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## PRELIMINARIES FOR AN URBAN HISTORY

### ASPECTS OF THE EDILITARY ACTIVITY IN CRAIOVA AT THE END OF THE XIX<sup>th</sup> CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE XX<sup>th</sup> CENTURY: DRAINING THE SWAMPS

Cezar AVRAM\*

**Abstract:** An important episode in the history of urban activity of the Craiova Town Hall is draining the swamps. In the context of the economic development of Craiova at the end of XIXth century, the ponds that surrounded the city on three sides affected seriously the public hygiene and the health of the population. The situation was aggravated by the lack of pavements, of the sewage system, of the sources of drinking water, by the development of unwholesome industry, by the growth of population which had the effect of increasing the amount of garbage and polluting waste. The author describes mainly the work of the liberal mayor Nicolae P. Romanescu, who played a major role in solving the city problems, but also of other mayors from the period analyzed, a special emphasis being put on the creation of Romanescu Park.

**Keywords:** muddy pool, channel, Town Hall, mayor, park.

Until the first half of the XIXth century, Craiova looked like a cluster of fairs, a large and hardly orderly bazaar<sup>1</sup>. As it emerges from count Moltcke's descriptions, in 1835 Craiova had the appearance of "a town with 10,000 inhabitants, which was nothing but a large village, with pavement either missing or being made up of beams, with streets and lanes turned into rivers whenever it rained"<sup>2</sup>.

At the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, the economic development of Craiova and the increase in population, caused by the migration of a large number of peasants and of persons come from the centre and the west of Europe, gave birth to an intense concern of the town councillors about sanitation and finding the ways of maintaining the hygiene and of providing the water sources.

If in 1895 Craiova had 38,600 inhabitants, the census of 1899 recorded a number of 45,438 inhabitants. In 1902, the population of Craiova lived in

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<sup>1</sup> *Craiova. Pagini de istorie și civilizație*, I, Craiova, 1997 (it will be further cited as *Craiova...*), p. 46, Table no. 13 and Specht's map of 1790.

<sup>2</sup> "Arhivele Olteniei", year VIII/1929, no. 45-46/September-December, pp. 528-529.

7,117 dwellings (4,343 good houses, 2,774 unwholesome dwellings) out of which 3,065 had primitive latrines (mere holes or barrels), while 1,709 had none. Under such conditions, the public hygiene was far from satisfactory, a situation worsened by the lack of pavement, sewerage system and water supply and by the harmful effects of the pools surrounding the town on three sides.

The main sources permanently maintaining the danger of the outbreak of severe epidemics were the pools in the west, the south and the south-east, the most harmful of them being Craiovița, Geanoglu and Bibescului; Rahovei street (now Stephen the Great Street) – a valley where the garbage heaps alternated with “a lot of marshy grounds where animals were bathing”, Știrbei Prince street (today the Bucharest Way) – a valley which separated the town into two parts: the Tanners’ brook (now Mureș Boulevard), made up of the waters Oota and Chiriac, the place of the most polluting industries of that time (skin-dressing shops, tanneries); the Weekly Fair in the eastern part of the town, an “indescribable” ground; the Bibescu pond and the Girl’s Valley, “an enormous deposit of dung and dirt from barracks, artillery etc.”<sup>3</sup>.

Determined to put an end to this situation, in 1883 Craiova Town Hall delegated the councillor Scarlat Mateescu to go to Bucharest to inform the authorities about the most suitable improving measures which were to “raise Craiova from its degenerated state up to a level equal to its ancient splendour”, and also to “provide the inhabitants with those conditions and hygienic improvements enjoyed by the towns aspiring to a European aspect and civilisation”<sup>4</sup>.

Though Scarlat Mateescu’s measure did not have practical consequences, during the last two decades of the XIXth century the town councillors contributed to a great extent to the improvement of the urbanisation state of the town they were in charge of. From among the most urgent works meant to solve the problems of public hygiene and sanitation, the top priority was represented by the draining and sewerage of the pools and marshes around the town, supplying water to the town by finding new sources and by building canals, carrying on the action of paving the streets, erecting schools and hospitals, providing the town hall services with the necessary means, the setting up of the tram etc.”<sup>5</sup>.

In 1886, Craiova was visited by the Prime Minister Ion C. Brătianu who “visiting the surroundings and being horrified by what he had seen”, commanded that the county council should be summoned in order to take measures for draining the pools”<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> *Craiova...*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Câteva vederi generale asupra îmbunătățirilor de introdus în orașul Craiova*, Craiova, 1883, pp. 5-11.

<sup>5</sup> *Craiova...*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Dolj County Service of the National Archives (it will be further quoted SJAN Dolj), Craiova Town Hall, administrative service, file 214/1914, f. 103.

For good reason called “the founder of modern urban structures” in Craiova, the liberal Mayor Nicolae P. Romanescu had a major contribution to resolving the city problems. So, in 1887, the local administration set up a plan regarding the whole ground with rivulets, pools and uneven parts of land which started “the basis of a systematic and unitary procedure for the future”. The main projected works were concerned with gathering the waters of the Jianu brook through the canals Obedeau and Dănești, the waters flowing from Geanoglu pool, from the Tanners brook, Vlăicii Valley, Rahovei Valley, Bishopric Valley brooks and those formed by the fountains at Saint Demeter into a rivulet (canal – our note) with continuous running water as a tributary stream of the Jiu river...”<sup>7</sup>. All these arrangements had in view in a concrete manner, “the providing of the Bishopric Valley, the Tanners brook and the Vlăicii Valley with highways and sewerage, but also the positive consequences that would have appeared in the sanitary state of the town atmosphere by doing away with mire and muddy pools often seen in the streets and waste grounds and by creating a wholesome installation, with water”<sup>8</sup>.

On 17 March 1887, C. Litarczek, chief engineer of the technical service, informed the mayor that “(...) in this office there is no special study on draining the swamps around the town, but it remains to be done in the crucial interest of the state of the local hygiene”<sup>9</sup>. He proposed that the whole ground situated between Cornițoiu pools, Obedeau’s fountain, Cernele village, the Jiu’s riverbed, Popova fountain and Calafat highway should be brought out in strong relief, displaying on this plan all the draining waters, pools, muddy pools, the type of crop under cultivation, as well as the main level differences. The plan will also show the borders of the large estates”<sup>10</sup>.

In the wake of this notification, the mayor of Craiova C.G. Pessiacov informed the engineer Litarczek about the fact that D. Dîmo had been charged with drawing up the preliminary studies for draining the pools<sup>11</sup>. But the contract for the plan of the ground containing pools was carried out by captain G. Savopol, as a result of Litarczek’s proposal made in March 1887 and of the official letter sent by the Ministry of Public Works<sup>12</sup>. Answering the request of the town hall, he promised to make the plan of the region for an area of about 20 km, “starting from Cornițoiu pool and Craiovița pool towards the west and towards the south up to Cernele village and from the Red Inn up to the Jiu, near Mofleni and Popoveni, ending the measurement at the pool near Bibescu’s garden and at the fountain in

<sup>7</sup> *Apud* Leonida Nicolaescu (coord.), C. Avram, V. Pleniceanu, D. Ciobotea, S. Lukacs, I. Zarzără, *Craiova, pagini de istorie și civilizație. III. Amenajarea apelor, canalizarea și termoficarea orașului*, Craiova, Helios Publishing, 1998, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> *Darea de seamă asupra administrațiunii comunale a orașului Craiova pe timpul de la 1 ianuarie 1887 până la 1 ianuarie 1888*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>9</sup> SJAN Dolj, Dolj Prefecture, file 14/1887, f. 171.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 170.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 273.

front of Chintescu's inn"<sup>13</sup>. This plan represented the first topographic achievement for Craiova and it lay at the bottom of not only the studies for the pools drainage but also of the other far-reaching works ment to place the town "on the way to the progress it was fully entitled to aspire to, being one of the main towns of the country"<sup>14</sup>.

The road was long and hard, the following years recording many concerns and projects for the draining of the pools around Craiova, still only few of them being achieved.

In the year 1888, the new mayor of Craiova, Nicolau G. Racoviță, reported, among other desiderata, the sewerage of the pools in the southern part of the town "pools which decimate through their stench the town population". He proposed that 1889 should be the year "of starting the true regeneration of the town"<sup>15</sup>.

In fact, even in the following years same projects were recorded, but few of them were achieved. Thus, in 1894, the technical service of Craiova Town Hall set – as its targets – three categories of works regarding the drainage of the pools around the town by means of a main sewer:

1. Embankments (digging and adding necessary earth in order to form the open bed of the channel after three types of sections permitted on a 3,500 m route);
2. Works showing craftsmanship (the channel consolidation by means of wood coating and dykes at the deviation points of Șerca waters, also proposing the closed concrete channel, an extension of the channel – inside the town – from Vlăicii Valley up to the designed open channel);
3. Building bridges over the channel in five places.

The planned channels were: Obedeanu, Cornițoiu, Cornițoiu-Obedeanu, Mendel, Jianu, Bibescu, Haralambie and Tabacilor. These were to create a new microrelief. The actions of expropriation in order to build the main sewer of the pools drainage were taken in the case of 12 owners, the most affected of them being Dinică Popescu, Glogoveanu, the inhabitants of Popoveni, the priest Marcu Florescu, Dimitrie Pleșoianu and others. The pre-measuring works for building the wooden bridge of the main sewer, for the bridge over Bibescu channel, for Breasta highway and for Cornițoiu-Obedeanu-Jianu bridge at Bucovăț highway were carried out by architect engineer Friedrich Springer. The expropriation actions, the works of art, those of the profiles as well as the embankments represented the responsibility of the architect engineer A. Vasiliu.

According to the contract concluded a year earlier between the mayor Ulysse Boldescu and the engineer N.N. Fratoșțeanu, the latter was to make "on site the necessary study for draining the pools in the south-west of Craiova, situated between the barriers Breasta, Bucovăț and Calafat, as well as between Popoveni

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, file nr. 11/1887, f. 25.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, Craiova Town Hall, technical service, file 20/1894, f. 20-21.

<sup>15</sup> *Darea de seamă a administrațiunii comunale a urbei Craiova pe anul 1888*, pp. 7, 12.

village, the Jiu river and Mofleni meadow”. The main sewer was to start from the concrete channel (built at that time – our note) of the Vâlcii brook. Its route had to correspond with that of the derivation channel in the Jiu, designed by the engineer C.T. Monlan. The main sewer was to be linked to the puddles from Jianu fountain, to three points in the Bucovăț street (by draining Dorobăntia suburb), the fountains of Saint Demeter’s, of the Slaughter house street, of the Tanners’ channel “to merge close to Popoveni village”<sup>16</sup>. On 10 June 1896 the plan of building the main sewer for draining the muddy pools around Craiova was approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The work was to be carried out with the town’s funds, to which 80,000 lei were added, voted by the county council<sup>17</sup>. During the same year the works at the channel reached Brestei highway, but they could not continue because the inhabitants whose properties were expropriated had not demolished their houses<sup>18</sup>.

A year later a secondary channel was built, named Mendel channel, through which water was draining from Bucovăț Street into the main channel. At the same time, several footbridges were being built on the channel situated in the area of the shooting ground at the Green Pool. In 1898, A. Crăciunescu, the engineer in charge of the work, worked out the cost estimate of a new channel for draining Belcineanu pond (formed of the springs waters under Mântuleasa hill) and the springs in this area<sup>19</sup>.

In 1901, after the decision of the hygiene council, doctor Antonini (future mayor of Craiova – our note), president of the health service within the town hall, asked for an intervention at the county level “so that the inhabitants should be removed from Bibescu neighbourhood to the land offered to them beyond Calafat barrier, on the area of the Green Pool village” and “the necessary measures should be taken in order to choke the pools in this area with materials gathered from the ruins of Jitianu monastery”<sup>20</sup>.

An extensive project of modernising Craiova, ment to take the town out of “its extreme squalor” is linked to the name of the mayor Nicolae P. Romanescu, the one designated by the liberals in 1898 to carry out an ambitious programme of urbanistic works<sup>21</sup>. The first steps were taken during the five-month mandate in 1898, Romanescu continuing his initiatives regarding pools drainage, soil purification, atmosphere cleaning, clean water supply and public services modernization after he was re-elected as mayor of Craiova in 1901. According to his view, “before any social reform”, a people “who considers himself to be wise

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<sup>16</sup> SJAN Dolj, Craiova Town Hall, technical service, file 20/1894, f. 20-21.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, administrative service, file 10/1896, f. 1. The works were entrusted to Costa and Nedelcu, mentioning the execution of the channel in 1901 (*Ibidem*, file 44/1901, f. 85).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 306-307.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, file 8/1898, f. 22, 33, 46-54.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, file 44/1901, f. 6, 7.

<sup>21</sup> C. Avram (coord.), P.-E. Barbu, D. Ciobotea, V. Osiac, *Dicționarul istoric al localităților din județul Dolj. Craiova*, Craiova, Alma Publishing, 2005, p. 55.

and, therefore, free has to wish that “the supreme good in this world should be health securing”. He pleaded for applying the sanitation on scientific principles, considering that only in this way could nations “fully live the life of civilised people of the West”<sup>22</sup>. So, Romanescu set to himself the main goal of creating an “underground town” of water pipes and channels, the essential condition for establishing the civilised way of life<sup>23</sup>. He opted for the French draining system “tout-à-l’égout” (all goes to the channel), expanded and perfected in Berlin, rejecting the systems previously projected by C.T. Moulan for water supply and by Ulysse Boldescu for sanitation of Zurich and Dresden type<sup>24</sup>.

In the context of this study we cannot omit the creation of Romanescu park<sup>25</sup>, undeniably linked to materializing the designs of draining the pools around Craiova.

The works of arranging the park were started at the crossing point between the XIXth and XXth centuries and the municipal and urbanistic development witnessed by Craiova in this period began with systematizing and paving the streets, demolishing a great number of houses, introducing the public illumination, providing the water supply and sewerage of the town, erecting public edifices, with the aid of the best Romanian and foreign architects.

The park was created over the period 1899-1903, on the basis of the plans designed by the French landscape architect E. Redont and they were awarded the gold medal at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in the year 1900<sup>26</sup>, within what we might call today “the fight against pollution” and the arranging of places for leisure and recreation. These plans had in view, among others, green spaces arrangement, traffic systematization by building several boulevards, draining the pools Geanoglu, Craiovița and the Girl’s Valley, as well as turning Bibescu garden into a large park. The initial name of Bibescu park derives from the place where it was arranged, the Bibescu family’s property. On 29 March 1853, the Town Hall of Craiova bought the ground from the high official and landowner Ioan Bibescu through the bill of sale no. 79 from 14 Aprilie 1853, legalized by the commercial court of Craiova, in exchange for the sum of 12,000 imperial gold money<sup>27</sup>. In this document, Ioan Bibescu declared: “I have sold my garden which I had received both by inheritance and by purchase, with an area of 259 acres, as well as the dwellings, pavilions, flower gardens and other outhouses in this garden with all their conveniences”.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolae Romanescu, *Ce au făcut pentru Craiova consiliile comunale din anul 1901 și 1902*, Craiova, 1905, p. 249.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, *Fost-a munca mea de folos pentru Țară și Craiova? (Legislatura 1901-1904)*, Craiova, 1910, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> C. Avram (coord.), P.-E. Barbu, D. Ciobotea, V. Osiac, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup> For details, see Gabriel Croitoru, *Orașele din Oltenia*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2011, pp. 187-195.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

<sup>27</sup> SJAN Dolj, The tribunal of the Dolj county, act 79/1853; G. Mil Demetrescu, *Actul de cumpărare a parcului Bibescu, din anul 1853*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, year I, 1922, nr. 4, p. 382; *Cum s-a format parcul Bibescu*, in “Anuarul ziarului Patria”, Craiova, 1906, p. 170.

During the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, Bibescu garden, as it was known by contemporaries, had a sinous history. For a long time the favourite recreation place of the townspeople, the garden has been related to important historical events. It was here that prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza was accomodated during his visit to Craiova in 1859<sup>28</sup>; and this is also the place where there were deposits of fodder, food, arms and munitions of the Romanian army during the independence war of 1877-1878<sup>29</sup>.

However, it seems that during the last two decades of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century this garden, as well as other pools around Craiova, had become a real danger to public health, as it was frequently mentioned by the town's sanitary service; this fact represented one of the main reasons for starting its arrangement, a very complex work, not without mishaps sometimes.

One anecdotal episode was the fact that in order to retrieve the plan which had received the gold medal in Paris – a plan initially made up of 35 pieces, out of which only four had reached Paris – a large correspondence was required between Craiova Town Hall, The French Foreign Ministry, the customs office and the Ministry of Finance so as to obtain exemption from custom duties on its returning to Romania<sup>30</sup>. Despite all the efforts of the N. Romanescu, it seems that the medal obtained at the Paris Universal Exhibition has never came to Craiova, such as the city mayor requested in March 1902 for “that we might mention this medal in the various descriptions of this major rehabilitation works of the city”<sup>31</sup>. A response from the French Foreign Ministry was not found within the archival documents, just the drawings of E. Redont and the diploma being hosted in the Archive of Craiova Town Hall and Oltenia Heritage Museum<sup>32</sup>.

The vast and complex activity of arranging the park was carried out during the years 1900-1903. The works started with cleaning the Bibescu pond of ooze and earth by the militaries of 1<sup>st</sup> Army Corps<sup>33</sup>, the deepening of the lake, the catching of springs to supply water to the lake, continuing the building of barrage walls, the making of embankments, the provision of flowers, ornamental trees and shrubs, the building of the greenhouse, the racecourse, the water tower, the rustic bridges and the suspension bridge for the making of which they obtained the approval of Anghel Saligny, at that time director in the Department of Public Works (later, general inspector), who “had spread huge and everlasting works in the country”<sup>34</sup>.

In the end, the result was a park of great beauty and special charm, unique in Romania, a park which – as Nicolae Romanescu mentioned in the invitations to the

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<sup>28</sup> SJAN Dolj, Prefecture of Dolj county, technical service, file 97/1859, f. 68, 69, 73.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9/1877.

<sup>30</sup> Leonida Nicolaescu (coord.), C. Avram, V. Pleniceanu, D. Ciobotea, S. Lukacs, I. Zarzără, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>31</sup> SJAN Dolj, Craiova Town Hall, administrative service, file 141/1902, f. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Gabriel Croitoru, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

<sup>33</sup> SJAN Dolj, Craiova Town Hall, administrative service, file 31/1899, f. 9-16, 35-37.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, file 40/1908, f. 1.

inauguration – can serve as a model in our country and is, in its way, even one of the most beautiful and well performed in the entire Europe, both as a work of art and as a work really useful to public health”<sup>35</sup>.

The inauguration of the park on 12 October 1903, in the presence of the king Carol I and the entire royal family, who were in Craiova on the occasion of the autumn exercises of the Romanian army, representing a resounding event at in many foreign newspapers and national and even European level. All the counties and towns of the country were requested to contribute to the diversity of manifestations organized on this occasion, and at the same time government members, outstanding personalities of the political and cultural life of the country were invited. The members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest were called too, while this special event was presented in magazines. On 20 September 1903, Nicolae Romanescu invited the ambassadors of numerous countries, among which the USA, Holland, Russia, Spain, England, Greece, Turkey, Austria and Hungary, Germany, Belgium, France and Italy to honour this celebration with their families’ presence.

The owner of “Frantz Duschek” photographic studio in Bucharest, specialised in “any works of photomechanics”, asked Nicolae Romanescu for permission to photograph aspects of celebrating the park inauguration, for various newspapers and illustrated magazines from abroad. He was to be accompanied by a reporter who “will write the text for the illustrated magazines, and for the newspapers will write without any political colour”<sup>36</sup>.

The inauguration celebration begun by a gala performance at the theatre in Craiova, with the contribution of the famous actress Aristița Romanescu, developed into a magical show<sup>37</sup>. In a cost estimation for the park illumination, drawn up by the Technical Service of Craiova Town Hall it is mentioned that for this occasion they provided garlands of incandescent bulbs placed along 80 metres from the main entrance, garlands of fairy lights at the secondary entrance, all along the alleys up to the royal pavilion, a fairy light every meter on a 751 m distance, the placing of 100 incandescent lamps on the roof of “Belvedere” and the forming of the text “Nihil sine deo” by means of lights put in the grass. In addition, they secured the illumination of the lakesides and of the paths on the island, the placing of decorative patterns with luminous floating flowers, the planting of 100 pitch torches around the island<sup>38</sup>. The show was magnificent, just like the achievement of the park, which had not only a decorative and recreational role, but it was also good for the health of the inhabitants of Craiova, as stated, in July 1903, the Director general of the Department of Health, saying that the establishment of the park has “exterminated the swamps and has embellished in the highest degree the

<sup>35</sup> Leonida Nicolaescu (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> For further details, see Gabriel Croitoru, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>38</sup> Leonida Nicolaescu (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 66.

city, has drained tens of hectares of moras, has raised around town an example of civilized work and has given to the city a recreational place *per excelentiam*<sup>39</sup>.

Partially drained in 1914, following the plan of W.H. Lindley, "one of the most important hydrologists of the time"<sup>40</sup>, and through the pecuniary support given by dr. C. Angelescu (born in Craiova, Minister of Public Education, ex-Minister of Public Works), the pools around the town represented for a long time a real danger for the inhabitants' health.

The works for the town systematization were carried on during the inter-war period, and the main priorities were the securing of the town sanitation, the supplying with water for drinking and for housework, executing the sewerage and the pools drainage, works for which in 1927 the sum of 25 million lei was allocated, approximately 23% of a total budget of 106 million lei<sup>41</sup>.

In 1925, C.N. Popp – again at the head of the Town Hall – noticed bitterly: "I think there is no other town in the country more unwholesome or where the morality plays havoc more than in our town, where population normally diminishes and where population is increasing intensely. On the other hand, because of this pools, for years the entire Bucovăț neighbourhood has cellars full of water, where there is dampness on the house walls and where the population is affected by all the consequences of this miserable state of things". Therefore, C.N. Popp organised an auction for the work of pools drainage, entrusting it to the engineer Năsturaș. He showed that the work was carried out and finished in its main part: a drainage channel with concrete bottom, starting from Bucovăț barrier to the Jiu, over an area of almost two kilometres<sup>42</sup>.

In spite of all the efforts and, partly, in spite of all the achievements obtained along the years, the pools drainage was not finished even in 1941, when I.B. Georgescu, the town mayor, pointed to the fact that in the south of Craiova there were swamps representing a permanent threat of a malaria outbreak. "The study of draining – he mentioned – was carried out in the past by professor engineer Pompiliu Nicolau and reached the Superior Technical Council, but the local administrations abandoned it. It should be resumed and completed and, as it is connected with the sewerage works of the town (in the meantime Craiova had become a municipium – our note) it is only natural that the Communal Plant should assume responsibility"<sup>43</sup>.

After the war, the edilary works were continued, the town authorities striving to seek solutions to the pools drainage, the sewerage and the water supply, in spite of the difficulties they were faced with and the multitude of issues that had to be settled.

<sup>39</sup> Nicolae Romanescu, *Ce au făcut pentru Craiova...*, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> *Dare de seamă către consiliul comunal al Craiovei...*, Craiova, 1902, p. 15.

<sup>41</sup> *Dare de seamă generală din lucrările executate sub primariatul d-lui I.B. Georgescu (1 aprilie 1926-12 iulie 1927)*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>42</sup> *Administrația Primăriei Craiova și lucrările edilitare executate în Campania anului 1923*, SJAN Dolj, Library, inv. 7742.

<sup>43</sup> *Preocupări sanitare pentru un plan de înfăptuiri economice, edilitare, culturale și sanitare în municipiul Craiova*, SJAN Dolj, Library, inv. 7117.



## WAYS OF DEALING WITH PERSONAL AND PUBLIC HYGIENE IN CRAIOVA, IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Daniel MOTOI\*

**Abstract:** In Craiova, at the beginning of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the rivers which carried the toxic wastes of the local industry across the town, the swamp created at the edge of the city by the local Craiovița Pond or the summer's dusty streets had the effect of keeping the mortality at higher rates. Every year, an important percent of the city's population died of tuberculosis, cholera, gastroenteritis, angina or venereal diseases. Since the local sanitary system was unable to solve this problem, an important role was given to the education system, which acted constantly on two significant directions: offering a healthy and hygienic environment in which the pupils could learn and teaching the same pupils – the citizens to come – the virtues of personal hygiene.

**Keywords:** hygiene, sanitary system, education system, diseases, pupils.

Personal and public hygiene acted as important elements of modern civilization. Subsequently, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Romania had already decided to step on the path of modernization by replacing the old structures, specific to the oriental civilization, with new ones, borrowed from the more advanced western society, the issue of public health was placed on the main agenda of the local and central leaders. The second largest city in Wallachia (in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the city had almost 25,000 inhabitants) and, afterwards, the fifth in Romania (at the end of the same century, now with a population of 45,000 inhabitants), Craiova was, of course, no exception<sup>1</sup>.

From the point of view of public sanitation, in 1859, when Moldavia and Wallachia united to form Romania, Craiova, the old capital of the historic region of Oltenia, was far from the standards in use in the countries from Western Europe. One of the main problems was the poor quality of the air breathed by the locals –

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<sup>1</sup> Titu Georgescu, Constantin Bărbăcioru, Florea Firan, *Istoria Craiovei*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1977, pp. 62-66; Mircea Pospai, *Memoria Băniei*, Bucharest, Sport-Turism Publishing, 1982, p. 107; Ion Bulei, *Românii în secolele XIX-XX. Europeanizarea*, Bucharest, Litera International Publishing, 2011, p. 101.

an unfortunate consequence of the presence, at the very border of the city and within the city itself, of several marshy areas. The small rivers that crossed the locality, infested with garbage thrown by the inhabitants and with residues from the local industry, contributed, also, to increasing of the pollution.

Forty years later, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the problem was far from being resolved. Dr. E. Antonini, the city's authority in charge with public hygiene, included in his annual report on public sanitation for the year 1894<sup>2</sup> a desolating description of the city, which brought to the public attention the peril created by the local authorities' reluctance when dealing with eliminating the city's numerous pest holes. One of the examples offered by the author was the case of the valley beginning from the Rahova Street, an area so filthy, that a traveler would hesitate to visit it even in daylight, afraid not to "break his legs or his neck":

"The inhabitants of this part of the city, formed mainly by Gipsies, throw away all their domestic garbage; the meteoric waters, which drain furiously on the hills, have dug quite a river bed, of irregular shape, with the result that even on the driest days of summer, one can find here many muddy places, where the animals bathe and the air is filled with pestilential and fetid emanations, which are carried to the whole city by the wind"<sup>3</sup>.

The same situation could be found on the north-east part of the city, where there lied an "enormous quantity of organic mud" which, in autumn, when the weather is wet, produced a massive fermentation which altered the quality of the air or in the south part, where the pond from the Bibescu Park held the responsibility for the emanation of a massive volume of effluvia.

On the east of the city one could find the Tanner's River, formed by the waters from the Oota and Chiriac fountains, which crossed the city for more than a kilometer and was considered "one of the most terrible pest holes". The explanation was that this river, although it had been recently channeled by the orders of the local authorities, collected all the organic matters resulted from the tanning of the leather, which fermented in the heat of the summer, poisoning the atmosphere. On the western part of the city lied the vast Craiovița marsh, responsible, in Dr. Antonini's opinion, *for the killing of one fifth of the city's population, every year*.

Another important factor which contributed to the poor personal hygiene of the locals was, surprisingly – if we take into consideration the fact that Craiova is situated in an area blessed with many natural springs – the permanent lack of

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<sup>2</sup> E. Antonini, *Raport general asupra serviciului hygieniei publice a oraşului Craiova pe anul 1894*, Craiova, 1895, pp. 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> The original text in old Romanian language: "*Locuitorii acestei părţi a oraşului, mai toţi ȝigani, asverle toate murdăriile menagiurilor lor; apele meteorice, cari se scurg cu furie după dealuri, au săpat o adevărată albie foarte neregulată, aşa încât chiar în zilele cele mai secetoase ale verii, se găsesc aci o mulţime de mocirle, în cari se scaldă animalele, aerul e plin de emanaţiuni pestilenţiale şi fetide şi vânturile, în trecerea lor pe aici, le ia şi le răspândeşte în tot oraşul*".

water, which became chronic towards the end of the century. In fact, the problem was not only the incapacity of the town's 119 public fountains and many other private ones (according to a statistics from 1882) to ensure the city's entire need for water but also the fact that the water coming from these fountains was, in most cases, unsuitable for drinking and, in general, for domestic usage. At the end of the century, one could still see people with water carts, who sold water to the individuals<sup>4</sup>. This particular obstacle was partially surpassed in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during N. P. Romanescu's mandate as a mayor, when a system which brought fresh water in the city from the spring of Gioroc, situated at 40 kilometers from Craiova was constructed<sup>5</sup>.

The city's streets had also a devastating effect on people's health, only few of them – mainly the ones in the center of the town – being modernized with cubic stone. The paved streets had a concave form, allowing the water to drain through the gutter formed in the middle of the road. After 1876, the convex form, with gutters by the curb of the sidewalk, was adopted. The rest of the streets were constructed simply by leveling up the ground and occasionally (and only for some of the streets) strewing some gravel. The result was that there were long periods (most of spring and autumn and a little part of winter) when these streets were filled with "stinky mud" which, in the summer time, transformed in a vast quantity of dust. In order to protect from lung diseases or other infectious maladies, which flourish in such environment, one should have "the lungs of a stentor and the constitution of a giant"<sup>6</sup>.

Due to these inhospitable conditions for proper human health, death remained a familiar presence. Moreover, death exceeded occasionally its customary boundaries and tilted the balance in its favor, leaving behind figures and statistics which remind rather of Medieval Ages than of the end of the Modern Era. For example, in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for five different years, the number of deaths was bigger than the number of births. A few years later, in 1903, the percentage of deaths, by different age categories, looked like this: a) 21% for children under 1 year; b) 21,3% for children aged 1 to 10; c) 20,2% for people aged 10 to 40; d) 18% for people aged 40 to 60 and e) 19% for people over 60 years old<sup>7</sup>. The most frequent diseases of that time were tuberculosis<sup>8</sup>, cholera (which

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<sup>4</sup> Luchian Deaconu, Otilia Gherghe, *Craiova 1859-1877. De la Alexandru Ioan Cuza la Carol I*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2000, pp. 119-121; E. Antonini, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Luchian Deaconu, *Craiova, 1898-1916. Saltul la urbanismul modern. Nicolae P. Romanescu*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2001, pp. 138-145.

<sup>6</sup> N. Gh. Dinculescu, *Craiova acum 50 de ani*, Craiova, Ramuri Publishing, 1934, pp. 6-10; E. Antonini, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>7</sup> Luchian Deaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Tuberculosis, "the most critical medical and social problem in present day" (in 1926), was the cause of death for more than 5.000 inhabitants of Craiova in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (approximately 200 death each year) – Dr. Ch. Laugier, *Igiena Craiovei: evoluția tuberculozei*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1926, p. 8.

was the cause of death for 372 locals in 1873 and 516 in the following year), gastroenteritis, scarlet fever, angina and venereal diseases (especially syphilis).

The fight against the illness and diseases was carried on particularly by a meager network of hospitals, composed by the city's official hospital, "Filantropia", founded in 1856, with a capacity of only one hundred beds, the "Preda" Hospital, founded in 1868 at the initiative of a local rich merchant, Teodor Preda, whose entire fortune was donated with the explicit purpose of establishing and maintaining a hospital for the locals, and a military hospital ("Spitalul ostășesc"). Beside those mentioned above, there also functioned a psychiatric hospital ("Spitalul de smintit"), which was a part of the "Madona Dudu" Establishment – one of the most important social assistance institutions from the country, which financially supported the activity of two schools for girls, two hospitals, a choir and many social assistance activities. There also functioned a small network of private doctors (only three officially registered in 1867), a relatively equal number of chemists (most of them, if not all, Jews, in contrast with the situation of the doctors, which were predominantly Romanian) and another category, formed by unqualified practitioners, barbers and "witches", who operated at the edge of the law and at constant war with the official doctors and with the city's authorities<sup>9</sup>. By the middle of the 1920's, this situation was significantly changed (for the better, of course), as the inhabitants' health was constantly supervised by a group of three officials (a general inspector, a first doctor of the County and a first doctor of the city) who had to control the activity of 44 physicians, 22 accocheuses, 11 dentists, 15 chemists and 2 druggists<sup>10</sup>.

Another important factor which acted in the direction of improving the health conditions of the city's inhabitants was the school system, which had the advantage of operating simultaneously on two different zones: teaching the pupils – the citizens to come – the basics of personal hygiene and, at the same time, offering them a clean and salubrious environment to study in during the classes. To make sure that the latter conditions were respected, The Ministry of Education, the local Mayoralty and the city's Hygiene Council intervened constantly, imposing diverse measures regarding the pupils' mandatory vaccination, the measures to be taken in case of the outbreak of different contagious diseases or the compulsory sanitation of the school buildings during the holidays<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Iosif Ciobanu, Gheorghe Enache, *Asistența medicală în municipiul Craiova – Realizări și perspective*, in "Craiova, trecut și viitor", Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1979, pp. 198-199; Marius Dobrin, *În căutarea memoriei*, Craiova, Aius Publishing, 2003, pp. 26-32; Luchian Deaconu, Otilia Gherge, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-104.

<sup>10</sup> P. I. Comăneanu, *Călăuza orașului Craiova*, Craiova, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Ramuri", 1925, pp. 29-32.

<sup>11</sup> Dolj County Service of the National Archives (it will be further quoted SJAN Dolj), fund Școala Generală "Obedeanu", file 11/1867, f. 8; file 17/1870, f. 6; file 18/1871, f. 6; file 19/1872, f. 12; file 25/1876, f. 33, 33vs; file 31/1886, f. 16; fund Școala primară de fete Nr. 1 "Regina Elisabeta", file 27/1877, f. 24; file 28/1888, f. 19.

The issuing, in 1893, of *The regulations for the construction of urban and rural elementary schools*, which stated all important requirements regarding the health of the children, can be considered, from this point of view, a significant step forward. The regulations book brought in modern ideas about how the school buildings should have been built, stating that the buildings had to be constructed on dry land, far from stagnant waters, cemeteries, slaughter houses, deposits and noisy shops or workshops. The classrooms had to be high (4-5 meters), with large windows displayed only on the East, South-East or South-West side. The size of each classroom was calculated to shelter up to 80 first year pupils and 70 pupils from superior years (the criterion used was that for each pupil was allocated 1-1.25 square meters surface and a volume of air of 4.50-5 cubic meters). The pupils' desks had to be arranged in such a manner that the light coming from the windows should always fall on their right. The water for the pupils had to be analyzed by the city's sanitation service and the latrines, provided with septic tanks, had to be placed in a different building, situated at least 15 meters away from the school building<sup>12</sup>.

Unfortunately, the lack of money and/or of political willingness meant – as the Minister of Education admitted in a memorandum emitted in 1898 – that the requirements provided by the Ministry were often ignored by the local authorities, with the direct result that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many schools in Craiova still had small, dark and poorly ventilated classrooms and were placed closely one to another, in the center of the town, forcing the children from the outskirts of the city to travel a long distance to get to school<sup>13</sup>.

In fact, taking into account the realities of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one is inclined to admit that improving this situation was an immense task, and the local authorities did the best they could, given the circumstances. The 1864 Education Law had introduced the generous and modern principles of compulsion and gratuitousness of the elementary schooling or the equal admittance to the education system of both boys and girls<sup>14</sup>, but the process of turning the ideas into reality was extremely difficult, partly because the pecuniary obligations regarding the maintenance of the schools or even the payment of the monthly wages fell mostly within the competence of the local authorities, which, in most cases, lacked the financial capacity implied by this project. Nevertheless, it's fair to say that big cities like Craiova had an obvious advantage over the poor villages from the rural area<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> *Regulament pentru construcția localelor de școli primare urbane și rurale* (1893), in C. Lascăr, I. Bibiri, *Colecțiunea legilor, regulamentelor, programelor și diferitelor decizii și dispozițiuni generale ale acestui departament de la 1864-1901*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Statului, 1901, pp. 506-510.

<sup>13</sup> *Circulara No. 50.183, adresată primarilor din comunele urbane, relativă la clădirile de localuri de școală* (1898), in Lascăr, I. Bibiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 1400-1403.

<sup>14</sup> N. Adăniloaie, *Istoria învățământului primar (1859-1918)*, Bucharest, Cris Book Universal Publishing, 1998, pp. 51-52.

<sup>15</sup> Nicolae Andrei, Gh. Pârnuță, *Istoria învățământului din Oltenia*, vol. II, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1981, pp. 179-199.

In this context, it's not a surprise that the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was largely a period characterized by the local schools' permanent struggle to assure the minimum material conditions required for an education institution to function in proper conditions. This reality becomes a more obvious one if we analyze the situation of the city's oldest school, The "Obedeanu" Elementary School for Boys – founded in 1774-1775, by the ruler of Wallachya, Alexandru Ipsilanti, and initially dedicated to the education of the local nobility's children<sup>16</sup> – whose institutional history in these decades includes a large number of complaints sent to various superior authorities, which were a reflection of an endless series of material problems.

The most frequent problems – which affected or could affect the pupils' health – the school encountered during this time were the insufficient stock of firewood (problem which repeated almost every winter<sup>17</sup>), which condemned the children to an inhospitable, disease-friendly environment and the physical damage suffered by the school building, like the recurrent deterioration of the roof (which permitted the rain water to infiltrate through the ceiling and pour into the classrooms and, at the same time, to weaken its strength, generating a permanent threat of a sudden collapse of the ceiling during the classes<sup>18</sup>). Other problems dealt with the large number of children in one classroom<sup>19</sup>, which were sometimes so crowded that affected the quality of the air breathed by both the teacher and the pupils, the wrong positioning of one of the classrooms, which was placed right over the basement and became impossible to heat up whenever the weather was very cold, in spite of the fire burning "all day and all night", the presence of some "horrible" pits, made by the inhabitants and placed close to the school's gate, where the school's pupils made the habit of playing, thus risking their life, the construction of some ditches to drain the rainwater which were so large and deep that prevented both the teachers and the pupils from entering the school or the lack of a proper latrine, which forced the pupils to "defecate in the fields surrounding the school, infecting the air and poisoning the health" of the children, during the hot days<sup>20</sup>.

The problems encountered by the "Obedeanu" School were, in fact, the problems encountered by many other state schools from Craiova in the same

<sup>16</sup> Marin Popa Nemoiu, *Memoriu asupra situației istorice și juridice a Bisericii Obedeanu*, Craiova, Tipografia Sf. Mitropolii a Olteniei, 1941, pp. 51-52.

<sup>17</sup> SJAN Dolj, fund Școala Generală "Obedeanu", file 15/1869, f. 1, 5; file 17/1870, f. 2, 2vs; file 23/1874, f. 6; file 25/1876, f. 156.

<sup>18</sup> Idem, file 17/1870, f. 20; file 19/1872, f. 21, 21vs, 25; file 25/1876, f. 83, 85.

<sup>19</sup> For example, one of the mandatory medical inspections made periodically in "Obedeanu" Elementary School revealed that the number of the pupils who attended the first two classes was two times bigger than the capacity of the classroom permitted; Idem, file 25/1876, f. 33, 33vs.

<sup>20</sup> Idem, file 11/1867, f. 4; file 15/1869, f. 1vs; file 17/1870, f. 1, file 18/1871, f. 18; file 19/1872, f. 2; file 21/1873, f. 16, 16vs, 53-55; file 23/1874, f. 30, 31; file 25/1876, f. 104, 104vs; file 27/1877, f. 68, 69; file 32/1886, f. 6, 6vs, 33, 33vs; file 45/1894, f. 15-18.

period. A thorough analysis of these conditions offers a perspective from within the system on some of the causes of the contagious diseases that occurred frequently in that period, affecting the health of the children and disturbing the proper functioning of the education process. For example, in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the schools from Craiova were affected successively by the outbreak of catarrhal fever (in 1890, which delayed the start of the second semester), cholera (which was the cause of two different class suspension periods in the first semester of the 1893-1894 school year), scarlet fever (confirmed at the beginning of the year 1894, when it was already under control by the authorities – which suggests that it actually started in the earlier year – and again in 1898 and 1900), measles (in the spring months of 1894) and diphtheritis (the last one was considered so dangerous that, after one case was discovered in 1895 at The Secondary Day School for Girls “Regina Elisabeta”, the classes were suspended by the order of the city’s First Doctor for ten days, to permit the complete disinfection of the classrooms; the situation repeated, with similar details, two years later, in October 1897)<sup>21</sup>.

The main weapons used by the local and central authorities in their permanent fight against these diseases were the periodical sanitation of the classrooms<sup>22</sup> and the careful observance of the rules contained by the prophylactic system elaborated by the medical authorities. To ensure the fulfillment of the second requirement, the Ministry of Education and the Town Council periodically “bombarded” the schools with instructions regarding the measures to be taken in order to protect the health of the pupils and to prevent the spread of the infectious diseases. For instance, in 1877 the city’s Hygiene Council decided to forbid the pupils to participate in any burial procession<sup>23</sup> and later, in 1886, in the context of an outbreak of convulsive cough epidemics, the Mayoralty of Craiova informed the headmasters of the local schools about their duty to isolate the sick pupils and to prevent them from coming to school, until they were absolutely cured<sup>24</sup>. In 1893, the presence of a few cholera cases in some localities of the country determined the Ministry of Education to send a circular letter to all the schools in which it restated the rules to be followed in these conditions: a better cleaning and ventilation of the classrooms, the disinfection of the school’s cesspool and latrine, prevention of the proven sick pupils (and also the filthy, yet not sick ones!) from coming to school

<sup>21</sup> Idem, fund Liceul externat de fete “Regina Elisabeta” Craiova, file 1/1890, f. 1-3; file 1/1894, f. 109-110; file 1/1895, f. 112; file 2/1897, f. 189; file 1/1900, f. 95, fund Școala Generală “Obedeanu”, file 43/1894, f. 10, 57, 57vs; file 45/1894, f. 13, 44bis; file 65/1898, f. 54.

<sup>22</sup> This activity was usually performed during the summer holidays (*The St. Peter Holidays*), and consisted mainly in whitewashing the interior walls, scrubbing the floors, oiling the wood parts of the doors, windows and furniture and making all the required small repairs. Idem, fund Școala Generală “Obedeanu”, file 17/1870, f. 6; file 18/1871, f. 6; file 21/1873, f. 40, 42; file 23/1874, f. 30, fund Școala Catolică “Sf. Anton” Craiova, file 44/1911-1912, f. 11.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, fund Școala primară de fete Nr. 1 “Regina Elisabeta”, file 27/1877, f. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, fund Școala Generală “Obedeanu”, file 31/1886, f. 16.

and the mandatory sterilization of the water drunk by the pupils, using diverse filters or by simply boiling and then cooling it<sup>25</sup>.

For a better control of the sanitary conditions in every school, the school inspectors had the obligation to examine not only the educational parameters but also the hygienic ones. Some of the reports made by them even had predefined fields or questions to be filled in, such as “the condition of the school building”, “the condition of the school furniture”, “the degree of cleanliness”, “are the bedrooms ventilated enough?”, “is the capacity of the classrooms and bedrooms sufficient in comparison with the number of the pupils?”, “what’s the quality of the drinking water?”, “are the pupils practicing various physical and singing activities?”<sup>26</sup>. Also, for similar reasons, a health record, which contained all the essential information of every pupil (weight, height, skin, hair, sight, smell and the hereditary, collateral and personal bad health antecedents) and was filled in by a doctor, was introduced. The health record had to be updated every year<sup>27</sup>.

A special attention was paid to the boarding schools, which functioned on the principle that the pupils should reside in school during the school days. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Craiova there only were several state schools which had a boarding school: “Carol I” High School, The Normal School for Boys, “D. A. Sturdza” Military High School and “Elena Cuza” Boarding School for Girls. Because the 1864 Education Law was not very comprehensive about the rules to be followed when dealing with boarders’ hygiene<sup>28</sup>, later, in 1877, the Ministry of Education issued a special *Regulations for the hygiene of the boarding schools and boarders of both sexes*<sup>29</sup> which contained all the rules and details regarding the organization and functioning of a boarding school.

For instance, the building of the boarding school had to have at least the following rooms: several study rooms, a dormitory, an infirmary, a washing room, a bath room, latrines, an eating hall and a gymnastics room to be used during the winter period. The infirmary, which contained at least one bed for every 20 pupils, could be placed only in the most salubrious room of the building, as far as possible from the dormitories. The bath room had to contain at least two transportable vats and the washing room had to be provided with a washing system which consisted in several big troughs placed along the walls, used for draining the water, above which small tin vessels with a tap were placed. There had to be at least one tap for

<sup>25</sup> Idem, fund Liceul externat de fete “Regina Elisabeta” Craiova, file 1/1893, f. 105, 105vs.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, fund Școala Catolică “Sf. Anton” Craiova, file 31/1905-1948, f. 22, 23, 24.

<sup>27</sup> Idem, file 44/1911-1912, f. 41.

<sup>28</sup> The law stated only that any boarding school had to have a consulting room and be visited by a doctor at least three times a week – *Legea instrucțiunii din 1864*, in C. Lascăr, I. Bibiri, *Colecțiunea legilor, regulamentelor, programelor și diferitelor decisiuni și dispozițiuni generale ale acestui departament de la 1864-1901*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Statului, 1901, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> *Regulament pentru igiena internatelor și internilor de ambe-sexe* in C. Lascăr, I. Bibiri, *Colecțiunea legilor, regulamentelor, programelor și diferitelor decisiuni și dispozițiuni generale ale acestui departament de la 1864-1901*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Statului, 1901, pp. 317-319.

every three pupils. The dormitory and the study rooms, which were lighten up by oil lamps and heated by stoves made from bricks, had to be aerated at least two times a day. The beds (one for each pupil), placed side by side at a distance of at least one meter from another, had an iron framework and a straw mattress, covered with a wool mattress, a bed sheet, a wool or straw pillow and a blanket or a counterpane.

Personal hygiene included also activities like the weekly cold bath (in the summer) and monthly hot bath (in the winter time), the regular change of the underwear (twice a week), sheets (once a month) and the straws from the mattresses and the pillows (twice a year), daily gymnastics exercises and a good, eight hour night sleep (from 9 p.m. to 5 a. m. in summer and 6 a. m in winter!). Also, on every weekend the pupils went out, for a walk, accompanied by at least one of their teachers.

In charge with the boarding school's hygiene was an officially appointed doctor, who had the obligation to visit the school at least once a week and had under his control not only the health of the pupils but also the hygiene in the classrooms and bedrooms, the quality of the food or the cleanliness of the vessels used in the kitchen. The school's doctor was also the authority who examined the children who wanted to become boarders and decided the measures to be taken in case of the outbreak of an epidemic. If a pupil, already accepted as a boarder, was proven by the doctor to be suffering from urinary incontinence or nervous, contagious, incurable and chronic maladies, he would be excluded from the school by the order of the Minister of Education.

The importance of school hygiene grew over time in such a manner that in 1903 a member of the prestigious Romanian Academy chose it as a subject for his presentation. His work used the context of a brief history of school hygiene to emphasize and analyze the issues raised by such an important component of the modern school organization process. In his opinion, which came as a summary of the entire theme, the questions which had to be taken into consideration when dealing with school hygiene were numerous and involved all the possible problems that could affect the physical, intellectual and moral condition of the pupils: the improper building of the school, the inadequate sanitary installations, badly constructed and arranged furniture, the agglomeration of the pupils in small chambers, the poisoned air, the dust, the poor illumination, the insufficient heating of the classroom, the letters too small and too jam-packed in the textbooks, the wrong position of the body during the reading and writing process, the too hasty change of the pupils' habits, the harsh discipline, the pupil's fear of punishment, the prolonged attention, the information which was not adapted to the intellectual capacity of the child, the immense quantity of information to be learned by the pupil in a short period of time, the numerous homework or the never-ending succession of epidemics. Judiciously applied, school hygiene had the responsibility of eliminating all these problems<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> I. Felix, *Igiena școlară. Istoria ei, starea ei actuală*, Bucharest, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Carol Göbl", 1903, *passim*.

Besides assuring a healthy environment for the pupils, the Romanian education system from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century acted also in the direction of teaching the children how to acquire and preserve a health and hygienic appearance. This aspect was more obvious in the half of the system destined to the education of girls, who, according to that time's mentality, were to become in the first place mothers and housewives and were reserved a "glorious" professional career as a seamstresses, cook maids, accocheuses, laundress women or – if they were good at learning – as teachers<sup>31</sup>. Consequently, the list of subject matters for the girls included classes of sewing, domestic economy, needlework, tailoring, knitted work, weaving or personal and domestic hygiene. For example, in the most prestigious education institution destined for girls from Craiova – "Elena Cuza" Boarding School for Girls – the subject matter "hygiene" was taught for one hour every week and only for the girls in the fifth year (which was the terminal one)<sup>32</sup>.

In conclusion, the process of modernization initiated by the central and local authorities in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century succeeded in transforming Craiova in a more modern and (relative) hygienic one. In this immense effort, a valuable instrument was the education system, which not only that provided a safe environment for the pupils to learn in but also taught them how to keep a healthy constitution.

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<sup>31</sup> Maria Bucur, Mihaela Miroiu, *Patriarhat și emancipare în istoria gândirii politice românești*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2002, pp. 13-18.

<sup>32</sup> Th. I. Ionescu, *Scurt istoric al învățământului particular din Craiova*, Craiova, Tipografia "Fulgerul", 1906, p. 11; Nicolae A. Andrei, Gheorghe Pârnuță, *O prestigioasă instituție școlară: Liceul de filologie-istorie din Craiova*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1985, p. 43.

## HISTORIOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS FOR AN URBAN HISTORY OF OLTENIA

Gabriel CROITORU\*

**Abstract:** In the present study we are trying to find, starting from the analysis of edited monographs, the historiographic stage due to which it can be identified the evolution and the development of the cities from the south-west of Romania, starting with the Middle Age and until contemporaneity. Although relatively late, from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the research on addressing the history of the cities from our country, gained consistence and pertinence along the time, reaching to the present situation, where there are monographs for all the cities from Oltenia, which make a radiography of the urban life from Antiquity, and where possible, until nowadays. Even if we benefit from such a historiographic heritage, nevertheless, we consider the research of the urban life from the mentioned area to have plenty uncovered secrets.

**Keywords:** historiography, urbanism, city, Oltenia, research.

To justify our scientific approach about an approximately half of the century era (1859-1918), which is characterised through linear ascendance of the Romanian nation, in all the fields (economic, social, cultural, military, political), it seems to bring in front of the today designers of the tomorrow comfort, not only an example and the variants of several generations, but also the image of a step forward in the history of the Romanian civilisation. By delimiting a beginning of the urban modernisation process, through the threshold between the static and preponderantly rural Middle Age, and the dynamic Modern Age, with groups of human forces working for transformations (changings) and results incomparable better than the previous millenary eras, we bring closer an inherited creation of the age mentioned above, by the parameters of a contemporary habitat.

If in the Middle Ages, the historiography was registering the cities through enumerative records or comparative images of the foreign travellers, in the Modern Age, the city and the urbanism represented the reaction of the capitalist system, of the organisation of labour and production. As relating to the seek for comfortable life in the crowded urban settlements, there were being developed the

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historiographic studies about cities, being imagined not only projects, building techniques with mortar and bricks, but also the noblesse of the roots. An intellectual dimension of the historians, it is added to the imagination and the desire to discover, of the designers and builders. For the Romanians, a modern historiography of the cities starts with the monograph of Câmpulung-Muscel, written by C. D. Aricescu in 1855.

Although they have a very old existence, the cities from Oltenia did not constitute the subject of ample monographic works, but at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Under the influence of the romantic historiography, B. P. Hașdeu, in 1878, established an older tradition as regarding the beginnings of the most important city from Oltenia, Craiova. His writing was similar not only to the political wishes and options of the dwellers from the banks of Jiu river, but it was also the response to the novelties from the entire society. It was a period when the cities from Oltenia were increasing their number of dwellers, under the influence of emerging and extension of the economic and industrial entities, or the centralising factors of ample commercial and banking processes, aiming for the rendering valuable of the agricultural wealth from the area. Influenced by the ideas of Hașdeu, the first real historian of Craiova, August Pessiacov, wrote *Sketches from the history of Craiova* (Samitca Institute of Graphic Arts, Craiova, in two editions: 1902 and 1914). The work was considered by the researcher Laurențiu Rădvan, in 2004 as belonging to those “greatly enthusiastic local monographs, nevertheless, lacking a historic analysis, without rigorous documentation, a useless waste of paper”<sup>1</sup>. However, we consider that the work of Pessiacov the first historiographic document debating the theme from our title, a scientific landmark for the age in which it appeared, considering that it was bringing forward an approach of the anterior centuries, through the presence of medieval ecclesiastic architectural monuments (Sf. Dumitru princely/ban church, a construction that dates probably from the ruling of Craiovescu boyars and renovated by the prince Matei Basarab; Știrbei Church; Otetelișenu Church; Madona Dudu Church etc.), which had been demolished and rebuilt for modernisation, according to the occidental patterns, even in the years when his book was appearing. The book still represents a useful documentary source for the today historians.

In the same category, there are also placed those of G. Poboran<sup>2</sup> for the city of Slatina, Alexandru Ștefulescu<sup>3</sup> for Târgu Jiu, V. Demetrescu<sup>4</sup> for Turnu Severin or that of I.S. Drăgulescu for Calafat<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Laurențiu Rădvan, *Orașele din Țara Românească până la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea*, Iași, “Al. I. Cuza” University Publishing, 2004, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria orașului Slatina*, Slatina, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> *Încercarea asupra istoriei Târgu Jiului*, Bucharest, 1899; Idem, *Istoria Târgu Jiului*, Târgu Jiu, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *Istoricul orașului Severin*, Turnu Severin, 1883.

<sup>5</sup> *Orașul Calafat odinioară și astăzi*, Craiova, 1906.

The works of the mentioned historians are the first collections of documents gathered by the authors as passionate researchers of the historic past, or according to the advice of the Minister of Education, Spiru Haret. All the enumerated works appeared as a desideratum of the generations, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the principles of the positivist historiographic school. For the same historiographic necessity, we are realising the present paper. Numerous efforts of some intellectuals from the area, in over one hundred years after the remembered historiographic beginnings, were concretised, gradually, according to the gathering of documents and the enrichment of the archivist institutions, created locally after 1931<sup>6</sup>. In 1925, N. Iorga, the historian who had published many documentary volumes, some noticed by the director of the History Museum from Craiova, Ștefan Ciuceanu<sup>7</sup>, depicted the image of “the third type, that of the boroughs”, in the history of the Romanian genesis. The great historian, in his relation with the intellectuals from Craiova from “Ramuri” magazine, approached, in two articles, the historical individuality of Oltenia, and the small cities from here: *Orașele oltene și mai ales Craiova în pragul vremurilor nouă*<sup>8</sup> and *Două conferințe craiovene I. Rostul Olteniei în mișcarea pentru neam II. Ce au făcut și ce trebuie să facem*, Craiova, 1906.

The first studies regarding the cities from Oltenia are registered by Anastase Georgescu (*Craiova – Cercetări istorice – 1 Târgul Craiovei* (Craiova – Historical research – 1 The Borough of Craiova), Craiova, 1936) for Craiova; C. Pajură and D. T. Giurescu (*Istoricul orașului Turnu Severin 1833-1933* (The history of Turnu Severin City 1833-1933), a paper printed on the occasion of the centenary celebration, Bucharest, 1933) for Severin, and Constantin Grigore (*Râmnicul Vâlcei*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 1944) for Râmnicu Vâlcea, all dating from the interwar period.

From the moment of the early beginnings, until the most recent published papers, numerous volumes of documents, monographs and studies about the urban localities from the south-west part of Romania, have been printed. At the meeting with the new purposes, emerging from the regional urbanisation programmes, the cities were becoming regions with their own natural resources and attraction spots for the population living in the surrounding areas<sup>9</sup>. The process of industrialisation of the country, during 1948-1989, propelled the city, not only as a quantity expressed by the increasing number of dwellers, but in the level of urban life and economic production. In Romania, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of the cities increased from 137 (with 2,930,245 dwellers) in 1912, to 138, with 3,651,039 dwellers in 1930 and 260, with 12,311,203 dwellers in 1990<sup>10</sup>. Considering this “urban explosion”, especially triggered by industrialisation and construction, the urban settlements changed and multiplied their functions. Nowadays, almost all the

<sup>6</sup> “Oltenia. Studii. Documente. Culegeri”, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, year X, 2006, no. 1-2 (*Arhivele craiovene 75 ani 1931-2006*).

<sup>7</sup> N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, vol. XXV, Bucharest, 1913 (*Corespondența lui Dimitrie Aman*).

<sup>8</sup> “Arhivele Olteniei”, year IV, 1926, no. 20, p. 275-294.

<sup>9</sup> Nițu Nicolae, *Răspândirea orașelor din România pe zone geografice*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, New Series, no. 9, 1994, p. 191-197.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

cities, becoming cultural-scientific and university-academic centres (as in case of Craiova), stimulated the historic monographs, on the occasion of anniversaries related to the celebration of a jubilee year from the documentary attestation of them: Slatina in 1968, Craiova in 1975, Râmnicu Vâlcea in 1989, Târgu Jiu in 2006 etc.

Representative for these historiographic products remain *Istoria Craiovei* (The History of Craiova), under the coordination of the historian Titu Georgescu, economist Constantin Bărbăcioru and literary historian Florea Firan<sup>11</sup>. For 1821-1918, on 50 de pages, the chapters *Craiova during the revolution from 1821*, *Craiova in the age of the Organic Regulations*, *Craiova – one of the centres of the 1848 revolution*, *Craiova and the Union of Principalities*, *Presence during the independence war* evidence the principle of attendance to important events, which the authors considered. For the evolution of the city and the urbanism from Craiova, there were reserved, in the structure of the work, only three pages (see the sub-chapter *The industrial, commercial and urbanistic development at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*)

In a similar approach, in a chronological presentation of the facts, there were elaborated monographs for the other cities too: Brezoi<sup>12</sup>, Calafat<sup>13</sup>, Caracal<sup>14</sup>, Craiova<sup>15</sup>, Drobeta Turnu Severin<sup>16</sup>, Ocnele Mari<sup>17</sup>, Râmnicu Vâlcea<sup>18</sup>, Târgu Jiu<sup>19</sup>, Slatina<sup>20</sup>, Drăgășani<sup>21</sup>, Strehaia<sup>22</sup> and Corabia<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Scrisul Românesc, Craiova, 1977; also see vol. *Craiova. Trecut, prezent și viitor*, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, Craiova, 1979, chapters “Craiova pe coordonatele istoriei (author Ștefan Ștefănescu)”, “Craiova între 1821 și 1848” (Ileana Petrescu), “Craiova și Unirea Principatelor” (Nichita Adăniloae), “Craiova în timpul Războiului pentru independență” (Vasile Maciu), “Mișcarea muncitorească și socialistă din Craiova până la 1921” (Vladimir Osiac), “Dezvoltarea industrială a Craiovei la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea” (Paul Barbu, Ilie Bogheanu).

<sup>12</sup> Petre Bardășu, Gheorghe Simeanu, *Brezoi – 100 de ani de industrie forestieră*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Conphys Publishing, 1973.

<sup>13</sup> Vasile Petrișor, Lelius Mândroi, *Calafat trepte de istorie*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing House, 1977; the second edition in 1992.

<sup>14</sup> *Caracal. File de istorie*, Caracal, MJM Publishing, 1988; Pătru Crăciun, *Caracal. Ghid istorico-turistic*, Caracal, MJM Publishing, 1972.

<sup>15</sup> Luchian Deaconu, *Memoria Craiovei. Itinerarii istorice*, Muzeul Olteniei, Craiova, Muzeul Olteniei Publishing, 1981; Pospai Mircea, *Memoria Băniei*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1980.

<sup>16</sup> *Municipiul Turnu Severin 121-1972 [Album]*, Bucharest, Politics Publishing House, 1972; Achim Costea, Nicolae Ieva, Gheorghe Nica ș.a., *Municipiul Drobeta-Turnu Severin. Studiu monografic*, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1972.

<sup>17</sup> Vasile Berbece, Victor Botnariuc, Sergiu Purece, *Băile Govora, Băile Ocnele Mari*, Bucharest, Fortuna Publishing, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> Mateescu Constantin, *Memoria Râmnicului*, Bucharest, Sport Turism Publishing, 1979; Idem, *Râmnicul de odinioară*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Almarom Publishing, 1993.

<sup>19</sup> Elisabeta Ancuța-Roșianu, *Târgu Jiu. Monografie*, Târgu Jiu, Ram Publishing, 1979.

<sup>20</sup> *Procesul de urbanizare în România. Zona Slatina-Olt*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1970; *Slatina 600. Pagini din monografia orașului*, Slatina, 1967; *Slatina. Pagini de monografie...*, Slatina, Muzeul de istorie, 1972.

<sup>21</sup> Constantin Șerban (coordinator), *Monografia Municipiului Drăgășani*, Constanța, Ex Ponto Publishing, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Constantin A. Protopopescu, *Strehaia. Trepte de istorie*, Bucharest, Quark Press Publishing, 2006.

<sup>23</sup> Florea Băciu, Ion Vârtejarum, *Monografia orașului Corabia*, Corabia, Alutus Publishing, 2001.

After 1990, many researchers published and re-published monographs about the cities from Oltenia, consistent in documentary and photographic annexes<sup>24</sup>. Extremely valuable though the basis of information, they stimulated not only the chronologic approaches, but also the researches of the modern urbanism sources, the art of city constructions from Oltenia. Among them, the most significant are the works about the most important city of Oltenia: *Alimentarea cu apă [a Craiovei]*, Helios Publishing House, Craiova, 1998; *Amenejarea apelor. Canalizarea și termoficarea orașului*, Helios Publishing House, Craiova, 1998; *Grădinile și parcurile Craiovei*, Editura de Sud, Craiova, 1999; Luchian Deaconu, *Craiova 1898-1916. Saltul la urbanismul modern*. Nicolae P. Romanescu, Sitech Publishing House, Craiova, 2001 and Luchian Deaconu, Otilia Gherghe, *Craiova de la 1878 la 1900*, Sitech Publishing House, Craiova, 2009<sup>25</sup>.

The information gathered on these occasions were taken into account by collectives of authors of *The historical dictionaries of the localities*, from the counties of Dolj<sup>26</sup>, Olt and Vâlcea, works that are closer, as time, to our scientific research.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria ilustrată a Craiovei*, Craiova, Dava Publishing, 1996; Mihai Butnariu, *Monografia municipiului Drobeta Turnu Severin*, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Prier Publishing, 1998; Victor Bobleanță, Mădălina Olteanu, *Cerneți. Orașul Severinului*, Timișoara, Eubee Publishing, 2004; Corneliu Tamaș, *Istoria Râmnicului*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Conphys Publishing, 2006; Idem, *Istoria Horezului*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Conphys Publishing, 1995; Idem, *Istoria Ocnelor Mari*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Conphys Publishing, 1995; Dana-Roxana Dincă, Vera Grigorescu, Sabin Popovici, *Monografia municipiului Caracal*, Geamăna, Tiparg Publishing, 2007; Ion Marin, Gheorghe Bănică, *Caracal. Tărâm de legendă și destinație turistică*, Caracal, Delta Cart Educational Publishing, 2006.

<sup>25</sup> For the other cities, there are added the articles in the year books of the history museums from the region: Emanoil Paul Barbu, *Aspecte ale evoluției și activității comenzii pompierilor din Craiova în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, in "Pagini din istoria pompierilor", Bucharest, Vremea Publishing, 1978, pp. 93-101; Nicolae Bănică-Ologu, *Dinamica structurilor sociale și protecția spațială a relațiilor de producție în Râmnicul (Vâlcea) medieval*, in "Studii vâlcene", 7, 1985, pp. 43-52; Ecaterina Bosoancă, *Ziduri uitate: Hanu Roșu*, in "Drobeta", X, Drobeta Turnu Severin, 2000, pp. 187-194; Nicolae Chipurici, *Aprovizionarea cu apă a orașului Turnu Severin*, in "Drobeta", 1998, 8, pp. 191-198; Nicolae Chipurici, Tudor Rățoi, Dorel Petrescu, *Istoricul pompierilor mehedinițeni*, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Prier Publishing, 1998; Marius Dobrin, *Urbanism craiovean înaintea primului război mondial*, in "Oltenia. Studii. Documente. Culegeri", 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, year III, 1999, no. 2, pp. 119-127; Octavian Teodor Gheorghiu, *Drobeta Turnu Severin. Ipoteză de evoluția urbanistică*, in "HU", 2001, 9, 1-2, pp. 145-154; Vasile Marinoiu, *Evoluția orașului Târgu Jiu în secolele XVIII-XIX*, in "Litua", 1997, 1, pp. 40-48; Petre Purcărescu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istorică a Parcului Zăvoi din Râmnicu Vâlcea*, in "Studii vâlcene", new series, no. IV (XI), 2008, pp. 51-64; Tudor Rățoi, *Edificii reprezentative ale Severinului: Hala Radu Negru*, in "Drobeta", VII, 1996, pp. 126-130; Paul Rezeanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea dezvoltării edilitare a Craiovei între 1831-1944*, in RMMMI, 1987, 18, 1, pp. 71-73; Mircea Borcoman (coordinator), *Străzile au amintiri. Monografia orașului Drobeta Turnu-Severin*, Agora Publishing, Craiova, 2001; Elena Udriște, *Începuturile iluminatului public în orașul Târgu Jiu*, in "Litua", IV, 1988, pp. 433-443; etc.

<sup>26</sup> Cezar Avram, Paul-Emanoil Barbu, Dinică Ciobotea, Vladimir Osiac, *Dicționarul istoric al localităților din județul Dolj*. Craiova, Craiova, Alma Publishing, 2005; Vladimir Osiac, Nicolae Stoicescu (coordinators), *Dicționarul istoric al localităților din județul Olt. Orașe*, Craiova, Alma Publishing, 2006, Dinică Ciobotea, Cezar Avram (coordinators), *Dicționarul istoric al localităților din județul Vâlcea I. Orașele*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2009.

Subsequently to this excursion through the historiography of the cities from Oltenia<sup>27</sup>, ascertaining and motivated, it can be concluded that the history of the urban settlements from the south-west region of Romania, remained sequential, chronological and opportune to the political stimuli, received according to certain realities from our evolution. Therefore, the work intends to provide a synthetic regard on the entire urbanistic factor and the history of the cities from the area of Oltenia, free from any prejudices and only inside the dimension of the unquestionable information, as part of a rich archivist patrimony. Such a work, that, from the perspective of the actual community interests, contextualises events, social realities, projects and accomplishments in a coagulated and adequate structure, for the integration of the many documentary-statistic-juridical and narrative sources, kept by the Central National Archives (in 1831), or those of the Counties (Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți, Vâlcea and Olt), founded after 1931, is more than welcomed.

The richest documentary funds, are those created by the archivists during 1859-1916, the town halls and the prefects' offices from the counties. The resources of any town-hall from a residential city have several divisions, from which two of them are more complex, in connection with our chosen theme: the Administrative Department and the Technical Department. These sections offer a rich source of information and data, on addressing the most diverse fields of the economic, social, political, cultural and urbanistic life. Created by the institution of the Town-Hall itself, the information inserted in the different papers, catch the designing of facts or stages in the different urbanistic programmes, not including wide areas or general projects, as that made once with the founding of Turnu Severin and Calafat cities. The limitations of the information (in content) do not diminish their quality as authentic, official and veridical sources of documents. According to the attributions of the Town-Hall institutions, the most numerous documents refer to the measures taken by city leaders, to systematise, line, pave and macadamise the streets, to the treaties with different foreign and national companies for the introduction of trams (in the case of Craiova)<sup>28</sup>, phones, water and public illumination, the building of municipal palaces, the founding of the Fire Station in Craiova, in 1884<sup>29</sup>, water supplying, sewing system etc. The fund of the Town-Hall of Craiova, completed for 1831-1950, includes no less than 16,835 archivist units. The fund of the Town-Hall of Calafat transferred, in 1941, in the

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<sup>27</sup> See Vasile Ciobanu, Anda-Lucia Spânu (coordinators), *Bibliografia istorică a orașelor din România*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2007.

<sup>28</sup> Contracts with the society Paumayet Făreanu, which were not carried out. SJAN Dolj (Dolj County Service of the National Archives), the Town-Hall of the Municipality of Craiova, the Administrative Department, files 66/1900 and 10/19.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, file 4/1884.

deposits of the National Archives from Dolj, is made of 10,008 archivist units, for 1852-1910, most of them created during the years of the Independence War. For the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, beside the statistic data of the industrial establishments from the city (a beer factory, brick, carbonated waters, sausages and salami, candles factories, mills, bakeries), we can also meet negotiation with foreign and national companies for the introduction of electric lighting and the construction of the railway between Craiova and Calafat. Important archivist funds were also kept by the Town-Halls of the municipalities of Râmnicu Vâlcea<sup>30</sup>, Târgu Jiu, Turnu Severin and Caracal or Shipyard from Turnu Severin<sup>31</sup>. In the patrimony of the National Archives too, we found other categories of sources, such are the narrative<sup>32</sup>, the epigraphic<sup>33</sup> and the cartographic ones.

The cartographic ones, which include the cities in their extended dimensions from one stage to the other, are the most eloquent, both as regarding the space (the territory) of urban habitat, and the urbanistic quality created by the leaders that ran certain departments or the town-halls of the settlements. The plans of the different cities date after 1791. They were firstly designed according to the relief, and after 1906, on the basis of trigonometric measurements, being called rated plans (in which the altitude is marked through contour lines)<sup>34</sup>. Few plans were executed especially for edited and urbanistic works, such is *The general plan of the ponds around Craiova*, drafted by the captain (later, colonel) G. Savopol; *The plan of Craiova city from 1905, for the water supplying from Gioroc source*; *The plan for lining and systematisation of Craiova from 1916*, made by the architect I. D. Berindei (diplomat of the French government, teacher at Belle-Arte School, former architect of the Internal Affairs Ministry, former general inspector at the national exhibition from 1906) and the engineer M. Colleanu; The design project for the new city of Turnu Severin from 1835, belonging to the engineer Xavier

<sup>30</sup> See I. Soare, *Primăria Municipiului Râmnicu Vâlcea*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Conpys Publishing, 2000.

<sup>31</sup> Constantin Petrică Dănescu, *Şantierul naval din Turnu Severin*, vol. I (1851-1950), Drobeta Turnu Severin, Prier Publishing, 2004; Nicolae Chipurici, Tudor Răţoi, Cristian Aniţa, *Arhivele Naţionale la Mehedinţi. Semicentenar*, Craiova, MJM Publishing, 2003.

<sup>32</sup> The most interesting manuscript from SJAN Dolj, signed by Porubski from 1957: *Craiova de altădată*.

<sup>33</sup> Up until now, they were entirely published only for the cities from Vâlcea County, see Constantin Bălan, *Inscripţii medievale şi din epoca modernă. Judeţul istoric Vâlcea, sec. XIV-1848*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Most of them are for the Academy Library, Maps: H 2466-A LXXVII 4 (year 1790); H 1048-D XXX 15 (year 1845, Gotthieb, 142 X 149 cm); H 1047-D XXX 14 (year 1850, 180 X 150 cm); H III 547 (year 1854, 140 X 147 cm); H 3186 CCV 5 (by Filip Lazăr, 37,5X 41,5 cm); H 2556-D LXXXI 8 (year 1895, by Călinescu, 52,5 X 67,5 cm); for the other cities, we noticed the plans in the funds "Maps" of County Department for the National Archive from Dolj, Vâlcea, Gorj, Olt and Mehedinţi.

Villacrosse<sup>35</sup>; *The plan of the city of Târgu Jiu from 1847* of Costache N. Râmniceanu<sup>36</sup>, *The plan of the city of Târgu Jiu elaborated according to the streets placement from 1877*<sup>37</sup>, *The plan of the city of Târgu Jiu, made by Alexandru Ștefulescu*<sup>38</sup>, *The sketch of the Bishopric estate and the river of Râmnic, the isolated places around Râmnic, Troianu, Juga, the properties of Vâlcea in 1857*<sup>39</sup>, *The delimitation plan of the city of Râmnicu Vâlcea din 1897* etc.

Another category of sources is that represented by the narrative ones, among these, the most interesting, but also the most subjective, being the autobiographies signed by Ana Leoveanu (*Miseria umană*, Craiova, 1900), Zoe Mandrea (*Icoane din trecut*, Bucharest, f.a.), Olga Gigurtu (*Amintiri și icoane din trecut*, Craiova, 1935), Nicolae Porumb (*Din firele unei vieți*, Craiova, 1927) and Constantin Argetoianu (*Pentru cei de mâine. Amintiri din vremea celor de ieri*, vol. I. *Până la 1888*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1991).

The documentary sources mentioned above are the most veridical pieces of information about the Romanian society, in its grouping composition, from the city. The density of the human, individual and group actions, gave the cities cultural and civilising modern attributes and different functions, which were concretised in production, trade, consumption, political, administrative, military, residential, touristic and cultural centres. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were gradually and slowly fixed, the directions and the parameters for the evolution of the urban settlements, towards the wide network of cities from nowadays. The demographic, economic and financial factors, added near the institutional background of the state and the natural environment of the area, in continuity, interference and modern administration, according to the occidental model, created a new specificity for the cities of Oltenia, between 1859 and 1918. We have tried to determine this aspect, in relation with other Romanian cities, especially from the left side of the river Olt, and even more confronted to the economic restructuration, after the obtaining of the State Independence, which determined the reorientation, preponderantly of the cities from the field regions, towards the port cities near the Danube, in which there were commercialised cereals coming from Brăila and from the Danubian regions.

The railways built after 1869, became not only the factor of the wide spreading of the cities towards the train stations, but also that of the modernisation of the cities, though the huge potential brought once with the supplying of limestone, gravel, rocks and basalt.

<sup>35</sup> C. Pajură, D. T. Giurescu, *Istoricul orașului Turnu Severin*, Bucharest, 1933.

<sup>36</sup> Elena Udriște, *O hotărnicie a Târgu Jiului din anul 1847*, in "Litua", 3, 1986, p. 448.

<sup>37</sup> Alexandru Ștefulescu, *Istoria Târgu Jiului*, Târgu Jiu, 1906, p. 98.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>39</sup> Titi Mihail Gherghina, *Imagini citadine din Râmnicu de altădată*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Almarom Publishing, 2007.

