (1658-1659)*, Bucureşti, The Militar Publishing House, 1982, p. 68.

[4] *DRH, B, Ţara Românească*, vol. II (1501-1525), Bucureşti, The Publishig House of the Romanian Academy, 1972, p. 288.

[5] *Ibidem*, vol. XXI (1626-1627), Bucureşti, The Publishig House of the Romanian Academy, 1965, p. 263.

[6] Marin Matei Popescu, Adrian N. Beldeanu, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

[7] Arhivele Naţionale Dolj, Colecţia Documente, package CCCXLI, dos.29/the end of the 18th century, f. 1-2.

The boyars from the Glogoveanu family held also, starting with 1626, the estate Boanta. It was mentioned for the first time in a charter emitted at 3rd April 1566, through which, Petru Voievod, gave a half from the property of Bonteni to Neagomir and the other half to Neagoe[8]. After this date and until 1626, the estate had many owners. In October 1571 – October 1572, Alexandru the Second Mircea gave to the monastery Boanta the proprieties from Boanta that belonged to Neagoe, the son of Stanca, to Bratu, Dragu, the son of Stoica, to Stoian and Radu, being bought by the Father Superior Dorothei. The monastery received, along the time, from different rulers, many legal confirmations for these parts of the estate. At 3rd June 1596, Michael the Brave, accorded to the *dregător jupân* Radu, great *clucer*, to Preda, great *postelnic* and to Stroe, great *stolnic*, the possession over several parts from the village Bonteni, along with vineyards and mills, bought from Staicu, Radu and Stroe for 16700 *aspri*[9]. At 5th September 1626 the village Bonteni was in the property of the *jupâniţa* Florica, the wife of Necula from Glogova and the daughter of the *comis* Radu from Corlăteşti. After this date, the *vătaf* Necula, owing some debts to Preda, former great ban of Craiova, had to sell some of the villages among which Boanta was too[10].

At the end of the 18th century, the *serdar* Ioniţă Glogoveanu was at the law with the *serdar* Ştirbei regarding the possession of some villages. Among them, Boanta counts too. Ştirbei sustained that the estate was the property of his great-father Strâmbeanu but he changed it with the estate from Clejneşti, which was a property of the Glogoveanu family[11].

This family had other estates in the Dolj district too, where they possessed a part from Valea Muierii, Melineşti and Răcari.

These were bought (the estates from Melineşti and Valea Muerii), or, were dowered such is the estate from Răcari, obtained after the marriage between Constantin Glogoveanu and Elena Otetelişanu.

Some parts of the estate from Melineşti were obtained after they were bought directly from the freeholders by the *clucer* Nicolae Glogoveanu and by his son Constantin. At 9th May 1804, Constantin Tabacu and his wife Smaranda Melinescu sold to Stanciu, the son of Vladu Mădularu and to Gheorghe Chirea, 100 *stânjeni* of land in Melineşti. At 2nd September, in the same year, and 22nd, the next year, this piece of land became the property of Nicolae Glogoveanu, in exchange for some debts that Constantin Tabacu owed to him. At 1st March 1820, Ecaterina Melinescu and his husband Drăghici Preoţescu sold more *stânjeni* from this property to Nicolae Glogoveanu: at 18th August 1820 (3 *stânjeni*), at 20th August 1820 (6 *stânjeni*), 30th November 1824 (17 *stânjeni*), at 15th July 1825 (one

[8]*Documente privind istoria României*, 16th century, B. Ţara Românească, vol. III (1551-1570), Bucureşti, The Publishig House of the Romanian Academy, 1952, p. 223.

[9] *DRH, B* vol. XI (1593-1600), p. 223-224.

[10] *Ibidem*, vol. XXI (1626-1627), p. 263.

[11] Arhivele Naţionale Dolj, Colecţia Documente, package CCCXLI, dos.29 / the end of the 18th century, f. 1-2.

stanjen). That's why, in 1828, the estate from Melineşti had many owners, some so called *megieşi,* as the *ceauş* Dincă and the *clucer* Nicolae Glogoveanu[12]. In 1831 this estate was owned all of a heap by the *comis* Constandin Glogoveanu and four old men: Staicu, Preda, Mihu and Mihai together with theirs so called *cetaşi*[13]. In 1843 the estate was in the property of the freeholders and of the *clucer* Constandin Glogoveanu. Eight years later, owners of the village had become the *aga* Constantin Glogoveanu and another two members of the family Melinescu, Constantin and State, and the freeholders[14].

        Another estate from the possessions of the Glogoveanu family is Valea Muierii. Before becoming the property of this boyar family, it belonged to the Melinescu family. At 1st January 1810, Ecaterina Melinescu, sold to Nicolae Glogoveanu 30 *stânjeni* from the Valea Muierii estate. At 15th July the same Ecaterina Melinescu sold to the same boyar another 5 stajens from the land. At 10th 1815 Fiera Melinescu sold to Nicolae 17 *stânjeni* which she previously bought from Constantin Mândru. During 1819-1829, Ecaterina and Barbu Miclescu sold many more *stânjeni* from the Melineşti estate to the Glogoveanu family: at 15th May 1819, 70 *stânjeni*; at 14th April 1819 50 *stânjeni*; at 1st January 1824, 50 *stânjeni*; at 25 January 1824, 80 *stânjeni*; at 8th February 1824, 20 *stânjeni*; at 14 June 1824, 46 *stânjeni*; at 4th June 1825, 26 and ½ *stânjeni*; at 12th August 1824, 10 *stânjeni*; at 2nd July 1829, 10 *stânjeni*. Except for the members of the Melinescu family, others dwellers from Valea Muierii, also sold their parts from this estate to the Glogoveanu family. At 5th January 1819, Constantin, the son of Şerban and Niţu, the sons of Şerban, sold to the boyar Glogoveanu 33 *stanjeni*. At 15th January 1824, Ion, the son of Sandu Ureche, sold to Nicolae Glogoveanu 20 *stânjeni* from the estate. After this date, Ion, the son of Sandu Ureche, sold more *stânjeni* from the land to these boyars: at 18th December 1824, 8 *stânjeni*; at 22nd April 1823, 20 *stânjeni*. At 25th April 1833, Radu, the son of Mandru Călugărul from Godeni, sold to Constantin Glogoveanu 22 *stânjeni* from Valea Muierii. At 3rd March 1823, Preda, the wife of Dinu Godeanu, along with Marin, the son of Constantin Godeanu and Radu, the son of Constantin, 10 *stânjeni*.

        The estates from Melineşti and Valea Muierii were offered, after 1843, as dowry by Constantin Glogoveanu to his daughter Ecaterina, when she married Alexandru Miclescu[15].

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[12] Paul-Emanoil Barbu, Vladimir Osiac, *Catagrafia judeţului Dolj din anul 1828*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2001, p. 325-326; Dinică Ciobotea, Monica Călinescu, *Proprietatea asupra pământului în judeţul Dolj, la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea*, in "Mitropolia Olteniei", new series, year XLIII, 1991, nr. 3, p. 97.

[13] Ion Donat, Ion Pătroiu, Dinică Ciobotea, *Catagrafia obştească a Ţării Româneşti din 1831*, Craiova, Helios Publishing House, 1999, p. 50; Dumitru Bălaşa, *Date privind localităţi din Oltenia şi bisericile lor între anii 1823-1840*, in "Mitropolia Olteniei", year XXVIII, nr. 5-6, 1976, p. 423; Dinică Ciobotea, Monica Călinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

[14] Dinică Ciobotea, Monica Călinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

[15] Arhivele Naţionale Dolj, Colecţia hotărnicii, dos. 359, f. 1-111.

In 1864, on the lot from the Melineşti owned by Ecaterina Miclescu were put in the possession of land 17 socmen (13 of them with 2 oxen, 2 of them poor peasants, another 2 got only a parcel for building a house and for a garden), receiving 119 acres and 664 square *stânjeni*[16].

In 1863 the dwellers from Melineşti were at law with the leaseholder Ion Dimulescu. The villagers reclaimed that the leaseholder cut wood from their forest and not from the Ecaterina Miclescu's forest. The court designated a surveyor to establish who owned the forest. The trial lasted until 1884 and finished with the reconciliation of the parties[17].

In 1880[18] and 1882[19] the lots from the estates Melineşti and Valea Muierii of Ecaterina Melinescu were separated from the other ones.

The estate Răcari became the property of the Glogoveanu family, after the marriage of Constantin Glogoveanu with Elena Otetelişanu[20]. Previously, this estate belonged to the *vornic* Matei Brăiloiu (1722 şi 1727[21]) and to the Otetelişanu family (the great *clucer* Dincă Otetelişeanu in 1819[22] and his lady Catinca Otetelişeanu in 1831[23] and 1843[24]). The possession from Răcari became the property of the Glogoveanu family before 1849, as results from the two documents. The first, a petition of the inhabitants of those places in which they declared their discontent regarding the administrator of the estate, Hristodor Ivanovici[25], and the second is a contestation of the administrator Hristodor Ivanovici, addressed to the rule of the Dolj district, in which he showed his discontent regarding the way the inhabitants performed their duties[26]. In 1864 on the property of Constantin Glogoveanu were put in the possession of land 216 socmen (5 with 4 oxen, 130 with 2 oxen and 81 poor peasants), receiving 1305 acres and 5429 and 32 m (26 *prăjini*) of land. In 1868, the inhabitants from Răcari reclaimed to the authorities that Constantin Glogoveanu, the owner of the estate, took from them, a year before, a third from the land they had received in 1864, asking for justice. In order to solve their request, was constituted a

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[16] Dinică Ciobotea, Monica Călinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

[17] Arhivele Naţionale Dolj, Tribunalul Dolj, Secţia I, dos. 35/1873, f. 1-146.

[18] *Ibidem*, Colecţia Hotărnicii, dos. 359, f. 1-2.

[19] *Ibidem*, dos. 304, f. 1-5.

[20] Dinică Ciobotea, Vladimir Osiac, *Scurt istoric al oraşului Filiaşi*, in "Oltenia. Studii. Documente. Culegeri", the 3rd series, year V, 2001, nr. 1-2, p. 193.

[21] Nicolae Chipurici, *Judeţul Mehedinţi într-o conscripţie de la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea* in "Drobeta", 1978, p. 147 ; Dumitru Bălaşa, *Oameni şi sate din judeţul Mehedinţi în 1727*, in „Mehedinţi. Cultură şi civilizaţie", vol. IV, 1982, p. 74.

[22] Ioana Constantinescu, *Structuri socio-fiscale în judeţul Mehedinţi după Catagrafia din decembrie 1891*, in "Mehedinţi – Istorie şi cultură", vol. I, 1978, p. 199.

[23] Ion Donat, Ion Pătroiu, Dinică Ciobotea, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[24] *Ibidem*.

[25] Arhivele Naţionale Dolj, Prefectura judeţului Dolj, Servicul administrativ, dos. 17/1849, f. 56-57.

[26] *Ibidem*, f. 306-307.

Commission of Establishment, which analyzed the documents of both sides and decided that Constantin Glogoveanu should keep this third part of the land[27]. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the owner of the Răcari estate, with a surface of 1120 arable acres and of a forest, was the same Constantin Glogoveanu[28].

The large number of estates demonstrates both their quality as important boyars and the economic role that they played in the Romanian society.

LES PROPRIÉTÉS FONCIÈRES DES DISTRICTS DE DOLJ ET DE ROMANAȚI

(Résumé)

Nés à Glogova, les boyards Glogoveanu sont attestés pour la première fois dans le XVe siècle quand les documents signalent un certain Stanciu de Glogova, marié avec Anca, la soeur du prince régnant Basarab Țepeluş.

Maîtres sur une immense propriété foncière, les boyards Glogoveanu ont pu se rallier aux autres familles avec une ancienne et supérieure origine seigneuriale, devant la constitution de la principauté de la Valachie. L'existence de leur propriété foncière est demontré par plusieurs testaments, cadastres, restés comme témoignage tout au long des siècles.

Cette famille seigneuriale a eu des propriétés foncières dans les districts: Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți et Romanați.

Leur propriété d'origine et le lieu d'affirmation socio-économique et politique a été Glogova, situé au nord-ouest d'Olténie. Après les membres de cette famille ont établi la résidence à Craiova, la ville centrale d'Olténie, vers la fin du XVIIe siècle, ils ont cherché à agrandir leurs propriétés foncières dans les districts Dolj et Romanați.

Ces propriétés foncières démontrent la qualité de grands boyards et le rol économique joué par les boyards Glogoveanu dans la société roumaine.

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[27] *Ibidem*, Prefectura județului Dolj, Servicul Administrativ, dos. 154/1868, f. 1-11.

[28] Ana Cumbary, Maria Manoil, Mihail Canianu, Aureliu Candrea, *Dicționar geografic al județului Doljiu*, București, 1896, p. 549-550.

THE URBANISTIC EVOLUTION OF THE CITY OF DROBETA - TURNU SEVERIN REFLECTED IN THE PLANS AND DESIGNS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

GABRIEL CROITORU

The War between Russia – Turkey (1828-1829) that ended through the Peace from Adrianopole (1829, September 2nd- 14th) had very important results in the social and economic evolution of the Romanian Principalities. Following this Treaty, the Danube would become an important thoroughfare for goods and products.

The new conditions that followed The Adrianopole's Peace will lead to the revival of some old towns such as: Giurgiu and Brăila, and equally, to the setting up of some new ones: Severin, Alexandria, Calafat, and so on[1].

Russia's wish of counterattacking the influence of Austria to the Lower Danube (where sailing has already begun in 1830 with an Austrian shi called "Franz I"[2]), together with the necessity of creating a harbor downstream Cazane (where there were smooth waters, and ships could spend their winter there) led to the appearance of a new town in the Field of Severin[3].

Thus, in March 1833, the General Governor of the Romanian States, Pavel Kiseleff, visited the ruins from Drobeta and afterwards, another town, called Cerneți. This town has been burnt down by the Turks in 1828, August, 6th and has not been rebuilt. Moreover, it has also been struck by the floods of River Topolnița each spring, for a few years in a row. The inhabitants welcomed the Governor and asked him to displace the entire village on the field of Severin, surrounding the Roman Caster. Realizing the importance of building a town in this area, General Pavel Kiseleff ordered through Order No. 19, from 1833, April, 22nd, "the building of a new trade-town – Turnu-Severin by means of displacing the inhabitants of Cerneți to the Field of Severin, following their good wish". The Magistrate of Cerneți together with local traders Gheorghe Opran and Ion Gărdăreanu dealt with the performing works. They had the revenues of the estate and fishery near the Danube of Small Valachia at their disposal. Also, the money resulting from the sales of the plots for houses from the inheritance of Severin were meant to be used for building a house for the Magistrate, a Law

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[1] Nicolae Iorga, *The History of Romanian People*, Bucureşti, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981, p. 321.

[2] C. Pajură, D.T. Giurăscu, *The History of the town of Turnu Severin,* Bucureşti, 1933, p. 51.

[3] Nicolae Iorga, *op.cit.,* p. 580.

Court, a School , a Prison, a Church and a Bar. The Board of Administration was forced to put the map of Severin and two plans – necessary for the construction of the new town, at the disposal of the Magistrate of Cerneți. All these have been sent in 1833, April 27th by the Department of Lăuntru[4].

The contract is signed in the Court of Mehedinți County between Bălaşa Fratoştinţeanca and Ion Severineanu – landowners and dealers and the Magistrate of Cerneți as buyer with the sum of 90000lei[5] in 1833, May, 8th.

After the analysis of the first plan of the town of Severin made by the State Engineer and sent in 1833, April 27th to the Magistrate of Cerneți and to Engineer Moritz von Ott to be performed, the surface of the newly-born town would have been of 396000 square fathoms. Of these: 76000 were destined to squares and streets; 120000 were asserted by the local gentry and chapmen as being given to them in 1832; the rest of 200000 square fathoms, represented "goods for sale" at the price of 4 lei and 50 chinks[6].

According to this first plan, the town was designed in front of the foot of the Bridge of Traian, area divided into 500 pieces house lots meant to be offered to the inhabitants of Cerneți[7].

According to a letter sent by Ion Gărdăreanu, president of the Magistrate of Cerneți, of the Department of Lăuntru, at the time, Engineer Moritz von Ott was about to arrive in Bucharest in August 1833, with the request of marking the place for building the Inn of the town, the shops and other necessary institutions for the new town[8].

In the following period though, some citizens and 40 other people from the local gentry and traders, filed complaints of refusing to move into the new town, asking for some facilities instead. On May, 16th, the Ministry of Interior answered to all these and to the Memorandum written by the Magistrate in support of explaining their complaints: "…Mastery (State) does not force anyone to move into the new location, only those who want to will move to the decided location for the new town"[9].

Even if, from various reasons, the citizens refuse to move into the new town, the inhabitants from some villages (Banoviţa, Şimian and Schela Cladovei) have worked together with the State Engineer to measure and divide the estate of Severin for houses, shops, markets and streets. Following this, the

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[4] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 1/1833, p. 1-2.

[5] Nicolae Chipurici, Mite Măneanu, *Catalogue of documents concerning the history of the town of Turnu Severin (1833-1944),* Turnu Severin, 1972, p. 25.

[6] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 1/1833, p. 29.

[7] Mihai Butnaru, *The Monograph of Drobeta Turnu Severin,* Drobeta Turnu Severin, Prier Publishing House, 1998, p. 88.

[8] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 1/1833, p. 32-33.

[9] Mihai Butnariu, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

distribution of house lots in Turnu Severin began. Places in a total surface of 70000 square fathoms[10] have been sold until 1833, July, 26th. Then, In September 1833, a great deal of merchants and persons also bought lands for houses and shops. Among the first buyers we can name: Colonel Nicolae Ciupagea, Colonel Ghiță Burileanu, Court VicutallerVasile Strâmbeanu, high boyar Ion Opran, Colonel Ghiță Burileanu, Treasurer Stanciu Boboiceanu and many other boyards, merhcants, dyers, furriers, shoemakers, teachers and silversmiths[11].

The works will stagnate in the next two years as a result of the political changes. The plan of building the town near the ruins of the Bridge of Traian, over the ruins of Caster Drobeta will be abandoned as well. Thus, even if the formal year of building the new town was 1833, the real one was 1836. During the reign of Alexandru Ghica, Governor Mihail Ghica was appointed to deal with the issues raised by the building of the new town. Engineer Xavier Villagross, that designed a new plan (a western more one[12]), that supposed a new place for the new town, was sent there in the spring of 1835. According to the new plan, Engineer Xavier Villagross did not agree on the new town enclosing the Roman Caster (on the reason that it would damage many vestiges or that the future researches will be affected by the buildings) and proposed the centre of the future town to be in the North of the ruins of the Medieval Borough.

Through Order 1003 of the Ministry of Interior, State Engineer, Xavier Villagross, was assigned to design the new town in 1835, October 19th. After the plan has been approved and debated by the Romanian Administrative Border (1836, February, 11th) and through a Decree Law in 1836, February, 28th, engineer Moritz von Ott was appointed to perform it, bearing the title of Town' s Engineer[13].

This plan was designed for 500 families and enclosed a regular street network that intersected in a square angle with the wide squares with leafy areas, being a rightful copy of many western models: ''a miniature achievement of all the achievements of civilization, a mirror on field of the liberal- bourgeois forms of life, with an absolutely antonymic character to that of Cerneț, that still remained the keeper of traditions, of feudal forms of life soon defeated, destroyed altogether with Cernet, incapable of adapting to changes''[14]. The house lots were divided into three categories: the ones from the center, those on the street near Danube and thirdly, those with facades to the large squares belonged to 1st class. In their case, a square fathom was to be paid with 2 lei; the ones from town's centre, second class, would have been paid with 1 leu and 2 chinks per

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[10] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 1/1833, p. 9-11.

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 39-40.

[12] C. Pajură, D. T. Giurăscu, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 57.

[14] *Ibidem* .

square fathom; the ones belonging to third class, were to be paid with 1 leu per square fathom.

According to the same plan, Town's Engineer, Moritz von Ott was demanded to begin tracing down the town, dividing it into paints and leaving the quarantine in front of the town and the tower of the medieval borough and the Botanical Garden to the left.

This second plan of Turnu Severin was a cartographical achievement that presented a town on the banks of Danube with a modern architecture, with parallel and perpendicular streets, with large squares. The plan was criticized by some inhabitants that considered its high position would not allow a proper supply with water from the wells (Annex 18 - *The Plan of Turnu Severin at the end of the 19th century*)

Based on the inhabitants of Cerneti' refusal to move to the new town, the Administrative Board of Walachia strengthened by Order in 1836, June, 10th, decided to allow ''strangers'' to buy land in town. This decision had important consequences to the future development of the town. Many inhabitants of the nearby villages settled here in the following years, and, right from the beginning, the western part was filled up with Germans that formed a German suburb which would greatly influence the future development of the town due to its own specificity. The new town is, right from the beginning a modern, bourgeois development and that properly marks both the economic side and the primary occupations of its inhabitants. The modern, bourgeois character would be given by the foreigners that settled into this town that brought the western mentality and civilization with them.

There are 43 family leaders from "the suburb of Severin" mentioned in a document of the Court of Mehedinti in the same year (1837) that paid taxes to the State. Namely: Dinu George Avramescu, Ion Gruia, Trăila Curea, Ion Voinea Robu, Matei Dumitraşcu Trăistaru, Ştefan Durbaba, Gheorghe Gruia and so on[15].

The economic competition between the two localities dated back to the establishment of Turnu Severin and lasted for a decade and a half. It ended with the complete domination of the new town. The main institutions: the Prefecture, Law Court and Police moved together with the capital of the county, from Cerneti to Turnu Severin in 1841. There were only 7-8 houses built in Severin at the time, and the local statesmen commuted from Cerneti to Severin. The final settling of the county' administration, the building of the new small shops' area in 1842 and the beginning of building (made by Family Ciupagea) the central Church in the following year brought a powerful revival of the new town[16]. There also began a campaign meant to raise funds for building a Public School.

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[15] Mihai Butnatiu, *op. cit.,* p. 93.

[16] The process of urbane development is alos urged by the decision of the Commission from 1843, April, 13th to allow a six-month delay to those that did not fininsh the building of their house after 3 years.

The real economic life of the new town began in 1851. Some buildings have been built in the harbor: one for the Austrian Agency and Customs Office - as an annex of the Austrian Agency-, another for the Shipyard-meant to repair the ships that circulated on the Danube and that spent the winter there. The road linking Severin from Craiova was also open in 1852. The fact that this road went round Cerneti led to its rapid fall. The road between Craiova and Turnu Severin together with the Danube made a real center of the western area of Oltenia.

The urban development of the town continued to grow in the 6th and 7th decades of the nineteenth century. Due to the fact that the entire surface of the town was extended, an important need arose in 1860: to install barriers at the main roads of the town: that leading to Craiova, to Orsova, to the Agency and to the marketplace. These barriers were meant to check the foreigners/outsiders that entered the city.

If the authorities agreed on giving huge facilities to the persons that intended to settle in the new town, in the 5th and 6th decades, due to the great deal of persons moving into town, the initial scheduled surface was becoming unsatisfactory. The prices for buying land doubled, and the settling conditions hardened, being expressly mentioned that the money should be paid before starting to build and the process of building should end in maximum 3 years[17].

Seeing the obvious progress of the town, the inhabitants from Cernati asked ruler Barbu Ştirbei (1849-1856) in 1853 on a formal visit to allot them some land in the eastern part of the town. In this way, there has been made an adjustment to the initial pan of the new town. Approximately 200 places have been added and, unfortunately, the entire symmetry of the initial plan was broken: 22 streets have been curved in the eastern part, added to the curve made in order to get out of the town, respectively, the road leading to Târgu-Jiu[18]. The completion was approved in 1856, and in the following spring these lands have been auctioned. The inhabitants of Cerneti were dissatisfied by this decision. Despite after both the initial plan and the 1856'supplement, more than 300 pieces of land remained unsold, in 1859-1860, another plan' supplement has been made. A great deal of pieces of land[19] has been added to the western part of the town.

Due to the immense interest for constructions, especially in the areas with a view to Danube, the Communal Council decides a new expansion of Severin. The plan was put into practice in 1865, October, 18th. 1000 pieces of land in the three areas of the town have been added, though most of them were to the ruins of the Roman Caster and to the foot of the Bridge of Traian, again, unfortunately, not taking into consideration the plan. According to this new supplement, the buyers were obliged to end the construction of their house in 4 years after buying the

[17] *National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 2/1856, p. 610, 611.

[18] V. Demetrescu, *The History of the Town of Severin,* Turnu Severin, 1883, p. 35-36.

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 37.

land. Municipality intended to build some Public Institutions with the money taken from selling these lands[20]. Some citizens filed a petition to the Government. They concerned that the town has continuously extended because of these 2 supplements and that the ruins from end of the Bridge of Traian have been in danger to be damaged. Their protest was taken into account and, in 1867, the Government appointed a Commission to make a new plan of the city[21].

The greatest square of the town was brought up-to-date in the 7th decade of the 19th century. It has been metalled with several layers of gravel and sand. Hospital Gracescu (1868) and the new railway Station completed in 1877 were the most imposing buildings in town. Other important buildings completed the urban "dowry" (hotels, restaurants, cafes), of whom we mention "Grand" Hotel belonging to Elias Brothers, "Europa" Hotel and "Apollo" Saloon[22].

Coming back to the third supplement to the plan, the plots were allotted to all kinds of buyers: foreigners, peasants, landowners, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Germans – disregarding the initial project. Ion Ionescu from Brad noted in his 1868 work' dedicated to the Agriculture of Mehedinti County that, in spite of the wish of the Ministry, the mayor of the time added the plots from the Brigde area to the initial plan. The mayor himself would have bought 6, and gave other 2 to the Prefect – Mavrocordat, 2 to the president of Law Court, 2 to Judge Raicoviceanu and some other to other powerful persons[23].

All these taken into consideration, in 1874 there was another supplement made to the in initial plan, the fourth, on which occasion 2 places with public buildings on them were numbered – and other places given up by Hospital Grecescu, according to the donation act[24].

In 1880, the fifth expansion of the town has been made, and several plots for housing in the eastern part of the city have been sold, on which occasion, the village of Banovița was practically "swallowed" by the increasing development of the new town[25].

V. Demetrescu described Severin in 1883, on the occasion of the first monograph of the town: "The town of Severin, laid in the plain that before bore the name of Field of Severin, on the banks of River Danube, in front of the ruins of the Tower called the Tower of Severin and of the remains of the Bridge of Traian, lays on 194 hectares. It has a rectangular design, with 12 streets in length and 20 in width, and it is divided into 4 suburbs: suburb Traian, suburb Sever,

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[20] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 1/1865, p. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[21] V. Demetrescu, *op. cit.,* p. 39-40.

[22] Nicolae Chipurici, Mite Măneanu, *quoted work*, p. 12. V. Demetrescu, *op. cit.,* p. 46-47.

[23] V. Demetrescu, *op. cit.,* p. 46-47.

[24] *Ibidem,* p. 48.

[25] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 3/1880, p. 15-16.

suburb Mihai Bravul, and suburb Tudor Valdimirescu. The design comprises 1861 house lots and, houses and buildings have been built on more than half, with a population of 13000 inhabitants, including floating persons[26]. (Annex 19-*The Plan of Turnu Severin at the beginning of the 20th century)*

Severin had 12 public buildings, 6 churches (3 Orthodox, 1 Catholic, one Protestant, and 1 synagogue), a hospital, detention before trial, railway station, Ships' Agency, administrative palace and law court. There were only 7-8 buildings with modern architecture in town's center. Now, streets begin to be paved, and the main thoroughfare was and currently is, Big Street. It was still un-cobbled in 1887[27].

In the years 1892-1907, Carol Boulevard has been built, together with Traian High School and the Railway Station, after a design made by the chief-engineer of Bucuresti. Three rows of linden trees have been planted in the area. Starting with 1894, Enterprise of Basalt from Bucharest begins to asphalt some streets and pavements between Carol Boulevard and Big Street.

In 1911, there were more factories in Severin, of whom we mention: the shipyard, the Traian beer factory, the factory of cement tubes, that of Ice, the candies' factory, 2 brickyards, 2 soap factories, a large tanning house manufacture, 3 locksmith's shops, 3 workshops for carts, and one foundry. The power station has been built among 1905-1907 in the Public Garden and the building of Communal Baths has been built among 1907-1910[28].

In 1906, the town had 3119 houses on 62 streets and a population of 23769 inhabitants. In that period, an increasing process of asphalting the streets with rolling stones and paving stones taken from the Stone Pits from Vârciorova and Bahna began. Streets were asphalted from downtown to the suburbs[29].

In the period of 1910-1914, when Constantin Gruiescu was the Mayor of town, 2 very important actions took place: the water supply and the sewerage system were completed, after a project started in 1892 by Engineer Cucu. This project included: a general plan leveling, sewerage, paving and planting the streets of Severin[30]. The Park of Roses has also been gardened then. It is a rare architectural masterpiece.

In 1910, October, 17th, the Prime Minister of the time, I. Brătianu arrived into town and 2 other ministers accompanied him: Alexandru Constantinescu and V.G. Morțun. They have attended the inauguration of the

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[26] V. Demetrescu, *quoted work,* p. 50-51.

[27] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 5/1887, p. 186, 187, 188.

[28] Gabriel Croitoru, „*Issues of Urbane Evolution of Severin in the second part of the 19th century- The Service of Water Supply",* in „The Magazine of Socio-Humane Studies", Craiova, issues 2-3/2003. p. 247.

[29] *The National Archives, Dr. Tr. Severin,* The Town Hall of Tr. Severin, dossier 10/1906, p. 2-3.

[30] The Museum of Portile de Fier (The Iron Gates), Document 1899, February 11th (inventory item 3085).

works of water supply and also to the opening of the slaughter-house for export. In 1911, the Castle of Water began its construction.

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (until World War I) found the town of Turnu Severin in a continuous competition with it itself. This is the period when the great urbane projects and designs were accomplished. They make the town one of the most important urbane centers, not only from Oltenia, but from all over the country.

To conclude with, Turnu Severin is among the first 18 Romanian urbane centers. It was considered by Nicolae Iorga, the great scholar, "the saving oasis to whom many Romanians from Banat (downtrodden by the Hungarian mastery) as well as Romanians over the Danube, from the Valley of Timoc, pointed their minds and souls[31]".

L'ÉVOLUTION ÉDILITAIRE ET URBAINE DE LA VILLE DROBETA-TURNU SEVERIN REFLÉTÉE DANS LES PLANS DU XIX[E] SIECLE

(Résumé)

La suite de l'analyse des plans selon lesquels on a élevé la nouvelle ville Turnu Severin – les plans de 1833, 1835, 1856 (plan supplémentaire), 1865, 1874, 1880, on remarque que la ville disposait d'un réseau régulier des rues qui s'entrecroisaient avec des longs marchés et de nombreux espaces verts. C'est une des preuves qui montre que la ville roumaine comme bien d'autres était une copie fidèle de plusieurs modèles occidentaux.

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[31] Nicolae Iorga, *Cities of Oltenia*, 1925, p. 64.

ÊTRE PRÉFET EN ROUMANIE, 1866-1916.
STRATÉGIES DE CARRIÈRES

ANDREI FLORIN SORA

Comme d'autres pays, le jeune Etat roumain, constitué dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle a remplacé les structures administratives anciennes en partant du modèle français, en essayant ainsi de bâtir un nouveau système administratif qui répondre aux nécessités de l'époque. D'après Jean-Louis Halperin il s'agit des deux piliers du système du système français qui ont influencé les réformes de l'organisation administrative accomplies en Europe au cours du XIXe siècle : le découpage du territoire en départements (1789) et la création d'une hiérarchie d'agents uniques dépendant du gouvernement (préfets, sous-préfets et maires), assistés par des conseils[1]. En France[2] et dans des autres pays qui ont pris l'institution préfectorale comme modèle, l'Italie[3] et la Roumanie[4] le préfet était le chef de l'administration départementale et l'agent du

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[1] Jean-Louis Halpérin, *Histoire des droits en Europe de 1750 à nos jours*, Paris, Editions Flammarion, 2004, p. 348.

[2] Dans l'historiographie française les travaux sur les élites administratives, y compris les préfets sont nombreux et se penchent sur beaucoup de questions. On rappelle les recherches de Vincent Wright (*Les Préfets de Gambetta*, *1870-1871*, Paris, PUPS, 2006; et avec Bernard Le Clère, *Les Préfets du Second Empire*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1973) Jeanne Siwek-Pouydesseau, Luc Rouban (*Les préfets de la République 1870-1997*, Cahier du CEVIPOF, numéro 26, 2000), Christophe Charle (*Les Hauts fonctionnaires en France au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Editions Gallimard/Julliard, 1980 et *Les élites de la République 1880-1900)*, Paris, Fayard, 1987), Dominique Chagnollaud, *Le premier des ordres. Les hauts fonctionnaires XVIIIe-XXe siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 1991, Marie-Christine Kessler, *Les Grands Corps de l'État*, Paris, Presses de la F.N.S.P., 1987.

[3] En Italie aussi l'institution préfectorale a fait l'objet de riches ouvrages: R. C. Fried (*The Italian prefects: A Study of Administrative Politics*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1963), Nico Randerrad (*Autorita in cerca di autonomia. I prefetti nell'Italia liberale*, Rome, 1997, la première édition parue à Amsterdam en 1993), Luigi Ponziani (*Il fascismo dei prefetti: amministrazione e politica nell'Italia meridionale, 1922-1926*, Catanzaro: Meridiana libri, 1995), Guido Melis (*Due modelli di amministrazione tra liberalismo e fascismo: burocrazie tradizionali e nuovi apparati*, Rome, 1989).

[4] Les recherches sur l'institution préfectorale en Roumanie sont peu nombreuses et parfois elles cachent des monographies locales. Toutefois, il faut remarquer les travaux de Ioan Silviu Nistor *(Comuna şi judeţul. Factori ai civilizaţiei româneşti unitare. Evoluţia istorică*, Cluj-Napoca, Editions Dacia, 2000), l'étude juridique de Emil Bălan (*Prefectul şi prefectura în sistemul administraţiei publice*, Bucureşti, Editions de la Fondation „România de Mâine", 1997) ou les recherches de Ana-Maria Rădulescu sur les conservateurs en Oltenie (*Conservatorii în Oltenia, Dolj, 1899-1913*, 2004 et *Conservatorii din judeţul Dolj între 1899-1922*, les deux à Craiova, Editions Aius), qui nous offrent des importantes informations sur la vie politque et la vie administrative de cette région. Nous nous permettons de mentionner aussi nos études:

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)[5].

Dans l'étude des agents de l'État, et en général des institutions roumaines de cette période, le problème majeur consiste dans le manque ou, au moins, la pénurie des archives[6]. A partir du 11 février 1866 jusqu'à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale (15 août 1916), j'ai recensé environ 1370-1400 nominations dans la fonction préfectorale, dont beaucoup sont des délégations. Entre 1866 et novembre 1918, le nombre des préfets est d'environ 870-900 personnes. Une source essentielle dans l'analyse des trajets professionnels des membres de l'administration préfectorale est l'Annuaire du Ministère de l'Intérieur mais qui ne couvre pas que seulement une brève période (1893-1901, 1914), et il ne contient pas que des informations sur la carrière.

Le préfet dans la législation roumaine

En 1740 pour la Valachie et en 1741 pour la Moldavie, le prince régnant Constantin Mavrocordat a nommé pour chaque unité administrative territoriale (*judeţ* en Valachie et *ţinut* en Moldavie) un représentant du pouvoir central (*ispravnic*), recruté parmi les boïars de la première et la deuxième classe[7], et ayant comme attributions «de distribuer la justice, de protéger les pauvres des abus des agents fiscaux et de surveiller les notables des villages à lever les impôts»[8]. Au niveau des unités administratives qui rassemblaient plusieurs villages (*plai* et *plasa* en Valachie, *ocol* en Moldavie) les *ispravnici* étaient aidés par des *zapcii* et *vătafi de plai* en Valachie et respectif *ocolaşi* en Moldavie. Les Règlements organiques ont maintenu la division des Principautés dans *judeţe* en Valachie et *ţinuturi* en Moldavie – qui n'ont pas reçu la personnalité juridique – dirigés par l'*ocârmuitor* et l'*ispravnic administrativ*, nommés par le prince régnant parmi deux candidats choisis par le Conseil Administratif (*Sfatul Administrativ*). La dénomination pour désigner le chef du département a été

«L'institution préfectorale roumaine (XIXe - 1916): un modèle français?», in Florin Ţurcanu (coord.), *Modèle français et expériences de la modernisation. Roumanie, 19e- 20e siècles/ Modelul francez şi experienţele modernizării. România, secolele 19-20*, L'Institut Culturel Roumain, Bucureşti, 2006, pp. 220-243, «Les fonctionnaires publics en Roumanie. Les sous-préfets (1866-1916)», in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, tom XLIV, 2006, p. 233-249.

[5] En France, la notion de corps préfectoral recouvre les préfets, les sous-préfets et les chefs de cabinet, désignation qu'on emploi également dans le contexte roumain (Jeanne Siwek-Pouydesseau, *Le corps préfectoral sous la troisième et sous la quatrième République*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1969, p. 9).

[6] Beaucoup de ceux qui occupent cette haute fonction publique n'ont pas laissé de traces, notamment les préfets, y compris les délégués, qui restent en fonction pour peu de temps (entre quelques jours et quelques mois). Ce n'est qu'après la Première Guerre mondiale qu'il y a uniformisation des normes d'enregistrement concernant la croissance du nombre des fonctionnaires, la prise en charge de différentes attributions, en un mot la bureaucratisation étatique.

[7] Peu temps après, à la tête de chaque *ţinut* ou *judeţ* ont été nommés deux *ispravnici*.

[8] Ovidiu Sachelarie şi Nicolae Stoicescu (eds.), *Instituţiile feudale în Ţările Române*, Bucureşti, Editions de l'Académie, 1988, p. 238.

change au cours des années 1850 en celle d'*administrator* (*administrateur*), et du début des années 1860 dans les actes administratifs, dans la presse et par l'ensemble de la population commence d'être employé la dénomination de *prefect* (*préfet*) - d'inspiration française -, fonction qui s'est maintenue jusqu'à la fin des années 1940.

Même si les lois sur l'administration locale de 1864 – la loi sur les conseils départementaux[9] et la loi sur les communes rurales et urbaines du 31 mars 1864 – et la Constitution de 1866 ont eu comme source d'inspiration principale la Belgique, le modèle français a été la principale référence dans l'essai de bâtir un Etat centralisée au-delà des principes déclaratives de décentralisation du pays. Dans les Pays roumains/Roumanie l'institution préfectorale s'est construite en partant des fonctions déjà existants et en adoptant et en adaptant le modèle français. L'influence française a été augmentée aussi en Roumanie par le grand nombre des membres du monde politique et administratif formés intellectuellement en France

Les essais de l'organisation de l'administration territoriale de l'Intérieur promues par Mihai Kogălniceanu ont été continués après 1866, mais les projets de loi[10] et les débats en Parlement ont abouti à la promulgation d'une telle loi seulement en 1892[11]. L'absence d'une loi qui codifie les attributions et les conditions d'admissibilité des membres du corps préfectoral a été suplée par des lois sur d'autres ministères, institutions ou dans des décrets lois qui les ont accordé des devoirs précis des arrêts ministériels sur la maintenance de l'ordre, la tutelle administrative, la santé publique, la lutte contre les brigandages etc.

L'évolution du nombre des départements (*judeţe*)

Année	1862	1880	1914	1920	1925	1940
Nombre	33	32	34	76	71	60

La loi sur l'administration centrale du ministère de l'Intérieur du 19 avril 1892 (modifiée le 30 avril 1895) et la loi des „services extérieures" de la même

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[9] Par la *Loi des conseils départementaux* (le décret no. 399), le Comité directeur (*Comitetul Permanent*), l'organisme exécutif du Conseil départemental (*Consiliul Judeţean*) était présidé par le préfet, qui dans ce but bénéficiait de «voix délibérative et en cas de la parité des opinions de voix prépondérant». En outre, le préfet était le «commissaire» du gouvernement auprès le Conseil départemental (art. 3). En cas de dissolution du Conseil départemental, 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 (art. 108), «Lege pentru înfiinţarea consiliuriloru judeţiane», in *Collectiune de legiuirile României Vechi şi nuoi cîte s-au promulgatu pene la finele anului 1870*, Bucureşti, 1873, p. 866-876.

[10] Dans la période 1866-1892, les premier ministres Ion Ghica, C. A. Rosetti et Teodor Rosetti, tous d'orientation libérale modéré ou radicale, ont initié des réformes concernant le Ministère de l'Intérieur

[11] Par l'article 131 de la Constitution de 1866 était énoncé la nécessité immédiate de rédiger des lois concernant la décentralisation administrative, la responsabilité des ministres, des conditions d'admissibilité dans les fonctions publiques (Ioan Muraru, Gheorghe Iancu, Mona-Lisa Pucheanu, Corneliu-Liviu Popescu, *Constituţiile române – Texte. Note. Prezentare comparativă*, Bucureşti, Regia Autonomă „Monitorul Oficial", 1993, p. 63).

institution, publiée dans le *Monitorul oficial* du 1ᵉʳ novembre 1892[12] ont fixé d'une manière plus précise l'organigramme du ministère de l'Intérieur[13], son rôle et ses fonctions dans l'État roumain, mais aussi les attributions, les obligations et les conditions d'admission des fonctionnaires du ministère de l'Intérieur. Le préfet était le gérant de «la sauvegarde des droits de l'État dans la relation avec les citoyens, les départements, les communes et toute personne juridique» ; il avait l'obligation d'inspecter régulièrement les sous-préfectures et les communes de son département ; il assumait la charge de publier les lois et les règlements et de veiller à leur exécution. Une des obligations essentielles du préfet était le maintien de l'ordre et de la sûreté publique (art. 15-16), ayant le droit d'«user de la force publique» contre les rébellions, les émeutes des manifestations bruyantes ou d'autres événements imprévus qui pouvaient menacer l'ordre public, la sûreté de la population et des propriétés, en rapportant promptement au ministre de l'Intérieur (art. 17). Le préfet était chargé de la police administrative et préventive de son département, ayant aussi le droit de faire des réglementations dans le cas de leur approbation par le Ministre de l'Intérieur (art. 16). 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 lui ont également été confiées, autant des institutions où il avait le droit de faire des inspections. Il devait intervenir en cas de calamités naturelles (inondations, incendies, épidémies). Il était habilité par le ministère des Affaires Etrangères à délivrer des passeports, à l'exception des villes où il y avait un préfet de police (art. 25). Concernant le statut du préfet, la loi de 1892 est resté en vigueur jusqu'à la loi de l'unification administrative du 14 juin 1925, qui a maintenu le statut et les attributions du préfet prévus par la loi de 1892, y compris son double rôle du représentant du pouvoir central et du chef de l'administration départementale.

La sélection scolaire: les études

Dans la deuxième moitié du XIXᵉ siècle, dans l'espace sud-est européen la mise en place d'un système législatif et institutionnel d'inspiration occidentale a été limité par «l'absence des milieux instruits» qui «constituait un handicap majeur pour la construction des Etats modernes»[14]. En Roumanie, à part les universités de Iassy (1860) et de Bucarest (1864), on voit des gens qui suivent une formation universitaire en Occident. Le nombre des étudiants roumains inscrits dans les universités occidentales, ou comme auditeurs libres, est très élevé si l'on compare avec ceux des pays voisins. Les étudiants roumains suivaient dans la plupart des cas une formation juridique en France, et aussi en

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[12] *Monitorul oficial*, no. 169, 1/13 novembre 1892, pp. 4905-4908.

[13] Ion Mamina, *Monarhia Constituţională în România. Enciclopedie politică*, *1866-1938*, Bucureşti, Editions Encyclopédique, 2000, p. 132-134.

[14] Ljubinka Trgovcevic, *La science européenne et les élites balkaniques: considérations statistiques sur les étudiants des pays balkaniques dans les universités allemandes et françaises au XIXe siècle*, in „Balkanologie", vol. IV, no. 1, septembre 2000, p. 132.

Allemagne, Belgique ou en Italie. En outre, des jeunes roumains ont décroché aussi, en Belgique un diplôme de licence et (ou) de doctorat en sciences politiques et administratives[15], y compris quelques préfets. Il n'y a qu'un pourcentage réduit de Roumains qui restent à l'étranger, la grande majorité revient au pays en accumulant ainsi un capital symbolique et culturel[16].

Dans les deux premières décennies après l'unification de la Moldavie et de la Valachie (1859) le nombre des fonctionnaires publics ayant suivi des études supérieures était faible, mais on observe que leur nombre va augmenter progressivement. La poursuite des études supérieures, et surtout le fait d'obtenir le diplôme de licence, se fonde plutôt sur une certaine volonté personnelle que sur une nécessité ou exigence d'ordre professionnel. Pour ceux qui voulaient se dédier à la fonction publique au niveau local, savoir lire et d'écrire était suffisant. Le soutien que leurs apportaient les politiciens, la position sociale de leur famille étaient les conditions pour occuper ces fonctions. Le pourcentage des titrés ou des bacheliers était assez limité, ce qui s'explique par la création récente des deux facultés de Droit, par la relative difficulté d'étudier à l'étranger (un choix ouvert aux jeunes issus des familles riches) et par le chiffre élevé de «vieux» fonctionnaires, formés dans les années 1830-1840.

Les changements législatifs sur les conditions d'admission, les attributions et l'évolution du prestige de la fonction des membres du corps préfectoral concernent premièrement les sous-préfets (les chefs d'arrondissement), ensuite les préfets. Ce n'est qu'en 1892 que l'accès aux fonctions de directeur de préfecture et de sous-préfet a été conditionné par les études, en ce cas par le diplôme d'études supérieures, Droit ou Sciences de l'État[17], mais les dérogations qui les ont été accordées n'ont pas déterminé immédiatement leur renouvellement. En ce qui concerne **les préfets**, ce n'est qu'en 1925, qu'est introduite la condition sur les études supérieures, pourtant l'analyse des études suivies nous montre le haut niveau intellectuel et même professionnel de ces fonctionnaires.

Pour cette étude nous avons réalisé une étude statistique pour les préfets en fonction entre octobre 1895 et février 1901[18].

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[15] *Voir* Laurenţiu Vlad, *Români la Universitatea Liberă din Bruxelles. Titularii unui doctorat în ştiinţe politice şi administrative (1885-1899)*, in „Romanian Political Science Review", vol. VI, no. 3, 2006, p. 635-640.

[16] Victor Karady, *La migration internationale d'étudiants en Europe, 1890-1940,* in „Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales", no. 145, décembre 2002, p. 55-56.

[17] *Monitorul oficial*, no. 169, 1er novembre 1892, p. 4907.

[18] Durant cette période la Roumanie au pouvoir ont été les libéraux, qui ont donné comme présidents du Conseil des ministres: Dimitrie A. Sturdza, du 4 octobre 1895 à 20 novembre 1896 et du 31 mars 1897 à 10 avril 1899; P. S. Aurelian du 21 novembre 1896 à 30 mars 1897; les conservateurs qui ont constitué un gouvernement dirigé par George Gr. Cantacuzino, du 11 avril 1899 à 6 juillet 1900, suivi par un gouvernement dirigé par P. P. Carp, du 7 juillet 1900 à 13 février 1901 (Mioara Tudorică, Ioana Burlacu, *Guvernele României între anii 1866-1945. Liste de miniştri*, in „Revista Arhivelor", an XLVII, vol. XXXII, nr. 2/1970.

Les études des préfets, 1895-1901

Etudes	% (certains sujets ont suivi plusieurs filières)
Droit (licence et doctorat)	64
Sciences Administratives et Politiques (licence et doctorat)	2
Médecine	2
Autres institutions supérieures (doctorat en Philosophie et Pédagogie, Agronomie, Sciences Physiques et Chimiques,	4
Etudes universitaires inachevées	2
École militaire	5
École d'agriculture, industrie, sciences économiques, avec diplôme	3
Bacheliers	9
Lycée	9
Gymnase	2
École primaire, cours particuliers	2

Environ 70% des préfets en fonction entre octobre 1895 et novembre 1901 avaient des études supérieures, trait qui n'était pas posée comme condition d'accès à la fonction, donc n'étant pas perçue comme la plus importante qualité requise. En outre, plus de 91% des préfets diplômés ont suivi des études de Droit. Un troisième constat est le grand nombre d'individus qui ont étudié à l'étranger dans des centres universitaires prestigieux ou au moins dans de grands lycées ou écoles privées. Plus d'une moitié des préfets de cet échantillon, qui ont suivi des études de Droit ont soutenu leur licence et (ou) leur doctorat dans des pays occidentaux : 23 % ou même plus à Paris, parmi lesquels au moins trois docteurs, deux titulaires de doctorat à Gand (un d'entre eux avait fini la Faculté de Droit de Paris), un docteur à Leipzig et encore un diplômé de la Faculté de Droit de Genève, et l'autre de la Faculté de Droit d'Aix la Chapelle. 11 % de notre échantillon étaient titulaires d'un doctorat en Droit, deux en Sciences Administratives et un en Philosophie. Pour Lucian Nastasă «la filière des études supérieures dans l'autre Europe, occidentale, a joué donc après 1860 un premier rôle dans la formation des élites universitaires roumaines, et pas seulement là. On peut estimer que la grande majorité des ministres, des membres des cabinets ministériels et autres hauts fonctionnaires est passée par cette filière tout au long de la période 1860-1944»[19].

A la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale, on observe que le pourcentage de ceux qui avaient fini des études de Droit ne s'est pas trop modifié, mais les diplômés dépassent de loin 85 %. On constate que les

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[19] Lucian Nastasa, *Le rôle des études à l'étranger dans la carrière des professeurs d'université roumains (1878-1944)*, in Victor Karady et Marius Kulczykowski (sous la direction de), *L'enseignement des élites en Europe centrale*, Cracovie, université Jagelonne, p. 150.

gouvernements libéraux ont promu, plus que les conservateurs, des gens issus d'une nouvelle classe sociale, la bourgeoisie, représentée par les professions libérales – avocats, médecins[20], corps enseignant - (qui les ont exercé), les commerçants et les industriels et les professions techniques (les ingénieurs).

Les études des préfets en 1914

Etudes	% (certains sujets ont suivi plusieurs filières)
Droit (licence et doctorat)	61
Sciences Humaines (Lettres)	3
Médecine	12
École Polytechnique, Chimie	6
Ecoles militaires	3
École commerciale	3
Baccalauréat	9
Lycée	3

Tout au long de la période étudiée, le cursus universitaire de droit a constitué la formation prédominante des membres de l'administration préfectorale. La majorité des sous-préfets de la période 1866-1916, mais aussi ceux de la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, ont suivis la filière juridique. Pour Christophe Charle, l'évolution de la nature des études suivies contribue à accentuer la différenciation et la spécialisation des voies d'accès aux élites dans tous les champs, mais surtout dans ceux où les diplômes ont une valeur établie depuis longtemps[21]. A la différence de la France, où en ce qui concerne «les élites de la République» la filière juridique a perdu ses positions par rapport au second Empire[22], en Roumanie elle devient plus nette à la fin du XIXe siècle, au début du processus de la professionnalisation des fonctionnaires. Le diplôme de droit offrait en Roumanie une grande diversité d'emplois : du métier d'avocat aux fonctions publiques. La fréquentation des mêmes écoles, l'homogénéité de leur formation influence l'augmentation des solidarités entre des gens qui avait

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[20] Un exemple intéressant et inhabituel de montée sociale et dans le service public, par l'intermédiaire d'une profession dite libérale, et même à l'intérieur du Parti Conservateur est offert par Gheorghe Sabin (Condrea), préfet de Vâlcea, de 1904 à 1907 et de 1910 à 1912. Le cadet d'une famille des paysans ayant onze enfants, originaire du département de Neamț (en Moldavie), Gheorghe Sabin n'a appris lire et écrire qu'à l'âge du 15 ans. Toutefois, à 28 ans il a obtenu le diplôme de la Faculté de Médecine de București, étant remarqué par le docteur Kalinderu. Il est nommé à l'hôpital d'Horezu, peu temps après médecin du département de Vâlcea (1883-1895), et ensuite à Râmnicu Vâlcea. Ses qualités comme médecin lui permettent d'acquérir une large clientèle et de se créer des amitiés et de jouir d'un grand prestige dans le département. Il a réussi même en octobre 1895, d'obtenir le mandat de sénateur comme indépendant (George G. Eremia, *Albumul Partidului Conservator din România*, București, 1912).

[21] Christophe Charle, *Les élites de la République (1880-1900)*, Paris, Fayard, 1987, p. 110.

[22] *Ibidem*.

déjà un trait commun, l'origine sociale. Ainsi peut-on parler des affinités sociales et intellectuelles.

Un âge idéal pour être nommé et conserver la fonction de préfet ?

Le fonctionnaire du Ministère de l'Intérieur devait être roumain, avoir au moins 21 ans, il devait avoir satisfait la loi de recrutement et jouir de ses droits civils et politiques. L'âge minimum des préfets était d'au moins 30 ans, même si au dessous de ce seuil on a trouvé quelques cas avant les années 1880[23], mais c'est plutôt une caractéristique du début de la création de l'État roumain. Le plus connu exemple de jeune haut fonctionnaire nommé toutefois dans des conditions exceptionnelles est Theodor Văcărescu, préfet à 24 ans dans le département de Prahova (févr. 1866-oct. 1867)[24].

Jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle, l'âge moyen était autour de 48-50 ans, avec des variables selon le contexte politique et même selon la faction politique au pouvoir. Il y a eu toujours une volonté des jeunes élites de s'affirmer par la fonction de préfet. A partir du milieu des années 1870, on assiste à un accroissement de la concurrence pour cette haute fonction, ce qui déterminera une maturation du corps préfectoral du point de vue de l'âge, du poids politique et des réseaux d'amitié, des capacités intellectuelles aussi. Le préfet le plus âgé, de qui nous avons pris connaissance pour l'entière période étudiée est George D. Emandi[25], nommé en novembre 1892 à Tutova, à l'âge de 70 ans.

L'âge moyen des préfets, directeurs de préfecture, chefs d'arrondissement

	1893	**1897**	**1914**
Age moyen	51	48	45

A première vue, nous ne pouvons pas établir un lien entre l'âge du préfet et le poids du parti au pouvoir dans le département. Pourtant, nous avons observé que les préfets jeunes sont nommés plutôt dans les régions ou l'urbanité, les grandes villes, sont mieux représentés.

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[23] Theodor Văcărescu en 1866 à Prahova, Iorgui Dumitrescu en 1867 à R. Sărat, Ilariu Isvoranu en 1871 à Mehedinti, Dimitrie P. Moruzi en 1876 à Dorohoi

[24] Ancien aide de camps du prince Cuza, Theodor Văcărescu a été nommé préfet, par la Lieutenance régnante dans le matin du 11 février 1866. Il a été chargé d'escorter l'ancienne famille régnante et son cortège jusqu'à la frontière et d'essayer de contrer les éventuels essais des alliés de Cuza de le faire échapper.

[25] L'influence de la famille Emandi a été très forte dans le département de Tutova, le fils du George Emandi a été à son tour préfet de Tutova sous deux gouvernements conservateurs, entre 1899-1900 et décembre 1904 – mai 1905. Ainsi, en Tutova de 1892 à 1905, la famille Emandi a exercé la fonction de préfet sous les toutes gouvernements conservateurs. Ayant une carrière préfectorale impressionnante, préfet provisoire en 1851, préfet en 1855 et maintes fois après, à Tutova, son fief, et à Falciu, un département voisin, sous divers gouvernements conservateurs ou libéraux, seulement la chute du gouvernement en octobre 1895 a déterminé sa démission à l'âge de 73 ans.

Le recrutement et le prestige de la fonction

Jusqu'à la fin des années 1870, période qui correspond à la consolidation de l'Etat roumain et de ses institutions, il s'agit plutôt des stratégies de carrières spécifiques à une époque antérieure Dans ce système d'Ancien Régime, chaque classe sociale était dans la «possession» d'un espace public et d'un champs d'emploi bien délimités, le social et la carrière administrative et politiques interrelationnaient et s'entremêlaient. Même si l'opinion publique s'est attaquée au phénomène bureaucratique[26] perçu comme parasitaire (*budgétivore*), toutes les catégories sociales, y compris les élites, ont été attirées par la fonction publique[27]. Beaucoup de jeunes issus des familles riches et (ou) nobles ont fait leur entrée dans la vie publique en passant par de petits emplois. N'importe quelle catégorie sociale pouvait s'assurer par la fonction publique au moins la préservation de son statut. Le soutien politique que le candidat ou le titulaire du poste recevait de la part des notables locaux et des facteurs décisionnels nationaux (parti politique au pouvoir, Ministère de l'intérieur, la Maison Royale, etc.) était décisif. En outre, le prestige et la visibilité publique, motivés par ses fonctions antérieures ou certains actes - civiques, d'héroïsme – influençaient la nomination dans l'administration préfectorale.

La première fonction des préfets, oct. 1895-febr. 1901

Fonction	%
Petit fonctionnaire (copiste, correcteur dans l'administration)	16
Moyen fonctionnaire dans l'administration centrale	6
Cadre didactique, inspecteur des écoles (professeur de gymnase - 1, de lycée - 1, inspecteur - 2)	5
Magistrats, avocats de l'État	34
Fonctionnaire dans le Ministère de la Justice – adjoint de greffier, greffier	3
Sous-préfet	10
Préfet	**17**

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[26] En 1866, les fonctionnaires publics en Roumanie (y compris l'Instruction Publique et les Cultes) étaient environ 12.915 personnes pour une population d'en peu plus de 4 millions d'habitants (Ion Petrescu, *Estractu din statistica administrativă a României/Extrait de la statistique administrative de la Roumanie*, Bucureşti, 1866, p. 22). Leur nombre est augmenté à environ 61.581 personnes en 1902/1903 (*Anuarul statistic al României, 1904*, Bucureşti, 1904, p. 137) et 103.000 personnes, sans inclure les 87.813 militaires. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, la Roumanie comptait en 1928, 345.066 fonctionnaires budgetaires de l'administration de l'Etat et encore 110.000 fonctionnaires départementaux et communaux (Jean H. Vermeulen, *Statutul funcţionarilor publici*, Bucureşti, 1933, p. 8) à une population d'environ 18.000.000 habitants.

[27] L'attirance pour la fonction publique a été précédée par la carrière militaire. Dans les années 1840-1850 les jeunes élites valaques et moldaves, parmi lesquelles ils y avaient des futurs hommes politiques roumains – ont été attirées par la vie militaire, un corps des jeunes officiers s'est constitué. La grande partie des officiers de la jeune armée roumaine ont la quittée en préférant se dédier plutôt aux activités comme la politique, la vie administrative, professions libérales (avocats, journalistes). Dans un pays où la politique était perçue même comme un attribut de la haute société interdit aux militaires et aux magistrats la participation à la vie politique.

Médecin	2
Maire de commune rurale	1
Membre dans les conseils départementaux	2
Député	1
Haut fonctionnaire (commissaire royal)	1
Autres fonctions moyennes dans l'administration (policier, secrétaire C.J)	2

En Roumanie, au XIXe siècle, avoir obtenu un diplôme d'études supérieures, reflétait dans la majorité des cas, son origine sociale et ses moyens financiers, même si de nombreux membres de l'administration préfectorale, y compris les préfets, ont exercé des fonctions publiques de moindre importance, comme copiste, archiviste, etc. Pour la future carrière il était important le lieu où on exerçait ces fonctions, être copiste dans un ministère ou au Parlement assurait autant une rémunération, mais surtout un cercle de connaissances. Pourtant, dans le cas des préfets pour l'entière période étudiée le pourcentage de ceux qui ont eu une longue carrière dans l'administration à partir des petites fonctions subordonnées est limité[28].

A une première approche, par comparaison avec d'autres dignités publiques (président des Cours des Appels, magistrat, officier supérieur ou membre du Parlement) la fonction de préfet n'offrait pas le même prestige et une plus facile montée au premier niveau du pouvoir (ministre, président de la Cour de Cassation, président de l'une des deux chambres du Parlement). Dans le Vieux Royaume les dignités préfectorales constituaient un tremplin pour acquérir un statut social plus grand, même à l'intérieur du même groupe social. Pour un notable local, être préfet signifiait la montée en statut à l'intérieur de son parti et au niveau national. En ce qui concerne les anciens préfets devenus ministres durant la période 1866-1918 on mentionne à l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie, du Commerce et des Domaines, Anton Carp, Vasile Gheorghian, Nicolae Gane, Ilariu Isvoranu, Vasile B. Missir, Constantin Grădisteanu, Gheorghe Lecca; aux Finances, Dimitrie Grecianu; au Ministère de la Justice, Dimitrie Cozadini, D. Grecianu, le général Radu Mihai - ; aux Travaux publics, Gheorghe Mârzescu, au Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction Publique, Vasile Pogor; aux Affaires internes, le général Radu Mihai; aux Affaires étrangères, Ştefan Golescu[29]. Seulement deux chefs du Conseil des Ministres pendant la période étudiée ont exercé la fonction de préfet : Stefan Golescu et Theodor Rosetti, préfet de Vaslui sous Alexandru Ioan Cuza (avril 1864-févr. 1866). On remarque le grand nombre des anciens préfets de Iasi (six sur treize) devenus

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[28] Parmi les préfets qui sont entrés dans le service public par l'intermède des petites fonctions, notamment celle de copiste, et ils se sont construits à partir de cette fonctions une carrière dans l'administration et dans le monde politique nous citons: Luca Elefterescu, un proche de G. G. Cantacuzino; Panait Săvescu; Nicolae Rosetti-Bălănescu.

[29] *Voir* aussi Ion Mamina, Ion Bulei, *Guverne şi guvernanţi (1866-1916)*, Bucureşti, Editions Silex, 1994.

ministres, fait qui prouve l'importance de la préfecture de Iasi et du son prestige dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle.

Être préfet signifiait aussi être au milieu des conflits entre les notables locaux et surtout être subordonné à l'administration centrale[30]. Tous ces constats ne veulent pas induire l'idée que la fonction préfectorale ne conférait pas de pouvoirs, mais les préfets qui avaient fait une grande carrière politique en raison de leur passage par les dignités préfectorales sont peu nombreux. Il y a même des exemples pour le Vieux Royaume, où des anciens ministres (re)deviennent préfets[31], constat qui s'explique dans quelques cas par le désir de maintenir l'influence dans un département et pour quelques autres à cause du traitement et du prestige que cette fonction offrait. On a rencontré aussi dans le XIXe siècle des anciens préfets (re)devenus chefs d'arrondissement.

La nomination du préfet, à partir de la fonction subordonnée de directeur de préfecture n'était pas pourtant une exception. Il ne s'agissait pas seulement d'une continuité ou de la reconnaissance des qualités professionnelles, mais surtout de la préservation de l'influence au niveau local d'un certain groupe d'intérêts. A une échelle plus basse, les fonctions de chef d'arrondissement et directeur de préfecture attiraient la élite locale moyenne. Si la fonction préfectorale se voulait une sorte d'arrêt provisoire pour les anciens magistrats et militaires, qui cherchaient à s'impliquer dans la vie politique et se donner les moyens d'augmenter le cercle des partisans et leur réseau, les fonctions subordonnés attiraient des gens qui n'avaient pas une expérience dans les dignités publiques.

Les membres du corps préfectoral qui ont appartenu à l'armée[32] représentent un groupe distinct et relativement nombreux, pour eux il existait deux possibilités de pénétrer le corps préfectoral : soit après une école militaire, soit à la mise à la retraite, volontaire ou souhaitée par la demande de démission. Le nombre d'anciens militaires a augmenté entre-temps (7 % en 1914), à cause du fait que la solde militaire n'était pas très grande, les privations de la vie militaire et aussi du fait qu'être issu d'une école militaire d'officiers pouvait suppléer à la condition d'avoir un diplôme d'études supérieures.

La fonction préfectorale a été aussi une sorte de arrêt provisoire pour les anciens magistrats - environ 55 % des préfets de la période octobre 1895-février 1901 - et militaires qui aspiraient à s'impliquer dans la vie politique, et se créer les moyens pour augmenter le cercle des partisans et de réseau. Dans le Vieux Royaume au préfet lui était très facile d'avoir un contact direct avec la majorité

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[30] A ceux-ci on s'ajoutait la dépendance vis-à-vis du chef du parti au pouvoir et, à partir du début de la XXe siècle, à l'obligation du préfet de répondre aux demandes et même aux réquisitoires des autres institutions et ministères, notamment le Ministère de la justice et le Ministère de la guerre.

[31] Nicolae Gane, Vasile Gheorghian, Ilariu Isvoranu.

[32] Parmi les anciens militaires devenus préfets on trouve: le généraux Gh. Teleman, Radu Mihail, C. Tărtăşescu, les colonels Mihail Capşa, Constantin Odobescu, Gheorghe Rosetti-Rosnoveanu etc.

des électeurs des premiers deux collèges[33], et le problème ne se posait pas seulement d'accéder au Parlement pendant que son parti était au gouvernement, mais aussi d'obtenir un mandat pendant l'opposition, réussite qui pesait dans sa carrière politique et même ministérielle ultérieure[34].

Même si en théorie, le droit de nommer les agents du pouvoir central au niveau local appartenait au ministre de l'Intérieur, avant 1918 le préfet était celui qui imposait d'habitude ses favoris, une décision prise au niveau local, tradition qui s'affermisse dans le temps, en venant en contradiction avec deux processus complémentaires : la centralisation et la bureaucratisation du pays. Les préfets préféraient travailler avec des gens qu'ils connaissaient bien. Après 1908, l'influence du préfet dans la nomination des chefs d'arrondissement est devenue moins forte, contrainte par la demande d'un examen et la division de ces agents en deux classes (en fonction des compétences et de l'ancienneté).

L'attribution officielle de veiller au bon cours des élections et le devoir, non officiel mais par fidélité envers le parti, d'assurer la victoire des candidats gouvernementaux faisait du préfet un personnage important au niveau local – il avait la possibilité de favoriser le choix de certains candidats, même à l'intérieur de son groupe politique – et national. La majorité d'entre eux faisaient déjà parti des autres communautés et *réseaux*: ils étaient membres de l'élite politique, économique ou même intellectuelle du pays. Non par hasard, beaucoup de politiciens ont alterné la fonction de préfet avec celle de député. Il y a même des situations quand le préfet renonce à cette dignité pour déposer sa candidature pour le Parlement, le cas inverse est aussi possible. Ainsi, le préfet de Suceava , George G. Ghiţescu (octobre 1895- mars 1896) qui a surveillé ou plutôt a organisé les élections législatives, a donné sa démission quelques mois après pour faire place à Gheorghe Softa le député élu dans son département au premier collège. La place de député est devenu éligible, la loi prévoyant des élections partielle et le candidat du gouvernement, élu, a été l'ancien préfet.

Alternance en fonction, auto-suspension, stabilité

Dans le Vieux Royaume la vie politique se caractérisait par l'alternance au pouvoir des deux forces politiques principales: les conservateurs et les libéraux. Ce phénomène «doit être vu comme une forme de manifestation du mécanisme politique - conséquence de beaucoup de facteurs socio-économiques et politiques et non pas d'un pacte entre ces formations»[35]. La presse et surtout l'opposition politique ont toujours parlé de l'écartement des agents de l'État à

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[33] Les dignités préfectorales tirent leur importance et la convoitise de nombreuses capacités aussi par le trait qu'elles mettent leur possesseur en contact direct et permettent d'établir des liaisons et se faire des services réciproques avec le corps électoral. Nous sommes dans une époque ou quelques centaines des gens pouvaient déterminer la   nomination d'un député.

[34] L'obtention du mandat de député dans l'opposition lui assurait prestige, visibilité et même au niveau locale une certaine supériorité envers ses collègues politiques.

[35] Gheorghe Iacob, *Strategia dezvoltării României de la Independenţă la Marea Unire*, in „Cum s-a infaptuit România moderna, Iassy", 1993, pp. 165-166.

chaque changement du régime, mais l'épuration administrative[36], qui a circulé en Roumanie entre 1866-1916 ne doit pas être généralisé et il s'agit aussi d'une alternance des fonctionnaires. Un nouveau gouvernement ne signifiait pas le remplacement de l'ensemble de l'appareil administratif. En ce qui concerne la notion d'épuration des préfets pour la période étudiée, elle doit être écartée, pour le simple fait, que les *chefs* de département étaient des fonctionnaires politiques et ils se légitimaient comme tels[37]. Le nouveau gouvernement n'avait pas besoin de licencier les préfets nommés par un autre parti politique, parce que eux-mêmes présentaient leur démission peu de temps après que la chute du gouvernement devenait effective. Ce phénomène est appelé par le futur premier ministre Gheorghe Tatarescu «le système des démissions collectives», «le ministre, le préfet, demandent et obtiennent de leurs subordonnés leur démission écrite comme gage de leur fidélité à l'égard du gouvernement»[38]. On peut même considérer qu'il s'agit aussi des pratiques liées au clientélisme politique.

Pendant les «interrègnes» forcés ou à propre volonté, les anciens membres de l'administration préfectorale exerçaient la fonction d'avocat, devenaient membres des conseils départementaux ou municipaux ou accédaient à d'autres fonctions publiques moins prestigieuses. Ils sont parfois revenus à leur occupation de fermiers ou simplement ont attendu le moment propice pour revenir dans l'administration ou dans la vie politique.

Dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle la Roumanie est devenue un Etat centralisé de type occidental. La Roumanie s'est construit graduellement en se créant des mécanismes et des leviers pour administrer, contrôler, surveiller le pays, sans réussir à limiter l'influence des réseaux clientélistes locales ou nationales. Nous considérons que les lois des années 1870 sur les conseils départementaux et sur les communes rurales et urbaines ont apporté une forte centralisation, mais de laquelle ont su profiter les hommes politiques locaux. Profitant d'une douzaine d'années pendant laquelle ils ont détenu le pouvoir (1876-1888), le gouvernement libéral de Ion C. Brătianu a tenté de restreindre le pouvoir de notables, voir les sympathisants des factions conservateurs. Mais ce processus n'a contribué seulement à la centralisation du pays, mais aussi par

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[36] Si on donne une définition de l'épuration on peut la considérer «au sens précis du terme, et d'un point de vue organique, celle qui frappe des fonctionnaires et agents des services publics, parmi lesquels nous pourrons ranger magistrats et militaires de carrière, et plus largement tous ce qui relèvent non seulement d'un statut mais aussi d'un état» (Claude Goyard, *La notion d'épuration administrative*, in „Les épurations administratives*, XIXe et XXe siècle*, Genève, Droz, 1977, p. 4).

[37] L'attribution officielle de veiller au bon cours des élections et le devoir, non officielle, mais obligation de Parti, d'assurer la victoire des candidats gouvernementaux faisait du préfet un personnage important au niveau local – il avait la possibilité de favoriser le choix des certains candidats, même dans l'intérieur du son groupe politique – et national. Sans les préfets et leurs adjoints électoraux – les chefs d'arrondissements – la «dot» gouvernementale serait moins appréciable.

[38] Georges Tătărescu, *Le régime électoral et parlementaire en Roumanie*, thèse pour le doctorat, université de Paris – faculté de Droit, Paris, M. Giard et E. Brière, 1912, p. 49.

l'intermède de l'exercice du pouvoir, les libéraux ont vu accroître leur poids aussi parmi les grands et les moyens propriétaires terriens, par cooptation ou par la pénétration parmi eux des commerçants, professions libres, industriels. Les institutions centrales ne jouissaient pas encore de trop des moyens et même *d'une conscience étatique* pour administrer d'une manière centralisée l'Etat, il s'agissait plutôt de la déconcentration, par la délégation du pouvoir au préfet. Il faut noter que durant le gouvernement libéral de 1876-1888 ont rencontre la plus grande stabilité des préfets et les plus longues périodes dans cette dignité : Take Petre Anastasiu à Tecuci, pendant douze ans (1876-1888) ; C. Titulescu à Dolj (1876-1884), Constantin Crețeanu à Ilfov (1877-1884), Gheorghe Chirițescu à Teleorman (1879-1888), Ion Furduescu à Prahova (1879-1888), Paul Stătescu à Tulcea (1881-1888), C. I. Poteca à Vlașca (1881-1888), etc.

D'autres conditions d'être promu préfet: origine géographique, origines sociales, réseaux familiaux

Nous avons observé que pour la période entre 1866 et 1916, et même après les préfets et, dans un pourcentage moins élevé leurs subordonnés, étaient des personnalités du département. Jusque dans les années 1920, l'appartenance à l'élite passait par la possession de terres et par l'ancrage dans la société locale et non seulement dans la haute société de Bucarest. Ce n'est qu'en Dobroudja de nord et de sud[39] que l'origine géographique des membres du corps préfectoral ne coïncide pas, dans plus de la moitié des cas, avec le département dans lequel ils ont été nommés pour la première fois dans ces fonctions. Le lieu de naissance, les liens de parenté étaient des facteurs importants, mais il faut tenir compte également de l'activité professionnelle antérieure. Il nous semble ainsi que l'ancrage dans un département par l'occupation d'une fonction ayant un certain capital symbolique - avocat, journaliste, professeur en secondaire ou à la faculté et même ancien officier - est plus important que le simple fait d'être originaire de cette région.

Avant la reforme agraire de 1921, l'élite politique avait des partisans dans plusieurs départements et la mobilité était assez grande parce que les liaisons à l'intérieur de l'élite étaient plus étroites. La fonction de préfet a toujours été convoitée par les notables locaux et une modalité pour eux de maintenir leur influence à l'intérieur du parti.

Dans le XVIIIe siècle autant en Valachie qu'en Moldavie on peut parler d'une liaison entre l'appartenance à la classe des boyards et la possibilité de la détention des fonctions publiques. L'obtention d'une fonction publique comme possibilité d'entrer et de monter dans les échelons de la noblesse s'est accentuée dans les années 1830-1850, conduisant à une véritable inflation des titres nobiliaires, aux niveaux bas et moyen. Après 1857, moment où les titres et les

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[39] Pour le sud de la Bessarabie, trois départements, sous l'administration roumaine de 1856 à 1878, nous ne disposons pas encore de beaucoup de données prosopographiques sur les préfets.

privilèges ont été abolis par leurs bénéficiaires, on observe l'augmentation de la pénétration dans la fonction publique, la magistrature et la carrière militaire des boyards, parallèlement avec la convoitise de ces fonctions par la jeune bourgeoisie et les petits propriétaires terriens.

Avant 1916 le droit de vote était accordé en fonction de la fortune, de *cens,* les conditions d'admissibilité et les capacités professionnelles étaient accompagnées par d'autres qualités : la fortune, les réseaux de connaissances et le lien de parenté avec les hommes du pouvoir, mais aussi les capacités électorales. Pour la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, nous avons pu constater que non seulement la plupart des préfets, mais aussi de nombreux sous-préfets et directeurs de préfecture faisaient partie de la classe des boyards[40]. La fonction publique était une modalité d'ascension sociale ou au moins du maintien du prestige. La fonction de préfet offrait légitimité et préséance[41]. A côté d'une bourgeoisie urbaine et orienté sur les domaines économiques voit le jour une bourgeoisie de dignitaires qui jouissent d'une prospérité matérielle sans avoir dans le même temps un pouvoir économique réel[42]. En plus, «la composition humaine de la bureaucratie se modifie nettement en faveur des *parvenus*, des gens qui n'appartenaient pas à l'aristocratie»[43]. A ce processus, il n'échappe pas l'institution préfectorale, mais il s'avère plus évident dans le cas des chefs d'arrondissement et des directeurs de préfecture. En ce qui concerne les préfets on observe un phénomène intéressant : l'entrée dans cette fonction s'est produite dans le cas des «parvenus» en général après qu'ils ont fait preuve de leurs qualités politiques, en accédant avant à d'autres dignités publiques, comme député ou maire des villes.

On observe, avec variations d'une période à l'autre et d'une région à autre, l'existence des groupes ou des familles qui font usage d'une sorte de droit de préemption. On a rencontré même des cas où le successeur d'un préfet était le fils ou le frère de celui-ci[44]. Dans d'autres cas, des membres de la même famille étaient préfets sous le même gouvernement[45].

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[40] Ils ne manquent pas d'exemples de fils de grands boyards et de familles très puissantes qui ont choisi d'être nommés dans ces fonctions subalternes (directeur de préfecture, sous-préfet) pour y acquérir de l'expérience et pour élargir par contact direct le cercle des connaissances, pour arriver dans d'autres dignités publiques.

[41] Il faut tenir compte de fait qu'à la campagne le fonctionnaire et son arsenal symbolique influence beaucoup une paysannerie qui doit rester soumise.

[42] Sorin Alexandrescu, *Privind înapoi modernitatea*, Bucureşti, Editions Univers, 1999, p.102.

[43] *Ibidem*.

[44] A Falciu en 1911 le général Gheorghe Teleman remplacé par son fils Anibal ; à Dorohoi, en 1889 Constantin Stroici remplacé par son frère George,

[45] Les frères Grigore (préfet de Neamt, 1863-1864, 1866-1868) et Dimitrie Cozadini (préfet de Iasi, avril-mai 1866). Grigore et Dimitrie Cozadini étaient des cousins de premier degré avec l'ancien prince régnant Alexandru Ioan Cuza, fait qui n'a empêché le nouveau pouvoir de les nommer dans la fonction de préfets.

Une autre situation plus complexe vise la tentative de certaines familles de conserver leur influence dans le département sans aucun rapport au parti politique au pouvoir. Un cas intéressant, mais non singulier est celui de la famille Lecca de Bacau qui a donné à ce département plusieurs préfets. Gheorghe Lecca, future ministre de la Justice, préfet de Bacau de 1867 à 1868, son fils Caton, préfet de police de Bucarest, préfet de Bacau, 1901-1904. Deux fils du Dimitrie Lecca, ancien ministre, et frère du Gheorghe Lecca, ont été à leur tour préfets de Bacau : les frères Iunius (1895-1897, 1899) et Dimitrie Lecca (1904). En outre, Iunius a épousé la première fois sa cousine Maria, fille de Gheorghe Lecca – divorcé d'Iunius et remariée avec le future préfet Panait Cantilli, et la deuxième fois il a épousé l'ex épouse du son cousin, l'ancien préfet Caton Lecca, Elena Sideri[46]. Dans le département de Bacău, l'alternance des libéraux et des conservateurs au gouvernement a été amoindrie par la nomination comme préfet de la part des conservateurs du beau-fils du général Lecca, Panait Cantilli[47].

La filiation avec un homme puissant était un facteur politique très important, et il offrait un argument en plus sur des autres candidats à obtenir des fonctions publiques. Ils bénéficiaient ainsi plus facilement du soutien politique des membres du parti au pouvoir pour y accéder dans une haute dignité publique. Le **mariage** qu'un demandeur d'emploi publique ou un fonctionnaire le réalisait pouvait influencer sa carrière administrative. Quelques préfets ont eu des liaisons matrimoniales avec les Brătianu. Elena Furduescu, nièce d'une soeur du I.C. Bratianu s'est mariée avec Petre Slăvescu, préfet d'Olt, Dolj, Putna et Tulcea. Ilie I. Niculescu-Dorobanțu, préfet d'Ilfov avant et après la Première Guerre mondiale s'est marié avec la sœur de Ion I. C. Bratianu. Masinca une des nièces de soeur du même I. I. C. Brătianu a été mariée avec deux préfets de Muscel : la première fois avec Petre Pârâianu (préfet de 1879 à 1881) et la deuxième fois avec Constantin N. Nicolau[48] (préfet de 1877 à 1879 et de 1896 à 1899). Autres préfets aussi ont épousé avec des filles des grands hommes politiques roumains, Gheorghe Beldiman, préfet d'Ilfov et de Falciu a pris comme épouse Lucia, fille du Mihail Kogalniceanu.

Beaucoup des membres du corps préfectoral ont eu, parfois même pendant l'exercice de leur fonction, des activités intellectuelles. Il y a un nombre non négligeable des gens qui dans leur double qualité de diplômés des facultés de Droit et de bons connaisseurs des rouages administratives ont étudié les institutions de l'Etat, y compris l'administration préfectorale et le statut des fonctionnaires publics. En outre, un nombre non négligeable des préfets, directeurs

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[46] Mihai Sorin Rădulescu, *Elita liberală românească 1866-1900*, Bucureşti, Editions ALL, 1998, p. 86-88.

[47] Panait Gheorghe Cantilli (1866-1956), originaire de la Valachie, marié avec Maria, la fille du libéral moldave Gheorghe Lecca, était le fils d'un ancien Garde de Sceaux, Gheorghe Cantilli et neveu du grand commerçant de Ploesti Panaiot Hagi Hristu Cantilli.

[48] Le même Constantin N. Nicolau a été marié avec une fille issue d'un premier mariage du général Alexandru Cernat.

de préfecture et des sous-préfets ont eu des vocations littéraires. Il s'agit d'habitude des écrivains qui n'ont pas laissé beaucoup de traces, mais à cette époque-là être homme de lettres pouvait donné plus de visibilité et de prestige. Dans ses mémoires, l'écrivain et le folkloriste Arthur Gorovei, raconte que pendant sa présentation devant le Roi, comme préfet, sa discussion avec Carol s'est portée sur les préfets fils ou eux-mêmes hommes de lettres[49]. Parmi les hommes de culture qui ont détenu durant la période 1866-1916 la dignité de préfet nous mentionnons Radu Rosetti (Roman, 1889, Brăila, 1892-1893, Bacău, 1893-1895), Mihai Văcărescu – Claymour (Dâmbovița, avril-mai 1876), Nicolae M. Gane (Suceava 1862, Dorohoi, 1862-1864, 1866-1870, Iasi, 1870-1871, 1901-1904), Arthur Gorovei (Suceava, janv.-nov. 1905), le poète Ioan Nenițescu (préfet de Tulcea et ensuite de Constanta, 1897-1901), Constantin Stere (Iasi, mars-avril 1907) et les moins connus George Cair (Dâmbovița, 1905-1907, 1912-1914), Victor Bilciurescu (en 1913-1914, préfet d'Arges, Caliacra, Durostor).

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Même si à maintes reprises l'administration et les fonctionnaires publics ont été considérés comme un obstacle ou un frein, la modernisation s'est produite avec leur appui aussi et la bureaucratie roumaine est entrée sur une voie de développement semblable à celles d'autres pays considérés comme des démocraties.

BEING PREFECT IN ROMANIA, 1866-1916. CAREER STRATEGIES

(Abstract)

The aim of this study is to examine some of the aspects concerning the strategies of a prefect's career in Romania between 1866 -1916. The authority of a prefect had as a model the French one; the prefect, as the most important public official acting at a local level, had a double function: to be an agent of the central power and a chief of the local decentralized administration. In the following pages we have developed the analysis of the intellectual and professional formation of the prefects, the different ways of procurement, the average age of attaining this public function, the references to the politics and to the changes of government and some other elements which could influence their career: social and even geographical origins, relationship and kinship to those participating in taking decisions at a central and local level.

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[49] Ioan Lacusta, *De la o Unire la alta. Memorie sau memorialişti, 1859-1918*, Bucureşti, Editions Albatros, 2005, p. 203.

LES RELATIONS ÉCONOMIQUES ANGLO-ROUMAINES À LA VEILLE DE LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE

MARUSIA CÂRSTEA

Dans la quatrième décennie du siècle dernier les contradictions entre les grandes puissances impérialistes se sont avivées, la lutte pour les marchés, pour les sphères d'influence, pour repartager le monde est devenu de plus en plus ardente. La menace d'une nouvelle guerre se précisait de plus en plus clairement. Au centre et du Sud-Est de l'Europe, la situation était encore plus compliquée[1].

Dès mars 1938, les événements internationaux ont fait les milieux officiels Britanniques changer d'attitude par rapport à Bucarest, visant à consolider leurs positions économiques et financières en Roumanie[2]. De plus, en mai et juin, la Grande Bretagne a même formulé un plan d'engagement économique et politique en Roumanie. Dans ce sens, l'ancien ministre des finances, Mackena, président de la *Midland Bank* et l'un des personnages les plus importants dans l'économie britannique, déclarait: "Nous sommes prêtes à donner à la Roumanie le plus grand appui économique possible"[3]. Même dans les milieux officiels anglais, d'habitude prudents au sujet du développement des échanges commerciaux avec la Roumanie, l'atmosphère s'était éclaircie, par suite des pourparlers Anglo-Roumains de Londres, le 28-29 avril 1938. Ainsi durant la première journée des discussions, l'on a abordé la question de l'achat de stocks, pour le cas où la guerre surviendrait, de produits alimentaires importés ce qui a généré en Allemagne un visible mécontentement. C'est dans ce sens que se prononçait l'officieux national-socialiste "Frankfurter Volksbalt" qui, fondé sur un télégramme de Londres, insérait un article intitulé: *Appât anglais pour la Roumanie*, où il était écrit: "Maintenant l'on sait précisément que M. Tătărescu prépare un vaste engagement de collaboration économique entre la Roumanie et l'Angleterre"[4]. En dénonçant cet objectif, ledit journal se montrait, comme on le voit de par le langage usité, non seulement intrigué, mais carrément irrité, surtout parce que – comme le "Frankfurter Volksbalt" le soulignait – "une partie de la presse Anglo-Saxonne s'évertue à qualifier les négociations de M. Tătărescu comme un exploit politique sensationnel. Les feuilles libérales et conservatrices s'en prennent, à cette occasion, à qui mieux [sic] pour accentuer

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[1] F.-G. Dreyfus, A. Jourcin, T. Thibault, P. Milza, *Istoria Universală*, vol. 3, Bucureşti, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2006, p. 428-431.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 431.

[3] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères du Roumains, Bucureşti, Fonds Convections, A. 20, vol. 40, f. 310 (dans ce qui suit l'on citera Arch. MAE).

[4] Idem, vol. 8, f. 130.

la nécessité politique d'un tel arrangement. Elles disent ouvertement que le nouvel engagement économique Anglo-Roumain porte moins sur leurs rapports commerciaux proprement dits qu'il ne consacre une nouvelle orientation économique de L'Angleterre en Europe centrale et orientale"[5]. Le 9 mai, en informant le Gouvernement roumain sur les dispositions favorables à l'essor du commerce avec la Roumanie, constatées surtout dans les milieux financiers anglais, Vasile Grigorcea a exprimé l'opinion que la Roumanie devait en profiter du plus tôt, en suggérant, dans ce sens, que le ministre de l'Économie Nationale aille faire une visite à Londres, où il trouverait un très bon accueil, avec des chances d'obtenir des accords commerciaux et un emprunt pour organiser l'industrie de l'armement. Le "Financial News" offrait des explications édifiantes dans ce sens, en disant qu'entre la Grande Bretagne et presque tous les pays danubiens se poursuit un échange de vues, visant à fixer les termes du concours financier que la Grande Bretagne va ensuite leur apporter[6]. Vu les renseignements et autres suggestions transmis par les voies diplomatiques, aux printemps et été de 1938, le gouvernement roumain s'est efforcé à intensifier sa coopération économique avec la Grande Bretagne. Visant une meilleure coopération avec la Grande Bretagne, Vasile Grigorcea transmettait, durant l'été 1938: "Parmi nos moyens de garder le contact avec la Grande Bretagne devrait aussi figurer une *coopération économique*. Je sais que beaucoup de difficultés sévissent mais je sais aussi que les banquiers du *City* montrent certaines dispositions favorables, parce qu'ils ne voudraient pas que la Roumanie en arrivant dans un état excessif de dépendance économique envers l'Allemagne antisémite"[7]. Dans la suite de son rapport Vasile Grigorcea sollicitait que: "Le gouvernement y envoie [à Londres] un économiste hautement prestigieux, pour qu'il y voie clair si et qu'est-ce qu'il y a à faire dans les domaines économique et financier"[8].

Durant la visite de Charles II à Londres (15-18 novembre 1938) celui-ci a brièvement esquissé les propositions principales dans le domaine économique du gouvernement roumain pour le gouvernement anglais à savoir: la base navale sise sur le lac Taşaul; le problème de l'essor économique du Danube et de la marine commerciale; le bois charpente et les entrepôts.

Chamberlain avait promis que le gouvernement anglais allait examiner les propositions roumaines dans la lumière des dires du Roi et avait déclaré que si, par suite d'un tel examen, l'on constatait qu'il était possible d'entreprendre une quelconque action sur l'une des directions proposées, il en serait très content; il a aussi accentué que, par l'achat de 200.000 tonnes de blé roumain, le gouvernement anglais avait prouvé son intérêt pour une coopération économique avec la Roumanie. Depuis la visite du Roi de Roumanie à Londres jusqu'à mi-mars 1939, la question la plus importante dans les relations anglo-roumaines est

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[5] *Ibidem.*

[6] *Ibidem*, f. 131.

[7] *Ibidem*, f. 114.

[8] *Ibidem.*

restée celle de l'aide économique et financière sollicitée par le gouvernement roumain au cabinet anglais, dans le but d'éviter l'établissement de la domination économique absolue de l'Allemagne sur la Roumanie. Dès le 13 avril 1939, après maints contacts et entretiens diplomatiques entre Bucarest d'une part et Londres et Paris de l'autre, la Grande Bretagne et la France s'engageaient unilatéralement à accorder assistance à la Roumanie au cas où celle-ci en viendrait à être soumise à un acte d'agression[9]. Mais le fait que le gouvernement britannique n'avait pas l'intention de renforcer et de compléter la garantie donnée à la Roumanie par une substantielle aide économique, financière et militaire est devenu encore plus évident aux yeux du gouvernement roumain durant les pourparlers menés à Bucarest par la mission économique anglaise, dont le dirigeant était Leith Ross, en vue de la conclusion d'un accord économique. Celle-ci était arrivée à Bucarest le 24 avril 1939 et, les jours suivants, avait négocié avec le ministre des finances Mitiţă Constantinescu et avec le gouverneur de la Banque Nationale un crédit britannique d'environ 5 millions de livres sterling, à un intérêt de 6% (que les Roumains estimaient très élevé, sollicitant 3%)[10]. L'on a encore discuté de l'essor du commerce anglo-roumain, en parlant de ces entretiens, la presse anglaise consignait: "l'avis général est que les négociations se développent de façon satisfaisante. La mission britannique veut que l'opinion publique sache que les conversations anglo-roumaines n'ont pas de caractère monopoliste et qu'il y a place pour d'autres pays aussi. Dans les milieux roumains l'on regrette que la mission ait eu à entreprendre beaucoup de recherches préliminaires et que les Anglais n'aient pas, jusqu'à présent, déclaré jusqu'où précisément sont-ils disposés à aller"[11]. La position du gouvernement anglais dans cette question été subordonné, tout aussi bien dans cette période, a son attitude de face à l'expansion de l'Allemagne hitlérienne vers l'Est et le Sud-Est de l'Europe, attitude qui restait essentiellement constante; le cabinet Chamberlain n'ayant pas l'intention de s'opposer avec fermeté à cette expansion, après lui avoir largement frayé son chemin par l'accord de Münich. En 1939, le climat politique international s'est beaucoup détérioré. Les archives des grandes chancelleries contiennent, pour mars et avril 1939, de nombreuses nouvelles sur l'imminence d'un danger allemand visant la Roumanie. Le "cas Tilea" survenait dans ce climat tendu. Aussitôt après l'occupation de la Tchécoslovaquie, V.V. Tilea (le ministre roumain à Londres) sollicitait que la Grande Bretagne précisât sa position envers la Roumanie dans le contexte présent et l'octroi d'un emprunt de 10 millions livres sterling pour l'acquisition d'armement et d'autres matériaux de guerre[12].

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[9] Constantin Vlad, *Diplomaţia secolului XX*, Bucureşti, Fundaţia Europeană Titulescu, 2006, p. 137.

[10] Arch. MAE, fond Conventions, A. 20, vol. 18, f. 183.

[11] *Ibidem*, f. 185.

[12] Constantin Vlad, *op.cit.*, p. 136.

C'est ce qui a déterminé la Grande Bretagne à devenir intéressée de convaincre la Roumanie à quitter sa neutralité. Ainsi, le représentant de la Grand Bretagne à Bucarest été chargé de faire des efforts pour convaincre la Roumanie "à être de notre côté depuis le début" et de transmettre, au plus tôt, ses observations - puisque la question allait être discutée devant le Comité Impérial de la Défense[13]. La Grande Bretagne a cherché – et maintes fois encore – à ne pas laisser la Roumanie dans un isolement complet. D'ailleurs, Gafencu reconnaissait l'existence d'une continuité dans la position et dans les intérêts britanniques lorsqu'il déclarait que: "Tant que la Grande Bretagne a maintenu ses positions et a été ferme à défendre ses intérêts, il a toujours été possible pour la Roumanie, comme pour les autres pays de l'Entente balkanique, de suivre une politique d'indépendance et de résister aux pressions exercées sur ses frontières, de diverses manières, par les deux partenaires du pacte de Moscou"[14]. Les engagements économiques entre la Grande Bretagne et la Roumanie se sont déroulés suivant le "Protocole de l'11 mai 1939 concernant les échanges commerciaux entre l'Angleterre et la Roumanie", qui statuait[15]: L'octroi par le gouvernement anglais d'un crédit de cinq millions de livres sterling, destiné à permettre à la Roumanie l'achat des matériaux de guerre de la Grande Bretagne; Le Royaume Uni s'obligeait à acheter du Gouvernement roumain des stocks de jusqu'à 200.000 tonnes de blé; La Roumanie s'obligeait à simplifier le mécanisme de contrôle pour faciliter l'exportation des produits en bois vers le Royaume Uni; Le gouvernement roumain s'engageait à modifier la législation minière dans le sens de stimuler la production et l'exportation du pétrole; Le Protocole précisait aussi que la constitution d'organisations spécialisées, fondées par les milieux d'affaires, sera encouragée, et que des zones libres seront octroyées dans les ports roumains. Les dernières dispositions visaient la consolidation de la présence britannique sur le marché roumain et menaçaient directement les positions du Reich. L'Angleterre a limité la quantité de pétrole vendue en Allemagne.

A peu près trois quarts de la production roumaine de pétrole étaient contrôlée par le capital anglo-français. La plus grande société pétrolière, Astra Română, contrôlé par Royal Dutch Shell Group représentait 2, 5% du total de l'industrie roumaine. Par contraste, les sociétés flamandes ne contrôlaient qu'environ de 0,86% de la production de pétrole brut. Par suite de ce fait, l'importation allemande de pétrole provenait du surplus produit par les compagnies occidentales. Dans les premiers mois de la guerre, la Grande Bretagne a commencé à limiter la matière première vendue en Allemagne et à acquérir le plus possible du surplus de produits des compagnies anglaises actives en Roumanie. Par exemple, en septembre 1939, Shell a consenti à réduire ses

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[13] Valentin Florin Dobrinescu, Ionel Sârbu, *Diplomaţia României de la garanţii la neutralitate*, Focşani, Editura Vrantop, 1997, p. 112.

[14] Gr. Gafencu, *Prelude to the Russian Campaign*, London, 1945, p. 276.

[15] "Monitorul Oficial", partie I, no 125, le 2 juin 1939.

ventes à l'Allemagne. En décembre 1939, la Grande Bretagne agrandit la quantité de pétrole acquise jusqu'à 140.000 tonnes par mois, alors que la quantité de pétrole acquise par l'Allemagne diminuait drastiquement. En novembre, le ministre allemand des Affaires Étrangères commença à se montrer mécontent de la diminution du nombre de livraisons. Bien que la quantité minimale requise pour continuer la guerre eût été de 100.000 tonnes par mois, en octobre l'on en avait livré 70.000 tonnes environ, et en novembre moins de 60.000 tonnes. Le ministre allemand des affaires étrangères a ordonné à la légation allemande de Bucarest de parvenir à conclure un accord avec le gouvernement roumain, par où la Roumanie en vienne à être obligée de garantir les livraisons[16]. Le 3 septembre 1939 le ministre allemand à Bucarest, Fabricius, informait correctement et d'urgence ses supérieurs que "les Britanniques font des préparatifs en vue d'acquisitions démesurément grandes de pétrole, pour clore l'unique source d'approvisionnement de l'Allemagne et, en même temps, pour en fournir à la force anglaise de l'aire sise en Pologne"[17]. Nous devons mentionner qu'à l'époque la Roumanie détendit 2,2% de la production mondiale de pétrole brut, étant le VI-ème état producteur du monde (et le II-ème en Europe) après les États-Unis, l'U.R.S.S., le Venezuela, l'Iran-Bahrein et les Indes Hollandaises. Ainsi, l'éclatement de la guerre, en septembre 1939, a ouvert sur le coup et brutalement la question du pétrole, aussi bien pour les parties belligérantes que pour les neutres. Les observateurs politiques et militaires sont immédiatement tombés d'accord sur ce point. À Bucarest, le journal *Monitorul Petrolului Român* consignait que l'industrie du pétrole était devenue "un élément vital pour les moyens employés par la guerre moderne"[18]. Dès ce moment, l'Intelligence Service et la Deuxième Bureau, mais surtout les sections roumaines du S.O.E. (Special Operations Executive) et du P.W.E. (Political Warfare Executive) se sont engagées dans la bataille pour le pétrole roumain. Les études élaborées par le War Office durant l'hiver 1939-1940 soulignaient que "les réserves de pétrole étaient probablement, le maillon la plus faible dans la chaîne du potentiel guerrier de l'Allemagne, et la situation de celle-ci pourrait devenir désespérée, si elle ne trouve point le moyen d'obtenir plus de ressources extérieures en réserve"[19]. Dans ce sens, de concert avec la politique britannique, le gouvernement roumain a permis aux Alliés d'agrandir leurs "acquisitions" de pétrole. De décembre 1939 à avril 1940, la Grande Bretagne a réussi à importer deux fois plus de pétrole que l'Allemagne. Alors que le Reich a acheté en moyenne 50.000 tonnes par mois, les importations britanniques ont passé 105.000 tonnes à la même époque. De plus les Britanniques ont lancé plusieurs

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[16] Rebecca Haynes, *Politica României faţă de Germania între 1936 şi 1940*, Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2003, p. 132.

[17] *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, vol. VII, p. 540.

[18] *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VIII, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, 2000, p. 555.