The historical sources, encompass the names of the architects, construction engineers, hydrologist engineers, landscape engineers, restorers from all the parts of the Central and Western Europe. Their share in the modernisation of the cities from Oltenia, in competition with the Romanian architects and engineers, adept of the national style, “painted” an urban civilisation, according to the European requests of the era from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. After 1859, once with the modernising reforms of the national state, the impact became difficult to unravel. The interties and the mental of the anterior age determined stagnation, after the gaining of the state Independence, the national energies, and, implicitly, the community ones, imposed a rhythm in the urbanistic creation, never seen before. In the first years of World War I, many of the collections and values from the cities of Oltenia, were plundered by the foreign occupants, fact that transformed everything into a recession in the urbanistic development of the area.

Between 1859 and 1918, the documents are the proof of an urbanism created “as an intellectual and professional movement”, long-lasting and efficient, up until nowadays. Therefore, we conclude by saying, along with other researchers, that “the urbanism of the twentieth century is rooted in the nineteenth century”<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> Peter Hall, *Orașele de mâine. O istorie intelectuală a urbanismului în secolul XX*, Bucharest, All Publishing, 1999, p. 21.



# COOPERATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND CULTURAL FIELD

## ASPECTS CONCERNING FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF ROMANIA IN THE YEARS 1965-1989

Mihaela BĂRBIERU\*

**Abstract:** In this study, the author tries to capture aspects of international economic relations that Romania has developed with members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CAER), with Western countries, but also with “developing countries” in the period 1965-1989. In order to develop a functioning economy and transform our country into a regional political force and, why not, into one of the world powers, in the period under discussion a series of economic activities have been taken which, unfortunately, were extremely harsh for Romanian population and unsustainable on a long term. Without taking into account domestic economic realities, in which development was based solely on excessive industrialization and five year plans with very high costs, and without any correlation between domestic political factors and external political factors, the communist leader Ceaușescu has taken economic measures designed to destabilize certain sectors on the one hand, and throw out the balance of international economic relations, on the other hand.

**Keywords:** economic relations, Western countries, CAER, developing countries, communist period.

During the Ceaușescu regime, a constant concern of the communist leader was to build a functioning economy for Romania, ignoring the internal social realities and external policy changes. Aiming to become a global leader through transforming the country into a political and economic force, Ceaușescu forced Romania's participation in economic relations with other countries. The activity of economic cooperation with developed countries and developing countries was enhanced artificially, to the detriment of the Romanian state and of people for which living conditions have become particularly heavy. Proof of this fact are the statistics of that time which are showing that in 1965 Romania had economic relations with 64 countries, in 1975 with 120 states, in 1984 with 150 countries and foreign trade increased between 1965 and 1984 over 8 times<sup>1</sup>. On February 7,

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<sup>1</sup> *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România. 1984.* Direcția Centrală de Statistică, Bucharest, 1985, p. 259.

1985, in his speech at the Third Congress of the Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity, Ceaușescu called for intensifying international economic exchanges and cooperation in production, considering them an important factor for the entire economic activity of Romania:

“Acting firmly to the strong development of the productive forces and of the national economy we will have to intensify international economic exchanges and cooperation in production – as a factor of particular importance to the entire economic activity of our country”<sup>2</sup>.

During the period 1965-1989, without taking into account the correlation of domestic political factors with the external ones in the development of the economic relations, our country advanced the premise of active participation in international level, trying to strengthen its cooperation with other countries in various fields and economic segments. The development of the national economy was based on massive industrialization and export of industrial products, on the creation of new sub-branches of industry in various fields, such as machine building industry. Also, it was artificially accelerated the development of chemical industry, especially of fertilizers production, at a time when countries like Canada, France, USA gave it up. Consumer goods industry has been an important part of exports, fact which deteriorated the living standards of people because of the lack of these products on internal market.

Industrialization was made without taking into account other factors. One of these factors was environmental pollution that reached very high odds during the communist regime. Most projects were conducted with people forced to perform community work, the so-called volunteers who were, usually, military personnel, teachers, pupils or students. Another factor which was not taken into account was the relocation of people from rural areas to urban areas, usually around major centers of industry. Thus, entire villages or parts of villages have been destroyed, in their place being built industrial parks and large areas for agriculture. Obsessed with the payment of Romania's external debt accumulated during the period when he developed large projects (eg Danube-Black Sea Canal), Ceaușescu instituted a system of austerity by reducing imports, increasing exports to the detriment of people, through rationing basic food and electricity or by intimidating the population by “Securitate” service. In support of those assertions, we restore the statement of the historian Dan Falcan, which claims that such aberrations were not found in other states within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union such as Poland, the Czech Republic or Hungary:

“These aberrations were related to the severe privations introduced after 1981, when Ceaușescu decided that population had to tighten their belts so that Romania could pay foreign

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<sup>2</sup> Apud Iulian Dănescu, *Dinamica relațiilor economice internaționale ale României în perioada făuririi societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, in “Anale de istorie”, year XXXII, no. 3, 1986, p. 104.

debt, which amounted to 13 billion dollars. In order to reduce electricity consumption, the television program was reduced, although this was a ridiculous measure since the domestic electricity consumption was only 5% of national consumption. In this context also emerged the rationing of gasoline and food by introducing food cards. It was introduced the reform of Iulian Mincu according to which meat was not a healthy food and therefore food stores were filled with ocean fish and Vietnamese shrimp bought by nobody”<sup>3</sup>.

In 1989 the Communist leader announced his compatriots that Romania did not have any external debt<sup>4</sup>. Tough measures taken by the leadership of the state to pay foreign debts deteriorated also the exchanges with the USA, which steadily decreased, culminating in the renunciation of the clause of Most Favoured Nation. The rupture between Romania and US affected profoundly the relations of our country with other western states<sup>5</sup>.

Even during the Ninth Congress, the new leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu, promoted ideas of collaboration and development of foreign relations with all countries, regardless of the political regime, but primarily with those of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CAER). Between the years 1968-1972, the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were renewed on June 7, 1970, with Bulgaria on 19 November 1970, with Czechoslovakia on 16 August 1968, with Poland on 12 November 1970, with Hungary on 24 February 1972 and treaties of cooperation with the German Democratic Republic were concluded on 12 May 1971 and with the People's Republic of Korea in May 1976<sup>6</sup>. The aim of these treaties took were both the development of political relations and the development of economic relations, which have involved the intensification and increment of commercial trade with over 2.2% in the seventh decade and with over 3.6% in the eight decade of the twentieth century. Among the countries of the socialist camp, the USSR share in the commerce of communist Romania was 17.3% in 1983, and the commercial relations with China recorded an increase in trade volume by almost 12 times from 1965 to 1983<sup>7</sup>.

China has been an important economic partner for Romania during the communist period. For the Chinese state, our country represented the link with the Western world, therefore the two states were developing diplomatic, political and economic relations. Although adopted an attitude of neutrality towards the conflict between the USSR and China, Romania was closer to the last supporting each other

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<sup>3</sup> Petre Bădică, *Marile aberații ale perioadei comuniste*, in “România Liberă”, on-line paper available at <http://www.romanialibera.ro/special/documentare/marile-abetatii-ale-perioadei-comuniste-361889>, accessed at: 10 May 2015.

<sup>4</sup> See, in this matter, [http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Despre\\_Romania\\_in\\_perioada1965-1989\\_Ceausescu.html](http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Despre_Romania_in_perioada1965-1989_Ceausescu.html), accessed at: 6 May 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Academia Română, *Istoria românilor*, vol. X, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, p. 714 (it will be further cited *Istoria românilor*...).

<sup>6</sup> Iulian Dănescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 106.

internationally in economic exchanges, in trade and cooperation relations. In 1978, economic exchanges between the two countries were \$ 3.6 billion, Romania exporting goods worth 1.7 billion dollars and importing products worth 1.8 billion dollars. After 1978, China succeeded to enter on a path of economic growth that transformed it into a country well placed in the world hierarchy of the industrialized states of the moment. Romania has not seen the same increase, which will cause a decrease in the intensity of relations between the two, including of economic exchanges<sup>8</sup>.

In the process of economic growth in the communist era, the creation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CAER) was an important moment. Economic and scientific-technical relations between Member States have emphasized, Romania advocating within the organization for expanding and improving relations both between communist countries and with developing countries. The CAER activity has diversified in many fields, from industry, agriculture, science and technology in areas such as financial and credit relations, international transport etc.

In the sixties, despite the Sino-Soviet dispute<sup>9</sup> based on relations of socialist states, Romania will be able to take positions against emerging divisions in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance<sup>10</sup>, the body inside which Moscow launched the idea of production's specialization as the most viable solution for the socialist camp in the economic field. According to this theory, the industrialized countries would have continued the process of industrialization (German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia), while the less developed countries in this segment should have abandoned heavy industry in favor of agriculture (Romania and Bulgaria)<sup>11</sup>. Romanian specialists in the economy considered the Soviet proposal to rebuild the CAER was not suitable<sup>12</sup>. In their statements, they discussed three dimensions, of which the political one was legitimized even by the forced industrialization through the agency of which the peasants, mobilized as labor force, enjoyed better living conditions and economic policy reconfiguration could cause people's effervescence with new politicians who needed to be combated, as has been observed during the entire communist regime; the second dimension revealed that a radical reorientation could have negative effects, the worst could have been undermining Romania's chances to build a functioning economy given that our country brought to Moscow, which was sheltered by CAER, reproaches of

<sup>8</sup> Corneliu Russu, Marius Buleagă, *Chinese Economic Reform and the Romanian-Chinese Economic Relations*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2009, pp. 49-50.

<sup>9</sup> Jean François Soulet, *Istoria comparată a statelor comuniste*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 1998, passim.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> Emanuel Copilaș, *Politica externă a României comuniste: autonomia unei insolite autonomii*, in "Sfera Politicii", no. 152, 2010, p. 80.

<sup>12</sup> For further details, see Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *Regimuri politice comparate. Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism*, Craiova, Aius Publishing, 2008, pp. 235-236.

ideological nature, consistently motivated. USSR will yield to Romania's pressures and will give up his megalomaniac desires of over-planning the economies of the CAER member states. The third dimension and, as we believe, the most important one, was the ability of our country to benefit from the conflict between the two sides, Russia and China, managing to move away from the Soviet economic tutelage in order to rebuild its economy focused on economic exchanges with communist states<sup>13</sup>. In July 1971 in Bucharest, Romania's actions taken with the aim of opposing to supranational planning led to the adoption, in the framework of the XXVth session of CAER, of the *Complex programme for deepening cooperation and developing socialist economic integration of the Member States*. Within the project there were adopted programs that established the parameters of the organization's activity until 1990 and it was launched the concept of socialist economic integration<sup>14</sup>.

Low quality of Romanian products affected Romanian exports and the balance was tilted towards imports, which in 1975 were worth 40.6 billion lei in comparison to 37 billion lei, the value of exports. This increased the dependence on imports of electricity compared to the CAER member states<sup>15</sup>. In the period 1971-1980, CAER States have reported difficulties in the supply of fuels, energy, raw materials and the need to tackle this problem led Romania to propose long-term development programs, forms of mutually advantageous cooperation and finding common interests. However, in order not to record weak balance, as happened in 1978, they found "saving" solutions, among these the most important are reducing electricity consumption below the minimum required, fuel rationing and rising oil prices. Thanks to these measures, which affected the population and lowered their standard of living, inside CAER there were recorded successes of the communist leadership and a high level of economic development of Member States<sup>16</sup>.

In the period 1965-1983, trades between Romania and its partner states from CAER increased 6.2 times, recording a level of 133,208 lei in 1983<sup>17</sup>. During the same period, the volume of Romanian exports to the partner countries has grown about 6 times, and annual exports of machinery and transport means about 10 times. The total share of these products in Romanian exports rose from 16% in 1960 to 44.2% in 1983<sup>18</sup>. Also, the exports increased in other areas, as in that of electrical machinery, machinery for drilling and geological explorations, and of cutting machines or tools; measuring equipment and instruments, communications equipment, laboratory equipment for scientific research etc. began to be exported<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Emanuel Copilaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

<sup>14</sup> *Istoria românilor...*, p. 707.

<sup>15</sup> Especially USSR and Bulgaria.

<sup>16</sup> *Istoria românilor ...* pp. 707-708.

<sup>17</sup> *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România. 1984...*, pp. 264-270.

<sup>18</sup> *Conjunctura economiei mondiale*, Bucharest, 1985, p. 135.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

Also in view of our country an important role in economic growth was the development of cooperation relations in production. Thus, until 1984 Romania was party to over 200 multilateral agreements concluded with states interested in building in partnership a series of targets in chemistry or in car manufacturing industry on the territories of the partner countries, production being intended for mutual interchange. Examples are building a factory of heavy machine in Giurgiu-Ruse thanks to Bulgarian-Romanian efforts, building a nickel and cobalt plant in Cuba or the construction in the USSR, in the frame of the Russian-Romanian collaboration, of a number of industrial targets. Thus, Romania has registered an increased export of specialized products in the field of car building from 41 million rubles in 1973 to 658 million rubles in 1982, and the percentage of Romanian cars deliveries to the CAER Member States has increased from 8% to 47%<sup>20</sup>.

As there was no direct conditional link between international politics and economic relations within the CAER, this has led Romania to find its way toward the western states, although the image of its leader was continuously declining<sup>21</sup>. With the help of Western technology and partnerships signed with Western states, machinery and equipment industry in Romania has developed into the largest industrial sector of the country, serving the domestic market in proportion of 90%; thus, our country has ranked 10th in the world in the production of machine tools, 3<sup>rd</sup> in the export of oil installations and in first place in the export of railway wagons<sup>22</sup>. It should be also mentioned the efforts in the naval field, Romania being among the few countries building offshore drilling. In the late 70s there were only 10 countries producers of marine drilling rigs and the shipyard in Galați used only local products. Although Romania has made huge investments in this area, has experienced a decline in domestic oil production. Exports to West continued even in these conditions because there was a need of currency, leading to the situation in 1988, when domestic oil production fell to 9.5 million tons and refining capacity to 30-33 million tonnes<sup>23</sup>. Thus, if until 1975, Romania was an oil exporter, due to large oil processing capacity in Romanian refineries, starting with this year, imports exceeded domestic production of oil, reaching over 30 million tonnes in 1988-1989<sup>24</sup>.

One of the major Western economic partners for Romania during the communist period was France, considered the “big sister” of the West. The authorities of that moment have considered it necessary that Romania needed foreign licensed production, so production of a car under foreign license was

<sup>20</sup> Iulian Dănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>21</sup> *Istoria românilor ...*, pp. 708-709.

<sup>22</sup> See [http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Industria\\_de\\_masini\\_utilaje\\_Romaniei\\_1965-1989.html](http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Industria_de_masini_utilaje_Romaniei_1965-1989.html), accessed at: 5 May 2015.

<sup>23</sup> See [http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Despre\\_industria\\_extractiva\\_Romania\\_1965-1989.html](http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Despre_industria_extractiva_Romania_1965-1989.html), accessed at: 7 May 2015.

<sup>24</sup> See [http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Resursele\\_Romaniei\\_in\\_perioada\\_1965-1989.html](http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Resursele_Romaniei_in_perioada_1965-1989.html), accessed at: 6 May 2015.

started in the sixties. Thus, in 1968 it signed a license agreement between the Romanian state, on the one hand, and Renault, on the other hand, for the commencement of manufacturing Dacia model car. Small and large capacity helicopters have been also produced under French license in Braşov, IAR-316 B “Alouette III” (with small capacity) şi IAR 330 “Puma” (with large capacity of nine people). Between 1971 and 1976 from the total of 80 helicopters produced, 28 were exported to France and the rest were destined for the Ministry of Defense and Civil Aviation. In the eight decade the production of helicopters continued. Some of these were used by NATO, Romania becoming the only state in the area of the Warsaw Pact which managed to sell military equipment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Exports were also directed towards countries in South America and Africa at very competitive prices for the Romanians<sup>25</sup>. The collaboration between the two countries was directed to other areas: nuclear (power turbines for nuclear plants, with the company Alsthom Atlantique), electrical (electronic telephone plants, transmitters, color TV receivers with CIT Alcatel and Thompson), mining and quarrying industry, electricity, construction and construction materials, light industry, agriculture, animal husbandry, science, medicine, tourism etc.<sup>26</sup>.

However, France has not been the main economic partner of Romania, from the contemporary documents resulting that France was ranked on 8th place in the total commercial trade of Romania and on 3rd place in Romanian trade with the developed capitalist countries, after countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America<sup>27</sup>. In the eighties, bilateral economic exchanges between the two countries faced difficulties because France, which in 1987 exported 3.6 billion francs in Romania and imported only 0.8 billion was surpassed by Italy in the preferences of our country and had a considerably economic trade deficit<sup>28</sup>. In these circumstances, to which we add only weak domestic politics and dissent faction, our country recorded a severe negative image so France declined its support at European level and no longer supported Romania in its efforts.

As already mentioned, an important sector for the Romanian economy was the automobile industry, which produced in 1965 approximately 3,600 units. In 1980 it was made up of three automobile factories (Piteşti, Craiova, Câmpulung), eight factories of sub-assemblies and more than 100 factories of assemblies of parts (Piteşti, Topoloveni etc.). The vehicle representative for the last century's Romania, Dacia (with its derivatives) began to be produced in 1968 at Mioveni,

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<sup>25</sup> Florin Chivoci, *Cum investea Franţa în România lui Ceauşescu*, in “Historia”, 2011; available at [http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv\\_web/general/articol/cum-investea-fran-n-rom-nia-lui-ceau-escu](http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/cum-investea-fran-n-rom-nia-lui-ceau-escu); accessed at: 8 May 2015.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>27</sup> National Archives of Romania (ANR), fund of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee, External Relations Department, file no. 4/1980, f. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Valeriu Tudor, *In misiune la Paris*, Bucharest, Cavallioti Publishing, 2009, pp. 210-210.

Arges county, under license from Renault. The Mioveni factory succeeded in selling more than 40,000 Dacia 1100 until 1971, and the selling of Dacia 1300 reached one million units in 1985. The automobile factory in Timișoara has produced Dacia 500 (Lăstun) only with domestic technology. In 1976, in Craiova was established the Olcit SA company, under Citroen license, whose production was mostly destined to be exported to countries in Latin America or in Europe. Because of doubtful quality and high price, the Olcit car was sold quite difficult even in countries member of CAER as German Democratic Republic or Czechoslovakia, so its production ceased in 1995, all the actions remaining to the Romanian state<sup>29</sup>.

In the 80s, the retail market for Romanian cars was the external one at a rate of 50-80% (Cuba, Hungary etc.). In 1988, Romania registered a production of 121,000 cars and 17,000 trucks<sup>30</sup>.

Although Romania was a car manufacturer in the communist period, its domestic car fleet, serviced by domestic production in proportion of 90%, was deficient in number and poor in car brands. The same paradox was recorded in the fuel field, where although there was a big production and a poor car fleet, gasoline was rationed in the middle '80, a car owner family being entitled to 30 liters of gasoline per month<sup>31</sup>.

Romania has undertaken economic relations not only with the socialist bloc countries, but has also initiated a series of actions in this regard with developing countries, which were stimulated by the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party. Interest in the development of economic relations with these countries is explained by the Romania's belief that small and medium-sized countries, in time, will have a growing weight in the global economy. In 1976, in Manila, in the third ministerial conference of the *Group of 77*, our country became a full member, and at the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, Romania obtained the status of permanent guest<sup>32</sup>. Romania also had an intense activity since its first meeting at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), where he presented proposals to boost economic and trade relations and promoted initiatives to boost the commercial trade of developing countries. During 1960-1970 the volume of trade conducted between Romania and developing countries has increased 5 times and 15 times during 1970-1980. The products mainly exported to these countries were cars, machinery, transport means, chemicals and industrial

<sup>29</sup> Florin Chivoci, *op. cit.*, [http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv\\_web/general/articol/cum-investea-fran-n-rom-nia-lui-ceau-escu](http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/cum-investea-fran-n-rom-nia-lui-ceau-escu), accessed at: 8 May 2015.

<sup>30</sup> See [http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Industria\\_de\\_masini\\_utilaje\\_Romaniei\\_1965-1989.html](http://www.stiri-economice.ro/Industria_de_masini_utilaje_Romaniei_1965-1989.html), accessed at: 5 May 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Florin Rusu, *Jumătate de secol de comunism: ciudatul caz al industriei de rafinare și al celei auto*, in "Energy Report"; available at <http://www.energyreport.ro/index.php/2013-petrol-si-gaze/2013-stiri-petrol-si-gaze/2013-rafinare-si-marketing/2759-jumatate-de-secol-de-comunism-ciudatul-caz-al-industriei-de-rafinare-si-al-celeii-auto>, accessed at: 10 May 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Iulian Dănescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

consumer goods. However, the major imports made by Romania to developing countries were industrial raw materials: oil, coal, iron ore, textile fibers, natural phosphates, etc. In 1981, our country developed trade relations with 100 such states in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the 80s, the volume of currency trade with Asian countries has registered about 14 billion lei currency, with African countries about 8.3 billion lei currency, and with countries of Latin America about 1.1 billion lei currency<sup>33</sup>. World economic crisis of the 80s has tempered and even affected the economic exchange between our country and developing countries.

Between 1965-1989, Romania will succeed in achieving a relative economic independence from the USSR, as in the 80s in benefiting from a very high capital accumulation rate, among the highest in the world. Thus, Romania will become a major producer of finished petroleum products, steel, locomotives, planes, industrial production in 1970 managing to exceed 100 times that of 1945. During this period, many projects have been developed as Iron Gates I and II hydroelectric plants, Danube-Black Sea Canal, over 100 hydropower plants, refineries, nuclear power plant in Cernavodă, Bucharest metro, and many other projects. As regards agriculture, irrigation systems were developed and new methods were applied leading to the massive increase in the quantity of agricultural products harvested, this does not mean an increased standard of living, but rather the methods used have negative consequences on the population. Experts in the field believe that the measures taken in this period to accelerate industry development and payment of external debt have not been the best for our country and have obviously meant, as already mentioned, a regrettable decline of living standards of the population:

"For Romania (...), predominantly agricultural country, forced industrialization meant a violation of normal development, the destruction of virtual sources of economic growth, throwing out the necessary balance between the different branches of the economy"<sup>34</sup>.

In conclusion, the period under discussion was very hard for the Romanian population, because Ceaușescu, by lending large sums to be able to fulfill his megalomaniac dreams, wanted to pay all the foreign debts of the state in a relatively short time, which was a big mistake. So he turned pretty quickly from a leader respected and appreciated by the people (in 1968) in an odious leader, one of Europe's true neo-Stalinists leaders in the last decades of the twentieth century.

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240.



## LES RELATIONS CULTURELLES FRANCO-ROUMAINES À L'ÉPOQUE COMMUNISTE – SOUS LE SIGNE D'UNE PERMANENTE NÉGOCIATION\*

Georgiana MEDREA\*\*

### FRANCO-ROMANIAN CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE COMMUNIST PERIOD UNDER THE SIGN OF A PERMANENT NEGOTIATION

**Abstract:** This paper deals with the main mechanisms of bilateral cultural cooperation arrangements, objectives and the means employed to implement a common policy periodically redefined, according to the different stages of the diplomatic rapprochement between the two countries.

**Keywords:** cultural history of international relations, Romania, France, communisme, cultural policy.

La démarche historiographique spécifique à la diplomatie culturelle qui se trouve à l'origine de cette réflexion est inspirée par le souhait d'analyser posément, *sine ira et studio*, la suite que le régime communiste entend concéder à la relation bilatérale la plus élaborée que l'élite roumaine ait jamais tissée.

A la fin de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres, la politique culturelle initiée par la diplomatie française, solidement soutenue par le gouvernement roumain et bien accueillie par la population aboutissait à l'apogée de la diffusion de cette culture comme adjuvant de la progression de l'idée nationale et âpre bouclier des valeurs humanistes appelées au renfort pour garantir la justesse du progrès technique.

Après l'occupation de la France, lorsque ces perspectives politiques furent renversées, les échanges culturels laborieusement maintenus par les deux parties allaient devenir un vecteur de résistance<sup>1</sup>. La «libération» dramatique du 23 août

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<sup>1</sup> Ana-Maria Stan, *Relațiile franco-române în timpul regimului de la Vichy (1940-1944)*, Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut Éditeur, 2006, *passim*.

1944 ouvre la série du déclin vertigineux des relations avec l'Occident. Néanmoins, jusqu'en 1989, ces deux pays réussissent à accorder plus ou moins leurs objectifs de coopération culturelle, étroitement liées à l'évolution de leurs relations politiques.

Notre but ici est de souligner le rôle, la stratégie et les résultats des mesures de coopération progressivement mises en œuvre sur la base de protocoles, d'accords et de commissions mixtes par l'Institut Roumain de Relations Culturelles avec l'Etranger (IRRCE) avec la contribution plus modeste de l'Association France-Roumanie (AFR) d'une part et par la Bibliothèque Française de Bucarest d'autre part.

Il s'agit d'une relation à temporalités et attentes décalées: si l'IRRCE et l'AFR sont déjà opérationnelles en 1948, le dispositif français passe par une longue phase de déconstruction jusqu'en 1970, année où la Bibliothèque Française est à nouveau ouverte.

Les sources primaires consultées aux Archives nationales historiques centrales de Bucarest, ainsi qu'aux Archives diplomatiques de Courneuve, de Nantes et de Bucarest ont été complétées par des instruments et des ouvrages spécialisés particulièrement utiles, signés, par exemple, par Gavin Bowd, Dan Berindei<sup>2</sup>, Ana-Maria Stan, Constantin Mățu<sup>3</sup>, Catherine Durandin<sup>4</sup>, Vladimir Tismăneanu.

Pour commencer, il ne s'agit plus vraiment d'une coopération entre deux Etats, puisque les communistes se réservent l'initiative et le ton de ces relations, selon le modèle soviétique. Ainsi adoptent-ils deux types de mesures: créer leurs propres leviers de coopération, tout en détruisant en parallèle les dispositifs mis sur pied par les puissances occidentales avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

L'IRRCE est fondé 12 mars 1947 sous une dénomination prudente: Institut de Culture Universelle. Cette institution directement financée par le parti se fortifie rapidement, tout en requérant une tâche bien définie, celle d'assurer la propagande à l'étranger<sup>5</sup>.

A partir du 11 octobre 1948, la vocation principale de l'IRRCE est celle de mettre en œuvre les mesures prévues par les accords et les conventions culturelles signées par la Roumanie avec l'étranger. Son activité se diversifie progressivement, en comprenant dans son programme des échanges de publications, de films, l'organisation d'expositions.

Pour ce qui est de l'organisation interne, l'IRRCE est composé de deux directions principales: Documentation et Etudes. Chacune fonctionne selon un plan

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<sup>2</sup> Dan Berindei, *Legături și convergențe istorice româno-franceze*, dans «Revista de istorie», 32<sup>e</sup> tome, n° 3, mars 1979.

<sup>3</sup> Constantin Mățu, *Relațiile franco-române în perioada 1964-1968: dialog în perioada destinderii*, Iași, Universitățile Alexandru Ioan Cuza Éditeur, 2011, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Catherine Durandin, *Istoria românilor*, Iași, Institutul European Éditeur, 1998, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Le Service des Archives Nationales Historiques Centrales (à citer SANIC), *Institutul Român pentru Relații cu Străinătatea 1947-1969*, Inventaire 1774.

d'actions établi par une assemblée générale qui élit également un comité de direction, c'est-à-dire un président, sept vice-présidents et un secrétaire général. A partir de 1951, c'est le Ministère des Affaires étrangères qui établit le plan d'actions de la signature des conventions culturelles. Leur conclusion émane d'abord de la volonté de procéder à une ouverture politique spécifiquement orientée vers les pays du bloc communiste: si en 1949, seulement neuf pays capitalistes sont compris dans le programme de coopération, leur nombre s'élève à 58 en 1951. La coopération culturelle est strictement subordonnée aux objectifs de la propagande, devant lesquels l'histoire s'estompe, dans le meilleur des cas. En fait, les mêmes matériaux sont distribués sans distinction dans tous les pays visés.

Pendant les dix premières années du régime communistes<sup>6</sup>, imaginer préserver la francophonie et la francophilie profondément enracinées dans la société roumaine relevait du domaine du défi. Au dernier Congrès de la Mission Universitaire Française en Roumanie (MUF), le 23-25 avril 1948, les professeurs constatent devoir restreindre leur intervention à l'enseignement de la littérature classique et romantique, car la diffusion d'œuvres contemporaines non-communistes posait problème. Roland Barthes s'assure ainsi d'exposer les volumes de Marx dans la collection de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français<sup>6</sup>. Mais le régime ne s'en contente guère. Le 12 mai, le ministre de l'Enseignement Grigore Vasilichi refuse la demande de l'Ambassade française de maintenir la MUF, au prétexte de la réquisition de l'Ecole roumaine de Fontenay-aux-Roses. Il reproche de même au représentant de l'ambassade de subventionner des universitaires comme Basile Munteanu ou Petru Sergescu, tenus responsables pour la situation désastreuse de la culture des masses en Roumanie<sup>7</sup>. D'ailleurs, à l'automne 1948, la Roumanie renonce aux 65 bourses accordées par la France, en privilégiant dorénavant la formation de ses élites à Moscou.

Le dispositif français est ensuite rapidement mis en pièces: les contrats des professeurs étrangers sont brutalement arrêtés le 23 juin, les biens des congrégations enseignantes passent le 3 août dans la possession de l'Etat, et le 19 novembre, l'accord culturel signé avec la France à la veille de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale est unilatéralement dénoncé. Bien que la Bibliothèque Française demeure fonctionnelle, la raffe du 3 mars 1950 y sème la terreur: trois fonctionnaires sont arrêtés et battus et des lecteurs roumains emprisonnés à Jilava.

Le blocage diplomatique français qui s'ensuit naturellement dure jusqu'en 1955, lorsque la partie roumaine se voit dans l'obligation de proposer la reprise des relations culturelles dans le cadre des négociations pour la reconduite de l'accord commercial. Ainsi, les Journées de l'amitié franco-roumaine sont organisées au mois de novembre dans la capitale roumaine. Le Quai d'Orsay estime à juste titre que ni l'exposition au Musée National, ni les conférences, ni les concerts

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<sup>6</sup> Gavin Bowd, *La France et la Roumanie communiste*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2008, p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 92.

radiodiffusés ne peuvent compenser la fermeture de l'Institut Français de Bucarest, la censure de la diffusion du livre sur le marché et du français dans l'enseignement. Tout en refusant le partenariat avec l'Association France-Roumanie, qui patronait l'événement, les diplomates français obtiennent de communiquer directement avec les personnages officiels et ils acceptent ainsi de participer aux fêtes, en choisissant néanmoins attentivement les manifestations politiquement neutres.

La question des échanges culturels s'impose dans l'actualité en étroite relation avec l'évolution des objectifs de rapprochement politique. Il y a là, semble-t-il, une constante spécifique aux relations des pays satellites avec l'Occident, propre aussi à la période d'après-guerre, lorsque la politique culturelle des différents pays européens est reformulée selon les priorités du développement des relations économiques et favorise implicitement les échanges en matière de sciences exactes et techniques.

Après le 29 juillet 1958, lorsque l'IRRCE est habilité à conclure de accords et des conventions internationales, cette institution se manifeste notamment dans la création et le maintien des liens avec l'UNESCO et d'autres organisations internationales. Réciproquement, en pleine période de «destalinisation formelle»<sup>8</sup>, Paris abandonne sa réserve de rétablir des liens culturels en la faveur d'une véritable ouverture diplomatique. La stratégie de négociation avec l'UNESCO bénéficie d'ailleurs du concours bienveillant des fonctionnaires français attachés à la question roumaine, dont Michel Dard, ancien membre de la MUF, qui facilite, de l'intérieur, les premiers contacts, en initiant même le projet de déplacement officiel à Bucarest pour préparer l'adhésion<sup>9</sup>.

Au fur et à mesure de la reconstruction des relations officielles, les manifestations proposées par l'IRRCE évoluent des expositions minimalistes de propagande rudimentaire, discrètement hébergées par des instituts ou des centres de formation du Parti Communiste Français vers des événements d'envergure, à visibilité grandissante, organisés avec l'appui de différents ministères français, sous le patronage de la Direction des Relations Culturelles du Quai d'Orsay.

Les instructions sommaires qui accompagnent les premières expositions demandent l'argumentation de la bénéficence du régime et de la relation avec Moscou. Par exemple, pour l'exposition de photographies «Republica Populară Română devine o țară avansată» (La République Populaire Roumaine devient un pays avancé - 1951), il est clairement précisé: «Dans toutes ces réussites, vous ferez apparaître l'aide et les méthodes soviétiques, ainsi que le combat des travailleurs pour des entreprises paisibles / IAR, Sovromtractor, par exemple»<sup>10</sup>. La culture comme «bien des masses»<sup>11</sup> devient une idée prioritaire et exportable.

<sup>8</sup> Vladimir Tismăneanu, Dorin Dobrinu, Cristian Vasile (editors), *Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România. Raport final*, Bucarest, Humanitas Éditeur, 2007, p. 314.

<sup>9</sup> SANIC, fonds IRRCS, dossier France 175/1956-1957, feuille 13.

<sup>10</sup> SANIC, fonds IRRCS, Direction Secrétariat, 11 avril 1951, Mihail Macovei à la Commission d'Etat, dossier France 154 /1947-1953, feuille 34.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, feuille 30.

La vitrine du régime s'enrichit rapidement avec des noms prestigieux, des artistes déjà connus en France sont cooptés dans le processus de redressement d'image et le discours devient de plus en plus nuancé. Ainsi, c'est le peintre Iser que signe la préface du catalogue de l'exposition Art plastique roumain contemporain (1951-1952). Celui-ci témoigne que le régime encourage «la lutte pour une vie nouvelle, pour un brillant accomplissement artistique semblable à celui atteint par les classiques»<sup>12</sup>. Les principes de l'art nouveau «respectent la personnalité humaine dans toute sa complexité». L'auteur relève que dans une démocratie populaire, la liberté de création est indiscutable. Par conséquent, l'option massive des artistes pour l'esthétique du réalisme socialiste est due: «à l'amour pour le pays et pour son peuple, pour les gens qui travaillent dans les champs, pour ceux qui élèvent le niveau de l'industrie, qui bâtissent les grands édifices du socialisme et assurent l'électrification du pays»<sup>13</sup>.

Le public spécialisé lit à travers les lignes, les adeptes du communisme ne demandent qu'à se persuader que leurs idéaux deviennent réalité et la majorité des Français, pour lesquels les sujets roumains sont pratiquement inconnus, construisent leur représentation minimaliste selon les rares nouvelles diffusées par les grands quotidiens.

Quant aux relations avec la presse, le point de vue officiel, sensiblement reflété dans «Le Monde» ou «Le Figaro» est évidemment plus réservé que les opinions d'extrême gauche exposées par L'Humanité. Comme les «Temps modernes» ou «Alternatives», des revues qui réservent une large part aux pays de l'Est, cette dernière publication répercute pour longtemps l'image présentée par la propagande dans «Roumanie nouvelle», «Bulletin Agerpress» etc., des journaux et des revues envoyés par l'IRRCE directement aux centres et aux institutions culturelles.

Quels que soient les domaines d'intervention, la propagande se manifeste plus ou moins adroitement, de manière plus ou moins convaincante, tout le long de la période communiste. La réserve inspirée à l'étranger par la langue de bois est susceptible d'être vaincue par la qualité des travaux exposés, des œuvres exportées, qui s'impose au delà des limitations conventionnelles du discours officiel.

La première étape des négociations est donc close en juillet 1959 par la signature d'un protocole de coopération culturelle qui prévoit l'ouverture d'un poste de lecteur français à Bucarest, ainsi que la reprise de l'échange de boursiers, de professeurs et de spécialistes. L'ouverture est de même décidée d'une librairie française. Pour le moment, le contexte est peu sûr, car les persécutions des élites anciennes continuent et le système contrôle les artistes adoubés.

En revanche, au début des années soixante, la diplomatie roumaine se distingue par une initiative remarquable et courageuse dans le but d'équilibrer les

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<sup>12</sup> *Art plastique roumain contemporain. Catalogue Paris 1951-1952*, p. 4; SANIC, fonds IRRCS, dossier France 154 /1947-1953.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

relations avec l'Occident, pour atténuer dans la mesure du possible l'ascendance de l'URSS. En même temps, la France souhaite un rapprochement avec la Russie, un partenaire suffisamment fort pour contrebalancer l'influence américaine. Ainsi, en décembre 1963, les missions de Bucarest et de Paris furent élevées au rang d'ambassade. C'est le signe d'une fortification des relations bilatérales, poursuivie par la visite de Gheorghe Maurer à Paris l'année suivante (27 juillet-3 août).

Celui-ci fut accompagné par une délégation consistante de ministres et les questions culturelles étaient incluses dans la base commune d'action. Les retrouvailles sont placées sous le signe de l'appartenance européenne et de la solidarité d'un continent qui s'étend de l'Atlantique à l'Oural et la réussite dans le domaine des échanges culturels est de taille. Ils'agit tout simplement de la décision d'ouvrir à nouveau l'Institut Français à Bucarest. La tendance se propage rapidement dans le milieu scientifique. A l'Académie Roumaine, Maurer évoque «l'aide précieuse» accordée par la France dans des moments difficiles<sup>14</sup>.

Entre 1964 et 1968, le processus demeure laborieux, avec des hauts et des bas. A la fin du mois d'avril 1965, lorsque l'ambassadeur Jean-Louis Pons évoque lors de l'entretien accordé par Nicolae Ceaușescu, le sujet de l'ouverture d'une bibliothèque, celui-ci l'écoute avec froideur, en lui rappelant que la France n'a pas encore de bibliothèque en URSS<sup>15</sup>.

En janvier 1965, Corneliu Mănescu signe à Paris un accord culturel reconductible avec une validité de deux ans. Jusqu'à l'automne 1989, une commission mixte de coopération scientifique et technique se réunira périodiquement pour valider le programme commun d'actions.

La préparation de la visite du Général de Gaulle à Bucarest facilite le maintien de ces bonnes dispositions, qu'André Malraux renouvelle au début de l'année 1966 à l'ambassadeur roumain à Paris. Son message transmis à l'IRRCE mentionne la «vigueur» et la «résistance» du peuple roumain, sa capacité à développer son esprit créateur malgré les défis de l'histoire, tout en suggérant l'ouverture en France d'un cycle d'expositions qui éclairent ce phénomène et la manière dont il se reflète dans l'art roumain actuel<sup>16</sup>.

Le résultat le plus prestigieux de ces négociations, l'ouverture de la Bibliothèque Française de Bucarest en 1970, est une conséquence directe de la visite mémorable du Général. En même temps, les liens traditionnels entre ces deux cultures sont pour la première fois célébrés dans l'espace public par Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Réciproquement, la visite du président roumain en France en 1970 est marquée par des événements culturels préparés par les deux parties. Les postes de radio *France Culture*, *France Musique*, *France Inter* présentent une *Semaine roumaine*, Caragiale est célébré à la Comédie Française, Enesco par l'Orchestre de

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<sup>14</sup> Gavin Bowd, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 124.

<sup>16</sup> SANIC, fonds IRRCS, dossier France 190/1964-1967, Lettre de Vasile Gliga à Ion Pas, 28 février 1966, n° 10/1672, feuille 74.

la Radio et l'anthologie est publiée d'Alain Bosquet, *La poésie roumaine de A à Z*. L'abondance d'événements culturels doit signifier l'importance politique des relations bilatérales.

Le rôle de la Bibliothèque Française est certes plus modeste que celui exercé par l'Institut Français de Bucarest dans l'Entre-Deux-Guerres. Les autorités roumaines surveillent de près ses lecteurs et les bourses sont attribuées sans appel aux candidats préférés par la nomenklatura. En novembre 1971, Maurice Schumann soumet à l'attention de Corneliu Mănescu la baisse de l'importance de l'enseignement du français, de 65 à 50%. Trois ans plus tard, la demande que cet enseignement soit plus largement diffusé est formulée par la partie française parmi les conditions de l'octroi d'avantages commerciaux.

Cependant, au fur et à mesure de la réglementation de cette collaboration par des conventions et des plans mixtes, dans des conditions de réciprocité, l'aire de diffusion et le nombre des actants s'agrandissent. Dans les milieux scientifiques, les liens sont maintenus d'abord par l'expédition de publications périodiques en français, telles que la *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, la *Revue Roumaine de l'Art* etc.

Les échanges d'expérience par des stages et des formations, les déplacements à des conférences et des colloques se déroulent en grande partie sur la base des accords directs entre les différentes institutions d'enseignement et de recherche. L'IRRCE s'investit pour centraliser les actions considérées prioritaires, dans des domaines comme la médecine, les sciences exactes et appliquées. L'incidence de la sphère politique semble plus aigüe dans le domaine de l'histoire, le fer de lance de la propagande scientifique à l'étranger dans les années 1970. Comme Dinu Giurescu le rappelle, les interventions des historiens sont soumises à une censure attentive<sup>17</sup>. Les débats scientifiques avec les collègues français doivent être complémentaire à l'image que le régime propose du pays.

Lorsque les savants français manifestent des sympathies de gauche, ceux-ci sont invités dans le pays, accueillis avec des égards scientifiques et touristiques. C'est le cas d'André Langevin, professeur à l'Ecole Supérieure d'Ingénieurs de Paris, communiste et membre actif de l'Association *France-Roumanie*. La même importance est attachée aux personnalités d'origine roumaine établies en France, invitées avec insistance dans l'espoir qu'elle adhèreraient au moins partiellement au régime. Une fois en France, leurs contacts roumains feraient appel à eux pour diffuser les réussites du communisme roumain. Alexandre Cantacuzino, par exemple, est invité en 1967 avec son épouse, Marianne Labeyrie, la fille de l'ancien gouverneur de la Banque de France, membre de l'Association *France-Roumanie*<sup>18</sup>.

En ce sens, une attention particulière est accordée à la commémoration des médiateurs des relations franco-roumaines. Ces manifestations constituent de

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<sup>17</sup> Dinu Giurescu, *De la Sovrom construcții la Academia Română. Amintiri. Mărturii*, Bucarest, Meronia Éditeur, 2008, *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Ioan Oprea, *Prezențe culturale românești în lume 1950/1970*, Bucarest, Oscar Print Éditeur, 2013, p. 199.

véritables piliers de relance de la coopération. Pour la commémoration de Georges Enesco, par exemple, deux bustes sont inaugurés au Conservatoire et à l'Opéra de Paris, dont un commandé à Alexandra Lavriller-Cosăceanu. Cette occasion est saisie pour établir le contact avec Georges Hirsch, l'administrateur de la Réunion des Théâtres Lyriques Nationales ou avec Loucheur, le directeur du Conservatoire. Une délégation composée des musiciens contemporains les plus prestigieux – Ion Dumitrescu, Alfred Alessandrescu, Constantin Silvestri, Constantin Jora et Alfred Mendelsohn – parfait la réussite des échanges. Certains signent même des contrats pour des concerts. A ces rencontres, les représentants des ministères afférents sont régulièrement présents et les relations administratives s'assouplissent. En règle générale, les diplomates roumains fructifient efficacement ces contacts.

Les beaux-arts, la musique et le théâtre, plus éloignés de la sphère politique, constituent une bonne base de collaboration. Ce sont des manifestations qui demandent un investissement financier plus important que celles scientifiques, mais leur succès de caisse fait aussi la différence.

La renommée des acteurs roumains en France et l'amour du public roumain pour la culture française sont essentiels à la réussite des tournées organisées par la propagande de l'IRRCE en coopération avec le Ministère des Affaires étrangères français. En juin 1956, le théâtre *Atelier* donne plusieurs représentations à Bucarest. En même temps, le théâtre *Ion Luca Caragiale* participe au Festival d'Art dramatique de Paris<sup>19</sup>, et le succès remporté leur apporte des bénéfices. Le développement de l'industrie cinématographique roumaine engendre des recettes considérables et la coproduction de films représente un domaine important de ces échanges. Tel comme le montre Aurelia Vasile, l'incidence de la politique est ici décisive, et les différences de statut entre les employés français et roumains saisissantes<sup>20</sup>.

Les écrivains sont cooptés à leur tour dans ces relations. La visite organisée pour Eugen Jebeleanu et Demostene Botez en 1956 demeure emblématique<sup>21</sup>. Grâce aux différents réseaux d'amitié personnelle, mais aussi dans la suite du *dégel* des relations culturelles, ceux-ci sont reçus à la Société des Gens de Lettres, invités à prendre la parole à la Radio Paris Internationale et à préparer l'adhésion à l'Union des Ecrivains au Pen-Club. Ils agissent en véritables ambassadeurs culturels, en obtenant, par exemple, l'accord de Pierre Morel, le président des Libraires de Paris, celui de l'éditeur Pierre Seghers et du poète Henri Pichette qui expriment leur disponibilité de faire le déplacement dans le pays afin d'étudier les possibilités de coopération sur place.

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<sup>19</sup> Gabriel Catalan, *Teatrul și muzica în primii ani de comunism* (1), dans «Revista arhivelor», I/2009, édition électronique <http://www.arhivelenationale.ro/images/custom/image/serban/RA%201%202009/15%20catalan,%20gabriel.pdf>

<sup>20</sup> Aurelia Vasile, *Le cinéma roumain dans la période communiste. Représentations de l'histoire nationale*, Bucarest, Université de Bucarest Éditeur, 2011, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> SANIC, fonds IRRCS, dossier France 175/1956-1957.

Si au début des années 1980, les relations économiques sont estimées satisfaisantes – la Roumanie était le 4<sup>e</sup> partenaire commercial de la France en Europe de l'Est, après l'URSS, la Pologne et la Yougoslavie –, l'anniversaire du centenaire des relations diplomatiques est ombragé par un recul des échanges culturels: en 1979, seulement 13,5% des bourses et 22% des missions scientifiques proposées ont été menées à bonne fin<sup>22</sup>. Les diplomates français continuent à veiller sur les positions déjà acquises en matière économique et culturelle. Ils apprécient l'autonomie de la politique extérieure roumaine, tout en marquant en même temps une distance par rapport au régime «le plus rigoureux d'Europe orientale sur le plan intérieur»<sup>23</sup>.

Au fond, à partir des années soixante-dix, au moment même où se stabilisent les relations culturelles institutionnalisées, une rupture se produit de la perspective commune, à cause du renforcement constant du contrôle idéologique des contenus véhiculés et des médiateurs acceptés.

La presse et la télévision reflètent attentivement cette transformation. En avril-mai 1968, par exemple, *Le Monde* rendait hommage à la réception du Général de Gaulle en Roumanie, en célébrant un peuple latin ami, indépendamment des différences de régime. Après 1971, la popularité de Nicolae Ceaușescu ne cesse de baisser et dans les années 1980, le sujet roumain le plus visible est constitué par le drame des intellectuels dissidents, qui prend les ampleurs d'un scandale humanitaire. Le même quotidien publie, le 26 juillet 1980, l'article d'Eugène Ionesco, *Le cri d'un Roumain en danger de mort*, qui alerte l'opinion sur le cas de Virgil Tănase. En septembre 1988, Pierre Bocev, du *Figaro*, est mis en demeure de quitter le pays après quatre jours d'enquête journalistique. En mars 1989, Mircea Dinescu est sanctionné pour avoir accordé une interview à la *Libération*. Antenne 2 consacre aux dissidents roumains l'émission *Résistances*, tout en participant à la campagne de dénonciation des difficultés de regroupement familial. C'est toujours le poste *Antenne 2* qui lance les premiers encouragements officiels pour le changement du régime<sup>24</sup>.

Au fond, sans trop évoquer l'histoire des relations bilatérales, en politique extérieure, les communistes s'appuient sur les acquisitions d'un passé qu'ils ne cessent de condamner sur intérieur. Malgré l'atmosphère relativement sombre qui plane sur les relations culturelles officielles à la fin des années 1980, il faut noter que ces relations participent en même temps au maintien d'un *statu-quo*, d'un terrain d'entente, de stabilité entre les deux pays. Ainsi, le 22 décembre 1989, Michel Rocard recommande le développement des relations avec la Roumanie, en évoquant justement l'argument des affinités culturelles. Les excès du régime en chute libre ne perturbent pas vraiment l'activité de l'Institut de Relations Culturelles avec l'Etranger, qui continue à accomplir ses objectifs.

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<sup>22</sup> Gavin Bowd, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 306.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 253.



## THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS ON APPLICATION OF LAW BY THE INTERNATIONAL ROGATORY COMMISSION

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Alexandra OANȚĂ (NACU)\*\*

**Abstract:** Application of legal norms, as a form of law realization by the State organs, involves also the administration of evidence in criminal trial by the judicial organs. The international rogatory commission is one of the forms provided by the law to achieve international judicial assistance in criminal matters. When the prosecuting authority or the court is not able to hear a witness, to make an on-site investigation, to conduct lifting of objects or to perform any other procedure act, may appeal to another prosecution body or other court abroad, which is able to perform these activities. In this way, the achievement of the procedural act is done through rogatory commission whose role is to accomplish the application of law.

**Keywords:** judicial assistance, criminal trial, court, judicial authorities, Code of Criminal Procedure.

### PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE

In literature it is estimated that “in its broad sense, international judicial assistance in criminal matters includes judicial police cooperation, the conditions for recognition and enforcement of criminal judgments, extradition legislation, international rogatory commissions in criminal matters, etc.”<sup>1</sup>.

The criminal legal assistance with judicial character (narrow sense of the concept of international legal assistance in criminal matters) means assistance that the judiciary bodies in a state attaches in the course a criminal trial to judicial bodies in the state where the process takes place and which consists in particular,

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<sup>1</sup> Florin Răzvan Radu, *Cooperarea judiciară internațională și europeană în materie penală, Îndrumar pentru practicieni*, Bucharest, Wolters Kluwer Publishing, 2008, p. 67.

from making, delivery or communication of procedural documents necessary for solving that process<sup>2</sup>.

The doctrine stated that: “in the code are covered conditions of the international judicial assistance in criminal matters concerning two institutions: international rogatory commissions and recognition of criminal judgments or other foreign judicial acts”<sup>3</sup>. Until the entry into force of Law no. 302/2004 it was alleged the existence of two forms of international legal assistance in criminal matters, the informational forms - the ones that help prevent crime – and the procedural forms – aimed at carrying out procedural acts, as well as delivery or communication of procedural acts necessary for settling the criminal case. Analyzing the two forms, it was appreciated that the “informative forms of assistance help mainly the prevention of crime”<sup>4</sup>. Exchange of information on legal assistance in criminal matters takes place between states, based on conventions or treaties signed. The states, through legal assistance treaties, agree to provide each other copies or extracts from the judgments of conviction, which are applicable to the citizens of the states between the treaty was concluded. Thus, the states do not accomplish their justice work hermetically isolated from each other, but giving help and mutual assistance<sup>5</sup>.

Regarding legal forms with procedural character, Romanian Criminal Procedure Code covers two institutions, namely: international rogatory commission procedure and the procedure for recognition of criminal judgments or other foreign judicial acts.

#### DEFINING INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE IN CRIMINAL MATTERS

In speciality literature it was assessed that “the notion of international judicial assistance is actually the restricted sense of the notion of international legal assistance in criminal matters, which means that the concept of an international legal assistance include the international judicial assistance”<sup>6</sup>. In fact, “in the legislative conception of when adopting Law no. 302/2004, the concept of international legal assistance received a wider meaning, including other forms of cooperation which do not exclusively the support that judicial organs of a state offer, in the course of criminal proceedings, to the judicial organs of the state in

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<sup>2</sup> Silviu Văcaru, *Aspecte de ordin teoretic privind cooperarea judiciară internațională în materie penală*, in “Transformări legislative la nivel intern și european ale anului 2011”, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2011, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandru Boroi, Ion Rusu, *Cooperarea judiciară internațională în materie penală*, Bucharest, C.H. Beck Publishing, 2008, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Florin Răzvan Radu, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Ferenc Miklos, *Cooperarea internațională penală*, Cluj-Napoca, Alma Publishing, 1966, p. 678.

<sup>6</sup> Rodica Stănoiu, *Asistența juridică internațională în materie penală*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1975, p. 10.

which the judicial activity happens (such as transfer of sentenced persons abroad or extradition for enforcement of a sentence)”.

In specialized literature, the concept of international legal assistance has two meanings:

- in a narrow sense, legal assistance includes the notification (communication) of judicial acts, rogatory commissions and modern means of investigation (hearings by videoconference, joined investigation teams, controlled deliveries, spontaneous transmission of information, border surveillance, etc.);
- in a broad sense, legal assistance includes the transfer of proceedings, recognition and enforcement of judgments<sup>7</sup>.

One author stated: “Unlike cooperation or collaboration, international legal assistance in criminal matters is to help each state to fight crime on their territory, to achieve proper administration of justice as an attribute of their sovereignty. Legal support is a form of international cooperation which, unlike international cooperation in combating certain categories of transnational criminal offences committed by criminal associations or groups, is realized through the support given to a state to fulfill its function of achieving justice as an expression of its sovereignty”<sup>8</sup>.

With regard to international judicial assistance in terms of committing criminal offenses in a state by persons belonging to another state or by international criminal organizations involving committing offenses in several states, actions and regulations of international cooperation on judicial plan are necessary. This cooperation is achieved through the conclusion of international treaties of legal and judicial assistance among states, based on recommendations of international conventions in this field. If the question for judicial assistance between Romania and other state, rules for judicial assistance agreed in the treaty of judicial assistance have full effect. However, being possible a collaboration between Romanian state and a state with which we have no legal assistance treaty, in practice established rules based on reciprocity can be used. Finally, where no such rules are set, the Romanian Code of Criminal Procedure adopted rules which lead international legal assistance. Such rules may be defined also by special laws, as they were, for example, Law no. 296/2001 on extradition, Law no. 704/2001 on international judicial assistance, Law no. 756/2001 on the transfer of sentenced persons abroad.

The international legal framework is represented by:

- the Convention implementing the Schengen Agreement of 14 June 1985;
- the Convention of 29 May 2000 on mutual assistance in criminal matters between member states of the European Union and its additional protocol of 16 October 2001;

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<sup>7</sup> Silviu Văcaru, *op. cit.*, p. 122-123; Mrejeru Theodor, Mrejeru Bogdan, *Cooperarea judiciară internațională în materie penală. Asistența judiciară – Extradarea. Doctrină și jurisprudență*, Bucharest, Universitaria Publishing, 2008, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Florin Răzvan Radu, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

– European Convention on legal assistance in criminal matters, signed at Strasbourg on 20 April 1959 and the additional protocol to the European Convention on judicial assistance in criminal matters, adopted in Strasbourg on 17 March 1978;

– Convention on mutual judicial assistance in criminal matters between member states of the European Union, adopted on 29 May 2000;

– Additional protocol to the Convention on mutual judicial assistance in criminal matters between member states of the European Union, adopted on 16 October 2001.

It should also be pointed out that the Lisbon Treaty encourages close cooperation between states and also between Eurojust and the European Judicial Network for the enforcement of rogatory commissions and the settlement of extradition requests<sup>9</sup>.

#### **THE OBJECT OF JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE, THE GENERAL CONTENT OF THE REQUEST**

The stipulations of Convention on mutual judicial assistance in criminal matters between member states of the European Union were taken and translated into Romanian law, the provisions of Title VII of Law no. 302/2004 on international judicial cooperation.

The concept of international judicial cooperation is approaching the broad sense of the international legal assistance term in criminal matters and international legal assistance is considered to be only one of the international judicial cooperation forms<sup>10</sup>.

In the current design of Law no. 302/2004, international judicial assistance includes mainly of the following activities:

- a) international rogatory commissions;
- b) judicial hearings through videoconferencing;
- c) appearance of the witnesses, experts and persons pursued in the requester state;
- d) communication of judicial acts which are prepared and filed in a criminal trial;

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<sup>9</sup> See Bîndar Valerică, *Aspecte privind cooperarea judiciară în materie penală în lumina Tratatului de la Lisabona*, in “Analele Universității Constantin Brâncuși Târgu-Jiu, Seria Științe Juridice”, nr. 4/2010, pp. 202-203; Silviu Văcaru, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *Tratatul de la Lisabona și delimitarea competențelor unionale*, in “Evoluția sistemului legislativ românesc și european în contextul Tratatului de la Lisabona”, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2008, pp. 44-51; Cezar Avram, Mihaela Bărbieru, *Răspunderea statelor membre ale Uniunii Europene pentru încălcarea dreptului comunitar*, in “Influența sistemului juridic comunitar asupra dreptului intern”, Craiova, Sitech Publishing, 2009, pp. 57-64.

<sup>10</sup> Alexandru Boroi, Ion Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

- e) criminal record;
- f) other forms of judicial assistance.

The request for international judicial assistance must indicate:

- name of the requesting judicial authority and name of the requested judicial authority;
- subject and purpose of the request;
- legal qualification of the facts;
- identification data of the accused, defendant or of the convicted or witness or expert, where appropriate;
- legal classification and summary presentation of the facts.

To the application are attached the documents in support thereof, as appropriate, depending on the nature and scope of application.

Documents attached to the application for judicial assistance must be certified by requesting judicial authority, and are exempt from any legalization formalities.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL ROGATORY COMMISSION

The international rogatory commission is one of the forms provided by the law to achieve international judicial assistance in criminal matters.

The international rogatory commission was used in relations between states, in the international judicial assistance plan since the late nineteenth century, being provided in the bilateral extradition agreements<sup>11</sup>, but not in national legislation.

The rogatory commission is mentioned in the European Convention on judicial assistance in criminal matters signed at Strasbourg on 20 April 1959, which stipulates that “the requested party shall monitor the implementation of the rogatory commission application relating to a criminal case under observance of its national legislation, which will be addressed by the judicial authorities of the requesting party and whose object is the performance of tracking acts or the communication of evidence, records or documents”.

During the communist dictatorship and a long time after, the rogatory commission was mentioned in Title IV, Chapter VI, Section I of the Criminal Procedure Code.

External rogatory commission, as well as the internal rogatory one, is a procedural activity involving a shift of territorial competence from one judicial body to another, but the shift is extraterritorial, being made by judicial bodies of a foreign state who can perform the procedural act.

Until 1989, the procedure was conducted as follows: rogatory commission application made by the prosecuting authority or the court was sent to the General

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<sup>11</sup> For example, *The Extradition Convention between Romania and the Netherlands*, *The Extradition Convention between Romania and Italy* etc.

Attorney or to the Ministry of Justice, depending on the phase of criminal case, e.g. the prosecution or trial phase. After receiving the request, this was sent to the Foreign Ministry, which in turn sent through diplomatic channels to a body competent to solve or retransmit it to the requested country. At the same time, when receiving a request for a rogatory commission by the Foreign Ministry, this was sent to the General Attorney or to the Ministry of Justice, which in turn sent it to a prosecutor or competent court to solve it.

According to Article 514 of the former Code of Criminal Procedure, “the prosecuting authority or the court, when it deems necessary to carry out a procedural act abroad, send a rogatory commission application to the criminal investigative body or to foreign court that is able to perform the act”.

The above-mentioned legal provisions which refer to the comission remained in force until 2001, when there was amended and supplemented by Law no. 704/2001 on international judicial assistance in criminal matters as: “international rogatory commission in criminal matters is a form of international mutual assistance consisting in delegation of power made by a judicial authority of a state in favor of a similar authority of another state mandated to perform, in its place and on its behalf, certain judicial activities regarding a certain criminal trial”.

According to Article 160 of Law no. 302/2004, “international rogatory commission in criminal matters is a form of judicial assistance consisting in empowering given by a judicial authority of a state to a similar authority of another state, mandated to perform, in its place and on its behalf, certain judicial activities regarding a certain criminal trial”.

#### SEARCHES, SEIZURE OF OBJECTS AND DOCUMENTS AND SEQUESTRATION

Rogatory commissions covering searches, seizure of objects and documents and sequestration are subject, according to law, to the following conditions which must be cumulatively met:

- a) the offense motivating the rogatory commission must be capable of giving rise to extradition in Romania as the requesting state;
- b) compliance of rogatory commission must be compatible with the Romanian law.

The conditions referred to above may entail the application of the rule of reciprocity<sup>12</sup>.

Besides the two conditions to be met, we must mention that prescribed by article 3 of the Law no. 302/2004, which states that “the application of this law is subject to the protection of interests of sovereignty, security, public order and other interests of Romania, defined by the Constitution”.

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<sup>12</sup> Article 163 of *Law nr. 302/2004*.

So the first observation is that, in order to execute a rogatory commission concerning a search warrant in the country's territory, it is necessary to fulfill the three cumulative conditions mentioned above.

Fulfilling the rogatory commission must be compatible with the Romanian law – art. 163 para. 1 let. b) of Law no. 302/2004, with the Constitution (domicile and residence are inviolable, one can not enter or remain in these places without the permission of the person they belong to) and the Criminal Code (there are two situations in which a person's home can be penetrated – with her consent or without her consent, but only in a situation, i.e. for the execution of an arrest warrant or a court order; removing a risk to life, physical integrity or assets of a person; defending national security or public order; preventing the spread of an epidemic). Fulfilling the rogatory commission is ordered by a judge, and carried out under the conditions and forms provided by law. Searches at night time shall be forbidden, except for crimes in flagrante. In the current regulation of Article 157 of the New Code of Civil Procedure, conducting house searches is conditional on solid grounds that in this way evidence could be discovered and collected or on refusal of a person to voluntarily deliver objects and documents relating to a criminal offense.

#### DEFENDANT'S HEARING

According to Law no. 302/2004, through a rogatory commission it may be requested the hearing of the defendant, to be conducted in strict compliance with the provisions of Romanian criminal procedural rules, provided that the special law do not provide otherwise. The probative value of this evidence is secured, as a general rule, in article 103 para.1 of the new Code of Criminal Procedure, which provides that evidence does not have a value predetermined by law and are subject to free assessment of judicial bodies after assessing all the evidence in the case. It should be stressed that as long as the current law in force does not contain a provision similar to Article 69 and Article 75 of the former Code of Criminal Procedure (the condition of corroborating statements of the defendant and the injured party with the facts and circumstances resulting from all the evidence, to serve the truth), the court may base its solution, whatever it may be, even of conviction, of waiving the penalty, postponing the penalty, of plea bargaining agreement, overwhelmingly on the statements of the defendant.

Execution of the request for rogatory commission that aims at hearing the defendant create direct responsibilities for Romanian judicial authorities involved in the procedure itself, as regards the application of the Romanian Constitution, Code of Criminal Procedure and other laws guaranteeing the right to defense. For example, "by application registered at the Court of Appeal Timișoara no. (...) Prosecutor's Office of Sectors VI and VII of Budapest requested that the accused

U.K. (...) and B. T. (...) residing in Carei, (...) should be heard through rogatory commission. In the application's motivation, it was stated that the Prosecutor's Office of Sectors VI and VII of Budapest carried out a preliminary judicial investigation against the two accused - Romanian citizens who are suspected of committing the crime of forgery of official documents in Hungary, provided by the Article 274, para. 1 let. c) of Law no. 4 in 1978 on the Criminal Code of Hungary"<sup>13</sup>.

During the criminal trial, judicial bodies are required to ensure full exercise of procedural rights of the parties under the conditions provided by law and to manage the evidence necessary for their defense.

If in the case of defendant's hearing in certain circumstances, legal assistance is optional (meaning that hearing can take place without the assistance of a legal counsel if the defendant agrees), there are special cases enshrined in the Code of Criminal Procedure in which legal assisted hearing is mandatory, and in these particular circumstances, we consider that legal assistance is compulsory for rogatory commissions executed by the Romanian judicial authorities. Hearing can be done by video conference. Such cases are met often in judicial practice, for example: "Pending the resolution of the request made by S. tribunal concerning hearings by video of the defendant E.D., in a state of detention in Focșani Penitentiary. At roll call, answered E.D. defendant in custody, assisted by counsel appointed ex officio – attorney B.E. on the basis of delegation no. (...) It was made the report of the case, meaning that International Law and Treaties Department – Service of international judicial cooperation in criminal matters submitted for information the letter no. (...) from 07.01.2010 through which Italian authorities confirmed that the compatibility test dated 29.12.2009 was positive and enabled the videoconference on 11.01.2010 between S. Tribunal and the Court of Appeal Galați. The Court shall identify the defendant E.D. who shows he is the son of O. and B., born on 26/07/1974, has 7 classes, is a carpenter, married, at this time being in a state of detention in Focșani Penitentiary for the execution of a sentence of 4 years and 6 months for theft under warrant of imprisonment no. (...) and he admits that he had problems with the judicial authorities in S. However, the Court shall notify the defendant that, to ensure the exercise of rights of defense, proceeded to the appointment of a public defender by Romanian authorities – B.E. attorney, but also by the Italian judicial authorities, respectively T.M. attorney of S. Bar. Being asked, the defendant personally stated that he understood that legal assistance should be provided by ex officio appointed defense counsel, not having a defender chosen by himself, and knows that the Italian authorities have appointed an ex officio attorney. In accordance with article 165 of Law no. 302/2004 on international judicial cooperation in criminal matters, the Court calls into question the request for international judicial assistance formulated by the

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<sup>13</sup> Court of Appeal Timișoara, Criminal Section, *Closing decision 0.224/PI rendered in the public meeting on September 25, 2008*, available at <http://www.avocatura.com/speta-163800-penal--comisie-rogoratorie-internationala.html#ixzz1u6oc1OEh>, accessed at: 12 April 2015.

authorities of the Italian Republic - S. Tribunal, which called for conducting a rogatory commission concerning the hearings of E.D. by videoconference. The Court also informs the defendant that the Italian authorities stated acts of criminal association to commit crimes at the expense of property (especially countless facts of aggravated theft and illicit possession), even violently at the expense of many Italians, committed in S., from September 2006 until February 2007. For the purposes of good conducting of criminal trial, the Italian judicial authorities have assured the presence in the courtroom at the Criminal Tribunal in S. of a Romanian language translator. The representative of the Public Prosecution's Ministry, defendant and defendant counsel have not submitted applications. Considering the request of the judicial authorities in Italy - S. Criminal Tribunal concerning the hearings of E.D. by videoconference, the Court finds the rogatory commission S. on hearings of E.D. conducted by videoconference as being performed, drew up the minutes and submit it to the Criminal Court in S., on the basis of art. 192 para. 2 of the Criminal Procedure Code, legal costs being supported by the state<sup>14</sup>.

#### HEARING OF WITNESSES OR EXPERTS

If the personal appearance of a witness or expert is requested to the Romanian authorities by a foreign state<sup>15</sup>, if the witness or expert says it will be present, he may apply for an advance in the amount of travel and subsistence expenses. The court will indicate the amount of money requested by a witness or expert, the banking unit where is expected to record the amount of money, the registering being made on behalf of witness or expert, at the disposal of competent Romanian judicial authority. The closing decision of the court and the written statement of the witness or expert shall be communicated to the requesting state, through one of the means mentioned above. We can exemplify from the jurisprudence: "The Court of Appeal Timișoara registered the request of Hungarian judicial authorities, Prosecutor's Office of the capital, Section of priority and economic causes in Budapest for performing a rogatory commission to listening to witnesses. In order to solve case no. (...), legal assistance was requested by the hearings of Free Customs Zone manager from D., to verify the reality of storage of goods shipped by company B. – UL to company L. International M., in this area. In pursuit of conducting rogatory commission, the general director of the Free Zone D. Administration R.A., Court A. and the head of Free Zone D. Customs Office

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<sup>14</sup> Court of Appeal Galați, Criminal Section, *Closing decision rendered in the public meeting on January 11, 2010*, file nr. 81/7.01.2010, available at <http://www.avocatura.com/speta-19505-penal-comisie-rogoratorie-internationala.html#ixzz1u7526MCz>, accessed at: 07 May 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Court of Appeal Timișoara, Criminal Section, *Closing decision nr. 232/PI rendered in the public meeting on October 6, 2008*, available at <http://www.avocatura.com/speta-160716-penal-comisie-rogoratorie-internationala.html>, accessed at: 10 May 2015.

were heard by the Court of Appeal Timișoara. It was also filed at the request of the court, by the Customs Bureau of Free Zone D., a document with data requested by the Hungarian judicial authorities. Being carried out these acts, the Court will find the rogatory commission as being concluded, following that documents will be submitted to the Hungarian judicial authorities”<sup>16</sup>.

If the witness or expert failed to appear after receiving a summons, it will not be subjected to any sanctions or coercive measures, even if the summons contained a categorical order, apart from where he will return on its own initiative on the Romanian territory and if the applicant will again quote him here legally<sup>17</sup>.

If a witness who summons and appears before the Romanian judicial authority, refuses to testify in whole or in part, may not be subject to any measure restricting freedom or otherwise prevented from leaving Romania, even though according to Romanian law, such a refusal would constitute an offense or could entail coercive measures<sup>18</sup>.

Hearing can be done by video conference, and at the request of the requesting party, this may receive audio-video recordings.

#### THE CONFRONTATION OF THE PERSONS HEARD IN A CRIMINAL TRIAL

Like other activities, the confrontation can be made by the Romanian judicial authorities too, at the request of the competent authorities of another state.

Confrontation will be made when the judicial organs of another state notes that there are contradictions between the statements of persons heard in the same case. The work itself will be recorded in the minutes, which will be the official document to be submitted to the requesting party. We believe that, at the request of the applicant, he may also receive audio-video recordings made during the confrontation.

#### ON-SITE INVESTIGATION AND RECONSTITUTION

These extremely important activities in criminal trial will be executed by the Romanian judicial authorities following the application of the requesting state, in accordance with Romanian law. Also, the applicant can receive audio-video recordings made during the execution of the rogatory commission on crime scene investigation and reconstruction.

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<sup>16</sup> Court of Appeal Timișoara, Criminal Section, *Closing decision nr. 106/PI rendered in the public meeting on May 5, 2008*, available at <http://www.avocatura.com/speta-195245-penal--comisie-rogoratorie-internationala.html#ixzz1u6U0MAdd>, accessed at: 03 April 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Article 177 of *Law nr. 302/2004*.

<sup>18</sup> Article 178 of *Law nr. 302/2004*.

### **EXPERTISE, TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC AND FORENSIC FINDINGS**

These activities are done in approved institutions recognized in the field, in accordance with Romanian law. As an example of judicial practice: “At the term judgment of 06.09.2005, the Court of Appeal ordered an international rogatory commission based on Law no. 175/2003 for Romania’s accession to the Convention on obtaining evidence abroad in civil and commercial matters adopted by the Hague on 18.03.2005, involving the collection of biological samples from the defendant in order to determine the DNA”<sup>19</sup>.

### **TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION REQUIRED IN A PARTICULAR PROCESS**

Transmission of information required in a particular process is carried out at the request of the judicial authorities of the requesting state. Request can be sent directly to the authorized body (depository of information), which in turn will deliver the response to the requesting judicial body.

### **AUDIO AND VIDEO INTERCEPTIONS AND RECORDINGS**

Audio and video interceptions and recordings are also done in accordance with the law of the requested state.

### **THE EXAMINATION OF ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND SPECIALIZED FILES AND OTHER SUCH PROCEDURAL ACTS**

These activities are other ways that can become the object of a rogatory commission, which are achieved also according with the stipulations of the Romanian law.

### **TRANSMISSION OF EVIDENCE PRODUCED AND TRANSMISSION OF DOCUMENTS OR FILES**

Transmission of produced evidence and transmission of documents or folders are activities that can constitute object of rogatory commission and are accomplished in accordance with Romanian law.

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<sup>19</sup> Court of Appeal Timișoara, Civil Section, *Decision nr. 1184 from November 24, 2009*, available at <http://jurisprudencedo.com/Admiterea-recursului-casarea-deciziei-civile-recurate-cu-consecinta-trimiterii-cauzei-la-Tribunalul-Timis-in-vederea-rejudecarii-apelului-fara-cheltuieli.html>, accessed at: 03 May 2015.

### CONCLUSIONS

The administration of evidence in criminal trial is governed by the principle of freedom so that the judicial organs have the possibility to choose from means of proof provided for by law, those that can manage the most secure samples. Samples are taken by the judicial bodies that analyze the cause. There are also situations where the administration of evidence can be done by another judicial body, even from abroad. Thus, when an investigating authority or the court is not able to hear a witness, to make an on-site investigation, to conduct lifting of objects or to perform any other procedural act, may appeal to another prosecution body or other court abroad, which is able to perform these activities. In this way, the achievement of the procedural act is done through rogatory commission whose role is to accomplish the application of law. External rogatory commission, as well as internal rogatory commission (governed by article 200 of the New Romanian Code of Criminal Procedure), is a procedural activity involving a shift of territorial jurisdiction from a judicial organ to another, but the shift movement is extraterritorial, to judicial bodies of a foreign state who can carry out the procedural act.

# **ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE LABOUR FORCE: PAST AND PRESENT**

## **FROM THE HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT LAW IN ROMANIA: ELABORATION, ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF LAW ON CHILDREN'S AND WOMEN'S LABOR IN INDUSTRIAL AND MINING ESTABLISHMENTS FROM 1906**

**Roxana RADU\***

**Abstract:** Law on children's and women's labor in industrial and mining establishments from 1906 was an important step on the way of modernizing labor relations and of protecting safety and security of women and young employees in the workplace. This paper presents the elaboration, adoption and implementation of the 1906 law in the socio-economic and political context of that time, presenting its pros and cons. The author makes also a series of observations concerning the evolution of labour relations, especially about the working conditions of minors and women in the Romanian industry, before and after the adoption of the law. To better illustrate the impact of this law's stipulations, the author makes a comparison between the previous laws, the Law on children's and women's labour in industrial and mining establishments from 1906 and the provisions of the laws that have regulated subsequently working conditions for women and children, especially "Nenițescu Law" of 1912.

**Keywords:** minor, work, industry, apprentice, enterprise.

Adoption and implementation of labour protection rules are subject to an evolutionary process in which social relations and economic development are key modifying factors. If at the end of the nineteenth century legal norms were quite unclear or missing, beginning with the twentieth century they began to take shape.

An important step to modernize Romanian society in the early twentieth century was the Law on the protection of minors and women working in industrial and mining establishments from 1906, designed to ensure human working conditions and a better standard of living in these branches of industry.

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Developed in late 1905 and early next year, the law of February 1906 was in accordance with the needs of the era, and is part of a package of laws that contained provisions on the limitation of working time, ensuring the right to rest and the protection of work safety such as: Sanitary Law from 1885, Regulation on unwholesome industry from 1894, the Law from March 6, 1897, Law on Sunday rest from 1910 and the Law on organizing crafts, credit and workers' insurance from 1912<sup>1</sup>.

Law on children's and women's labour in industrial and mining establishments from 1906 represents a watershed in the evolution of employment relationships, marking the transition from one century to another. As the Regulation on unwholesome industries from 1894, this law set the minimum employment age to 12 years for industry employees. For work in dangerous and unwholesome conditions, as for night work, the minimum age was 15 years for boys and 17 years for girls.

Adoption of this law was imposed as a result of the use of a large number of women and minors in work which constituted a workforce much cheaper than men workers and, in many cases, more appropriate for the performing of certain activities.

The beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century is characterized by the general development of the industry and by increasing the driving force as a result of the introduction of the machines in all industries. The era of consolidation and extension of the machines' industry in Romania, between the war of independence and the First World War, imposed a continuing increase in the number of women and minors employed in the most diverse industries. Representative for the extension of women's and minors' work is the industrial survey from 1901-1902, which shows that, of the total of workers of 32,473 from the large processing industry, 6,617 were women and 2,196 children<sup>2</sup> aged between 12 and 16 years old<sup>3</sup>. Another statistics of the 1911-1912 shows the presence of a number of 9,299 women<sup>4</sup>, 2,797 children up to 15 years and 10,034 young between 16 and 20 years of age in industrial units, railways and careers<sup>5</sup>.

The use of women's and children's work in the industry was very advantageous for employers and the State, but had many drawbacks for employees in these categories because, for a work almost equal as effort and duration with those of workers men, women and children received, as a rule, a much smaller salary. Thus, in 1912 women employed in large industry received between 1-2 lei per day, while men received between 2-3 and 4-5 lei per day for equal work<sup>6</sup>. A particular situation was that of the apprentices who had to execute also other ancillary activities whose duration, added to the normal working time, grew till had

<sup>1</sup> Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *Evoluția istorică a reglementărilor privind relațiile de muncă în România*, in "Arhivele Olteniei", New Series, no. 22, 2008, pp. 185-186.

<sup>2</sup> Of the 2,196 children, 688 were girls under 16 years, included also in the total of 6,617 women.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancheta industrială din 1901-1902*, vol. I (Industria mare), Bucharest, 1903, pp. 114-115.

<sup>4</sup> *Anuarul statistic al României*, Bucharest, 1912, p. 384.

<sup>5</sup> C. D. Staicovici, *Statistica anuală a României 1911*, Bucharest, 1912, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Anuarul statistic al României*, Bucharest, 1912, p. 385.

exceeded a total of 12 hours a day<sup>7</sup>. The Law on trades (“Misir law”) from 1902 has regulated in detail the apprenticeship, establishing that a young person may be apprentice at the age of 12 years<sup>8</sup>. Widely used in Romanian industry, the apprentices had a very tough situation, the duration of apprenticeship, between 3 and 5 years, increasing the degree of exploitation of these occupational categories<sup>9</sup>.

Labour costs, which affected the interests of the state and employers, and, in particular, the rise of the workers’ protest against the abusive, arbitrary use of women’s and children’s labour were the determining causes, at the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, of the attempt to regulate the regime of work of these workers. The first laws that included stipulations governing the duration of working hours have been the Law on the organization of the health service (June 1874), Regulation on unwholesome industry (1875) and Sanitary Law (1885), the last two referring to the regulation of children’s labour for the purpose of preventing the children under 12 years of age from working. Through the Regulation on unwholesome industry from 1875 it was established that, for children and women, both in small workshops and factories, in quarries, at construction sites, daily work could not begin before 5 a.m. and could last no later than 8.30 p. m. For the major worker though, which “is the master of the time and type of his work” (art. 12), law did not set any kind of measure to limit the working time, this being still obligated to accept conditions imposed by the employer.

There followed a few sporadic and incomplete provisions, relating to the situation of women and children employed in industry, contained in various documents with regulatory nature<sup>10</sup>, a legislating attempt, more complete, of this aspect being the Regulation for unwholesome industries from 1894<sup>11</sup>. Among other things, the regulation provided that the working hours for children between 12-14 years of age may not exceed six hours per day, women and minors under 14 years of age could not provide work during the night and in the day of celebration, and children under 12 years of age could not be employed as wage earners. By the Law of 6 March 1897, Sunday rest was established to a half day from 12 to evening – for workers and

<sup>7</sup> *Amintiri ale lui Iancu Zaharescu*, Archive of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, fund no. 5, file 1171, f.1.

<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, the apprenticeship contract was governed by the Law on trades, credit and social security from 1912.

<sup>9</sup> D. D. Rusu, *Din istoricul legislației muncii în România. Legea din February 1906*, in I. Arhip, C. Cloșcă, C. Florea, M. Humnic, C. Ionomu, A. Karețchi (coord.), *Cercetări istorice*, Iași, 1970, p. 232.

<sup>10</sup> Regulation for the organization and administration of State’s Printing House and the Official Gazette, decreed on 1 June 1873, in Ioan M. Bujoreanu, *Colecțiune de legiurile României*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1885, pp. 748-753; Order of the City Hall from February 1891 addressed to the craftsmen, street vendors and “other retailers” who use apprentices, in “Munca” no. 1, 24 February 1891, p. 3; Regulation for granting the right to search for and exploit oil on state estates from January 1893, in the “Official Gazette” no. 240 of 29 January (10 February) 1893, p. 6884; Regulation on Mining Law from 1895, in the “Official Gazette” no. 31 from 10/22 May 1895, p. 1030.

<sup>11</sup> Published in the “Official Gazette” no. 138 of 24 September (6 October) 1894, p. 4771.

apprentices in urban areas and up to 12 in the afternoon – for those from rural areas<sup>12</sup>. Subsequently, the problem of child labour has made the object of the Law on trades from 1902<sup>13</sup>, which established a working schedule of 6 hours for “pupils” aged between 12-14 years and of 8 hours for those aged between 14-16 years.

In the absence of constant concern on the part of the State and employers for the fate of workers and in the absence of any means of coercion, these laws were deprived of effect because they did not provide any penalty to ensure the effective implementation of the provisions of labour protection<sup>14</sup>. Thus, before the adoption of the Law on children’s and women’s labour in industrial and mining establishments from 1906, the beginnings of regulating the protection of workers’ healthcare, contained in the Law on trades in 1902 and in other normative acts “were so little applicable that we can consider non-existent”<sup>15</sup>. Forced to work in the industrial enterprises in order to earn a living<sup>16</sup>, women and children had the most difficult situation, being subjected to “the most inhuman arbitration and to the most miserable treatment”<sup>17</sup>. The extensive use of the work of women and minors in the industry affected also the category of workers men, the number of people left without a job being still growing. This state of fact has resulted in increasing workers’ protest actions to demand the improvement of working conditions and limiting the use of minors and female workers in industry.

In order to attract the support of the “working class”, the Social Democratic Party of Romania (PSDMR) included in its programme of 1893, part II, two requirements: “children under 14 years of age are not accepted at work” and “women’s work regulation”<sup>18</sup>, while the second Congress of the PSDMR in 1894 adopted a motion to that effect<sup>19</sup>. In an article from 1899 entitled “To women”, the journal “Lumea nouă” addressed an appeal to working women to join men in the struggle to improve their material and political situation<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Later, the Law on Sunday rest from 1910 has regulated these matters in more detail.

<sup>13</sup> Published in the “Official Gazette” no. 266 of 5 (18) March 1902, f. 10488-10489.

<sup>14</sup> In connection with the breaking of stipulations of 1894 Regulation, see State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall, file 125/1894, f.1 și file 75/1899, f. 1, 8; “Lumea nouă” no. 329 of 20 October 1895, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> M. Armașu, *Protecția legală a muncitorilor*, in “România muncitoare” no. 39 of 27 November 1905. See also “Meseriașul Brăilei” no. 1 and no. 3 from 1 and 17 January 1906; N. Petrescu-Comnen, *Studiu asupra intervenției statului între capital și muncă*, Bucharest, 1910, pp. 21-22.

<sup>16</sup> See “Explanatory Memorandum” to the Law on children’s and women’s labour, Central Historical Archives, the Romanian Senate fund, file 8820, f. 8; “Debates of the Chamber of Deputies”, no. 16, the meeting on 15 December 1905, p. 191; “Debates of the Senate”, the meeting on 17 January 1906, p. 235.

<sup>17</sup> I. Robu, *Reglementarea muncii copiilor și femeilor*, in “România muncitoare” no. 38 of 20 November 1905, p. 1. See also “România muncitoare” no. 30 of 25 September 1905 and no. 31 of 2 October 1905.

<sup>18</sup> *Documente din istoria mișcării muncitorești din România 1893-1900*, Bucharest, Politics Publishing, 1969, p. 58.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 238-239.

<sup>20</sup> “Lumea nouă” no. 16 of 24 October 1899, p. 1 (*Către femei*); *Ibidem*, no. 17 of 31 October 1899, p. 2 (*Rolul femeii în lupta noastră*).

Workers' protest movements has intensified the more at the turn of two centuries, the more the opposition of employers to improve the working conditions and the recognition of the right to strike has been manifested through the ban, even if not outright, of this right. The Mining Law of 1895 stipulated the loss of pension rights of the "worker which will be proved that forced another worker to participate in the strike, or prevented the work of those who will not be involved in the strike" (Article 130). Law on trades ("Misir Law") from 1902 established the obligation of the workers and employers of the same trade to group together and form a corporation, under the slogan "community of interests". By imposing this obligation it was intended that the workers "may not be able to see their interests hostile to the ones of employers and remain in bondage and in darkness before" (I.C. Frimu)<sup>21</sup>.

Halfway through the first decade of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, trade unions intensified their fight to acquire labor protection legislation<sup>22</sup>, which has hastened the elaboration of the law. Government representatives could not ignore the interests of employers, which is why the Law on the protection of children's and women's work in industrial and mining establishments from 1906 had a class character, a truncated content and a limited application field. To overcome the suspicions of workers, the law was presented as a measure to improve the situation of workers with "insufficient forces" (referring to women and children – our note), which had been imposed to a "work beyond their strength" in the establishments with "vitiated atmosphere"<sup>23</sup>. Besides the intention to stop protest movements, the Conservative Party, whose representatives were in government at the time, aimed, pretending to be guided by democratic principles<sup>24</sup>, to ensure a certain "popularity" of the political groups in front of the voters giving them extra force when moving in opposition. In a statement made at the beginning of 1906 in Parliament, Prime Minister Gh. Grigore Cantacuzino, claiming to have been influenced by the "more liberal ideas of France", said that to save itself from destruction, the Conservative Party should be placed on "the strong and healthy foundation of love and trust of the electorate", "must sink its roots within the nation"<sup>25</sup>. Restrictive measures for

<sup>21</sup> Florin Negoită, *Istoria statului și dreptului românesc*, Bucharest, Fundația "România de Măine" Publishing, 2005, p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> "România muncitoare" no. 30 of 25 September 1905; *Ibidem*, no. 31 of 2 October 1905; *Ibidem*, no. 39 of 27 November 1905; Ecaterina Arbore, *Influența industriilor asupra sănătății lucrătorilor*, Bucharest, 1907, p. 38.

<sup>23</sup> See "Explanatory Memorandum" to the Law on children's and women's labour, Central Historical Archives, the Romanian Senate fund, file 8820, f. 8; "Debates of the Chamber of Deputies", no. 16, the meeting on 15 December 1905, p. 191; "Debates of the Senate", the meeting on 17 January 1906, p. 235.

<sup>24</sup> See the answer of the Prime Minister Gh. Grigore Cantacuzino to the interpellation made of P.P. Carp, in "Debates of the Chamber of Deputies", the meeting on 13 January 1906, pp. 360-361; C. Gane, *P.P. Carp și rolul său în istoria politică a țării*, vol. II, Bucharest, Universul Publishing, 1936, p. 326.

<sup>25</sup> "Debates of the Chamber of Deputies", the meeting on 13 January 1906, p. 360.

employers that were to be adopted has affected only slightly the conservative group, whose main interests were related to agriculture; also the imperfections of law could have been attributed to the liberals “who did not care for the fate of workers in the industry”.

In addition to internal factor, a decisive role in the adoption of the 1906 law played also the international situation, characterized by workers’ fighting for decent work conditions. The model who inspired the Romanian lawmakers was the French law on minors and women from 2 November 1892 and the laws of other European countries<sup>26</sup> which were, in terms of employment age, on a middle line<sup>27</sup>. Although Romania has not ratified the International Convention on the prohibition of night work for women, adopted at the International Congress for the protection of labour in Berne in 1905<sup>28</sup>, however, the prohibition of night work for children are to be found in the Law on the protection of children’s and women’s work in industrial and mining establishments in 1906.

On 15 December 1905 the project of law on children’s and women’s labor, drawn up by the Ministry of agriculture, industry, commerce and domains, Ion Lahovari, was brought before the Chamber of Deputies, with the intention to be voted before the end of the year<sup>29</sup>. Although the draft is adopted on the same day, by unanimous vote<sup>30</sup>, the Senate debates were postponed to January 1906 following the intervention of the industrial bourgeoisie through the “Union of Industrialists” from Romania<sup>31</sup> who wanted to defend their interests harmed by draft’s provisions. The Senate discussions were held on January 17, 1906 and had as object the amendments of the “Union of Industrialists”. In a modified form defavourable for workers, the project was adopted in the Senate on the same day, unanimously<sup>32</sup>. On January 21, the draft is voted on by the Chamber of Deputies, being adopted with only two votes against<sup>33</sup>. The literature considered that the law “was adopted in a state of indifference, synonymous with irresponsibility”, revealing the disinterest of the Romanian bourgeoisie and landowners to improve the situation of the working class<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> See “Tablou de comparație ale legislațiunilor străine”, attached to the “Explanatory Memorandum” to the Law on children’s and women’s labour, Central Historical Archives, the Romanian Senate fund, file 8820, f. 9-10.

<sup>27</sup> The minimum age of employment varied from one country to another: nine years (one country); 10 years (5 countries), 12 years (3 countries); 14 years (one country). The duration of working time varied between 6-12 hours, the one of 6-8 hours being predominant. *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> Marco I. Barasch, *Legislația internațională a muncii*, Bucharest, 1929, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> “Debates of the Chamber of Deputies”, no. 16, the meeting on 15 December 1905, p. 191.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>31</sup> “Debates of the Chamber of Deputies”, the meeting on 17 January 1906, p. 239; “Economia națională” no. 1 of January 1906, p. 53.

<sup>32</sup> “Debates of the Chamber of Deputies”, the meeting on 17 January 1906, pp. 239-245.

<sup>33</sup> “Debates of the Chamber of Deputies”, the meeting on 21 January 1906, p. 417.

<sup>34</sup> D. R. Ioanițescu, *Istoricul legislațiunii muncii în România*, Bucharest, 1919, p. 30; “Adevărul” no. 5899 of 19 January 1906, p. 2.

Promulgated by the Royal Decree of 11 February 1906<sup>35</sup>, law on children's and women's labor in industrial and mining establishments has had its pros and cons. Thus, article 1 fixed the minimum age of employment to 12 years. The law also provided that minors could not be used "to dangerous and unhealthy jobs, even if this work is not executed in industrial establishments, mines and quarries" (article 1), prohibiting child labor during the night (article 5) and establishing a period of 8 hours of work, although had not explicitly stated age categories to which these provisions were applicable (on the basis of the interpretation of the law it was clear that the targets were girls under 17 and boys under 15). Article 7 provided an opportunity to "give 10 hours for children aged between 13 and 15 years of age in certain industries". Employment of minors was to be made on the basis of an employment booklet, with the aim of their record-keeping, and of a medical certificate proving that they are suited for work (article 2). Employers that were using children under 15 were required to declare annually their number (article 3) and to compose an interior regulation that was supposed to be "endorsed by the Mayor of the commune and displayed" (article 18). After childbirth, women were entitled to an unpaid leave of 3-4 weeks, keeping their place of work (article 6). The duration of work performed by women varied between 10 to 11 hours (article 7), and the weekly rest period was of one day (article 16). The law of 1906 took over some of the provisions of the law on trades (from 1902) regarding the relations between employers and pupils (articles 9-11), providing for a number of measures relating to law enforcement and sanctioning violations of its provisions (articles 17-23).

Comprising 24 articles, the law also presented numerous drawbacks, certain provisions constituting even a regression in relation to previous laws, especially regarding the work of women and apprentices who were still in a very difficult situation. Unlike the Regulation on unwholesome industries from 1894 that prohibited women to work during the night, the 1906 law had prohibited night work only for boys under 15 and girls under 17 years (article 5). While the Regulation has granted a break for women and minors after 4 hours of work performance, the 1906 law regulated the granting of such breaks only after 6 hours of uninterrupted work. If in case of minors aged between 12-15 years working time was limited to 8 hours, in some industries this duration could be extended to 10 hours. For women, the maximum working time was of 10 hours and could extend up to 11 hours on a special permission (article 7). One issue that remained undecided was the issue concerning categories of enterprises entering in the field of law application. Following the amendments, the term "workshop", which appeared originally in the title was replaced by the one of "establishment", during Senate

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<sup>35</sup> "Official Gazette" no. 258 of 22 February (7 March) 1906, p. 9050-9051. Law and its implementing regulations were also published in "România muncitoare" no. 33-35 of October 1906; C. Hamangiu, *Codul general al României*, vol. III, Bucharest, Bookshop Leon Alcala Publishing, pp. 3624, 4155.

debates Lahovari stating that the law applies to “big industry”<sup>36</sup> but without specifying what enterprises fit into this category. This legislative vagueness has determined many factory owners to oppose the application of the law motivating that it would be viewed only large enterprises with a motive power of 50 H.P. or with at least 50 workers, other corporations falling under the provisions of 1902 law<sup>37</sup>. Other disadvantages for workers introduced into the content of the law at the request of the “Union of Industrialists” were limiting opportunities for control over law enforcement (article 19), the extension of sanctions for law violations over the parents of minors employed (article 20), the possibility of circumventing the provisions of the law by applying the legal exceptions, the lack of provisions on wages, social security benefits, field of application. With all its shortcomings and deficiencies, the law in 1906 represented an important step towards recognition by the state of the necessity of “legal protection of workers”<sup>38</sup> being “the only law that contains the kernel of a good principle (establishing working hours – our note) but it is unenforceable because of the way (lawyers’ way) it was drafted and the lack of a serious control”<sup>39</sup>.

The progress made through law enforcement, starting with December 15, 1906<sup>40</sup> were aimed only the conditions of employment of minors, keeping their evidence and drawing up functioning regulations by enterprises using underage employees. These were issues emphasized in a circular of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, Trade and Domains of February 1907<sup>41</sup> addressed to the town halls and aiming at law enforcement. In the same circular it was stated that: “Although the law came into force (...), until now the Ministry has not received any notice by which to prove that the law was sufficiently brought to the attention of the working class, which leads us to believe she has not received great publicity”<sup>42</sup>.

Authorities’ care for the application of 1906 law was limited to formal issues<sup>43</sup>. These issues, however, were not meaningless because even if the ministerial authorities has permanently checked the conditions of the existence of

<sup>36</sup> “Debates of the Chamber of Deputies”, the meeting on 17 January 1906, p. 239.

<sup>37</sup> Archive of the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, fund of Ministry of Industry and Trade, file no. 35/1910, f. 19.

<sup>38</sup> I. N. Armașu, *Protecția legală a muncitorilor*, in “România muncitoare” no. 39 of 27 November 1905, p. 1; I. Robu, *Reglementarea muncii copiilor și femeilor*, in “România muncitoare” no. 38 of 20 November 1905, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ion Mihu, *Legislația muncii. Reglementarea orelor de muncă*, in “România muncitoare” no. 58 of 4 December 1908.

<sup>40</sup> According to the circular of application and article 22 of the Law. See State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 9/1907, f. 1.

<sup>41</sup> State Archives Iași, Iași City Hall fund, file no. 257/1907, f. 3-4; State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 9/1907, f. 1; State Archives Brăila, Brăila City Hall fund, file no. 38/1910.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>43</sup> For example, in 1907 Galați City Hall issued 104 employment booklets and 233 booklets in 1908, a number equal to the demands made. State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 9/1907 și 9/1908.

employment booklets and medical certificates to the employment of minors, and keeping their records, there were many patrons who evaded these formalities<sup>44</sup>. But excessive formalism has harmed the situation of minors as doctors were writing the same things on all certificates “is healthy, well developed and able to work in the factory ...”<sup>45</sup>, without taking into account the real state of health or the school situation of minors<sup>46</sup>.

Neither the provisions of article 18 of the law on drafting internal regulations did not have the results expected by workers. Internal regulations drawn up by employers between 1907-1908 and subjected to approval by municipalities include clauses on working hours, wages, insurance, labour of women and children, but in many cases these clauses provide harsher conditions than those stipulated by law. For example, minors aged between 12-15 years had a program of work between 8-19 hours, with breaks between 9-9.30, 12-14 and 16-16.30. Women and minors over 15 years had a program from 7-19, with breaks between 8-8.30, 12-13, 16-16.30<sup>47</sup>. In practice, these provisions granting the statutory rest breaks with a duration between 2-3 hours were not observed, from the archive data resulting that “minors under 15, some even under 11 years, were working since 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., with a break of maximum one hour in the noon”<sup>48</sup>. Other evidence proves that industrial enterprises in Bucharest, Craiova, Galați, Bacău, Piatra Neamț, Ploiești, Iași, Botoșani, Buzău, Sinaia used women and children performing work between ten and a half hours and twelve hours daily<sup>49</sup>.

Limited application of the law on child labor and women in industrial and mining establishments was closely linked to the interests of industrial owners, supported by Liberals’ government which had replaced, meanwhile, the conservative government. The circumvention of the law stipulations was favored, as we mentioned above, by the vagueness of the provisions on the scope of the law, by invoking the exceptions and by other government decisions. Only in 1908 were promulgated 11 royal decrees relating to working time for women in industry,

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<sup>44</sup> Repeatedly during the years 1907 and 1908, the Ministry of Agriculture has asked to the town halls to ensure that factories that used children’s work have procured employment booklets. See State Archives Iași, Iași City Hall fund, file no. 257/1907, f. 16 – address from October 1907; State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 9/1907.

<sup>45</sup> State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 9/1907 and 9/1908.

<sup>46</sup> State Archives Iași, Iași City Hall fund, file no. 257/1907, f. 43-44 and file no. 281/1908; State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 16/1911 and 18/1912.

<sup>47</sup> State Archives Iași, Iași City Hall fund, file no. 257/1907, f. 9-10, 14-15, 20, 22, 27, 35; State Archives Ploiești, “Steaua Română” (correspondence), file no. 3/1908, f. 7-12; State Archives Galați, Galați City Hall fund, file no. 9/1907.

<sup>48</sup> State Archives Iași, Iași City Hall fund, file no. 257/1907, f. 17.

<sup>49</sup> Archive of the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, fund of Ministry of Industry and Trade, file no. 33/1910, f. 23, 26, no. 34/1910, f. 2, 3, no. 35/1910, f. 2; no. 37/1910, f. 2; no. 38/1910, f. 2, no. 41/1910, f. 2, no. 43/1910, f. 2 and no. 45/1910, f. 2. See also “România muncitoare” no. 58 of 4 December 1908, no. 57 of 23 September 1910, no. 67 of 23 October 1910, no. 37 of 15 July 1910.

which granted exemptions from the law for 11 large industrial enterprises with hundreds of working women<sup>50</sup>.

Statistical data and archival documents indicate that four years after the entry into force of the law, the situation of women and children who were working in industrial enterprises had hardly improved compared with the one previous to the adoption of law. The reports drawn up by the industry Inspectorate during 1909-1910, empowered by the Ministry of Industry and Trade of 1906 with the supervision of law's application show numerous law violations and abuses committed in industrial enterprises from different cities<sup>51</sup>, which consist of prolongation of working hours for women and children (between 10 and a half hours and 12 hours daily), not granting daily rest breaks, employment of minors without respecting the rules stipulated by law, the lack of internal regulations, employers' abusive behavior etc.<sup>52</sup>.

The worst was that the authorities have tolerated this situation, allowing breaches or non-application of the law, as noted N. Petrescu-Comnen: "In various visits undertaken by us without any official capacity, we found that industrial establishments in the country are rare where children of seven, eight or nine years are not working together with adults, indiscriminately, 13 or 14 hours. With regard to women's work, law dispositions remained from the very beginning almost entirely a dead letter; and yet, we searched in vain to find a single report of contravention concluded by any of the competent authorities; as far as we know, no court in the country has ever judged a trial of offenses against the law"<sup>53</sup>. In a report from 1910, even a representative of the authorities, Dr. C. Gh. Orleanu, chief doctor of the capital and chairman of the Hygiene Council, was "finding an unfortunate state of affairs (...) namely that in most factories in our city (Bucharest – our note) are employed many apprentices, mainly children aged between 11 to 14 years, which would be nothing if it were employed to work according to their age but, unfortunately, they are used for tasks that often go beyond their powers; as yet it would not be so bad if, in addition, they would not be forced to work a number of

<sup>50</sup> Among these enterprises were the Cotton Industry, Wool Weavers, Spinning knitwear, "Dorobanțul" Factory from Ploiești etc. See Central Historical Archives, Presidency of the Council of Ministers fund, file no. 12/1908, f. 34-37 and file no. 13/1908, f. 19, 33-37; Ion Mihu, *Legislația muncii. Reglementarea orelor de muncă*, in "România muncitoare" no. 58 of 4 December 1908.

<sup>51</sup> Among enterprises which did not respect the law of 1906 could be found: C.I. Zane Chocolate Factory, "Vulcan" Car Factory, "Titan" Factory and "Triumful" Meat Cannery from; Wool Weavers of D. Kasper and the one belonging to Iohan Fleicher from Craiova; W. Lupu Factory and Factory of nails and wire "Vestfalia" from Galați; "Doamna" Knitwear Factory and the Wool Factory belonging to Moris Stich from Piatra Neamț; "Coroana" Cannery from Ploiești; Knitwear Factory Radu Purcel from Buzău; Knitwear Factory from Botoșani; Factory of wooden boxes from Sinaia etc. See Archive of the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, fund of Ministry of Industry and Trade, files no. 33-49/1910.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>53</sup> N. Petrescu-Comnen, *Studiu asupra intervenției statului între capital și muncă*, Bucharest, 1910, pp. 23-24.

hours too great for them although there is in force a law and a regulation on child labor in factories”<sup>54</sup>.

Trade unions have welcomed the government’s efforts on the development and adoption of the law<sup>55</sup>, but later showed reservations about the effectiveness of its implementation taking into account that the legislative power belonged to the dominant social classes<sup>56</sup>. Representatives of the working class demanded both workers and authorities to act to enforce the law of 1906 in all sectors of activity and improve its content. In a statement to the Parliament at the beginning of 1906, trade unions demanded to the legislative power body “that the law on employment of women and children to be improved and applied not only in large industry, but also in the small industry, transport, trade, etc.”<sup>57</sup>. The trade union conference in August 1906 criticized the formal character of all legislation of “work protection” in force on that date, and underlined the need for appropriate regulations concerning the use of child labor in industry. Among the proposals submitted to the Conference were prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years and limiting working hours to 6 hours for minors aged between 14-18 years<sup>58</sup>. These measures formed a part of the strikes’ claims erupted during 1907 in Bucharest, Galați and other industrial centers of the country.

Between 1908 and 1910, the fight for changing and applying the law on the work of women and minors echoed in political party programs. The economic part of the Program of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, voted at the Congress of reconstitution from 1910, demanded: “The absolute prohibition of employment of children under 14 years. Laws on the protection of underage apprentices and workers. Vocational education available through schools or free courses. Absolute prohibition of women’s and children’s work in harmful industries (...). Equal pay for equal work for workers of both sexes”<sup>59</sup>.

Since 1912 – the year of the promulgation of the law on trades and workers’ insurances – the validity of the law on child’s and women’s labor in industrial and mining establishments from 1906 was put into discussion<sup>60</sup>. The actions and events organized by trade unions in support of improving the situation of women and

<sup>54</sup> Dr. C. Gh. Orleanu, *Raportul general asupra igienei, stărei sanitare precum și asupra mersului serviciului sanitar al capitalei pe anul 1910*, Bucharest, 1911, pp. 124-125.

<sup>55</sup> I. Robu, *Reglementarea muncii femeilor și copiilor*, in “România muncitoare” no. 38 of 20 November 1905, p. 1; I. N. Armașu, *Protecția legală a muncitorilor*, in “România muncitoare” no. 39 of 27 November 1905, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> M. Gh. Bujor, *Burghezia legiferează*, in “România muncitoare” no. 41 of 11 December 1905, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Archive of the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Studies, M.M. quote, 1910, doc. 9, inv. 2063.

<sup>58</sup> *Rezoluția privitoare la legislația muncii*, adopted by the Conference of Trade Unions in 1906, in “România muncitoare” no. 25-26 of 20-27 August 1906.

<sup>59</sup> *Programul Partidului Social-Democrat din România*, Bucharest, 1910, pp. 19-20.

<sup>60</sup> Archive of the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, fund of Ministry of Industry and Trade, file no. 12/1912, f. 1-16.

minors in the industry have continued. At the Congress of Socialist Party and of trade unions in June 1912 it was adopted a motion on the law of 1906 through which:

“We protest against the non-implementation of the 1906 law regulating the work of women and children in factories and workshops, law which has become obsolete soon after its voting, and needs to be implemented immediately”<sup>61</sup>.

Similar revendications appeared in numerous memoirs and manifestos<sup>62</sup>, reports and newspaper articles from the workers press between years 1914-1915<sup>63</sup>. At the trade union congress in January 1914, in a report entitled “Protecting women’s and children’s work” show that “Both laws, Lahovari’s law and that of trades (Law on trades of 1912 - our note) are faulty and incomplete in comparison to the laws today into force in foreign countries. But even these legal dispositions do not apply”<sup>64</sup>. Based on the conclusions of this report, the Congress adopted a resolution on “Women’s and Children’s Labour”. The resolution stated that: “Given that, with the growing development of large industry increases also the exploitation of children and women in factories and workshops (...), trade unions’ Congress decides that, pending the amendment of existing laws, the organizations of workers have to put pressure on employers to rigorously apply existing provisions at least”<sup>65</sup>. It is also required to act in order to obtain the following claims: prohibition of night work for women, publishing the industries perilous for women, regulating the working day of 8 hours, prohibition of employment of children under 14, establishing a program of 6 hours per day for working minors aged between 14-18 years, compulsory education in schools for children under 14 years, hygienic measures in workshops where working women and children<sup>66</sup>.

Law for organizing crafts, credit and workers’ insurances of 1912 (“Nenițescu Law”), considered in the literature “a real labor code, both by its history, the general field of application and by regulating its institutions”<sup>67</sup>, made a series of references to the situation of women and children employed, which was equivalent to the repeal of the 1906 law<sup>68</sup>. Since neither the provisions of this law

<sup>61</sup> *Documente din istoria mișcării muncitorești din România, 1910-1915*, Bucharest, Politics Publishing, 1968, p. 371.

<sup>62</sup> The call from May 1, 1913, entitled “Către muncitorii capitalei”, in “Documente din mișcarea muncitorească 1872-1916”, II<sup>nd</sup> edition, Bucharest, 1947, p. 525; “Memoriu în privința legii meseriilor”, in “România muncitoare” no. 1 of 3 January 1913.

<sup>63</sup> *Presa muncitorească și socialistă*, vol. II (1900-1921), Part I (1900-1907), Bucharest, Politics Publishing, 1966, pp. 308, 335-336.

<sup>64</sup> Ecaterina Arbore, *Ocrotirea muncii femeilor și copiilor*, in “Documente din istoria mișcării muncitorești din România, 1910-1915”, Bucharest, Politics Publishing, 1968, pp. 621-638.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 663-664.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>67</sup> Costel Gîlcă, *Noi teorii în dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, Rosetti International Publishing, 2012, p. 75.

<sup>68</sup> Virgil Madgearu, *Ocrotirea muncitorilor în România*, Bucharest, Flacăra Publishing, 1915, pp. 33-34.

were not very clear and explicit, discussions continued in the years 1912-1916, within the Ministry of Industry, on the validity of the law of 1906. When asked by the Ministry of Industry and Trade on the state of the 1906 law, Directorate of the Large Industry of that Ministry replied in September 1915 that only Article 4 should remain in force<sup>69</sup>. In an address to the same ministry in September 1916, the Central house of trades considered that “law of 1906 (...) has no longer any reason to be applied”<sup>70</sup>.

“Nenițescu Law” from 1912 brought a number of new elements compared with the previous regulations: acquiring the ability to work from the age of 16, provided that the minor had shown “good behavior and diligence to craft” (article 4); requiring that each worker have a work card and the obligation of Guilds Committee to keep a register of apprentices and journeymen (article 28); regulating apprenticeship contract (articles 21-23, 39, 48-49); regulation probationary period (article 33); setting a daily rest breaks of at least one hour (article 37); obligation of the employer to pay wages direct to minors older than 16 years old (article 47); women’s right to a maternity leave of six weeks without losing work (article 63). Regarding working time, this varied by age and sex of workers as follows: for minors between 11-15 years – 8 hours / day; for minors aged between 15-18 years – 10 hours / day; for women – 11 hours / day (article 36). “Nenițescu Law” of 1912 was the first normative act relating to the regulation of night work, even if only for apprentices: “Apprentices boys younger than 15 years and apprentices girls younger than 17 years cannot be used in night work, namely: from 1 October to 31 March, from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.; and from 1 April to 30 September, from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m.” (article 38).

Given that these regulations continued to be ignored and violated by employers, the situation of women and minors employed in industrial enterprises continued to be problematic, object of the demands of workers’ organizations after World War I<sup>71</sup>. Only in 1928 it will be adopted a new regulation – The law on the protection of women’s and children’s work and on working time from 1928<sup>72</sup>.

In the state of development of the Romanian society in the interwar period,

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<sup>69</sup> Archive of the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, fund of Ministry of Industry and Trade, file no. 12/1912, f. 13-14.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 16.

<sup>71</sup> The Resolution on “labor legislation” adopted at the Regional Congress of Socialist and Trade Union Organizations in Moldova in July 1, 1918, in “Documente din istoria mișcării muncitorești din România, 1916-1921”, Bucharest, Politics Publishing, 1966, pp. 95-96.

<sup>72</sup> Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *op. cit.*, p. 187.



## MODALITIES TO EXPLOIT THE ESTATES OWNED BY STREHAIA MONASTERY\*

Ileana CIOAREC\*\*

**Abstract:** A monastery from the region of Oltenia, founded by the family Craiovescu, who embellished and endowed it with estates, the monastery of Strehaia, represents an important Romanian religious and cultural objective. Since its construction, it received numerous estates from its founders. To these donations, there were also added the buying of other estates, done by the Father Superiors of the monastery, along the time. In order to exploit the vast landed domain that the monastery owned, there were used the socmen, who were living on the estate. The relations on addressing the services, between them and the monastery, were evidenced by the juridical regulations from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The socmen were obliged to do the corvee and to sharecrop, as they had been stipulated in Caragea's Law and the Organic Regulation. The corvee days that they had to do and the crops that they had to share, from each product that they were obtaining, were different from one estate, to the other.

For the socmen from the estate of Strehaia, the Organic Regulations did not bring new obligations. They had to work for as many corvee hours as before, as it had been established in Caragea's Law, and if they could not perform their duties, they had to pay with money (12 thalers). Besides the corvee days, the socmen had to give the monastery a cart of logs. If they did not have the necessary means for transporting the logs, they would have to pay three lei. The socmen from this estate had to share the crops with the monastery, all the products that they had obtained after the cultivation of land.

The socmen from Breznița-Motru estate had to do the number of corvee days, which had been established in Caragea's Law and the Organic Regulation.

In conclusion, we can assert that, along the entire period of the Organic Regulations, the monastery of Strehaia, for a better exploitation of the vast landed domain that it owned, resorted to the lease-holding system. On these estates, the manpower was provided by socmen, permanently dissatisfied with the severe labour conditions and the taxes that they had to face.

**Keywords:** Strehaia Monastery, the corvee, the estates, Caragea's Law, Organic Regulation.

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\* Article is part of the theme *Of ecclesiastical property field plan in Oltenia*.

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A monastery from the region of Oltenia, founded by the family Craiovescu, who embellished and endowed it with estates, the monastery of Strehaia, represents an important Romanian religious and cultural objective. Since its construction, it received numerous estates from its founders. To these donations, there were also added the buying of other estates, done by the Father Superiors of the monastery, along the time. In order to exploit the vast landed domain that the monastery owned, there were used the socmen, who were living on the estate. The relations on addressing the services, between them and the monastery, were evidenced by the juridical regulations from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The socmen were obliged to do the corvee and to sharecrop, as they had been stipulated in Caragea's Law and the Organic Regulation. The corvee days that they had to do and the crops that they had to share, from each product that they were obtaining, were different from one estate, to the other.

For the socmen from the estate of Strehaia, the Organic Regulations did not bring new obligations. They had to work for as many corvee hours as before, as it had been established in Caragea's Law, and if they could not perform their duties, they had to pay with money (12 thalers)<sup>1</sup>. Besides the corvee days, the socmen had to give the monastery a cart of logs. If they did not have the necessary means for transporting the logs, they would have to pay three lei. The socmen from this estate had to share the crops with the monastery, all the products that they had obtained after the cultivation of land. The exception was the hay, which was shared as money<sup>2</sup>. The hard working conditions and the increasing demands of Father Superiors of the monastery, determined the socmen to address to the state's authorities, trying to obtain an improvement in their situation. In 1833, the socmen complained to Pavel Kisseleff, denouncing that Axente, the Father Superior of the monastery, along with Dinu Stolojeanu, and the leaseholder of Strehaia estate, refused to tithe the corn, justifying that its price was very low (5 lei). The unsatisfied villagers were showing that the corn they had obtained remained unharvested, most of the crop being rotten of the field<sup>3</sup>. Towards the end of 1833, the socmen denounced to the Administration of Mehedinți County, the abuses they were subjected to, by the Father Superior of Strehaia monastery and the leaseholder of the estate, requesting the sending of a person to recording their claims on the spot<sup>4</sup>. In January 1834, Chancellor Dincă Stolojanu, the leaseholder of the estate, addressed to the Administration of Mehedinți County, sustaining that 24 dwellers from the village of Strehaia, in the fall of 1833, destroyed his sowings and broke into his barns, stealing 600 bushels of corn. He asked that the Administration to

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<sup>1</sup> Mehedinți County Service of the National Archives (it will be further quoted SJAN Mehedinți), Prefect's Office of Mehedinți County, file 1(1160)/1833, f. 343.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, file 17(1847)/1831, f. 274-275.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Protopopescu, *Strehaia în istorie*, Bucharest, Paco Publishing, w.y., p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 263.

designate a representative who would investigate the claims<sup>5</sup>. The harsh working conditions and the increasing taxes that they had to pay, determined some socmen from Strehaia to run and seek refuge on other estates. In February 1834, Chancellor Dincă Stolojanul asked the Administrator of Mehedinți County to send gendarmes and beaters, who would bring back on Strehaia estate, five of the families who had fled. Among them, there were: Pătru Viașu, Vasile Radu Vulturu, Nicolae Cârțumaru, Dumitru, the son-in-law of Grigore and Stan Dincă Buțu<sup>6</sup>. It was also February 1834, when the leaseholder of the estate addressed again to the Administration of Mehedinți County, asking to send many “boyars” who would measure the land for farming and grazing, which was supposed to be given to the socmen<sup>7</sup>. The misunderstandings between socmen and leaseholders continued until 1835. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, Dincă Stolojanu addressed a letter to the deputy-administration of Motru district, asking that the dwellers from the village of Strehaia to be compelled to give compensations to the monastery, because they had been abusively using some orchards and lands of the monastery, for four years, without having any previous arrangement with the Father Superior. He was also mentioning that, although they had warned the socmen not to use them anymore, they refused to subject to the decision<sup>8</sup>. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1837, the cupbearer boyar Ioniță Mavrodin, who had been appointed by the Internal Judicial Office to participate to the measurement of the imparted acres, noticed the Administration of Mehedinți County that he reached an agreement with the socmen from Strehaia, who accepted to pay additionally for the received land<sup>9</sup>. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August 1837, the leaseholder of the estate, Dincă Stolojanu, addressed to the Sub-administration of Mehedinți County, sustaining that, although he had agreed with all the socmen to share the wheat and oat crops, the ones from Hușnița quarter did not respect the agreement, deciding to give them sheaves<sup>10</sup>. The flight of the socmen continued to take place, during 1843 too. In the month of September of the same year, unsatisfied with the fact that more and more socmen were leaving the estate, the Father Superior demanded the Sub-administration to send more gendarmes that would bring the fugitives back<sup>11</sup>. Observing that the state’s authorities did not take any measures in this respect, in October and November 1843, the Father Superior sent two other addresses, soliciting to be sent urgently gendarmes that would bring back the fugitives on the estate of Strehaia, but without an obvious result<sup>12</sup>. In February 1844, the Father Superior addressed again to the

<sup>5</sup> SJAN Mehedinți, Prefect’s Office of Mehedinți County, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, file 27(6306)/1834, f. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 357.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, file 27(6306)/1834, f. 552.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 1200.

<sup>11</sup> C. A. Protopopescu, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

authorities, asserting that, using their own resources, they managed to bring back four families, from the ones that had fled: “They were brought out 4-5 guys, but others were not able to bring that I had no help”<sup>13</sup>. He asked for the estates owners where the fled socmen had settled, to be warned, and to return them to the monastery<sup>14</sup>. The misunderstandings between the socmen who remained on the estate and the leaseholder Dincă Stolojanu continued in 1844-1845 too. In August 1845, the leaseholder was complaining to the Sub-administration that the villagers from the estate of Strehaia were refusing to sharecrop the corn<sup>15</sup>. In October 1845, the Father Superior complained to the Administration of Mehedinți County arguing that residents refused to perform plowing of autumn: “do not want to go out with plows what we do on this land autumn plowing and by no means unwilling to submit to fulfil even their liability under the statutes rule”<sup>16</sup>.

The socmen from Slătinicu estate had to do the number of corvee days, which had been established in Caragea’s Law and the Organic Regulation<sup>17</sup>. Besides the corvee days, the socmen had to give the monastery a cart of logs. If they did not have the necessary means for transporting the logs, they would have to pay three lei. The socmen from this estate had to share the crops with the monastery, all the products that they had obtained after the cultivation of land<sup>18</sup>.

The socmen from Breznița-Motru estate had to do the number of corvee days, which had been established in Caragea’s Law and the Organic Regulation<sup>19</sup>. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1832, Ion Ciocazan, the deputy-administrator of Motru districts, informed the Administration of Mehedinți County about the discontents of the villagers from Breznița. He was showing that the people who were collecting the taxes, obliged the villagers to pay more for the wine and wheat that had obtained. He was also saying that the leaseholder of the estate, Dincă Stolojanu, up until July 1832, did not collect the metayage and the corvee from the villagers<sup>20</sup>. In 1833, 1,200 families of socmen from Breznița, unsatisfied with the way in which they were required by Dincă Stolojanu to sharecrop, they addressed to the Administration of Mehedinți County, asking for a high official to be appointed, who would solve their request. In the month of November, the same year, the Administration appointed the Chancellor Nae Dobriceanu. Instead of investigating the claims of the socmen, he ordered for them to be brought to monastery and beaten. Some of them, in order to escape from the torment they had been subjected

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> SJAN Mehedinți, Prefect’s Office of Mehedinți County, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 612.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> Elena Jianu-Tutunaru, C. A. Protopopescu, *Istoria așezării Breznița-Motru*, Bucharest, Paco Publishing, 2009, p. 35.

to, declared that they are satisfied with the way in which the leaseholder Dincă Stolojanu was treating them<sup>21</sup>. The misunderstandings between the socmen and the leaseholder continued for the next year too. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1834, the socmen complained at the Internal Judicial Office about the abuses that they endured from the Father Superior of the monastery and the leaseholder of the estate. They requested to be appointed “a new high official, who would investigate more cautiously their complaints”<sup>22</sup>. The Judicial Office did not solve the petition of the socmen, preferring to send it, for solving, to the Administration. There were not only the socmen who addressed to the Administration, but also the representatives of the monastery, discontented about the way in which the villagers were carrying out their duties. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of March, the same year, monk Acsinte, who was holding the position of copyholder, through princely agreement, on the estates from Strehaia, complained to the Internal Judicial Office, against the insurgents from the villages of Strehaia, Breznița and Rocșoreni, sustaining that they were provoking the other people to rise in rebellion<sup>23</sup>. The disagreements between the socmen from Breznița estate and Strehaia monastery, continued on the entire year of 1834. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of November, the villagers complained to the Administration, showing that the leaseholder of the estate did not observe the previous agreements, asking them to pay more than in the anterior years. They claimed that for the grazing of small beasts, they had to pay 20 farthings, not 10, as they had paid before. The socmen asked the Administration to order the leaseholder to observe the agreement that they had concluded<sup>24</sup>. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1836, the leaseholder of the estate, Dincă Stolojan, addressed to the deputy-administrator of Motru district, pretending that numerous dwellers from the village of Breznița were refusing to sharecrop the corn, preferring to hide it in barns. He was also mentioning that the villagers tried to reduce the quantity of brandy that they had to give to the monastery, pretending that an alembic of brandy has only 30-36 gallons. Under these circumstances, they had to give only 4 gallons. The Epist Dincă Stolojanu solicited the designation of a committee that would check the barns and the barrels, and to register the discovered quantities. He was also requesting that the guilty ones to be obliged to pay the double, and, if refusing, to be punished “as an example for the other who would do the same”<sup>25</sup>. The Sub-administration of Motru district designated a committee that would check the declarations of the leaseholder. The way in which the members of the committee carried out their attributions, generated dissatisfaction among the dwellers who were claiming that the designated officials added more bushels when sharecropped the corn and the brandy, considering the

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36-37.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> SJAN Mehedinți, Prefect's Office of Mehedinți County, file 27(6306)/1834, f. 24, 26; Elena Jianu-Tutunaru, C. A. Protopopescu, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>24</sup> SJAN Mehedinți, Prefect's Office of Mehedinți County, file 18(2209)/1834, f. 287.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 942; Elena Jianu-Tutunaru, C. A. Protopopescu, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

alembic as holding 21 gallons. Next year, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, the socmen complained to the Sub-administration of Motru district and the Internal Judicial Office, claiming that the leaseholder of the estate did not want to receive the metayage for wheat (one sheaf for ten), but in seeds. As for the hay, Dincă Stolojanu, was requesting to pay with money<sup>26</sup>. After these complaints, the Internal Judicial Office sent the high official Ioniță Mavrodin to investigate the situation depicted by the socmen. After the investigations, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1837, he addressed to the Administration of Mehedinți County, sustaining that he convinced the socmen from the villages of Strehaia, Breznița and Albulești to accept to pay more for the land they had received, “this way, neither would the monks lose, nor the peasants would suffer”<sup>27</sup>. Breznița estate was leased in 1843 to Polizu. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1843, being unsatisfied with the fact that some of the socmen had fled from Breznița estate, which was belonging to Strehaia monastery, and settled on other lands, he addressed to the Administration of Mehedinți County, asking for gendarmes to be sent, who would bring back the fugitives. He was also mentioning that some of the leaseholders of the estates, where the socmen were settling, were asking money to the monastery, in order to allow their return<sup>28</sup>. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1845, the Father Superior of Strehaia monastery addressed to the Sub-administration of Motru de Jos district, claiming that the villagers from Breznița estate were refusing to sharecrop the hay. He asked to the Sub-administration to take the necessary measures, in order to determine the socmen to accept to sharecrop the hay, under the conditions requested by the leaseholder<sup>29</sup>. In the same year, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of September, the Father Superior of the monastery addressed to the Sub-administration of Motru de Jos district, asking them to order the socmen to divide the corn in ten piles, when they would harvest it, in order to sharecrop faster<sup>30</sup>. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of September 1845, the Father Superior of the monastery addressed to the Sub-administration, asking to impose to the leaders of the village, the priest and the chancellor to participate to the wine weighing<sup>31</sup>. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1845, the Sub-administration of Motru de Jos district addressed to the leaders of Breznița village, asking them to warn the socmen from the estate that, in no more than three days, to divide the harvested corn in ten piles, in order to be easier to be sharecropped by the leaseholder, and to announce the Father Superior of the monastery, about the date when they want to sharecrop<sup>32</sup>. In case that they were not observing the rules, the socmen were to be harshly punished. The leaders of the village and the dweller from Breznița estate, did not observe the requests of

<sup>26</sup> SJAN Mehedinți Prefect's Office of Mehedinți County, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 1096; Elena Jianu-Tutunaru, C. A. Protopopescu, *op. cit.*, p. 38-39.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 44.

the monastery. That situation determined the Father Superior of the monastery to address again to the Sub-administration of Motru de Jos district, sustaining that the socmen from Breznița refused to distribute corn in ten piles, and they put it in their barns, avoiding in this way to be sharecropped. He asked for a gendarme to be assigned for compelling the peasants to divide the corn in ten piles. Ten days later, the Father Superior of Strehaia monastery, unsatisfied that the socmen had refused to do the autumn ploughing, addressed again to the Sub-administration, asking for actions against them<sup>33</sup>.

The socmen from Rocșoreni estate had the obligation that, in exchange for 12 days of corvee that they had to do, to pay 12 thalers annually. They had to pay with money for the cart of logs (3 thalers) and the ploughing day (1 leu). They had to sharecrop for every products that they obtained after the cultivation of the land, to the monastery, representing the tenth part of the harvest. The exception was the metayage for hay, which was paid with money. For the wine that they obtained, after the exploitation of the vineyards that belonged to the monastery's estate, the socmen had to give three gallons. For their sheep to graze on the commons of the monastery, the villagers from Rocșoreni had to give, each of them, a lamb and common pasture from the cheese. Every year, the monastery also received from the socmen 2-3 hens<sup>34</sup>. The harsh working conditions and the permanently increasing duties, determined the villagers from Rocșoreni to revolt against the monastery and the leaseholder. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1834, monk Acsinte, appointed copyholder on the estates of the monastery, through a princely decree, addressed to the High Internal Judicial Office, claiming that 8 villagers from Rocșoreni revolted and advised the other dwellers of the village to not agree with the rules. He asked for a person to investigate the declarations and to take the necessary measures. High Internal Judicial Office gave a disposition to the Administration of Mehedinți County to research the complaint of the monk, and to take the necessary measures, for re-establishing the order<sup>35</sup>. The disagreements between the leaseholder and the socmen continued during the entire year of 1834. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, the socmen from Rocșoreni complained to the Administration of Mehedinți County, sustaining that the leaseholder Dincă Stolojanu left for grazing only a small part of the commons, the rest keeping for him. They were also mentioning that, in order benefit again from the access to the entire area, they had to reach a new agreement with the leaseholder, paying new taxes<sup>36</sup>. In April 1836, the archimandrite Acsente addressed to the Administration of Mehedinți County, sustaining that the previous year, when the agreements had been concluded, with all the socmen from all the estates of the monastery, and the legal imparted had been assigned, the villagers from Rocșoreni refused to settle an agreement, and in the spring of the same year,

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 44-45.

<sup>34</sup> SJAN Dolj, Prefect's Office of Mehedinți County, file 17(1847)/1831, f. 302-308.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, file 27(6306)/1834, f. 24, 26.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 56.

they had tried to extend the surfaces that were not theirs. They asked the Administration to take the necessary measures for the villagers from Rocșoreni to conclude the new agreements and to not use abusively the land surfaces that they were not entitled to. The Administration gave the necessary orders to the Sub-administration of Motru district to act in such a manner that the villagers from Rocșoreni to reach an agreement with the Father Superior<sup>37</sup>. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1837, the official Ioniță Mavrodin, who had been appointed by the Internal Judicial Office to participate to the measurement of the imparted acres, noticed the Administration of Mehedinți County that he had reached an agreement with the socmen from different estates of Strehaia monastery, to pay additionally for the received land. He was showing that, not being able to travel to Rocșoreni, due to the impracticable road, he called the counsellor of the village and some of the socmen at Breznița, but the last ones did not accept the new conditions of agreement: "They began to cry and not know any transformation in their debts or count what is legally"<sup>38</sup>. The official Ioniță Mavrodin came forward with the proposal that, for solving the situation, to be brought in front of the administrators, the both sides, the socmen and the Father Superior of the monastery. In July 1839, Theoharie, the new leaseholder of Rocșoreni estate, addressed to the Administration of Mehedinți County, claiming that the villagers from the estate refused to reach an agreement, trespassing though the commons and causing damages. He was also showing that the villages from the estate had had an agreement with the former leaseholder, Dimitrie Pleniceanu, to have their ploughing acres and commons measured. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of July 1839, the Administration asked the Sub-administration of Dumbrava district to investigate the situation presented by the new leaseholder, and to take the necessary measures that are imposing for keeping the order on Rocșoreni estate<sup>39</sup>.

In conclusion, we can assert that, along the entire period of the Organic Regulations, the monastery of Strehaia, for a better exploitation of the vast landed domain that it owned, resorted to the lease-holding system. On these estates, the manpower was provided by socmen, permanently dissatisfied with the severe labour conditions and the taxes that they had to face.

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, Sub-administration of Motru district, file 91(6382)/1834, f. 626.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, file 27(6306)/1834, f. 552.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, Sub-administration of Dumbrava District, file 216(2247)/1838, f. 371.

# THE STUDIES – OCCUPATION BOND IN THE CONTEXT OF PROFESSION DIVERSIFICATION ON THE LABOUR MARKET

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**Abstract:** The correlation between education and labour market is a subject of high interest, but insufficiently researched, and most of all, not widely practiced. The severity of financial crisis adds a high degree of uncertainty about the future of global economy and European policies should be designed to increase occupancy by improving human capital by upgrading skills and abilities that the new context of European labour market requires. Improving skills is very important to maintain equality in the workplace, because people who have low skills are the most vulnerable on the labor market and will be the first to know the impact of an economic crisis, similar to that currently taking place worldwide. In a society where everything changes fast and there is a continuous need for new competencies and knowledge, the educational system cannot provide the individual the competence which is necessary throughout his life. The changes occurring in a society require the improvement of human capital that is going to have different abilities and skills from now on.

**Keywords:** professions, education, labour market, skills, economic recession.

## 1. THE DEFINITION OF OCCUPATIONS AND PROFESSIONS

The occupation<sup>1</sup> represents the helpful activity, bringer of income as money or other form, which a person conducts in a socio-economic facility and that represents the source of income for the given person. “One and the same person can practice more occupations. In sociological literature an increased interest is given to the analysis of the situations of people with double occupational status, like working-farmer. Gradually, during history, on the foundation of social division of work, a complex structure of occupations was created, moving from basic

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<sup>1</sup> For more details, see *Micul dicționar academic*, Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing, 2003, *passim*.

activities, which were the same, and provided personal living, to a specialized work. The deeper the work got divided, the more efficient it became. This led to a quicker progress of the society, but also to the development of interrelationships between producers, meaning a complex occupational structure”<sup>2</sup>.

The profession means “the specialty or the job a person obtains after crossing a period of training, in which the study and the practice have variable relation. In other words, the profession the professional profile of a person socially recognized”<sup>3</sup>. In other specialty paper works, the profession is defined as being “a learned activity, for example in school, so it implies training, but in a specific intellectual context”. Being in a profession means being certified, by someone who does it, or a defined structure among the profession. Also, a profession requires an amount of social responsibility”<sup>4</sup>.

The bond between the profession and occupation is a special one and it has some features that need to be well recognized:

- “it is obvious that the social and economic life is more dynamic than the institutional system. It is clear, that the variety of occupations that took form in the unceasing movement of the socio-economic background outruns the list of professions that they project and this sum up the profile institutions;

- if real life takes care of the adaptation needs by creating new occupations, the responsible system for human resources and work force is slower. We can easily understand the period of years needed for projecting new professions and study plans, of placing every detail of adequate educational programs, time tables and training of trainers etc. The renewal of professions grows faster and faster, subjecting the school technology to pressures that aim the adaptation limits of the traditional type school;

- maintaining a normative framework in the occupational economy is a basic condition in the improvement of all kind of situations”<sup>5</sup>.

## 2. THE PROFESSION TYPOLOGY

In some specialty paper works of the work sociology, the professions can be classified in more types:

- “the penetration professions, that initiate the main directions of development, that shape the future accessible and desirable, the spearhead in

<sup>2</sup> Cătălin Zamfir, Lazăr Vlăsceanu (eds.), *Dicționar de sociologie*, Bucharest, Babel Publishing, 1997, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> Ion Schileru, *Abordări noi în domeniul economiei ocupaționale*, available at [www.ase.ro/upcpr/profesori/367/Ocupatii%20final.doc](http://www.ase.ro/upcpr/profesori/367/Ocupatii%20final.doc), accessed at: 2 April 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Bell, *Societatea post-industrială (The coming of post-industrial society)*, New York, Basic Books Inc, 1973, p. 374.

<sup>5</sup> Ion Schileru, *op. cit.*, available online at the following address: <http://www.ase.ro/upcpr/profesori/367/Ocupatii%20final.doc>, accessed at: 2 April 2015.

professional structure. They need an advanced training, in a wide time perspective, starting with the training of teachers that will be called to prepare the penetrations;

- the support professions, shape the entire range of those who take, as beneficiaries, the innovation and ensure its using. This type of profession creates the possibility of changing and modernization of the social economics, offering the productive consumption in the economic cycle, a *market* for what the two first groups make.

- the overcome professions, are those *areas* of the structure that are left behind under the aspect of their correspondence regarding the general modernization of work. Leaving some professions behind creates some jams in the evolution of the whole professional structure and the development of the entire society”<sup>6</sup>.

### 3. NEW PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS IN ROMANIA

Nowadays, work is no longer seen as an activity meant only for the adults, that have work contracts for 30 or 40 years, and that work in a certain field for the entire life, same as the learning period. If learning is divided in three categories – formal, non-formal and informal – then work is also divided in three types: monetized, monetary and non-monetized. Because of the strong development of the information technology and that of the communication, the person that works is no longer the one that needs to be at the office, in a company but a person that uses a computer in his or her activity. The same thing happens to the person that studies, that is no longer seen as a child or a teenager that takes notes from a desk using pencils and notebooks.

The changes in the occupation area were determined, first of all by the evolution of technology. Therefore, after the technology boost, some occupations in some activity fields have disappeared or have been reduced. At the same time activities that did not exist before were created, new occupations and new requests on the labour market.

According to a study made by GFK Romania in the year 2010, in 19 countries, it is revealed that Romanians started to favor those professions that were seen in a good light before 1989, and provided a stable work place and a financial guarantee. So, according to the GFK Trust Index 2010, in the top of the best occupations were: firefighter (91%), mailman (89%) , military job (88%), teacher, priest (86%), doctor (74%). At the opposite position, the worst seen jobs, even though they could offer income, are seen as unstable on a period of time: politician (11%), banker (28%), company manager (39%), lawyer, judge (42%), marketing specialist (46%)<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Oscar Hoffman, *Sociologia muncii*, Bucharest, Hyperion Publishing, 1996, p. 118-119.

<sup>7</sup> The study *GFK Trust Index 2010* is available online at the following address: [http://www.gfk-ro.com/public\\_relations/press/multiple\\_pg/006084/index.ro.html](http://www.gfk-ro.com/public_relations/press/multiple_pg/006084/index.ro.html), accesed at: 12 April 2015.

#### 4. THE STUDY-OCCUPATION RELATION

In the specialty literature it is stated the fact that there is a weak connection between studies and occupation<sup>8</sup>. Often, companies pay more respect to the level of education than the domain of the studies and, therefore they produce local differences among the work force requirement and the offer of graduates in a certain domain. The occupation options are not only determined by money, since workers choose their work place based on individual criteria or sex, race and the social environment which they come from<sup>9</sup>.

There is still a certain inaction and stiffness of the education system which makes that the changes in the labour market to be a step ahead; worse is that the education system does not succeed to be appropriate for the actual level of economy. On the whole, the source of creating new jobs comes from the private sector and less from the public sector.

From this perspective, educational policies in Romania should be oriented more to meet the dynamics and changes occurring in the labour market. Another solution for diminishing the “rift” between labour market and education can be the inclusion of part time activities in the higher education system. First of all it will allow students to gain experience in a certain field while studying giving them the possibility of combining work and practice. Secondly, by developing activities for a short period of time, the students will have the chance of covering the expenses of their studies.

Lots of studies regarding education and occupation are focused on the place that university education is. In France, the connections between studies and occupation were analyzed by S. Dumartin and O. Chardon<sup>10</sup>. The analysis of the role study plays in obtaining a job that is life lasting requires other research on human capital aspects. The notion of human capital refers to “those abilities of people that are the same in any social background. Mainly, the human capital is formed from educational capital and biological capital (physical abilities, mainly represented by their state of health)”<sup>11</sup>.

Education represents one of the most important pylons of the European social model (which promotes especially “the society of knowledge”). Each year more than a million European citizens participate in communitary programs regarding education, professional development and active citizenship. The most important things that the european education system must achive are: improvement of the

<sup>8</sup> Jean-Francois Giret, Alberto Lopez, José Rose, *Des formations pour quels emplois?*, Editions La Decouverte, Paris, 2005, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Ichiro Tsukahara, *The effect of family background on occupational choice*, in “Labour”, vol. 21, Issue 4/5, 2007, p. 871-890

<sup>10</sup> Seamus Mc. Guinness, *Overeducation in the labour market*, in “Journal of Economic Surveys”, vol. 20, Issue 3, 2006, p. 387-418.

<sup>11</sup> See Bogdan Voicu, *Capitalul uman: componente, niveluri, structuri. România în context european*, in “Calitatea vieții”, no. 1-2/2004.

educational systems, making sure that everybody has access to education, and to make the educational system more open to the society.

The low correlation of the educational offer from the vocational, secondary and higher education can be explained by the low level of involvement of social partners in the making of the educational activities, absence of systematic studies of prospecting and forecasting of the labour market, poor development insertion monitoring systems and partnerships between a school/university and an enterprise. Regarding professional formation the offer tends to focus on general skills development programs, particularly for people, not for the employers, focusing on specific requests of the labour market.

We can say that the “break” that occurs between the two areas is generated, on one hand by the fact that higher educational institutions do not have an operational institutional autonomy, and on the other hand the labour market is not open in full partnership with the educational system. Many employers do not take into account the competencies that a graduate has formed during his studies and prefer to form and provide for him training at the work place, a solution involving high financial costs.

Being only a part of the work force, the formal learning does not represent a big factor in choosing an occupation or changing it. Many employees improve their human capital after graduating from formal education, mainly through experience from their work place (learning by doing) and professional training. Regarding the training, economists distinguish two types: the general training and the specific training<sup>12</sup>. The general training increases the productivity of a person for all jobs, meanwhile the specific one increases it only in a certain field.

At the same time with the development of the globalization process in Europe some changes started happening in the social classes. So, the class of “blue collars”, the one of which Karl Marx said it is “the universal class” begun to drop down, after the decreasing number of industry workers. At the same time, the middle class became different a lot “meanwhile the upper class of land owners almost disappeared. New occupational divisions started to appear, based on the social and technological changes regarding the services basic economy”<sup>13</sup>.

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the image of the worker was overcome by new European realities. The strong rising of employees brought changes not only in the market structure, but also at the level of the employee worker”. If at the start of the century, in Europe and North America, there were millions of workers in mining, metallurgy, naval and steel industry, nowadays, in developed countries in this domains there is only a fragment of the workers from the past”. The new technologies improve the production process and change the way people work, for example multiple tasks begun, like team work, and the work force demand grows

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<sup>12</sup> On the human capital, see Gary Becker, *Capitalul uman. O analiză teoretică și empirică cu privire la educație*, Bucharest, All Publishing, 1997, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Europa în noua epocă globală*, Bucharest, Ziua Publishing, 2007, p. 98.

bigger and bigger. Over the last decades the companies grew their activity outside borders, therefore trade became international. Also, the aging of population will have some effects on the work force, on professional skills, on the way people work and on the demands of new jobs in some activity fields, like health and social protection, making room for new careers<sup>14</sup>.

It is a must for young ones and adults to have that general knowledge that will help them adjust to the change. Over their life, students and employees will have to develop their skills in a certain activity field that will help them reach perfection every time in that domain.

The development of skills ensures a greater level of employment on long term, and can bring new opportunities for a better job and a bigger pay check. The worker skills play an important part in obtaining a great satisfaction towards the work they do and are vital for the rising of active citizens.

For the employers, the development of skills represents a way to increase the motivation, satisfaction and productivity of their workers. In the United States of America there is an old tradition of forecasting the occupations. The statistics bureau of labour from U.S.A. has done a forecast of occupations up until the year 2016, and the conclusions they reached are:

- An increased work force in a slower rhythm than the past decades
- An aging work force
- A rising service field
- A rate of productivity increase of 2,4% each year<sup>15</sup>.

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after the demographic aging phenomenon and as a solution for striking poverty, work became a priority in the work force occupation, but also for a person that has a decent job has more chances of reaching out from poverty<sup>16</sup>.

## 5. THE ENHANCEMENT OF SKILLS AND ABILITIES

Skills represent the abilities to use your knowledge and know-how to perform a certain task or to take care of a problem, regardless we are talking of a professional context or a study, or one about personal or social life. The work force highly qualified helps develop the economy in any state, so it brings benefits both to the employees and employers.

The boost of skills is very important to maintain a balance at the work place, because people with reduced skills are vulnerable on the work force market and can be the first to meet the impact of an economic crisis, similar to the one happening right now at global level.

<sup>14</sup> Ute Frevert, H.G. Haupt, *Omul secolului XX*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2002 p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> James Franklin, *An overview of BLS Projections to 2016*, in *Monthly Labour Review*, November 2007, available at [www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2007/11/mlr200711.pdf](http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2007/11/mlr200711.pdf), accessed at: 23 April 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Europa în epoca globală*, Bucharest, Ziua Publishing, 2007, p. 37.

But, perfecting skills is a must for all the people, not only for those with a lower qualification level. These last ones are those who participate less at the training drying their lives; also, now, far less projects are made at a European level, that aim the development of the skills that an aging population has.

Education, professional training and the occupation politics of the countries in the EU must be focused on adapting the skills to all study levels, on the increasing work force that has high qualification and that responds to the needs of a society that is always changing. Improving education in the EU is essential to avoid the waste of financial and human resources.

Skills perfecting must be a process that has to take in consideration some differences of gender and the fact that despite any European efforts, we still have areas where gender discrimination still exists. The research of living conditions at European level point out that a third of the men (36%) and a third of the women (33%) believe superior skills to the ones they offer; 15% men and 13% women consider that they need more training<sup>17</sup>.

The revolution of informational techniques causes the disparition of a high number of jobs, that not long ago were a part of our society, meantime new work places that this revolutions makes need a wide set of skills. So, the relation between skills and jobs becomes more and more difficult. The economic evolution and the technology increase the problem of skills inadequacy<sup>18</sup>.

It is not enough that economy possesses a number of good workers, even though this demand is very important for the economic rise of a country.

According to a study made by CEDEFOP, by the year 2020, almost all the new jobs that will be created in the next decade will require a high level of training, and almost 34% of the active population will have that kind of training. A good balance between the demand and the offer of work results out of the fact that workers have places well adapted to their skills. In the future there is a chance that labour market meets a surplus of some competencies. For example, there may be a risk that a person that has an academic qualification not to obtain a place of work, just because the employer seeks some skills that he or she does not have<sup>19</sup>.

In the table below, are presented some of the most important forms under we can analyze the inadequacy of skills:

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<sup>17</sup> European Commission, *Efficiency and Equity in Education and Training Systems*, Press Release, 8<sup>th</sup> August 2006.

<sup>18</sup> Cedefop, *Skill supply and demand in Europa: medium-term forecast up to 2020*, available at <http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/EN/publications/15540.aspx>, accessed at: 13 April 2015.

<sup>19</sup> Cedefop, *The skill matching challenge – analysing skill mismatch and policy implications*, available at <http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/EN/publications/15275.aspx>, accessed at: 23 April 2015.

Type of inadequacy	Description
Over-education	An individual that has more years of study than the job requires.
Under-education	An individual that has less years of education than the job requires.
Over-qualification	An individual with a higher level of education than the job requires.
Under-qualification	An individual with a lower level of education than the job requires.
Over-skilled	An individual cannot use all of his skills at his job.
Under-skilled	An individual does not possess the skills that involve a professional activity in a satisfying way.
Penury of skills	The need of certain skills is superior to the offer of available workers, that have this skills.
Surplus of skills	The need of certain skills is inferior to the offer of available workers, that have this skills.
Lack of skills	Either the level of skills a worker has is inferior to the level demanded in order to make an activity in a satisfying way, or the type of skills does not match the work place.
The economic damage of skills	The skills required previously are no longer demanded.
The technical damage	The physical and mental skills deteriorate because of an "atrophy".
Vertical inadequacy	The level of education or skills is far more higher or far more lower than the one demanded.
Horizontal inadequacy	The level of education or skills are adapted to the job, but the type of education is not.
Agglomeration/Down grading	The more qualified individuals have jobs meant for less qualified workers, this resulting in pushing the last ones away from available jobs for their level. "The downgrade" is the process in which less qualified workers are "pushed down", occupying jobs at a much lower level.

**Source:** Cedefop, *Skills mismatch in Europe*, June 2010, [www.cedefop.europa.eu](http://www.cedefop.europa.eu)

The type of inconsistency varies depending the categories of people they refer to. For example, the skills of older workers are more technically used, because aging can damage the skills and the physical and mental competences. Young workers, being new on the labour market, are the subject of many types of differences, because their high level of education comes with a lack of experience.

### CONCLUSIONS

The inadequacy to the labour market can contribute to the rising of the unemployment and to the decrease of productivity and economic competence. This inadequacy, that became a analysis subject and research for many economists and sociologists can come under many forms: from the lack of skills to some situations in which the knowledge of a person are superior to the demanding of a work place. In times of economic development, skill inadequacy takes place first of all because there are not enough persons that possess a certain type of skills to satisfy the request. For example, at the end of the year 1990, in the time of the economic boom, created by the golden age of the internet ("the explosion" of websites, known under the name of *dot.com bubble*), employers found it hard to recruit people with experience in the information technology. During the crisis, there is more likely that people with higher qualifications to have jobs that are at an inferior level. Even though this situation can bring advantages to the employers, they are only short term, because the employers have discontentment feelings regarding the job, and the productivity of the work can drop low.

## CONTRIBUTE FACTORS TO THE ROMANIAN DEMOGRAPHIC BODY

Gabriel PRICINĂ\*  
Gabriela MOTOI\*\*

**Abstract:** This article includes a statistical analysis of the main Romanian demographic phenomena. The numerous red flags drawn by the scientists, reverberated in the media, refers to the demographic decline, accentuated by the visible populations aging trend. The main concern of many working age individuals are due to the most probable consequences: future challenges of the social security pensions system resulted out of the reversal age pyramid. The aging population will become more numerous than the working age population, those who pay social insurance will be less numerous than those entitled to receive pensions.

This analysis is destined for a statistical analysis of the relationship between the demographic phenomena, in an attempt to discover the specific relationships. This paper's conclusions may be relevant for the development of a coherent demographic policy based on measurable goals.

**Keywords:** demography, population, correlations, demographic phenomenon, demographic process.

### 1. A POPULATION'S RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The scientific knowledge and the theorising ability of the researchers have in the most cases, applicability in various areas of the social and the economic life. In the context of this article we try to subordinate to the social needs, a demographic phenomenon analysis that is designed to concern those assigned to develop and implement public policies regarding the Romanian demographic balance.

The starting point of such a process originates in the declared objectives of the demography<sup>1</sup>: the size knowledge, population's structure and distribution, description of the total or regional population's evolution, identifying the links

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<sup>1</sup> Rajendra Sharma, *Demography and Population Problems*, New Dehli, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2007, p. 9.

between the population trends and a certain indicator and the accurate estimations of the population's trend and their consequences.

The finality of this research is useful in various fields of social life, in the development of some public policies or even in the development of some feasibility studies or marketing<sup>2</sup>: health investment planning, food production and supply planning, workforce planning, education's infrastructure planning, housing planning and elaboration of some public migration control policy.

In the present research we focus on the main phenomena that directly influence the demographic body: mortality and natality. The purpose of this research is to detect the factors that determine the current structure of the Romanian demographic body and predictions of the future to identify the main elements that can stand a base on the balance of the demographic policy.

## 2. NATALITY AND MORTALITY

Natality refers to the number of the newborns in a society in a certain time. This phenomenon occurs under the influence of some complex factors that can be grouped in two broad categories: on the one hand we have the size population, related to the reproductive biological capacity, as the weight of the female population at childbearing age. The age period of childbearing adopted in scientific research is placed on the range of 15-49 years in the female population. A second category of factors that influence the natality is more complex, such as the cultural or socio-economic framework. In the second category we have to remember another demographic indicator: fecundity, representing "a woman's physiological ability to procreate"<sup>3</sup>. Thus, fertility is a consequence of fecundity, subjected to numerous factors.

From a scientific perspective we see that natality occurs depending on the share of childbearing women age and the economic context, socially and culturally existing in society.

Mortality is the mass of deaths in a society or a geographic region. The scientific literature reveals the specific nature of this phenomenon: all the demographic phenomena occur under the influence of the factors which determine their associates, while death is the only phenomenon that it relates directly to each individuals. For example, the emergence of a new born does not concern him, but his parents<sup>4</sup>. All the other demographic phenomena, such as marriage, migration, divorce are influenced by a multitude of factors that place them under the probability theory.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Traian Rotariu, *Demografie și sociologia populației, fenomene demografice*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2003, p. 53.

Mortality's characteristics are as follows<sup>5</sup>: every individual is at the risk of death, is an unavoidable phenomenon that will surely occur in the life of every individual, it concerns only one person, it is unrepeatable and the least influenced by the other demographic phenomena.

Considering the specificity of mortality we note that in addition to the limited capacity of the biological being existence there are clearer factors that determine it<sup>6</sup>: hunger and food shortages, epidemics, wars and poor sanitary conditions.

Mortality becomes the demographic phenomenon that can only be delayed but not avoided. The actual societies evolution and the medical science have enabled a permanent increasing lifespan by limiting the influencing mortality factors.

Statistica, surveys conducted over time reveal some regularities people's lifespan depending on some certain factors<sup>7</sup>: the residence, where we find that mortality is lower in urban areas; profession, explained by the fact that a certain profession affects the health of those who practice them; region, due to the differences in the individuals lifespan; parent education, observing that in the educated parents household the children are much healthier and have a longer lifespan than those from families with low levels of education; the marital status, married people tend to have a longer life than the unmarried; the socio-economic status; finding that people with a higher socioeconomic status had a higher life expectancy than others. In some societies it was found that religion has an influence, statistically proven, over its life.

### 3. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

The statistical method allows the identification of some trends and the relationships between the different demographic processes. Statistical data processing permit the interpretation of the raw data according to the specific objectives. Also, the statistical monitoring has the merit to signal early thenegative consequences of the status quo.

The adopted measurement efficiency can be measured by comparing the available data at one time with those estimated to be produced when developing a public policy. Using the statistical measurement methods can bring corrections to the insufficient trends oriented to the undesirable objectives or to those that have negative consequences over the society.

In the past period from the Romanian Revolution from 1989, Romania's population decreased permanently, although at the regions level, counties or towns we can observe fluctuations in the population numbers. Between 1990-2012 (Tempo-Online Database, data processing) the total population has decreased by 7.99%.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> Rajendra Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 135-139.

The same trend is reflected at a regional level, where we see in all the regions that the population registered declines between 2.15% in the North-East region and 13.23% in the West region.