[19] Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, Lenuţa Nicolescu, Gheorghe Nicolescu, *Relaţii militare româno-engleze (1918-1947)*, Piteşti, Editura Cultura, 1998, p. 8.

projets visant la destruction de la zone pétrolifère roumaine, si celle-ci en venait à être utilisée par les Allemands. C'est le plan Léon Wenger qui a fini par s'imposer, du 1-er octobre 1939 et qui, le 18 octobre 1939, a été recommandé du gouvernement de Paris. Ce plan préconisait la destruction des puits de pétrole et le blocus du Danube, pour réduire drastiquement ou même interrompre les liaisons fluviales allemand-roumaines[20]. Par contre, les politiciens roumains opinaient que la destruction de leur industrie pétrolière aurait été un geste dramatique, justifié seulement du cas d'une évolution grave de la situation internationale. Ils estimaient encore que la récupération de celle-ci n'aurait plus été possible qu'après quelques générations. La Grande Bretagne a aussi entrepris des efforts dans des domaines autres que l'industrie pétrolière, mais avec un moindre succès. Sur recommandation du gouvernement roumain, le Ministère du Commerce de Londres a appuyé la création de la société British Centropa Co. Ltd. Cette corporation était une société privée, fondé pour contribuer à l'essor du commerce anglo-roumain, qui agissait indépendamment du Comité de Pression Économique sur l'Allemagne, crée en 1938, et du Département pour la Garantie des Crédits d'Exportation, qui n'avaient été utiles qu'en raison de leur caractère d'organisme officiel. De par sa qualité d'organisation commerciale, la Centropa était destinée à agir comme agent d'importation-exportation chargé d'accomplir "l'achat secret des marchandises roumaines"[21]. L'on avait fondé des grands espoirs sur l'activité de la Centropa, visant à prendre d'urgentes mesures dans très domaines commerciaux et pour permettre à la Roumanie d'échapper par elle-même, économiquement et, de manière implicite, politiquement, à l'étau allemand et pour assurer à la Grande Bretagne une influence prépondérante en Roumanie. Les documents et les rapports élaborés par le Foreign Office démontrent que les Britanniques ont fait des efforts pour maintenir leur position importante sur le marché roumain, durant les dernières années de paix et les premiers mois de guerre. Malheureusement, la politique des gouvernants britanniques envers les pays du Sud-Est européen a été oscillante, puisqu'ils ont directement soutenu la politique révisionniste des pays qui contestaient les Traités de Versailles, fait qui a déterminé Ion Antonescu à affirmer que: "Les tout premiers à faire leur et soutenir le révisionnisme Magyar ont été les Anglais"[22].

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[20] I. Colvin, *L'amiral Canaris*, Paris, 1952, p. 204-205.

[21] Archives Nationales de la Roumaine, Bucarest, Fonds Maison Royal, dossier 57/1940, rapport du Colonel Baldwin Webb à Sir Robert Vansittart, non date.

[22] Constantin Vlad, *op.cit.*, p. 143.

**BRITISH-ROMANIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE WAKE
OF THE 2$^{\text{ND}}$ WORLD WAR**

(Abstract)

The article refers to the co-operation of Romania with the United Kingdom in the 4$^{\text{th}}$ decade of the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century. During that period, the relations were unfolded on several strands of action: diplomatic, economic, military, commercial, cultural, so on.

From an economical point of view, we focused on the co-operation in the field of oil extraction, as well as agriculture. These economic commitments between United Kingdom and Romania were unfolded according to the *"Protocol on the 11$^{\text{th}}$ of May 1939 on the commercial exchanges between Romania and United Kingdom"*. On the whole, this protocol was established in order to strengthen the British presence on the Romanian market.

AN ATTEMPT OF MODERNIZATION IN CRAIOVA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR: THE TRAMWAY AND TROLLEYBUS SERVICES

ŞERBAN PĂTRAŞCU

In 2007 two decades will be completed since, on the streets of Craiova, crossing from one end to another, the tramways had been circulating.

The initiatives of the local authorities regarding the introduction of this mean of conveyance, emerging from the desire of modernize Craiova, are dating from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This is the period when, one after another, the famous mayors like Ulysse Boldescu and Nicolae P. Romanescu, or their successors M. Quintescu and C. M. Ciocazan, had tried, unsuccessfully, to solve "the tramways problem"[1]. The motives for their failure were multiple: starting with the bankrupt of the bank that was about to finance the project or some disagreements with the grantees regarding the term for the network exploitation, and ending with the refusal of the German society, responsible with the lighting, to supply the energy necessary for the tramways to function.

Somehow surprisingly, the actions were restarted with even more determination even during the Second World War, when they succeeded in creating a tramways and trolleybuses service. But the people from Craiova won't have the opportunity to see tramways on the streets of theirs city. Plus that, the new created service, will reveal to be extremely costly and, after the Soviets canceled it, Craiova would deal with a lack of any kind of public transportation.

I. The captured material: Damaged Tramways and Trolleybuses

Favorable circumstances constituted the base for the decision of Craiova's local authorities.

First, we must notice that, although the war was carried on, the city's economic and social life continued. "Craiova – said the mayor – is the only advantaged city in our country in which the activity is carried on, the shows go on, the market is well supplied"[2].

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[1] For all these attempts see more information in Mitu Andreescu, *Chestiunea tramvaielor la Craiova*, Craiova, Tipografie – Legătorie de Cărţi F. Constantinescu, 1911, 37 p.; a work presented by Ion Pătraşcu in *Almanah '98. Fundaţia Scrisul Românesc*, Craiova, Ausrom Publishing House, 1998, p. 218-219.

[2] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. II, nr. 11, 1st – 15th September 1941, p. 8-9.

Once with the appointing of a new mayor, the general Dumitru B. Popescu[3], were intensified the efforts of the local administration regarding the sanitation of the city, the repairing and the paving of the streets and the realization of a systematization plan. The   authorities were also preoccupied with the development of some local services, which could guarantee those necessary utilities, so far contracted from different suppliers. And because the City Hall annually needed for its constructions two millions pieces of bricks, the mayor order the founding of a brickyard "which could obtain a better quality of brick than the one manually made, already existing on the market, and less durable than the one made in the factory[4]". Right on, in 1942, the moment when was created the Tramways and Trolleybuses Service, the local authorities immediately canceled the contract made with a firm from Bucharest which had leased the public transportation from Craiova.[5]

Among those directly interested to introduce the tramways in the locality, was the Autonomous Administration of the Romanian Railways. In the spring of 1942, the Administration of the Romanian Railway announced the authorities that, after the founding of the railway Craiova – Bucuresti, via Caracal, on which the works were carried on[6], and which helped transforming Craiova into an important junction-rail, was decided the starting of a construction and modernization program which allowed: the construction of a modern railway station, of a merchandise station and also the construction of some workshops[7]. As a completion of this project, the authorities had engaged to

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[3] He was the mayor of Craiova during 1st April 1942 – 9th of October 1944, when he was arrested, along with other local authorities, by the units of NKVD which had occupied the city (cf. *Misiunile lui A. I. Vâşinski în România. Din istoria relaţiilor româno-sovietice, 1944-1946. Documente secrete*, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 77-78, the document nr. 8).

[4] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. IV, nr. 3-5, 1st May-15th June 1943, p. 2-3.

[5] The routes on which the public transportation was being made were those established by an order of the Local Authorities from 20th July 1938: 1. Bariera Calafatului – Calea Dunarii – Bulevardul Romanescu – Autogara; 2. Bariera Caracalului – Calea Caracalului – strada Elena Doamna – strada Ghica Vodă – Bulevardul I. G. Duca (former Tabaci) – Autogara; 3. Bariera Bucureştilor – strada Cuza Vodă – strada Principele Nicolae – strada Negru Vodă – strada Buzeşti – strada Sf. Arhangheli – strada Dima Popovici – strada Unirii – Bulevardul Ştirbey – Autogara; 4. Bariera Amaradiei – Calea Amaradiei – strada Jianu – strada Libertatii – strada 10 mai – Autogara; 5. Bariera Severinului – Calea Severinului – strada Jianu – strada 10 Mai – Autogara; 6. Bariera Brestei – Calea Brestei – strada Libertăţii – strada 10 Mai – Autogara; 7. Bariera Bucovatului – Bulevardul Stirbey – Autogara (*Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an I, nr. 8, 1st August 1938, p. 74 -75).

[6] Soon after, because the evolution of the war wasn't favorable, the works on the railway ceased.

[7] The Romanian Railway's workshops and the Station would be severely damaged by the Anglo-American bombardment from the spring and the summer of 1944 (cf. the newspaper *Situatia*, an.I, nr. 33 from 19th November 1944, p. 1 and *Situatia* from 18th October 1946).

build a new market, near the station, and to open a tramway line towards the centre of the city, to serve the Romanian Railway's workshops.[8]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs seemed to be encouraging. In the same time, the reopening of the Theatre was thought to be unseasonable[9] and, as a consequence, any credit was refused, but for the working of the tramways and trolleybuses, the Ministry was willing to allocate, as subsidies, substantial funds![10]

In April 1942, a deputation of specialists traveled to Transnistria, in Odessa, for buying tramways which the Romanian Govern considered to be, along with other goods, captured material.[11] The deputation, despite the fact that the tramways, 13 pieces, were totally damaged, with the rails used and, ignoring the unfavorable conclusions expressed by one of the specialists, the engineer Constantinescu made a report in which he agrees to send them to Craiova.[12] And more, along with the tramways, in Craiova will arrive 7 trolleybuses, also soviet, being in different stages of usage. All together, in October 10th 1942, Craiova's mayor decided to found "The Public Service of Common Transportation with Trolleybuses and Tramways, powered by electric current"[13].

Making these tramways work will prove to be something impossible. Although the Public Administration and also the Communal Factories, which had the new transportation service in their subordination, spent a large amount of

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[8] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. III, nr. 3-4, 15th May – 15th June 1942, p.2. An important labor power was to benefit, once with the opening of the tram lines. From a report of the Craiova's Police Station dating from 29th September 1943, results that, in the most important enterprises, were working about 5000 people (cf. *Documente privind mişcarea revoluţionară şi democratică din Oltenia 1921 – 1944*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1986, p. 226, the document nr. 180).

[9] In 1942, Ştefan G. Botoiu, the head manager of the National Theatre of Craiova, requested to The Ministry of Finances a credit for 12 millions lei, needed for the reopening of the theatre. The Marshal Antonescu didn't agree: "We have nor time or money for such causes. We are at war…"(the newspaper *Drum Nou*, an. II, nr. 4 from 6th April 1946, p. 2; nr. 5 from 13th April 1946, p. 2).

[10] Starting from May 1942, The Ministry gives to the Municipality 20 millions lei for investment works, from which 10 millions with the destination "A subvention for founding the trolleybuses service", and in 1942 they allocate a really impressive sum: 54 millions lei (cf. *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. II, nr. 3-4, 15th May – 15th June 1942, p. 5; an. IV, nr. 15-18, 15th October – 15th December 1943, p.2-3).

[11] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova,* an. III, nr. 3-4, 15th May – 15th June 1942, p.2. For the inventory, the storage and the conservation or evacuation of those goods existing in Odessa, considered to be captured material, was responsible the "Service of Captures and Retrieving from Odessa" founded in November 1st 1941and which depended directly to the Great Headquarters. Accused with "robbery" in the trial from May 1946, the Marshal replied: "there was no robbery. It was just the right of the occupant. He lives in the territory which he occupied and from there he leads the military operations". (Olivian Verenca, *Administraţia civila româna în Transnistria 1941-1944*, the 2nd edition accurate by Şerban Alexianu, Bucureşti, Vremea Publishing House, 2000, p. 129-130).

[12] The newspaper *Liberalul*, an. I, nr. 6 from 10th February 1945, p. 4.

[13] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. III, nr. 13-15, 15th October–30th November 1942, p. 4-5 (The decision nr. 406/28413 from 10th October 1942).

money to repair[14] them, at almost 15 months since they were brought in Craiova, the situation remained the same. In June 28th 1943, the engineer I. Negus, the manager of The Communal Factories admitted that: "regarding the tramways question, they are being mended, because they were given to us already damaged, and they required total repairing" and he recommended the building of some workshops and a garage for the tramways[15].

Instead, after a large amount of work, many obstacles and a substantial financial effort[16], they managed, during 1943, to make the trolleybuses functional. The works involved: making the installations of the trolleybuses network (180 metallic pillars, anchoring, automatic and fixed switches, etc), building a depot, the paving with cubic stone and maintaining in good condition the streets on which the trolleybuses were about to traverse (Carol the First Boulevard) or land expropriations.[17] During the summer (in June and July) were used the following routes: Centre – Station and Centre – Park. The third line, on which the works already began, was supposed to follow the next route: Centre – The Brick Street – The Military Hospital.[18] This entire route Station – Park had four zones and cost, in January 1944, the equivalent of price for two pieces of bread, for one of these zones a person had to pay 15 lei, and for a communication ticket, on the general route, 2 000 lei. Dispensation could have only the war invalids, with more than 80 percent rate of invalidity and even those people in special cases.[19] The Craiova's dwellers, most for necessity – because there was no other mean of transport – and the others probably from curiosity, will travel a lot with the trolleybuses. Especially the route Centre – Station will bring a lot of money, an average of 81 000 lei a day[20].

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[14] They tried to repair 4 tramways for which they allocated 1,5 millions lei but, finally, the sum rose to 9 millions lei (cf. *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. III, nr.16-18, 15th December 1942 – 15th January 1943, p. 2; *Liberalul*, an. I, nr. 6 from 10th February 1945, p. 4). Cleverer or maybe luckier, the Authorities from Constanta, in the same period, succeeded to repair and to open a tram line with tramways also brought from Odessa.

[15] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. IV, nr 6-9, 15th June – 15th August 1943, p. 6. The construction of the depot, estimated to cost 4 millions lei, was put out to contract to the society Dalla Barba and Peresutti, which began building it in Calea Brestei (cf. *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. IV, nr 6-9, 15th June – 15th August 1943, p.3-4).

[16] Besides the subventions received from the Internal Ministry and their own funds, the Municipality authorized the Communal Factories to contract a loan of 20 millions lei, for 40 years, from the Casa de Credit Judeţean şi Comunal (*Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. III, nr. 13-15, 15th October – 30th November 1942, p.5-6).

[17] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. III, nr. 3-4; an. III, nr. 16-18, 15th December 1942 – 15th January 1943, p. 2; an. IV, nr. 6-9, 15th June – 15th August 1943, p. 3-4; an. IV, nr. 10-14, 15th August – 15th October 1943, p. 6.

[18] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. IV, nr 6-9, 15th June – 15th August 1943, p. 6.

[19] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. III, nr. 3-4; an. III, nr. 16-18, 15th December 1942 – 15th February 1944, p. 9.

[20] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova*, an. IV, nr 6-9, 15th June – 15th August 1943, p. 6.

II. Pasol na… Odessa

In the fall of 1944, the arriving of the Red Army in Craiova would suspend the usage of the trolleybuses and the entire material had to be given back to the U.S.S.R.

Sent by Stalin at Craiova with the mission of making operative – chekist proceedings, the deputy of the People's Commissary for the Internal Affairs, the comrade I. V. Serov, mentioned in his report dating from October 12th: "There had been retreated from traffic and sent back to Odessa 7 trolleybuses, 7 tramways, cast iron pillars, electric cable and bronze statues brought by Romanians from that territory."[21]

The story of the tramways and trolleybuses has an unexpected epilogue.

When everyone hoped that this bad piece of business would be forgotten, when it was no longer in the interest of even the Soviets, The National Liberal Party (Bratianu) from Dolj district, seized with a vindictive feeling, required an investigation which should reveal the culpable ones. In January 1945, the liberals, helped by the mayor, the attorney Nelu Sandu, addressed a note to the mayor, in which they demanded an urgent intervention at The Internal Affairs Ministry "to authorize an administrative inspector and a financial one to control the administration of all the City Hall's services, starting from 1st of January 1938 and up to the present, particularly for the Communal Factories, to find out who initiated the trolleybuses affair, who brought them, what kind of material was brought and what materials were taking back to U.S.S.R., to clearly see how much money spent the Authorities for".[22] Because the City Hall didn't take into account the petition, the liberals expressed their indignation: "How can it be possible that 6 months after the removing of the Dictatorship, Antonescu's people had the highest positions?".[23] And this was not all. In February 1945, probably after some personal investigations, The National Liberal Party accused directly the leadership of the Communal Factories of "stealing the tramways, based on the express report", while, responsible for bringing the trolleybuses in Craiova was found the general Constantin (Picky) Vasiliu, the city's former mayor (1938 - 1940), whose "fantasy" cost the local authorities 220 millions lei.[24] The large amount of money mentioned by the

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[21] *Misiunile lui A. I. Vâşinski în România. Din istoria relaţiilor româno-sovietice, 1944 – 1946. Documente secrete*, Bucuresti, 1997, p. 79-80, the document nr. 9.

[22] *Liberalul*, an. I, nr. 2, from 13th January 1945, p. 3.

[23] *Liberalul*, an. I, nr. 7, from 17th February 1945, p. 4.

[24] *Liberalul*, an. I, nr.6, from 10th February 1945, p. 4; an. I, nr. 7 from 17th February 1945, p. 4. The accusations brought by the liberals to general Vasiliu, were confirmed by the lieutenant – the colonel Alexandru Badea Constantinescu, the commander of the Battalion 8 of Instruction and Vehicle Repairs from Craiova: "The general Piky Vasiliu – the commander of the Gendarmerie and Secretary of State to the Ministry of Internal Affairs – whished to be remembered in Craiova and for this reason he thought proper to bring *trolleybuses* from Odessa to Craiova and to work much money were spent from the country's and Craiova's budget, and then,

liberals, on which are added the expenses made when trying to repair the tramways, the construction of the garages and also those made when transporting them from Odessa, doesn't seem to be exaggerated. From the official documents of the Authorities we find that just between 1942 and 1943 were made investments of about 100 millions lei, representing funds from the Municipality and the Communal Factories, materialized in subsidies and loans. [25]

The abolition of the Tramways and Trolleybuses Service let the people from Craiova without any mean of common transport. In these terms, the Russians requisitioned, confiscated and claimed on the Armistice's account, any kind of motor vehicle[26] and, the transportation problem, remained unsolved for couple of years.

There were several trials yet. In November 1944, in one of the local newspapers[27], appeared the piece of news regarding the intention of an important Swedish industrial group to found at Craiova a tram line for a tramway drawn by horses; and in March 1946, The Autonomous Administration of the Romanian Railways, after it initially had accepted to provide the people's transportation in the city with vehicles imported from U.S.S.R., declined its competence[28]. Only in September 1946, an enterprising man, Alexandru Pasat, opened for traffic 4 buses on the route Centre – The Station, starting from the front side of the New York hotel[29].

As a conclusion, the old wish of the Craiova's Authorities couldn't be fulfilled at that date. There will pass another 45 years until the long desired tramways will circulate on the streets of Craiova.

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they had to be put back in motion there, an action which took more money, plus the electric cable bought from Germany and plus the pillars" (Alexandru Badea Constantinescu, *Labirintul Terorii*, edition accurate by prof. dr. Toma Rădulescu, Craiova, Sim Art Publishing House, 2006, p.48.).

[25] *Buletinul Oficial al Municipiului Craiova,* from 1942, 1943 and 1944.

[26] The Soviets took from Romania motor vehicles representing 85 % of the entire car park (cf. Mihail Romniceanu, *Zece luni în Guvernul Groza*, Bucureşti,"Jurnalul Literar" Publishing House, 2003, p. 45). This is what happened: "At every city's barrier and at the main junctions were installed Soviet military posts to control the vehicles, and there were confiscated any kind of vehicle which appear to them as suspect. Each Soviet solder whished to own a car and from here emerged the terrible abuses". (Alexandru Badea Constantinescu, *op. cit*., p. 39).

[27] *Situaţia*, an. I, nr. 42 from 30th November 1944, p. 1.

[28] *Situaţia*, an. II, nr. 416 from 15th March 1946, p. 2.In order to remediate the situation regarding the public transportation, the press interfered: "The people from Craiova won't be satisfied with just one main line, even if this is for buses, and which suppose to make the connection between the Station, Centre and Romanescu Park" (Situaţia, an. II, nr.532, from 8th August 1946, p. 1).

[29] *Drum Nou*, an. II, nr. 22 from 29th September 1946, p. 2.

UN ESSAI DE MODERNISATION DE LA VILLE DE CRAIOVA PENDANT LA DEUXIÈME GUERRE MONDIALE: LE SERVICE DE TRAMWAYS ET TROLLEYBUS

(Résumé)

A la fin du XIXe siècle et le commencement du XXe siècle, le conseil municipal de Craiova essaie de moderniser la ville par l'introduction d'un service de tramways. Ses efforts resteront inutiles à cause des différents motifs.

En 1942 des tramways et des trolleybus, considérées capture de guerre, seront apportées d'Odessa. Quelques mois plus tard, le maire de Craiova fondera le service de tramways et trolleybus. Même si beaucoup d'argent a été dépensé avec leur réparation, les tramways étaient très dégradés et leur mise en fonction a été impossible. Le service de trolleybus a fonctionné entre 1943 et 1944.

Dans l'automne du 1944, l'Armée Rouge fit son entrée à Craiova. Une des conséquences directes a été l'annulation du service de trolleybus dont les tramways et trolleybus seront envoyés à Odessa.

THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL BANK
AFTER NATIONALIZATION.
THE MONETARY REFORM FROM 1947

GEORGETA GHIONEA, LOREDANA ILIN

At the end of XIX the century there were built the first loan institutions of a modern banking system, which was in full construction. In the communist period only a part from the buildings specially built as bank offices succeeded to keep their initial destination. After 1989 some got financial profile and others became simple shops.

Beside the old buildings with remarkable architecture as the Palace of Romanian National Bank, the Palace of Romanian General Bank, Stock Palace had appeared new buildings of whose exteriors had high profiles, walls of glass, automatic doors, sound surrounding, opened spaces, modern equipment and furniture, qualified staff. The common feature of the banks wasn't the aspect of buildings but the money, a transmissible and an omnivalent personification of the purchasing power and the operations, which they accomplished, grounded on them.

In the centre of the banking system of every state there is a central bank and in the case of Romanian state, this is The Romanian National Bank. It appeared through the law from the April 17/29 1880, *The Law for setting up of a bank of discount and circulation*[1], being as a date of foundation one of the latest institutes of European emission. The bank cumulated two functions: the unique bank of emission and the commercial central bank while the organizing and administration system was inspired by the Belgium Bank[2]. The Bank's activity developed in the central residence from Bucharest, but also into the opened branches in the country: Braila, Craiova, Galati, Iasi[3]. The Romanian National Bank supported with its capital the foundation of some credit institutions destegned to help the development of the national economy. Thus, appeared The National Society of Industrial Credit (1923), through which The National Bank supported the investments from industry, such as The Houses of agricultural credit (1881), The Agricultural Credit (1893) and the Bank for industrialization and capitalization of farming products (1937), through which was financed the

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[1] Mihail Gh. Romaşcanu, *Eugeniu Carada (1836-1910),* Bucureşti, 1937, p. 222.

[2] C. I. Băicoianu, *Istoria politicei noastre monetare şi a Băncii Naţionale 1880-1914,* vol. II, partea I, Bucureşti, 1932, p. 129.

[3] *Ibidem*.

agriculture[4]. As a result of state's growing intervention in economy at 7th February 1929 the Romanian National Bank became the control center of the credit[5]. In the field of directing and controlling politics of the credit meant to assure the necessary financial means for developing the national economy, the most important document is the nationalization of The Romanian National Bank. In this way The Central Institute of Emission was put in the service of the state.

At the end of The Second World War, the rearrangement and reconstruction of the national economy, the fighting with exploit, the liquidation of war's consequences and the regulation of economical life were situated in the centre of Romanian political circle concerns.

At the same time with the establishment of Petru Groza's government, the rearrangement of economy constituted one of the fundamental issues examined by the National Conference of Romanian Communist Party from October 1945[6]. Thus there were taken lots of measures for rearranging the national economy through stimulation of human and material potential of the country and there were established the tasks referring to the finances credit and prices issues.

The liquidation of exploit, the balancing of fiscality, the removing of tax avoidance, the balancing of budget with ordinary means, the using of credit for productive purposes and the liquidation of inflation are only few from the objective proposed by the participants from the Conference[7]. As a result of what has been established at the Conference, in the following years it had been passed to nationalizing and reorganizing the Romanian National Bank in December 1946, to management's changing in the Ministry of National Economy, to applying of an excessive fiscality over the incomes which weren't the result of work ant to monetary stabilization from 1947[8].

Until the nationalization of Romanian National Bank our banking system has been regulated according with the law from March 30, 1939 which provided that in the notion of bank to be included every commercial organization which performed operations referring to sums of money, credits and other operations related with them[9]. The bank trade was exercised only by the banking societies constituted in the terms of law having license delivered by the Banking Superior Council.

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[4] Aurel Vijoli, *Sistemul bănesc în slujba claselor exploatatoare din România,* Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică, 1958, p. 281-282.

[5] Costin C. Kiriţescu, Emilian M. Dobrescu, *Băncile. Mică enciclopedie,* Bucureşti, Editura Expert, 1998, p. 414.

[6] Ion Alexandrescu, *Economia României în primii ani postbelici (1945-1947),* Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1986, p. 129.

[7] Dumitru C. Bontaş, *Creditul Bancar, factor activ în dezvoltarea economiei naţionale 1944-1974,* Bucureşti, Editura Junimea, 1982, p. 18.

[8] Al. Şeşan, *Reforma monetară din 1947,* în „ Probleme economice", anul XXII, nr. 8, 1969, p. 189.

[9] Dumitru C. Bontaş, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

According to the statues of Romanian National Bank from 1940 this institution was constituted in anonymous society having the right to emit bills payable to bearer and with the view to, having the obligation to maintain the stability of currency. Among the main operations the bank could do were: discounting of promissory notes, hand notes and other effects, having as a purpose commercial operations; granting of loans with ingots or golden or silver coins and estimates[10].

Through the Law from 28 December 1946 for the nationalization and organization of Romanian National Bank were established the new statutes of the bank[11]. Thus the Romanian National Bank nationalized had to function in the terms of a capitalist banking machine subordinated to popular power. The institution satisfied the required conditions of a socialist bank of evidence and control of production and circulation of means being a unique center of emission, discount and granting credits on short terms. It was organized as an anonymous joint-stock company having a capital of 600million lei shared in 200 thousand actions of 3,000 lei each[12]. Bank's actions passed into state's property and ex-shareholders had to receive for every action a sum in cash which was established by the panel of judges instituted by the Court of Appeal, made by the first president, two counselors and the first clerk[13]. The management was arrogated to a council of administration set up from a governor, vice-governor and nine administrators nominated by the state. The Council of Ministers assumed the competences of the generally, ordinary and extraordinary assembly anticipated by the commercial laws. The technical operations of the nationalized bank were similar with the anticipated ones in the statutes of National Bank from 1940. Regarding to the golden reserve and the estimates, the bank was obliged to form a gold coverage at least of 25% from the sum of engagements with the view which included the emission of the banknotes[14].

Through its quality of state's mandatory, the National Bank assured directing and the control of credits above all banks and private or public credit institutions regarding the credit and currency emission[15].

The elimination of speculates with estimates, gold and actions and also the guidance of capitals towards the productive activities are other measurements through which the state consolidated the control over the economy. This way was adopted a new system of remuneration, the Ministry of Industry and Trade was reorganized, setting up industrial offices. Therefore, the

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[10] *Ibidem,* p. 10.

[11] Costin Kirițescu, *Etatizarea Băncii Naționale a României,* în „Probleme economice", anul XXII, nr. 8, 1969, p. 173.

[12] Al. Pintea, Gheorghe Ruscanu, *Băncile în economia românească 1774-1995,* București, Editura Economică, 1995, p. 237.

[13] *Ibidem*.

[14] Costin Kirițescu, *art. cit.,* p. 180.

[15] „Monitorul Oficial", partea a III-a, nr. 14 din 1 februarie 1947, p. 225.

state directed the process of production, providing the raw materials and also using them[16]. In spite of every measurement they took, it couldn't remove the exploit and sabotage.

Afterwards the provisions of the law of nationalization of Romanian National Bank were completed through the Law of controlling the using of credits (2nd July 1947) through which was extended the control on natural and legal persons who benefited the credits from banks and credit institutions[17]. Through the law was established that the credit solicitants should use money only with the purpose it were taken for. There were stipulated amends and penalties in case of infringement of the Law of using the credits. If the authorities or the Romanian National Bank's mandatory were deliberately hiding or misrepresented what they have noticed, the sanction was prison between 3or 6 months and 2 years and the amend between 2 and15million[18].

With the object of putting into practice this law, the Romanian National Bank set up a control corps, which had to supervise and control the elaborated norms to accomplish credit operations and performing a preventive control of granting them[19].

Simultaneously were appointed permanent mandatory at public or private mandatory, which had the task to guide leader's institutions in putting into practice these norms, to control if the loans, which were granted, were legally.

In case they found violations in the Romanian National Bank norms, the authorities had to make a process-verbal, where they stipulated the committed infringements of the law. There were also adopted other financial laws which established the setting of actions from share-holders companies, the regime of commodities from aboard paid or accounted by traders, industrialists and other owners of Romanian commodities through estimates placed at disposal by Romanian National Bank.

Transformed through the nationalization after 1946 the new banking institution had the following tasks: it granted credits to industrial enterprises and to agriculture; it controlled how the banks distributed credits, reserves, savings, it supervised beneficiaries' credits, it assured the terms for preparing the monetary reform[20].

One of the obstacles the state had in the period of economical reconstruction was the monetary inflation. Its causes must be searched in the financial and economical situation from the end of The Second World War that were: Romania supported important material damages as the result of military operations, industry and transport network were disorganized; our country was

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[16] Dumitru C. Bontaş, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

[17] „Monitorul Oficial", partea I, nr. 159 din 15 iulie 1947, p. 6023.

[18] *Ibidem*.

[19] Dumitru C. Bontaş, *op. cit.,* p. 31-32.

[20] *Ibidem,* p. 33.

obliged at important war indemnification; Romania's currency was blocked in the West countries. To all of these were added the drought between1945-946, the tax avoidance, products' stocking and also the speculative.

At 14th June 1947 The Romanian Communist Party presented to the Ministry Council the proposal for reestablishing the national economy which attended to remove the speculate, the sabotage, tax avoidance and to achieve a balanced budget[21]. From this reason in 21st June 1947 was made the Ministry Committee for Economical Reestablishing and Monetary Stability. The Committee put into practice series of laws regarding the regime of circulation of agriculture products and organizing of economical control. Through the adopted measurements of this Committee was also the monetary reform from 15th August 1947.

The monetary unit was "leul" having as subdivision "banul". The new content of leu was established at 0,60mgr gold with the title 9/10. There were redrawn the banknotes of the National Bank, the divisional metallic coins emitted by Ministry of Finance, the special means of payment (cash vouchers, treasury bonds, paying certificates, treasury bonds of compensation, checks of army dowering and tax checks)[22].

Starting with 15th August1947 they were putting into circulation the new monetary signs: bank tickets of 100, 500(emitted in 1949) and 1000 lei (emitted in 1948), divisionary metallic coins of 0,50; 1; 2 and 5 lei and also the banknote of paper of 20 lei (emitted by the Ministry of Finance in 1950).

Depending on the occupation of natural person or on the quality of legal person, holders of old lei, the law established the admitted sum at exchanging in stabilized lei.

Thus for the employees the sum that followed to be exchanged was 3million of old lei for each person and for farmers the sum was 5 million per family. Invalids, widows and orphans of war and also the people who had admitted jobs through decision of the Committee for Economical Reestablishing and Monetary Stabilization, could exchanged till 3 million of old lei. The public institutions benefited of an unlimited exchange with the condition of previous justification. The commercial enterprises, which have bought products or goods for selling or to rent them, hadn't got admitted any sum for exchanging. The model farms recognized by state, benefited of exchanging an equal sum with all salaries paid in June 1947.

The sums of old lei that weren't exchanged had to be put obligatory in a blocked account, without interest at credit institutions.

Duties, taxes, remaining or current amends were recalculated according with the new prices and then paid in stabilized lei[23].

The Monetary reform from 1947 based upon the potential of national economy without benefiting of external financial support or internal loans. The

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[21] Al. Şeşan, *art. cit.,* p. 190.

[22] *Ibidem,* p. 191.

[23] „Monitorul Oficial", Part I, no. 187, August 16 1947, p. 7310-7311.

most important effect of the reform was the removing of inflation. It also assured for the state a considerably quantity of gold and currency. It affected moneylenders who held large quantities of monetary signs, which they couldn't exchange. It stoke into the bankers, industrialists, traders of whose capitals were blocked in banking accounts, being obliged to cede to the state all their quantities of gold and currency.

It has been established a new report between prices and salaries. Thus was growing the purchasing power as a result of recalculation of their remuneration but also the prices. The monetary reform from 1947 was made for the interest of the mass of workers and against the exploiting class.

Concluding, we could affirm that in the period 1944-1948 the credit system represented a way of consolidation the socialism and has been utilized for directing of credits towards the recovery of economy and especially in consolidation of industry and trade.

LA BANQUE NATIONAL DE LA ROUMANIE APRÈS LA NATIONALISATION. LA REFORME MONÉTAIRE DE 1947

(Résumé)

À la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale, la reconstruction de l'économie nationale, la lutte contre la spéculation illicite et la normalisation de la vie politique se sont situées au centre des préoccupations des associations politiques roumaines.

Dans l'évolution du Banc National de la Roumanie, la période entre 1945-1948 a été marquée par deux événements importants : l'étatisation et la réorganisation du Banc National de la Roumanie et la réforme monétaire.

L'étatisation a représenté la première étape importante de l'intervention de l'état dans le domaine de la direction et de la surveillance du crédit, étape nécessaire dans le développement de l'économie nationale.

Pour le redressement de l'économie nationale on a adopté le 15 août 1947 la réforme monétaire. Elle a contribué à l'amélioration de la situation matérielle des employés.

Cette réforme, accomplie sans des emprunts externes, voulait représenter une manifestation de l'indépendance économique et politique de la Roumanie et elle a contribué aussi à sa consolidation.

THE ROMANIAN LEGISLATION BETWEEN 1949-1952
– AN UNCONDITIONAL BASE
OF THE COLLECTIVIZATION PROCESS

CEZAR AVRAM

The form of Soviet hegemony found in Romania, as in all other states under the influence of the *Iron Curtain*, was the existence of the unique party – the state party, and also the presence of the ideology imposed by the system of physical an psychological terror, the absolute control over the individual and the community, the monopole over the institution of coercion – the party, the *Security*, the militia, the justice system, the centralization of the entire economy and the setting up of the socialist production relations in parallel with the nationalization or the seizure of private property.

In order to attain the goal of "the soldier devoted to worldly communism", docile performer of "the father of all nations", General Stalin's orders, the state and party leaders, made use of decrees, disposition and laws, through which any seizure, nationalization or expropriation, any brutal or illegal action, any arrest or murder became lawful[1].

However wiling and devoted the PRM activists were, without the support of the law, the action of social homogenization and the setting up of socialism would have been less efficient and its result less powerful. The law a support of violence has offered all participants a feeling of safety and solidarity while committing various aggressions and abolished all guilt in view of an eventual trial. Through a series of decrees with special destination, many of them kept secret, the delinquents that deserved penal sanctions became protectors of social order. The popular justice, with the special laws on the one hand and the Marxist and Leninist teachings of the Party on the other hand, became an accomplice to the repression of the peasantry to the destroying of private property and the maintaining of the aggressive class struggle.

The object of the legislation set up in the years of the coming to being and consolidation of the new regime, was nationalization, expropriation, the seizure of the land, the extermination of a certain social category and the creation of a lawful and ideological support for the class struggle. The goal was that of the policy and the whole, that of maintaining the power of the communist party, particularly the power of the small elitist group at the top of the hierarchy.

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[1] Cezar Avram, *Politici agrare în Oltenia anilor 1949-1962. Mutații socio-economice în statul românesc*, Craiova, 1999.

According to the requirements of legitimacy, the juridical support was provided by the *Constitution of 1948*. The *Constitution of 1948*[2], debated for the first time on April 9 and then ratified unanimously on the 13th April, was the first fundamental law, made after the model Soviet *Constitution* of that time. The main principles expressed in its 10 titles and 105 articles were "popular sovereignty", "popular legality", the unified control of the state, democratic centralism, popular representation, and the material guarantee of civil rights.

Romania became a "popular republic", a "popular, united and sovereign" state (art. 1, title 1), that came into being as a result of the "first against fascism and imperialism led by the people and especially by the working class" (art. 2 title 1). In the *Constitution* there were also stipulated three types of property:

a)   state property as "the goods to be used freely by all people",
b)   property of the "cooperative organizations",
c)   private property (art. 5, tile 2).

The new *Constitution* stated that the "common goods of the peoples" were the "material base for economic development and nation independence" that private property had "special protection" that the land belongs to those who work it, and that the state protect de rural cooperative organizations to create their own agricultural enterprises (art. 7, 8, 9, title 2). In article 11, title 2, the *Constitution* states that "when national matters are at stake, the private means of production, banks and insurance societies can become state property, goods of people", under the legal conditions of the time. This represented the juridical foundation of the nationalization of the main means of production. Work was proclaimed "each citizen's duty" and the state offered protection to the working class, preventing them fro being exploited and increasing their living standard (art. 12, 13, title 2). This would give legitimacy to establishing of terror against all those who were in favor of private property, preserving tradition and who were against the simulated internationalism of Stalin, "the great friend of peoples".

The *Constitution* of 1952[3] was the essential juridical base of the expropriations and nationalizations that took place in the 50s and also a very important document that justified all the responsible and irresponsible acts of the new leaders in their hunt for "enemies of the people". The Constitution of the socialist construction proclaimed Romania "a workmen's state" that came into being as a result of the historical victory of the Soviet Union over German fascism and the freedom brought about by the glorious Soviet Army. This freedom gave by working people, led by the Communist Party, "the power to overthrow the exploiters and to build the state of popular democracy". The new fundamental law stated the existence of three socio-economic sectors; a) the

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[2] Monitorul Oficial, no. 87 bis, of April 13, 1948.

[3] Buletinul Oficial, no. 1 of September 27, 1952 (The project was published on June 18 an voted by MAN on September 24, 1952); the *Constitution* was modified on January 29, 1953 (art. 43 and 50), January 26, 1954 (art. 43 and 50), April 21, 1954 (art. 54), June 2, 1955 (art. 43 and 50), April 4, 1956 (art. 18, 19, 50), March 28, 1957 (art. 43, 56 were modified while art. 50, 59 and 60 were annulled, and finally, March 25, 1961 (chapter 3, art. 43, 44, 75).

socialist one, which had the most important role in national economy, b) another one that consisted of the small production of merchandise, and c) the private, capitalist sector.

The cooperatist property was "the common property of the collective agricultural farms", the small production of merchandise was represent by "private property based on the producer's own work" (the small and medium farm of the peasants and the craftsmen's workshops), and the private capitalist property, were the state leaders were supposed to apply, "the policy of limiting and eliminating the capitalist elements" (art. 11, chapter I). This implied unnationalized enterprises (art. 11, chapter I).

Both the *Constitution* of 1948 and that of 1952 introduced in Romania's socio-economic life the principle of guiding and planning national economy that unavoidably led to the absolute control of the state party. At the same time, the fundamental law of 1952 clearly state the function of repressing, within the state, of "the enemies of the working people", which permitted in fact the physical exterminations of the opponents and of all those that were considered opponents.

The problem of the nationalization of the land had a special theoretic and practical meaning in the transition from capitalism to socialism. According to the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist conception, the nationalization of the land was one of the important parts of the "proletarian revolution", as socialism would have been impossible without it. However, throughout the setting up of the process, a serious of problem occurred.

The Socialist revolution of October 1917 solved the "the issue of cleaning the agrarian relations of the remains of the Middle Ages, through the seizure of landowner's properties and the nationalization of the entire land"[4], from the beginning of the revolution. As a consequence, in the Soviet Union, the socialist transformation of agriculture" started and was developed in the absence of private property on land. In Romania, as in the other popular democrat countries, the transition from capitalism to socialism was characterized by the fact that the elimination of landowners and of the feudal system of agriculture was done through the seizure of landowners' property and the apportionment of land to peasants.

In Romania, the nationalization of the entire land was accomplished both through direct and indirect means. Both Lenin and his continuator, Stalin, emphasizing the importance of the nationalization of the land from the very beginning, said that this way is not compulsory for all the countries where the proletarians take the power in their hands. Lenin said that the nationalization of the land is "impossible when dealing with a fierce class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie"[5]. In 1928, Stalin took a stand for gradual nationalization of the land, because that was "the only way in which the agrarian

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[4] C. Murgescu, *Reforma Agară din 1945*, Bucureşti, 1956, p. 1857.
[5] V.I. Lenin, *Opere*, vol. 13, Bucureşti, 1953, p. 220.

relations could be cleansed of as a class"[6]. Gh. Gherghiu-Dej adopted the Stalinist, emphasizing the fact Romanian Communist Party never gave up the idea of nationalizing the entire land. "By limiting and gradually eliminating the landowners and the kulaks, by interdicting land sale and leasing, by developing the ways of cooperation in agriculture … by accelerating the process of the mechanization of agriculture in view of the transition towards mass collectivization, we will create the conditions for the nationalization of the land in order to turn it into commune property"[7].

Dej, the leader of the Party, kept his word and succeeded in destroying private property, leveling the social classes in the rural areas, making the people work for the benefit of the state, so that no one would get rich, and finally building the state capitalism through the elimination of private capitalism.

However, between 1948-1953, both the apportionment of the peasants and the collectivization process continued, as well as the expropriation and the seizure of land, all done in the name of "the welfare and happiness of the hard-working peasants".

Although is was reported as completed in March 1947, the process of agrarian reform, put into practice according to the decree 187 of March 23, 1945, continued both legislatively and in practice. This is confirmed by law no 177 of June 7, 1947 which interdicts the filing of lawsuits against the process of agrarian reform, turning it into "a Government act", and by the law no. 10 of December 16, 1950 that annulled the payments for the apportionment owed by the peasants according to the decree 187/1945. Into 1949-1953, the process of apportionment was parallel to that of land nationalization. Thus, from the national reserve made complete by the decree 83/1949 (940,238 hectares on a national level representing the rest of 50 hectares from each landowner's farm, after the 1945 apportionment; the surface of land seized in 1945 and 1949 was up to 2,360,000 hectares[8]), by the decree 151 of June 10, 1950[9], regarding the circulation of agricultural goods, by the decree 111 of July 27, 1951[10], regarding the goods subjects to seizure, the seized goods or the owns without an owner or a legal heir, by the decree 307 of August 29, 1953[11] regarding by the distrainment of judicial verdicts, by the HCM 308 of February 1, 1953[12], the autumn of 1953, the peasants were given a land surface of 158,000 hectares,

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[6] I.V. Stalin, *Opere*, vol. 11, Bucureşti, 1951, p. 164.

[7] Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, *Articole şi cuvântări*, Bucureşti, 1955, p. 305.

[8] Costin Murgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[9] Buletinul Oficial, no. 52 of June 10 1950.

[10] Idem, mo. 80 of July 27 1951.

[11] Idem, no 27 of August 29 1953.

[12] State Archives, Dolj County, Sf. Pop., Castranova, dos. 128/1953, p. 61; "Scânteia" of February 8 1953.

according to decree 444 of October 28, 1953[13] (in the Craiova region, 12,467 peasants were given a land surface of 19,761 hectares)[14].

This situation, as well as the decision of the Central Committee of the PMR and the decision of the Council of Ministers of October 28 1958, that reduced the payments for the producers that made contracts with the state and the HCM 3007 of September 10 1953[15] that granted exemption from taxation for all the individual agricultural farms, were due to the pressure of the peasantry that did not want to give up its rights to own land and refuse to work a piece of land belonging to the state that took most of the benefits, due to the growing lake of agricultural goods from the urban markets, and last but not least due to the fat that the communist intended to give the peasants who owned land a false feeling of security.

The Official Bulletin no. 1 of March 2, 1949 issued the decree 83, sanctioned on March 1, 1949 that completed the dispositions of the law 187/1954 in order to "stop the boycotting of the sowing plan and the agricultural production on the whole". According to this decree the landowners' farms that were subject to expropriation according to the law 1871/1945, together with the model farms that were set up as a consequence of the same law, with their whole inventory of livestock and buildings, as well as the agricultural and semi-industrial machinery and the agricultural products destined to be marketed, and, finally, all the debits, titles and rights owned as a consequence of the activity of all these farms became state property, as "public goods".

As a consequence of the putting into practice of this decree, Oltenia's five counties were expropriated[16].

Before the decree was issued, the authorities prepared detailed charts with all the landowners who were about to be expropriated, and on the night of 2-3 March, special teams began executing the decree 83/1949. The decree was followed by the Order no. 353/1949 from the Ministry of Agriculture, which together with the order of the prefectures and that of prices formed the legal act that was the basis of expropriation.

In the meeting of the PMR county board of March 27, 1949, the authorities decided that "the landowners – the enemy of the state, of the workers and peasants –, should be expropriated with all their belongings, to the last

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[13] Buletinul Oficial, no. 52 of October 28 1953.

[14] Calculat. Arh. St. Dolj, Sf. Pop. Reg. Craiova, Birou Secret, dos. 73/1954.

[15] The collection of decision and decrees issued by the Council of Ministers of RPR, no. 57 of September 10 1953.

[16] Calculat. Arh. St. Dolj, Pref. Jud. Dolj, Administrative Service, dos. 22/1949, f. 47, 51/63; dos. 205/1949, f. 31/264 ; Secţia Agricolă, dos. 197/1949, f. 1/63 ; 74/1952, f. 15-89, 94-108, dos. 81/1952, f. 7-219.

shirt"[17], and if they "try to escape or resist this decree, they should be arrested without panic"[18].

County	No. of expropriated people	Mansions	Estates	Farms	Arable land surface (hectares)	Total land surface (hectares)	Hayfields	Forests	No. of people given forced residence
Dj	444	308	342	5	60735	92501	88	11086	276
Gj	58	50	69	2	2071	13975	1093	8915	57
Mh	71	62	93	2	3426	10273	723	5631	56
Rm	393	274	364	4	39263	4897	194	3615	272
Vl	93	86	117	1	3045	11114	812	5762	91
T	1059	780	985	14	108540	176841	2910	35008	752

In the course of action, the provisions of the law were breached. In the Vâlcea County, aside from the buildings, arable land surface and great quantities of wheat all the foot supplies were seized, even though that was not among the provisions of the decree. Even though the article no. 3 of the decree 83/1949 specified that "the objects of personal use and the food supplies if the landowners who were expropriated should not be seized", things such as pots, carpets, blankets, mattresses, beds, glasses, plates and so on together with the last food supplies belonging to the families of the expropriated landowners were all nationalized. In the Dolj County the expropriated Gh. Gardareanu from Portăreşti, Ocolul Bârca, was left without 7 kilos of onion, 12 kilos of potatoes, 6 plates, 11 spoons, 2 mattresses and 5 jars of marmalade[19]. Along with the 181 hectares of land and two houses that were expropriated, Julea Ecaterina of Rasnic, Ocolul Breasta, was also left without 14 plates, 9 pots, 64 framed photographs, and 11 paintings by unknown artists, 146 books and so on[20]. Besides the 262 hectares of land surface the authorities also seized 16 eggs, 2 kilos of beans, 3 kilos of onion, 7 kilos of dried fruit, 4 shirts, 15 sheets, 21 pillows and 7 blankets from the heir Ivanov Alex, from Terpeziţa, Ocolul Breasta[21].

Many of the landowners of the time owned surface of land a lot bigger than 50 hectares: eng. Bratasanu from Urzica – 695 expropriated hectares; Marin Emil from Barca – 507 expropriated hectares; Defeurig N. Mihaita from Breasta – 395 expropriated hectares; The Crown Domain from Segarcea – 4444

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[17] Idem, The Dolj subsidiary of PMR, the prime-secretary's office, dos. 3/1949, p. 19.

[18] Idem.

[19] Idem, special office, dos. 17-1949, f. 63.

[20] Idem, dos. 8/1950, f. 17.

[21] Idem, p. 112.

expropriated hectares; Paianu teodor of Foisor – 550 expropriated hectares; Vrabiescu Elvira from Ghindeni – 442 expropriated hectares, and so on[22].

All the expropriated landowners that were found at home were given forced residences in towns. There were also several cases of expropriated landowners that were arrested (Eugenia Constantinescu – Breasta, Barbu Marinescu – Carpen, Angelina Ecaterina – Braneti, Zoia Ionescu – Belot, Ecaterina Isvoranu – Brabova, Nicolae Birlandescu – Plesoi, and so on[23]); trailed (Vasiluta Mihai – Veleni, Margareta Virzoran – Plesoi, Sanda Oroveanu – Botosani, and so on[24]); others, even though they were not trailed were imprisoned (Nicu Iuga – Rasnic, Constantin Negoescu – Cernatesti, Gh. Amarescu - Brabova[25]).

The decree 83/1949 made provisions of punishments of 5 to 15 years of forced labor and the seizure of the belongings for all those who "by any means would try to stop the expropriation and those who would try to hide, destroy or move the goods or machinery destined to expropriation". According to these provisions, Teodorescu Stefan from Podari, Dolj County was trailed and convicted to 12 years in prison and the seizure of belongings, through the sentence no. 1719 of Popular Law Court of Craiova on April 19, 1949[26].

The same punishment was given to those who gave the authorities fake or incomplete data regarding their belongings. The clerks or the persons entitled by the decree to perform certain duties that were subject to punishments of up to 12 years in prison and fines of up to 200,000 lei if they failed or refused to perform their duties regarding expropriation.

The Ministry of Agriculture was the institution entitled to put into practice the provisions of the decree 81/1949, along with the Ministry of Justice (through the Popular Courts of Law transformed into Popular Tribunal through the law 5 of 1952[27]) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The expropriated arable land surface became the property of the state and later of the GASs (29 in Oltenia's 5 counties by the end of 1949), of the state institutions, popular council and parts of it were also given to poor peasants that agreed to give the state 60% of the agricultural production. Was the collective farms were formed, the remaining arable land was given those, through MAN decrees of HCMs "to be forever used" by those. Beginning to 1950, a series of GACs were given land that had been given to GASs, SMTs, popular council state institutions or peasants who refused to work the land due to the high percentage of the agricultural production that had to be given to the state[28].

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[22] Idem, Sf. Pop. Dolj, dos. 141/1949, f. 1-17.

[23] Idem, special office, dos. 126/1950, f. 91-117.

[24] Idem, dos. 73/1951, f. 83-87.

[25] Idem, f. 61/70.

[26] Idem, dos. 5/1950, f. 42.

[27] Buletinul Oficial, no. 31 of June 19, 1952.

[28] Arh. St. Dolj, Sf. Pop. Reg. Craiova, special office, dos. 51/1952, f. 46.

After being dissolved, the TOZs were also given arable land that was subject to the decree 83/1949. A small part of the arable land surface expropriated in March 1945, was given the peasants "to be used forever" by those, but this apportionment did not last long due to the process of collectivization that developed threateningly.

The first phase of the nationalization of the land, a process that began in 1945, was completed through the decree 83/1949. The agrarian policy of Communist Party was about to be completed, the decree 83/1949 being the foreplay of the collectivization process. If the participation of local authorities – the popular council, the GAC, the party organization, the PRM instructor, the local militia, the regional security department – was proved by the large number of abusive seizure, the violence of the process was shown by "the night of the landowners" of 3-4 March 1949 and "the night of the deported" of 17-18 June 1951.

The party could not conceive the collectivization process without eliminating the economic basis of the landowners. Then, noticing that the resistance was even stronger, the authorities began to "eliminate" other categories of rebels, too. HCM 326/1951 continued by tough trend adopted by the Romanian Stalinists. The action carried out on the nights of 2-3 March 1949 and 17-18 June 1951 had two goals: to transfer private property to the state for the socialist plan of agriculture and move the landowners and other people capable of influencing the community away from the rural areas.

The fact that the party and totalitarian state leaders gathered important numbers of activists and workers to collaborate with the militia during the two nights, proved the great political importance of these actions. When the Security reports were centralized in Craiova, the massive mobilization was accounted for by the state of mind of the peasants. There is a certain resemblance between the decree 83/1949 and the HCM 326/1951m in terms of their goal and the realized effect. However, the HCM 326/1951 was not addressed to a certain social class, which is the case with the decree 83/1949. Once it was put into practice, The HCM 326/1951 affected agricultural workers – Popa Dumitru from Baia de Arama, Vinju Mare, together with his 4family numbers: Mazilu Gheorghe from Izvoarele Anestilor, Mehedinti, 3 family members; Dragomiroiu Ion from Vinatori, Cujmir, 3 family members; Iovan Dumitru from Gornia, Vinju mare, 5 family members; Udrescu D. Ioan from Vinju Mare, and so on; wine growers – Gogan Victor Constantin from Turnu Severin, 3 family members; shepherds – Ivanescu Vasile from Jidostita, Severin, 5 family members; fishermen – Lipie Gheorghe from Olanesi, Vilcea, 4 family members; workers – Doncescu Dumitru from Tamna, Strehaia, mechanic; Costinescu Ilie from Obirsia de Camp, Cujmir, 5 family members; Dop Anica from Ostrovu Mare; Dinescu Maria from Fântânile Negre, Mehedinți; Carciol Petre from Cireşu, Mehedinti, 4 family members, locksmith; servants – Marinescu Maria from Podeni, Tr. Severin, mother of two, Drăgan Constantin from Baia de Aramă, Fodor Maria from Podeni, Tr. Severin, maid mother of one, and so one; cooks – Coroiciu Ioan, married with one child, from Lespezi, Mehedinți, Stan Nicolae from Smirna, Mehedinți, and so on;

navigators – Marinescu Mihail from Corlaţel, Mehedinţi; clerks – Isocescu Grigore from Smirna, Mehedinţi, Corlăteanu Alexandru, 2 family members, from Tr. Severin; sanitary workers – Burcu Fanică from Cireşu, Tr. Severin; unemployed – Dumbrăvescu Ioan from Iavlavnita, Vânju Mare, Mustacioiu Nicoleta, housewife, from Izvoarele, Mehedinţi, and so on[29].

Although this act was officially directed against the Germans and those of other nationalities, in Oltenia it affected almost everyone – gypsies, Serbians, Bulgarians, Germans, Poles, Slovakians and even Romanians[30]. The only criterion applied was the political one. Those who were against the communist regime were taken way from their homes and given forced residence in urban areas, were the number of the repressive forces was bigger. In Oltenia, 5 regions were greatly affected, although people from other regions were also taken from their homes in the middle of the night and given forced residences in the towns. Their belongings – houses, goods, and so on – were seized. In the Craiova region, 1,182 families were dislocated and 12, 494 hectares of land and 1,238 houses were seized[31] as follows:

The land surface of 12,494 hectares was allocated as follows[32]:
- 9,156 hectares to the GASs
- 4 hectares to the GACs
- 30 hectares to the agricultural joints
- 2,692 hectares to the apportioned peasants through the HCM 3522/1953
- 35 hectares to the state reserve
- 13 hectares to the zoo technical farms
- 42 hectares to the communal pastures.

No	Region	No. of dislocated families	No. of abandoned houses	Deserted arable land surface (hectares)	No. of houses and arable land surface reconstituted by March 1957	
					Houses	Land (hectares)
1.	Baia de Arama	23	21	170	12	78
2.	Cujmir	249	252	583	213	17
3.	Strehaia	31	33	261	29	25
4.	Tr. Severin	287	331	596	227	135
5.	Vinju Mare	439	439	840	382	185
6.	Tr. Severin (town)	151	162	44	107	–
7.	TOTAL	**1180**	**1238**	**12494**	**970**	**440**

[29] Idem, dos. 9/1953, f. 1-111.

[30] Idem.

[31] Idem, dos. 26/1956, f. 2-6, 15-17.

[32] Idem, f. 54.

This abusive initiative was considered inadequate for the border region. Under the pressure of the internal resistance actions and the events from Hungary and Poland, at the end of the 1955 and the beginning of 1956, a series of law – the HCM 29/ September 1 1955, the HCM 2694/December 7 1955 and the HCM 623/1956 – made possible the retrocession of the houses and land surfaces seized through the HCM 326/1951. The reparatory action lasted until 1959 but was however insufficient. The collectivization process annulled the results: 987 houses (some of them were nearly destroyed, others were the residences of public institutions) were given back to their owners and 463 hectares of arable land was given back to its owners, but only for a short period of time[33].

In March 1949 and June 1951, in several villages there were fights between the landowners and the evacuation teams, while the peasants tended to fraternize with the victims. The forces were not equal. The landowners had been taken by surprise, while the party activists had arms, means of transportation and communication. The decree 83/1949 and the HCM 326/1951 and the "nights" that fallowed represent a sort of history of the collectivization, and such events repeated throughout 13 years of collectivization that followed. The violent acts remained the same: arrests, deportation in work colonies, imprisonment, beatings, even murder. The representatives of the regime were the same: the persons appointed by the party to cleanse the rural communities of hostile elements – the popular council presidents, the GAC presidents, the organization secretaries and so on. "Infected by the disease of class struggle", the militia and the Security members became very violent.

The aggression of the nights 2-3 March 1949 and 17-18 June 1951 were similar in intensity with thee Bolshevik behavior and especially with Stalin's behavior regarding the fight against the kulaks and the Mensheviks.

The party propaganda gave credit to the idea that the decree 83/1949 had been directed against the exploiters or what was left of this category after the agrarian reform, with the HCM 326/1951 was directed against the non-Romanian population from the border regions. Actually, the act of March 2 1949 affected the wealthy, stable class of people from the rural areas, and the families that, for more than two decades, had invested in the development of Romania agriculture, while the act of June 16 1951 affected the people that cared about the village community and were interested its prosperity, being immune to the Communist creeds and slogans.

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[33] Idem, f. 164; dos. 97/1960; Through the decision no. 34/5066 of 1952 all the houses that were left deserted after the dislocations were given to the state and the I. L. L. Administrations.

LA LEGISLATION DES ANNEES 1949-1952 – UNE BASE INCONDITIONNÉE POUR LE PROCESSUS DE COLLECTIVISATION

(Résumé)

La nationalisation, l'expropriation et la collectivisation ont été suivies des lois draconiennes qui ont détruit la propriété particulière et le village roumain traditionnel. Les premières années, notamment, sont marquées par l'activité de la justice populaire qui a agit conformément à la législation stalinienne.

L'auteur se penche justement sur l'étude de la dimension législative du début du processus de collectivisation.

MEASURES CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC AND ORGANIZATORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLECTIVE AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLDS BETWEEN 1962 AND 1965

NARCISA MITU

The collectivization process, that started in 1949, ended in 1962 through the incorporation, most of it, of the agricultural lands within the collective agricultural households. The communists thought it was a certain extent of improving the peasants lifes and an important contribution of the country`s economic development, where the youth had an important role, „having less preconceptions than the old ones"[1].

Actually, through collectivization, it was pursued to eliminate the peasants class, class that had been the instrument for destroying the wealthy and now they were single in front of the communists. Although the official ideology said that it was only about renewing it, the reality showed this opinion, because once the land was lost, the source of living for the peasants was gone.

After 13 years of threatening, intimidation, sequestration of lands owned by the wealthy, abusing and illegalities against the peasants, the physical distruction of the opponents through sending them in jails or work camps, deportations, this communist dream had become reality, succeeding, in march 1962, to collectivize the whole country. Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej announced in 1962 that 3.5 million families had become cooperative members from individual owners, losing the land and the tools too[2]. Although, there were many people which improved the occasion of collectivization, having now a better life than before, but most of the people felt hard the effects of this process.

In 1962, as an effect of the collectivization process, from a total of 15 million ha of agricultural land, only 60% were transformed in agricultural cooperatives, 30% had been framed in state farms and 9% remained private properties[3]. The private properties contained lands which weren`t accessible for high zones cooperativization.

In an extraordinary session of The Great National Gathering, from April 27-28, 1962, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, declared in front of more than 11 thousand peasants brought from all the country regions, the ending of the „socialist

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[1] Stenogramle Şedinţelor Biroului Politic şi ale Secretariatului Comitetului Central al P.M.R., volume II, 1949, Bucureşti, 2003, p. 124.

[2] Alina, Mungiu-Pipidi, Gérard, Althabe, *Secera şi buldozerul. Scorniceşti şi Nucşoara. Mecanisme de aservire a ţăranului român,* Iaşi, Polirom Publishing House, 2002, p. 53.

[3] Dennis Deletant, *Teroarea comunistă în România. Gheorghiu-Dej şi statul poliţienesc, 1948-1965*, Iaşi, Polirom Publishing House, 2001, p. 109.

agricultural transformation". The socialist forms of property owned now 96% from the arable surface of the country and 93.4% from the agricultural surface[4].

In march 25, the same year, in Oltenia, from a total surface of 2 030 000 ha of the region, 1 024 158 ha had been collectivized. Within the collective, at the moment there were 353 936 families[5]. From the same total surface of 2 030 000 ha, the state agricultural households had 142 121 ha total surface (135 112 ha agricultural surface), the agricultural individual households had 98 875 ha (92 173 ha agricultural surface) and the other sectors had the rest of the 757 846 ha (151 851 ha agricultural surface)[6].

Now, the collectivization being ended, it had to be passed a big programme of modernization of this branch of national economy and to increase the production / ha. The plenary session of the Central Committee of PMR from April 23-25, 1962, determined the party organization duties about the increase on a higher level of the whole organized work and political-educational one, in the middle being the economical - organizatoric reinforcement of the collective agricultural households and the increase of the animal and vegetal production, this way these could become very well developed units[7].

Within this purpose, through the may 12th 1962 HCM, it was enforced to bring well trained workers in the households: agricultural engineers, zootechnicians and vets[8]. To acquire these people, the agricultural education had to develop more. A bigger attention got the zootechnic education, which during the 1961-1962 years included 570 000 peasants, and in 1964 more than 130 000 collectivists. Starting with the years 1958-1959, it was included in the education plan of the seven years school, a course of agricultural knowledge, which would unfold for three years and the practice would take place in agriculture[9].

Within the Central Committee of PMR and the Ministry Council decision, the three years courses would take place at work so that the students wouldn`t be taken out from the production process. A great attention was given mostly to young people that hadn't been 40-50 years old. The courses, prelected by engineers, vets, agricultural technicians and other personnel were organized above different matters : the growing of field plants, the growing of animals, and within the collective agricultural households where the fruit growing and the viticulture were very advanced, were taken specific courses.

Within the collective agricultural households and the machine and tractors stations, the courses had to be taken by all the students which had

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[4] Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, *Raport cu privire la încheierea colectivizării şi reorganizarea conducerii agricole, prezentat la   sesiunea extraordinară a Marii Adunări Naţionale, 27 aprilie 1962,* Bucureşti, Political Publishing House, 1962, p. 5.

[5] DJAS Dolj, Fond Sfatul Popular Regiunea Oltenia, Consiliul Agricol, dos. 65/1962,   f. 2.

[6] *Ibidem*, f. 4.

[7] Idem, dos. 48/1962, f. 5-10.

[8] Idem, dos.62/1962, f. 481-488.

[9] *Ibidem,* f. 490.

graduated a professional tractor driver school or agricultural mechanic that lasted less than three years. These courses were compulsory and took place for 3-4 months, from November 1-15 till March 1-15, being taken 2-3 lessons per week[10]. The collectivists which couldn't be remorsed in the three years mass zootechnic courses had to attend 10-12 zootechnic conferences which were organized within the cultural hostels[11].

Beginning with the year 1962 there were organized courses which lasted from 5 to 10 days. In November and December, behind this kind of courses, there were schooled 1700 people: vicepresidents which occupied themselves with animal growth, plant growing, field keeper, accountants, machine and tractors station mechanics and in January and February, there were schooled 2955 people more[12]. The short term courses had as a purpose the qualification and specialization of the technical-administrative staff within the collective agricultural households. Another kind of courses were the ones with a 5 months length and they were organized within the professional mechanic schools.

These were financed from the republican budget, the Superior Agricultural Council giving 1 800 000 lei. In 1963, through the 77th dispozition, there was established the 1964s budget for the preparation of 400 presidents and field keepers, 120 zootechnical keepers, 80 vegetable keeper, 100 viticultural keepers and 120 accountants from collective agricultural households[13]. A special attention was given also to agricultural schools. So, for the year 1963 there was made a budget of 2 694 000lei from which 2 235 600 were for the Agricultural School from Malu Mare, 279 000 lei were for the Agricultural Centre from Craiova and 179 400lei were for the Agricultural Centre from Calafat[14]. The senior year students had to practice exclusively in production according to 428/1962 Ministry Council Decree, and the students in the first or second year only one semestre[15].

There were organized even postuniversitary courses, non-frequency form for the economic engineers. They couldn`t subscribe these courses, according to 649/1961 HCM, if they hadn`t been working at least 5 years in the production units[16].

For a better understanding of the courses, there had been edited a few books, in different domains, destinated for schools. There had been made technic libraries which had to content papers with the decrees made within the extraordinary session of the Great National Gathering from April 1962 concerning the development of the agricultural production and the economic

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[10] Idem, dos. 41/1962, f. 271-275.

[11] *Ibidem,* f. 141-142.

[12] Idem, dos. 17/1963, f. 2-6

[13] *Ibidem*.

[14] *Ibidem*.

[15] *Ibidem*, f. 69-72.

[16] Idem, dos. 8/1963, f. 60-61.

consolidation of collective agricultural households. This way, in 1962, in Oltenia there were 80 libraries containing 15 676 volumes[17]. For an increasing of education for collectivists, in the purpose of forming the socialist conscience, there were even used filmstrips and film on agricultural themes.

A bigger attention had been given through this period, especially, to the low developed agricultural households. It was enforced, by the party organizations and specialists, to take some measures so that those households would be in the same line with the well developed households, economically talking.

The measures taken were[18]:

- To make some perspective plans till December 1st 1962, for the next period 1963-1965, and till December 31st the same year, to make some perspective plans according to the indications given by the regional party bureau for all the collective agricultural households, according to the existing climate conditions and the establishing of the production profile. A better attention had to be given to those branches which could be profitable.

- To intensify the extending actions of the arable surfaces given back to the agricultural circuit as a consequence of the 500 ha grubbing within the appliance og the 385 Ministry Council Decree, the abrogation of the useless roads within the lands, the diminishing of the land roads, the taking off of the individual trees. Above this action it had been decided that it was needed the participation of the youth organizations, the women commissions from the collective agricultural households and also all the collective members.

- The use of organic fertilizer to fertlize the soil.

- The increasing of the corn and wheat production especially.

The endowment of machine and tractors stations with a bigger number of tractors, combines and sowers.

- The development of the trees and vines cultures especially on that lands which aren`t good for cereal cultures.

- The allocation of seeds first of all in those agricultural households.

- In the animal zone it was necessary to improve the races and to raise their productivity.

- To select the experienced collectivists, the vicepresidents and presidents which had to involve in the development of these collective agricultural households.

- They had been sent to qualification schools 5 - 10 months 4 presidents, 60 field keepers, viticultural keepers and fruit-growing keepers.

- The reorganization of brigades and teams, choosing the brigadiers and the team leaders which had lands to develop.

- The maintaining of collective agricultural households specialists by giving an extra to the payment according to the difficult conditions within the zone and the distance from it. Through the 427 / 1962 Decree, 8th article, this

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[17] Idem, dos. 41/1962, f. 318-329.
[18] Idem, dos. 48/1962, f. 5-10.

extra was 10 - 20%. As an example, in Oltetu, Busu Costinel, engineer at "Viata Noua" collective agricultural household, Ghioroiu, Valcea, had a 10% extra according to the 55 km distance from the region, the zone was decomposed and the supplying and quartering conditions were hard enough[19]. A 20% extra got Milea Alexandru, collective agricultural household engineer in Curtisoara, Bals because for 6 months there was no carrying over way, just on horse back[20].

It also had been established a workers salary increase. To stimulate them to work, the Ministry Council of RPR decided a 10% increase for the workers in the agricultural state households, machines and tractors stations and other state agricultural units, but also for the workers from auxiliary units of the agricultural units, starting with November 1st 1962. At the third point it had been decided that the Supreme Agricultural Council with the reference of the State Committee for work and Salary Matters and with the consultation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, to improve till September 30th 1963, the tarifary indicators of mechanizators and to elaborate tarifary qualifications for workers who deservate animal productions well as qualified workers from plant growing after the methodology elaborated by the State Committee on Work and salary Matters according to the provisions of the central Committee of PMR and the Ministry Council no. 473 / 1961[21].

Through the stipulation of the Ministry Council no. 930 from October 18th 1962 it had been established the supplementing of the credit plan on the year 1962 of the collective agricultural households for legumiculture, viticulture and fruit growing and in December 4th 1962, a new stipulation, no. 1094, foreseen the supplementing the long term credits extreme limit for the year 1962 for the collective agricultural households[22]. In 1964 it had been given an extra limit of 103 900 000 lei which later had been reduced to 55 530 000 lei. It had been given money for finishing the started works in the last years: constructions, works for water supplying. The long term credits had been destinated for paying the materials needed in the viticulture, plant growing development, zootechnic constructions, for amending the soils and obtaining animals. Foe the long term credits given to collective agricultural households it had been decided according to 477 / 1964 Ministry Council Decree, an interest of 2% per year. For the remaining credits there was an interest of 4% per year[23].

A measure of strenghtening the collective agricultural households, state agricultural households and machine and tractors stations economically and organizatoric to become strong agricultural propagandistic centres it had been the introduction of laboratory houses along the collective agricultural households that had more than 1200 ha. These were ruled by an agronome engineer. Along the

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[19] Idem, dos. 63/1962, f. 39.

[20] *Ibidem*, f. 52.

[21] Idem, dos. 62/1962, f. 7-75.

[22] *Ibidem*, f. 238, 115.

[23] Idem, dos. 8/1964, f. 104-106.

machine and tractors stations and state agricultural households there were made technic offices ruled by an chief engineer that had subordinated all the engineers, technicians and workers from that unit. This had as a purpose the continuous development of technical-professional qualification and political-ideological of technicians and permanent workers within short term courses, mass zootechnical without taking them out from the production process, verifying the obtained experimental results in the research institutions from that region[24].

Another enforced measure was to make visits and experience changes between similar units, but with different work results. In 1962 there had been three experience exchanges in Segarcea, two in Targu Jiu, three in Turnu Severin, 43 experience exchanges and 63 visits at the zone collective agricultural households and 4 four visits in other zones, in Filiasi, 2 experience exachanges and 6 visits in Strehaia and 2 experience exachanges and 10 visits in Vanju Mare[25].

Starting with 1962 the number of collective agricultural households began to increase as a consequence of the uniting of many households, so that in 1965 there were 496 in Otenia.

This period ends with the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, in March 1965, there was a point of liberalization of the communist form of government, but also of continuining the economic development.
In spite of the adopted measures, the total victory of collectivization was a real success politically, adimnstrative and ideologically speaking, it just agravated the economic issues. Romania remained the second productive state from the socialist camp, after URSS.

MESURES CONCERNANT LE DEVELOPEMENT ECONOMIQUE ET D'ORGANISATION DES FOYERS AGRICOLES COLLECTIFS (1962-1965)

(Résumé)

La fin du processus de la collectivisation en 1962 a forcé le gouvernement communiste d'adopter un large programme de développement et de modernisation des foyers agricoles collectifs ayant comme but, parmi les autres, la croissance de la production agricole. La nécessité des spécialistes en était bien évidente.

C'était pourquoi on a commencé accorder un intérêt particulier au développement de l'enseignement agricole. Les mesures adoptées visent l'organisation des écoles, l'éducation de spécialité, l'édition des manuels et d'autres livres techniques si nécessaires tant pour les élèves que pour cadres des foyers agricoles collectifs.

D'autres mesures prises ont eu comme but d'appuyer des foyers sous-développés au niveau de ceux performants et aussi de soutenir des cadres bien instruits, insérés à leur direction.

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[24] Idem, dos.41/1962, f. 271-275.

[25] *Ibidem*, f. 318-329.

THE NEW PROPHET. THE MAKING OF THE OFFICIAL IMAGE OF ELENA CEAUŞESCU[*]

SILVIU GABRIEL LOHON

The effigy of Elena Ceauşescu collects mythological values and it denotes a subtile symbolic extraction. The official rhetors built for her a halo based on an archetipal structure, the most frequent one being the mother of all the children of Romania and, *in extenso*, of the entire Romanian people. A genuine *mater universalis*.

In 1937, during a demonstration of the Worker's Cultural Circle, the young Nicolae Ceauşescu met Lenuţa Petrescu. Thirty years later, Elena Ceauşescu was to become the woman who terrified Romania.

She was born on January 7, 1916 in Petreşti, Dâmboviţa, in a peasant family. Elena Ceauşescu entered elementary school, but because of her low marks during the first three forms, she didn't graduate the fourth form. She went to Bucharest and started to work in a textile mill. After her numerous presences to events organized by the Worker's Cultural Circle, she affiliated to the communist movement. It is supposed that she was also a prostitute in Bucharest, but this gossip cannot be proved completely. As a member of the structure committee of the communist youth, the young woman was the organizer of the 2nd sector of the city of Bucharest under "Florina" conspirational nickname.

Literature was one of the means that promoted and stimulated the elements of Elena Ceauşescu's personality cult, much in the same way as plastic arts or the 80's press did. The official poets built on her hazy, intricate and brushed up past an idyllic love story, putting her own immaculate image along that of her husband's. The poetic samples that follow are more than obvious:

"Era o fată simplă ca miile de fete/care purtau în inimi o ţară şi-un inel/Venea cu jar sub gene, cu Dâmboviţa-n plete/şi c-un bujor în cuget, ilegalist şi el.//Simţea ca o chemare, sunând în vis sirena/şi-ntreaga ei putere vibra în pumnul stâng/Uitase că din leagăn i s-a tot spus Elena/ea se numea Florina conspirativ, adânc.//C-o traistă cu merinde şi-n suflet cu lumină/atâtor nopţi arzânde, venea la Târgu-Jiu/În lagrul de-acolo avea de mult Florina/un legendar logodnic – iar Patria un fiu.// [...] Ea s-a numit Florina! Mai ţine ţara

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minte/o fată ca un lujer şi-n cuget cu bujori/De-atunci trecură anii cu zborul lor fierbinte - /azi o numim Elena şi-o-nconjurăm cu flori"[1].

The following lines best summarize the above-mentioned image:

"Figura-i luminată de ochi ce văd departe/un dar frumos al harnicei naturi,/şi blânda energie ivită-n trăsături,/e un model perpetuu pentru arte."[2]

In 1937, Lenuţa Petrescu became a member of the Romanian Communist Party which was still operating underground activities. Her strong personality and her aspect fascinated Nicolae Ceauşescu. On August 13, 1939, during a communist fiesta, Lenuţa Petrescu was chosen the reine of the ball. During the next years, this type of award did not seem to please her very much, as the title did not appeal to her revolutionary upsurge. Consequently, the ball was to be replaced by labour, and the obliging journalists declared Lenuţa Petrescu "the Reine of Labour"[3]. After a long period of friendship, Lenuţa Petrescu married Nicolae Ceauşescu, but their particular life will not be accessible for the Romanians. When it came to women[4], Nicolae Ceauşescu discussed only in positive terms:

"Ele au jucat un rol activ în reuşita izbânzilor democratice şi în învingerea marilor greutăţi în care s-a găsit România"[5].

This statement perfectly matched his wife's "revolutionary" beliefs and interests which legitimized her entrance on the political stage in communist Romania.

The sentimental and erotic scheme, which is the base of their love story, is enclosed in the permanent context of the "class struggle" and "the imprisonment of the young underground communist." The fiancée of the "first man of the country" distinguished herself as a totally pure person, like a priceless object and amongst the revolutionary headlines. For example, the scent of a tear-exciting sitcom ensues from one of Corneliu Ionescu's representations (see photo)[6].

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[1] Andrei Ciurunga, *Istorie* in *Gânduri şi flori*, Eminescu Publishing House, 1984, p. 189-190.

[2] Virgil Teodorescu in *Scânteia*, January 7, 1984.

[3] The basis of the entire biographycal periplus I expose here is Thomas Kunze's book, *Nicolae Ceauşescu. A biography*, Bucureşti, Vremea Publishing House, 2002.

[4] I mention here the example of Ana Toma, Gheorghe Pintilie's wife (Pantelimon Bodnarenko), the head of the Securitate. She will be very influential upon the Romanian politics by the end of the 60's of the 20th century. Her double mission as a Securitate agent and also a N. K. V. D. agent was analyzed by Denis Deletant in *Ceauşescu şi Securitatea*, Bucureşti, Humanitas Publishing House, 1998.

[5] Nicolae Ceauşescu, *Istoria poporului român*, Bucureşti, 1988, p. 360.

[6] Corneliu Ionescu, *La ieşirea din lagăr*, ulei pe pânză, nedatat, 89 x 118 cm.

In this example we are requested to take part in the gigantesque end of the Ceauşescu family drama. The painting represents Nicolae Ceauşescu as a leader of opinion on his release from the Târgu-Jiu prison. Nicolae and Elena's first contact is an epidermical one, made possible by a huge bouquet of flowers he is offered by her, in a sentimental manner caused by her long wait. The bouquet of flowers is the only colourful and vivid detail, which stands for the reconstruction and reconfiguration of the new and happy world. This world announces the disappearance of all sorts of opposed classes and the birth of a new world guided by both of them in order to keep everything under control. Accordingly, the image of the couple dreaming about communism as well as their happy marriage during the party meeting breaks do not go beyond some timid handshakes.

As I have already mentioned above, Elena and Nicolae got married in the spring of 1945, right after the Second World War. Their married life acquires the hyperbolic proportions of a metaexistence. The artistic representation related to this characterization are missing, but poetry can easily supply the gap. The author of the following lines endows Elena Ceausescu with acrobatic ambitions:

"Femeia,/cu ochi de mare, cu fruntea/de raze superbe şi lucide,/cu sufletul mai bogat decât toate minele de aur,/descoperite vreodată,/matrice

puternică de dragoste şi înţelepciune//Femeia,/boltă neînvinsă,/peste arborele din casa patriei,/aduce sărbatoarea la ceas împlinit/şi un nesecat izvor de viaţă"[7]

Another example focuses on the setting of a value on the imposture by mixing the power of abjection with the call of duty, a necessary condition of a true-born communist:

"Eşti renumită-n lume, ţi-s faptele stimate,/te ştim cu toţi modestă, la vorba şi la port/planeta te cunoaşte şi vrea să îţi arate/recunoştinţa faţă de marele-ţi aport"[8]

The first attempts at embellishing the official representation have a precedent that is to be found before Nicolae Ceauşescu's accession as the head of the Romanian state. Based on this fact, we find out that there was a change not only of the wife's last name but also of her first name (the pet-name „Lenuţa" was no longer a part of the onomastic preferences of the future member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; therefore it changed into the more official Elena). Moreover, as she needed to be younger than her husband, the newly „re-baptized" Elena resorted to a process of „rejuvenation": the year of birth, 1916, became 1919[9]. Through this marriage, Elena Ceauşescu's life began to take an upward turn by working in the beginning as a laboratory technician in a chemistry laboratory. But the incompatibility of the current situation with the quality of wife of an important name in the nomenclature would determine Ştefan Voitec, the minister of Education at the time, to decree the setting up of an „attendance course" at the Faculty of Industrial Chemistry of the Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest where Elena Ceauşescu acquired her diploma as chemist engineer, following registration and completion of „studies".

Beginning with 1947, the new chemistry graduate was promoted, for a brief period, to the function of scientific collaborator of the Institute for Chemical Research in Bucharest[10].

For many years, throughout the 70s and 80s, within the rich official imagery, there was a common biographical episode of the Ceauşescu couple that was perpetuated, an episode exceptionally hilarious. There was a photo in which Nicolae Ceauşescu and his wife, Elena, were caught on May 1, 1939, in front of the group of demonstrators. The film critic, Bujor T. Râpeanu, proved that the image was counterfeited through the subsequent fitting up of the two figures based on a completely artificial procedure[11].

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[7] Victoria Sein, *Omagiu*, p. 88.

[8] Corneliu Vadim Tudor, *Femeie creatoare, Slavă ţie!*, in *Gânduri şi flori*, Eminescu Publishing House, 1984.

[9] I have found particularly useful the biographical and political papers of the former archive of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, published in Dosarele Istoriei, no. 9, 1998, page 36, an issue that I had only managed to find when this project was already finished. Therefore, due to the same paper of Thomas Kunze, *op. cit.,* I had the possibility to extract some information concerning the information that was presented in the text.

[10] *Ibidem*.

[11] See the photo examples of Bujor. T. Râpeanu, *1 Mai 1939, de la realitate la fals,* in Magazin Istoric, no. 11, 1990, page 24 apud Thomas Kunze, *op. cit*.

Due to their success in creating the illusion, the new prophets, the bearers of the new ideal tend to appear before the confused people as a new sign of legitimacy, as a new vivid symbol. The prophecy has come true. Their existence is a promise. Power is the mark of their glory. The entire history was nothing but a meticulous preparation of their arrival. In an eschatological sense, the radiant effigy of the two was but a great symbol, a mystical and enigmatic guarantee for a new alliance, millenary and prophetical at times, historical and political at other times. However, as most official plastic art productions show, the dictators give off a magical way of living, which was relaxing, hardly visible, concealed and revealed by the massive mystical reverberations. Deformed, altered, inversed, deviated from their genuine significance, these signs built singular conceptions, often surprising about the world, history and power.

Nevertheless, from this point forward, things were heading one way only, that of consolidating the personality cult of Elena Ceauseşcu as well.

Her performances in the field of chemistry, with "remarkable accomplishments": anionic polymerization, the synthesis of certain plasticizers, the polymerization of certain macromolecular compounds etc. are eulogies that the life "comrade" of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party benefits from. She had forged for herself an image of a scholar woman, very serious, dedicated to the work in the laboratory.

There are two poles between which the symbolism of the special personality cult built for Elena Ceauşescu oscillates: Elena as a matrix of feminine virtues and Elena as "revolutionary", "politician", "scientist" and "fighter for world peace". That the country's first lady reached a jubilee age can also be seen from the fact that numerous newspapers and magazines[12] reproduced a massive iconography, unprecedented at the time, which rendered visible both her "her beauty" and her moral and intellectual qualities; the paintings dedicated to her reflect generic symbols, immediately established as such by the official direction.

LE NOUVEAU PROPHETE. LA CREATION DE L'IMAGE OFFICIELLE D'ELENA CEAUSESCU

(Résumé)

Il a deux pôles entre lesquelles pendule l'imagerie symbolique issue du culte de la personnalité, spécialement construit pour Elena Ceausescu: Elena comme matrice des vertus féminins et Elena comme «révolutionnaire», «homme politique», «homme de science» et «militant pour la paix du monde». Dans des différentes journaux et revues on a été reproduite une énorme iconographie, sans pareil jusqu'à ce temps-la, qui rendait visible tant «la beauté» que «des qualités» morales et intellectuelles du personnage, de même que les tableaux qui lui sont dédiés et qui reflète des symboles génériques, établis par la directive officielle.

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[12] Scânteia, January 7th 1984; Luceafărul, January 7th 1984; *Suplimentul litarar-artistic* al *Scânteii tineretului,* January 8th 1984*; Orizont,* January 6th 1984.

PROTOCHRONISM AND NATIONALISM UNDER CEAUŞESCU'S BRAND IN TOTALITARIAN ROMANIA

MĂDĂLINA ABAGIU

Political propaganda, as it is known today, represents undoubtedly, one of the pillars on which the history of the 20th century was built upon. Disposing of this tool, the totalitarian regimes managed to undertake power on the European continent and impose domination through terror and indoctrination. Bearing the influence of the Soviet Union after World War II, Romania had an evolution similar to all the countries under Bolshevik occupation.

By power undertaking and eliminating any other political formation, the Unique Party will continue with the one and the same application of the policies launched by the URSS. Thus, the communist nomenclature will appeal to two devices: propaganda and constraint, each of them with its own well defined objectives.

The main propaganda device in totalitarian Romania was represented by the mass media system. Party press, but also other publications at the time, as well as radio-television were permanently at the disposal of the communist party and of its leaders. Without a powerful mass-media back-up, the communist policies would not have had the wanted effect. It is well known that the means of mass information have a special influence on the public; this is exactly why they were turned into a propagandist weapon to aim at masses' indoctrination and manipulation.

Besides the mass-media propaganda, PCR appealed to other means of gaining citizens' adhesion and especially to consolidate leader's popularity within masses: *public manifestations, meetings, parades*, organized on different occasions such as national holidays, or other important event.

Such an important role in creating and supporting Nicolae Ceauşescu's cult of personality belonged to artists. They were to have a unique mission: dedicating works, odes, poems, songs to the PCR leader, which led to creating numberless mystic facets of the leader. Lots of poets eulogized him incessantly, being so-called *the God from the Carpathians*.

It is inherently understood that famous writers, scientists, artists, sportsmen play an extremely important part in gathering social capital by a political character. "The public who admires them pleasantly abandon themselves, most of the time in a blindly way, impressed by their political views (…). Intellectuals' adhesion is one of the favourable means the propaganda employs in order to gain credit. It engages masses' affinity, a much more affinity

than it is usually thought (…)"[1]. This advantage was considered at maximum by the PCR leaders.

In the centre of the cultural politics promoted by the communist regime in its first phase, there was the cultural orientation named *proletcultism*. Proletcultism is defined as "a cultural current (initiated in the Soviet Union after the October revolution) whose aesthetical principles were reduced to the idea of forming a «pure proletarian» culture, and which rejected the entire culture inheritance of the past"[2]. Proletcultism, though being a dominant cultural orientation in the 50's, was in fact a current closer to propaganda than to art. Proletcultism representatives served not «proletarian culture», but the interests of the communist nomenclature, initially of the exterior nomenclature, ending with the autochthon one. The artists cherished by the communists, especially writers, enjoyed high prestige and a social status much more advantageous compared to their colleagues. But these advantages were paid through a certain obedience of the state's structures and, obviously, of the party's directives. On the other side, the communist nomenclature had already submitted its culture, since it needed a positive image to project especial abroad in order to build up its own international prestige.

Gheorghe-Gheorghiu Dej's replacement with Nicolae Ceauşescu as president will lead to the appearance of a new cultural-ideological orientation: protochronism. The protochronism phenomenon is translated through the negation of any occidental influence and engorgement of the Romanian culture. In a *20th Century* magazine issue from July 1974, Professor Edgar Papu signed an article which would have not only high resonance but also certain posterity: *Romanian protochronism*. In this text, the erudite essayist launched a hypothesis not only spectacular, but even revolutionary, regarding the statute of the Romanian language and literature and their rapports with the great literatures and cultures in Europe and all over the world. In the article, it is not affirmed only the originality of the Romanian literature, but especially its intermittent priority towards these literature[3]. Protochronist action in the name of democratization and understand to found organizations to administer the production of culture: Writers Union, Plastic Artists Union, Composers and Musicologists Union. But all these institutions will be under the strict surveillance of the party's leaders, who had to approve the any release of a cultural-artistic material.

By the transformation of the cultural-artistic domain into an instrument of self-image promoting, Nicolae Ceauşescu becomes the main subject of most of the literary works at the time. Almost everything is written on command, the communist political regime, all through the time they ruled, denying people to

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[1] Jean Marie Domenach, *Political propaganda*, Iasi, European Institute, 2004, p. 90.

[2] *Romanian language explicative dictionary*, 1984 edition, p. 751.

[3] Apud Mircea Martin, *Romanian culture, between communism and nationalism*, in "Magazine 22", 31st October-5th November 2002.

express freely and in an open way, their opinions or feelings in artistic works. Due to the fact that there were stipulated hard sanctions for those to infringe the directives of the party, most of the writers chose to obey the rules.

The main characteristics of the cultural policy advanced by Ceauşescu are, according to Anneli Ute Gabanyi, the following:

a) National pride is represented by the newly produced mass cultural movement (in 1976) called «Romanian singing», while the statute of professional writers is continually eroded, and even the future existence of their creation union is threatened; professional artists are thus forced to create mainly within the «Romanian singing», festival, counselling and supporting (even financially) amateur groups of art.

b) Material support, which professional artists enjoyed in the past, artists who the regime attempted to bring to conformism, was not to be granted anymore.

c)Amateur art is highlighted, there appeared articles in the party press, articles which explained the fact that pure artistic, aesthetic, aspects of a work are not important, as   long as the   political, ideological, moral message, transmitted by these works is correct   from the party's point of view.

d) Another aspect of the PCR political deviation from the professional art to   «mass», amateur art is also reflected in initiating «popular theatres», within large industrial   companies. The idea behind this movement is to shove culture from centre to periphery, where the masses are, as well as the factories and agricultural units they work in[4].

All through his long career, Ceauşescu, thanks to the *group of apologists* who competed for building a trollopish cult, will get more mystic facets. Due to those, he becomes:

a)   The country's *revolutionist* by excellence
b)   The *theoretician* of a new world order
c)   Peace *champion*
d)   *Architect* of a new Romania
e)   Independence *hero*
f)   *Guarantor* of national unity
g)   *The most beloved son*- or *parent*- of the nation[5].

Poets, painters and sculptors or «political clients» as Adrian Cioroianu calls them- competed in immortalizing all these hypostases of the secretary general of the communists "exceeding at the same time the boundaries of any sense of measure with a tremendous easiness"[6].

Starting from the idea of protochronism, Ceauşescu will inoculate the Romanians stale nationalism, understood only by him. He gets even to the "discovery on Romanian land of the oldest hominid (a primate which exceeded

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[4] Apud Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *Ceausescu's cult*, Iasi, Polirom, 2003, p. 124-125.

[5] Apud Adrian Cioroianu, *On the shoulders of Marx. An introduction to the history of the Romanian communism,* Bucureşti, Curtea Veche Publishing House, 2005, p. 490.

[6] *Ibidem.*

the monkey stage, being able to transform into human being) on the European continent"[7]. For such a discovery a special name was also to be chosen: *Australanthropus Olteniensis.* The nationalist propaganda carried by Ceauşescu can even lead to suspicions, such as the one regarding the fact that the anthropologists who named the hominid were thinking of Ceausescu's Oltenesc origin when naming it.

A simple look at the poems dedicated to the PCR secretary general, on different occasions, emphasizes the fact that the artists who created these works use the same style: exclamations, epithets, metaphors, hyperbolic comparisons, all of them as homage to Ceauşescu. For the Romanian writers Ceauşescu is: «the legendary man», «Romania's reformer», «the oak from Scornicesti», «the greatest politician in Romania's history», «brave leader», «symbol of fight and sympathy». More than this, Ceauşescu is compared to the greatest rulers of the country. In an article from the *Flame* magazine, appeared in 1980, people can read that January is a month with great days. It is the month which imposed Alexandru Ioan Cuza to the nation, but also Ceauşescu "son of peasants, who became worker and revolutionist and enlightened intellectual of his country, and who imposed, more than any other great man of our nation, the name of Romania"[8]. On the same occasion of the 1980 anniversary, in *Spark* and *Free Romania* two interesting pictures, from this point of view, are reproduced. In *Spark*, Ceauşescu appears next to two Dacian kings, Burebista and Decebal, to the wayvodes Stephan the Great, and Michael the Brave, to Nicolae Balcescu, as well as the ruler A.I. Cuza. The same characters (except Nicolae Balcescu) appear also in the photograph from *Free Romania*[9]. If Stalin "acts like an all powerful God surrounded by his angels and archangels"[10], meaning the rest of the part he manipulates, Ceauşescu becomes a «secular god».

Under the pretext of promoting young Romanian artists, the *Romanian Singing* Festival, where the *Flame* Cenacle imposed itself, represented another way of manipulating masses and indoctrinating with pro-communist topics. The two emblematic examples of the cultural-artistic environment of the Ceauşescu era will not get rid of the political immixture and will be turned into an idolization ritual of Romania's ex-ruler. Besides a series of poems and songs sang by all the people, whose artistic value can not be debated, artists came in front of thousands of people with songs in which they could not forget venerating the PCR leader, both at the shows organized by the *Flame* Cenacle, and other festivals generically called *Romanian singing*. Together with other propagandistic means, used in a more or less visible way, these cultural manifestations represented a sort of «mask» which covered the negative aspects of the communist regime. The shows practically turned into the only way

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[7] Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *op.cit.*, p. 116.
[8] Flacăra, 24th-30th January 1980.
[9] Scânteia, 26th January 1980 and *Free Romania*, 26th January 1980.
[10] Adrian Cioroianu, *op.cit.*, p. 424.

people could forget about the lack of food, of freedom, or of expression; the had become, together with the television sometimes, a way of delectation, even if most of the time, this delectation was done through listening and recitation of communist poets' lines. Full stadiums and delirium people- the artists of the *Flame* Cenacle managed to mobilize thousands of people, who, at the same time, were witnessing a real PCR *propaganda exercise*, which could not waste the opportunity of taking advantage of an extremely large number of people in the same place. «Born» in September 1973, the *Flame* Cenacle will be banned in the summer of 1985. Under the pretext of an unfortunate accident, when on the stadium from the locality of Ploieşti, five young people died and over one hundred were hurt, the communist power banned a movement which had become undesirable for the party. Used in the beginning as a propagandistic instrument, this cenacle- lead by the poet Adrian Paunescu- , becomes a «weapon» which seemed to turn against the communist dictatorship. The immense popularity which the concerts of the *Flame* Cenacle enjoyed will not be desired by the authorities who find a rapid solution: ending the concerts. But, despite this episode, it is obvious that the artistic shows played an extremely important part in promoting Ceauşescu's cult of personality.

However, the events in December 1989 showed that Ceauşescu's illusion and his camarilla to reach the impossible in Romania proved to be unattainable. Even if they were completely isolated from what was happening outside the Soviet borders, the Romanian people started to wish for a change. The poverty which surrounded the lives of more and more people, the cards for the main aliments, periodical switching off of the electricity, restrictive supplies of heat and water, as well as abusive infringe of rights, all these factors proved to be decisive in eliminating the dictatorial system.

The propaganda machine lead by Nicolae Ceauşescu proved inefficient at the first difficult test to be submitted. Although he had an entire arsenal of mass manipulation which involved from party activists to journalists and writers, the communist leaders proved that eventually, he did not know to use this in his own benefit.

PROTOCHRONISME ET NATIONALISME DE LA MARQUE «CEAUSESCU» DANS LA ROUMANIE COMMUNISTE

(Résumé)

Le communisme roumain a assuré sa survie pour presque une demie siècle grâce à la destruction de la personnalité individuelle et de la société civile. Les valeurs de base de la société roumaine ont été totalement modifiées, même annulées. À leur place on a inculqué les modèles stalinistes, c'est vrai de manière adaptée parfois aux conditions autochtones. La manœuvre des symboles nationaux dans le sens de l'accomplissement des désirs des chefs communistes est devenue non seulement une pratique coutumière, mais en même temps un art achevé. L'identification aux grands voïvodes du pays et la réécriture de la biographie vont contribuer à la réalisation d'un fort culte de la personnalité sans aucun soutien réel. Avec l'appui des artistes et des

écrivains, Ceauşescu va acquérir plusieurs facettes mystiques (défenseur de la paix, garant de l'unité nationale, sauveteur de la nation, continuateur des traditions historiques, homme politique de taille mondiale), qui l'aideront à manipuler les masses. Le culte de la personnalité du leader de Bucarest (pareil à celui de Mao ou à celui de Stalin) peut être considéré l'un des méthodes cachés, mais très efficaces de dépersonnalisation et de lavage de cerveau de l'individu, auquel on a fait appel dans le désir de soumettre toute la société au régime, au parti, au chef.

COMMUNAL MUSEUMS AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS OF THE DOLJ DISTICT – THEIR TURNING INTO ACCOUNT OR THE EDUCATION AND ENTERTAIMEN OF THE PUBLIC

NICOLAE VÎLVOI

According to Law No. 182/2000 on the protection of the movable national cultural heritage, as well as to Law of museums and public collections No. 311/2003, the national cultural heritage includes goods of outstanding or exceptional value - historical, archaeological, documentary, ethnographic, artistic, scientific and technical, literary, cinematographic, numismatic, philatelic, heraldic, bibliophile, cartographic and epigraphic – that represent material proof of the evolution of the natural environment and of man's relations with it, of the human creative potential and of Romanian contributions to the world civilization.

Until 1989, in the Dolj district there was a network of village museums and public collections that hosted a rich heritage of local and national value. Because of the "guilty transition" and of some mayors' recklessness, many of these museums were lost after 1990. Some of the displayed items were saved and are now in the collection of the Museum of Oltenia, some disappeared, while others were damaged. After 2001 only two important public collections and few of the communal museums were still opened. Among these, the "Vetre stramosesti" (Ancient Hearths) Museum in Celaru commune, the "Cula Cernatestilor" communal museum, the Jitianu collection of religious art objects and the collection of the "H.H.Catargi" Museum in Scaesti, Dolj county. The inspections run by specialists of the Police and of the Dolj County Directorate for Culture, Religious Affairs and National Cultural Heritage showed that no suitable conditions were ensured, according to Law. No.182/2000 and Law No.422/2001 on the protection of historic monuments, for the conservation and storage that would prevent the deterioration, damage or destruction of goods, as well as of the historic monuments housing them.

So far, none of the above mentioned institution has had any movable cultural goods classified as belonging to the national cultural heritage, although the Jitianu collection of religious art objects is the richest in patrimony objects.

In the following section we shall make a presentation of these historic monuments, of the existent dysfunctions and of the measures that need to be taken in order to save museum heritage.

The "Vetre stramosesti" (Ancient Hearths) Museum in Celaru commune, Marotinu de Jos village.

Its collection of ethnographic and historic objects was set up around 1912-1914 in the house of school masters Zenobia and Marin Georgescu. Another group of religious art objects found today in the "Vetre stramosesti" Museum from Celaru comes from the village rectory, which was kept by priest Mihail Mihailescu. Today, the museum is kept by the mathematics teacher Victor Gh. Ancuta. Although retired in 2000, he has been managing the museum since 1990, the acquisition and protection of art objects being his main passion.

The museum's collection contains movable cultural goods of exceptional historic, archaeological and documentary value, religious art objects, rare and old books, fabrics, pieces of garment, ethnographic objects ensembles, objects and documents of numismatic value: coins, medals, decorations, badges etc.

Among the valuable documents found in the collection of the museum there is the original letter signed by Nicolae Iorga on 2nd July 1921 and sent to Ion Celareanu, former mayor of the commune. In 2001, this letter, together with other 42 cultural items (for example, an old book dated 1748, weapons from the Independence War, etc.) were included in a restoration project developed by the Dolj County Directorate for Culture, Religious Affairs and National Cultural Heritage and approved by the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs. The selection of the items was made by specialists who took into consideration the heritage value of the cultural goods to be classified, as well as their conservation status. The restoration and conservation of the goods was done by the Regional Restoration Laboratory within the Museum of Oltenia in Craiova. Today the museum of Celaru functions because it is passionately and devotedly kept by the retired teacher Victor Gh. Ancuta. Still, it is closed almost all year round, its only visitors being the pupils of the secondary school in the village.