Table 1

Total population's structure

Region	Population in 1990	Population in 2012	Population's evolution	Annual rate
Romania	23,211,395	21,355,849	-7.99%	-0.35%
North-West	2,983,614	2,712,188	-9.10%	-0.40%
Center	2,860,490	2,519,787	-11.91%	-0.52%
North-East	3,781,932	3,700,695	-2.15%	-0.09%
South-East	2,980,559	2,791,190	-6.35%	-0.28%
South-Muntenia	3,619,796	3,239,247	-10.51%	-0.46%
Bucharest-Ilfov	2,325,037	2,264,865	-2.59%	-0.11%
South-West Oltenia	2,461,463	2,220,224	-9.80%	-0.43%
West	2,198,504	1,907,653	-13.23%	-0.58%

Source: National Statistical Institute, *Tempo-Online Database, 2014, data processing.*

The trends structure revealed by this study highlights the existence of some regional or local factors that influence them. For understanding the demographic decline some analysis are needed on the impact that the demographic phenomena have on the population volume.

The most important data come from statistical analysis of the total volume population, mortality and natality. Through these changes we will sense the impact of the migratory movement of the population through the difference between the evolution of the natural growth and the total population.

Table 2

The demographic body evolution based on the main indicators

Region	Population in 1990	Population 2012	Annual evolution in 1990-2012	Mortality annual evolution	Natality annual evolution	Natural growth average
North-West	2,983,614	2,712,188	-0.40%	-0.37%	-1.61%	-1.29%
Center	2,860,490	2,519,787	-0.52%	0.01%	-1.36%	-0.46%
North-East	3,781,932	3,700,695	-0.09%	1.36%	-1.72%	1.71%
South-East	2,980,559	2,791,190	-0.28%	1.03%	-1.77%	-0.97%
South Muntenia	3,619,796	3,239,247	-0.46%	0.24%	-1.71%	-2.87%
Bucharest Ilfov*	2,307,700	2,264,865	-0.11%	0.44%	-0.23%	-2.44%
South-West	2,461,463	2,220,224	-0.43%	-0.13%	-1.99%	-2.99%
West	2,461,463	2,220,224	-0.58%	-0.81%	-1.58%	-2.99%

\* data starting with 1997

Source: National Statistical Institute, *Tempo-Online Database, 2014, data processing*

#### 4. INFLUENCE DESCRIPTIONS BASED ON THE STATISTICAL CORRELATIONS

Romania's total population trend is significantly influenced by other demographic phenomena, such as natality or mortality. This is the result of a specific way to configure these trends, often dependent on some certain changes occurred in an regional or an county level.

The evolution of Romania's total population is significantly correlated with the developing regions population, but in varying degrees, resulting in three groups. The first group consists in the North – West, South – East and West, whose trends correlate mostly with the national trend, followed by a second cluster consisting in a group with a significant correlation but slightly lower than in the first group: the Center Region, North-East and South. The last group consists of Bucharest-Ilfov and the South-West regions that have weak correlations with the national trends. Please note that we can not conclude that the two regions are similar in the demographic phenomena trend as the population trends between the two regions does not correlate. This means the existence of some particular demographic features of the two regions.

Mortality is correlated in all the regions by contributing to the national trend in comparable proportions. Analysed separately from other demographic phenomena we find that we can speak of a similar pattern in most developing regions and the lack of correlation with the evolution of the other demographic phenomena.

The only exception is the South-West Oltenia where we notice a link between the mortality and the total population. The bivariate correlation indicates a weak intensity of 0.453 at a 0.05 significance. The positive direction of this correlation indicates a direct influence on the overall mortality's population. Given the total population's trend likeness of this region with the Bucharest-Ilfov, but the relationship does not exist, we find the first difference between the two regions. This direct relationship indicates a growth tendency in the elderly population, followed logically by an increase of the mortality, revealing that a significant proportion of young people are temporarily migrating for work in other areas of the country or abroad, perhaps returning when they're approaching retirement.

Deepening the analysis through the factorial analysis indicates that there are five major factors, with a composite internal structure, which determinate a significant change in the population (95.89%). In order, they are: mortality which explains in a proportion of 26.15% the intern population dynamics; emigration, which explains in a proportion of 21.67% the population dynamics; marriage, explains the demographic phenomena in a proportion of 18.75%; natality which explains the variation in a proportion of 16.05%; and the population structure, which influence the demographic dynamics in a proportion of 13.27%.

The statistics show a major influence of the first two factors, encompassing 47.82% of the total explanation of the population dynamics. Both phenomena,

mortality and emigration have a negative influence on the demographic body volume. Their influence on the overall development shows that the demographic body inhibiting phenomena are predominant in the population's dynamics.

The main phenomenon that helps to increase the population – natality – has a reduced contribution of just 16.05% on the demographic dynamics. The phenomenon which theoretically favors birth – marriage – is contributing with 18.75%, but this contribution is indirect, there are many factors determinating this phenomenon.

These phenomena are found and are influenced by the Romanian's population structure. All the elements that acts on the demographic body are dependent by this indicator, which, in his turn, contribute to an extent of 13.27%.

By comparing the two types of analysis, we observe that although there are no significant correlations between the demographic phenomena, some of them contribute directly to the demographic body size. For example, mortality is not just due to the aging process but also to the natural causes. This is due to the living conditions, living standards, health system, working conditions, etc. In emigration's case, prevailing are the economic conditions, freedom of movement, host countries opportunities, etc. The natality is influenced by the population's social behavior, pro-natalist or anti-natalist policy, family assistance, etc. How this phenomena of different nature interact is complex and can be difficult to measure. But the understanding of these relationships and how they interconnect may create some necessary fundamentals of some public policy to maintain the demographic body balanced.

## 5. THE DESIGN SIZE

In an attempt to highlight the future possibilities we conducted a statistical experiment by analyzing the current demographic trends in projections for ten years. The limits of this experiment are generated by the linear nature of the data analyzed. Over the years there may be events that can change the course and may determine other correlations. For understanding the possible implications of the present situation we try this method. After presenting the data there can be outlined some general directions for action.

In order to define more precisely the current demographic trends consequences on long term, we continued the projection to 2020. The items sought are those relating to take place between the demographic phenomena and factors that determine the body dynamics. These relationships are important to understand the departure points in developing a strategy for the demographic balance and limit some of the negative consequences of the demographic phenomena.

The projection of the demographic evolution for 2020, highlights some significant issues. The bivariate correlations comparison shows that between the country's population and the regional population will produce mild changes that in long-term will approach the recorded correlation values. Thus, the regions correlated very strong with the national trend was reduced to two, increasing to four regions from the second category. The two regions (Bucharest-Ilfov and South-West) which moderately correlates with the national trend have taken different directions: the first region correlation intensity is decreasing, while the second region trend correlation intensity is growing.

Mortality continues to strongly correlate in all regions. The only coincidences that can attain future consistency exists in how the insignificant correlations tend to become inverse correlations.

The factorial analysis highlights five determinants factors of the future evolution of the demographic body: mortality (explaining the dynamics in a percentage of 29.11%), emigration (explaining the dynamics on a rate of 21.16%), marriage (explaining in a proportion of 18.59%), population structure (explaining in a proportion of 14.91%) and natality (which explains the demographic dynamics modification in a proportion of 12.39%). The total of this dynamic explains the population dynamic in a proportion of 96.15%.

Table 3

The future influence of the demographic phenomena on the Romanian population

Phenomenon	Year	Proportion in which it explains the demographic dynamics		
		2010	2015	2020
Mortality		26,15	25,88	29,11
Emigration		21,67	18,90	21,16
Marriage		18,75	16,57	18,59
Natality		16,05	16,09	12,38
Population structure		13,27	13,51	14,91
Divorce		-	5,40	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>95,89</b>	<b>96,35</b>	<b>96,15</b>

**Source:** National Statistical Institute, *Tempo-Online Database, 2014, data processing*

It appears that the current demographic structure will significantly increase mortality's influence on the demographic dynamics. Also, emigration will consistently influence the demographic body volume, with negative consequences on the age groups balance. Marriage will return to the share it currently hold, and nuptiality, the phenomenon favored by marriage will decrease consistently between the phenomena influencing the demographic body. The population structure will have a greater influence on the population dynamics.

## CONCLUSIONS

By this projection we find that the main demographic phenomenon that influence the actual demographic body – mortality – can be understood from many perspectives: on the one hand we talk about a phenomenon with an increasing influence, due to some factors connected with its evolution, such as life expectancy, on the other hand we see a trend of population aging, the consequences of which will be reflected in the increased mortality. Emigration is contributing to this trend through the young people that are leaving the borders. Following these arguments we call in attention the dimension of this phenomenon, compared to those that maintain the demographic balance such as natality. The natural growth tilt the balance significantly toward mortality, showing a clear tendency to reduce the demographic's natural body.

Mortality is an imminent natural phenomenon, one that can not be influenced by a certain public policy. In developed countries it appear later for a large number of citizens, while the less developed countries it occurs in a shorter period of time. In terms of life expectancy, it's the indicator widely used for life quality, it can create a world map. Life expectancy is very low in many countries on the African continent and very high in Europe, America and Japan. The reasons for which these phenomena have specific causes on every society, especially on cultural and social nature. However, in poorer countries with lower life expectancy, the natality in higher balancing the internal structure of the demographic body. In Romania's case we ask about the long-term consequences generated by a demographic decline due to a low life expectancy specific to the developing or poor countries, a low natality specific to the developed countries, all amid a significant migrations and a difficult social-economic context.

In the absence of a positive natality able to determine a natural balance equal with 0 or greater, we will witness in time, mortality's increasing influence in the population's volume dynamics. In less developed countries, particularly Arab countries, there is a high natality, wich register higher values than anywhere in the world, but amid a low life expectancy we witness a moderate population's growth. Maintaining a high natality amid a prolonged life expectancy determinates an accelerate demographic body growth.

The aplicability of such analyzes is found in the government planning effort: the amount of food, necessary financial mass, number of schools and hospitals, the number of doctors needed, the study of the labor market, the needs of the human communities, etc. The systematic analysis of the demographic phenomena is the way to evaluate the current needs and the future needs.

The guidelines of a demographic's body public policy balance can be drawn based on the determinants hierarchy. For example, in 2010 the mortality influenced

the demographic body in a proportion of 26.15% , but in current configuration we can wait at a influence of 29.11% in 2020, we will assist at an aggravation of this influence. Increasing the life expectancy becomes one of the objectives of a demographic strategy. Investments in the social services system, particularly the elders infrastructure, is a long term solution to limit the rising influence of mortality. The health care becomes a major role in such a strategy. The high price of medicine and medical services system removes many people and the consequences are those of an increasing trend of mortality.

Emigration is a factor almost entirely determined by the economic size. The rising poverty and the lack of jobs are the constituent elements of this factor. We believe that by inspiring solutions to slow emigration, and even stabilize it, we can hope to remain in the country a large number of young people of working age. Individual strategy of migrants is due to normal life goals for young people: ensuring a minimum standard of living, facilities to obtain a job or to obtain a low-interest loans for starting a business or buying a home. The current standard of living and high costs of living, unreported to the wage level will be generating permanent emigration. Identifying and developing solutions and regulations aimed to block the speculative actions that decrease the life quality (food prices, utilities or even the the recent discriminatory growth of the cars insurance owned by young people) can contribute in some way to reducing the emigration.

The marriage emergence third in the hierarchy of the factors influencing the demographic body indicating not just a factor related to the demographic body, but that the family as the fundamental social unit is affected by the social-economic conditions. The decreasing number of marriages can not be considered just an effect of the demographic decline. The decline of marriage has profound social and economic foundation. Public policy support for young families are ineffective, even discouraging. Although the influence on the demographic body is indirect because natality is influenced almost entirely by marriage, this analysis shows that the phenomenon with direct influenced on the total population – natality – is dependent, in Romania's case by the number of family founded. Thus, any pro-natalist measures should include a number of provisions to support the family and the establishment of the new families. In this sense we believe that the only benefit that addresses to the newborns are not sufficient to influence natality. The current value is different from the traditional. Firstly the growth of the educational level and the need to establish a career determinates a delay in the time the young people enter into marriage.

Natality occupies fourth place in the hierarchy of factors influencing the country's total population. Medical services addressed to young children are insufficient, statistics indicating a very high infant mortality. The risk of poverty is high for many Romanians, which makes the number of children in a middle class

family limited on an average of one or two children. Enhanced protection for young mothers and children can be useful in developing higher birth rates.

The last factor that influences the demographic body volume is the population's structure, identified by the age group shares. Negative trends of the younger age groups and the positive trend of the older age population have an undesirable effect on the population and the consequences will have effects becoming more visible on the life quality.

Finally, we consider that the public policies necessary for the recovery of the demographic body imply an conjugation effort of several elements to achieve visible results, taking into account the time required for the appearance of the first visible effects.

## THE DECREE OF CEAUȘESCU REGARDING THE GRANTING OF A PENSION FOR ADINA BRĂȚIANU

Petre OPRÎȘ\*

Laura-Antoaneta SAVA\*\*

**Abstract:** In 1969, Adina Brătianu – the wife of the National Liberal Party leader, Constantin I. C. Brătianu (who died in prison on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, 1950, at Sighetu Marmăției) sent a letter to Nicolae Ceaușescu for requesting financial aid. The communist leader wrote “2000” on the copy of the document and Adina Brătianu received a pension amounting to 2,000 lei.

**Keywords:** Adina Brătianu, Constantin Brătianu, Nicolae Ceaușescu, communism, National Liberal Party, pension, prison.

Twenty-five years after the assassination of Nicolae Ceaușescu in some barracks from Târgoviște, along with his wife, the re-evaluation of certain judgements of the first president of Romania, could be regarded as unusual, due to the fact that there are well-known the irrational decisions of the presidential couple from the 1980s. Nonetheless, we have chosen to unravel for the public, a less known aspect, that is the attitude of Nicolae Ceaușescu on addressing the wife of a Romanian politic leader – an anti-communist enemy during the 1930s-1940s, who died in prison, as a consequence of the decrees emitted by the communist authorities from Bucharest.

Adina Brătianu (born Costinescu), was married on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1907 to Constantin I. C. (Dinu) Brătianu (born on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1866, Florica – deceased on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1950, Sighetu-Marmăției), the second-born son of the former Prime Minister I. C. Brătianu (1821-1891). After the death of his brothers, Ion I. C. Brătianu (1927) and Vintilă Brătianu (1930), and the assassination of Ion Gheorghe Duca by the legionaries (at Sinaia, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1933), Constantin I. C. Brătianu took over the leadership of the National Liberal Party.

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Immediately after the coup d'état from the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1944, Constantin I. C. (Dinu) Brătianu became a target for the communists, who accused him repeatedly and unfairly of treason of the national interests of Romania. Firstly, they imposed the house arrest, and then he was included in the group of high officials from the interwar period who went, in the spring of 1950, in the prison from Sighetu-Marmației (where they were exterminated).

After nearly two decades from her husband death, Adina Brătianu sent a letter to Nicolae Ceaușescu, in which she asked for financial support. What determined the leader of R.C.P. (Romanian Communist Party) to write "2,000" on the copy of that document, will remain, probably, unknown. Hitherto, we know that the members of the Permanent Presidium approved the proposal of Nicolae Ceaușescu, at the meeting from the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1969, noting: "The Permanent Presidium of C.C. (Central Committee) of R.C.P. decides that *Adina C. I. Brătianu*, with the domicile in Bucharest, str. Galați nr. 70, sector II, *to be granted a pension of 2,000 lei monthly, starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1969*"<sup>1</sup>.

The decision of Nicolae Ceaușescu, to give Adina Brătianu a pension, was followed, two years after, by the bringing from Sighetu-Marmației and the depositing in a niche belonging to Brătianus' necropolis from Florica (commune of Ștefănești, Argeș County) of the mortal remains of Constantin I. C. (Dinu) Brătianu and Gheorghe I. Brătianu (2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1971)<sup>2</sup>. Later, Ioan and Dan Brătianu – two of the sons of Constantin I. C. (Dinu) Brătianu – had an official discussion with the director of Historic and Socio-Political Studies Institute of C.C. of R.C.P. about the significant deeds of their family members in the edification of the modern Romanian state, and the authorities from Bucharest, eventually, accepted their ideas – in the favourable context created by the ceremony in which there were celebrated 100 years from the declaration and obtaining of state independence of Romania<sup>3</sup>.

It is interesting to notice the fact that the pension received by Adina Brătianu according to a decree emitted by the State Council, was not a singular case. Using as reference point the life annuity decided for the wife of Mihail Moraru (2,000

<sup>1</sup> Central Historical National Archives Service (will be further cited as SANIC), *fund of C.C. of R.C.P. – Chancellery*, file no. 16/1969, f. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aurel Pentelescu, *Vintilă I. C. Brătianu. Omul și faptele sale (1867-1930)*, in Constantin Moșincat, Bujor Dulgău, Augustin Țărău (coordinators), *O viață printre documente – Ioan Aurel Popovici. Omagiul la 70 de ani*, Oradea, TIPO MC Publishing, 2005, p. 128.

As regarding the scientific activity and the faith of the historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu (deceased in the sinister penitentiary "Dunărea" from Sighetu-Marmației, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1953), see Aurel Pentelescu, *În fața istoriei: Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953). La 50 de ani de la moartea sa*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia Publishing, 2003, passim; *Gheorghe I. Brătianu în dosarele Securității. Documente. Perioada domiciliului obligatoriu. Arestarea. Detenția. Moartea (1947-1953)*, selection of documents, introductory study, notes and addenda: Aurel Pentelescu, Liviu Țăranu, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishing, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see Mihai Pelin, *Operațiunile "Melița" și "Eterul". Istoria EUROPEI LIBERE prin documente de Securitate*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing, 1999, p. 386-388.

lei), in 1955, and that established for the wife of Theodor Iordăchescu (2,500 lei)<sup>4</sup>, Nicolae Ceaușescu decided, and the members of the C.C. Secretariat approved, similar support for:

a) Pensions approved by the C.C. Secretariat of R.C.P, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1965:

– 2,000 lei for Otilia Solomon, wife of Barbu Solomon (the vice-president of the Supreme Court, between 1962-1965). Until the issuing of the State Council's decree, which enforced the decision of the C.C. Secretariat of R.C.P' members Otilia Solomon received a monthly pension of about 500 lei, to which she renounced, in favour of the life annuity one;

– 2,000 lei for Elena Macavei, wife of Mihai Macavei (the honourable president of the Romanian Institute for the Foreign Cultural Relations, between 1952-1965). Elena Macavei initially had a monthly pension of 1,200 lei and acted in the same way as Otilia Solomon;

– 800 de lei for Elena Oprea, sister of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who had been a substitute primary school teacher between 1942-1949. Although Dumitru Cristescu (the leader of *Gospodăria de Partid* (Party Administration) of C.C. of R.C.P.) proposed the granting of 2,000 de lei monthly, Nicolae Ceaușescu wrote on the document only 800 lei, and the members of the C.C. Secretariat of R.C.P. approved the proposal of the party leader.

b) Pensions approved by the C.C. Secretariat of R.C.P, at the meeting from the 9<sup>th</sup> of May:

– 2,500 lei for Ofelia Manole, as alimony “due to the activity carried out for the illegal working-class movement”, along with an indemnity of 1,500 lei;

– 1,200 lei for the Rear-Admiral Horia Ion Măcellariu, commander of the Romanian Navy in August 1944, member of the National Resistance Movement (1948), sentenced, in a political trial, to lifelong hard labour (November 1948). After the pardoning from July 1964, the former Rear-Admiral received monthly support of 400 lei, as a consequence of a Minister Board's decision (starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1964). Grigore Răduică, the leader of the Working control Department for the Ministry of Armed Forces, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Justice, did not agree with the proposal of the Ministry of Armed Forces, to give Horia Măcellariu a pension of 1,200 lei (starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1966), but the members of the C.C. Secretariat of R.C.P. approved that decision;

– 1,500 lei for Colonel Atanase T. Chiriță, the head of the general staff for the Mountain Corps on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1944. He requested repeatedly to the communist authorities from Bucharest the raise from 1,000 to 1,500 of his working

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<sup>4</sup> The name of Theodor Iordăchescu was the first registered on the list of the 428 delegates for the General Congress of the Socialist Party from Romania (Bucharest, 8<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> of May 1921), who voted the unconditioned affiliation to Communist Third International (Comintern), founded in March 1919 at Moscow. Gheorghe Onișoru, *Pecetea lui Stalin. Cazul Vasile Luca*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing, 2014, p. 21.

pension. Although Grigore Răduică decided against the proposal received from the Ministry of Armed Forces in April 1966, the members of C.C. Secretariat of R.C.P. approved it<sup>5</sup>.

In conclusion, Nicolae Ceaușescu did not bear a grudge and agreed that Adina Brătianu and Horia Măcellariu to receive financial support, although they were placed on adverse political positions against the communist leader. The irony of faith was that, the pension established for Adina Brătianu, had the same amount as that established on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September, also by Nicolae Ceaușescu, for Elisabeta Luca (Birnbaum)<sup>6</sup>, the former wife of Vasile Luca (sentenced to death on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1954, a sentence changed in lifelong hard labour, and deceased on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July 1963, in the penitentiary from Aiud<sup>7</sup>). In order to make a comparison, we should mention that, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1963, Ecaterina Borilă received a pension of 3,000 (after the proposal of the Administration of the Party Department, approved at the meeting from the 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1961 of C.C. Secretariat of R.W.P. – Romanian Working Party<sup>8</sup>), the former “underground communist fighter” from C.F.R., Vasile Bâgu, was given a raise of the pension in May 1966, from 1,900 to 2,500 lei, and Teohari Georgescu, the former communist minister of the Internal Affairs (1945-1952), received a pension of 2,500 lei<sup>9</sup>, starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1963, along with an indemnity of 5,000 lei.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the wife of Petre Borilă to have been rewarded in 1961 with a pension for being an “underground communist fighter” and for the part that she played in the action

<sup>5</sup> For details, see Mihnea Berindei, Dorin Dobrinu, Armand Goșu (editors), *Istoria comunismului din România. Documente*, volume II: Nicolae Ceaușescu (1965-1971), Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2012, p. 67-68; 155-158.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 476-477; 479. Until the arresting of his husband (16<sup>th</sup> of August 1952), Elisabeta Luca was a member in the Central Committee of the Antifascist Women Union from Romania (1944-1952), member of the C.C. of R.W.P. (from 1948), member in the Executive Committee of Democrat Women Union from Romania (1948-1952), and in the leading staff of the State Committee for Cinemas from Romania (1950-1952).

<sup>7</sup> Initially, Vasile Luca was accused of sabotaging the monetary reform, applied in January 1952. The investigation took two years and, after the trial from “Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej” Court from (4<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> of October 1945), the former minister was sentenced to death (for sabotaging the national economy) and lifelong hard labour (for his actions against the working class).

<sup>8</sup> For details, see SANIC, *fund of C.C. al R.C.P. – Chancellery*, file no. 24/1961 (vol. I), f. 9; Petre Opreș, *Un adevăr multă vreme ocultat. Despre numărul membrilor Partidului Comunist din România la 23 august 1944*, in Cornel Carp (coordinator), *România în contextul internațional la sfârșitul celui de-al doilea război mondial. Studii și comunicări*, The Centre of Studies and Historical Military Archives Preservation, Bucharest, Centrul Tehnic-Editorial al Armatei Publishing, 2005, p. 159-160; 176.

<sup>9</sup> Cristina Diac, *Greva de la Grivița din februarie 1933, văzută de protagoniști. O declarație a lui Vasile Bâgu*, in “Arhivele Totalitarismului”, The National Institute for the Studying of Totalitarianism, year XX, no. 3-4 (76-77)/2012, p. 204.

<sup>10</sup> Doina Jela, *Lexiconul negru. Unelte ale represiunii comuniste*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 2001, p. 125; Mihnea Berindei, Dorin Dobrinu, Armand Goșu (editors), *Istoria comunismului din România. Documente. Perioada Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1945-1965)*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 2009, p. 761.

brought against Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu (6<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> of April 1954), where both Ecaterina Borilă and Ilka Melinescu (Wassermann) declared calumniously that the former minister of Justice had been conspiring for a long time against the other members of the Political Department of C.C. of R.C.P., and his public declarations had had a nationalist character<sup>11</sup>.

In the same time, it is worth mentioned that Elisabeta Luca was arrested on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1952, then tried and sentenced in the autumn of 1954, after the finalisation of the action abusively brought against his husband, and the members of the Political Department approved this penalty, at the meeting from the 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1954<sup>12</sup>.

The rehabilitation of Elisabeta Luca was done in the fall of 1968, after there had been published the results of the two enquiries, done by a committee of R.C.P., which analysed, during 1966-1968, the way in which the investigation had been conducted and the defendants from “Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu” case had been tried, along with the way in which Ștefan Foriș was dismissed from the position of general secretary of the party (4<sup>th</sup> of April 1944) and killed (summer of 1964). Later, Elisabeta Luca, was decorated with the order “Tudor Vladimirescu” (2<sup>nd</sup> degree), according to the Decree no 157 from the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1971, emitted on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary since the creation of the Romanian Communist Party.

In 1968 too, the Secretariat of C.C. of R.C.P., offered a monthly support of 4,000 lei for one of the most well-known members of the communist repression staff from the country, General Alexandru Drăghici – the double of the pension given to Adina Brătianu and Elisabeta Luca by Nicolae Ceaușescu. That proposal was not convenient for the former minister of State Security, who had held the same position in the period when Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu had been investigated at Bucharest for an inexistent guilt, and the historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu had been dying in “Dunărea” penitentiary Sighetu-Marmației (27<sup>th</sup> of April 1953). Moreover, Alexandru Drăghici refused to move in a new house in the fall of 1968, although it had been recently renovated by the Party Administration of C.C. of R.C.P. – which had spent 318,000 lei, an amount equivalent with the value of five or six apartments in that period. Consequently, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1968, Gheorghe Stoica admonished the former minister of the State Security for his huge financial pretentions, but Nicolae Ceaușescu approved, eventually, that Alexandru Drăghici to receive a monthly pension of 7,000 lei, concomitantly with the demoting of the General and his putting in the reserve, with the rank of soldier<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Ghiță Ionescu, *Comunismul în România*, Bucharest, Litera Publishing, 1994, p. 186.

<sup>12</sup> SANIC, *fund of C.C. al R.C.P. – Chancellery*, file no. 123/1954, f. 3-4. Apud Florian Banu, *Instrumentalizarea justiției de către regimul comunist (1945-1958)*, in “Caietele CNSAS”, year II, no. 2 (4)/2009, p. 142.

<sup>13</sup> Gheorghe Buzatu, Mircea Chirițoiu (coordinators), *Agresiunea comunismului în România. Documente din arhivele secrete: 1944-1989*, vol. I, Bucharest, Paideia Publishing, 1998, p. 230-231; Lavinia Betea, Cristina Diac, Florin-Răzvan Mihai, Ilarion Țiu, *Viața lui Ceaușescu*, vol. 2: *Fiul Poporului*, Bucharest, Adevărul Holding, 2013, p. 310.

## ANNEX

**February 1969.**

Letter sent to Nicolae Ceaușescu by Adina Brătianu, the wife of the leader of National Liberal Party, Constantin I. C. (Dinu) Brătianu (deceased in the prison from Sighetu-Marmației in year 1950)

*Chancellery of C.C. of R.C.P.*  
*No. 315 / 12.02.1969*

[Hand-written note:] 2000  
COPY

*Archive of the Executive of C.C. of R.C.P.*  
*No. 203 / 20.02.1969*

## COMRADE PRESIDENT

Undersigned, Adina C. I. Brătianu, with the domicile in Bucharest, str. Galați nr. 70, sector II, I bring to your attention the next facts:

I am the wife of the former president of the National Liberal Party, deceased in conditions that you are fully aware of. His activity in the service of the democratic principles, dignity and Romanian freedoms, which culminated with the events from the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1944, in which he was one of your collaborators, are familiar to you.

I find myself in the position of writing to you, reminding the role of my husband in the history of our Country, in order to show you that the pension of 399 lei, which was given to me as his successor, is insufficient to cover the necessary expenditure for the care of a sick woman.

Hoping that you will appreciate, objectively and according to the true Romanian values, the activity carried out by my husband, you will find a possibility for granting me a pension that can support my living.

I am yours very truly,

Adina Brătianu

TO COMRADE NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU, PRESIDENT OF THE STATE COUNCIL

• Central Historical National Archives Service, *fund C.C. of R.C.P.* – *Chancellery, file no. 16/1969, f. 42.*

# CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION POLICIES

## TOWARDS EUROPE? THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY, EU CONDITIONALITY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION HISTORY OF CHANGE DYNAMICS IN THE BALKANS\*

Cătălina Maria GEORGESCU\*\*

**Abstract:** EU conditionality is one of the guiding principles of accession, post-conflict reconstruction efforts in the Balkans being pushed forward by European supranational stimuli. The “return to Europe” theme was a commonplace for political discourses within the South Eastern polities, however, it chose to develop differently throughout the area, occasioned or supported by different contexts, political forces, historical events, ethnical cleavages and social structures. This article tackles the European Neighbourhood Policy offering a discussion under the prospects of the European conditionality and EU-led administrative and state reform for the Western Balkans. It dwelves on policy-specific themes with country evolutions to analyse the historical enlargement dynamics of the Balkans throughout a diachronical perspective.

**Keywords:** Europeanization, EU conditionality, Western Balkans, agreement, integration.

### INTRODUCTION: THE BALKANS AND PROCESSES OF EUROPEANIZATION

The Europeanization of the Balkans is a seminal theme of discussions, researches and studies, producing a series of interesting theories on the change dynamics of a heterogenous territory. It was even emphasised that their history and geography could explain the peculiarities of transition<sup>1</sup>. The rich history, cultural diversity, ethnic cleavages and religious composition reflected in the peace-building process and post-conflict reconstruction efforts<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Milenko Petrovic, *The role of geography and history in determining the slower progress of post-communist transition in the Balkans*, in “Communist and Post-Communist Studies”, No. 41, 2008, pp. 123-145; available at [www.elsevier.com/locate/postcomstud](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/postcomstud), accessed at: 11 June 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Karin Dyrstad, *After ethnic civil war: Ethno-nationalism in the Western Balkans*, in “Journal of Peace Research”, No. 49, 2012, p. 817; DOI:10.1177/0022343312439202, available at <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/49/6/817>, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

Substantiated democracy establishment commenced after the end of civil wars, violence and ethnic cleansing and mostly following an external impulse<sup>3</sup>. Europeanization is thus assumed in an asymmetrical fashion by different societies, according to their willingness to embark upon the reform process. Despite the convergence of discursive practices towards the “return to Europe” theme, national governments and other political forces have mustered different pathways and different lenses through which they perceived and sought or accepted change. Democratization in the Balkans thus becomes a cause and explanation of change<sup>4</sup>.

The European Commission is one of the main actors of the Europeanization drive, exercising high pressure on national governments to fit the framework deemed necessary in Brussels. Europeanization was conceptualized in different styles according to different lines of thought<sup>5</sup>. Change under European pressure was analysed under soft terms: identities, values and/or norms<sup>6</sup>, and also as hard Europeanization processes in a top-down perspective as is the case of institutional adjustments conceptualized under the “goodness-of-fit” formula<sup>7</sup> or “upgrading” national legislation to achieve compliance with the European law<sup>8</sup>.

#### EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY AND THE EUROPEAN CONDITIONALITY

The present paper deals with the interpretation and the de-construction of the European Neighbourhood Policy through the lenses of the European conditionality and EU-led administrative and state reform for the Balkan countries<sup>9</sup>. The region

<sup>3</sup> Othon Anastasakis, *The Europeanization of the Balkans*, in “Brown Journal of World Affairs”, volume XII, Issue 1, Summer/Fall 2005, pp. 77-88.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Grugel, *Democratizarea. O introduce critică*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2008, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance the definitions and implications on enlargement and integration research in the studies of Aneta Borislavova Spendzharova, *Bringing Europe in? The Impact of EU Conditionality on Bulgarian and Romanian Politics*, in “Southeast European Politics”, Vol. IV, No. 2-3, 2003, pp. 141-156; A. M. Dobre, *The Dynamics of Europeanization and Regionalization: Regional Reform in Romania*, in “Perspectives on European Politics and Society”, No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 181-194, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899222; H. Grabbe, *How does Europeanization affect CEE governance? Conditionality, diffusion and diversity*, in “Journal of European Public Policy”, No. 8 (6), 2001, pp. 1013-1031, DOI: 10.1080/13501760110098323, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Stephan Renner, Florian Trauner, *Creeping EU Membership in South-East Europe: The Dynamics of EU Rule Transfer to the Western Balkans*, in “Journal of European Integration”, No. 31 (4), 2009, pp. 449-465, DOI: 10.1080/07036330902919988, accessed at: 10 June 2014; See also Esther Barbé, Oriol Costa, Anna Herranz Surrallés, Michal Natorki, *Which rules shape EU external governance? Patterns of rule selection in foreign and security policies*, in “Journal of European Public Policy”, No. 16 (6), 2009, pp. 834-852, DOI: 10.1080/13501760903087845, accessed at: 11 June 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Ian Bailey, *National adaptation to European integration: institutional vetoes and goodness-of-fit*, in “Journal of European Public Policy”, No. 9 (5), 2002, pp. 791-811, DOI: 10.1080/13501760210162366, accessed at: 04 June 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Stephan Renner, Florian Trauner, *Creeping EU Membership in South-East Europe: The Dynamics of EU Rule Transfer to the Western Balkans*, in “Journal of European Integration”, No. 31 (4), 2009, pp. 449-465, DOI: 10.1080/07036330902919988, accessed at: 10 June 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Rikard Bengtsson, *Constructing Interfaces: the Neighbourhood Discourse in EU External Policy*, in “Journal of European Integration”, No. 30 (5), 2008, pp. 597-616, DOI: 10.1080/07036330802439582, accessed at: 10 June 2014.

has faced a troubled transition marked by civil war and a sinuous reconstruction process. The EU and international forces monitored closely the peace establishment and post-war recovery processes, some of the institutions for stability enforcement being actively involved in some governments internal politics even today. Justice and home affairs is one of the areas in which the EU exercises its conditionality in the Balkans<sup>10</sup>, the Western Balkan states having signed Stabilisation and Association Agreements which provide engendering the rule of law, fighting illegal migration and drugs smuggling before being confirmed as candidate countries<sup>11</sup>. As an all-encompassing enlargement instrument and stabilization push-factor, a Stabilization and Association Agreement is an innovative tool compared to the former waves of enlargement configured expressly to fit the needs of the Western Balkans. International security threats<sup>12</sup> resumed by Balkans post-communist insability thus created the legitimacy for the pursuit of foreign intervention in different terms such as EU financial assistance<sup>13</sup>, trade agreements or different cooperation mechanisms<sup>14</sup>.

Meeting EU standards through the Europeanization mechanism and EU conditionality framework offers a fruitful analysis by which to link and understand the stages of the Balkans democratization and advancement on EU membership course. The European Commission was and continues to represent a conditionality push factor in determining compliance for candidate countries and potentially candidate countries<sup>15</sup>: for the South Eastern states, the Western Balkans – Albania, Croatia, FYROM, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo (name statute under UN-Resolution 1244 not affecting the official national positions) and Turkey.

During 2003-2004 the EU succeeded UN<sup>16</sup> police forces and NATO stabilization forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Roberto Belloni, *European integration and the Western Balkans: lessons, prospects and obstacles*, in "Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies", No. 11 (3), 2009, pp. 313-331, DOI: 10.1080/19448950903152177, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Florian Trauner, *Deconstructing the EU's Routes of Influence in Justice and Home Affairs in the Western Balkans*, in "Journal of European Integration", No. 31 (1), 2009, pp. 65-82, DOI: 10.1080/07036330802503908, accessed at: 10 June 2014

<sup>12</sup> Ali Bilgic, *Exploring 'What's Good about Security': Politics of Security during the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, in "Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies", No. 16 (2), 2014, pp. 260-278, DOI: 10.1080/19448953.2014.910390, accessed at: 19 June 2014

<sup>13</sup> David Bailey, Lisa De Propriis, *EU Structural Funds, Regional Capabilities and Enlargement: Towards Multi-Level Governance?*, in "Journal of European Integration", No. 24 (4), 2002, pp. 303-324, DOI: 10.1080/0703633022000038959, accessed at: 10 June 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Arolda Elbasani, *EU enlargement in the Western Balkans: strategies of borrowing and inventing*, in "Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online", No. 10 (3), 2008, pp. 293-307; available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14613190802493600>, accessed at: 20 June 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Nebojša Blanuša, *Political Unconscious of Croatia and the EU: Tracing the Yugoslav Syndrome through Fredric Jameson's Lenses*, in "Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies", No. 16 (2), 2014, pp. 196-222, DOI: 10.1080/19448953.2014.910391, accessed at: 19 June 2014

<sup>16</sup> For an in-depth analysis on the conceptualization and de-construction of international security-related vocabulary and definitions kindly refer to Anca Parmena Olimid, *International Peace and Security*

### EU CONDITIONALITY, WESTERN BALKANS AND ACCESSION STATUS

The pending accession situation in the Western Balkans features the “readiness” of new entrants, candidates and potential candidates to internalize the conditions of membership status and the readiness of the EU to integrate the new Member States in its structures is a common theme of discussions<sup>18</sup>. A series of variables were introduced into different analyses in order to understand the timing and preferences for enlargement. Thus, conditionality, security issues and identity variables were brought into discussion to form an exploratory and explaining framework of relations between the EU and its member states, candidate countries and potential candidate countries<sup>19</sup>.

The idea of a differentiated integration for the European states was supported by researchers who claimed the possibility of forming multiple European zones more deeply or superficially integrated as against bringing all Member States to equal terms and conditions<sup>20</sup>. Romania and Bulgaria were portrayed by the literature as “successful laggards”<sup>21</sup> of the accession process<sup>22</sup> with diverging trends<sup>23</sup> stemming between EU-led conditionality and national political actors<sup>24</sup> and

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*Cause in UN Security Council Resolutions. A State of Art Analysis (2012-2014)*, in “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques”, No. 43, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 2014, pp. 208-221.

<sup>17</sup> Thanos Veremis, *The Balkans in transition and the great powers*, in “Eur View”, No. 7, 2008, pp. 121-128; DOI 10.1007/s12290-008-0026-x, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Migena Leskoviku, *European Administrative Space as a New European Challenge for Public Administration Reform*, in Ani Matei, Crina Rădulescu (editors), *Public Administration in the Balkans, South-Eastern European Administrative Studies*, ASsee Online Series, No. 4, Bucharest, Economic Publishing, 2011, p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance the conceptual map featuring conditionality, security issues and identity formation and up-bringing in the cases of Romania and Turkey in E. İçener, *Understanding Romania and Turkey's Integration with the European Union: Conditionality, Security Considerations and Identity*, in “Perspectives on European Politics and Society”, No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 225-239, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899289, accessed at: 09 February 2015

<sup>20</sup> Jan Emmanuel De Neve, *The European Onion? How Differentiated Integration is Reshaping the EU*, in “Journal of European Integration”, No. 29 (4), 2007, pp. 503-521, DOI: 10.1080/07036330701502498, accessed at: 10 June 2014

<sup>21</sup> Gergana Noutcheva, Dimitar Bechev, *The successful laggards: Bulgaria and Romania's accession to the EU*, in “East European Politics & Societies”, No. 22 (1), 2008, pp. 114-144; DOI: 10.1177/0888325407311793, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Aneta Borislavova Spendzharova, *Bringing Europe in? The Impact of EU Conditionality on Bulgarian and Romanian Politics*, in “Southeast European Politics”, Vol. IV, No. 2-3, 2003, pp. 141-156.

<sup>23</sup> Liliana Popescu, *Europeanization of Romanian Foreign Policy*, in “Romanian Journal of European Affairs”, No. 10 (4), 2010, pp. 50-65; See also Geoffrey Pridham, *The Effects of the European Union's Democratic Conditionality: The Case of Romania during Accession*, in “Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics”, No. 23 (2), 2007, pp. 233-258, DOI: 10.1080/13523270701317505, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Mihaela Bărbieru, *A Critical Assessment of Political Party Performance in the Elections for European Parliament in Dolj County Romania on May 25, 2014*, in “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques”, No. 44, 2014, pp. 134-147.

resistant institutions<sup>25</sup>. Still, these countries are valuable players on the energy<sup>26</sup> and security markets<sup>27</sup>.

However, it was argued that the future EU enlargement towards the Western Balkans cannot be paired by former enlargement waves due to its complexity and un-clear time-frame<sup>28</sup>. However, there were studies which showed that the enlargement towards the Western Balkans can be compared to the 2007 enlargement<sup>29</sup>. Arguments are derived by correlating “supranational institutionalism, Europeanization approaches and democratization theories”<sup>30</sup>. The violence that accompanied the fall of the communist regimes and South Eastern European transitions<sup>31</sup> capacitated on the negative imagology of the region as unstable, unrested, and backward<sup>32</sup>.

The European Commission acted as a “carrot and stick” supplier of change which maintained its interest not only in the adoption of reform<sup>33</sup>, but also in the implementation of the new legislative packages and the continuous pace of stabilization<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> A. M. Dobre, *The Dynamics of Europeanisation and Regionalisation: Regional Reform in Romania*, in “Perspectives on European Politics and Society”, No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 181-194, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899222, accessed at: 09 February 2015. See also A. M. Dobre, *Europeanization and new patterns of multi-level governance in Romania*, in “Southeast European and Black Sea Studies”, No. 10 (1), 2010, pp. 59-70, DOI: 10.1080/14683851003606838, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Stephan Renner, *The Energy Community of Southeast Europe: A neo-functionalist project of regional integration*, in “European Integration online Papers” (EIoP), Vol. 13, No. 1, 2009, DOI: 10.1695/200900, available at <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2009-001a.htm>, accessed at: 12 June 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Diana Bozhilova, *Energy security and regional cooperation in South-East Europe*, in “Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies”, No. 11 (3), 2009, pp. 293-311, DOI: 10.1080/19448950903152151, accessed at: 19 June 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Florian Trauner, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-82.

<sup>29</sup> Soeren Keil, *Europeanization, state-building and democratization in the Western Balkans*, in “Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity”, No. 41 (3), 2013, pp. 343-353, DOI: 10.1080/00905992.2013.768977, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Leeda Demetropoulou, *Europe and the Balkans: Membership Aspiration, EU Involvement and Europeanization Capacity in South Eastern Europe*, in “Southeast European Politics”, 2002, Vol. III, No. 2-3 pp. 87-106, accessed at: 23 June 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Geoffrey Pridham, *Assessing democratic consolidation in Central & Eastern Europe: The European dimension*, in “Acta Politica”, 2006, 41(4), pp. 342-369, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/Palgrave.ap.5500165>, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, *Of Dark Sides and Twilight Zones: Enlarging to the Balkans*, in “East European Politics and Societies”, 2003, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 83-90, DOI: 10.1177/0888325402239686, <http://eep.sagepub.com/content/17/1/83.citation>, accessed at: 03 June 2014; See also Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, *Democratization Without Decommunization in the Balkans*, in “East European Democratization”, Published by Elsevier Limited on behalf of Foreign Policy Research Institute, 2006, pp. 641-655, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

<sup>33</sup> Kyriakos D. Kentrotis, *The European Union and the Balkans: between symbiosis and Integration?*, in “Romanian Journal of European Affairs”, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2010, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

<sup>34</sup> Cezar Avram, *What's the Point of the Security of the European Union? Institutional Developments and Regional Strategies Reaching Military Autonomy*, in “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques”, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, No. 45, 2015, pp. 21-30.

The current research of the state of the art of enlargement aims at observing the European Neighbourhood Policy pointing towards the EU as agenda-setter for the reform themes in the Balkans<sup>35</sup>. This view is legitimised through the adoption by the Albanian government of an action plan featuring 12 issues worked out in February 2011 as a position to the EU conditionality expressed through the European Commission opinion. Albania thus received the candidate status under European Commission terms formulated in the recommendation from October 2012<sup>36</sup>.

Another instance of EU conditionality was the signing by Serbia of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement<sup>37</sup>. Negotiations with the EU started in October 2005, but were put to a halt seven months later on May 3<sup>rd</sup> 2006 due to the inconsistencies in the relations with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. As a result, the Serbian government changed its demeanour one year later as it states its compliance with the condition of supplying assistance to the international Court. The EU noticed the desired effect through this change in attitude and the negotiations on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement were re-launched on June 13<sup>th</sup> 2007. Finally, Serbia received a notice from the European Commission for its reform efforts being promised the receipt of candidate status conditioned by the fulfillment of a single issue on October 14<sup>th</sup> 2011.

Also, the EU Council exercised its conditionality with Turkey by refusing to open eight chapters of negotiations in December 2006. This measure was enforced as Turkey did not observe the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement in its relations with Cyprus. Six months earlier Turkey and the EU opened and closed Chapter 25 on Science and Research in their accession negotiations.

Moreover, it was noticed that the EU exercises its conditionality on focused policy areas. As researchers argued, such was the case of the visa regime liberalization conditioned through readmission agreements. The EU-Albania Readmission Agreement produced legal effects since May 2006. One and a half year later the visa facilitation agreement was active, while visa free regime for Schengen area for Albanian citizens began since December 15<sup>th</sup> 2010. The same date marked the lift of visa compulsoriness for Bosnia and Herzegovina citizens. The measure was correlated with the conclusion of the visa facilitation and readmission agreements three years earlier, at the same time, on September 18<sup>th</sup> 2007. In January 2008 the agreements became active for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro. Six weeks later the Accession Partnership for Macedonia was assumed, while at the end of 2009 the EU removed visa binding regulations for all citizens of Macedonia,

<sup>35</sup> Florian Trauner, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-82.

<sup>36</sup> D. Cepiku, C. Mititelu, *Public Administration Reforms in Transition Countries: Albania and Romania Between the Weberian Model and the New Public Management*, in Matei, L., Flogaitis, S. (editors) *Public Administration in the Balkans from Weberian bureaucracy to the New Public Management*, South-Eastern European Administrative Studies, Bucharest, Economic Publishing, 2011, pp. 299-322.

<sup>37</sup> Robert J. Pranger, *The Milosevic and Islamization Factors: Writing Contemporary History in the Balkans*, in "Mediterranean Quarterly", Volume 22, No. 1, 2011, pp. 1-14, available at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/med/summary/v022/22.1.pranger.html>, accessed at: 03 June 2014.

Montenegro and Serbia. Also, in its recommendation of October 2009 the European Commission stated its support for the opening of accession negotiations with Macedonia. At the end of June 2012 the EU started the accession negotiations with Montenegro, while half a year later the first chapter had already been negotiated and closed temporarily. Until the end of March 2015 13 other chapters had been opened for negotiations.

Table 1

EU enlargement towards the Balkans – membership status by state (2015)

	European Partnership	Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA)	Membership application	Candidate status	Opening Accession negotiations	Full membership
<b>Albania</b>	01/06/2004	12/06/2006 Entry into force 01/04/2009	24/04/2009	27/06/2014	–	–
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	18/02/2008	16/06/2008	–	–	–	–
<b>Croatia</b>	10/2001 Entry into force 02/2005	–	02/2003	06/2004	10/2005	01/07/2013
<b>FYROM</b>	30/01/2006	09/04/2001 Entry into force 01/04/2004	14/02/2005	16/12/2005	01/10/2009	–
<b>Montenegro</b>	22/01/2007	15/10/2007 Entry into force 01/05/2010	15/12/2008	17/12/2010	29/06/2012	–
<b>Serbia</b>	18/02/2008	29/04/2008 Entry into force 01/09/2013	22/12/2009	01/03/2012	28/06/2013	–

**Source:** Author's compilation based on data from the European Neighbourhood Policy, DG Enlargement

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS: EU CONDITIONALITY, ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY AND THE REFORM DRIVE

EU conditionality is one of the guiding principles of accession. The Commissions efforts directed towards candidates' remaining "on track" and not suspending the reform process are significant<sup>38</sup>. The Commission uses a series of

<sup>38</sup> Antoaneta Dimitrova, *Enlargement, Institution-Building and the EU's Administrative Capacity Requirement*, in "West European Politics", No. 25 (4), 2002, pp. 171-190, DOI: 10.1080/713601647, accessed at: 09 February 2015. Also see Antoaneta Dimitrova, Geoffrey Pridham, *International actors and democracy promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: the*

instruments to leverage compliance such as keeping uncertain the duration and conclusion of the negotiation and accession processes<sup>39</sup>, conditioning its support on the government's actions and results in a certain domain and on the pace of the reform process as a whole<sup>40</sup>.

The convergence-divergence in administrative terms in its relation to Europeanization still remains an issue for debates<sup>41</sup> as a cross-country convergence cannot exclude different national accents, interpretations and/or perspectives. Moreover, the question of convergence – divergence cannot neglect the policy window and problem solving dynamics which stress the importance of the political context and policy agenda for the government decision. Different Europeanization mechanisms can be used such as the twinning exercises<sup>42</sup> which bring forward the experience, professionalism and good practice of administrators and civil servants relocated in candidate countries for a specific time-frame and also socialization of political actors framework which brings into discussion the EU as a policy arena and meeting point for different practices<sup>43</sup>.

The external incentives supplied by the European Commission are arguably the most powerful in establishing observance<sup>44</sup>. As the EU discretion gradually became the common denominator in the region also featuring the intricate former Yugoslavian geopolitical climate corroborated to NATO accession and financial crisis<sup>45</sup>.

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*integration model and its limits*, in "Democratization", No. 11 (5), 2004, pp. 91-112, DOI: 10.1080/13510340412331304606, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>39</sup> David Phinnemore, *From Negotiations to Accession: Lessons from the 2007 Enlargement*, in "Perspectives on European Politics and Society", No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 240-252, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899321, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Cristina Chiva, David Phinnemore, *Preface: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement*, in "Perspectives on European Politics and Society", No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 149-151, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899156, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>41</sup> George G. Georgiadis, *The convergence-divergence debate revisited: framing the issues*, in "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies", No. 8 (4), 2008, pp. 313-323, available at DOI: 10.1080/14683850802556343, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Dimitris Papadimitriou, David Phinnemore, *Europeanization, Conditionality and Domestic Change: The Twinning Exercise and Administrative Reform in Romania*, in "JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies", No. 42, 2004, pp. 619-639, DOI: 10.1111/j.0021-9886.2004.00521.x, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>43</sup> Liliana Pop, *Strategic Action is Not Enough: A Bourdieuan Approach to EU Enlargement*, in "Perspectives on European Politics and Society", No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 253-266, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899347, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>44</sup> Conor O'Dwyer, *Reforming regional governance in East Central Europe: Europeanization or domestic politics as usual?*, in "East European Politics & Societies", No. 20 (2), 2006, pp. 219-253, DOI: 10.1177/0888325404271286, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

<sup>45</sup> Dimitris Papadimitriou, Eli Gateva, *Between Enlargement-Led Europeanisation and Balkan Exceptionalism: An Appraisal of Bulgaria's and Romania's Entry into the European Union*, in "Perspectives on European Politics and Society", No. 10 (2), 2009, pp. 152-166, DOI: 10.1080/15705850902899172, accessed at: 09 February 2015.

# ACHIEVING INTEGRATION OF THE ROMA IN THE EU: DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION AS A POLICY SOLUTION FOR ROMANIA

Rareș DUMITRAȘ\*

**Abstract:** In the content of this paper the author looks for policy solutions for improving the status of the Roma within the EU and particularly in Romania. The theoretical model is taken from studies on descriptive representation of prominent minorities in the US with the purpose of creating an effective policy model. The first part of the paper contains an introduction to the socio-political situation of the Roma and how is it linked to representation, the second part provides a general theoretical discussion of descriptive representation, while in the third part I analyze the representation of the Roma in Romania, and make theory-grounded proposals for its improvement.

**Keywords:** Roma, descriptive representation, policy proposals, policy solution, Romania.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most challenging public policy issues of the European Union is the impoverished status of the Roma, a problem largely linked to bad politics and a long history of discrimination. In the aftermath of the General Affairs Council Meeting of the European Commission held on 8 December 2008, high rank officials of the EU body noted in the Council's Conclusions that people of Roma origin within EU, despite having the same level of rights and obligations like the rest of the nationals form a disfavored community, being liable to social exclusion, poverty and discrimination. In a extended report on proper policies for the inclusion of the Roma, EU policy experts consider that the main causes for the present situation are "racism and discrimination against Roma, civil status and access to personal documents, the general economic and political climate, recognition as a national minority, political participation and representation"<sup>1</sup>. The

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<sup>1</sup> European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Unit G4, *Improving the tools for the social inclusion and non-discrimination of Roma in the EU Report*, Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2010, p. 8.

last issue, representation (closely linked to political participation) mentioned in the Commission's report, forms the object of the present study. My aim is to provide a framework for a better political representation of the Roma minority in Romania, the largest of this kind in the EU<sup>2</sup>, which should help achieve a more profound integration of this impoverished community.

Representation, which in the words of one famous theorist, Hanna Pitkin<sup>3</sup> simply entails the act of making present again is a political concept which offers prospects for improving the status of marginalized minorities by the means of electing descriptive representatives; people who share the same features (gender, sex, ethnicity) or experiences (cf. Young<sup>4</sup>) with the voters.

In the literature, descriptive representation has been linked to positive behaviors which help set up a better functioning and a more inclusive type of democracy, by increasing political participation, knowledge of politics and efficacy<sup>5</sup>. Fowler et al.<sup>6</sup> in their review of the literature, point out that the presence of minority group members in a legislative assembly help prevent the adoption of bills unfavorable towards the marginalized group. Descriptive representation is an effective governmental policy because it has the value of a reparatory measure which encourages people historically apathetic to solve shared problems<sup>7</sup>, in our case Romani ethnics who faced discrimination in Romania stemming across centuries.

The background of discrimination for Romani people in Romania has its roots in their condition as slaves during the times of the medieval principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania; the first documented Gipsy slaves being recorded in 1385<sup>8</sup>. As slaves for the Prince, boyars or monasteries, the Roma endured serious hardships like beating, forced labour, rape<sup>9</sup>, while attempts towards

<sup>2</sup> According to the data provided by the 2011 Romanian census, in Romania there are 621,000 citizens of Roma background, or about 3.3 % of the overall population. However, since Roma ethnics frequently do not declare their real identity (due to the undesired public stigma), the real numbers are debatable; while the Council of Europe records are around 1,850,000 people, other organization like the World Bank or the Romanian agency for the Roma mention that around 1 milion Gypsies live in compact communities, Agenția Națională pentru Romi [ANR], *Report 2014*, p. 6, available at <http://www.anr.gov.ro/>

<sup>3</sup> *Apud* Suzanne Dovi, *Political Representation*, in Edward N. Zalta (editor), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/political-representation/>, accessed at: 29 April 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Iris M. Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 120-153.

<sup>5</sup> See Stacy G. Ulbig, *Political Realities and Political Trust: Descriptive Representation in Municipal Government*, in "Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting", 2005, available at <http://www.shsu.edu/~sgu001/npsa2009.pdf>, accessed at: April 29, 2015; Fowler Derek J., Jennifer L. Merolla, Abbylin H. Sellers, *The Effects of Descriptive Representation on Political Attitudes and Behaviors*, available at <http://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/meet/2012/>, accessed at: April 28, 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Fowler Derek J., Jennifer L. Merolla, Abbylin H. Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*; see Iris M. Young, *op. cit.*, 120-153.

<sup>8</sup> Mariana Sandu, *Romii din România: repere prin istorie*, Bucharest, Vanemonde Publishing, 2005, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările române la începutul epocii moderne*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 1995, *passim*.

their liberation were sometimes made by monarchs who faced the reluctance of slave masters<sup>10</sup>. After 1850 the Roma living in the Romanian territories were politically liberated, but many of them continued to preserve an impoverished economic status. During the communist period the existence of the Romani ethnic identity was no longer acknowledged; however the Romanian state did implement strategies aimed at their (forced) integration. This occurred particularly between 1977-1983, by promoting a set of policies which included the provision of housing, (obligatory) employment status, registration of Roma residents, improving public health and education among the ethnics<sup>11</sup>. However, the measures taken by the Communist parties across Europe (including Romania) for integrating the Roma were not always adequate; e.g. since education in Romani language was not provided by the state, frequently Gipsy pupils were sent to classes for retarded children or to segregated institutions; many of them soon abandoned school. In spite of the harsh regulations imposed for the cultural assimilation of the ethnics, Communist governments in Eastern Europe did succeed in improving the socio-economic status of the Romani people<sup>12</sup>. As soon as Communism fell in Eastern Europe, the Roma achieved political and cultural emancipation as part of the democratization process in their countries, but their living standards decreased<sup>13</sup>. According to a study by the World Bank cited in an EU Commission report<sup>14</sup> most of the poverty specific to the Roma in Central and Eastern Europa is a result of their poor professional qualification and loss of the jobs they held during Communism.

In Romania, the accession to the European Union brought in economic development, legislation and institutions aimed at the protection of the Roma, the latter being part of the *acquis communautaire*. In 2001, the Romanian government adopted the “Strategy for the improving of the situation of the Roma for the period 2001-2010” and created the National Agency for the Roma. Partly due to lack of institutional effectiveness in applying Romania’s legislation<sup>15</sup> and partly due to the global financial crisis<sup>16</sup> the results are yet to be seen; recent statistics show a worsening in the situation of the Roma. Data shows that while in 2005 two out of five Romanian citizens of Roma origin were living in relative poverty, in 2011 three out of four Romani citizens were in the same situation according to Annex I

<sup>10</sup> Mariana Sandu, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Bleahu Ana, Frunzaru Valeriu, *Participarea politică a romilor din România*, Bucharest, Romani Criss, Centrul Romilor pentru Intervenție Socială și Studii, 2004; available at <http://www.romanicroiss.org/PDF/participare%20politica%20romi.pdf>, accessed at: 29 April 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Barany Zoltan D., *Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies*, in “Slavic Review”, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1994, p. 327.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 328.

<sup>14</sup> European Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Assessment of barriers to Roma political participation in Romania*, available at <http://www.ndi.org/files/Assessment%20Report%20Final%20%28complete%29.pdf>, accessed at: 29 April 2015.

<sup>16</sup> *Strategia Guvernului României de incluziune a cetățenilor români aparținând minorității rome pentru perioada 2014-2020*, available at [http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Site2014/Strategie/Strategie\\_final\\_18-11-2014.pdf](http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/Site2014/Strategie/Strategie_final_18-11-2014.pdf), accessed at: 2 May 2015.

of the Romanian Government Strategy for the inclusion of the Roma in the period 2014-2020. In the same document it is pointed out that only 10-15% of the Roma citizens in Romania are employed, most of them have no qualification or perform activities which do not require a professional qualification, being part of a group extremely liable to impoverishment and social exclusion. This can explain at least partly the wave of migration of Romani people from Romania towards other EU member states. The presence of Romani migrants is frequently presented a matter of public order, with many media outlets launching widespread discrimination against the ethnics; in the opinion of EU bureaucrats this becomes a impediment to the implementation of successful policies for their integration<sup>17</sup>.

The status of the Roma in Romania has for a long time been a bone of contention for the country's political elite in the light of the social issues, stigma and negative public image attached to this ethnicity throughout the world. A recent example is the bill enacted by the nationalist deputy Bogdan Diaconu to change the designation of this community in the official documents of the Romanian state, by replacing Roma with "Gipsy", the later term, being deemed as racist by many Roma activists. The initiative was criticized by a segment of civil society for "damaging Romania's reputation abroad, by endorsing the portrayal of a country with racist lawmakers, in which personal dignity and the rights of a national minority are breached with the purpose of creating a false comfortable image for the majority of the country residents"<sup>18</sup>.

It is important to point out that the Romanian legal system does not favor discrimination against the Roma, the problem lying rather in the way the law is applied. In 2001 when the National Strategy for the inclusion of Roma was firstly launched, the government constructed the administrative body responsible for implementing it; the National Agency for the Roma (Agenția Națională pentru Romi, transcribed as ANR) with its local branches called County Offices for the Roma (Birouri Județene pentru Romi – BJR). Employed with the BJRs, the Roma mediators for health and education seem to provide the necessary link between Romani people and the local authorities, although their effectiveness depends on the workload and the support given by the local County Council employees<sup>19</sup>. The Law 14/2003 gives the possibility for minority groups to elect their own representatives in the Parliament, as long as their party passes the 5% threshold. However, since the level of political interest, trust and participation of the Roma is generally low among the ethnics<sup>20</sup>, no major Roma party managed to acquire the

<sup>17</sup> European Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup> *ActiveWatch solicită respingerea propunerii legislative de revenire la denumirea de "țigăni"*, in newspaper "Adevărul", April 29, 2015; available at [http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/activewatch-solicita-respingerea-propunerii-legislative-revenire-denumirea-tigan-1\\_55412646cfbe376e35b0670b/index.html#](http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/activewatch-solicita-respingerea-propunerii-legislative-revenire-denumirea-tigan-1_55412646cfbe376e35b0670b/index.html#), accessed at: 2 May 2015.

<sup>19</sup> *Assessment of barriers to Roma political participation in Romania...*, p. IV.

<sup>20</sup> Ana Bleahu, Valeriu Frunzaru, *Participarea politică a romilor din România*, Bucharest, Romani Criss, Centrul Romilor pentru Intervenție Socială și Studii, 2004; available at <http://www.romanicriss.org/PDF/participare%20politica%20romi.pdf>, accessed at: 29 April 2015.

votes of the citizens with a Romani origin. According to the Law 14/2003, Roma are represented in the Parliament by assigning them the default seat for a member of their main Romani political organization, "Partida Romilor" ["The Roma Party"], which is in fact an NGO. Since the year 2000, the NGO "Partida Romilor" appointed the same person for Parliament, the deputy Nicolae Păun, who failed to provide substantive representation (promote suitable laws) for the interests of the Roma community. According to his personal page on the Chamber of Deputies the only bill favorable to the Roma he managed to get adopted is the Law 204/2007, increasing the compensations for the people who faced discrimination on ethnic grounds between 1940-1945<sup>21</sup>. He is also the main initiator for an extremely controversial bill awarding amnesty to all convicts imprisoned for corruption<sup>22</sup> (Hotnews website November 26, 2014).

Romanian electoral legislation is very restrictive when it comes to the creation of new parties which can compete in elections. For a political party to be registered successfully, a minimum of 15000 adhesions are required from at least 18 counties of the country. Ethnic minority NGOs can also compete in the elections, but to gain the seat assigned by default to the Roma they have to be registered with the National Council for Minorities, where solely "Partida Romilor" has membership<sup>23</sup>.

Based on the literature on descriptive representation and recommendations made in Romani policy reports compiled by NGOs, EU and the Romanian government I show how the status of the Roma population can be improved by adapting the administrative system and achieving substantive representation of the Roma people.

## 2. DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION OF MARGINALIZED MINORITIES. DEBATES IN THE LITERATURE

Political representation, despite its acknowledged contribution to improving the quality of a polity and the policies affecting its citizens<sup>24</sup> is a concept which did not acquire a unitary understanding among academics. In the words of one of the most influential researchers on this matter, Hanna Pitkin, representation means

<sup>21</sup> Romanian Chamber of Deputies website <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/parlam/structura.mp?idm=261&leg=2004&cam=2>, accessed at: 2 May 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Hotnews.ro, online news portal, *Deputatul Nicolae Păun vrea să depună în Parlament un nou proiect al legii gratierii*, November 26, 2014, available at [http://monitorizari.hotnews.ro/stiri-atacuri\\_justitie\\_declaratii-18670433-deputatul-nicolae-paun-vrea-depuna-parlament-nou-proiect-legii-gratierii.htm](http://monitorizari.hotnews.ro/stiri-atacuri_justitie_declaratii-18670433-deputatul-nicolae-paun-vrea-depuna-parlament-nou-proiect-legii-gratierii.htm), accessed at: 2 May 2015.

<sup>23</sup> *Assessment of barriers to Roma political participation in Romania...*, passim.

<sup>24</sup> For a review of the literature on political representation and the assessment of its efficiency with the use of statistical models, I recommend apart from the studies of Ulbig (2005) and Fowler et al. (2012), already cited in this study, the excellent analysis by Haider-Markel Donald, *Representation and Backlash: The Positive and Negative Influence of Descriptive Representation* in "Legislative Studies Quarterly", Vol. 32, No. 1, 2007, pp. 107-133.

supplying the presence of the electors in public policy matters through representatives who advocate, express opinions and concerns on their behalf; it is a form of “political assistance”<sup>25</sup>. However, this definition does not substantiate enough the reality of the representation concept, since frequently the lives of citizens are not directly affected by those they awarded a popular vote, but by appointed public officials (e.g. clerks, social assistance workers), who are generally not directly responsible to voters. Pitkin does recognize the importance of being responsible for decision making, “accountability” (possibility to sanction the elected for their decisions) along with “authorization” (legitimate accession to the official position) being the cores of the political representation conception in her understanding. But what is missing from her wide definition is the influence of institution functioning. Weissberg<sup>26</sup> corrects this, although his definition of representation refers solely to formal representatives (meaning those who compete in elections), he acknowledges the impact of the administrative system, contending that “the amount of representation is more a matter of institutional arrangements than of electoral control”. Other authors, like Andrew Rehfeld, take this concept to a very general level considering as representation the simple act by an audience of accepting somebody as a representative<sup>27</sup>.

Descriptive representation was chosen as the suitable framework for this study because it can make marginalized minorities feel “more empowered”<sup>28</sup>. The mechanism functions this way; the descriptive elected represented shows more openness and availability to voice and pursue the interests of the oppressed minority, which in turn leads to higher levels of political information, participation in politics and efficacy among the marginalized group. According to Fowler et al.<sup>29</sup> these effects should be treated as important by anyone who is interested in a democratic polity where the oppressed (in their study black people of the US) feel involved and assess positively the political administration and its actors. Achieving the latter goals is of particular importance to the Roma minority, since studies<sup>30</sup> showed that 75% of the ethnics are not interested in politics and many of them vote for direct economic benefits (alcohol or social wages). Another problem with regard the their political organization cited by the same study is that the informal leaders of traditional communities are not authorized/ legitimated, while party heads are not necessarily accepted by the community.

<sup>25</sup> Suzanne Dovi, *Political Representation*, in Edward N. Zalta (editor), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/political-representation/>, accessed at: 29 April 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Weissberg, *Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress*, in “The American Political Science Review”, Vol. 72, No. 2, 1978, pp. 535.

<sup>27</sup> Suzanne Dovi, *Political Representation*, in Edward N. Zalta (editor), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/political-representation/>, accessed at: 29 April 2015.

<sup>28</sup> Stacy G. Ulbig, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Fowler J. Derek, Jennifer L. Merolla, Abbylin H. Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Ana Bleahu, Valeriu Frunzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 32-35.

The main idea behind descriptive representation is that representatives should resemble as much as possible the represented, possess their typical characteristics. Similarities might not refer solely to physical features like gender or skin color, but also to shared life experiences<sup>31</sup>. This implies, for instance, that a person who lived in prison for a considerable amount of time can be seen as a proper representative for all the imprisoned, one gained a social perception that is communal to all detainees, sharing the same interests with them (improve the comfort of the cells, for example).

In general, descriptive representation has been considered a proper means to improve the status of a marginalized group. Since the disadvantaged minority was not given the possibility to participate in the political life of a given polity, their interests might not be properly expressed by decision makers coming from other social backgrounds, because they do not have the perspective about life which disfavored group members share. The communal understanding of life specific to that marginalized minority stems from their “shared experiences and/or social position”, resulting in “narratives that members develop collectively”<sup>32</sup>.

The common “social perspective” is the main argument set forth by another author, Young<sup>33</sup> for applying descriptive political representation for the case of marginalized groups. She contends that people who spent their time in similar life conditions will have resembling perceptions of the social field. However, one should not understand the social perspective specific to a disadvantaged minority as completely unitary, competing views might emerge among group members. In the author’s account a communal perspective does not result in well-established generalizations about the life specific to a social stratum, it is only a starting point for a debate about the group’s status: “Social perspective consists in a set of questions, kinds of experience, and assumptions with which reasoning begins, rather than the conclusions drawn”<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, competing views on the social life that arise among group members should not be seen as mutually exclusive, they simply add to the larger picture.

Weldon<sup>35</sup> agrees with the point that a group perspective should not be seen as a monolith, but as a “collective product” that results from deliberative disputes among factions of the minority. To establish the boundaries of a social perspective, intra-group interaction is absolutely necessary; members debate issues affecting them in newspapers, public meetings, TV shows etc. and come up with a list of common focal areas, problems that affect the community in its entirety (while

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<sup>31</sup> Jane Mansbridge, *Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent ‘Yes’*, in “Journal of Politics”, no. 61(3), 1999, pp. 628-657.

<sup>32</sup> Laurel Weldon, *Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policy-Making*, in “The Journal of Politics”, no. 64(4), 2002, pp. 1153-1174.

<sup>33</sup> Iris M. Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137.

<sup>35</sup> Laurel Weldon, *op. cit.*, p. 1153.

proposed solutions may vary). For a policy maker to behave as a good representative it is absolutely necessary to participate in deliberations with other group members and get acquainted to the difficulties that these people face as disadvantaged citizens. More than that, mechanisms of accountability and authorization are also required to assure the substantive representation of the group members<sup>36</sup>, otherwise those occupying the seats in the legislative assembly might feel little motivation to properly defend the interest of the oppressed minority.

For certain authors, the common social perspective specific to a marginalized group is an illusion, there are too many differences in perceptions between community members, therefore it is not a strong argument in favor of reparatory measures of descriptive representation. This argument does not stand; as I showed earlier in the paper, descriptive representation of disfavored minority does not entail that a social perspective is characterized by a predefined content; it just shows there is a stronger “affinity” between group members to understand the problems specific to their class, while non-members will have to pay a greater effort to comprehend what difficulties are faced by the oppressed minority<sup>37</sup>.

Another criticism brought against this form of representation is that descriptive representatives are less skilled to act as professionals in a decision making position; in other words “no one would argue that morons should be represented by morons”<sup>38</sup>. The counterargument that can be brought against this assumption is that assigning a representative position to an individual from a group is usually a selective process (authorization through voting or other procedures), it gives higher chances to well prepared individuals to get elected rather than to “morons”.

Descriptive types of representation were also criticized because they contain no clear guidelines about which specific group categorization are relevant in this political process: should we allot a fixed number of seats to left-handers, blondes or the blue-eyed? Depending on the type of polity we are dealing with, the answer to this kind of criticism follows different arguments. In a deliberative democracy it would seem reasonable to give voice to left-handers if their opinion is relevant with regard to the outcome of a specific decision, for example how to design the handle of a new repairing tool. In an aggregative model of democracy, the decision is dependent upon the will of the dominant group(s); if they suffer a lot by not accepting left-handers as representatives of their constituency, they will most likely change their decision in the next elections and vote for them<sup>39</sup>. For the case of Romania the cost of not assuring proper political representation to the Roma is translated in social tensions generated by poverty in those communities, tensions that also impact citizens of non-Roma origins through crime and bad reputation in the Western media.

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 1155.

<sup>37</sup> Iris M. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>38</sup> Jane Mansbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 634-635.

Other theorists value descriptive political representation of marginalized groups because it is a reparatory measure (considering their history of oppression by the majority) and because it favors social inclusion and political participation. The past exclusion from political affairs of a disadvantaged minority can contribute to a feeling of apathy among such people, while assigning leadership positions that descriptively represent those community members might encourage them to become engaged in politics, to help solve “shared problems”<sup>40</sup>.

Mansbridge also appreciates the benefits of descriptive representation, holding that it can help diminish the feeling of distrust by improving communication between the dominant and the subordinate group. This is not the only the advantage, according to the author, in the case of a community with uncrystallized interests, the presence of a descriptive representative can help improve substantive representation because she is given the possibility to draw attention on the problems affecting the group in policy debates with other legislators. In her theoretical model, Mansbridge<sup>41</sup> endorses representation by descriptive decision makers for two other additional reasons: it creates “a social meaning of ‘ability to rule’ for members of a group in historical contexts where the ability has been seriously questioned” and increases “the polity’s de facto legitimacy in contexts of past discrimination”. She does not view descriptive representation as a panacea to solve problems of inequality between different social strata, being rather a context based strategy which should be put into practice only if after serious deliberation it is proven that benefits outweigh the costs.

### 3. ANALYSIS AND PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING THE STATUS OF THE ROMA MINORITY

In the case of the Roma from Romania the descriptive representation of their minority in government bodies can be an appropriate reparatory measure, but its application has to be further refined. Although they are the second largest minority in Romania according to the latest census (621,000 or 3.3% of the population) no major political party managed to capture their group interests and gain significant representation in the Parliament. The Romanian Constitution guarantees one seat in the Parliament for every ethnic group but the presence of one elected Roma politician in the legislative assembly did not contribute to the substantive representation of their interests; inequalities between them and the majority population being still high<sup>42</sup>.

The absence of Roma political leaders in mainstream politics is a phenomenon pertaining not only to Romania, but a general situation across Europe.

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<sup>40</sup> Iris M. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>41</sup> Jane Mansbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

<sup>42</sup> Agenția Națională pentru Romi [ANR], *Report 2014*, available at <http://www.anr.gov.ro/>

As explained in the Report of the European Commission on good policies for the inclusion of the Roma<sup>43</sup>, Romani representatives activating in the political establishment are rather rare, being mostly active at local and municipal level. According to the document, if Romani ethnics seek a political position, they should attempt it via mainstream parties, not with the help of ethnocentric parties. For this reason, the Commission sees NGOs as the agents for boosting the political participation of the Roma. For assuring a proper representation of the Romani citizens, the EU executive officials consider supporting civic organizations, assigning seats and ensuring the presence of the ethnics in Consultative bodies as the proper means to achieve this goal. The authors of the report take their strategy even further, directly accounting for substantive representation: the expertise of Roma Consultative body members has to provide an input into policy making. The bureaucrats who drafted the report shared Iris Young's opinion on descriptive representation; it is not something monolithical, but rather accumulating perspectives of the marginalized group members. For this reason they required assuring that all segments of the Romani society are represented within the supported NGOs, including the preservation of gender balance<sup>44</sup>.

The Commission's skepticism towards providing support to Romani ethnocentric political parties is extremely relevant for the case of Romania; according to research reports by civic organizations<sup>45</sup>, Roma people see little legitimacy in elected officials because they all appear corrupt. On the other hand, the rulers who come across as proper representatives are administrative workers from whom they can seek help (County Council Roma officers, health mediators). This establishes a loophole in Laurel Weldon's conception of descriptive representation; the above mentioned officials do share the descriptive features of the marginalized group (have Romani identity), but are not bound to any mechanisms of authorization and accountability; in most of the cases they are appointed to office. My opinion is that representatives who share descriptive features and achieve substantive representation (by pursuing favorable policies) are still legitimate representatives, despite the lack of mechanism for authorization and control.

The important aspect which stems from most research reports (by the European Commission Report, NDI and ANR reports) is that proper institutional organization and competent bureaucrats are the keys to obtain the substantive representation of the Roma. For these goals to be achieved the following measures have to be implemented:

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<sup>43</sup> European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Unit G4, *Improving the tools for the social inclusion and non-discrimination of Roma in the EU Report*, Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2010, *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> See the studies by Romani Criss (2004) and by the National Democratic institute for international Affairs (2009).

- Adopt the proper policies to ensure the socio-economic status of the Roma is improved. This should be done by promoting after-school programs for poor children, supporting employers who hire Roma people, counseling and incentivizing the ethnics to achieve professional qualification. The underlying idea is that good communication between representatives (officials) and the represented (Romani citizens) can only be achieved if the latter reach a certain level of development.
- Better coordinate government institutions and professionalize public officials.

The last point requires a more detailed explanation given its complexity. The NDI report recommends synchronization between the Parliament and the Government when policies on the situation of the Roma are adopted. The good news is that Romanian government officials already seek this objective. To achieve this goal the Romanian Government Strategy for Roma integration between 2014-2020 provisions the creation of Ministerial Commissions headed by state secretaries in charge of Roma policy making. The NDI report requires that all such commissions to fall under the authority of the ANR which should be given the resources for supervising these governmental branches.

The policy reports and the research on improving the condition of marginalized minorities cited in this study follow a descending mechanism; while perfecting the functioning of the government and the parliament contributes to better representation, the main focus rather falls on representatives at local and regional level who are the main actors for obtaining substantive representation.

There are three main strategies required to be followed in order to achieve the goal of improving Roma representation: professionalize public officials, enforce proper policies and monitor the results. With regard to the first strategy, the NDI report recommends enhancing the training and development programs for Roma mediators, while in the Strategy set forth by the Romanian government (2014-2020) learning modules about Romani history and culture are advised for local administrators with no Romani origins.

I contend that both measures bring a positive contribution towards substantive representation because they create bridges for communication between the minority group members and the majority. As a matter of fact, in most Roma research reports, proper policies are considered those which foster communication between Roma community leaders and public officials. Romanian government officials proposed the creation of Local Initiatives Groups (Grupuri de Inițiativă Locală – GIL), formed of the Roma leaders belonging to the municipality and aware of the community needs. GIL members should take part in period meetings with the city hall to be informed about public decisions taken and to express the opinion of the represented. This initiative is well adapted to the cultural characteristics of Romani community members, which according to the Report by Romani Criss<sup>46</sup> generally do not vote on individual level but consult with their local leaders. For this policy to fit perfectly the pre-requisites of descriptive

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<sup>46</sup> Romani Criss, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

representation, mechanisms for authorization and accountability have to be established together with the Roma inhabitants. To enable a good environment for communication, both the NDI and the European Commission report recommend partnerships between public institutions and civic organizations of the Roma. Other main strategies for obtaining a proper representation and political participation of the Roma are issuing ID cards to citizens who do not hold them, advocacy by Romani NGOs and voluntary data collection about Romani ethnics. The latter one was successfully implemented in 2004 in Slovakia<sup>47</sup> where the government collected personal data about Gipsy communities that were used afterwards to shape better policies aimed at this ethnic group.

Monitoring is a key factor for benefiting from effective descriptive representation, entailing the idea of representatives' accountability (as shown by Weldon). Romanian Government officials recommend for instance that works of Ministerial Commissions to be monitored by at least 3 experts who should issue a report. The NDI report<sup>48</sup> is very critical of the work done so far by government officials in charge of Roma policies requiring that the activity of County Offices (BJRs) to be coordinated by the Minister of Internal Affairs and examined by external auditors.

A strategic policy proposed by the NDI which helps achieve a better democracy conveys the idea that parties, including Romanian mainstream ones, should establish stronger connections with the Roma electorate to get more involved in the life of the community. They suggest ruling parties to support Roma candidates for seats in the Parliament, to create coalitions between Romanian parties and Romani NGOs so that the marginalized minority becomes more eager to participate in politics. The idea underlying the findings in the report is that policy makers should improve deliberation with the Roma minority on issues relating to their status, they should get acquainted to their social perspective (which is not unitary). Getting informed continuously on the focal areas which are of interest for the marginalized group will give future Romani decision makers credibility, but also authorization from the marginalized community.

In this set of policy proposals the role of the EU is crucial; to continuously monitor progresses and sanction the government for massive failures, such as the low absorption of EU funds aimed at the integration of the Roma.

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<sup>47</sup> European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Unit G4, *Improving the tools for the social inclusion and non-discrimination of Roma in the EU Report*, Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2010, *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> *Assessment of barriers to Roma political participation in Romania...*, pp. 30-36.

# SPIRITUAL ITINERARIES: MYTHS AND TRADITIONS REINTERPRETED

## ROMANIAN TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS. MIDWIFERY\*

Anca CEAUȘESCU\*\*

**Abstract:** In the villages from Oltenia, the entering into the world of the living of a new member of the family is supervised by the midwife, the great initiate. The midwife is, above all, a *mediator*. At birth, she performs the sacred and the profane acts, meant to bring into this world the new-born child, to integrate him into the family, kin and community, to guarantee the mother and child's health. Her attributions are complex: she assists the woman for the delivery, the midwife takes the baby away from the mother, tells the father the sex of the child, cuts the umbilical cord, gives the baby the first ritual bath, lays the table for the fate fairies, she takes care of the food and hygiene of mother and child.

The competences of the midwife do not cease in the moment of birth, where she has certain ceremonial roles: she gives the child a new set of clothes, she carries the baby until the Church, she brings the baptising water, she kneels when the priest blesses the "midwife's water".

**Keywords:** Oltenia, the traditional village, institution represented by the midwife, mediator, ritual acts.

In the villages from Oltenia, as in the entire Romanian space, the entering into the world of the living of a new member of the family is supervised by the midwife, the great initiate, representative of the kin and collectivity. The midwife performs complex ceremonial roles, in which Christian elements are superposed to the pagan ones.

Participating to all the rituals, of birth, marriage and funeral, she had a well individualised part in the entire assembly of ceremonies "We have to take into consideration that in the traditional life of the village, the midwifery owns a position, an honorable status, it is not just a profession in the established meaning of the word and, she was committed to the fulfillment of the ritual, and between her, the

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women and the children that she assisted, it was established a social connection that involved obligations”<sup>1</sup>.

As referring to the traditional form of the birth customs, the pregnant woman benefits by a double assistance: a “professional” assistance, provided by the old women, who know the old practices of the traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia, solicited only in case of problematic deliveries, and a mandatory assistance, assured by the midwife (for the moment of giving birth there were asked to come “old women and the midwife”)<sup>2</sup>.

In the traditional village, each family has their midwife. She only assists the mother, from the first delivery pains and remains beside her, until the performing of all the magical-ritual acts, which carry out for three days, after that visiting her periodically. Therefore, there is a *midwife of the village*, a woman who *performs this as a profession*, specialised in gynaecological issues, who helps for the delivery and whose mission completes once with the delivery of the baby, and *the family midwife*. A recent mention from the village of Dârvari, Mehedinți County, is of great importance in this situation: “It used to be a woman in the village, who would know how to help the woman to deliver. The midwife who used to help the women at birth, was not the same with the one who laid the table for the fate fairies. Later, women would give birth to their babies at the hospital, assisted by the midwife of the commune”<sup>3</sup>.

We can place the information from the village of Bratuia, commune of Dănești, Gorj County, in the same category: “The woman used to give birth assisted by skilful women. The midwife came and cut the umbilical cord. Each lately confined woman had a protective couple (*moș* – approx. patriarch, and *moașa* – approx. midwife). Most of the time, they were relatives... It should not be confused with the midwife of the village. Nowadays, it is still chosen a midwife (a protector)... After the delivery, it was called the hereditary patriarch, each family having a protective couple for all the children, in order to cut the umbilical cord..., who then was tying it...”<sup>4</sup>. In other villages from Oltenia too, the delivery was assisted by a specialised midwife and by that of the family, as, for example, at Cetate, Dăbuleni, Galicea Mare, Dolj County and Brănești, Gorj County, where: “there was a midwife who would help with the delivery and one who would cut the umbilical cord”<sup>5</sup>. At Bistreț and Bulzești, Dolj County: “The midwife who cut the umbilical cord was called *moșică* (a diminutive from *moașă*). She was different

<sup>1</sup> Mihai Pop, *Obiceiuri tradiționale românești*, Bucharest, CCES, 1976, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Florica Lorinț, *Obiceiuri de la naștere din Oltenia de Nord*, I, in “Revista de etnografie și folclor”, Bucharest, volume 13, no. 6, 1968, p. 524.

<sup>3</sup> Inf. Vultureanu Lucica, 73 years old, Dârvari, Mehedinți County.

<sup>4</sup> Ion Ghinoiu (coordinator), *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsuri la chestionarele Atlasului Etnografic Român*, vol. I, Oltenia, edition supervised by Ofelia Văduva and Ofelia Pleșca, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishing, 2001, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

from the woman who helped at birth. The midwife who performed her profession, came only if she was needed and called”<sup>6</sup>.

In the popular tradition, the midwife has a special significance during the birth ceremony, “becoming the mistress of the mother’s and child’s faith”<sup>7</sup>. The midwife is the mediator between the two worlds, the world from which the child comes, pre-existence, and the world in which he enters, the existence. Her role is a “socio-family complex one, meant to ease the passing, to determine the forces of Good to be diverted towards the fulfilment of the Sacred existence”<sup>8</sup>.

“*To attend a child’s delivery as a midwife, means to help the child with his absolution from sins*”, as Gheorghe Iordache remarks in a study dedicated to the phenomenon of this type of birth assistance, at the Romanian people<sup>9</sup>. In the author’s opinion, the assistance does not imply only the concrete help provided for a woman who delivers, but the assurance that the new-born is properly received, by observing the traditional ritual, into “the white world”. Therefore, the midwife integrates the child, a nameless being, who came from the world of the fore-fathers, into this side world, into the family, into the kin, into the religious society, and into the community. Hence, in this way, the new-born is integrated into the generations in which there is still kept the belonging to *fathers, great-fathers, great-great-fathers*, the ascendants of the child<sup>10</sup>.

The notion of *moș*, with all its derivate terms, is, as I. I. Russu mentioned, of pre-Roman origin and belongs to the old Carpathian-Balkan autochthonous fond: “it is related to the Albanian form and is probably part of the Illyrian-Thracian-Dacian languages, therefore it belongs to the old Carpathian-Balkan autochthonous fond”<sup>11</sup>. Paul Stahl, in an ample study about the Romanian tradition of having birth protectors and godfathers, notices that for Romanians, the word “*moș*” is at the origin of other important words of our social life, “*moașă*”, the feminine form of the word “*moș*”, having different meanings, all of them designating an older woman: “For the Romanians, it lies at the basis some important words of the social life... Maybe the old meaning of these words, «*moș*» and «*moașă*», is the most interesting one, because «*moașă*» signifies an older person, a foremother, a grandmother, and a woman who helps the children entering this world”<sup>12</sup>. In the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> Mihai Dăncuș, *Moașa – mediator între nou-născutul “necunoscut” și lumea “cunoscută”*, in “Memoria etnologica”, Year II, no. 2<sup>nd</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> of February-June 2002, p. 265.

<sup>8</sup> Narcisa Alexandra Știucă, *În pragul lumii albe*, Bucharest, The National Centre for Preservation and Promotion of Popular Tradition and Creation, 2001, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Gheorghe Iordache, *Despre “moșitul” la români*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, SN, no. 14, 1999, p. 186.

<sup>10</sup> Florica Lorinț, Constantin Eretescu, “*Moșii*” în obiceiurile vieții familiale, in “Revista de etnografie și folclor”, volume 12, no. 4, 1967, p. 301.

<sup>11</sup> Vasile Scurtu, *Termeni de înrudire în limba română*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1996, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Paul H. Stahl, *Moșitul și nășitul. Transmisia lor în cadrul neamului*, in “Revista de etnografie și folclor”, no. 5, volume 38, 1993, p. 428.

acceptation of the linguists, the general term, the feminine word, implies, besides the meaning of old person, a kinship connection too<sup>13</sup>.

In Oltenia, the word is used to designate the woman who assists the delivery, according to the traditional norms, and who has a kinship relation with the family of the new-born. In some regions of the country, for example in Maramureș, in the older customs, the grandmother was frequently called “moașă”, because she used to be the one who helped the woman to deliver<sup>14</sup>. As Florica Lorinț observes, “we consider that from this original meaning, it was gradually being made the transition towards the professional acceptation. In the past, the function of the term was a socio-familial one, among the attributions of the midwife (an old woman who used to represent the kin and the household) being also included that of attend to a woman’s delivery”<sup>15</sup>.

The significations that the notion of midwife had along the time (old woman, aunt, grandmother) gradually disappeared, and it was used preponderantly the meaning of *sage femme*. “The meaning of *sage femme* has been preserved since the times when only the old women, with their experience, professed as *obstretix* midwives. Defining, in time, as social function too, it broadened its sphere: the specialised meaning occupies the main place, the top position”, as Vasile Scurtu noted in a referential paper<sup>16</sup>.

The word “moașă”, having the meaning of a woman who helps for the delivery, is met in all the regions of Romania, the midwife having an important role in the customs that accompany the first moment of an individual’s existence.

Nevertheless, the midwife is a significant character in the social life of many peoples. It is met all over the European space, but differently shaped. At Bulgarians, the midwife is an old lady (a sorceress) because, in the belief of the population from here, the birth assistance represents a magical art and every old woman becomes a magician; in the Serbian communities, the traditional midwife is called “babița” – she is an old and “clean” woman, who protects both the mother and the child against the evil forces from the birth; she is different from the midwife who assists the maternal deliveries<sup>17</sup>.

The same situation is met at the Greeks too, the midwife is the main performer when carrying out the birth ritual. Mihai Dăncuș, citing Yvonne de Sike, noted: “the midwife is a mediator between life and death... being... an instrument of the divine grace, she is the character with a noble function and profession, both important and dread”<sup>18</sup>. The midwife had an important role, especially at the first

<sup>13</sup> Vasile Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p.12.

<sup>14</sup> Mihai Dăncuș, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>15</sup> Florica Lorinț, *Tradiția moașei de neam în Gorj*, in “Revista de etnografie și folclor”, volume 12, no. 2, 1976, p. 132.

<sup>16</sup> Vasile Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Mihai Dăncuș, *op. cit.*, p. 268-269.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

birth, for the ones being called only in special cases, in order to help the women if the situation got unexpectedly complicated.

It is assumed that the midwives appeared during the period of the matriarchate, the first ones being the mother of the lately confined woman, the grandmother, a sister, a cousin, or an older woman from the family<sup>19</sup>. In the patriarchate period, the maternal midwife was replaced by one who came among the father's relatives<sup>20</sup>.

Generally, according to the tradition, the midwife is necessarily chosen among the blood relatives of the father, being therefore a mandatory of the patrilineal kin. The condition to be related to the father of the child, is indirectly realised by her, through her husband, who was considered a "moș" (forefather). Only in case of illegitimate delivery, the midwife was chosen among the mother's relatives.

As a particular aspect, Florica Lorinț talks about the existence, in the county of Mehedinți, of the tradition according to which, the birth assistance was assured by a man, a blood relative of the child's father, and not by his wife<sup>21</sup>.

Therefore, generally, the midwife was a replacer of the father's family, for the child. Yet, recent research do not confirm this entirely, anymore. There are field ethnographic evidences that show that at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the north of Oltenia, at Runcu, the midwife was chosen among friends, according to the preferences: "Around our places, each woman chooses a midwife that she likes. The midwife offers the child all the clothes that are necessary, baths him for three days and gives food to the mother, still for three days. And the child is called her nephew"<sup>22</sup>.

In the villages from Ialomița, the midwife was never part of the family, and the activity performed by her did not represent a social institution, with a significant position in the life of a society, as in Oltenia<sup>23</sup>.

Numerous authors mention the preserving of the *related midwife*, called, in Gorj, *hereditary midwife*, a term that implies the tendency of continuity, when choosing her, for several generations<sup>24</sup>, and it reflects, in the same time, the relation between the household of the midwife and that of the new-born child. A rich ethnographic material, attests the keeping of this tradition: "everyone had their midwife; she was hereditary, as the godparents; she assisted the delivery of all the children in a family"<sup>25</sup>. In the commune of Crasna, Gorj County, "The midwife was

<sup>19</sup> Andrei Hîncu, *Geneza complexului riturilor de trecere*, in "Anuarul Arhivei de folclor", XVI-XVII (1994-1996), 1997, p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>21</sup> Florica Lorinț, *Obiceiuri de la naștere ...*, I, p. 523.

<sup>22</sup> Xenia Costa-Foru, *Cercetare monografică a familiei*, Bucharest, Fundația "Regele Mihai", 1945, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> Germina Comanici, *Contribuții privind cercetarea obiceiurilor de la naștere în județul Ialomița*, in "Revista de etnografie și folclor", volume 27, no. 2, 1982, p. 152.

<sup>24</sup> Florica Lorinț, *Tradiția moașei de neam în Gorj*, in "Revista de etnografie și folclor", volume 12, no. 2, 1976, p. 128.

<sup>25</sup> Inf. Tonciu Maria, 87 years old, Maglavit, Dolj County.

the midwife of the family, being maintained over generations”<sup>26</sup>, and at Ghioroiu, Vâlcea County “... If she had assisted the delivery of the first child, then she took care of the woman if she got pregnant the second, or the third time. The midwife did not change”<sup>27</sup>. The midwife appears described in connection with the father’s family and, moreover, the kin. Paul H. Stahl notices that the *kin midwife* is specific for Romanians, being met under different appellatives, on the entire territory dwelt by them<sup>28</sup>.

The tradition of keeping the related midwife is also appreciated by the doctor Charles Laugier, who noted, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: “the most important is, unquestionably, the custom – almost as an institution, of the *mother-midwife*. The role and the prestige of the midwife is brought to the position of relative and protector, and it is one of the characteristics of the Romanian people, and it would be of great importance if we could discover its origin”<sup>29</sup>.

According to the tradition, the obligations of midwife were transmitted from generation to generation. The place of the midwife, who reached the old age, had to be taken by a younger woman from the same family, usually her daughter in law or her daughter.

The midwife is, above all, a *mediator*. At birth, she performs the sacred and the profane acts, meant to bring into this world the new-born child, to integrate him into the family, kin and community, to guarantee the mother and child’s health. Her attributions are complex: she assists the woman for the delivery, helps the child, she takes care of the food and hygiene of mother and child, using practises and empirical medicine knowledge that only she knows. Actually, before the birth of the child, the midwife resorts to certain magical practices that have augural signification (she places near the bed of the woman who is about to delivery, objects as: distaff for spinning, an axe, salt, bread etc.) that would generate the diligence and the luck of the new born<sup>30</sup>.

Immediately after birth, the midwife takes the baby away from the mother, tells the father the sex of the child, cuts the umbilical cord, gives the baby the first ritual bath, lays the table for the fate fairies, advises the new mother about how to take care of her baby. Then, she makes sure that the mother carries out other ritual practices related to the moment of birth.

The symbolic act of taking the baby from the mother and the wishes made in that moment, referring to his future, represent, in fact, the receiving and the introducing of the new-born into the family and kin. The gesture in which the midwife touches the baby with the forehead against the low threshold of the door,

<sup>26</sup> *Sărbători și obiceiuri ...*, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> Paul H. Stahl, *op. cit.*, p. 419-437.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Laugier, *Contribuțiuni la etnografia medicală a Olteniei*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1927 (republished in 2011, Craiova, Aius Publishing House), p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Gheorghe Iordache, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

marks the moment in which the child enters, for the first time, in touch with the world, represented, at least for the moment, by the household universe.

The immediate moment after the birth is accompanied by magical practices, having augural and modelling significations. According to a piece of information from Runcu, Gorj County, "Immediately after the delivery, the child is taken by the midwife, who is expecting on the threshold, and is poured cold water over, to become hardened to cold"<sup>31</sup>. A similar custom was registered by the physician Charles Laugier in Dolj County, where "...the child is introduced to the father, who pours cold water on his head, from a new clay pot, well burnt and not enamelled... The baby is poured water on his head, to be resistant to cold in his life"<sup>32</sup>.

It is still the midwife who mediates the meeting of the new born child's fates<sup>33</sup>. In the evening of the third day after the birth, she "lays the table for the faith fairies" – the most important divination ceremonial act, meant to establish the destiny of the new member of the collectivity. That moment, the child enters for the first time in touch with the Sacred. On the round, low, three-legged peasant table, having the function of an altar bearing offerings for the Fates<sup>34</sup>, the midwife puts the things with recognised valences: the round shaped bread (unleavened bread or the bread of the Fate Fairies), basil, a glass of water, one of wine, sugar and different objects: a mirror, a book, a needle, sewing thread, a padlock, a hoe etc. The preparations made for this event have the role to determine these super-human beings, representatives of the sacred, to be merciful with the faith of the new-born, to be benevolent and generous. Their benevolence has to be gained, for the things that the wish to be auspicious.

For 40 days, in the tradition of the villages, the midwife will stay around the mother and child. She has the responsibility to help avoiding the eventual dangers, to which the couple mother-child was exposed, the hygiene of the two, the preparing of the food for the mother, the preserving of house cleaning etc. This time interval is a critical one, of passing, when the evil spirits manifest actively. In order to avoid them coming closer to the child, it is the midwife who does different preparing activities, a generally spread action being that to place next to the child protecting iron made objects, or other talismans with apotropaic role.

<sup>31</sup> *Sărbători și obiceiuri* ..., p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Laugier, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> In the spirituality of the Romanian people, there are three Fates, having unlimited powers and certain tasks to fulfil as regarding the destiny of a new-born child. As regarding both the number and the origin of their duty, the Romanian Fates correspond to the Greek Moirai and the Parcae and with the Fata Scribunda of the Romans: "Romanians from the past had, as also the nowadays ones, three birth fairies ... they called them Parcae, from the verb pario-partus = to give birth, they were Parca, the fairy from the birthday, the second was Nona and the third Decuma, named after the ninth and the tenth month when the people were born) (Simion Florea Marian, *Nașterea la români – studiu etnografic*, Bucharest, Saeculum I.O. Publishing, 2000, p. 115). As a proof for their Roman origin we can mention the using by the Romanian people of the expressions: "this is my faith", "it is fated", "this was my destiny/so it had been ordained for me".

<sup>34</sup> Ion Ghinoiu, *Comoara satelor. Calendar popular*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2005, p. 183.

Worthily to be mentioned is the preoccupation to revitalize, at each birth, the possibilities of fertilization of all the women. Thus, the midwife, the godmother and the wives that assisted to the first bath after the Christianization were going into the garden to throw the water at the root of a fruit bearing tree for the child to grow, to bloom and to be fertile. The midwife threw the water, turned up side down the trough and in the same time around her took place a ritual dance while they said the next words: *"The trough was turned over/ Long live the grand-daughter/ It was turned over one more time/ She shall have another daughter/ It was turned over on a leg/ She shall have a boy too"*<sup>35</sup>.

The ritual aimed both the fertility of mother and of the young wives who wished to have children. In a cheerful and joyful atmosphere the young people jumped over the trough while the midwife said: *" – Come on, jump over the trough, / You shall have a daughter,/ If you jump higher/ You shall have a son"*<sup>36</sup>.

After the fulfilment of these ritual acts connected with the first step in life, between the midwife and the family of the new-born is established a kinship relation, of spiritual nature. The midwife calls the child nephew (niece), and the same way is called the mother (niece). The kinship relationship that begins, between the family of the midwife and the *nephews/nieces*, can be regarded as a blood relation, the terminology used in this situation (in Romanian, the words indicating nephew/niece, grandson/granddaughter, correspond: *nepot/nepoată*), indicating this fact: midwife – nephew/niece, patriarch – nephew/niece, similar to the consanguine relation: grandmother – grandson/granddaughter, grandfather – grandson/granddaughter. Moreover, "when the midwife belongs to the same family, the priority relation is that established due to the delivery assistance (*moșie*), as a consequence resulted from the ancient organisation of the family"<sup>37</sup>. From here, the interdiction of marriage between the members of the midwife's family and her nephews/nieces, or between the nephew/niece's children and those of the midwife.

The competences of the midwife do not cease in the moment of birth, where she has certain ceremonial roles: she gives the child a new set of clothes, she carries the baby until the Church, where she places the child on the ground, from where the godmother takes him/her, she brings the baptising water, she kneels when the priest blesses the "midwife's water". Moreover, the midwife has several obligation during the first years of the child. A tradition that is still present in Oltenia, is the touching of the child's head against the upper side of the threshold (*datul la grindă*), a ritual that takes place for three or seven years, in the morning of the New Year.

Although it does not benefit from the privilege offered by the Church, such are the godparents, the institution of midwifery is presented in different firmly consolidated forms, expressed through the rites, which preserve obvious layers of pre-Christian, archaic culture.

<sup>35</sup> Simion Florea Marian, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

<sup>37</sup> Nicolae Constantinescu, *Relațiile de rudenie în societățile tradiționale. Reflexe în folclorul românesc*, Bucharest, RSR Academy Publishing, 1987, p. 92.

## FUNERARY REMNANTS OF THE GETO-DACIANS IN THE ROMANIAN POPULAR CULTURE\*

Loredana-Maria ILIN-GROZOIU\*

**Abstract:** The funerary ceremony arouses a special interest for the researcher, preserving itself until today in obvious and expressive traditional forms, as an example being, on this respect, the multitude of ritual-magical practices and the archaic elements that they encompass. This ceremony attests the crisis moment from each human's life, constituting a warranty and, in the same time, the remaining of the individual inside the group of belonging, which is the same and, yet, different.

The keeping almost unchanged of the funeral rites and rituals, from ancient times until nowadays, is explained though the belief that any deviation from the norm could trigger the loss of the efficiency of "passing", a belief that imposed itself over all the traditions, with different coercive power. There can be therefore found, exquisitely coherent, archaic gestures, ceremonial acts, beliefs and funeral ritual songs that have continually been performed until today, in most of the folkloric areas from our country.

**Keywords:** cult of the dead, immortality of the soul, Romanian popular culture, funerary practices, soul.

In the Romanian ethnographic space, the funerary practices used to aim, and they still do nowadays, the post-existence, the initiation of *the pure-white traveller* into the mysteries of the Other Side World, the assuring of the further existence, on another ontological level, along with the defence of the living against the aggressive actions of the passed away. In a traditional type society, there is a tendency to uphold the funerary ritual-magical practices, which determined their preservation, even after they lost or changed their significance, because most of them encompass elements characteristic for the primitive way of thinking.

The rich ethnographic and folkloric Romanian material allows a quite precise diagnosis of the different cultural-religious "layers" and "roots", starting from the living people towards the missing ones<sup>1</sup>, as T. Herseni was noticing.

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<sup>1</sup> T. Herseni, *Forme străvechi de cultură populară românească*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia Publishing, 1977, p. 100.

Further on, we are trying to demonstrate, with the help of a couple of examples, that the numerous funerary rites and rituals, obviously anterior to the Christian period, can still be found in the Romanian traditional background. It is a rather difficult task, because, if for certain archaeological documents, the ethnological correspondences are missing, in the same way, a part of the funerary traditions are not confirmed by the archaeological material as well. Therefore, as referring to the perpetuation of the obituary practices, according to which the soul survives after the death of the body, being rooted in the Geto-Dacian world, we are going to discuss: *the fir-tree spear*; *the wake masks*; *the ritual cracking of a pot* and *the funerary feast*; *the custom to close up with clay the skull's orifices* and *the rite of the soul window*.

One of the examples that sustain the affirmations above, is the *fir-tree spear*, which is placed at the graves of those who passed into the Other Side, before the fulfilment of the earthy destiny, such are the unmarried, and, in extension, at the graves of all the deceased. Taking into account the sequencing of the ritual successions that constitute the funerary ceremony, we are truly inclined to believe that the fir-tree spear is related to the Zamolxian cult<sup>2</sup>. The fir-tree spear represents "the symbol of the sky column and, through it, the cosmic tree"<sup>3</sup>, as Romulus Vulcănescu said.

*The wake masks*<sup>4</sup> are elements with ancient magic valences, certainly pre-Christian. The presence of the mask implies the performing of a role; the role is an intentional act that presents the passing from an anterior condition to a superior one. "The roles are based on an ancient system of values, with a concrete pattern, in a relation of determination between the performer – possible and creator – and the present collectivity that receives, along with the precedent one, which contributed to the creation of the pattern. Therefore, the role play, as an element of the cultural pattern, is the result over generations", as Nicoleta Coatu mentioned.

The person who will wear the mask will not just play the role of the character that is imagined, but he will identify with this. Only in this way, there can be assured the communion with the sacred being, whose gestures he brings forward, and the form of equilibrium can be re-established. The bearer of the mask "is given its power, he is taken out from the profane time and space, does not feel the touch of the individual and ever changing «self». Maybe this is the reason for which the name of the mask, *persona*, will also include that of the individual, unrepeatable through what he owns more steadfastly, less occasionally and transiently, in relation with the others"<sup>5</sup>. We must permanently consider the fact that "the mask

<sup>2</sup> See Loredana-Maria Ilin-Grozoiu, *Concepte, credințe și tradiții privind nemurirea sufletului și cultul morților*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing, 2014, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Romulus Vulcănescu, *Coloana cerului*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1972, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> See Constantin Eretescu, *Măștile de priveghi – origine, funcționalitate*, in "Revista de Etnografie și Folclor", tom 13, no. 1, Bucharest, 1968, pp. 37-43.

<sup>5</sup> Ivan Evseev, *Enciclopedia simbolurilor religioase și arhetipurilor culturale*, Timișoara, Învierea Publishing, 2007, p. 351.

and the mask bearer are successively inverted, and the vital force condensed in the mask can take into possession the person who wished to be protected by it”<sup>6</sup>.

In case of the wake to which there are used masks and ritual dancing, a special signification is held by the characters that the mask impersonate: old men, old women, the priest, the devil, the stork, the goat or the bride. At the funerary ceremony, from Moldova, the masked couple, *the old woman and the old man*, who mime the act of procreation and the symbolic birth, bear important significance. If Lucia Berdan associates the masked couple with the fore-fathers of the dead and of the kin<sup>7</sup>, C. Eretescu brings forward the apotropaic function of the masked performance<sup>8</sup>, and I. H. Ciobotaru associates this game with the erotic crisis of the young people who interpret it<sup>9</sup>.

Another performance that we can also meet at the funerary wake from Moldova, related to the Geto-Dacian fore-fathers, takes place as following: “two masked boys carry a third one on two pieces of wood, who also wears a mask and holds a bludgeon. The two, wearing a pot on their heads, enter in the room with the passed away and improvise a horse selling, for which they ask a *leu* and a farthing”<sup>10</sup>. The refuse to sell the horse, in exchange for this price is also accompanied by the breaking of the pot in the middle of the room.

Most of the wake performances include, in the same time, the children, the young people, the old people, man and women, the neighbours, the friends, the dwellers of the same village, because “the interdictions about age, gender and social position are abolished here”<sup>11</sup>. Even if the wake for the dead, with masks and ritual dancing is organised for the all people to join in (in the regions where this ritual is still carried on: in villages from Transylvania – Luncani Platform, Apuseni Mountains, the region of Pădureni and Moldova), there are evidenced differentiations for the people who are quite old and those who filled a special social position in that community. At the wake, “the people laugh in such a way that the house is trembling. Everybody laughs, the relatives of the dead, the children, all the other people too”<sup>12</sup>.

In the villages from Vrancea, the wake performances represent an important sequence of the ritual-magical scenario included in the myth of *the great journey*. In the ancient communities, the watching of the passed away in the light of the

<sup>6</sup> Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. II, Bucharest, Artemis Publishing, 1994, p. 275.

<sup>7</sup> Lucia Berdan, *Fefețe destinului*, Iași, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University Publishing, 1999, p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> Constantin Eretescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-43.

<sup>9</sup> I. H. Ciobotaru, *Folclorul obiceiurilor familiale din Moldova*, in “Caietele arhivei de folclor”, VII, 1986, p. XXV.

<sup>10</sup> Lucia Berdan, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>11</sup> Tiberiu Graur, *Jocuri de priveghi în Munții Apuseni*, in “Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei pe anii 1971-1973”, Cluj, 1973, p. 593.

<sup>12</sup> I. Conea, *Clopotiva: un sat din Hațeg*, vol. II, Bucharest, Institutul de Științe Sociale al României, 1940, p. 294.

burning fire, was also accompanied by the mask performances. The fire is joining the group of the other symbolic elements, such are water, air, cross, green twig, apple, wine, wheat, sounds, rooster etc., which are conferred with a rich and varied semantics, recorded as magical and religious codes. As Romulus Vulcănescu remarked, “the fire is the permanent element, eternal and always present, in everything that is encompassed in the cosmic and terrestrial life”<sup>13</sup>.

In the present context, the fire fulfils the role of purifying element; the pushing of a child or an adult towards its flames must be a reminiscence of an ancient ritual offering. According to the traditional mentality, the person who touched the fire is, at least symbolically, incinerated, travelling towards the sky in a purified condition. Through performing and ritual masking, the wake acts as a protecting shield for the family of the passed away, against the action of the evil spirits<sup>14</sup>.

On the same coordinates, it can also be placed *the ritual of creaking of a pot at the funerary feast*. In the magical thinking, the shaping and the breaking of the clay pot are associated with the birth and the death of the human being. Through the ritual breaking, the pot becomes again what it used to be, clay, and returns to the place from where it emerged, the Earth. Correspondingly, the human body, separated from the soul, returns into the Earth and it is identified with it<sup>15</sup>.

The presence of the ceramic fragments of Coțofeni type – in the mantle of the tumuli or on the old stepping levels under the mounds identified at Plenița, Rast, Târnava (Alexandrov) – is regarded, by Ionuț Semuc, in relation with the practices that involved the breaking of ritual pots that had been built during the construction of the mounds; these rites were connected to the separation of the living from the dead. Moreover, this custom of breaking the pots over a special surface, near the graves or above them, can also be met “in the funerary complexes of steppe regions, and in other areas of the Balkan Peninsula (Goljama Detelina, Piskove)”<sup>16</sup>.

In the researched tombs from Ștefănești (Botoșani), which date back from the time of the early Thracians, there were found in the pit, and covered with a bowl that was serving the purpose of lid, broken dishes, probably coming from the funerary feast or from the pyre<sup>17</sup>. The custom of the funeral offerings is mentioned by Herodotus as well: “The Thracians, after they mourn the dead, they display the body for three days; then, they scarify different animals and organize a funerary feast (...). The funerary feast, with the ritual breaking, over the tomb, of the dishes they had used”<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Romulus Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1985, p. 380 (next cited as: Romulus Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română*...).

<sup>14</sup> Lucia Berdan, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>15</sup> See Ion Ghinoiu, *Lumea de aici, lumea de dincolo. Ipostaze românești ale nemuririi*, Bucharest, Fundația Culturală Publishing, 1999, pp. 44-47.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> C. Iconomu, C. Asăvoaie, *Contribuții privind cunoașterea ritualului de înmormântare a tracilor timpurii în lumina cercetărilor de la Ștefănești-Botoșani*, in “Pontica”, XXVII, 1994, The National History and Archaeology Museum from Constanța, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> H. Daicoviciu, *Dacii*, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishing, 1972, p. 179.

At the Geto-Dacians, in the second Iron Age, it became generalised the rite of incineration in flat cemeteries, under tumuli, situated outside the settlements. The incineration was taking place in as specially prepared area (*ustrirum*), or exactly on the grave, the ashes and the offerings being deposited into the pit or in urn and buried under the ground, similar with the other populations from the south of Danube, as the Thracians, the Illyrians or the Germans. The numerous archaeological discoveries attest the fact that the Geto-Dacians practiced certain religious rituals that included the funerary feasts and dances, human sacrifices, along with the offerings<sup>19</sup>.

In the extra-Carpathian space, in the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, fragments of dishes broken ritually near the pyre, on the occasion of a funeral feast, were found in almost each necropolis. At Balta Verde, in the researched tombs, there were deposited ceramic fragments, manually moulded or with the pottery wheel: Sultana – 6 tombs; Platonești, Izvoru, Sihleanu, Frătești, Obârșia, Păuleasca, Chiscani<sup>20</sup>. At Obârșia, from the 99 inhumation tombs, there were discovered, in the pit and in its filling, ceramic fragments from several “ritually” broken dishes<sup>21</sup>.

For the region of Dobrogea, broken dishes, probably ritually, during the funerary feast, were discovered at: Cernavodă, Sarichioi, Chilia Veche, Mihai Bravu<sup>22</sup>, Luncavița “Drumul Vacilor”, Luncavița “Mocuța”, Independența (Murighiol), Babadag, Garvăn-Mlăjitel Florilor, Satu Nou, Celic Dere, Niculițel-Cornet<sup>23</sup>.

In the nowadays communities, after the deceased is taken out of the house, it is broken a pot that could be empty or filled with water or ashes, by a closed relative of the passed away, on the place of death, on the threshold of the house or at the grave: “A woman remains inside the house, closes all the doors and breaks a pot with ash, to prevent the death of another person from the family”<sup>24</sup>, at Prunișor, Mehedinți County; “It is broken a cup, from which it had been poured water to wash the dead”<sup>25</sup>, at Racovița, Gorj County; “The pot used for the incensing of the passed away is broken in the middle of the house, where the dead remained”<sup>26</sup>, at Cetate, Dolj County; “After the funeral procession leaves, it is broken a cup/glass

<sup>19</sup> M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Hadrian Daicoviciu, Ligia Bârz, *Istoria României de la începuturi până în secolul al VIII-lea*, Bucharest, Didactical and Pedagogical Publishing, 1995, p. 214.

<sup>20</sup> C. Luca, D. Măndescu, *Rituri și ritualuri funerare în spațiul extracarpatic în secolele VIII-X*, Brăila, Istros Publishing, 2001, p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60.

<sup>22</sup> At Mihai Bravu, there were identified, among the tombs, few open fireplaces, on which there had been ritually broken Dridu type vessels (*X<sup>th</sup> cen.*) (Gh. Mănucu-Adameșteanu, *Aspecte ale ritului și ritualului funerar din perioada feudalismului timpuriu în lumina descoperirilor din Dobrogea*, in “Symposia Thracologica”, no. 7, Tulcea, 1989, p. 429).

<sup>23</sup> Ionuț Semuc, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>24</sup> Ion Ghinoiu (coordinator), *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsuri la chestionarele Atlasului Etnografic Român*, vol. I, *Oltenia*, edition supervised by Ofelia Văduva and Ofelia Pleșca, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishing, 2001, p. 187.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 187.

on the threshold of the house, over which the dead passed. A girl superficially sweeps the house; the people who live there throw coins on the floor, which the girl gathers with the broom”<sup>27</sup>, at Melinești, Dolj County.

The signification for the breaking of the pot, at the funeral, is related to the belief according to which, “after the soul has come out through the ascendant mouth, it flies away from the house, through the window, open widely by the family members. After it visits the beloved place, from while he it was alive, it returns inside the house and wishes to reenter into the abandoned shelter, triggering the transformation of the dead into a wraith, a wondering soul that refuses to leave this world”<sup>28</sup>.

In some areas of the country, along with the breaking of the pot against the threshold, the door is slammed, gestures made for the assuring that not only the body, but the soul, left the house<sup>29</sup>.

Moreover, we have to mention another practice, archaeologically attested, *the custom to close up with clay the skull's orifices*. This “is related to the multitude of ritual interdictions that belong to the belief that the skull is a recipient of the soul, which at the tribes belonging to the Catacomb Culture (the Bronze Age) has different manifestations (the dislocating or the severing of the head, its trepanation or deformation, the colouring in ochre, the masks)”<sup>30</sup>. In order to remove this danger, nowadays, at the communities from Argeș County, the dead is turned into stone, meaning that all the orifices are filled with pounded stones and glass, incense etc., for impeding the soul to enter the deserted body<sup>31</sup>.

The belief into a post-mortem existence is also sustained by *the rite of the soul window*. This is actually a perforation made in the lid of the funerary recipient, in which the ashes and the calcined bones, resulting after the incineration, were deposited. The archaeological discoveries confirm the existence of this practice, starting with the Bronze Age. For example, some of the urns, from the necropolises that belong to Monteoru culture from Căndești (phases IIa and IIb), had a small orifice on the bottom part, in order to ease the spiritual access of the spirit of the incinerated<sup>32</sup>.

In the Second Iron Age (La Tène), it was discovered at Sighișoara, a funerary dish with a cavity through which the soul of the deceased entered and got out, freely, after the inhumation. After the Roman conquering, this rite was further kept by the autochthonous population, a theory supported by the discoveries from the

<sup>27</sup> Inf. Elisabeta Cimpoieru, village of Melinești, Dolj County, 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Ion Ghinoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 246.

<sup>30</sup> Ionuț Semuc, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>31</sup> Ion Ghinoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>32</sup> Marilena Florescu, *Câteva informații referitoare la ritul și ritualurile practicate de purtătorii culturii Monteoru în lumina săpăturilor de la Căndești (jud. Vrancea)*, in “Carpatica”, X, 1978, p. 106.

Dacian cemetery, of Roman period, from Soporul de Câmpie. Here, there were found longish dishes, with a small inclined orifice, realised before burning, near the supporting ring from the bottom side<sup>33</sup>.

In Bucovina, an opening is made in the eastern side, where there are positioned the legs, called *door*<sup>34</sup>. It is thought that, through these windows, the passed away is able to see “the people who gathered to accompany it on the way to the grave, and to say good-bye”, there being also the channel through which the passed away can talk to the living, during the funeral<sup>35</sup>.

Romulus Vulcănescu mentions, for Muntenia, the custom to make “a small window near the head, through which the dead can see and hear the advice (...) and through which a frog can enter to pinch the dead’s nose, for (...) it to start rotting”<sup>36</sup>.

It is well known the belief of the Geto-Dacians in immortality, and more than that, they also discovered a way to continue their existence after death. Even if there it is not of great importance the way in which they reached immortality (initiation in the Cult of Zamolxis, attendance to the ritual feasts and ceremonies, bravery etc.), this belief contributed decisively to the consolidation of the Dacian state. Quite a lot of the Geto-Dacian funerary traditions can still be found, in different ways, more or less “improved”. For the mythology of the death, the funerary practices presented above encompass great importance: through genesis, forms, number and function, but particularly through the ancient signification that they promote.

In the traditional mentality, death is perceived as a painful, frightening occurrence, which appears unexpectedly. Far from representing an end, but only from the lack of physical absence point of view, the *Great Passing* is regarded by the members of a collectivity as a threshold, as a boundary, beyond which *The True Life* is displayed. Any passing implies, on one side, a breach in the old state, an annulment or an exceeding and, on the other side, the initiation or the preparation of one individual for his accessing towards a new identity. This passing proves to be, most of the times, laborious, because the individual has to overcome an intermediary situation, between two existential conditions. The ceremonial acts and manifestations that accompany the Great Passing are mainly performed for the reestablishment of the equilibrium that was lost along with the ceasing of the anterior existential condition.

Although there are signs of death and other premonitions or incurable diseases, most of the times the close people of the passing away are spiritually unprepared and the sadness, the “emptiness” from their souls, sometimes

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<sup>33</sup> D. Protase, *Un cimitir dacic din epoca romană la Soporul de Câmpie. Contribuție la problema continuității romane în Dacia*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1976, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Ion Ghinoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Ionuț Semuc, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>36</sup> Romulus Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română...*, p. 189.

disappointment, cannot be surpassed or annulled but through their attempt to establish a connection between This World and The Other Side World, transforming the “space”, whose “transparency” is to be substituted by their own mental instruments, into an accessible one. Therefore, the funerary behaviour contains performances that regard the chasing away of the horror and pain, the overcoming of fright and death fear, while the passed away has his access to the Other Side World facilitated.

Without false modesty and not at all subjective, we can assert that in Oltenia there are also pertinent perceptions about the funerary ceremonies, gained from the pure Orthodox tradition, appeared though our fore-fathers, those who knew to understand and interpret the symbol and the reality from different things and elements, perpetuating the idea of good, beautiful, living with God.

This study determines us to reflect upon the old and primary rituals and traditions, from long time ago, of our fore-fathers that referred to the belief in the after life, but, in the same time, they oblige us, the present ones, to preserve and perpetuate the rich ethnographic evidences and Christian feats traditions. All these Christian customs, precious inheritances, related to immortality of soul and the cult of the dead must be cultivated and transmitted, depending mostly on the keeping of respect and solemnity for the Romanian spiritual values.

## THE APPARENT ABSENCE OF HEIRS – A CENTRAL MOTIF IN CERTAIN ROMANIAN FAIRY-TALES

Gabriela BOANGIU\*

**Abstract:** A central motif present in some fairy-tales is that of the absence of heirs; either we deal with an old man and an old lady, an emperor and an empress, the both couples suffer from the same reason – the lack of continuity in this world, through children. We are going to analyze several fairy-tales, trying to unravel the main aspects for which this motif is present in them.

**Keywords:** fairy-tales, symbolic representatives, heirs, immaculate conception, mentality.

A central motif present in some fairy-tales is that of the absence of heirs; either we deal with an old man and an old lady, an emperor and an empress, the both couples suffer from the same reason – the lack of continuity in this world, through children. Further on, we are going to analyze several fairy-tales, trying to unravel the main aspects for which this motif is present in them.

The fairy-tale “Prince Charming the Lost”<sup>1</sup>, tells the story of two people who could not have children: “Once upon a time, there was a couple, very hard-working. As it is often the will of God (...). They would have liked to have a child, but it proved to be impossible”<sup>2</sup>. At some point in the story, the old man meets a sorcerer, who gives them an apple: “Your wife, and only her, should eat this apple. But pay great attention, no other creature of this world, ought to have a tiny bite of it”<sup>3</sup>. Nonetheless, not only his wife, but also the mare eats from the apple, and, thus, a child and a wonderful foal are miraculously born. The child grows up miraculously, “when he was one year old, he looked as if he were five, and when he was five, as if he were fifteen” and “he could learn as much as no one other, from this white world. He barely heard something from his teacher, that he immediately learnt”. One day, he rushes, along with his wonderful foal, far away

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<sup>1</sup> *Cele mai frumoase basme românești. Basme de aur*, Bucharest, ERC Press, 2008, p. 73

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

from his house, he gets lost and the foal leads him towards the palace of some fairies, and advises him to become their servant. Here, he baths in the fairies' water, when they are gone from the house and becomes even more handsome, with golden hair, he steals three miraculous nuts, which are actually hiding royal clothes, made of copper, silver and gold. He runs away, from the fairies, and becomes the gardener of an emperor, whose daughter finds his secret and falls in love with him. He finds his parents and marries the emperor's daughter.

The motif of the miraculous birth and the exceeding of the initial condition, can be met in this fairy-tale. His extraordinary birth, assures him a different destiny, from that of the common people, being all the time under the protection of the supernatural forces, being always accompanied by his wonderful foal, whose birth is also a miraculous one.

The fairy-tale "The Wonder Grimalkin"<sup>4</sup> is part of the same series of fairy-tales in which the heirs are missing... at least for the moment, in our story: "Once upon a time, there was a husband and a wife who didn't have children. One day, being merrier than usually, the man says to his wife: "The goodwill of God didn't descend upon us, we can't have children. Let's go on the field, and take whatever we find, and that should be our baby (...)"<sup>5</sup>. So, they found a lean-and-lank dirty kitten, and took him home. They took care of him and brought him up, as if he had been their child. The time was passing, and the kitten was getting nicer and nicer, until he became a gorgeous grimalkin. At some point, the woman "became pregnant. The joy you could see! The woman gave birth to a chubby beautiful and healthy child"<sup>6</sup>. The child was playing with the cat, as they had become mates, and "after a while", the child and the cat remained on their own.

The grimalkin helps the boy to find a situation and, through different tricks that remember of the popular anecdotes, he arranges the marriage of the boy with the daughter of a great boyar, he cunningly obtains the entire fortune of some dragons, which he chases away. The motive of the heirs absence gains, in this fairy tale, new interpretation, the care for the "lean-and-lank" kitten, which was belonging to the profane world and which proved to be magical, he talks, he transforms himself, plans trickeries for helping his master to be regarded favourably. The goodwill that he was shown, in the household of the two common people, is rewarded as regarding their son, a supernatural "plot" specific for the fairy-tales, which places the narration under the sign of "as the work, so the pay", a good deed has the same good consequences, the good is always victorious.

The fairy-tale "The Emperor of the Snakes"<sup>7</sup> depicts the consequences suffered after stealing a child's soul: "Once upon a time, in a long forgotten hamlet, an old man and an old woman were living. They became poor, spending all they

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117.

had gathered for having a son, but it was all in vain”<sup>8</sup>. At their old ages, they decide to go out on the field and to take whatever they will find, and to take care of their child. They find a baby snake. The snake grows and, one day, he thanks them for help and ask them to bring him back to the place he was found. Sadly, they take the snake back to the place where they found him. That was the emperor of the snakes and had miraculous powers, giving them, a hound that could spit golden coins, a hen that could lay golden eggs and a bat that could hit at the request: “Help me bludgeon”. They arrive to a jeweller, who stelas first their dog, then the hen, and, eventually, the bat, which will in the end determine him to give back the gifts to their initial owners. And from now on, the old man and the old woman lived happily ever after.

We meet the same mentality horizon, in which the facts are rewarded accordingly, the heirless couple comforts their lack by taking care of a wild animal, which has fantastic powers. The reward for their deed will be according to it, without being exempted from certain delays that remind of the human malevolence – the stealing of miraculous objects. Yet, everything comes to a balance, and the reward of the old people is made complete.

The fairy-tale “The young man, born with a book in his hand”<sup>9</sup> talks about the miraculous birth and the fabulous life of a Prince Charming, born with a book in his hand: “Once upon a time, there was an old lady and an old man. Until their old ages, they hadn’t had a child”. They decide to go into the wide world, only to find a cure for their bareness. When they return home, the old lady gives birth to a child who was holding a book in his hand. The old man heard the Fate Fairies saying: “This child is going to be a Prince Charming, and he is going to be rich”, “This child, at the age of 12, will be abducted by the evil spirits”, “If he escapes from their imprisonment, he will be an emperor”<sup>10</sup>. The child grows up miraculously, being protected by all the people from the village, yet, the evil spirits manage to capture him. He succeeds in escaping from the evil spirits, but he gets into a cursed kingdom. The princess from that kingdom could not marry, because he man who was wooing her, had to sleep at least one night in her room, but, the next day none of the men were alive. He manages to break the curse, and he marries the emperor’s daughter. He returns to his parents, but the adventures still continue. He is able to get back to the emperor’s daughter and they live happily ever after... The motif of the miraculous birth and the supernatural protection of the baby can be found in this fairy-tale too, the wise child is protected by the entire community, he passes all the tests thanks to his strong will for reading from the holly book that he was holding when he was born, therefore his protection is infallible. His birth under the sign of miracle, leads him towards a blissful fulfilled destiny

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 127.

The fairy-tale “Stan Boulder” was collected by Ion Pop-Reteganul, heard from a shepherd from Reteagand written in Deva, while he was a teacher<sup>11</sup>. Thus, there was once a wealthy man, who didn’t have any children. He was praying to God every day, but it was all in vain, until, one day, he met with God and Saint Peter, who were willing to help him, asking: “Tell me, what is your wish? Because I am the One who can make any wish come true!”, he answers all the three times, the same: “I want children, Lord! Children are all I want!”. God listened to him: “Very well, children you will have, as you wished”, and Stan Boulder, as our character is called, gets one hundred children in his household, all of them telling him father, and asking him for food. The man sells his fortune and buys food for the children, but he realises that he has to work harder, in order to bring all up, therefore he decides to go into the wide world. The fairy-tale seems to originate from an anecdote, because Stan Boulder reminds us of Păcală (Merry Jester). Hence, he defeats an ogre by squeezing water out of a rock, a piece of cheese actually, he defeats the ogres, hyperbolising the trials that he had to pass: to throw the mace – he is afraid not to hit the Moon, to bring water inside the skin of a buffalo – Stan decides to take the entire well, for not wasting the time carrying the water from it, to bring logs from the forest, more than the ogre, whomanaged to pluck the trees out of the ground – he wants to tie the entire forest with a chain and fetch it at home. All these tests, hyperbolised by Stan Boulder, scares the ogres, who want him dead, but he cunningly survives, and uses the ogres to carry at home an immense treasure – bags full of gold.

Another reason for which we consider having a certain connection with the anecdote, is the fact that the desire to have children is over exaggerated, being rewarded by God through a lot of children – 100 more precisely. This represents a fine sense of humour, inserted in the structure of the fairy-tale, because the needs, the concerns increase exponentially with the high number of children, being transformed into a matter of rationality (“And what *else* do you want?”, “Only children”): the power of God is great, He is mighty, He can offer everything, but it matters what you wish for. The obsession of having children is rewarded through a hyperbola in the number of children. Stan Boulder is “a well-to-do man”, his destiny is unbalanced by this lack of heirs, the absence of children becoming obsessive and disturbing the other plans too, darkening any perspective, any other value, his destiny looking as if it gets stuck in this issue. This is why, the obsessing, repeating answer “I want children”, to all God’s questions, seems a blockage that cannot be rewarded but through a hyperbola, as a lesson that our character, “well-to-do man”, has to learn. The equilibrium appears through the evidencing of a native cleverness, similar to Păcală, an initial stupidity, then shrewdness as the story unfolds, a character without fantastic qualities, but proving extraordinary cleverness in the confrontation with the ogres.

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<sup>11</sup> Ion Pop-Reteganul, *Basme Ardelenești*, Bucharest, Poseidon Publishing, 2012, p. 110.

Moreover, it is a matter of belief: what kind of help does God offer you? What hopes do you have, which is your ideal? What ideals do you have? The fairy-tale is balancing itself on the way, because the cleverness surpasses the instinct, the richness saves all the 100 children, Stan Boulder wakes up from the impasse in front of God and St. Peter, he starts to realise the reality, life gains more ample values, he notices the way in which he can become a winner – which is actually a continuity between welfare and intelligence, both blessed by God, because he had learnt the lesson.

Another fairy-tale collected by Ion Pop Reteganul, is “Apple-Tree and Pear-Tree”, told by N. Trîmbițoiu, a primary school teacher in Varhely<sup>12</sup>. Thus, the fairy-tale depicts that: there was once an emperor and an empress, who didn’t have any heirs, they were extremely rich, but the fear that “their bloodline, their family will vanish” was terrifying, especially because “all the people from their kingdom were grieving, because the emperor’s line was disappearing; and they were good people, the emperor and his empress, with the hearts of gold! There was no one in the entire kingdom, who didn’t benefit from their kindness, not a poor that they didn’t help, not a sick that they didn’t send a gift, as soon as they heard of his condition (...), they were afraid not to be replaced by malicious leaders, who would make their existence as bad, as good it had been so far”<sup>13</sup>. The instinct of procreation, of reproduction, the nature, the biological condition appears here from a cultural perspective – it is not about the saving of the species, but about the taming of the biological features, through the elimination of violence, through wisdom, through continuous kindness, through good deeds, through a rightful heritage, clear and obvious, towards the inheritors, lacking the violence, the fights for power that would weaken any kingdom, the extreme poverty, the violent nature, the violence.

One day, the empress is crossing a bridge, when she sees a beautiful fish in the water and orders to be caught. The cook, who was a gipsy woman, prepares the fish, but she also tastes the food. The empress eat the fish and they throw the bones to a lady-dog. After a while, the empress, the gypsy woman and the lady-bitch get pregnant. There is a great joy when, nine months after, Apple-Tree is born, the son of the emperor and empress: “The old people had reasons to be joyful, they had who to kiss, there was someone who would take their place for leading and who would inherit their fortune, and the people weren’t afraid anymore that the good kin would disappear”<sup>14</sup>. The cook also gives birth to a child too, and she decides to call him Pear-Tree. The lady-dog had also given birth to six beautiful puppies. The children look the same, and even more, they start wearing the same clothes, they are good friends, they become sworn brothers and go hunting together, and each of them has three puppies with him. Nonetheless, the empress wants to make the difference between them, so she burns her son’s hand.

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<sup>12</sup> Ion Pop-Reteganul, *Basme Ardelenesti*, Bucharest, Poseidon Publishing, 2012, p. 143.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 113.

The symbolic birth from the fish is a sign of a miraculous and fortunate kinship, but the differentiation leads towards the loss of the original quality, therefore implying a symbolic death and an auspicious rebirth, a necessity to re-establish the initial miracle.

It becomes symbolic the importance of “being similar”, the idea to preserve the parents’ good genes. The violent gestures (the burnt) is punished because it breaks the initial balance – the birth from the same fish, the indistinct, the undifferentiated, the uniform quality (empress, gypsy woman, lady-dog) – the union into the miraculous:

“Mother, you chased away my luck! Unlucky I’ll be from now on, and I’ll have no rest until I find my luck again, because I can’t live without it. May God protect you! I’ll be on my way now, to live as quickly as I can my unfortunate life... for gaining again my fortunate existence”<sup>15</sup>.

The symbol of the fish – “the beautiful fish”, creates appetite, desire; it is recreated, it does not vanish, the idea of fecundity, luck, prosperity, continues the generational kindness. The fish is “the symbol of the element Water, in which it lives”, “the fish is also a symbol of life and fecundity (...). In the Indo-European peoples’ iconography, the fish, an emblem of water, it is the symbol of wisdom. Living hidden in the deepness of the Ocean, it is touched by the sacred power of the abyss, it supervises the fecundity of the world”<sup>16</sup>.

“In China, the fish is the symbol of fortune. The symbols of fish was also extended over the Christianity. The Greek word **ichthys** (fish), is interpreted by the Christians as an ideogram, each of its five letters being considered the initial letter of a word from the syntagma *Iesous Christos Theou Yios Soter* (Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Redeemer). This is considered the origin of numerous symbolic representations of fish on the old Christian monuments. It becomes the symbol of the Eucharistic meal too, where it appears next to the bread. Living in water, its symbol will be prolonged and it will be regarded in connection with the baptising: born from the baptising water, the Christian is identified with a fish, created similar to Jesus Christ Himself”<sup>17</sup>.

Apple-Tree leaves, but he gives a handkerchief to his brother, confessing him that he has to die, but if he looks at the handkerchief at the exact moment and sees the signs – three drops of blood – his brother will be able to save him, and he will be lucky again.

He leaves in the wide world and saves several communities from anogre, a wild bull, a seven-headed dragon. He meets the daughter of an emperor, who is sentenced to death, being given to the seven-headed dragon. Apple-Tree saves her from dying and he begins to have faith for a brighter future. Now, we meet the

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117.

<sup>16</sup> Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, Vol. III (P-Z), Bucharest, Artemis Publishing, 1994, p. 72-73.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73.

exceptional quality of the royal people: the similarity with the angel and the motif of the sacrifice:

“a delicate young girl, you could think she is an angel descended from above. With her golden hair, flowing on her back, beautiful face, sky-blue eyes, thin and red lips, she didn’t have a pair among the other children of God”<sup>18</sup>.

Love gives him back the trust in the returning of luck, in rebirth, “Because we MUST live and be happy”<sup>19</sup>. Many questions can be asked about the signification of happiness: the advice “Rejoice” from the ancient prayers, in Christianity. About the meeting of the predestined one, it is a miracle written in the destiny of the character: “if it hadn’t been for me to save you, I wouldn’t have been alive either, not being able to forget you for the rest of my time on earth”<sup>20</sup>; the symbol of the unforgotten, the continuous presence in the memory, the love as the confident force for achievement.

The tests that he faces include demonic presences that troubles the balance of the communities, thorough these trials – doing good deeds, he will be forgiven and the equilibrium will be re-established, through his contribution for the defeating of the evil forces and the restoration of order into the community of people. The reaffirmation: Good always defeats evil! Yet, his trials do not stop here, he leaves to find the cure for the emperor’s daughter’s parents, who became ill at the thought that they might lose their daughter. Mother-Ogre, the mother of the three monsters that Apple-Tree defeated and killed, captures his powers and defeat him. His brother sees the signs of his death on the handkerchief, and leaves to look for him. He arrives at the saved communities, and the mentioning of his good deeds, transform Apple-Tree into an immortal being, “He was a good man” – is the remark of the dwellers. Before the burnt, he lived in a kind of atemporality, the time was uniform, equal, good. In the moment of the burning, he steps onto the time wheel, which can bring unexpected events. But he does good deeds, therefore the mentioning of his actions means remembrance, he is mentioned three times.

The signification of the two young men’s names – the main characters of the fairy-tale, is also very important, the apple tree is miraculous in the popular tradition, being considered the tree of life, the tree of immortality, the tree of life secret. His brother, Pear-Tree is, as well, fantastic, because, as the Holy Sunday tells him, “a bright future expects you”<sup>21</sup>, he is “a loyal brother, as you are”<sup>22</sup>.

Apple-Tree loses his luck not when he starts his voyage, but when he forgets to do a good deed – to consolidate Holy Sunday’s house, who taught him well, and in the confrontation with Mother-Ogre, and saved on his own.

<sup>18</sup> Ion Pop-Reteganul, *Basme Ardelenesti*, Bucharest, Poseidon Publishing, 2012, p. 125.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 126.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 128.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 135.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 140.

The hero from the fairy-tales, his existence, is “dominated by deeds and occurrences that belong to the field of”<sup>23</sup> the fantastic. His birth “is placed under the sign of fabulous or miraculous, Prince-Charming being often the result of an immaculate conception that leaves a mark, from the beginning, on his destiny. Usually, his parents obtain him in their old ages and through means that surpass “the normality”, as it is understood people”<sup>24</sup>. George Călinescu makes an inventory of the means, from a fairy-tale, in which a childless family can have an heir<sup>25</sup>, “the future mother prays to God, obtains an enchanted apple, she eats from it and becomes pregnant, drinks a plant tea, offered by a “plump-lipped blackamoor”, eats a golden fish, swallows a pepper seed or a tear dropped from Virgin Mary’s holy icon”<sup>26</sup>.

Ovidiu Bîrlea was also mentioning that the birth of Prince Charming is miraculous, “Prince Charming Ioviță is born from an empress after she tastes from a golden barbell (...). Prince-Charming seems to be conceived after the bath with a water in which a plant was boiled (...). A barren woman gives birth to *Prince Charming the Lost*, after getting an apple from a sorcerer”<sup>27</sup>.

“The immaculate conception and the miraculous birth provides a similarly important upbringing of the young man, making his relations with the parents, between the moment of birth and that of his leaving, to consume rapidly”<sup>28</sup>. The child gains fantastic attributes, he is precocious, he grows up in one year as other do in seven, he learns very fast from his teachers and the philosophers from the emperor’s court.

All these fairy-tales talk about the motif of the heir absence, the solving of this problem being a miraculous, immaculate birth, or the emerging of lots of children, who change the destiny of the person who suffered a crisis from this point of view, or a miraculous solution, or a hyperbolisation at the maximum dimension, according to the desire to have children. The fairy-tales offer miraculous, supernatural solutions in a characteristic way, the destiny of a child, born differently from the other children, opens the way towards the exceeding of the profane existence, and the entering into the fantastic one, which means the exceeding of his common condition.

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<sup>23</sup> Nicolae Constantinescu, *Relațiile de rudenie în societățile tradiționale. Reflexe în folclorul românesc*, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1987, p. 122.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>25</sup> George Călinescu, *Estetica Basmului*, Bucharest, E.P.L., 1965, p. 186, *apud* Nicolae Constantinescu, *Relațiile de rudenie...*, p. 122.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 122.

<sup>27</sup> Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Mică enciclopedie a poveștilor românești*, Bucharest, Scientific and Enciclopedic Publishing, 1976, p. 179; *Apud* Nicolae Constantinescu, *Relațiile de rudenie...*, p. 122.

<sup>28</sup> Nicolae Constantinescu, *Relațiile de rudenie...*, p. 123.

# THE BIBLICAL FLOOD AND PARALLEL MESOPOTAMIAN MYTHS\*

Radu Cosmin SĂVULESCU\*\*

**Abstract:** In every religious culture where it appears, the Flood myth implies the destruction of humanity, through the force of the unleashed waters, and its replacement with a new human race. Water is both the environment of the first creation and of its complete destruction followed by a resurrection. The best known version of this myth is represented by the Biblical Flood, a narrative that influenced the understanding of Creation and Re-creation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In this paper we tried to explain the most important aspects of Noah's story and to show the main similarities and differences between this narrative and the Mesopotamian versions of the Flood myth (*Ziusudra, Atrahasis, Gilgamesh*).

**Keywords:** flood, myth, Noah, Israel, Mesopotamia.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the religion of Israel, the Flood represents an historical event with extremely important consequences well beyond history. For the redactors of the book of Genesis, but also for the Israelite and Jewish religiosity as a whole, the Flood is not only a vengeance of Yahweh / Elohim, determined by human sin; although the punitive component is present and even emphasized by the Biblical text, the final purpose of the Flood is the re-creation of the original integrity of the fallen human race. The Biblical narrative of the Flood has numerous similarities to the narrative of Creation. We can easily see the author's (or authors') intention to underline the fact that through the waters unleashed from the sky, Yahweh aimed to bring the entire creation back to its primeval, shapeless state, in order to re-create it on superior moral grounds, using Noah, his family and the creatures from the ark<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Bandstra, *Reading the Old Testament: Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, Cengage Learning, Belmont (CA), 2008, p. 62.

In fact, for the Israelites, but also for later Judaism, the moral dimension of the Flood has an essential role. Yahweh's decision to proceed to a radical destruction of creation is not the consequence of the observation of technical imperfections, but of the increasing sinfulness of humanity, beyond the limits of divine tolerance<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, the Flood is not a manifestation of an angry, impulsive god, with a harmed ego; after the waters retreat completely and Yahweh begins to talk to Noah, He is not explicitly sorry for his decision to destroy humanity. Although He promise that "never again will the waters become a flood to destroy all life" (Gen. 9:15), Yahweh has no regret in respect to the victims of the cataclysm<sup>3</sup>. The death of the entire creation – except for those in the ark – was necessary for the process of re-creation on new premises. The Flood was the instrument through which Yahweh provided the framework of the new creation, a creation governed by another set of laws than those established in Paradise for Adam and Eve.

It is interesting to note that the Biblical text that precedes the observation of Yahweh concerning the increasing sinfulness of human race generated an important exegetical and hermeneutical debate. In the center of this passage are the "sons of God" (Hebr. *bēnē hā'ēlōhīm*), characters on whose identity various theories emerged<sup>4</sup>. These sons of God were strongly attracted by women's beauty and got to marry them<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, we can note an essential difference between the way that Yahweh "sees" humanity and analyzes the moral aspect of its existence, and the way the sons of God are more preoccupied with the bodily aspect, being interested in the beauty of the daughters of humans<sup>6</sup>. This contrast is another proof

<sup>2</sup> "The Lord saw how great the wickedness of the human race had become on the earth, and that every inclination of the thoughts of the human heart was only evil all the time. The Lord regretted that he had made human beings on the earth, and his heart was deeply troubled" (Gen. 6:5-6).

<sup>3</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, vol. 1, Chișinău, Universitas Publishing, 1992, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> In the modern and contemporary exegesis we can find three major theories concerning the identity of the "sons of God". The first one identifies them with the angels who failed to obey the divine commandment and mixed with humans. The second theory considers that the sons of God are earthly rulers, a warrior class – most probably Cainites – who had significant authority on the community. Finally, the third theory states that the sons of Go were actually descendants of Seth, therefore representing the "good humanity", close to God, unlike the Cainites (a detailed description of these theories concerning the sons of God can be found in K. A. Matthews, *The New American Commentary*, Genesis, vol. 1A: Genesis 1-11:26, Nashville, B&H Publishing, 1996, pp. 325-330). Beyond these theories, which are focused on the Biblical narrative, we have to note the obvious similarity between the Hebrew *bēnē hā'ēlōhīm* and the *phr bn 'ilm* ("the assembly of the sons of El") from the Ugarit library. In the Canaanite religion, this assembly was in fact a pantheon, presided by the supreme God, El; Yahweh is also portrayed as such a supreme God, presiding an assembly: "God presides in the great assembly; he renders judgment among the gods" (Ps. 82:1) (see Aleksander R. Michalak, *Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck Publishibg, 2012, pp. 18-19).

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 6:2: "The sons of God saw that the daughters of humans were beautiful, and they married any of them they chose".

<sup>6</sup> Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr, David L. Petersen, *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, Leiden, Brill Publishing, 2012, pp. 75-76.

for the fact that Yahweh does not unleash the Flood to correct an error in His creation: humans were increasing in number (Gen. 6:1), fulfilling the initial divine commandment (Gen. 1:28), and their daughters were so beautiful that they drew the attention of the sons of God, becoming their wives (Gen. 6:2). The Flood was a consequence of moral decay, which could have been caused, in its turn, by the mixture between the divine sphere (represented by the sons of God) and the human sphere (represented by the daughters of humans).

## 2. THE TWO REDACTION STRATA OF THE BIBLICAL NARRATIVE

The research on the Biblical narrative of the Flood has to take into account the fact that the Scripture text is not uniform, the version found in Torah and in the Pentateuch being the result of centuries of redactions. Many authors, from different eras and various schools of thought brought their contribution to the text that we read and analyze nowadays. As with the narrative of Creation, in respect to the Flood we also have two different stories, which are essentially similar, but do present some differences that can be explained only if we accept subsequent redactions or at least rearrangements of the original material. The modern and contemporary research underlined the existence of at least two redaction strata in the narrative of the Flood: the Priestly stratum (P) and the Yahwist stratum (J)<sup>7</sup>.

The differences between the two redaction strata are not everywhere obvious. Even if both the Yahwist and the Priestly story are consistent and coherent, in several situations it is impossible to establish what was the source of the respective passages<sup>8</sup>. There are, though, some clear differences, both in respect to the unfolding of the cataclysm and to the events that followed its end. For example, in Gen. 6:5-8 we deal with the Yahwist source that describes how God made His decision to unleash the Flood, while the next passage (Gen. 6:9-13) shows once again, in an abrupt manner, the story of Noah's life and the reasons that God decided to send the Flood for. This passage, Gen. 6:9-13, is without doubt from the Priestly source, such as the rest of Chapter 6, which includes the instructions of God (Elohim) concerning the construction of the ark and the selection of creatures to be embarked on it. There are several differences here, too, between the Priestly and the Yahwist sources: firstly, Elohim commands Noah to take into the ark "two of all living creatures, male and female, to keep them alive with you" (Gen. 6:19). In the Yahwist source, though, which includes the divine commandments in the beginning of the seventh chapter, Yahweh asks Noah to take "seven pairs of every

<sup>7</sup> A parallel between the Priestly and the Yahwist narratives can be found in Norman C. Habel, *The Two Flood Stories in Genesis*, in Alan Dundes (editor), *The Flood Myth*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1988, pp. 13-28.

<sup>8</sup> E. A. Speiser, *Genesis: Introduction, Translation and Notes. (The Anchor Yale Bible)*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1974, p. 54.

kind of clean animal, a male and its mate, and one pair of every kind of unclean animal, a male and its mate” (Gen 7:2)<sup>9</sup>.

As for the Flood itself, the Priestly source description is more detailed and frightening than the description of the Yahwist redactors. Thus, in Gen. 7:12 and 7:17 we read, from the Yahwist source, only that it rained for forty days and forty nights and the water increased enough to lift the ark high above the earth. Therefore, it is only about a flood caused by the fall of rain. In the Priestly source, however, rain is accompanied by another factor that determines the flooding, namely the subterranean waters, described in Gen. 7:11: “In the six hundredth year of Noah’s life, on the seventeenth day of the second month – on that day all the springs of the great deep burst forth, and the floodgates of the heavens were opened”. The terminology used by the Priestly source provides an obvious link to the narrative of Creation. The Flood is, in fact, an inversion of the creative process. In the narrative of Creation, life appears as a result of the separation of waters<sup>10</sup>, while in the Flood narrative the entire creation is destroyed through the mixing of the subterranean and heavenly waters. The humanity was born because God tamed the chaotic forces of the abyss, which opposed the creation of life, and was destroyed through the Flood, when God no longer opposed these forces. Given freedom, the chaotic forces unleashed in order to recreate the original deep (*tehom*, Gen. 1:2)<sup>11</sup>.

The mixing between the waters from above and those from below is the reason why water continued to increase on earth for another one hundred and ten days, although the rain itself lasted for only forty days. As Gen. 7:24 notes, the entire Flood, with the two aforementioned phases, lasted for one hundred and fifty days<sup>12</sup>. The scope of the flooding was huge and this is why the complete retreat of the waters was only possible after a year (Gen. 8:14). Therefore, the entire process of destruction and return of the creation to its initial state lasted a full year; in this respect, the Flood narrative resembles the Ancient Near Eastern myth of the annual conflict between order and chaos, concluded with the victory of the creator god, a

<sup>9</sup> Despite the fact that in the Biblical text there is an obvious difference between the expression “two of all” from Gen. 6:19 and “seven pairs of every kind” from Gen. 7:2, some authors think that in the second situation we are dealing only with an explanation of the first instruction. In other words, God first tells Noah that he has to take two creatures from all species – male and female – and then He specifies that Noah will take seven such pairs (Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, Word Biblical Commentary, Dallas, Word Books, 1987, p. 177).

<sup>10</sup> Gen. 1:7: “So God made the vault and separated the water under the vault from the water above it”.

<sup>11</sup> K. A. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

<sup>12</sup> That the one hundred and fifty days include the forty days of proper rain is obvious from the corroboration of the data concerning the beginning of the cataclysm (“in the six hundredth year of Noah’s life, on the seventeenth day of the second month”, Gen. 7:11) with the data concerning the moment when the ark came to rest on the Ararat mountains (“and on the seventeenth day of the seventh month the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat”, Gen. 8:4). Therefore, we have five months or one hundred and fifty days.

victory that was celebrated as the New Year<sup>13</sup>. The similarities stop here, because in the book of Genesis God guarantees that the Flood was a unique event and Noah is assured that the primeval waters will not be allowed anymore to interfere with the creation<sup>14</sup>.

We should note that there are two redaction strata as far as the events following the Flood are concerned. The first stratum can be seen in Gen. 8:20-22, a passage that constitutes the short version of God's commitment to the humanity represented by Noah. Following the sacrifice that Noah offered to God after leaving the ark, Yahweh looks upon the remaining humans and decides not to send anymore such radical punishments over humanity: "As long as the earth endures, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night will never cease" (Gen. 8:22). The terminology used here indicates a Yahwist redaction: God smells the burnt offering of Noah, considers the Flood a curse over the earth because of humans and reasserts the evil nature of the human heart as the main reason why it was necessary to unleash destroying forces of such magnitude<sup>15</sup>.