"Cula Cernăteştilor" (the fortified manor of the Cernăteşti) communal museum

The fortified manor is situated right in the centre of Cernăteşti, on the gradient of Obedeanu (Calu) hill, next to the school, approximately 60 metres away from the road Craiova - Gherceşti. Today, it bares the name "the Fortified Manor of the Cernăteşti" communal museum. The village, whose ancient name was Cernăteşti, is mentioned in documents dating back to 1500s. In the XVth century, a building was erected here by Dimitrie Cernat, a captain in the army of Mihai Viteazul[1]. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century, a descendent of Dimitrie Cernat added an additional floor to the building and turned it into a reinforced building that would withstand attacks from the outside[2]. The historic monument is a rectangular medium-sized two-storied fortified manor, with its

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[1] *Marele Dicţionar al României,* vol. II, p. 323, apud Jana Cernătescu, *Autorportret cu pisică*, Bucureşti, Editura Victor Frunză, 2004.

[2] Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *Culele din Oltenia*, Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 1974, p.77-79.

main entrance oriented southwards. One enters a room that has access down into the cellar and from where a staircase leads up to the first floor, marked with ramparts on the outside. In the district of Dolj there is another fortified manor in Brabova; this one also had an observation and defense role[3].

"The Fortified Manor of the Cernăteşti" communal museum was set up between 1929/1979. It is the result of the passionate work of school teacher Nicolae Pîrvulescu. Unfortunately, nowadays the objects in the museum are not well preserved, being seriously worn out and dusty. There is no trained curator who should work in this museum. The local council of Cernăteşti gave the museum in the care of an employee of the cultural house who has no academic training, and for two years has earmarked no funds for the conservation of the museum and of the fortified manor.

"The Fortified Manor of the Cernăteşti" was rehabilitated in June 1999 by the military construction unit no. 5, an action funded by Mrs Jana Ghica Cernătescu Şuculescu – the last descendent of the Cernătescu family[4] - an honorary citizen of the Cernăteşti commune, and the result of the efforts of Mr Alexandru Marcu – at the time the mayor of the commune – and of eng. Dumitru Alexandru, General of division, son of the commune.

The museum collection includes archaeological and historic and documentary items of exceptional value, material and documentary proof of the political, economic, social, military and religious history of the area, while the fortified manor housing these objects is listed as a historic monument.

The only solution to save this museum is to pass it into the administration of the Museum of Oltenia, which has enough material and human resources to ensure the restoration, conservation and treatment of the exhibits, as well as the reopening of the museum.

The Jitianu collection of religious art objects

The collection of religious art objects of the Holy Archiepiscopal Church of Craiova is set up in the old Jitianu monastery, a historic monument dating back to the XVIIth century, ever since the epoch of prince Constantin Şerban and of Lady Bălaşa. Regarding the antiquity of this historic monument, the inscription of 1853[5], as well as the Country's Chronicle[6], shows that the founder of the monastery was Lady Bălaşa, prince Constantin Cârnu's spouse; it is her own decision to have this title engraved on her tombstone.[7]

Many originals of the documents referring to the Jitianu monastery – with St. Dimitrie as patron saint - have been lost; only registered transcriptions

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[3] Ibidem, p.70-74.

[4] Jana Cernătescu, *op.cit.,* p.193.

[5] N. Iorga, *Inscripţii*, I, p.197; V. Drăghiceanu, *Monumentele Olteniei*, in „Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice", XXVII, p.103.

[6] N. Iorga, *op.cit*., p.336; Idem, *Istoria bisericii*, ediţia II, p. 228.

[7] I. Donat, *Fundaţiunile religioase ale Olteniei. Partea I Mănăstiri şi schituri*, Craiova,Editura Scrisul Romnesc, 1937, p.57.

have been kept, most of which are stored in the National Archives in Bucharest. Manuscript no. 453, f. 110, dated 21st February 1779, mentions that "*the holy monastery of Jitianu had estate documents and as a result of the uprising, these were lost in the cave of Bistriţa monastery*" [8]. Other documents were taken by the monks from St. Pavel monastery on Mount Athos, whom the establishment in Oltenia had been dedicated to[9]. As stated in the inscription of the church and from information dating back to 1701, the construction of the monastery was finished by Petre Obedeanu, who was also one of its founders. The church underwent repairing in 1813 and 1853, when the interior painting was done.

The 1858 inventory mentions that the monastery is surrounded by brick constructions[10]. Consequently the monastery is abandoned by the Mount Athos monks in 1864, and was closed in 1914[11]. After the restoration work, undertaken between1928-1930 under the supervision of the Historic Monuments Commission, nuns settled down here.

Out of the ensemble that existed back in the XVIIth century, only St. Dimitrie church and the cellars of the abbot houses have survived. Inside some of the rooms of the tall goundfloor, rehabilitated in 1936, the religious art collection of the Holy Archiepiscopal Church of Craiova has been set up[12].

Interesting through the richness, originality and diversity of its items, the diocesan collection of religious art objects is the result of a constant work of identification, gathering, conservation and display initiated, many years ago, by the holy Metropolitan Firmilian and continued by the all-holy Metropolitan Teoctist (patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox church) and by Nestor, all-holy Metropolitan of Oltenia and Archbishop of Craiova.

The museum collection of the Jitianu monastery especially illustrates the late stages in the evolution of Romanian classical art – XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. It comprises objects that represent the main genres of Romanian ancient art: icons painted on wood, wood sculptures (icons, doors, iconostases, furniture), silverware (religious objects and jewelry), glass icons, religious objects, old books and stone crosses, most of them coming from ancient regions of historic and artistic traditions in Oltenia and from well-known centres of rich well-organised Christian orthodox life.

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[8] T.G. Bulat, *Ştiri nouă despre mănstirea Jitianu – Dolj*, in „Mitropolia Olteniei", 1967, nr. 5-6, p.432.

[9] *Ibidem*. Also see Şt. O. Greceanu, *Genealogiile documentate ale familiilor boiereşti*, I. p.100.

[10] Tereza Sinigalia, *Repertoriul architecturii în Ţara Românească 1600-1680*, Vol. I, Bucureşti, Editura Vremea, 2002, p.222-223.

[11] INMI Archives, monument chart. In 1902, the constructions surrounding the monastery were demolished, and the bricks were used to build a barracks. Apud Tereza Sinigalia, *op. cit*., p.223.

[12] Teodora Voinescu, *Comori de artă bisericească. Colecţia Arhiepiscopiei Craiovei de la mănăstirea Jitianu – Craiova*, Craiova, Editura Arhiepiscopiei Craiovei, 1980.

The date is marked on most of the stone crosses from Jitianu: they date back to the second half of the XIXth century, while the icons included in the collection invite you to meditation.

The rich diocesan collection, artfully and tastefully displayed in the rooms of the old building, which complete the Jitianu complex with their architecture and volumes, is among the most important establishments of Romanian ancient art, comprising items of exceptional value that can be included in the treasure of the national cultural heritage.

Some of the objects that can be found here remind us of ancient settlements that had a glorious past, for example those coming from the Roaba hermitage (Dolj county)[13], formerly founded by the Craioveşti family, or the carved wood doors coming from the court church of Bengeşti, founded by Staico Bengescu on his estate, at the beginning of the XVIIIth century[14]. Most of the objects, like the icons, for instance, come from wooden churches – for example those from Stroeşti-Daviţoiu, Licuriciu, Cernădia, Crasna din Vale, Roşia de Jiu (Gorj district), Cilieni (Olt district), Brezinţa (Mehedinţi district) and so on, or some of the brick churches of historic importance, such as the parish church founded by the Magheru family in Bârzeiu de Gilort (Gorj district), at the end of the XIXth century, or the church founded by the Coşoveanu family in Coşoveni (Dolj district).

The collection of the Jitianu monastery could still be visited before 2002. It was included on the tourist route of foreign delegations visiting the country of Craiova. Because no conservation or restoration actins have been taken since the 1980s, some of the objects have slowly deteriorated. From different discussions we have had with representatives of the Archiepiscopal Church of Craiova we have understood that a reopening of the museum is wished for, but only after the restoration of the objects and when optimal conditions for their conservation and display have been ensured.

The "H.H.Catargi" museum collection in the commune of Scaeşti.
Another important collection in the Dolj district is the donation made by H.H.Catargi (actually by his wife) to the commune of Scaeşti. Before the museum collection of Scaeşti was set up (in 1983/1984), the Art Museum of Craiova organised an exhibition – in the Brâncuşi room – of the artist's paintings and graphic art, with the title *H.H.Catargy donation to the commune of Scaeşti*. On this occasion the artist's last work– an unfinished carbon sketch - was presented.

Important because of the exceptional value of the painting and graphic art works, the *"*H.H.Catargi" collection was housed until 2006 in two rooms of the artist's manor house, together with the village town hall of the commune Scaeşti. In September 2006, when the building was given back to its former

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[13] I. Donat, *Despre schitul Zdrelea sau Roaba – Dolj, ctitoria necunoscută a Craioveştilor*, Craiova, 1935 şi „Arhivele Olteniei", 1935, p.344-359.

[14] N. Ghike-Budeşti, *Evoluiţia arhitecturii în Muntenia şi Oltenia*, in „Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice", 1936, p. L.DCXXXIV, apud Teodora Voinescu, *op.cit.*, p.21.

owners, due to lack of display space, 56 paintings and graphic art works and two photo albums were taken in custody by the Art Museum of Craiova.

As a conclusion, we can say that, considering the patrimonial importance of these values, we believe that it is the duty of the local public administration, as well as of the Archiepiscopal Church of Craiova, on whom these cultural establishments depend, to protect this national cultural heritage by earmarking funds for the restoration of the decaying objects, for the conservation of all the other objects and for the taking up of specialized staff to administer them.

LES MUSÉES COMMUNAUX ET LES COLLECTIONS MUSÉALES DU DÉPARTEMENT DE DOLJ – LEUR REMISE EN VALEUR POUR L'INFORMATION, L'ÉDUCATION ET LA RÉFORMATION DU PUBLIC

(Résumé)

Après 1989, dans le départment de Dolj ont subsisté peu de musées communaux et de collections ayant un riche patrimoine d'importance locale et nationale. Parmi eux, on peut mentionner: le musée ˮVatra Românească” dans la commune Celaru, le musée communal ˮCula Cernăteştilor”, la collection Jitianu d'objets d'art religieux et la collection H.H.Catargi dans la commune de Scaeşti. L'allarme tirée par les autorités de coordination et de contrôle de la protection du patrimoine culturel national impose des mesures immédiates et fermes qui visent la sauveguarde du patrimoine qui se trouve dans les musées et les collections publiques.

LES PUBLICATIONS ROUMANO-SERBES DE RÂMNIC (1726-1761) DANS LE CONTEXTE DES RELATIONS CULTURELLES ROUMANO-SLAVES

COSMIN VILAU

Un moment important des manifestations culturelles de l'histoire roumaine de la science des langues slaves d'Oltenie est l'action d'impression des livres slavons à Râmnic, pendant les années 1726-1761, par la collaboration entre l'Eglise roumaine d'Oltenie et l'église métropolitaine serbe de Carloviţ. C'est une expression des relations culturelles roumaino-serbes sur le fond des hostilités des temps, créées par des événements politiques du XVII-e siècle.

La guerre autrichienne turque conclue par la paix de Passarowitz (1718) a porté à l'inclusion de l'Oltenie entre les frontières de l'Empire Autrichien. La situation s'est maintenue jusqu'en 1739 lorsque la guerre russo-autrichieno-turque conclue par la paix de Belgrad (1739), a porté à la réintégration de l'Oltenie dans la provence Ţara Românească. Pendant cette courte domination autrichienne, l'église métropolitaine de Râmnic a été subordonnée en 1725 à l'église métropolitaine serbe de Belgrade (successivement unie avec celle de Carloviţ), avec laquelle elle n'a pas eu des relations tout à fait bonnes, le métropolite serbe dirigeant seulement pour la forme[1]. L'église serbe, une fois sous la domination autrichienne, sa situation est devenue extrêmement difficile surtout du point de vue culturel, parce que les écoles étaient peu nombreuses et de faible niveau, pendant que les âmes des Serbes s'agitaient pour des aspirations culturelles: «on n'a ni des écoles, ni d'enseignement – dit une confession de cette période-là, mais on va à chercher l'aide dans toutes les parts comme des étrangers…»[2]. Les aspirations culturelles des Serbes ont été accomplies aussi par l'Eglise métropolitaine de Râmnic, par la publication de quelques livres nécessaires à but didactique et liturgique.

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[1] *Cf.* Nicolae Dobrescu, *Istoria Bisericii Române din Oltenia în timpul ocupaţiunii austriece (1716-1739). Cu 220 acte şi fragmente inedite culese din arhivele din Viena*, Bucureşti, 1906, p.162-163, p. 340-341, p.359-360; Şerban Papacostea, *Oltenia austriacă*, Bucureşti, 1971, p.286-287.

[2] Jovan Skelić, *Српска књижевност у XVIII веку*, ed. II, Belgrad, 1923, p. 69, *apud* Emil Turdeanu, *Din vechile schimburi culturale între români şi iugoslavi*, extrait du „Cercetări literare", III, 1939, p. 184.

Le premier livre imprimé est **Первое оученïе отрокомъ**: *Le premier enseignement pour les jeunes gens* (1726) de l'archevêque russe Teofan Procopovici, collaborateur de Petru le Grand, paru à Petersburg en 1720 et republié en Russie 11 fois. Le titre complet de cette édition est le suivant: *Le premier enseignement pour les jeunes gens, avec des lettres et des syllabes. En plus, la courte interprétation de la loi des Dix Paroles, de la Prière de Dieu, du Symbole de la foi et des neuf Heureux. Il a été imprimé par l'ordre, la bénédiction et la dépense de l'honorable et saint Monsieur Petrovici le croyant orthodoxe archevêque et métropolite de Belgrad et d'autres parts, dans le diocèse de Râmnic. L'année du Seigneur 1726 Ilie de Cernavodă typographe[3]*. Avant, en 1724, Vlad Mălăescu[4], le secrétaire de Moise Petrovici a apporté de Russie 255 ou 400 exemplaires (édition de Kiev de 1723) pour l'école serbe de Sremski Carloviţ et pour d'autres ecclésiastiques de Serbie[5]. Probablement que le nombre d'exemplaires était insuffisant ou la peur d'une réaction hostile de la part de l'administration autrichienne pour avoir apporté des livres de Russie, on a demandé l'impression de ces livres à Râmnic, où le siège épiscopal était détenu par Ştefan, ancien prieur du monastère Govora qui a eu la fonction de „diortositor" (correcteur) du livre, et comme typographe Ilie de Cernavodă[6]. L'édition en question donne aussi la variante roumaine des textes. C'est le troisième livre de ce type – *Bucoavnă (Livre)* – paru sur la terre roumaine, la première étant *Bucoavna (Livre)* grec paru à Iasi en 1651 sous Vasile Lupu, et le deuxième *Bucoavna (Livre)* d'Alba-iulia (1699)[7]. Il a été réédité à la même typographie trois fois en 1727 en slavon, malheureusement on n'a pas le titre et une description; 1734 (8+78 f) seulement en slavon, ayant le titre suivant: Le premier enseignement pour les jeunes gens, avec des lettres et des syllabes. En plus, une courte interprétation de la loi des dix paroles, de la Prière du Seigneur, du Symbole de la Foi et des neuf Bonheurs. De l'ordre et de la bénédiction et des dépenses de l'honorable Monsieur Seigneur Vichentie Ioanovici, le croyant orthodoxe archevêque et métropolite de Belgrad et conseiller de l'empereur. On les a imprimés au diocèse de Râmnic, Année du Seigneur 1734, le mois de

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[3] Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoş, *Bibliografia românească veche,* vol. II, Bucureşti, 1910; p. 29-32 (nr.193); Ioan Bianu, Dan Simionescu, *Bibliografia românească veche,* vol. IV, Bucureşti, 1944, p. 233 (nr.193) (citám BRV); Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, *Tipografia Episcopiei Râmnicului (1705-1825)*, en „Mitropolia Olteniei", XII, 1960, nr. 5-6, p. 317.

[4] Vlad Mălăescu, avec son vrai nom Vlad Boţulescu du Mălăcşti, il ont été logothet de Ştefan Cantacuzino (1714-1716); Au fin du regne, il est erré, arrivé le secrétaire de Moise Petrovici (Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii româneşti,* vol. II, Bucureşti, 1925, p. 564-568; Emil Turdeanu , *op.cit*., p. 185-186).

[5] G. Mihăilă, *Tipăriturile româno-sârbe de la Râmnic (1726-1761) şi un episod semnificativ din istoria Ţărilor Române: împăcarea lui Bogdan III cu Radu cel Mare (1507),* en vol. „Între Orient şi Occident. Studii de cultură şi literatură română în secolele al XV-lea – al XVIII-lea", Bucureşti, 1999, p. 166.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 166.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 166.

septembre[8]; en 1749 pendant l'évêque Grigore Socoteanu (1749-1764)[9], homme cultive, préoccupé par l'impression des livres en roumain, on a donné une édition roumaine de ce livre (80 f), ayant le titre suivant: «Livre pour l'enseignement des enfants. Premièrement il contient les lettres et les syllabes et les dix commandements donnés par Dieu à Moise et le Symbole de la Foi et les dix Bonheurs, avec leur interprétation en bref. Maintenant imprimé pour la première foi par la bénédiction et l'ordre de la Sainteté de Dieu à l'aimant monsieur Grigorie, l'évêque de Râmnic. Dans le saint diocèse de Râmnic en 7257. Par la mise à jour de Lavrentie Ieromonalul Dimitrievici, De Constantin Athanasievici le typographe[10]. Parties du contenu de cet ouvrage ont été reprises en Bucoavna (Livre) de Sibiu de 1795[11].

Le deuxième livre imprimé à Râmnic est la *Grammaire slavone* de Maletie Smotriţki, en 1755 à la requête du métropolite Pavel Nenadovici de Carloviţ. Cet ouvrage est apparu pour la première fois à Evie en 1619, réédité à Moscou en 1648 et 1721 et à Snagov en 1696[12]. Les recherches de Diomid Strungaru sont arrivées à la constatation qu'il avait été imprimé selon l'édition de Snagov de 1697 et non selon celle de Moscou de 1721, en combattant les affirmations de N.M. Dilevski[13]. On attire l'attention que Antim Ivireanul a dirigé comme évêque de Râmnic (1705-1708), en créant à cette occasion la première typographie de Râmnic (1705) en apportant dans ce but aussi l'outil typographique de Snagov[14] et dans des buts culturels il est possible qu'il ait apporté aussi des exemplaires des livres imprimés là parmi lesquels *la Grammaire* de Meletie Smotriţki.

Le titre complet du livre est le suivant (traduction): À la grâce de la sainte d'un être qui donne la vie et inséparable Croix votive, du Père, du Fils, et du Saint Esprit. Par l'insistance et les dépenses du saint et loué monsieur Pavel Nenadovici, archevêque de Carloviţ et métropolite de tout le peuple slavo-serbe et valaque de l'empire de leurs majestés césaro – souverains, ce livre grammaire pour l'utilisation et l'emploi des jeunes serbes, qui désirent des études solides sur le dialecte slavon. Il a été imprimé au diocèse de Râmnic, l'année de Dieu 1755[15].

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[8] B.R.V., IV, p. 52-54 (nr.68); Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, *op.cit.*, p. 319.

[9] *Cf.* Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 1994, p. 417-419.

[10] B.R.V, II, p. 107-108 (nr. 265); Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, *op.cit.*, p. 325. Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu affirme que: „on ne ce connaisse pas un autre exemplaire" (*op. cit.*, p. 325). Il est le merite du l'acad. G. Mihăilă d' identifier cet ouvrage une edition roumaine du *Le premier enseignement pour les jeunes gens* (*op. cit.*, p. 167).

[11] G. Mihăilă, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[12] Diomid Strungaru, *Gramatica lui Smotriţki şi prima gramatică românească*, en „Romanoslavica", IV, 1960, p. 289-307.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 297-298.

[14]*Cf.* Mircea Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, p. 141-160.

[15] B.R.V., II, p. 132 (nr. 295); Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, *op. cit.,* p. 328.

L'édition de Râmnic a été très appréciée dans le milieu scientifique étranger. Ainsi, en 1817 Modest Hryniewiecki, le doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Lvov était intéressé par sa réimpression[16].

Le troisième et le dernier livre roumaino-serbe sorti des presses de l'imprimerie de Râmnic est *Les lois de prière des saints serbes illuminés* (2f + 261F) (1761) sous le soin de Sinesie Jivanovici (Živanović), évêque des Roumains orthodoxes d'Arad, Ineu, Oradea et Hălmagiu. Le titre complet du livre est le suivant: „À la grâce de la sainte d'un être qui donne la vie à l'inséparable Trinité, du Père, du Fils, et du Saint Esprit, ce livre contenant les Lois des prières des Saints serbes illuminés, par la bénédiction du saint et loué Monsieur Pavel (Nenadović), archevêque orthodoxe de Karlovitz et le métropolite de tout le peuple slovene serbe et roumain, qui se trouve dans l'empire de leurs Majestés Césaro – souverains. Réuni par l'effort assidu et selon les moyens entièrement dirigés, seulement par l'insistance et les dépenses du Saint Monsieur Sinesie, évêque orthodoxe d'Arad, Ineu, Oradia Mare et Hălmagiu et conseiller de cour de sa Majesté césaro- souverain. À la grâce des saints commémorés illuminés pour l'utilisation et la messe des saints monastères et églises serbes, au souvenir et encouragement du peuple orthodoxe serbe on a imprimé dans le diocèse de Râmnic l'année de la Création du monde 7270, et de la personnification de Dieu – La parole 1761, pendant l'archiprêtre du même saint diocèse Monsieur Grigorie[17].

Il contient des lois des saints Serbes: Simion (ancien Ştefan), le premier roi des serbes, le prince Ştefan Steljanović, Ştefan le Nouveau, ancien despote des Serbes, Ştefan Decâni, le prince des Serbes, Uros le jeune, le prince des Serbes, Ioan le despote, Sava, le premier archevêque et maître des Serbes, des patriarches Atanasie et Chiril d'Alexandrie, maxim le Nouveau, ancien despote des Serbes, Simeon et la nouvelle source de l'huile sacré, Lazăr, prince des serbes, Anghelina, le despote des Serbes[18].

Il a été réimprimé trois fois: 1765-Venice, 1861 et 1970-Belgrade. Cette dernière édition est en 4 tomes, trois avec des textes, et le quatrième avec des études et notes explicatives, soignées par l'historien littérarire Dj. Trifunović: Srbljak Sluzbe Kanoni Akatisti, knj I-III, priredio Djordje Trifunović Preveo Dimitrije Bogdanović. Prevod redigovali D.B. Dj. Tr., Beograd, 1970, 512 + 504 + 486; O Srblajaku Studije, Beograd, 1970, 498 p.[19].

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[16] Mihai Mitu, *Opera lui I. Budai Deleanu în contextul relaţiilor culturale şi ştiinţifice româno-slave*. Thèse de docteurait, dactylographié, Bucureşti, 1970, p. 94, *apud* G. Mihăilă, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[17] B.R.V., II, p. 157 (nr. 327); Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 329-330; G. Mihăilă, *op. cit.*, p. 172-173.

[18] G. Mihăilă, *op. cit.*, p. 173-177.

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 177.

Cette dernière édition diffère des antérieures par les caractéristiques suivantes[20]:

1. Les textes sont arrangés en ordre chronologique, à partir de *la Messe du saint Simeon de Sava Nemanjie* (XIII-e siècle) terminant avec *Hymnes du prince Lazăr* de Kiprijan Roĉanin (la fin du XVII-e siècle);
2. Pour l'édition des textes on a utilisé les plus anciens et meilleurs manuscrits ou publications;
3. Contient seulement les créations des auteurs serbes, les autres étant omis;
4. Les textes originaux sont rédigés dans l'orthographe serbe moderne (sur la page gauche) avec leur transposition en serbo-croate actuel.

Le contexte de l'impression

Un aspect intéressant relatif aux publications roumaino-serbes du présent ouvrage est le contexte dans lequel les publications de 1726-1727 ont été réalisées. Une raison pour laquelle on les a publiées serait l'action d'appui, de la part de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine des immeubles religieux orthodoxes de tout l'Orient Orthodoxe[21]. Le doute qui apparaît est donné par les relations du métropolite serbe avec le Diocèse de Râmnic, après les recherches de l'historien ecclésiastique Nicolae Dobrescu, on constate qu'elles sont très tendues[22]; peut-être à cause de cela le prélat serbe s'est adressé au tsar de Russie, Petru le Grand, en demandant l'aide pour construire une église à Belgrade: des vêtements sacerdotaux, des livres de messe et deux professeurs- demande non honorée[23], et cela dans les conditions où l'évêque de Râmnic Damaschin Dascălu avait reinstitué la typographie épiscopale en 1724[24]. Le Métropolite Moise Petrovici s'est révélé un être ambitieux et capable, mais sans scrupules. Ainsi qu'à la conclusion de la paix de Passarowitz, de 1718 est entré en contact avec la délégation d'Olténie de Vienne, qu'il a déterminée à demander la subordination du Diocèse de Râmnic à l'Eglise métropolitaine serbe de Carloviţ[25]. Cela a provoqué le mécontentement de l'évêque Damaschin, qui, avec les prieurs Jean de Horez, Ştefan de Bistriţa, Ştefan d'Arnota et Pahomie de Govora ont présenté le 29 novembre 1719 au général Steinville un mémoire de proteste en demandant parmi les autres l'élévement du diocèse de Râmnic au rang d'église métropolitaine parce qu'elle avait été auparavant, de ces parts, une église métropolitaine, et que le métropolite fût consacré par le patriarche de Constantinople et non par le métropolite de Belgrade, qui lui était inférieur de

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[20] *Ibidem,* p. 177-178.

[21] *Cf.* Nicolae Iorga, *Bizanţ după Bizanţ* (trad. du liangue français de Liliana Iorga-Pipidi, Bucureşti, 1974).

[22] *Op. cit*, p. 20-21.

[23] Emil Turdeanu, *op. cit*., p. 184.

[24] Mircea Păcurariu, *op. cit.,* p. 331.

[25] Nicolae Dobrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 16-17.

rang, d'autant plus que les boyards ont demandé l'indépendance de l'église métropolitaine serbe sans l'assentiment de l'évêque, du conseil des boyards et du clergé d'Olténie, et Moise Petrovici a corrompu la délégation d'Olténie; on demandait avec insistance que les prétentions du prélat serbe ne fussent pas résolues[26]. Ces requêtes ne sont pas restées sans écho, la Cour de Vienne a admis en principe la dépendance d'une église métropolitaine orthodoxe du contenu de l'empire, mais on n'en spécifiait laquelle; il y a avait seulement deux à Carloviţ, et Belgrade, la première dirigée par Vicenţiu Papovici, et la deuxième par Moise Petrovici, on ne l'a pas accordé au premier parce que son territoire se serait élargi trop, et à l'autre parce qu'il n'inspirait pas de confiance aux autorités autrichiennes[27]. Ainsi s'explique pourquoi Moise Petrovici a demandé en mai 1725 qu'on lui étendît la juridiction sur l'Olténie aussi, ce qui a été approuvé à la fin de 1725, mais avec la restriction de visiter ce diocèse, parce que cela aurait servi de prétexte pour extorquer des argents[28]. Dans ces conditions c'est facile à comprendre pourquoi l'évêque Damaschin, n'aurait pas accepté l'impression des livres serbes à Râmnic. Mais le 5 décembre 1725, il est mort, le siège épiscopal devenant ainsi vacant, et après la législation ecclésiastique en vigueur, le choix du nouveau prélat devant être choisi par l'assemblée ecclésiastique, composée de prieurs et boyards, qui choisissaient trois candidats, dont le métropolite serbe proposait un pour être confirmé par l'empereur autrichien. En sept.-oct. 1726 le métropolite serbe a proposé Ştefan, le prieur du monastère Govora, qui a été confirmé et monté sur le siège en mars 1726 à Craiova, mais sans être ordonné sur l'échelon ecclésiastique, étant renvoyé toujours jusqu'à sa mort du 20 août 1727. Pour ça il est nommé *Ipopsifiul Ştefan[29]*. Dans un rapport du général Tige vers le Conseil viennois, reçu en mars 1727, il y consignait qu'il y avait eu des difficultés à l'installation de l'évêque de Râmnic et il proposait qu'on n'accordât pas à Moise Petrovici plus d'autorité qu'il avait[30]. Malgré tout l'effort déposé par Nicolae Dobrescu d'analyser plus profondément la situation de l'Eglise d'Olténie, celui-ci n'a pas pu établir ce que le prélat serbe avait demandé. D'un document de 1727, gardé dans les Archives Nationales Sibiu, L 1-5, f 23v-24, on constate que l'administration de Craiova a rejeté la requête de Moise Petrovici de percevoir des dons du clergé d'Olténie, parce que ce serait un cas sans précédant. Une autre requête du prélat serbe a été, sans doute, l'impression des livres, dont on avait grand besoin, comme on vient de le mentionner.

Les relations difficiles entre le diocèse de Râmnic et l'église métropolitaine serbe, le choix du siège épiscopal de Ştefan, qui a mené à bien la fonction de *diortositor* (correcteur) du livre *Le premier enseignement pour les jeunes gens et les difficultés de son ordination portent, selon notre opinion, à la*

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[26] *Ibidem*, p. 20-21.

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 52-53.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 53-54.

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 60.

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 68.

conclusion que le métropolite Moise Petrovici a contraint la direction du diocèse d'Oltenie à exécuter les publications de 1726 et 1727. La publication en 1726 dans une édition bilingue, roumaino-slave a déterminé Moise Petrovici à ajourner l'ordination de Ştefan, en réussissant en 1727 l'apparition d'une édition slavone.

On ne connaît pas en profondeur les circonstances de l'apparition de l'édition slavone de 1734, qui est la troisième et la dernière publication roumaino-serbe de la période sous la domination autrichienne.

Si la raison des publications roumaino-serbes de la période de l'occupation autrichienne pouvait être la pression de l'église métropolitaine serbe de Belgrade/ Carloviţ, on ne peut pas dire la même chose de la publication de la *Grammaire slavone* (1755) et des *Lois de prières des saints illuminés serbes* (1761) d'autant plus qu'il n'y avait plus aucune dépendance juridictionnelle par rapport à l'église métropolitaine serbe, et la publication du dernier livre a été soignée par Sinesie Jivanovici, qui, dirigeant en tant qu'évêque à Arad, Ineu, Oradea et Hălmagiu, s'est identifié aux aspirations des Roumains orthodoxes d'ici.

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Les publications roumano-serbes de Râmnic (1726-1761) ont contribué au développement du peuple serbe, trouvé dans cette période-là dans un état déplorable d'à peu près tous les points de vue. Avec l'appui du diocèse de Râmnic les aspirations du peuple voisin ont été accomplies, avec la publication des livres à but didactique et religieux. La publication en langue roumaine et slavone du livre le *Premier enseignement pour les jeunes gens* montre son estime dans le milieu culturel slave et l'utilité dans le milieu didactique ecclésiastique, étant une source pour les futurs livres d'enseignement ecclésiastique apparus en roumain. *Les lois de prière des saints illuminés serbes* est une source importante de l'histoire des Serbes, quelques aspects étant importants pour la compréhension de l'histoire des Roumains. Le diocèse de Râmnic a contribué à la réception de la culture russe dans le monde serbe.

THE ROMANIAN-SERBIAN PRINTS FROM RÂMNIC (1720-1761) IN THE CONTEXT OF ROMANIAN-SERBIAN CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

(Abstract)

In this paper work, a critical analysis of the Romanian – Serbian prints from Râmnic (1727-1761), is made, in the context of the, in the context of the Romanian-Slav cultural relations, especially referring to those from 1726 and 1761. These prins were done during the Austrian invasion of Oltenia district (1718-1769). Since then the bishopric of Râmnic has been subordinated to the Serbian Metropolitan of Belgrad/Carlovitz. According to do research, it is ascertained that the execution of these prints was made at the Serbian metropolitans´ request because the Serbian people were into decay from the cultural point of view and the metropolitan bishop Moise Petrovici compelled the ruler of the Bishopric of Râmnic to make the prints in 1726 and 1727.

EMINESCU WRITING ABOUT RUSSIA
AND OUR INDEPENDENCE WAR

TUDOR NEDELCEA

Although he hasn't got a "historical work", like the professional historians, Eminescu – said N. Iorga, the Romanian's greatest historian – mastered the knowledge of the Romanian past and was initiated in the universal history: "from his generation, nobody had this instinct for what really the history represents as he did, an instinct which became a permanent and determinant element of his judgment"[1].

Obsessed with the founding of the historic truth, Eminescu, unlike his predecessors, imagined a programme designed for knowing and recalling the national history, integrated within the European history.

An authentic representative of the Romanian aspirations, a European through his historical vision, Eminescu showed preoccupation regarding our Independence War. Starting with May 26th 1876 – almost a year before the proclamation of the Romanian Independence – and continuing until the end of the war, including the stormy debates from the Congress of Berlin from 1878, Eminescu kept his readers well informed on the course of the events from Balkans, through his two newspapers on which he was collaborating: "Curierul de Iasi" and "Timpul", in his time, being the most preoccupied personality in this particular theme. In rubrics like "The Oriental War', "Romania and the Orient's question", "From the battle field", the author of the poem "Luceafarul" ("The Evening Star") wrote daily two or three reports, or gave political and historical information, taken, transformed or commented from the circles of the Romanian politicians, from the Members of the Parliament, from what the foreign agencies said regarding the event. Not by chance is the fact that, in 1877, he didn't publish any poem, considering the "oriental war" much more important for the Europe's course and for the destiny of our country than his literary creation.

Like the Conservator Party, when the preparation for war were done, Eminescu pleaded for the neutrality of the country, because "is a high risk for a small nation to imitate the deeds of the important ones and its only strength is the right, the entitled, promised, ratified right", and "the modesty is the fitting coat for a small country like ours, surrounded by great emperors"[2].

Later, once with the declaration of independence of the Romanian Govern from May 9th 1877, Eminescu won't agree with all the conservator's declarations, but he will strongly sustain the Independence War, eulogizing the

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[1] N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești contemporane, cap. VII. Literatura în serviciul politicii*, in N. Iorga, *Eminescu*, Iași, Junimea, 1981, p. 269.

[2] *Anexarea Dobrogei*, in „Timpul", 3, m.182, 19th August 1878, p.2.

Romanian army, meanwhile clearly saying that a politic independence, conquered on the battle field, must be completed with an economic one, when Romania will have to play "a civilizing role among the countries from Orient"[3].

Hopping for the Europe's righteousness regarding the Romanian govern legitimate requests of guaranteeing the neutrality, taking into consideration its geographic position, Eminescu highlighted the Romania's active role, that of a peace agent in Balkans: "This way we hope that, in the interests of peace and civilization, the Great Powers won't hesitate to accomplish the work from 1856 by giving to Romania, through a special act, a just and well defined situation , placing it in the position that Switzerland and Belgium had. The principle of neutrality given by the kindred must have the same consequence for the Orient as for the Occident"[4].

Considering that Romania had "its own individuality and a civilizing mission to fulfill"[5], he reaffirmed the idea of the European necessity and opportunity regarding the his country neutrality "having the right to neutrality within its nature – the only thing that Europe should do is to give the warrants for it, out of which the eradication of the nominal vassalage toward the Sublime Porte is the most important"[6].

Proving to be superior to the politicians through his judgment, political maturity and a real national concern, he saw the danger and the peculiar interest, coming from the Great Powers, regarding the redistribution of the spheres of influence in Balkans, not wishing only to change one domination with another. The purpose and the Romanian political options are written in the Paris Treaty which "imposes us the task to defend our territory against anyone who would try to trespass it" and if the occidental powers would consider this treaty "as being an empty right", then, "Romania should acquire a direction that emerges from the interest of the Romanian nation"[7].

Among the great powers that aimed to obtain new territories or mobile frontiers, Eminescu placed Russia by rights. In order to offer to the readers, but mostly to the politicians, the real image of Russia, Eminescu made an excursion into the history of this great power, did pertinent observations about its external politics along the centuries "studied in tight connection with the cause and effect phenomenon" to ascertain "a kind of unity within its development, as never seen before to another nation"[8].

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[3] ["*We find out that the English govern…*"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 9, nr. 110, 6th October 1876, p. 2, see more in Tudor Nedelcea, *Eminescu, istoricul*, Craiova, Fundaţia Scrisul Românesc, 1998, p. 74-94.

[4] ["*The newspapers from Bucharest…*"], Fundaţia Scrisul Românesc, 1998, p. 74-94.

[5] *Ibidem.*

[6] ["*The answer…*"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 9, nr. 132, 3rd December 1876, p.3.

[7] ["*In the Chamber's meeting…*"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 9, nr. 134, 10th December 1876, p.3.

[8] ["*There's no doubt that the history…*"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 9, nr. 118, 29th October 1876, p.3

If the Europe's great states "work in a casuistic way, changing in outside once with every change from inside", in the case of Russia he remarked "an energetic fixity", being the only European power that "when it defeated became wider and when it was defeated understood nothing, or almost nothing, because inside the country every process was a slow one, without any leap; a lost battle didn't make it forget the one thousand years old target, it can't look through other eyes than those it has been having since the beginning of its great power"[9].

So, the evolution of the Russian Empire had the same route as its conception about the act of governing and that was slow, fluently, with a certain internal cohesion, unlike the other European powers, where the fighting between the political parties was equivalent with "the bone of contention"[10].

Russia's old wish "the everlasting dream of the northern Slavs" was "the new Rome or the Tsargrad", the Napoleonic Wars "were steppes of a great ladder ascended by the Russians" and "if, according to the 1856 peace, Russia was sent away from the Danube, once with the 1878 war, it gained almost all that had lost before"[11].

Eminescu commented the ideas of some "political annalists" from that period regarding the Orient's problem. He extracted from N. I. Danilevski's book, *Russia and Europe* (Petersburg, 1871)[12], opinions about the external politics and the perspective plan of "our giant neighbor", picking, from all the solutions proposed to solve the Orient's crisis, the one that aimed the constituting of a "Slav confederation under Russian hegemony"[13].

The ideas from N. I. Danilevski's book "didn't represent the dreams of some philosopher, but the ideal of a historian descending from the great northern power", they are "an accurate copy of Russia's public opinion", they "have certain grandeur" and are watching "the history of the universe in a specific Slav way"[14].

Eminescu promptly and objectively observed the fact that Russia, along with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, tried to get profit from the Oriental crisis and to divide the spheres of influence in Balkans, this attitude being specific to any empire, in which case can be used the term of "mobile frontiers ", as the sociologist Ilie Bădescu consider. Russia also wanted the maintaining of its frontiers settled before 1856.

Attentively observing the evolution of the European politics, Eminescu dragged pieces of news regarding the Oriental crisis from different European or Ottoman sources, synthesized these pieces of information about the battles from

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[9] *Ibidem.*

[10] *Ibidem.*

[11] *Ibidem.*

[12] N. I. Danilevski (1822-1885) was in the same political circles as the writer Dostoievski, who propagate a utopian socialism, a criticism of the tsarist autocracy and militated for social and political changes in Russia.

[13] *Art. cit.*

[14] *Ibidem.*

Balkans, while verifying their provenience or their objectivity or contradicting when needed: "There isn't truth in every piece of news regarding the Russian's retreat from the Balkans gorges", bringing the argument of the military logistic: "these strategic positions can't be taken back from Russians so easy, because 5 000 people are able to hold down 100 000 people" [15].

In order to verify, from a scientific point of view, the information and the comments made by Eminescu, we must note down few historical data regarding the Balkan war and the involving of Russia [16].

In 4th / 6th January 1876, Lascăr Catargiu, the president of the Ministers Council and the ad-interim minister, sent, to the Romanian diplomats from abroad, a note to find the opinion of the guarantor powers regarding the possibility for Romania to be declared neuter and independent. In 15th / 27th January 1876, Mihail Kogălniceanu, our famous External Affairs minister, also sent a memorial towards the diplomatic agents from abroad, in which he claimed to be done intense actions for the individual recognition of the Romanian state.

In September 1876, these external initiatives began to take form: at Livadia, our prime minister, I. C. Brătianu and the War minister, N. Ionescu, accompanied by Romanian officers, were discussing with the tsar of Russia, Alexandru the Second and with Gorceakov, the Russian chancellor, the possibility of the Russian troops to cross, towards Balkans, on the Romanian territory. I. C. Brătianu required a written agreement for this particular case and his proposal was accepted: in November / December 1876 was secretly concluded a treaty, although many of the negotiation's questions weren't finalized. The Russian troops crossed The Prut at 11th / 23rd April 1877 without noticing the Romanian authorities, and the proclamation of the great duke Nicholas, directly addressed to the "Romanian inhabitants" had the apt to undermine the authority of the prince and govern. The agreement for the tsarist army to cross the Romanian territory was approved in 16th / 28th April 1877 by the Deputies Assembly and in 17th / 29th April 1877 by The Senate.

In what concerns the top-level meeting between Russians and Romanians from Livadia, Eminescu adopted a critical position about keeping the treaties secretly (although necessary in such cases) and for "the strange rumor that our president minister would have been gone at Livadia to propose to Russia the alliance and the supreme command of the Romanian army"[17]. Because of the same reason was complaining Titu Maiorescu, although he, as a politician, knew

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[15] *Turcia*, in "Curierul de Iaşi", IX, nr. 88, 14th August. 1877, p. 3.

[16] Apud *Istoria Românilor,* vol. VIII, tom. I, *Constituirea României moderne (1821-1878),* Bucureşti, The Enciclopedic Publishing House, 3003 (chapter elaborated by Nicolae Adăniloae).

[17] ["*The foreign press is preoccupied* …"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 9, nr. 110, 6th Octoberber 1876, p.1. Eminescu became acquainted and registered for his readers, but also for the posterity, all the Russian-Romanian top-level meetings, such was the meeting from Ungheni (*Russia* ["*The day before yesterday, in 11th /12th April* …"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 10, nr. 39, 13th April 1877, p. 3; Russia ["*In order to complete the sayings* …"], idem, nr.40, 15th April 1877, p.3.)

about such diplomatic usances. Must be highlighted the fact that Eminescu didn't believe those rumors, regarding the subordination of the Romanian army toward the Russian one, although they became true.

The question of the Ministers Council addressed to the guarantor powers regarding the guarantees offered to Romania, in case that Russia would ask for the permission to trespass its army along our country, is extremely important for its future destiny, after the inevitable war when Romania will have to choose between "the two historic currents: the north-eastern one which tended to change Europe's face, and the western one, which tended to maintain the statu-quo"[18].

England, France, Germany and Italy weren't interested to guarantee Romania's neutrality and the Austro-Hungarian Empire was hostile with Romania, while the Great Powers were concentrated over the preparation of the Conference from Constantinople from December 1876.

Choosing one of the two "historical currents" was a very important issue and gave Eminescu the opportunity to become a political commentator: "Our decision for the East or the West will hang over the future that they will ensure, concerning not only the territory, because being plain, opened all over, doesn't seem to be predestinated for military purpose or to make conquests, but concerning the people inside this territory"[19].

Eminescu considered being natural that "the future of the Orient will appear as a confederation of nations in which the equality of the nationality and languages, from their territories, will represent an essential matter and the countries will represent a secondary one"[20]. In this case "the Orient's reform" could be patronized by Russia or Austro-Hungary because "this represents the occidental politics"[21] and for this reason it seems inopportune, untimely and even dangerous to talk about "remaking the kingdom of Decebal", considering this, tactically speaking, "a cheap theory", said Eminescu with great diplomacy and historical sense.

Commenting the leading article from "The Saint Petersburg Journal", which expressed the confidence for peace, Turkey having to give way to the Occidental powers, Eminescu considered that "Russia's arming doesn't menace the peace, instead, represent a big sacrifice, imposed to itself for assuring the peace and for defending the Christians"[22]. He also said that, in case that the war becomes inevitable, then "the Russian people will sustain this cause with a great energy, released after all the attempts for making peace would have

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[18] ["It is said that in the Council… "], in "Curierul de Iași", 9, nr. 125, 17th November 1876, p.2-3.

[19] *Ibidem.*

[20] *Ibidem.*

[21] *Ibidem.*

[22] Russia ["With all the preparations for war ..."], in "Curierul de Iași", 9, nr. 123, 12thNovember 1876, p. 3.

disappeared"[23]. Eminescu noticed a similitude between the tone of the Russian press and the Russian people which "has become daring even regarding the leader", in this way showing the knowledge of the autocracy's history and Russian mentality.

This short incursion in the history and the mentality of this state is connected with the history of his own country: "The Russian govern doesn't feel secure at all regarding the Romanians, which's external affairs are totally unsafe, and, if Romania didn't gave up the neutrality *by itself* [Eminescu's underlining, n.n.], the greatest danger of the war would be the defeat of this neutrality"[24].

Insisting on the necessity of declaring the neutrality, Eminescu considered justified the fearing that resulted from the St. Petersburg newspaper if that "irresolute attitude Romania had", "the evasive character of the Romanian diplomacy is just a matter of chance or, if it is a reliable method, meant to make our powerful neighbor's endeavors fail"[25].

Bitterly he remarked that, inside the country, the financial crisis and the fighting between political parties affected the general interest of the nation, when "the southern army of Russia masses together in Basarabia", where also arrived the prince Nicholas, "the leader of the southern army", concluding that "by any matter, a state doesn't prepare in the way Russia does – only for keeping the peace"[26].

The Conference from Constantinople from 29th / 11th December 1876 – 9th / 21st January 1877 proved to be a fiasco, from which Russia took profit: "Accused by the entire Europe that its only desire is to conquer and that the preoccupation for the Christians is just platonic, a facade meant to hide its real intentions, Russia desired to prove to Europe that the Turks promise a lot and will gave nothing, that they will trick the Great Powers with some reforms in a written form, and when will be asked about any kind of guarantee for them, they will simply refuse to give any. Russia started to show proves, the cause of the southern Slavs has become a European cause, the stubbornness of the Turks is well known, and when the Russians will declare war, they will wash their hands as Pontius Pilate, because they would have proven that the Turks are the guilty ones and they will have to be exterminated"[27].

Eminescu registered another opinion, according to which this conference had no other purpose than that of gaining enough time to "delay the momentary anger of the Russian people, to make them feel in time of peace the difficulties of the war", but these are nothing but simple words and "the words can not

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[23] *Ibidem.*

[24] *Ibidem.*

[25] *Ibidem.*

[26] *Russia ["While inside Romania …"]*, in "Curierul de Iaşi", 9, nr. 128, 24th November 1876, p. 3.

[27] *["The final protocol of the Conference…"]*, in "Curierul de Iaşi", 10, nr. 4, 14th January 1877, p. 3.

hinder the historic course of some powers, prepared for hundred of years to follow this or that specific path"[28]. That's why, he noticed that "the Slavs will remain as numerous as they are now, even more they will increase their number, while the Turks will decrease theirs and we will deal with the anomaly that two millions ottomans will dominate the rest of Christians"[29], and "the whole Europe's Slav phobia is a proof that in its middle and southern parts the Slavs are forming masses, compact and full aware of their importance, against which are allying the all non-Slav nations"[30].

Intuitive and experienced in the external European politics, Eminescu didn't believe in "the spontaneity of that comedy from Bosphor", as he ironically characterized the Conference from Constantinople, because it ignored the interests of the Romanian diplomacy, our country risking to be isolated, to the concerning of the poet and journalist.

Taking a piece of news from "Agence Russe", according to which, The Porte received on the part of many state's hands "the assurance that Romania's neutrality is not stipulated in any treaty" and so, "it [The Porte, n.n.] declared that, the moment the Russians will pass the Prut, it will occupy several strategic points from the left of the Danube"[31], Eminescu warned the governors about the gravity of the Ottoman's intentions specified in this piece of news. In his opinion, the information has the gift to awaken those Romanian politicians who believed in the "the real neutrality of Romania, collectively guaranteed by Europe's Great Powers"[32].

Talking about the debates of the Conference from Constantinople, which he ironically called "the puppets show from Constantinople", he warned that the European Powers would ensure the collective guarantee of the Romania's neutrality "and that will be the moment when Russia will decide not to start a war against the whole world"[33].

As the war was getting close, Eminescu became sad because, while the Romanian governors continued the internal political fights, useless and inopportune, on the external plan, countries as Russia "would like to compensate the loss of money, resulted from the mobilization of the army, with a plot of land from our country"[34], something that, unfortunately, will come true. Watching "the events developing fast, knocking on the history's door and the time for peace

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[28] *Ibidem.*

[29] *Ibidem.*

[30] *Ibidem.*

[31] ["<<Agence Russe>> received from Constantinople… "], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 10, nr. 39, 13th April 1877, p. 3.

[32] *Ibidem.*

[33] *Ibidem.*

[34] ["«Curierul financiar», the mirror …"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 10, nr. 26, 9th March 1877, p. 3.

visibly fading before the menace of the war"[35], seeing the imminence of the war in Balkans, Eminescu reproached, fairly, to the Romanian authorities that they didn't concluded firm treaties with the Tsarist Empire, regarding the passing of the Russian army towards our country, in order to prevent any tentative, coming from the part of the great eastern neighbor, of taking advantage from the lack of determination of small country leaders. Unfortunately, this worry proved true, after the war came to light the well known corruption affair from which beneficiated the businessmen Mihălescu and Warszawski, which financially got profit from the passing of the Russian army towards Romania, in the prejudice of the Romanian state. This affair was materialised into a long trial, closely inquired by the journalist from "Curierul de Iaşi".

Must be noticed the fact that Eminescu was fully aware that the end of the war was decided according to some dirty affairs, and, in private, was prepared the Europe's post-war configuration: "The secret motives and intimate agreements between the Powers aren't visible to the public and only the future historian will be able to extract from the archives the real picture of the events, in which the official comedy will unveil to him in its plenitude: a play with roles learned by heart, in which the actors doesn't believe, although when playing they have the ability to identify themselves with the characters and to give to the audience the illusion that they believe the things they say"[36].

Watching closely the way the war from the Balkans is carried on, in permanent rubrics such "The Oriental War", "Romania and the Orient's question", "From the Battle field", in the two newspapers, which he actually directed, "Curierul de Iaşi" and "Timpul", he didn't overlook neither the deplorable endowment of our army, compared with the Russian one: "The Russians that leave for war are all well dressed, wearing a sheepskin coat and a thick mantle and strong shoes; in the case of our soldiers the things they wear can hardly be considered clothes, more likely they represent a paraphrase for nakedness"[37].

Although he isn't a historian in the professional meaning, Eminescu involved himself in the revealing of the European chancellery's side scenes, regarding this war, not only a Balkan one but also European, regarding also its development and the results, bad and unjust for the Romanian people, among which the loss of Basarabia and Bucovina, people that obtained their independence on the battle field. On the other hand, Russia, being one of the Great Powers involved in this war, by its "movements" depended the destiny of Romania, couldn't escape from the judicious politic and diplomatic analyses of our great writer. And maybe is not by chance the fact that the poet didn't wrote a single lyric about the war from 1877-1878, considering it dramatic and not

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[35] ["*The events are precipitating …*"], in "Curierul de Iaşi", 10, nr. 40, 15th April 1877, p. 3.

[36] *Ibidem.*

[37] *Dorobantii*, in "Timpul", 3, nr. 293, 30th December 1877, p. 3.

"goods for sale" and, because of that, none of the writers should "use the disasters from the country to attract the public to view the … panorama"[38].

Our Independence War, with all the external implications, among which Russia had a preponderant role through its geo-strategic position, was a part from the plan of the *historian* Eminescu to reconsider, unitary and integrated, the Romanian history.

EMINESCU SUR LA RUSIE ET NOTRE GUERRE D'INDÉPENDANCE

(Résumé)

Cette étude porte sur l'analyse des opinions du poète national des Roumains, exprimées dans les journaux dont il fut le collaborateur ou le rédacteur.

Quoiqu'il n'écrive pas en historien, Eminescu s'est engagé dans la révélation des projets des coulisses des chancelleries européennes vis-à-vis de cette guerre, non seulement balkanique mais européenne, vis-à-vis du déroulement et des conséquences funestes et injustes pour le peuple roumain, qui a gagné l'indépendance sur le champ de la lutte.

La Russie, l'une des grandes puissances européennes, impliquée directement dans la guerre, ne pouvait pas échapper aux analyses critiques et pertinentes d'Eminescu. D'ailleurs, l'intellectuel roumain a refusé d'écrire aucune poésie sur le sujet de la guerre dont la dimension dramatique devait inspirer à son avis une attitude respectueuse et pas devenir une occasion exploitée pour le succès personnel.

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[38] "The panorama" was, in his opinion, the mediocre plays of the writer Fr. Damé, inspired by the war: "Dochia's dream" and "Our soldiers" (*Dochia's dream, one-act poem*, in "Timpul", 2, nr.256, 12th November 1877, p. 3.).

PROFESSIONS AND FUNCTIONS
WITH A SPECIAL STATUTE IN THE PAST

IUSTINA BURCI

Between an active society and the language spoken by its members exists a relation of interdependence, because the changes from the economic, social, cultural, judicial or military life of the community, either important or less important, are often reflected in the branches of the language, specially in the lexical one, which is the most willing (sometimes obliged) to accept and to adopt the changes.

The Romanian semantics proved to be the depositary of an impressive number of appellatives, which were and are used in the context of some events that occurred in the society in a specific time and, implicitly, according to the changes from the consciousness of the speakers and to the importance that they gave to some notion or another, along the time. "This gradual evolution of one language, in which everything happened successively, might be noticed when we try to study it, regarding the way it looks at some point (statically), or during its development (diachronically)"[1].

On their basis one could reconstitute "images" from the past, with all its specific realities (the rulers and their internal or external fights, the fights between the throne rivals and the boyar's parties, the attributions of the high-officials, the commercial and agrarian laws, the life on the court, the old institutions, the church, the industry, the trading, the trades[2] etc.), could be established the succession of the events and could be dated some realities. Each reality – material or spiritual – is characterized through a specific vocabulary, influenced by the borrowed words from the languages that came in touch, directly or indirectly, with the Romanian language. From this point of view, the studying of the society's evolutive stages and, implicitly, those of the language spoken at one time, remained always an open matter for the researchers from the most various fields, also representing a relatively reliable way for us to know our past.

One of the domains in which could be done many researches is that regarding the professions and functions, practiced along the time by the autochthon population.

Because of its specific features, meaning that it concerns the human activity, and the connection with the development of the community (given the

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[1] Th. Capidan, *Limbă şi cultură*, Craiova, Fundaţia Scrisul Românesc, 2005, p. 10.

[2] Ioan Bogdan, *Documente şi regeste privitoare la relaţiile Ţării Rumâneşti cu Braşovul şi Ungaria în sec. XV şi XVI,* Bucureşti, 1902, p. XII.

other lexical microsystems[3]), the terminology regarding the professions concerned equally the linguist, the ethnographer, the sociologist or the archaeologist. If getting together all the data offered by these domains, we will have the complete image of the professions of the Romanian people, during their existence, and their research will offer us the picture of their territorial spreading and their diversity.

Most of the traditional occupations were in a tight connection with the daily necessities of the people. Gradually, from these occupations emerged new ones, imposed by the evolution of the society. One of the main causes that constituted the basis of the diversification was the fashion. It caused the apparition of some new specializations, for example in the guild of the leather processors, (where the most numerous were the curriers and the furriers): thus, in the documents will be registered, in time, *the calpacci* (manufacturers or sellers of *calpace* "fur caps, rain bonnets"), *the imingii* (those who made shoes from goat skin, colored in yellow, worn by the boyars), *the işlicari* (those who made or sold *işlice,* "fur hats for boyars")[4] etc.

The developing of some professions necessitated the existence of some natural factors (for being a potter and a miller one needed, in the first case a certain type of clay, and in the second one the water courses, in order to build the fulling machines and the mills), and also administrative and social factors. If most of them were practiced, on a large scale, and the products were used by the high majority of the people, and others were practiced on a small scale and among the beneficiaries were only a small group of people (or only one person). We are referring to the functions and the professions inside the courts. The special statute of the rulers and of their suite necessitated the existence of some special professions. Thus, besides the common handicraftsmen – goldsmiths, barbers, furriers, coppersmiths, shepherds, shoemakers, pastry cookers, skinners, tailors, coopers, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, curriers, shoeing smiths, bee keepers, wheelwrights, sword makers, saddle makers, shingle splitters, adze makers, cow herders, house painters etc, who had carried on their activity inside and outside the court[5], for the common persons – in this space were found people who were in the service of the ruler or of the high officials.

Running through a part of document collections[6], existing in the archives, we found the next occupations that we will expose below, in alphabetical order:

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[3] Maria Dobre, *Mărturii onomastice privind terminologia unor vechi meserii,* in „Studii de onomastică", V, Cluj-Napoca, 1990, p. 315.

[4] Ştefan Olteanu, Constantin Şerban, *Meşteşugurile din Ţara Românească şi Moldova în evul mediu,* Bucureşti, 1969, p. 269; Gh. Iordache, *Mărturii etno-lingvistice despre vechimea meseriilor,* Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1980, p. 118, 119.

[5] In this case we can only presume that they were the best in their professions.

[6] Gh. Bulgăr, Gh. Constantinescu-Dobridor, *Dicţionar de arhaisme şi regionalisme,* Bucureşti, The Saeculum Publishing House, 2000; Olimpia Ghimpu, *Cuvinte rare la sfârşitul secolului al XV-lea pe baza actelor emise din cancelarie la voievodatele româneşti,* Hrisovul II,

aprod – a boyar's child, sent to the court for serving a lord until he was raised to the title of boyar;

armaş – the high official of a ruler who executed the capital punishments, who caught and condemned the rebels; he was also dealing with the lord's gypsies and he also brought back the fugitives;

armăşel – the employee of the *armaş;*

avgiu – a solder from a hunting body of troops in the service of the lord;

başbuluc başa – the chief of the lord's guards and of the court's prison;

becer – a boyar of an inferior rank, the substitute of the *stolnic*; he was responsible for the cellars and the kitchen of the lord;

binişliu – an employee who served at the lord's table;

buhurdangiu – an employee who took care of the vessels which perfumed the interior of the palace;

cafegiu – an employee on the lord's court, charged with making and serving the coffee;

caftangiu – a lord's employee who took care of the lord's wardrobe;

cămăraş – an employee who took care of the lord's rooms, especially of the lord's pantry;

capugiu – a lord's doorkeeper, member of a ottoman military body, composed only from trustful men who guarded the sultan and who fulfilled his secret orders, regarding the relegation and the decapitation of the lords;

ceamarşirgiu – an employee who took care of the court's clothes

ceauş – name given, in the Middle Age, in Walachia and in Moldavia, to some functionaries; among them, the leader of the lord's hunters;

chelar – a person who had the keys from the pantry or the cellar, and who administrated the provisions;

ciubucciu – an employee who filled and lightened the lord's hookah

clucer – a boyar who supervised the Court's pantries and who was in charge with the supplying of the lord's storehouses with wheat, wine and other products;

comis – high official in Moldavia and Walachia, in the Middle Age, who took care of the lord's horses and stables, and who supplied with fodders;

comişel – the helper of a *comis*, a man-servant at the lord's stables;

conacciu – the caretaker of the lord's and boyar's stables

1995; Dragoş Sesan, *Termeni mai puţin cunoscuţi, utilizaţi în documentele medievale,* in „Revista Arhivele", 1/1997; Lazăr Şăineanu, *Dicţionar universal al limbii române,* the 4th edition, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1922; *Dicţionar explicativ al limbii române*, the 2nd edition, Bucureşti, Univers Enciclopedic, 1996; Veronica Tamaş, Alexandru Popescu-Mihăieşti, *Lexicon de cuvinte rare şi ieşite din uz,* Rm. Vâlcea, The Conphys Publishing House, 2005; Alexandru Ştefulescu, *Documente slavo-romane relative la Gorj (1406-1665),* Târgu-Jiu, 1908; idem, *Istoria Târgu-Jiului,* Târgu-Jiu, 1906; idem, *Schitul Crasna,* Bucureşti, 1910; idem, *Încercare asupra istoriei Târgu-Jiului*, Bucureşti, 1899; DERS; the documents collections DRH şi DIR; *Micul Dicţionar Academic,* Bucureşti, The Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, 2003.

dârvar –   a servant who had the obligation of bringing woods to the master and to heat the rooms;

diac – a person who wrote (and copied) the documents in the lord's office; he solved different administrative affairs;

divictar – a title given to the boyar who provided the lord with the necessary things for writing, inkpot, pens, sand, auriferous powder; an employee who had in charge the inkpot of the high officials;

edecciu – a man-servant of the lord who lead the horses for the parade;

edcliu – a small man-servant at the lord's court

falaitar – a rider who walked in the front of the lord's or boyar's carriage;

geamgirgiu – a lord's employee, who took care of the lord's clothes;

globnic – a functionary that fulfilled the lord's orders regarding the penal and civil matters;

grămătic – a writer in the office of a boyar or of an institution, a secretary, a professor or a court writer;

heregiu – the secretary of the Divan, who read the petitions;

ibrictar – an employee who brought the jar to the lord for washing his hands;

iciceauş – the body guard of the lord (who also bore the flag);

iciciohodar – the shoemaker (or the shoe seller) at the lord's court;

icirliu – the man inside the palace;

idicliu – a lord's man-servant who took care of the court's horses;

iedecliu – a boyar of lower rank in the service of the court;

izbaşă – a secretary of the lord's court and of the Great Divan, charged with the correspondence;

jitnicer – a high official who took care of the court's cereal warehouses;

maimar başa – the architect of the court;

medelnicer – a boyar who poured water for the lord to wash, was laying the table and waited at table;

muhurdar (*muhurdagiu*) – a lord's man-servant charged with the keeping of the seals;

paharnic – the title given to the court's boyar who took care of the lord's drink, and for special occasions or on holydays he personally served up the lord, tasting the drink in his front, in order to convince him that it is not poisoned;

paic – a soldier from the personal guard of the sultan or of the Walachia's ruler;

păhărnicel – a boyar of inferior rank, the subaltern of the *paharnic*;

perdegiu (*perdelegiu*) – a man-servant charged with the guard of the curtain door, situated at the entrance of the lord's room or of the high official's room;

peşchirgiu – a boyar of lower rank who gave the towel and the napkin to the lord;

picernic – the helper of the *paharnic*;

pitar – the title given to the boyar who provided with bread the court (and the army) and who supervised the lord's bakers;

pitărel – a boyar of a lower rank than the *pitar* one;

postelnic – a high official from the court who took care of the lord's bed and room; he also had the duty of receiving the foreign delegates and leading them to the lord;

postelnicel – a title given to a man-servant (civil or military) from the lord's court, subordinated to the *postelnic*;

rahtivan – an employee at the lord's court who provided the necessary things for the lord's horses;

referendar – a boyar charged with the lord's correspondence;

satâraş (*satârgiu*) – a soldier from the lord's guard who served in the suits; a mercenary soldier from the old guard, in the Romanian lands, armed with a cleaver;

seiz – a person (subordinated to the *comis*) who took care of the lord's or the boyar's horses;

serdar – high official who leaded the army and especially the cavalry; the leader of the army who was a member of the Divan boyars;

sluger – a great boyar who had to supply the lord's court and the army;

sofagiu – an employee at the lord's court during the Phanariot epoch, who took care of the divans and sofas;

sofragiu – an employee at the lord's court or in the boyar's house, during the Phanariot epoch, who took care of the table and of the table linen;

soitar – the buffoon at the Phanariot's court in the Romanian lands;

spătar – a high official at the lord's court who wore at the ceremonies the sword and the mace of the lord and, later, he commanded the cavalry;

spătărel – a lower rank official who maintained the order in the villages in time of peace and had military attributions during the war;

stolnic – a high official who had in care the lord's meal, being the chef of the cooks, of the fishermen and of the gardeners;

stolnicel – high official, a subaltern of the *stolnic*, who collected the fish metayage;

şamdangiu – an employee who took care of the lord's candles;

şafar – a title accorded in Moldavia and Walachia to the boyar who was the head cook at the lord's court;

şătrar – high official who had in charge the lord's tents, in the war camp;

şătrărel – a subaltern of the *şătrar*;

şerbagiu – a lower boyar from the lord's court who offered the sherbet to the lord and who took care of the sweets;

vătaf – the leader of a field region, a chancellor (*logofăt*) who watched the lord's or a wider estate's servants;

vistier – a high official that charged the treasury; he collected the taxes and the tribute for the Porte;

vornic – a high official, he watched over the lord's court, he controlled the internal affairs, having the judge's office and being the headman of the village; the employee who, in the past, collected the imposts from the villages, an equivalent of the later tax gatherer or of the mayor;

vornicel – the subaltern of the *vornic*;

Along with autochthon words, in our language, entered some Slavs or Turkish words and, in the Phanariot epoch, some Greek words, which leaded to a stratification of the profession's terminology. Usually, these borrowed words "designates new products" or "they express either the materials from which are confectioned different things, or the tools and the assimilated installations from the past"[7]. But, many times, the name of the profession was adapting to some export requests or represented just a servitude influence.

The origin of the professions exposed above is also varied. Most of them belong to the Turkish influence: *avgiu, cafegiu, caftangiu, capugiu, ciubucciu, divictar, iciceauş, ibrictar, muhurdar, paic, perdegiu, peşchirgiu,satârgiu, seiz, şamdangiu, şerbagiu* etc., Slav influence: *diac, globnic, jitnicer, medelnicer, pitar, postelnic, sluger, stolnic, vătaf, vornic* etc., Greek influence: *chelar, comis, spătar, spătărel* etc.

Being specific for an era, most of the quoted appellatives, lost their initial signification (for example *cafegiu*, ulterior obtained the sense of "the owner of a coffee house or of a coffee shop" and, afterwards, he also signified "the man who likes to drink coffee"), or they disappeared, long time ago, from the usual vocabulary of the Romanian language; they can be found in the pages of the archives. In general, the modernisation of the human society, entailed, as we said before, some changes regarding the disappearance of some professions (the handicraft lost its utility, he wasn't required anymore "on the market", maybe because a certain social-political and administrative structure, in tight connection with the profession, was replaced, progressively, with another one) and the appearance of some new ones.

Yet, there is a field in which many of these old occupations remained active: the anthroponomical one. A large number of people, who had different professions, chose (or were imposed), as a main way of identification within the community, the name of their profession. That's how they had been registered in the documents of that time, because then the profession represented a succinct and objective method of describing a person. Later, even if the children and the nephews didn't practise the same occupation, they kept, near the first name, as a surname, the profession of the predecessor.

Nowadays there is, within the system of the family names, many of them that originated from the name of a profession. They gained this statute, of family names, especially those resulting from the occupations that were familiar

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[7] Gh. Iordache, *op. cit.,* p. 157.

and with a great tradition in the history of our nation, which doesn't actually means that the ones not so frequently used, which appeared in a certain conjuncture in our history, didn't become patronymic.

From those presented above, we ca find in the structure of the actual anthroponomy the next ones (the figures[8] represent the number of the people who have these names): *Aprodu* – 727; *Aprodul* – 5; *Armaşu* – 156; *Armăşoiu* – 15; *Armăşelu* – 43; *Beceriu* – 29; *Becerescu* – 12; *Cămăraşcu* – 11; *Ceauşu* – 673; *Chelaru* – 7.754; *Chelariu* – 3.671; *Chelărescu* – 11; *Ciohodariu* – 29; *Ciohodaru* – 261; *Clucerescu* – 93; *Diac* – 2.551; *Diacu* – 528; *Grămătic* – 71; *Grămăticu* – 233; *Izbaşa* – 37; *Paharnic* – 1; *Paharnicu* – 84; *Paic* – 414; *Paicu* – 1243; *Pitariu* – 314; *Pitaru* – 711; *Postelnicu* – 3.994; *Seizu* 84; *Serdariu* – 1; *Serdaru* – 332; *Sofragiu* – 62; *Spătar* – 265; *Spătărelu* – 64; *Spătariu* – 1.135; *Spătaru* – 2.426; *Stolnic* – 10; *Stolniceanu* – 187; *Stolnicu* – 484; *Vornicu* – 3.859. Iorgu Iordan also mentioned in his Dictionary[9] the following names: *Cafegiu, Cafîgiu, Cămărăşescu, Capuciu, Casapu, Comisu, Comişel*.

It is interesting the fact that the appellatives *ceauş* (attested[10]: 1535-1546), *diac* (attested: 1527), *grămătic* (attested: 1415), *paharnic* (attested: 1415), *pitar* (attested: 1489), *postelnic* (attested: 1515), *spătar* (attested: 1499), *stolnic* (attested: 1389-1400) – for giving only few examples, remained active for several hundred years (and still exist), passing from the category of the common nouns, into the category of the proper nouns.

Searching the archive's documents, allow us, in general, to obtain information regarding the names of the old professions. And these occupations show us – to their presence or absence in a temporal interval (along with other elements) – the characteristics of an era, from the linguistically or extra-linguistically point of view.

In order to properly know and better explain the elements and the different phenomena in our vocabulary (and not only), we have to distinguish the way in which the past came into the present and the transition stages of the language in its ever chancing cultural medium.

The historical approaching of a science, or of any aspect regarding the human activity, actually represents the studying of the temporal successions of the people and events, and the studying of the causal connections of the influences and currents which can be discovered in these aspects and which can also explain them[11].

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[8]   They were taken from the archive of the Onomatology Laboratories from the Faculty of letters of the Craiova's University, constituted in 1996.

[9]   Iorgu Iordan, *Dicţionar al numelor de familie româneşti,* Bucureşti, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1983.

[10]   The attestations were extracted from Dicţionarul *elementelor româneşti din documentele slavo-române. 1374-1600 (DERS)*, (red. resp. Gh. Bolocan), Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1971.

[11]   R.H. Robins, *Scurtă istorie a lingvisticii,* Iaşi, Polirom, 2003, p.16.

MÉTIERS ET EMPLOIS AVEC UN STATUT SPÉCIAL DANS LE PASSÉ

(*Résumé*)

L'idée que chaque nom a une histoire unique est liée à une autre, celle de l'histoire de la société d'origine. On discute, dans cet article, les noms de métiers qui sont transformé en noms de famille.

Les noms de métiers évoluent en même temps avec la société, mais seulement une partie d'eux est spécifique à des certaines périodes historiques. L'étude des documents permet la conclusion qu'une série de noms de métiers et de fonctions disparues aujourd'hui est remplacée par d'autres dénominations.

PARTICULARITÉS ANTHROPONYMIQUES DANS LE VILLAGE DE STĂNEŞTI, AU DÉPARTEMENT DE MEHEDINŢI

ELENA-CAMELIA ZABAVA

Le village Stăneşti est situé sur la Valée de Brebina et, de point de vue administratif, il appartient à la ville Baia de Aramă, département Mehedinţi , à côté des localités voisines: Bratilov, Titirleşti, Mărăşeşti, Brebina, Tarniţa, Negoieşti, Pistriţa şi Dealul Mare.

Pour présenter les particularités anthroponymiques du village Stăneşti, on a utilisé la liste des abonnés téléphoniques du département Mehedinţi, et pour le rassemblement du matériau anthroponymique caractéristique pour la localité, nous avons fait du travail de terrain, en recueillant des informations de certains habitants du village. Nous avons employé comme informateurs Toma Gheorghe – 90 ans, Motea Fănică – 88 ans, Cârstea Ana – 78 ans et Matei Elena – 72 ans.

En général, la désignation par l'intermédiaire des noms propres se réalise par deux types de formules anthroponymiques: des formules anthroponymiques officielles et des formules anthroponymiques non-officielles.

Au milieu rural, les formules anthroponymiques officielles ont une fréquence plus réduite que celles non-officielles.

Du point de vue des fonctions anthroponymiques, les éléments constitutifs des formules officielles se distribuent en deux classes: des **noms individuels** ou des **prénoms** et des **noms de groupe** ou des **noms de famille**. Dans notre recherche, nous allons prendre en discussion les deux éléments de la formule officielle (le prénom et le nom de famille), mais aussi deux éléments de la formule non-officielle de dénomination, plus précisément, **le sobriquet** et **le surnom.**

1. Le nom individuel ou le prénom

Les prénoms ou les noms individuels ont une dénotation unique et désignent l'un des membres de la famille, pour le distinguer des autres. Ils sont fixes et obligatoires, leur changement ne pouvant pas se faire que par une série de formalités prévues par la loi du nom. Les noms individuels, imposés à l'enfant dès sa naissance, sont choisis par les parents ou par d'autres personnes (dans la tradition populaire par les parrains), selon certains crières, d'un inventaire relativement limité, mais qui se trouve en changement continu.

Du point de vue de leur structure, les noms individuels sont simples ou composés.

Les noms individuels simples sont constitués d'une seule unité anthroponymique de l'inventaire mentionné: Ion, Petre, Nicolae, Elena, Dorin, Ilie, Adrian, Ana, Sabin, Gheorghe, Victor etc.

Les noms individuels composés sont constitués par l'assemblement de deux ou de plusieurs unités anthroponymiques de l'inventaire mentionné. Par exemple: Maria-Loredana, Mădălina-Nicoleta, Maria-Gabriela, Nicolae-Ion, Elena-Maria.

Le nombre des personnes qui ont un prénom composé augmente en permanence. À côté du besoin de différentiation, qui a déterminé initialement l'apparition des prénoms composés, la mode est un facteur décisif dans la propagation du procédé de baptiser les nouveau-nés par des prénoms composés.

Le procédé le plus fréquent de former des nouveaux prénoms en roumain est celui de la dérivation à l'aide des suffixes.

Dans l'ensemble des prénoms féminins, ceux qui ont la plus grande fréquence sont les dérivés à l'aide du suffixe diminutif *–ica*: Anica, Aurica, Domnica, Ionica, Lucica, Valerica, Vasilica, Viorica; ceux avec le suffixe *–uța*: Ancuța, Lenuța, Olguța, Vetuța; les dérivés à l'aide du suffixe *–ela*: Adela, Angela, Daniela, Grațiela, Ionela, Mihaela, Mirela, Petronela; ceux avec le suffixe *–eta*: Georgeta, Margareta, Nicoleta, Violeta; aussi que les dérivés à l'aide du suffixe *–ina*: Adina, Alina, Corina, Florentina, Marina, Niculina.

Dans l'inventaire des prénoms masculins, on rencontre des dérivés à l'aide des suffixes diminutifs: *-el*: Aurel, Costel, Costinel, Dorel, Dorinel, Georgel, Ionel, Viorel; *-ică*: Aurică, Georgică, Mitică, Petrică, Severică; *-uț(ă)*: Dănuț, Iliuță; *-işor*: Petrișor.

La dérivation représente donc le principal moyen d'enrichissement de l'inventaire des prénoms.

Au cadre de l'inventaire de prénoms féminins, la dérivation, spécialement celle diminutivale, est plus forte qu'au cadre de l'inventaire des prénoms masculins.

Il s'impose spécialement le type de combinaisons dans lequel un prénom à grande fréquence est associé à un prénom à fréqence plus réduite: Ion-Cătălin, Dana-Maria, Maria-Loredana, Mădălina-Nicoleta, Maria-Gabriela etc.

Des combinaisons réalisées entre des prénoms très fréquents paraissent aussi, telles que: Nicolae-Ion, Ana-Maria, Elena-Maria etc.

En général, les prénoms composés sont plus distinctifs que ceux simples qui les constituent.

Les formes hypocoristiques sont très fréquents dans les formules non-officielles de dénomination.

Les suivantes formes hypocoristiques et diminutivales paraissent comme des prénoms masculins**:** *Dorel < Tudorel* sau *Doru + -el, Dorin, Dorinel, Costel <Constantin, Costinel < Costin, Sandu < Alexandru, Nicu < Nicolae, Nicuşor, Ionuț, Ionel, Gabi < Gabriel, Tinu < Valentin* sau *< Leontin, Ghiță <Gheorghe, Gheorghiță, Sabinică < Sabin +-ică, Nelu < Ionel, Neluțu < Nelu +-uțu, Adi < Adrian, Traienică < Traian, Milică <Emil.*

Comme prénoms féminins paraissent les formes suivantes: *Anda < Alexandra, Geta < Georgeta, Lenuța < Elena, Mioara < Marioara, Mia < Maria, Nuța < Elena.*

Le principal procédé de création des formes hypocoristiques consiste dans la réduction du corps phonétique du nom initial (forme primaire ou un dérivé de celui-ci). La réduction affecte la partie initiale de la base (Sandu <*Alexandru, Dorel < Tudorel, Nicu < Nicolae*), la partie finale (*Alecu <Alexandru*) ou le milieu du prénom de base (*Nae <Nicolae, Mioara <Marioara*).

Dans la plupart des cas les procédés hypocoristiques sont associés à la dérivation suffixale, ainsi qu'il est très difficile de préciser si la dérivation précède la réduction ou l'inverse; les deux processus peuvent être aussi concomitents.

Du point de vue de leur origine, les prénoms analysés se divisent en deux grandes groupes: a) des noms qui appartiennent à l'onomasticon chrétien et b) des noms qui n'appartiennent pas à l'onomasticon chrétien, des noms laïques.

a)   *Des noms qui appartiennent à l'onomasticon chrétien*

Les noms qui appartiennent à l'onomasticon chrétien ou les noms de baptême (y compris les dérivés et leurs hypocoristiques formés en roumain), entrés pendant différentes époques et venant de différentes langues, constituent, dans leur majorité, le noyau de notre inventaire de prénoms, ayant une très grande fréquence. Ils apparaissent soit dans leur vieille forme, traditionnelle, soit dans une forme moderne, empruntée de l'onomastique latine occidentale, spécialement française.

Voilà quelques exemples des prénoms masculins: Ion et Jan, Gabriel et Gavril, Gheorghe et George, Pavel et Paul, Daniel et Dănilă.

Certains noms ont une fréquence plus réduite: *Anghel, Avraam, Ieremia, Filip, Grigore, David, Beniamin.*

En voilà encore quelques exemples des prénoms féminins: *Maria, Ana, Nicoleta* ou *Nicoliţa, Ioana* ou *Ionela, Georgeta, Filofteia.*

b)   *Des noms laïques*

Les créations roumaines, anciennes ou modernes, ont une valeur assez grande au cadre de ce groupe: *Viorel, Sorin, Puiu, Florea, Viorica, Ramona, Delia, Olguţa, Adina, Alina, Roxana, Narcis, Cătălin.*

Des emprunts anciens de l'onomastique des peuples voisins slaves sont: Bogdan, Mircea, Dragomir, Voica.

Les emprunts néologiques du latin et des langues modernes sont très nombreux et à fréquence moyenne: *Aurel, Victor, Virgil, Florin, Marius, Traian, Ovidiu, Remus, Tiberiu, Liviu, Valentin, Laurenţiu, Severică, Silviu; Aurelia, Lucia, Liliana, Violeta, Valerica, Mirela, Valentina, Silvia, Aurica, Monica, Claudia, Lidia, Ramona, Livia, Camelia, Corina, Graţiela, Laura, Adela, Alina, Adina, Elvira, Lavinia, Loredana, Olga, Tatiana, Flaviana, Florentina, Nadia, Eliza, Tania, Victoriţa.*

Il faut remarquer le grand nombre des prénoms féminins dans ce groupe et la fréquence beaucoup plus grande de ceux-ci en comparaison avec les prénoms masculins similaires. Les emprunts modernes sont, en ordre numérique, le second grand groupe, selon le nom appartenant à l'onomasticon chrétien.

2. Les noms de famille

Les noms de famille désignent obligatoirement tous les membres d'une même famille, distingués par leurs prénoms. Les noms de famille sont fixes et transmissibles en ligne paternelle, d'habitude.

En principe, l'inventaire des noms de famille officiels est relativement stable. L'apparition de quelques nouveaux noms de famille reflète, dans les conditions actuelles, des immigrations. D'autre part, la disparition de certains noms de famille peut être déterminée soit par des émigrations, soit, dans une petite mesure, par la disparition de certaines familles (le manque des descendants ou seulement des descendants masculins). Il est bien important d'établir, tant qu'il est possible, la période où apparaissent les noms de famille fixes, transmissibles et obligatoires, puisque c'est seulement dans telles conditions que la variation de l'inventaire des noms de famille d'une certaine localité est un indice des mouvements de population.

Du point de vue de leur structure, les noms de famille se divisent en deux sous-classes: a) Noms de famille simples et b) noms de famille composés.

a) Les noms de famille simples, constitués d'une seule unité anthroponymique, représente la plupart des noms de famille. En voilà quelques exemples: *Achim, Albescu, Badea, Barbu, Berbec, Bunceanu, Buzducea, Cârstea, Ciobanu, Crăciunescu, Cimpoeru, Dăianu, Despău, Duică, Fimin, Gherghinescu, Hândea, Ivănescu, Jianu, Lazăr, Lungulescu, Matei, Manghir, Mustăţa, Nemeş, Novăcescu, Ordeanu, Paulescu, Popescu, Ploscaru, Răducan, Samfirescu, Stănescu, Şipoteanu, Toma, Tunaru, Ungureanu, Vasile, Vârzob.*

b) Les noms de famille composés, constitués de deux unités anthroponymiques, sont plus réduits par rapport à ceux simples, formés d'une seule unité anthroponymique. Étant donné le caractère officiel des noms de famille, la permutation ou l'élimination de l'une des unités constitutives du nom ne sont pas possibles.

Exemples de noms de famille composés: *Vârzob-Toma, Hulbuţ-Crăciunescu, Tunaru-Buzducea.*

La principale méthode de formation des noms de famille de l'inventaire que nous avons anlysé est la dérivation suffixale. Les suffixes les plus productifs sont: ***-escu, -an(u), -ean(u), -uţ(a), -ea, -aru, -ău***:

Les dérivés en *–escu* constitue le groupe le plus nombreux des noms de famille dérivés: *Albescu <Albu, Bălănescu < Bălan, Bădescu <Badea, Bărbulescu <Barbu, Crăciunescu < Crăciun, Duţescu < Duţu, Enescu <Ene, Gherghinescu <Gherghina, Ivănescu < Ivan, Lungulescu < Lungu, Lupulescu < Lupu, Nicolaescu < Nicolae, Novăcescu <Novac, Oprenescu <Opran, Paulescu < Paul, Pârvănescu < Pârvan, Pârvulescu < Pârvu, Popescu < Popa, Predescu < Preda, Samfirescu < Zamfir, Stamatescu < Stamate, Stănescu < Stan;*

Des dérivés avec le suffixe *–an(u), -ean(u)*: *Bistreanu < Bistra, Bratiloveanu < Bratilov, Bunceanu* şi *Buncianu < Bunciu, Ciobanu < Cioban, Cioran < Cioară, Dăianu < Daia, Geamănu <Geamăn, Jianu < Jiu, Ordeanu <*

Oarda, Păsăreanu < Pasăre, Racoţeanu <Racoţi, Răducan < Răducu, Şipoteanu < Şipot, Ungureanu < Ungur;

Des dérivés avec le suffixe **-uţ(a)***: Ancuţa < Anca, Barbuţ < Barbu, Bărbuţ < Barbu, Frătuţu < Frate;*

Des dérivés avec le suffixe **–ea**: Buzducea, Cârstea, Ciurea, Curelea, Hândea, Manea, Motea, Mustăţea, Titerlea, Ţăpârdea;

Des dérivés avec le suffixe **-aru***: Butaru, Căpăstraru, Cimpoeru, Cojocaru, Gemănaru, Ploscaru, Tunaru, Văcaru, Volentiru;*

Des dérivés avec le suffixe **–ău***: Despău, Dulău.*

Du point de vue de leur origine, les noms de famille non- dérivés se divisent en: 1) des noms qui appartiennent à l'onomasticon chrétien et 2) des noms qui n'appartiennent pas à l'onomasticon chrétien.

1) Des noms qui appartiennent à l'onomasticon chrétien: *Achim, Barbu, Cârstea, Crăciun, Elena, Lazăr, Matei, Mihai, Toma, Vasile, Manea.*

Tout en comparant les noms ci-dessus avec le groupe de noms similaires qui ont une fonction de prénoms, on constate qu'il existe d'importantes distinctions en ce qui concerne la structure et la forme des noms qui accomplissent les deux fonctions. Le groupe de noms présentés ci-dessus contient des éléments qui n'accomplissent plus à présent la fonction de prénom ou des formes sorties ou en train de sortir de l'usage. Par conséquent, on considère que l'inventaire des noms içi en discussion a un caractère plus archaïque.

2) Des noms qui n'appartiennent pas à l'onomasticon chrétien: *Albu, Badea, Dragomir, Preda, Radu, Stan, Suciu, Vâlcu, Vlad, Diucă, Becheru, Berbec, Ceauşu, Ciorbă, Corlan, Ciucă, Fimin, Gogan, Motea, Nemeş, Pleşu, Vârzob.*

Une bonne partie des noms de famille actuels ont à leur origine des mots communs de la langue roumaine qui, à un moment donné, ont aussi reçu la fonction secondaire de nom de personne. Les termes en discussion peuvent être partagés en plusieurs groupes, d'après leur contenu sémantique:

• Des noms qui montrent l'origine ethnique: *Grecu, Sârbu, Tătaru, Turcu, Ungur.* De tels noms ont à leur origine les substantifs communs correspondants;

• Des noms relatifs à l'état social : *Băjan, Flămându, Mazilu;*

• Des noms de métiers, d'occupations, de fonctions: *Brutaru, Ciobanu, Cimpoeru, Cojocaru, Ploscaru, Sameş* (trésorier), *Suciu* (fourreur), *Tunaru, Tâmplaru, Stupinaru, Văcaru, Moraru, Dogaru, Olaru, Popa;*

• Des noms parvenus des sobriquets: *Bălu, Bălănescu, Boboc, Bolovan, Barangă, Berbec, Buzatu, Dovlete, Firiza, Mustăţa, Ţapu, Lupulescu* etc.

3. Les formules de dénomination non-officielle. Sobriquet et surnom

Il est nécessaire de remarquer tout d'abord la richesse de l'inventaire de formules non-officielles, leur variété et leur fréquence. Dans la communication orale des habitants du village Stăneşti, on emploie prèsque exclusivement les

formules de dénomination non- officielles. Par la suite de l'analyse d'un grand nombre de telles formules, il résulte que, du poin de vue de la fonction des éléments constitutifs, celles-ci se divisent en deux classes: 1) des éléments de dénotation unique, dits aussi des **surnoms individuels** et des éléments de dénotation multiple ou **surnoms de groupe** (de famille et collectifs).

Les surnoms individuels sont des suppléants ou des compagnons du nom individuel (du prénom). Un individu peut avoir plusieurs surnoms individuels, comme par exemple:

a) *Des dérivés ou des hypocoristiques formés du prénom*

Les prénoms à grande fréquence sont remplacés, dans les formules non-officielles, par des nombreux dérivés et hypocoristiques. Par exemple, Ion est remplacé par Onu, Ionel, Nelu, Neluț(u), Ionică, Nică, Ionuț, Onuț, Ioniță etc.; Gheorghe est remplacé par *Gheorghiță, Ghiță, Gogu, George, Georgel, Gică, Gicu* etc.; *Maria* est remplacé par *Marioara, Mioara, Miorica, Măriuca, Măriuța, Mia* etc.

b) *Un autre nom de l'inventaire, un dérivé ou un hypocoristique de celui-ci*

Un enfant qui s'appelle Liviu est nommé Ion pour échapper à une grave maladie. Beaucoup d'enfants sont nommés Puiu, quoiqu'ils n'aient pas ce prénom.

c) *Noms d'origine*
   - *Indications d'adresse: Mărioara de la Icoană, Gheorghe de la Poartă, Nicolae din Băţeşti, Ilie de la Valea Iepii, Vasile de la Hoateru* etc.
   - - *Des dérivés qui indiquent l'origine locale: Ilie Stănescu* din *Stăneşti, Şipoteanu Dan* din *Şipot, Gheorghescu* din *Gheorgheşti, Novăcescu* din *Novaci, Orzescu* din *Orzeşti, Titerlea* din *Titerleşti, Bratiloveanu* din *Bratilov* etc.

d) *Des noms de métiers, d'occupations, de fonctions: Tâmplaru* (Paulescu Virgil), *Croitoru* (Bunceanu Anghel), *Popa* (Bunceanu Ion), *Dascăl* (Samfirescu Ilie), *Fieraru* (Buzatu Ilie), *Tractoristu* (Trandafir Constantin), *Zidaru* (Toma Nicolae), *Contabilu* (Despău Nicolae), *Secretaru* (Crăciunescu Gabriel) etc.

e) Des sobriquets.

Comme partout, aussi dans le village Stăneşti, les sobriquets ont deux fonctions importantes: d'individualisation et de raillerie satirique. L'existence d'un grand nombre de sobriquets et de surnoms c'est une nécessité anthroponymique dans le milieu rural. Ils sont surtout employés à la distinction physique des individus qui ont le même nom officiel, parce que les noms inscrits dans les documents d'état civil ne sont pas en mesure d'assurer une individualisation précise des personnes qui les portent. Dans ce cas, on fait appel à l'usage obligatoire d'un surnom ou d'un sobriquet.

L'homonymie onomastique est ainsi une condition de l'apparition des sobriquets et des surnoms.

Si le sobriquet se confond avec le surnom par leur fonction d'individualisation, la fonction de raillerie satirique les fait se distinguer. Il est à remarquer le fait que les sujets parlants ne font pas distinction, d'habitude, entre le sobriquet et le surnom ou, s'ils le font, c'est assez sommaire, insignifiante.

Les sobriquets apparaissent surtout dans le milieu rural aussi pour le fait que dans le village, qui est une communauté relativement petite, les gens se connaissent bien les uns les autres d'une génération à l'autre. À part l'homonymie onomastique, le contact permanent, les rapports étroits entre les individus d'une collectivité constitue une autre condition de l'apparition des sobriquets. Une troisième condition serait celle psychique, la disposition des membres de la communauté pour l'ironie et la raillerie satirique. En général, on oublie assez rapidement la cause qui a déterminé l'apparition d'un certain sobriquet ou qui n'est pas connu que par quelques sujets parlants, sauf les cas où la cause a été une imperfection physique visible.

Le matériau onomastique recueilli sur la base de quelques enquêtes de terrain éffectuées dans le village Stăneşti a été analysé et organisé de la manière suivante:

Les sobriquets et les surnoms qui concernent quelques particularités physiques ou qui ont à l'origine des notions liées au comportement quotidien de l'individu:

Albete – qui a le teint blanc; *Basu* – qui parle bas; *Blondu* – celui qui est brun, sobriquet ironique; *Bondoc* – qui est de petite taille; *Bondocea* – celui qui est petit; *Bran – qui est gros*; *Broască – qui a les yeux saillants*; *Buric – quelqu'un de petite taille* ; *Butoi – petit et gros*; *Cartuş* – une personne très rapide; *Chioru* ou *Orbu* – à qui il manque un oeil; *Chiţu* ou *Şobolan* ou *Şocâţelu* (la petite souris') – personne très rapide ; *Cioromel* ou *Ciordache – qui est très br*un; *Drăguţ* – apprécié pour sa beauté physique, surtout par les femmes; *Grasu* –qui a un corps assez grand; *Iutu* – celui qui bouge lentement, sobriquet ironique; *Jokeru* – avec un aspect physique assez laid; *Lunga* – celle de haute taille; *Mamuie* – immobile comme une statue ; *Mancioro* ou *Hornu* – qui parle difficilement; *Mărgelatu* – celui qui portait un grand chapeau noir, ressemblant au protagoniste du film au même nom; *Oac* –qui sautait beaucoup pendant son enfance; *Pantera* – qui a des mouvements rapides comme une panthère ; *Pitulicu* – un homme très petit; *Pleaşcă* – qui portait le bonnet sur le front; *Puşti – personne de petite taille*; *Robotu* –qui se déplace lentement, comme un robot; *Surdu* – qui n'entend pas bien; *Surda – femme* qui n'entend pas bien ; *Şchiopu* –celui qui se déplace difficilement avec l'un de ses pieds; *Şoldea* – qui tire difficilement le pied après; *Târcobete* – homme de petite taille; *Verbuncu – personne aux yeux grands*; *Virgulă* – homme de haute taille, courbé comme une virgule;

Des sobriquets qui concernent des particularités psychiques et morales:

Cocoşel – personne infatuée; *Cordovanu* ou *Mocofanu* – homme présomptueux et infatué; *Domnu* – qui s'habille „beau"; *Gramofonu* - qui parle beaucoup; *Jaga* – qui aime flâner; *Hoţu* – celui qui a volé quelque chose; *Jidanu* – un homme avare; *Lupu* – qui est goulu; *Moacă* – celui qui tendait la main aux

autres; *Pămpălău* – homme naïf et bête; *Păsărelu* – il marche comme il, vole; *Pisicuţa* – personne flatteuse; *Schema* – celui qui est rusé, perfide; *Şocodoaica* – femme méchante et avare; *Trântoru* – personne paresseuse; *Vulpe* – un homme perfide;

       Des sobriquets survenus après un certain événement, une circonstance ou une préférence:

       Babau – ceux qui effrayaient les enfants avec „babaul"; *Boboc* – celui qui aimait écouter aux noces la chanson „Eu floare şi tu boboc"; *Burghezu* – qui avait une bonne situation materielle; *Caimacanu* – qui avait une bonne situation materielle et qui avait l'habitude de préter aux autres villageois; *Cântărea* – celui qui procurer du fer; *Caraliu* – qui avait reçu un grade militaire et qui avait été envoyé suivre l'école de police, mais qui avait été empêché par sa mère, veuve ; *Castronelu* – qui mangeait en son enfance dans la même soupière; *Călea* – celui qui battait et tuait les bêtes des autres paysans qui venait sur son domaine; le sobriquet provient du substantif *bourreau; Ciupapă* – terme employé à la place de *soupape ; Clenciu* – celui qui a trébuché sur une souche ; *Condei* – qui aimait écrire à la plume; *Guguştiuc* – qui immite la rieuse; *Iedu* – *qui sautait comme un chevreau; Vernescu* – qui aimait boire et qui avait les yeux enflés; *Mânzu* – il suivait les gens comme un poulain qui suit sa jument;

       Des sobriquets et des surnoms survenus des noms de métiers, d'occupations, de fonctions:

       Baciu –qui était berger; *Bardac* – „bardac" – unité de mesure pour le lait de la bergerie; *Contabilu* – celui qui tenait l'évidence des moutons de la bergerie; *Dascăl* – qui avait été instituteur; *Fieraru* – *le forgeron du village*; *Popa* – *qui n'est pas prêtre*, mais qui a l'habitude de chanter comme un *prêtre; Şatră* – „şatră" = une sorte de hangar où l'on ferme les bêtes; *Tâmplaru* – qui est menuisier; *Ţăranu* – qui a beaucoup de propriétés foncières; *Ungureanu* – *qui a beaucoup de moutons*; *Bucătaru* – qui est cuisinier;

       Des sobriquets et des surnoms parvenus des substantifs qui indiquent l'origine locale ou ethnique: Basarabeanu, Corcoveanu, Ungureanu.

       Des sobriquets créés du nom de la personne: *Ardei* – de Andrei; *Caliţă* – de Nicolae; *Candin* – de Sabin; *Cerna* – de Cernică; *Cioară* - de Cioranu;

       Des sobriquets et des surnoms parvenus des substantifs qui désignent des animaux, **des plantes ou d'autres objets**: *Bârnă* ; *Biliţă* ; *Făsui* (haricot); *Teacă*; *Ţapu*; *Usturoi*; *Viţelu*; *Motanu*; *Pufu*; *Bordei*; *Purcelu* – Bunceanu.

       D'autres sobriquets et surnoms: *Baiţu*; *Bâşcu* ; *Bocea*; *Brihac* ; *Cârţoi*; *Cofu*; *Gomej*; *Hoheru*; *Licu; Pupu*; *Paicu*; *Palea*; *Panţâr*; *Pogonoci*; *Sache*; *Şauru*; *Şogoru*; *Tache*; *Tarcău*; *Tilon*; *Toleaşă*; *Trucă*; *Zode*.

    Les surnoms de groupe désignent plusieurs individus qui font partie du même groupe (famille, peuple ou collectif, constitué sur la base des relations de voisinage). Ils peuvent apparaître soit à la forme du singulier, soit à la forme du pluriel.

Les surnoms de groupe à la forme du singulier se classifient en quelques types:

- Des surnoms patronymiques – qui sont représentés par une forme du génitif du nom ou surnom du père: *Dumitru dei Bunceanu, Gigi de Popa, Cosmin de Costică* etc.;

- Des surnoms matronymiques - représentés par par une forme du génitif du nom ou surnom de la mère: *Nicu de Ioana, Denisa de Cornelia* etc.;

- Des surnoms andronymiques – qui désignent les femmes mariées, par rapport au mari: *Mărioara de Duduţă, Nicoliţa de Tudorică* etc.

Les surnoms de groupe à la forme du pluriel qui existent dans le village Stăneşti, département Mehedinţi, se divisent en trois groupes, ainsi:

- dérivés à l'aide du suffixe *–eşti*, qui désignent un „peuple",considéré comme une unité: *Stăneşti, Lăzăreşti, Moteşti, Bărbuţeşti, Manghireşti* etc.;

- les formes du pluriel d'un nom de personne désignent tout un „peuple", considéré comme une unité : *Despăii, Vârzobii* etc.;

- les dérivés à l'aide du suffixe *–eni* , des noms de lieux, désignent des collectifs d'individus constitués sur la base des relations de voisinage: *Buncenii, Jienii, Muntenii, Bistrenii, Bratilovenii, Ordenii, Şipotenii* etc.

À la suite d'une analyse faite sur les données obtenues pendant notre recherche vis-à-vis des particularités anthroponymiques du village Stăneşti, département Mehedinţi, nous avons tiré les conclusions suivantes:

1. Ce qui attire l'attention quant au système onomastique du village Stăneşti, c'est le grand nombre de sobriquets et surnoms attribués aux hommes et aux femmes de n'importe quel âge. Il n'y a prèsque personne sans sobriquet, et cette caractéristique est aussi valable pour les villages voisins.

2. La plupart des sobriquets dans ce village sont attribués aux hommes. Une certaine particularité physique ou psychique, une histoire, une habitude, une sorte de tic verbal, peuvent devenir, sans difficulté, des sobriquets.

3. Les sobriquets font partie du système populaire de dénomination. Ils ont, premièrement, un rôle d'individualisation ou d'écart de l'homonymie dans l'onomastique officielle, et, en seconde place, un rôle de raillerie satirique.

4.Le principal moyen de formation des prénoms et des noms de famille dans l'inventaire analysé est la dérivation suffixale. Dans les noms de famille, les suffixes les plus productifs sont: *-escu, -an(u), -ean(u), uţ(a), -ea, -aru, -ău.*

5.Dans l'inventaire des prénoms féminins, la dérivation, surtout celle diminutivale, est plus forte qu'au cadre de l'inventaire des prénoms masculins.

On observe une certaine prédilection pour les prénoms doubles.