The covenant of God with the new humanity, represented by Noah, is contained in its extended form in the first part of the ninth chapter of Genesis (Gen. 9:1-17). We don't see here a negotiated covenant, because God is the only one who talks and establish obligations for both Him and humanity. The Biblical text can be split in two: in the first part (Gen. 9:1-7) we read a renewal of the original instructions that God gave to the first humans, while in the second part we find the covenant proper between God and Noah. After the divine blessing from Gen. 9:1 – "Be fruitful and increase in number and fill the earth" – there are two laws for the new creation: the first one concerns the killing and eating of animals (Gen. 9:4) and the second one concerns the killing of humans by other humans or beasts (Gen. 9:5-6). Given that these laws precede the covenant from Mount Sinai, they apply to the entire humanity, not only to the chosen people<sup>16</sup>. This is why "the covenant that God concludes with Noah, after the Flood (Genesis 9:8-17) represented for Jews the basis for natural religion, a reason for rabbis to use even nowadays the expression 'children of Noah' to designate the entire humanity. Based on this covenant, Judaism promoted the concept of 'Noahide laws', which include the fundamental elements of human religiosity and ethics"<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> The myth of the combat between Baal and Yam, the personification of the unleashed sea, a combat concluded with the victory of Baal, was recited in Ugarit at the New Year celebrations (Mircea Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 168).

<sup>14</sup> Norman C. Habel, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> K. A. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>17</sup> Our translation from the Romanian original: "legământul pe care Dumnezeu îl face cu Noe, după Potop (Geneza 9:8-17), a constituit, pentru evrei, baza religiei naturale, motiv pentru rabini să folosească, și astăzi, sintagma de «copii ai lui Noe», pentru desemnarea întregii umanități. Pe baza acestui legământ, iudaismul avea să promoveze conceptul de «legi noahice», cuprinzând elementele fundamentale ale eticii și religiozității umane" – Mihai Valentin Vladimirescu, *Fenomenul globalizării din perspectivă antropologică și religioasă*, Iași, Muzeul Național al Literaturii Române Publishing, 2013, p. 16.

In the Judeo-Christian spirituality, the sign of the covenant between God and Noah is considered to be the rainbow. The Bible translations in modern languages support this: "I have set my rainbow in the clouds, and it will be the sign of the covenant between me and the earth" (Gen. 9:13). In the Hebrew Bible, the term used is *qēšēṭ*, which has the primary meaning of bow with arrows. The corresponding noun from the Septuagint, *τόξον*, has the same meaning<sup>18</sup>. In both cases, therefore, the meaning of rainbow is only secondary. In order to explain this situation, some exegetes suggested that Yahweh sealed the covenant by abandoning his weapon, his bow with arrows. In contemporary exegesis, though, this kind of explanation was rejected, because it is considered that the Priestly redactor of this passage really referred to the rainbow, a universal natural symbol for the restoration of order<sup>19</sup>.

Despite the divine promise, some authorities of Hellenistic and Rabbinic Judaism noted that this promise concerns only the water flood, not any kind of flood: "Never again will the waters become a flood to destroy all life" (Gen. 9:15). According to Flavius Josephus, Adam himself predicted that humanity will be destroyed by both a water flood and a fire flood. This is why his descendants built two pillars, one of stone and the other of brick. On these pillars they wrote all their knowledge, in order for the information not to be lost because of the Flood<sup>20</sup>. Some rabbis, such as Eliezer of Modium, are convinced that an eventual flood of fire does not violate the covenant between God and Noah, while others rabbis, such as Rabbi Azariah, consider that only if God forces the interpretation of the covenant, He can send a flood of fire to destroy the humanity<sup>21</sup>. The New Testament took up the idea of the flood of fire and gave it a meaning strongly connected to the second coming of Christ. Thus, the water of Noah's Flood and the fire from the Judgment Day are extremities for the existence of the new creation: "By the same word the present heavens and earth are reserved for fire, being kept for the day of judgment and destruction of the ungodly" (2 Pet. 3:7).

### 3. THE STORY OF KING ZIUSUDRA AND THE EPIC OF ATRAHASIS

The Biblical Flood has parallels in the mythical and religious thought of the Ancient Near East, mainly in the Mesopotamian literature, where we find several versions of the flood myth. All these versions have common elements and they

<sup>18</sup> James Swanson, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew (New Testament)*, Logos Research Systems, Inc., Oak Harbor, 1997, 8008; Idem, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Greek (New Testament)*, Oak Harbor, Logos Research Systems, Inc., 1997, 5534.

<sup>19</sup> Gordon J. Wenham, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* I, iii, 3, in W. Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, Peabody, Hendrickson Publishing, 1987, 1.67.

<sup>21</sup> Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*, Leiden, Brill Publishing, 1968 (reprint 1978), p. 180.

present some similarities to the Biblical narrative. Some of these texts were discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and they were found to be older than the book of Genesis. This finding created the framework for thorough research in Semitic compared mythology. For some researchers, the existence of older Semitic versions of the Flood, prior to the Biblical narrative, represented the best proof of the fact that the Flood cannot be considered a historical event, being just a Hebrew interpretation of an Oriental myth. For others, though, the presence of various narratives of the Flood all over the Ancient Near East was a further proof that the event really happened, as it remained in the conscience of so many nations<sup>22</sup>.

The oldest version of the Flood myth in the Mesopotamian world is the Sumerian version, whose main character is King Ziusudra from Sippar. This version was not known to the academic world until 1914, when the German-American orientalist Arno Poebel (1881-1958) published some fragments written on a clay tablet found at the University Museum from Philadelphia. These are, in fact, the only known references to the Sumerian flood myth<sup>23</sup>. According to the clay tablet discovered by Poebel, the pious king Ziusudra is informed – most probably by god Enki<sup>24</sup> – that humanity is close to be destroyed through a flood sent by gods. Given that the text starts abruptly, with this warning, we cannot determine why the gods had decided to destroy the entire human race. We also lack the fragment that could have included the description of the ark, but we understand from the remaining fragments that there was such an ark, because after the flood the god of Sun, Utu, sent his rays over the huge vessel<sup>25</sup>. Unlike the Biblical narrative of the flood, in the Sumerian version there is only one survivor, king Ziusudra, who is transferred to the land of Dilmun, to continue his life in a semi-divine style<sup>26</sup>.

Much richer information on the Flood we find in the *Epic of Atrahasis*, which has an Akkadian version, dated around 1700 B.C.<sup>27</sup>. According to the list of the Sumerian kings, Atrahasis was either the ruler of the city of Shuruppak, or the son

<sup>22</sup> Alan Dundes, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> S. H. Hooke, *Middle Eastern Mythology* (unabridged version), Mineola, Dover Publications, 2004, p. 30.

<sup>24</sup> In the Sumerian pantheon, Enki was the god of sweet waters, his force being behind the emergence of subterranean waters: torrents, rivers, sweet lakes. In the Sumerian literature, Enki is portrayed as a benevolent god, who helps humans, such as in the case of Ziusudra's story (Tamra Andrews, *Dictionary of Nature Myths: Legends of the Earth, Sea, and Sky*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 66).

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Hämerly-Dupuy, *Some Observations on the Assyro-Babylonian and Sumerian Flood Stories*, in Alan Dundes (editor), *The Flood Myth*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1988, p. 56

<sup>26</sup> Mircea Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>27</sup> There are some other fragments, too, in Akkadian and Late Assyrian, dated up until the 6<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. (W. G. Lambert, A. R. Millard (editors), *Atra-hasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, p. 31 sq).

of a ruler of this city (a man also called Shuruppak)<sup>28</sup>. There is a wisdom writing from the third millennium B.C., entitled *The Teachings of Shuruppak*, containing the advices given by Shuruppak to his son, Ziusudra<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, we are dealing with one and the same legendary hero, named both *Ziusudra* and *Atrahasis*, depending on the version of this myth.

In the *Epic of Atrahasis*, the gods observe the overcrowding in the world and decide to take measures in order to reduce the number of humans. Enlil, the god of storm, is the first to react and he addresses the higher gods:

“The noise of mankind has become too much.  
I am losing sleep over their racket.  
Cut off supplies to the people!  
Let the vegetation be too scant for their hunger!”<sup>30</sup>.

But famine and the other measures do not manage to reduce the overcrowding and please god Enlil. Consequently, he makes the decision to destroy humanity through a flood. As in Ziusudra’s epic, in the *Epic of Atrahasis*, too, god Enki is the one who saves humans. He asks Atrahasis to demolish his house, to build an ark and embark of it living creatures. The hero fulfills these commandments with help from several old men, a carpenter, a reed worker, a child and poor people. Once the ark was built, the weather worsened and Atrahasis and the others took refuge in the vessel, sealing the door with bitumen. The text describes the events that followed in frightening words:

“The Flood roared like a bull,  
Like a wild ass screaming the winds [howled]  
The darkness was total, there was no sun”<sup>31</sup>.

The flood ends as expected, with the complete destruction of humanity. Seeing the terrible consequence of the cataclysm, the higher gods regret the decision and lament. Atrahasis, though, offers a sacrifice and calls all the gods to have a meal together. On this occasion, Enki presents the other gods his solutions to prevent the reappearance of overcrowding in the world. He invokes Nintu, the goddess of birth, and asks her to create a new humanity, making sure that only two thirds of women will be able to give birth. Likewise, a demon will wander in the world and will steal children from their mothers. Finally, a third measure of birth

<sup>28</sup> Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000 (1989<sup>1</sup>), p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> The writing is representative for the Sumerian wisdom and had a wide circulation in Mesopotamia, a proof for this being the large number of manuscripts conserved. See Richard J. Clifford (editor), *Wisdom Literature in Mesopotamia and Israel*, Society of Biblical Literature, 2007, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Atrahasis*, Tablet II, I, in Stephanie Dalley (editor), *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others*, revised edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000 (1989<sup>1</sup>), p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> *Atrahasis*, Tablet III, III, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

control and prevention of overcrowding is the consecration of three categories of women – *ugbabbu*, *entu* and *egisitu* – as servants to the temples, removing them from social life<sup>32</sup>.

Even though the reasons behind the decision made by the Sumero-Akkadian gods to destroy humanity are different than those that were on the basis of the analogous decision made by Yahweh / Elohim, in both cases the gods reach the same conclusion: humanity must have clear laws of existence, in order to prevent a critical situation that asks for radical solutions. In the book of Genesis, Yahweh / Elohim establishes the *Noahide laws* to prevent the increase of human sinfulness, while in the *Epic of Atrahasis* the laws set by Enki are aimed to prevent the reappearance of the cause that led to the Flood – the overcrowding of the world<sup>33</sup>.

#### 4. THE GILGAMESH EPIC

A Mesopotamian version of the flood myth that presents numerous similarities to the Biblical narrative is contained in the *Gilgamesh Epic*. This masterpiece of Mesopotamian literature was conserved, in its standard version – as considered by specialists – on twelve clay tablets, written in Akkadian. The epic narrates the adventures of Gilgamesh, the king of the city-state of Uruk, who becomes a friend of his rival Enkidu and leaves with him in search of immortality<sup>34</sup>.

One of the episodes of Gilgamesh's adventures is when the main character, deeply troubled by the death of his friend Enkidu, reaches Utnapishtim<sup>35</sup>, a legendary hero from the times before the Flood. On this occasion, the author of the epic narrates, through the words of Utnapishtim, the events that preceded the cataclysm, as well as the unfolding of the Flood itself. The similarities between the story of Utnapishtim and the epics of Ziusudra and Atrahasis determined some researchers to assert that this narrative was inserted into the Gilgamesh Epic by later editors, being an independent Sumerian legend<sup>36</sup>. Regardless of how things really stand, we have to emphasize the significant similarities between the narrative of Utnapishtim and the Biblical account of the Flood. Like Noah, Utnapishtim is asked by the gods to build an ark and embark in it the seed of all living creatures. During the seven days of flood the sea rises its level (cf. Gen. 7:18: "the waters rose and increased greatly on the earth") the rain stops and Utnapishtim sends a dove that quickly returns to the ark (cf. Gen. 8:8-9). Then, he sends a raven, which sees that the water level is lower and flies in circles, waiting for the land to dry

<sup>32</sup> *Atrahasis*, Tablet III, VII, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *The Atrahasis Epic and Its Significance for Our Understanding of Genesis 1-9*, in "The Biblical Archaeologist", vol. 40, no. 4 (Dec. 1977), pp. 150-151.

<sup>34</sup> Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, Waucond (IL), Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc., 2002, pp. 3-4.

<sup>35</sup> The name Utnapishtim is an approximate translation, into Akkadian, of the Sumerian name Ziusudra (Stephanie Dalley, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

<sup>36</sup> Stephanie Dalley, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

(f. Gen. 8:7). In the end, Utnapishtim leaves the ark and, like Noah, offers a sacrifice to the gods, who smell it, like Yahweh did (Gen. 8:20-21)<sup>37</sup>.

The similarities between the Biblical account and the story of Utnapishtim are so striking that we find it difficult to maintain that the two narratives are independent myths. In the same time, though, we cannot assert with certainty that the redactors of Genesis had simply copied the Akkadian myth. In fact, the story of Utnapishtim itself is similar in many ways to the other Mesopotamian versions of the myth, such as those of Ziusudra or Atrahasis. Consequently, we could say that all these narratives – Mesopotamian and Israelite – had a common, archaic Semitic source. Although the Flood is not a creation of Israelite religion, the religious genius of the chosen people had an enormous contribution in the selection and critic of such archaic myths, a contribution through which “it transformed the relation between God and the chosen people into a ‘sacred history’ of a previously unknown type. From a certain point, this ‘sacred’ history, exclusively national in appearance, proved to be the exemplar model of the entire humanity”<sup>38</sup>.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

In the general framework of Israel’s religion, the Flood represents a crucial moment in the sacred history. This history has two major phases: before and after the Flood. In fact, this was the purpose that Yahweh had in mind when he decided to unleash the waters: to destroy the initial creation and to re-create the world from a “healthy seed”. For the Israelites, but also for the later Jewish and Christian thought, the Flood itself is a unique event in history, firstly because God promised not to destroy again humanity and secondly because He established a set of law that are aimed to prevent the reappearance of such a moral decay like the one that triggered the Flood.

In many ways the Biblical narrative is similar to the Mesopotamian versions of the flood myth. But this is not enough for us to conclude that the book of Genesis, being more recent, simply copied a preexistent myth from Mesopotamia. On the other hand, we can’t be sure that the spreading of the flood myth all over the Ancient Near East represents the ultimate proof for the historicity of this event. All we can do is to understand the correlations between the Flood and Creation and to point the similarities and differences between the Biblical account and the other Semitic versions of the myth; beyond this lies the “trap” of the investigation of origins, which lead to interminable and fruitless debates.

<sup>37</sup> Barry Bandstra, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>38</sup> The Romanian text by Mircea Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 179: “a transformat raporturile lui Dumnezeu cu poporul ales într-o «istorie sacră» de un tip necunoscut până atunci. Pornind de la un anumit moment, această istorie «sacră», aparent exclusiv «națională», s-a relevat drept modelul exemplar al întregii umanități”.

# DIALECTIC AND CONTRADICTION

## LE PROBLÈME DU PASSAGE DE L'UN AU MULTIPLE

Gheorghe DĂNIȘOR\*

### THE PROBLEM OF THE PASSAGE FROM ONE TO MULTIPLE

**Abstract:** On a metaphysical level, the concept of “passage” is problematic. Therefore, in this analysis we put into question numerous times this term. The word “passage” is used because we have no other to designate this reality which, in its transition into something else, does not disappear, actually. This difficulty is felt, it seems, to Hegel, because neither he failed to adequately express the paradox of the passage that does not pass. The solution can come from the deduction of this paradox significance from the Greek meaning of “theoria” (contemplation, sophia), which contains in itself two terms that mean the same thing: theo-passer and reo-passer, which could be expressed as the passage of the passage, ie, the location in the divine (Thea).

**Keywords:** multiple, passage, beyond, metaphysics, logic, phenomenology.

*Sophia*, en tant que passage au-delà du passage, est, selon Platon, le choix divin (*ale theis*) car elle incarne la vérité (*alethes*). A partir de ces significations, Platon soutient dans son dialogue *Cratylus*: «quant à l'homme (*être*) et *ousia* (*essence*), ils s'accordent avec *alethes* (*vérité*) lorsqu'ils reçoivent un *i*: dans ce cas-là, *ion* (en marchant), et à son tour *ouk on*, comme le prononcent certains, arrive être *ouk ion* (celui qui ne devient pas)»<sup>1</sup>.

A partir de ces considérants, le passage qui n'est pas passage signifie aussi chez Hegel passage au-delà du passage, position occupée par le *sage*. Le dialectique est en fait chez Hegel choix divin, l'être pur qui représente «celui qui ne devient pas». Le devenir appartient à notre connaissance en tant que créatures finies et non pas à l'être pur qui reste en soi éternellement identique à soi. C'est le sens dans lequel Hegel soutient que «Dieu, qui est la vérité, est connu par nous dans sa vérité, c'est-à-dire comme esprit absolu, parce qu'on reconnaît que le monde créé par lui, la nature, l'esprit fini, est faux dans sa différence d'après Dieu»<sup>2</sup>. Le devenir ne se retrouve pas au niveau de l'esprit absolu, il n'existe pas de passage en autre chose, mais il *apparaît* ou *disparaît* du champ «visuel» de la conscience. C'est la dernière qui

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<sup>1</sup> Platon, *Opere alese*, vol. III, Bucarest, Scientifique et Encyclopédique Éditeur, 1978, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Hegel, *Enciclopedia științelor filosofice. Logica*, Bucarest, Académie Roumaine Éditeur, 1962, p. 168.

devient parce que l'apparition montre sa profondeur, a de la profondeur à mesure que la conscience a accumulé de l'expérience dans la pensée. Le souvenir des marches de son évolution, tel qu'il est présent dans la *Phénoménologie*, est essentiel pour la découverte de la profondeur de l'apparition spirituelle. Il existera un moment où *le devenir de la conscience finie rencontrera la vérité absolue*, Dieu, et alors le devenir de la pensée humaine cessera, parce qu'elle fonde dans l'absolu, et le rapport au moi sera dépassé.

Cette idée que seulement ce qui est fini devient et c'est ainsi qu'il passe dans une autre chose est soulignée par Hegel lorsqu'il compare les différents systèmes philosophiques avec la Philosophie. Ainsi, dit-il,

«chaque système philosophique doit être considéré comme exposition d'un moment particulier ou une certaine marche dans le processus de développement de l'Idée. L'information d'une philosophie a donc seulement le sens que sa limite a été dépassée et que son principe particulier est descendu à un moment idéal. L'histoire de la philosophie s'occupe ainsi, dans son contenu essentiel, non pas de ce qui est passé, mais de ce qui *est éternellement et effectivement présent*; elle ne doit pas être comparée dans son résultat à une galerie d'errances de l'esprit humain, mais plutôt à un panthéon de figures divines. Ces figures sont cependant justement les différentes étapes de l'Idée, telles qu'elles surviennent, l'une après l'autre, au cours du développement dialectique»<sup>3</sup>.

Ces considérants peuvent avoir le désavantage de maintenir dans la sphère métaphysique même une certaine séparation entre la conscience et l'objectivité de la vérité absolue. A cause de cette séparation il s'est créé dans la philosophie l'illusion que tout doit commencer par *le Moi*. En étant pourtant marqué par des limites, en étant donc limité, *le Moi* ne puisse constituer le fondement de tout le travail dialectique parce qu'il reste bloqué dans ses limites, se trouvant ainsi dans l'impossibilité de tendre vers l'absolu. Pour que *le Moi* soit commencement de la philosophie, il faut que ce concept soit éloigné de lui, acte absolu par lequel *le Moi* est purifié de lui-même et apparaît à sa conscience comme *le Moi* absolu. Seulement que ce *le Moi* pur n'est dès lors *le Moi* immédiatement donné, connu, habituel de notre conscience, par lequel la science devrait commencer pour tous et de manière immédiate. L'acte dont il s'agit ne serait pas, à vroit dire, autre chose qu'élévation à la science pure, où la différence entre subjectif et objectif disparaît<sup>4</sup>. Pour atteindre l'immédiateté de l'Être (le Rien), l'homme doit expérimenter le vide total. Mais c'est une expérimentation de la Liberté absolue, c'est-à-dire négation de ce qui est fini et transposition de soi comme infini. La liberté s'affirme comme négation absolue de ce qui a le caractère de *quelque chose*.

De ce que Hegel soutient ici, il en résulte qu'il a eu l'intention de supprimer la subjectivité, pour que l'idée ait le caractère de l'objectivité. De cette manière, l'apparition de l'esprit n'est pas exposition devant une conscience extérieure, mais

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Hegel, *Știința logicii*, Académie Roumaine Éditeur, Bucarest, 1966, p. 58.

ex-position de soi en soi-même, c'est la conscience de soi de l'esprit infini, c'est-à-dire libre. «Car la liberté, dit Hegel, signifie justement cela: être dans son autre, chez soi-même; dépendre de soi, être ce qui se détermine soi-même»<sup>5</sup>.

On se confronte avec une certaine ambiguïté dans la philosophie de Hegel. On ne peut pas déduire de son exposition si le moi a toujours un rôle dans la dialectique de l'idée. Ne se perd-il pas sans possibilité de revenir chez soi? En éliminant du moi tout ce qui est concret, il se confond dans l'idée dans son absolue objectivité. A partir du moi purifié (libre) on crée le commencement de toute philosophie, en l'identifiant comme Hegel avec le rien absolu. Dans cette situation, ne maintient-on pas la subjectivité au premier plan, l'objectivité en étant le résultat de l'action par laquelle *le Moi* se purifie soi-même (se libère de soi)? La dialectique de Hegel est la modalité par laquelle l'homme se purifie de la donnée de la représentation et de l'intelligible pour *se retrouver* comme être pur. C'est une action intérieure du Moi orientée vers l'extériorité qu'il anéantisse se libérant ainsi de l'extériorité, où tout fond comme dans un creuset. C'est une modalité d'arriver à la contemplation. L'objectivité est dans son propre soi, *le Moi*. Je crois que dans ce sens doit-on recevoir l'affirmation de Hegel selon laquelle «Le moi est ce vide, le récepteur de tous et de tout, pour lequel sont tous et qui conserve en soi tout»<sup>6</sup>.

Une autre modalité est celle analytique: on arrive à la contemplation par la discipline intérieure, sans pourtant arriver à anéantir l'extérieur. Ce dernier est seulement négligé. Le résultat en est le même: l'élévation au-delà de la connaissance discursive, c'est-à-dire que *le Moi* devient vide de tout contenu? La projection subjective sur l'objectivité reste, dans ce cas, fondamentale. De cette manière pourtant le dépassement du kantisme en est une illusion parce que *le Moi* reste le fonds sur lequel se déroule toute la dialecticité du soi-disant réel. La philosophie commence toujours avec *le Moi*, bien que purifié. La purification assure-t-elle l'objectivité? C'est ce qu'on doit prouver, mais Hegel prend pour donné ce qui en fait doit être prouvé.

Ces signes d'interrogation apparaissent en ce qui concerne le caractère absolu de l'être égal avec le rien par lequel il commence, selon Hegel, toute pensée philosophique. Si l'être pur du commencement, le rien pur est absolu, tout passage au-delà est impossible pour la simple raison que l'absolu n'a plus rien en dehors de lui vers lequel passer. Mais s'il est absolu, il n'admet même pas dans son intérieur le passage comme de quelque chose à autre chose. C'est ce que soutient Hegel même à plusieurs occasions dans sa philosophie. Dans cette situation le passage au-delà est bloqué. Or Hegel soutient qu'un pareil passage est possible.

Si le passage est bloqué lorsqu'on se situe au niveau de l'être pur absolu du commencement, il en résulte que ce passage n'est rien d'autre que le fruit de notre connaissance de l'absolu, et quand on parle de la méthode dialectique on revient à la subjectivité. Mais avec la subjectivité on ne peut pas penser un commencement

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<sup>5</sup> Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

absolu qui comprenne toute la réalité. On peut alors penser que ce commencement-là absolu est choisi arbitrairement par le moi qui connaît et ainsi le commencement est seulement un «quoi admis». «D'ailleurs, dit Hegel, soit-il un contenu de l'être ou de l'essence, ou du concept, le commencent, parce qu'il est un quoi immédiat est un quoi admis, préalablement pensé, assertorique»<sup>7</sup>.

Hegel a prévu toutes ces objections et a essayé de les prévenir dans *La science de la logique*. Elles ne peuvent pas pourtant être éliminées. Le problème le plus difficile est celui du passage de l'être absolu du commencement dans lequel il manque tout rapport et, par conséquent, la spatio-temporalité, vers l'être concret, relationnel et encadré dans la spatio-temporalité. L'être pur du commencement est l'Un au sens absolu, inanalysable et, comme tel, il est le rien pur. Comment se décide-t-il à devenir quelque chose? S'il n'existe pas une impulsion extérieure, se décide-t-il de lui-même de devenir quelque chose? Cette difficulté a été ressentie par Platon, ce dernier ne réussissant pas à lier l'idée avec le phénomène. Mais si l'être est absolu, peut-il passer en quelque chose d'autre? Ne se crée-t-il pas l'impression qu'il produit sa propre extériorité et alors son caractère absolu disparaît? Hegel soutient que ce caractère reste bien que l'être pur passe dans quelque chose d'autre. Disons que ce n'est pas l'être pur absolu qui passe en quelque chose d'autre, mais les termes de *quelque chose* et de *quelque chose d'autre* sont ses différenciations internes entre lesquelles se crée une relation. Mais, comme l'on vient de voir, la relation manque de manière absolue dans l'être pur du commencement. La différenciation intérieure entre *quelque chose* et *quelque chose d'autre* limite intérieurement l'être même, le détermine; alors il n'est plus absolu.

A notre avis, Hegel ne peut pas faire le passage de l'Unité primaire et absolue vers la Multiplicité spatio-temporelle. La seule chose qu'il peut faire est de prendre pour donnée ce qui est à prouver. A ce niveau, cependant, nous dit Aristote, la démonstration n'est pas possible. Tous ces doutes nous placent dans la situation de considérer ce concept de l'être absolu et du rien avec lequel commence la philosophie et dont Hegel fait usage, comme ayant un haut degré d'artificialité. Autrement dit, la philosophie hégélienne n'échappe pas au constructivisme.

Cependant ces difficultés peuvent s'estomper si l'on sépare le concept de devenir et celui de mouvement vers quelque chose. Si dans la *Phénoménologie le Moi* joue le rôle central et il est soumis à la marche temporelle, dans la *Science de la logique*, le *Moi* a accompli son devenir. La *Phénoménologie* comme chemin de la suppression du moi et du temps fait le passage vers la *Science de la logique*, la véritable ontologie hégélienne. En fait, tel comme note Alexis Philonenko, «le passage de la *Phénoménologie* à la *Logique* n'est rien d'autre que le passage de l'homme au Dieu»<sup>8</sup>. Dans la *Logique le devenir* s'inscrit dans l'éternité, il est pensé au-delà du domaine étroit du spatio-temporel subjectif. C'est pourquoi à ce niveau

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 828.

<sup>8</sup> Alexis Philonenko, *Commentaire de la "Phénoménologie" de Hegel. De la certitude sensible au savoir absolu*, Vrin, Paris, 2001, p. 284.

le devenir n'est plus mouvement vers quelque chose, mais activité contemplative du divin en soi-même. Dans la *Science de la logique*, Hegel ne parle plus de l'homme et de son histoire, mais de Dieu. Ce n'est que regardé de ce point de vue que le concept de passage utilisé dans un paradoxe de la *Science de la logique* puisse être compris. Le terme de dialectique est-il équivalent ici avec celui de passage? Il semble que non, en étant plutôt l'équivalent de la *théorie* avec sa signification de passage au-delà du passage ou de course divine. La *Science de la logique* qui dépasse la capacité humaine de penser est une sorte de livre de la sagesse divine. Le problème est celui de la place que l'homme peut occuper dans l'éternité. Du moment où l'homme pense le divin, n'a-t-il pas, grâce à cette pensée, une «place» dans le cœur du divin? Cette place est le «vide» absolu, c'est-à-dire la liberté absolue, comme récepteur de tout ce qui est par la négation. L'absolu est l'être; comme étant absolu, l'être est non-être, il a en soi-même le moment de la négativité. Comme négativité, il est esprit. L'homme en étant dans son essence un être spirituel, cela signifie qu'il est un être qui nie. Nier quelque chose signifie l'anéantir, te libérer de ce quelque chose. La place de l'homme comme esprit est dans l'être-non-être, négativité et, comme telle, libre en soi. L'identité d'essence entre l'être et l'homme est une identité en liberté: l'être est en soi-même esprit libre.

De cette manière on s'interroge sur la capacité de l'homme de penser librement parce qu'il pense l'absolu, le Dieu. C'est le message que Hegel insère dans la *Science de la logique*. Cet événement a commencé avec l'aptitude de la conscience de supprimer le temps historique pour pouvoir s'inscrire dans une réalité transcendant l'histoire. L'homme peut penser l'être pur sans rapport et il peut ainsi penser *le rien* comme libération de tout ce qui est contingent. L'anéantissement du contingent c'est le but caché du message hégélien. Il s'agit d'un contingent en deux étapes: 1. la contingence de la représentation sensible et 2. la contingence de la rationalité. La *Science de la logique* se place, de cette manière, dans un domaine qui transcende, la rationalité et, par conséquent, dans un domaine qui transcende l'histoire. Dans cette transcendance l'homme rencontre la transcendance de la liberté qu'il transpose ensuite historiquement. La liberté humaine dans la vision hégélienne vise le *On*, au-delà de l'ontologie.

La situation de Hegel au-delà du rationnel et donc sa situation dans la métaphysique n'est comprise que dans la première section de la *Science de la logique*. Autrement, Hegel est un grand logicien.



# KARL MARX – L'ERREUR ORIGINALE

Ion MILITARU\*

## Karl Marx – The Original Error

**Abstract:** There is a premise in Marxist thinking, which, according to Marx's own theses, is based on a contradiction: one should start considering things in themselves and studying man in his historical environment. However, in *Capital* (*Das Kapital*) this methodological requirement was violated and, instead, another opposite premise was taken into consideration: the welfare of those societies dominated by the capitalist mode of production emerges as an immense accumulation of commodities. Nevertheless, this is not a practical description; rather, it is an interpretation. In his Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach, Marx stated that "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is, to change it". In *Capital*, Marx interprets it!

**Keywords:** capitalism, law, system, historical order, Marx.

### 1.

*La richesse des sociétés dans lesquelles règne le mode de production capitaliste s'annonce comme une immense accumulation de marchandises\* et chaque produit, pris séparément, comme forme élémentaire de cette richesse. L'analyse de la marchandise sera le point de départ dans notre étude<sup>1</sup>.* Proposition de grande impacte, prémisse et axiome radical – c'est d'elle que tout va résulter: la logique de la construction entière, l'analytique et la synthèse du *Capital*; c'est toujours ici, dans le monde qui se présente comme «une immense accumulation de marchandises» que la révolution communiste retrouve ses origines et le monde qui lui succède.

Comment est-il possible une telle chose? Comment, d'une seule proposition, un monde peut être détruit et construit un autre? Quelle est la logique et les outils

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\* Marx fait référence à la première variante de cette formule.

<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *Capitalul. Critica economiei politice*, vol. I, Éditeur Parti Communiste Roumain, 1947, p. 69.

sur lesquels on peut compter pour réunir deux bouts de l'action qui impliquent les points  $\alpha$  et  $\omega$ , l'apocalypse et la genèse?

La note marquée avec\*, qui suit au syntagme «*immense accumulation de marchandises*», appartient à Marx et fait référence à la variante première de la définition: Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Berlin 1859, p. 3. A la page 3 de l'ouvrage en discussion, la même définition est rencontrée dans la formule suivante: *à première vue, la richesse bourgeoise apparaît telle comme une énorme accumulation de marchandises, chaque marchandise, prise séparément, comme existence élémentaire de cette richesse. Mais n'importe quelle marchandise se présente sous un double aspect: comme valeur d'usage et comme valeur d'échange*<sup>2</sup>.

Du reste, les autres variantes du *Capital: Les bases de la critique de l'économie politique* ou *Salaire, prix, profit* et *Contributions à la critique de l'économie politique* font à peine place à la *marchandise*, leur investigation étant en ce cas orientée différemment<sup>3</sup>. La marchandise n'est pas une découverte tardive, dans les approches antérieures du mode de production capitaliste, elle n'est pas totalement absente. La conclusion immédiate de la présence de la marchandise en tant qu'opérateur principal dans l'analytique de l'économie politique du capitalisme et, tout à la fois, de sa relative absence dans l'analytique du même système, est la suivante: le mode de production capitaliste peut être abordé par la catégorie de la marchandise selon qu'il peut être abordé par le biais d'une autre chose que la marchandise-même. Par conséquent, la marchandise est un terme quasi-aléatoire, dépourvu de nécessité dans l'analytique du système. D'autres termes, d'une efficacité égale, peuvent être impliqués dans l'étude du monde capitaliste. La marchandise n'est pas le terme-clé du capitalisme: celui-ci peut être considéré comme monde de la marchandise et d'une manière égale, peut être considéré comme un monde différent.

Ainsi donc, la lecture de Marx pour le mode de production capitaliste n'est pas le résultat de la lecture des lois, mais le résultat de sa propre recherche. Son histoire est la preuve des possibilités des perspectives plurielles.

\* Marx fait référence à la première variante de cette formule.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx, *Contribuții la critica economiei politice*, in Marx, Engels, *Opere*, vol. 13, Bucarest, Édition Politique (notre traduction), 1962, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Dans les *Bases de la critique de l'économie politique*, ouvrage considéré comme variante première du *Capital*, c'est à peine à la page 56 que le mot *marchandise* est prononcé sans lui accorder aucune importance. À la page 57, la *marchandise* gagne une signification propre dans le contexte de la discussion sur l'or et l'argent, dans une définition contradictoire intentionnellement: L'or et l'argent sont des marchandises comme toutes les autres. L'or et l'argent ne sont pas des marchandises comme toutes les autres, là est en jeu la réduction de l'or et de l'argent à leur qualité transcendante. Elle fait place aussi à la contradiction de la marchandise par laquelle Marx va expliquer le système du monde capitaliste, pourquoi ce système doit tomber et comment peut-il être remplacé par un autre où sa catégorie fondamentale, la marchandise, disparaît (notre traduction).

## 2.

Dans l'*Idéologie allemande*, Marx fait la description de la manière de procédure scientifique: Les prémisses d'où l'on part ne sont pas arbitraires, ne sont pas des dogmes; elles sont des prémisses réelles, dont on peut se passer dans l'imagination seulement. Il s'agit des individus réels, de leur activité et de leurs conditions matérielles de vie, celles qu'ils ont déjà trouvées en réalité aussi que celles qu'ils ont créées par leur propre activité. Ces prémisses peuvent être constatées, par conséquent, sur la voie purement empirique. La première prémisses de toute histoire humaine est l'existence des individus humains vivants<sup>4</sup>. À cette condition de méthodologie épistémique s'ajoute la première partie de la thèse 11<sup>e</sup> sur Feuerbach: *les philosophes n'ont fait qu'interpréter le monde...*

Dans le *Capital*, le point de départ est la marchandise. De son analytique: contradictions, antagonismes, tensions va résulter le mode de production du monde du *Capital*. Ici, la marchandise est le terme originaire, tout comme pour Platon – l'*Idee*, pour Kant – le *phénomène* et *noumen*, pour Hegel – l'*esprit* ou pour Heidegger – l'*être*.

Dans les variantes de début du *Capital*, la marchandise ne figurait pas dans la position privilégiée de terme-clé. Au contraire, elle était une simple déduction des autres termes plus importants, mieux placés outre l'exigence d'une origine transcendante.

La possibilité que la marchandise soit une déduction a créé déjà un problème dans la philosophie qui se propose de renoncer aux *interprétations*, de procéder *scientifiquement* à partir de l'*existence*, des hommes réels, mais aussi des choses réelles. Dans ces termes, la marchandise n'est pas une réalité.

La marchandise semble être une déduction, une création relativement tardive dans l'analyse d'un mode de production. Comment peut-elle donc être dans la condition de prémisses, c'est-à-dire d'entité originaire, quand Marx lui-même, dans les quelques variantes de jeunesse du même sujet, n'avait pas trouvé une telle position? Au contraire, dans les *Bases de la critique de l'économie politique*, la marchandise était quelque chose de tardif, résultat de l'analyse de l'échange et de l'argent. Elle était précédée de ces catégories économiques qui, dans cette position, sont plus originaires que celle-ci. Dans les *Manuscrits économico-philosophiques* de 1844, dans le chapitre *Travail aliéné*, le point de départ est un autre: Nous sommes partis des prémisses de l'économie politique. Nous avons accepté son langage et ses lois. Nous avons supposé la propriété privée, la séparation du travail, du capital et de la terre, ainsi que celle du salaire, du profit capitaliste et de la rente foncière, puis la division du travail, la concurrence, la notion de valeur d'échange etc<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Marx Engels, *Ideologia germană*, in *Opere*, vol. III, Bucarest, Éditions Politiques, 1962, p. 20 (notre traduction).

<sup>5</sup> Marx, *Manuscrits économico-philosophiques* de 1844, in Marx Engels, *Scrisori din tinerețe*, Bucarest, Éditions Politiques (notre traduction).

Quittons Marx dans le bénéfice d'un simple dictionnaire d'économie. Peu importe le courant, l'auteur ou l'interprétation, la marchandise est définie de cette manière: *produit du travail humain destiné à l'échange*.

Par conséquent, la marchandise est précédée de *travail humain et échange*. A peine les deux, *simpliciter*, disent ce que c'est la marchandise. Ceux-ci la précèdent en la conditionnant dans sa structure physique et sa signification.

Par la suite, la marchandise n'est pas un terme originaire. Elle ne peut pas soutenir une interprétation scientifique, nécessaire, l'une qui vise une explication exclusive du monde. La marchandise n'explique pas, parce qu'elle n'a aucune priorité, elle n'est pas terme originaire. En tant que terme second, dérivé, la marchandise s'explique elle-même ou on nous l'explique.

Qu'est-ce que c'est l'existence de ce monde dont la richesse est vue comme «*immense accumulation de marchandises*»? Elle n'est pas l'existence-même de ce monde-là, eux, ils ne sont pas les *individus réels* demandés dans l'axiome déjà mentionnée, aussi qu'il n'y a pas *l'activité et les conditions matérielles de vie*. La marchandise n'appartient pas à cette sphère des prémisses qui peuvent être constatées, par la suite, sur voie purement empirique. En bref, la marchandise n'est pas l'axiome de base de la pensée, elle n'est pas l'*esprit*, ni l'*idée* ni l'*être*, elle n'est pas ni *phénomène* ni *noumen*. *La marchandise est interprétation!*

Par l'interprétation, Marx entre dans la catégorie des philosophes désavoués en devenant la cible de sa propre critique méthodologique. Il est pré-marxiste dans l'ordre et la logique de sa propre pensée. Ce qu'il conteste c'est sa propre procédure. *Les philosophes n'ont fait qu'interpréter le monde diversement. L'important est de le changer*-cette phrase devient elle-même interprétation.

En fait, à qui s'adresse Marx? Evidemment à tous, mais de la longue liste de ceux-ci, lui-même ne peut pas manquer. Le premier produit contesté par la logique marxiste est *Le Capital*. Il se trouve dans la proximité immédiate de l'exigence méthodologique. Entre Marx et le monde c'est son interprétation, le monde comme une *immense accumulation de marchandises!*

### 3.

*La richesse des sociétés dans lesquelles règne le mode de production capitaliste s'annonce comme une **immense accumulation de marchandises**<sup>♦</sup> et chaque produit, pris séparément, comme forme élémentaire de cette richesse. L'analyse de la marchandise sera le point de départ dans notre étude.*

La marchandise trouve son appui dans la richesse. La richesse la précède comme mode originaire – plus originaire ! – d'être du monde capitaliste. Bien que la richesse ne soit pas le terme – clé de l'analyse marxiste – l'être du monde du capital-elle est donnée, au moins ici, au début. Elle rend intelligible la marchandise

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<sup>♦</sup> Marx fait référence à la première variante de cette formule.

et le monde en question tout à la fois. De la marchandise, on peut se transférer vers la richesse. Comme position lexicale et linguistique, la richesse est plus privilégiée métaphysiquement – la dernière Thulé.

Comme épuisement du projet, du désir ou de l'intention, comme accomplissement, ni la richesse ne lui précède pas, par conséquent son sens dans la terminologie métaphysique ne peut être que secondaire. Elle ne peut pas être concept métaphysique, axiome ou prémisse dans l'investigation scientifique.

Si l'attachement du monde capitaliste à la marchandise comme terme originaire à valeur transcendante n'est pas du même rang que la découverte du *cogito*, de l'*esprit* ou de l'*être*, ni la poussée de ce monde vers la richesse n'est pas ainsi. Donc, aborder ce monde d'une manière ou de l'autre de ces deux, c'est la même chose.

Notre étude commencée par l'analyse de la marchandise ou de la richesse comme point de départ, assuré dans l'exigence des dates-mêmes, est en conclusion inconsistant.

#### 4.

La structure élémentaire, de facture classique, de la connaissance, donne comme des points originaires les sensations, les perceptions... La phénoménologie entreprend sa propre réduction et rencontre le contenu originaire du monde, purifié de toute infiltration interprétative.

De telles stratégies rencontrent des contenus non-culturels du monde, non-interprétatifs, contenus qui ne sont pas altérés par des opinions, idées, hypothèses-l'idéal philosophique éternel. C'est sur lui qu'on peut bâtir le monde, c'est lui qui peut expliquer le monde. Comment pourrait-on y arriver?

Marx a expliqué maintes fois la conduite épistémologique standard: il faut partir de l'existence et la protéger d'interprétation. Lui-même a ignoré la condition et, dans *Le Capital*, il est parti de l'interprétation.

#### 5.

Pour fonctionner comme *énorme accumulation de marchandises*, le capitalisme est système. Un système qui organise les marchandises, leur exposition, la production, leur présentation. Ensuite, dans l'ordre de la perpétuation de soi, le capitalisme fonctionne sur la base du système législatif qui régleme les opérations les plus fines de même que les plus grossières. Le système législatif fonctionne sur base d'institutions et réalités répétitives. Tout cela signifie *ordre*.

Autrement dit, l'ordre du monde capitaliste, pour fonctionner comme *immense accumulation de marchandises*, se sépare dans des divisions transcendantales plus originaires. Pourtant, elles ne font pas l'objet de l'analyse de Marx. Les lois, l'ordre, ses institutions aussi sont ignorées. Or, si elles sont prises en considération, c'est seulement pour les mettre dans le catalogue des instruments de survie du système, non pas de l'ordre historique en tant que telle.

## 6.

**La séquence originaire** – la réduction eidétique du monde historique; la description essentielle de l'objet.

*La richesse des sociétés dans lesquelles règne le mode de production capitaliste s'annonce comme une **immense accumulation de marchandises\*** et chaque produit, pris séparément, comme forme élémentaire de cette richesse. L'analyse de la marchandise sera le point de départ dans notre étude.*

Description exacte pour Londres, Manchester ou Bristol. Description pour toute l'Angleterre et sous peu, pour tout le monde. Le monde comme dépôt de marchandises, d'accumulation et de chaos. C'est plutôt une description dystopique du monde qu'une exacte pour le milieu du XIXe siècle.

Comment était ou, surtout, comment pourrait être ce monde concentré en richesse et décrit telle une immense accumulation de marchandises? Et autrement?

## 7.

### L'hypothèse non-interprétative

**Tout est interprétation.** Pour éviter l'inscription sur l'orbite de celle-ci, demandée par Marx dans la 11<sup>e</sup> thèse de l'ouvrage *Thèses sur Feuerbach*, il est nécessaire d'adopter la position originaire que Marx appelait *l'existence telle quelle*.

Comment peut-on partir de l'existence de sorte que le piège de l'interprétation soit dépassé? Quelle forme de celle-ci doit être assumée pour qu'elle soit autre chose que de l'interprétation?

Dans le point de départ de Marx, il y a quelque chose d'original qui dissout la marchandise dans son *noumen*. La marchandise telle quelle, nous l'avons vu, est du phénomène. Elle est manifestation contradictoire de la valeur et de la valeur d'échange, de la valeur d'usage et du prix, de l'argent et du temps socialement nécessaire pour la produire. Tout cela n'explique pas la marchandise comme un *noumen*. Elles ne sont pas autre chose que des formes de manifestation des éléments de la marchandise un peu plus originaire. Pour que la marchandise soit produite, on a besoin de tout ça, de chacun pris à part et de beaucoup d'autres choses.

Par ceux-ci, la marchandise ne touche pas à la source authentique de sa provenance : Elle n'atteint pas donc son Idée, l'esprit ou l'être. Les éléments qui précèdent la marchandise ne sont pas son noumen, mais des diverses formes élémentaires de manifestation des éléments qui la composent.

Néanmoins il y a quelque chose dans l'analyse de Marx qui mène l'investigation vers des formes originaires de la marchandise, vers des aspects de celle-ci qui ne sont pas des divisions plus faciles ni des interprétations.

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\* Marx fait référence à la première variante de cette formule.

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Parlant de l'existence en tant que telle, Marx la sépare en quelques éléments: activité, individus réels etc.

Nous arrivons dans la même impasse: circonscrire l'existence réelle n'est pas possible autrement qu'en tant qu'interprétation. L'activité, les individus sont eux-mêmes de l'interprétation.

La pensée est la victime de sa propre condition. L'interprétation ne peut pas être dépassée de sorte que l'exigence originaire, nommée par Marx dans les deux variantes: le refus de l'interprétation et l'existence immédiate, ne peut pas être satisfaite. Marx s'illusionne de dépasser cette impasse en se situant sur une position naturaliste. Son objet sont *les gens, considérés non dans un isolement et une immobilité imaginaire, mais dans leur processus réel de développement, qui peut être observé sur voie empirique et a lieu dans des conditions déterminées*<sup>6</sup>.

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### La solution ignorée

Il y a quelque chose de présent dans l'analyse marxiste, une possible issue de l'impasse, qui n'est pas pourtant explorée.

En parlant de la marchandise, Marx l'explique par ses contradictions, par l'antagonisme des diverses valeurs, par l'implication de l'argent et de l'échange etc. Pourtant il existe un sentiment qui accompagne tout ça, un sentiment qui est propre tout à la fois à la marchandise, en tant que sa première circonscription.

Le premier contact avec la marchandise, dit Marx, est celui d'étonnement. La marchandise se présente devant celui qui la regarde comme *mystère*. Au premier regard, première évaluation cognitive, elle est nommée *mystère*. Le langage de Marx est ici riche: le mystère est tantôt énigme, tantôt inconnu. La fréquence de ces termes est si riche que, de la fonction d'expressivité avec laquelle sont crédités, comme tous les autres, ils deviennent favoris. Marx a de la faiblesse pour la marchandise en tant que *mystère*.

L'ampleur de la qualification est si profonde que le chapitre destiné à la description générale, c'est-à-dire au premier impact de la marchandise, s'enrichit d'une approximation plus intense. **La marchandise est un mystère dans sa qualité de fétiche.**

Pour le début, Marx explique la marchandise par des catégories économiques générales: valeur d'usage, valeur d'échange, valeur. Plus encore quelques développements: la forme valeur totale ou développée, valeur simple, singulière ou accidentelle, valeur relative et forme équivalente.

De longues pages semblent épuiser, sous l'aspect de l'explication, le contenu de la marchandise. L'implication de l'argent dans le processus de transit de la marchandise met en relief sa vraie nature: elle continue de rester, malgré tout

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<sup>6</sup> Marx Engels, *Ideologia germană*, in Marx Engels, *Opere*, vol. 3, Bucharest, Politics Publishing.

développement et toute catégorie impliquée, un *mystère*. La rencontre originaire avec la marchandise ne retient de celle-ci, ne découvre pas en elle, ni valeur, ni valeur d'usage, ni valeur absolue ou simple, selon qu'elle n'y voit pas d'argent.

Cette rencontre lui dévoile son premier contenu non-interprétatif: *la marchandise est un mystère*. Au but de l'analyse de la marchandise, d'une manière involontaire, Marx discute de sa vraie nature. Le point 4, final, du chapitre qui porte sur celle-ci, la rapporte, dans sa vraie nature. Ce sous-chapitre parle de la marchandise dans la perception originaire: *Le fétichisme de la marchandise et son mystère*.

Plus loin, on passe au deuxième chapitre du *Capital*. Dans la première préface du livre, Marx avait averti que dorénavant, après le chapitre qui porte sur la marchandise et son fétichisme, tout va en résulter plus simplement. Le chapitre difficile avait passé. Il se rapportait à la marchandise et la difficulté de la parcourir résidait dans l'admission tardive du mystère, après la tentative antérieure de l'élucider. Mais la tentative de l'élucider n'avait pas pu estomper sa vraie nature. Tout ce qui a été impliqué scientifiquement est reconnu de qualité secondaire, c'est pourquoi donc, insuffisant.

Maintenant à peine l'explication de Marx gagne l'honnêteté d'admettre le point de départ dans une nature qui n'est pas strictement scientifique. A première vue, une marchandise semble être une chose simple, banale. Mais une analyse de celle-ci prouve que c'est une chose très compliquée, pleine de subtilités métaphysiques et bizarreries théologiques<sup>7</sup>.

Par conséquent: d'où provient le caractère mystérieux du produit du travail dès qu'il prend la forme de marchandise?<sup>8</sup>.

Il est évident: nous avons une réponse, mais ce qui nous intéresse ce n'est pas la réponse explicite, recherchée par Marx. Elle sera plus ou moins de l'interprétation. Ce qui nous intéresse c'est le constat originaire de Marx sur la marchandise. C'est aussi la première circonscription de celle-ci, par conséquent beaucoup plus valeureuse dans la pensée marxiste, que les interprétations. On se situe ainsi dans le champ de la réponse originaire, obéissant à l'exigence transcendante et évitant le piège de l'interprétation.

*Le caractère mystique de la marchandise*, telle est l'expression de Marx sur la même page. Peu importe en quoi consiste ce caractère, selon que peu importe le zèle mis dans sa démolition. Ce qui importe c'est d'assumer la rencontre originaire, du *premier moteur*.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> *Idem*.

# THESES AND ANTITHESES IN LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

## LES TERMES D'APPARTENANCE JURIDIQUE EXCLUSIVE DANS LE NOUVEAU CODE CIVIL

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### TERMS WITH EXCLUSIVE AFFILIATION TO LEGAL VOCABULARY IN THE NEW CIVIL CODE

**Abstract:** The aim of this study is to highlight the relevant features for linguistic structure of normative acts that bear on what jurilinguists consider, rightly, a first obstacle in the legal communication: the lexicon. We will analyze two terms, accession and superficies, as an exception for accession. These terms will be analyzed from the point of view of the meaning, the signification of their synonyms and antonyms, to conclude that they are terms with exclusive affiliation to legal vocabulary because they are not known to other registers of language, their meaning and their use being solely legal.

**Keywords:** Jurilinguistics, Civil Code, accession, superficies, meaning.

Certains termes juridiques n'ont qu'un sens juridique. «Les termes exclusivement juridiques constituent un ensemble défini dont les éléments pourraient être exactement dénommés à partir de la liste des mots du vocabulaire juridique»<sup>1</sup>.

«Le juriste a un pouvoir reconnu par la société: celui de préciser le sens de tous les termes ou expressions qu'il utilise. Le législateur et le juge sont donc, plus que tout autre personne, amenés à influencer, dans l'exercice de leur activité, sur le langage de la société»<sup>2</sup>.

La loi représente pour la majorité d'entre nous le langage du droit par excellence.

La première caractéristique qu'on peut observer est le fait que le langage juridique est caractérisé par l'opacité, bien qu'il soit clair et précis. «Le droit est un phénomène aussi social que la langue, mais qui suscite un sentiment étrange au

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<sup>1</sup> Gérard Cornu, *Linguistique juridique*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd. 2, Paris, Montchrestien, 2000, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Elisa Rossi Danelzik, *Le langage juridique italien*, thèse, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 2000, pp. 13-14.

plus grand nombre de personnes»<sup>3</sup>. Tant le lexique que les énonciations qui tiennent au style juridique, dans ce cas, du style législatif, font qu'en droit la communication se heurte d'un écran linguistique «qui se situe en dehors du circuit naturel de l'intercompréhension qui caractérise les changements habituels entre les membres d'une communauté linguistique donnée»<sup>4</sup>.

On s'arrêtera à certaines particularités du discours juridique: les termes d'appartenance juridique exclusive, pour démontrer l'opacité du langage juridique. Si les deux conditions de la loi, pour être comprise, sont la clarté et la précision, on verra que même quand la loi répond à ces exigences, elle est opaque à cause de l'utilisation de certains termes qui n'ont de signification que dans le droit.

L'italien et le français sont des langues de la même famille. Si les deux possèdent les mêmes ressources, le français ne peut se plier sur les acrobaties baroques de l'italien: c'est une question d'histoire et de tradition qui explique le goût pour la sobriété et la modération. Le roumain, comme le français, est imprégné par la préoccupation pour la clarté et la raison, en se situant sur le plan de la compréhension; la conceptualisation est mise au service de la clarté et de la compréhension.

Nous avons opté pour le syntagme *le langage spécialisé*, parce qu'il permet de considérer la réalité comme un système virtuel à l'intérieur de la langue naturelle.

«Langage signifie en même temps catégories de la langue et catégories du discours. Non par l'une sans l'autre, ni l'une ou l'autre, ni même l'une premièrement et ensuite l'autre, mais l'une et l'autre à la fois, distinguées et intégrées»<sup>5</sup>. Dans cette acception nous allons utiliser le syntagme pour désigner «l'utilisations spécialisée d'une langue commune à tous»<sup>6</sup>.

Dans toutes les branches de la science il y a la tendance de l'option pour la formule symbolique. Les critères fondamentaux qui sont à la base des choix lexicaux et stylistiques pour qu'une communication spécialisée atteigne son but en sont deux: la précision et la concision. Lorsqu'il existe un conflit entre ces deux critères, il intervient un troisième, le caractère propre des termes utilisés. Pour qu'une communication spécialisée soit vraiment efficace, la condition nécessaire en est l'existence d'un équilibre entre ces critères<sup>7</sup>.

Une autre étude nuance<sup>8</sup> les critères déjà cités. L'auteur réalise une liste composée de 11 caractéristiques relatives à la communication spécialisée: la précision, la simplicité et la clarté; l'objectivité; l'abstractisation; la généralisation;

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Louis Sourieux, Pierre Lerrat, *Le langage du droit*, Paris, PUF, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Gabriela Scurtu, *Traduire le vocabulaire juridique français en roumain*, dans «Méta», n° 4, 2008, p. 884.

<sup>5</sup> Jean-Claude Gémard, *Réflexions sur le langage du droit: problèmes de langue et de style*, dans «Méta», 26/4 1981, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 85.

<sup>7</sup> J.C. Sager, D. Dungworth, P.F. McDonald, *English Special Languages*, Wies-Baden, 1980, p. 323.

<sup>8</sup> Maurizio Gotti, *I linguaggi specialistici*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1991, pp. 13-15; Alberto A. Sobrero, *Lingue speciali*, dans «Introduzione all'italiano contemporaneo», 1993, pp. 243-244.

la densité de l'information; la concision; l'absence d'ambiguïté; l'impersonnalité; la cohérence logique; l'utilisation des termes techniques précis. Dans le cas du langage juridique, certaines de ces caractéristiques peuvent se superposer, tel comme la neutralité et l'impersonnalité, la clarté et l'absence d'ambiguïté. Il est rare qu'un texte spécialisé présente toutes ces caractéristiques. Un discours sans ambiguïté peut se heurter à l'exigence de la concision. A notre avis, les traits fondamentaux du langage juridique législatif sont: la précision, la clarté, la concision, l'absence d'ambiguïté et la neutralité émotionnelle. Les études qui viennent d'être présentées ont le mérite de faire une récapitulation synthétique et générale des différents critères qui vont servir pour base à l'explication et à la différencialisation des choix du législateur.

Le trait le plus analysé de tout langage spécialisé est le vocabulaire. C'est ce qui le différencie, comme une caractéristique première, du langage courant. Pour le langage juridique législatif on doit distinguer la nomenclature (les termes d'appartenance juridique exclusive, les termes de double appartenance) et le vocabulaire de soutien qui joue un rôle d'encadrement<sup>9</sup>. Pour exprimer un sens, la nomenclature a besoin du vocabulaire de soutien. Le vocabulaire a pour longtemps constitué le domaine privilégié de la recherche des langages spécialisés. Mais ce n'est pas seulement le vocabulaire utilisé qui différencie le langage juridique d'autres langages spécialisés: «le fait de ne considérer ni la syntaxe, ni les réalisations textuelles des langages spécialisés équivaut à leur perception comme assemblage de termes»<sup>10</sup>. Il est évident que la matière traitée influe non seulement sur le choix du vocabulaire, mais aussi sur d'autres choix de type syntaxique, textuel et stylistique.

L'exigence de monoréférentialité est un gage de la précision. Dans le cas des termes d'appartenance juridique exclusive, cette exigence est totalement respectée.

### 1. L'ACCESSION, MODE D'ACQUISITION DE LA PROPRIÉTÉ

Selon le Dictionnaire explicatif de la langue roumaine, l'*accession* est «un mode d'acquisition de la propriété résultant de l'union naturelle ou par l'intervention de l'homme d'un bien avec un autre plus important, appartenant à une autre personne»<sup>11</sup>. Bien qu'il ne soit pas mentionné dans le texte que le terme appartient au langage juridique, la définition qui lui est donnée nous autorise de

<sup>9</sup> Jean Darbelnet, *Réflexions sur le discours juridique*, dans «Méta», 24, 1979, pp. 26-28; J. Darbelnet, *Niveaux et réalisations du discours juridique*, dans Jean-Claude Gémard (dir.), *Langage du droit et traduction: essai de jurilinguistique*, Montréal, 1982, p. 51-60; Jean-Claude Gémard, *Terminologie, langue et discours juridique. Sens et signification du langage du droit*, dans «Méta», 36/1, 1991, pp. 275-278; Jean-Claude Gémard, *ouvrage cité*, vol. 2, Québec, 1995, pp. 89-90.

<sup>10</sup> Elisa Rossi Danelzik, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan”, Academie Roumaine, *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*, Bucarest, Univers Enciclopedic Éditeur, 1998 (DEX dans le texte).

l'encadrer dans ce langage. Le dictionnaire de néologismes spécifie que le terme appartient au registre juridique de la langue, en le définissant de manière similaire: «Mode d'acquisition de la propriété, résultant de l'union naturelle ou par l'action de quelqu'un d'un bien avec un autre bien plus important»<sup>12</sup>. Dans un autre dictionnaire, avec un sens pur juridique, l'accession est définie comme «mode d'acquisition d'une propriété par l'union d'un bien avec un autre plus important»<sup>13</sup>. Les étymologies offertes par les dictionnaires roumains (DN, MDN) qui attestent le terme comme spécifiquement juridique sont: française, *accession* «mode d'acquisition de la propriété qui fait que le propriétaire de la chose principale acquière toutes les choses accessoires qui s'unissent avec cette chose»<sup>14</sup> et latine, *accessio*, avec le sens d'«accession, ajout, accessoire»<sup>15</sup>.

L'accession est donc fondée sur l'idée que la propriété d'une chose principale attire la propriété d'une autre chose appelée accessoire.

«L'accession que le Code Calimach appelle *sporire* (accroissement) ou *adăugire* (ajout), et qui chez les Romains n'était pas un véritable moyen d'acquisition de la propriété semble être considérée comme telle par le législateur moderne (l'art. 645) (...) le code actuel comprend un vice de classification, car la place naturelle de l'accession était le Livre III, où le législateur s'occupe des modes d'acquisition de la propriété»<sup>16</sup>.

Le Code civil de 1864 définit l'accession dans l'art. 482 qui dispose:

«La propriété d'une chose meuble ou immeuble donne droit sur tout ce qui produit la chose et sur tout ce qui s'unit, comme accessoire, avec la chose, d'une manière naturelle ou artificielle. Ce droit s'appelle *droit d'accession*»<sup>17</sup>.

Le Nouveau Code civil régleme l'accession en tant que mode d'acquisition des droits réels. Ainsi, l'art. 557 régleme dans son premier alinéa

<sup>12</sup> Florin Marcu, Constant Maneca, *Dicționar de neologisme*, Bucarest, Academie Roumaine Éditeur, 1986 (DN dans le texte).

<sup>13</sup> Florin Marcu, *Marele dicționar de neologisme*, Bucarest, Saeculul Éditeur, 2000 (MDN dans le texte).

<sup>14</sup> *Nouveau répertoire de droit*, Paris, Dalloz, t. 3, 1964, p. 872.

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>16</sup> Dimitrie Alexandresco, *Explicațiune teoretică și practică a dreptului civil român în comparațiune cu legile vechi și cu principalele legislațiuni străine*, Tomul al II-lea, Iași, Tipografia lucrătorilor români asociați, 1888, p. 469.

<sup>17</sup> Pour approfondir la définition de l'accession dans la doctrine roumaine et étrangère, voir Aubry et Rau, *Cours de droit civil d'après la méthode de C. Zachariae*, II, p. 180-183; Baudry et Chauveau, *Des biens*, 282, 283, 286; Ambroise Colin, Henri Capitant, *Cours élémentaire de droit civil*, ed. a 2-a, I, Paris, Dalloz, 1959, p. 726-730; Demolombe, *Cour de Code Napoléon*, IX, 109; Théophile Huc, *Commentaire théorique & pratique du Code civil*, t. IV, Librairie du Conseil d'Etat et de la Société de législation comparée, Paris, 1894, p. 109; Laurent, *Principes de droit civil*, VI, 187; Mourlon, *Répétitions écrites sur le premier, le deuxième et le troisième examen du code Napoléon*, VII<sup>ème</sup> édition, I, p. 688; Dimitrie Alexandresco, *Explicațiunea teoretică și practică a dreptului civil Român*, III, partie I, deuxième édition, p. 283 et suivantes; Matei Cantacuzino, *Elementele dreptului civil. Despre libertatea individuală și persoanele juridice*, p. 145.

les modes d'acquisition de la propriété, selon la loi: «par convention, par testament, succession légale, accession, usucapion, comme effet de la possession de bonne foi dans le cas des biens meubles et des fruits, par usucapion, tradition ou décision de justice, quand elle est translatrice de propriété par elle-même». Tout un chapitre du Code civil, le Chapitre II, Titre II du Livre III s'occupe de l'accession (art. 567-601).

Le Nouveau Code civil définit l'accession dans l'article 567, comme mode d'acquisition de la propriété, par lequel «le propriétaire d'un bien devient propriétaire de tout ce qui s'unit avec lui ou s'y incorpore, si la loi ne prévoit pas autrement». L'ancien Code civil (art. 488: «tout ce qui s'unit et s'incorpore à la chose revient au propriétaire de la chose») est la source d'inspiration pour les dispositions de cet article<sup>18</sup>.

«La rédaction de ce nouveau texte de loi est supérieure parce que, d'une part, il utilise expressément le terme *accessiune* (accession), et... par sa formulation... suggère le fait que l'accession est un mode d'acquisition de la propriété»<sup>19</sup>.

En plus du fait qu'il définit l'accession, le code en spécifie également les formes: l'accession est naturelle ou artificielle (art. 568)<sup>20</sup>. L'accession a donc un domaine général d'application: elle s'applique tant en matière immobilière que mobilière. Dans le cadre de l'accession naturelle immobilière il est faite distinction entre les alluvions, la terre laissée par les cours d'eau, la terre laissée par les eaux stagnantes, les avulsions, les lits de rivières, les îles et les graviers, le droit de propriété sur les îles nouvellement formées, les lits de rivières desséchées, chacun en disposant d'une réglementation dans des articles distincts. C'est toujours dans un article séparé que l'accession naturelle des animaux est traitée.

L'accession immobilière artificielle traite dans le cadre des dispositions communes l'acquisition du travail par le propriétaire de l'immeuble, les catégories de travaux qui font l'objet d'un mode d'acquisition de la propriété, les présomptions en faveur du propriétaire de l'immeuble. Il est aussi réglementé le régime juridique des travaux réalisés avec les matériels d'autrui, en précisant aussi en préalable les travaux autonomes et ceux ajoutés. Dans le cadre de la réalisation d'un travail autonome à caractère durable sur l'immeuble d'autrui interviennent les notions de bonne et de mauvaise foi qui contribuent à l'encadrement juridique de ces travaux. Les travaux ajoutés à caractère durable sur l'immeuble d'autrui sont classifiés en travaux ajoutés nécessaires, travaux ajoutés utiles et travaux ajoutés voluptueux.

<sup>18</sup> Voir, pour l'accession en droit civil français, Théophile Huc, *Commentaire théorique & pratique du Code civil*, t. IV, Paris, Librairie du Conseil d'Etat et de la Société de législation comparée, 1894, pp. 108-147.

<sup>19</sup> Eugen Chelaru, *Noul cod civil. Comentariu pe articole*, Bucarest, C.H. Beck Éditeur, p. 634.

<sup>20</sup> Art. 568 – L'accession est naturelle lorsque l'union ou l'incorporation est la suite d'un événement naturel ou artificielle, quand elle résulte du fait du propriétaire ou d'une autre.

C'est toujours dans ce chapitre que le législateur a considéré nécessaire de clarifier le sens de certains termes tels bonne foi ou mauvaise foi de l'auteur du travail, l'art. 14 – norme générale. Sont aussi réglementés, dans des articles distincts, les cas spéciaux d'accession.

Une section spéciale est réservée à l'accession mobilière qui constitue l'union de deux biens qui appartiennent à des propriétaires différents, sans une convention entre eux en ce qui concerne le bien qui en résulte<sup>21</sup>.

De ce qu'on vient de présenter, on observe les trois acceptions interdépendantes de l'accession:

«le fait matériel de l'incorporation d'un bien accessoire dans un bien principal; le droit d'accession résulte de ce fait juridique au sens restreint en faveur du propriétaire du bien principal dans l'hypothèse où les deux biens appartiennent à des propriétaires différents et sont remplies les conditions prévues par la loi; l'accession comme mode d'acquisition du droit de propriété sur le bien accessoire par le propriétaire du bien principal, soit directement, comme effet du fait matériel de l'union ou de l'incorporation, soit comme effet de l'exercice du droit d'accession, si sont réunies les conditions prévues par la loi»<sup>22</sup>.

On observe que si dans le cas de l'accession mobilière la réglementation de l'ancien Code est très ample, même disproportionnée, vu la sphère restreinte d'application de cette institution juridique, le Nouveau Code civil la règle plus succinctement, en lui réservant seulement deux articles, en en considérant que les textes de l'ancien Code sont «des réminiscences du droit romain»<sup>23</sup>.

Le Nouveau Code civil ne définit pas les *démembrements du droit de propriété*. C'est à la doctrine qu'il appartient de les définir. Selon cette dernière, ils représentent des droits réels principaux, dérivés du droit de propriété privée sur un bien propriété d'une autre personne, qui se constituent et s'acquièrent par le transfert de certains éléments du contenu juridique du droit de propriété sur le bien respectif vers une autre personne ou par l'exercice de certains éléments par le propriétaire du bien et une autre personne.

## 2. L'EXCEPTION A L'ACCESSION, LA SUPERFICIE

Si l'ancien Code civil ne réglementait pas la superficie (selon le modèle du Code civil français), son contenu se déduisant par l'interprétation de l'article 492,

<sup>21</sup> Voir, dans ce sens, Constantin Stătescu, Corneliu Bârsan, *Drept civil. Drepturile reale*, Bucarest, Université de Bucarest, Faculté de Droit, 1988, p. 275; Eugen Chelaru, *Drept civil. Drepturile reale principale în reglementarea noului Cod civil*, Bucarest, C.H. Beck Éditeur, 2013, pp. 200-201; Eugeniu Safta-Romano, *Dreptul de proprietate publică și privată în România*, Iași, Graphix Éditeur, 1993, pp. 330-332; Paul Mircea Cosmovici, *Introducere în dreptul civil*, Bucarest, All Éditeur, 1993, pp. 92-93.

<sup>22</sup> Eugen Chelaru, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

<sup>23</sup> Cristian Jora, *Unele considerații cu privire la accesiune*, dans "Noul Cod civil. Studii și comentarii", Bucarest, Universul Juridic Éditeur, 2013, p. 110.

le Nouveau Code civil réglemente expressément la *superficie* comme exception à l'accession. L'accession n'est pas applicable dans le cas où il est convenu entre le propriétaire du terrain et celui qui édifiera des travaux ou des constructions sur ce terrain pour que ceux-ci deviennent la propriété de cette dernière personne, en reconnaissant au propriétaire un droit de superficie qui justifie la possibilité du propriétaire de la construction d'utiliser le terrain pour l'exercice de son droit de propriété sur la construction. Donc, l'exception à l'accession est représentée par l'hypothèse qui réclame la constitution du droit de superficie.

On verra par la suite quelles sont les définitions lexicographiques du terme pour en décider qu'il est d'appartenance juridique exclusive, et ensuite on analysera en détail le droit de superficie dans le Nouveau Code civil.

Le Dictionnaire Explicatif de la langue roumaine ne spécifie pas le fait que la superficie appartient au langage juridique, mais il offre une seule définition du terme dans le syntagme *droit de superficie* qui est «le droit de propriété sur l'édifice construit ou sur la plantation se trouvant sur le terrain d'une autre personne et le droit de jouissance sur cette terre». Le dictionnaire de néologismes spécifie que le terme appartient au langage juridique, en offrant la définition du droit de superficie, dans le sens rarement rencontré de «surface, aire», comme étant «le droit de propriété qui se limite à la surface du sol et à ce qui se trouve au-dessus». Le seul dictionnaire qui offre deux sens au mot c'est le MDN qui reprend le premier sens du DN dans le syntagme *droit de superficie*, mais consigne encore un sens, cette fois-ci figuré, celui d'«apparence».

Le français connaît des termes distincts pour le propriétaire du droit de superficie, le *superficiaire*, et pour celui qui est le propriétaire du terrain, le *superficial*, tandis que le roumain ne connaît que le terme *superficiar*, consigné par le MDN comme appartenant au langage juridique, avec la définition suivante: «personne qui a le droit de superficie». On propose de *lege ferenda* l'introduction du terme *superficial* pour désigner le propriétaire du terrain, pour distinguer, au niveau terminologique celui qui a le droit de construire sur ce terrain.

Le terme n'a de synonymes, ni d'antonymes et c'est le fait qui atteste qu'il est très bien encadré du point de vue de son sens juridique.

Le Nouveau Code civil offre la définition de la superficie dans l'article 693 comme étant «le droit d'avoir ou d'édifier une construction sur le terrain d'autrui, au-dessus ou dans le sous-sol, sur lequel le superficiaire acquiert un droit de jouissance». Selon cette définition, le droit de superficie est

«un droit réel immobilier, démembrement du droit de propriété privée, qui comprend dans son contenu juridique le droit de propriété sur une construction, plantation ou d'autres travaux autonomes à caractère durable, par hypothèse situés sur le terrain propriété d'autrui, ainsi que la prérogative de la jouissance et, de manière limitée, les prérogatives de la possession et de la disposition sur le terrain respectif»<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Sevastian Cercel, *Noul cod civil. Comentariu pe articole*, Bucarest, C.H. Beck Éditeur, 2012, p. 748; V. Stoica, *Drept civil. Drepturile reale principale*, Bucarest, C.H. Beck Éditeur, 2009, p. 238.

Au-delà des formes, du contenu et des caractères juridiques de la superficie, le Code réglemente aussi l'acquisition, l'étendue et l'extinction du droit de superficie.

Le droit de superficie apparaît comme une construction juridique complexe: au démembrement de la propriété sur le terrain d'autrui elle juxtapose un droit de propriété sur la construction<sup>25</sup>. C'est le droit de propriété sur les constructions édifiées et sur les plantations sur le terrain d'autrui. La superficie «sous la forme du droit de propriété horizontale sur l'étage ou sur l'appartement»<sup>26</sup> n'est pas réglementée, dans les conditions où elle constitue un problème d'une actualité maximale. On propose, de *lege ferenda*, l'introduction de ce droit dans la réglementation de la superficie, parce qu'il est inacceptable de «limiter l'établissement d'un droit de superficie à la situation où la construction est adhérente au sol et son rejet dans le cas de la construction d'un étage»<sup>27</sup>, pour la raison que les parties communes de la construction déjà existantes sont celles qui font la liaison entre la construction et le terrain.

De l'analyse qu'on vient de faire il en résulte que tous les termes qui réglementent les démembrements du droit de propriété, sauf le droit d'usage, sont des termes d'appartenance juridique exclusive.

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<sup>25</sup> Stelian Ioan Vidu, *Superficiea*, dans «Noul Cod civil. Studii și comentarii», Bucarest, Universul Juridic Éditeur, 2013, p. 243.

<sup>26</sup> Sevastian Cercel, *op. cit.*, p. 750.

<sup>27</sup> Marin Voicu, Mihaela Pocoapă, *Dreptul de proprietate și alte drepturi reale. Tratat de jurisprudență 1992-2002*, Bucarest, Lumina Lex Éditeur, 2002, p. 272.

## DENOMINATIONS BASED ON FEMININE NAMES IN THE TOPONYMY FROM OLTENIA AND MUNTENIA\*

Iustina BURCI\*\*

**Abstract:** In toponymy, numerous place names are derived from anthroponyms. Most are male anthroponyms. This is explained by the fact that for a long time, men have been the focus of family life and society. Only in the absence of man (due to death, military service, etc., for long periods of absence, in general), or when he entered, through marriage, in the wife's family, the whole family yielded to woman's name.

In this article, we intend to analyze the extent and form in which the female anthroponyms are now encountered in Oltenia and Muntenia.

**Keywords:** female anthroponyms, structure, transfer, toponymy.

Subsequent to the appellatives, the anthroponyms represent the second most important source for the emerging of toponyms. Either with or without formal modifications, simple or part of a complex or analytical structure, people's names, in toponymic function, are frequently met both in macro-toponymy, and, especially, in micro-toponymy. Moreover, at the countryside, the percent of the toponyms that appeared from anthroponyms is rather high. "This represents the natural consequence of the fact that the most important elements of a village are the people, therefore their names mark the different parts of the settlement, in order to make a difference between them"<sup>1</sup>.

In the past, the reason for the occurrence of many of these names denoting places, depended on the socio-economic and family relations that, at some point,

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<sup>1</sup> Ion Toma, *Toponimia Olteniei*, Craiova, The Reprography of the University from Craiova, 1988, p. 63.

existed inside the community (of ownership, origin, marking of a collectivity existence etc.), along with the relations between its members (neighbouring areas, destination, different circumstances etc.), sometimes “based on facts or situations impossible to be actualised (today – a/n) without any documents”<sup>2</sup>. All these and, furthermore, the fact that the person who played the role of the head of the family and could carry on his activity, both inside and outside it, was the man, were entirely reflected in the names of the places: the masculine names are preponderant as regarding all the toponymic structures.