ANTHROPONYMICAL SPECIFIC FEATURES IN THE VILLAGE STĂNEŞTI, MEHEDINŢI COUNTY

(Abstract)

This paper presents a research sbout the first and last names, as well as about the nicknames and apellations in a village situated in the South/West of Romania, Stănesti. From the point of view of onomastics, the specific features of this village is a multitude of nicknames (almost every person has one) and also the preference of the parents to give to their children two Christian names (such as Elena/Maria).

COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNION

CARMEN POPESCU

Modern linguistics argues that any statement is also an action, a performance. *Speech Act Theory* teaches us "how to do things with words"[1]. We live in a world of communication: there has been an amazing development, recently, of the *science* of communication. One of the most influential of early linear models of communication belongs to Shannon-Weaver, a mathematical model from 1949. "Later Shannon introduced a mechanism in the receiver which corrected the differences between the transmitted and received signal; this monitoring or correcting mechanism was the forerunner of the now widely used concept of feedback (information which a communicator gains from others in response to his own verbal behavior)."[2]
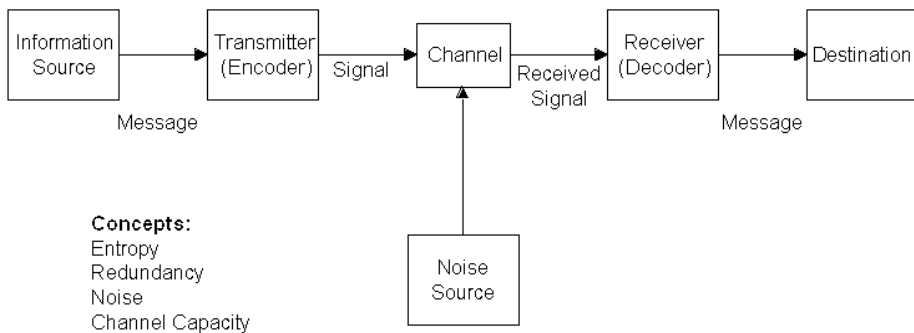
This theoretical model, sometimes called "the transmission model", is under much criticism. "Shannon and Weaver's highly mechanistic model of communication can be seen as being based on a *transport* metaphor. (...)Within the broad scope of transport I tend to see the model primarily as employing a postal metaphor. It is as if communication consisted of a sender sending a packet of information to a receiver, whereas I would insist that communication is about meaning rather than information. One appalling consequence of the postal metaphor for communication is the current reference to 'delivering the curriculum' in schools, as a consequence of which teachers are treated as postal workers. But the influence of the transmission model is widespread in our daily speech when we talk of 'conveying meaning', 'getting the idea across', 'transferring information', and so on. We have to be very alert indeed to avoid

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[1] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words,* Oxford University Press, 1975, second edition.
[2] http://www.shkaminski.com/Classes/Handouts/Communication%20Models.htm.

falling into the clutches of such transmissive metaphors."[3] Language is not a transparent and neutral channel. Instead, as Daniel Chandler noted, "Information and meaning arises only in the process of listeners, readers or viewers actively making sense of what they hear or see. Meaning is not 'extracted', but *constructed.*"[4] The same semiotician concludes that alternatives to transmissive models are usually called *constructivist.* They reject any attempt to produce a formal model of communication but they stress the importance of *context* in the process of producing meaning.[5]

One of the axioms of communication theory is "one cannot not communicate"[6]. All behavior is communicative, since it occurs in the presence (real or virtual) of another person. At the same time, we tend to be quite dissatisfied with the *quality* of our interpersonal exchanges. We would like it to be more authentic, closer to *communion.* Robert Frost conveys this basic human need in a most compelling way in his superb melancholic poem *Revelation*:

"We   make   ourselves   a   place   apart
Behind   light   words   that   tease   and   flout,
But   oh,   the   agitated   heart
Till   someone   really   find   us   out.

'Tis   pity   if   the   case   require
(Or   so   we   say)   that   in   the   end
We   speak   the   literal   to   inspire
The   understanding   of   a   friend.

But   so   with   all,   from   babes   that   play
At   hide-and-seek   to   God   afar,
So   all   who   hide   too   well   away
Must speak and tell us where they are."[7]

Many argue that the very celebrated *communication* (or *dialogue*) is just another myth. The more we talk *about* communication, the less we *really* communicate. Perhaps the trouble with all the sophisticated communication schemes and patterns is that they leave out the transcendental element: God, the *person* to whom we should *talk* the most.

It is our conviction that the most authentic communication is achieved in religion (the place where, paradoxically, *silence* is so important). In this subtle interpenetration between *cataphatic* and *apophatic* we should be able to go beyond the day to day, conversational, *phatic* communication. Let us see what this really means. Contrary to *factual communication*, which transmits

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[3] Daniel Chandler, *The Transmission Model of Communication,* http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/short/trans.html.

[4] *Ibidem.*

[5] Cf. ibidem.

[6] Paul Watzlawick interviewed by C. Wilder, in *Journal of Communication*, 1975, 28 (4).

[7] R. Frost, *Revelation,* in *A Boy`s Will*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915, p.21.

information, *phatic communication* is used to open and keep the channels open. It conveys sociability (sincere or hypocritical), politeness; phatic signals may be verbal or non-verbal: greetings, "small talk", handshakes, eye contact, and clichés. But even at this (sometimes) despised level communication can be converted to communion. In fact, the praying mind could invest authenticity and real efficiency in the so-called "ordinary", human communication. It could make it really *empathetic.* Only through *epiclesis,* the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the *other* in front of me could become my *neighbor*, my brother, and, most importantly, God's image. A short, simple prayer going on in the *back* of my mind is what could heal me from my aggressiveness, malice, the need to be superior, the need to *win.* Unfortunately our communicative situations are too often seen as a variety of conflict, as an instance of the eternal struggle for power. The many books on the art of communication legitimize this distorted reality. We are advised to avoid manipulation but, why not, through the same psychological "secrets", we learn *how to* manipulate, how to overcome the other person or at least seduce them into buying our products, our interpretations, our theories, our worldview or our lifestyle.

Communion means Eucharist; but it also translates the Greek *koinonia* (the Latin equivalent is *communicatio*). Other versions for *koinonia* are "community", "sharing", "solidarity", "participation", "fellowship" ("the fellowship of the Spirit", *Phil.* 2,1). Or, in 1John, 1-3: "and our fellowship is indeed with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ"[8].

Knowing that the word is *creative energy*, we should be careful how we use it. Father Rafail Noica admits this energy can become dangerous, even lethal, when used inadequately.[9] He quotes Father Sophronie Saharov who used to say that the word had metaphysical roots, so, it is much more than an

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[8] Here are some of the occurrences of *koinonia* in *The New* Testament:"1 Fundamentally *God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, is sharing himself with us. I* Cor. 1:9 (God called you into the *koinonia* of his Son); 11 Cor. 13:13 (The grace of Christ, the love of God and the *koinonia* of the Holy Spirit); Phil. 2:1 (The *koinonia* of the Spirit); I John 1:3 (Our *koinonia is* with the Father and with Jesus Christ); 11 Peter 1:4 (We are *koinonoi,* sharers, in the divine nature). 2. If we have *koinonia with God, we cannot have it with evil (I* Cor. 10:20; 11 Cor. 6:14; Eph. 5:11; I John 1:6; Rev. 18:4) and this means *avoiding false teachers (11* John 11; 1 Tim. 5:22). 3. *Koinonia in the Gospel* (Phil. 1:5); to *share in its blessings (I* Cor. 9:23); *koinonia in grace* (Phil. 1:7; *koinonia of your faith* (Philem. 6). 4. *Koinonia in the sufferings of Christ* (Phil. 3: 1; 1 Peter 4:13; Rev. 1:9), *and in the sufferings of disciples (11 Cor. 1:7; Phil. 4:14; Heb. 10:35) so as to share his glory (I Peter 5:1).* 5. *Koinonia with fellow Christians (II* Cor.8:23; Gal. 2:9; Philem. 17; 1 John 1:3 and 7; Acts 2:42). In Luke 5: 10 it refers to the business partnership between Peter, James and John. 6. *Koinonia includes sharing possessions* (Acts 2:44, and especially through Paul's collection from Gentile churches for poor Jewish Christians - Rom. 12:13 and 15:26; 11 Cor. 9:13; Phil. 4:15; 1 Tim. 6:18; Heb. 13:16).7. *Koinonia in the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper (I* Cor. 10: 16)." (Martin Reardon*,* June 1998, *Sharing Communion: The New Testament Legacy*, http://www.interchurchfamilies.org/resource/eucharist/legacy.shtm).

[9] Cf. *Celălalt Noica. Mărturii ale monahului Rafail Noica însoțite de câteva cuvinte de folos ale părintelui Symeon*, Bucureşti, Editura Anastasia, 2002, editia a III-a, p.67.

"arbitrary noise"[10]. Taking language seriously means going beyond the informative level, to a "level of communion, of living."[11] The word understood as communion, as *life* sums up the theology of the word in its various manifestations. In his book, *The Words of Christ*, Michel Henry[12] approaches the topic from the viewpoint of the phenomenology of life. Indeed, *life* is what Christ promised to those who would listen to him and observe his commandments. And not life *towards death*, as viewed by existentialism, but life eternal. Another approach very much focused on *life* revealed in the sacraments of the Orthodox Church is that of Alexander Schmemann[13]. Father Sophronie also used to say that we come to live God`s word as *light*[14]. Similarly, a strong association between God`s word and light can be find in Dumitru Staniloae`s works[15]. Of course, Christ`s words can be really shocking for some. "I am the living bread which has come down out of heaven: if any one shall have eaten of this bread he shall live for ever; but the bread withal which I shall give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. The Jews therefore contended among themselves, saying: How can he give us his flesh to eat?" (John 6, 51-53). At this point many disciples left him: "This word is hard; who can hear it?" (John 6, 61). God`s discourse is also *self-referential* or *metalinguistic*: it explains itself, though someone might say the explanation is even more difficult. And it is, as long as you are not prepared to receive it, through repentance, *metanoia* ("the change of the mind"): "It is the Spirit which quickens, the flesh profits nothing: the words which I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." (John 6, 63). When the Lord asked the twelve if they would also go away, Simon Peter answered: "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast words of life eternal." (John 6, 69).

It seems reasonable to look at *prayer* at the ultimate form of communication/communion. Prayer could be also "studied" as a ritual, a series of symbolic gestures joined to a "text", which can be pre-written or original and spontaneous. (Gabriel Bunge[16] designed, so to say, a sort of patristic *code* for prayer). Prayer is personal but also communal, liturgical. The latter is generally considered to be the most powerful, certainly because in this community - context, communication is truly and literally communion. "For where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them." (Matthew 18, 20). Therefore, everything, in the Orthodox Church is in fact not about secrecy and

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[10] *Ibidem*.

[11] *Ibidem*.

[12] Michel Henry, *Paroles du Christ*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2002.

[13] Alexander Schmemann, *For the Life of the World. Sacraments and Orthodoxy*, Saint Vladimir`s Seminary Press, 1973.

[14] Cf. Rafail Noica, *op.cit*., p. 69.

[15] Dumitru Stăniloae, *Iisus Hristos, lumina lumii şi îndumnezeitorul omului,* Bucureşti, Editura Anastasia, 1993. One chapter is called *The Light and the Word* (*Lumina şi cuvântul*), p. 33-44.

[16] Gabriel Bunge, *Earthen Vessels: The Practice of Personal Prayer According to the Patristic Tradition*, translated by Michael J.Miller, San Francisco, Ignatius Press, 2002.

closure but about transparency. It is the church where *glossolalia* has no place. "I would like for all of you to speak in strange tongues; but I would rather that you had the gift of proclaiming God's message. For the person who proclaims God's message is of greater value than the one who speaks in strange tongues- unless there is someone who can explain what he says, so the whole Church may be edified. So when I come to you, my brethren, what use will I be to you if I speak in strange tongues? Not a bit, unless I bring to you some revelation from God or some knowledge or some inspired message or some teaching." (1 *Corinthintians*, 14)[17]   Prayers have a repetitive structure, and so does liturgy. Nevertheless, there is nothing *redundant* about them, precisely because the informative level is the least important. Only the malicious outsider could think that these particular discursive practices are boring or obsessive. On the contrary: the longer we stay in this *flux*, the closer we get to that intimacy with God we long and starve for. As Father Noica shows, liturgy is "living word, and not a show. And the word renews and is renewed inside people. It is living word because it is godly energy."[18] He compares this situation to the more common one of two lovers who say to each other "I love you" more than once.[19]

      We know very well that language is not the only vehicle for communication. There is such a thing as a non-verbal message. This one can be, in particular cases, a semiotic transcodification of verbal messages. Thus, icons and frescoes in churches are a form of silent scripture. Alexandru Duțu, historian of mentalities, remarked: „The painted churches introduced the believers into a universe in which the unseen and eternity continued to be present and helped men to understand that biological rules and political regulations did not exhaust the meaning of human life: the message was too important to be abandoned for the sake of a political agreement."[20] Another form of non-verbal addressing to God is fasting, always joined with prayer. Also, sacrifice may have this function, but bearing in mind what Psalm 51 says: "For thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt offering. / The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." (vv. 16-17)

      Communication is more and more formalized, turned into schemes and patterns. The simplest is the one that unites a sender, a message, a receiver, a code and a channel. Of course, for the non-believer, prayer is the same as talking alone. However, we have the Biblical basis for arguing that prayer *is* communication. "This is the confidence we have in [God], that if we ask for something which is in accordance with His will He hears us." (1 John 5, 14). Not only is God always listening to our prayers and responding even when He does

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[17] apud Fr. George Nicozisin, *Speaking in Tongues*, http://www.goarch.org/en/ourfaith/articles/article7112.asp#top

[18] Father Noica, *op.cit*., p.77.

[19] *Ibidem*.

[20] Alexandru Duțu, *Political Models and National Identities in „Orthodox Europe"*, București, Babel Publishing House, 1998, p.151 (the chapter *European Consciousness and Orthodox Tradition*).

not fulfill our wishes (which we think appropriate at the time, not knowing that they are in fact harmful, to us or to others). Prayer should be insistent and hopeful. The parable of the unjust judge is very relevant in this respect: „ He also spoke a parable to them that they must always pray, and not give up, saying, "There was a judge in a certain city who didn't fear God, and didn't respect man. A widow was in that city, and she often came to him, saying, 'Defend me from my adversary!' He wouldn't for a while, but afterward he said to himself, 'Though I neither fear God, nor respect man, yet because this widow bothers me, I will defend her, or else she will wear me out by her continual coming.' The Lord said, "Listen to what the unrighteous judge says. Won't God avenge his chosen ones, who are crying out to him day and night, and yet he exercises patience with them? I tell you that he will avenge them quickly. Nevertheless, when the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on the earth?" (Luke 18, 1-8).

But it is also required from us to be watchful and listening, to be, each one of us, a response to God`s call. *Amen* („So be it!") is the symbol of this response. Liturgy is an "entrance into the presence of Christ…. an entrance into a forth dimension which allows us to see the ultimate reality of life… the arrival at a vantage point from which we can see more deeply into the reality of the world."[21] Clear examples of „obstinate" prayer are: „Lord, have mercy on us", the litanies, especially „the Litany of Fervent Supplication", and, of course, the hesychast prayer. One cannot either forget one of the ancients and most beautiful hymns of Orthodoxy, consecrated to the Mother of God: "It is truly meet to bless you, O Theotokos, ever blessed and most pure, and the Mother of our God. More honorable than the cherubim, beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, without corruption you gave birth to God, the Word. True Theotokos, we magnify you." This hymn is repeated several times in the canon of the communal or the personal prayer. The mystery (and sacrament) of communion in prayer relies on the mystery of the *person*. Our God is a personal God, and not an impersonal absolute as in other traditions, and He gave us the gift of life and the chance to become unique persons. So, prayer *is* dialogue, is interpersonal communication and not a *technique* for spiritual accomplishment. Nor is "Jesus`s prayer" a mantra that leads the performer to illumination by sheer perseverance. God`s word feeds us and it is also our main defense against temptation. When Jesus, after fasting forty days and forty nights in the desert, was tempted by the devil to *speak* and make the stones loaves of bread, He answered: "It is written: Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which goes out through God`s mouth." (Matthew 4, 4).

When thinking in this perspective, the need to be connected to the surrounding *noise* of the world (to talk, to exchange information, to be *together*) is no longer overwhelming. If God -The Word created the world, then everything makes sense, and everything *talks*: and it talks to you, very intimately. Moreover, as many religious people declare, the entire universe appears to be a love letter

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[21] A. Schmemann, *For the Life of the World*, p. 53.

from God to man. Of course, our perception is obscured by the consequences of the fall, by sin especially. Therefore, more than often, we do not understand God`s message, we distort it, sometimes, or even deny that there is any message at all. "To love is not easy, and mankind has chosen not to return God's love. Man has loved the world, but as an end in itself and not as transparent to God. It seems natural for man to experience the world as opaque, and not shot through with the presence of God. It seems natural not to live a life of thanksgiving for God's gift of a world. It seems natural not to be eucharistic."[22]

But when we try to make silence inside ourselves, when we trust God that He can purify our hearts, we become aware of our destiny to be receivers but also *signifiers* of this profound message, that is, Life itself. Father Alexander Schmemann wrote: "The only true temple of god is man and through man, the world. Each ounce of matter belongs to God and is to find in God its fulfillment. Each instant of time is God's time and is to fulfill itself as God's eternity. Nothing is "neutral." For the Holy Spirit, as a ray of light, as a smile of joy, has "touched" all things, all time – revealing all of them as precious stones of a precious temple."[23] King David was very good at *reading* the cosmic message, the discourse of Creation: "The heavens declare the glory of God, / And the firmament shows his handy work. / One day tells another / And one night certifies another. / There is neither speech nor language / But their voices are heard among them. / Their sound is gone out into all lands: / and their words into the ends of the world." (Psalm 19, vv. 1-5).

We argue that, contrary to what happens in secular culture, in the orthodox cult there is place for a *good*, benign *logocentrism*. Inside the Holy Trinity, the second *person,* the Son, is the same as God - The Word, The Incarnated Logos ("And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us."- John 1, 14). As we all know, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1, 1-3). An overwhelming power resides in the word. An utterance may be benediction or curse, redemption or condemnation. "…but the tongue can no one among men tame; it is an unsettled evil, full of death-bringing poison. Therewith bless we the Lord and Father, and therewith curse we men made after the likeness of God. Out of the same mouth goes forth blessing and cursing. It is not right, my brethren, that these things should be thus. Does the fountain, out of the same opening, pour forth sweet and bitter?" (James 3, 8-12).

But we must not mix up the word as prayer, or confession, or liturgical perlocutionary speech act to the magic formula or the poetical play upon the "signifier". The ultimate manifestation of human creativity that is prayer implies not only request but also gratitude and doxology. From the Christian point of view, our treatment of the word is not without eschatological consequences, considering that we shall be judged for every *useless* word we uttered in our life.

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[22] Alexander Schmemann, *For the Life of the World*, p.75.
[23] *Ibidem*, p.58.

We risk hardening our hearts so that we will not understand Christ's healing discourse. The longer we keep away from church (the place where God`s living and eternal word resides), the more we risk ignoring the light that the Word brings into this world. Once believed, and truly received in our hearts, the scriptural message gives shape and coherence to our life. For the true believer, the Gospel *makes sense* like no other system, philosophy or ideology does. "*Being born again*, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, *by the living and abiding word of God*. Because all flesh is as grass, and all its glory as the flower of grass. The grass has withered and its flower has fallen; but the word of the Lord abides for eternity. But this is the word which in the glad tidings is preached to you."(1 Peter 1, 23-25).

The very core of our being is changed by the divine discourse: through it, we are brought back to our authentic *nature*; it works inside us the *resemblance* that *The Book of Genesis* speaks of, it is the way towards *theosis*. John Breck studied the complex impact of the sacramental word. [24]

The judgment *by the Logos himself* turns Christianity (and especially Orthodoxy) into a very original *ontology of the word.* This eschatological vision is beyond ethics, it is, so to speak, metaphysics. "I am come into the world as light, that every one that believes on me may not abide in darkness; and if any one hear my words and do not keep them, I judge him not, for I am not come that I might judge the world, but I might save the world. He that rejects me and does not receive my words has him who judges him: the word which I have spoken, that shall judge him in the last day. For I have not spoken from myself, but the Father who sent me has Himself given me commandment what I should say and what I should speak; and I know that His commandment is life eternal. What therefore I speak, as the Father has said to me, so I speak." (John 12, 46-50).

There is nothing gratuitous and decorative in this redemptive message of which we are the receivers. It makes everything transparent; it reveals the *secret thought* of our heart. God`s word is, according to Saint Paul, "living and operative, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and penetrating to the division of soul and spirit, both of joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. And there is not a creature unapparent before him; but all things are naked and laid bare to his eyes, with whom we have to do" (*Hebrews* 4, 12-13).

Christ is in his commandments, and the most important of all is *love* (towards God but also your neighbor). The orthodox liturgy contains a part that is called the *liturgy of the word* (or *of the catechumens*) and a second one, the *liturgy of the Eucharist* (or *of the believers*). Of course, this dichotomy is somewhat artificial. The climax of the liturgy is the Eucharistic moment, but we must not forget that the whole liturgy is Eucharistic. In the Holy Communion, we "eat" the "the flesh and blood" of our Savior, who is in fact the Word, so that we actually "eat" the Logos and His power, we assimilate the Spirit, the Holy

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[24] John Breck, *The Power of the Word in the Worshipping Church,* St. Vladimir's Press, 1986.

Ghost (*ruah, pneuma*). The theology of the Word is also pneumatology. Inside the Church, the word becomes *mysterion*, *sacrament* (different from the standard meaning of *ritual*), because the entire cult is dialogical. As beneficiaries of the liturgy, we are very much like Luca and Cleopa when they heard Christ's words on the way to Emaus and dined with Him, eucharistically, after Resurrection: "And he entered in to stay with them. And it came to pass as he was at table with them, having taken the bread, he blessed, and having broken it, gave it to them. And their eyes were opened, and they recognized him. And he disappeared from them. And they said to one another: Was not our heart burning in us as he spoke to us on the way and as he opened the scriptures to us?" (Luke 24, 32-36).

The Lord has taught us how to make responsible use of the word. In this light, all the relativist theories of communication, taking into account a lot of variables (context or situation of enunciation, status of sender and receiver, age, gender, education of the speaker etc.) appear as useless complications. "Again, you have heard that it has been said to the ancients: Thou shall not forswear thyself, but shall render to the Lord what thou hast sworn. But I say unto you, Do not swear at all; neither by the heaven, because it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, because it is the footstool of his feet; nor by Jerusalem because it is the city of the   great King. Neither shall thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your word be Yea, yea; Nay, nay; but what is more than this is from evil." (Matthew 5, 33-37).

From His example, we can learn when to speak, when to remain silent, how to embrace the paradox, the truths that defy the human logic. For *logos* means also *logic*, reason, but not the one we are used to. The gospel transcends the Aristotelian logic (happiness as defined in the sermon on the mountain). Surely the saints *knew*, and they learned from the Word Himself, and from the Holy Spirit. What Derrida called *logocentrism* is perhaps this central presence of the Word, that is, God, that is, "the Way, the Truth and the Life". This understanding of the Word is in clear opposition with linguistic, structural definitions. The word as being a combination of a signified and a signifier is adequate, perhaps, to the decayed status of language, in a post-Babelian world. So, *confusio linguarum* and the imperfections of the natural idioms are consequences of sin. Still, there is no real need of the complicated, utopian speculations concerning the lost *perfect* language[25] . Christ has assumed our nature, our body in order to restore it. Why should we not trust Him that He also wanted to redeem our language? Communion connotes presence, intimacy, epiphany, love, peace, confidence, hope. It is that privileged moment (*kairos*) when even *ideal*, utopian communication is no longer necessary. It is the place of silence full of faith and understanding. No wonder love (*agape*) is the ultimate virtue in Christianity. Saint Paul gave us that unique eulogy of love that makes useless all the moral or psychological theories and philosophies that try to reify human relationships: "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but

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[25] Cf. Umberto Eco, *În căutarea limbii perfecte,* Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2002.

have not love, I am become sounding brass or a clanging cymbal. And if I have prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I shall dole out all my goods in food, and if I deliver up my body that I may be burned, but have not love, I profit nothing. Love has long patience, is kind; love is not emulous; love is not insolent and rash, is not puffed up, does not behave in an unseemly manner, does not seek what is its own, is not quickly provoked, does not impute evil, does not rejoice at iniquity but rejoices with the truth, bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never fails." (1*Corinthians* 13, 1-8).

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COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNION

(Résumé)

Cet ouvrage est un essai sur la relation entre les deux notions, *communication* et *communion*, dans le champ de l'intersubjectivité quotidienne et celui du dialogue religieux. Les sciences communicatives sont maintenant en plein essor. Néanmoins, il y a une insatisfaction générale envers l`efficacité et l'authenticité de nos échanges symboliques. C'est l'usage religieux du langage qui répond à ce besoin foncier. La prière, surtout, est la forme privilégiée de communion (*koinonia*). Dans le contexte de la liturgie, la communion en tant que *présence* et *épiphanie* atteint la perfection. Le statut de la *parole* dans le christianisme est tout à fait particulier. Si la déconstruction dénonce le *logocentrisme*, la vie de l'église y trouve son accomplissement. Le *Logos* est la seconde personne de la Trinité, Dieu Incarné. Ses paroles, analysées par Michel Henry du point de vue de la phénoménologie de la vie (*Paroles du Christ*), sont «les paroles de la vie éternelle» (*L'Évangile selon Saint Jean*, 6, 69).

ROMANIAN LITERATURE AND ITS EUROPEAN VALUE

MIHAELA ALBU

1. Romania at Geographic Crossroads and its Implications

Its geographical location at the point where the roads from the Orient and the West meet has had for Romania many historical, linguistic, cultural and religious implications.

The history and the general evolution of Romania and its people have always been in close connection with and even conditioned by the country's geographical position, by the place where our people managed to keep their national characteristics.

Constantin Noica, a well-known Romanian philosopher, studied a polysemantic and almost untranslatable word "întru" (within) which, in his opinion, best expresses the specific relation between physical space and identity:

"…through the characteristics of its own history, our civilization was "within" a given space. It did not swarm like the Hellenic civilization giving birth to colonies on all neighboring coasts... It developed "within" the space around the Carpathians. This space was crossed by several other nations, but they only crossed it. We stayed here. And we stayed so comfortably within it that some migratory peoples had to settle all around it and others had to fuse with our being*"[1]* The same correlation between space and identity was perceived by the priest - philosopher Dumitru Stăniloaie. Our space of "frontier" begot most of our people's characteristics. That is why D. Staniloaie said: "If the Romanian people moved out of this frontier space they would lose their identity"[2].

But this identity is a continuation and a paraphrase of Eminescu, our national poet's verses:

"Iar noi locului ne ținem/ Cum am fost, așa rămânem" ("We each do our place retain,/As we were, so we remain") *(Revedere/ Return)*[3]

Therefore, geographically, Romania lies at the crossroads of the four cardinal points, but mainly between the two worlds - the East & the West, so different in economy, policy, culture and religion. Neither of these two worlds

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[1] Constantin Noica, *Sentimentul românesc al ființei,* București, Humanitas, 1996, p. 7.

[2] Dumitru Staniloaie, *Reflexii despre spiritualitatea românească,* Craiova, Scrisul Romanesc, 1992, P. 10.

[3] Mihai Eminescu, *Poems (Poezii)*, translated by Corneliu M. Popescu, București, Eminescu Publishing House, 1978.

managed to change us totally. Constantin Noica very suggestively expressed this peculiar cultural event:

"Nowhere does the situation of a 'closure which can open' appear more vividly.... a historical point of view like in Romania: two massive worlds close/ comprise a community in their meeting point, which, instead of being crushed by them, as it happens at the crossroads, can open towards them and especially can open one towards the other"[4].

Being at the meeting point between these two worlds meant a lot for the Romanians. It produced undeniable particularities in our people's identity. The greatest Romanian literary critic and historian, George Călinescu, concluded his massive *History of the Romanian Literature* with the synthesizing chapter – "On the National Particularities in Romanian Literature", where he wrote:

"Historically speaking, owing to our Thracian inheritance, which is essential, we are among the oldest peoples of Europe. We are genuine European natives coming from immemorial times. Our physical type is totally different from that of the neighboring countries and Eastern Europe. (...) Old peoples had a pastoral civilization characterized by withdrawal into the mountains from where they could watch and avoid foreign invasions, by a wind furrowed face, by keen eagle-like sight, by silence. New peoples are, on the contrary, noisy, make large gestures and have an obvious tendency towards civilization. Regression towards the village is another feature of old peoples. Therefore the theory about our primitivism is false. We are not primitive, we are old."[5]

Tracing back our history it is worth mentioning that Romania was surrounded by the interests of three great empires: Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian. Although the historical conditions were not favorable to them and the territory of today's Romania was divided, Romanians paradoxically managed to keep their national identity, language and religion intact. The current metaphor that we are a Latin drop in a Slavic ocean is a telling – proof of our national identity. The migratory peoples, and the close vicinity of the Slavic powers could have brought even our language, culture and the way of understanding life to a "crossroads", but the way they chose was a straight, unerring one.

2. Romania at the Political Crossroads

Geographically speaking, Romania is situated "at the crossroads", but in the modern epoch it was situated especially "at the crosswinds" which culminated in the communist dictatorship. After World War II it came under the imposed authority of communist ideology, like all the other Eastern European countries, which led to a gradual dissolution of democracy until the well-known political absolutism was reached. Also, this ideology was under the sign of "socialist internationalism", and national identity was kept thanks to a certain form of resistance - through culture.

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[4] C. Noica, *op. cit.,* p. 10.
[5] G. Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române, "*Minerva", 1982, p. 974-975.

One of the major methods of imposing the totalitarian system was to subdue culture, art, and even science to politics. Taking all risks, many Romanian intellectuals opposed the oppressive regime in one way or another. Resistance through culture became thus another form of resistance, as important as the direct one.

The war against the communist regime was not in this case a spectacular one but a sort of underground stream which eroded the system slowly but steadily.

Looking back, shortly after the communist regime seized power, all traditional values were destroyed and a new axiological criteria was imposed which preached a sort of pseudo culture based on non-values submitting aesthetics to ethical norms.

The most radical period in Romanian culture, when art was really "at the crossroads" was the Stalinist period, in the 50s, when the past was ostentatiously rejected, when books by famous authors were forbidden and their works were taken out from schoolbooks. Even the national poet Mihai Eminescu's poetry was censured. Two other great contemporary poets, Tudor Arghezi and Lucian Blaga were forbidden in the social circuit.

In other words, a cultural "frost" came over Romania which couldn't be but the consequence of a political "frost" − totalitarianism.

Towards the end of the 60s some cultural thaw occurred which allowed some artists, writers mainly, to be accepted again in the Pantheon. They had emerged in "the inter-wars period" and were naturally followed by some new names: Marin Preda, Nichita Stanescu, Marin Sorescu, Ana Blandiana, Augustin Buzura, Alexandru Ivasiuc, D. R. Popescu etc.

There were several "moments of decision"[6] in our history. I shall confine only to two milestones in the contemporary history - 1944 when communism came to power and 1989 - the revolution well-known everywhere in the world now. The point I will make in what follows is the correlation between history, policy and culture. In Romania communism was imposed from outside and because of its total inadequacy it was exceptionally painful and full of sacrifices on the part of the population.

After a short period of silence (1944-948) the way Romania had to follow in the new decade was directed by a dogmatic ideology, which confined and even took away freedom from people by forbidding free opinion.

A common statement is that the heart of a nation is its culture.

Therefore, everything that was a cultural milestone, political conscience, had to be taken off the stage. Culture and literature censorship continued after 1965 but in a more subtle way. Between 1964-1970 some fresh air came into our literary life. We became more open (not necessarily totally open) towards Western literature and our own past. After a period of mystification of real

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[6]Apart from the literal meaning, "crossroads" has a figurative meaning which enriches it. *The Penguin Dictionary* mentions: "moment of decision".

values and imposing foreign (soviet) models, Romanian culture entered a period of relative flourishing.

A second "frost", even if apparently of a smaller intensity, came after Ceausescu's visit in China and was followed by the so-called "theses of 1971" which imposed another cultural policy.

Apart from the works which succeeded in passing censorship (sometimes the censor would side with the writer) there were the works written but unpublished before 1989 and of course the Diaspora literature.

The literature kept in the drawer, a current metaphor for the unpublished works, was for the Romanian writers what Eugen Simion called *a document of existence.*

Only the literature which was not destined for immediate publication could reflect the real liberty of the spirit. But even in a work like *The Diary of a Journalist without a Diary* (*Jurnalul unui jurnalist fără jurnal)* by Ion D. Sirbu (not meant for printing) the allusion, allegory, metaphor, parable are the handiest weapons. One single example is enough to identify the writer's style: "... because we know that in Romania *le roi ne sont mort pas* and Godot has not only arrived but is not even thinking of leaving and Ubu 24-th is building his Versailles" [7]

3. Romanian Culture as a "Neglected Brother"

Europe was always for us similar with democracy. Romanian culture and civilization have always stood in a kind of „cohabitation" with European values, although in the last 5-6 decades (before 1989) they were in the difficult position of a neglected brother, as the Romanian writer Ion D. Sirbu wrote in a letter to a friend from a Western country.

Being "a young branch of the continental spirituality" (as the Manifest of the Literary Circle from Sibiu underlined), Romanian literature (culture) can be seen in the same indeterminate position as the country itself, that means it is close but sometimes so far from Europe.

"We are the R'est opposite to the West. Our relation with the West is one of longing, of shock, of admiration and resentment. These are the stories of the tearing between (…) the general prison of the last decade of communism and the large open door to a world which didn't understand us and it was yet almost unintelligible for us", the Romanian professor and feminist militant Mihaela Miroiu confessed in her dialogues with Mircea Miclea in *R'estul şi vestul*.[8]

„Oh, Lord, how little you understand us!" (Doamne, cât de puțin înțelegeți din Noi!"), Ion D. Sîrbu wrote to one of his friends, a Romanian writer who used to live in the Western part of Europe. Sîrbu was so desperate being two times isolated – once in "Isarlîk" (Craiova, a provincial city in which he did not feel compatible with its inhabitants and with their point of view about life), and the second time by his destiny as a Romanian writer who used to live in a

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[7] I. D. Sîrbu, *Jurnalul unui jurnalist fără jurnal,* Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1996, p. 72.
[8] Mihaela Miroiu, Mircea Miclea, *Restul şi vestul* , Iaşi, Polirom, 2005, p. 7.

country isolated by the communist regime. His novels *Adio, Europa* and *Lupul şi catedrala (The Wolf and the Cathedral)*, and also his diary or his correspondence[9] were various methods to express his desperation and also to say „good-bye/ adio" to the European democracy.

4. Romanian Culture and Europe

Was the Romanian literature, the Romanian culture so far from Europe only because it was isolated from many of the European values? Could it reintegrate into the European system of cultural values? These were (and sometimes still are) two principal ideas our intellectuals paid a special attention to.

„Our isolation could be fatal for us", Marino warned and he also denounced "the great culprit" – the communist system which "destroyed, sterilized and stopped its natural and free development". The principal reference was the Romanian culture, but, of course, his statement could refer to all the other divisions of social life.

Even if sometimes Western values were far from the Romanian ones, and even if some of the Romanian writers wrote their books according to the communist dispositions, there were many others (poets, novelists, literary critics) who contributed to maintaining our culture at the European level, cultivating European democratic values.

At least two are the coordinates that can give us a general point of view regarding the Romanian literary (cultural) phenomenon. First of all it is the tendency, the desire, the aspiration of Romanian writers or scholars to be at the same level with the most recent tendencies in Europe, being this sometimes imitation or adaptation. Secondly, it could be represented by the Romanian writer and scholar Adrian Marino who analyzed (in many books) our cultural system in comparison with the European one. Thus he insisted on the „consciousness of the equality and competition with Europe"[10], persisting on the „the cultural exchanges in both directions"[11]. Adrian Marino without complexes underlined that the Romanian culture is an important part of European culture.

Last year, another Romanian writer, Ioana Pârvulescu, in one of her articles from the most important literary magazine *România literară,* justified why she „admires" the former King Carol I. In this article she wrote that the king „helped Romania to enter in Europe and, with the same importance, helped Europe to enter in Romania"[12]. In other words, Carol I contributed to a better knowledge of Romania for the European people and also to a better knowledge of the European values for the Romanians.

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[9] Ion D. Sîrbu, *Traversarea cortinei. Corespondenţă cu Ion Negoiţescu, Virgil Nemoianu, Mariana Şora*, Timişoara, Editura de Vest, 1994.

[10] Adrian Marino, *Carnete europene*, Cluj, Dacia, 1976, P. 44.

[11] Idem, *Politică şi cultură*, Iaşi, Polirom, 1996, p. 201.

[12] Ioana Pârvulescu, *De ce îl admir pe Carol I*, România literară*,* nr. 35, 1 sept. 2006, p. 21.

It was an important cultural exchange with a benefit for both parts. And so it continues to be.

LA LITTÉRATURE ROUMAINE ET SA VALEUR EUROPÉENNE

(Résumé)

La Roumanie est un pays situé, de point de vue géographique, à la croisée des chemins, entre l'Orient et l'Occident, mais aussi à la croisée des vents, au-devant de l'histoire, une histoire dure, qui a culminé avec la période communiste.

L'une des principales méthodes d'imposer le totalitarisme a été celle de subordonner l'art, la culture, la science, à la politique. Tout en s'assumant les risques, beaucoup d'intellectuels se sont opposés au régime et ainsi, la défense par la culture est devenue l'une des formes caractéristiques d'opposition de la part de l'intellectualité roumaine.

Quoiqu'on ait été éloignés des valeurs occidentales et bien que certains écrivains roumains aient écrit leurs livres conformément aux indications du Parti (Communiste), ils ont existé bien d'autres (des poètes, des prosateurs, des critiques), qui ont désiré d'entrer en compétition avec la littérature européenne et ont ainsi contribué à maintenir notre culture à un niveau européen.

C'est pourquoi l'un des plus importants hommes de culture roumains, Adrian Marino, a toujours soutenu et prouvé – sans complexes – que la littérature (la culture roumaine, en général) est une partie importante de la littérature (la culture) européenne.

DIFFERENT PEDAGOGIC PERSPECTIVES IN TEACHING SPANISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

ISABEL FERNÁNDEZ

Is it indispensable to learn grammar to be able to speak a language properly? After my nine months stay in Romania as a Spanish lector, and being really surprised by the effects of soap operas – telenovelas – over Romanian women, who are able to understand and speak Spanish because they are very fond to this kind of TV programs, I show skeptical about the Traditional Methodology of languages, leaving apart an old Spanish proverb that says: "la letra con sangre entra"[1].

I am going to make a reflection on the teaching of Spanish in three very different contexts, born from my own experience on this field. With this ideas I am trying to deep on the way the teacher should approach to the teaching of a foreign language, and what is the role that the grammar plays in this enterprise.

In the United States, specifically in the college of the East of the country, in the State of Massachusetts, where I was working as a teaching assistant, it is normal to work in groups of ten people maximum in order to perfect the oral skill. Apart from the ordinary classes, in which the group is formed by thirty people, they are split up in three smaller groups for this Practical class, and the Direct Methodology is followed on those. For this kind of activities, the grammar is left apart, and the way of teaching the second language is through imitative, associative and inductive learning. In order to achieve the objective of speaking all the time the foreign language, it is necessary to have a native speaker teacher. Besides, no traslation must be done on the lessons, and the target language is spoken during all the class. Even if the native teacher spoke English pretty well, he would not use it by any means in class; the student has to be able to get the message across using other strategies, but never translation. This methogology is followed within the sixth month of learning of the second –or third- language. For every course, different techniques are used; in the first year, due to a limited knowledge of the langue, stands such as maps, comics, cartoons are used in class, and the student must point out the images and explain the aim of the exercise. The teacher will always propose an aim for the activity, and the student must achieve the transference of the message by using the strategies he knows. The objective ot these classes is, in the first place, to be able to communicate the message to the recipient of the comunicative act.

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[1] This quotation means that we have to effort a lot to learn the subjects.

The Direct Methodology is used by Berlitz Academy nowadays. It seems that the origin of this method arised due to the necessity to teach English to a big amount of people who arrived in the United States at the beginning of twentieth century. It is based on the Natural Approach, with this approach we can learn a language in the same way we learnt our mother tongue, through listening, observation and inference. The student will have to repeat some structures until assimilating them. To achieve this aim the method uses role games, games with filing cards and songs, so that the student memorizes everything apparently without effort. This type of games using "drills" were already designed by the structuralists in the seventies. However, this methodology is a little asystematic, since the proffessor must have a lot of imagination and he leaves the students to set the pace for the class, and some times it can be a problem when the professor has to organize the program of the lessons at the beginning of the semester.

The oral skill has much more importance than the writing one, and the theorethical classes usually start from a text commentary. The grammar contents are never presented in a direct way, they will be appearing from the propositions on the texts, little by little. Real material will be the starting point of the activities, from wich the students will have to investigate why those expressions are used and, by using the inductive methodology, to conclude and formulate the grammar rules. But, what is the most important is that the student by himself carrys out this inductive exercise. In the example: "la niña tocaba cada tarde su acordeón con dulzura", "su madre la contemplaba detrás del almendro", the student should have to reflect on the verbs in imperfect "*tocaba/contemblaba*"… What is the difference he perceives in contrast to the simple past *"tocó" "cantó"*? The proffessor will give a lot of examples for the student to realize about the differences in the context when one or the other kind of verb are used, so that finally the student can infer the conclussion. In this way, we are transfering the grammar content to the text, and not to propose the gramar first, so that the student can follow the inductive methodology; examples first, conclusion after. In this way, the active learning is being improved, and teaching will became something interactive between teacher and student, similar to a conversation with some disgressions. To draw a parallel between classes and real conversation, when someone asks a real native speaker a doubt on their own language, he will have to stop to think of his own language, and the real use of it, "parole" in Saussure terminology. When the student will be able to formule a lot of propositions without even thinking he may be ready – and interested – in deeping on the linguistic structures.

On the other hand, I will now mention the didactic used being teaching Spanish to emigrants in Spain. I think it can be interesting to explain the methodology since in Romania there are some students who come to the country as Erasmus students, or to work – as my case is – and it is very important to have some notions on the language, but not to deep so much on grammar issues, at least, at the beginning of the stay. First of all, it is essential for them to get the

message across, to survive living in this country. This is exactly what happens with emigrants in Spain, who arrive in the country in order to find a job, and they have to learn some basic notions on the languate as soon as possible to survive. Due to the similarities aims of both groups of students, I will make reference to both of them in the next paragraph. Usually, this group of students are quite irregular in attending class because of other necessities they may have – work, researching in the university, other clases at the same time, etc. Because of these reasons, it is more appropiate to follow the Task-based Approach, included in the Communicative Methodology. The main objective of this Approach is the communicative act; to be able to achieve the Communicative Competence, term coined by Dell Hymes. He believed that competence alone was not enough to explain a native speaker's knowledge, as a native can not only use grammatically correct forms, but also knows when and where to use them.

Hymes proposed an approach to investigate the rules of use of a language in its environment, so, in the different sociocultural contexts in which speakers make their verbal communication. To make this approach, he was based on the Chomskian dichotomy on competency and performance. It explained that the Performance is only the end of the iceberg of the Competence, which represents all the grammar rules that an ideal speaker/listener has got, who is able to reproduce an infinite number of propositions. Competence both explains and characterises a speaker's knowledge of a language. Performance, however, is a poor mirror of competence. A sentence, even if it is grammatically correct, does not have to be necessarily correct on the Performance. This performance can be influenced by other psychological factors, such as fear, hysterism, embarrassment,etc. Also by Physiology factors like tiredness, sleepiness, or other environmental factors, like the context, noise, music etc.

For Savignon, Comunicative Competence could be defined as:

> *...the ability to function in a truly communicative setting - that is a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total information input, both linguistic and paralinguistic of one or more interlocutors. Communicative competence includes grammatical competence (sentence level grammar), socio-linguistic competence (an understanding of the social context in which language is used), discourse competence (an understanding of how utterances are strung together to form a meaningful whole), and strategic competence (a language user's employment of strategies to make the best use of what s/he knows about how a language works, in order to interpret, express, and negotiate meaning in a given context)[2].*

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[2] Savignon, S. "Evaluation of Communicative Competence: The ACTFL Provisional Proficiency Guidelines." Te Modern Language Journal. vol. 59. (1985), p. 129-134.

Taking into account this definition, the Task-based approach will be designed so the students can express themselves using these four skills. In order to get it, every class will be designed with a very concrete objective. To achieve it, some grammar rules will be taught every day, next to the rules for the purpose of producing appropiate utterances, and some strategies to infer the meaning. This is an essential point when we want to teach a foreign language; to motivate the student to be able to understand the general meaning of the messages even if he does not decode every word he is listening to, or he is reading. For this, there are quite a lot of exercises to work with key words, very quick exercises where the student has to listen to sentences, uttered by a range of native speakers –with different accents- in which the listener must only stand out the indispensable words to undertand the message. Furthermore, there are also exercises with questions, and after listening some conversations, the student must answer specific details of the conversation, promoting in this way the "selective listening".

From my point of view the Task-based approach is really useful, especialy to teach a second language quickly, but not for a universitarian teaching profile. To carry out this enterprise, the tasks must be programmed in progression. First of all some introductions, filling in some documents, doing shopping, looking for a job, social relationships, etc. Taking as a example "introductions", we could start seing the different ways of introducing yourself in the target language "me llamo…" "te presento a…" "encantado/a", "qué tal estás/está?", etc. After showing these structures, we could work deepler in the room, with different sociologic contexts, to analyse how we should address these sentences to different recipients:

A) the baker
B) working mates
C) the father of our future wife
D) our boss

To make the exercise, we may do some role games, in which every student must play the role of a different character, and develop the dialogue until he is achiving the objectives of "knowing the recipient, introducing himself, being polite". The student will make use of his knowledge on the culture of the target language, and he will have to guess how to behave in those contexts, in front of those recipients, in the proper way. The professor will be there to correct some inaccurate expressions, but only as a coordinator and helper.

Once the objective is achieved, the group will carry on with another task. Every task has got a close structure, in the sense that if one of the students misses a class, it does not interrupt the pace of the group. Even if there are students from different levels, they will be able to work altogether – this is an important issue, since that is the main problem when a teacher has to teach in the context of students who cannot attend the classes every day, or every student comes from a different cultural and educated background. Similarly to the real world, people are different, and we live together, learning from other people's experiences in our daily life, in the class it can be very useful to work with students from different levels. But the

teacher must be careful and pay attention to every student – that is why the groups have to be reduced – so that every of them is developing their level; in these kinds of role games every student can improve their level by adding new structures they have just learnt on the street. In this way, the students are used as semi-teachers. Of course, the teacher do not have to make the mistake of leaving the students who are ahead to get bored in class; the demand has to be according to the possiblities of everyone. Some times –and now I am giving my opinion from the perspective of a student of Romanian language- you can learn more from your classmates than from the teacher, so it is very good to split up the students according to their level, but it is not negative to mix them up in the same room to make them to interact, even in the university level.

Nowadays I am teaching Practical courses of Spanish in the university of Craiova, being this language the minor of the student's degree –the students in the class have different majors, and Spanish is the second speciality they choose-. This is a different model of teaching, since the students are really interested in the grammar issues, because their laboral future will demand them to have deep notions on syntax and grammar. However, I think that using chapters of TV programmes, vocabulary games, press articles, film proyections, etc. is really necessary to keep the interest of students on the subject. The interaction between traditional exercises, such as "drills" in which syntactic structure repititions are made, with dynamic exercises, or even to include the physical movement of students in the class – for example, by using balls in class, and throw out the ball from one student to the other while they have to say the tenses of some verbs, or vocabulary – can help them to oil the wheels of their minds, and to teach grammar, but in an indirect – and funnier – way.

In a nutshell, I think that when we are teaching Spanish – or another foreing language – fun exercises play a very relevant role to suceed in the enterprise. Even if we are in a universitarian level, we can try to find the recreational part of the subject we are teaching, and from time to time, leave apart the grammar side, that will be learnt little by little. The objective we should always pursue is "communication", that is the main reason why we are making an effort to learn foreign languages. As Carlos Lomas, director of the Spanish magazine "Signos" says: *"When we are learning a foreign language, we are not only learning to build structures gramatically correct, but also we are learning to know what to say, to whom, when and how to say it, and finally, when to be in silent."*

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PERSPECTIVES PEDAGOGIQUES DIFFERENTES CONCERNANT L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'ESPAGNOL COMME LANGUE ETRANGERE

(Résumé)

Cet article essaie de défendre un type de méthodologie, assez éloigné de celle dite traditionnelle, concernant l'apprentissage de l'espagnol en tant que deuxème langue. L'indispensable connaissance de la grammaire doit provenir   d'un apprentissage inductif au sein duquel les apprenants deviennent capables de théoriser par eux-mêmes.Une utilisation de la méthode directe et de actionnelles est ainsi proposée pour obtenir des cours plus agréables et dynamiques. Les jeux, les chansons, les exercices de répétition utilisant des mélodies ainsi que les travaux s'appuyant sur la compétitivité sont autant de moyens encourageant l'apprentissage des élèves.

La méthode naturelle suivant la manière dont on apprend notre langue maternelle – par observation et induction − peut aider à faire éprouver aux apprenants un sentiment de proximité avec la langue étudiée, en les amenant indirectement à comprendre les lois de réciprocité établies entre émetteur et récepteur; la compétence communicative selon Hymes. Suivant Carlos Lomas: «En apprenant l'usage d'une langue nous apprenons à élaborer des phrases correctes du point de vue grammatical mais en plus et surtout à savoir quoi dire, à qui, quand et comment le dire et quoi et quand se taire».

ETHNOLOGY "REVISITED" OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR THE 21st CENTURY

GABRIELA BOANGIU

Despite being quite a "young" science, just as the other Social Sciences, together with Ethnography, Anthropology and Sociology, Ethnology is characterized by an impressive richness with a view to their specific theoretical views and attempts. The issues derived from the need of clarifying possible conceptual and methodological limitations pass through a large spectrum, leaving from the positivist kind of intention of the nineteenth century to the contemporary ideas that finally agree Ethnology has a relative epistemological autonomy without radically separating it from the above-mentioned fields. This kind of categorical delimitation between Ethnology and the other Social Sciences can be placed but in an area of a dull didacticism that is meant to void and detour the scientific discourse to dry abstract ideas by artificially delimiting the area of preoccupations accessible to the mentioned field instead of clarifying some issues.

In spite of the limited space of this research, we nevertheless try to emphasize some major features of contemporary Ethnology that seldom find themselves - from the methodological and conceptual point of view- at the intersection of Ethnology with Archaeology, History, Anthropology, Sociology and so on.

Thus, away from a forced "fight for territory" from the epistemological point of view, Ethnology seems to be threatened by a much too greater liberty concerning its association with other social sciences, by the loss of its scientific foundation, if we talk about a multidisciplinary approach. Still, the solid ground offered by the results of the so far made researches do not seem to be troubled by the multidisciplinary approach, but, on the contrary: it will open new perspectives if there is a balance between the characteristics of the observed social reality and the conceptual set of instruments properly designed from the methodological point of view. In this way, both the danger of reiterating some concepts specific to Ethnology and the subordination of a strictly methodological study apparatus are avoided.

With the aim of exceeding the rigid set of rules specific to the methodology of research and to socio-humane sciences, Elisabeta Stănciulescu, a well-known Romanian sociologist, stated in the *Foreword* of François

Laplantine's *Ethographical Description*: „Times in which the methodological textbooks of socio-humane researches were semi-compulsory and presented as rules to be strictly obeyed– under the threaten of "excommunicating" way beyond the frontiers of lawful science the one that, out of ignorance or out of any other reason break them"[1]- has passed.

        Thus, there are some people that consider *"the scientific culture"* (that not only means the good learning of textbooks and of the so-called "perfect" resumes, but also lecturing the published reports of research, the so-called "author books", very useful because of their implacable perfection, if this is to be quantified) and the *"practice personal exercise"* as an adequate solution, both of them necessarily doubled by the regular use of *"(self) reflection, epistemological (self)interrogation"[2]*.

        It is necessary to briefly resume the main stages of Ethnology as science in order to deeply understand it and its accumulations in the discourse of contemporary Ethnology. In this way, the main, common spring of Ethnology, Ethnography, Anthropology, Sociology is identified. Further on, we observe their relative step-by-step autonomy and the further methodological intersections between the above-mentioned scientific fields in the perspective of "frontier" disciplines.

        On one hand, Ethnology is in such an obvious relation with Anthropology that there have been times when the two were considered identical. Still, its negative side – reductionistic and unproductive- was obvious. Although being considered as "clearly dissociated methodological stages", Ethnography being responsible with "observation and description", Ethnology with "data interpretation" and Anthropology with "generalization and comparing", this delimitation proved to be simplistic, and artificial[3]. Some researchers mention relatively flexible borders within these three terms that "continue to be used in order to design the particular shape the ethnological work takes at a particular moment: we still speak about Ethnography in order to characterize field work and about Ethnology or Anthropology in order to emphasize the effort made for clarifying the theoretical part brought by research"[4].

        On the other hand, in his attempt of featuring some major directions of the history of Ethnology and Anthropology, Dumitru Stan emphasizes that Ethnology and Anthropology "are nowadays in a similar situation with that of Sociology and any of the socio-humane sciences: they hardly fulfill the traditional epistemological conditions of validating any science (object, methods

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        [1] Elisabeta Stănciulescu, *Foreword* of François Laplantine's *„Ethographical Description",* Iaşi, Polirom, 2000, p.32.

        [2] *Ibidem*, p. 33.

        [3] Marie-Odile Geraud, Olivier Leservoisier, Richard Pottier, *Key terms of Ethnology* (translated by Dana Ligia Ilin), Iaşi, Polirom, 2001, p. 14-15; Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coordinators), *Dictionary of Ethnology and Anthropology* (translation coordinated by Smaranda Vultur and Radu Răutu), Iaşi, Polirom, 1999, p.431-435.

        [4] Marie-Odile Geraud, Olivier Leservoisier, Richard Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

and approaches, own laws)”[5]. The well-known Romanian sociologist conducts an analysis of Anthropology and Sociology from the perspective of “the epistemological conditions of validating any science”: object of study, used methodology, the level of the nom-othetical character, the temporal dimension aimed by each investigative action, and the appropriate type of knowledge that corresponds to the respective discipline.

The analysis will prove its efficiency if it manages to feature some specific characteristics to each type of investigation earlier discussed, respectively Ethnology, Anthropology and Sociology. The didactic issues of the form of presentation are seldom contradicted by the contemporary researches that go over the rigidly marked theoretical barriers[6]. For example, with a view to the specific type of knowledge of this “triumvirate of investigating the socio-humane field” – Ethnology, Anthropology and Sociology, Dumitru Stan considers that Anthropology “reaches a speculative kind of knowledge”, Ethnology produces a “descriptive and explanatory knowledge” whereas “Sociology adds the profundities of the comprehensive type of knowledge”. On the other hand, it is well-known the existence of some ‘‘interpretative” attempts in American Anthropology. Then, it is rigorously approached “the issue raised by the statute of the object of knowledge, of its intrinsic intelligibility and of the forms and ways of understanding it” within the new direction represented by Interpretative Anthropology founded in the ‘70s-‘80s; “there were loads of paper works that referred to the field research, to the ethnographical writings, to politics and to cultural clashes that added a reflexive dimension to the complexity and diversity of the field of research”[7].

With a view to the relation Ethnology-Sociology, Jean Copans considered “Ethnology directly meets Sociology, both of them studying identical realities”[8]. We find the critics of Anthropology that, because of its speculative side, has been accused of “alienating from the concrete and implicitly, from Sociology and Ethnology, in this way endangering the authority of the “triumvirate” made by the social sciences (Dumitru Sandu) much too categorical. And that by being mentioned as “the weak ring”, the most exposed to the “traps of making Philosophy” creating de-responsibility from both Ethnology and Sociology’s epistemological point of view.

The pattern of Natural Sciences, taken over by the socio-humane Sciences, seems to be outdated, despite obtaining relevant results, but in favor of having a more adequate and flexible closeness to the object of study- the mobile, changing, alive, social reality. This orientation emphasizes the excerpt of reality

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[5] Dumitru Stan, *Foreword of* Jean Copans, Introduction in Ethnology and Anthropology (translated by Elisabeta Stănciulescu and Ionela Ciobănaşu), Iaşi, Polirom, 1999, p.12.

[6] Dumitru Sandu, *op. cit.*, p.17-19.

[7] Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coordinators), *op. cit.*, p.331.

[8] Jen Copans, *op. cit.*, p-47.

by going over the barriers imposed by a disciplinary limitation and to whom the researcher has to adapt from the methodological point of view.

In this situation, the object of study is "sovereign" and we observe the interchangeability between the approaches of different sciences. The sciences that based themselves on quantitative data discover the qualitative ones and vice versa. For example, there were times when Anthropology used Statistics. Sociology reconsidered the role of Observation as an approach once considered "a speculative method and technique" and today it "stands among the main used methods and techniques that can offer information with an added-value of facts but opinions"[9].

Sociology does not reduce itself to quantitative analyses and to valuing "the law of big numbers". In this regard, we can mention the studies conducted by the School of Chicago that used the technique of life – narrating – a qualitative approach meant to research the small social groups[10]. "Some anthropologists that study the familial relations have come to use Statistics in order to better define the characteristics of matrimonial bondages. Such "borrowings" are efficient in what concerns the obtained results, expanding the theoretical- methodological basis, in this way facilitating a more adequate approach of the studied reality.

Even if we can see this kind of methodological interdependence, Social Sciences do not "dissolve", losing identity in a rigor less, amorphous mass of clearly defined conceptual links. Although it seems to be a bit fragmented, Contemporary Ethnology tends to explore new spaces, new thematic segments, responding to these challenges by continuous adjustments, progressing "through borrowings and successive theoretical distances, constituting a cumulative and critical science about the cultural and social being"[11].

Some researchers make a clear distinction between the European and "the exotic" Ethnology, the opposition between *"the civilized"* and *"the primitive"* that arose with Ethnology. In European Ethnology, this idea finds its equivalent in the opposition between *"scholars-like"* and *"popular"* that still finds its place in the centre of numberless researches conducted by a great number of folkloric and national Ethnology schools[12]. Some researchers, of whom we name Marc Auge though, consider "exoticism has died", "the other one is me myself, on one hand because the others have the right to express their own opinion in their turn, (…)"; the following issue naturally raises: "this new

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[9] Cristina Gavriluță, Foreword at Henri Peretz, Approaches in Sociology. Observation, Iași, European Institute, 2002, p. 16.

[10] Marie-Odile Géraud, Olivier Leservoisier, Richard Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Nicolae Panea, *Cultural and social Anthropology –vademecum*, Craiova, Omniscop, 2002; Nicolae Panea, *The Gods of Asphalt. Anthropology of the Urbane,* Craiova, Editura Cartea Românească, 2001, p. 33-46; Philippe Corcuff, *New Sociologies,* (translated by Ion. I. Ionescu), Iași, European Institute, 2005, p. 108-120.

[11] Marie-Odile Géraud, Olivier Leservoisier, Richard Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[12] Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coordinators), *op. cit.*, p.227.

way of perceiving life is conjectural or does it have a definitive epistemological ground, if it comes from an internal critics, from a speculative liberty of the ethnologists"[13]?

John W. Cole analyses the contemporary European Ethnology even making some statements about the Romanian one in a workshop presented within a seminar held in the University from Perugia in 2000, March, 9ᵗʰ -10ᵗʰ. His research has been later published in the work: "Anthropological research in Romania; Ethnographical and historical perspectives"[14]. Although the author emphasizes the fact that the research is made under the "handprint of his subjectivity", we may easily observe the objectivity he proves when analyzing the differences between the "Anglophone Anthropology" and the "European Anthropology".

He then makes a concise, pertinent differentiation between Anthropology and Ethnology, stating that "studying a certain phenomenon in Anthropology usually takes a year or even more, whereas in Ethnology the periods of observation are shorter, they happen at certain periods of time and last longer. Whereas Anthropologists focus on studying social relations in a broader sense, Ethnologists focus on the material culture and its means of cultural expression; Anthropologists deal with recent phenomena whereas Ethnologists deal with archaic structures". He also observes another difference that made the object of some troubling discussions of the kind, namely the fact that Anthropologists concentrate their attention on the foreign comparative research whereas Ethnologists conduct their researches at home[15].

In order to emphasize on the existent differences between "Anglophone Anthropology" and "European Anthropology", Cole quotes Orvar Lögfren, Swedish Ethnologist to whom "Global Anthropology" is embraced by European nations with a strong colonial sense, while the late or small colonial states focused on "the internal primitives, either as folkloric studies or as a national cultural Anthropology. This more recent tradition was also called "European Ethnology"[16].

Especially, Ethnology has developed in the 19-th century countries such as Romania. Cole focused on the idea that "there are distinctive national ethnographical traditions that have developed more or less independently of one another". Some researchers consider this partly owes to the "dominant cultural pluralism" in Europe on one hand, and, to the fact that "a politics of legitimacy of contesting the established order"[17] was attributed to national ethnologies on

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[13] Jean Copans, *op. cit.*, p.22.

[14] John W. Cole, European Ethnology: eight thesis, in "Anthropological Research in Romania. Historical and Ethnographical perspectives" (coordinators Cristina Papa, Giovanni Pizza, Filippo M. Zerilli), Cluj, Clusium, 2004, p. 22.

[15] *Ibidem.*

[16] Orvar Lögfren, *Linking the local, national and the global*, in "Ethnologia Europaea", vol. 26 (2), p.157-168, *apud* John W. Cole, European Ethnology: eight thesis, in "Anthropological Research in Romania. Historical and Ethnographical perspectives" (coordinators Cristina Papa, Giovanni Pizza, Filippo M. Zerilli), Cluj, Clusium, 2004, p. 23-26.

[17] Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coordinators), *op. cit.*, p.227.

the other hand. Numerous researches have been conducted "with the only aim of sustaining or rejecting ethnical quests, the aim of projecting a social class as an exclusive agent of cultural creation"[18]. There are recent researches that prove that Ethnologists really preoccupied by the social and cultural phenomena have tried to stay apart from the ideologies of the times.

A particular case is that presented by Anca Stere in the study: "The Social Dimensions of the Folkloric Text in the Post War Totalitarism", which is focused on the fact that Romanian researchers also managed to record anticommunist texts; they have been offering good reasons from the point of view of Communist ideology, in this way, being allowed to continue to record those facts[19]. And this example of Romanian Ethnology, meant to deny ideology–like theories of the times, was not a singular one. Moreover, from the scientific point of view of some social phenomena specific to our cultural space, Romanian Ethnology recorded complex and rigorously conducted researches not as a mere reaction against the distortions made by the ideology of the Communist System.

With a view to the collaboration among European Ethnologists, Cole emphasized "there have been made more or less happy efforts, to develop regional cooperation, for example in the Northern Isles in Iberia and in Mediterranean areas". He considered these efforts contributed to a "unifying perspective over the entire Ethnological phenomenon". The process of dividing European Ethnology tends to its unification, "the national Ethnologies focusing on community now"[20].

Contemporary Ethnology is oriented to achieving a conceptual coherence, to expand the space of scientific debates on one hand, and to approach new thematic areas on the other hand. "Ethnologists like to say there are more areas that find their place in the middle of their own societies to explore"[21] nowadays.

Spreading western values in the "traditional" areas either directly, constant or temporary (temporary, seasonal, migrations), with the socio-cultural environment, or indirectly (media, group of friends) is a real challenge, and it is opened to ethnological debates. The relation tradition-modernism, the phenomenon of re-inventing traditions, represents preoccupations of contemporary Ethnology, exceeding its initial aim to emphasize broader temporality[22].

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[18] *Ibidem* .

[19] Anca Stere, *The Social Dimensions of the Folkloric Text in the Post War Totalitarism in* "Symposia. Workbooks of Ethnology and Anthropology"*, 2003, Craiova, Aius, p. 90.

[20] John W. Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 28-31.

[21] Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coordinators), *op. cit.*, p.465.

[22] Denys Cuch, The Notion of Culture, (translated by Mihai-Eugen Avădanei), Iași, European Institute, 2003, p.52-53; Marie-Odile Géraud, Olivier Leservoisier, Richard Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Recent studies focus on the need of aligning to the necessity of studying social, cultural changes. This also raises a lot of new issues: Sabina Ispas said it is compulsory that contemporary Ethnology has to continue to collect elements specific to oral culture, in this way ensuring a fond of documents for further researches. Certain deontological norms should be respected. These are meant to protect the dignity of a person, its right to freedom of speech. We find the need to avoid presenting some valuable judgments as absolute scientific truths in the same work. These risk to be "valued" by certain Political decision factors[23], in other words, the situations of creating a re-ideology in Ethnology[24] have to be avoided.

These imperatives in research that contemporary Ethnology tries to assume open the way to new debates concerning aesthetic, artistic value of the presented ethnographical/ethnological material to be selected and interpreted. Sabina Ispas emphasizes the presence of certain changes in the cultural space: either the disappearance of genres and species of oral culture that lost their function in contemporary society, or the appearance of innovations considered "subculture" or "kitsch". The author focuses on the relativity of the "aesthetical value"[25] of some contemporary folkloric works, on the difficulty of justly appreciating them from the aesthetical point of view. In the same direction, that of the necessity of assessing the contemporary "ethnographical documents" through the ethnologist's grid and respectively to that of the anthropologist's and not to that of the aesthetician meant to obtain pertinent results of the conducted researches, we can also mention Vintilă Mihăilescu that criticized that "we consider only the old and well-preserved as object of study" and because of that

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[23] Sabina Ispas, *Ethnology, Ethnography, Folkloristics: Disciplines in Co-operation-Disciplines in Competition,* in "Symposia. Workbooks of Ethnology and Anthropology", 2003, Craiova, Aius, p. 26. taking into consideration the fact that the study partly resumes the main objectives of contemporary Ethnology, we will further present an essential excerpt of the above-mentioned study: "Present-day (folkloristic, ethnography, musicology) ethnological research has several objectives, such as working out documents for every element of the oral culture, from the angle of every type of language which expresses it. Documents should meet the requirement of the outmost objectivity. They should be made so that "data banks" could integrate them, close to non-conventional sound and image archives of folklore and ethnography. These "data banks" will provide typologically processes and systematized information on the present culture and on the process undergone by it, aimed at those interested, in the next millennium. The ethnologist should observe the right to privacy, dignity, freedom of speech of an individual of a group; his role should be a positive one, mediating between groups or individuals and the rest of society, in moments of great diversification (…) If a specialist exceeds his qualification, or if he states value judgments pretending that they are absolute truths of a scientific authority concerning some aspects of the "intangible", "profound" culture, which he is not entitled to do, a subjective angle may be detrimental not only to the results of research, but especially to the subsequent stages of data taking over and turning to account, undertaken by other specialists or by the political or economic decision factors".

[24] Also see Vintilă Mihăilescu, *The difficult de-construction of the staffed cabbage. Discourse on tradition,* in "Anthropological research in Romania. Ethnological and Historical Perspectives", Cluj, Clusium, 2004, (Coordinators Cristina Papa, Giovanni Pizza, Filippo M. Zerilli), p. 203.

[25] Sabina Ispas, *op. cit.,* p.43.

it becomes the object of a healing piety. This value judgment precedes and orients the analysis of facts in massively rejecting what is happening in the contemporary rural world not being object of Ethnology, under the aesthetic pretext of Kitsch. There comes an important methodological handicap that resides in an inability or even inappetence against the social changes"[26]. This is a new issue raised by the epistemological system of the ethnographical document, creating a bridge between the *"incipient period of Ethnology"* when exhibitions fascinated through their exoticism, just as the documents referring to habits, rituals, and holidays, and *"the contemporary period"* in which reason does not need the notice of the aesthetician in order to be awake. François Laplantine observed that "ethnographical perception does not fall into the category of immediate, medium perception, of rapid knowledge through intuition, but in that of *seeing* (and consequently of *knowing)* that implies mediation, distance in time and space, re-evaluation, (...), and, in all cases, re-shaping through the means of writing[27]. He also quotes Pierre Francastel, that noticed that "we only see what we know or at least what we can integrate into a coherent system"[28].

"The content of the ethnographical document exists independently of the observation it constitutes as a proof, but it does not accede to the dignity of ethnographical document only in the extent in which the ethnologist is capable of using it as a clue, that means to be made both intelligible and significant, through the raised question (...); in its quality of a document, it is created through the question that excites it and through the operation that isloates it from practice, with the aim of promoting it as an instrument of knowledge[29].

These are only a few new directions in contemporary Ethnology under the influence of a more and more challenging reality through its dynamics. We did not intend to cover the whole area of the actual issues of this young but still rich -through its debates- field, but on one hand to emphasize the methodological and conceptual earning generated by a "permanent dialogue" among the socio-humane sciences: Ethnology/Anthropology/Sociology, and to direct the ethnological researches to new cultural spaces on the other hand.

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[26] Vintilă Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*, p. 203-204.

[27] François Laplantine, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[28] Pierre Francastel, *Etudes de sociologie de l' art,* Paris, Denoel/Gonthier, 1970, p. 60 *apud* François Laplantine, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[29] Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coordinators), *op. cit.*, p.434-435.

RÉPÈRES EPISTEMOLOGIQUES ET MÉTHODOLOGIQUES DE L'ETHNOLOGIE CONTEMPORAINE

(Résumé)

Cet article présente quelques directions de recherche, spécifiques à l'ethnologie contemporaine. L'ethnologie este un science assez jeune, comme toutes les sciences sociales d'ailleurs, mais ses discours scientifiques s'entrecroisent souvent avec l'ethnographie, l'anthropologie ou avec la sociologie, l'historie et l'archéologie.

Pour mieux comprendre l'ethnologie contemporaine on a du faire référence aux points essentiels de son historie. L'ethnologie partage avec d'autres domaines de recherche, mentionnes ci-dessus, une importante parte des paradigmes scientifiques dont elle fiat l'usage.

On essaye de souligner les fondements épistémologiques de l'ethnologie contemporaine, les reconfigurations des méthodes classiques ou l'utilisation des méthodes qui se trouvent à l'entrecroisement d'autres sciences socio humaines, ses nouveaux buts et on peut dire ses devoirs.

THE DESNĂȚUILUI VALLEY HOUSES. TRADITIONAL MATERIALS AND BUILDING TECHNIQUES

ANCA CEAUȘESCU

The dwelling place or the house constitutes an important element of material and spiritual culture of a nation. A permanent residence for the family, the house is the place where the people, the family spends most of the time, the place where the tradition is best preserved, where are perpetuated and transmitted the authentic popular creations. Because of its interior and exterior appearance, the house reflects the social statute of the person who lives in and the materials from which it is made mirrors the relationships that the family has with the natural and social environment.

If we take into consideration what P. P. Panaitescu said, that the specific of the Romanian culture is a result of material way of living[1], the rustic house was and still is an important documentary source for the examination of some problems from the history of the Romanian people, especially those connected with their origin and continuity. "The popular civilization must be regarded as a level of development, as reflecting the situation of the social, material and spiritual life of a formation or a social group, creator of a popular culture"[2]. And more than that, the popular architecture might unfold the hidden spatial ideals of a nation or of a collectivity, where the tradition is preserved better than in the ecclesiastical architecture and more liable to be influenced by the historical circumstances[3].

Situated in the west side of the Romanian Field, the Deasnățui's valley presents, in point of the dwelling place, an unitary character, with small differences, specially related with the details, referring to some complementary plan elements. The circulation on the water courses, along which existed an intense economic and social life since the early times, facilitated the building of houses that reflected the level of culture and civilization of the respective population, their moral and spiritual ideals, the occupational system, the development tendencies, the influences they had etc.

The rustic house evaluated in time and space, presenting a great variety of shapes, caused by the changing of the used raw material, by the techniques of building, the changes in organizing the interior space, in decoration and,

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[1] P.P. Panaitescu, *Istoria culturii românești,* București, 1969, p. 14.

[2] Gheorghe Pătrașcu, *Arhitectura și tehnica populară*, București, The Technique Publishing House, 1984, p. 15.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 16.

specially, the modifications made on the project of the rooms. Nevertheless, in the ensemble of the essential elements, the house constitutes an important identity in the entire Romanian space.

The archeological evidences, the writings of the foreign travelers, the documents but also the field testimonies lead us to a complete image about the evolution of the traditional rustic house about the used raw materials, the building techniques and about the organizing of the interior space. Within the framework of the studied settlements, the dwelling places were presented under the form of the *pit houses* or *above the ground houses*, with a rectangular shape.

Arranged as a shelter against the bad weather and as a space were the family life was carried on, the house has a multilateral past, originating from the Early Neolithic. I. Simionescu, studying the rural houses in Romania, said that they were first temporary shelters and that "the simplest were made from bark covers, laid on few poles; in the lakes area, the bark was replaced with reed. Better build are the shelters from the steppe sheepfolds, cone-shaped, with the fireplace dug in the ground, similar with the cone-shaped reed cabins from the lake's area"[4]. In time, they evaluated, were improved, once with the impulse of the population regarding the shelter and the development of the domestic activities.

Within its evolution, the house always depended on the environment conditions, historical, social and economic condition of one area. The geographical elements (the geological structure, the relief, the clime, the hydrography, the soil, the vegetation, the natural resources) could be considered defining elements of the complex house – household or, as I. Simionescu said, "are suitable for this type of houses"[5]. In the same time, the house is directly connected with the continuity of our nation, as a sedentary one, in these regions and with its occupations (the cultivation of plants, the growth of animals, the fishing, the trades). Regarding this idea, Romulus Vuia said that "The house represents the housing where the generations are born, live and die, the people from which emerges the millenary life of a nation. It represented the shelter and the permanent testimony of the familial and economic life of the rural people: it constitutes […] the most significant chapter that regards the researches of our popular civilization"[6].

The archaeological discoveries and the evidences from the different written sources show us that, starting from immemorial times and until the second half of the 19th century, more than 86% of our population lived in the countryside, in small settlements or even in hamlets made by few families. Within these settlements, the house's position depended on the relief and they were placed in the most adequate places, where the dwellers dispose of building

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[4] I. Simionescu, *Ţara noastră, oamnei, locuri, lucruri*, Bucureşti, 1927, p. 28.

[5] I. Simionescu, *Tipuri de case din Vechiul Regat,* Iaşi, The Scientific Magazine "V. Adamachi", 1922, p. 14.

[6] Romulus Vuia, *Satul românesc din Transilvaia şi Banat,* in "Studii de etnografie şi folclor", Bucureşti, Minerva Publishing House, 1979, p. 158.

materials and of a proper soil for the agriculture, and not depending on a plan of the respective village with the households disposed along the main street or around a central complex. Considering this, in the mountainside, having forestry and stone resources, the houses were built from beams with a shingle roof; in the plain area, having clay and plenty of reed, arose the pit houses and the reed-covered houses, in which the wood is an accessory, and in the hilly area, where the forests spread across wide surfaces, disposing of clay and stone materials, the houses were made from long beams, with the foundation of peeled off tree trunks[7]. Once with the restriction of the forestry surfaces, the beams were replaced with twigs, and the clay was used for filling up the space between them. "In this way arose the twig houses, with reed or wooden tile roof, near the lakes or the mountain"[8].

The rural house from this area, through the elements of the plan, the building techniques and the used terminology, integrates itself within the general ensemble of the traditional Romanian house, becoming a segment of ethnic and national cultural continuity. The base terms used for the most of its components belong to the original fund of the Romanian language: house = casa (lat. *casa*), door = uşă (lat. *ustium*), poles = pari (lat. *Palus*), board = scânduri (lat. *scandula*), entrance hall = tindă (lat. *tenda*), pantry = celar (lat. *cellarium*), wall = perete (lat. *paries-etis*), roof = acoperiş (lat. *acco(o)perire*), rafter = căprior (lat. *capriolus*), table = masă (lat. *mensa*), chair = scaun (lat. *scamnum*) etc.[9].

The adaptation to the surrounding environment, the great variety of types and forms, the high artistic value, clear and logic constructive techniques, the rational and functional distribution of the plans, the matching of the proportions, the dosing of the decoration and the harmonization of the colors are, according to Grigore Ionescu, general characteristics of the popular architecture's creations[10]. The Romanian peasant, who was also the architect and the constructor of his own house[11], used, as a part of his building art, different materials, exclusively local, and that's why there is a strong connection between the building and the place where it was build.

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[7] I. Simionescu, *Tipuri de case din Vechiul Regat,* Iaşi, The Scientific Magazine "V. Adamachi", 1922, p. 14.

[8] *Ibidem.*

[9] I. I. Rusu, *Elemente autohtone în terminologia aşezărilor şi gospodăriilor*, in „AMETC in the 1962-1964 years", Cluj, 1966, p. 74-92; Ion Coteanu, Luiza Seche, Mircea Seche, *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române*, The Second Edition, Bucureşti, The Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, 1996, for the respective terms (p. 8, 142, 151, 159, 177, 602, 747, 955, 957, 1093).

[10] Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura populară în România*, Bucureşti, The Meridiane Publishing House, 1981, p. 44, 89; Idem, *Arhitectura românească: Tipologii, creaţii, creatori*, Bucureşti, The Technique Publishing House, 1986, p. 25.

[11] On the world-wide scale, approximate 95% from the rural constructions are made by the popular artisans and only 5% by the architects.

The people from this region used, when building their houses, different materials: the wood, the earth or the clay[12], the brick, the straws, the reed etc, from which they raised the walls and the roofs. A material with multiple valences and specific symbols, the wood was used in all respects (starting from the simple bark cover, after only cutting the branches, and continuing with the beams and different carved and fashioned elements), in the entire Romanian territory, framed within "the great civilization of the wood". Along the time, because of the deforestation, the utilization of the wood for the construction of the walls was replaced with the utilization of the beams, covered with twigs and coated with clay and, then, the only material they used was a mixture made of straws and clay. The clay, the raw material abundantly found in the thick lair of loess that covered the entire Oltenian Field, was used in the simple possible way, as beaten earth, as a filling for the knitted twigs or mixed with straws (the adobes). They start using the brick to the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, in a reduced measure. In the same time, it is used the tin and the tile for the roof.

Gradually, in the popular architecture, penetrate other construction materials too. In the second half of the 20th century was generalized the brick and the tile and was introduced the cement, the concrete and, in the last years, the blocks of autoclaved cellular concrete. Thus, the exterior aspect of the houses is permanently changing, the traditional element being less and less present.

Referring to *the building techniques*, in the region we have studied, the houses were half-timbered worked (the technique sometimes called Frachwert), from earth beaten in casings and from adobes.

The foundation, of the houses from the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, was made of beaten earth or brick and, rarely, irregular quarry stone. In some cases, the foundation was integrally filled and, in others, only in some of the rooms.

The walls were built only from one type of material: timber, earth or brick, or from combined materials: timber and earth, timber and brick. The used timber was that of oak, either in the raw form (round beams), either as four-face carved beams, square-shaped or wide, rectangular boards. A main condition was that the timber to be well-seasoned: "the trees for the constructions was cut in the periods when they had less sap, late in autumn or early in the spring, before bursting into buds, when they pealed easier, removing the pests from the bark, the spores, the insects etc."[13].

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[12] Was used a mixture of chopped straws or chaff, water and organic raw materials, forming the so-called *ceamur*. This was either cast into the casings and beaten with the rammer "until the water emerged", or cast in special shapes of about 20X20X40 cm and was dried in the sun, obtaining the adobes, which were lately used for building. The clay was also used for the coating the wooden walls, assuring the plaster and the warmth for the interior.

[13] Valer Butură, *Etnografia poporului român*, Cluj-Napoca, The Dacia Publishing House, 1978, p. 99.

In the Băileşti Field, dominated the houses with clay walls, differently build, and according with the quantity of wood that they had:

• Houses with the walls made of clay, coating the knitted twigs (the dominant type),

• Houses with the walls made of clay, introduced between the laths (*planks*),

• Houses with the walls made only of clay mixed with straws or chaff,

• Houses with the walls made of adobes.

A traditional and very old technique, used in constructions until the beginning of the 20th century, is the *"pitchfork" technique*. In each corner of the building and within the walls were thrust into the ground vertical wooden pillars, constituting the sustaining element of the walls. They had in the superior side a carved "pitchfork", on which were placed the beams that formed the exterior shape of the walls (the upper grinder), on which the ceiling beams leaned upon. Between the intermediary pitchforks, parallel with the ground and with the upper beams, were placed two poles that formed the wall's framework. These (the poles) were united through "knitted" twigs, which were then consolidated with successive lairs of clay mixed with straws or chaff (the image 1 d). In the upper side, the walls were connected through the main beams which formed "the lower grinder" of the house. Among these were placed the secondary beams that formed the framework of the ceilings and of the attic's floor. The ends of the beams were extended outside the walls of the house, supporting *the eaves*. The house built in this particular way had the disadvantage that the pitchforks deepened inside the ground, because the roof was very heavy and the subsoil water from the surface was infiltrating inside.

More frequent were the twig houses build on a foundation of oak timber, made from an intact beam, having even 80 cm thickness, round or cut into 4 edges and fixed in the corners through a strong joining "straight" or "spigot-shaped" (the image 1 c). This structure formed the main skeleton of the house, which actually was the first "grinder of the walls". The foundation was placed either directly on the ground, either on stone or brick pilasters, buried under the four corners of the building. In the foundation were introduced the pillars from the corners and the intermediary ones, situated at about 1 m distance between each other, and which sustained the superior grinder of the house. Over the props were placed twigs which were then coated with clay. In the area that we have studied, because of the Danube's lakes, the twigs were sometimes replaced with reed. This kind of construction was called by Radu Maier the *hearth-placed house*[14].

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[14] Radu Octavian Maier, *Elemente inedite privind cercetarea aşezărilor şi arhitecturii ţărăneşti din vestul ţării*, in „Revista de etnografie şi folclor", nr. 4, 1988, p. 316.
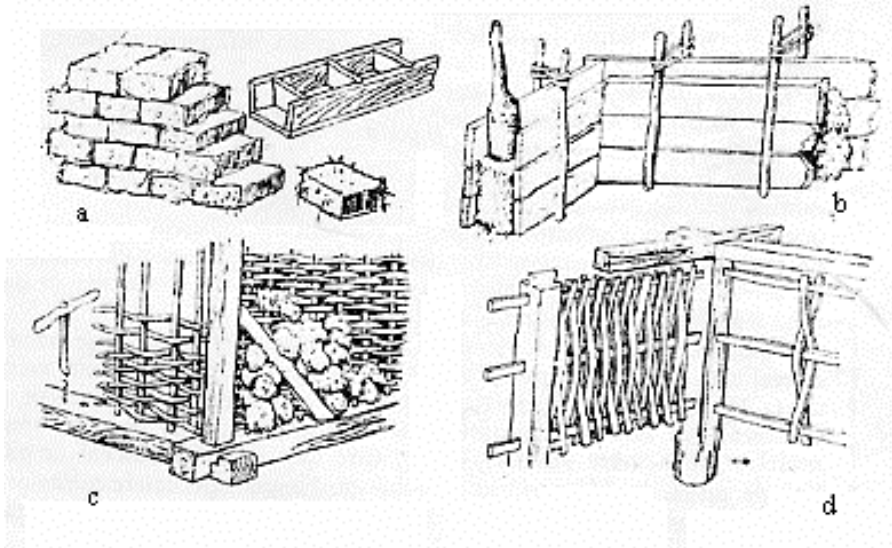
The image nr. 1 **Building techniques of the houses**: a) an adobe wall; b) a wall built from beaten earth, in casings; c) wall built from knitted twigs, placed on the foundation; d) wall built from knitted twigs, placed directly on the ground (după I. Vlăduţiu)

Sometimes, between the sustaining vertical pillars, because of the deforestation from this area, were put laths, the so-called *planks*, in a horizontal position, at 20-25 cm distance between them. The free remained space was filled up with a mixture made from earth, chaff and water. This is the traditional *half-timbered work* technique, spread across the whole country.

Starting from the 20th century, because of the deforestation from this area, were used techniques based on the use of earth: that of the earth beaten in the casings and that of the adobe.

In many cases, the walls of the traditional houses were built only from clay mixed with chopped straws or chaff: "the clayey material […] was taken with the pitchforks by two men and given to a third one, who stacked it up and pressed it with the feet on a stone base or directly on the ground. The part from a wall built to a certain height, called «lair» was leveled with a spade and left to dry for a few days. After the first lair had dried, was built the second and the third one, with which was finished the construction of the walls"[15]. This technique was improved once with the introduction of *the casings*, made from boards or planks with a breadth of 20-35 cm. They are placed around the house. Into the casings is put the earth mixed with straws and chaff and it is beaten with the "rammer", and, at the edge of the walls, the boards were hit with the so-

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[15] P. Mureşan, *Contribuţii la studiul aşezărilor şi construcţiilor ţărăneşti din Câmpia Transilvaniei*, in „AMETC" in the 1965-1967 years, Cluj, 1969, p. 179.

called *pirg*[16] (the image1 b). This technique is similar with the technique of casting the concrete into the modern constructions[17].

The adobe (*the earth-made block*) was used for the construction of the houses in many rural settlements and it is maintained until nowadays. The adobes are pasted together with *mortar* made from loess and chaff. The walls are built on a concrete foundation and plastered on the inside and on the outside (the image 1 a). Because the houses made from adobe are not very resistant, the burnt and the industrial brick came to replace them, helping at the construction of the houses of the wealthy families from the end of the 19th century. Towards the end of the 20th century (after 1970), the blocks of autoclaved cellular concrete replaced the brick. The use of these new materials led to the disappearance of many traditional materials and techniques, to the appearance of some new types of houses, and, through their shape and through the functionality of the rooms, to the modernization of the Romanian village.

The roof is the third register or volume of the rural house and was built from different materials and distinct techniques.

The roof of the traditional houses was made from two parts, on the houses made into the ground and also on the surface-built ones, or from four parts only in the case of the houses built on the ground's surface, with an very inclined slope, in order to assure a rapid draining of the large quantity of water resulted from precipitations. For the "covering" of the houses were used, in the past, the straws disposed in successive structures, the maize stalks, the sun-flower stalks or the reed.

When building the roof, around the exterior walls of the house was placed the so-called *cosoroabă* – joined beams on which was placed a thick timber beam called *meşter-grindă*. Over these two elements of the roof were placed the transversal "beams" which, usually, were covered with boards, in this way forming the attic of the house. At the ends of each beam were fixed "the rafters", connected with the ridge with timber, and over them were placed the straws or other materials used for the roof.

The roof was modified along the time, many traditional elements from its structure disappearing partially or totally. As a matter of fact, for covering a house are now used new materials: the tile (the most frequent), the tin, asbestos-cement boards, tar paper.

No matter the used materials and building techniques, the Romanian peasant wanted to satisfy the material need and, also, to create an agreeable aspect of the house. The beautiful aspect from the popular architecture is in tight connection first with the natural framing within the surrounding environment of the different component of the household, with the establishing of certain size

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[16] Tache Papahagi, *Images d'ethnographie roumaine. Banat şi Oltenia*, tome troisième, Bucureşti, MCMXXXIV, p. 91.

[17] Ştefan Enache, Teodor Pleşa, *Zona etnografică Dolj*, Bucureşti, The Sport-Turism Publishing House, 1982, p. 75.

proportions between the different components of the house (from this point of view the rural house from this area is characterized by the equilibration of the rapport horizontality - verticality) and with the decoration of the constructive elements. "Obtaining the beautiful aspect – says G. Ionescu didn't represent a matter of previous knowledge and of applying certain composition principles, but the result of intuiting some mathematical and physiological laws"[18].

The economic changes happened in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the modernization of the family, the significant urban influence, determined the appearance of some more complex designs and, in the same time, the abandon of the old architectural forms. Concomitantly, for the construction of a house are used new materials and techniques, imposed by the crescent requests of comfort and civilization.

LA DEMEURE DE VALEA DESNĂŢUIULUI. MATÉRIAUX ET DES TECHNIQUES DE CONSTRUCTION TRADITIONNELS

(Résumé)

La région étudiée présente sous l'aspect d'habitat un caractère unitaire avec des petites différences, surtout du détail. Ces différences se rapportent aux éléments de plan complémentaire. Dans le cadre d'habitation de Valea Desnăţuiului, les maisons ont été : des huttes et des demeures construites à la surface de la terre. Pour la construction de ces maisons on a utilisé des différents matériaux: le bois, l'argile, les pailles, le roseau, le BCA, le ciment, la tuile.

Dès techniques de constructions, la plus ancienne est la technique dite *des fourches*, avec les murs construits de verges tressées et consolidées avec l'argile.

À partir du XXe siècle, suite de défrichements exécutés dans cette région, les hommes ont utilisé d'autres méthodes: la technique de la terre glaise, battue dans les coffrages et la technique de la sorte de brique en torchis.

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[18] Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura pe teritoriul României de-a lungul veacurilor*, Bucureşti, The Romanian Academy Publishing House , 1982, p. 82.

LA THÉOLOGIE DE *L'IMAGO*

CONSTANTIN MIHAI

Il faut toujours s'interroger si les images sont des éléments générateurs de sens et de valeurs, capables de concurrencer la perception et la pensée. Jean-Jacques Wunenburger se demande si la vie des images ne trouve pas son origine dans la dimension symbolique de la forme et du contenu, dimension qui peut assurer leur profondeur, leur stabilité ou leur prégnance[1]. A partir de la phénoménologie des images religieuses ou artistiques développées par Mircea Eliade et Gaston Bachelard, Gilbert Durand situe le trajet anthropologique des images dans un espace symbolique, le seul qui explique la coordonnée de ces formes génériques issues de la force et de la profondeur des images. La psychanalyse moderne a le grand mérite de mettre en question quelques paradigmes primordiaux comme: images, symboles et archétypes. Ce qui nous intéresse là, c'est la fonction symbolique de l'image et, notamment, sa profondeur. C'est le plus grand mérite de Jung d'avoir dépassé la psychanalyse freudienne en partant de la psychologie même et d'avoir ainsi restauré la signification spirituelle de l'image.

«C'est l'Image de la Mère qui révèle – qui seule peut révéler – sa réalité et ses fonctions à la fois cosmologiques, anthropologiques et psychologiques. Traduire les images en termes concrets, c'est une opération dénuée de sens: les images englobent, certes, toutes les allusions au concret, mises en lumière par Freud, mais le réel qu'elles essaient de signifier ne laisse pas épuiser par de telles références au concret»[2].

Mircea Eliade parle d'une multitude d'images, des images qui sont même plurivalentes par leur structure. La dimension symbolique des images acquiert la marque unique de *coincidentia oppositorum*, lorsque *l'imago* et le symbole deviennent un *modus vivendi* pour diverses théologies et métaphysiques. La perception symbolique des images n'est qu'une opération subjective et la configuration symbolique n'est qu'une surabondance fictionnelle. Si on part de la prémisse que la symbolisation est la manifestation

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[1] Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, *La vie des images,* Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1995, édition roumaine, *Viaţa imaginilor,* Cluj, Cartimpex, 1998, p. 19.

[2] Mircea Eliade, *Images et symboles. Essai sur le symbolisme magico-religieux*, Paris, Gallimard, 1952, p. 16-17.

primordiale du psychisme, alors la signification de la profondeur symbolique, c'est une aptitude d'ordre subjectif et l'image symbolique, c'est l'image la plus féconde par rapport aux autres. La profondeur du sens de l'image se trouve illustrée dans la nature équivoque et ambivalente du symbolisé; les images s'approchent des noyaux archétypaux. C'est pourquoi les images symboliques favorisent la créativité imaginative, dans la mesure où l'ambivalence et l'opposition deviennent facteurs générateurs d'images essentielles.

Gilbert Durand saisit l'opération participative, déclenchée par le passage du sens propre au sens figuré de l'image, qui prend naissance du jeu subtile entre *absentia et praesentia*. Faisant référence au problème platonicien de la réminiscence, Durand soulignait l'importance de l'imagination épiphanique, capable de déceler la connaissance de la vérité, cachée par rapport à l'état de *l'Aletheia* (voir le commentaire de Heidegger sur Parménide). L'Imagination symbolique ne doit pas être identifiée avec une démarche intellectuelle, car elle implique aussi une réceptivité du sujet devant ses images et, donc, une dynamique affective complexe[3]. Par conséquent, la profondeur symbolique des images est inséparable d'une tonalité psychique qui sollicite la totalité du moi. La phénoménologie de la profondeur symbolique n'exclut pas une psychologie des abîmes qui s'appuie sur une révélation des sens. Les images symboliques couvrent un ensemble délimité des phénomènes iconiques et elles n'ont une densité égale lorsqu'elles révèlent une profondeur. En même temps, la dimension symbolique des images n'est plus assimilable à une surabondance des représentations.

1. L'image spéculaire

L'analyse psychanalytique comprend le stade du miroir «comme une identification» au sens fort du terme: la métamorphose produite chez le sujet quand il assume une image, dont l'effet est indiquée par l'usage du terme *imago*. L'assomption de son image spéculaire par l'être implique un cas exemplaire: la manifestation de la matrice symbolique où «le *je* se précipite en une forme primordiale, avant qu'il ne s'objective dans la dialectique de l'identification à l'autre et que le langage ne lui restitue dans l'universel sa fonction de sujet. Mais le point important est que cette forme situe l'instance du *moi*, dès avant sa détermination sociale, dans une ligne de fiction, à jamais irréductible pour le seul individu, – ou plutôt, qui ne rejoindra qu'asymptotiquement le devenir du sujet, quel que soit le succès des synthèses dialectiques par quoi il doit résoudre en tant que *je* sa discordance d'avec sa propre réalité»[4].

L'image spéculaire reste le support du monde visible. La fonction du stade du miroir constitue une expression de la fonction de *l'imago* qui est d'établir un rapport de l'organisme à sa réalité, une sorte de l'*Innenwelt* à l'*Umwelt*. La rupture de cette relation engendre une reconfiguration de la

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[3] Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, *op.cit.,* p. 30.
[4] Jacques Lacan, *Écrits I*, Paris, Seuil, 1966, p.90-91.

structure du sujet. Le moment où s'achève le stade du miroir inaugure, par l'identification à l'*imago* du semblable, la dialectique qui lie le sujet à des situations socialement élaborées. Le stade du miroir est perçu dans l'expérience psychanalytique «comme formateur de la fonction du Je».

Dans l'étude *Regarder au miroir*, Alexandru Dragomir s'étonne que le miroir, «sujet de métaphysique sexuelle narcissique», soit devenu un simple objet de décor, étant dépourvu de sa signification. Au contraire, il prouve que le miroir est l'endroit où l'être retrouve son alter. Mircea Vulcănescu continue l'idée d'Alexandru Dragomir dans *Prodrome pour une métaphysique du miroir* et essaie de la développer par une esquisse suggestive. Selon Vulcănescu, l'approche de ce sujet implique trois moments essentiels:

1. *le miroitement* – objet sans substance – qui suppose le reflet du sujet au miroir plan, avec ses problèmes spécifiques: la ressemblance en forme et couleur, la perte du privilège de la droite et de la gauche, la disparition de l'odeur et du goût; la dépendance des choses de miroir et leur manque de pouvoir, la ressemblance irréelle, l'illusion connue par intuition, la fausse virtualité des physiciens et des métaphysiciens, la plénitude du possible.

Le philosophe présente les conséquences du miroitement: l'entrée au miroir, le lieu sans lieu de l'au-delà du miroir, le double miroitement (le jeu des miroirs), la deuxième illusion (la voie sans fin et la rupture de l'unité de la chose miroitée). On a aussi les problèmes ouverts par les miroirs concaves et convexes: la fausse réalité, les distinctions envers l'image du miroir plan, la modification du rapprochement et de l'éloignement, l'idée de lentille, l'idée de miroir, l'efficacité des miroirs concaves: le rassemblement des rayons – le feu d'Archimède, la dissipation des rayons. Mircea Vulcănescu saisit aussi les fonctions déformées du miroitement, la forme essentielle et ses variantes: l'exigence réelle et la réflexion de l'existence.

2. *le regard au miroir* – Le philosophe roumain Mircea Vulcănescu propose les étapes suivantes: le doute, la perte de soi, la réflexion et le retour sur soi-même au miroir – le narcissisme (la quête de soi, l'obsession de soi, l'attraction du miroir, la non-découverte, la déception métaphysique). Il propose aussi la comparaison du miroir et de la prière, une voie féconde en conséquences métaphysiques.

Il discute les aspects du sentiment de la substantialité de l'autre – de l'au-delà et, en réplique, de deçà; le miroir en miroir métaphysique; l'analyse du miroitement et du regard au miroir qui correspondent à deux types de métaphysique idéaliste: subjective – Platon-Augustin – et objective – Aristote-Thomas d'Aquin. Le miroitement amène au soi-même deux modes de concevoir la conscience: la conscience du faire et la conscience miroitée. L'auteur analyse les effets «du miroir et du moi»: la dislocation de l'unité de l'existence du moi par le jeu des miroirs, la dislocation de l'unité de conformation et d'identité du moi devant le miroir déformé.

3. *les conséquences culturelles du miroir* – Il s'agit ici d'un regard sur les civilisations avec ou sans miroir. Par exemple, le protestantisme est sans miroir.

Mircea Vulcănescu suit l'aspect du portrait-miroir, avec l'idée de fixer le moi dans la temporalité par rapport au glissement du visage au miroir qui a comme conséquences le portrait; la consistance du moi au portrait; la nécessité de la certitude du sujet (le portrait comme substance propre du visage et la substance idéale de l'objet artistique; le caractère phanique, au sens de Blaga, de la personnalité dans la civilisation avec miroir; l'individu et son visage dans la civilisation orientale).

Mircea Vulcănescu prend en considération la relation entre le miroir et la structure spirituelle, s'axant sur la gloire construite à partir du type de miroir. Il envisage les moments spirituels de diverses cultures qui sont liées au miroir: le miroir ensorcelé; le miroir où l'on voit l'autre: l'ennemi, la mort; l'esprit invisible, l'effet maléfique de la casse du miroir, la vertu magique des éclats de miroir; le regard dans le miroir et l'interdiction chez certains ordres monacaux; la vue du monde «comme par le miroir» qui s'oppose à la vue «face à face» chez l'Apôtre Paul[5].

La métaphore du miroir réussit à décrire ce que Henry Corbin appelle *Mundus Imaginalis*. Ce qu'on voit dans le miroir n'est ni phantasme, ni l'être de quelqu'un. L'image ne correspond pas toujours à notre être concret, mais elle dépend essentiellement de notre apparition. *Mundus Imaginalis* est un plan de réflexion entre le monde de l'esprit et celui de la matière ou entre Dieu et les hommes. Dans son espace, ces deux dimensions se retrouvent en contiguïté – une par un mouvement descendant (*kenosis*) et l'autre par l'ascèse. La métaphore du miroir domine dans l'islamisme la théologie de l'Incarnation. Il s'agit ici de l'Incarnation, mais Dieu ne se transfigure pas comme dans le christianisme, Il se reflète dans la conscience du croyant. Chaque musulman est le moyen de réflexion de Dieu, le support de son Incarnation. Du point de vue chrétien, il s'agit du docétisme – hérésie des premiers siècles, qui professait que le corps du Christ n'avait été que pure apparence, et qui niait la réalité de sa Passion et de sa mort.

Selon l'un des Pères de l'Église, saint Maxime le Confesseur, le miroir réfléchit le visage des choses originelles, ne les comprenant pas dans leur subsistance dévoilée. Le miroir est une médiation qui révèle et cache, en même temps. Par conséquent, le miroir se plie sur le mode cognitif de l'homme déchu. Incapable de connaître par intuition la vérité, l'homme post-édénique doit se contenter de la perception de son reflet sur la voie de la vertu et de l'investigation. Les anges, dont l'Évangile affirme qu'ils voient toujours le visage du Père, sont le miroitement du Visage qu'ils regardent. Qui contemple les visages angéliques saisit, dans leur lumière, ce miroitement même. À son tour, l'homme qui essaie de vivre selon le modèle de ses protecteurs divins, devient leur miroir. Les anges sont les porteurs qualifiés de ce jeu des miroirs, les transparences ordonnées hiérarchiquement par lesquelles on entre dans la

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[5] Ştefan Fay, *Sokrateion*, Bucureşti, Humanitas, 1991, p.101-105.

sphère divine[6]. Le prototype du moine comme *imitatio angeli* devient un symbole courant dans la littérature patristique.

2. L'image christique

Imaginatio vera est une faculté instauratrice de la réalité, elle peut produire des univers consistants. Le rapprochement de l'imaginal est, de ce point de vue, un acte créateur, un mode de visualiser le trans-visuel, un effort de penser par des images, des métamorphoses et non pas par des concepts, des formes stables (*Intelligere est phantasmata speculari*, selon Giordano Bruno). L'une des fonctions de l'ange – en tant qu'être intermédiaire – est celle de visualiser l'invisible; il est le guide parfait de l'âme dans son voyage vers le monde imaginal[7].

On ne peut pas parler sur le caractère de l'image christique sans le faire quant au domaine de la mystique où l'on assiste à la configuration de l'*imago* sur Dieu. Si l'activité magique s'appuie sur la volonté, son but étant une connaissance bien froide de la réalité, l'activité mystique essaie d'atteindre l'Absolu. Le fondement de l'attitude mystique est le postulat de la transcendance. L'attitude mystique suit l'identification du sujet avec l'objet (l'attitude de Platon), tandis que l'attitude magique la nie. De cette perspective, Plotin incarne une forme mixte, magico-mystique et c'est pourquoi il arrive, à un moment donné, aux certaines conclusions panthéistes.

La caractéristique de l'activité mystique n'est pas la connaissance froide, mais le vivre de la réalité, c'est-à-dire la connaissance par le vivre. Il y a une discordance entre l'expression de l'activité mystique et le vivre proprement dit. D'ailleurs, toute la littérature mystique, représentant les résultats d'un processus spécifique de connaissance, utilise des formules symboliques, ce qui rend un texte mystique plus difficile à lire. Par extension, l'art peut devenir une sorte d'expression de l'expérience mystique. De ce point de vue, il faut mentionner la tendance, presque générale au Moyen Âge et qui s'est prolongée jusqu'au début de la Renaissance, de parler partout de la musique. Par exemple, Hugues de Saint-Victor, théologien français du XIIe siècle, qui enseigne dans ses œuvres que l'homme, pour parvenir à la vérité, doit unir prière et raisonnement, a écrit un traité sur la musique, la musique comme réalité cosmique. Pour lui, il y avait la musique des sphères, la musique cosmique, la musique des nombres qui constituaient des existences, formules d'expression de certaines réalités inexprimables dans le langage logique. Par conséquent, la fréquence avec laquelle le Moyen Âge parle de la musique prouve l'écart qui existe entre l'expérience mystique et la possibilité de son expression dans le langage articulé.

L'expérience mystique n'est pas une activité théorique, mais pratique, dans le sens d'un fait de vie. Elle n'est pas une attitude de notre conscience, mais une nécessité de l'existence de l'être spirituel. Pour l'acte mystique, la réalité ne

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[6] Andrei Pleşu, *Despre îngeri*, Bucureşti, Humanitas, 2003, p. 63-64.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 78-79.

se résout pas dans l'acte de la connaissance. De l'activité mystique de l'humanité, telle qu'elle est envisagée dans la littérature mystique, se différencient deux groupes de solutions qui visent les mêmes problèmes: la place de Dieu dans l'Univers et le rapport entre le Créateur et le Cosmos. La première solution considère l'Univers et Dieu comme deux réalités qui s'identifient. Donc, on a la transcendance et l'immanence. La position émaniste suppose deux existences distinctes, l'une en dépendance de l'autre, dans le sens où l'une est la création de l'autre. La différence de nature entre la création et le Créateur réside à l'origine de la conscience du péché originel.

Le péché originel n'est pas un fait affirmé seulement par le christianisme, par toutes les attitudes de valorisation émaniste de l'existence. En fait, le péché originel est la conscience sourde de la distinction essentielle entre la création et le Créateur. Toutes les religions émanistes sont de nature pessimiste. L'attitude émaniste implique l'identification de l'Univers avec l'Être Suprême. Notre analyse intérieure et notre préparation sont la voie vers Dieu, car Il est en nous-mêmes. *Deus* a la même racine comme *dies*, qui signifie jour ou lumière; *Theos* signifie en grec prière, ce qui équivaut à la vie intérieure. *Deus* et *Theos*, qui semblent provenir de la même famille de mot, représentent deux attitudes particulières: d'une part, en *Deus*, l'attitude émaniste, c'est-à-dire l'Être Suprême, qui est une lumière extraordinaire, et d'autre part, *Theos* qui est une attitude immanentiste et qui signifie le contraire. La position émaniste vise la conscience du péché et la tendance douloureuse vers Dieu, tandis que la position immanentiste vise l'existence permanente de Dieu en nous-mêmes, d'où l'optimisme qui est en étroite relation avec cette position.

L'essai de réaliser la synthèse entre ces deux positions se retrouve au dogme de la Trinité. Dieu, en hypostase de Père, représente l'existence pure; en hypostase de Saint Esprit, Il représente Dieu en nous-mêmes. Entre Dieu-Père et Dieu-Saint Esprit, il y a Dieu-Fils qui constitue, pour le christianisme, le *Logos* incarné, le *Logos* devenu corps, c'est-à-dire la forme dont on comprend Dieu. Le Christ, Dieu-Fils, est l'intercesseur entre Dieu-Père et Dieu-Saint Esprit ou entre le Dieu émaniste et le Dieu immanentiste, le Dieu qui fait l'existence et le Dieu qui est en nous-mêmes. Cette théorie de la Trinité esquissée, par sainte Thérèse d'Avila accentue, le rôle de l'image christique dans l'économie du dogme trinitaire.

La synthèse entre la position transcendantaliste et celle immanentiste se manifeste aussi au niveau du dogme de l'Incarnation qui signifie la transformation du *Logos*: *Logos* est devenu corps. *Logos*, c'est-à-dire la sagesse de Dieu, a pris le visage humain, devenant homme. En Christ il y a une double nature: Dieu et l'homme. L'Incarnation a comme moment décisif la naissance. La Naissance n'a pas seulement une signification historique, mais aussi une signification mystique. L'Incarnation de Dieu dans cette deuxième hypostase, celle de Dieu-Fils, constitue notre possibilité de revenir au Créateur. La compréhension du sens et de la fonction du Christ mène au dépassement de notre être, marquant l'ascension vers le royaume de Dieu.

La formule mystique implique toujours une formule symbolique. Le symbole utilisé par la mystique résulte justement de l'essai de forcer les champs notionnels du langage logique, la réalité mystique ne se pliant pas sur le moule de la réalité essentielle. La nature symbolique du langage de la mystique réside sur un principe fondateur: le mot symbolise l'objet. Le symbole n'est purement et simplement signe; il est plus qu'un signe, il est l'essence de la réalité. Le symbole n'est pas la réalité même, mais une sorte de son analogie. Le langage symbolique est un langage analogue ou une réalité essentielle, analogue à la réalité qu'il exprime. Le langage mystique est similaire à celui poétique: l'état où vit un mystique est un état d'exaltation, analogue à celui d'inspiration poétique.

Il y a dans la littérature mystique, d'une part, des auteurs d'essence transcendantaliste, au niveau de l'expression et de l'essence immanentiste, d'autre part, il y a des auteurs dont le ressort intime est l'amour, dans le sens d'*agape*. Ceux-ci se différencient au niveau du langage symbolique. Ainsi, les auteurs d'essence transcendantaliste développent le type du «pèlerin»; ceux d'essence immanentiste développent le type du «saint», tandis que les promoteurs d'*agape* développent le type du «marié» mystique. Toute la littérature du pèlerinage, soit qu'elle soit de nature spirituelle (le traité d'initiation mystique de Jean Climaque), géographique ou méthodique (*Divine Comédie* de Dante), représente la nécessité de l'homme pour l'évasion. Elle a comme fondement un voyage du corps ou de l'âme; elle est l'image ou l'analogie essentielle de ce voyage symbolique qui a comme point de départ l'homme, son état réel, actuel et qui transgresse les limites de la réalité sensible. Ce type de littérature, celle de voyages mystiques n'est pas l'apanage du christianisme; une littérature mystique qui abonde en voyages est celle persane.

Un autre symbole usité par la mystique est le symbole des noces qui est caractéristique aux religions transcendantalistes, surtout au christianisme. Le symbole des noces est un symbole lorsqu'on parle d'une double interprétation: corporelle et spirituelle (*Le Cantique des Cantiques*). Si on annule l'interprétation corporelle, alors le symbole des noces n'a qu'une seule interprétation, celle spirituelle, le symbole se confondant avec l'acte de l'amour; il perd sa valeur symbolique.

Dans la littérature mystique, le sens spirituel de l'amour est primordial. Même s'il y a une mystique du corps, elle n'est possible que par un effort de sublimation de la matière. En fait, la mystique du corps est, elle-même, une aberration, car le corps est essentiellement quelque chose de matériel. La mystique est une évasion de toutes les limites; le corps est justement la négation de la mystique, car il reste sous la marque de l'individuation. Par conséquent, il faut attribuer au poème *Le Cantique des Cantiques* ou à l'acte d'amour une interprétation strictement spirituelle tandis qu'à l'acte des noces une interprétation strictement intellectuelle, car les noces est un mystère pour le christianisme.

Les moments du mystère des noces – la liaison indissoluble qui s'établit par l'union de deux individus différents et qui donnent naissance à une synthèse spirituelle par la création d'un nouveau être et sa continuation par l'acte de

création qui sont importants pour comprendre la fonction du symbole des noces dans la transfiguration de l'expérience mystique. Dans la littérature mystique, il y a deux types d'analogies entre la vie mystique et les noces – le type à trois degrés (*les fiançailles*, *le mystère des noces* et *la fusion*) et le type à quatre degrés (*les fiançailles*, *le mystère des noces*, *la fusion* et *le fruit*). Ce dernier type est représenté par les écrits mystiques de Richard de Saint-Victor, Jean Climaque.

Dans la vie mystique, *les fiançailles* correspondent au désir de l'âme de chercher Dieu. Dans la littérature mystique, l'âme qui cherche Dieu, dans l'allégorie des noces, s'appelle religieuse. Le deuxième moment du mystère des noces, dans la littérature mystique, représente l'instant où l'âme connaît Dieu. Le troisième moment correspond à la diffusion des âmes en Dieu, la fusion, c'est-à-dire le moment extatique de l'expérience mystique où l'individualité s'annule. Le dernier moment, *le fruit*, constitue la retombée au monde, un point de départ pour un autre processus mystique.

La retombée au monde équivaut, dans l'expérience mystique, à la joie contemplative et à la prise de la souffrance; l'âme, qui s'est déifiée par la diffusion en Dieu, retombe sur le plan humain, acte de douleur correspondant à l'acte de douleur de la création dans le mystère des noces. Dans les trois hypostases de Dieu, le type du «marié» qui utilise le symbole des noces correspond à la fonction de Dieu-Fils. C'est pourquoi on trouve toujours dans le christianisme que Dieu, pour ce type d'expérience mystique, s'appelle *marié*, qui s'identifie à l'hypostase de l'intercesseur, le Christ.

Le symbole de la vie sainte ou le symbole de la pureté part du fait vécu selon lequel Dieu est en nous-mêmes. L'opération que l'homme doit faire vise sa purification en vue d'atteindre le fond pur, une sorte d'ascèse qui lui permet de rencontrer le Créateur. Dans l'acte de la connaissance mystique qui s'appelle révélation (*apocalypsis*), l'objet qui doit être connu (Dieu) s'ouvre à la conscience humaine.

L'acte d'humiliation qui est essentiel pour le type du «saint» dans la littérature mystique facilite la séparation du sujet et de l'objet. L'humiliation, l'une des vertus du christianisme, qui accentue la différence entre la création et son Créateur, constitue un moment fécond de l'expérience intérieure. L'importance thérapeutique de l'humiliation consiste dans la révélation de la conscience du péché qui assure l'équilibre de l'homme concret et, implicitement, le garde d'une grande tentation: l'orgueil. L'humiliation s'oppose à l'orgueil, car celui-ci tend à identifier l'homme concret à l'Être Suprême, annulant ces deux pôles qui contribuent à la réalisation du rapport mystique, tandis que celle-la tend à l'augmentation du processus mystique[8].

La théologie chrétienne a fait possible une riche ontologie de l'image autour de l'Incarnation. C'est important de comprendre le mode par lequel l'être de Dieu devient image, c'est-à-dire qu'il prend de la corporalité dans ce monde.

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[8] Nae Ionescu, *Curs de metafizică. Teoria cunoştinţei metafizice,* Bucureşti, Humanitas, 1995, p.145-188.

Cette théologème majeure est le fondement d'une nouvelle herméneutique de l'image, marquée d'une valence ontologique. Par l'image, Dieu est visible pour la création et dans la création, permettant à l'homme de redevenir consubstantiel à la divinité.

Le christianisme valorise l'héritage du judaïsme, interprétant la création originelle du monde comme œuvre personnelle de Dieu. Dans la *Genèse* (1, 26-27), «l'homme est à l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu»[9]. Le terme *ressemblance* (όμοιωσις) doit être compris dans le sens platonicien «d'assimilation» (cf. *Theaitetos* 176b). Irénée de Lyon, Clément d'Alexandrie, Origène et Grégoire de Nysse (*De ophicio hominis*) fondent leur mystique sur ce terme «d'assimilation». Dans la perspective du Nouveau Testament, le Christ est «l'image/icône» de Dieu, l'homme étant invité «à vêtir» cette icône. Théodoret de Cyre a dédié une véritable *quaestio* à l'expression «à l'image» qui désigne: 1. la partie invisible de l'âme; 2. le corps (une question très disputée chez les Pères de l'Église: qui a été fait «à l'image de Dieu»: le corps, l'âme ou tous ces deux ?); 3. la relation entre l'intelligible et le sensible; 4. la capacité de commander.

À partir de la pensée patristique on peut tirer quelques conclusions importantes. Avant tout, il faut annuler la conception substantialiste au sujet de l'image de Dieu. Elle ne se manifeste pas comme un fragment de l'être humain, celui-ci étant modelé à l'image de Dieu. Sa première expression réside dans la structure hiérarchique de l'homme qui a au centre la vie spirituelle. Cette primauté ontologique de la vie de l'esprit conditionne l'aspiration profonde de l'homme vers l'Absolu. C'est l'élan dynamique de l'être vers son archétype divin; c'est l'*eros* humain vers celui divin, selon la formule de Grégoire de Nazianze. Bref, chaque faculté de l'âme reflète l'image (la connaissance, la liberté, l'amour et la création). Toute limite inclut sa propre transcendance; c'est pourquoi l'âme trouve sa quiétude dans l'infini divin. C'est l'*epekthasis*, l'aspiration de l'icône, de l'image vers son Archétype. «C'est par le biais de l'image – affirme saint Macaire – que l'homme cherche la Vérité». On découvre la présence divine, car «l'amour de Dieu travaille toujours», selon Grégoire de Nysse.

Pour le judaïsme, l'image (*telem*) a un sens plus fort. L'interdiction par loi de l'image s'explique par son sens dynamique et réel; tout comme le nom, l'image fait place à la présence de celui qu'elle incarne. *Demuth*, que l'on traduit par la ressemblance, renvoie à l'identification de l'alter. Grégoire Palamas propose une interprétation pertinente de la Tradition. Ainsi, l'homme, par rapport aux anges, est supérieur, selon son image, et inférieur, selon sa ressemblance.

Dans la théologie visant la grâce divine, les Pères de l'Église opèrent une distinction entre «le libre arbitre de l'intention» et «le libre arbitre des faits».

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[9] *Septuaginta* I, version roumaine coordonnée par Cristian Bădiliță, Francisca Băltăceanu, Monica Broșteanu, Dan Slușanschi et le prêtre Ioan-Florin Florescu, Colegiul Noua Europă-Polirom, 2004, chapitre *Geneza,* p.54-55.

Ils affirment la liberté totale de l'homme pour la rédemption, la capacité de formuler ce *fiat*. Après l'Incarnation du *Logos*, la grâce divine actualise la «ressemblance virtuelle». Selon Maxime le Confesseur, l'homme a deux ailes pour atteindre le ciel, la liberté et la grâce divine. Il s'agit d'une collaboration entre l'homme et Dieu dans la mesure où la volonté est une oeuvre absolument libre qui place la contribution humaine à l'intérieur de celle divine. L'image est constitutive et normative en fonction de sa ressemblance par rapport à celle de Dieu. Grégoire de Nysse souligne la fonction de l'image par la participation de l'être humain au royaume de Dieu. L'anthropologie des Pères de l'Église et leur notion d'image montrent que l'être humain est déiforme dans sa structure. Étant destiné à la communion divine, l'homme peut connaître Dieu à la mesure de sa propre capacité de Le recevoir.

Le créationnisme biblique suppose une omnipotence créatrice, assimilée à l'acte de l'apparition du monde *ex nihilo*. En dépit de cet acte essentiel, la théologie chrétienne veut attester, par le rapport d'image, une proximité ontologique, l'humanité y incluant une marque de l'origine divine. Les Pères de l'Église mettent l'accent sur la relation iconique entre le Créateur et la création. L'activité de création s'appuie sur la Sagesse (*Sophia*) Divine qui, en rapport avec le *Logos* ou le *Verbum*, est déclarée porteuse d'images archétypales.

Jean Damascène propose une catégorie spécifique pour désigner les images des choses en Dieu: l'immuabilité des choses qui ont été prédéterminées par le Créateur, théorie d'inspiration platonicienne qui avait été reprise par Augustin[10]. La philosophie grecque de l'image affirme le renforcement du statut de cause de Dieu: comme la cause est supérieure à l'effet, le modèle est prééminent à sa copie. La ressemblance n'équivaut pas à l'être, elle atteste une participation qui n'est pas réciproque. Même si l'homme est «à la ressemblance de Dieu», le Créateur ne ressemble pas à sa création[11].

Le créationnisme biblique, tout comme l'herméneutique gnostique de type moniste, est marqué par un glissement de l'inégalité du rapport: Créateur-création vers une réelle perte ontologique. La chute adamique, conséquence de la transgression de la volonté divine par celle humaine, vise l'éloignement de Dieu, qui se traduit en patristique par une comparaison avec une image brisée. La dualité ontologique, source du mal, de la souffrance et de la mort, mais aussi récompense du péché, est perçue comme une dénaturation de l'image divine. Selon Origène, le péché est le signe d'un coeur qui ne reçoit plus «l'empreinte de l'image divine». Autrement dit, si l'homme est, par son essence, à l'image de Dieu, sa ressemblance en image peut être détériorée accidentellement, mais aussi rétablie. La nouveauté du christianisme réside dans la manière de penser le salut comme restauration de la conaturalité ontologique entre l'homme et Dieu, faisant appel à un intercesseur, celui de Dieu Incarné.

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[10] Jean Damascène, *Discours apologétique*, III, 19, in „Le visage de l'invisible", Paris, Migne, 1994, p.78.

[11] Thomas d'Aquin, *Somme contre les Gentils*, livre I, XXX, Paris, Cerf, 1993, p. 230-231.

Le christianisme lie le salut de l'homme à l'actualisation *hic et nunc* de l'image divine, par laquelle le pécheur peut se réconcilier avec Dieu. Le salut consiste pour l'homme dans la possibilité de renoncer à son image négative pour retrouver l'image transparente et pure de Dieu. L'apparition dans l'histoire de Christ ne doit pas être comprise comme la création d'une dualité, d'une image extérieure à l'essence de Dieu, mais comme une production, sur le plan visible, d'une image de Dieu non-figuratif dont la nature transcende toute limite spatiale et temporelle. Par la naissance d'une personne, Dieu agit comme un pouvoir paterne, tout en se reproduisant Lui-même sur la voie de la l'engendrement filial (genitum *et non factum*, selon le deuxième article du symbole de la foi du Concile de Nicée).

Origène et Augustin opposent ainsi la naissance du Christ à la création. Le Christ peut être associé à une émanation de Dieu créateur, à un miroir et, voire, à une réduction, sous l'aspect d'une image miniaturisée, d'une Forme sans limites. La théologie dogmatique privilégie le schéma de la filiation, dans le sens d'une procréation, d'une continuation visible du Même dans l'Autre. Dieu-Père est, donc, principe imaginant et Dieu-Fils est, par participation, un effet imaginé. Mais comme dans toute image, au niveau de la consubstantialité, il y a une non-ressemblance qui oblige à affirmer que le Fils existe dans le Père, sans que Celui-ci soit entièrement dans le Fils.

Le Saint Esprit (*Verbum*), le principe de l'Incarnation dans l'humanité (*kenosis*), la troisième hypostase trinitaire contribue au processus par lequel l'homme s'éloigne de l'image négative de sa condition. Accompagnant la communion avec le Christ, l'image de Dieu, le Saint Esprit, rétablit la perfection perdue. L'image du Christ, où agit aussi le Saint Esprit, devient la source de la conversion. L'homme qui est à l'image de Dieu est capable de Lui manifester dans la mesure ou sa nature humaine est sous l'influence directe de la grâce divine[12]. L'image dans la théologie chrétienne, selon le modèle de l'image platonicienne, est la source d'un changement d'être: la ressemblance est corporelle et spirituelle. L'image est le *verbum* de Dieu en acte dans une figure visible.

Le christianisme développe une philosophie incessante de la production d'images: l'image du Père en Fils, du Fils en Eucharistie et en icône. L'Eucharistie et l'icône ouvrent deux voies de la permanence visible de l'image du Christ. L'Incarnation ne prolonge la présence de la nature divine que dans l'Eucharistie; elle légitime l'image-icône, l'image éternelle du Christ sans lui ajouter d'une manière sacramentelle la nature divine[13].

On doit mentionner la théorie de Nikephoros qui accentue la différence entre «l'image de circonscription», qui est consubstantielle avec Dieu, et

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[12] Vladimir Lossky, *À l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu*, Paris, Aubier Montaigne, 1967, p.37. Voir aussi Paul Evdokimov, *La Connaissance de Dieu selon la tradition orientale. L'Enseignement patristique, liturgique et iconographique*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1988.

[13] Jean-Luc Marion, *Le prototype de l'image*, in F. Boespflug, N. Lossky, *Nicée* II, *787-1987. Douze siècles d'images religieuses*, Paris, Cerf, 1987, p. 462.

«l'image d'inscription» (l'icône), qui assure une présence non-substantielle de la Divinité sur le plan sensible. Le christianisme place au centre de la foi et de la vie religieuse le mystère de l'Eucharistie. La réalité physique (le pain et le vin) se transforme, par une transfiguration ontologique (la transsubstantiation), dans l'image réelle de la Divinité. Il ne s'agit pas d'un symbole, mais d'une présence réelle. Par le mystère de cette présence réelle, Dieu s'incarne, par l'assimilation du pain et du vin, dans la personne humaine, en lui transmettant la grâce divine. L'Eucharistie a été considérée par le Concile de Latran une transsubstantiation qui implique une conservation de l'apparence et un changement de la substance.

Pour la tradition du christianisme, la théologie de l'icône suit une autre voie que celle de l'Eucharistie. L'icône christique n'est pas une représentation, assimilable à un dessein ou à un moule, mais une irradiation qui restitue le Christ sans aucune duplication spéculaire. Dans ce contexte, il faut comprendre le fond du débat entre les iconodoules et les iconoclastes dans l'Église orientale (VIIIe-IXe siècles), une crise qui a eu de multiples causes: politique, sociale et théologique. L'argument principal des iconodoules était la fonction pédagogique – surtout pour les ignorants – et les vertus sacrées des images. La foi dans le pouvoir surnaturel des images, concernant une certaine continuité entre l'image et la personne qu'elle représente, est le trait le plus important du culte des icônes aux VIe-VIIe siècles. L'icône est une extension, un organe de la Divinité. Le Concile iconoclaste de Constantinople (754) a interdit le culte des images, son argument théologique étant l'idolâtrie impliquée dans la glorification des icônes. Le VIIe Concile oecuménique de Nicée (787) admet la légitimité de la vénération des icônes. Le IIe Concile iconoclaste (815) a annulé le culte des images au nom de la christologie.

Selon les iconoclastes, il est impossible de représenter l'image du Christ sans comprendre qu'elle incarne sa nature divine (ce qui est un blasphème) ou sans diviser les deux natures inséparables du Christ (ce qui est une hérésie). L'Eucharistie est, en échange, l'image véritable du Christ, car elle est empreignée par le Saint Esprit; l'Eucharistie, par rapport à l'icône, a une double dimension: divine et matérielle. La théologie des iconodoules, la plus systématique, a été élaborée par Jean Damascène et Théodore Studite. S'appuyant sur Pseudo-Denis l'Aréopagite, Jean Damascène souligne la continuité entre le spirituel et le matériel. À la suite de l'Incarnation, l'image du Christ a été faite visible, s'annulant ainsi l'interdiction de l'Ancien Testament de faire figurer le divin.

Par conséquent, les gens qui nient le fait que le Christ peut être représenté par une icône, nient implicitement la réalité de l'Incarnation. L'image ne s'identifie dans l'essence et la substance à son modèle. Les iconoclastes sont coupables de blasphème lorsqu'ils prennent l'Eucharistie pour une image. L'Eucharistie, c'est le Christ même et non pas son image. Les iconoclastes ignoraient ou niaient la fonction symbolique de l'image sacrée. La théologie chrétienne développe une symbolique du culte et une tradition fondées sur la fonction des figures visibles de l'image de Dieu. L'icône essaie de mettre fin à la rupture ontologique entre le naturel et le

surnaturel, entre le visible et l'invisible. La fonction théophanique de l'icône n'épuise pas l'essence de l'invisible, la transcendance.

La théologie de l'image n'a cessé de se délimiter du culte des idoles. L'idole consigne le divin à partir d'un regard humain; il ne représente rien, mais il présente un certain niveau inférieur du divin. Pour accomplir son essence, l'icône doit perdre sa valeur d'image divinisée, s'ouvrant vers l'invisible. L'icône cache et dévoile la distance qui existe entre le divin et son image[14]. L'Orient chrétien constitue le pays de l'icône. L'iconographie devient une composante organique de la Tradition, posant les fondements d'une véritable «théologie visuelle». Elle se développe dans le platonisme de la patristique orientale qui implique un retour symbolique de la réalité sensible à ses racines célestes. Pour l'Orient, l'icône constitue un objet saint où on remarque la présence divine. La théologie de la présence distingue clairement l'icône du tableau religieux.

La base biblique de l'icône réside dans le fait que l'homme est à l'image de Dieu. Après l'Incarnation, le Christ ne libère pas l'être humain de l'idolâtrie d'une manière négative, par la suppression de toute image, mais d'une manière positive, par la révélation du visage humain de Dieu. Si la divinité échappe à la représentation et la nature humaine, séparée de celle divine, ne signifie rien, le génie des Pères du VIIe Concile oecuménique proclame que «la nature humaine du Christ est l'icône de sa divinité». L'Incarnation provient du désir ardent de Dieu de faire de la nature humaine une théophanie, l'icône de Sa présence. Le Saint – tout comme l'être humain – est le meilleur icône de Dieu. C'est pourquoi, pendant la liturgie, le prêtre encense les icônes et les fidèles.

L'icône échappe radicalement à l'idolâtrie. Même le mot icône supprime toute identification et montre la différence de nature entre l'image et son prototype. La dimension spécifique de l'icône est bien définie. Elle opère un rencontre à l'intérieur de la prière; il ne s'agit pas de l'icône comme objet matériel, mais comme un véhicule de la présence divine. La présence iconique est un espace dont le centre se retrouve dans toute icône, mais dont la circonférence n'existe pas. Théodore Studite formule une juste solution: l'icône ne ressemble pas à la nature, mais à la personne. L'idole reste l'expression de la fiction, du simulacre.

Le statut ontologique de l'image iconique chrétienne peut être perçu comme expression[15]. Il y a un rapport entre Dieu et son image, dans la mesure où Dieu est descendu dans une figure finie mais contenant en *reductio* l'infini. Il s'agit d'un passage de la fonction théophanique de l'icône à celle anagogique. Il résulte une théologie du regard, de l'intentionnalité imaginante qui met l'accent sur le dépassement de la représentation. L'icône est d'autant moins assimilable à une présence sensible de Dieu, malgré toutes les légitimations de filiation, que

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[14] Jean-Luc Marion, *L'idole et la distance*, Paris, Grasset, 1977, p.25.

[15] Nicolas de Cues, *Du tableau, ou de la vision en Dieu*, Paris, Cerf, 1986, p.87.

sa fonction n'est pas de servir à regarder Dieu que de faire l'expérience d'être regardé par lui.

Au fond, il s'agit moins pour le fidèle de contempler l'icône pour voir face à face le visage du Fils de Dieu, que de se laisser voir par lui, d'être placé sous un regard qui veille sur lui – d'où l'importance du regard du Christ Pantocrator dans le christianisme byzantin – sans que nous puissions le voir autrement que par nos yeux d'homme. Cette asymétrie fait bien de l'icône une figure visible, qui nous invite à passer au-delà du visible, à remonter vers l'Infigurable. D'ailleurs, l'Orthodoxie prescrit de ne jamais adorer les images comme si la divinité y prenait vraiment corps, mais tout au plus à les vénérer comme participant de la sainteté, comme expression finie de l'infini. La contemplation de l'image est placée sous le signe du Saint Esprit dépourvu de toute représentation, sa fonction étant celle de rapporter l'homme à un autre ordre des réalités où ses yeux sont définitivement transmutés vers la vision de Dieu.

Dans le contexte de la transfiguration de l'image, on ne se retrouve pas dans la présence d'une doublure qui réitère la forme christique, instaurant une confusion entre l'original et la copie, ou d'un simulacre, dans le sens platonicien du terme, mais d'une simple empreinte vide. L'icône est inséparable d'une kénose, d'un processus d'évidage de soi-même, dans lequel l'être en soi se retire de soi pour apparaître. L'image iconique se justifie seulement à partir de la kénose du Christ.

Le christianisme sanctifie l'image en faisant la forme du processus d'humanisation de Dieu qui doit permettre assurer, après la chute originelle, la rédemption de l'humanité et sa redivinisation. Si Dieu s'incarne dans l'image, sa propre image n'accède à son accomplissement qu'après sa mort au visible, c'est-à-dire dans l'image du Christ transfiguré. Le Christ se montre une nouvelle fois aux pèlerins d'Emmaüs ou sur le Mont Tabor dans son corps de gloire, corps de lumière immatérielle qui a déserté la chair périssable, pure image d'une *absentia-praesentia*[16]. Le christianisme se présente comme une pensée féconde de l'image où l'épiphanie de Dieu se réalise dans une autre réalité, ni purement spirituelle, ni exclusivement matérielle, un *Mundus Imaginalis*, selon Henry Corbin. Cette *epiphania* tient d'une ontologie des degrés de l'être qui, par rapport aux dualismes, propose un espace intermédiaire, dominé par des êtres intermédiaires ou de l'intervalle, les anges (voir la théorie angélologique d'Andrei Pleşu). Le christianisme a élaboré une systématique spéculative qui facilite le triomphe de l'image et son utilisation religieuse.

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[16] Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, *La philosophie des images*, Paris, PUF, 2001, édition roumaine, *Filosofia imaginilor,* Iaşi, Polirom, 2004, pp. 194-210.

THE THEOLOGY OF IMAGO

(Abstract)

The present study tries to emphasize the statute of the theology of imago regarded from a double perspective: the ontological perspective (the image of speculum) and the metaphysical perspective (the image of Christ). This approach gives us the opportunity to rebuild the connection between the East-European intellectual space, especially the Romanian choice: Nae Ionescu-Mircea Eliade-Mircea Vulcănescu-Alexandru Dragomir-Andrei Pleşu and the Occidental space, represented by Henry Corbin-Roger Caillois-Gaston Bachelard-Gilbert Durand-Michel Maffesoli-Jean-Jacques Wunenburger. The subtlety and the complexity of the ontological and metaphysical problem of imago result from the symbolic depth of the theology of image. In fact, the Christianity proposes another way of image's generation: it's the image of God who becomes visible in the person of His Son, Jesus Christ, gifted by an ontological plenitude, similar to the one of his principle that assures the function of theophany.

COURTE LECTURE POLITIQUE DE LA MAGIE
DE GIORDANO BRUNO (I)

ANA MARIA CINCA

> *«La sorcellerie c'est de la parole, mais* **une parole qui est du pouvoir** *et non savoir ou information. En sorcellerie,* **la parole c'est la guerre**. *Parler de la sorcellerie ce n'est jamais pour savoir mais pour pouvoir».*
> *(J.Favret-Saada, «Les mots, la mort et les sorts»)*

La magie tout comme l'utopie apparaît au moment où il y a un manque à combler, là où, dans la texture ontologique du monde apparaît une brèche – où l'inconnu et le hasard prennent la figure d'une force rivale. Toutes les deux se veulent venir à l'encontre des besoins et des attentes imaginaires des hommes. Elles opposent à la réalité imparfaite un optimisme existentiel à la fois volontariste dont l'essence réside en la croyance dans la possibilité pour chaque individu d'atteindre un état de contrôle total, où le hasard soit supprimé. D'une telle manière comprise, la magie partage la définition de l'utopie comme «**fantasme compensateur**»[1] par rapport à l'inconsistance et aux imprévues de l'immédiat.

Mais, à la différence de l'utopie, la magie ne se limite pas à être une simple «construction verbale»[2] d'un groupe social, mais, par sa nature, elle possède un caractère **dynamique**, elle tend à **corriger** la réalité**,** par une série de moyens qui lui sont propres; elle s'érige autour d'une pratique spécifique, ayant un fonds philosophique tout à fait particulier. Dans le corpus social, la pensée magique tend à construire des «mécanismes d'autorégulation individuelle et collective»[3], dans la mesure où, tout comme la religion, elle se veut une réponse spontanée face aux grandes questions de l'existence.

Si l'utopie peut être définie en antithèse avec le politique – voire le social, ce n'est pas le cas de la magie. Elle n'est pas confinée dans l'atemporalité, elle ne s'y épuise pas, tout comme l'utopie dans un «*intermundus*», mais elle se **manifeste dans** et **par** le temps. Tout au plus, elle arrive à intégrer le temps dans un espace réel bien déterminé – le social, la société. De cette manière comprise, la magie n'implique pas des rapports –

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[1] Gavriluţă Nicu, *Mentalităţi şi ritualuri religioase. Studii de sociologie a sacrului*, Polirom, 1998, p.10, note 2.

[2] *Ibidem*, p.10.

[3] Boucharlat, Jacques, *Magie, religion et folie. La puissance sans la gloire,* Collection «Culture, médicine et société», Anthropos – Economica, 1991, p.50.

d'opposition avec le politique, mais, à la fois elle le transcende, tout en lui demeurant immanent. Dans ce cas limite, c'est la magie – le magicien qui demeure le garant même du lien qui assure la cohésion de la société.

Tout comme **la** politique, la magie est, à la fois, un «art du Verbe, de la parole» – c'est-à-dire elle utilise des moyens invisibles pour atteindre des effets concrets, immédiats – et un «art de l'action efficace, efficiente» – une praxiologie et une pragmatique. Ce qui demeure essentiel pour la compréhension de la magie c'est qu'elle suppose une identité fondamentale entre **la connaissance** et **la puissance**. En effet, dans la magie, l'utilisation de la parole et l'aventure intellectuelle viennent de se fondre dans une discrète **pratique du pouvoir**. Car connaître revient à savoir le moment et le lieu propices pour en déployer ses opérations afin d'obtenir les meilleurs effets.

La magie n'a pas de sens au dehors de la société. Elle demeure ainsi **un phénomène social**, qui par soi-même ne dit rien, mais c'est seulement dans sa relation avec le social qu'elle prend un sens. De cette manière, «**la magie est un fait social total**».[4].

Cependant, pour être une action efficace, la magie demeure conditionnée par une structure ontologique particulière, dont la cohérence et l'homogénéité sont soutenues par la présence d'une force universelle – l'**éros**. Sans ce principe – fondement à la fois existentiel, que gnoséologique – toute action magique serait inconcevable. Or, dans un tel schéma ontologique où l'**éros** transcende toute chose, tout en demeurant immanent, **le politique** désigne le cadre opérationnel par excellence. L'espace social, tout comme la Nature, prend ainsi la forme d'un immense **laboratoire alchimique** où tout élément et entité ne représentent que des réceptacles passifs de l'impulsion créatrice du magicien. La connaissance magique, érigée dans un pouvoir absolu, est celle qui procède désormais à l'imposition du changement, de la transformation, selon la volonté discrétionnaire du mage, de la Société et la Nature dans les objets d'un vaste instrumentaire.

Manipulateur par excellence, le mage brunien de De vinculis et De Magia est le résultat de cette construction exceptionnelle de l'Etre dont la continuelle articulation est garantie par l'ubiquité de l'**éros**. C'est seulement en s'appuyant sur cette présence de **l'éros** que l'opérateur - manipulateur nolain devient capable de s'exercer son **pouvoir**. Essentiellement, l'action magique consistera à **exploiter** ces **relations** et à en créer d'autres. Ainsi elle est par excellence un **«art de lier** ou, au contraire de **délier**».

Inconcevable au dehors de cette matrice relationnelle érotique – au sens le plus large du terme – «la magie, dans sa forme initiale de l'éros, domine tout le monde»[5]. C'est justement dans ce sens primaire qu'il faut comprendre l'assertion de I.P.Culianu quant à la magie de **Giordano Bruno, «L'éros est le**

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[4] Mauss Marcel, Hubert Henri, *Teoria generală a magiei*, in Avant-propose de Nicu Gavriluţă, Polirom, Iaşi, 1996, p. 8.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 10.

degré zéro de toute magie»[6], car il préside non seulement le fonctionnement de la Nature mais aussi celui de la société humaine et de l'ensemble psychologique individuel. Toute l'existence se consomme dans la captivité de cette relation érotique, la **société** elle-même n'étant qu'une «**magie en action**»[7].

Il est nécessaire d'accentuer le caractère transitif de toute magie, car dans cette chaîne ontologique infinie de type sympathique, la présence de l'éros attire la conséquence extrême qu'en agissant sur un individu pris à part, le mage opère, au fait, par une sorte d'effet de contagion, un lien sur toute la société. Cela vient encore de soutenir l'idée que la magie, bien qu'adressée à l'individu, elle n'est jamais individuelle par ses effets, mais toujours collective, sinon sociale.

Pour Bruno, le philosophe-mage détient l'art mercurien de la dissimulation et de l'illusion par la maîtrise d'une méthodologie de manipulation magique qui s'érige autour d'un double mécanisme: l'**éros** et l'**art de la mémoire**. Ces deux instruments cumulés, auxquels s'ajoute une fine connaissance du pouvoir des sons et des images, constituent les moyens absolus de la magie nolaine définie comme **art de lier** et de **manipuler**.

En tant qu'équation indissoluble entre l'éros et l'art de la mémoire, la magie brunienne rejoint l'espace de l'imaginaire humain, en s'érigeant dans une véritable science du celui-ci, qu'elle cherche à explorer avec des moyens qui lui sont propres et qu'elle prétend manipuler selon sa propre volonté. A la fois psychologie que psychosociologie, la magie nolaine se précise comme une «méthode de contrôle de l'individu et des masses»[8], auxquels elle s'adresse par le biais des **fantasmes**, pour susciter à l'intérieur du psychique humain des impressions profondes, capables de réduire ses sujets à des simples marionnettes aux mains du mage.

La magie présente dans les oeuvres de Giordano Bruno – trop souvent compris par la *grille interprétative* positiviste comme le précurseur des sciences quantitatives modernes – n'est pas un élément exogène à son système philosophique, mais au contraire. A partir de *De umbris idearum* jusqu'aux derniers poèmes de Francfort *De minimo*, *De monade* et *De immenso* tous les ouvrages bruniens respirent un air «magique». Le recours à la magie n'est pas opéré faute d'autres moyens de discours, car la magie en elle-même apparaît comme une conséquence logique de son système. Par son syncrétisme, la magie brunienne assure la **communication** réelle entre son ontologie, gnoséologie et psychologie, tout en apportant à son système philosophique une dimension pratique.

Précis sur la relation entre la magie et la philosophie

Diego Fusare avait remarqué le fait que, la magie a commencé à prendre l'essor avec le néo-platonisme qui a procédé à une ré-définition de la fonction classique accordée à la philosophie par Aristote: la philosophie demeure une valeur soi-même et en ceci réside sa noblesse. Or, avec le schéma ontologique

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[6] Culianu Ioan Petru, *Eros și magie în Renaștere. 1484*, Nemira, 1999, p.152.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 152.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 20.

plotinienne, qui prévoyait la mise en place d'une réalité qui soit structurée à divers niveaux et par diverses relations, commence à prendre forme l'idée fondamentale de toute magie, suivant laquelle, si on arrive à la connaissance de ces mécanismes inter-relationnels de type harmonique – c'est-à-dire des secrètes correspondances – et si on touche «la corde juste» on peut aboutir au changement de la nature. Pour Plotin, afin qu'une opération magique soit possible, il faut non seulement la présence de la forme irrationnelle de l'âme – *pneuma*, entité plus subtile mais ni totalement spirituelle ni corporelle - mais, aussi, faute de la nécessité de l'immunisation aux effets magiques, l'instance rationnelle est appelée à réagir aux forces magiques hostiles et les dissoudre.

Cependant, la magie trouve le terrain fertile de développement surtout pendant le Moyen Age, qui, avec Roger Bacon commence à concevoir la magie comme «une opération en conformité avec la nature et la technique qui peut contribuer à la science»[9]. Ainsi, à la vision de Bacon, la magie offre non seulement la possibilité de transformer la réalité, mais aussi elle est vouée à une nature purement pédagogique, car, par le recours à celle-ci, le sage – *sapiente*, en s'assumant la veste externe du mage, peut communiquer, d'une manière plus claire, son savoir «scientifique» aussi au «vulgaire», qui, sous la direction des sages et de l'Eglise peuvent les utiliser d'une manière efficace.

Mais plus que le Moyen Age, pendant la Renaissance, des auteurs tel comme Marsile Ficin, Pic de La Mirandole ou Giordano Bruno ont développé cette idée de l'utilisation des savoirs pour opérer sur la nature. Désormais, par une attentive démarcation des terrains propres à la magie – trop souvent entourée par une aura démoniaque - les humanistes ont procédé à une ré-définition de celle-ci, dans le sens où, avec la Renaissance, elle est devenue «une science positive de la transformation, signe concret de la domination de l'homme sur les éléments». Partant, les adeptes illuminés de la magie ont lui requis un domaine propre d'action, qui s'oppose à toute autre forme de magie populaire, noire, sorcellerie, superstitions ou autres mystifications. Cependant, il y en a d'autres qui croient que la magie et la science ont en commun la notion d'une *connaissance opératoire*, car la magie de la Renaissance partait de l'idée que toute science doit se baser sur le pouvoir – le *pouvoir d'agir*[10].

C'est justement cette dimension de la magie humaniste que Giordano Bruno va reprendre et exploiter, car, à partir de lui et de sa théorie des liens esquisse dans *De vinculis*, la magie devient une science de la pratique, des moyens pour agir efficacement en se fondant sur une connaissance des lois régissant les transformations de la nature – ou une «théorie universelle des choses».

1. l'Eros et Pneuma. Les anciennes cosmogonies pré-philosophiques grecques offrent à l'éros une large gamme d'interprétations. Par ailleurs, dans les mystères orphiques, l'éros représente la force unificatrice qui préside tous les éléments de l'univers et qui se trouve à la base de la naissance des dieux. Par

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[9] Diego Fusare.

[10] *Ibidem*.

ailleurs, chez Hésiode, cette force est conçue comme étant la première à s'ériger du chaos. Dans toute l'antiquité grecque préclassique l'éros apparaît comme l'agent moteur qui préside toute naissance et création. Il est une sorte de *proton kinoun* des anciennes cosmogonies. En tant qu'infligeant à toute création un *teleos* – but, il est conçu d'une manière relationnelle comme le garant de l'unité de direction de toute chose créée.

Si, en partant des mystères orphiques, l'éros représentait la force unificatrice qui préside tous les éléments de l'univers et qui se trouve à la base de la naissance des dieux et imprime à toute création un *teleos* – but commun – conçu d'une manière relationnelle comme le garant de l'unité de direction de toute chose créée; une fois passé, avec Platon, à l'âge de la philosophie grecque classique, réapparaît l'interprétation de l'éros comme fondement épistémologique et éthique. Les dialogues platoniciens apportent une nouvelle vision sur l' «amoureux» – *erotikos* dont le monopole serait exigé par le philosophe. Le syntagme socratique «je sais que je ne sais rien, sauf l'éros» dépasse le plan d'une attraction purement physique, d'un simple désir de fusionner avec l'objet de sa passion. Au contraire, en contact avec le beau – *kallos* – présent dans les éléments du monde sub-lunaire, l'âme humain commence à s' «éveiller».

Si, au fond, tout amour platonicien demeure un éros de type noétique – une aspiration permanente et inconsciente vers l'intelligible, chez Aristote l'éros passe par un processus d'empirisation, même si, au niveau théorique et ontologique on lui reconnaît le caractère de force d'attraction universelle.

Cette empirisation aristotélique résulte de la définition du mécanisme érotique comme activité synthétique qui implique un rapport indissoluble entre l'âme et le monde sensible. Dans ce sens, Aristote procède à une redéfinition de l'âme de la perspective de sa nature essentiellement *pneumatique*. La distinction entre l'âme – *psyché* – et l'esprit – *pneuma* dévient encore plus évidente au moment où Aristote attribue à ce dernier la fonction de «principal instrument» – *proton organon* – de l'âme dans sa relation avec le corps.

Dans sa qualité d'agent intermédiaire ou, mieux dit, de cadre transitoire de l'information sensible vers l'âme et à l'inverse, *pneuma* opère cet échange uniquement à l'aide de la *phantasia* – fantaisie ou imagination – qui transforme le contenu informationnel venu des cinq sens dans un contenu *fantasmatique* – le seul qui peut être compris par l'âme. C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut comprendre l'affirmation aristotélicienne «*numquam sine phantasmate intelligit anima*» – «*l'âme ne comprend jamais rien sans les fantasmes*» ou celle thomiste «*intelligere sine conversione ad phantasmata est (animae) practer naturam*» – «*la compréhension sans le recours aux fantasmes est (pour l'âme hors de sa nature)*».[11] Ainsi, pour le Stagirite, faute du conditionnement ontologique de ce principe, toute activité de l'âme ne peut être que fondamentalement érotique (car nulle connaissance possible sans la présence de l'éros) et, à la fois pneumatique,

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[11] Ioan Petru Culianu, *Eros şi magie în Renaştere. 1484*, Nemira, 1999, p. 29.

c'est-à-dire fantastique, car nulle activité possible pour l'âme sinon par la traduction fantastique du contenu des informations sensibles opérée par **l'imagination**.

La compréhension de ce principe concernant le caractère fondamentalement fantastique et érotique de toute activité spirituelle devient une priorité absolue de la perspective de la compréhension des ouvrages magiques et, par extension politiques, de Giordano Bruno, car au niveau théorétique et puis pratique, de ce principe le Nolain arrive à déduire l'antériorité et la primauté des fantasmes sur toute articulation linguistique. Or cela revient à dire que, au niveau de la création d'un «abécédaire» - manuel pratique du philosophe-mage, Bruno va accorder une priorité absolue à l'étude et aux modalités de contrôle des fantasmes – générées à l'aide des figures et des sons – et dont le contenu manipulateur demeure plus intense et plus efficient que celui des mots ou de la simple persuasion via les mots.

Giordano Bruno va reprendre ce rapport *pneuma – éros* pour en faire l'assise fondamentale de sa magie. Conçue comme la mise en pratique des savoirs, l'opération magique serait impossible sans cet amour universel. En même temps, opération fantastique par excellence, la magie exploite cette relation continuelle entre la pneuma individuelle et celle universelle qui est garantie par l'éros. Face à cette conspiration pneumatique universelle[12] l'activité spirituelle ne s'épuise plus dans l'environnement immédiat de l'individu, mais elle s'«acosmise», tout comme à la fois, l'univers s'«anthropomorphise».

Alors, reprenant l'idée aristotélicienne du caractère essentiellement fantastique et érotique des activités spirituelles, Bruno va aboutir à la fondamentation métaphysique et psychologique d'une magie purement manipulatrice du contenu affectif des individus, au moment où il prône la recherche des moyens de manipulation via les fantasmes suscités par les figures et les sons produits et induits par le mage dans le psychique de l'individu. A l'aide de l'*éros* qui assure non seulement la continuité de la chaîne infinie de l'Etre mais aussi la propagation de l'impulse magique, le mage nolain arrive, par le biais de l'imagination à la fois réceptive que créatrice à transformer la magie en une science du pouvoir et de la manipulation.

2. Eros et *passion* A la dimension purement érotique et fantastique du périple spirituel, Bruno ajout une autre – celle de du *désir, passion ou appetitus* car dit Bruno, «La liabilité – *vincibilitas* – s'explique par deux causes relevant de la même essence du liable en tant que liable: connaissance appropriée au genre et désir approprié au genre».[13] Au fonds, c'est justement en cette identité *éros-passion* que réside la force et la puissance de la magie de Bruno, car, pour lui, en l'absence de l'éros passion, nulle liaison magique ne serait possible.

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[12] *Ibidem*, p. 50.

[13] Giordano Bruno, *De Magia – De Vinculis in genere*, A. Biondi, Pordenone, Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1986, *De Vinculis*, p. 176.

De cette manière, Bruno reprend la thèse ficinienne qui admet non seulement l'ubiquité ontologique de l'éros – condition extérieure nécessaire pour tout exercice magique, mais qui affirme aussi que, translaté au niveau individuel, l'éros demeure intrinsèquement lié au désirs, affectes et passions individuelles, car, «là où il s'agit de l'éros, il s'agit du *désir*, et là où il s'agit du désir, on parle de la satisfaction du celui-ci». Ainsi, par cette interprétation ficinienne, Bruno va faire de l'éros – passion le fondement et le moteur même de toute activité psychique de l'individu, en anticipant ainsi la science moderne de la psychanalyse: «Toutes les affections et les liaisons de la volonté se réduisent et se réfèrent à deux: à la répulsion et au désir ou à la haine et à l'amour. Cependant, la haine se réduit elle-même à l'amour, d'où résulte que la seule liaison de la volonté est l'éros…. Car, la haine n'est autre chose que l'amour du contraire ou de l'opposé…»[14].

Dans ce contexte, la magie brunienne demeure une magie purement érotique, car, elle s'appui sur une supposition fondamentale: qu'il y a un instrument de manipulation – l'éros, dans son sens le plus large, d'amour, plaisir, désir, émotions etc. – capable, à la limite, d'assujettir l'individu. Alors, c'est justement en ce sens qu'il faut comprendre l'affirmation de Ioan Petru Culianu que «l'éros est le degré zéro de toute magie», car, en la vision de Bruno, l'éros préside non seulement le schéma ontologique de l'Etre, mais aussi les mécanismes psychiques de l'individu.

Cependant, afin que l'éros – passion puisse faire l'objet ou l'instrument par excellence de la magie, il faut qu'il ait une *forme de manifestation pratique*. Or, cette revalorisation de l'éros au cadre de la magie brunienne s'est opérée par le biais d'Aristote, pour lequel toute activité de l'âme demeure essentiellement **fantastique**. Alors, pour Bruno, tout contenu érotique de l'âme fera objet des **fantasmes** que le mage cherchera à contrôler et manipuler selon sa volonté discrétionnaire.

Pour Bruno, cet *éros-passion*, qui, au niveau du psychique individuel se manifeste sous la forme de fantasmes, demeure le cœur de sa théorie magique, car l'efficacité de toute opération magique est conditionnée par la capacité du mage de réduire son sujet ou patient à un état de possession fantasmatique totale, de l'apporter à un état aboulique, de disponibilité parfaite aux suggestions du mage, d'en faire de lui une sorte de «chose inerte» de quoi on peut disposer selon sa propre volonté. Mais, cela ne veut pas dire que le patient de l'opération magique doit être dépourvu de toute passion ou affecte, mais au contraire, Bruno accentue le fait qu'en l'absence de l'éros – passion, nulle liaison magique ne soit possible, faute de l'absence des fantasmes – qui sont la réplique pratique des affectes individuels et qui constituent les instruments de manipulation du mage. Bref, l'efficacité et le pouvoir de l'opération magique, à l'aide des fantasmes, demeure intrinsèquement conditionnés chez Bruno par l'intensité des affectes du sujet magique.

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[14] Giordano Bruno, *Opere latine, Theses de Magia,* vol. III, LVI, p. 491.

3. L'Eros héroïque. A l'eros passion, Bruno ajout une autre dimension – l'éros héroïque qui «la conversion de l'Homme en Dieu»[15] c'est-à-dire opère une translation de la connaissance en pouvoir – principe fondamental de toute magie. Face à ce schéma ontologique, l'homme devient un *homoiôsis theô*, – un ressemblant à Dieu – qui jouit d'autonomie à l'égard de la nature ou du divin.

Conçu de cette manière, l'éros héroïque se trouve à la base même de la liberté humaine, car, face aux successions causales – «vicissitudinales», dit Bruno – de l'Etre, le philosophe, en son sens étymologique d' «aimant de la sagesse», voit se voit renforcé par une connaissance du divin qui est foncièrement du pouvoir. Alors, cette connaissance, doublée par le pouvoir et l'imagination, rendront le philosophe brunien capable de «désordonner» les structures naturelles de l'Etre, d'y introduire l'artifice, bref, de modifier la réalité, en lui réservant la capacité de créer à l'infini, et toujours d'une manière nouvelle, le monde.[16]

Cette frénésie héroïque brunienne détermine le philosophe à participer activement à l'histoire: «Chasses l'infortune, saisis la Fortune par les cheveux. Et quand elle paraîtra au bon endroit, fixes – la par des cloues pour qu'elle ne tourne plus»[17], car, «il faut en toute circonstance s'en remettre à la Fortune, rien ne légitime de s'y soumettre; il importe au contraire de lutter contre le cours de l'impétueux torrent».[18]

Par conséquent, à l'aide de cet éros héroïque, Bruno rompt avec l'image de l'homme plus agi par l'histoire, qu'acteur et agent de celle-ci, pour promouvoir, dans la lignée d'un Pic de La Mirandole et d'un Ficin, celui «d'un homme créateur, maître du monde et magicien»[19].

4. Le monopole des fantasmes. Car toute activité spirituelle de l'âme demeure essentiellement fantastique, l'individu brunien – dont une définition propre serait celle d'un être foncièrement pulsionnel, toujours conduit dans ses actions par ses passions – apparaît à tout pas comme susceptible d'être assujetti par les fantasmes issus de ses propres affectes.

Mais, que seraient ces fantasmes? En essence, le terme «fantasme» provient du grecque *phantasia* – imagination, fantaisie – et, par dérivation de *phantasmata* – images de l'esprit. Mais, la simple traduction du terme *phantasmata* en image n'épuise pas ses sens, car le fantasme tel que présent dans les ouvrages magiques et mnémotechniques de Bruno et Ficin, n'est pas

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[15] Eugenio Garin, *La cultura filosofica des Rinascimento*, Florenta, 1961, p. 703.

[16] Guido de Rosa, *Il concetto di immaginazione nel pensiero di Giordano Bruno*, Istituto Italiano Per Gli Studi Filosofici, Edizioni „La Città Del Sole", Napoli, 1997, p. 16.

[17] Giordano Bruno, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, Edizione critica a cura di M. Ciliberto, Milano, 1985, p. 102.

[18] *Ibidem*, p.103.

[19] Jean Delumeau, *Astrologie et destin individuel. L'homme magicien*, dans *Civilisation de la Renaissance*, Paris, Arthaud, „Les grandes civilisations", 1984, p. 356.

seulement visuel ou audio-visuel, mais plutôt «synesthétique», il étant généré par la collaboration de plusieurs sens simultanément. [20]

Cependant, la magie de la Renaissance semble avoir privilégié les fantasmes visuels, faute de la tradition platonicienne et néoplatonicienne qui considéraient la vue le plus noble des sens et qui avait fait de l'amour- éros une sorte «maladie oculaire» – *ophtalmia*. Une preuve de l'importance majeure accordé à la faculté visuelle à l'époque demeure l'attention particulière qu'on accorde à un autre phénomène résultant du pouvoir de la vue – la fascination.

La fascination, tout comme l'amour, sont considérés à l'époque comme les effets naturels de l'instauration monopolisatrice d'un fantasme à l'intérieur de l'ensemble pneumatique – l'esprit – d'un individu. Selon cette conception, l'image de la personne aimée se transforme en un fantasme qui résorbe, peu à peu, toute la vie intérieure du sujet, désormais réduite à la simple contemplation d'un seul fantasme. En ce cas, le fantasme généré par l'objet de l'amour arrive à posséder le sujet qui arrive à être involontairement soumis au monopole absolu de cet unique fantasme. Une fois arrivé au stade de soumission totale du sujet aimant au fantasme, l'objet sensible de son amour – la personne aimée – ne joue plus qu'un rôle secondaire, car, désormais, ce n'est plus un objet ou une personne appartenant au monde sensible qui contrôle l'ensemble pneumatique du sujet, mais c'est le fantasme lui-même qui aboutit à l'assujettissement total du sujet aimant.

On remarque ainsi le pouvoir des fantasmes, car, ayant été générés par la passion suscitée en l'individu par un objet du monde sensible, ils arrivent à contrôler totalement l'esprit de l'individu. Au fonds, si les phénomènes décrits au-dessous relèvent d'une cause naturelle, on peut toujours déterminer leur apparition d'une façon artificielle et cela justement par la magie, dont la finalité ultime est de contrôler les individus à l'aide de la manipulation de leurs fantasmes. En d'autres mots, la magie, opérant avec l'éros et les fantasmes vise à faire de l'individu une matière malléable, toujours passive, et ouvert aux suggestions induites par le mage.

Le processus magique et l'amour naturel relèvent ainsi de la même nature, car la comparaison entre l'amoureux et le mage ne demeure pas gratuite. En effet, il s'agit ici de la réitération du principe ficinien qui aperçoit dans la naissance au sein du psychique individuel la nécessité immédiate de son satisfaction. Voilà pourquoi, assujetti par le fantasme – réplique spirituelle de l'affection pour la personne aimée, l'amoureux se voit déployer des techniques complexes de persuasion, afin d'attiser ses désirs fantastiques.

A ce niveau, Bruno, tout comme Ficin, a remarqué la ressemblance intrinsèque entre les pratiques de l'amoureux et celles du mage, car, au fonds, tous les deux ne font que la même chose, celle d'essayer, à l'aide d'un complexe mécanisme de déploiement des subtiles «leurres» - ou appâts – d'attirer les objets de leurs désirs ou intérêts et d'obtenir le contrôle de leurs appareils pneumatiques.

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[20] Ioan Petru Culianu, *Eros şi magie în Renaştere. 1484*, Nemira, 1999, p. 57.

    Reportée au terrain de la magie, cette aptitude de l'amoureux d'utiliser ce que Marsile Ficin nommait *rete*, *illecebra* ou *esca* – c'est-à-dire des leurres ou des pièges afin d'attirer la bienveillance de son objet d'amour, va constituer le cœur même de la praxiologie magique brunienne, définie essentiellement comme une opération de «lier» – *vincire* – qui s'appuie sur des procédés spécifiques nommés *liaisons* ou *liens* – *vinculi*. Au fonds, cette comparaison de statut, entre le mage et son patient, d'un part et l'amoureux et ses techniques de l'autre, a été exprimée d'une façon explicite par Ficin, pour lequel «tous les moyens de persuasion que l'amoureux déploie représentent des moyens magiques, dont le but est de lier l'autrui».[21]

SHORT POLITICAL LECTURE
OF GIORDANO BRUNO'S MAGICAL THINKING (I)

(Abstract)

    Too often lectured through the lenses of positivism, Giordano Bruno's thinking escapes the boundaries of a strict systematic classification. He remains a genuine rennaissantist: an open universe at its own where gnoseology, ontology, mnemotechnics, magic, mathematics, logic or politics are dynamically interlacing each other in an unique and coherent stream – where each current is mirroring the others.

    From this perspective, Giordano Bruno's writings on magic bring out an extraordinary propensity towards the political modernity, however without stretching his roots up to the point of complete rupture with his rennaissant times. Bruno's magical thinking has profound political consequences: the magician itself as described by the Nolan has a defined terrain of action: the social space – polis. Armed with knowledge of the Ideas and armoured with the powerful and disciplined art of memory, the magician transforms himself in a warrant of the social and political order. However no order is possible without 2 fundamental pre-requisites: eros and the phantastic essence of the knowledge process. For Bruno, society, individual and nature are purely guided by erotic relations – all things are related to each other in the great chain of being. But on this scale of existence, Bruno reserves for individuals as well as communities – a more passional interpretation of the eros – appetitus – the natural propension to obtain control over the object of desire. Or, together with Aristotle, Bruno reaffirms the principle of acquiring knowledge uniquely via the imagination – therefore no knowledge without fantasy. From here, Giordano Bruno's path to the gates of magic – understood in its complex combinatory of gnoseology, ontology and mnemotechnics – is paved with deep understanding of human actions and therefore with clarity on the plan to follow to impregnate and ensure social and political order.

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    [21] Marsilio Ficino, *Sopra lo Amore o ver'Convito di Platone. Commento di Marsilio Ficino sopra il Convito di Platone*, G. Ottaviano, Milano, 1973, VI, 10, p. 108.

DRACULA: UN MYTHE POLITIQUE

IONEL BUŞE

Pourquoi Bram Stoker a-t-il choisi la Transylvanie et les Carpates comme berceau des vampires? Serait-ce parce qu'il s'agit d'un lieu éloigné et peu connu, situé en marge de l'Europe, à la frontière des grands empires, où l'imaginaire traditionnel collectif reste encore fort au XIXème siècle? Ou bien s'agirait-il plutôt d'une *alteratio* des frontières de l'altérité? Dans ce sens, le mythe de Dracula se construit, croyons-nous, à partir d'un noyau historique, par une succession d'*altérations* appartenant, en grande partie, à l'imaginaire collectif et politique occidental.

Entre l'Occident et l'Orient

La frontière orientale récente de l'Union Européenne, la mer Noire, est celle de l'Empire Romain à son apogée, pendant le règne de l'empereur Trajan, le conquérant de Daces, IIème siècle après J.C. La population romanisée du nord et du sud du Danube (les Valaques ou les Roumains) a été convertie graduellement au christianisme en latin. Le mot *walach* – désignant la population romanisée de l'espace sud-est européen – est d'origine germanique et il s'apparente à celui de Welsh (Grande Bretagne), Walon (Belgique), Walsi (Suisse). La plupart de Roumains sont orthodoxes de langue latine. Après la scission de l'Empire Romain en Empire Romain d'Occident et Empire Romain d'Orient (avec pour capitale Constantinople), ce dernier connut un vrai épanouissement culturel, faisant naître ce qu'on appela plus tard l'Europe byzantine à laquelle appartenait également le monde roumain du nord du Danube, dans les premiers siècles de son existence. Pourtant, après le Grand schisme de 1054, le christianisme orthodoxe fut considéré comme l'ennemi absolu du catholicisme. Au nom de la foi et du catholicisme, la „guerre sainte" de la IVème Croisade dévasta Constantinople, détruisant de superbes chefs-d'oeuvre et passant par le fer et par le feu des milliers de chrétiens orthodoxes. Il n'y eut jamais de plus grand crime contre l'humanité que la IVème Croisade, estimait l'historien britannique Steven Runciman. Ainsi, c'était pour la première fois, depuis les Grecs Anciens, que l'Est de l'Europe était représenté comme *alteratio* et non pas comme altérité. Dans ce contexte historique, le danger ottoman qui menaçait l'Europe Centrale se heurta aux Bulgares, aux Serbes et aux Roumains comme à un vrai tampon entre l'Occident et l'Orient, ce qui explique en partie tant leur rôle de frontière de la chrétienté que celui de marginaux dans le voisinage du monstre ottoman. Or, les frontières sont toujours hantées par les mauvais esprits, n'est pas?

Vlad III: héros ou monstre ?

Le nom de Vlad III (1431-1476), surnommé Dracula, est lié principalement à l'histoire des deux provinces historiques: la Valachie (sud de la Roumanie actuelle) et la Transylvanie (du latin *terra ultra silvam* – le pays d'au-delà la forêt, nord ouest de la Roumanie actuelle). Vlad III naquit à Sighişoara en Transylvanie. Son père, Vlad II, prince régnant de Valachie, faisait partie de l'Ordre du Dragon, société chevaleresque militaire et religieuse créée par Sigismond de Luxembourg, afin de défendre les intérêts du monde catholique et de s'opposer à l'expansion ottomane. Vlad III, devenu à son tour prince de Valachie, allait prendre officiellement le nom de Draculya (fils de Dragon ou de Dracul – „diable" en roumain). Ce Vlad III Draculya (Draculea), surnommé aussi l'Empaleur à cause de son procédé favori pour punir les coupables, est peut-être le plus célèbre des «Roumains»: un monstre absolu créé par la mythologie occidentale. Son règne sur le trône de la Valachie, ainsi que sa brève existence, se virent partagés entre les luttes contre les Turcs et l'opposition à l'hégémonie politique de la Hongrie. Au cours de l'hiver 1461, Vlad l'Empaleur commença une sanglante campagne au sud du Danube. Tout à fait conscient du fait que le Sultan n'allait pas tarder à attaquer la Valachie, le prince Vlad fit des préparatifs de guerre tout en sollicitant l'appui de son allié, le roi Mathias Corvin (fils de Jean de Hunyadi, ancien gouverneur d'origine roumaine de la Transylvanie). Malheureusement, Vlad l'Empaleur ne recevra jamais l'aide promise par le roi Mathias. Malgré tout cela, il remporta, au cours de l'été 1462, une victoire brillante sur les Turcs. Tout à fait paradoxalement, Mathias Corvin, profitant de sa position privilégiée en Europe et auprès du pape, s'attribua les mérites de cette victoire contre le Sultan, en lançant une campagne de propagande désinformatrice au sujet du Vlad l'Empaleur, justifiant ainsi sa passivité militaire. Dans sa lettre envoyée au pape, le roi d'Hongrie annonçait la victoire « des Hongrois et des Roumains ». En novembre 1462, l'année même où il avait remporté sa glorieuse victoire sur les Turcs, Vlad l'Empaleur fut accusé de félonie par Mathias Corvin, capturé et emprisonné à Buda. Libéré après environ treize ans de prison, converti entre-temps au catholicisme, marié semble-t-il avec Ilona Hunyadi, soeur de Mathias Corvin, et remis, en 1476, pour quelques mois, sur le trône de la Valachie par Étienne le Grand, voïvode de Moldavie, Vlad l'Empaleur sera assassiné, paraît-il, par d'autres prétendants au trône avec le soutien des Turcs. Au cours des années qui suivirent sa mort, il devint un héros aux frontières orientales de l'Europe (dans les chroniques slaves), mais un monstre dans les chroniques occidentales. Les écrits les moins favorables à l'adresse du prince roumain sont les chroniques allemandes de Transylvanie. Instaurant un règne autoritaire, Vlad l'Empaleur faisait empaler non seulement les Turcs, mais aussi les marchands saxons de Transylvanie, habitant près de la frontière avec la Valachie et pris en flagrant délit de contrebande. Il avait puni de la même façon certains rivaux politiques, mais aussi divers boyards roumains félons, des voleurs avérés, des prostituées, des criminels. Comme il se trouvait en perpétuelle dispute avec les marchands

saxons de Sibiu et Braşov, qui soutenaient ses rivaux au trône, ceux-ci l'avaient décrit comme un prince extrêmement cruel, une sorte d'incarnation de l'Enfer, commettant des horreurs diaboliques. Sa légende en variante centrale-européenne (notamment allemande) le consacre définitivement en tant que tyran sanglant et tortionnaire de la même triste famille typologique qu'Hérode, Néron ou Dioclétien. Peu importe si à l'origine il s'agit d'une oeuvre plutôt de propagande politique, destinée à justifier en quelque sorte l'acte du roi de Hongrie consistant à avoir emprisonné «le défenseur de la Chrétienté». «A-t-il été horrifié par la cruauté de son sujet ? Pas du tout. L'époque est barbare et Vlad y tient bien son rang, sans qu'apparaisse chez lui un goût immodéré pour le sang»[1] Or; l'Europe médiévale avait été hantée par des monstres de taille beaucoup plus importante, depuis le Paris de Louis XI jusqu'à la Russie d'Ivan le Terrible.

Du dragon au vampire

Un autre type d'*alteratio* s'était produit au niveau du symbolisme religieux chrétien. Dans les religions d'Orient, tout comme dans les croyances sud-est européennes, mais aussi dans l'hermétisme médiéval européen et musulman, le dragon apparaît comme l'image de la neutralisation de deux tendances opposées. La représentation chrétienne du dragon renvoie à une déterminante ético-rationnelle: la lutte du bien contre le mal. Il paraît que son origine se retrouverait dans les écrits d'Origène qui renvoie par le psaume 74 *(Léviathan)* à la victoire du bien représenté par la personne du Christ sur le mal (de l'Apocalypse). Le symbole de l'Ordre du dragon est un dragon avec la queue enroulée autour du cou. Sur le dos, le dragon porte la croix de saint Georges sur un drap d'argent. Le dragon représente la Bête de l'Apocalypse, et la croix rouge la victoire du Christ sur les forces du mal.

Pour ce qui est de Dracula, il faisait partie, comme son père, investi en 1431 à Nüremberg par Sigismond de Luxembourg, de l'Ordre du dragon (lat. *Societas Draconistarum,* allem. *Drachenorden*), ordre militaire semblable à celui des Templiers. La plus importante *alteratio* concernant son image est le fait que d'un symbole de l'ordre chrétien (par l'Ordre du dragon auquel il appartenait) il parvient – par le truchement des chroniques allemandes – à être assimilé au monstre même, en l'occurrence au dragon contre lequel il était censé combattre.

En ce qui concerne le mythe du vampire, son histoire remonte à l'Antiquité. Elle traverse tout le Moyen Âge ainsi que l'imaginaire populaire jusqu'à récemment, dans l'époque moderne. Paradoxalement, la notion de vampire n'existe pas dans les traditions populaires roumaines au Nord du Danube. Ce terme est utilisé surtout par certaines populations de langue slave et germanique. La démonologie mythologique de la mort, répandue dans certains

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, traduction de Jacques Finné, présentation et commentaires de Claude Aziza, Éditions Pocket, 1992, p. 9, présentation.

régions rurales roumaines, comporte en tant que personnages démoniaques: le *strigoi* (les revenants), le *pricolici* (un sort de loup-garou) et le *moroi* (petits enfants revenants qui hantent les vivants). Le mythe du revenant (*strigoi*) est le plus répandu. Les rituels de défense contre les revenants sont divers. Dans ces pratiques magiques, à l'orgine les paysans n'utilisaient pas la croix comme objet de purification, ce qui montre leur origine païenne. Dans l'imaginaire collectif roumain Vlad l'Empaleur n'est pas considéré *strigoi* ou vampire. Même dans l'imaginaire collectif occidental, on ne rencontre que tard, au XIXème siècle, une association entre le nom de Dracula et le vampirisme.

Les représentations sur les dragons, les revenants et les vampires sont caractéristiques surtout pour les collectivités traditionnelles et ce sont des restes de certains mythes et rituels conservés jusqu'à l'ère chrétienne. La représentation exclusivement négative sur Vlad l'Empaleur n'est pas étrangère de la représentation générale mytho-politique sur l'altérité à la fin du Moyen-Âge et le début de la modernité. La peur des sorcières, des vampires et des autres monstres est accentuée par l'action de l'Église militante. Pour l'Église catholique le problème du vampirisme était un problème politique. La simple existence du vampire remet en cause le dogme catholique et la puissance politique de l'Eglise. Selon le dogme catholique les âmes des morts ont trois alternatives: Enfer, Purgatoire et Paradis. Il n y a pas d'âmes qui errent sur terre. Voilà pourquoi la chasse à ces êtres imaginaires ainsi qu'à leurs serviteurs était pleinement justifiée. Á côté des Juifs, des Amérindiens, les sorcières, accusées d'hérésie, y sont considérées comme le mal suprême de l'époque. L'analyse de Jean Delumeau[2] met en évidence quelques aspects importants nécessaires à notre démarche. Tout d'abord le fait que la sorcellerie est dominante dans les campagnes. La géographie de la sorcellerie touche les zones les plus pauvres et isolées, comprenant pays catholiques et pays protestants, sans différenciation. Le point culminant de la chasse aux sorcières est atteint dans une période de renaissance culturelle par une élite en formation en train de s'éloigner de plus en plus de l'éclectisme de la culture populaire où survivent encore des traditions païennes, d'anciens dieux de la fertilité et de la fécondité, que le clergé identifie en bloc à Satan. D'où la répression du sabbat des sorcières, de la magie et des maléfices. La chasse aux sorcières et aux hérétiques entreprise par l'Église va coïncider, sur le plan laïc, avec la chasse aux fantasmes et aux mythes. Dans ce sens, le prométhéisme de la raison de l'Occident en train de naître va considérer l'Altérité (l'imagination) comme *altération*, «maîtresse d'erreur et de fausseté», selon le propos de Gilbert Durand.

La renaissance de Dracula

Aux XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles, l'Europe connaît une véritable renaissance du vampirisme. Articles et traités sur les esprits, les démons et les vampires paraissent à cette époque dans l'Europe. Quant à la littérature, on y

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[2] Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident. Un cité assiégée*, Paris, Fayard, 1978.

retrouve le mythe du vampire au XIXème siècle, dès la naissance du roman fantastique. Ainsi, le mythe de Dracula était déjà préparé à être assimilé à l'altération absolue par la vampirisation. La plupart des cas de vampirisme sont placés dans le centre et l'est de l'Europe. En 1679 paraître « De Masticatione Mortuorum » de Phlip Rohr le premier texte allemand sur les vampires. Le terme « vampire » est officiellement reconnu en 1732. Les journaux n'arrêtent pas de discuter des phénomènes vampiriques et font le portrait de ceux-ci: morts qui ne subissent pas l'altération, ils ont deux dents aiguës et sucent le sang des vivants, qui deviennent à leur tour des vampires, se métamorphosent en divers animaux, possèdent des forces surnaturelles. Les histoires de vampires hantent le monde occidental. En même temps, en pleine époque des Lumières, au début du XIXème siècle, dans une publication allemande intitulée *Histoires de la Moldavie et de la Valachie* par Johann Christian Engel, a été relancée la thèse «Vlad l'Empaleur – un monstre modèle de cruauté»**.** Dans les nouvelles conditions historiques, dans l'empire Autriche-Hongrois, Dracula redevient mythe politique par la diabolisation des Roumains transylvaniens. Mais le XIXème siècle sera aussi caractérisé par l'imaginaire national ainsi que par les mythes des origines des nations modernes, par l'éveil des nationalités, y compris la nation roumaine de Transylvanie. Vlad l'Empaleur redevient le héros de la nation. Quittant la légende et nettoyé de la poussière de l'oubli historique, Vlad Țepeș (l'Empaleur) redevient le héros de la nation. Ainsi, dans un poème d'inspiration patriotique (Épître III), le poète romantique Mihai Eminescu reprend les vieux mythes historiques et glorifie le passé national tout en le mettant en antithèse avec le présent corrompu. Il y invoque, en même temps, la figure légendaire de Vlad l'Empaleur, symbole de la lutte anti-ottomane, de l'ordre et de la justice dans l'imaginaire collectif des Roumains[3]: *Cum nu vii tu Tepeș Doamne /Ca punând mâna pe ei / Să-i împarți în două cete / De smintiti și de mișei / Și în două temniți large / Cu de-a sila să-i aduni / Să dai foc la pușcărie și la casa de nebuni.*

Comme on peut le voir, les Roumains ne s'identifient pas à Dracula, mais à l'image du héros médiéval redécouverte par les mythes de la nation roumaine.

Le mythe littéraire

Le mythe actuel de Dracula porte sans doute la marque de Bram Stoker. Il ne s'agit pas d'un simple écrivain de romans fantastiques, mais d'un romancier qui insuffle de la vie littéraire aux métamorphoses d'un mythe politic dont l'origine remonte, comme nous venons de le voir, aux siècles passés, peut-être même à l'aube de l'Europe. On le *retrouve* dans le roman gothique, à partir du XVIIIème siècle, quand des monastères, des cimetières, des châteaux en ruine sont peuplés par divers monstres, cadavres, démons, squelttes, fantômes, etc.

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[3] Accours vite, Empaleur, mon prince !/ Ne tarde pas à les capturer/ Partage-les en deux bandes / L'une de fous, l'autre d'infâmes/ Pour les faire entrer de force/ Dans deux larges prisons/ Et mettre enfin le feu/ Á la prison et à l'hospice.

Ces productions littéraires expriment, surtout au XIXème siècle, les inquiétudes d'une époque entraînée dans un processus vertigineux de transformation annonçant les nouveaux mythes de la modernité, notamment celui de la raison et du progrès. En Grande-Bretagne et en Irlande paraît toute une série d'horribles histoires sur des personnages grotesques ou sanglants: trois d'entre elles, *Le Vampyre* de John Stagg (1810), *Le Vampire* de John William Polidori (1819) et *Camilla* de Le Fanu (1871), peuvent être considérées comme précurseurs du roman *Dracula* de Bram Stoker.

Au XXème siècle, le développement de la filmographie a permis l'apparition de plus de trente adaptations cinématographiques du roman *Dracula.* Les dernières décennies du XXème siècle ont apporté une vraie hémorragie de vampires sur les grands et les petits écrans. Parmi les adaptations cinématographiques, en voilà quelques-unes des plus célèbres: *Nosfératu, le vampire* (1922), *Dracula* (avec Bela Lugosi, 1931), *Dracula, prince des ténèbres* de T. Fischer (avec C. Lee, 1965), *Bram Stoker's Dracula* de F. F. Coppola (1993) etc.

Dans la plupart des cas, l'espace des monstres était la Transylvanie. Pourquoi? Parce que Bram Stoker présente la Transylvanie comme l'une des plus sauvages régions de l'Europe. Ce n'était pas nouveau. D'autres écrivains célèbres du XIXème siècle avaient placé l'action de certains de leurs romans dans les Carpates. Ainsi, Alexandre Dumas, raconte l'histoire d'un vampire amoureux, qui se passe quelque part en Moldavie, près des Carpates, autre région roumaine, voisine de la Transylvanie. Le lieu de l'action du roman *Le Château des Carpates* (de Jules Verne) est placé dans le sud de la Transylvanie, etc. Le XIXème siècle fut marqué par de grandes transformations sociales et technologiques. Ce fut le siècle du mythe positiviste de la raison. *Le Château des Carpates* de Jules Verne est, par exemple, un moyen de célébrer les miracles de la science.

Au-delà du scénario littéraire, Bram Stoker y met à profit un mythe politique afin de présenter le but de la nouvelle croisade: la victoire du progrès sur la décadence représentée par l'ère victorienne, assimilée ici à l'archaïsme et à la barbarie des frontières orientales de l'Europe. Le Dracula de Bram Stoker nourrit l'intention d'arriver au coeur de la civilisation, afin de détruire le monde. Les forces du bien s'unissent pour chasser le vampire de Londres et le faire revenir chez lui afin de le détruire dans son propre repaire. Toutes les pratiques archaïques d'exorcisation du vampire sont mises au service de la croix et du progrès. Dès le début, deux forces se confrontent: le Bien et le Mal. Dès le moment où le vampire est identifié, une poursuite de type policier se déclenche finissant par son annihilation et la libération du monde de la domination de Lucifer. Le monstre est situé aux frontières orientales de l'Europe où il avait déjà une longue histoire. L'auteur ne semble pas très au courant de la réalité des populations habitant pêle-mêle ces régions: Roumains, Hongrois, Szeklers, Slovaques, Tsiganes, etc. En tout cas, ils lui font l'impression d'êtres bizarres, peuplant plutôt les espaces des contes merveilleux ou exotiques que ceux de la réalité.

En guise de conclusion

Pour n'avoir pas exorcisé à temps ses propres monstres, l'Europe a dû payer son tribut de sang à Hitler et à Staline – les créations de l'identitarisme de l'homme européen. En ce qui concerne le communisme, le *Rideau de fer* ne s'est pas limité à produire des goulags, des millions de morts, des déportations, des prisons et des tortures pour les détenus politiques; il a généré en plus de la pauvreté et a altéré les mentalités. La Roumanie est l'un des pays qui ont le plus souffert. C'est pour cela, peut-être, qu'elle est le seul pays qui ait condamné officiellement le communisme en décembre 2006, le considérant « illégitime et criminel ». Après la chute du Mur de Berlin, l'Europe prend directement contact avec « l'homme nouveau » créé par le communisme et sa dictature, avec l' « Est contaminé ». À présent, Europe a en plus l'occasion de constater si l'expérience de son identitarisme a réussi. La plupart des émigrants arrivés en Occident sont des désespérés et des marginaux. Les deux crânes de l'histoire (Dracula et Ceauşescu) sont ainsi remplis, dans l'imaginaire collectif occidental, de Tsiganes, voleurs, prostituées, trafiquants, etc. Une étude sociologique effectuée dans la région Münster d'Allemagne en 2002 par Kathrin Kissau[4] montrait que l'image de la Roumanie était plutôt négative (77% des personnes questionnées). En même temps, la population était très peu informée sur le futur membre de l'UE de 2007. 94% des personnes questionnées n'avaient jamais été en Roumanie. La plupart des informations proviennent de l'époque de Ceausescu et de la télévision: un autre effet de l'homme - écran. Quelque part, dans une rue de Regensburg j'ai rencontré, il y a quelques années, cette inscription en roumain: « Interdit aux monstres ». Je me rappelle aussi d'une famille française que j'avais invitée en Roumanie quelques années après la chute du Mur de Berlin. Ils ont décliné l'invitation sous prétexte que leurs enfants avaient peur des vampires. Signe que les vampires de la filmographie ne se nourrissaient pas que de sang jeune, mais qu'ils participaient sérieusement à la contamination de l'altérité.

D'une toute aussi grande notoriété, en 2006 – année de la préparation de l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'U. E. – sont les articles du tabloïde *The Sun,* qui exploitent et entretiennent un imaginaire collectif où l'émigrant roumain typique est chômeur et abruti par l'alcool, les Roumains, en tant que peuple, étant considérés comme une masse de brutes, héritiers de Dracula, malades du SIDA ou de TBC, voleurs, criminels, etc. *The Sun* reprend le même scénario que celui du roman de Bram Stoker. Le Dracula-émigrant revient à Londres. On proclame une coalition des forces de la Lumière (représentée, comme on le voit, par *The Sun*), cette fois-ci sans croix, ni ail, contre les nouveaux venus en U. E. Si l'on veut faire un film sur les monstres, il est bon de le placer en Transylvanie, suggère *The Sun* dans un commentaire du film américain «Borat». Le résultat

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[4] Kathrin Kissau, *Ceausescu, Dracula und Waisenhäuser?* Einblicke in das Image Rumäniens in Deutschland. In: Südosteuropa-Mitteilungen; Heft 4/2006.

politique après l'agression médiatique dans la presse britannique: le ministre des affaires internes John Reid décide que les Roumains et les Bulgares seront les seuls citoyens européens à ne pas avoir droit au libre accès au marché de travail en Grande Bretagne. Donc: «Interdit aux monstres». Il paraît que, ces dernières années, les travailleurs roumains auraient significativement contribué à la croissance des P. I. B. de l'Italie et de l'Espagne, pays où la plupart d'entre eux ont émigré.

Il Tempo dei rumeni, le célèbre article de *Il Tempo* (le 3 octobre 2006) présentait à son tour les Roumains comme „*la razza piu violenta, pericolosa, prepotente, capace di uccidere per una manciata di spiccoli…*". Quelques mois auparavant, il s'était passé la même chose en Espagne. L'imaginaire collectif occidental est, d'une manière en quelque sorte naturelle, défavorable à l'émigration, à la roumaine en particulier, – et y ont beaucoup contribué les „hommes nouveaux" créés par le communisme: voleurs, prostituées, émigrants illégaux travaillant au noir, – mais aussi la médiatisation excessive d'une Roumanie sous-développée: Dracula, corruption, pauvreté, orphelinats, etc.

Pour conclure: Tentative de fuir l'angoisse? Simple curiosité? Désir de l'insolite et du spectaculaire? Les agences de tourisme se précipitent aujourd'hui pour offrir les voyages les plus inhabituels au château de Dracula au détriment d'autres richesses plus authentiques. Est-il l'Est contaminé ?

Au-delà de l'archétype du monstre de l'imaginaire collectif occidental, Dracula est resté l'altérité radicale assimilée à l'altération des frontières de la civilisation européenne. Après la disparition du „Rideau de fer", l'Europe s'attendait à trouver en Roumanie l'incarnation même de l'Enfer. Et cela a été vrai, en quelque sorte. C'est pourquoi les pays derniers venus furent-ils si longuement préparés avant l'adhésion, en pleine crise du Traité constitutionnel, crise déclenchée en principe par le fait que les espaces publics nationaux n'interfèrent pas encore pleinement avec le projet politique et normativiste de l'Europe. À ce propos, il nous semble, Dominique Wolton doit avoir raison de considérer l'Est comme une provocation et un catalyseur. Malgré sa pauvreté et son sous-développement, l'Europe de l'Est a conservé une communication symbolique entre masses et élites, chose importante pour l'unité de l'espace public européen. "Il est possible que ce qu'apporte l'Est comme problèmes, contraintes, inadaptations, retards, incompréhension, soit moins un frein, mais plutôt une chance. Au fond, le service qu'elle vient de rendre est de rappeler qu'il n'y a pas d'espace public sans reconnaissance de l'altérité, et qu'il n'y a d'espace public que si cette altérité se traduit dans un rapport, et non dans une domination"[5]. Espérons que l'identité européenne se construira par un tel rapport de l'altérité. Ce n'est qu'alors, peut-être, que Dracula sera récupéré de son éternelle errance aux frontières de l'altérité de l'histoire.

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[5] Dominique Wolton, *La nation*, in *L'Esprit de l'Europe*, vol. 2, Flammarion, Paris, 1993, p. 141.

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DRACULA: A POLITICAL MYTH

(Abstract)

One of the basic mechanisms by which a society builds up its own identity is its reporting to alterity. This alterity can become a radical one or an alteration (from the Latin *alteratio*). In this sense, Dracula's myth is built up, starting from a historical nucleus, by a succession of alterations which belong to the western collective and political fiction.

THE *"HIV/AIDS"* PHENOMENON LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE PERCEPTIONS AND ATITUDES[1]

RODICA ȚUGUI

A. The actual context of AIDS. The knowledge of the priests (participants at the focus groups)[2] about the history of the disease and ways to prevent sources of misinformation

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[1] Results of a study proposed by the staff of the project *Consolidation of the community initiatives in Romania.* The project called *Consolidation of the community initiatives in* Romania is implemented mainly by two parteners, the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC) and the International Orthodox Christian Chartity (IOCC). To these partners also the Ministry of Education and Research was added(as a partner institution) as well as two other organisations namely "John Snow Research and Training Institute" and "The Horisons Foundation" ("subcontracting structures"). The main financer of the project is the United States for International Developement (USAID). The coordinating team of the project is made of Mark Ohanian regional director of IOCC for Eastern Europe and Caucaz; Will Clowney, program coordinator for IOCC Romania; Sophia Brewer, project manager; Cosmin Grigorescu project coordinator; Anemarie Gasser, coordinator of comunity activities.The general objective of the project is to develop certain positive atitudes among the personell of the Romanian Orthodox Church (priests, religion teachers, suppliers of social and cultural services, partish people), thru education and instruction so that these would become factors of social transformations and to determin certain "proactive" reactions at the parochial comunity level concerrning preventing the iminent social problems and aproaching the existing ones among which especially the HIV infection stigmatisation and marginalisation which they provoke as well as the family violence. If the study published in the last number of „AO" magasine we refeared at the problem of the family violence, in the present article we will emphasise a few characteristics of the "AIDS" phenomenon".

[2] The managerial team wanted to find out, before the actual implementation of the project, information concerning the current attitudes, the level of knowledge about family violence and HIV generally, but mostly in the local communities. Also, to find out the type of support which ROC, in partnership with IOCC, could give to the priests. Also beneficial is acquiring knowledge about their expectations and, implicitly, their suggestions on how preventative activity for these two serious social problems in the community could be most effective. In order to structurally pick these quality data, the focus group was used as a method of research and developed based on an interview guide. Besides emphasizing certain „configurations" of the information about HIV and family violence, which the priests know about, we wanted to learn about their sources of information by which they reached their opinions; of their own mentalities; and of the community "pastored". Also referring to the need to "absorb" practically the ideas (about the two plagues) and the needs of these socio demographic categories. The selection of the focus group as an investigation method is aimed to compare the transformations appearing in attitudes and knowledge with the progress in applying the project with an emphasis on them.

If preventing certain social and medical problems, such as HIV and family violence, is looked upon as fields in which only professionals will be involved, experience coming from other countries shows how the religious communities can have a very important contribution in creating a healthy and protective framework for its members and victims of the two plagues. This is why in

The synthesis from sociologic perspectives about AIDS – "the last big plague of the XIXth century"– considers it comparable with large collective diseases that once suddenly affected the population. It is appreciated that the notion of "epidemic", attributed to AIDS in the first half of the `90s, was marked by resuscitating this phenomena and creating similarities between the disease and the sin and also the punishment and deviation from norms, emphasizing the close relationships which can exist between the biological world and the social world[3].

It is appreciated that reactions of hostility and discriminatory practices appeared soon especially since the infectious character of this disease was proved and the fear of contracting the disease due to an unknown pathology for which medicine is helpless. Basically the fear of starting uncontrolled epidemics which can affect the society can produce similar effects. The social efforts underline the same coercive responses: the isolation of the patients by creating special centers, measures of quarantine or of habit control, their systematic discovery also. These themes have become the objects of often vivid political debates.

The studies[4] prove that the resemblances do not stop here. The representations and the interpretations of the disease, the conditions of its apparition and spreading as its way of intervention to stop the epidemics inscribe themselves in a medical, social and political context which is different from those in which the cholera, tuberculoses and even cancer have constituted in themselves a calamity in a different era. If AIDS constitutes in itself the neurologic point of our era the problems which are raised by it are specific for it. Even if it is about the status of the sick person, of homosexuality or toxicity, many feel it is about relations between the medical institutions and the responsibility of public authority in controlling the epidemic. AIDS represents a reflection of contemporary society. The assertion is valid since the disease leaves both public authorities and scientists powerless even though they are placed under the question mark regarding the practices of health, medical theories and the political visions.

Also is considered that even though the national context determine important differences especially about the system of health, of political and medical institutions, the dynamics are similar especially in the medical research field (in fact it is international) and of the central role of different organizations as well as of developing the community spirit to promote the fight against HIV. The debates and the controversies over discovering prevention and the status of the sick, stigmatization of homosexuality or use of drugs were and still are present in most of the countries but they often reach different conclusions

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order to have positive effect in stopping the two phenomena, a wide approach is needed in which the religious communities are included.

[3] See: Claude Thiaudière, *Sociologie du Sida*, Colecţia Repères, Paris, Éditions La Découverte, 2002.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 3.

considering the local or regional mentalities, the attitudes towards the main European values and the access to the information.

Even if in the same country it seems that there are big differences concerning the spirit of tolerance, the attitudes towards the people who are sero-positive, the way in which they are treated by certain social categories. Nevertheless there are differences on the level of knowledge by the population of certain general information about the HIV/AIDS virus, its manifestation, the history of its appearance, ways of contamination and of prevention, but mostly in the attitudes towards the sero-positives. The priests who have participated in the focus groups have emphasized especially this situation.

The group referred to the fact that AIDS is transmitted "sexually and thru blood transfer" [5] (this is why the fear of contamination and the behavior of excluding the sick people from school) and its spreading is mostly the result of a doubtful morality, of infidelity, of the concessive spirit of the modern society which allows the young people to start their sexual life before marriage [6,7]. It has been emphasized also as a way of transmission the negligence of hospitals, related namely to the unsterilized medical instruments or uncontrolled transfusions, as well as the transfer from the sero-positive mother to the unborn baby[8]. The use of drugs remains among the leading factors of spreading the

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[5] In the first year, the project is implemented in eight pilot eparchies, from nine counties («The A» Region): Timisoara (Timis county), Craiova (Dolj Conty), Slobozia (Ialomita County) Tomis (Constanta Couinty) Severin (Mehedinti County), Iasi (Iasi County), Roman (Bacau County and a part of Neamt County), Bucharest (Sector 1). The target eparchies for the second year («Region» B), are: Cluj, (Cluj County and Bistrita from Bistrita Nasaud County), Alba Iulia, Sibiu (Brasov County). Huşi (Vaslui County), Lowside Danube (Galati County), Bucharest (sector 4)

[6] "Specifically because of infidelity, this situation has created the death of the human being because of the pleasures of which he is searching. But not very much has been done either to spread the information or to prevent the appearance of the sickness." (priest Timis)

[7] "AIDS is a sickness which has done great damage, and as far as I know is sexually transmitted and thru blood transfer and not by living together. So the fear of receiving a sick child in school is not justified. They know that this sickness has spread also because the young people start early their sexual life. In the past, sexual life was more controlled. Abstinence until marrige was a part of sexual education. Not even a priest could get married unless the bride was a virgin. That was the custom. Now we are very concessive" (Priest Dolj); „I know that the HIV virus is transmitted especially in the sexual way, but mostly thru the body fluids exogenisis and I also know that this sickness kills. " (priest Timis)

[8] "HIV is a sickness which affects the immunity of the organism; the main way of transmission is sexual but it also spreads thru transfusions and different unsterilized instruments which are not disposable as well as on the hereditary level from a sero-positive mother to the child. How is it gotten? As it has been said before, it is not gotten thru a kiss, or by dirty hands or by contaminated dishes or common covivance". (priest Dolj); "The virus attacks the immunity of the human being

The organism weakens and finally can't take it anymore. The sickness is transmited mainly thru sexual intercourse with persons that have been infected, thru blood transfusions in medical units which don't use sterilized syringes, etc.

Cases of children which have been treated in a certain period in the hospitals and have been infected are known. Treatment for healing, as far as we know, doesn't exist. The sickness can

disease.[9] Decreasing the immunity of the organism is also a characteristic of the sero-positive.[10] Also it is appreciated that the transmission of the virus in Romania has happened because of those who left Romania after 1989 to go to other countries. Upon their return home they have contaminated their families or other persons from the places where they returned from[11].

The priests are informed about discrimination and marginalization to which the sero-positives are subjected, sometimes thru a personal experience and sometimes thru media[12].

In general, in Romania, information about HIV was available only after 1990 with a very few exceptions: "I would like to say that the first time when I heard about HIV was in 1998. I was doing my military service and people were speaking very little about this disease. It was only on foreign radio stations that they talked about it. After 1990, while I was in Faculty, different Christian missionaries came and presented diapositives and different materials. Then discussions in the press and tv started," a priest from Timisoara has said.

It seems that this "silence" about AIDS in Romania makes the population less informed about the history of the disease and mostly about the way it starts and the"awareness about it's danger." If the first hints reflect accurately, the HIV virus exists for a long time. HIV as a disease appeared at the beginning of the 1980's. The fight against the infectious disease reached its climax when the successes of medicine generated vaccines and antibiotherapy. The problems of public health were now focused on planning the prevention campaigns (vaccine and hygiene) coupled with discovering as early as possible the individuals touched by infectious diseases in order to treat them. In the jurisdiction of medical and scientific interests, the degenerative diseases (as cancer is) or genetic diseases succeeded to be the first priorities before the virus infections. Policies of public health have followed the same movement towards

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be delayed for those who have been infected and can be treated, but as we read the medication is very expensive." (priest Iasi)

[9] "It is transmitted by injecting a drug, so we need to pay attention to the drug use". (priest Iaşi)

[10] "Having AIDS causes the immunity of the organism to decrease and all the diseases find a proper field of manifestation; it is gotten mainly by sexual intercourse but if it also bleeds and if the one that has this virus is touched by other people they can be infected ; from the syringes that haven't been used only by one person the virus was spread. Because of ignorance, many children from the same village have been contaminated by using the same syringe." (priest Bucharest).

[11] "Once many people left after '89, that part of the population had gone to other countries where they wanted to make easy money. They have fallen into another sin and coming back to their families have made it possible for the sickness to be transmitted to the others in the family and into the community. For example, in my village where I'm a priest, there are 3-4 cases of AIDS. One of those who have come back went to the medical facility to have an injection and a syringe that was not sterilized was used. There was no other way to get this virus since we didn't have a case. A foreign person has come and brought in the disease". (priest Constanţa)

[12] "We have also found out about the discrimination to which the HIV infected are sujected to, which many times is not of their own fault for having gotten sick. They bear the discrimination from other people at school and society feels also obliged to isolate them." (priest Timiş)

other associated risks, for example tobacco and alchool, and then towards illict drugs and towards the problem of old age. Nothing suggested the appearance of "conquering the enemy" through fresh new medical successes by the new public medical systems being rigorously organized.