If the man had obligations outside the family too (taking care of the administrative, political, military etc. affairs of the community), the statute of the woman was an inferior one from the juridical point of view<sup>3</sup>, the role being one limited, for a long period of time, strictly inside the boundaries of the household; as a proof, the small number of women who were mentioned in documents<sup>4</sup>, but also in the way they were mentioned, such is in relation with their father’s name and, later, their husband’s, observing the rule that “... the common name of the kin, along with the individual to whom the belonging is shown, is chosen on the line of male origin”<sup>5</sup>.

Nevertheless, we meet situations in which the supporter of the family, the beneficiary of a princely document of allotment is a woman, usually a widow. In such cases, the members of the family use her name. Referring to the way in which it was given the name of the family group, when the father was missing, and his position was replaced by the mother, Iorgu Iordan showed that: “The children’s family name could be their mother’s first name, without any formal modification, the same as in the situation when the father’s name was given: *Ilinca, Maria* etc. ...”<sup>6</sup> or “... the suffixed mother’s name: to the husband’s first name, there was added a feminine suffix in order to show the presence of a woman. For example: *Mântuleasa, Dobrițoaia* etc. At first, these names had the form of the genitive case: *of Mântuleasa, of Dobrițoaia* etc. Being rather difficult to use, they were changed into the form of the direct case (nominative), much easier to operate with.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Etimologia toponimică. I. Elementele românești*, in “Studii și Cercetări de Onomastică” (SCO), no. 4/1999, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Being considered unable to perform works that involved physical strength and developed intellectual capacity.

<sup>4</sup> Internal documents, having a private character, are the inheritance documents, the wills, the sale-purchase agreements, those involving the judging of disagreements etc. The women used to have in the past, too, the right to ownership: usually, after marriage, they used to receive their share of inheritance. The remaining parts of this system can also be seen today in toponymy: *Partea* (the lot of ...) *Ilenei, Partea Ilincăi, Partea Stanei Gurguiasa* etc. In the boyars’ families, the girls were put in possession of land when they got married and the estates – that they had at their disposal, according to the situation: they could decide to keep, sell or donate them – often took the names of the landladies.

<sup>5</sup> Șt. Pașca, *Nume de persoane și nume de animale în Țara Oltului*, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1936, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Iorgu Iordan, *Dicționar al numelor de familie românești*, Scientific and Enciclopedic Publishing, 1983, p. 13.

Sometimes, the genitive was preserved, but without the Romanian article *a*, which is the word *of* in English, and without the final *i*: for example, *Boculesi* originates from *a Boculesii*<sup>7</sup>.

Although from the quantitative point of view, they are much fewer than the masculine ones, it does not mean that they are less valuable. For this reason we are approaching them in the present article. At the end, we are going to notice that they hold a significant position for the history research and for the evolution of our denominative system, altogether mirroring the way in which the involvement of women in the Romanian society has been gradually changing.

We based our research on the information excepted from two toponymic dictionaries: those of Oltenia<sup>8</sup> and Muntenia<sup>9</sup> regions. They record both the present names of places, due to field enquiries, and those registered in historical, geographical and administrative sources, having access, in this manner, to an extremely rich studying material.

For the beginning, we can declare that the typology of geographical objectives, with feminine names<sup>10</sup>, is a rich one. Numerous ponds, churches, fields, communes, hill peaks, hills, fishponds, commons, thermal water springs, isolated households, slums, estates, hillocks, mountains, ruts, forests, streams, parts of villages, glades, paths, villages, precincts, valleys, dales, riverside coppices etc. from our country have such names. Some of them got their names directly, other, indirectly, through trans-onimisation (when there are present, on a relatively small space<sup>11</sup>, several forms of relief with identical names).

As regarding the typology of the inventoried feminine names, it can be detailed according to the next diagram: – I. *First names*, II. *Surnames*<sup>12</sup>, III. *First names + Surnames* –, followed by few comments made about them.

I. *First names*:

A. **Simple**: *Albinușa* (Gj<sup>13</sup>), *Anicuța* (Vl), *Anuța* (Ot), *Augustina* (Ot), *Aurora* (Mh), *Bogdana* (Gj), *Brândușa* (Dj, Gj, Mh, Vl), *Catalina* (Tr), *Catinca* (Db, Ph),

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> *Dicționarul toponimic al României. Oltenia* (coord. prof. Gh. Bolocan, PhD), vol. 1 (A-B), Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 1993 and next.

<sup>9</sup> *Dicționarul toponimic al României. Muntenia* (coord. prof. Gh. Saramandu, PhD), vol. 1 A-B, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2005; vol. II (C-D), 2007; vol. III (E-I), 2009; vol. IV (L-M), 2011; vol. V (N-P), 2013.

<sup>10</sup> The same for the masculine ones.

<sup>11</sup> In Bumbești-Jiu from Gorj County, a mountain, a stream, a forest, a sheepfold and a field are named *Dumitra*. The name was transferred from the mountain to the other forms of relief.

<sup>12</sup> Nowadays, all the Romanian surnames are masculine, no matter the gender or the form they have (*Dumitru*, *Dumitra*, *Dumitrică*, *Dumitrica*, *Dumitreasa*, *Dumitroaiei* etc.). Nevertheless, originally, some of them were feminine sur/names. We consider these ones in our article.

<sup>13</sup> I kept abbreviations counties in the two mentioned toponymic dictionaries.

*Catrina* (Ag, Br), *Călina* (Dj, Vl), *Cârna*<sup>14</sup> (Dj, Gj, Mh), *Cârstiana* (Vl), *Cârstina* (Ag), *Chiaina* (Gj, Mh), *Chirița* (Gj, Vl), *Chița* (Br, Gr), *Chiva* (Il), *Chivuța* (Gj), *Coca* (Vl), *Constantina* (Dj), *Cosmina*<sup>15</sup> (Ph), *Constanța* (Dj), *Costandina* (Dj), *Dana* (Db), *Dara* (Vl), *Daria* (Db), *Despina* (Ph), *Dăiana* (Gj), *Deia* (Gj), *Dia* (Dj), *Diana* (Vl), *Didina* (Dj), *Dița* (Bz), *Dona* (Vl), *Dora* (Ph), *Dospina* (Gj), *Draghina* (Mh, Ot), *Drăghina* (Mh), *Drăguța* (Tr), *Dumitra* (Gj), *Dumitrășcuța* (Vl), *Dușa* (Gj), *Elena* (Cl), *Elis(z)abeta* (Mh, Tr), *Eliza* (If), *Eufrosina* (Vl), *Floarea*<sup>16</sup> (Ag, Br, Gj, Vl), *Florica* (Ag, Br, Bz, Cl, Dj, Gr, Mh, Ot, Tr), *Florica* (Bz), *Frosa* (Gj), *Gafița* (Ph), *Galița* (Mh), *Gherghina* (Dj, Gj, Vl), *Guica* (Ot), *Iana* (Dj, Gj), *Ileana* (Bz, Cl, Dj, Gr), *Ilenița* (Il), *Ilinca* (Gj), *Ilincuța* (Gr, Mh), *Iliuța* (Vl), *Ilona* (Gj), *Ioana* (Mh), *Ionița* (Gj), *Irina* (Vl), *Ivana* (Gj), *Lala* (Ag, Dj, Mh), *Leanca* (Db), *Leanța* (Tr), *Lecsindra* (Tr), *Lia* (Gj), *Liana* (Vl), *Lica* (Vl), *Lucia* (Br, Tr), *Macaria* (Gj), *Ma(ă)crina* (Br, Bz), *Malița* (Ag, Db), *Mara* (Db), *Marcela* (Dj), *Marga* (Gj, Mh, Vl), *Margareta* (Tr), *Margarita* (Ot), *Marghioala* (Gj), *Maria* (Ot, Vl), *Marica* (Ag, Gj), *Maricica* (Vl), *Marina* (Ag, Gj), *Ma(ă)rioara* (Bz, Vl), *Marița* (Dj, Gj, Ot, Ph, Tr, Vl), *Marta* (Db), *Marușca* (Vl), *Mădălina* (Vl), *Măndica* (Il), *Mărica* (Gj), *Măriuța* (Vl), *Ma(ă)riuța* (Bz, Cl, Db, Gj, Gr, Il, Ot, Tr), *Mica* (Dj, Gj), *Milica* (Dj), *Milioara* (Vl), *Mița* (Ag), *Mișica* (Ph), *Nasta* (Dj, Gj, Vl), *Nastasia* (Dj), *Nădița* (Ag), *Năsturica* (Gj, Vl), *Neacșa* (Ag, Dj, Ph, Vl), *Neaga* (Ag, Bz, Tr, Vl, Gj), *Negoița* (Bz), *Negoslava* (Ph), *Negrușa* (Br), *Negrușca* (Il), *Nica* (Gj), *Nona* (If), *Oana* (Ag, Bz, Dj, Gj, Ot), *Odrica* (Dj), *Olea* (Ag, Db, Vl), *Olga* (Vl), *Olenița* (If), *Olimpia* (Bz), *Oprița* (Gj, Mh), *Panaghia* (Db), *Parasca* (Ph), *Paraschiva* (Cl, Gj), *Păpușa* (Ag, Gj, Vl), *Pătruța* (Dj, Vl), *Păuna* (Ag, Db, Dj, Gj, Il, Mh), *Petra* (Gj, Mh), *Profira* (Db), *Rada* (Dj, Gj, Mh, Ot), *Rădița* (Ot, Vl), *Răduța* (Gj), *Răfăila* (Dj), *Safta* (Dj), *Sanda* (Vl), *Sara* (Gj), *Săvătia* (Ot), *Sida* (Vl), *Sinca* (Vl), *Slăvuța* (Gj), *Smaranda* (Dj), *Stana* (Gj), *Stanca* (Dj, Gj), *Stăncuța* (Gj), *Sulfina* (Dj), *Șerbana* (Vl), *Ștefana* (Vl), *Tica* (Gj), *Tita* (Dj), *Tița* (Vl), *Tofia* (Ot), *Tolia* (Gj), *Tudosia* (Mh), *Tutana* (Dj), *Valica* (Dj), *Vica* (Gj), *Vlăicuța* (Dj), *Voica* (Mh, Vl), *Voislava* (Dj).

<sup>14</sup> Referring to some toponyms with feminine anthroponymic base, Emilian N. Burețea showed that names as “*Cârna*, *Creața*, *Ianca* etc., we do not consider they could be regarded as having their origin in the corresponding feminine anthroponyms, but, moreover, in the anthroponyms *Cârnu*, *Crețu*, *Iancu*, formed with the toponymic suffix *-a*, which has a possessive value, the initial meaning of the name being, as a consequence, the one of «the estate, the pool or the settlement (village) of a person called *Cârnu*, *Crețu*, *Iancu*»” (*Contribuții la studiul toponimiei românești*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 1995, p. 88). Therefore, it is not necessary to analyse each singular toponym, in order to identify its origin, an activity which is not always easy to perform.

<sup>15</sup> The toponym can have as a basis a feminine first name and, in the same time, a masculine one, with the suffix *-a* (*moșia lui Cosmin*) (the estate of Cosmin).

<sup>16</sup> The toponym *Floarea* (along with *Florica*) can have double etymology: from the anthroponym, or from the homonym common noun (*flower* in English).

**B. Complex structures:**

– **entopic term + nominative first name**: (the hayfield) *Fâneța Marina* (Ph); (the estate) *Moșia Bianca* (Ph), ~ *Suzana* (Ph), ~ *Simona* (Ph); (the hillock) *Movila Sultana* (Cl); (the islet) *Ostrovu Paraschiva* (Cl); (the forest) *Pădurea Bălașa* (Db), ~ *Ileana* (If), ~ *Mara* (Db), ~ *Rada* (Ag), ~ *Bogdana* (Il), ~ *Bogdănița* (Ph), ~ *Brândușa* (Db), ~ *Domnica* (Ph), ~ *Florica* (Bz); (the stream) *Pârâu Dochia* (Ph), ~ *Catrina* (Ag), ~ *Dumitrana* (Vl), ~ *Ioana* (Gj), ~ *Tina* (Ag); *Podu Jana* (Tr), ~ *Măriuța* (Cl); (the glen) *Poiana Catarina* (Ph), ~ *Cârstina* (Ph), ~ *Cristiana* (Ph), ~ *Stana* (Ph), ~ *Zinca* (Ph), ~ *Chira* (Db), ~ *Voica* (Ag); (the well) *Puțu Despina* (Db) etc.

– **entopic term + genitive first name**:

1. with enclitic article: (the inn of ...) *Hanu Ilinchii* (Db), ~ *Soricăi* (Ag); (the lake of ...) *Lacu Puichii* (Tr); (the apple trees of ...) *Merii Despei* (Db); (the mill of ...) *Moara Marandei* (Bz); (the nut tree of ...) *Nucu Dinei* (Ph); *Odaia* (the room of ...) *Florii* (Tr); (the tableland of ...) *Padina Mândichii* (Tr); *Partea* (the lot of ...) *Ilincăi* (Bz), ~ *Margăi* (Tr), ~ *Neacșei* (Bz), ~ *Oanei* (Db), ~ *Stancăi* (Ag, Bz, Ph), ~ *Stanei* (Bz), ~ *Stoianei* (Bz); (the pear tree of ...) *Păru Calii* (Tr), ~ *Păunii* (Db), ~ *Stanii* (Tr); (the forest of ...) *Pădurea Marghioalei* (Db), ~ *Ioanii* (Ag); *Pârâu Chirei* (Bz), ~ *Frusinei* (Ph), ~ *Măgdălinei* (Vr), ~ *Mușei* (Vl), ~ *Angelicăi* (Ag), ~ *Auricăi* (Vl), ~ *Diții* (Ag), ~ *Dobriței* (Vl), ~ *Floricăi* (Ag), ~ *Genicăi* (Ag), ~ *Linicăi* (Ag), ~ *Mandii* (Ag), ~ *Mioricăi* (Bz), ~ *Viorelii* (Ag), ~ *Zmarandei* (Ag); (the burnt place of ...) *Pârlitura Gherghinei* (Db); (the rock of ...) *Piatra Anei* (Db), ~ *Frusinei* (Ph), ~ *Lalei* (Ag), ~ *Rădiței* (Ag); (the hill peak of ...) *Piscu Dochiei* (Bz), ~ *Didiței* (Ag), ~ *Mădiței* (Ag); *Pivnița* (the cellar of ...) *Măndicăi* (Ph); (the footbridge of ...) *Podu Cristinei* (Db), ~ *Ancuței* (Tr), ~ *Smarandei* (Ph); (the glen of ...) *Poiana Antoanei* (Ph), ~ *Călinei* (Ph), ~ *Dăfinei* (Ag), ~ *Radei* (Ag), ~ *Albei* (Ag), ~ *Drăgușei* (Db), ~ *Gherghinei* (Bz), ~ *Ghinei* (Ag), ~ *Joiței* (Ag), ~ *Miței* (Ot), ~ *Monei* (Ag), ~ *Nanei* (Ag), ~ *Uței* (Db), ~ *Zamfirei* (Ag); (the path of ...) *Poteca Anetii* (Ag); (the plum trees of ...) *Prunii Catrinei* (Ph), ~ *Floarei* (Ag), ~ *Leanchii* (Db); (the well of ...) *Puțu Ancuței* (Il), ~ *Floarii* (Bz), ~ *Ileanii*<sup>17</sup> (Tr), ~ *Mandii* (Db), ~ *Marghii* (Db), ~ *Neaghii* (Ph), ~ *Smarandei* (Ph), ~ *Tinchii* (Bz), ~ *Urâtei* (Ag) etc.

2. with proclitic article: (the ash tree of ...) *Frasinu lu Lina* (Ot); (the glade of ...) *Poiana lu Gherghina* (Mh, Vl); (the well of ...) *Puțu lu Ivana* (Tr), ~ *lu Maria* (Db), ~ *lu Safta* (Db), ~ *lu Tudora* (Br), ~ *lu Vera* (Il), ~ *lu Zamfira* (Ag) etc.

**II. Surnames:**

A. **Simple** (formed with different suffixes, from the husband's name<sup>18</sup>): **-easca** – *Anițeasca* (Mh), *Benguleasca* (Gj), *Călineasca* (Gj, Vl), *Davideasca* (Vl),

<sup>17</sup> Sometimes, the first names differ in the way they form the genitive: *Floarii* / *Floarei*, *Ileanii* / *Ilenii*, *Margăi* / *Marghii*, *Măndicăi* / *Măndichii* etc., or by phonetism: *Zmarandei* / *Smarandii*.

<sup>18</sup> The situations should be analysed differently and individually, because the inherited properties (especially the estates) can form their names through suffixation, from that of their owner.

*Panaiteasca* (Bz), *Paraschiveasca* (Vl), *Pârvuleasca* (Gj), *Petreasca* (Ag, Db, Dj, Ph, Tr), *Salomireasca* (Ot), *Șerbăneasca* (Gj, Vl); **-oaica** – *Armășoaica* (Gj), *Băgioaica* (Dj), *Bărboiaica* (Gj), *Cristinoiaica* (Mh), *Dănoaica* (Dj, Vl), *Dițoaica* (Vl), *Dobroaica* (Dj), *Oncioaica* (Gj), *Predoaica* (Dj, Mh), *Tomoaica* (Gj); **-easa** – *Bogdăneasa* (Vl), *Călineasa* (Vl), *Chirculeasa* (Dj), *Cârnuleasa* (Ot), *Dăneasa* (Gj, Vl), *Diaconeasa* (Dj), *Dumitreasa* (Dj), *Surduleasa* (Mh), *Șerbăneasa* (Vl), *Todoreasa* (Gj); **-oia** – *Albinoia* (Vl), *Aricioia* (Vl), *Avrămoia* (Gj), *Băcănoia* (Dj), *Bălănoia* (Gj), *Băloia* (Vl), *Băluțoia* (Gj, Ot, Vl), *Bărboia* (Vl), *Brânzoia* (Vl), *Călinoia* (Vl), *Chirițoia* (Dj, Ot), *Dragomiroia* (Dj, Ot), *Răduțoia* (Gj), *Turcoia* (Dj); **-anca** – *Brătășanca* (Vl), *Deleanca* (Vl), *Pârscoveanca* (Dj), *Piersăceanca* (Vl), *Săceleanca* (Gj); **-oasa** – *Băcioasa* (Dj), *Băloasa* (Dj, Vl); **-aia** – *Stănaia* (Dj) etc.

#### B. Complex structures:

– **entopic term + nominative surname**: (the forest) *Pădurea Niculeasca* (Bz), ~ *Andreiasca* (Ph), ~ *Buzeasca* (Tr), ~ *Cantacuzeanca* (Ag), ~ *Călinoia* (Db), ~ *Ioneasca* (Ag), ~ *Marineasca* (Db), ~ *Silveastra* (Db); (the glen) *Poiana Săvuleanca* (Vl), ~ *Stănculeasa* (Ag); ~ *Ștefănoia* (Db); (the ravine) *Privalu Dinuleasca* (Br); (the plum trees) *Prunii Mateoia* (Ph); (the well) *Puțu Ștefănoia* (Ag) etc.

– **entopic term + synthetic genitive surname**: (the alder trees of...) *Aninii Popească* (Gj); (the hill peak of...) *Piscu Șerbăneșei* (Ph), ~ *Stănițoiaiei* (Ag); *Poiana* (the glen of...) *Bădulesei* (Ag); (the pear tree of...) *Păru Marionoiaiei* (Bz), ~ *Turcioaiei* (Db); (the well of...) *Puțu Pandeloiaiei* (Ag) etc.

#### III. First name + Surname.

A. **Simple**<sup>19</sup>: *Cătălina Scurtu* (Tr), *Mica Țiganca* (Ph), *Stanca Gropileanca* (Vl) etc.

#### B. Complex structures:

– **entopic term + first name + surname: (in nominative)**: (the plateau) *Podișu Sanda Bucuroia* (Ph), (the glen) *Poiana Dina Țiganca* (Ag) etc.;

– **entopic term + first name in genitive + surname in nominative**: (the inn of...) *Hanu Elenchii Cărlănoia* (Db); (the lot of...) *Partea Anei Găteșoia* (Bz), ~ *Ilenei Mușulea* (Bz), ~ *Neagăi Oloaga* (Ag); (the well of...) *Puțu Floarii Ciolan* (Ph), ~ *Leanchii Stăncilă* (Db);

– **entopic term + first name in genitive + surname in genitive**: (the lot of...) *Partea Ilincăi Clorascăi* (Vr); (the hill peak of...) *Piscu Dumitrei Boieroasei* (Ot); (the well of...) *Puțu Anghelinii Badii* (Tr) etc.

– **entopic term + article + first name + surname**: (the lane of...) *Linia lu Anghelina Perșinaru* (Bz), (the nut tree of...) *Nucu lu Ioana Dima* (Il); (the foot bridge of...) *Puntea lu Lina Rița* (Db); (the well of...) *Puțu lu Anca Mihalache* (Il),

<sup>19</sup> We inserted here the names formed from first name + surname, without other supplementary elements.

~ *lu Angelina Perșinaru* (Bz), ~ *lu Ileana Lunga* (Br), ~ *lu Ilinca Țiganca* (Ag), ~ *lu Ioana Gândac* (Il), ~ *lu Veta Ionescu* (Ph) etc.

The examples presented above allowed us to make the next observations:

- The simple feminine first names entered into the toponymy through transferring, with the same form as the baptising names had. These are:

– with their proper form: *Aurora, Chiajna, Dăiana, Diana, Dospina, Elisabeta, Eufrosina, Floarea, Ileana, Ilinca, Ioana, Iolana, Irina, Liana, Marcela, Marghioala, Maria, Mădălina, Nastasia, Neaga, Olga, Paraschiva, Safta, Smaranda, Tudosia, Voica* etc.

– diminutives: *Anicuța, Anuța, Florica, Ilincuța, Ionița, Marica, Maricica, Marița, Măriuța, Măriuța, Marușca, Milica, Milioara, Rădița, Slăvuța, Stăncuța, Vlăicuța* etc.

– hypocoristic names: *Coca, Dara, Deia, Dia, Dona, Dușa, Frosa, Lala, Lia, Lica, Marga, Mica, Nasta, Nica, Olea, Sanda, Sida, Tica, Tita, Tița* etc.

Some of them are formed from the masculine names (*Bogdana, Constantina, Constandina, Dobrița, Dumitra, Macaria, Neacșa, Oprița, Pătruța, Petra, Răfăila, Șerbana, Ștefana* etc.), while other come from nick-names (derived or not) that are extremely old, as people's names, in our anthroponomy: *Albinușa, Brândușa, Cârna, Năsturica, Păpușa, Sulfina* etc.

From the point of view of their origin, the first names cited above are, generally, either laic Slavic names (*Cheajna, Deica, Neaga, Olga, Rada, Stana, Stanca, Voica, Voislava* etc.), or laic Romanian names (*Brândușa, Floarea, Năsturica, Păpușa, Păuna* etc.) and ecclesiastic Romanian names (*Despina, Elisabeta, Ioana, Irina, Maria, Marina, Paraschiva, Todosia* etc.).

- In the complex structures, the sur/names can be combined with popular geographical terms (with or without prepositions), and with simple or complex prepositions too. From the point of view of the internal composition, the first pattern selects, syntactically, two modalities of expression: either with the help of the nominative case, or with the genitive. The nominal formulas are more rigid in their construction, being rather formal, while the genitive ones are closer to the popular way of expression.

Moreover, when observing the composed toponyms, formed with the help of genitive – synthetic or analytical (with possessive article, *a, al, ± lui*) –, we notice that it actually represents the old popular formula of denomination, according to which the establishing of an individual's identity was done, by relating it to the person recognised as the head of the family. Being either in one of the hypostasis or another – of dependency or official supporters of their households – the women were “caught”, nominally, in many of these structures, which have been preserved since nowadays in the toponymy. Here are several of the examples classified, this time, according to the relations inside the family group:

– a masculine person is related to a feminine one: (the clearing of...of...) *Curătura lui Mihai al Ioanei* (VI); (the beehive of...of...) *Știubeiu lu Gicu Stanchii*

(Gj), ~ *lu Ion al Dinii* (Mh), ~ *lu Ion al Stanii* (Gj), ~ *lu Melache al Aniți* (Mh), ~ *lu Nicu Bălașii* (Mh), ~ *lu Oane al Ioanei* (Vl); (the forest of...of...) *Pădurea lu Dumitru a lui Mihai al Mândri*<sup>20</sup> (Gj), ~ *lu Nicolae a lu Maria* (Gj); (the cellar of...of...) *Pivnița lu Niță al Vetii* (Gj); (the spring of...of...) *Pârâu lu Gheorghe al Anii* (Gj), ~ *lu Petru Ioanii* (Gj), ~ *lu Voicu Anghelinii* (Gj); (the place of...of...) *Plațu lu Mărin al Floarii* (Mh); (the footbridge of...of...) *Podu lu Radu Păunii* (Vl); (the glen of...of...) *Poiana lu Ion a Maricăi* (Vl); (the land of...of...) *Pomostu lui Dumitru Catrinii* (Ag); (the well of...of...) *Puțu lu Gheorghe al lu Ion al Rădii* (Tr), ~ *lu Marinică al Savinii* (Cl), ~ *lu Petru al Fănicăii* (Gr) etc.;

– a feminine person is related to a masculine one: (the commons of...of...) *Islazu Gherghiței Sandului* (Ot); (the beehive of...of...) *Știubeiu Linii lu Florea* (Gj), ~ *Leanii lu Albéi* (Dj); (the well...of...) *Puțu Frusina lu Vasile Radu* (Db), ~ *Stanii lu Iordan* (Il); (the vineyard of...of...) *Via Măriei lu Păun* (Gj); (the lane of...of...) *Ulița lu Ioana lu Cică* (Dj), ~ *lu Veta lu Chesan* (Mh) etc.;

– a feminine person is related to another feminine one: (the land of...of...) *Ocina*<sup>21</sup> *Neacșei a Leroaei* (Bz), (the hill peak of...of...) *Piscu Rusandrii Dinii* (Gj); (the glen of...of...) *Poiana Linii Catrinii* (Ot); (the well of...of...) *Puțu Saftii Anii* (Db), (the beehive of...of...) *Știubeiu Floarii Păunii* (Gj) etc.

• The formula becomes even more complex when there are introduced factors on addressing the location or the direction, expressed with simple or complex prepositions: (at...’s of...) *La Dumitru Smarandii* (Db), (spring from...of...) *Pârâu de la Niță al Tiții* (Ag), (around the corner, at...of...) *Pe Colț la Maria lu Nae* (Ph), (around the corner, at...of...) *Pe Colț la Țața Vasilica a lui Morărică* (Ph), (on the lane, at...of...) *Pe Uliță la Țoi al Vetii* (Vl), (nearby the footbridge of...) *Pe la Pod pe la Sabina* (Ag), (nearby...’s place, up the hill) *Pi la Ioșculeasca în Dial* (Vl), (the footbridge from...of...) *Podișca de la Mița lui Păun* (Tr), (the footbridge from...of...) *Podu dă la Gheorghe al Voichii* (Ag), (the glen from...of...) *Poiana de la Maria Smarandei* (Ag), (the glen from...of...) *Poiana de la Mărioara lu Matei* (Ag), (the well from...of...) *Puțu de la Anica Cîrcăloii* (Ag) etc.

In most of the prepositional constructions (either simple or complex), the feminine anthroponym already fills the position of toponym, before the adding of the preposition ([at] *La Niculeasa* – Tr, *La Norica* – Bz, *La Olimpia* – Tr, *La Mița Mustăcioaia* – Ag, [in] *În Cârjoaia* – Ag, *Pe Eliza* – Bz, [on] *Pe Popeasca* – Ag, *Pe Mălina* – Ag, *Pe Safta* – Dj etc.) or is a part of a more complex structure<sup>22</sup> ([at the pool at...of...] *La Baltă la Nae al Saftii* – Dj, [the forest from the hill peak

<sup>20</sup> The identification can continue up to the third generation (the anthroponym *Savu Sandu Ghenea Iorgu*, for example, gathers the first name of the person, *Savu*, then, the first name of the father, *Sandu*, the grandfather, *Ghenea*, and the great-grandfather, *Iorgu*).

<sup>21</sup> In few cases, the names are not followed by the entopic term: *Mioara Vițulesei* (Ph), *Oprica Voichii* (Ag).

<sup>22</sup> Where there can be joined two simple prepositional structures or entopic terms followed by prepositions.

of...] *Pădurea din Piscu Dochiei* – Bz, [on the filed at...of...] *În Plai la Marina Radului* – Db, [the layland round the wall of lady...] *Pârloaga de la Zidu Doamnei Neaga* – Bz, [around the corner at...’s] *În Cot la Profira* – Tr, [on the estate of...] *Pe Moșia lu Elena Ciutuleasa* – Il etc.), in which there is also used as a toponym, anterior to the process when the other elements had been merged.

- Some toponyms – yet reduced in number and variety, as comparing to the ones presented above – were formed from the feminine names that emerged from the appellations that were showing the ethnic and the social belonging, or indicating the profession: *Poiana Unguroaica* (Ph) (the glen of the Hungarian woman); *Pârâu Călugărița* (Ag) (the spring of the nun), ~ *Principesei* (Ag) (...of the princess), ~ *Preotesei* (Ag) (...of the clergyman’s wife), ~ *Olăresei* (Ag) (...of the potter woman), ~ *Oltencii* (Ag) (...of the woman from Oltenia); *Pădurea Domnișoarei* (Ph) (the forest of the miss), ~ *Domniței* (Ph) (...of the lady) etc. The statute of the proper noun is going to be established here after the investigation of each situation; this is due to the fact that the toponymy registers numerous similar cases, in which there is a common noun on the second place – *Piatra Jupânesei* (Bz) (the rock of the boyar’s wife); *Pietrele Doamnei* (Ph) (the rocks of the lady), ~ *Fetei* (Bz, Vr) (...of the girl); *Plaiu Croitoresei* (Db) (the field of the dressmaker); *Podu Doamnei* (Gr) (the footbridge of the lady), ~ *Jupânesei* (Ph) (...of the boyar’s wife); *Poiana Doamnei* (Bz, Ph) (the glen of the lady), ~ *Preotesei* (Ph) (...of the clergyman’s wife), ~ *Reginei* (Ph) (...of the queen) etc. – and not an anthroponym.

- Another category (also reduced in volume) of anthroponyms present in toponymy, is made of feminine nicknames, which became surnames later: *Bălaia* (Dj) (the fair-haired woman), *Beteaga* (Vl) (the crippled woman), *Cioanta* (Mh) (the one-handed woman), *Ciorâca* (Dj, Mh) (the crowish-looking woman), *Coțofana* (Dj, Vl) (the magpie woman), *Coțofanca* (Mh) (magpie-looking woman), *Oarba* (Dj, Ot, Vl) (the blind woman), *Șchioapa* (Vl) (the limping woman), *Șchiopana* (Gj) (the lame woman) etc. They entered into the anthroponimy “thanks” to the person’s deficiency, and into the toponymy, probably due to her attendance to a happening/event that led to the transfer of the nickname towards a specific place.

- Few toponyms are based on anthroponymic constructions, which include terms that express the kinship or the addressing names: *Piscu Mătușii Floarea Meleroaia* (Vl) (the hill peak of aunt...), *Dealul Mătușii Floarii* (Vl), *Baba Floarea* (Vl) (grandma...), *Baba Ioana* (Mh) (grandma...), *Baba Lupa* (Dj) (grandma...), *Baba Nedela* (Dj) (grandma...), *Baba Neta* (Gj) (grandma...), *Baba Oprița* (Dj) (grandma...), *Baba Rada* (Dj) (grandma...), *Baba Stana* (Dj) (grandma...), *Pădurea Baba Nastasia* (Il) (the forest of grandma...), ~ *Baba Ana* (Il) (grandma...); *Pădurea lu Conița Stănculescu* [s. Benești c. Bălcești-Vl] (the forest of lady...); *Pârâu Baba Dobroaia* (Bz) (spring from grandma...), *Podu lu Baba Iovana* (Dj) (the footbridge of grandma...), *Puțu Țaței Păuna* (Ph) (the well of aunty...) etc.

- There are situations when the name was simplified, through the loss or the renouncing to one of the terms: for example, in the village of Ociogi, the commune of Brâncoveni (Olt), a place is named *Rachirii* (from *Rachira*); the form of genitive indicates the fact that at some point there was also an entopic term<sup>23</sup> that, in time, was omitted.

- The feminine anthroponyms enter into the toponymy through the masculine group names or patronyms. Therefore, we came across, in the analysed material, with names as *Ancuțești*, *Anuțești*, *Cătrinești*. In these cases, the family was constituted around a woman – *Anca*, *Anuța*, *Cătrina* – whose first name all the successors related to. Other toponyms got their names from a masculine anthroponym, derived from a feminine one *Săftoiu* (Gj), *Dealul Saftu* (Ag) (the hill...), *Dealul Brândușu* (Mh) (the hill...), *Lazu Frusinoiu* (Ph) (the clearing...), *Cătrinoiu* (Bz), *Golu Cătrinoiu* (Ph) (the layland...).

The more frequent the names – feminine, in our case – are, the bigger the chances to enter into the trans-onimisation become. Nonetheless, the mentioned criterion is not a decisive one. In toponymy, there are also present factors that relate to “socio-historic aspects, among which the form of property might play the essential part”<sup>24</sup>, to the degree of participation of the women in the life of a community, to their position inside the family and, not at last, many toponyms (especially micro-toponyms) can appear by chance<sup>25</sup>. However, as the situation evolved and the social circumstances changed, “there is not present anymore, as it used to be, a relation of filiation between the founder of the village and its dwellers, or one of property between the landlord and estate, but it is respected a member of the family, a friend etc.”<sup>26</sup>. Not being considered the juridical and economic relations, the gender, such is the civil status of the “godfather” does not matter anymore”<sup>27</sup>.

The studying of the feminine anthroponyms presents great interest nowadays, for at least two reasons: their presence/absence reflects the role and the place that the women had, during certain periods of time, inside the family and the society, fact that ought to caught the attention of the sociologists; if we consider the history and the evolution of the personal denomination, we can observe the extent and the form of their participation to the shaping of this system. Moreover, the toponymy preserved names that display the past occupation of women and, from this point of view, the ethnography should also have an interest in.

<sup>23</sup> In *Nume de locuri din Banat* (Timișoara, Facla Publishing, 1982, p. 99), Vasile Ioniță showed that certain toponyms were formed, in an initial stage, from at least two members: “In time, there was used only the determinant, the appellative remaining implied (Village of) *Cireșu*, (Village of) *Cuptoare* etc.; (Valley of) *Strâmbă*, (Mountain of) *Țarcu* etc.”.

<sup>24</sup> Ion Toma, *Toponimia Olteniei*, p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> There is a certain occurrence, after which the sur/name of a person is associated with that specific place.

<sup>26</sup> Iordan, I, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 177.

## SHAKESPEARE IN EMINESCU'S VISION

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**Abstract:** Eminescu proved that he was a professional analyst of universal and comparative literature, an authentic interpreter, anticipating the great teacher-scholars of the twentieth century (Tudor Vianu, Eugen Lovinescu, George Călinescu, Zoe Dumitrescu-Buşulenga, Edgar Papu etc.). In his view, Shakespeare is a role model.

**Keywords:** Eminescu, Shakespeare, literature, Romanian's, culture, geniouse.

Shakespeare and Eminescu are two tutelary genius, whose creative authority has been consolidated by posterity. It is interesting to note, however, Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian national writer's view about the greatest playwright of all time, Englishman William Shakespeare, whose work the author of "Evening Star" has met not only by German translations, but the creation itself into the original English language.

Perpessicius, an exegete and editor of Eminescu poems, noticed, with arguments, the findings of praise but deserved at Shakespeare, placing our poet, especially through the "Letters" and "Evening Star", "The right word", between Shakespeare and Fr. Villon. Because, Perpessicius comments "this outpouring of poetry throughout thrilled that tremble in the writing of Eminescu, the area of a lake caressed by the rays of the world, there is continuous presence of air spirit, an Ariel inspired and inspiring, that animates Eminescu's most beautiful pages, and this spirit is Shakespeare «It seems that the genius of Shakespeare breathed divine brit a new angel on earth lunatic, one new Ophelia» is written in place of «Poor Dionis», and our impression is that this image could become a true flagship, until one is present as «the breathing» Shakespearean genius in poetry and literary prose of Eminescu. A closer look elsewhere shows not only the rich and references to Shakespeare's name, but even the presence of a true Eminescu Shakespearian cult".

Studying closely Eminescu's creation (poetry, prose, drama, journalism), as Eminescu's publisher urges us, who wrote pages of deep understanding for

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Shakespeare, we can say, from the very beginning, that Shakespeare's influence was not decisive in Eminescu's creation and thinking – the Eminescologists discovering stronger foreign influences, but the presence of a cult of the British writer.

Active member of "Junimea" led by Titu Maiorescu, Eminescu has very exciting literary views about the creation and the role of popular literature, putting, for each European national culture, the tutelary genius: Shakespeare for Great Britain, Goethe for Germany, Dante for Italy, Cervantes for Spain, Hugo for France, even in music, Beethoven's musical genius is appreciated praise, this axiological hierarchy remaining valid today.

A question imposes itself: Eminescu read the original works of Shakespeare or by intermediate German and French editions? In other words, our poet knew English? Opinions are divided: George Călinescu believes that Eminescu was not been able to speak English", Al. Dușu that Eminescu did not know or knew very little English. On the opposite pole, Vladimir Streinu wrote that Eminescu was a persistent English' reader, Mark Beza believes that Eminescu was Shakespeare's original reader with influence in "Emperor and Proletarian" (from "King Lear"), "Mortua Est" and "The Brazen Bells of Midnight"... (from "Macbeth", "The Storm", "Hamlet") and Leon D. Levitchi appreciate that "[...] Eminescu speaks English at some level and in a sense that was guided mainly by the original and not by German and French's translations, which seems a plausible opinion".

Shakespeare was known to the public in the Romanian countries since the late eighteenth century, when there has been played some of his dramas, Caesar Balbac, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Constanța Duma, Grigoriu Moldovan have written about him, his biography, written by Le Tourneur, was translated by Thomas Alexander Bagdat, fragments of his work have appeared in magazines such as "Ilustrațiunea", "Amicul Școalelor", "Tribuna".

The first information about Shakespeare were found by Eminescu in ET Röttscher's treatise "Art of dramatic representation", which he translated to Pascaly Michael's request, the band in which he was prompter. This translation started in 1868 and Shakespeare is considered to have a brilliant artist's nature, "Microcosm's creator".

Consecrating one's obituary, after his death on April 9, 1871, Eminescu notes the paper "Treaty of filosofía art" in which Theodor Henrich Röttscher has endeavoured to establish aesthetic stage art bolder [...] on the rapport of philosophy in works of art, an analysis of Shakespeare's and Goethe's major tragedies.

Also regarding the influence of Shakespeare in Eminescu's creation, opinions are divided. From the exaggerations of D. Murărașu concerning sources in some Eminescu's poems, "izvorăstii" as G. Călinescu called them, giving, however, evidence of scholarship, scientists have demonstrated a genuine scientific interest, comparative research, or simply excluding some parallels transmission of the themes' or ideas' concordances.

In Shakespeare's creations are images, themes or motifs such as:

a) life as a dream (from Hamlet: "dream of a shadow and the shadow of a dream") in "The Poor Dionis", "Memento Mori", "The Brazen Bells of Midnight"... "Emperor and Proletarian", "The First Letter", "Andrei Mureșanu", "Standing at the window", "Day-and day he added me", "Sleepy Birds", "Sweet Girlfriend, Oh Leave Me", "I do not think either in Jehovah", "Shadow of Istrate Dabija Voevod", "O-wisdom, you have wings of wax!", "Melancholy";

b) the world as a theatre (of "Hamlet", "Merchant of Venice", "The storm", "As You Like") especially in "Gloss". But, as Stephen Avădani justifies, the presence of these motifs and themes in other literature "simultaneously or sequentially, can be explained firstly by the existence of archetypal patterns of thought and feeling – so pure parallels or analogies".

According to G. Călinescu, Misanthrope Timon of Athens is "akin to Eminescu pessimistic" and "Athenian Timon's influence [pharaoh TLA Avatars nn] is evident", as "Mortua Est" "meanings are closer to the Shakespeare's drama (Hamlet), whose hero finds the revenge human values and, consequently, the nonsense of life in a badly-made world".

Other similarities can be made between the couple Bogdana – Sas in "Bogdan- Dragoș" and Lady Macbeth from the play with the same name, between the feminine character of Mira and Ophelia from "Hamlet", evoking "the old King Lear" in "Emperor and Proletarian" etc., but with all these Shakespeare echoes one can said that at Eminescu we can talk not only about taking influences, which would alleviate the damaging problem, but about congeniality" because Eminescu "plainly not only the tragic sense of Shakespeare's creation (although allusions to these meanings are the most common), but also did he decipher the resonances of a Renaissance stage", as with Falstaff's reply translation of Henry IV.

To Shakespeare, Eminescu does not only predict the value of his genius as a national symbol, but also has a cult, as he expressed himself in the poetry "Icon and Sill": "I also feel the charm and I admire in my soul / The way Shakespeare used to admire once with his big eyes".

He dedicated him an odd, in 1876, at his 26 years old, in "Books" poetry, which expresses his feelings of appreciation and love:

*Gentle friend of my soul  
The full font of your chants  
Flashes in my thought and I repeat it again.  
You are so cruel, and so soft,  
Today is storm and gentle is your voice  
As God you show yourself in a thousand of faces  
And learn what a century can't learn you*

In the same admiring tone he continues the characterization in the next three stanzas:

*"For all that I feel, is evil or good / I feel Pretty-all-you-thank you / You have opened my eyes light, / I've learned to read the word, / being wrong as you, I love mistake: / to be like you is all my pride".*

Tudor Vianu concluded, from comparative studies, that in some Eminescu's poems is "the astonishing reflection of the greatest English poet's genius into the greatest Romanian poet genius" and Zoe Dumitrescu Buşulenga signals "the catalytic influence of the English genius into the Romanian's genius".

Eminescu was planning to write a play about the Romanian ruler Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, taking Shakespeare as a model: "From Alecsandru Lăpuşneanu it could be made a Romanian Macbeth especially if you use the last act of Negruzzi's novel" notes Eminescu. That Eminescu knew and appreciated Shakespeare's creation, it is proved by the next scrap on Shakespeare and national art,

"Shakespeare spoke of a man, the man how it is His drunker is a drunkard, his hero, his madman is insane, his sceptic is sceptical and every man is bemired with the collaboration of his character, because The People conceive the way he sees and Shakespeare belonged to his people, par excellence".

Admirable appreciation for a national writer!

In a letter to Iacob Negruzzi, on 17 June 1870, Eminescu takes up the idea of Epigones: "Our ancestors believed in what they wrote, as Shakespeare believed in his fantasies".

In prose, "the divine brit" appears in the novel "Poor Dionis", novel read in the literary club Junimea on 1 September 1872, kept at Titu Maiorescu's home, featuring Vasile Pogor, Iacob Negruzzi, N. Gane, Miron Pompiliu, A.D. Xenopol.

Shakespeare's name appears on the scene of Dionysus' house, in front of which was a beautiful white house at night, and through the window one can hear "sweet notes of a piano and a shattering young child's voice wafting a lightsome prayer". Opening his eyes, Dionis saw a "flapper girl dipped in a white robe, quivering with her twiggy fingers, long and sweet, the ivories of an acoustic piano, accompanying a slight sounds of the divine notes of its sweet and soft voice. It seemed that Shakespeare's divine genius breathed a new angel on earth lunatic a new Ophelia".

The same text is repeated in Eminescu's novel "Empty Genius"<sup>1</sup> which was written, according to the correspondence between the poet and Iacob Negruzzi, between 1868-1871: "Then I started writing my novel partially regarding the immediate impressions after 1868, at a time when I was in Bucharest, and partially after an episode I was told by a student at Transylvania"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Novel printed by Ion Scurtu, as original novel, with a critical introduction and notes, Bucharest, Chart Institute "Minerva", 1904, XXXV, p. 183. The text in which Shakespeare appears in M. Eminescu, *Works*, VII, p. 183. See also ms. In 2255.

<sup>2</sup> I. E. Torouţiu, Gh. Cardeş, *Literary studies and documents*, I, Bucharest, Institute of Graphic Arts "Bucovina", 1931, p. 321-322 (*apud* D. Vatamaniuc, notes to Eminescu, *Works*, VII, p. 356).

In the novel, the foreign writers who are further quoted are Al. Dumas, Torquato Tasso, Jókai Mór and in the quoted letter, Eminescu refers to his trip to Blaj, in 1866, which offered him information about the Revolution of 1848<sup>3</sup>.

In journalism, Shakespeare is often quoted as an exemplifying model for justification of relevant statements in various fields.

For instance, advocating for the establishment of a national theatre (an idea "just as beautiful as it is useful"), with an appropriate repertoire, an idea supported by Iosif Vulcan and by the press of that time in Transylvania, Eminescu proposes a repertoire of works that serve the national idealism, that send a message, even if they don't have a special aesthetic value.

He makes use of the "public's patience with regard to the enumeration of a list of our dramatic inheritance" V. Alecsandri (partially), V.A. Urechia, B.P. Hasdeu Samson Bodnărescu, Al. Depăreașanu. Interesting is the fact that he does not recommend the works of D. Bolintineanu (whose poetry is a composition "full of genius and heart [...] gold mirrors of the Romanian past"), because in drama, it "seems to be the case of casting his eyes on the Northern genius: on Shakespeare".

With objectivity, he criticizes the difference in value between the two writers, offering the opportunity to characterize the author of "Hamlet":

"Indeed, when you take his works in your hands, they seem so torn, no links to one another, and it seems that there is nothing easier than writing like him, in fact maybe even surpassing him. But there might not have been another tragic author than Shakespeare who had dominated his work more, who had woven with more awareness all the threads of his work precisely because it only seemed to be torn as a more experienced eye could soon realize the unity full of symbolism and profundity that reigns in all creation of this powerful genius. Goethe – a genius – declared that a playwright who reads yearly more than one of Shakespeare's plays is a playwright ruined forever. Shakespeare should not be read, but studied, in such a way that you can discover what your power does not allow you to imitate, because, in my opinion, Shakespeare's land, on which Mr. Bolintineanu could have successfully stepped, is that of abstraction as in «A Midsummer Night's Dream», «Winter's Tale», «As you like it» etc, and not that of a serious and terrible land, the matter of historical relevance, and most of all the pretension to be above all true"<sup>4</sup>.

"*With a clearer vision*", stepping through the creation of geniuses such as Shakespeare, Goethe and Hugo, Eminescu responds to potential allegations of misunderstanding of these world literature classics: there should be a higher degree of public cultural education, and Romanian playwrights should understand the need to subordinate themselves to «their nation» and "the models in that regard are the Spanish playwrights, Shakespeare, and a Norwegian author, perhaps too hardly known to the Romanians and that is playwright B. Bjornson"<sup>5</sup>.

Because, Eminescu continues his demonstration in the article signed and published by him in "The Family" of Iosif Vulcan<sup>6</sup>, a genuine playwright is one

<sup>3</sup> See also Tudor Nedelcea, *Eminescu, the historian*, Craiova, Fundația "Scrișul Românesc", 1998.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> "Family", VI, no. 3, 18/30 January 1870, pp. 25-28.

who “by meeting the size and beauty, purity and true Christian piety, stands completely out of his exclusive circles consisting of only some social classes in order to reach the great and powerful abstraction of the people”.

Being an authentic dramatic chronicler, Eminescu applies an aesthetic and critical judgment to the dramatizations of the “attic” novels or “boulevard dramas” as a result of reading Aristotle and Röttscher, his model being also Shakespeare:

“We do not believe that a cruel and realistic representation of the bodily weaknesses is the mission of dramatic art. It is true that of all the infirmities only two do not offend the spirit of drama, but only through the silence they inspire: blindness and madness. «Both of these characteristics may be depicted in the tragedies of the oldest writers and in the works of the greatest poet: in Shakespeare’s *King Lear* or in *Hamlet*»”<sup>7</sup>.

When continuing the axiological considerations of universal drama, he notes that the Spanish have “*from age to age a few isolated geniuses*”, while the tragic Greeks and the French “*have got very far*” and this is “the time of Molière and Shakespeare”<sup>8</sup>.

According to this aesthetic principles Eminescu criticizes the growing number of translations and transpositions on stage of mediocre dramatic writers, recommending classical works to the Romanian translators, apart from emphasizing the value of authentic folk as I. Creangă did,

“the translation of written work without value is the easiest work which dispenses the writer from his own production and from interpreting the meaning of words. A translation of Shakespeare, Molière or Goethe is a merit, because the form and meaning are so intertwined, that the translator must interpret word by word and phrase with phrase”<sup>9</sup>.

Being preoccupied with creating a quality repertoire for a national theatre, with a “capital of roles appropriate for the talent and physique” of the actors, with “a capital of good plays”, especially Shakespeare’s and Molière’s, Eminescu proposes a capitalization on the experience of the Burgtheater in Vienna (where he used to go frequently), “a theatre of the court” just as he wanted to be the theatre in Iași (“a home for national art”), because “art is serene and eternal. The plays of Shakespeare and Molière’s comedies may be put on stage even after thousands of years and they will be heard with the same keen interest because human passions always remain the same”<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Theatrical magazine “*Courier de Iași*”, IX, no. 139, December 22. 1876, p. 3, Works, IX, p. 293.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 294. Eminescu translates the study of Heinrich von Treitschke (1884-1896), *Ein Wart Judenthum über Unser*, regarding the fate of Jews in Germany and Europe, Shakespeare is mentioned in this paper as opposed to religious tolerance from the sage Lessing Nahan (*Readers of newspapers ...*, in “*Time*”, V, no. 21, January 26. 1880, p. 1, X works, publicist, November 1. 1877-15 February 1880, Bucharest, RSR Academy Publishing, 1989, p. 401.)

<sup>9</sup> New sheet in the “*Courier de Iași*”, X, no. 1, January 5, 1877, p. 3, Works, IX, p. 298.

<sup>10</sup> Theatrical magazine “*Courier de Iași*”, X, no. 31, 20 March 1877, p. 3; Works, IX, p. 350.

But, in order for these dramas to endure time, it is necessary that their translation into Romanian to be closer to the original value. From this point of view, Eminescu brings critical arguments to one of the most active translators of Shakespeare's works (in addition to Scarlat Ion Ghica și Haralamb G. Lecca), Adolf Stern, who translated "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark" (in 1877 and 1905), "Julius Caesar" (1881), "King Lear" (1881):

"Among the many misfortunes that the famous swan of Avon encountered, we can also enumerate the translation into five iambic feet that Adolf Stern, a man of letters from Bucharest, applied to the melancholic Hamlet. Who will translate Mr. Stern's gibberish into Romanian – that's the question?"<sup>11</sup>.

Even the actors who have interpreted Shakespearean characters are not spared from his critical scrutiny. The Italian actor Ernesto Rossi (1827-1896) offers him the opportunity to do that; he was on tour in Iași, in January 1878, with the plays: "Romeo and Juliet", "Othello", "Hamlet", "King Lear", "Richard III", "Macbeth", and, though famous in his country, he could not step up to Shakespeare's level of creation. Spectator at these performances, Eminescu discusses the representative art of universal drama, because a play, "but especially one of Shakespeare, is a work of art, in which all characters are so meaningful that they should be played by great artists" taking into account, however, that

"one may never find a group that actually meets the expectations of so many excellent artists so that the whole work of art can be as fit as a bass-relief in which no figure should stand out of the edges that separate the statue, isolated from the bas-relief"<sup>12</sup>.

From this point of view, he is aware of a discrepancy between Rossi's play and his team, which has – in Eminescu's opinion – to act as an orchestra, while Rossi plays his role as the main instrument. With no other opportunities, the dramatic chronicler of the "Time" becomes more concessive, given the electrifying atmosphere of the public in Iași:

"But as we are thankful for any true art, we give up the idea of seeing Shakespeare performed as a whole, that's what we see with the eyes of our soul, and we declare ourselves overly defeated by the strong play of the great Italian master".

Classical culture has, in his opinion, an important role for any country – especially for Romania – for worldwide recognition and, therefore, classical education must be at the grounds of any school reform. In the official newspaper of liberal civilized polemic "The Romanian", Eminescu criticizes harshly Emil du Bois-Reymond, his former professor of physiology at Berlin, who claimed that "all ancient culture is built on sand"<sup>13</sup>. By denying the role and value of traditional

<sup>11</sup> Shakespeare, in "Courier de Iași", X, no. 45 May 1877, p. 4; Works, IX, p. 373.

<sup>12</sup> Rossi's performances in "Time", III, no. 22, January 28, 1878, p. 3, Works, X, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> D. Jules Ferry, seems to us ..., in "Time", V, no. 177, August 9, 1880, p. 1-2; Works XI, Journalism. 17 February -31 December 1880, Bucharest, RSR Academy Publishing, 1984, p. 293.

culture – an idea taken up by liberals – du Bois has compromised himself, because, Eminescu maliciously comments,

“if Goethe lived, he would not write Faust, but he would be a parliamentary, and today Homer would be an apprentice pharmacist and Shakespeare would be an editor at The Telegraph. Here is the evidence presented by the government in favour of limiting classical studies”<sup>14</sup>.

In his famous study, “Old Icons and New Icons”, Part III, “The Old and The Young”, Eminescu formulates theories, with compelling arguments, about the primacy of work that must underpin the development of culture and civilization and thus raise the individual’s intellect, the need for productive work, using in this mainly economic and social study, the name of Homer, Kâlidasa, Shakespeare, Raphael, Palestrina, Beethoven, Ștefan cel Mare, Mihai Viteazul, Matei Basarab, Vasile Lupu, Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin etc.

Starting from the concept:

“Just as life consists of movements, so is social truth, the mirror of reality, forever in motion”, because “what is true today, tomorrow is doubtful and not only human fate goes up and down the wheel of this world, but ideas too”<sup>15</sup>, Eminescu finds that only art is constant, and “that is a strange thing, meaning not what benefits the people, but what people need for their personal pleasure”<sup>16</sup>. In this gallery of artistic geniuses Shakespeare is also mentioned with justification: “We are still so pleased with the creations of the greatest poet that has lived on Earth, Shakespeare’s creations, and we enjoy their beauty, and even perhaps more than his contemporaries”<sup>17</sup>.

Starting from the same idea of the primacy of work, which must be based on productive capital, Eminescu notices the “*social decomposition*” in Russia, where “*positive classes*” are deprived, and “*brutal materialism*”, created by Karl Marx, takes the place of old beliefs and of Christian civilization. In art, Eminescu explains that “the elegant style of Renaissance architecture, the greatest Gothic style pales in front of the monotonous style of barracks for rent, Shakespeare and Molière resort to ironies and dramatic works of incest and adultery, Offenbach and cancan drive away Beethoven and Mozart”<sup>18</sup>; it is a sad, decadent era, when “great ideas become dusk, the gods die,” because of a “general economic corruption”<sup>19</sup>.

In other political articles, Eminescu finds the opportunity to make reference to Shakespeare. For example, while speaking about the English government, a supporter of the Ottoman Empire, and about the British liberal opposition which organized protest meetings against the Turkish atrocities in the Balkans, Eminescu quotes from “Henrich IV”, Part I, Act III, scene 7 (a play with a very limited access in the nineteenth century):

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> Old and New Icons in the “Time”, II, no. 281, December 14. 1877, p. 2-3, Works, X, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> *The other day, Monday morning ...*, in “Time”, V, no. 73, April 5. 1879, p. 1-2; Works, X, p. 214.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

"All of them promise religiously to the public that they will give the impression of the immortal Sir John, of the admirable Sir John Falstaff, as he was described by Shakespeare: the divine Sir John who has not seen his knees for many years because he is thick and fat and who has gained his enviable size only due to ... his sentimentality"<sup>20</sup>.

Commenting on the new literary direction of the "Press" magazine Eminescu quotes the lyrics, "*For Brutus is a man worthy of esteem / worthy of esteem are all of course*, as Shakespeare the master says"<sup>21</sup>.

Parodying the liberal ambassador Ștefan Belu, nicknamed Pandarus, sent by the Bucharest government to the wedding of the Grand Duke of Luxembourg, Wilhelm III, King of Holland (1849-1890), Eminescu refers again to the great British writer: "in a lesser-known drama of Shakespeare, entitled *Troilus and Cressida*, there is an elderly gentleman who manages to bring peace to the hearts of the two sighing turtledoves in Troy, by welcoming them into his house", a clear reference to welcoming Jesus in the house of Martei, and he concludes: "the hospitality of a woman was an ancient virtue, while in the case of lord Pandarus it was an ancient vice"<sup>22</sup>.

Similarly, in order to highlight the "division and hatred between citizens of the state, for the fiction and the demagogue gentlemen's honest cheeks" who deny meritocracy, Eminescu calls for the "immortal Shakespeare"<sup>23</sup> quoting the lines of Ulysses in "*Troilus and Cressida*" (Act 1, scene 3).

Although he was in a constant dispute of ideas with the official newspaper "The Romanian" and with the Liberal government, led by I. C. Brătianu (whose many merits he acknowledges), Eminescu takes a public stand against the attack towards the liberal Prime Minister:

"We do not apologize or ever justify a crime. But we look for an explanation: there is a clear distinction between an excuse and an explanation. If we explained the vicissitudes the soul of Richard III has to go through, if we were to reveal those deep and dark sophistry that a great critic of Shakespeare's calls the logic of passion, we would not excuse and justify the crimes of the king of England"<sup>24</sup>.

The proclamation of the Kingdom of Romania, in 1881, and the news regarding a "*radical change in the I. C. Brătianu cabinet*" with perpetual passage of politicians from one party to another, offer Eminescu the opportunity to refer, again, to Shakespeare's creation:

<sup>20</sup> Turkey "diplomacy with going ...", in "Courier de Iași", IX, no. 97, September 1, 1876, p. 3, Works, IX, p. 356.

<sup>21</sup> *Literary conversation*, in "Courier de Iași", X, no. 36, April 6, 1877, p. 3, Works, IX, p. 356.

<sup>22</sup> *Pandarus, wedding best man*, in "Time", III, no. 285, December 30, 1878, p. 1, Works, X, p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> *We think we talked enough ...*, in "Time", IV, no. 5, January 9 1879, p. 1-2; Works, X, p. 169.

<sup>24</sup> *The truth hurts, nothing hurts like the truth ...*, in "Time", V, no. 278, 13/25 December 1880, p. 1, Works, XI, p. 442.

“But be it one or the other, any agreement that in order to become someone enamu che enasu with Cariagdi, Carada, Giani etc., the soul of a well born man needs to go through almost tragic adventures, like Timon from Athens, a hero of a Shakespearian drama. In fact for a man so friendly, hospitable, generous like Timon in Act I to be turned into a savage misanthrope, a hermit like Timon in Act IV, his soul goes through a lot of adventures that take him from one extreme to another, and turn him from white to black, from a lily to a mandrake”<sup>25</sup>.

Even Mihai Kogălniceanu’s speech, held at the House of Representatives on 1st May 1882, regarding the issue of the Danube is also dealt with references to Shakespeare. The liberal “bad faith” government cannot be trusted so then “what advice can you give a man you cannot trust and who has irrecusably proved that he is not worth it?”<sup>26</sup> the journalist asks himself while continuing his comment:

“But it is understandable that this advice is not appreciated. When I told them the words that Shakespeare sometimes put into the mouth of his characters, Go hang yourself because you have paid your dues to the world!, then the cold feeling of nothingness embraces C. A. Rosetti almost to the point of hysteria and making no sense”<sup>27</sup>.

In the reading notes, transcripts or excerpts, the name of the famous British writer occurs frequently and with admiration. In a note of January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1873 regarding certain aesthetic principles, Eminescu asks himself: “What would be the art of the future in the edges of reason?”, and giving his answer: “The combination of fantasy with reason”<sup>28</sup>, continuing the reading note: “Clear metal without imperfection. Heine. Lyric. Shakespeare in the passing of time [...] the passion, the movements of life are in Shakespeare”<sup>29</sup>.

In an excerpt he writes about “dreams that arise in deep sleep, having dramatic consistency (A nobody, but in a dream – a Shakespeare)”<sup>30</sup>.

Commenting on the relationship between pseudo talent, talent and genius, Eminescu advises young people to embrace only the profession or the occupation they have vocation for: “Rather than being a pseudo talent in literature, it is better to be a talented shoemaker” because the appearance of a genius in any field of human activity is more difficult than “the birth of a new solar system in the unborn valleys of chaos”<sup>31</sup>.

And he exemplifies: “Homer, Shakespeare, Raphael, geniuses in the arts are born once every 3 to 4 thousand years, Newton and Galileo, Kant and Darwin,

<sup>25</sup> D. Bratianu, *confirming the news himself*, mss 2264, Works, XII, journalism. January 1st. - December 31. 1881, Bucharest, R.S.R. Academy Publishing, 1985, p. 463.

<sup>26</sup> *In his speech on 1 May ...*, mss 2264, Works, XIII. Journalism. 1882-1883, 1888-1989. Bucharest, R.S.R. Academy Publishing, 1985, p. 355.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> *Beauty-aesthetic*, mss 2257, Works, XV, p. 410.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 410-411.

<sup>30</sup> *Reality and Dream*, Mss 2287; Works, XV, p. 434.

<sup>31</sup> *Pseudotalent, talent and genius*, Mss 2225; Works, XV, p. 142.

geniuses in science, every thousand years”<sup>32</sup>. He wishes to stress the difference between genius and talent: “If we have talent, meaning a few centigrams of brain more than simia communis, we can stand out through constant work in our time; if we do not work, we will resemble our brethren, the beasts”<sup>33</sup>.

When transcribing the book of M. Lazarus and N. Steintal, *Introductory reflections on the psychology of peoples*, he finds the difference between ancient tragedy, on the one hand, and the German or the English one, on the other hand, the latter being represented by Schiller and Shakespeare: “These tragedies created by poets are even essentially different from the Greek ones”<sup>34</sup>. And in the transcription of Rudolf Gottschall's work, *The novels of Gustav von See*, he notes: “Many studies of Shakespeare have praised those circles of action that mirrored one and the same fundamental idea, circles which seem to have a central spiritual point and only different rays”<sup>35</sup>.

After this incursion into his literary and publishing work, we can say that Eminescu had a real cult for Shakespeare, not just a reverential and complex one, but also a productive and lucrative one, not so much by direct influence, but by enriching the range of ideas and themes of his own creation. Reading only his original work, Eminescu sensed his geniality and appreciated it as such, the presence of Shakespeare in literary works, especially in publishing – to which a wider and diverse readership had access – was beneficial for the whole Romanian literature, from the age of great Romanian classics. The Shakespearean model in Romanian culture, promoted by Eminescu, was an axiological standard to which all literary, directing and performing productions related.

It should also be pointed out a fact noted by G. Călinescu:

“the literary value of these articles lies first of all in the advisable way to translate the great abstractions without many neologisms, in a language available to all. Maioreescu had this gift. But Eminescu exceeds him by far on the formal side. He comes down to the village sayings and proverbs, resorts to conclusions and he certainly makes stunning figures. Never were the general ideas expressed to the reader in our newspaper in such a way to give the illusion that everyone understands”<sup>36</sup>.

Eminescu proved that he was a professional analyst of universal and comparative literature, an authentic interpreter, anticipating the great teacher-scholars of the twentieth century (Tudor Vianu, Eugen Lovinescu, George Călinescu, Zoe Dumitrescu-Buşulenga, Edgar Papu etc.). In his view, Shakespeare is a role model.

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>34</sup> Mss. 2285; *Works*, XV, p. 640.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 714.

<sup>36</sup> George Călinescu, *Opera lui Mihai Eminescu. V. Analize. Eminescu în timp și spațiu*, Bucharest, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1936, p. 299.



## SHAKESPEARE'S TIMELESS WOMEN

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**Abstract:** The history of women's struggle for equality during the last two centuries is relatively well documented; studies of women's history often construct a meliorist narrative in which the progress women have made in recent times represents the final stage in a long upward trajectory. Women's power and authority extended beyond the limits of their families. The example of the Tudor queens Mary and Elizabeth is well known, and the 'anomaly' of Elizabeth's position has been endlessly noted; but they were not the only women who exercised political authority. As owners of boroughs, two of the Queen's female subjects were able to choose Members of Parliament. Women also possessed considerable economic power, not only through inheritance from fathers and husbands, but also by virtue of their own gainful employment. Women lower on the social scale earned their livings, not only as servants, but also in a variety of trades that took them outside the household. In Shakespeare's world, inequalities between men and women were taken for granted. Sanctioned by law and religion and reinforced by the duties and customs of daily life, they were deeply embedded in the fabric of culture. However, the gender hierarchy in Shakespeare's time coexisted with a hierarchy of status and rank, which was also rationalized by theology, and by history as well.

**Keywords:** Shakespeare, female power, misogyny, feminist, historicist literary scholarship.

In Shakespeare's time, England and Scotland were both ruled by female monarchs, and Catherine de Medici was the regent of France. Shakespeare lived in a time and place when women were excluded from the universities and the learned professions, married women lost the right to their own property unless special provisions were made to preserve it, and wife-beating was regarded as a perfectly acceptable means of resolving domestic disputes.

In that same time and place, however, aristocratic women managed great estates and wielded economic power comparable to that of the head of large modern corporation; and women lower on the social scale were active in trades that are now regarded as "traditionally male". The construction of a historical narrative inevitably involves multiple selections. The records that supply the materials for that narrative are themselves the product of a long process of record-keeping,

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which is conditioned at every point by the personal motivations and institutional constraints that determined what information would be recorded and which records would be kept and retrieved. The selection of the materials for a historical narrative, is similarly constrained by the resources and limitations, both personal and professional, of the historian who makes the selection.

In historical research, you're likely to find what you are looking for, and what most of us have been looking for in recent years is a history of men's anxiety in the face of *female power*, women's disempowerment, and of outright *misogyny*. We need to interrogate that history, not because it is necessarily incorrect but because it is incomplete. It constitutes only one of many stories that could be told about women's place in Shakespeare's world and we need to consider the implications of its current hegemony. Some of the most important recent *feminist/historicist literary scholarship* includes reminders that the period was fraught with anxiety and rebellious women and particularly their rebellion through language; that women's reading was policed and their writing prohibited or marked as transgressive even when they were not engaged in other criminal activities, and that an obsessive energy was invested in exerting control over the unruly woman – the woman who was exercising either her sexuality or her tongue under her own control rather than under the rule of a man.

The female characters we encounter in Shakespeare's plays are not the same ones that appeared in the original productions. In the theatre, we rarely see them portrayed by male actors, but even in reading the women we imagine represent the end product of over four hundred years of modernization to redefine their roles in terms of new conceptions of women's nature and women's roles in the world. Not all of Shakespeare's women have changed to the same degree: in some cases they have been easily recruited to serve as role models – both positive and negative – for women born hundreds of years after their original creation.

In other cases, they have required more updating because the fit between the roles they originally had and the roles post-Shakespearian readers and revisers have imagined for them is less than seamless. An examination of the roles that have been most drastically reshaped both in theatrical production and in readers' comments can tell us a great deal about the history of women's roles in the disparate worlds in which the plays have been performed and read. Paradoxically, however, this implication of Shakespeare's female characters in the process of historical change has tended to occlude their own historicity, as they served, and continue to serve, in everchanging guises as models of an unchanging, universal female nature.

It is also important to recognize that this process of updating Shakespeare's female characters and the consequent occlusion of their historical difference did not begin with post-Shakespearian revisers. Shakespeare himself often updated the women he found in his historical sources to shape their roles in forms that made them recognizable in terms of his own contemporaries' expectations about women's

behaviour and motivation. These changes offer a revealing glimpse of the contested and changing gender ideology that shaped Shakespeare's original audiences' conceptions of women's proper roles, not only in the plays they went to see but also in the lives they lived.

Probably the most obvious manifestation of the way the updating of Shakespeare's female characters both bespeaks and obscures their historical location can be seen in theatrical costume. Illustrations of eighteenth and nineteenth and even early twentieth – century productions of the plays almost always look outdated. In their own time, the costumes and sets these illustrations depict were undoubtedly designed to provide the most appropriate possible realizations of the characters Shakespeare created, but in ours they look like quaint period pieces, and the period to which they belong is not that in which the plays were originally set or produced but that of their own production. Clearly what it shows us is not the way the characters were originally conceived but the ways they were imagined in times and places that are now unmistakably marked as distant, both from our world and from that of Shakespeare.

Illustrations of recent productions, by contrast, tend to obscure their own historicity, coming to us either as “authentic” recreations of the plays' original productions or their historical settings, or else as manifestations of the timeless contemporaneity of Shakespeare's representations of universal human experience.

The only sixteenth – century illustration of a Shakespearian text that we have is a drawing that dates from the mid – 1590 in which Tamora, the Queen of the Goths in *Titus Andronicus*, pleads with Titus to spare her two sons. In keeping with the ancient Roman setting of the play, Titus is dressed in a classical-looking draped garment, perhaps copied from a Roman statue; but Tamora wears a much more modern costume. We do not have an illustration of Cleopatra as she appeared when *Antony and Cleopatra* was first performed, but the playscript indicates that she must have been dressed in anachronistically modern clothing. Early in the play, Shakespeare's ancient Egyptian queen orders her attendant to cut her lace, a demand that would have made sense only if she wore a tight, stiffened busk or bodice like the costumes worn by fashionable ladies in Shakespeare's own time.

To be sure, on Shakespeare's stage modern costume was more the rule than the exception: the two soldiers who attend Titus are also dressed in contemporary Elizabethan costume; in *Julius Caesar*, the conspirators pluck anachronistic hats about their ears; in *Richard II*, one courtier threatens another with an anachronistic rapier and many other examples could be cited. Nonetheless, the anachronism in Tamora's costume is suggestive because it implies that even when her male antagonist is seen as belonging to a specific historical context, the woman's characterization is untouched by the contingencies of time and place.

The anachronism that erases the historicity of the woman and the plebeian men in the illustration from *Titus Andronicus* lies deeper than dress. Here, as in Shakespeare's English plays, historical location seems to be a privilege reserved

for royal and aristocratic men. The Henry IV plays, which cover a broad spectrum of society, provide a striking example. The king's court, inhabited exclusively by high-born men, is relatively free of anachronisms, and of women as well. Not even the queen appears. The East cheap tavern, by contrast, is presided over by a woman, Mistress Quickly, and it is depicted in strikingly contemporary terms. Mistress Quickly entertains a dissolute crew of lowlife men with anachronistic cups of sack, a wine that was not served in English taverns until 1453<sup>1</sup>. She is accompanied by another woman, the prostitute Doll Tearsheet, who reproaches the anachronistically named Pistol for tearing her anachronistically Elizabethan ruff.

Mistress Quickly and Doll, like the low-life men they entertain, are placed in an anachronistically contemporary setting that separates them from the high-born men at the king's historical court. But in the case of the women, their anachronistic location is overdetermined because in these plays, even the high-born women are conceived in anachronistic terms. Hopstur's wife, unlike Doll and the Hostess, had a real historical prototype-the granddaughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the same ancestor on whom the Mortimers based their claim to the English throne- but she too seem to inhabit the present world of Shakespeare's audience rather than the late fourteenth-century world of her historical prototype.

All these details – the references to confectioners and their wares; to Finsbury, a district of open walks and fields favoured by London citizens; to the velvet guards that ornamented the gowns of aldermen's wives-associate Shakespeare's Lady Percy with the late sixteenth-century citizens' wives in the playhouse, even though her historical prototype had died in 1403. The anachronistic details of speech and dress evoke a contemporary female stereotype-that of the respectable citizen's wife-which would have been entirely familiar to members of Shakespeare's original audience.

Like Tamora's anachronistic costume of Cleopatra's anachronistic laces, they depend on-and also reinforce – the assumption that women are always and everywhere the same, immune to the historical contingencies of time and place. They interpellate the women in the audience with identities that are defined solely by their gender-identities constrained by usually hostile and always restrictive stereotypes.

All of Shakespeare's female characters, the figure who seems to offer the most unmanageable resistance to those stereotypes is Cleopatra. It is not surprising that modern film-makers have never chosen to produce Shakespeare's version of her story is a big-budget film, despite the obvious attraction of the fabulous Egyptian queen as a cinematic subject<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Burdett Hemingway, *The Variorum edition of Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth, Part I* Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Publishing, 1936, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Katherine Eggert, *Age Cannot Wither Him: Warren Beatty's Betsy as Hollywood's Cleopatra*, in Lynda E. Boose, Richard Burt (editeds), *Shakespeare the Movie. Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, and Video*, London and New York, Routledge Publisher, 1997, pp. 202-214.

Already legendary when Shakespeare produced his version of her story, the powerfully ambivalent Cleopatra he staged drew on a variety of sources. These included the Roman writers who had defined her as Eastern, barbarian, "harlot queen" and the fifteenth and sixteenth century predecessors who had identified her with threatening power of women's insatiable appetite<sup>3</sup> as well as the antitheatrical polemicists who had insisted on the deceptiveness and corruption of Shakespeare's own theatrical medium.

The combination of erotic power and political authority that had made Cleopatra such a troubling figure to Romans and humanists alike might also have struck a responsive chord in Shakespeare's original audiences: they had, until very recently, lived under the sway of their own powerful queen. For twentieth-century American filmgoers, by contrast, Cleopatra had to be reduced to a fetishized female body, adorned in spectacular costumes for the pleasure of male spectators and the emulation of other women. Her motivation is clear and simple: to pleasure her man. In 1963 Joseph Mankiewicz, for instance, Cleopatra's suicide is no longer staged as a demonstration of her royalty. Instead of ordering her women to show her like a queen, Elizabeth Taylor's Cleopatra says she wants to be seen by Antony, as he first saw her.

Katherine Eggert observes, the film "domesticates Cleopatra into a spectacular mannequin" who intends to give pleasure only to her man.

Even at the end of the seventeenth century, when John Dryden produced his own version of the play, he found it necessary to transform Shakespeare's dangerously powerful and supremely artful heroine into a stereotype of artless feminine helplessness. Dryden's play, unlike Shakespeare's, brings Octavia to Alexandria for a meeting with Cleopatra, an encounter that Dryden justifies in his Preface as a "natural" expression of their characters as women. To justify his innovation, Dryden relies on what he imagines as the unchanging nature of women to discount any distinctions of nationality, rank, or historicity.