The majority of the participants at the focus groups understood the difference between HIV and AIDS, knew the usual way of transmission, and they have referred to the long period of incubation of the disease while putting the accent on the need to educate the population to avoid the contamination[13] and to "promote" tolerant behavior for the sero-positives; often they appreciated as insufficient their knowldge, their possibilities of intervention and asked for professional instructions from the responsible institutions on how to avoid the spreading[14].

About the methods of prevention, the accent during the discussions was put mainly on abstinence until marriage, on the fidelity of the couple, and on the education of the children to respect certain norms of hygiene of life. The condom was reminded as a way to prevent getting sick while recognizing the church rejects its usage. As some participants at the focus groups have mentioned, using such a way of protection is not safe and the trust which the condom enjoys can only increase, in certain situations, the risk of contamination[15].

Also, there was the opinion that according to developed societies the accent was put on the danger of transmiting the "HIV" virus, on educating young people to protect themselves from sexual diseases which include "HIV". Numerous programs were initiated and special efforts were made to block the plague, and even so, the fight seems helpless. As a result, it seems that the situation won`t be solved like this. According to the point of view of a priest, only by perseverant promotion of moral behavior in society, and creating norms for a sexual relationship based on the principles of the Orthodox church, which are abstinence until marrige and the fidelity of the couple will lead to avoiding sexual diseases and protection from the "HIV" virus. The so-called individual freedom

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[13] "The immune deficiency syndrome is transmitted thru medical instruments by injection, unprotected sexual intercourse, and thru saliva. HIV is the first stage of the AIDS disease. The virus affects the immunity of the organism, leaving it with a weak defense for the other sicknesses. Because immunity decreases, one can die because of the flu. The period of incubation of the sickness is from 4-5 months to 15 years. Certain treatments are used but it still is an incurable sickness. It is very important to know how to prevent the contamination, but in the county side only two boxes of expired condoms and brochures are brought. That is not education, but a way to encourage the disease." (priest Constanta)

[14] "I have read in an article that we could be in a leading place for the increase of HIV/AIDS and this should worry us. We should at least try to decrease the spreading and I think that it is necessary for all institutions of the state to contribute to this thing so that at least the number of people suffering from HIV won`t increase." (priest Bucharest)

[15] "For methods of prevention, we could count on abstinence until marriage and the relationship within the couple. We could also speak of the condom, which the church doesn't agree, as well as the education of the child for better hygiene. Coming back to the condom, I think that its use is not safe, inspite of all the advertisments; in addition, it`s dangerous because people trust it and act consequently." (priest Dolj)

from the modern world allows a person to try all kinds of experiences. A way of life suggested mostly by the media and the cultural productions which don't have a moral exogenisis won`t lead to a "defeat" of the sickness. For the moral education of young people, for their orientation on "the road full of traps implied by the modern world" maybe the words of Saint Paul, the Apostle, "all are allowed to you but not all are useful to you" are among the most revealing, said a priest from Dolj. This statement underlines the need to present to young people, in an associated way, their behaviors and, along side, their mostly bad consequences[16].

So, about the method of prevention to get and spread the disease, the greatest majority of the priests have referred to the moral means which aim for „a certain purity of the soul and body, abstinence until marriage and the fidelity of the couple". Also, it would be necessary, as the particripants at the public debates said, to put the accent on the educational climate, thru preparing for a moral life, with certain spiritual virtues of the pupils while in school. The media should encourage the moral models, and contribute to the moral „building" of the individual, not immoral behaviors. Sometimes the Western life models taken by those who went to work abroad were considered a possible factor of spreading the HIV in Romania.

About the HIV/AIDS phenomena, it seems that the priests are, in general, relatively informed over the way of transmission and the way of prevention considering often that the method in which the disease has penetrated in Romania is mostly the sexual one, but it`s due also to medical negligence. The ways by which they have obtained this knowledge are diverse too, from specialized websites[17] to brochures sent thru the medical cabinets,[18] and generally through mass/media. The participants at the focus groups have underlined often the negativity of promoting thru different ways, mostly thru the media, of certain models and lifestyles which encourage relationships between the sexes that are unacceptable for Christian morality, "living together" without marrige but even more, children outside of marriage.[19]

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[16] "When you start your sexual life, there are risks to you. You can affect your body because the friend standing next to you can be suffering from a sickness or, at the very least, you can get pregnant and then there would be big problems: if you keep the baby you are a non gratis person in the family and in the school, and if you don't keep the baby you are a murderer. So, either way, it is a very delicate situation." (priest Dolj).

[17] "I honestly tell you that I heard about HIV as any other parent from here, and as any other human being from the tv, from the press. But I said: let's see even more than this, I would't like to come here and to be outside the subject. And I've done an internet search on this topic. Surely it's largely presented with statistics and everything. Many things can be found out. Anybody could have access to this type of information." (priest Alba-Iulia).

[18] "I have found out many things about HIV from the private medical facilities, because these facilities are based on existing legislation and they need to have technical information placed in the hallway; they also need to have medical magazines and brochures about medicines. Also, I found out enough information from the materials which have circulated thru the parochy coming from the Public Health Department." (priest Iași)

[19] "This problem (of HIV infection) needs to be associated with certain social models which we receive thru the media. For example, Mike Tyson comes to Romania a rapist, an aggressor

The researchers appreciate[20] that the fight against HIV reflects two ways of thinking and acting, characteristic of the "two regimes": one old and the other one new represented thru specific "devices" to fight against large infectious diseases. One way to fight against HIV, a sickness transmitted thru blood and sex, reestablishes "silent" ties with social hygiene often associated with sanitary control and the punishment of bad habits.   The ways of intervention, when fighting against infectious diseases, dates from the beginning of the century. Among the ways of fighting we find the discovery of the disease and the obligation to fight against certain sexual diseases. Today this system is considered too old, both socially and medically. If there still are medical facilities specialized in medical diseases (for prevention and sanitoriums for tuberculosis) these don't take (or shouldn't take) anything less than a marginal position in the medical system. "The new regime", referring to degenerative pathologies, is manifesting thru methods curative medicine occupies and is in an important place within the usual interventions. The curative treatments are more difficult due to needing periods of short stays in the hospitals and both the professional and family life can follow their course and that`s why they constitute a major medical and social objective. In this context the rules of prevention refer to an individual who's held responsible, free and able to administer himself. The changes of behavior constitute themselves in a very essential pedagogical objective so the model of intervention is not based on techniques used on a large scale as the policies to fight against tuberculosis were.

Inspired by the two ways of intervention, the methods of preventing HIV put a question mark between two concepts, often very much debated, regarding upon which one to structure the policies of public health. In this sense, the debates over mandatory or voluntary disclosure are very revealing, as well as the discussions over social control of sexual practices or about the information and education founded on admitting individual freedoms. And these disputes combine themselves with the controversies which appear in the scientific field, starting with the disclosure of the disease.[21]. It seems that the discussions from the focus groups reflect the diversity of approaches about the problem of HIV, older or newer concepts related to how to prioritize HIV socially and medically and also to have a certain mentality towards individual liberties and specific mentalities about community protection.

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and for a week all the tv stations broadcasted this visit. And it`s not only about this visit but also about contests such as Big Brother, for example. Sexual relationships between young people, and not only them, are encouraged and promoted by the tv stars that haven`t been bound by the holy mystery of marriage and which say that they are not interested in marrige, etc." (priest Iaşi)

[20] See: Claude Thiaudière, *op.cit*.

[21] Two medical theories are confronted in explaining the theories. There is a bacteriological cause in which the essence is a pathogen agent (the immunodeficiency virus), which is very similar to the pathogens of other infectious diseases (called opportunist), and exists as a result of deficiency found in the organism's protection system. Another explanation is based on the immunological theories which started with the second half of the XIXth century and have a dominant position in the medical field.

B.   Perceptions and attitudes: behaviors toward the ones infected with *"***HIV" virus or suffering of** *"***AIDS"**

The participants at the focus groups were asked to evaluate the urgent matter of AIDS in comparison with other social problems of the Romanian society. Most of them have considered that it needs very special attention, even though by the number of existing cases, it affects a small number of people in comparison with other problems[22], such as domestic violence or alcholism and even poverty. But regarding the *"*HIV spectrum", participants worry about its consequences, its lethal consequences[23]. The largest danger is of contamination and the spreading of the disease, especially if the specific institutions don't comply with their duties as medicial institutions[24] for example, or in the community. There is not a good climate of counterattacking the stigmatization of the sick and of their families with financial and moral support. Also of concern is to find adequate means to convince the sick that they need to protect the ones around them**[25]**. A few people had different opinions appreciating that the attention of society should focus first on other serious phenomena which trouble our daily life that are more pressing than AIDS which affects not so many people.

Another set of questions inside the focus groups wih the priests were aiming at the   *atitude towards the perrsons infected or the persons who were already sufering of "Aids",* meaning that the people are more or less guilty of contacting the virus, the sickness can be associated with the sin, the infection is a shame or not the sick people should be treated diferently than those who are not sick and the community should be aware of the social problems which the infected have to face.

Generally, the priests focused on attitudes of understanding and tolerance towards people as promoted in different ways by the church. After all, they need to be looked at as sick people, who could be suffering from something else. From the moral perspective, the way in which the virus was contracted

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[22] *"*We need to pay attention but in today's conditions there are other problems which I think troubles the society and the world we live in, at least in our country of Romania. So it is a problem but if we would make a ranking using a scale from 1 to 10, I think the problem is in the middle. This is not the largest problem that we have. Much more care should be given to preventative education, generally speaking given the number of existing cases." (priest Iaşi)

[23] *"*If there is poverty and we have social will and political will we can a t least improve it, meaning we can make people live better, in case of the HIV infection there is no antidote yet. At least we should be able to stop it`s spreading, so that it would not reach to other people. So we should have bigger caution about this disease and then about the other social concerns. If we can keep this nightmare aside, I think we can solve the other problems easier " (priest Bucharest)

[24] *"*I think the medical problem is very urgent, from every point of view: more education in all directions which means people are much more aware and medical institutions need to be much more responsible to give more money to the Ministry of Health, to give more effort to counterattack AIDS and to treat sero-positives, and for TBC and diabetics, too. Something needs to be done for overall health in Romania." (priest Timiş)

[25] Different cases in which the sick don`t care about the health of others, and even they themselves wanted to get others sick.

needs to be taken into consideration. If it was contracted as a result of a sexual relationship it is a sin, in the Christian way of thinking, but a sero-positive who has been infected thru a blood transfusion doesn`t have any guilt. But there were points of view according to which HIV infection is the result of a sin and its existance is a blamable fact in itself[26]. Many priests have put the accent on the need to have normal behavior towards the sero-positives which means the fight against any form of discrimination. The participants at the focus groups have emphasized the attitude of some people of putting aside the infected ones, the dramatic exclusion the sick people often suffer when those around them find out about the dramatic diagnosis. That`s why, according to some opinions which have been expressed in the case of the AIDS infected, the diagnosis shouldn`t be revealed to those around them[27]. But still, often the accent was on contaminating other people in the situation in which the sick person and those around him are not cautious or when the diagnosis "is a secret"[28] . Even with the fear of exclusion, the sick shouldn`t give up on adequate education for themselves, as well as for those in their surroundings to avoid contamination.[29] Anyway most of the participants at the focus groups were considering that the seropositives should be aware and responsable towars protecting the family and the community.[30]

Fear of death is a serious matter with which the sero-positives confront themselves. It is appreciated [31] that the priests can be a great source of help for the sick, can get close to them and make them receptive to the fact that all people

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[26] *"We should all feel ashamed because AIDS is the consequence of sin."* (priest Constanța)

[27] *"We first need complete discretion because the mentallity of society is deadly. If in a school there is an AIDS sick child the parents start to move their children from that school. So, total discretion. And, at the same time, let`s not show mercy towards that person. They don`t need mercy and judgement. They need care not mercy. And don`t judge him. Accept him as he is".* (priest Dolj)

[28] *"If I would have such a case, I would advice him to be more careful. His family should be careful not to contaminate other people. So besides the advice which he received if he was diagnosed in the hospital then the entire family should be informed especially the closest ones, because it could damage them. From what I have read and have seen on tv there are cases in which not even the general practicioner is not informed which is very damaging."* (priest Iași)

[29] *"There is not enough education in school for the AIDS infected. They treat the disease superficially. They don`t realize its gravity and the danger of contaminating the others. I stayed in school for a long time. A sero-positive girl had the same classmate sitting next to her for four years (grades 1 to 8). The relationship between them seemed normal. But I`m not convinced that they were aware of the high danger for infection and they were both taking measures in this way. Education needs to be done."* (priest Constanța)

[30] *"The sick people should go very often to their doctor who can instruct them to protect others around them. Doctors are the best to know the ways of stopping the disease."* (priest Constanța)

[31] "When the person doesn't have training concerning his relationship with death he`s desperate and he closes in on himself," according to the opinion of a priest from Timis. The priest can bring his support to the situation and his means should be different then the ones of the psychologist even if the psychologist himself could approach the problems of the end. " (Priest Timiș).

die, and this could be happening in a very simple way on a daily basis. That is the only difference between the two categories. So the priest can make them more realistic, more aware that they can still be happy, avoiding the strong depression into which they can fall.

The group discussions emphasized certain situations the sero-positive confronts, with the lack of medication and most often a behavior which betrays a lack of interest and involvement of the personnel who should take care of their problems. Nevertheless, as some participants at the focus groups say, the medication crisis is almost general in the Romanian medical system and this fact shouldn`t affect the sero-positives because of the repercussions which can`t be reversed.[32]

In the specialized literature[33] it is considered that neither the infectious character (and the fact that it is transmitted and it's also epidemic) and it's gravity are not enough in themselves to turn AIDS into a social plague. The creation of «a visible social movement» was the main condition for admiting the epidemic as a matter of general interest. This social movement took not only a philanthropic organization or a group of physicians, but also a group of associations of the sick people and of support for the sick, demanding political and social changes to fight against the malady. The permanent partners of discussions from the medical system and of the public authority need these associations to participate in a strong way, as never before, to elaborate a public health policy.

The apparition of the AIDS plague articulates itself in a very similar way to the other maladies considered as «multiple calamities» : on one hand, in the medical field (the discovery of a new patology is quite a rare event and to become the object of theoretical and clinical stakes important enough to create a dynamic transformation for research and care) and on the other hand about the social involvment of the epidemic (if the solutions depend on the evolution of medical science, knowledge about the maladies, perspectives of therapy and prevention, as well as therapeutic measures for the epidemic, it also raises questions on the sexual representation of the disease through issues of sexual behavior or drug usage, therefore presenting different visions on the social scale). Considering these stakes, the groups organize and consider strategies of public health which respect individual freedom. And maybe it wouldn`t be uninteresting «to mobilize the device» of counterattacking AIDS spreading in Romania but also «to develop» a social attitude of tolerance and respect for individual values, identifying the moment in which we find ourselves in this

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[32] *"Another problem which I saw manifesting was the lack of medicine and the lack of interest which the abled persons should have, meaning the medical specialists and the hospitals where they are registered. They have come to confront themselves with a large crisis of medicines because the entire medical system is in crisis. In the case of the sero-positives, an interuption of the medication leaves a big mark from which it can be very hard to recover. When an HIV infected person's medication is interrupted and even if he's back on it after a few days, the consequences are very serious; it`s possible to have an infection and that infection could lead to an ending".* (priest Bucureşti)

[33] See: Claude Thiaudière, *op. cit*.

process, by reporting on the situation from a European country (France for example). In this way, three periods can be defined, according to the opinion of the specialists[34], in fighting against AIDS in France. The first is situated between 1981 and 1983 and it corresponds to the apparition of the problem in the medical field, meaning the identification of the first cases of AIDS and raising the awareness of the medical and social stakes. A second period starts right after the creation of volunteer associations which appear in 1982 in the United States and in 1983 in the biggest part of the western countries. Putting the accent on the new disease, these movements developed social activities of support and prevention alongside actions of claim. A third phase, starting with 1986, is charachterized by the intervention of public authorities. Later, under the critical gaze of the organizations and doctors in the States, it is admitted that AIDS is a plague requiring the involvement of public actions. There was a dynamic of declaring the fight against AIDS which gradually became official and instituted as a new field of public health.

C. The special way of intervention by the priest in cases of the HIV phenomena. Methods and ways of intervention for the priest to raise awareness of the people in the community about HIV.

Some of the priests have already had the experience of "meeting" with contaminated people. Most of the participants at the focus groups have underlined the anxiety, the fear[35], the caution which thy manifested[36] or in some cases they have imagined that they would be „put „ face to face with sero-positive people. But they have stated that they can overcome the fear or they would overcome it because of the compassion for these people[37], having the

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[34] *Ibidem.*

[35] "What I want to underline about this sickness, which is troubling many people, refers to what I have felt myself when I served communion to a child and then I participated at his burial in the 8th grade (so he lived until the 8th grade). He got the HIV virus thru a vaccine situation, which we don`t comment on anymore. The authorities know more about the vaccines as consequences have appeared over time. The meeting with that child has created a feeling hard to define, both of fear and embarrassment. When they called me to serve him the communion, he was aware of what he was saying but he was just badly immobilized. In the first moment I was afraid because I knew he had AIDS. I was thinking how to get close. I knew this was a disease to be taken thru blood and I shouldn`t be afraid and embarrassed. I did my duty and I served him communion, and then the death and the burial came.  At the burial, even though he was a young child, the entire family was protected with gloves. I want to say that I was very surprised and because of this I think everybody who`s in front of a person attacked by this sickness remains marked for their entire life." (priest Iaşi)

[36] "But he who knows more about AIDS and knows that it is not spread thru a touch or because he touched the other. So he knows the way of transmission, and he should not hold back from a relatioship with the sero-positive. But the instinct of preservation, I think, makes you stay away from the one that is sick of such a dreadful disease." (priest Timiş)

[37] "I know many things about AIDS but I honestly confess, my first reaction would be of fear or at least a little emotion where I wouldn`t get as close to him as with a healthy person. This is how I have understood and how I would express it, I would be a little afraid but most surely the

strong feeling that the role of the priest is to comfort the sick, and of those with HIV infection. Even more, the rank of a priest offers specific possibilities of intervention because he enjoys a certain moral authority and respect in front of the people of the parochy "his word is listened to" and because he can get the sick people closer to God, which will build, of course, a way of encouraging those who are suffering. The moral authority of the priest is extended in this case, most of the time, into the community by encouraging them and also contributing thru his behavior with the sick, to make them more tolerant.

Most of the points of view expressed by the participants at the focus groups were as a result of some personal experiences and underlined the idea that the sick person shouldn`t be marginalized[38]. The priests said this happens frequently whereby the infected person has to bear discriminatory treatment and is stigmatized not only by themselves but even by their families. It was a frequent opinion that marginalization is extended not only to the sick and their families but even to the trained personnel who make contact with the sero-positives.[39] The pain of the sick is more intense when they are rejected by their own family, as it happens in some of the cases told by a priest.[40]

Cases were presented of sick persons known in the parochy more directly who were accepted, up to certain point, by the community.[41] It seems that most of the time the children are more tolerant than the adults. Related to

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fear would vanish and a feeling of compassion would appear because clearly the sickness is incurable." (priest Timiş)

[38] *"Surely I would be overtaken by a feeling of compassion because it is a very hard disease, but under no circumstances I would "go away" from a sero-positive. I would be next to that person, taking measures of precautions of course, to prevent the infection. The sick people shouldn't be marginalized because this amplifies their suffering. Maybe the suffering is harder than loneliness or anything else. The sickness in itself manifests, as far as I know, in its last period. Other than that, the children manifest normally in the society. In the moment in which that child can not go to school, because the community doesn't receive him and the teacher also doesn't receive him because she doesn't know the ways of transmission for the HIV virus, that child would feel left aside and that would be much more troubling for him. For as long as he lives, he should live normally." (priest Iasi)

[39] *"When I met the first time (institutionalized sero-positives) I wasn`t scared at all. I was very well informed about the methods of work. The only observation that I have had, because the event was broadcasted on tv, the people who work there shouldn`t appear on tv. There were some ladies and a lady doctor for whom I have a great deal of admiration, but today or tomorrow they can be seen on the street and be confused with AIDS infected people. So they will be also marginalized because the first impression is they are a „suspect" of AIDS." (priest Timiş)

[40] *"First they are isolated, and this is happening in our society when a sick person of an incurable disease is discovered. That person is known and isolated by their friends and even by their families. I know a situation in which someone lives in a family but in a separate bedroom and not even the children talk with each other. I think that is the most serious problem for them (for the sero-positives) to be excluded by their friends, by society and even by the family, which is much more painful." (priest Bucharest)

[41] *"There is a sero-positive girl in my parochy who is married and has a child. I know that she is not breast feeding him. I have her child. There were two children which I had to baptize that evening. As they had set down, the first to be baptized should have been the girl of the HIV infected. The mother of the other child didn`t said anything. " (priest Constanța)

this subject there was a single worrying situation thru the possible consequences of such a reality; meaning, in an extremly poor isolated parochy, the sero-positive is accepted and treated by the community as any other type of sick person because the capacity of perceiving the danger doesn't exist. The habitants don't have any kind of knowledge about the way of manifestation and evolution of this disease and about it's danger[42].

The priests have often approached *the problem of their own effort to conquer the fear related to a possible infection in certain cases in which they have contacted the sero-positives[43]*. For example a situation has been presented by a priest when one evening a little girl came with a maternal assistant. The organizer had spoken honestly about the anxiety and the doubts of bringing into the community a sero-positive, of the „fight" with one's own conscience for getting over intolerance, of searching for adequate information sources to overcome the situation, meaning to eliminate any possibility of the virus spreading, etc.

One of the priests who had first-hand experience with sero-positives institutionalized in an orphanage[44], talked about the feeling of anxiety experienced by those with HIV. How the anxiety is based mostly on the fact that perhaps out of shame and fear of discrimination or because they are simply scared of the terrifying consequences of their sickness. They don't always think about the possible contamination of their peers and they are not willing to

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[42] *"*I buried a child sick of AIDS and the parents did fulfill all the funeral customs. The neighbors were not afraid to come when they were called. At the countyside the AIDS is treated as any other disease, nobody is afraid of contamination. Maybe the people of the villages run away faster from hepatitis or TBC rather than from HIV. In any case, they are much more afraid of poverty." (priest Constanța)

[43] *"*I have been in this situation (the first time I came in contact with a sero-positive) and my own reaction scared me. How could I be so intolerant? I had organized a trip with young people and I found out that a 10 year old girl was sero-positive and she had a maternal assistant coming along with her, an 18 year old. My first reaction was „Lord, what have I done!" It took me a couple of seconds. My mind started to work fast and I said to myself: "Wait a little. If the person who came along eats at the same table and doesn't get sick ..». At that time, I didn`t have any information on HIV. I talked with the nurse who was also a young girl coming to the camp. I brought her a plate and a fork just in case of need. Then she said, "be careful that she doesn't get hit during the trips and I will take care of her.  For the rest of it, I don`t think there is a problem." And in an hour or so I got calm. But first, I was somehow nervous and anxious and I tried to bring to my memory everything I knew on AIDS. How is it gotten, what`s happening, etc...? (priest Alba Iulia)

[44] *"*I can't say that it is fear but still I hold back considering their way of behavior (of the sero-positives). I heard once a discussion about dental assistance, for example: "What do you do when you go to the dentrist? The dentist should know." Furthermore, the dialogue between the participants at the focus groups about this situation went like this: "he should know how to prepare his instrument. But what should he say to him? I didn't understand" and furthermore I think that he should tell him anyway. The psychologist and the social worker train him for such an attitude. But the one involved has replied that he wouldn`t offer such information." "But why wouldn't he say it!" „Because of shame" „Because of shame? I don't think is necesarily because of shame " „He feels discriminated against." „You know what the problem is? I think that man is egotistical" „No he is not egotistical he is scared" „Yes maybe." (focus Timiș)

always announce that they have AIDS (even though they are prepared by a psychologist and a social worker in this direction) at least in situations which create a very high risk situation such as a dental specialist, for example.

More than that, in the HIV problem has appeared in all of the moderate groups, an exchange of opinions most of the time in a polemic way, about the behavior of the priest when he is serving the communion[45] for a sero-positive. Actually "the controversy" was based on two points of view: the first which considered that the HIV virus can not be transmited during the communion[46] and the second one according to which it could happen in certain circumstances that the infection is transmitted[47]. In a case told by a priest, the sero-positive himself came to the church with a personal tea spoon in order to serve him for the communion[48]. In certain situations, "consuming the communion" from the same cup, by the sero-positives and the healthy people and even by the priest of the community has the significance of not rejecting the infected ones[49].

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[45] The content of the dispute referred to the way in which the Holy Communion was to be administrated with the same tea spoon and from the same cup, or would it be necessary to use another tea spoon or another cup. Some priests were considering that he needs to be served the communion separately, others considered that such a gesture is not needed. We need to point out that the priests who had to deal themselves with such cases, namely they had to serve the communion to a sero-positive who was known by the community. It was done with a different spoon or even with a different cup. They took measures of precaution „because they didn't know the hygiene of the mouth" of the infected one and they didn't want to risk the health of the other members of the community.

[46] "I would like to quote the words of John Breck who is considered a great specialist of bioethics. As an Orthodox priest in a reference book for bioethics. "The sacred gift of life.": "It was often mentioned that in the period of devastating epidemics in medieval Europe there are no statistics regarding which priests or deacons, who consumed communion, were not touched by the disease in a larger proportion than the rest of the population. So they got sick as the rest of the population did. Until the moment in which I write these lines (thinking of John Breck) there is not one single case of AIDS which has been transmited thru the cup of communion." (priest Alba Iulia)

[47] "Here I will have a different point of view from many of my colleague priests. I think that the saviour Jesus Christ in the Cup is disinfected and for that reason I serve the communion differently (for a sero-positive). I serve the communion to her separately because I don't know the entire information about her health, about her mouth. I don't know how the situation goes with the fluid transfer... I also am very aware that we don't have all the elements about the charactheristics of the disease: at first we knew that AIDS is exclusively transmitted sexually. There was even a campaign that AIDS is not transmited thru a kiss. But I think it can be gotten this way. If I have problems with my teeth and I have AIDS and she doesn't have it, then I kiss her and the virus." (priest Timis)

[48] Still about the communion there was someone in the row in front of the altar and the person gave me a plastic spoon. I didn`t know what to think. I was even angry thinking that the person doesn't want to receive the communion after the others. I stopped and I asked what was I supposed to do with it. The person said: «father I have AIDS. I take communion with my own spoon." (priest Alba-Iulia)

[49] "When we serve the communion for the holidays, all the children come and I know the sick ones (the seropositives). The other habitants also know them. A child suffering of AIDS comes and takes the communion and the next one doesn't say no. I take what`s left in the cup and I don't think that there were six children suffering of AIDS who took the communion. We don't reject them like this." (priest Constanta)

Other interventions[50] insisted on involving the peers and of course the priests in supporting the sero-positives in "building" around them a climate of normality.[51] In which they will be treated differently in comparison with the others. It`s the opinion that these people should be attracted to useful projects for the community if possible, which will give them the feeling of being needed and not isolated. According to some points of view knowing the terrible diagnosis of certain people around you implies increased responsibilities and special human qualities.

Certain participants at the focus groups associate the sickness with sin considering the way in which the virus was contacted[52] : if the contamination appears as a result of some relationships which break the moral percept, such as homosexuality and intercourse outside of marriage, then the sero-positive is the guilty one. If it appears as an effect of some medical errors, for example, then the sick person is exonerated of any guilt.

According to a very general point of view, the participants at the focus groups can bring a special contribution to assist the sero-positives. First, they intend to offer theologic support to the HIV infected which would help them accept the end as a natural fact because "we all die".[53] Also, emphasis was put

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[50] "First I think that I would have a feeling of compassion. Second, I think that when you received this confession, someone has entrusted you with a supplementary effort. In all of the conversations which you have with him, he shouldn`t think that you look at him in a certain way but just as you look at anybody else. In that moment, you have one extra care. The care to make him feel equal. If, after that, you succeed to talk about the way in which this circumstance happened, how he got sick, this is something useful both for him and his family. A way in which you could help him is to involve him in an action which will take place in the future. In this way, you wouldn`t let him think that you view him as someone who is ready to pass into the other world. You think of him as a partner for a certain project and you designate him responsible for it. For example, to raise funds, to try and make him useful so that he would see that you are not looking at him as a person who`s finished in society and with friends." (priest Iași)

[51] "The main direction would be not to make him feel frustrated but to make him understand that he is as human as anybody else. Somebody has rheumatism, somebody else another disease. So is it with him. It is true that his sickness can be very serious with fast consequences but this doesn't diminish his value as a human being. Nor is he diminished as a Christian because he has this sickness. It is known that diseases are the results of sins and this is a thing which unfortunately can happen to anyone. This is why he shouldn`t be excluded but rather, helped thru counseling to understand that even though he could die tomorrow because of a car crash, he might live for another 15 years being sick. He shouldn`t be cast away. He needs to understand that life needs to be first and the fight with the sickness needs to stimulate him to live things that he didn`t live before." (priest Constanța)

[52] "If we speak about confession with a sick person, we will know the way in which he was infected. If he was contaminated because of his behavior, having homosexual relationships, we need to make him see that he did a great sin and this is coming as God`s punishment on him. If he was infected thru a medical error we need to make him look upon this as something he will need to bear knowing that he will suffer here and he will be rewarded later." (priest Iași)

[53] "The first gesture that I would make related to a person sick of AIDS, would be prayer. I would pray for the sero-positive and with him if he is scared about the thought of death; The church always said that thinking about death is a start for wisdom. I would explain to him how he should be looking upon his time of death. He needs to be optimistic whether that comes sooner or later. We are all supposed to die. I`ve had the chance a few times with the Archbishop to give

on the need to definitely know more about AIDS so that he would „preach morality", to awaken the feeling of compassion for the suffering in the soul of each person from the community „pastored" by him. He also should advocate tolerance between the people because the problem doesn`t get solved by casting away the sick and his exclusion. In any event, it is a part of the priests' duty. The authority which he enjoys allows him to raise the awareness of the population about the danger of „spreading" the virus and about the need to „accept" the sick[54].  They shouldn`t be treated like they are suffering of leprosy as at some other time people did, but unfortunately this still happens[55].

In certain situations[56], the priests confess their anxiety about their own behavior or the behavior of the community regarding the sero-positives: Even though the priests are aware that the infected have the right to privacy, as well as their families, discretion is needed about the fact they bear the virus. The priests know that public recognition is synonymous sometimes with stigmatization or exclusion. The priests are "afraid" that „keeping" such a secret can lead to increasing the risk of contamination for those around them.

Some of the priests participating in the group discussion consider that they need specialized instruction[57] in order to adequatley respond to the problems which this disease raises for the community: "we, as priests, can`t have inspired solutions for all the problems of the community. And the HIV infection is relatively new and all the other medical diseases have not found a response yet. But even so, the way in which the disease is transmited is known. How can you treat someone infected with HIV? I think it is good for priests to meet with

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presents to the sero-positive and say hello. They were happy and full of life. They have impressed me." (priest Constanța)

[54] "The priest could, as we just said, wake the feeling of compassion and tolerance for the sick person. And compel the healthy ones to understand, to support, and to cast out their fear of getting infected. I know that many times it happens in the community and in the schools, where the sero-positives are cast away. They are not received in the classroom. So here I think that the priest should have a special role to wake up the conscience of the people, to convince them that it is about a sick person who needs to be treated with compassion and love, as any other human being. Exclusion doesn't solve the problem." (priest Alba-Iulia)

[55] "While the data suggests that there are not that many sick people with HIV there are not many places that they can live and be cared for. Even when they are offered everything it is done in a very aggressive way making it seem like those places where the lepers were put in the ancient time when the priest had to relate between the infected and the healthy ones." (priest Alba-Iulia)

[56] "I have a 17 year old girl in my parochy who doesn't know that she bears HIV, (she`s taken into account at the Mayor's office and the family, who knows about her disease and takes care of her, is paid) and she has a boyfriend. I`m not very much aware about the status of the relationship between the two of them. It`s probably a friendship. I don't know exactly what`s going to come of this. The girl doesn't know about her disease and the boyfriend is a boy from the village nearby, and there is very little possibility that someone will inform him. I was looking in on them one Saturday afternoon, and all seemed normal when looked at from the outside. But what should be done?" (priest Constanța)

[57] "I admit that I`m not ready to teach somebody else how to stay away from these things or how he should be  accepted in a circle of friends or by the family of someone who`s a seropositive because I don't have the special preparation." (priest București)

specialists, doctors, psychologists, and so on, especially to know how to get close to someone infected, how to approach his family, how to „work better in his social environment", etc. I think we need to meet specialists." (Priest Alba-Iulia). Regarding the ways to inform about different aspects of the disease and of the reports with the sero-positives, the opinion was that group discussions are preferred "in groups of 10-15 people which should have different hand-outs, CDs, and videos on the disease, etc." (priest Alba-Iulia).

Additionally, people would be receptive to information about the danger of the disease and the ways of transmission or the need to not stigmatize and exclude the infected ones, if they would directly contact the sick[58] and if they would be presented with the cases[59]. This could apply to the communities which have had to deal with sero-positives.

The priests have accentuated the idea that this "scary" virus is transmited thru the negligence of people, because of their lack of education, ignorance, their crazy behavior, absence of hygiene measures that would eliminate the risk of contamination. If such situations still happen in hospitals with trained personnel who consider all aspects of contamination, we shouldn`t wonder why the public units can turn into sources of spreading the disease, such as: the barber shops were the possibility of getting infected out of lack of knowledge is extremely high. In a case told by a priest from Galati, the lack of information about the way of transmitting the virus, of the protection measures from a barber shop to eliminate any risk of contamination has been "combined" with a strong fear of the employer who`s "aware" that he deals with a sero-positive[60].

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[58] *"They should visit those sick people at the hospital or where they are and this is how they could realize how lucky they are for being healthy but also because they could be in the same situation as the sero-positives and need help."* (priest Galați)

[59] *"I say that the direct contact between the people and the sick one will matter very much. The efforts of certain associations need to act appropriately. It won`t be very fruitful for some young girls who come showing their bare necks and wearing very tight clothing or an outfit which is not appealing for the habitants of our villages."* (priest Timiş)

[60] *"When I went to the barber shop my wife kept nagging me not to let him shave me because he is using one razor for more people. One day as he kept insisting (to offer this service to me) I told him that he can not use a razor because I have AIDS. He bearly touched me at all. He finished the hair cut immediately. It was a bad joke coming from me but I couldn`t get over the fact that there might be a slight possibility of contamination."* (priest Galați)

The ˮHIV/AIDS ˮ PHENOMENA
LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE. PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES
*(*The results of a study proposed by the staff of the project
Consolidation of community initiatives in Romania)

(Abstract)

The present study has been realized based on the information obtained from focus groups in which priests have participated.

The selection of the priests to participate in these focus groups considered creating a complex group structure to reflect as closely as possible the general reality. Namely, to have the parochies with small and very small incomes (poor parochies) represented and those with minimum and large incomes; to have the opinions of the priests from the capital cities of the counties express their opinion, as well as the priests from the villages; to have all of the age segments represented, from the very young priests to the older ones.

Besides the HIV danger, the serious social problems of the parochies mentioned in all of the group discussions were: poverty associated with lack of education and with physical vulnerability in other categories (old or disabled people); alcoholism, presented sometimes as the effect of certain social processes and at other times as a cause of them (alcoholism was mentioned by everybody in the focus groups as a tenacious and not curable „virus" of Romanian communities). The moral crisis of the family under many aspects: illegal relationships, living as concubines and obviously not being religiously married, families falling apart, difficult couple relationships because people go abroad massively to work; the loneliness of the old people; the asocial behavior of the young people resulting mainly from them not being supervised or because they come from inadequate family models (families of alcoholics, violent parents, etc.) sometimes because of the incapacity of the local community to integrate these young people in activities according to their age for a culturally educational character.

The priests notice, with concern, the absence of any community feeling and of any responsibility about its way of functioning. About the contribution of the priests for solving the social matters of the community, there were two points of view: one, not so well represented, which considers the intervention of the priest being necessary exclusively thru theological means such as confession, prayer or any other types of activities that would lead to the individual's spiritual development (meaning biblical models, meetings with today`s spiritual leaders, etc.) There were different points of view represented by most of the participants at the focus groups who were proposing other means of intervention, besides the theological ones. In this situation, it was appreciated that the priests have a minimum level of knowledge over certain phenomena (alcoholism, AIDS, violence, etc.) which would permit intervention in emergency cases, by facilitating partnerships with groups of specialists, also by facilitating the receipt of support from real professionals. Frequently the participants at the focus groups have mentioned that they want to be informed about the legal framework in the social field, about the management of social projects, mainly about the way to finance certain social activities in the parochies. According to the opinions of the participants in the group discussions, information about AIDS in our country was known only after 1990, with very few exceptions. It seems that this silence about AIDS in Romania makes the population less informed about the history of the disease mostly about its starting points and over its "danger". The greatest number of participants in the focus groups recognize the difference between HIV and AIDS, they also knew the common way of transmission and they also referred to the long period of incubation putting the accent on the need to educate the population to avoid contamination and to promote tolerant behavior for sero-positives. They often appreciated their knowledge as being insufficient as well as their possibilities to act by asking the relevant institutions to help prevent its spread. Concerning the methods of preventing the sickness and its spread, most of the priests have talked about moral means which aim at „a certain purity of the body and soul, abstinence until marriage and marital fidelity. Also the participants said that an

educational climate that would facilitate preparation for a moral life with certain spiritual virtues of the students while they are in school. The media should encourage the moral models to contribute to the spiritual building of the individual and not as it happens now when the immoral models and behaviors are promoted. Sometimes the western lifestyle taken over by those who went to work abroad was considered a possible factor of AIDS spreading in Romania.

About the HIV/AIDS phenomena it seems that the priests are relatively informed about the ways to transmit and prevent HIV in Romania which are not necessarily sexual but mostly because of medical negligence. The ways by which this knowledge was gathered was diverse, from specialized websites to brochures sent to the medical laboratories, and mass media in general. The participants at the focus groups have underlined the bad effects of promoting thru media certain life styles which encourage relationship between sexes, unacceptable for Christian morality, such as sexual relationships without marrige or children outside marrige.

It seems that the discussions from the focus groups reflect the diversity of approaches when talking about AIDS, old and new concepts of medical and social approaches for infectious diseases, a certain attitude about individual liberties and specific mentalities about protecting the community. When the participants were asked to evaluate the urgency of the AIDS problem compared with other social problems within the Romanian reality, most of them have considered that it deserves special attention although thru the number of existing cases it affects fewer people compared with other problems such as: family violence, alcoholism or even poverty. But the AIDS spectrum creates concerns thru it`s consequences, its lethal evolution, and the great danger of contamination so implicit for spreading the disease. Especially if the relevant institutions to fight against it don't do their job or a good climate for fighting against discrimination of the sick and of their families, a climate of moral and material support of the infected, to find adequate ways to convince the sick that they need to protect those around them. A couple of people had different opinions appreciating that the attention of society should focus first on other serious phenomena which hinder our daily life and are much more pressing than AIDS, which is not affecting so many people.

Another set of questions from the focus groups with priests aimed at the attitude towards people infected or who are already sick with „AIDS" referred to whether the people are guilty or not by their own actions of contracting the virus; the sickness can be associated with sin, therefore the infection is a matter of shame and then again, maybe not. Sick people should be treated differently then those who are not sick, and the general public should be aware of the social problems with which the infected are confronted. Generally, the priests insisted that an attitude of understanding and tolerance towards these people needs to be promoted in a number of ways by the church. They can be looked upon as sick people who can suffer from something else. From a moral perspective the way in which the virus has been contacted is considered: if it was received because of some sexual contact it is a sin, the Christian moral has its say here but a person who was infected because of some blood transfusions has no guilt. But there were points of view according to which manner the AIDS infection resulted from sin and that its existence is a shame anyway. It was accentuated by most of the priests the necessity of normal behavior towards the sero-positives which signifies the fight against any form of discrimination. The participants at the focus groups have emphasized the attitude of some people to exclude the HIV infected when they know their diagnosis. This is why, according to some opinions which were expressed, it is better not to let everybody around know about it. But still, there is the possibility to contaminate other people when the sick person and those around them are not cautious or when the diagnosis is a „secret". Because they are afraid they will be excluded and therefore don't get a proper education, nor do those around them, making it hard to avoid the contamination. The group discussions have emphasized some situations in which the sero-positives don't have medicines and there is also behavior which betrays a lack of interest and involvement of the personnel who should take care of their problems. The priests have approached often the problems by their own efforts to conquer their fears about a possibility of being infected as a result of some direct contact with the sero-positives.

The priests, according to a general point of view as participants at the focus groups, can bring an important contribution to assist the sero-positives, especially because their fear of death is a serious problem which they confront by themselves. They intend to offer theologic support to the HIV infected which would permit these people to accept their end as a natural fact because „we all

are mortals". Also, there was the idea that the priest doesn`t necessarily need to know more about AIDS in order to „preach about morality", to awaken the feeling of compassion for the suffering in the soul of each man from the community „shepherded" by them. Also they need to encourage tolerance between people because by excluding the sick people the problem won`t be solved. This is a part of the priest's calling. The authority which he enjoys permits him to contribute to raising the awareness of the population about the danger of spreading the virus and the „need" to accept the sick. They shouldn`t be treated as those suffering of leprosy.

The points of view which were often debated related to a personal experience concerning the sero-positives; the requirements of the community in relation to them; the institutional level of involvement; and the subtle presence of some „Romanian" mentalities about vulnerable categories. Additionally, their social integration and the „theologic filter" about a life perspective which is a good „testimony" on how the HIV problem is seen in our communities. If international prevention models put together individual liberties and precautionary policies that construct new practices and forms of social control, then our lack of information, intolerance, fear, weak institutional responsibility, continous financial crisis, and a mentality to socially exclude any disabled person, etc, makes us far away from this model. With all the therapeutic progress and the medicinal sensitivity created about the sickness, the situation of the epidemic is cause for concern. Its spreading is uncontrollable. To this we add the difficulty to mobilize locally. But the implications of AIDS are many and they seem to influence the local community. The status of the infected thru homosexuality, drug abuse and adultery have not changed in Romania. They are considered guilty. The impact is over the entire society as people discover the danger of the sickness.

FUNCTIONAL DEFICIENCIES REGARDING THE FAMILY AND THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

ILEANA ROMAN

In the following material we will insist upon the problems caused by a child as part of the socialization process within a family, for whom, after committing some acts with antisocial characteristics, must be established the power of discernment and the responsibility. This implies the knowledge of the delinquent's personality, because the offence isn't considered anymore a simple legal category, a juridical abstraction, but it is analyzed as a human deed with antisocial significance, committed by a real person.

But, unlike the individuality (which represents the biological characteristics of each person, giving the finishing touches of his/her unique existence regarding the physical, chemical, serological, etc. features), the personality represents "the result of the social environment activity, in its entire complexity, over each person or over the human population that he belongs. It is a process which begins early and coincides, in the same time interfering, with the developing of the biological individuality"[1].

In another words, the process of transformation of the biological individual into a human being can take place only by means of interpersonal relationships that is the social life.

But the social environment doesn't act directly and in only one way on the individual, but through the instrumentality of one's individual particularities. That's why, the dismissal of the personality implies, on one side the well knowing of the psychical activity and on the other side, the emphasizing of the external influences that determine a certain behavior.

Defining the personality as a dynamic organization, inside the individual, of the psycho-physical systems that determine the adapting to the surrounding environment in a unique way[2], lead us to the premise that, having the characteristics of a dynamic identity in a permanent adaptation, the personality is the result of the interaction between the psychic potential and the influence of the cultural models, transmitted through the agency of social groups where the individual lives or lived.

In the present we renounce more and more at the previous methods of approaching this problem. The contemporary reality proved that each of the

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[1] Ralph Linton, *Fundamentul cultural al personalității*, București, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1986, p. 84.

[2] G. W. Allport, *Structura și dezvoltare a personalității*, București, The Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, 1981, p.111.

elements considered (successively, isolated) responsible for the apparition of the delinquency which implies the minors, are not significant anymore. The unilateral explanations regarding the disorganized family, the poverty, the unemployment or only the influence of the mass-media, when approaching certain subjects, were, successively, abandoned.

When the sociologist studies the individual and his behavior, finds that this person was born in a social group, in a family which feeds him/her, that satisfies his/her organic needs and that transmits, through the personal example and through education, the thoughts and the beliefs, the cultural heritage accumulated by this family. Among these ideas also occur the rules he/her must take into consideration when regarding the relationships with other people and, especially, the relationships with his/her family. This is the first and the most important step, which actually represents the basis for the individual's future mentality regarding the family life in general and, specially, the intra-family relationships.

The huge importance accorded to this first period of development, which might take years, leads to the premise that the family, no matter its structure, could be considered the most important of the human groups regarding the determination of the social-moral fundament of the human personality.

The child needs a family, but not any family; the educative functionality of the family depends on the parents, on their maturity, quality, on the value of the couple and on the position each spouse has in the familial group.

Once with the ageing, the individual get in contact with other groups, becomes the member of an organized educative group, of a neighborhood, of a professional group etc. The activity carried on in these groups is supervised by standards of behavior, which consolidate or diminish those gained previously. Some of the standards of one group could be incompatible or in conflict with other groups; once with the belonging to different social groups, the individual's existence becomes a continuous process of accommodation to the exigencies of the group[3].

That's why the educational results of the family owe great significance. The deeper and more comprehensive the contribution of the family regarding the education is, the more is reduced the degree of susceptibility of the child regarding the people and the facts, the more rational is the attitude towards the duties according with his/her age and towards the social rules generally accepted.

Nonconformity to the accepted rules of the group imposes the finding of an explanation and gives rise to the questions:

- Which are the characteristics and the specific conditions of the group (either internal or in the inter-groups relationships) that favor or determine a nonconformist behavior?

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[3] Dan Banciu, Sorin M. Rădulescu, *Adolescenţii şi familia*, Bucureşti, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1987, p. 143.

- Which are the eventual modifications interfered in the group's life that favor the diminution or the growth of the deviated behavior?

The behavior disorders almost always appear first in the familial plan, being more or less important and more or less tolerated. Soon, the school environment, the first touchstone of the social adapting, would become very interesting; the lagging behind of the study, the indiscipline, the absences, the lack of adaptation to the collective, the passivity, are all frequent consequences [4].

But the disorders could also appear outside the family or school environment: an anti- or a-social behavior, delinquency, vagabondage, integration in inadequate groups.

The child's difficulties or manifestations could appear only in certain conditions, but, generally, they multiply themselves and cause chain reactions. Insisting on the importance of the familial climate, on the role of the family regarding the child's education and the creation of conditions for the development of the child in his/her environment, signifies the consolidation of vary possibilities in order to see the problems coming from the other environments.

Usually, at the basis of the familial climate of the minor delinquents are the affective, moral and educational conditions which create an atmosphere of incertitude, indifference, incapacity or educational incompetence, in the case of the so-called "passive" families or with an immoral, violent, with conflicts and offences climate – in the guilty families. Must be noticed that in order to determine the type and the functionality of the family, was used its degree of tolerance regarding the behavior disorders: the more evoluate the environment is, the more active is the intolerance regarding the behavior disorders, and the discovery it's more precocious and more efficient.

An objective factor of the familial environment, the family structure, is considered, by many authors, an element that generates infringements of the law, if, of course, we talk about the disorganized family in which appeared a divorce, a decease, an abandon or even the reconstituted family.

In order to verify this idea, we wanted to establish if there are any differences of quality and quantity, depending on the structure of the family. In this way, we selected 9 factors, to illustrate the familial climate and the educational capacity of the family, such are: the organization of the life conditions, the organization of the spare time, the control of the group of friends, the supervision, the discipline, the parent's authority, the relationships between parents, the cultural level of the family and the relationships between parents and children.

After analyzing the aspects each case has, in the three types of familial structure (the organized family, the disorganized family, the reconstituted family), we noticed the significant distribution: starting with the most important one, these factors appear in all three types.

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[4] *Ibidem*, p.165.

No matter the type of the familial structure, the lack of organization regarding the spare time and the control of the group of friends are negative factors, which appears frequently, along with the lack of supervision or of parent's authority. Obviously, there are also differences between the three types, but they are not referring to the order of their importance, but to the relative frequency of the negative factors: the organized family has the smallest percents, while the disorganized families have the highest.

The lack of organization of the spare time, the control of the group of friends, the supervision and the lack of parent's authority are elements that show that the educational role, perhaps the most important role of the family, isn't performed. Not performing this role, sometimes because insufficient time is allocated to the education of the children, and most of times because the educational incompetence of the parents, could generate more serious consequences than those regarding the non-fulfillment of some functions connected with the providing of the proper material needs.

For the optimal functionality of the family is mandatory the presence of both parents, educational capacity and competence and proper relationships too. The structure deficiency (the lack of a parent or the presence of a step-parent), might represent an obstacle for accomplishing the functions, but it does not constitute a negative etiological factor, because, the far we know, even some family with the both parents could represent an unfavorable environment in the developing of the children, because of their functional deficiencies.

No doubt that in the complete family could be found better conditions for assuring its functionality. In the disorganized or reconstituted families could appear real impediments, due, most of times, to the increased negative factors and to their accumulation.

Concerning the minor delinquents, resulted from the disorganized families, the studies reveal the fact that most of them suffered from the disturbing of the fundamental system of relations under the age of 7, such is the period of formation, when the parental affective necessities are mandatory[5]. Or, the other preoccupations of the parents, the climate that generates conflicts, the modification of the structure regarded objectively (the budget, the house, the child's possible changing of environment) or subjectively (the supervision, authority or affectivity deficiencies) have many influences in the personality and the behavior of the minor and of the future adult. In the family, an excellently ineluctable environment, the structure is quasi-organic. Each member has a place which can't be changed, given by the nature or by the situation. Thus, the relations with the parents are *given*, not *chose*: the roles are pre-established and can't be contested. When a family brakes up, the child enters in a familial group where the affective and the juridical cohesion is shook, where the offered affective and moral changes are insufficient or, often, inappropriate. The

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[5] Sorin M. Rădulescu, Dan Banciu, *Introducere în sociologia delincvenţei juvenile*, The Medical Publishing House, 1990, p. 20.

affective development is a difficult process, and the delay of this development it's critical and could generate social repercussions that depend, mostly, on the age on which is installed the new type of relationships.

The absence or the insufficiency of the parent's authority is a deficiency almost as important as the affective one: the authority is as indispensable in forming the child's personality for the future social adaptation as the affectivity is.

The parent's authority deficiency could have many causes:
-    Not enough time spent with the parents within the family.
-    The insufficient ascendancy over the children, regarding both the intellectual level and the inappropriate behavior, especially that referring to the father, and the educational methods used in this case.
-    The lack of unity of opinion between the parents regarding the aims and the methods of education in the family, which usually find expression in the unjust way of disciplining (weak or chaotic) by using inadequate methods (corporal punishments).

In most of the cases there isn't any program of family recreation. The minors organize the spare time by themselves, without any guidance or control of the parents. They don't know the group of friend of the minor, his/her preoccupations, the way he/she manages the spare time, the frequency and the type of entertainment he/she prefers, what he/she reads. Even when the parents are well grounded and we might assume a greater educational competence, the lack of preoccupation and a high degree of commodity, lead to the situation when the child is not enough supervised and the time accorded to him/her is insufficient, compensating these with a precocious assigning and without any previous preparation of an excessive liberty. The generosity when offering gifts and pocket money shows external signs which indicate a false affection and a false interest.

The familial factors involved in the socialization of the minors and young people constitute a primary cause in order to determine the delinquency with the help of the educational requests from the family, which favor the maladaptation and the disadaptation of the young people. We present some familial educational climate typologies which affect the evolution of the youth.

The divergence of the educational methods and the parent's lack of authority. The way the parents understand each other matters for the harmonious development of the youth. The divergence in opinions between the parents, regarding the disciplinary methods and the educational punishments, confuse and unbalance the children in understanding and respect the discipline and the rules.

The divergent positions of the parents when allowing the children to do certain things, if they are dragged on a long period of time, can act as elements of confusion for the children and can, finally, release the predisposition for the delinquency[6].

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[6] R. Vincent, *Cunoaşterea copilului*, Bucureşti, The Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, p.113.

The role of the parents is that to prepare the children for the confrontation with the social obstacles, inherent to life, founding the resistance for the frustration and conflict, through an adequate behavior, for avoiding the formation and the exacerbation of some egoistic needs which, in some cases, can release offences.

A hyper-protecting excessively affecting attitude coming from the mother might lead to the lost of her authority, but also can cause some perturbations in the social maturation.

R. Mucchiellin[7], starting from a psychoanalyst conception towards a inter-actionist conception, analyses the repercussions of the hyper-protecting and hyper-authoritative parent's behavior with regard to the negative influences on the minor's behavior and of the failure when trying to identify himself/herself with one of the parent.

The parent's authority deficiencies emerge from the insufficient supervision or the total lack of supervision of the minors, associated, in the actual socio-historical stage, with an increasingly liberalism of the young people regarding the perception of democracy, of forcing the "emancipation" tendencies for independence, of the extra-familial socio-affective relationships.

The parent's indifferent and autocrat familial attitude. When depriving the children of sympathetic attitudes, when treating them with cold-indifferent attitudes, a latent aggressiveness is installed. At the child "neglected" by the parents, can be observed certain negligence in his/her conduct and activity, indifference regarding the school and some antisocial attitudes. In the affective respect he/she is emotional unstable and irritable.

The children "rejected" by the parents are brutal, won't accepts an inferiority position in a game, are reserved and finally rejected by their colleagues. The indifference or the antipathy against them from the family environment marks his/her existence, and the behavior will mimetically be a repugnant and aggressive one. The parent's lack of communication is materialized in the hostile feelings towards them.

The hyper-authoritative attitude manifested within the family by some parents, whishing to impose a strict and severe discipline come from their dominating temperament. At the base of this attitude can be "the good intentions" too, but, accepted with a very severe pedagogical conception, is materialized in autocrat attitudes in the relation with the children.

R. Vincent[8] finds in the category of the hyper-severe parents along with the resigning father, the dominant father and the *tiranic* father.

The dominant father has an authority which expresses an exigent personality with prestige. He pretends, according with his dominating aura, obedience and respect from the children and wife, they representing weak

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[7] R. Muscchellin, *La personnalité de l'enfant*, Les Editions Sociales Françaises, Paris, 1976, p. 78.

[8] R. Vincent, *op.cit*., p. 125.

human beings that need to be protected and guided. The children with these fathers are often shy and inhibited, but they can manifest themselves as rebels through aggressiveness, as an indirect way of reliving his/her feelings, through acts oriented towards other people.

The author characterizes *the tiranic father* as being a weak, shy person who, as compensation has sporadic outbreaks of an aberrant authority. These parental attitudes devalorize the paternal model, inducing to the child inhibition, fear and instability moods.

These conflicts on the spiritual level, along with the alternation of the father's behavior, can degenerate into profound lack of balance, with attempts of ending the conflict in evasion – the run away from home, vagabondage.

L Berkovitz [9] considers that the attitude of the autocratic, tiranic father determines the apparition of a frustration feeling in the absence of the parental love. Rejected by his/her father, or even maltreated by him, the child will learn to react aggressively, but the object of his/her aggressiveness won't be the father (of whom he afraid), but all the people who have authority (in the school, in the public order).

The disorganization of the family. We must not consider the disorganization of the family as a causal factor of the juvenile delinquency, but only when appearing mistakes at the level of children's organization and education. The educational deficiencies from these families are manifesting in the insufficient socialization or in the discordant one.

A classification of the disorganized families was made by L. Parkinson [10]:

- the incomplete united or illegitimate family;
- the dismembered family after the moving off of one spouse, after the divorce, the separation or the leaving;
- the "empty home" family, where the partners are living together, with minimal inter-communications, without constituting an emotional support one for another;
- the family in a "crisis" for some causes that determine the temporary or the permanent absence of one of the spouse (prison, death, depression, illness);
- the existence inside the family of some situations which generates the marriage's failure: severe mental retarding of the child, the child's or spouse's psychosis, incurable chronic physical conditions.

Finding a possible relation between the disorganization of the family after the divorce and the child's behavior perturbations, constituted a theme closely studied by the specialists.

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[9] L. Berkovitz, *Aggressive behavior*, Mc Graw-Hill, New York, 1993, p. 213.

[10] L. Parkinson, *Separarea, divorţul şi familia,* Bucureşti, The Alternative Publishing House, p. 211.

After the divorce, when the family brakes up, or when living in concubinage, is created an insecure climate, which can evolve, as M.C. Chombart de Lauwe[11] noticed, into social non-adaptation and delinquency.

A family climate which generates conflicts. The role of the modeler played by the parents, including the imitative acts of the children, imposes some exigencies regarding the educational expression in the point of the behavior and of the verbal expression of the parents.

There are family which, although "organized" (without being dismembered), manage to create tense situations, with conflicts, of different intensity, generated by distinct causes.

This way, these situations can have multiple faces: starting with the disputes, with the violent contradictions, the refuse to fulfill the familial obligations, and reaching more complex forms such is the physical aggressiveness, the moving away from the domicile, the existence of adulterine relationships.

The tense situations are generated and maintained, in most of the cases, by alcoholism, moral promiscuity (prostitution), penal antecedents etc.

When the intra-conjugal conflicts become more intense, frequent and increased, they transform themselves into a disorganizing force and into a dysfunctional syndrome for the family.

The conjugal conflict with a pathogen substratum, with destructive influences for the personality of the parents, with disorganized reactions and maladaptations, impede the fulfillment of the normal functions of the couple, regarding their relation and the relation with the children.

Starting from the capacities and the marital adaptation modalities, at I. F. Cuber[12] we find a conjugal typology with profound repercussions on the personality of the child. The five types of fields are:

- The type of marriage where the conflicts are frequent and aren't hidden to the children, but to the other people. Although the conflict exists, maintaining a tense atmosphere, the couple rarely breaks up, because, after the crisis, the situation becomes normal again.

- The devitalized marriage brings the discrepancy situation between the "first years" of living together and the next period. Characteristic for this couple is the gradually dissolution of the harmonious, communicative and full of love relation they had in the first years. The pair becomes apathetically, life-less, but they rarely break up.

- The passive-cordial marriage, unlike the devitalized one, is characterized by passivity since the beginning. Sometimes, the engaging in such a relationship is deliberated, depending on the interest that emerge from this type of communication (men addicted to their career).

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[11] M. C. Chambart de Lauwe, *Psychopathologie sociale de l'enfant inadapté*, C.N.R.S., Paris, 1973, p. 78.

[12] I. F. Cuber, *Five types of marriage in Family in transition*, Univ. of California, Berkley, 1971, p. 36.

- The vital marriage is based on the empathetic relationship, essential for their life. The satisfaction feeling is felt only in the presence of the partner, their relation being considered important and vital, without loosing their own identity.

- The type of marriage based on the total relationship has, moreover than the vital one, a mutual and normal distribution of all the problems they concern with.

The presentation of the five typological marital models allows us to understand the great diversity of the marriage couples. Besides the familial stile they choose to adopt, it is important the parental model they offer, considering the sensibility and the receptivity of the children. Their co-participation at disputes, misunderstandings, aggressiveness and violence are totally unfavorable for them.

The main consequence of the tense marital relationships is the devaluation of the parental model, the imitative learning of some noxious, diverged behaviors for the further evolution of the child, his/her contrary state of mind, his frustration can take the most critical forms: the running away from home and the vagabondage.

The researches made on the family showed that, through organization and the educational model offered by the parents, the fundamental influence is on the youth's socialization and moral integration level. The poverty, the material frustration, the unemployment, the extended social insecurity are factors that endanger, on a long term, the destiny of a family, confusing or aggravating the already fragile familial relationships, with distant, trans-generational consequences.

The existence of some disorders concerning the organization of the familial life, gradually leads to the dissolution of the family, to the diminishing of its social contribution and to the appearance of some bad manifestations and habits. These families show a deficit regarding the educational stile, having themselves adaptation and social integration problems. These families offer negative models, which they induce to their children, resulting the assuming by the children of some disordered behaviors (smoking, alcohol and drugs consumption, stealing).

FUNCTIONAL DEFICIENCIES REGARDING THE FAMILY AND THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

(Abstract)

The familial factors involved in the socialization of the minors and young people constitute a primary cause in order to determine the delinquency with the help of the educational requests from the family, which favor the maladaptation and the disadaptation of the young people. We present some familial educational climate typologies which affect the evolution of the youth.
The way the parents understand each other matters for the harmonious development of the youth. The divergence in opinions between the parents, regarding the disciplinary methods and the educational punishments, confuse and unbalance the children in understanding and respect the discipline and the rules

LA SPÉCIFICITÉ DU DROIT DE L'UNION EUROPÉENNE

COSTACHE GHEORGHE, MIHAELA POPESCU

1. Considérations générales concernant le concept de droit européen

Le droit de l'Union Européenne – le droit communautaire – est qualifié de manière unanime comme étant une espèce sui generis du droit en général.

D'ailleurs, le droit communautaire est connu dans le langage courant, diplomatique ou politique à travers un syntagme devenu déjà célèbre autant pour les états membres que pour ceux qui aspirent à l'intégration européenne, droit acquis communautaire, acquis européen ou tout simplement acquis.

Les chapitres de *l'acquis* communautaire se réfèrent aux *domaines* suivants :

1. la libre circulation des marchandises;
2. la libre circulation des personnes;
3. la libre circulation des services;
4. la libre circulation du capital;
5. le droit des sociétés commerciales;
6. la politique dans le domaine de la concurrence;
7. l'agriculture;
8. la pêche;
9. la politique dans le domaine des transports;
10. l'impôt;
11. l'union économique et monétaire;
12. la statistique;
13. les politiques sociales et l'occupation de la force de travail;
14. l'énergie;
15. la politique industrielle;
16. les petites et les moyennes entreprises;
17. la science et la recherche;
18. l'éducation, la formation professionnelle et la jeunesse;
19. la télécommunication et la technologie de l'information;
20. la culture et la politique dans le domaine de l'audiovisuel;
21. la politique régionale et la coordination des moyens structuraux;
22. la protection de l'environnement;
23. la protection des consommateurs et de la santé;
24. la justice et les affaires internes;

25. l'union douanière;
26. les relations externes;
27. la politique externe et de la sécurité commune;
28. le contrôle financier;
29. les dispositions financières et budgétaires;
30. les institutions;
31. d'autres domaines.

En synthétisant, on peut apprécier que l'acquis communautaire consiste dans:

a) les dispositions du Traité instituant la Communauté Européenne, signé le 25 mars 1957 à Rome, du Traité concernant l'Union Européenne, signé à Maastricht, et du Traité instituant la Communauté Européenne de l'Énergie Atomique, signé à Rome le 25 mars 1957, ainsi que de tous les accords qui les ont modifiées dans le temps, y compris les Traités concernant l'adhésion de nouveaux membres;

b) les règlements, les directives et les décisions émis par les institutions de l'Union Européenne, en tant qu'actes aux pouvoirs obligatoires, ainsi que les autres actes adoptés par les institutions de l'Union Européenne, à savoir : déclarations, résolutions, stratégies communes, actions communes, positions communes, conclusions, décisions cadre, résolutions et d'autres de ce type;

c) les conventions multilatérales ouvertes seulement aux états membres de l'Union Européenne, ainsi que celles ouvertes à un nombre plus grand des états, auxquelles les états membres de l'Union Européenne et, selon le cas, la Commission Européenne sont des parts, désignées comme telles par celles dernières, comme faisant partie de l'acquis;

d) la jurisprudence de la Cour de Justice des Communautés Européennes.

L'acquis communautaire représente la totalité des normes juridiques qui réglementent l'activité des institutions de l'Union Européenne, les actions et les politiques communautaires[1].

2. Les sources du droit de l' Union Européenne

2.1 La notion de source de droit communautaire

L'expression de source de droit a un sens maternel, elle n'a pas un sens juridique, mais plutôt met en évidence les conditions où apparaît et se développe le droit.

En général la théorie du droit met en évidence deux formes du droit, à savoir:

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[1] I. Jinga, A. Popescu, *Dictionnaire de termes communautaires*, Editura Lumina lex, 2000, p. 42.

- la forme interne du droit – laquelle est donnée par les normes juridiques, les normes du droit et les institutions juridiques;

- la forme externe du droit – laquelle est représentée par la possibilité pratique de visualiser les actes normatifs, connue d'ailleurs aussi à travers l'expression source du droit.

Donc, par source de droit communautaire on comprend les moyens juridiques qui donnent une forme extérieure aux normes communautaires, les moyens qui sont soit les traités d'institution et modification ou, en perspective, la Constitution de l'Union Européenne, soit les moyens spécifiques qui émanent des institutions de l'Union Européenne, conformément à leurs compétences[2].

D'ailleurs, les traités d'institution aussi que les normes qui se trouvent dans les documents adoptés par les institutions communautaires pour donner la possibilité de l'application des traités contiennent le poids des sources de droit communautaire.

En pratique, on a identifié plusieurs sources du droit communautaire qui peuvent être exprimées à travers les suivantes catégories de sources:

- des sources primaires du droit communautaire;
- des sources dérivées du droit communautaire;
- des sources auxiliaires (complémentaires) du droit communautaire;
- des sources qui ne sont pas écrites du droit communautaire.

2.1.1. Les sources primaires (principales) de droit communautaire

Les sources primaires (principales) de droit communautaire se trouvent à la base du droit communautaire.

Elles ont comme point de départ les traités originaires qui ont représenté le début de la création des trois Communautés, mais aussi de réalisation de l'Union Européenne.

Ces documents, ont représenté, en fait, les traités d'institution.

A ces documents on ajoute aussi ceux adoptés ultérieurement à travers lesquels on a apporté des modifications et des compléments aux traités d'institution.

A. Les traités d'institution ou originaires de la Communauté Européenne ont été :

a) - Le traité qui a réalisé la Communauté Economique du Charbon et de l'Acier (CECO), adopté à Paris le 18 avril 1951 et qui est entré en vigueur le 23 juillet 1952, adopté pour une période de 50 ans;

b) - Le traité qui a constitué la Communauté Economique Européenne (CEE);

c) - Le traité à travers lequel on a constitué la Communauté Européenne de l'Énergie Atomique – EURATOM (CEEA).

B. Les traités ou les documents qui ont modifié ou complété les traités originaires

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[2] St. Scăunaş, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Parmi les traités ou les actes de modification les plus importants retiennent l'attention les suivants :

a) – La convention concernant la réalisation des institutions communes aux trois Communautés : CECO, CEE, CEEA, - (La réunion parlementaire et la Cour de Justice) adoptée à Rome le 25 mars 1953, ainsi que les traités qui instituent un Conseil unique et une Commission unique des Communautés, mais aussi le Protocole unique sur les privilèges et les immunités – Bruxelles 1965;

b) – **L'Acte Unique Européen** signé à Luxembourg et Haye en 1985 qui prévoyait la réalisation du Marché unique jusqu'au 1992;

c) – Le traité sur l'Union Européenne adopté à Maastricht qui a été signé le 07 septembre 1992 et qui est entré en vigueur le 01 novembre 1993, à l'aide duquel on a crée l'Union Européenne et qui comprend toutes les Communautés Européennes, mais aussi d'autres formes de coopération;

d) - Le traité d'Amsterdam, signé le 02 octobre 1997 et entré en vigueur le 01 mai 1999, qui a apporté des nouveautés en ce qui concerne la libre circulation des personnes dans l'espace communautaire, aspects liés à la force de travail, et la circulation des biens et de capitaux;

e) - Le traité de Nice, signé le 26 janvier 2001 et entré en vigueur le 01 février 2003, qui a constitué la base réformatrice qui assure le cadre institutionnel d'extension de l'Union Européenne;

f) – Les actes d'adhésion de nouveaux états membres à l'Union Européenne;

2.1.2. Les sources dérivées du droit communautaire

Pour appliquer de manière correcte et unitaire les traités, les Communautés émettent des actes unilatéraux, respectivement des règles et des normes, ce qui fait qu'on ne se trouve plus en présence d'un droit conventionnel, mais plutôt en présence d'un droit «légiféré».

La Cour de Justice se réserve, indépendamment de la nature d'un acte élaboré qui ne dépend pas en principale de la dénomination qu'il porte, ou de l'institution qui l'a émis mais de son contenu, dans toutes les occasions le droit de l'interpréter.

Parmi les documents qui sont édictés par les institutions des communautés et qui peuvent considérés comme source de droit dérivé on peut énumérer: *le règlement, la directive, les recommandations et les avis.*

Le règlement – représente la principale source dérivée de droit communautaire, celui-ci représentant le mieux le pouvoir législatif des Communautés.

Tout comme la loi, le règlement a une influence générale. Il contient des prévoyances générales et impersonnelles et statue par abstraction.

Le règlement a un caractère d'obligation envers d'autres documents émanés des Communautés (recommandations et avis), qui n'ont pas cette qualité «d'obliger».

La directive. A la différence du règlement, la directive n'a pas un caractère d'obligation pour tous les états membres, mais elle s'adresse d'habitude seulement aux certains états.

La décision. Dans le système de l'élaboration et de l'application des Traités, la décision a plusieurs fonctions, bien que pas toujours elle ait les mêmes effets.

Le rôle de la décision est celui d'établir pour un état membre ou pour plusieurs tâches qui présupposent l'émission des mesures nationales mais qui ait des effets internationaux (par exemple la diminution ou l'élimination des taxes douanières pour certaines catégories de produits).

Ayant un caractère d'obligation, la décision a donc un effet direct sur un destinataire bien défini, pratiquement modifie à travers son contenu la situation juridique existante auparavant.

Les recommandations et les opinions. A la différence des autres trois sources dérivées de droit communautaire, les recommandations et les avis n'ont pas la force de contrainte spécifique aux autres, et pratiquement, celles-ci peuvent être considérées comme n'étant pas des sources dérivées de droit communautaire dans le vrai sens de la parole.

A l'exception des actes des institutions communautaires mentionnées en haut, la pratique institutionnelle et communautaire a développé aussi d'autres documents qui ne sont pas mentionnés dans les traités, mais qui font partie de l'activité courante, tels: avis, accords, résolutions, programmes, conclusions, ainsi de suite.

2.1.3. Les sources complémentaires du droit communautaire

Les sources complémentaires du droit communautaire résultent des accords qui sont conclus entre les états membres concernant les domaines de compétence nationale.

Dans la mesure où leur objet se situe dans le champ et dans le prolongement des objectifs définis par les Traités, elles portent la dénomination de «droit (sources) complémentaire (s) et peuvent être considérées des normes de droit communautaire au sens large[3].

Les sources complémentaires les plus importantes du droit communautaire sont :

- les conventions communautaires;

- les décisions et les accords stipulés à travers les représentants des gouvernes des états membres pris au cadre du Conseil;

- les déclarations, les résolutions et les prises de position des Communautés.

Les conventions communautaires sont destinées à l'intervention pour compléter les Traités Communautaires déjà existants.

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[3] I. Filipescu, A. Fuerea, *Droit institutionnel communautaire*, Bucureşti, Editura Actami, 1994, p. 29.

Les décisions et les accords stipules à travers les représentants des gouvernes des états membres.

Du point de vue de leur nature juridique, les décisions et les accords sont des actes conventionnels entre les états, étant adoptés comme des actes institutionnels qui sont mis en application par les institutions communautaires.

Les déclarations, les résolutions et les prises de position des Communautés.

A la différence de tous les autres, celles-ci ne comportent pas une procédure d'engagement juridique, mais elles mettent en pratique seulement la volonté politique des documents qui expriment l'orientation des actions.

2.1.4. Les sources qui ne sont pas écrites de droit communautaire

Au cadre des sources du droit communautaire, un rôle extrêmement important dont on tient compte est la jurisprudence communautaire laquelle dans le système du droit communautaire est considérée comme source de droit.

En principe, toutes les décisions que prononce la Cour de Justice des Communautés Européennes, à l'exception de celles qui concernent la solution du recours en annulation, ont autorité de chose jugée et sont obligatoires.

D'ailleurs, la Cour de Justice des Communautés Européennes est la seule institution qui a la capacité et la mission d'interpréter les dispositions des traités et de faire des mentions concernant les principes qui gouvernent le système de droit communautaire.

Dans le même contexte, la Cour de Justice a aussi la tâche d'assurer l'interprétation et l'implémentation de la législation communautaire en concordance avec les traités en vigueur, ayant le droit de se prononcer sur ces aspects soit par propre initiative, soit à l'avertissement d'un état membre de l'Union Européenne.

THE SPECIFICITY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION LAW

(Abstract)

As part of the specificity of the European Union Law, we can talk about general data concerning the concept of European Law, about the sources of the European Union Law, about the notion of Community Law source, distinguishing here primary (main) sources of Community Law and that is: the institutive or originary treaties of the European Community and the treaties or the documents that modified and completed the originary treaties, the sources deriewed of the Community Law, which is: the regulations, the directive, the decision, the recommendations and the notifications, the sources complementary to the Community Law, which are: the community conventions, the decisions and the conveniences made by the representatives of the member states governments and the declarations, the resolutions and the standing points of the communities and the unwritten Community Law sources: community jurisprudence.

SOME FEATURES OF THE ENGLISH LEGAL SYSTEM

ELENA ALEXANDRA ILINCA

It would be too much to say that English judges do decide cases in any way they like despite the existence of statutory interpretation rules and judicial precedent rules or that executive, legislative and judiciary power are discretionary exercised.

Nevertheless, it is true that in the British common-law system, judges are given larger prerogatives than in the civil-law systems, which is a specific feature of the common-law systems. Whether this judge's power is exercised in a fair way or abusive is the true problem as this possibility objectively exists as long as judicial interpretation grants law making powers to judges.

The point of precedent is to facilitate consistency in decisions, not to make law. But in law a previous decision in the absence of a definite statute has whatever force and authority a judge may choose to give it as there are precedents for everything and he is the one to decide which previous decision is the most assembling to the current case.

Concerning the statement that the executive, legislature and judiciary exercise their power in any way they see fit despite the existence of constitutional conventions, judicial rules and custom, it would rather describe some form of anarchy than a parliamentary democracy.

Although it is submitted that the principle of Parliamentary Sovereignty confers to the legislative the supreme power it can not be concluded that it is discretionary exercised as long as there are the limitations of political expedience and constitutional conventions.

It will also be shown that despite the fact that the executive is said to gain power at the expense of the legislature and at the expense of the separation of powers doctrine there are certain legal instruments that provide the possibility to limit its power and control its actions. Amongst these are to be mentioned "the vote of no confidence", the rule of "ministerial responsibility", the judicial review or parliamentary control of delegated legislation.

Concerning the power of English judges in deciding cases it has to be taken into consideration that judicial interpretation is not regulated by Parliament. In order to minimise the degree of judicial interpretation, the Parliament has to draft more complex legislation so that the amount of

Interpretation would not compromise certainty and result in redrafting law by judges. However, in certain circumstances legislation is drafted ambiguously to avoid arguments in Parliament or to allow future developments. In such cases, the amount of interpretation that is necessary arises.

It is also submitted that judges in order to cope with unforeseen situations have to be given a degree of flexibility.

The judicial function in interpreting statutes is to give effect to the sovereign will of the Parliament, but what judges are required is to choose what the correct interpretation is in their opinion, which is a very subjective matter of fact.

Judges not always set out to interpret Acts according to the intent of Parliament. Some decisions were in fact so bad that the Parliament had to rule it by statute. E.g. Fisher v Bell 1961

The most flagrant disregard for the wishes of Parliament is considered to be Anisminic Ltd v Foreign Compensation Commission 1969 where judges demonstrated that Parliament's power and supremacy depend on the enforcement of its statutes and that sovereignty depends on the acquiescence of the courts to Parliament's power.

Judicial interpretation is encouraged in case certain circumstances are not taken into consideration by the legislator or when inadvert slips or omissions appear.

In such cases words are afforded significance that their drafters did not intend. It is judge's job to fill the gaps when a situation was not taken into consideration or when there is a "cassus omissus" but it cannot be denied that this allows judges to act abusive.

The effect of the purposive approach is usually achieved by the literal rule since Parliament tends to enact its intent. When judges use a purposive approach, they are engaging in a legislative function which could be considered as a breach of the doctrine of separation of powers. It must be admitted that this might be a chance for judges to actually crate law using what they understand by "intent" of Parliament.

The literal rule means the interpretation of Acts purely according to their literal meaning, unless it creates absurd or immoral results. The question of what is immoral or absurd and therefore allowing the plain words of a statute to be ignored is a subjective one, and so the judge's interpretation will vary.

Although the literal rule sounds simple, the ordinary meaning of words may vary, so that problems frequently occur e.g. Whitley v Chappel [1868] 4 LRQB 147.

As a word might have more than one ordinary meaning it depends on the judge's option to choose either of the meanings, so the same word could be given different meanings which could lead to different effect.

Even though English judges are given an important role in applying law, in filling the omissions of the legislator, or in areas which are not regulated by statute, they are inferior to laws passed by Parliament, and their role as law-makers is limited.

The judges are free to decide which rule of interpretation to apply in certain circumstances, and as different rules or combinations of rules lead to different or even contrary results, judge's choice decisive to the outcome of the case.

Because statues are abstract rules of behaviour, without the creative and adaptive work of the judge it would not be possible that fair solutions to be given to concrete disputes that are to be settled.

In common law, even when statues are present, they often simple address points of controversy or are written with the expectation that judges will fill in the blanks rather than with the comprehensive approach. Moreover common law legal standards are often deliberately vague so as to give judges wide discretion to rule in a case as they deem fit and fair.

The aim of conferring such wide power to judges is to allow them achieve justice but not to allow them exercise this power in an arbitrary or discretionary manner. Legal instruments to prevent this from happening are judicial control of decisions by over turning them in appeals or the fact that judges may be dismissed for incapacity or misbehaviour.

There are two kinds of precedents. The first of them, the long held custom, is traditionally recognised by courts with no need for a previous case to have been decided on the same issues. The second type of precedent is case law which is granted weight according to a number of factors. Cases are binding and must be followed as "precedent" when there is involved the same legal issue as in the original case and when the precedent comes from the courts above the instant court, or the precedent is an earlier decision from the same court. What is binding is only the "ratio decidendi" which justified the decision. It comes to the judge of the instant case to statue what the "ratio decidendi" was. There is no possibility for a judge to disregard earlier decisions but is possible to "distinguish" the decisions of higher courts when they deem it appropriate because certain circumstances considered to be essential differ from those of the previous case. There also exists the possibility for higher courts to overrule a previous decision when they consider social conceptions, issues or principals that justified a certain practice have changed e.g R v R [1991] 4 All ER 481.

Naturally, Parliament may replace any judgement coming from any court by regulating or amending legislation.

The doctrine of stare decisis is a very important feature of common law. The point of precedent is to facilitate consistency in decisions to confer stability and predictability to common law and to enable appellate courts to communicate and constrain lower level courts effectively.

At the same time, judges are given the possibility of changing legal rules in order to allow the law to evolve, to adjust to new circumstances and, overtime to become more efficient.

The doctrine of precedent operates to deny courts law-making power. It is only when courts overrule decisions that they exercise a normative power and its point is to enable courts to alter the law.

Beside the power of the judges to interpret in order to apply law to concrete disputes in the English legal system, judges have certain powers which are not known to exist in civil law systems, which make the judiciary a more powerful political force than in civil law countries.

The most important of these is the power of the English judge to declare a decision-secondary legislation unlawful and therefore invalid when it is "ultra vires", a power that in civil law countries is limited to a special constitutional court.

Secondly, English judges are empowered to make law guided by past precedent or to ignore it as no longer applicable in cases no statute or prior case mandates a particular result. The power of English judges also flows from the way they are selected, as they are generally experienced, reputable and accomplished lawyers who also have political connections. Also the grounds for appealing a decision are much narrower without the possibility to correct a finding of fact.

Concerning the supposed ability of the executive and legislature to exercise power in any way they see fit, this can not be considered to be true. It is submitted that according to the "rule" of parliamentary sovereignty, the legislature owns the supreme power but it is not lacked of any control.

As part of the unwritten British constitution, constitutional conventions play a key role. They are rules of practice regarded as being so fundamental that it could not be conceived they could be transgressed by anyone though they are not written in any document having legal authority. Conventions are followed in order to avoid political difficulties which would arise if they were breached rather than because of a fear of judicial enforcement.

These conventions also acquire the force of custom which is a very long-held practice which comes to be perceived as having legal power. It would be unconceivable that the legislature or executive would disregard constitutional conventions or even break it as long as their very own source of power resides in these conventions. It is exactly the existence of these conventions and historical custom, that prevent legislature and executive from exercising power in a discretionary way, and if broken will lead to accusations of unconstitutional behaviour.

Some more recent restrains of parliament's power have occurred once UK entered into the European Community in 1972 and became a signatory to the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950. National judges were empowered by ECJ (Van Gend en Loos v Netherlands [1963]) to suspend national legislation that would be in breach of EC law. The same way, all new legislation is presumed to be compatible with the ECHR and judges will not apply it if this is not the case.

It also has to be taken into consideration that the House of Communes is elected so it is censored by electorate through their vote!

It is alleged that there is a increase in powers of the executive, by the use of delegated legislation and by the fact that the Prim-Minister exercises some prerogatives of the Monarch without the consultation of Parliament. These are said to affect the power of the legislature and to imbalance the separation of powers.

The "whip" system is also a way to extend executive's power.

The delegated legislation is also an object of concern for those believing this is a way for executive to gain power. Though it gives government the

possibility of exercising abusive this prerogative, the advantages of this technique could not be denied. With the one condition of not being abusively used, this technique has its own benefits.

It must also be brought into attention that Parliamentary Control of delegated legislation is a mean of censoring it. Also, by the process of judicial review judiciary control of delegated legislation is accomplished as courts have the ability of declaring a certain decision unlawful.
In the same way, the existence of ministerial responsibility and of the "vote of no confidence" is efficient instruments of limiting power.

To conclude, it was shown that despite of the inexistence of a written constitution in the English legal system, judiciary, executive and legislature do not exercise power in an arbitrary way and that explicit and efficient rules do exist and by the means of constitutional conventions, historical customs and judicial rules, the balance of power is maintained.

QUELQUES TRAITS DU SYSTÈME JURIDIQUE BRITANNIQUE

(Résumé)

L'auteur met en discussion quelques traits spécifiques mais aussi essentiels du système juridique britannique de *"Common Law"* afin de répondre aux questions importantes qui porte sur les limites du pouvoir du juge, les attributions des pouvoirs exécutif et législatif dans le contexte du manque d'une constitution écrite.

A notre avis, les pouvoirs juridique, exécutif et législatif offrent la possibilité d'être mises en pratique plus flexible que dans les systèmes continentaux de droit. Le juge britannique aussi dispose des attributions plus larges par comparaison avec ses collègues européens. Il ne faut pas croire dans une grande liberté car des limites telles les conventions constitutionnelles ou la coutume historique gardent encore leur importance et assurent l'équilibre entre les pouvoirs tout en empêchant aucun exercice abusif.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF COMPARATIVE LAW REGARDING THE LETTING CONTRACT

ROBERT PAUL PUICĂ, DENISA LOREDANA BICĂ

To mention that the evolution of the *law* in the field of the letting contract has underlined the deep changes brought of the necessity of its continuous adaptation to the socio-economical realities or of other nature.

The adage "*Locatio et conductio proxima est emptioni venditioni, iisdemque iuris regulit consistit*" confirms the reality that, analyzed as a juridical instrument, *the contract* has always been the result of same experiences that have passed through the time, the utility of this institution being proved only after there are repeatedly established relations between persons, relations that define its content.

During history, man has permanently been preoccupied to set up material or spiritual structures to define and facilitate his existence. And all these new creations have been conceived on the idea of the insurance of the main necessities of the individual, which imply the living and especially the cohabitation.

One of the essential necessities of the individual is determined by the insurance of a good's use (mobile or real property), which should be able to satisfy the user. Apart from the economic elements, essential in this purpose, the juridical ones accomplish a determining role, in this time being consolidated the conception according to which the law is in the service of people, the contrary harming.

By drawing a parallel, we will underline that by the buying-sales agreement, exchange agreement, donation agreement, etc. this one can be obtained only in usage, with free title or with the payment of an equivalent value for this one. In the last situation the foundation of the usage is given by the closure of a *letting contract.*

Next, we propose ourselves to present some aspects concerning the letting contract, the way that they are crystallized in the juridical literature and judiciary practice from Europe, to serve as a comparison foundation for a better application and/or completion of the present legal dispositions in this area.

In the regulation of the Italian Civil Code, the letting *is the contract through which a part obliges itself to permit the usage by the other part of a mobile thing or real property, for a certain period, with a certain period, with a certain equivalent value (art. 1571 Civil Code of Italy).* As is shown from the definition, we can talk about letting just in the case when it is foreseen an equivalent value; on the contrary, we will arrive again to the *free loan* (art. 1803

from the Civil Code). The contract can be certainly concluded not only by the owner but also by the holder of the real minor right, as the usufructuary and the holder of the emphyteusis right.

It is though taken into account the fact that, from a historical point of view, the letting contract had an even more ample content and involved in its environment the labor contracts, private enterprise contract, transport contract (*locatio operis*) and those of subordinate labor (*locatio operarum*). Contractual forms which have completely detached from the letting area [1].

An other variety of Italian common law letting is the *rental (letting) of urban real properties,* variety that is treated in a special regime, due to the fact that it is one of the fields where the legislator interventions were more frequent, finalized with the conciliation of the demands, apparently irreconcilable (as the lodges willing low payments, contractual prolongations and the owner's striving for perceiving adequate payments and for reobtaining the real property availability to the settling day.

Also, the Italian Civil Code **regulates the conclusion (letting) of the productive things.** Thus, when the letting has as an object a productive thing – a rural fund – (art. 1628 c.c.) or an enterprise (art. 2562 c.c.), the contract is named *"**for rental".** It has to be about a thing able to have results by itself; if it would, instead, be about a single car, or about locals where it is arrived again to the letting form.

The letting (rental) of ships, is an other variety of the regulated by the Italian legislation letting. On the foundation of the Italian Naval Code (art. 265 c.) it is understood by the rental contract of a ship, the contract in which the *ship-owner assumes the exercise of a ship* (he oblige himself to offer to another part named client), *or utilizes it for navigation, as owner or preliminarily obtaining the capacity to use the ship, by reason of a life interest or of a letting*.

To mention that this type of contract differs from the usual letting contract under numerous aspects, one of these being the obligation of the fulfillment of the written form, for the evidence of the contract (art. 365 bis, Naval Code).

In Italian doctrine this contract is qualified as one that enters in the field of the lease, the ship-owner engaging himself not only to offer the client the ship, but also to carry out a service in the benefit of the client.

We finally mention **the letting of the computers contract,** through which *one part named concedent he obliges himself towards another part named concessionaire, to ensure the temporary usage of an equipment hardware-software (computer, computers, computers network) in the exchange of a price determined by the parts, representing the equivalent value of the letting and the service*. This contract completes the enumeration of the main types of Italian letting, from which this is the most complex, since the computer letting (of the hardware and the software), inclusive the operations of installing, obtaining the

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[1] G. Benotti, F. Galano, *Diritto privato,* Cedam, Padova, 2004, p. 542.

license and of usage of the programs from the computer, are bound between them, this contract tending more towards the private enterprise due to its nature.

In Romanian legislation, the letting contract benefits from an ample regulation from the part of the regulator.

In this way, the Civil Code consecrates the title VI of the IIIrd Book (1410-1490), referring to four types of letting. Thus, according to art. 1413 Civil Code (art. 1712 French Civil Code)[2] there are several types of lettings: it is called *rental*, the letting of real properties and mobile goods; *leasing* is the letting of rural funds; *employment and service* letting has as purpose the obligation which someone assumes to carry out a thing or a work on a resolute price when the material is offered by the person who executes the work.

According to 1411 article of Civil Code, *letting*[3] is defined as being *the contract of which a part called tenant pledge to assure the temporary usage*[4], *total or partial*[5] *of an unconsumable good, individual determined, in exchange of an amount of money or other services, called rent*[6]. As for the *labor letting* and charges of conveyance, we can underline that is concentrates today on the settlement of many branches of private law.

Certainly, the derived object of the contract is the element which differentiates the letting of *rental contract* and *the leasing one.*

Thus, if utility right is transmitted to a locative space, the contract will be a rental one and if the usage of agricultural goods is transmitted we can talk about a leasing contract. As both rent and leasing represent Romanian regulation varieties of the letting contract, letting rules represent for his contracts the common law. From our point of view, the characteristic of things letting is, as some authors affirm, the concession of usage integrality of which thing is susceptible because letting can have as purpose the concession of different usages. That thing is susceptible, excluding the others. Related to the essence of

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[2] Aubry et Rau, *Cours de droit civil francais d'apres la methode de Zachariae, tome cinquieme, Cinquieme edition refondue et misse au courant de la legislation, de la doctrine et de la jurisprudence par G. Rau, Ch. Falcimaigne et M. Gault,* Imprimerie et Librairie Generale de Jurisprudence Marchal et Billard, Paris, 1907, p. 263-264. "l'usage ou la jouissance d'un *chose* - *locatio rerum,* fournir temporairement ses services - *locatio operarum,* faire pour son compte un ouvrage determihe – *locatio operis".*

[3] The notion is from the Latin verb locare – to rent; in Latin, there is also a verb *conducere* – to hire, and that is why the contract is called *letting-conductio. In Romanian the notion of letting is used both for renting and hiring.*

[4] In the letting definition, Civil Code perceives that usage transmission is done "for a determined period" (art. 1411) – or in usage and temporary possession (art. 875 of Civil Code of Republic Moldavia). Actually, the contract can also be concluded without precising. The term (or an indeterminate) but letting cannot be eternal, perpetual. In exchange, the thing which forms the object of the contract has to be determined. Otherwise, the understanding can constitute only a precontract (promess of letting) which – in case of non-observance – is approved with the recovery of damage payment.

[5] A. Bénabent, *Droit civil. Les contrats speciaux,* Paris, 1995.

[6] Francisc Deak, *Civil Law Treaty. Special contracts,* Universul Juridic Publishing house, Bucharest, 2001, p.173.

the letting is the element *time*, letting being by its nature a contract with extinctive term in which labor conscription of the tenant always consists in successive caterings corresponding to the usage of thing in time and the equivalent catering of the tenant is always calculated after the usage time, even after the price is fixed in a global way.

Thinking that in the scholastic classification of right, the tenant's right isn't considered from all points of view a real right it doesn't have to be deduced as most of the authors do it, that when letting refers to a real property is however a real one. Such an inflexible logic of classification is not admissible when it has contrary consequences to the reality.

Law gives us a clue concerning real nature of law, when it is submitted to the formality of transcription.

In the doctrine of Moldavia Republic, letting is defined as the contract trough which a part (lessor) promises to give the other one (tenant) a determined individual good in temporary usage or in temporary usage and possession, and this one promises to pay the rent (art. 875, Moldavia Republic Civil Code)[7].

On the other hand, leasing, a variety of the letting contract, is the contract concluded between a part – the owner, usufructuary or another, legal owner of lands, of other agricultural goods and the other part, concerning their exploitation on a determined period and at a price established by the parts. (art. 911, Moldavia Republic Civil Code).

In the old Civil Code of the Moldavia Republic, for the temporary usage of some strange goods receiving a payment we use the general term of "rental contract and goods".

According to the art. 278 cc, on the foundation of the rental of goods contract, the lessor oblige himself to transmit in temporary usage, in exchange with a payment, some goods. The term "Contract of rental of goods" was reproduced from the legislation of the former URSS. The same term was also used in the civil codes of other unional republics.

It is attributed to the notions of "rental of goods" and "lease" a different sense by the standards of some European states (Germany and Swiss). Thus, by "lease" it is understood the contract on which it is transmitted an equivalent payment, not only the right of possessing the goods, but also the right to gather the results. On the basis of the lease there are rented commerce and industrial enterprises.

According to art. 2, from 198/2003 Law (Moldavia Republic), the lease contract is an agreement concluded between a part, as owner or another legal possessor of the lands and agricultural goods, named lessor and another part, named tenant, for their   exploitation on a determined period and at a price established by the parts.

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[7] Gheorghe Chibac, Aurel Băieşu, Alexandru Rotari, Oleg Efrim, *Civil Law. Special contracts*, vol. III, Cartier Juridic Publishing house, Chisinau, 2005, p. 119.

From these definitions, it results the fact that to the tenant it is transmitted not only the attribute of usage but also the possession one, through which his rights for the rented good enlarge substantially. This orientation strengthens the tendency of the legislation in the last years of enlargement rights and of liberties of participants to the juridico-civil rapports and by the elimination in a certain measure of the restriction existent in the past.

To compare, we can give the legal definitions, from the Russian Federation Civil Code, of the letting contract, in which the "letting" and "lease" have the same meaning.

Thus, art. 606 from this Code establishes that on the basis of the lease contract (letting), the lesser oblige himself to transmit to the tenant a patrimony with payment in usage and temporary possession or only in temporary usage.

According to art. 85 of the Foundations of the civil legislation of the former URSS, on the foundation of the lease contract, the lesser oblige himself to transmit to the tenant a patrimony in usage and possession or temporary usage with payment.

Returning to the Romanian Civil Code regulations, we underline that by the its disposition was eliminated the form of the letting of public goods, which are submitted in Romanian Law to a particular juridical system. The form of the contract will also be different related to each type of contract, the impatience of the object entailing different consequences. This way, the common letting of the mobile goods is not yielding to any formal special request, due to the fact that these did not represent, at least n the period of the appearance of the code, considerable values, as rural funds were considered.

We also must underline another form of the letting contract: *the undertaking* which represents *the convention through which a part is undertaken to perform its services to the other one during a determined period or to achieve, with the help of the first part, a determined work, for a determined price.*

This letting is not submitted to some special requests of form in order to be valid. The contraction of work achievement can be valid through a literal agreement, the proof rules from the common law, being also applied to this contract.

The civil law also submitted the *lease*, as form of letting about the rural fonds – grounds – to the same rules as well as its other forms, excepting the object of the contract, that is the risks of the contract and the risks of the matter.

This situation, even if represents the common law in matter, was not accepted by the legislator for a long time, who disposed through special rules, derogations from code, juridical regime of this contract.

As for the letting of the works, with its specific form – *the letting of the services* or *of the work (art. 1470, point 1, Civil law),* even if the code represents the common law, it was submitted to some changes, through the adoption by the legislator of the rules which established the labour contract.

Thus, the special importance of certain goods, their economic utility and their part in the civil juridical reports determined the legislator as regarding the goods to establish specific requests. Not only the value of the goods which must

be protected through the juridical rules, establishing their juridical circulation and their utility, but also the protection of the persons among who it is concluded the specific juridical report, impose the supplementary formal requests.

So, different types of letting, as the lease and the services of the works will have to be submitted to the special rules, dedicated especially to the defining of their juridical regime. Consequently, the common law, represented by the texts of the code, even if they have never been abrogated, became out-of-date, the common laws undertaking to confirm the juridical regime of these forms of letting. However, even if at present, regarding the contract of leasing, the rules of the Law no. 16/1994[8] which completes the dispositions of the Civil Law are clear, in the letting services (work) contract, there are serious controversies, because of the fact that this contract is overlapped with the dispositions regarding the labour contract, to whom the dispositions of the Labour Code are applicable.

The French Civil Law (Civil Code) constituted the source of our civil code[9], and in the case of letting represented – support of rules that were totally assumed[10]. The French Civil Code, as the Romanian one, does not consist of certain regulation regarding the form, leaving the contract to the yield to the common law rule of the consensualisme. Also, as probation the French Civil Code foresees derogations from the common law rules, which were totally assumed also in our civil law.

The general judicial regime of the letting regulated by the code vises rules related to the form of the judicial act, to the differences given by the object of the contract.

Historically, the successive regulations of the letting contract demonstrated that the importance of the located good usually determines also the form of the contract, the legislator setting up indirectly, through the form, instruments destinated to protect the parts and their goods towards the intentions not always good of the co-contractors.

But not in all cases the economic and social value of the good entails a specific consequence.

This logical conclusion is rather characteristic to the modern law. In the ancientness, with the exception of the roman law in the republic, the legislator did not use ceremonies to ensure the security of the civil circuit, their role being maintained more under the aspect of consolidation in the co-contractors mind of an image of law as complicated as possible, with divine features, unknown to man.

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[8] Published in Romania's Official Gazette, Ist Part, no. 91 from 7.04.1994, later modified through Law no. 58/1995, Law no. 65/1998 and Ordinance no. 157/2002, approved through Law no. 350/2003.

[9] Francois Laurent, de Leon Siville (conseiller a la Cour d'appel de Liege), *Supplement aux Principes de Droit Civil*, tome sixtieme, Bruxelles, 1903, p. 503.

[10] French Civil Code esspecialy takes care of the buildings and lands letting, these rules being applied in the matter of mobile goods as long as it doesn't exist incompatibilities.

An example in this sense is the institution of *besman* or of embatic[11], contract through which the owner concedes for always or for a very long time, a barren land aiming that the receiver should use it building and planting, paying a small annual redevence, named canon, with the condition that the one that was receiving it through concession to be able to transmit to his heirs. This type of contract, letting species, has been adopted in the legislation of the legislation of the principalities in the year 1818, on a French channel from the old roman law[12].

The law did not request for the availability of this letting form any formality, the main justification resulting from the fact that the emphyteusis was perpetual, the usage of a good was transmitted through inheritable way, so that the returning to the ancestral birth, deep in time, could be very difficult.

Though, the majority of legislations[13], derived from the roman law or with roman law influences, interdicted expressly the tacit re-letting[14], where imposing requests of publicity for the opposability to the thirds[15], as a rule, the intabulation and sometimes were demanding the confirmation of the willing "expressed by the owner at a certain period of time, in the sense of the maintenance of the contract[16]. In some systems of law, for the availability of emphyteusis thelaw was even demanding the authentic form, the Spanish Civil Code from 24.07.1889 – article 1628 and the Portuguese Civil Code from 1.07.1867 (art. 1655).

In German law though, even if there were some similitude with the Romanian emphyteusis, this institution was only founded on the aspect of the hereditary letting (Erbleiche), which differed at least regarding the form asked ad *validitatem.* The German hereditary letting, unlike the roman besman, had to be concluded with a written contract, even of the effective giving of the possession did not have to enclose the document. This contract seems to be under the aspect of the form of a contract *intuitu personae,* the interdiction of the transmission of the usage by the heirs standing as a real proof in this sense.

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[11] Etymologically, the word „embatic", from the Greek and has the sense of „balance", as for the emphitesis, it also derives from Greek and it has the sense of „plantation".

[12] His origin derives from the concessions of *ager vectigalis,* commercial goods, commonal goods, from the roman right, by which the patricians maintained ground's quality and they grew crops, assuring ground's work, one of the main sources for living. For further details G. Tocilescu, *Etude historique et juridique sur l'emphyteose,* Doctorate Thesis, Bucharest, 1883.

[13] Alesandresco D., *The practice and the theoretical explanation of the Romanian civil code,* volume IX, Publishing house Socec&Co. S.A. graphic studios, Bucharest, 1910, pp. 385.

[14] Belgian legislation in the matter of besman prohibited explicitly the tacit recondition, as in French law, even if a certain expresses foresight was missing we admitted the same rule at least under the conflicts aspects of laws, determined by the entering of Civil Code. Baudry et Wahl, *Le louage,* tome II-éme, paragraf 1463 - "In our case there is no doubt that tacitly relaocation is inadmissible, if conventions' emphiteotic term woul be expired under present code, because this would mean the foundation of a besman today, as it reffers to 1415 Civile Code article.

[15] It is the case of Dutch and Portugese legislation.

[16] Italian and Spanish Law regulated the obligativity that each 29 years the concedent ask the recognition of his right of property from the one in which claimed the good, recognition which efficiently represented a juridical document of prescription.

As we mentioned above, the rules of the Napoleon French Civil code have been entirely taken over by the Romanian Civil code from 1864, unlike the Italian Civil code which was partial used the French Civil code as source of inspiration. Also, regarding the derogations from the common law, in the letting contracts, the Romanian Civil code is essentially different from the Portuguese and Spanish Codes, appreciated as modern even if they are inspired from the Napoleon Code.

An important step represented the devotion of the principle of the will autonomy (art. 969 reported to the art. 5 Civil Code) which, even if it is generally reported to the content of the civil juridical act, has also consequences for its form. Thus, if the parts can conclude or not an act, they can establish its content, they can modify it or can stop its effects and they can choose free the co-contractor or establish the form of the civil juridical act. So, the consensualism have also its own support in the will autonomy of the parties and even if it does not find its express devotion in code, it meets a fundamental role, which facilitates the juridical circulation and the way of manifestation of the parties.

Even if it also received many determined critiques for the inadaptability of the Romanian society to the new realities, the Civil Code from 1864 constituted a certain proof of evolution of our law, which maintained the strength till nowadays, in spite of some modifications brought through the successive laws regarding the properties, successions or family relationships.

At the end of our work we can conclude that the access to the property cannot build a fulfillment of the principle of equality between the individuals, which statuates only on the equivalences of everyone's chances, *using other's good,* has been always proved almost the most efficient solution for the fulfillment of these necessities.

The letting theme, prolific under the aspect of the analysis and the juridical stage, always susceptible by the extension or controlling the arguments has constituted and will constitute a permanent source of scientific research, that has marqued through the time the consolidation of a recrossed theory of fundamental principles.

QUELQUES ASPECTS DE DROIT COMPARÉ CONCERNANT LE CONTRAT DE BAIL

(Résumé)

En tous les temps, le bail a exercé un grand developpement sur la prospérité publique, comme on a observé dans les ouvrages de spécialité, mais analyser le contenu de cette institution est devenu l'objet de recherche de nombreuses études de spécialité, l'évolution historique du concepte juridique étanty marquée de nombreuses adaptations au besoins de l'humanité, sa présence de principe elle-même ayant la force de rester pour dépasser les siècles: l'assurance de l'usage d'un bien.

L'évolution du droit en matière du contrat de bail a mis en évidence les profonds changements attirés par celui-ci aux réalités sociaux-économiques ou d'autre nature.

NOTIONS INTRODUCTIVES CONCERNANT LE CONCEPT D'ASSURANCE

CRISTINA OTOVESCU, RADU RIZA

La notion d'assurance est dans le centre dans l'ensemble des préoccupations et elle est etudiée, principalement, de la perspective linguistique juridique et économique.

Dans le sens linguistique, le verbe «assurer» signifie «donner une garantie pour l'accomplissement d'une chose „garantir, rendre quelque chose certaine». Par le substantif assurance on comprend: «L'action de s'assurer»-«mettre en sûreté, garantir» ainsi que «Certitude, promission ferme».[1]

Dans le domaine du droit «assurer» est l'équivalent de la signature d'un contrat d'assurance de la vie ou d'un bien». Donc, l'assurance, dans cette acception, est un «rapport juridique issu de la loi ou d'un contrat, dans la base duquel une personne est obligée à payer, une somme d'argent à l'échange d'une prime payée par une autre personne, une somme d'argent, dans le cas où il arrive le risque assuré (ex: incendies, inondations, mort, accident).[2]

Les pratiques contractuelles des activités économiques, spécialement celles des sociétés modernes, capitalistes, ont contribué à la reconsidération du contenu de la notion d'assurance.

Le déroulement normal des processus économiques de l'époque contemporaine implique des investissements géants, la production en série, la circulation de certains biens avec des valeurs immenses, le recours aux crédits bancaires d'anvergure de la part de certains agents économiques.

Pour éviter les pertes irrécuperables et pour gêrer le plus profitablement les intérêts matériels, ceux-ci assurent leurs biens et services, baissant ainsi la valeur des préjudices qu'ils supporteraient (tenant compte qu'ils opèrent avec des coûts très grands,des matières premières, des matériaux, des équipements techniques avec des fonds de salarisations assez grands et qui peuvent devenir insurmontables).

Par la suite, l'assurance dans le contexte des activités économiques est une caractéristique des mécanismes de fonctionnement de ceux-ci, qui agissent dans le sens de la protection des intérêts des agents économiques et de leur maintenance sur le marché des biens et des services. Pour ça on fait appel aux garantisseurs puissants, capables de garantir la viabilité.

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[1] Cf. *Mic dicționar enciclopedic*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1986, p. 110

[2] *Ibidem.*

Dans la littérature de spécialité on rencontre deux types de définitions du concept d'assurance: quelques-unes, largement définies,et autres,dans une acception plus restrainte. De la première catégorie de définitions fait part aussi la suivante, d'après laquelle l'assurance constitue "un système de relations économico-sociales, un processus objectif, nécessaire au développement économique et social, issu de l'action des lois économiques objectives qui se base sur la création en commun par des personnes physiques et juridiques menacées de certains riques, d'un fond d'où on compense les dommages et on satisfait autres demandes économico-financiaires probables et imprévisibles. [3]

L'augmentation et la diversification de l'activité économique ainsi que les changements internationaux de valeurs ont été à la base de l'initiation et du développement des marchés actifs et concurrentiels d'assurances et réassurances. L'assurance est le moyen par lequel on couvre une partie des riques avec lesquels les personnes et les firmes entrent en contact pendant leur activité quotidienne ou celle concernant les affaires.

Autres auteurs définissent l'assurance dans un sens restraint et précis, comme étant «une opération» par laquelle à une partie-l'assuré on lui permet à l'échange d'une rénumération (la prime ou la cotisation) une prestation fournie par une autre partie-la personne qui garantit. Dans une situation d'une catastrophe ou d'une entente-par laquelle unde des parties nommée personne qui garanti, promet de payer à l'autre partie-l'assuré ou le possesseur de la police-une certaine somme d'argent s'il arrive un événement qui fait l'assuré supporter une perte financière[4].

Les règlementations nationales, spécifiques à chaque pays, sont celles qui influencent les transactions internationales avec des assurances.

Le terme d'assurance est abordé de multiples perspectives, chacune de celles-ci, lui offrant un sens prédominant.

Pour être opérant l'assurance doit avoir une forme juridique. Cette forme est conférée par le contrat. Le contrat d'assurance et les lois concernant l'activité d'assurance se complètent réciproquement[5].

L'assurance est un contrat aléatoire et de nature commerciale où l'une des parties (nommée assuré) a l'obligation de payer une somme d'argent (la prime d'assurance) à l'autre partie (nommée celui qui garanti) qui, dans le cas de l'apparition de l'événement assuré, doit payer l'indemnité d'assurance à l'assuré.

L'assurance des dommages provoqués par certains phénomènes ou événements peut être realisée ayant à la base trois catégories de fonds d'argent.

À souligner que seulement le fond qui se constitue à la disposition d'une organisation spécialisée par des methodes adéquates s'appelle le fond d'assurance.[6]

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[3] Gh. Bistriceanu, Fl. Bercea, E. I. Macovei, *Lexicon de protecţie socială, asigurări şi reasigurări*, Bucureşti, Editura Karat, 1998, p. 52.

[4] Jean Dominique, Charles Rochet, *Microeconomie de l`assurance*, Paris, Editura Economica, 1991, p. 5.

[5] I. Văcărel, F. Bercea, *Asigurări şi reasigurări*, Bucureşti, Editura Expert, 1993, p. 39.

Entre la réalisation de l'assurance et la formation du fond d'argent il y a une très forte liaison parce que à l'apparition de l'événement assuré, les dommages seront couverts à l'aide de l'argent qui existe dans le fond d'assurance.

Grâce au fait que "l'assurance est un moyen de répartisation à un grand nombre de personnes physiques et juridiques, le dommage provoqué par un phénomène à un nombre réduit d'entre eux,elle peut être appréciée comme[7] «une ramification de services prestés, un intermédiare financier en économie»[8] grace aux fonds offerts sur le marché de capital.

Les fonctions de l'assurance représentent une manifestation du contenu et de la destination des assurances de personnes, des biens et la responsabilité civile dans le processus de l'activité économico-sociale.[9]

Les assurances ont les fonctions suivantes[10]:

a) la fonction de compensation des dommages provoqués par des calamités natureles et par des accidents et le paiement des sommes assurées;

b) la fonction de prévention des risques et des dommages;

c) la fonction de répartition financière;

d) la fonction de côntrole.

1) La fonction de compensation des dommages causés par les calamités de la nature et des accidents (dans le cas des assurances des biens et de la responsabilité civile) et le paiement des sommes assurées (dans le cas des assurances des personnes) consiste dans le paiement des dommage-intéréts, et honorer les obligations au cas des assurances de responsabilité civile et le paiement des sommes assurées aux assurances des personnes en certains cas où la vie des personnes est affectée par certains événements.

Ainsi, l'assurance joue le rôle pour contribuer à refaire des biens avariés ou détruits, à réparer certains préjudices pour lesquels les assurés repondent en conformité avec la lois et à l'accord de certains sommes d'argent dans le cas où il arrive certains événements concernant la vie et l'integrité corporelle.La fonction de prévenir les risques et les dommages.

2) Chaque société d'assurances a dans son programme d'activité des mesures complexes pour prévenir, limiter et combattre les risques, les dommages. Les grandes pertes déterminent la pauvreté des agencies économiques des citoyens et de la collectivité en général. Pour la prévenir ces pertes il faut éliminer ou diminuer les dommages.

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[6] *Ibidem*, p. 43.

[7] C. Alexa, V. Ciurel, *Asigurări şi reasigurări în comerţul internaţional*, Bucureşti, Editura All, 1992, p. 17.

[8] Marinică Dobrin, Paul Tănăsescu, *Teoria şi practica asigurărilor*, Bucureşti, Editura Economică, 2002, p. 20

[9] Voir Gh. D. Bistriceanu, F. Bercea, Emilian I. Macovei*, Lexicon de protecţie socială, asigurări şi reasigurări*, Bucureşti, Editura Karat, 1997, p. 373.

[10] *Ibidem.*

[13] Par exemple: la construction des digues pour la protection entre les innovations (l'exécution des travaux pour boisement, déchéssements, irrigations etc.).

Cette function s'exerce par deux voies principales:

a) par le financement des mesures de prévention les dommages après les calamités naturelles et les accidents[11];

b) Par l'établissement de certaines conditions d'assurance qui obligent l'assuré à une conduite préventive permanente[12].

3) La fonction de répartition financière se fait dans le processus de répartition du produit national brut, quand on constitue, on répartit et on utilise le fond d'assurance.

Dans le cadre de cette fonction, le fond d'assurance est utilisé, premièrement pour financer les actions et les mesures pour prévenir, limiter et combattre les dommages.

Mais cette fonction se base aussi sur la répartition et l'utilisation du fond d'assurance avec le but de compenser les dommages provoqués aux biens des assurés aussi qu'au paiements des sommes assurées, au cas des assurances des personnes.

La function de contrôle consiste dans le contrôle que les organs specializes des sociétés d'assurance effectue pour identifier les causes qui produisent des dommages, mais aussi de former et répartiser le fond d'assurance.

Le contrôle est fait de manière préventive en même temps et postopérative et il a comme but:

- la découverte des causes qui produisent des dommages en économie;

- l'ordre et l'encaissement correct des primes d'assurance;

- la constatation, l'évaluation et la liquidation des dommages;

- le paiements à temps des pertes et des sommes assurées en conformité avec les prévoyances légales et contractueles.

- la liquidation des obligations envers les assurés;

- la prise dees mesures pour prévenir, limiter et combattre les dommages etc.

Certains phénomens ou événements[13] provoquent des dommages matériaux, affectent l'activité économique ou mettent en péril la vie ou l'intégrité physique des gens. Donc, l'homme se trouve sous l'impact des événments naturels politiques, de nature juridique ou économique qui lui produisent des dommages divers. L'assurance est la plus réussie et efficiente forme de protection contre les risques.

Chaque société d'assurance a la liberté de grouper ses risques en fonction de la situation optimale des assurés et des garants. C'est pour ça que

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[14] Par exemple: la participation de l'assuré pour couvrir une partie des dommages,la déchéance(privation) du droit de dédomagements au cas où les mesures de prévenir,de limiter et de combattre les pertes etc., ne sont pas respectées.

[15] Par exemple:tremblements de terre, inondations, guerres, confiscations, baisse de la monnnaie nationale.

l'offre d'assurance est variée, diverse, ayant des traits communs determinés par les usances internationales en matière.

Du point de vue économique, les assurances constituent un moyen qui crée des emplois.

NOTIONS INTRODUCTIVES CONCERNANT LE CONCEPT D'ASSURANCE

(Résumé)

Dans cet article, les auteurs ont evidencié les principaux aspects de la notion d'assurance. Ainsi, on a défini le terme d'assurance par point de vue, linguistique, juridique et économique. Les fonctions de l'assurance représentent une manifestations du contenu linguistique et de la destination des assurances des personnes, biens de responsabilité civile dans le processus de l'activité économique-sociale. Les assurances ont les suivantes fonctions: la fonction de compensation des dommages causés par des calamités de la nature et des accidents et le payment des sommes assurées, la fonction de prevention des resques et des dommages, la fonction de repartition financiaire, la fonction de controle. Le terme d'assurance est abordé par des differents points de vue, chaque d'eux ayant un sens prédominant

REFORMING ROMANIAN PENSION SYSTEM: THE NECESSITY OF SUPPLEMENTARY PRIVATE PENSIONS

ROXANA RADU, FLORIN NACU

The reform of Romanian pension system had to fulfill the difficult task of replacing the structure and ideology of a state centralized economy with a structure based on market economy. Crossing the transitional period required the necessity of rethinking and redesigning a new pension system which had to be not only proper for market relations, but also take into consideration the problems that Romanian society confronts itself with: poverty, inflation, social exclusion, low economic growth, ageing tendency etc. because these continuing problems made impossible to maintain the present structure.

In Romania, as well as in all the transitional economies, the actual pension scheme confront itself with a series of major problems such as: unfavorable labor market developments; non-compliance in contribution collection; ageing; high contribution rates; low average benefit levels and particularly low replacement rates for higher-income groups (high degree of redistribution); not enough scope for supplementary pension provisions; crisis of confidence in the present pension arrangements.

Pension System has as main objectives to prevent poverty in the old-age and secure adequate replacements rates through: minimum basic pension to all citizens, regardless of their current circumstances or history of contributions; mandatory pension insurance scheme providing earnings-related pensions, financed by contributions from both workers and employers; voluntary, complementary pension provisions, supplementing the provisions of the mandatory scheme; protection of all the components of the retirement package against their erosion by inflation. Pension System should be relatively secure and stable and financially viable in the long-run in order to enjoy public confidence.

The capacity of pension system to prevent poverty in the old age depends of pension's quantum and distribution. Pensions' present level and especially their distribution are mainly determined by the characteristics of the old Romanian system of pensions, still applied in the present times, with certain adaptations imposed by the modification of wages and pensions' quantum because of inflation phenomenon. These characteristics led to extremely low levels of pensions in comparison with wages levels and to a small area of pensions' distribution[1]. That's the reason for which it appeared the necessity to appeal to systems of supplementary pensions, privately administrated. The private sector is historically

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[1] Maria Molnar, *Poverty and Social Protection*, "România de Mâine", Bucureşti, Publishing House, 1999, p. 187.

important in countries which rely on basic flat-rate provisions from the state, and also has a strong tradition in countries where earnings-related pensions are low or restricted by ceilings, and where coverage is not universal for all those who are employed. However, this trend is now widespread and includes countries where public provisions have been paramount.

This general tendency to redistribute the responsibility for old age income provision between public and private suppliers raises many questions. A first central group of questions concerns the ability to reduce effectively the burden of future generation in face of demographic changes when responsibility is redistributed between the various forms of retirement provisions. A second group of questions regards the form this alternative distribution of responsibility should take. In most European countries, responsibility is currently spread across a combination of public schemes, occupational provisions and personal retirement savings. This three-pronged approach is considered by many analysts and policy-makers as an appropriate combination, providing flexibility and sharing of risk between generations.

The social security system: organization and services

A. Scheme based on contributions

1. System of state social insurance	• Pensions (old age, disability, dependent)
	• Sickness payments
	• Maternity payments
	• Extended maternity leave
	• Assistance
	• Spa treatment
2. System of supplementary pensions	• Supplement to basic pension
3. Special system of social insurance (lawyers etc.)	• Pensions
	• Payments
	• Assistance
4. System of unemployment insurance	• Unemployment assistance
	• Support allowance
	• Support for unemployed graduates
	• Training/retraining schemes
	• Partial wage subventions for young graduates
5. Special health insurance	• Price difference support for medicines

B. Scheme not based on contributions

1. System of health protection	Free medical assistance
2. Family allowances	Child allowances
	Birth allowances
	Assistance for wives of serving military forces
3. Military pensions	Pensions (old age, disability, dependants)
4. War veterans pensions and payments	Pensions (disability and dependants)
	Payments and benefits for wounded, widows and war veterans
5. Payments for political prisoners	Payments
6. Pensions for dependants and those wounded in the Revolution	Pension (dependants)
	Pension (disability)
	Free transport, television and telephone
7. System of protection for disabled	Special assistance
	Social pension for the blind
	Payments for care
	Free transport, television and telephone
8. Social assistance for those in poverty	Social assistance
9. Social assistance services	Maintenance, care and medical assistance in institutions for children, old people and the sick
	Free canteen meals and social assistance
10. Free items, reduced prices and rates	Free transport, television and telephone for war veterans
	Free or reduced transport for pensioners, pupils and students
	Free prothesis etc.

C. Mixed scheme

1. Social insurance system for farmers	• Pensions (old age, disability, dependants)
	• Sickness and maternity payments
	• Extended maternity payments
	• Assistance
	• Spa treatment
2. Health care system	• Free services of medical assistance in hospitals, surgeries, polyclinics, medical units
	• Partial or total compensation of medicines prices

Source: Romanian Government, *Romania – The Report on Human Development*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 41.

Public pension system operates almost exclusively on a pay-as-you-go basis: the revenues collected from general taxation or earmarked contributions from the working generation are immediately used to finance the benefits of the currently retired generation. In consequence, changes in the number of retirees relative to the number of employed persons have an immediate effect on the financial situation of this pension scheme. A very direct way in which the ratio of retirees to employees is altered arises from changes in the demographic structure and the ageing of population. The substantial increase in the proportion of elderly people has a considerable impact on the share of public pension expenditure in national resources; this development will become even more important in the future as the ageing trend is accentuated. Two are the causes of this ageing tendency: low fertility rate and increased life expectancy. Even if fertility rate returns to higher levels in the future, the ageing of the baby-boom generation will be dominant for decades. These two phenomena will substantially or even dramatically decrease the number of active persons per retiree in the decades to come.

The percentage of young, working age and elderly people from the total of population

Country	1998			2020		
	- 19	20-59	60+	-19	20-59	60+
Albany	42	49	9	32	55	12
Bulgaria	26	53	21	14	58	28
Czech Republic	25	57	18	19	54	27
Estonia	27	54	19	18	56	25
Hungary	26	55	19	–	–	–
Latvia	26	54	20	18	57	25
Lituania	28	54	18	23	55	21
Macedonia	33	54	13	23	54	23
Poland	30	54	16	25	53	22
Romania	31	52	16	–	–	–
Slovenia	24	57	18	22	52	26
Slovakia	30	55	15	19	58	22

Source: Phare Consensus, *Change and Choice in Social Protection: The Experience of Central and Eastern Europe*, Pantheron: The University of York, 1999, p. 63, quoted in Elaine Fultz, Markus Ruck, *Pensions Reform in Central and Eastern Europe: A Recent Revisal Concerning the Reorganization of the National Pension Houses from the Countries Selected*[1].

Some analysts of public pension schemes are expecting higher pension outlays to be compensated in coming decades by reduced expenditures on other programmes; for example, expenditure on family support and education in particular may fall as a result of a decrease in the number and proportion of young people. However, the resulting saving in revenue may not provide

sufficient resources to offset the increasing needs of ageing people because, from a budgetary point of view, it is almost three times more expensive to support an elderly than a young person.

One of the possible solutions to ageing problem is a reduction of the number of beneficiaries, fact that can be most effectively achieved if the average retirement age is increased. Such a reversal in the evolution of the average retirement age and labor force participation of elderly people appears necessary as a response to increasing life expectancy and as a means to curb expenditures. Many European countries have been reluctant to announce and put into practice such a policy option, on the one hand, because of the high unemployment, on the other hand, because of the people's reaction. For example, in Romania, the social request is flatly favorable to anticipated retirement, this option being taken in spite of any other option, either re-qualification or unemployment[2]. However, such a change in any case needs to be announced well in advance, with a lead-time of 15 years or more. This was the solution adopted by Romanian legislator who increased the average retirement age from 57 to 60 years for women, respectively 62 to 65 years for men, age which was meant to be reached in 13 years from the moment of coming into force of Law no. 19/2000 concerning the public system of pensions and other social insurance rights. If the labor market for the elderly has not improved in the meantime, the policy could always be postponed. It appears that postponement, or even cancellation of this measure would probably do less harm to the individual than would a sudden, unforeshadowed introduction.

Reforming pension system raised two questions: defined benefit or defined contribution? and PAYG or funding? The system based on defined benefit present the advantage that insured know with a fair degree of certainty what will be their future pensions, but due to unfavorable demographic and economic conditions these promised pensions might be impossible to finance and needs a particularly strict financing discipline. In the case of defined contribution, is easier to secure necessary financing as final benefits depend on contributions actually collected, but does not secure adequate benefits for those with low earnings and incomplete occupational careers, fact that requires significant social assistance intervention. PAYG scheme has the following features: low administrative costs; indexation without technical problems; requires regular adjustment of contributions, politically difficult; sensitive to short-sighted political decisions; sound and politically disciplined governance necessary. On the other hand, the system based on private funds is characterized by the following: less sensitive to political manipulation; in some cases may provide higher benefits; high economic risk attached to future benefits; high administrative costs; protection against inflation difficult and costly; state regulation and guarantees necessary.

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[2] Smaranda Dobrescu, Mihai Şeitan, *Private Pensions*, Bucureşti, Juridical Publishing House, 2005, p. 17.

In post-communist Romania, public pensions were practically the only source of pensioners' income. This reality was caused by the fact that voluntary programs of private pensions were created in Romania of the '90 by investment funds and operated in a legislative void. In the absence of strict regulations and control mechanism, the majority of investment funds were fraudulently managed and disappeared without indemnifying their shareholders[3].

Law no. 411/2004 concerning pensions funds privately managed completes the legislation regarding Romanian pension system, having in view the aim of providing a private pension meant for supplementing the pension obtained from public system, on the basis of collecting and investing, in the participants interest, of a part of their individual social insurance contribution. In this way, Romanian pension system get three components: one compulsory component, redistributive, publicly managed (pillar I), juridically constituted by Law no. 19/2000 concerning the public system of pensions and other social insurance rights, with subsequent modifications and completions; a compulsory component, based on capitalization, privately managed (pillar II), regulated by Law no. 411/2004 concerning pensions funds privately managed; a facultative component, based on capitalization, also privately managed (pillar III), its juridical frame being outlined by Law no. 204/2006 concerning facultative pensions.

Sketch of a pension system

Pillar I	Compulsory, PAYG (repartition)
	Public or private
	Main goal:
	• avoiding poverty of elderly people
	• income related pension (defined quantum, defined contribution)
	Redistribution type:
	• interpersonal
	• intertemporal (tight link between contribution and quantum)
Pillar II	Compulsory or volunteer
	Funded or PAYG
	Publicly or privately managed
	Related to occupation or enterprise
	Defined quantum or defined contribution
Pillar III	Facultative
	Privately managed
	Defined contribution

Source: GVG (2002), *Study of the Social Protection System in the 13 Applicant Countries. Synthesis Report*, Second draft[4].

Law no. 411/2004 concerning pensions funds privately managed introduced the second pensions pillar and promotes principles such as the

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[3] Livia Popescu, *East-European Social Policies between State Paternalism and Individual Responsibility*, Cluj-Napoca, Academic Press, 2004, p. 102.

[4] http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/index_en.html.

obligation to participate to the new system, the equality of treatment for all participants, contributivity, capitalization and assets investment in a prudent and efficient way, as well as guaranteeing the solvability of pensions funds privately managed. This law regulates the setting up, organization, management and prudent supervision of the system based on pensions funds privately managed, the attributions of the Committee of Supervising Pension Funds, the organization and management of the pension funds administrators. The administrator gets the participants contributions, administrates and invests the financiary resources of pensions fund privately managed, calculates and pays private pensions.

Participation to pensions funds privately managed is compulsory for persons being less than 35 years old, newly entered on labor force market, and facultative for other categories of persons being less than 45 years old which are already insured and contribute to public system of pensions. Persons aged less than 45 years old which are already insured and contribute to public system can also participate to a pension fund privately administrated. Persons who did not adhere to a pension fund in a 6 months time since the date when they were forced to participate, are distributed by the institution of evidence to a pension fund, through the effect of the law.

Adhesion is individual, on the basis of a contract concluded between the participant and the administrator. The transfer of participants to other funds of the same type is permitted under the conditions of the law.

The contribution to pensions funds privately managed represents a part of the individual social insurance contribution to the public system of pensions and is duty-free. Calculation base is limited, under law conditions. At the beginning of the collecting activity, contribution quantum is a percent of 2% applied to calculation base so that, in 8 years since the beginning of collection, the contribution share will be raised to 6%, starting with an increase of 0,5% every year. Personal shares are the participants' property and are duty-free.

The guarantee of the new system of pensions privately administrated will be assured through clear and prudent rules of profitableness, such as: the setting up, by the administrator, of a reserve fund of at least 25% of share capital which is meant to assure the profitableness rate of pension fund until the level of minimum rate of profitableness, as well as the compensation of participants, beneficiaries and survivors' rights in case of non-acquittal or improper acquittal of administrator's obligations resulted from administration contract; setting up a guarantee fund, constituted from proper funds of administrators and interests resulted from their administration[5].

The administrator of a pension fund privately administrated is a joint stock commercial company which has, as exclusive activity object, fund's administration, calculation and pay of private pensions. Fund's administration is accomplished in exchange for a charge paid by the participants. After Romania's

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[5] Raluca Vasiliu, *Pensions Funds Privately Administrated*, in Juridical Guide for Commercial Companies no. 9/2005, p. 48-49.

adhesion to European Union, the quality of fund administrator can be obtained also by institutions legally functioning as administrators on the market of private pension's funds in an E.U. member state or a state belonging to European Economic Space.

Participant to a facultative scheme of occupational pensions can be only a person who has the quality of wage earner and adhered to such a scheme, in the name of which the contributions were paid and which has a present and future right to occupational pension. The right to private pension is opened at the moment of accomplishing retirement conditions of average retirement age in public pensions system, the benefice consisting in a private pension or a unique pay, as the case may be.

The third pillar of pensions system is a facultative component, based on capitalization, also privately managed, its juridical frame being outlined by Law no. 204/2006 concerning facultative pensions. Law no. 204/2006 gives the definition of facultative pension as being "the sum periodically paid, to the participant or beneficiary, supplementary and distinctly from the one obtained in public system"[6]. The participant represent the person which pays the contributions or/and in the name of which the contributions have been paid to a fund of facultative pensions and who has, in the future, a right to a facultative pension. The beneficiary is the participant's survivor.

Contributions to a fund of facultative pensions are established according to the rules of that scheme of facultative pensions and are transferred, by the employer or the participant, as the case may be, in the account of pensions fund specified in the individual act of adhesion, together with compulsory social insurances contributions. Contribution can be of maximum 15% of the gross monthly wage income or the income assimilated with this one, of the person who adheres to a facultative pension's fund. Contribution can be shared between employee and employer, in accordance with the stipulations of collective labor contract or on the basis of a protocol concluded with employees' representatives.

Personal share is used only for obtaining a private pension. The right to facultative pension is opened, at participant's request, under the condition of accomplishing the following cumulative demands: participant has reached the age of 60 years old; there were paid minimum 90 monthly contributions; personal share is at least equal with the sum necessary for obtaining minimum facultative pension stipulated by the norms adopted by the Committee of Supervising Private Pensions System.

This is a system based on defined contributions, pension quantum depending only on the size of accumulations made by the participant during his period of activity. In consequence, the risk of some variable rates of

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[6] Article 2, paragraph 1, point 22 of Law no. 204/2006 concerning facultative pensions.

accomplishments from accumulated pensions and the risk of inflation after retirement are completely supported by the individual[7].

There is evidence that private sector provisions tend to favor higher income groups. On the other hand, certain categories of contributors in the public sectors are disadvantaged (the one with higher income) and a lot of them will not pay the contributions if the obligativity of contribution would not exist. Another category of persons who would not pay contributions voluntary are the very poor which, because of the lack of resources, would use their incomes for the purpose of satisfying their immediate needs, without making long term economies, in their old age remaining in the charge of social assistance[8]. Another disadvantage of public pensions system (PAYG) is the fact that it does not involve the right of property upon pension, participants' survivors being able to benefit only by conditioned and limited rights[9]. Thus, for reasons of social and political acceptability, it may seem necessary to balance increases in private provisions by stronger redistributive features in the public scheme, for example through a progressive benefit structure in earnings-related schemes or the introduction of minimum provisions for all elderly.

Public retirement schemes seem bound to play an important role in the future, although their future structure and the way in which they will combine with non-public sector is as yet unclear.

All the three pillars have the aim of facilitating income smoothing throughout the life-circle and insuring against longevity: we all would like to keep our standard of living after retirement. We do not know how long we will live after retirement, thus our private savings arrangements might be not enough when we live longer than expected. Disability and survivor's pensions provide insurance against incapability to earn income or against loss of the breadwinner.

Ageing calls for a new approach in social policy for elderly: funding and privatization do not solve the problem of the inter-generational national income distribution; there are necessary integrated actions aiming at increased retirement age, increased labor force participation and low unemployment rate.

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[7] Nicholas Barr, *Labor Force Markets and Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press, London, second volume, p. 242.

[8] Marian Preda, *Romanian Social Policy between Poverty and Globalization*, Iaşi, Polirom Publishing House, 2002, p. 82.

[9] Smaranda Dobrescu, Mihai • eitan, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Pension insurance

Pension insurance

- Basic pension
  - Main benefits
    - Old age pension
    - Disability pension
    - Survivor's pension
    - Wife's supplement
    - Care allowance
    - Handicap allowance
  - Supplementary benefits
    - Pension supplement
    - Municipal housing supplement
    - Child supplement
    - Handicap allowance
    - Special pension supplement
- Supplementary pension
  - Old age pension
  - Disability pension
  - Survivor's pension
- Part time pension
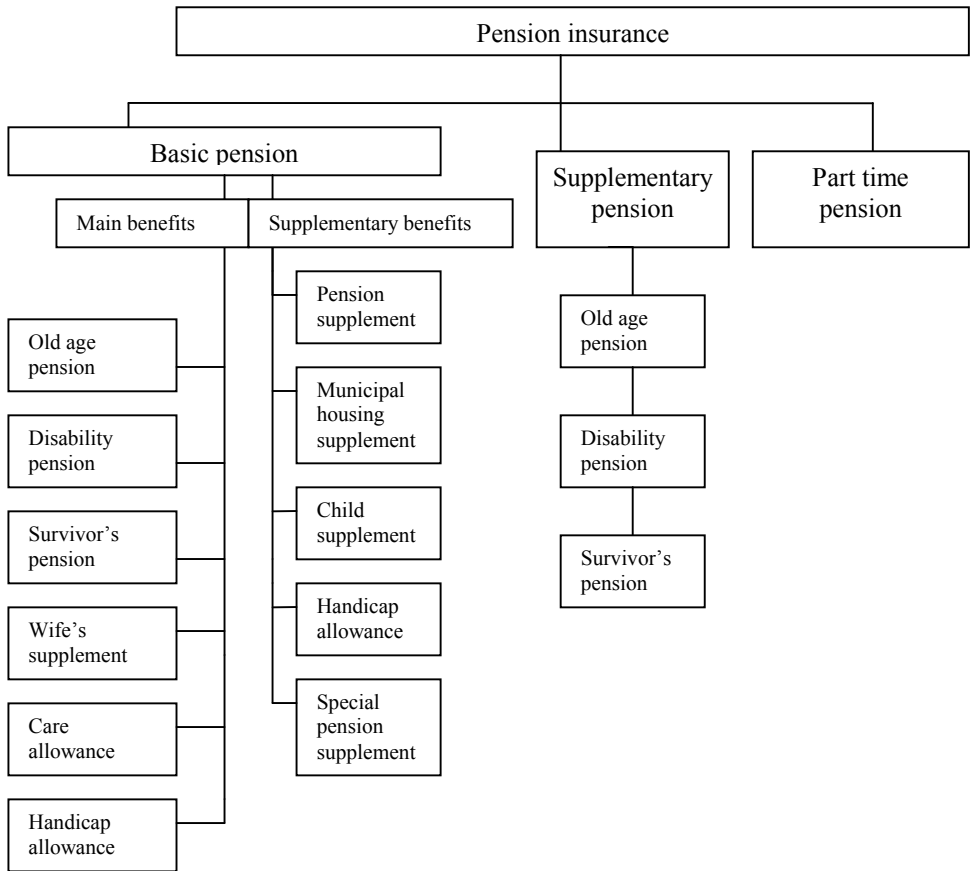
Source: Romanian Government, *Romania – The Report on Human Development*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 45.

LA REFORME DU SYSTEME ROUMAIN DE RETRAITE: LA NECESSITE DES PENSIONS PRIVEES SUPPLEMENTAIRES

(Résumé)

L'institution de la sécurité sociale s'est accompagnée de la confirmation, dans leur existence et dans leurs principes constitutifs, des régimes complémentaires de prévoyance et de retraite. Plus récemment, le régime juridique des pensions privées supplémentaires a fait l'objet d'une série de dispositions nouvelles, destinées notamment à transcrire en droit roumain les prescriptions du droit communautaire: Loi no. 411/2004 concernant les fonds des pensions administrées privément et Loi no. 204/2006 concernant les pensions facultatives. La gestion des régimes supplémentaires de retraite doit être obligatoirement confiée à une institution spécialisée, gérée privément.

SOME ASPECTS REGARDING THE "UNINOMINAL VOTE"

MIHAI GHIŢULESCU, COSMIN LUCIAN GHERGHE

The idea of changing the Romanian electoral system is not new – it goes back several years – but the debate really started when the President declared himself a resolute supporter and expressed his intention to organize a referendum in this matter.

The polls show that the most Romanian people agree with the change, but, if we will make a step forward, we will see that nobody – neither ordinary people, nor political class – really knows how this must happen. The whole debate goes around two magic words: "uninominal vote", without asking what these mean.

We intend to discuss here some of the main characteristics, advantages and disadvantages of this electoral system and, finally, its possible consequences on the Romanian political system.

"Single-member districts" and "Plurality/Majority Systems"

First of all, the "uninominal vote" (this formula is used very rarely in English) is based on the division of the country into a certain number of "single-member districts" (generally, equal to the total number of parliamentary seats [1]). The "uninominal vote" is not opposed to the PR system, as we may deduce from the Romanian debate, but to the "plurinominal vote" (with multi-member electoral districts). This frequent confusion comes from the fact that the plurality/majority systems (opposed to the PR systems) are generally, but not always[2], associated to the single-member district and that this one is always a component of a majority/plurality system.

That is why we must discuss the two cases of majoritarian system with single-member district: the FPTP System and the Two-Round (Runoff) System[3].

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[1] The mixed or parallel systems represent the exceptions.

[2] There are two exceptions: the Block Vote (when voters has the right to a number of votes equal to the number of seats to be filled and the first candidates win the seats regardless to their percentage of votes) and the Party Vote Block (when a person may vote only for a party list, without choosing between candidates, and the list with the most votes win all the seats to be filled in that district regardless to its percentage). As we can see, these are also plurality/majority systems, but they use multi-member districts.

[3] We may also include in the same category the Alternative Vote (Instant-runoff voting) (when the voters rank their options an and the candidate who receives the majority of first preferences get the seat; if nobody has a majority, the last candidates are excluded one by one and their votes are transferred to those with the second preference until somebody gets the majority). We will not discuss this system because it is used only in Australia, Fiji (for the Parliament), Ireland (for the President) and in some US counties (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alternative_Vote).

In the "First Past The Post" System (also known as "plurality single-member district system") the first candidate (the one with the most votes) wins the seat even if he does not have the absolute majority. It is the most used (probably because of its simplicity) of the majoritarian systems (in 47 countries from all around the world, but nowhere in the Eastern Europe) and, absolutely, the second most used after the PR System[4].

The Two-Round (Runoff) System produces a winner with a majority in a second ballot, if nobody has a majority in the first one. It is the classical system for the election of the Presidents by universal suffrage (i.e. the election of Romanian President), but in some countries it is also used in the single-member districts for the elections of the MPs (France is best example[5]). Although Duverger considered it, 50 years ago, considered it "an old technique"[6], it is nowadays the third most used electoral system (22 countries from all around the world, especially from Africa and Asia).

In the next table we will present the distribution of plurality/majority and PR electoral systems across national parliaments (for the countries with bicameral legislatures, we will consider only the lower houses) from all the continents.

System	Africa	Americas	Asia	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Oceania	Middle East	Total
PR	16	19	3	13	15	0	4	70
FPTP	15	17	5	0	1	7	2	47
TRS	8	3	6	1	1	1	2	22

Source: *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook,* p. 31, in http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/upload/ESD.

We must notice that the pluralitary/majoritary system is very little common in Europe. Only the United Kingdom (FPTP) and France (TRS) use it in a pure form, but many other countries include it (especially the FTP) in their Mixed (4) or Parallel (8) Systems[7].

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[4] Arendt Lijphart, who analysed 36 democracies (1945-1996) from all around the world, observed that 12 of them used the FPTP System. They are countries historically related to the British civilization. That is why Lijphart considers the FPTP as one of the essential characteristics of the Westminster Model (see Arend Lijphart, *Modele ale democrației. Forme de guvernare şi funcționare în treizeci şi şase de țări*, Iaşi, Polirom, 2000, p. 143-144; 27, passim).

[5] In France, if no candidate has a majority after the first ballot, a second one is opened to all those who obtained more than 12,5% and the candidate with the most votes (the plurality) in this second ballot win the seat. But, generally, there are only two candidates in the second ballot and, evidently, one of them has the majority (see A. Lijphart, *op. cit.*, p. 144).

[6] The TRS had its "golden age" in Europe in the XIXth century. Most countries abandoned it at the begining of the XXth century: Belgium (1899), Netherlands (1917), Switzerland, Germany, Italy (1919), Norway (1921) and even France, under the IVth Republic (see Maurice Duverger, *Les partis politiques*, Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1976, p. 331).

[7] *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*, p. 31, in http://www.idea.int /publications /esd/upload/ESD.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Majority/Plurality Systems

The first advantage of these systems is, certainly, their simplicity: the fact that people can understand the whole electoral process (the vote itself as well as the way of transforming the votes into legislative seats) and that authorities can easily count the votes and calculate the percentages (if it is necessary).

A second one can be that the voters may choose between individuals rather than between political parties. This may improve the political performance of the candidates and ensure their independence.

These are the only two certain and common advantages of the FPTP and of the TRS. From this point forward we must split the discussion.

For the FPTP, we must notice other two main advantages:

1. "It provides a clear-cut choice for voters between two main parties"[8]. It is well known that this system creates or, at least, conserves the two-party system by under-representation of any third party. Duverger assumed that this situation is the result of a combination of two factors: a mechanical (the under-representation) and psychological one (knowing that any vote for a third party is unusefull, people will vote for one of the two with real chances to win the majority)[9].

2. It lead to single-party governments more. In the FPTP unlike in PR Systems the coalition governments are a rare exception. That is why, in these cases, the Executive is more stable, more powerfull and – som theorists may say – more efficient.

The main disadvantage of this system is that "it excludes smaller parties from 'fair' representation"[10]. Even if they have good scores at the national level they win only few seats in the parliament or no seats at all. This may seem as an advantage if we think to the extremist parties, but generally it is totally unfair for the minorities of any type – they may get some seats only if they are geographically concentrated. The best word to describe this situation is "disproportionality".

The TRS combine the consequences of the FPTP and of the PR System. People chose between individuals rather than between countries but it creates "multi-party systems"[11] and it leads to coalition governments. Minorities are still under-represented because they are generally excluded from the electoral coalitions created for the second ballot[12]. The "disproportionality" is still present, but, regularilly, it is lower than in the FPTP.

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[8] *Ibidem*, p. 36.

[9] See M. Duverger, *op. cit.*, p. 315-316.

[10] *Electoral System Design…, op. cit*., p. 37.

[11] See M. Duverger, *op. cit.*, p. 331-337.

[12] The best example is Jean-Marie Le Pen's *"Front National"*: although it has good scores it is absent from the French National Assembly (but is present in the European Parliament, where French use the PR System), because nobody desires it as an ally in the elections.

We must notice that, if we exclude the "uninominal vote", which is the great advantage of all majoritarian systems, the TRS is the sum of all disadvantages of both FPTP and PR Systems.

Introducing a Pluralitary/Majoritary in Romania

The main purposes of the Romanian intention to change the electoral system are: (1) facilitating a more stable and efficient government and (2) holding representatives accountable. But how can we do this? What kind of majoritarian system must we choose?

If we look to the general advantages and disadvantages of FPTP and TRS it seems that the first one may ensure a stable government, and both may hold representatives accountable. But we must also realize that electoral systems do not work in the same way in different countries. The socio-political context in which it is used is very important and it can create different effects [13]. We have no guarantee that in Romania the FPTP or the TRS will produce the same consequences like in UK or in France. That is why few democracies pass from the PR System to a pluralitary/majoritary one [14]. It is one good reason to abandonate the idea of change.

A second reason may be the 2002 EU's Council Decicision establishing that "in each Member State, members of the European Parliament shall be elected on the basis of proportional representation". Although this decision provide a rule only for the European Elections, we consider that is unapropriate to change a system recomended by the European Union.

Third, the majoritarian systems create high levels of disproportionality, but the Romanian PR System already produces the effects of the desired pluralitary/majoritary system; as Cristian Preda noticed, *"the Romanian system is the most disproportional PR system"*[15].

QUELQUES CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR «LE VOTE UNINOMINAL»

(Résumé)

L'idée de l'introduction du «vote uninominal» a été très discutée en Roumanie pendant les dernières mois, mais personne ne connait le vrai sens et la manière d'un tel changement. On présente ici les principaux traits, les avantages,les désavantages et la répartition géographique des systèmes majoritaires et pluralitaires. Finalement, on fait quelques commentaires sur la possibilité d'appliquer ces systèmes en Roumanie.

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[13] *Electoral System Design…, op. cit*., p. 7.

[14] See A. Lijphart, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[15] See Cristian Preda, *Partide si alegeri in Romania postcomunista: 1989-2004*, Bucureşti, Nemira, 2005, p. 34-35.

LE DROIT UNIVERSEL

Nicu Vintilă

Du point de vue historique 1'idée de droit universel s'exprime sous la forme du droit naturel.

Ce droit universel ou naturel stipule premièrement le fait que tous les hommes sont égaux.

La loi de la communauté est valable du point de vue moral si elle n'est pas en contradiction avec ce principe.[1]

Cette attitude se reduit, en fait, â 1'opposition, cette fois-ci même au monde, du droit universel au droit positif.

En même temps, on affirme l'entrée au monde du sujet moral: « l'homme découvre que la loi morale doit annoncer une loi positive: la libération de l'homme, de n'importe quel homme, doit se réaliser au monde, car autrement, la vie morale et raisonnable reste un simple rêve».[2]

Le droit naturel se constitue ainsi en commission de jugement critique et en système formel de loi qui s'applique pour l'informer sur cette matière qui est l'ethique et sur les lois positives des communautés.

De cette manière, il est possible, par exemple, d'apprécier du point de vue moral et historique les guerres justes et injustes: on parle des guerres justes lorsqu'elles utilisent la violence contre une violence imposée qui nie l'égalité des nations et des groupes.

Le même discours est valable aussi pour les révolutions qui surgissent «lorsque les citoyens ... en se sentant poussés vers la violence parce qu'on leur nie le sentiment de justice, refusent se soumettre aux lois existantes et aux autorites qui les appliquent.»[3]

Selon Erik Weil, l'homme moral ne peut ni préconiser la révolution, ni participer à la revolution, car, bien qu'il vise plus de justice, la revolution nie le principe moral conformément auquel les lois positives ont même un contenu raisonnable, même si elles apparaissent comme injustes.

Mais, la révolution, «injustifiable lorsqu'elle est seulement proposée ou lorsqu'elle échoue, est justifiée au moment où elle a réussit... grâce à son succès, elle a fondé un nouveau système historique et positif de lois et celui-ci peut demander à l'individu la même soumission que l'ancien système, ayant à présent quand même, un argument supérieur par rapport à celui de l'ancien système, le seul argument de la soumission: à présent il est en vigueur».[4]

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[1] Emile Durkheim - *La division du travail social,* Paris, PUF, 1893, chap. I V, pp. 449-453.
[2] Emile Durkheim - *Les regles de la methode sociologique,* Paris, PUF, 1895.
[3] Sigmund Freud - *Malaise dans la civilisation,* Paris, PUF, 1971, p. 9.
[4] Sigmund Freud - *Angoisse dans la civilisation, Oeuvres,* tome I, Bucarest, Edition Scientifique, 1991, p.293.

Erik Weil insiste sur le fait que le sujet moral peut se retirer en soi-même, mais peut aussi, se dépasser lui-meme: «une telle occasion lui est offerte par le conflit historique qu'il y a entre le droit positif et le sentiment de la justice».

S'il a opté pour cette seconde solution, alors «le reflet moral a une connexion avec les rapports réels qu'il y a entre les hommes, formulés dans une forme universelle par le droit positif.

Sans renoncer à son autonomie, le reflet moral lui a appris qu'il n'est pas suffisant pour agir et qu'il ne peut pas être perçu comme réel à l'exception d'une critique vive d'une morale vive à son intérieure.»[5]

Autrement dit, le sujet moral, qui connaît l'universel, doit connaître deux realités historiques, qui se trouvent le plus souvent en conflit: ... un système d'habitudes et de lois donné ... et un sentiment de la justice, les deux historiques, les deux pensés et réalisés à partir de la conscience de l'universel.[6]

C'est pour cela que sa mission historique est éducative, la tâche essentielle de l'homme moral étant l'education des hommes de manière qu'ils se soumettent de leur propre initiative à la loi universelle (naturelle) qu'il, placé dans l'histoire, a observé dans sa pureté.

L'éducation que le moraliste envisage, propose et essaie de pratiquer est l'éducation «de l'universalité de l'individu, violent dans sa individualité, éducation qui s'oppose aux passions et les fait à l'aide de celles-ci.»[7]

Dans sa qualité, le sujet moral doit propager tout ce qu'il connaît pour se faire comprendre conformément à la rationalité de la communauté historique à laquelle appartient et cette communauté lui est offerte premièrement comme une société.

Connaître cette société signifie comprendre ses mécanismes et le statut accordé à l'individualité.

Toute société constitue une communauté de travail, or la société moderne s'entend et s'organise pour une lutte progressive avec la nature extérieure.

Sans doute, aucune société du passé n'a pas pu survivre qu'en s'engageant dans une telle lutte, mais elle ne comprend pas son organisation et sa finalité en fonction de cela.

La domination toujours augmentée de la nation n'était pas son sacré, si par ce terme on comprend «ce qu'offre le moyen de distinguer entre l'essentiel et le non essentiel, entre bien et mal, et qui - par conséquent - ne peut pas être déprécié par aucun argument, car tout argument adverse se situe, étant adverse, de la part du mal.» (ibidem)

Les causes de cette situation qui caractérise la société moderne dans son ensemble ne sont pas très importantes; de même, peu important est le fait que, à

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[5] Idem S. Freud.
[6] Idem S. Freud.
[7] Idem S. Freud.

côté de cette sacralité foncière, c'est-à-dire sociale, subsistent d'autres sacralités qui mobilisent les individus et les groupes.

Pour Erik Weil le seul problème reste celui de savoir si la politique (l'action universelle qui vise la liberté raisonnable) peut être réduite au social (à la lutte contre la nature extérieure).

Mais, pour formuler correctement ce problème, il est nécessaire qu'on constate qu'en principe la communauté moderne de travail forme une société mondiale.

En fait, la methode de travail est la même pour toutes les sociétés puissantes de notre époque, ce qui les distingue n'est pas la forme du travail, mais le contenu historique de chacune.

Autrement dit, bien que le monde soit unifié autour du principe de travail en tant que moyen de domination de la nature, on ne peut pas parler, quand même, d'une unification réelle du monde.

C'est pourquoi il est nécessaire de distinguer entre la communauté, réalité vécue à travers une expérience humaine dans le cadre de certaines institutions qui reviennent à l'origine, aux temps immémoriaux, *à mos majorum* et à la société, qui est rationaliste, entre le peuple, considéré en tant que conclusion d'une évolution organique et entre 1'état, considéré une création plus récente.

Les sciences sociales, affirme Eric Weil, qui évitent d'utiliser l'expression ambiguë de sciences humaines, analysent justement cet état de fait et décrivent, de manière adéquate, les mécanismes à travers lesquels est assurée l'efticacité (le progrès, le niveau de vie, la richesse sociale).

Ces mécanismes sociaux forment, pour l'individu, une seconde nature, car il se trouve entre eux.

S'il se donne un peu de la peine, il peut constituer des projets, peut élaborer des plans, peut prendre des décisions qu'il peut discuter raisonnablement avec d'autres individus.

Mais, en tant qu'organisation de la lutte de la communauté contre la nature extérieure, la société n'attribue aucun rôle aux individus, à l'exception, peut-être de celui combattant, c'est-à-dire de force brute ou intelligente opposée à la nature non humaine.

Sa récompense ou sa punition ont lieu exclusivement en vertu de cette fonction: celui qui ne contribue pas au succès de la lutte ne peut s'attendre à aucune participation aux bénéfices, il se trouve devant une seule nécessité, celle de mettre en valeur, d'être précieux pour les autres.

De ce point de vue, il ne compte plus si le travail social d'une communauté moderne est organisé de manière liberale ou dirigée, l'individu est soumis toujours à la pression des circonstances (la menace du chômage, de la faillite, ou de la retraite de l'indemnisation de chômage) qui équivalent à celle du camp de travail forcé ou du procès de sabotage.

Ainsi, la competence est-elle la règle de conduite de toute société moderne.

C'est ainsi la société moderne dans son principe, c'est ainsi même en réalité, mais dans la mesure où la société n'est pas unifiée à l'échelle mondiale et dans la mesure où chacune des sociétés qui la constituent est marquée par le poids des facteurs historiques, les individus sont soumis aussi â d'autres motivations en dehors de celles qui se tiennent au calcul d'efficacité.

De cette façon, toute société privée doit demander aux individus non seulement une contribution à la lutte progressive de la société contre la nature extérieure, mais aussi une contribution à la lutte de cette société privée contre une nature extérieure de laquelle font partie à présent toutes les autres sociétés privées.

Elle doit, donc, faire appel aux sentiments et tenir compte d'eux dans l'éducation sociale, en envisageant en même temps aussi l'efficacité raisonnable maxime.

Cette double nécessité explique la nature du droit positif modern, qui doit conserver une certaine partie de la tradition, dont l'abrogation produirait des choques aux sentiments, donc accepter l'irrationalité, mais aussi introduire la préoccupation pour le raisonnable.

Il en resulté d'ici qu'il est de certaine manière hétéroclite, et du point de vue moral, ni juste, ni injuste, la compétition l'obligeant à tolérer l'égoïsme et même de le préférer.

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UNIVERSAL LAW

Abstract

From the historical point of view, the idea of universal law is expressed through natural law. Firstly, this universal or natural law states that all the people are created equal.

The law of community is valiant from the moral point of view as long as does not contradict the principle stated above. This attitude is reduced, in fact, to opposing, in this case even in the whole world, a universal law to positive law.

In the same time, it is stated the entrance of the moral subject into the world: "people discover that moral law has to announce a positive law: the liberation of the man, of every man, must be realized in the world, because otherwise moral life and rational life will remain just a dream."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNAL MARKET IN SOUTH-EAST ROMANIA DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

CEZAR AVRAM, DIANA PĂUNOIU, LAURA SAVA

The perfection of state union has brought important changes in the socio-economical structure of Oltenia. This area has always had an obvious but fluctuant development of the manufacturing forces. The great opportunities of development brought up by the Historical Document from 1918, December, 1st, although greatly affected by humane losses and material damages provoked by the War complemented by the social and political Romanian anachronisms of those years, have enclosed the domestic Romanian market as well. This very important field of the national economy was to meet both an important quantitative growth and qualitative restructurings. The new division of the Romanian economic space reclaimed unification, re-organization and re-definition of the institutions strongly anchored in trade, of which we can name The Chambers of Trade and Industry. In 1922, out of the 20 Chambers of Trade and Industry Craiova was the third due to its number of inhabitants[1]. Its activity was based on the National Laws from 1886, 1925, 1929 and 1934.

The growth of the active population in the non-agricultural area of historical Oltenia has also contributed to the development of the domestic market as well as to the means of monetary and credit deals, with the exception of the period 1929-1933, also named "Crisis Years". Besides the other established forms of trade met in the previous centuries both in urbane and in rural areas, the 1921 Agrarian Reform, together with other laws referring either directly, or indirectly to trade, have triggered "a proliferation of the weekly and periodical market places"[2], an increase of the goods in stock and more importantly, an increase of the number of deals.

If in 1914, the Historical Oltenia (Dolj, Mehedinţi, Gorj, Romanaţi, Vîlcea) had a surface of 25,028 square kilometers with a population of 1,463,881

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[1] The District of Craiova encompasses the 5 counties of Oltenia: with a surface of 25028 square kilometers, a population of 1,383,873 inhabitants, being the third district in Romania after those of Chişinău and Cluj, (Apud Paul Emanoil Barbu, Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzără, *"The History of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Oltenia"*, Craiova, Publishing House of the "Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Oltenia", 2000, p. 112.

[2] *"The History of the Romanian People"*, vol. III, the Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucureşti, 2003, p. 114.

inhabitants (57.8 inhabitants per square kilometer)[3], in 1930, the area within the Carpathians, Danube and Olt, represented 12.3% of the total surface of the country and 17.8% of its population[4]. In the same year, Oltenia had 14 urbane communes with a population of 198597 inhabitants (11.8% of the total of Historical Oltenia)[5]. In 1938[6] July, 1st, the population of the five counties reached to the point of having 1,609,873 inhabitants. That meant 11.8% of the Romanian population, with a density of 66,7 inhabitants per square kilometer.

The period between the years 1918-1944 characterized itself through: the cereal character of agriculture, an important lack of the agricultural equipment and tools, a fluctuation of the agricultural production because of draughts and other unfavorable climatic phenomena. There have been made important changes in the structure of the estates due to the 1921 Agrarian Reform, although this had not made quite a "common and rational" allotment of the properties. And this had major impact on the social and political life of the times, being followed by actions of the peasantry meant to demand more land[7].

From 1918-1928, the rhythm of reviving and developing Oltenian industry have been subjected to the requirements of rebuilding the tools and equipments damaged in the years of conflagration, and this led to a slow pace of industrialization. Still, Oltenia has achieved a great deal of favorable developments in its economic structure.

There have been noticed numerous signs of revival in the field of trade in the entire period due to the high interest of State and entrepreneurs in the economical life of the region. The political parties, the officials and even private persons have supported the reconstruction and development of the commercial sector, considering it is an important link of the national economy. The documents from the Archives reveal that the majority of people engaged in the commercial sector have required a regime of liberalization for trade on behalf of State and, also, of an aid through allotting credits, without restricting or controlling merchandises' sales on both the domestic and foreign markets.

Beginning with 1924, the volume and value of trade in the region reached the internal level before the War. In the Recession Years, this field as subjected to suspension in some sectors in opposition with the years 1926, 1927 and 1928. Beginning with 1934 to the Romanian entry in World War II the

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[3] *The1915-1916 Romanian Statistic Annuary,* Bucureşti, 1919, p. 16.

[4] Calculated *Ibidem 1935-1936,* Bucureşti, 1937, p. 32-33.

[5] Craiova, with 63063 inhabitants, followed by Turnu Severin with 21073 inhabitants, Râmnicu Vîlcea with 15162 inhabitants, Caracal with 14769 inhabitants, Târgu Jiu with 12944 inhabitants, Băileşti with 13279 inhabitants, Corabia with 9381 inhabitants, Strehaia with 7999 inhabitants, Pleniţa with 7805 inhabitants, Calafat with 7705 inhabitants, Ocnele Mari with 7205 inhabitants, Drăgăşani with 6923 inhabitants, Călimăneşti with 2983 inhabitants, Govora with 911 inhabitants (calculated *Ibidem*, p. 33-34).

[6] Calculated *Ibidem 1939-1940,…*, p. 43-128.

[7] Ion Saizu, *Economical Politics of Romania in 1922-1928,* Bucureşti, Academy Publishing House, 1981, p. 78.

Oltenian trade has been subjected to a continuous development, reaching its peak from 1936 to 1938.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Corporation of Stock Market, and the Merchants' Union have had an important role in the regularization of trade. The above-mentioned institutions were meant to help the State in its economical policy in general, and in its commercial policy in particular. In Oltenia, as well as in the other regions, there has been an increase of the commercial enterprises in the period of the research; 67.4% of the total of trade enterprises in Oltenia in 1941 have developed within the years: 1919-1930, the national report being of 66.1%[8]. The majority of these had the premises in urbane areas. They have also led their commercial activities in rural areas, both in moving and in periodical markets and fares.

In rural areas and villages, trade has preponderantly made at periodical markets, cattle markets, fares and cereal markets. World War I affected the regularity of those real markets of goods' sales, thus, the commercial activity presenting a regressive pace. For a long period of time, in the years of reconstruction, most of the markets and cattle markets in Oltenia have worked without the necessary legal approvals. After 1918, they have been managed under the strict supervision of The Chambers of Trade and Industry, under the Stock Law. The process of re-organization and development of the markets and cattle markets owed to the new structure of estates and to the pressure made by small manufacturers that "cannot align to large trade other than by creating some economical centers in their surroundings"[9].

In 1918, there were 187 periodical markets and cattle markets in the five counties of Oltenia, held in 69 communes[10]. Besides these, at certain dates, two or three times a year, there have been fares held in the most important communes of the region. Thus, in March, there have been important commercial exchanges of goods (from cereals to cattle and industrial and domestic industry) in Bălăneşti (Gorj) and Vaideni (Vâlcea). In April, these were held in Slatina, Caracal, Lupoaia (Mehedinţi), Polovragi, Prejba (Gorj), and in May, again in Vaideni (Vâlcea), Negoieşti (Dolj). The fares from Cărbuneşti, Broşteni (Mehedinţi) were held in June, and those from Argintoaia (Mehedinţi) and Vaideni (Vâlcea) in July. In August, there had been held the fare from Loliu (Mehedinţi) and in September those from Râureni (Vâlcea, for 25 days), Căbuneşti (Gorj) and Drăgăneşti (Olt). The fares from Târgu Jiu and Lupoaia were held in October[11].

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[8] Cezar Avram, Dinică Ciobotea, Virgil Joiţa, Vladimir Osiac, *The History of Trade in South-Western Romania, 8th -20th centuries,* Craiova, South Publishing House, 1999, p. 328-329.

[9] Paul Emanoil Barbu, Dinică Ciobotea, …, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[10] Dolj National Archives, Chamber of Commerce and Industry Craiova, dossier 43/1918.

[11] *Ibidem*, dossier 11/1919; dossier 2/1920; dossier 17/1922.

The most important economical centers in the area have been the economic markets until World War I. After that, there have been established permanent weekly markets. In 1923, there have been 569 weekly markets, out of which 44 dealt with cereals, 239 with cattle and 286 with both. The periodical markets, 552, were held 3-4 times a year[12]. Inter-war statistics prove that the number of periodical markets doubled from 1923 to 1926, the number of permanent cereal markets raised 7 times and the cattle and merchandises' markets doubled too[13]. The number of markets and cattle markets in Oltenia reached 23 in 1926 (9% of the national total)[14]. Under the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Craiova (extended over the entire Oltenia), in 1924, only 8 cereal markets (Corabia, Caracal, Bechet, Bailesti, Cetate, Urzicuţa, Calafat, Turnu Severin) made a well- organized trade. In 1920, in Dolj and Gorj counties only, there were 20 weekly markets, 8 cereal markets and 11 annual markets[15]. In 1929 after a few of them ceased to exist, their number still raised at 24 (7 cereal markets and 17 annual or weekly cattle markets)[16].

The town- markets were very important for trade. There has been a weekly market between the two World Wars in each town of Oltenia. The internal regulations of cereal and cattle' markets have been made according to Article number 68 from Law concerning Trade and Article number 34 from the Regulation for applying Chapter 7 (Articles 59-69) from the Law concerning Trade with a view to markets, fares, cereals, merchandise and animals[17]. According to the provisions, the field on which they were held had to be surrounded and approved by the Hygiene Commission of the respective county, office, appointed mediators, trade unions, Managing and Evaluation Commission of the markets, etc. The communes in which there have been held weekly cereal and cattle' markets, have sent (in 1920) to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry complete "pictures". These detailed the names of the communal dealers approved by the local Town Halls in which they expressed their reasons, the names of the administrators of the markets, the means of transportation for sanitary check and so on. In 1920, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry approved the organization of a series of markets, such as: Strehaia, Brabova (Dolj), Ciuperceni (Gorj), the cereal and cattle' markets from Craiova, Cetate (Dolj), Bistreţu (Dolj), Caracal, Calafat, Târgu Jiu, Turnu Severin,

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[12] I. Puia, A. Cherciu, G. Bogza, R. Vasile, *Economical History*, Bucureşti, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1979, p. 302.

[13] Paul Emanoil Barbu, …, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[14] Avram Cezar, *Developing the Domestic market in 1918-1944*, in "The Annuals of the University of Craiova. Philosophy, Sociology, History", year 6th- 8th (1982/1983), p. 286.

[15] The resume of The Chamber and the economic situation of district of The Chamber of Craiova in 1927, p. 31.

[16] Dolj National Archives, Chamber of Commerce and Industry Craiova, dossier 1.1929, unnumbered.

[17] "Economical Oltenia", 6th year (1929), issue 1/21, February, p. 3.

Corabia, Mănăstirea (Vâlcea), Peşteana de Sus (Gorj), Polovragi (Gorj), etc[18]. We emphasize that not all the filed requests have been approved. For example, the weekly market from Rădineşti (Gorj) has been closed in 1918, closed again in 1919, and then, re-opnened in 1920, but only as cattle market.The Ministry of Industry and Trade decided upon that, at the proposal of The Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In 1922, the following fares were open to the public[19]:

Romanaţi	Pleniţa	Weekly Throughout the years
	Galicea Mare	Weekly Throughout the years
	Filiaşi	26 october
	Poiana Mare	15 august
	Vârtopu	12-15 august
	Ştirbei	Weekly Throughout the years
	Babiciu	20-26 october
	Pârşcoveni	15-17 august
	Vădăstriţa	6-16 august
	Giugeşti-Rusăneşti	12-15 august 23-26 october
	Grădiştea	12-15 august
	Roşiile	20-23 april
	Sărcineşti-Cheia	22-23 april 14-15 august

In the area of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, there were very important cereal markets, cattle markets, household items' markets, and food ones[20]. For example: Craiova, Târgu Jiu, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Turnu Severin, Bechet, Calafat, Corabia, Caracal, and Strehaia. In 1929, in Dolj County only, the following cattle and cereal markets[21] have worked:

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[18] Dolj National Archives, Chamber of Commerce and Industry Craiova, dossier 11/1921.

[19] *Ibidem*, dossier 45/1923.

[20] *Ibidem*, dossier 31/1925, 11/1926, 7/1929.

[21] *Ibidem*, dossier 3/1930.

Commune	Type of market	Working Programme	No. Of Approval Decree	Errand boys	No. Of Approval Decree	No.of intermediary
Cetate	Cereal	Daily	17016/ 1909	G.Ionescu N.Grezi A.Liliconu	84093/1929	6
Calafat	Cereal	Daily	60347/1912	M.Enicoiu M.Ciuperceanu M.Bornozi	65053/1929	2
Băileşti	Cereal	Daily	48091/1920	N.Ionescu C.Berbecaru Gh.Predatu	121808/1928	3
Bechet	Cereal	Daily	21179/1919	S.Dima F.Iliescu S.Slovacu	51886/1929	5
Urzicuţa	Cereal	Daily	13124/1924	I.Dumitru N.Constantinescu D.Anton	22484/1924, 23452/1925	There are not
Bistreţu	Cereal	Daily	60816/1921	D.Brotenescu N.Amuzelescu F.Buzatu	83260/1929	There are not
Craiova	Cereal	Daily	65915/1919	C.Mititelu G.Georgescu C.Buzduceanu	24285/1929	There are not
Cetate	Cattle	Weekly on Tuesday, Thursday	43340/1925	C.Macifleancă M.Sârbu D.Porumbelu	84094/1929	There are not
Mârşani	Cattle	Weekly on Tuesday	71957/1924	Ştef Diaconescu O.Muscu I.Cojocaru	——	There are not
Ţânţăreni	Cattle	Weekly on Saturday	——	I.Pobănescu P.Niculescu I.Sârbu	84280/1929	There are not
Melineşti	Cattle	Weekly on Thursday	64790/1927	C.Niculescu G.Marinescu C.Tudor	84328/1927	There are not
Bârca	Cattle	Weekly on Saturday. Yearly: 22-25.03 18-21. 05 12-15. 09 05-08.11	22252/1928	I.Rezeanu Gh.Rădulescu I.Constantinescu	35462/1925	There are not
Brabova	Cattle	Weakly on Monday	11470/1937	I.Riza S.Popescu S.Călinescu	23110/1927	There are not
Pleniţa	Cattle	Weakly on Saturday	113678/1929	Commision not founded	——	There are not

Vârtop	Cattle	Weakly on Thursday	59628/1926	D.Dumitrescu Marinescu C.D.Ghiţă	83359/1929	There are not
Rast	Cattle	Weakly on Thusday Yearly 25.05-08.09	110710/1927	M.Stănescu S.Rudănescu Gh.Logofătu	14588/1926	There are not
Poiana Mare	Cattle	Weakly on Friday Yearly on 25.03 Rusalii Holiday 15.08	56512/1926	Sterie Ivănescu C.Eunică M.Ghica	117580/1927	There are not
Scaieşti	Cattle	Weakly on Thusday	46085/1924	A.Cretean I.Bucă D.Buţică	119233/1927	There are not
Perişor	Cattle	Yearly, on the Saturday of Florii Holiday and on 13.10	65061/1926	N.Petrescu F.Anghelescu I.Gotă	65061/1926	There are not
Bârza	Cattle	On Monday	33940/1928	I.Muscalagiu M.Giurgiţeanu A.Giurgiţeanu	83275/1927	There are not
Întorsura	Cattle	On Friday	67487/1928	C.Dumitrescu P.D.Cioni I.Ghiorcioiu	88797/1928	There are not
Maglavit	Cattle	On Thusday Yearly, on Sf.Teodore Holiday 29.08	269/1924	N.Nisipescu P.Vaiulescu V.Petcu	____	There are not
Craiova	Cattle	Weekly, on Wednesday	Decree-law 25-38/1919 Official Gazette	N.T.Ghizdăvescu A.Radu I.Dănăţeanu	83872/1926	There are not
Bechet	Cattle	Weekly on Saturday	37823/1925	F.Iliescu Fl.Disteanu Ghică Popescu	47168/1927	There are not

The process of markets' creation and development paralleled to that of ceasing activity of some of the existent markets, especially during the Recession Years. Thus, there has been a requirement in 1930 to open some markets in the suburbs area of Craiova, namely: Bariera Vâlcii and Bariera Brestei, to be added to the cereal markets of Spaniei Street and of to that of Crucea de Piatră[22]. The weekly markets from Bârza and Tencănău from Dolj in the same year have been opened too, and the weekly cattle market from Portăreşti Dolj in 1933 and the weekly cattle market, the domestic and agricultural industry one from Alimpeşti

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[22] *Ibidem*, dossier 78/1930, unnumbered.

Gorj (to add to the other five existent markets)[23] . The cattle', food', domestic weekly market (held on Tuesdays) from Cornu has been opened under Decision of 1929, June 24th. In the case of the weekly market from Argetoaia, Dolj, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry has intervened at the Ministry of Industry and Trade in order to obtai its approval.The situation repeated in the case of the fares and markets from Polovragi, Gorj[24]. The markets from Căpreni, Bârza, Întorsura, Scaieşti, Caraula and the four annual markets from Afumaţi and the cereal market from Urzicuţa – have ceased their activity in 1928-1930[25]. The trade with cereals, animals and other food products has well developed. With a view to the issue of the trade with cereals, the most important daily cattle fairs were to be found in the towns, communes or villages with access to water or railway transportation.

Annually, there have been made important deals with cereals both between small producers and dealers and between important producers and commercial enterprises in the area (mills, etc). For example, in one day only, 1921, December, 29th, the cereal market form Cetate have sold 16,380 kilos of wheat at a price of 140 lei per hectoliter, and 5,320 kilos of corn at a price of 140 lei per hectoliter. In June 1921, cereals valuing 6 million lei have been sold in the cereal market of Craiova. The Max Aderca trading company only (Mill and cereal trade in Craiova) has bought from Mihail and Costică Kelner from the Commune of Vârvoru wheat valuing 47,500 lei[26]. In March 1922, Teodor Zacea, a cereal dealer from Cetate bought from Major N. Economu – owner acting on the cereal market from Craiova- 4 wagons of wheat harvested in 1921, 4 of oat, 4 of rye, 14 of corn, all these being taken from the barns in Izvoarele (Mehedinţi) at the price of 26, 300 lei per wagon[27]. Beginning with 1924, deals with cereals widened. Grain products have also increased in quantity. During the Recession years, because of decreasing prices, and decreasing purchasing power, the trade with cereals met a timely suspension that has been overcome in 1933. The following quantities of cereals[28] have been sold in the markets and harbors in the district of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova in 193:

The Locality	Wheat		Corn		Rye	
	Carts	quantity	Carts	quantity	Carts	quantity
Bechet	20150	20796812	3428	1479919	6506	5310198
Bechet	-	10338321	-	3480600	-	3247584
Cetate	11049	5986676	6729	4834670	-	-

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[23] *Ibidem*, dossier 65/1932, p. 9, 12 ; dossier 118 /1936, unnumbered.

[24] *Ibidem*, dossier 71/1930, p. 1, 2; dossier 86/1932.

[25] *Ibidem*, dossier 36/1932, p. 3.

[26] *Ibidem*, dossier 45/1924.

[27] *Ibidem*, dossier 15/1922.

[28] "Economical Oltenia", 9th year (1932), issues 13/14, April, p. 2.

Cetate	-	17668465	-	17578647	-	-
Calafat	3157	1810450	2557	932000	64	27500
Băileşti	6899	3730541	3573	2648117	-	-
Băileşti	-	14041505	-	10416918	-	-
Total	42235	kg 74372770	16340	Kg 41370871	6570	kg 8585282

The prices of the cereals sold in the district were the following[29]:

The Locality	Bechet		Cetate		Băileşti		Calafat		Rast	
Marths	Ian	Dec	Ian	Dec	Ian	Dec	Ian	Dec	Ian	Dec
Wheat	220	225	210	240	195	241	213	239	257	242
Corn	185	142	155	128	180	155	156	141	210	110
Rye	155	250	-	-	-	-	217	158	-	-
Barley	175	170	-	-	167	165	-	-	-	-
Pea	-	-	-	-	180	180	-	-	-	-
Flax	-	-	-	-	460	500	-	-	-	-

There have been sold 17 chariots of wheat and 241,257 kilos of oat (Bechet-market – Bechet-harbor; Băileşti-market – Băileşti-railway station), 100,000 kilos in Băileşti railway station, a chariot of wheat and 90, 240 kilos of pea (Cetate harbor – Băileşti railway station)[30].

Starting with 1933, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova organized cattle and cereals' trade by strictly applying the provisions stipulated in the Law concerning Trade Stock. The Chamber has created and organized cereal markets where the products have been usefully and rightfully exchanged in order to protect the producers from the profiteers that otherwise would have bought their cereals at ridiculously low prices. At the end of 1933, there have been 7 daily cereal markets in the area managed by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry: Bechet, Bistreţ, Calafat, Cetate, Portăreşti, Rast, Segarcea. Moreover, at the end of 1933, there have been 18 weekly cattle markets: Argetoaia, Băileşti, Bârca, Bechet, Brabova, Caraula, Cetate, Craiova, Întorsura, Maglavid, Pleniţa, Malu Mare, Poiana Mare, Scaieşti, Tânţăreşti, Tencănău, and Vârtop. Important trade with cereals has also been made in the following markets:

The Locality	Wheat			Corn		
	quantity	Price		quantity	Price	
		Sem.I	Sem.I		SemI	SemII
Bechet	34361	450/540	300/350	61140	140/150	110/150
Băileşti	35776	430/580	284/325	29993	127/167	114/174

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[29] *Ibidem*.

[30] *Ibidem*.

Cetate	175762	400/650	200/350	43237	145/165	110/180
Calafat	7391	290/615	170/313	6223	133/180	114/173
Rast	5047	-	210/310	20358	146/160	-
Bisreț	6838	-	280/310	14413	130/143	130/180
TOTAL	265175			175374		

Moreover, there have been marketed 9,420 q of rye and 317 q of oat in the cereals' market from Bechet. In 1933, besides the deals made in markets, the following quantities have been loaded into wagons or barges for domestic consumption. Thus:

- Bechet Harbor, 34,663 q of wheat;
- Băileşti market (and the railway stations in the area), 13, 200 q of wheat;
- Cetate Harbor, 241,700 q wheat;
A total of 290,943 q of wheat
- Bechet Harbor, 74,696 q of corn;
- Băileşti market (and the railway stations in the area), 13,420 q of corn;
- Cetate Harbor, 182, 700 q of corn;
- Bechet Harbor, 5826 q of rye;

Although cereals have represented an important role in the commercial trade, small and large animals, together with eggs, wool, meat and dairy products, have represented one of the main important items of trade, both on the domestic and on the foreign market. Moreover, if those represented a basic domestic product, became merchandise, in 1918-1924, these items missed completely, whereas in 1934-1940 (the maximum period) have been less important. The main role in this activity has belonged to landowners, the owners of stock farms, that supplied the industrial units and markets, directly or through dealers. In 1933, the deals from cattle markets in Dolj were:

The Market	The amount of Cattle			Price fos a cow			Notes
	Small	Medium	Big	Small	Medium	Big	
Bârca	541	501	836	50/180	200/2000	1000/4000	-
Bechet	400	258	136	50/200	250/32000	1500/3550	-
Brabova	277	437	333	100/140	150/800	1500/4500	-
Craiova	2466	5517	4902	70/200	120/2500	500/14000	-
Cetate	165	244	257	80/320	168/1120	600/6000	Good Horse 140000lei
Mârşani	50	79	19	80/180	240/1200	1000/2750	
Melineşti	1143	916	148	50/200	100/200	700/4500	
Ţânţăreni	3310	4503	3102	60/250	100/300	1000/5500	
Pleniţa	286	418	845	60/140	100/200	700/4500	
Vârtop	234	474	525	80/200	100/200	1500/4000	
Argetoaia	951	763	205	40/120	80/1200	500/4000	

Taking into consideration Dolj County[31], where many deals of the kind have been made, and where the prices were medium (reported to the entire area of Oltenia), we can reach to the following conclusions: the largest number of sold animals, and the price have been classified as "large"; the prices had a high coefficient of variability, even within the same group; the most animals have been sold in the markets from Craiova, Țânțăreni, and Melinești. We also emphasize the fact that the prices obtained in the markets were with approx. 15-20% higher than those practiced at the inhabitants' or dealers' doorstep[32].

Generally, the development of capitalist economy determined a raise of the importance of trade in general, increasing the activity of these fields and markets in Oltenia. The following period, 1934-1944, brought no important change in the structure of internal trade, neither in that of traditional merchandises: cereals, cattle, wood. The number of deals increased as years has gone by, reaching their peak in 1937 and 1938. For example, in 1937, April, the cattle' deals table from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, showed the following[33]:

Sucking Pigs		Wearlings		Rams	
	Price		Price		Price
1015	150/300	192	1500/3500	448	200/500
Lambs		Kids		Nany Goots	
521	100/150	85	60/140	110	350/600
Oxer				Horses	
991	1500/1800	140	400/3500	116	1000/7000

The following quantities[34] have been sold in the same period (1937, April, 1st-30th) in the markets from Băilești, Bechet, Cetate, Calafat, Segarcea, Portărești and Rast:

	Wheat		Corn	
	Quantity(kg)	Price(/100kg)	Quantity(Kg)	Price(/100kg)
Băilești	30450	400-500	132650	226-293
Bechet	77376	400-430	1115111	290
Cetate	4630	400-420	418500	275-287
Calafat	24350	400-466	217000	286-300
Segarcea	11082	408-547	42750	270-280

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[31] *Ibidem,* 12th year (1935), issue April 16th /28th, p. 3.

[32] *Ibidem,* issue 42/1934, /November, 18th.

[33] Dolj National Archives, Chamber of Commerce and Industry Craiova, dossier 7/1937.

[34] *Ibidem.*

Portărești	-	-	-	-
Rast	-	-	107475	290-295

About 150 tones of wheat and 1000 tones of corn have been sold in 30 days according to the data.

In May, of the same year, the following numbers have been sold in the cattle markets in the area of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova[35]:

The Market	Oxer		Cows		Wearings		Calves	
	No	Price	No	Price	No	Price	No	Price
Bârca	35		40		-		9	800/1400
Bechet	-		13		13		-	-
Brabova	14		15		2		-	-
Craiova	300		60		50		60	800/1500
Cetate	3		2		-		3	250
Mârșani	3		5		-		-	-
Melinești	16		6		9		4	600
Plenița	21		20		10		-	-
Vârtop	25		5		-		-	-
Poiana Mare	16		28		24		-	18000
Argetoaia	13		6		-		-	-
Carpen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murgași	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	513		171		116		83	

No	Price	No	Price	No	Price	No	Price	No	Price
72	4/5000	-	-	79	800	210	180	-	-
5	1800/2000	-	-	13	4/700	210	180	-	-
-	-	-	-	11	500	40	250	10	500
80	2/12000	-	-	120	800/3500	500	180	-	-
3	3000	-	-	10	2000	8	300	3	400
1	2200	-	-	93	800	25	200	4	380
-	-	-	-	58	6/1200	265	180	173	3/400
14	1500/2500	--	-	4	700	104	140	12	300
-	-	-	-	-	-	60	200	200	3/600
7	6000	-	-	10	1000	20	200	10	400
37	6500/8000	1	1500	-	-	6	200	-	-
-	-	-	-	15	600	89	200	26	300
-	-	-	-	2	1000	28	200	2	400
219		1		404		1565		450	

[35] *Ibidem.*

In 1937, June, same markets sold 890 oxen (at the price of 4/7000 lei), 303 cows (at the price of 2500/6000 lei), 318 weaned calves (at the price of 1800/5000 lei), 151 calves (at the price of 400/2000 lei), 282 horses and mares (at the price of 1000/8000 lei), 5 colts (at the price of 1500 lei), 460 pigs (at the price of 4/2000 lei), 1200 piglets (at the price of 120/400 lei), 400 rams(at the price of 350/7000 lei), 630 lambs (at the price of 100/200 lei), 290 goats (at the price of 400/600 lei) and 180 kids (at the price of 180/80 lei)[36].

In 1937, June, there have been made important deals in all the five counties of Oltenia. In Dolj County only about 106,105 kilos of wheat (at the price of 333-447/100 kilos), 1,660,256 kilos of corn (270-310/100 kilos), 3788 kilos of rye (350-371/100 kilos), etc[37].

During 1937, in the cereal markets from Bechet, Cetate, Calafat, Segarcea, Rast have been sold about 30, 764 tones of wheat, 38, 803 tones of corn and 417 tones of rye[38]. All in all, there have been sold 11 470 of oxen (3000/6000), 3830 cows (2000/4500), 2630 calves (200/1750), 2400 horses (1750/9750), 790 mares (1500/4500), 11 000 pigs (550/2000), 6120 piglets (150/300), 3680 weaned calves (1750/4250), 1200 sheep (225/400), 500 goats (200/500), and 360 rams (240/250)[39].

After carefully studying the documents in the archives, we notice a decrease of the price of cereals from March to October 1937. Thus, old corn's price (harvested in 1936), that reached the price of 36 000 lei/wagon in March, decreased to 30000/wagon in September. This issue happened due to the rich cereals harvests in Oltenia at those times (especially of corn). The offer was greater than the request.

We also notice a price oscillation during the entire period of 1918-1944. In 1918-1922, the prices were constant for the vast majority of merchandises (especially cereals), and in 1922-1928 these increased with about 20%; in 1929-1932 these decreased with about 40-50 % (for the late 1932), in 1934-1940 these increased with 15-20% and in 1941-1944 these increased with about 15% (due to inflation).

There have also been made important deals through the Stock of Craiova. Mainly, cereals constituted the object of sales. Another important place was that taken by wood. In this way, in 1929-1936, the merchandise stock from Craiova made the following deals[40]:

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[36] *Ibidem.*

[37] *Ibidem*, dossier 10/1937.

[38] *Ibidem,* dossier 35/1938.

[39] *Ibidem.*

[40] *Ibidem,* dossier 7/1937.

Years	Cereal		Oli-bearing Plants		Timber		Oil	
	Quantity (Waggons)	Sun (lei)	Quantity (Waggons)	Sun (lei	Quantity (Waggons)	Sun (lei)	Quantity (Waggons)	Sun (lei)
1929	33	1.8566 mil	3000 kg rapiţă	24000	593395629	-	-	
1930	23	746100	-	-	-	-	-	-
1931	35	697400	-	-	-	-	-	-
1932	26	513250	-	-	-	-	-	-
1933	371	11.13mil	-	-				
1934	7550	226.5mil	200000	1.92 mil	100	400000	-	-
1935	4220	263.04 mil	78877	202000	6	24000	-	-
1936	2015	60.45 mil	60000	288000	3	12000	40592	154 249

From 1929 to1936, a series of industrial and agricultural products that belonged to "Miscellaneous Category"[41] have been marketed through Craiova Stock:

	Quantity(kg)	Sum(lei)
1929	610734	2 506 185
1930	3 000 000	3 027 000
1931	20 000	91 000
1932	-	-
1933	25000	245000
1934	635500	6147000
1935	847303	8232000
1936	372172	3075000

According to the data from the table, we notice that in 1930-1932, the number of deals was at its lowest values. On the contrary, in 1934 and 1935, the deals reached their peak. In 1936, the value of the deals was at its peak even if the number of deals was smaller than in 1934-1935. First of all, this was due to the increase of prices in cereal and oily products.

In conclusion, we emphasize the fact that the cereal markets, the cattle' markets, the periodical fares, and the Stock Market have played an important role in the commercial activity in the area in the period within 1918-1944. The available data reveal the fact that the increase of the commercial activity is complemented by the increase of production. There have been taken some measures that have allowed the State to increase its role in these fields, in order to ensure the leap from production to its intensive character and to trade's development. In spite of having a positive impact, these had not been enough. Generally, the increase in Oltenia's Economy's development represented a solid

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[41] *Ibidem.*

ground that unfortunately was nowhere to be found in other part of the country. Both the dealers and the people in industry and agriculture did not find the necessary credits, and once being found, these were part of interests and usuries, fact that made even more difficult the activity in business. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova avoided making substantial investments in improving markets and cattle markets from various reasons. The way of tax perception, and their unexpected increase have also led to impediments that in their turn, generated malfunctions. As soon as the industry recovered and began to develop, as the agricultural production grew, and as companies started up, the circulation and sales amplified. Still, their concentration and centralization knew a minimum level in Oltenia when compared to other regions. Despite all the negative elements (both internal and external), the domestic trade and foreign trade enlarged and constantly grew, helped by their relative increase in the volume of businesses made in annual markets and on Stock Market. All in all, it is these businesses that reflected the relation between towns (urbane) and village (rural). Throughout the entire researched period, the solid ground of the trade practiced on the markets from Oltenia was represented by: cereals, animals, wood and wooden items and objects.

L'ÉVOLUTION DU MARCHÉ INTÉRIEUR DANS LE SUD-OUEST DE LA ROUMANIE PENDANT-L'ENTRE DEUX-GUERRES

(Résumé)

Les auteurs mettent en évidence l'évolution positive du commerce intérieur dans l'Olténie des années 1918-1940, suite à la constitution de l'état national roumain unitaire.

Les changements de la structure socio-économique de la Roumanie se sont ressenties aussi dans la région du sud-ouest, bien que quelques traits antérieurs à la première guerre mondiales fussent gardés.

Le processus de fondation des foires et des marchés est allé parallèlement à celui de la disparition des autres.

Un recul du quantum des produits mis en commerce est enregistré pour les années des la crise économiques, suivi par une accélération pas à pas à partir des années 1934-1938.

REGIONALISM AND GLOBALIZATION
IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

ROXANA NANU, OANA BERCEANU, RADU BUZIENESCU

The interdependencies between regionalism and globalization of the economical life are appreciated differently by economists and politicians.

A first approval, with a large circulation, appreciate that *the regionalization and the globalization are complementary tendencies*; the realization of regional groups facilitate and hurries the international development of the economical development and of commerce. Hence here fallows the conclusion that the regionalization, in its turn, has become a global phenomenon, not through the inclusion aria but through numerous integrationist regional organisms appeared in almost all the continents and zones in the world. To consider that the continental type regionalisation of the economical development and of commerce would be a way of consolidation of the globalisation premises, is at least for the actual phase, an unrealistic appreciation, because the regionalisation means consolidation, frontiers fortification of the space integrated in what represents the expansion and the danger of the globalisation. Still, theoretically in our conscience, Europe has to represent a component of globalisation, of the world where it will represent a functional part. That means that for the time being, we must understand that we physically live in the space of an economically integrated Europe and only spiritually in the global space of human kind, because the regional economical integration moved the territorial limits from the level of the national states to the level of the regions, without renouncing at the territorial limitations. [1]

The most common approach of regionalism is the one that limits itself to preferential *commercial accords between the states situated in the same geographic space*. Under this form regionalism induces more commercial discrimination, in report to the undifferentiated treatment on the multilateralism axe inside globalisation. In this hypothesis it is appreciated that even if the preferential regimes constitute derogations from the clause of the most favourite nation, this doesn't mean that they don't generate economical disadvantages too and that they will unsettle the multilateral commercial system. But, when the regionalisation rises on the principles of the adversity this possibility is just an illusion. Integrated in the European Union Europe was born because it has to cope with the economical power of the United States of America, just like Asia within the regionalisation forms: The Association of the South-Eastern Asian Nations (ASEAN). And the Asia- Pacific Cooperation Forum (APEC) searches

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[1] Marin Dinu, Cristian Socol, Marius Marinas (2005), *The European model of integration,* Bucureşti, Economic Publishing House, p. 21.

its regional media and instruments through which it wants to outline its economical and political power in comparison to America.

Unrealistic is also the appreciation that at present the inclination to regionalism will dilute, disappearing step by step in favour of globalisation, of multilateralism. The careful attention of the revival of regionalism points out that we are dealing with a much stronger tendency of entrapment of the states from different globe arias towards new regional settlements. The example in this regard is represented by the U.S.A. which intensifies the efforts in the augmentation of the contribution of the North American Free- Exchange Accord (NAFTA) and starts the American Economical Initiative. The reunions within the Asia- Pacific Economical Forum (APEC) too fallow this path. The decision of several states of America and the Asia- Pacific aria to go with the regionalism inclines more and more the balance from multilateralism to regionalism and this happens only on the background of the non satisfactions regarding the commercial system s possibility to satisfy the new demands/ request of the international commerce.

This tendency of enforcement of the regionalism in the detriment of globalisation is favoured by the structure of the world economic and politic order which is based on the principle according to which the party (America) must control another party or even the whole. Through this angle, regionalisation is seen as a modality of expression of an anti- globalisation attitude.

It is imposed that within the economical and political order of globalisation should be guaranteed the liberty of the parties, none of the parties should not make an attempt to the status which allows it to control the whole (world economy).As neither the understanding of globalisation through regionalisation can't replace a global politics, where it is necessary the existence of coherent decision that would unify the compounding in equilibrium parties.

The European model of regionalisation (the European Union) as the Asian one (ASEAN, APEC) represent integrationist groups based on American adversity. They are in opposition to the American program of globalisation even through the fact that they propose other power centres which should temperate the American centre's power. [2] The fact that these power centres exist and act must not be understood as anti- globalisation signals, but as equal partners in the process of international cooperation. As long as the economical integration and the apparition of more economical power centres in globalisation do not have as a purpose the adversity through territorial limitation, regionalisation is comparable to globalisation.

Within the world economy America defends its right owned for several decades to control the whole. This is achieved as much in Europe as in Asia on the military and financial field/ way. But, at the present time it is noticed an attitude change of the United States of America from multilateralism (with its indiscriminating valences) to regionalism (with differentiated and more

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[2] Marin Dinu and the collective, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

favourable treatment). We distinguish U.S.A. efforts towards regionalisation in South America and the Pacific aria, as much as a reaction to the European Union and to the Asian Block, but also as a desire to stop the creation of a group based on Japan. In fact, U.S.A. fallows the principle "the regional blocks are good for us not for you". The scenery proposed by U.S.A. has a longer shot: a group in Asia (AFTA) where the leader should be Japan, another regional commercial group in (North and South) America; afterwards SUA and Japan with their groups will unite in a free- exchange aria opposed to the European Union and to its associates and from this confrontation should result a free commerce on a global scale.

In the attempt to find a connection between regionalism and globalisation (multilateralism) and to prove that regionalism is a complementary trump to globalisation and that through the conjugation of forces the achievements will be greater, the specialists try to point out the valences of regionalism and to answer more questions linked to this process: ***does regionalism know a high dynamic as a contemporary phenomenon? Is regionalism safer?***

Conclusion: even if regionalisation knows at present time a high dynamic, a bigger flexibility in the appliance of decisions and favours the more rapid development of some integrated countries, it is necessary to mention the next aspects[3]:

- the inclination towards some integrationist regional groups even though it favours the more rapid development of some integrated countries, that doesn't mean that regionalisation will increase the dynamic of resolving the commercial exchanges liberalisation problem;

- regionalisation cannot offer over night the fastest way to a more effective liberalisation of the commercial exchanges because the road covered so far shows that there are big time and intensity gaps between the announcement of its creation of a free- exchange aria and custom- house unions and their implementation in real life (the European Union's case that started its activity in 1958 and although over 48 years have passed it has plenty of things to achieve);

- the favourable effects are still very modest or sometimes inexistent, and as far as the relations with a third party are concerned, the commercial common politics is only a treaty chapter and not a concrete reality;

- although it is considered that the accentuation of the commercial exchanges regionalisation is a means of rending more efficient the globalisation and the exchange liberalisation, negotiations from the last period within the GATT and OMC have revealed the European Union's position which delayed the reach of the multilateral interests.

The real system of the market economy, which functions in most contemporary countries, does not appear as something unitary and indivisible,

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[3] Dumitru Miron and the collective, *The economy of the European integration,* Bucureşti, Publishing House ASE, 2001, p.17- 35.

on the contrary it appears in a great diversity of situations, experiences and national practices, historically concrete, adequate not only to the type of economical integration, but also to different development levels. Even though there elements and specific characteristics to each model or to one country or another within the integration type, still we can speak of the existence of some economic types folded on economical and social-political models.

Generally, in the delimitation of the three models of economy and society that exist in the world: American, European and Asian around which the integration types but also the globalisation forms are shaped, the fallowing criteria are used: the civilisation type sustained by their development; the ideals desired by the integrated peoples; the religions which unite or divide the peoples; the intervention degree of the state in the economic life; the way and the level at which the state is involved in the economy; the role and the functions accomplished by the market; the economical thinking current found at the basis of the economical politics substantiation etc. It is estimated that these models have as basis "valour systems opposed as far as the position of the person in an undertaking (institution), the market's place in the society and the role the legal order must play in the international economy are concerned"[4].

The American model [5], unfolded on North American Free Exchange Accord (NAFTA), but specific to Great Britain, Australia and New Zeeland has as main pillars the economic growth and the politic freedom, excluding the public power from the administration of the social cohesion. The state puts at the latitude of the individual all the efforts for the prevention of personal failure, the model being structured on the logic of self risk for the individuals who have the task and the responsibility to administrate the support media. It is a non-liberal model that emphasises the market virtues, it is an exclusively efficacious model, it promotes a laissez- faire type economy, relying on the individual judgement and the competitive markets mechanisms in the allocation of resources. The American model turns out to be open to a high degree towards the exterior, having both the outgoings and the incomings liberalised (partially restricted by NAFTA). It is considered that this model initiates the globalisation, in the terms of U.S.A. militating for the integration in a block of the South America and the Pacific Ocean' s bay countries. In the economical development strategies it has detached as one who uses expensive work and cheap capital, the expensive work underlining the individual's value in the American economy and society, and the cheep capital distinguishes the natural gifting with material factors of production. That is why, in the American model, the economical activity is based on large undertaking, where the risk assumed in the competition process is at the foundation of the private initiative, the American economy being an economy based on money. The American economy model is not a transition one,

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[4] Michel Albert, *Capitalism opposed to/versus capitalism*, Bucureşti, Humanitas Publishing House, 1994, p. 21 and fallowing pages.

[5] Marin Dinu, Cristian Socol, Marius Marinas, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

it is the result of the historical development in time, where it arrived through a natural evolution of the economical and social- political activity. It represents an attraction pole for the intense regions, generating a concentric integration process, of assimilation of the integrated countries economies.

The profound analysis of the economic and social-politic content of the American development and integration model allows us to synthesise the fallowing features[6]:

- the public sector that produces non-commercial economic goods is negligible and it has reducing tendencies;
- the market holds the determinant role in the goods circulation from the producer to the consumer;
- at the basis of the economic politic are the offer stimulation measures, and in the adopted decisions prevails the individual success and the maximisation of the immediate profit;
- the economic goods prices (including the wages) depend in a decisive way on market conditions;
- the taxation is reduced;
- the direct involvement of the state in the economic life is negligible;
- the undertaking, as a centre of the economic decisions, is considered a commercial good like any other;
- the financial market and first of all the stock exchange holds the decisive part of a barometer of the economic activity in comparison to other markets;
- the high mobility in a short time in the economic- social hierarchy;
- the middle class (families with incomes about the social average) relatively low;
- an elitist education system that function upon the market rules;
- a low degree of economic security as far as the risks are concerned (unemployment, disease, poverty), the protection problem being an individual question.

The European Model structured in its big majority on the integrationist group the European Union depends upon three main pillars: the economic growth, the political freedom and the social cohesion. The economic activity unfolds in terms of uncertainty and risk, without allowing the latter to be the fundamental criterion of all the activities. This model of economy assumes the responsibility of the partial financing of the supplementary expenses for the public comfort, poverty being a social theme and the unemployment a state problem. That's why, the redistribution of incomes through adequate levers is the means of combining the economic growth to the social cohesion, these two constituting the essence of the politic freedom, its support. Hence, the European model is that of a social economy of a competitive market, relying upon the individual judgement and the market mechanisms in the resource allocation.

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[6] Gheorghe Pirvu, *Macroeconomics*, SITECH Publishing House, 2005, p.70-71.

Being an integrationist group that reached a superior state of development, aiming for the politic union, the European model is a semi open type because it has liberalised outgoings while the incomings are conditioned by the custom union. Because the European model is in a phase of inner consolidation (of integration deepening), it has a more restrained global impact.

In its evolution for almost half a century, the European model has structured upon cheep work and expensive capital, the work being conceived as a complementary value to the material efforts made by the society. The purpose being of the economic activity is the society comfort, and the media is represented by the economy. In consequence, aside the outturn component of the economical-social activities we encounter other two components: income transfers in the social protection purpose and the social cohesion as a source of the social peace.

The European model was and remains at the present time a transition model, which requires supranational processes, economical and social-political convergence processes and integration processes. The European economy is a monetary economy where the winning-productivity equilibrium is achieved, assuring the safety at the working place, the risk being calculated and minimised. As any market economy the European economy is a product economy realised in middle and large companies mixed system.

The European model generates integration (deepening and extension) processes, its purpose being the realisation of a combination of the decisions at the over- state regional level to those from the state national level. Hence, since the European integration and development model promotes the economic convergence it is a model which homogenises the different national economies in a unique market and economy, the Internal Unique Market and the Economic Monetary Economy.

By synthesising these characteristics, the European model distinguishes through the fallowing features[7]:

- most of the economic goods take the economic shape of merchandise, but the consume of an important part isn't realised by the market rules;

- the economic non- commercial goods have a significant weight;

- through the economic politics adopted the saving and the redistribution of incomes are encouraged;

- the direct taxation policy prevails over the indirect one (both the incomes and the capital are taxed);

- the ample redistribution of the incomes between zones in order to reduce the gaps between the arias of the country;

- the banking system is strongly with the firms, being able to assure their long term financing;

- the undertaking cannot function outside the social dialog;

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[7] Gheorghe Pirvu, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

- the wages level depends both on the market conditions and on other factors (the ancientness, the professional preparation etc.);

- a more equal education system, where the professional intermediary levels dispose of a good formation;

- the powerful syndicate movement, economically and socially responsible;

- the collectivity assumes the responsibility in the resolving of some of the individual's problems;

- a high economic security degree of the population towards risks (disease, unemployment, familial disequilibrium) assured by the public collectivities;

- numerous middle class (75% at the E.U. level);

- high social protection degree through pensions and familial allocations.

The Asian model has its main pillar of this type of economy in China and it is based upon two main pillars: the economic growth and the social cohesion, excluding almost entirely the politic freedom (pluralism). If we consider the inclinations towards dirigisme and interventionism and also to mono- party and authoritative system the models specific to Japan, South Korea and Asian Tigers are close to the characteristics of the Chinese model. It is a model of economy that through special efforts wants to reach the occidental economies. It is based on a lot of work, constant learning and continual innovation, it is a socialist model that practices the decision control of resources and politic freedoms, it is a model of the socialist market economics that values the priority of society's interest against the individual interests, politically leaded interests. In report to the exterior it is found in reorganisation, passing step by step from the conditioned and controlled incomings and outgoings to liberalised outgoings and restricted and controlled incomings.

At present time the Asian model surprises the world through the "Asian miracle", that is the speed of the evolution towards performance, but remaining, for the time being, exclusively at the regional level, being conditioned by the natural resources and the geographic limits. For now, the global impact is relatively small, both because of the way of working and living of the population and to the way of functioning of the religions in this part of the world.

It is based on cheap work and cheap drawn capital, which confers high limits of development and spectacular solutions, through drawing huge capitals from abroad which by commands directed by the international finances can lead to disequilibrium and bankruptcies.

Significant efforts are made for the generalisation of the free market features however without the politic liberalism, with negative effects on the entrepreneurial spirit and the free initiative. It is a model in an initial transition process, which means the economical liberalisation, certain political and religious concessions. It is based a lot on the foreign capital infusion which generates impulses in the capitalisation of the natural and work resources.

Overall, the essential features of the Asian model are[8]:

- the public sector which produces distinct material goods to the market is strongly competed by the private sector, in a full affirmation process;

- the state holds and uses important economical- financial and legislative levers in the directing of the economical- financial mechanisms, in the assessment and utilisation of resources, and also in the admeasurement of the final consume;

- ample redistribution of income among the members of the society, and also in the country's arias;

- powerful development of the banking sector which has a greater and greater part in the financing of the economical activity;

- equalitarian educational system where are combined the national specific and the requests of the recordation to the international exigencies;

- the low developed syndicate movement, with no important part in the admeasurement of wages and in the negotiation of the working conditions;

- the numerous low and middle class dominated by the work cult and religious belief;

- the politic dominates the economic through the control of decisions of the resource utilisation and goods consume;

- the beginning of the liberalisation of certain economical activities, being promoted the social market economics.

SOME FEATURES OF THE ENGLISH LEGAL SYSTEM

(Abstract)

The more rapid developing of the capital market than that of the merchandise after the Second World War made the economical developing and the commerce liberalization get more and more pronounced expansionistic nuances. Two tendencies are manifested in the economical development and in the international commerce: the globalization of the world economy and of the international market promoted through the General Accord for Tariffs and Commerce (GATT) and, starting with the year 1995, by the World Organisation of Commerce (OMC) and the creation of regional economical organisms promoted, first, by the European states and then, by the states on the others continents.

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[8] Marian Dinu, Cristian Socol, Marius Marinas, *op. cit.*

BEHAVIOURAL FINANCES AND THEIR INFLUENCES ON FINANCIAL MARKETS

GHEORGHE BICĂ, MĂDĂLINA CONSTANTINESCU

■ Critics of the Behavioural Finances

Behavioural Finances is a new perspective in finances theory, at lest from a point of view, as a response to the difficulty of the traditional paradigm in order to explain demonstrated effects. Generally, it is said that some phenomena can be observed and understand better using a model of non-perfect rational behaviour. Particularly, these analyses show what is going on when one or more fundamental hypotheses of the rational behaviour individual are relaxed[1]. In a type of a model of behavioural finances, people can not bring up to date their mentalities in a correct way. In other types of model, Bayes Law is applied correctly; anyway, their decision is not normative compatible with utility of subjective due notion.

One of the objections manifested against behavioural finances is that when even some people behaviour is irrational, majority constituted by rational agents will prevent the fluctuation to go further from their real value[2]. One of the fruition of the behavioural finances is the big number of scientific contributions that demonstrate how in an economy that includes rational and irrational people, the irrational behaviour can have an important impact on the proceeding assets prices. These contributions known as *limits of arbitration* represent the first pillar in the sphere of research that is called behavioural finances[3].

Using cleat predictions, behavioural models must identify the irrational type. How can deviate behavioural patterns from Bayes Law and the maximisation of the utility of subjective due notion? To respond to such questions, the economists consulted experimental evidences of the cognitive psychology. This kind of research had demonstrated that some thinks go on systematically, when people bring about their preferences and convictions while they take a decision. The second pillar of the behavioural finances is *psychology* and the third pillar the behavioural finances is *sociology*, frequently neglected, but it is very important when different people are acting on markets, especially in financial markets. Until now, implicitly, the assumption was done without any interaction or influences of

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[1] N. Barberis, R. Thaler, *op. cit.,* p. 1053-1123.

[2] Shleifer, A., *Inefficient Markets: An Introduction to Behavioral Finance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 2 – 5.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 2 – 5.

somebody. Thus, particular actions on the financial markets are not considered in a isolated manner, but often they are socially influenced.
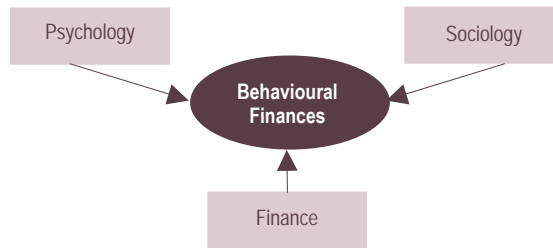
Figure 1 – Sciences linked by behavioural finance
Source: Ricciardi, V.; Simon, H.K., *What is Behavioural Finance?* în: *The Business Education and Technology Journal*, 2(1), 2000, p. 26 – 34.

Figure 1 shows the interdisciplinary characteristics of the behavioural finance. Concluding, traditional finance represents the core of conceptual studies of the behavioural finances, which integrates behavioural aspects from sociology and from psychology. The oneness of the behavioural finances consists in the integration and the grounding of these different scientific areas of research.

■ **The link between rumours and behavioural finances**
The information's evaluation, the manner that the information also, could affect the allocation of the limited resources represents the foundation on which behavioural finances is based. The rumours are a special form of information, so we must analyse them from the financial point of view. Then, implicitly, the rumours contain a social element, because without communication the rumours can not be disseminated. Psychology is very important too because rumours can lead to anxiety and fear. In this case, people can not take a decision as usually.

These characteristics make us to use behavioural finances in order to analyse rumours, because this analysis is integrated in those sciences mentioned below. First, our analyse stars from the individual level, when a investigation decision is analysed and the second is represented by the aggregate market level. Initially, behavioural finances find the circumstances in which people take a investment decision which deviates from a perfect rational behaviour postulated by the traditional theory of finances. Secondly, behavioural finances claim, together with some another factors, non-perfect rational behaviour as being responsible for the failure of Efficient Market Hypotheses (EMH).

■ **Financial markets as a favourable background for rumours**
Financial markets are always a propitious background for rumours because in the universe of transactions all the actions are based on news. The acquaintance of the participants to these transactions by the participants of another kind of markets can be a way to have a real benefit on financial markets. Like a trader

said, the noise of trader's jungle is one of the most sensible in the world[4]. They can win if they will believe that the rumour is true, but even it is not the case, it can also have different financial consequences. Rumours, on financial markets, are considered substitutes for news. The news on financial markets are absolutely critics. Therefore, in absence of news, something is invented. In a stressed and tensioned atmosphere, all traders operate in a very receptive state. The fear that comes from the fact that someone could know something that the do not know is the cause of the stress and anxiety. In these situations, traders need to know that their point of view is confirmed by someone else.

The lack of information is compensated by speculations. The communication of speculative thoughts is a classic form of development of rumours. The rumours are amplified when their content is interesting and relevant. The taking over and acquisitions are an example of an event favourable for the development of rumours. Statements like „We are always interested in reasonable and good acquisitions!" or "We don't want to say anything about this subject!" are ways of starting all kind of rumours and fantasies.

Are the rumours from financial markets different from other kind of rumours? No, but there are *different factors that make financial markets receptive to any kind of rumours*[5]:

- the number of participants is limited. The dimension of the receptive public to rumours is limited and traders have an efficient communication web;
- traders are experts in their domain and they have a great credibility. They know very well financial markets and they are specialists in different products and financial instruments. Traders do not believe all "fresh" news that they heard;
- the time is very important. Traders are submitted to the pressure of time. This tensioned and stressed atmosphere represents a favourable ground for the propagation of rumours. Traders do not have time to verify the news or their accuracy. They have to decide what to do even if the do not know the truth. The necessity of taking rapid decisions maintains alive the "hunger" for news and, in this way, for rumours too.
- comparatively with another kind of rumours, this that are present on the financial markets implies always financial risks. A trader can be wrong. If he does not the transactions, he could lose the benefit if the rumour is true. Generally, the trader is not preoccupied with the source of the rumours, because he do not have the time to think about the source. The are traders that even do not think if the rumour is true or not;
- financial markets are a kind of space where people are invaded with news. It is known that the rumours are amplified by the lack of news. The same thing happens when there is too much news. Which news is correct when we

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[4] F. W. Koenig, *Rumour in the marketplace: the social psychology of commercial hearsay*, Auburn House, Dover, MA, 1985, p. 154.

[5] J. N. Kapferer, *Gerüchte: Das älteste Massenmedium der Welt*, Gustav Kiepenhener Verlag, Leipzig, 1996, p. 253-255.

heard so much news? It is possible that a trader works with the surest news and to trust his own point of view.

■ **Rumours and rational behaviour**

People talk about the inexplicable movements of prices, caused by irrational participants on the markets so that the rumours are amplified on financial markets. Until the rationality is a key-word in political economy and in financial theory, it is necessary that we evaluate that the rumours are true or false. The term rationality derives from the Latin *ratio* which means "reason". A rational behaviour is that attitude that permits us to take rational decisions.

In political economy, the rational behaviour permits to someone to take a decision that maximize the personal utility of a person which corresponds with the classic portrait of *homo economicus*. But, the people, in reality, do not activate always like a *homo economicus*. So, that kind of definition does not help us to discover what a rational behaviour is. Maybe if we take the opposite of this concept and we define the irrational behaviour and that will help us. According to *Brockhaus Encyclopdia*, irrationality is defined as "incomprehensible mind". Comparative to rationality, mind is here linked with rationality. So, if an action is incomprehensible by me, that action is indeed non-rational.

■ **Rationality in the financial markets**

Thinking that the participants on the financial markets activate at least in a procedural manner that is rational and taking as examples past movements of prices, especially on the actions markets in the last years, this theory must be updated integrally[6]. The participants on the financial markets activate rationally so that they have an advantage, so that their decision take into account the available information and the activity of the other participants. The actions help them to attain their precise aim. We suppose that to analyse rational behaviour on the financial market that the investors accept the price. This not a critical hypothesis, at least on a big market, capitalised, with liquid share, it is not possible that just one participant controls and leads transactional prices for a long period of time.

The price, which is a hazardous result of the all intentional actions, is the most important thing that interests all the participants. They have to adjust their positions to the hazardous result. This thing happens, for example, if they adjust their relative portfolio to a *benchmark* or if they replay to the last news, like the rumours. As a result of evaluating proper positions according to the last news, hazardous price, the positions that must be revaluated and adjusted. The reason that this thinks do not happens simultaneously is the asymmetry of information. So all the participants have access to the same percent of information which must be interpreted and evaluated in a different way. Thus, the behaviour of one participant is rational and "socially influenced". Their position is adjusted according to the

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[6] R. Shiller, *Irrational Exuberance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000.

development of the market, which is the effect of a anonymous mass of people, generally irrational. Why do we think, while the financial markets are developing in the last years, they do it in an irrational way? An explanation could be that the irrational behaviour is present when the prices grow or lower in a very short period of time. These movements of prices show us that there is no economical explanation for them. The irrationality of the financial markets is the single explanation for what is going on. But when the prices grow or lower in a very long period of time there will be no irrational behaviour. Therefore, the participants act irrationally when the rumours are amplified and this happens when the prices grow or lower in a very short period of time.

Other hypothesis is that the participants have an irrational behaviour, and then the financial market became inefficient. But, it is not the case. Rationality refers to particular cases, while on an efficient market spontaneity and the understanding of all relevant information is reflected in share's prices. Does the market became inefficient if a specific number of participants would have an irrational behaviour, like it happens in financial babble between 1998 and 2000, because that kind of babble could be developed in the first situation? Not necessarily.

Normally every participant follow his own interest and in concordance with other participants' activity. Even a share can be bought with a big price, which not necessarily means that this action is not rational if the prices is growing further and another participant would buy the share. From this perspective, we can see that the babble on the financial markets can appear without any irrational behaviour of the participants. Maybe, they are conscious that there is a potential benefit and a potential loss in the same time, while a financial babble is growing. Anyway, they say nothing about the rationality of an activity. The assumption of an activity with an big risk degree it is not necessarily an irrational move.

Another interesting phenomenon that classic theory of finance has explained with difficulty is the big transactional volume on the share markets. Excessive transactional volumes are explained through the concept of procedural rationality. Then, after the raising of some news with a big degree of information (as the growth of a corporation or bank's decision to grow the rate of interest) we see the growth of the transactional volumes. Obviously, participant on the markets look for the interpretation of the information that they receive and evaluate them.

■ **Neoclassic finances versus behavioural finances – instruments for financial innovation.**

The revolution of behavioural finances from last decades is described well as a recursion to an eclectic approach of the financial pattern making. Early revolution of the neoclassic finances, which has reconfigured financial profession in '60 and '70, had represented the enthusiasm of a single pattern. Liberated from the tyranny of a single pattern, the research from financial domain develops quickly and these progresses could bring considerable material

benefit. The application of both behavioural finance and neoclassic can be use to reform the social security and to introduce personal account.

It seems that the history of financial theory from the half of the last century can be systematised in the terms of two distinctive revolutions. First, it was the neoclassic revolution which begins with the capital price pattern and the theory of efficient markets, in 1960, and the inter-temporal pattern of the capital price, plus the theory of arbitrating based on the options price in 1970[7]. Behavioural perspective was the second revolution in finance and it begins in 1970, once with the question of the volatility of the financial markets, with the discovery of numerous anomalies and with the intention to incorporate in financial theory the theory of Kahnemman and Tvesky and some other theories from psychology.

The two revolutions took place in different period of time and they were propagated by different people so that we can think that they are really different. In reality, the two revolutions are interfering and some of the most important applications of them necessitated the use of the two methods.

■ Empirical studies about the rumours on the capital markets

In one of the first studies, A.M. Rose[8] analysed, on a short period of time, the influences of the rumours to the share prices taking as example American share between 1937 – 1938 and 1948 – 1949. The study is based on the theory that if "a rumour influences share markets a few days, then it will create a unidirectional trend in share prices of that days"[9]. Unidirectional means, for A.M. Rose, that the price moves to a single direction (up or down) in a short period of time. J. Pound and R. Zeckhauser[10] have investigated the effects of the rumours undertaken from *Wall Street Journal*. In their example they take into consideration every day rumours from January 1st to December 31st.   The following conclusions are representative. First, markets react efficiently to that rumours that are published, appreciating correctly the probability that the rumour to be fallowed by the request entered into function. They conclude that there is no big benefit from buying or selling shares of the firms that are the subject of the rumours. Some participants that are very close to the market could profit by

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[7] The term *neoclassic economy* is more used than *neoclassic finances*. While the definitions seems to varied nowadays, *neoclassic economy* refers to the introducing in economical theory of the ending of XIX century by Stanley Jevons, Alfred Marshall, Carl Menger and Leon Walras of the concept called the maximisation of utility and is consequences to the general equilibrium. These concepts are definitive to neoclassic finances too. Stephen A. Ross, in his work *Neoclassical Finance* (2005), states that the results of the neoclassic finances are non-arbitrating theory, Kernel price theory and efficient markets.

[8] A. M. Rose, *Rumor in the stock market*, in: *Public Option Quarterly*, **15**(3), 1951, p. 461-468.

[9] A. M. Rose, *op. cit.,* p. 468.

[10] J. Pound, R. Zeckhauser, *Clearly heard in the street: The effect of takeover rumours on stock prices*, in: *Journal of Business*, **63**(3), 1990, p. 291-308.

these rumours if they disseminate them. Secondly, in the period before the publishing of the rumours, a big part of the prices can grow to the benefit aim, while in the day of publishing there was no reaction. Thirdly, rumours too rare predict supply of undertaking imminent. In less of the half of the cases discussed here, the rumours that predict correctly the undertaking in a period of one-two years were emitted with 45-50 days before they were published. These results less scientific, lead us to the raising of two studies: fool.com and SmartMoney. The first study was made in the autumn of 1998[11] and was analysed weekly by *Business Week*, to the heading *Inside Wall Street* by Gene Marcial. In 1996 and 1997 they find no relevant results about the rumours published in *Business Week*. Less of the half of rumours will became true in the next two years, but in the most of the cases the buyer was not that company which we though that will do the move.

A.J. Kimmel[12] enumerates some rumours that would not happen from a study made by SmartMoney in 1999. He said that "in most of the cases, general speculation by these imaginary stories do not become real, but that does not means that they don not caused a reaction on the market". He does not state a very clear conclusion, but he mentioned that investors could take into consideration better the rumours about the undertaking instead of that patterns which show an advised prediction.

T.L. Zivney and others[13] made a study similar to that of Pound and R. Zeckhauser, but both start from the headings HOTS (*Heard on the Street*) and AOTM (*Abreast of the Market*) from *Wall Street Journal*. They said that the rumours are emitted in AOTM and then, in a few days, they are recommenced in HOTS. Their result is similar to. Pound and R. Zeckhauser, because they said that the market reacts efficient to the publishing of the rumours. Therefore, for the rumours of AOTM they find exaggerate reactions on the market that can sustain opportunities of beneficial investment. The exaggerate reactions persist even we observe the aim development of the firm is adjusted, the institutional leading and market's risk too. Like J. Pound and R. Zeckhauser, they notice a growth of the price in the first twenty days before the publishing of the rumour. Practically, the same research was made by H. Kiymaz in 2001 in Turkish market at Istanbul Stock Exchange. His results are the same. An empirical study was made recently by R. Gorodsinsky in 2003 for German capital market. He used information from VWD – Newswire, which include the most important rumours. The rumours were selected in a standard manner by publishers. In 2002, there were 136 rumours about DAX (*Deutscher Aktienindex*) – 100 were emitted in VWD – Newswire. In that year DAX declined with 40 %.

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[11] http://www.fool.com/Features/1998/Sp 98101InsideBusinessWeek01.htm

[12] A. J. Kimmel, *Rumors and rumor control: A manager'r guide to understanding and combating rumors*, Lawrance Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ, 2003.

[13] T. L. Zivney, W. J. Bertin, K. M. Torabzadeh, *Overreaction in takeover speculation*, in: *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, **36**(1), 1996, p. 89-115.

LES COMPORTEMENTS FINANCIERS ET LEURS INFLUENCES SUR LES MARCHÉS FINANCIERS

(Résumé)

Le cadre traditionnel des finances classiques est d'une simplite remarcable représent plus d'une satisfaction porter à la connaissance par les previsions financiaires confirmé par les dates. Malheureusement, depuis de nombreuses années de recherches, il a devenu evidement le fait que les faites fundamentales relatifs aux marchés financiaires, et aussi le comportement individuelle et les raisons de la selection tipique de revenus moyens portent atteinte par actions, il n'est pouvant être pas expliquer dans c'est contexte. De toute manière, les débats dans les literatures au sujet de fundamentation et aplication d'autres théories est en plain débats. [14]

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[14] N. Barberis, R. Thaler, *A survey of behavioral finance*, in: *Handbook of the Economics of Finance*, Edited by G.M. Constantinides, M. Harris and R. Schultz, Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2003, p. 1053-1123; E. F. Fama, *Market efficiency, long-term returns and behavioral finance*, in: *Journal of Finance*, **49**, 1998, p. 286-306; M. Rubinstein, *Rational markets: Yes or no? The affirmative case*, Working Paper RPF 294, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley, 2000; R. Shiller, *From efficient markets theory to behavioral finance*, Cowes Foundation Discussion Paper no. 1385, Yale University, 2002.

THE LIBERALIZATION CAPITAL ACCOUNT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

GHEORGHE PÎRVU, RAMONA GRUESCU

1. Theoretical basis

In recent years the studies of phenomena linked to the balance of cash payment and especially of capital account have grown seriously both in academic domain and inside international organizations such as International Monetary Capital, OECD, European Commission. I have also seen that although numerous studies on liberalization of capital account have been pursued, there is still controversy regarding the advantages and the means of staging of this operation.

From the theoretical point of view the necessity of the liberalization of capital account is based on the fact that the free circulation of the capital promotes an efficient sharing of the economies at the global level and a better diversification of the financial risks. Thus, the liberalization of the capital account can bring a major contribution to the process of economical growth and social welfare.

In the scientific literature numerous models have been published of competitiveness and financial market highlighted the fact that the opening of capital account can make the process of economical growth more rapid especially through free capital circulation but opposed points of view have emphasized some risks of an open capital account. Thus we have highlighted the fact that due to the existence of an informational asymmetry on the capital market, the liberalization of capital account doesn't necessarily lead to a better resource sharing, especially when the respective markets are characterized by major distortions.

In economists circle they spread the opinion according to witch an emergent economy shouldn't liberalize the capital account which can lead to an increase of concentration on the market and the market power of some firms but can generate conditions of economical instability growth, when the periods of enthusiasm and accelerated development are followed by strong crises and stagnation.

Thus, it results that a country should not proceed to completely liberalize the capital account if the country can't:

- Keep the inflation under control, equilibrate the exchange course and obtain enough external economical credibility;

- Set the budgetary deficiency and the extra budgetary engagements of the state under reasonable limits;

- Ensure the satisfactory level of the financial system and implement efficient prudential rules;

- Strengthen the competition policy;

- Introduce an efficient informational and statistical system.

Understanding the advantage of liberalization of capital account, a series of countries, especially economically developed countries, has proceeded on liberalizing the capital account starting with the second half of 70's. In a study elaborated and presented in 2001 at Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association from San Francisco by Yale University reaches, they analyze the determining factors that lead countries to the liberalization of capital account.

Thus, they show that countries that practice fixed exchange course are less tempted to liberalize their capital account. The same thing can be discussed about the countries that are strongly connected to the global economy.

In the same study, they demonstrate the fact that the trend of liberalization of capital account is determined, among their factors, by the level of democratical structures of the country, by the amount of the public sector in the economy of that country. Thus, the authors of the study shows that the counties were the amount of the public sector is raised possess in general a reduced trend for the liberalization of capital account.

2. Experience in the liberalization of capital account

The process of like liberalization in OCDE countries started in 1964 with the liberalization of fluxes on long term and the entrance of direct investments; the investments in collective titles have been liberalized only at the beginning of the '90s. The five new members of OCDE were asked to open their capital account on their adherence. In three of these countries severe financial crises have been noticed shortly after the opening of the capital account as such:

- Mexico adopted the majority of the liberalization in 1989 and 1990 and has finalized the liberalization until 1994. Untill the end of that year, because of the high over exceeding level of the exchange course, massive capital entrances and in the context of the inconclusiveness, structural and financial macroeconomical problems, Mexico confronted a severe crisis that led to the fall of the exchange course and the declaration of the incapacity of payment of the external debt.

- Korea introduced the liberalization of capital account in 1991 and 1992 and ended the process in 1997. The financial crisis started a year later as a result of the poor managed credit risk and due to some aspect of corruption.

- The Czech Republic realized in a great amount the liberalization of capital account in 1995-1996. As a consequence capital fluxes have penetrated

in the country as 16% of GDP (Grow Domestic Product) witch led to a new currency crisis and to a period of recession.

In the other new OCDE member countries, Hungary and Poland, a series of restrictions have been maintained on short term. Thus, in Hungary they proceeded to a rigorous program of liberalization in 1996 that ended in the middle of 1998; this program has been adjusted and completed by measures of macro-economical adjustment including the growth of budgetary constraints of firms, the acceleration of the private domain, and the introduction of a band of variation of the exchange course. The first stage of liberalization included the direct foreign investments, the selling and buying of the non-residents of titles of maturity older than a year, the financial credits of non-residents and the personal movements of capital. The second stage raised the restrictions over the buying by residents of titles issued in OCDE countries and over the local issue of titles from the OCDE countries with a maturity over a yearlong. The foreign imobiliary buying has been permitted in the third stage and they forbid the external transactions in national currency and the transactions in currency among residents. Also, in Poland, the external financial credits remained restrained, towards non-banking entities with maturity younger than one year ago.

The briefing of the experience regarding the liberalization of capital account suggest that where the liberalization has been very rapid, the financial crisis came shortly after , while a more gradual approach was more successful.

3. The liberalization of capital account in Romania

Starting from the experience of other countries in the process of liberalization in Romania, too, this process started in 1991, with the Law of Foreign Investment, but we can speak about a staging of it only in 1998, at the same time with the assuming by Romania of the obligations held by Article VIII from the State of Monetary Capital, correlated with the adherence to EU.

The stages of liberalization of capital in Romania

The stage of liberalization	Year	Operation representing fluxes of capital
The liberalization of direct and real-estate investments of residents abroad and of personal capital flows and other capital flows. **Stage I.**	2001	-direct investments of residents abroad - real-estate investments of residents abroad - the admission of national mobiliary values on the foreign capital market - guarantees granted by non-residents to residents - presents dowry, inheritance and legacy. - other transfer representing other capital flows.

Liberalization of capital flow linked to the development of insurance contracts and the other capital flows with significant influence over the real economy. **Stage II**	2002	- the admission of the unities of collective placement organisms on a foreign capital market - credits on long and medium term, linked to commercial transactions or of services, granted by residents to non-residents - premiums and payments linked to the development of contacts of life insurance, credit, other transfer in insurance contracts. - physical import and export of financial assets representing mobiliary values and means of payment, except those in cash.
	2003	- the buying by residents of foreign mobiliary values and unities of collective placement organism - financial loans and credits with pay-back terms shorter than a year granted by non-residents to residents - financial loans and credits, guarantees granted by residents to non-residents - capital movements with personal character representing loans granted by residents to non residents.
	2004	-the admission of foreign mobiliary values on national capital markets. - the admission of collective placement organisms unities on motional capital market - the physical import and export of financial assets representing means of payment in cash.
Liberalization of capital operations with significant impact over pay balance. **Stage III**	2005	- the access of residents to term bank deposits in lei - the residents right of opening bank accounts abroad and to make a series of operations abroad without the approval of RNB, except derivatives transactions
	2006	- non-residents access to state obligations in lei/national currency issued by Financial Ministry. - non-residents access to treasury certificates in national currency issued by Financial Ministry.
	-up to adherence date	- the access of non-residents to monetary market instruments.

Contrary to the pessimistic expectations expressed by some economical analysts, we can say that the last stage of liberalization of capital fluxes developed under normal limits, without leading to currency seism.

The liberalization of the exchange currency and of capital account stimulated considerable capital entrance, as a result of both short term investments (hot money) and medium or long term investments.

In that which concerns the short term capital entrance, representing speculative fluxes, their evolution must be attentively followed because they are quite volatile and can create instability episodes on the currency market.
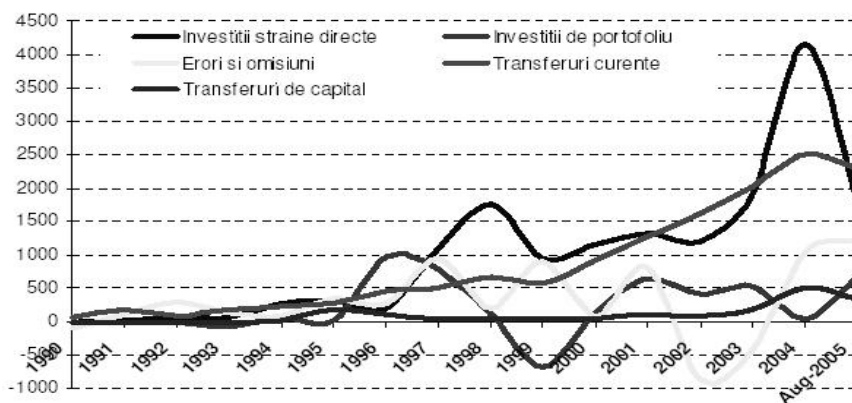
Fig 1. – Capital entrance in Romania (mil. Euro).
Source: *RNB*

These capital fluxes can generate currency crisis as those in South America, South-East Asia. The graphic shows that the highest level of portfolio investments in Romania took place in 1996 and 1997, as a result of the foundation of Bucharest Stock Exchange of Values and RASDAQ market. In the following years the situation changed because of Romania's problem with the external debt and due to the crisis confronted by Russia and as a consequence in 1999 there were exits of capital from Romania, the balance account of foreign portfolio investments being negative.

Special attention is given in Romania to the efficient management of capital fluxes especially those with impact over the Payment Balance. Thus, taking into consideration the negative effects the liberalization of capital account might generate, but also the international experience, the macro-economical body of decision must ensure a series of measures, considered by specialists, of crucial importance:

-the lowering of internal interest rates to reduce the differential of interest compared to the international environment;

- the raising of exchange currency flexibility;

- the maintaining of some restrictions and the formulation of capital account;

- the sterilization by the central bank of the entrance of capital;

- the strengthening of fiscal discipline.

Concerning the policy of the usury interest rate applied to Romania in the process of the liberalization of capital account we have noticed that starting with the year 2001 the efficiency of the interest rate channel grows better and better, being able and identify a co-integration relationship between the monetary policy interest and the market interests, witch in fact shows the efficiency of the channel of monetary policy transmission interest rate.

The National Bank of Romania adopted a policy of continuous lowering of interest rates as a consequence of both the necessity of disinflation and especially in order to reduce the risks linked to the liberalization of capital account. Despite all these, the tendency to reduce the interest rates has been interrupted twice, for short periods of time (2000-2001, 2003-2004) to prevent some economical side-slip.

Starting from 2005 as a result of the liberalization of non-residents access to term deposits in national currency, RNB policy interest in national had to face new constraints. The existence a raised differential of internal interest rate in comparison with the external one could have encouraged the speculative entrances of capital witch could have created inflationist pressures and would have led to the appreciation of the exchange course on short term.

According to specialists, RNB confronted the Tosovsky dilemma witch refers to the contradiction appeared between the necessity of reducing the rates of interest in the process of liberalization and the requirements concerning the aggregate demand control from the perspective of the disinflation process, witch could imply higher rates of the interest.

Fig. 2 – The evolution of monetary policy interest starting from 2003 to 2005.

Under these circumstances, the strategy adopted by RBN was one of continuing the reducing of monetary policy interest from 20, 75% in may 2004 to 12,5% in April 2005, respectively 7,5% in October 2005 (image 2). At the same time the temporary split of monetary interest from the effective sterilization interest witch had a lowering tendency.

As a result of this strategy, the deferential between interval interest rate and the external one reduced continuously down to a negative level in September-November 2005 as a consequence of the sterilization of the excess of liquidity on monetary market.

4. Conclusions

The liberalization of capital account represents an important step in the economical and financial reform of Romania, but we have to remember the risks that the last stages of this process bring. The full liberalization of capital account of capital account will lead to attraction of important capital fluxes by our country.

As the global experience demonstrates the liberalization of capital account will hold as direct effect a more efficient allocation of capital, directing it to the most productive directions with a reduction of financial costs, a development of Romania's financial system a good development of the Corporalist Governess and of the business domain and also of the strengthening of macro-economical discipline.

In order to prevent some negative effects generated by the liberalization of the capital fluxes, especially the risk of excessive growth took a series of measures regarding the perfecting of prudential banking standards, the generalization of international accounting standards.

Concerning the risks linked to portfolio investments witch can expose the national economy to sudden entrance and exits of capital, they will be prevented through the growth of the exchange course flexibility and the comfortable level touched by the official currency stocks possessed by RNB.

The policies adopted by the Romanian National Bank, regarding the interests and the flexibility of the exchange course are ment to discourage the entrance of speculative capital. The measures adopted by Romania regarding the reform of public administration, the efficiency of infra-structure, the reducing of the uncertainty degree of economical medium through the stability prices, the rates of interest represent premises of the growth of direct foreign investments in Romania.

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4. IMF, *Country Report* no. 04/2002.

THE LIBERALIZATION CAPITAL ACCOUNT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

(Abstract)

In the scientific literature numerous models have been published of competitiveness and financial market highlighted the fact that the opening of capital account can make the process of economical growth more rapid especially through free capital circulation but opposed points of view have emphasized some risks of an open capital account. Thus we have highlighted the fact that due to the existence of an informational asymmetry on the capital market, the liberalization of capital account doesn't necessarily lead to a better resource sharing, especially when the respective markets are characterized by major distortions.

The policies adopted by the Romanian National Bank, regarding the interests and the flexibility of the exchange course are ment to discourage the entrance of speculative capital. The measures adopted by Romania regarding the reform of public administration, the efficiency of infra-structure, the reducing of the uncertainty degree of economical medium through the stability prices, the rates of interest represent premises of the growth of direct foreign investments in Romania.

LABOUR MARKET OF THE DEVELOPING REGION IN SOUTH-WEST OLTENIA

MARIN BĂBEANU

Labour market in Romania was formed in the second half of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century. The third, fourth and fifth decades of the 20th century were characterized by a considerable increase of the volume and importance of the national labour market; during socialism (1948-1989), the spontaneous adjusting mechanism of this market was replaced by the centralized planning system of the training, distribution and use of the labour; after the events in December 1989 there have been initiated the actions regarding restructuring the free labour market.

Re-institutionalizing the free labour market in Romania formed part of the general process of reform and transition. Work legislation has been re-elaborated and improved; new institutions of the work market were created and became functional; economical-social structures to support free labour market were created; market mentalities and conducts of labour bidders and requesters were deep-rooted.

Labour market is imperfect and inhomogeneous, it manifests like a structured and segmented market, which becomes functional only within interdependencies between its structural components, between local and regional markets, between national and international work market.

Regional markets are crucial for the national labour market's functioning and equilibrium. That is why, research in the regional profile of the labour market supplies, in a coherent manner, information regarding demo-social-economical correlations of every developing national region, allowing at the same time, comparisons among functional parameters of different regional force markets.

The developing region in the South-West of Oltenia, covering Dolj, Corj, Mehedinti, Olt and Valcea counties, with a population of 2.3 million people, in 2005, occupies 10.7% of Romanian's population, 11.4% of the active and occupied population, as well as 10.5% of the total number of unemployed people.

The participation potential of a developing region to the national work force market is assessed mainly according to three indicators: active population, occupied population and unemployment level. The first indicator broadly reflects the work force offer; the second one reflects the work force request and the third one, the quantum of the disequilibrium between the first two indicators. Unemployment represents the price which inevitably has to be paid in order to

maintain the work market equilibrium and to reduce inflation[1]; it is one of the most important problems nowadays[2].

Table 1

Participation of the population in the South-West Oltenia in the labour, years 200-2005

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Active population (thousand people)	1.356	1.368	1.162	1.145	1.123	1.117
Occupied population (thousand people)	1.282	1.296	1.083	1.076	2.039	1.043
IWO[3] unempoyed (thousand people)	74	72	79	69	84	74
Activity rate[4]	73.8	74.1	66.8	66.3	65.2	64.8
Occupation rate[5]	69.1	69.5	61.8	62.0	59.9	60.1
IWO unemployment rate	5.5	5.3	6.8	6.0	7.5	6.6

Source: Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 147

        The three main indicators of the work force market have three corresponding rates: the activity rate, occupation rate and unemployment rate. The activity rate of the people in the South-West Oltenia area has evolved decreasingly during 2000-2005, from 73.8% to 64.8%, although it has been every year 2.4-6.4% above the activity rate determined at national level. Compared to the other developing regions, the activity rate in the South-West Oltenia area has been higher than the rate registered in the South-West, South Muntenia, West, North-West, Centre and Bucharest-Ilfov areas. At the same time, the South-West Oltenia area surpassed the North-East area during 2000-2003, being outdone by this region in 2004 and 2005, as far as the population activity rate is concerned.

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        [1] Grigore Liliana, *Piaţa muncii pe plan mondial*, Bucureşti, Editura Lumina Lex, 2000, p. 27.

        [2] Pricewaterhouse *Coopers, Educating of the Public Trust*, New York, 2003, p. 4.

        [3] IWO- International Work Office.

        [4] The report between active population and total population of age 15-64, expressed as percentage.

        [5] The report between occupied population and total population of age 15-64, expressed as percentage.

Table 2

Structure of the population in the developing region of the South-West Oltenia,
according to the participation in the economical activity, on age groups,
in the year 2005

Age group	Total population	Active people			Inactive people
		Total	Occupied	ILO Unemployed people	
Total	100.0	48.2	45.0	3.2	51.8
15-64 years old, out of who:	100.0	64.8	60.0	4.7	35.2
15-24 years old	100.0	30.6	24.9	5.7	69.4
25-34 years old	100.0	79.9	73.0	6.9	20.1
35-44 years old	100.0	82.8	77.1	5.7	17.2
45-54 years old	100.0	77.0	73.9	3.1	23.0
55-64 years old	100.0	52.5	51.9	0.6	47.5
65 years old and over 65 years old	100.0	25.0	25.0	-	75.0

Source: Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 155

In 2005, inactive people detained a proportion of 51.8% of the total population in the South-West Oltenia region, while active people weighed 48.2%, 45.0% respectively, being occupied people and 3.2% of the people being in the lay-off period. Active people of age 15-64 years old detain a 64.8% weight of the total population in the region, and inactive people a 35.2% weight. 65 and over 65 year old people are active in a 25% proportion and inactive in a 75% proportion.

The population in the 25-34, 35-44 and 45-54 age categories contribute decisively to the formation of the active population in the area. The amount of inactive people within these categories is the lowest at the level of the work force market in the South-West Oltenia area.

Out of the 15-24 year old population in the region, 30.6% are active people and 69.4% inactive people. Likewise, out of the 55-64 year old population, 52.5% are active people and 47.5% are inactive.

As far as the occupation rate of the population in the South-West Oltenia area is concerned, the same predominantly decreasing tendency is to be noticed, during 2000-2005, but the phenomenon intensity is inferior to the decrease of the occupation rate at national level. The occupation rate decreased from 69.1% to 60.1% due, first of all, to the decrease of occupied population from 1.3 million people in 2000 to 1.043 million people in 2005. Out of the total occupied population of the region, 950 thousand people ranged between 15-64 years old and 93 thousand people were 65 and over 65 years old; in the 15-24 year category 86 thousand people were occupied, in the 25-34 year category 260 thousand were occupied, in the 35-44 year category about 248 people were occupied and in the 55-64 category 128 thousand people were occupied.

Women represent 45.8% of the total occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area, while men represent 54.2%. Within the occupied population, 15-64 year old feminine category is reduced to 44.9%, but the occupied feminine population increased to 55.1%.

The structure of the occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area, according to the training level, shows that 11.1% of the people have university studies, 6% have specialized post high-school studies, and 21.9% have vocation school, complementary or apprentice studies, 21.1% with middle school education and 11.5% with primary school education.

Table 3

Structure of the occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area, according to the training level and age groups, in 2005

Training level	Total of occupied population (thousand people)	Out of who, in work age						65 year old and over
		Total 15-64	Age groups (years old):					
			15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
Total area	1043	950	86	260	248	228	128	93
Total (percent.)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
University	11.1	12.0	4.1	15.3	10.8	14.3	9.1	1.3
Post high-school or master	6.0	6.6	3.0	6.7	6.6	8.5	5.2	0.8
High-school	28.4	30.9	28.8	37.4	43.1	23.7	8.4	2.4
Vocational complementary or apprentice	21.9	23.5	21.3	21.9	27.5	27.1	13.9	5.8
Middle school	21.1	20.3	38.3	15.8	9.6	21.1	36.4	29.7
Primary school or no graduation	11.5	6.7	4.5	2.9	2.4	5.3	27.0	60.0

Source: Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 161

At national level, the structure of the occupied population, according to the training level, in 2005, was the following: people with university education 12.6%, with post high-school education or masters 4.8%, high-school graduates 30.7%, with vocational school education or apprentice 25.5%, middle school graduates 18.6% and primary school 7.8%.[6]

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[6] Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 117.

In the South-West Oltenia area the proportion of occupied population with university education is inferior to the national average, representing only 88.1% of the average; the proportion of occupied population with post high-school studies exceeds the national average with 25%; the proportion of high-school graduates is inferior to the national average and represents 92.5% of its level; the proportion of the people with vocational school studies represents 85.9% of the national average of this training level; occupied people with middle school studies exceed the national average and represent 113.4% (in comparison to the national average which is 100%); occupied people with primary school studies exceed the national average (of 100) with 47,4%.

In rapport with other developing areas, the structure of occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area, according to the training level, presents the following characteristics:

• At the "university studies" training level, it exceeds the North-East, South-East, South-Muntenia and North-West areas, being exceeded by the West, Centre and Bucharest-Ilfov regions, the last one outclassing all the other areas;

• At "post high-school and master studies" training level, the South-West Oltenia area exceeds, as proportion of the occupied population, all the other regions;

• At "high-school studies" training level, the occupied population of the analyzed region exceeds only the North-East region, being outclassed by all the other developing regions;

• At the "vocational school, complementary school or apprentice studies" training level, except for the Bucharest-Ilfov area, the South-West Oltenia area is exceeded by all the other developing regions;

• At the „middle school" training level, the proportion of occupied population the South-West Oltenia area is outclassed by the North-East region, and in turn, exceeds the following areas" South-East, South-Muntenia, West, Centre and Bucharest-Ilfov;

• The proportion of occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area, at the „primary school or non-graduate" training level is exceeded only by the North-Eats area, which means that the general training level of the population in most of the developing regions is a better one.

The structure on sexes and training level of the occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area underlines the existence of an advantage of men in comparison with women. Thus, masculine population with university studies has a 6% proportion, while feminine population, 5.1%; regarding specialized post high-school studies, the proportions are 3.1% for men and 2.9% for women, for high-school graduates the rapport is 15% men and 13.4% women; for vocational school graduates men's proportion is of 15.8%, and women's of 6.1%; as far as middle-school education is concerned, the values are inverted: men represent 9.9% and women 11.2%; at the training level of primary graduates, men's proportion is of 4.4% and women's 7.1%.

The professional status of occupied population reflects the way a people obtain their incomes, as consequence of exerting activities like: wage worker, employer, and workers on their own, unremunerated familial worker, member of an agricultural company or of a non-agricultural cooperative society.

Table 4
Structure of the occupied population in the South-West Oltenia area, according to professional status and age groups, in 2005

Professional status	Total of occupied population (thousand people)	Out of who, in work age (%)						65 year old and over
		Total 15-64	Age groups (years old):					
			15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
Total	1043	91.0	8.3	24.9	23.7	21.8	12.3	9.0
Wage workers	517	99.0	6.2	30.3	31.1	26.8	5.5	0.1
Employers	11	99.0	-	19.8	43.5	29.3	6.4	1.0
Workers on their own	254	78.0	2.0	14.3	18.2	20.4	23.1	22.0
Familial workers unremunerated	260	85.9	18.9	24.7	13.8	13.0	15.5	14.1
Member of an agricultural society or of a cooperative society	-	85.9	-	-	41.9	44.0	-	14.1

Source: Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 167

Wage earners usually form part of the structure of occupied population, according to its professional status, 76.2% respectively; people who work on their own detain a proportion of 13.9%; familial workers unremunerated occupy a proportion of 8.3% and employers, 1.6%. Out of the total number of occupied people, 97.8% are between 15-64 years old (9% between 15-24, 28.3% between 25-34, 27.5% between 35-44, 24.6% between 45-54 and 8% between 55-64), and 2.2% are 65 or over 65 years old.

The structure regarding activities of the occupied population in the South-West Oltenia developing region proves that 49% of the occupied people work in agriculture and forestry, about 24% in industry and constructions and about 27% in services and other activities (7.6% in trade, 0.8% in hotels-restaurants domain, 3.6% in transports, storage and communications, 0.8% in financial

intermediations, 1.8% in real estate transactions, 4.8% in public administration and defence, 6.4% in the education system, health and assistance, etc.[7]

The number of IWO unemployed people in the South-West Oltenia region, registered in 2005, is of 74 thousand people out of who: 42 thousand are men and 32 thousand, women, 53 thousand in urban areas and 21 thousand in rural areas. Reported to the number of unemployed people at national level, the unemployed in the South-West Oltenia region represent 10.5% of the total number of unemployed people, 10% of the unemployed males, 11.3% of the unemployed females, 11.2% of the unemployed in urban areas and 9.1% of the unemployed in rural areas.[8]

The unemployment rate in the South-West Oltenia region, with a 6.6% level, is inferior to the unemployment determined at national level with 7.2 percentages.

The unemployment phenomenon does not exclude the existence of vacant jobs, which result from the non-correlation between work force request and offer, global and structural, at the level of both national and regional markets. The vacant workplaces rate in the Oltenia region was of 1.14% in 2005; it is lower than the unoccupied workplaces in all the other developing regions, it is thus lower than the national rate. Most of the vacant workplaces are in health domain and social security (a 3.4% rate), in agriculture and forestry (3.22%), public administration and defence (2.88%) as well as other activities (2.10%). [9]

The realistic analysis of the participation of the population in the South-West Oltenia region in the work force market, besides functional aspects, cannot abstract from the drawbacks of this market. Thus:

• During 1990-2005, the demographic decrease of the region negatively affected the size and structure of the active and inactive population, as well as the occupied population;

• On long term, he demographic factor decreased its pressure on the regional market of work force, but not through rapid economical growth in the area, but through reducing and ageing of people;

• The level of the activity rate and of the occupation rate have had an descendant trend. The activity rate of the population is about 5 percentages below the level of the average activity rate in the European Union; it is therefore higher than the activity rate of the population at national level. The occupation rate of the population in the Oltenia region (of 60.1%) is higher than the occupation rate of the population within working age at national level, but it is inferior to the strategic objective of the European Union (of 70%) regarding the reorientation towards development and occupation;

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[7] Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 174.
[8] Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 113-147.
[9] Romania's Statistics Annual, 2006, p. 204-205.

• The proportion of the occupied population in agriculture and forestry is excessive (49% both in rapport to the assembly of economical activities in Romania, where the proportion was of 34.1% and with the average situation in the other countries of the European Union, where the proportion of occupied population in agriculture was of 5.2% in 2005;

• The proportion of the occupied population in the industry and constructions fields, of about 24% of the total population in the region, is inferior to the average at national level, of about 30% and emphasizes a decline of the industry in the Oltenia region, much more pronounced, in rapport to the overall evolution of Romania's industry. The occupied population in the region increased slowly, up to a proportion of about 27% of the total occupied population in the region, but lower than the national average (34.9) with about 8 percentage points, and in comparison with the average of the other countries in the European Union (of 69.9) with 43 percentage points;

• The unemployment rate in the South-West Oltenia region is inferior to the unemployment rate at national level, but long term unemployment and unemployment of the 15-30 year old population represent the main sources which supply unemployment in the region.

The main causes in the evolution of the phenomena on the work force market in the South-West Oltenia developing region were: general economical decline, in the context of internal market's narrowing of goods and service, as well as loss of certain important segments on the external market, delay of the privatisation process of the important industrial objectives, investment reducing in the case of restructuring unprofitable economic agents, low mobility of the work force in territorial and professional plan, constraints determined by the international economic environment etc.

LE MARCHÉ DU TRAVAIL DE LA RÉGION EN DEVELOPPEMENT SUD-OUEST (OLTÉNIE)

(Résumé)

Dans l`article sont présentées quelques considérations sur le fonctionnement des structures régionales du marché du travail roumain, sur l`exemple de la région du développement Sud-Ouest (Olténie).

Les caractéristiques et les particularités, mais aussi les disfonctionnements du marché régional du travail se trouve dans le contenu de l'article.

THE GENETIC CONTROL FACTORS OF THE LIGNITE TYPES FROM WESTERN OLTENIA

SANDU BOENGIU

The territory located South of the Southern Carpathians and West of the Jiu up to the Danube, includes, from the geological point of view, two major structural units: the Carpathian Foredeep (Getic Depression) and the Wallachian Platform (part of the Moesic Platform situated between the Southern Carpathians and the Danube).

The formation of the coal from western Oltenia was conditioned by many factors; the quantitative and qualitative features of the lignite types from western Oltenia depended on the paleogeographical factor, tectonic factor, climatic factor, biotic factor, and on the coal-like facieses factor. Besides the genetic control exerted by these factors, the persistency time of certain specific conditions played a determinant role.

a) The tectonic factor

Within the Dacic Basin, there developed two structural-genetic types of coal-generating areas: the Carpathian Foredeep, where the coal-like complexes display a great development, and the Moesic Platform, where the coal accumulations are poorer (Fig.1). Thus, we can talk about a Pliocene coal-bearing basin only within the molasses-like filling from the foredeep, which presents a maximum development along its inner side; here, there are located about 22 coal beds more than 2 m thick.

The coal accumulations from the cover of the platform belong to the category of anthracophores, which always has a reduced number of beds (2-3) that are more than 2 m thick and cover small surfaces; within the area of the Carpathian Foredeep, it can be noticed a close correlation between the greatest thickness of the most important coal beds and the areas where Motru coal-like complex reaches thicknesses oscillating between 80 and 140 m.

The tectonic factor that qualitatively controls the coal genesis is the differential subsidence, while from the qualitative point of view the hydrological regime of the marsh determines the type of coal generating vegetation.

The accumulation of the filling up deposits in the inner flank of the foredeep corresponds to the Rhodonian-Wallachian tectogenetic stage. The vertical tectonic movements represent the main cause of the regularity of the sedimentary deposits, especially of the coal deposits. The research emphasized the oscillating-rhythmic character of the vertical movements from Motru – Jiu area; thus, it was possible to separate more sedimentation stages. A complete stage is made up of a lignite bed and the rocks from its top. It was established, as

a condition necessary for the formation of a peat bed, that its speed of increase has to be equal to the sinking speed; thus, the lignite deposits from the Dacic Basin could develop[1].
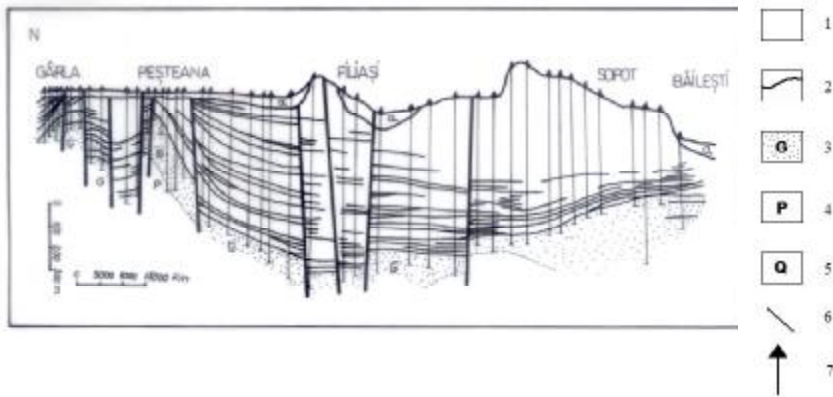

Fig. 1. – Cross section through Pliocene deposits with coal west of the Jiu river[2]:
1) predominantly clayish deposits; 2) sand strata and intercalations; 3) lower Dacian (Getian) sandy deposits; 4) predominantly Pontian marl deposits; 5) Quaternary deposits; 6) faults; 7) exploring leads.

In the evolution of the Pliocene coal-bearing field from Oltenia, there succeeded many main stages that include the fluvial, fluvial-lacustrine, telematic, and lacustrine phases, when the main coal bed formed. The second cause of regularity is represented by the fluvial divagation mechanism, which led to the formation of some thin coal bed in incomplete stages.

Subsidence was quite active within the entire Oltenia and very uneven as duration, especially if we take into account that this territory is located on two distinct major tectonic units, which had their own independent movements of oscillation.

Within the Pliocene deposits from Oltenia, there can be distinguished: coal deposits overlapped to the platform, which comprise relatively thin coal-like complexes and with a low number of coal beds; coal deposits overlapped to the foredeep, which are the thickest and the most numerous, due to a long period of stagnation / slow sinking and to a repeated instability.

b) The paleogeographical factor

From the paleogeographical point of view, there can be noticed two types of coal sedimentation basins, paralic and limnic.

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[1] C. Enache, L. Pănoiu, *L'escauisse tectonique des dépôts à lignites de la région comprise entre le Jiu et Danube*, dans ,,Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai", Série Géographie, 1989, p. 29; S. Pauliuc şi al., *Le rôle des fracteurs tectoniques et paléógéographiques dans la genèse de la formation lignitifére de Jiu-Motru entre les vallées de Motru et de Jiltz,* ,,Annales de l'Université du Bucarest", 1988, p. 28.

[2] S. Boengiu, C. Enache, **The evolution of the pliocen-cuaternary paleofora in the Motru basin, ,,**Forum Geografic", no.1., Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2002, p. 69-75.

The limnic basins can be large when they are low, as it is the case of Oltenia basin, or small, according to the size of the depression as well, when they are high, intermountain, as it is Comănești basin. There predominate the telematic and shallow submerged environments, which influence the quantity and the quality of the coals. The limnic coal-generating marshes installed in lacustrine, fluvial, and, more rarely, in fluvial-deltaic depositing systems.

The paleogeographic factor influenced the formation, development, and evolution of coal-generating marshes. The geographical location of a marsh as compared to the continent and the sea is determinant for the types of vegetal associations, for the marsh water features and for the quality of the organic sediment[3].

In Oltenia, there can be noticed lignite beds with regional extension, as the V bed, which geographically can be considered as formed on a littoral plain, at the shore of the Pliocene lake, where water increased constantly and equivalently to the rate the marginal marsh was covered as the shore of this lake gradually advanced.

Unlike the lignite beds formed in such conditions, there appear other beds, especially on the western side of the basin, which cover small surfaces and are mostly elongated, suggesting their formation in a fluvial domain due to their transformation in a marsh.

It is the case of the II and III lignite beds located west of the Motru and of some intercalations of lignite located above the V bed, which cannot be correlated.

Within Motru-Rovinari coal field, as well as in the area of the lignite Pliocene deposits located south of the alignment Strehaia-Filiași-Craiova, the paleogeographical factor favourable to the formation of the lignite beds, especially in the formation of Motru-Jiu, was the presence of a plain relief, which allowed the extension of the coal-generating marsh regime on large areas.

These marshes could rapidly be covered by water, as the level of the Pliocene lake and their supply with psammitic-psefitic material through marshy deltas increased.

The sedimentation stages present in the evolution of the Pliocene coal field from Oltenia are characteristic to an accumulation plain and they comprise: the telematic phases, when subsidence was low and equal to the accumulation of the vegetal parental material; the lacustrine phases, achieved as subsidence increased, which led to the accumulation of certain predominantly clayish deposits and the fluvial phases, when the areas located outside the basin rose more rapidly, erosion strengthened and the hydrographical system carried large quantities of psammites.

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[3] P. Enciu, I. Andreescu, *Stratigraphy of the Pliocene-Pleistocene deposits in the south-western part of the Dacic Basin (Jiu – Desnățui Sector),* in "Dări de Seamă", Institute of Geology and Geophysics, tome 74/4, București, 1990, p. 141-156.

We can appreciate that the main features of the accumulation fields present in the interval Dacian-Romanian from western Oltenia are: the regularity of the deposits, the persistency of the plain and the gradual withdrawal of its surface.

Generally, the sedimentation, especially during the Dacian, was calm and characterized by a slow subsidence. All the conditions were favourable to the development of certain marshes that covered a large part of the territory located west of the Olt and displayed deltas, wind dunes, and fluvial contributions.

By analysing the thickness of the lithofacies deposits and the distribution of sands, one can state that the Pliocene lake was limited by numerous convergent rivers that generally corresponded to some present rivers: the Olt, the Jiu, the Motru[4]. These rivers deposited materials at their mouth in lacustrine deltas with submerged and low declivity surfaces that favoured the formation of ample meanders within the submerged areas and levees along the channels.

Even during the accumulation of Berbeşti formation, within the distal submerged areas, there appeared submerged offshore bars among which there developed flood plains rapidly clogged and usually transformed into marshes, which had a short existence during the fluvial phases and a long one during the telematic phases, when peat usually accumulated.

According to the coal accumulations it can be deduced that the morphology of the basin evolved as an alluvial lacustrine plain with moments when the coal-generating marshes induced the Foredeep and the Moesic Platform at the same time. Such a situation occurred (as we have already illustrated) during the accumulation of the V coal bed, which covered the largest surface from western Oltenia.

c) The climatic factor

The climatic factor directly and decisively influences the development and the regional distribution of vegetation. The paleontological features[5] emphasized that the cooling of the climate continued in Oltenia during the Upper Pontian. The flora elements characteristic to the temperate climate became exclusive making up a vegetal cover characteristic to an average altitude of about 1,000 m, on the land neighbouring the sedimentation basin[6].

The climatic factor is the same on large surfaces and it is characterized by rainy periods, when the water level increased in the peat bog and by drier periods, when the water level decreased. In this last case, the formation of peat was interrupted and it was separated by thin intercalations in many lakes.

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[4] N. Ţicleanu, *Modèle génétique conceptuel des accumulations de charbon du Bassin Dacique, Cronostratigraphie und neostratotipen*, Editions de l' Académie Roumaine, Bucarest, 1995, p. 8-10.

[5] S. Boengiu, C. Enache, *Des faciès paléontologiques mio-pliocenes en Oltenia,* in Etudes et communications, Sciences de la Terre, Vol. *XVI*, Craiova, Editions MJM, 2000, p. 43-47.

[6] L. Apostol, C.Enache, *Etude de l'espece Dicerorhinus megarinus (de Christol) du bassin carbonifère du Motru,* in "Trav. Mus. Hist. Nat. Gr. Antipa.", vol. XX. Bucureşti, 1979, p. 533-542.

During the depositing of the Dacian coals, the climate displayed mean annual temperatures higher than nowadays, with small differences between summer and winter; so, it was a warm-temperate climate with a humidity favourable to the development of subtropical elements.

The subsequent modifications of the thermal and hydric factors led to a more continental climate, which is well-reflected in the flora remains[7].

The palynological research made at the level of the VIII lignite bed from Lupoaia-Motru open pit proved that the warming of the climate during the Lower Romanian is supported by the increase of the quantity of intermediary (*Abies, carva, Pterocarya, Yelcova, Tilia* etc.) and thermophilic elements (*Arecipites, Monocolpopollenites, Myrica, Recvesia, Symplocos* etc.). The artic-tertiary elements (*Picea, Tsuga, carpinus, Ulmus* etc.) continued to be well represented.

On the bases of the diversity of the thermophilic and intermediary elements it can be proven that there occurred a warming of the climate as compared to the Lower Dacian, but the precipitation amount was lower than the one registered during the Lower Dacian.

The warm and moist temperate climate, which favoured the development of vegetation in the proximity of the sedimentation basin, presented mean temperatures of 13 – 14°C and about 1,000 – 1,100 mm annual rainfall.

An original reconstitution of the marshy paleoenvironment from the Lower Romanian from Lupoaia – Motru can be found in the Palaeontology Museum of Babeş – Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.

d) The biotic factor

The vegetal communities represented a main controlling factor of the peat features and the features of the resulting coal initially depended on the quantity and on the quality of the vegetal material. The influence of the phytologic factor upon the petrographic composition of the lignite from Oltenia was well emphasized by the research that separated 5 paleophytocoenoses installed in 5 paleobiotopes: the marginal area → the forest with *Sequoia*; the seasonally flooded area → the marsh with sedge alternating with deciduous forests; the area almost permanently flooded → the marsh with *Gliptostrobus*; the permanently flooded area (0 – 2 m) → the marsh with *Phragmites*; the permanently flooded area (2 – 3 m) → the marsh with aquatic plants.

Even if it is macroscopically and palynologically documented, the researchers consider that the forest with *Sequoia abienta* developed at random and there are only a few trees, which are not significant as coal-generating material.

The participation of different taxons in the paleophytocoenoses is the following one: 32% *Gliptostrobus europaeus* and *Gliptrotroboxylon;* 10% *Phragmites oeningensis*; 14% *Byttneriophyllum;* 10 % *Salix;* 8% *Monocotyla* div. sp.; 8% aquatic plants; 4% *Typha*.

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[7] St. Roman, *Observations concernant les palynomorphes, Cronotratigraphie und neostratotipen*, Bucureşti, Editions de l'Académie Roumaine, 1995, p. 72.

It has to be underlined that these paleocoenoses were not closed; they interpenetrated and thus, it resulted a peat with multiple origins, fact that can be deduced from the study of the lithotypes that make up the lignite.

The palynological studies made at the level of the Romanian determined paleophytocoenoses with *Glyptostrobus*, *Myrica* – associated with *Salix, Alnus, Acer, Cyrilla, Ilex, Symplococos, Osmunda* and *Polypodiacee,* with reeds (*Phragmites, Typha, Stratiotes, Sphagnum*) and with *Nympheaceae*, *Salvinia, Botrycoccus*.

On the basis of the petrological analysis it is considered that the wood of *Glyptostrobus* led to the appearance of xylit in proportion of 50%. Due to the resistance of *Glyptostrobus* wood to the transformation in humic acids of celluloses and lignin and to the fact that this coniferous raised in marshes with permanent water where it could be humificated and not decomposed, it results that there were gathered all the conditions of transformation into xylitic coal.

The paleophytocoenosis with *Phragmites* led to the appearance of poor xylitic coals, while the one with *Phragmites* and *Byttneriophyllum* to detritic coal.

The fruit, seeds, and especially the leaves of the trees, as well as the rhizomes of different paludous and aquatic herbaceous plants, form detritic coal through annual accumulation and in mixture with a mineral substance.

The content of macerals is well represented by textinit, followed by huminit (testo-huminit). There also appear humodetrinit and humocolinit. The liptinit and the inertinit are sporadic macerals. The poorly xylitic coal is made up of humeodetrinit and humeodetrinites and humeocolinites, with a low content of liptinit and internit, while the detritic coal is made up of humodetrinit (49 – 77%) and some humotelinit.

The liptinit appears quite rarely and as cutinit. The chemical analyses made upon the fusinit proved that it come from the accidental fire of the marsh forests with *Glyptostrobus*.

The modifications of the water depth induced by the tectonic and epeirogenetic movements determined the vertical alternation of the paleophytocoenoses and the formation of the genetic series confirmed by petrographic analyses. On the basis of the reconstitution of the genetic series, there were drawn humito-genetic maps at the level of the V coal bed, by means of which it was established that the *Glyptostrobus – Phragmites* vegetal group had the most important (qualitative and quantitative) contribution to the formation of the lignite types from western Oltenia.

As compared to the present flora, it is obvious that, during the Dacian, there predominated the east-Asian and north-American elements and not the Caucasian, Mediterranean, and central-European ones.

In Romania however, it began the proliferation of the Mediterranean and central-European elements as compared to the Asian and Atlantic-north American ones, as well as the diminution of the Dacian subtropical elements, which found a refuge west of the Motru River.

During the Lower Dacian, in the lignite deposits, it can be noticed the presence of pollen of Sapofaceae, Cyrilaceae, Melvaceae and of dinoflagelates, such as *Leptodinium, Millioydodinium* and *Pyxidinopsis*.

For the Dacian lignite deposits, the depositing environments can be revealed through palynological analysis. Thus, for the areas located below the water, it can be noticed the presence of spores of aquatic ferns, such as: *Azolla donica, Azolla tegeliensis* and *Salvinia*.

The determined polynic specters[8] emphasized a closing of the lagoon formation represented by the pollen of *Taxodium* and *Glyptostrobus*, at which it can be added the existence of reeds expressed by the pollen of *Typha*, from many altitudes. Thus, it appeared a coniferous area dominated by Picea, Abies, Tsuga and Cedrus, and their pollen was carried by the air currents in the coal-generating marsh and a hornbeam-beech forest and a deciduous forest with *Quercus, Ulmus, Tilia, Petrocarya, Juglans* and *Carpinus*.

In the lagoon formation, there persisted some groups of Taxodium and Glyptostrobus. he oscillations of the level of the lake determined the presence of steppe vegetation through the pollen of *Artemisia* and of Chenopodiaceae (*Atriplex* and *Kochia*).

e) The coal-like facieses factor

The qualitative features of the original peat and, thus, of the coal beds resulted from it depend on many factors that join the category of coal-like facieses factor: the accumulation types of the vegetal material; the communities of peat-generating plants; the depositing environment; the marshes supply with nutrients; the value of the pH in the water of the marshes; the redox potential (Eh); the peat temperature; the bacterial activity.

The accumulation type determines one of the most important features of coals – the ash content.

The autochthony of the coal-generating vegetation from the Oltenia basin cannot be contested and the respective vegetation lived in 0-3 m deep water. This is first noticed on the basis of the research made at Timişeni in Rovinari Coal Field whwre, in certain fossil areas, it was found only one species: *Salix pliocenica*. *Osmunda regalis* found by the same author at Timişeni, distributed in the mountain forests, as well as *Scolopendrium* that lived on the shore of the lakes, can be considered "in situ" accumulated.

The fact that at the top of the VII lignite bed from Lupoaia and Roşiuţa mining exploitations from the Motru Valley there were found numerous impressions of only one species, which are attributed to *Byttneriophyllum tiliaeformis* form, supports this interpretation.

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[8] Petrescu et al., *Paleoclimatical significance of the palynological approach the Pliocene, deposits of Lupoaia*, in "Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University", Geol. Geog. XXXIV, Cluj, 1989, p. 23-26.

The vegetal detritus on the basis of which the West Oltenia lignite deposits formed, is characterized by the presence of trees (trunks, branches) mixed with leaves in a dominant proportion, which indicates an autochthonous accumulation.

At Rovinari there were found even 3 – 4 m high standing trunks the diameter of which oscillated between 0.2 and 0.5 m. Their roots could be noticed in the bed clay and they indicate an autochthonous deposit.

Through petrographic and paleobotanical studies made in the Pliocene coal deposits from Oltenia, there were emphasized 7 coal-like facieses. Among these, the facies of marsh forests with deciduous species[9] overlapped the periodically flooded areas characterized by paleophytocoenoses with *Byttneriophyllum tiliaefolium* or *Byttneriophyllum-Glyptostrobus, Byttneriophyllum-Salix* div. sp., *Glyptostrobus-Salix* div. sp. The facies of herbaceous marshes with *Carex* div. sp. Developed in the periodically flooded areas where the aerobe-anaerobe conditions succeeded. The facies of marsh forests with *Glyptostrobus* characterized the areas permanently covered by water in anaerobe conditions that allowed one of the most important coal genesis. The marsh facieses with *Phragmites oeningensis* and the facieses of the floating plants covered large surfaces, while the facies of open water and the facies with aquatic vegetation and *Sequoia* forests displayed a lower contribution to the coal genesis.

LES FACTEURS DU CONTRÔL GÉNÉTIQUE DES TYPES DE LIGNITE DANS L'OUEST DE L'OLTÉNIE

(Résumé)

Les facteurs paleogéographique dépositaire, tectonique, climatique, biotique et les faciès charbonniers ainsi que le temps de la persistance des certaines conditiones spécifiques ont eu un rol déterminant en ce qui concerne l'identification et l'analyse des mécanismes charbo-générateurs. L'exposé de l'évolution au long du Pliocène et du Cuaternaire a été realisé grâce aux recherches géologiques multiples (palynologiques, paléobotaniques, stratigrafiques et visant aussi l'exploitation des gisements de charbon et de pétrole de la zone). Les successions sylvestres et les conditions paleoclimatiques de la flore de Dacien, Romanien et Pleistocène ainsi que la stratification végétale sont bien présentés. Il fait de même une reconstruction de la convergence de la paleoflore avec la végétation actuelle. A partir des sources existentes, plus vastes, il a essayé de systématiser les statistiques et de distinguer les conditions physico-géographique (morphologiques, climatiques, hydrologiques et édaphiques) qui se sont succedées à la fin du Neogen et pendant le Cuaternaire.

Dès le Dacien le Lac Pliocène a été alimenté par bien des rivières convergentes, correspondant en général aux certains cours d'eau actuels ayant l'origine dans les Carpates: Motru et Jiu. Ceux-ci se jetaient, après l'issue de la region montagneuse, dans le Lac Pliocène, qui, fonction des oscilations isostatiques et des conditions climatiques, élargissait ou réduisait son aire d'expansion. Les baisses profondeurs du lac et la grande quantité des dépôts terrigènes psammites amenés par les rivières mettent en evidence l'existence des certaines paleocénoses près de la zone centrale du bassin.

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[9] S. Boengiu, *The Evolution of the Pliocene-Quaternary paleoflora in the Motru Basin,* "Annals of the University of Craiova", vol. V, Series Biology, Horticulture, T.P.P.A., Universitaria Publishing House, Craiova, 2000, p. 168.

Michel Maffesoli, *Le Réenchantement du monde. Une éthique pour notre temps*, Paris, La Table Ronde, 2007, 2006p.

La problématique du monde actuel déterminée par la contestation véhémente des valeurs traditionnelles, de toute sorte d'autorité intellectuelle, sociale, politique, mais surtout spirituelle et implicitement, par l'émergence d'une morale à rebours, gravite autour d'un grand dilemme : peut-on encore parler d'une morale en tant qu'ensemble des règles qui fonctionnent comme normes dans une société, ou de diverses éthiques propres à des groupes donnés ? C'est à cette question essentielle que l'ouvrage de Michel Maffesoli essaie de répondre d'une manière assez convaincante, même si l'auteur laisse la porte ouverte pour d'autres types d'interprétation.

S'appuyant sur la dimension de la *praxis*, le volume du professeur Michel Maffesoli examine le glissement d'une morale sclérosée vers des éthiques en gestation ; celles d'un «réenchantement du monde» que l'auteur a été le premier à annoncer, il y a quelques années, et qu'il systématise ici. La dissociation entre la morale et l'éthique devient opératoire dans le contexte l'étude des principes et des fondements de la morale. Selon l'auteur, cette distinction s'impose lorsqu'on remarque la désuétude de la profusion des bons sentiments, surtout au niveau d'une pensée hétérodoxe. Il s'agit d'une relation dialogique entre *pars destruens* et *pars construens*, selon la théorie de Simmel, un paradoxe fécond qui assure la cohérence de l'organisme fonctionnel.

La nouveauté de la démarche de Michel Maffesoli consiste dans la révélation d'un aspect fondateur qui vise le glissement du *logocentrisme* vers le *lococentrisme*, glissement qui renvoie à une attitude non judicative. Si l'éthique se présente comme mode de vie, comme manière d'exister à partir de l'environnement, alors la culture devient spécifique, n'ayant plus la prétention universelle de la civilisation. De ce point de vue, l'espace se manifeste comme un temps vécu, comme un lieu de la mémoire collective. «L'éthique domestique» ou bien «l'éthique tribale» apparaît comme une «éthique de la situation» qui représente «une juxtaposition de rituels quotidiens, créant un état d'âme collectif». Donc, ce type d'éthique, loin de l'intemporel et de l'universel, se retrouve au milieu de l'humanisme du présent.

«La morale saturée» en tant que conséquence majeure du présentéisme diffus signifie le déclin et la fin de la morale universelle et l'instauration de la philosophie de «l'instant éternel», avec ses variantes multiples d'éthiques particulières. L'imaginaire occidental abandonne le projet de la *Civitas Dei* en faveur de celui de la «société parfaite» de facture marxiste, fondé sur une morale de la production. En fait, la structure temporelle précise, engendrée par l'utopie marxiste, s'appuie sur la morale en tant qu'économie de soi et du monde. Carl Schmitt a bien montré la nécessité des dogmes comme «juridisation de l'immédiateté charismatique», dénonçant les aspects désordonnés du quotidien moderne qui a oublié les valeurs chrétiennes, surtout la médiation christique à l'intérieur de l'humain (voir aussi en ce sens Toader Paléologue, *Sous l'oeil du Grand Inquisiteur. Carl Schmitt et l'héritage de la théologie politique*, Paris, Cerf, 2004). L'exemple le plus effrayant possible pour ce type de «morale saturée» serait le cas du communisme en Union soviétique et dans les pays satellites (le phénomène du Goulag), un monde fondé sur un idéal moral criminel, à fortes justifications, légitimations et rationalisations scientifiques. On ne peut pas penser l'immoralisme éthique en son éternel recommencement si on ne revient toujours à ses sources qui résident dans la Révolution française, le Père fondateur de l'éthique moderne matérialiste, athée et rationalisante. Michel Maffesoli a parfaitement raison lorsqu'il rappelle le cas des maoïstes français, les porte-parole de la rééducation communiste en Chine au Cambodge et qui font maintenant la morale en tant qu'universitaires ou journalistes de

renom. Par conséquent, il faut toujours penser à une revalorisation de l'éthique à partir des fondements et des principes de la morale.

L'enjeu de l'entreprise de Michel Maffesoli réside dans la démonstration de la spécificité de l'éthique envisagée comme un «processus de correspondance, de reconnaissance et d'interpénétration» du destin commun des individus ou comme un acte de communication et d'interaction symbolique qui se circonscrit autour de l'*ethos* comme manière d'être et de penser. Par conséquent, l'auteur propose un modèle d'éthique à rebours, «éthique de la reliance» qui ne s'appuie pas sur une morale d'essence rationnelle, mais une éthique où l'affect a sa part.

Cette théorie fondée sur l'idée essentielle de la *participation*, quasiment au sens mystique ou magique du terme, implique une orientation majeure vers la valorisation de la communauté émotionnelle au détriment d'une rationalisation sociétale, à partir de la présupposition absolument juste selon laquelle une densification des codes particuliers, des manières d'être spécifiques renverse toute norme établie. Au-delà de l'idée de séparation, propre à la tradition chrétienne, «l'éthique de reliance» met l'accent sur la dimension de cette *entre-appartenance* qui renvoie à la vocation du moine, celle d'être uni structurellement à la catholicité, c'est-à-dire le monde en son entier. Cette éthique qui repose sur la logique de la coupure vise vraiment l'union des contraires, par une opération d'annulation des *coincidentia oppositorum*.

Le mérite de la démarche de Michel Maffesoli est celui de remettre en question, d'une manière logique impeccable et dans un discours souple et raffiné, les principes de la morale universelle et de déceler plusieurs éthiques particulières qui traduisent un «sentiment d'appartenance» propres aux *tribus* postmodernes. En fait, l'auteur découvre l'éthique postmoderne du «réenchantement du monde» comme expression du dépassement d'une «morale sclérosée». L'immoralisme éthique en gestation dans la société postmoderne consiste *realiter* dans l'union de la force et de la faiblesse. Il faut ajouter que c'est seulement la récupération des valeurs traditionnelles de la morale chrétienne qui reste la seule opportunité de répondre efficacement à l'immoralisme éthique, manifesté dans la société rationalisante et matérialiste moderne.

Constantin Mihai

Andras Foldi and Gabor Hamza, *The history and the institutions of roman law,* Budapest, Eotvos Lorand University Press, 234 p.

The history and the institutions of roman law was written having as a guide the very useful work belonging to Robert Brosz and Elemer Polay, first published in 1974. The authors, Andras Foldi and Gabor Hamza kept the values of the research done by Polay, but made it bigger, reconsidering the content as well.

Therefore, "The history and the institutions of roman law", analyzed by the manner in which the Roman law is being examined (with great accuracy), can be compared to the great book written by Tamas Vecsey and last published in 1907.

Very important is the way we understand the word *institutions* as the classical discipline taught in education and the private Roman law, kept till today in our civil codes. The authors wrote in the same manner as Brozs and Polay did by including into the text the sources in latin and their translation in Hungarian.

The book is completed with a detailed list of the sources and the bibliography, containing hundreds of positions as well as, a source index having around 3000 titles. The Roman law is being presented as the basis of the modern laws. The work of Andras Foldi and Gabor Hamza shows how the roman law influenced the history of many European countries from the Middle Ages until now.

The presentation, comprehensive and extensively documented of the Roman law is realized from the first on international level. The book analyzes how every institution belonging to

the Roman law was kept and transformed in time. The authors considered as an important task to present the dogmatic of the Roman law in a modern system, but in agreement with the sources.

The exact definition of the judicial concepts and the dogmatic essence as well as the social basis of the judicial institution received more attention from the authors. The work belonging to the Hungarian researchers it is not just a book that describes us the importance of the Roman law because she gives us many examples and curiosities known in ancient roman culture.

"The history and the institutions of roman law" it is a starting point for all those people that want to study law, history or language evolution. The authors give them a lot of searching tips in order to make their quest easier. Therefore of big importance is the structure of the book. She has 6 parts divided in 60 chapters as it follows:

1. The external history of Roman law
2. Law of procedure
3. The law of persons and family law
4. The law of thing
5. The law of obligations
6. The law of succession

The work shows how state and law were understood 2000 years ago and how Rome developed her international relations. It also brings to us pages of mentalities by analyzing the matrimony and the Roman concept of family.

Gabor Hamza and Andras Foldi describes all the social life through property and obligations ending with the principles of the law of succession.

"The history and the institutions of roman law" can be used by all kind of readers, researchers or not, being able to interest them almost in the same manner. The book helps the students from law in order to prepare for exams, giving them answers to their questions and being a guide for further studies.

It also gives a practical help for the jurists because they can find here many examples of how certain situations were solved by the Roman law. Historians and classical philologists and all those interested in the history of Ancient Rome or Roman law or their influence in Modern Europe, can observe that this book is like a small judicial Encyclopedia.

Marin Toma

Gh. Dănişor, *La liberté chez Hegel,* Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 2006, 160 p.

Le dernier livre apparu sous la signature du professeur Gh. Dănişor (*La liberté chez Hegel* , Ed. Universitaria, Craiova, 2006), s'inscrit dans la ligne des préoccupations de l'auteur pour comprendre les ressorts profonds de la philosophie de Hegel. La préoccupation de celui-ci est méritoire parce que comprendre Hegel signifie comprendre, en grande mesure, tout ce qui est arrivé dans l'histoire moderne de l'Europe après lui. Le rapport à la philosophie de Hegel équivaut au rapport aux principes de tout ce qui est arrivé dans les sociétés européennes depuis la période où il exposait sa doctrine à l'Université de Berlin jusqu'à présent.

La philosophie de Hegel est, d'une part, spéculative et, d'autre part, pratique. La majorité de ses écrits se situent du côté métaphysique-spéculatif. L'orientation vers la pratique est concrétisée spécialement dans son ouvrage *Principes de la philosophie du droit.*

En 2001 apparaît à la maison d'édition Ramuri, à Craiova, *La philosophie du droit chez Hegel* où Gh. Dănişor essaie de surprendre tant la manière dont Hegel conçoit le droit et l'État que le large contexte philosophique où est encadré le livre de ce grand penseur. En procédant de cette manière on constate, premièrement, une cohérence remarquable entre ses écrits métaphysiques-spéculatifs et sa conception de l'État et du droit et, deuxièmement, une reprise, par celui-ci de grandes idées de la philosophie universelle, surtout celles de l'Antiquité grecque. Dans *La philosophie du droit chez Hegel*, Gh. Dănişor pose les idées de Hegel, par comparaison, à côté des

idées d'Aristote, Descartes, Kant, en s'observant ainsi une certaine évolution de celles-ci jusqu'à leur concrétisation dans l'œuvre hégélienne.

La liberté chez Hegel que l'auteur a publié en 2006 apparaît de la nécessité de mentionner que les idées concrètes-pratiques contenues dans *Les principes de la philosophie du droit* sont, en fait, une continuation des idées métaphysiques qui visent le concept de liberté. Si, paradoxalement, dans *Les principes de la philosophie du droit* l'individu est libre dans la mesure où il se subordonne totalement à l'État, dans ses ouvrages de métaphysique (*La phénoménologie de l'esprit* et *La science de la logique*) la liberté est la clé de voûte sous laquelle se déroule le destin universel des peuples et de l'humanité dans son ensemble.

Le livre de l'auteur est important parce qu'il met en évidence le moteur du développement dialectique de la société vers la liberté. L'accès de Hegel, soutient l'auteur, à ce concept fondamental, se fait par la délimitation de sa philosophie par rapport aux courants de pensée connus : l'empirisme, la métaphysique traditionnelle, la connaissance immédiate, intuitive. Cette délimitation équivaut à une libération d'où résultera l'originalité de la pensée hégélienne. Comme l'auteur affirme «les dé-limitations sont nécessaires précisément parce qu'elles contiennent en elles-mêmes, caché, le concept de liberté».

En insistant sur la découverte des fondements de la pensée hégélienne, Gh. Dănişor découvre sous chaque concept la liberté en action. En fait, la philosophie hégélienne est une philosophie du sujet actif, un sujet qui tend de manière permanente à se libérer soi-même par l'identification avec l'absolu. Cet aspect st surpris par l'auteur dans la plupart de chapitres. En ce sens, on découvrira dans ce livre des chapitres tels : *La liberté en tant qu'autodétermination de l'universalité pure*, *La liberté en tant que surprise et conservation du temps historique*, *Le devenir en tant que différenciation atemporelle dans le champ de la liberté*, *L'être pur, la liberté et la discoursivité* etc.

Un chapitre intéressant du livre, plein de significations profondes, est le chapitre *Le rien pur en tant que fondement de la liberté*. L'analyse part ici de l'affirmation de Hegel conformément à laquelle «la forme la plus élevée du rien pour-soi serait la liberté; mais elle est la négativité, parce qu'elle s'approfondit en soi jusqu'à la plus grande intensité et est elle-même affirmation, à savoir absolue». En partant de cette affirmation Gh. Dănişor conclut que «la liberté appartient au domaine spéculatif là où il trône seulement la pensée pure. Le rien pur qui s'affirme comme être pur appartient donc à la pensée pure et c'est la liberté de pensée». La liberté, en d'autres termes, ce n'est pas la réalité extérieure mais c'est de cette raison qu'elle s'impose comme liberté, parce qu'elle n'est objet limité par d'autres objets. Ici on est en présence de la liberté absolue qui approche l'homme du divin.

Le livre *La liberté chez Hegel* doit être lu parce qu'il pose un regard original sur une philosophie qui a marqué le destin de l'humanité.

Roxana Radu

Cezar Avram, Paul Barbu, Gheorghe Bică, Daniela Buşă, Anca Ceauşescu, Ileana Cioarec, Dinică Ciobotea, Nicolae Grădinaru, Nicu Vintilă, Vladimir Osiac, Nicolae Stoicescu, Iolanda Tighiliu, *Dicţionarul istoric al localităţilor din judeţul Olt. Oraşele (Le dictionnaire historique des localités du dép. d' Olt. Les villes)*, Craiova, Editura Alma, 2006, 351 p.

Les instruments de travail (dictionnaire, bibliographies) demeurent encore un objectif important pour les spécialistes roumains. C'est pourquoi on doit saluer la parution pour l'année 2006 du premier volume d'un ensemble de cinq par lesquels se matérialise un projet ambitieux tel celui du dictionnaire historiques des localités du district Olt.

Dans ce volume, les auteurs Cezar Avram, Paul Emanoil Barbu, Gheorghe Bocă, Daniela Buşe, Anca Ceauşescu, Ileana Cioarec, Dinică Ciobotea, Nicolae Grădinaru, Vladimir Osiac, Nicolae Stoicescu, Nicu Vintilă, Iolanda Ţighiliu présentent les caractéristiques géographiques (position géographique, relief, climat, hydrographie, faune, sol et ressources

naturels), l'évolution administrative, historique et démographique, l'économie et les institutions des ces villes. Plusieurs informations y contenus sont inédites, les auteurs élargissant la base des données avec des nombreuses information provenant des archives locales et nationales.

Comme il est bien connu, l'idée de l'élaboration du dictionnaire historique des localités des districts d'Olténie est plus ancienne. En 1983 plus précisément, un collectif de chercheurs de l'Institut "Nicole Iorga" de Bucarest et de l'Institut de Recherches Socio-Humaines de Craiova "C. S. Nicolăescu Plopşor" a réussi faire inclure un tel sujet parmi leurs programmes de recherche scientifique. Toutefois, l'idée n'a pas bénéficié d'un appui solide ce qui a conduit à son abandon.

A partir de l'année 2003, cette action a été reprise par un groupe de chercheurs de l'Institut de Recherches Socio-Humaines de Craiova "C. S. Nicolăescu Plopşor", qui ont déposée la documentation nécessaire afin d'obtenir des finances. Le projet fut approuvé par l'Académie Roumain, suite du concours publique, qui a accepté de financer par un grant le déroulement du projet (Grant Nr. 11/2004, directeur dr. Cezar Avram).

Par l'élaboration de ce volume, des auteurs ont réussi d'offrir un instrument de travail pour les chercheurs scientifiques, professeurs et étudiants, un moyen d'information pour lesquels ils peuvent suivre le développement urbain de la région à partir de l'antiquité jusqu'à la période postcommuniste.

Ileana Cioarec

SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE

The International Seminary of Historic Studies
"From Rome to the Third Rome" Rome, 19-21 of April 2007

Since 1981, the University "La Sapienza" of Rome, organizes every year, together with the National Council of Italian Research, the International Seminary of Historical Studies *From Rome to the Third Rome*, celebrating the foundation of the city.

In 1986, The Science Academy of U.R.S.S (nowadays The Science Academy of Russia), joined as an official co organizer. Researchers from Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Switzerland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, Hungary and Vatican City State participated at the previous seminaries that took place at Rome, Moscow and Istanbul.

The main purpose of these seminaries is the study of the most important moments of history, in which the idea of Rome is used to discuss, eluding the ethnical and statehood of the European people. There are set off the roots of the political, juridical and religious instruments used to fight against nationalism and racism.

The 28th seminary took place between the 19th and the 21st of April 2007 in Rome, at Campidoglio, when there were celebrated 2760 years from the foundation of the city. The theme approached was *The people in history and law. From Rome to Constantinople and Moscow*, divided in three sections: I. *Urbs;* II. *Res publica*; III. *Populus Dei*.

The final meeting was dedicated to the 200 year anniversary of Garibaldi's birth.

Scientific works were presented by historians, jurists and theologians from Bulgaria, France, Romania, Greece, Italy, Russia and Turkey. From Romania participated Dan Berindei, vice president of The Romanian Academy and prof. univ. dr. Teodor Sâmbrian from the University of Craiova.

 The opening session took place on 19th of April in the "Julius Caesar" assembly hall of Campidoglio. After the official salute, presented in the name of the mayor of Rome, Walter Veltroni, by the assessor Jean Leonard Touadi, the allocutions were held by Andrei N. Sacharov, President of the Russian Historic Institute of the Russian Academy, Andrea di Porto, director of the "Cultural Identity" Institute of the National Council of Research and Romano Cipollini, President of the Commission for Scientific Research of the University "La Sapienza". Robert Turcan, Professor at l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres from Paris presented his allocution "The Empire and the *Genius populi Romani*".

At the ending of the session, there was celebrated the 2500 year anniversary from the plebeian's vow on the Sacred Mountain through the allocution presented by Feliciano Serrao, honorific Director of the Course of

High Studies in Roman Law, from the University "La Sapienza" of Rome, followed by the intervention of Mario Mazza, President of the National Institute of Roman Studies.

At the *Urbs* section, during the session that took place on the evening of 19th of April, under the presidency of Eugenio La Rocca, the dissertations were held by Francesco Sini, from the University of Sassari, *Urbs: the concept and the normative implications in jurisprudence*; Attilio Mastrocinque, from the University of Verona, *Urbs and the asylum*; Gianfranco Giraudo, from the University of Venice, *Moscow, the third Rome and the cities*; Vicenzo Poggi, from the Pontifical Institute of Rome, *A third Rome in Persia?*; Teodor Sâmbrian from the University of Craiova, *Rome in the Romanian conscience (17th - 18th century)*; Vladislav Zypin, from the Theological Academy of Moscow, *The town in the canons of the Orthodox Church*; Maria Pia Baccari of the Free University Maria Sd. Assunta of Rome, *From urbs to the communion of peoples*.

The session dedicated to the Res publica was held in the first part of the 20th of April, under the presidency of Roberto Antonelli, the Dean of the Faculty of Humanistic Studies, from the University "La Sapienza", of Rome. The essays were presented by: Giovanni Lobrano, from the University of Sassari, *Res publica in the jurisprudence*; Antonio Carile, from the University of Bologna, *The democracy at Constantinopole, the new Rome*; Constantinos Pisakis, from the University of Tracia from Komotini, *The **politeia** in the Greek and Roman Law*; V. V. Fomin, from the Academy of Science of Russia, *The people and the power during the appearance of the state in the Slav Orient*; Giovanni Maniscalco Basile, from the University "Roma Tre", *The people and the tzar*; Silvia Ronchey, from the University of Siena, *The geopolitical continuity of the Roman Empire*; Ilber Ortaylî, from the Galatasaray University of Istanbul, *The concept of populus-reaya in the Ottoman Empire*; Laurent Reverso, from the University "François Rabelais" of Tours, *The sovereignty of the people of Bodin*.

During the evening of the 20th of April, the session was dedicated to the section *Popului Dei* and was held under the presidency of Sergio Zincone, professor at the Faculty of Philology and Philosophy at the University "La Sapienza". The essays presented belonged to the following persons: Elena Tassi, from the University "La Sapienza" of Rome, *Jupiter auspicia populi, imperium*; Alba Maria Orselli, from the University of Bologna, *Plebs Dei and populus of the town at the bishops of Late Antiquity*; Ottorino Pasquato, from the Salesian Pontifical University of Rome, *The people of God at Constantinople*; Cesare Alzati, from the Catholic University "sacra Cuore" of Milan, ***Clerus and populus** in the compilation of ecclesiastic jurisdiction (VI– VII century)*; Ivan Biliarsky, from the Bulgarian Academy of Science of Sofia, *The chosen people and the ideas of state and power in the Bulgaria of the Early Middle Ages*; Raffaele Coppola and Carmela Ventrella Mancini, from the University of Bari, *The religious identity and the Christian people in the tradition*.

On Sunday, the 21st of April, under the presidency of Mauro Ferri, the Honoured Presidence of the Italian Constitutional Court, it took place the closure, dedicated to the bicentenary of Giuseppe Garibaldi's birth. There were presented works by Romano Ugolini, Vice president of the Institute for the History of the Risorgimento, *Garibaldi and the Roman people*; Dan Berindei, Vice president of the Romanian Academy, *Garibaldi and the Romanians*; Francesco Guida, from the University "Roma Tre", *Garibaldi and Greece*; Vladislav Grosul, from the Academy of Russian studies of Moscow, *Garibaldi and Russia*; Anna Modigliani, from the University of Tuscia from Viterbo, *The Roman people in the conscience and activity of the tribune Cola di Rienzo*.

The conclusions of the 27th International Seminary of Historic Studies, *From Rome to the third Rome*, were presented by the two co organizers of the seminary, famous personalities of the University "La Sapienza" of Rome, Pierangelo Catalano, professor of Roman law and Paolo Siniscalco, honoured professor of Christian history.

Oana Andreia Sâmbrian

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

THE ACTIVITY OF THE "C. S. NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR" SOCIO-HUMANE INSTITUTE OF RESEARCHES IN 2006

The "C.S.Nicolăescu-Plopşor" Socio-Humane Institute of Researches continued its important scientific activity: varied in contents and rich in its means of expression. This means that both the research personnel increased and the performance of research projects, writing various volumes, studies and articles, attending national and international events.

Thus, at the end of 2006, the researchers from Craiova completed a Research Program on the topic in Plan, they published 90 studies and articles in specific magazines and volumes from Romania and abroad. They have also published 13 volumes as exclusive authors, jont-authors, or coordinators, as follows:

- Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *Social Policies. Necessity, Priority, Reality*, vol.1-2, Alma Publishing House, Craiova, 2006, 282+251 pages (Coordinator)
- Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *European Union. Past and Present*, Universitaria Publishing House, Craiova, 2006, 383 pages.
- Cezar Avram, *The Historical Dictionary of the localities from Olt County,* vol. 1 (*Towns*), 418 pages; vol. 2 (A-F), 402 pages; vol. 3 (G-N)*,* 381 pages. (Coordinator), Alma Publishing House, Craiova, 2006.
- Idem, Revolution and Reform in the Romanian Space (In honor of Vladimir Osiac) (Coordinator), Aius Publishing House, Craiova, 2006, 308 pages.
- Iustina Burci, *Romanian Hydronimy. Reversed Dictionary of the names bore by Waters,* Bucureşti, Niculescu Publishing House, 2006, 190 pages. (Jont-author).
- Ileana Cioarec, *F. G. Laurençon and his work about Romanians,* Alma Publishing House, Craiova (to be published), 217 pages.
- Gabriel Croitoru, Iliei I. Vulpe, *The Correspondence of Argetoianu Family*, Alma Publishing House, 2006, 250 pages.
- Gheorghe Dănişor, *Metaphysics of Liberty,* Piteşti, Paralela 45 Publishing House, 2006, 232 pages.
- Idem, *Liberty in Hegel*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2006,160 pages.
- Idem, *The General Theory of Law*, Bucureşti, HC Beck Publishing House, 2006, 494 pages. (Contribution).
- Ion Militaru, *Romanian Philosophy in ten narrative episodes and a dramatic epilogue*, Bucureşti, Accademy Publishing House, 2006.
- Adriana Neacşu, *Archaeology and Evolution of philosophical concepts*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2006, 372 pages.

- Tudor Nedelcea, *Centenary* (Ramuri), Craiova, Ramuri Publishing House, 2006, 126 pages.

An important part of the members of the Institute have attended national and international events. They have presented 121 papers. Four of the researchers have traveled abroad to Cracove, Serbia, Greece and Italy in order to honor the invitations to a series of scientific programs (summer schools) and colloquies.

The Institute organized 5 prestigious scientific events of whom we mention: *Colloque de la Commission mixte d'histoire française et roumaine* (in translation: "Colloquy of the Joint French and Romanian Commission of History") (attendants from Paris, Strassbourg, Bucharest, and Craiova) and *Colloque de la Commission mixte d'histoire russe et* roumaine ((in translation: "Colloquy of the Joint Russian and Romanian Commission of History") (attendants from Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Bucharest, Craiova).

The members of the Institute have supported financial costs of publishing 3 periodicals: "The Archives of Oltenia", issue 20, The Romanian Academy, 2006, "The Yearbook of the "C.S.Nicolăescu-Plopşor" Socio-Humane Institute of Researches VII, Craiova, Beladi Publishing House, 2006 and "The Magazine of Socio-Humane Studies", issue 8, Craiova, 2006. According to the last grading made by The National University Research Council the magazines of the above-mentioned Institute have been rated at B level (The Archives of Oltenia) and D level (The Yearbook of the "C.S.Nicolăescu-Plopşor" Socio-Humane Institute of Researches).

Concerning the research activity in 2006, our employees have had an important interest in archives (History), and on site (Sociology and Ethnography). We can also add the lifelong learning activity (PhDs), two of our colleagues becoming fresh postgraduates of the University from Craiova, joining other four members of the team that are currently writing their PhD papers.

Nicolae Mihai

ABBREVIATIONS

AO	Arhivele Olteniei
AO s.n.	Arhivele Olteniei serie nouă
AUBist	Analele Universității din București – Seria istorie
B.A.R.	Biblioteca Academiei Române
Balcanica	Balcanica, Godišnjak Balkanološkog instituta SANU, Beograd
BAR	Biritish Archeological Reports, Oxford
BARARR	Biblioteca Academiei Române Arhiva Radu Rosetti
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen aechäologischen Instituts Frankfurt a/M – Berlin.
BMI	Buletinul monumentelor istorice
BMIM	București. Materiale de istorie şi muzeografie
BOR	Biserica Ortodoxă Română
Buridava	Buridava. Studii şi materiale. Muzeul județean Vâlcea
C.Lit.	Convorbiri literare
CI	Cercetări istorice
CL	Cercetări de lingvistică
Cortelazzo	Cortelazzo, Zolli, *Dizionario etimologica della lingua italiana*, ed. Zanichelli, Bologna
Dacia	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, Bucarest
Dacia, N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle serie, Bucarest
DEHF	Dazat, Dubois, Mittérand, *Dictionaire étymologique et historique de français*
DEIL	Dicționar enciclopedic ilustrat
DEX	Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române
DLRM	*Dicționarul limbii române moderne*
Dreptul	Dreptul, legislațiune, doctrina, jurisprudența, economia politică, București, 1871-1842
Drobeta	Drobeta – Muzeul Porțile de Fier
GB	Glasul Bisericii
Illyro-Thrace	I Symposium Illyro-Thrace. Tribus paleobalkaniques entre la Mer Adriatique et la Mer Noire de l'Éneolithique jusqu'a l'époque helenistique, (Niš – Blagoevgrad, 1989), Sarajevo – Beograd, 1991
Istros	Istros. Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei
JIES	Journal of Indo-European Studies, Butle, Montana, USA
LAR	Literatura şi arta română
LIP	Lupta întregului popor
LL	Limbă şi literatură
LR	Limba română

M.Ap.N.	Ministerul Apărării Naționale
MA	Mitropolia Ardealului
MCA	Materiale şi cercetări arheologice, Bucureşti
MemAntiq	Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamţ
MI	Magazin istoric
MMS	Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei
MO	Mitropolia Olteniei
Msse	Manuscrise
NEH	Nouvelles Études d'Histoire
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin
RA	Revista Arhivelor
RC	Revista catolică
RdI	Revista de istorie
RESEE	Revue des études sud-est européennes
RHID	Recherches sur l'histoire des institutions et du droit
RI	Revista istorică
RIAF	Revista pentru istorie, arheologie şi filologie
RIR	Revista istorică română
RITL	Revista de istorie şi teorie literară
RM	Revista muzeelor
RMM seria MIA	Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor. Seria monumentelor istorice şi de artă
RPH	Roumanie. Pages d'Histoire
RRH	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire
Rsl	Romanoslavica
RHSEE	Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen
SAI	Studii şi articole de istorie
Sargetia	Sargetia Muzeul judeţean Deva
SCAI	Studii şi comunicări. Arheologie. Istorie. Muzeul Brukenthal Sibiu
SCIA	Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei
SCIA-AP	Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Arta plastică
SCIM	Studii şi cercetări de istorie medie
SCIV(A)	Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche (şi arheologie), Bucureşti
SCL	Studii şi cercetări de lingvistică
SCO	Studii şi cercetări de onomastică
SI	Studii italiene
SMIM	Studii şi materiale de istorie medie
SMMIM	Studii şi materiale de muzeografie şi istorie militară
ST	Studii teologice
Studii	Studii. Revistă de istorie