Dryden wrote at a time when neoclassical beliefs that general nature should supersede the accidents of individual identity in the representation of dramatic characters were widely endorsed; and all for Love was explicitly designed as a new version of the story of Antony and Cleopatra rather than merely an adaptation of Shakespeare's play. Nonetheless, Dryden's insistence upon transforming Shakespeare's female characters to bring them into conformity with what he regarded as an unchanging female nature outlasted his era. Even when Shakespeare's plays were not rewritten, the women's roles repeatedly reshaped to fit the Procrustean bed of whatever gender ideology prevailed at the time and place of the plays' production. This practice is strikingly illustrated in the collection on nineteenth-century images of Shakespeare's heroines that were exhibited in 1997 at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC. As Georgianna Ziegler pointed

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<sup>3</sup> Mary Hamer, *Signs of Cleopatra: History, Politics, Representation*, London, Routledge Publisher, 1993, pp. 33-44.

out in the accompanying catalogue, Shakespeare's female characters were imagined to conform to Victorian ideals of female behaviour. She notes that even Lady Macbeth was redeemed as a good, Victorian wife, a woman whose "ambition was all for her husband"<sup>4</sup>.

If, as Ziegler argues, "Lady Macbeth, with her aggressiveness and murderous instincts turned to madness, was one of the most difficult of Shakespeare's heroines for the nineteenth century to appropriate", she has proved remarkably adaptable to twentieth-century understandings of feminine psychology. O Mary McCarthy, writing in the 1960s, Lady Macbeth was clearly recognizable in temporary terms as:

"a woman and has unsexed her, which makes her a monster by definition... the very prospect of murder quickens an hysterical excitement in her, like the discovery of some object in a shop – a set of emeralds or a sable stole – in which Macbeth can give her and which will be outlet for all the repressed desires he cannot satisfy. She behave as though Macbeth, through his weakness, will deprive her of self-realization; the unimpeded exercise of her will is the voluptuous end she seeks"<sup>5</sup>.

McCarthy's references to "hysteria", repressed and unsatisfied desires that are clearly sexual, and a lust for the glittering objects of conspicuous consumption mark her diatribe as a mid-twentieth-century period piece; but it, no less than the Victorian apologia cited by Ziegler, measures the character against modern norms of wifely behaviour. "Her wifely concern", McCarthy charges, is "mechanical and far from real solicitude". She regards her "as a thing, a tool that must be oiled and polished"<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the three centuries that separated Dryden's Cleopatra from the Victorians' and Mary McCarthy's Lady Macbeth, and despite the manifold differences between the roles of the two characters and the play worlds in which Shakespeare set them, all were judged by reference to the paradigmatic modern embodiment of female virtue, the good wife. Dryden's Cleopatra may have engaged in an illicit alliance with Antony, but, like all good women – she was designed by nature for marriage and domesticity as "a wife, silly, harmless household dove". The Victorian's Lady Macbeth may have been guilty of regicide, but, like all good women, she was motivated by ambition of her husband's advancement. Mary McCarthy's Lady Macbeth was monstrously unwomanly because she was ambitious only for herself.

McCarthy's satirical portrait of Lady Macbeth is exaggerated and oversimplified, but it expresses in the simplest possible terms the preoccupations

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<sup>4</sup> Georianna Ziegler, Frances E. Dolan, Jeanne Addison Roberts, *Shakespeare's Unruly Women*, Washington, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1997, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Mary McCarthy, *General Macbeth*, originally published in "Harper's Magazine", June 1962, in Sylvan Barnet (edited), *The Signet Classic Edition of Macbeth*, reprinted, New York, New American Library, 1963, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

with her sexuality and her relationship with her husband that have dominated modern conceptions of her character. Modern critics and playgoers, like McCarthy, have found in Lady Macbeth a character easily understandable in terms of their own preconceptions about female psychology, especially in the soliloquy in which lady Macbeth calls on murderous spirits to “unsex” her. Along with sleepwalking scene, this soliloquy offers a great showpiece for modern actresses, as well as a powerful advertisement for modern assumptions about female character. Often accompanied by autoerotic display as the actress folds her own breasts, breathes hard, and writhes in the throes of passion, the speech clearly demonstrates that the lady is, in fact sexed; and it locates her sex in the eroticized breasts of the woman who performs the role. On a modern stage. Its meaning seems perfectly transparent.

The implications of the speech when it was first performed would have been much more complicated. First, of course, it would have been spoken by a male actor. Some scholars have speculated that the actor may have gestured toward his crotch when he said “unsex me here”, alluding to his own “unsexing” as he took on the woman’s part. However, although it is impossible to know exactly how the soliloquy was originally performed, the references in the speech to “my woman’s breasts” and “my milk” suggest that he probably did gesture towards the place where the woman’s breasts would have been if he had them. But although the erotic implications of the character’s breasts seem overwhelming in a modern production, they may have been much less central on Shakespeare’s stage, not only because the original actor did not really have a woman’s breasts but also because women’s breasts had other implications as well as erotic.

To modern Western eyes, the eroticization of women’s breasts seems “natural”; on a modern stage, the meaning of Lady Macbeth’s soliloquy seems equally self-evident. The beliefs it assumes—that there is a psychological polarity between men and women, based on sexual differences that are embodied, natural, biologically grounded, and virtually self-evident—are by now too familiar to require explication.

At the time the speech was written, however, these assumptions did not yet represent a cultural consensus.

In the Renaissance, although women’s breasts were already eroticized as tokens of female sexuality, celebrated by poets as “buds”, “strawberries”, or “hemispheres”, and featured in erotic paintings that depicted women with a man’s proprietary hand cupped on their breasts<sup>7</sup>, this was not their only implication, and it may not have even been their primary one. Medieval images of lactating Virgin, of the Church allegorized as a nursing mother, and of souls suckled at the breast of Christ, which associated breast milk with charity and spiritual sustenance<sup>8</sup>, were

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<sup>7</sup> Natalie Angier, *Goddesses, Harlots and Other Male Fantasies*, review of Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Breast*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1997, in *The New York Times Book Review*, 23 February, 1997, p.4

<sup>8</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987, p. 207.

still current in the Renaissance and still powerful; and they resonate in the details of the soliloquy Shakespeare wrote.

That soliloquy, spoken by Lady Macbeth in order to steel herself for Duncan's murder, is worth quoting at length. The "smoke of hell" locates Lady Macbeth's desires in a theological context, as does her reference to remorse and compunction. Her supplication to "take my milk for gall" suggests a diabolical exchange, in which she will exchange those benevolent feelings for the poisonous bitterness that will enable her to murder Duncan; and it also carries the suggestion that she is inviting the evil spirits she is invoking to feed on her, as witches were believed to feed the demonic imps who served as their "familiar". This is not the only context, of course. Lady Macbeth's association of her woman's milk with remorse and compunction also implies that women have a natural aversion to killing, physically grounded in their sexed and gendered bodies, which are designed to feed and nurture. Before she can kill, the spirits that wait on nature's mischief will have to unsex her.

This implication that feminine gentleness is grounded by nature in a lactating female body is clearly legible in twenty-first-century terms. It also provides a striking example of the ways Shakespeare female characters have participated in the historical production of femininity as naturally grounded in women's role as wives and mothers, not because it misreads Shakespeare's playscript, but because it does not.

In this speech, Shakespeare transformed his historical sources to define Lady Macbeth's character in terms of an emergent gender ideology that culminated, over three centuries later, in the kind of reading I quoted Mary McCarthy. The beginnings of the process can be seen in Shakespeare's transformations of his character's historical prototype, and post-Shakespearean transformations of the character he created illustrate its realization, especially in twentieth-century readings which emphasize her sexuality and analyse her behaviour in psychoanalytic terms.

But the version of Lady Macbeth that looks so familiar to modern audiences is the product of a long history of anachronistic revision, not only because the psychological motivation we so easily recognize is distinctly modern but also because Shakespeare's own representation of her character required a radical revision of the descriptions of ancient Scotswomen he found in his historical source.

Lady Macbeth soliloquy should probably be read in connection with a passage in Holinshed's *Chronicles* in a chapter entitled "of the Manners of the Scots in these Days, and their Comparison with the Behaviour of the Old, and Such as Lived Long Since within this Island"<sup>9</sup>. As the title suggests, the chapter's theme is the conventional Renaissance opposition between a virile, heroic past and a degenerate, effeminate present. In ancient Scotland, according to the chronicler,

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<sup>9</sup> M.C. Bradbrook, *The Sources of Macbeth*, in "Shakespeare Survey Volume 4: Interpretation", Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 35-48.

“the women... were of no less courage than the men; for all stout maidens and wives... marched as well in the field as did the men, and so soon as the army did set forward, they slew the first living creature that they found, in whose blood they not only bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouths with no less religion and assurance conceived, than if they had already been sure of some notable and fortunate victory. When they saw their own blood run from them in the fight, they waxed never a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courage with more eagerness they assailed their enemies”<sup>10</sup>.

Although Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth retains some of the fierceness of her ancient predecessors, she lacks their taste for blood. The obsessive theme of her sleepwalking, in fact, will be her repeated, futile efforts to wash what she calls “damned spots” of Duncan's blood from her hands. Here, as in her preparation for Duncan's murder, Shakespeare's eleven-century Scotswomen rehearses a prototypically modern conception of universal femininity, proving once again in her madness that killing is antithetical to woman's essential nature.

In the words of the eighteenth-century English actress, Sara Siddons, most celebrated for her portrayal of Lady Macbeth, the lady's feminine nature, her delicate structure, it is too evident, are soon overwhelmed by the enormous pressure of her crimes<sup>11</sup>.

Shakespeare's antithesis between women's milk and murder, which also became an essential feature of Lady Macbeth's character, required an even more radical revision of his source. In the “Description of Scotland”, lactation is not opposed to killing; the two, in fact, are associated. Those same bloodthirsty women of ancient Scotland, according to the chronicler,

“would take intolerable pains to bring up and nourish their own children... nay they feared lest they should degenerate and grow out of kind, except they gave them suck themselves, and eschewed strange milk, therefore in labour and painfulness they were equal, and neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but travelled barefooted”<sup>12</sup>.

Here maternal breastfeeding is evidence both of the women's physical hardiness and of the equality of the sexes in a primitive culture that lived close to nature. This passage in the chronicle is not illustrated, but a very similar conception of ancient Scotswomen seems to lie behind “the true picture of a woman neighbour to the Picts” that was published in Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590).

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<sup>10</sup> Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 1587, second edition 1808, London: J. Johnson I., 1808, Vol. 5, pp. 22-27. Holinshed's is shorthand: the *Chronicles* included the work of many writers-predecessors whose work had been incorporated, successors who augmented the narrative after Holinshed's death, and collaborators at the time of its original production. The “*Description of Scotland*”, for instance, was translated by William Harrison from a Scots translation by John Bellenden of Hector Boece's early sixteenth-century Latin text *Historia Scotorum*.

<sup>11</sup> Nina Auerbach, *Ellen Terry: Player in Her Time*, New York, Norton Publisher, 1987, p. 352.

<sup>12</sup> Raphael Holinshed, *Iop. op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

The woman in the picture is armed, scantily dressed, and barefooted, and the caption explains, “they let hang their breasts out, as for the rest they did carry such weapons as the men did, and were as good as the men for the war”.

Neither the chronicle nor the play offers a reliable picture of ancient Scotswomen. Both are inflected by sixteenth and seventeenth-century debates about breastfeeding-and also by changing conceptions of women’s place in the world, and the basis of gender itself. Historians of sexual difference have argued that “sex as we know it was invented” some time “in the eighteenth century”, but the modern conception of sexual difference that Thomas Laqueur as the “two-sex model”<sup>13</sup> seems clearly anticipated in Shakespeare’s representation of Lady Macbeth. For although both the chronicler and the playwright can be said to advocate maternal breastfeeding, their advocacy takes strikingly different forms. In the chronicle it is a means by which the strong mothers of ancient Scotland produced strong offspring; in *Macbeth* it is a distinctively female activity which express the gendered gentleness that is the natural disposition of all women in every time and place.

Because this conception of womanhood has become so well established, Shakespeare’s characterization of Lady Macbeth has been both accessible and acceptable to modern audiences. The new requirement that all mothers nurse their own children emphasized instead the distinctions between the male domain of public economic and political action and the female enclosure of private, domestic affairs. This is not to say that all women have ever been enclosed within the household. Even women who might have preferred domesticity have been forced by economic necessity to work outside their homes; but the ideal of woman’s “natural” and “traditional” place at home is undisturbed by that reality. The only division that “counts” is the “natural” division between men and women that was to become one of the salient features of modernity.

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1990, p. 149.

# THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN SOCIETY

## THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRIESTS WHEN FOUNDING THE ECONOMIC SOCIETIES FROM OLTENIA (1899-1948)\*

Georgeta GHIONE<sup>\*\*</sup>

**Abstract:** The village dwellers have always regarded respectfully the activities administrated by the priest, from the usual services on each Sunday, or holidays, to the most important events that leave their mark on the individual's existence. From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the priest has been considered the main factor in the modernisation of the rural world. He got involved in the restoration and endowment of churches, in the founding of parish libraries, school canteens, cultural clubs, he coordinated the educational activity, becoming concerned about the proper functioning of this process. In order to support the common expenses of the parish and the economic growth of the villager, the priest encouraged the believers to found economic societies, vegetable gardens, small orchards, to cultivate flax, hemp and cotton, to raise silkworms and keep bees.

**Keywords:** Oltenia, priest, economic societies, popular banks, mutual aid.

In order to diminish the effects of the extortionate practices and to supply the necessary capital for the farmers, craftsmen, clerks and small land owners, under circumstances that would allow the rentable use of the contracting loans, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there appeared the first *economic societies, co-operative societies or loaning and keeping societies*, as *popular banks* were called in their initial phase. The initiatives for association from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century expressed – as Spiru Haret voiced his consideration – the need for credits of the small rural and urban producers. Therefore, in the development of *the economic societies*, the minister of Cults and Public Instruction, got involved directly. In the autumn of 1900, he published, in the magazine “Convorbiri Literare”, an article-programme, in which he approached the topic of the co-operative societies. That topic represented the subject of a brochure that, in the same year (1900), he sent to

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the teachers, metropolitans and bishops, through which the required the collaboration of priests and teachers for the improvement of the villagers' material and moral condition.

The results obtained from the first *rural associations*, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, encouraged Spiru Haret to make a decision, in which he asked three travelling teachers, to go through the villages and to promote the idea of founding them. The teachers were advised to find in each *organisational centre* a priest, a teacher, a mayor, all having authority among the villagers<sup>1</sup> etc.

The involvement of the priests in founding the economic associations had existed, in Oltenia, since 1899. For example, in the mentioned year, it was founded in Gorj County, at the initiative of priest Diaconescu and primary school teacher Gh. Dobrescu, a “credit society with limited liability”, whose purpose was: “to help the villagers in their needs and in obtaining low interest loans”<sup>2</sup>. In 1904, the society with the centre in commune of Copăcioasa was transformed into a popular bank, named “Stupina”<sup>3</sup>. The initiative of priests Diaconescu was taken by priest V. Aposteanu too. In 1900, he founded in commune Runcu, an economic society, named “Isvorul Jaleşului”. Four years later, it legally became a popular bank, being managed, appointed as a president, by the founder, priest A. Aposteanu<sup>4</sup>. In 1900 too, the priest-teacher G. Nicolaescu, founded in commune Pietrarii de Sus, from Vâlcea County, an economic association. Nicolaescu was not convinced “that such associations will contribute to the modernisation of agriculture and the spiritual improvement of villagers”<sup>5</sup>. The society had as purpose “to remove the exploitation of the usurers”. “Sărata” Popular Bank, a naming that the society used, was the first popular bank from Vâlcea County, and started its activity with 6 members and a social capital of 25 lei<sup>6</sup>.

For the improvement of the economic condition of the villager, during 1900-1904, there were founded, in Vâlcea County, at the initiative of priests and primary school teachers, 62 popular banks<sup>7</sup>. The involvement of the priest is proven, as well, by his presence and activity in each of the banks. More than once, we encountered cases in which he was both the president of the bank and a clerk (secretary, accountant, or cashier). From the statistic data studied in the mentioned county, in the interval 1900-1904, 15 priests held the position of bank president; 13

<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe Dumitraşcu, *Haretismul în cultura românească (judeţul Vâlcea)*, Rm. Vâlcea, Fântâna lui Manole Publishing, 2008, pp. 475-476.

<sup>2</sup> I. Mateiescu, P. Popeangă, V. Uscătescu, *Istoricul băncilor populare din judeţul Gorj*, Craiova, Ramuri Publishing, w.y., p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> Gheorghe Dumitraşcu, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> The statistic data were collected from the archive documents of Vâlcea County Service of National Archives (further cited as SJAN).

of censor; one was a bookkeeping secretary, and three were cashiers. In this type of work, which did not involve a personal profit, were distinguished the priests: D. Mateescu (from commune Bălcești); I. Magoreanu, I. Ionescu and I. Pintoșeanu (Bătășani); N. Popescu (Bodești); Ilie Popescu (Broșteni); Gh. Folescu (Călina); Gh. Prunescu (Călinești); I. Negoescu (Cîineni-Greblești); P. Nicolăescu and Constantin Popescu (Cermeghești); Constantin Petruțianu, N. Lăzărescu and I. Mihăilescu (Costești); Dumitru Nicolăescu (Crețeni); D-tru Pietrariu (Bărbătești); Marin Constantinescu (Orlești); Nicolae Dărvărescu (Oteșani); C. Duia (Păușești-Măglași); N. Dăescu (Șirineasa); Gr. Marinescu (Slăvești); P. Stănescu (Stănești); Dimitrie Băescu (Vaideeni), and others. The activity performed by the priests from Vâlcea County, in favour for the extension of the co-operative institutions, was often noticed during the clerical conferences and in cultural circles. Thus, it was noticed the activity of priest Petre Petroșanu, from the parish of Mihăiești, who was administrating, besides the three churches, three cemeteries and three schools, a popular bank with a shows room, a dairy, a parish house and a charity society ("Prince Mircea" society)<sup>8</sup>. It was not ignored, as well, the activity of priest I. Georgescu, from the parish Păușești-Otăsău, who, concerned with the living situation of the parishioners, "he popularised the idea of a popular bank and a consumers' co-operative society"<sup>9</sup>.

An interest for the founding of popular banks, organisations, unions and rural associations, we also discovered at the priests from the other counties of Oltenia. For Gorj County, during the time interval 1900-1904, there were constituted 52 popular banks<sup>10</sup>, among which, 24 were founded by priests, 16 being administrated by them, as presidents. The historiography recorded the activity of the following priests: Al. Popescu, founding member and president of "Principele Nicolae și Speranța" Popular Bank, din commune Andreiești<sup>11</sup>; Ilie Roșoga, considered a "pioneer of the co-operative movement from Gorjiu County", founder of "Scumpa Dinastie Hohenzolern" Popular Bank, din commune Turburea, member of the administration board Federal Gorjul<sup>12</sup>; I. D. Popescu, founder of "Sf. Gheorghe" Popular Bank, from Târgu-Logrești<sup>13</sup>; C. Cernăianu, Anghel Tășcău, I. Constantinescu (Brănești), I. Călniceanu (Călnicu); Ilie Ciocănescu (Gruiu); Toma Vălăreanu (Sâmbotin); I. C. Davițoiu (Stroești); P. Roventă (Stejerei); M. Popescu (Tismana); D-tru Florescu (Turcenii de Jos), etc. The accomplishments of priest T. Gureanu, from parish Brădiceni-Gorj, who worked at the local bank, for the co-operative society, taught Religion without receiving a salary, he was a primary school teacher for 18 years, he administrated the school canteen, and supported the

<sup>8</sup> *Dare de seamă*, in "Renașterea", Year XXII, No. 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> /July-August 1944, p. 398.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 408.

<sup>10</sup> The statistic data was collected from the archive documents of SJAN Gorj.

<sup>11</sup> I. Mateiescu, P. Popeangă, V. Uscătescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 402-403.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 391.

rights of the widows and orphans from the locality, and they were the examples discussed in the clerical circles<sup>14</sup>.

The initiative of the people mentioned above was followed by the priests from communes: Drănic<sup>15</sup>, Breasta<sup>16</sup>, Ciupercenii Vechi<sup>17</sup>, Mielești<sup>18</sup>, Amărăști<sup>19</sup>, Mălăescu<sup>20</sup> (Dolj County), Podeni (Mehedinți County), Cioroi<sup>21</sup>, Osica de Sus (Romanați County), and others, between 1900-1904, as a consequence of an activity sustained in organised conferences, among the villagers, succeeded in attracting and convincing them to participate to the foundation of the co-operative societies.

The model offered by the first priests, who got involved in forming the economic associations, was followed in the subsequent years too. From a statistic analysis made on a number of 720 rural and urban popular bank banks from Oltenia<sup>22</sup>, which had submitted the balance sheet until the end of 1919, we noticed, as regarding the number of priests among the founders and the members of the society, the next situation: in Dolj County, there were 189 priests; in Gorj County – 151, in Mehedinți County – 156; in Romanati County – 125; in Vâlcea County – 148<sup>23</sup>, from a total number of 1.187 of available positions in the administration boards, 101 were held by priests; at the same date, from the 483 censor positions, 19 were held by priests; in the category of clerks, the statistics registers: 12 cashiers, 4 accountants, 4 bookkeeping-cashiers<sup>24</sup>; in Gorj County, from a total number of 908 positions, available in the administration board, 48 were held by priests; the statistics records 2 cashiers and three bookkeeping-cashiers; in Mehedinți County, from a total number of 1,330 available positions in the administration boards, 60 were held by priests; from the 550 positions of censors, 9

<sup>14</sup> *Dare de seamă*, in "Renașterea", Year XXIII, No. 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1944, p. 583.

<sup>15</sup> "Drănic" Popular Bank was founded in 1904, by Priest N. Voinescu. He held the position of president until 1912, in SJAN Dolj, fund Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 185/1931, f. 4.

<sup>16</sup> "Beșugul" Popular Bank was founded in 1904 by Priest Mihai B. Popescu, in SJAN Dolj, fund Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 59/1931, f. 16.

<sup>17</sup> "Ajutorința" Popular Bank was founded in 1904 by Priest Atanasie Popescu, in SJAN Dolj, fund Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 249/1931, f. 3.

<sup>18</sup> "Ridicarea Plugarului" Popular Bank was founded by Priest Sachelarie on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1902, in SJAN Dolj, fund Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 230/1931, f. 9.

<sup>19</sup> "Unirea Face Puterea" Popular Bank was founded in 1904 by Priest Constantin Popilian. He held the position of vice president until 1908, in SJAN Dolj, fund Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 181/1931, f. 7.

<sup>20</sup> "Ridicarea Plugarului" Popular Bank was founded in 1902 by Priests S. Georgescu and C. Vladimirescu, in SJAN Dolj, fund Protoeria Dolj County, file 2/1902, f. 23.

<sup>21</sup> "Ajutorul" Popular Bank was founded in 1904 by Priest Arist. Popescu. He held the position of president until 1908.

<sup>22</sup> The distribution on counties of the 720 popular banks, was as following: 165 – in Dolj County; 141 – Gorj; 189 – Mehedinți; 121 – Romanati; 104 – Vâlcea, in *Anuarul băncilor populare și federaalelor din Vechiul Regat al României pe anul 1919*, Bucharest, 1921, p. 256.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 249.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 250.

were held by priests; the statistic data registers 7 cashiers, 2 accountants, 2 bookkeeping-cashiers; for Romanați County, from a total number of 884 available positions in the administration board, 40 were held by priests; from the 353 of censor positions, 9 were held by priests; the year book records: 3 cashiers, 4 accountants, 9 bookkeeping-cashiers; in Vâlcea County, from 814 available positions in the administration board, 35 were held by priests; from the 273 censor positions, 9 were held by priests; the year book registers: 6 cashiers and 4 accountants<sup>25</sup>.

From the studied statistic data, the majority of loan institutions that had been founded by priests – during 1899-1920 – were small and medium sized societies, which functioned in the rural regions, and the benefit obtained from the credit businesses was, generally, reduced. The profit obtained by the shareholders was not a substantial one, but it assured a certain annual capital, which, most of the times, was directed to certain economic sectors or used for charity. The activity of the popular banks was not appreciated according to the numbers from the balance account, but according to the services that they provided for the improvement and the sustainability of the local schools and churches, the organisation of the cultural clubs, the supporting of co-operative education, vegetable gardens etc.

The number of the priests from the administration boards of the popular banks was increasing from 1920. “These institutions – as Vartolomeu Stănescu was writing – are very well established and accustomed, therefore, from this day one, the duty of our Priest as regarding them, will be only to found them in the places that he considers necessary, and to supervise them, anywhere their members will grant this commission”<sup>26</sup>. Vartolomeu requested the priests “to consider an order the need to not work anymore in banks or administrative institutions of the state, because there is a discrepancy between their mission and the working among money”. The occupations allowed for the priests, and actually indicated, were: the cultivation of fruit trees, beekeeping, silkworms raising, medicinal plants growing, cattle raising, sculpture workshops, painting, clothing, sacred things<sup>27</sup> etc.

For the interval 1899-1948, the historiography mentions the existence of *clerical societies* that were created as mutual aid associations. The positive results of them, determine us to mention them in the present material.

For Oltenia, a first project was “Creditul” Society, which belonged to the clergy and the teaching staff from Mehedinți County. The society had as a purpose the facility of the credit, low interest loans, organisation of educative and cultural conferences, the founding of a library, a press body etc. It published regularly “Sfătutorul săteanului” newspaper, with subjects approached by I. V. Raiculescu, the protopop of Mehedinți County. The pages of the journal displayed generously subjects as: “the explanation of the holly liturgy, by showing the importance of

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>26</sup> Vartolomeu Stănescu, *Munca gospodărească pentru clerici și monahi. Întâiul îndemn către clerul și monahii acestei Episcopii*, Curtea de Argeș, 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1919, p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

schools for adults, with health, economic and agricultural advice”<sup>28</sup>. The beginnings of society can be placed around 1906.

In 1907, it was founded, in the commune of Ștefănești-Zlătărei, Vâlcea County, “Dragostea Creștină” Cultural and Mutual Aid Society. The founder of the society, the priest Teodor Bălășel, wished to realise, through it, *the intellectual, moral and economic welfare of the villagers*<sup>29</sup>. The society reached its goals. Among its accomplishments, we mention: it built a school building in Dobrușa de Sus, it gave money, farming tools and fodder plant seeds prizes for the villagers who had proved to be thrifty people; it founded *The Elementary Framing School* and housekeeping school, both inaugurated in 1909, having the centres in the commune of Ștefănești<sup>30</sup> etc. The society contributed to the improvement of the material situation from the commune, during the period of time when it functioned (1907-1918).

We also have to mention the next mutual aid societies, founded and coordinated by priests: “Înfrățirea” mutual aid society from Calafat, sustained by priest D. Rudăreanu; “Principele Mircea” philanthropic society from Băilești, sustained by priest M. C. Șegărceanu; “Iubirea Aproapelui” society from the commune of Raci, Tg. Jiu, initiate and sustained by priest Gh. A. Răceanu, societies that, besides the help for the poor, also supported school canteens.

A society from Oltenia, whose results were considered “unique in the Romanian Orthodoxy of all the times”, was “**Renașterea**” Clerical Society. In a period when the bank credits were hardly accessed, the novelty of this society was the founding, according to the model of the popular banks, of five clerical banks, which represented, from the economic point of view, a form of survival of *the church servants*. For the clergy from Oltenia, they had a double advantage. On one side, the priests escaped from the control of particular banks, and, on the other side, they could benefit from lower interests loans, on short and medium terms (3-9 months), asking an interest that varied between 6% and 10% a month, with a commission of 1.25% of the loan value<sup>31</sup>. The purpose of these clerical societies, was better explained in the founding regulations of “Clerul Gorjan” Popular Bank, from which we extract the next information:

“The society was founded to save the clergy from the humility and theft of the merciless usurers, by helping the church people to satisfy their numerous needs; the building and restoration of households, the training and education of children, the increasing of patrimony and farming inventory, the continuation of the university education etc.”<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> *Sfătuitorul săteanului*, in “Luminătorul”, church document, Year I, Nr. 12/1910, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-476.

<sup>30</sup> *Dare de seamă de mersul societății Dragostea Creștină din Ștefănești, Vâlcea*, in “Albina”, Year XV, No. 3/16 October 1911, pp. 126-127.

<sup>31</sup> SJAN Mehedinți, fund “Clerul Mehedințean”, file 1/1932, f. 6; Georgeta Ghionea, *Societatea preoțească “Renașterea”, proiect social în Oltenia Interbelică*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”, No. XIV/2013, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, p. 123.

<sup>32</sup> SJAN Gorj, fund Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, department of Tg. Jiu, file 10/1931-1946, f. 2.

The leadership and the administration of these credit institutions was due to: the general board of the shareholders, convoked annually, in the last decade of February, or the first decade of March; the administration board, which acted for the application of the general decisions and the censors' committee. As regarding the clerks from the five credit institutions, their appointing was done if the person had previously had the position of cashier or accountant in a bank, because they had gained experience in the financial activity, and were representing the appropriate employees for carrying out their attributions. There were noticed, due to their excellent activity, the priests: D. Pătrașcu, P. Cernăianu (cashiers), Gh. C. Ștefănescu, D. I. Popescu and Gr. Prejbeanu (accountants). The president was the most significant person from a bank's leadership. At the internal level, he was the person who was controlling and approving the actions of the director and those of the clerks.

Founded in 1922, "Renașterea" Clerical Society was generously implied in the life of clergy and parishioners from Oltenia, both through its economic preoccupations, and the cultural, spiritual, religious and philanthropic ones. The parochial libraries, the canteens for the poor, the cultural clubs, the churches and the schools built then, are a testimony for the social preoccupations of the clergy, gathered under the protection of this society. The activity of the society, diversified and constantly growing, continued until 1949, when it was dissolved.

Not always did the clerical society fulfil their goal, for which they had been founded. Such a case is that from Rm. Vâlcea. From the report of judge D. Titu Gârboviceanu, commissioned with the adjudging of bankruptcy operations, for "Providența" Clerical Society, we find the next: "The records were in a great disorder...the insolvency of the society is because, at the general meetings, held every year, the administration board had been hidden the truth about the condition of the society, giving fictive dividends and presenting balance sheets that did not correspond to the reality". The bankruptcy of the bank was due – as the prosecutor's office declared – "to outraging stealing, committed by the priests, for their own and their relatives' profit and interest"<sup>33</sup>.

The involvement of the priest in the economic activities – and especially in founding co-operative societies (popular banks, co-operative societies of consumption, production, supplying and selling) – was explained, in time, through the fact that the administration of the parishes and their own properties required certain financial knowledge. Belonging to the category of "the educated", the priests held, in the economic societies, administrative positions, when the adequate clerks were missing. The economic training of the priest was most of the times insignificant, and its involvement in the financial-banking activities was, on one side, the result of the *mutual help* desire, and, on the other side, it was determined by the necessity to obtain supplementary income.

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<sup>33</sup> C. Cernăianu, *Biserica din Regat 1908-1918*, Bucharest, 1920, pp. 238-240.



## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH FOR THE FOUNDING OF SCHOOL CANTEENS IN OLTENIA\*

Narcisa Maria MITU<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

**Abstract:** In this study I try to present the involvement of the Romanian Orthodox Church in an ample activity of helping the less favoured, an action which has been later developed into an ample humanitarian campaign. From the charitable activities of the Church, we stopped our attention on the school canteens, for which establishment, the efforts of the teaching staff were also supported by the priests. The necessity of founding these canteens, was well understood and supported by the teachers and priests, who intuited that their existence would lead to a regular and numerous attendance of the children from the poor families. So, during 1940, at the initiative of the Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu, few canteens were founded, one in each county capital: "Iubirea Aproapelui" from Craiova; "Iubirea Aproapelui" from Turnu-Severin; "Clerul Gorjean" from Târgu-Jiu; "The Canteen of the Church" from Caracal and "Iubirea de copii" from Râmnicu-Vâlcea.

**Keywords:** church, school canteens, Oltenia, priests, Nifon Criveanu.

Along the time, it is well-known the fact that the Romanian Orthodox Church got involved in an ample activity of helping the less favoured, an action which has been later developed into an ample humanitarian campaign.

The way in which these actions took place, was different: charities (agapes, offerings, money, objects and goods collections, donations), the providing of social assistance, the founding and organisation of charity institutions. According to the nature of the administrated social services, the institutions were: poorhouses, hospitals, widow houses, maiden houses, children's home, orphanages, asylums, hospitals for terminal disease patients, asylums for disabled, houses for blind people, cemeteries for poor people etc.<sup>1</sup>. A special role, in the organisation of such

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<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe I. Soare, *Biserica și asistența socială. Doctrina și organizarea în primele șase secole*, 1948, pp. 67-69, 75-87, 91-92; Liviu Stan, *Instituțiile de asistență socială în Biserica veche*, in the magazine "Ortodoxia", year 9, 1957, no. 1, pp. 102-118; Florin Dobrei, *Pe urmele Sf. Vasile cel Mare. Aspecte ale filantropiei creștine în Episcopia Caransebeșului (1994-2009)*, in "Rugăciune și Teologie", Caransebeș, Episcopia Caransebeșului Publishing, 2009, pp. 87-88.

institutions, was played by the monasteries and the churches that were considerably wealthy, and benefit from a good management, having as leaders, skilful people, willing to become involved in charities. The funds obtained from donations, as the offerings and the products that were coming from mercy people, and along with the work of the monks, they were making complete the income necessary for their administration.

The promoter of “the social Christianity”, Vartolomeu Stănescu, believing strongly in the social mission of the church, advanced the idea that the Orthodox Church had to take over the social activity carried out by the State. Noticing a lot of clerical inconveniences: the bad administration of the diocese’s goods, request for paying additional taxes, beatings, insults, insubordination, drunkenness, licentiousness, concubinage etc.<sup>2</sup>, the bishop Vartolomeu initiated a reform of cultural and moral development of the people. A first step was represented by the founding of “Renașterea” Clerical Society, which was gathering 900 priests from Oltenia<sup>3</sup>. His vast work for the regeneration of the Diocese was constituted by: the organisation of the members of the society in parishes<sup>4</sup>, the establishment of counselling groups, the social canteens, the cultural clubs and the missionary activity. Each parish had the duty to create connections with the neighbouring parishes, and to confess sincerely the positive results and the failures in the pastoral activity, the presenting of the notifications and observations, the establishment and the supporting of the church choirs, the protection of orphans and widows, the establishment and the supporting of the parishes’ libraries, the founding of missionary groups for combating with the different sects, the support of the homes, asylums and hospitals etc.<sup>5</sup>.

All these activities were supported through proper funds. For the assuring of the financial resources, there were introduced different taxes for absolution and ordination, there were founded clerical popular banks, through which, the old or needy priests could receive money, or the social canteens and other activities were financed.

The love for the people next to us, the compassion for the poor and distressed, was manifested once with the founding of the Metropolitan Church of Oltenia, Râmnic and Severin, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1939. Although the period when it functioned was a very short one, of only 6 years, the metropolitan Nifon Criveanu succeeded in accomplishing, at least in the first three years, a lot of

<sup>2</sup> Sorin Oane, *Episcopul Râmnicului, Vartolomeu Stănescu*, available to <http://www.muze-valcea.ro/buridava/BURIDAVA6/oane.pdf>, accessed to: 21 April 2015; “Renașterea”, no. 5/1922, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> The society was founded on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1921 and functioned until 1949, having a diversified activity: social and religious, philanthropic and economic preoccupations.

<sup>4</sup> The parochial centres had been constituted, at first, from 8-12 parishes, in the rural area and from all the all the local parishes, for the urban area.

<sup>5</sup> Georgeta Ghionea, *Societatea preoțească “Renașterea”, proiect social în Oltenia*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor»”, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2013, p. 114; *Înviorarea activității centrelor parohiale*, in “Renașterea”, year XX, no. 3/1941, p. 174.

activities: to found canteens near the church, for the poor children; to visit hospitals and give presents to the wounded soldiers; to help the poor at Christmas and Easter with money and wood for fire; to help the needing priests, the poor from the communes where the churches had been dedicated, the people who had suffered after floods, the war orphans, by founding an orphanage at Horezu Monastery, to help the poor students and pupils, to organise fund raising activities in the Diocese for different charities, which reached the amount of 25,000,000 lei, besides the gifts in goods<sup>6</sup>.

From the charitable activities of the Church, which we have mentioned above, we stopped our attention on the school canteens, for which establishment, the efforts of the teaching staff were also supported by the priests.

The founding of the school canteens, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, represented a new approach for the improvement of education, being especially concerned the schools from the countryside, where the material conditions of the dwellers was quite precarious. To these, there was adding the ignorance, another factor that had left its mark on the way of living and behaviour of the rural society.

The necessity of founding these canteens, was well understood and supported by the teachers and priests, who intuited that their existence would lead to a regular and numerous attendance of the children from the poor families.

The route for founding these canteens was rather difficult. It in the cities the local authorities got more involved and supported the founding of these places, in the rural environment, there were many cases when they lacked preoccupation, either due to the absence of funds, commodity or the irresponsibility of mayors. What it is certain, is that, in the localities where they had been founded, it could be noticed a considerable growth of the children's attendance to classes. Most of the school canteens were established at the initiative of the primary school teachers, their number increasing in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, coming to the situation where a canteen was functioning near each primary school.

Yet, we can also meet the situation when the canteens had been founded by priests. Therefore, we bring forward that priest Ion Petrariu, who was also holding the position of primary school teacher at Coltești, Vâlcea County, realising the precarious financial situation that the students' parents were facing, founded in his room, next to the school, a canteen "with food and a place to sleep", for the children who were living in the neighbouring villages<sup>7</sup>. Another example is that of the teacher-priest Petre Marghescu, from the commune of Roșiile, a great admirer of the "noble ideas that concerned the common people" expressed by Spiru Haret. At his canteen, the students were having the meals, in a house near the school. His contribution to the cooking of the meals covered an important amount from the

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<sup>6</sup>C. Potârcă, *Membrii laici ai Adunării eparhiale și activitatea de trei ani a Mitropoliei Oltenie*, in "Renașterea", no. 6, 1943, p. 286.

<sup>7</sup>Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, *Haretismul în actualitate. Haretismul în cultura românească (județul Vâlcea)*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Fântâna lui Manole Publishing, 2008, p. 327.

expenses, the other part being paid by the students' parents too. "When the weather is good – on Thursday and Saturday – the children go home and receive their clean clothes and bring something to eat"<sup>8</sup>.

It is also interesting the initiative of the priest-teacher Teodor Bălășel, who, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1901, organised a thrilling public conference, to support the canteens, organised in the hall of Traian Hotel from Govora<sup>9</sup>.

During World War II, the priest Ioan Marina (the future patriarch of Romania) founded a canteen in the parish's house of Sf. Gheorghe church from the village of Râmnicu Vâlcea, equipping it with all the necessary. The canteen was in the help of 60 poor students, who were studying at the primary schools from the town. Moreover, from his initiative, twice a week, the parish was supplying with food the wounded canteen from the same hospital<sup>10</sup>.

In the city of Craiova, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a special support was given to the school canteens by Madona Dudu Church, which, benefiting by considerable income, it carried out many charitable activities. The amounts of money were established in the budget of Madona Dudu Diocese. Starting with 1899, there were mentioned many financial contributions that were given to the school canteens from Craiova. The sums of money were rather high for that period of time. Thus, in 1899, it was offered the sum of 5,000 lei<sup>11</sup>. In 1902, 5,000 lei were given to the Town Hall of Craiova, for using it to supply the popular canteens from Bibescu Park<sup>12</sup>. In 1919, 1,000 lei were sent to the popular canteens that were functioning in 6 places of the city. The committee of the popular canteens motivated its request towards the Diocese as following: "The squalor is beyond imagination – especially among children – who, improperly fed and dressed, can easily become victims"<sup>13</sup>.

A substantial contribution was stipulated, annually, in the budget of Madona Dudu Diocese, for the National Orthodox Society of the Women from Romania. Since its establishment, there was a subvention of 3,000 lei, which was representing the contribution to the general maintenance of kindergartens. In 1919, the Society, mentioning the special services that "during these times of privations, the canteens provide for the poor population of the capital", asked the Diocese to maintain, even in the future, this subvention<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 327.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335.

<sup>10</sup> Mădălin Trohonet, Lucian Gheorghe, *Înfăptuirile preotului Ioan Marina*, in the volume "Patriarhul Justinian Marina părintele sufletesc al neamului românesc", Râmnicu Vâlcea, Bibliostar Publishing, 2013, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Dolj County Service of National Archives, fund Madona Dudu Diocese, file no. 34/1899, f. 38 (further cited as SJAN Dolj).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 12/1902, f. 51.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 22/1919, f. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 7.

In 1929, Father Chesarie Antoneanu, transferred from the locality of Gângiova, Dolj County, on the position of his father-in-law, who had pensioned, was noticed thanks to his involvement. In a very short period of time, he managed to found a parochial library, he built the cultural club from the locality, he contributed to the founding of a school canteen, which was feeding, daily, 35 poor children, he collected grains, clothes and other goods for the support of the needy<sup>15</sup>.

The greatest preoccupation of the organisers of these canteens was constituted, along the time, by the gathering of the necessary funds for their proper functioning. For their preoccupation, there were organised, with the help of the charities, school festivals, balls and theatre shows, popular conferences; there were received donations, collections from the wealthy believers, town halls etc.

Immediately after the liberals took over the leadership, in 1901, it was registered a significant increase in the number of school canteens, functioning, in 1941, in almost each parish from the all 5 counties of Oltenia, a canteen, or sometimes two.

Once with the founding of the Metropolitan Church of Oltenia, Râmnic and Severin (1<sup>st</sup> of November 1939), Nifon Criveanu it was appointed as metropolitan, being especially noticed due to his charitable activity that he sustained in his short period, while he was holding the position of Metropolitan.

An entrepreneurial spirit, willing to help the people, starting from when he was leading the Diocese of Huși, he carried out many activities that would support the needy children, exposed to diseases caused by malnutrition, precarious hygiene and ignorance, which could have affected their frail constitution. Considering all these, he founded, in the Diocese, several canteens where there were having their meals between 80 and 100 children, along with several helpless old people<sup>16</sup>.

When coming to the leadership of the Metropolitan Church of Oltenia, Nifon Criveanu ordered the founding of canteens, one in each county capital, contributing himself with considerable amounts of money, used from his own economies and those of the Metropolitan Church. The building of canteens, proved to be an initiative sustained by a lot of institutions, authorities, priests, laic people etc. As a consequence, during 1940, the following canteens were built: "Iubirea Aproapelui" from Craiova; "Iubirea Aproapelui" from Turnu-Severin, considered the best organised canteen; "Clerul Gorjean" from Târgu-Jiu; "The Canteen of the Church" from Caracal and "Iubirea de copii" from Râmnicu-Vâlcea<sup>17</sup>. When these canteens started to function, they benefit by real support from "Renașterea" Clerical Society, which, besides the offered funds, they also received the rooms for their activities.

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<sup>15</sup> See *Clerici doljeni în temnițele comuniste: Chesarie Antoneanu, ctitorul de pe malul Jiului* in "Mitropolia Olteniei", available at <http://www.ziarullumina.ro/articole;1534;1;53285;0;Chesarie-Antoneanu-ctitorul-de-pe-malul-Jiului.html>, accessed at: 24 April 2015.

<sup>16</sup> *Viața bisericească în Oltenia. Anuarul Mitropoliei Oltenia*, Craiova, 1941 (further cited: *Anuarul Mitropoliei Oltenia*), p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> Georgeta Ghionea, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Moreover, all the Clerical Banks from Oltenia, contributed with substantial amounts of money to the support of these canteens.

In Craiova, it was founded, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1940, "*Tubirea aproapei*" *School Canteen*, which was providing daily care for 120 children. As referring to the timetable, excepting for Thursdays and Saturdays, when the students were getting two courses, for the rest of the days, they had just one course. The place where it carried out the activity, was in the hall of "School Canteen", near Traian School. It was made of two rooms: one in which the food was being prepared, and the second one, which had been transformed into a dining room.

The leading committee was controlled by priest C. Zamfirescu, in his quality of president, and priest Dem. Preoteșcu, as a cashier. The wife of priest Zamfirescu, helped by two cooks, was dealing with the organisation of the canteen.

As the regarding the endowment of this canteen, both the priests and the laic people contributed with money and goods, their involvement being according to their possibilities and the nature of their activities. Giving their donations, the Canteen was fitted out with a cooker, tables, chairs, a cupboard for the dishes, vats for the cabbage, 100 table linens made of metal and enamelled in white, pots, saucepans etc. The daily bread was supplied by the Bakery of Ștefan Drugă<sup>18</sup>, and the meat for the soup, twice a week, was offered by the salami and sausages producer, who had also the function of father guardian at "Sf. Nicolae Dorobăntia" Church. Madona Dudu Church gave 10,000 kilograms of wood; "Nicu Făgețeanu" Company fixed the electricity; Janischewsky offered the oil and the paint for the sanitation of the home, and Kennw Ris Company did the works. Mr. Oravetz donated the flowers for decorating the tables, at the inauguration of the home<sup>19</sup>.

The money donations were also quite numerous, among the donors being a lot of institutions and personalities of the city: 10,000 lei from Metropolitan Nifon; 10,000 lei from Renașterea Central Committee; 5,000 lei a month and the necessary fuel for the heating and the preparation of food, from the Town Hall of Craiova; 5,000 lei from Ștefan Drugă; Mr. Vorvoreanu and Mr. Puiovici donated 5,000 lei each, annually. From the Senate, Constantin Argetoianu donated 100,000 lei: 60,000 lei to this canteen, and the rest of the sum, to the other four canteens. For the funds raising, it was also implicated the choir of A.C.T., who, after a show organised by the theatre from the city, collected 30,000 lei. Among the donors, there were also students from Carol I High-School from Craiova. The priests raised sums between 1,000 and 2,000 lei. Along with the money contributions, they also asked people to offer to the canteen the food that they were offering on the occasion of different commemorations<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> The daily contribution of the factory was: 25 loaves of bread and croissants, 6 boxes of pasta a month.

<sup>19</sup> Pr. C. Zamfirescu, *Cum a luat ființă cantina Mitropoliei din Craiova*, in "Renașterea", 1940, p. 207.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 208; *Anuarul Mitropoliei Olteniei*, p. 62.

They also served food, for several months, to the refugees. From its funds, there were offered meals to the families of poor refugee priests, of 18,000 lei. The activity of the canteen was not limited to the feeding of children, on the contrary, it organised, on Christmas and Easter holidays, different activities, for collecting money, which they used for clothing 100 poor people.

**“Clerul Gorjean” School Canteen** from Târgu Jiu, was founded in February 1940, by “Clerul Gorjean” Popular Bank, and helped 50 poor students who were attending the local primary schools. In the school year 1940/1941, the canteen functioned with secondary school students, the sons of the priests and psalm readers.

Starting from the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1941, the canteen entered under the direct administration of the Archpriest Office of Gorj, “Clerul Doljean” Bank, continuing to support it with its funds. The administrative department of the canteen was in the building where it was functioning the branch for Gorj of “Renașterea” Society.

The necessary budget for the Canteen to function was also made of donations. For the period 1940/1941, the contribution of Metropolitan Nifon was of 5,000 lei a year, of the Council, the censors and the Bank’s Clerks was of 26,150 lei. To these sums there were added: the contribution of “Clerul Gorjean” Bank, from its own funds, with 59,789 lei; 3,000 lei, the donation of the priests Gr. Prejbeanu, Pompiliu Tășcău and Diacon Dănău, and 7,299, the donation of the priests from Red Cross, the branch from Târgu Jiu<sup>21</sup>. All these contributions were used for covering the expenses, necessary for buying: furniture, dishes, food, wood, and other necessities too.

**“Iubirea Aproapelui” School Canteen** from Turnu Severin, function for a rather short period of time, October 1940-June 1941, in the building of Renașterea Society, under the leadership of a group of ladies, who, among others, they were taking care of the children’s education, while working at the canteen: Ecaterina Pârligras, Amelia Sbenghe and Marinca Stăncuț<sup>22</sup>. There were 65 students who were having lunch here. The budget of the canteen, the sum of 105,848 lei, was money obtained from donations too: 30,000 lei from the Metropolitan Church of Oltenia; 40,000 lei from “Clerul Mehedințean” Popular Bank, and 35,000 lei obtained from the donations of different people from the town or County<sup>23</sup>. Along the money support, there were also offered: heating materials<sup>24</sup>, food<sup>25</sup> and aliments for preparing 20 complete meals, for a period of 20 days, which were cooked by a certain number of ladies.

**The Canteen of the Church** from Caracal, Romanați County, was founded on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1940, being administrated by the local priests, I. Florescu, as

<sup>21</sup> The sum offered by Red Cross was for the expenses necessary to prepare two meals a day, for a month; *Ibidem*, p. 64.

<sup>22</sup> *Anuarul Mitropoliei Olteniei*, p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> Cloșani Society offered a wagon of logs, and Turnu Severin Town Hall gave 4,000 kg of wood.

<sup>25</sup> 30 dekalitres of beans, offered by priests Achim Vlădulescu from Salcia and C. Firoiu from the commune of Gogoși.

the president, and priest Lupănescu, as a cashier, who also had to supervise the meals. Their contribution for the opening of the canteen was of 6,000 lei, the money covering the necessary expenses to prepare a daily meal, at lunch, for the poor people and for those whose parents were on the battle front. The meal, which was made of one course and a quarter of a bread loaf, was served in one of the church's homes, of Renașterea Society, at 12 o'clock. The number of the children who were frequenting the canteen, was around 35-40 people.

The contribution of the priests, was supported by the contribution of Metropolitan Nifon, of 25,000 lei; the fees of the Administration Board of "Dacia" Federation, through its president, priest D. Stancu, of 25,000 lei; the Social Assistance Committee, of Caracal Town Hall, 19,622 lei, and the subvention of Caracal Town Hall, 8,000 lei. The donations were raising to 6,990 lei<sup>26</sup>.

**"Iubirea de copii"** School Canteen from Râmnicu-Vâlcea was founded in 1940, under the leadership of archpriest Al. Zamfirescu, sustained by the priests Solomon Ciobescu and Gheorghe Ilicievici. The canteen helped 50 children. The contribution of the Metropolitan Nifon to this canteen was of 15,000 lei, from personal funds, and 5,000 lei from the Metropolitan Church<sup>27</sup>.

The canteens from the localities of Bobicești and Radomir (Romanâți County), enjoyed the financial support of the Metropolitan Nifon, along with the priests from the entire county, the sum reaching 184,000 lei<sup>28</sup>.

Besides the 5 canteens mentioned above, in Oltenia, there were, in 1941, 1,530 school canteens, for 23,381 pupils. A part of them were founded by the local priests, and others were administrated by committees, where the local priests were members. The wives of the priests had a significant contribution too, many of them being teachers, but also the other teachers, who were preparing and organising the meals. In those parishes where the funds for carrying out these activities were insufficient, there were made efforts to support the poor children, especially during the winter, offering them a hot tea and bread. In the parishes with higher income, the lunch was also provided. The political changes after 1948 brought negative consequences for the life of the Church, being forbidden the clerical associations, or the laic people's associations that had been existed in the interwar period; the philanthropic activity of the Church could not be continued anymore, all the clerical departments of this kind being suppressed. Nonetheless, the charitable work of the Romanian Orthodox Church was revitalised in the period after December 1989, through the establishment of numerous philanthropic programmes and projects.

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<sup>26</sup> *Anuarul Mitropoliei Olteniei*, p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

**The school canteens founded by the priests or supported by the churches**

No	The Parish	The year of foundation	The founder/ Supporter	The number of the poor children	The location
<b>Dolj County</b>					
1.	St. Gheorghe Nou (Craiova)	1934	Founded at the initiative of the priest Gh.Demetrescu and Mrs. Venera Constantinescu		Besides the School Româneanu
2.	St. Nicolae Belivacă (Craiova)	–	A parish canteen	–	Primary School no. 6, Traian
3.	St. Nicolae Dorobăntia (Craiova)	–	It was led by parish priest C. Zamfirescu	30	Primary School Madona Dudu
4.	St. Apostoli Băilești	1938	It was led by priests and teachers	–	–
5.	Amzulești	1938	It was led by headmaster with the help of the parish priest, teachers and town hall	20	–
6.	Boureni	1938	It was founded by priest, teachers and the Commune authorities. The priest was vice president	12	–
7.	Brabeți	1938	The priest was the president. It was supported by parishioners	20	–
8.	Brabova	–	It was led by priest and teacher. It was maintained by Ms I. Izvoranu	–	–
9.	Bulzești	1938	It was founded by priest and teachers	Between 80-100	–
10.	Castrele Traian	1939	It was led by teachers and priest	–	–
11.	Căciulatu	1938	It was led by priest Ștefan Calafeteanu and the teacher M. Nicolăescu	30	–
12.	Căpreni	1939	It was maintained by priest, teachers and parishioners	20	–
13.	Coșovenii de Sus I	1939	It was maintained by priest, teachers, town hall and parishioners' contribution	25	–
14.	Drănic I	1938	It was maintained by the parishioners' offerings and the contributions of the parochial institutions	36	–
15.	Foișor	1939	It was maintained by town hall and by the donations of the parishioners. The priest was president.	17 children were fed with jam and bread	–

16.	Galicea Mare	1938	It was maintained by the commune's budget and the public contributions. The priest was president.	60 children were fed with tee and bread.	–
17.	Gângiova	1929	It was founded by the priest Chesarie Antoneanu	35	–
18.	Giubega,	1937	It was maintained by the commune's budget, church and school	35 children were fed with tee and bread	–
19.	Goicea Mică I	1939	It was led by the priest Nancă	10 children were fed with tee	–
20.	Hunia	1938	It was maintained by church, town hall and the donations of parishioners	25-30 children were fed everyday	–
21.	Lăcrița	1938	It was maintained from the donations by the teachers, priest, administrative officials, wealthy parishioners and a little contribution from the municipality.	10	
22.	Mosna Știubeiu		It was maintained by the community center and the parishioners	–	–
23.	Orodel	1939	It was led by the priest C. Stănică and the teachers	72	–
24.	Pietroaia Beloți	1938	It was founded by the priest	92 children were fed with tee	–
25.	Pleșoiu	1938	It was maintained by the teacher and the church	20 children took the lunch	–
26.	Salcia		It was maintained by the donations of the teachers, priest and parishioners	15	–
27.	Țugurești	1937	It was maintained by the all institutions	40 children took the lunch, everyday	–
Gorj County					
28.	Fărcăsești	1938	It was led by the priest and the teacher	–	–
29.	Frătești	1939	It was led by the priest	14	–
30.	Hirișești		It was led by the priest and the teachers	–	–
31.	Hodoreasca	1938	It was led by the priest and the teachers	–	–
32.	Jupânești	1939	It was led by the priest, the headmaster and the General I. Cărlăunțu	–	–

33.	Moi		It was led by the priest	–	–
34.	Raci		It was maintained by the contributions of the teachers, priest and the wealthy parishioners	–	–
Mehedinti County					
35.	Sf. Nicolae Ostroveni (Turnu Severin)		The canteen was maintained by the clergy from the city	–	–
36.	Baia de Aramă (Baia de Aramă)		It was led by the parish priest. It was maintained by the funds of the cultural center and the contributions of the parishioners	–	–
37.	Bistrița	1938	It was founded by the priest Gh. N. Dumitrescu. He, also, was the founder and the director of the music and the folklore magazine “Izvoarașul”.	–	–
38.	Corzu	1939	The priest led the musical choir, the museum and the eating house, too.	–	–
39.	Goanța	1940	It was founded by the priest	–	–
40.	Grecești	1937	It was led by the priest, the teachers and the parishioners	–	–
41.	Orzești	1940	It was led by the priest and the teachers. It was maintained by the parishioners	–	–
42.	Stângăceaua	1940	The priest was president. It was maintained by the parishioners	–	–
43.	Țânțaru	1939	It functioned inside the cultural center	–	–
44.	Vânjulețu		It functioned inside the cultural center	–	–
Romania county					
45.	Sf. Ioan Botezătorul (Caracal)		It was known like the preasts' eating house in the city	–	–
46.	Slătioara	1938	It was maintained by the Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu's donation and the donations of the parishioners	–	–
Vâlcea county					
47.	Bogdănești	1939	It was led by the priest	–	–

48.	Ciocâltei	1938	It was founded by the priest Mazilu. It was maintained by the parishioners' donations and the town hall	—	—
49.	Păușești Măglaș	1938	It was maintained by the town hall and the cultural center. The priest was the president of the cultural center	—	—
50.	Racovița	1939	It was led by the priest	—	—
51.	Roșiile	1938	It was founded by the cultural center "Lumina satelor", whose president was the priest	—	—
52.	Spârteni	1938	It was founded by the cultural center "Zorile", whose president was the priest	—	—
53.	Șușanii de Jos	1940	It was led by the priest	—	—

**Source:** Anuarul Mitropoliei Olteniei, 1941, pp. 133-793

## SHORT CHRONICLE OF A MONASTERY. MISSIONARY EXPECTATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

Laurențiu RADU\*  
Maria MĂLĂESCU\*\*

**Abstract:** Through all its representatives the church has the mission to grow the ideal of Christian morality, by making known to the humans the sacred and eternal teachings of God. Saint George – Buciumeni Monastery is the place where exists a philanthropic social institution for taking care of the elderly based on the kindly nuns. Here the faithful come to pray or to meditate. Putting into practice the teachings surging in the parable of “The Ten Virgins”, the nuns pray and strive that through their good works they be closed to people’s souls.

**Keywords :** monastery, church, monasticism, prayer, philanthropy.

Entering the Suceava County you are invited into a special placed called “Bucovina, the Monastery Land”. Bucovina is an area with many old buildings located in national patrimony, monasteries and charitable establishments for prayer, culture and meditation. In the south – east of Suceava County on the European Road E85, at 25 km of Suceava City, it is the Fălticeni City.

There, in the west of the Fălticeni City you can see the Saint George – Buciumeni Monastery. This Fălticeni City was formed on the site of ancient rural settlements dated at 1400. The village “Fulticeanii” that gave the name to the city today it is certified in one documentary mention in the year 1435. At March 15<sup>th</sup> 1490 a document written in the Suceava Chancery tells us about another “Village of Fulticeanii”<sup>1</sup>, placed on the edge of the Somuz River. Saint George – Buciumeni Monastery is situated on the outskirts of Fălticeni City, in the area named “Wonderful Grove”.

It is a magical place, full of green, history, legend and mistery that surprises you and invites you at the same time to meditate and contemplate.

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<sup>1</sup> See [www.e-tur.ro/Romanian/Falticeni/prezentation](http://www.e-tur.ro/Romanian/Falticeni/prezentation), accessed at: 4/29/2009.

The Romanian writer Mihail Sadoveanu and the painters Aurel Băieșu and Rudolf Schweitzer-Cumpănă present the beauty of that area in their works that made from it a national treasure.

This Monastery was founded in 1993 as a hermitage and become a monastery in 1997.

The Monastery has two churches: a big one built of brick, painted clear, with saints that spread faith to believers, and another one, smaller, built of wood and protected as historical monument.

Next to the church a little meet mother Epiftemia that help us understand the history of the monastery with the same ease with which they read from the book of Psalms that gateway with drag beside her soul.

The Saint George-Buciumeni Monastery is descendant of the Saint George Church that belongs to the Oprișeni Parish from the Fălticeni City, Suceava County, one of the oldest settlement in the area.

The name of “buciumeni” comes from ancient times when villagers had to announce through an instrument called “bucium” the movement of the army, departures and arrivals of messengers into the Baia Fortress.

The oldest (ancient) document that tell us about Buciumeni Village is dated from February 16<sup>th</sup> 1424, when Alexandru Voivode made donation the Buciumeni Village to Iuga Priest. In this document it is written that<sup>2</sup>: Alexandru Voivode “Bojio milostio Gospodar zemli Moldavscoi”. It is announced through this document that the priest named Iuga, who served with faith, was blessed and gifted with a Buciumeni Village, next to Baia. And the borders of this village were between the hill and the old oak to the stream. Iuga Priest was an important person of his time together with his brother Nanu.

Iuga Priest is chronicled many times through documents donations that were made by act of the Voivode. On July 28 Alexandru Voivode confirm Nanu Boyar Buciumeni and Stanigeni villages. The rule is written in Church Slavonic language and is kept today at the Museum in Suceava, being taken from the Museum in Falticeni.

The document from 1424 to Priest Iuga stayed for a long time in possession of Catinca V. Diaconu, which inherited it from generation to generation. The Ciurea Teacher craved for this document for his museum. He became godfather for the Catinca's son and took this document<sup>3</sup>. We have little historical data about Buciumeni Village and its wooden Church. Fiscal statistics<sup>4</sup> from 1831 shows that: in Buciumeni Village, on Buciumeni estate ruled by the villagers, worked as priest: Teodor the Priest, Gheorghe the Priest, Constantin the Priest, Constantin the

<sup>2</sup> George Ioan Lahovari (coordinating), *The Great Geographical Dictionary of Romania*, Bucharest, 1898, pp. 668-669.

<sup>3</sup> Eugen Dimitriu, *City museum-house and memorial places Fălticeni*, Historic Bukovina Publishing, 2002, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Neicov – Inventory valuables historical and documentary St. Gheorghe Church Buciumeni prepared in 1967.

deacon, Vasile the psalm reader, Niță the psalm reader, Vasile basil of Ștefan Chitic, Niță, Alexandru and others.

The villagers of these places guarded the borders, and the monks waked night and day through prayers and church services. In "Falticeni" Paper the Scholar Arthur Gorovei recorded that in 1850 the Buciumeni Village had a church, two priests, a deacon, six helpless people, two psalm readers, a privileged, twenty-five former noblemen, six widows.

In church Oprișeni Syndically (1937) at page 45, Vasile Costăchescu noted that the church of Buciumeni, named by Saint George, was built of local wood, like the old church Saint Ilie, and it had founded in 1765. This fact was noted even on the Saviour Icon inside the church. We found written in "The Great Geographical Dictionary" the Buciumeni villagers was only six souls in 1803. There was 45 houses, with 44 heads of the families or 205 souls (102 mens and 103 womens), a church and a school<sup>5</sup>.

The writer Eugen Dimitriu noted in his work "The Muses City – Memorial houses and Sites in Fălticeni" that here you can admire the Wonderful Grove and the Hermitage of nuns.

The Wooden Church with its cemetery, the altar with the Holy Table built on a huge block have three mural paintings made by local artist and future diplomat and politician, Romanian ambassador in Africa, Aurel Diaconescu.

The Buciumeni Church functioned as a parish church from its building until 1862 – the year when was opened a new and big church named Saints Michael and Gavril in Oprișeni.

Due to its age, the Church in Buciumeni, was renovated several times. Above the threshold of the door of the Church shall be recorded that it was repaired in 1892. On the inscription at the entrance of the Church, it looked like in the year 1930 there have been radical repair after it was returned to the cult.

The Buciumeni Church is mentioned in prince of documents Alexandru cel Bun from 16 February 1424 on the village Buciumeni. Many of these data have led to the inclusion of St. Gheorghe Church in classification of historical monuments at position 34-B-085.

Among the priests who had an important contribution to this church were: priest Ilie Anisescu (until 1973), priest Beraru Mihai (1973-1992), priest Dăscălașu Camil (1992-1993).

The carver Ioan Irimescu, teacher and member of the Romanian Academy remembered about the Buciumeni Church in discussions with his friends : the mayor Arteni Costică, P.C., Priest Brădașanu Gheorghe, the gendarme unit commander Mr. Gheorghe Bujor, the museum director Mr. Gheorghe Dăscălescu. Since 1970 a group of nuns had come to Buciumeni Church to make their prayers on monastery laws. The people of Falticeni knew them and searched their advices

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<sup>5</sup> George Ioan Lahovari, *op. cit.*, p. 668.

in order to respect the work they did. They were forced by political laws to leave their monastery and to live among common people.

But they still acted as nuns with strict rules of a monastery. The nuns were forced to work at Filatura Factory, but in the same time they acted by monastery laws, praying for them and for all the people. They were protected by the priest Ilie Anisescu, together with the people from Fălticeni. The great Ioan Irimescu said: if there the nuns work by monastery laws for such a long time that means there is already formed a monastery made of their love and dedication; this work must be legalized. All parishioners wished to found the monastery and signed a collective adhesion and a demand to I.P.S. Pimen to help them transform the status of their church into monastery. The first group of nuns were formed by the Mother Superior Petronia Andrieș, the nun Tecla Afloarei, the nun Epistimia Bejan, the nun Eupraxia Hoidrag, the nun Antonia Hoidrag. These nuns through the zeal and their fearless attitude have put into practice saying “man sanctifies the place” and ignoring the Decree 410 (who took by the nuns and monks in monasteries) they illegally prayed daily here, leading a religious life.

At December 2<sup>nd</sup> 1993 the I.P.S. Pimen and the Diocesan Council of Suceava and Rădăuți Archepiscopate had approved the establishment of Saint George – Buciumeni Church as Hermitage of Nuns, beginning with January 1<sup>st</sup> 1994. At December 13<sup>th</sup> 1997 The Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church decided to change the Hermitage of Nuns status and become the Saint George-Buciumeni Monastery, with the Mother Superior Semfora Lupu. From October 1<sup>st</sup> 2000 the Monastery was led by Mother Superior Maria Mălăescu.

The first community of nuns was formed by the nuns improperly removed from the monastery through the fatal decree 410. The Mother Superior says that after the decree a part of the expelled monastic personal lived with hope that they will come back in monastery.

There were some of them who chose the normal life, they married and have children. The ones who returned to the monastery had consulted with their family members. They returned because their love for God and for monahal life which represented their tranquility and peace of mind. At present the Monastery Buciumeni community has 20 nuns that work, learn, pray and try to do their best following tradition, consuming their meant with honesty and loyalty and living by the parable of “The Ten Virgins”.

Contemporary image of monastic activities of Buciumeni is the same with the ancient monasteries: the sacraments and church services, the holy bell, the holy cross, the traditions. In the monastery the division of responsibilities is after everyone skills and knowledge, after their gift from God. The nuns and the monastery priest Petru Cucu take care that everything works well: protection of property, civic and spiritual counseling, cultural activities and environmental protection, agricultural work at the monastery farm, help for the elderly and for the homeless.

The nuns from Buciumeni were taught by the eldest ones to respect the monastery life of virginity, poverty and listening in order to understand the Saviour words. In the monastery works a small social centre for the elderly like ancient hospitals.

Here is a safe home for the 15 old ladies, who live in clean and modern small rooms next to the monastery. These old ladies prove that they feel like home here and they try to make useful. They have initiative when there is something to do like: gardening, a good word for those suffering. The hardest moment represents the loss of one of them. Here at monastery are fed the homeless and the poor people. Their number grows but the nuns are with them. What we can do? If God is Our Father, that means the monastery represents a "Home to parents".

Mother Superior says that monastery is an oasis of comfort, a source of hope, a place of prayer where all asking for help, support, compassion, a place to meditate, to confess, to get over difficulties or to start over. Here we can find a permanent table for the hungry people, a wellspring for the thirsty, a roof over the head for the wanderers or pilgrimage.

Mother Superior says that monastery it is a school for the one who wants knowledge, it is sister and brother for the one who wants to live in peace, it is mother and father for orphans. Here in Fălticeni when the orphanage was closed, some children came to the monastery to search for help, protection, a guidance in life. They had learned about God at school. Thinking of Him guided their steps to the monastery. Although the small rooms were not finished and they lived through scaffolding and future plans, these children have not been removed.

Today this orphans are well, one of them are married, one of them still visit the monastery and others don't come at all. Mother Superior says that they are good people who knew how to give a helping hand to others. She adds that they were taught to quickly make their families, to work and give to others the fruits of their labor.

None of those children have taken the wrong road. And this is a great achievement. Mother Superior Maria says: "There were cases at the monastery when we fought with human helplessness taken to the extreme, in giving up the fight for life. When you feel death near you and fight with it, God help you and sends you the saving solution for the powerless. You can't tell many things without anyone guessing who it is, but I don't think we should hide that even when children give up life". Then I met with these unhappy people on the road: a woman hugged me but I didn't recognize because she was happy now with a smile. Another told me: "Hello, Mother!" and I knew that it wasn't just a greeting. A young man passed by Mother Maria without seeing her because he was the groom and perhaps his eyes were only for his bride, the girl who once wanted to die for.

Generally, the monks activity in monastery was a closed subject for us. Nobody should be rejected, the one who ask for help it is considered as a brother and even you have no time or you must rest, it is important to pay attention to them, so the one who entered God's House not to go away with sadness and no help.

“Enjoy yourself” is the most repeating words when they read an acatist. The nuns from the Saint George – Buciumeni Monastery dedicate time for the good of the others. They must stay permanently with their hand opened in order to help people and offer gifts received from God. If you make someone happy, you have part of happiness too, if you make someone to cry, you have part of tears too, if you are full give food to your brother too, if you have a roof above your head, you give a home to other, all of these being principles of monastery life.

In the past, the rulers of the country, the noblemen and their families built churches and monasteries providing them with all necessary. The monks and nuns must watch over construction works inside monasteries.

They built a new church named “Annunciation and Saint Alexander” with the blessing of I.P.S. Pimen, Archbishop of Suceava and Rădăuți, a place when once stood a cottage, in the Wonderful Grove. At present they are serving in the new church permanently. Next to the new church it’s the old church. White and clean, the church is dedicated to Virgin Mary by all its builders. They rarely serve in the church monument for the protection and conservation of the sanctuary. Nevertheless the Saint George Church is always open for all visitors, that want to pray or to meditate here. Its age is a silent history which gives you a strange feeling of eternity, stability and identity. It is a simple place that sends you to meditation, and it urges you to know yourself to stay in touch with the past and to identify yourself with the present, to know yourself, where you come from and what is your destination. Therefore many peoples come here to confess and pray together with the nuns. Those of the diaspora which are spiritually connected with these places are in touch with the nuns through the phone. They are missing their country and the remoteness makes them to establish a special connection with the nuns.

In these difficult times each proves the importance of unity of the same nation and faith. The unity is the glue that lead to human adaption to different condition of culture and civilization. This unity is done by church as a traditional rule for our people. According to the canons of the monastery people have been taught to understand the divine word “it is not good for human to be alone”, so it must be with family, friends, church because “it is good for brothers to be together”. From this unity results the good or bad character, the behaviour or proximity for others. The prayer is very important in people’s lives. The prayer is soul satisfaction for the monks and nuns.

The nuns are praying in their knees for hours and the priests are reading the acatists. Together with all the faithful they are serving God with glory and joy. By participating the church services you feel relaxed and full of true joy from the bottom of your soul. The sadness disappears and you receive power from yourself or maybe from other, in order you to move on, to offer when you are asked to provide and to find the answer in critical times. The prayer is made in church as a common prayer, together all for one. But this is not all. The nuns must pray endless with this prayer: “Lord Jesus, son of God, has mercy on me!” and many other that they know in their souls.

Mother Superior recalls with pleasure the other nuns which served here, each story such as: Mother Elefteria Pavel from Agapia Monastery, who used to have a family with a husband and children but never give up the monastic life. Mother Alexandra Ilie who loves the prayer made by midnight, so the others nuns think that she feels the presence of God among them. Mother Adriana Sandu who was seen as a blessing for her presence to the sacred services. Mother Tecla Afloarei who used to read “The Mercy of Virgin Mary” till she lost the light of her eyes. Mother Ana Netedu who loves to pray at the church and who used to read acatists for different problems of the people even when she was tired. The same were Mother Eupraxia Hoidrag, Mother Miropia Bruma, Mother Maria Pusnica – niece of the priest Paisie Olaru from Sihăstria, who lived her last years only with holy bread and holy water.

This is the Story of Saint George – Buciumeni Monastery that I together with Mother Superior had the pleasure and joy to write here for you all. It was a great impact for me to feel the rhythm of monastic life into this small community who sacrifices their body and souls for God and for our brothers in Jesus. It is appreciated the way a small church managed to be an important example for all the people. Here the history has continuity and sense for the present. It give us the assurance that we are on this earth since ancient times.

Here I lived the feeling that tradition does not mean passing over, that what is old can be restored and can be just as new and useful like people and things of this century.

It is a place where the impossible can become possible, because through prayer and sacrificial work of these nuns, God came down here on Earth together hastily worker and helper with Mother Virgin Mary, with Saint George and with Saint Alexander, the holy patrons of this holy settlement.



# RETRIEVING MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE

## CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH CONCERNING LATE BRONZE AGE AND EARLY IRON AGE IN OLTENIA

Simona LAZĂR\*

**Abstract:** This article deals with the evolution of archaeological research regarding the ending of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age in Oltenia and neighboring area, starting the interwar period until present time. From the methodological point of view, the studying of the main characteristics of the researches must include the critical evaluation of the bibliographical sources and also the information offered by the archaeological information that we have.

Most of the information comes from the central publications, such are: “Dacia”, “Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie” (SCIV, SCIVA), “Materiale și cercetări Arheologice”, “Thraco-Dacica” etc. The specialized regional publications, and we are referring here especially to “Oltenia. Studii și cercetări”, “Arhivele Olteniei” or the local ones, such are “Drobeta”, “Buridava”, “Litua”, are on the second place as regarding the share. In the third category had been included works with monographical character (Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cârna*, M. Gumă, *Civilizația primei epoci a fierului în sud-vestul României*, M. Șandor Chicideanu, *Cultura Zuto-Brdo Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, G. Crăciunescu, *Cultura Verbicioara în jumătatea vestică a Olteniei*, Ion Mozoi – Chicideanu, *Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, S. Lazăr, *Cultura Vârtoș în Oltenia and Sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*), or syntheses that cover certain aspects of the problems that we discuss here, or categories of items characteristic for this period, such are: M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Depozitele de bronzuri din România* (with accent on the Late Bronze and the Early Hallstatt), B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*.

**Keywords:** research history, archeology, Oltenia, Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age.

This article encompasses a general overview on the history of the researches, in the context of the concepts evolution regarding the late Bronze Age and the passing to the First Iron Age.

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In the present paper, the Early Hallstatt is presented using the traditional terminology of the Romanian archeological school, in which we draw a distinction between the concepts of Bronze Age and Iron Age. This way of approaching is the consequence of applying the chronological system of Paul Reinecke, put forward for proposition at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and used by Ion Nestor in the first stage synthesis of the Prehistory from Romania<sup>1</sup>. In the Central Europe, this process that broadly includes the cultural-historic evolution of the 14<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., is integrated today in the naming of “urn-fields period” (*Urnenfelderzeit*, *UFZ* for short)<sup>2</sup>.

In the Romanian archaeological school, the beginning of the Iron Age, regarded from the perspective of the cultural (ceramic) groups attested nowadays in the Danube-Carpathian space, corresponds to the spreading in most of the areal of the ceramics decorated with grooves. So, though the process of “hallstattisation” (only a conventional term and questionable as regarding its meaning) we can understand, in the same time, the appearance and the spreading of this way of embellishing the ceramics<sup>3</sup>. We must underline the fact that the term “the First Iron Age” in the Danube-Carpathian cultural area might be justified from the phenomenological point of view, taking into account the fact that at present are known more than 50 discoveries of iron objects, dating from this early period<sup>4</sup>.

The period between 1200-800 B.C., known in the Romanian school tradition as the Early Hallstatt (corresponding to the periods Ha A and B, according to Reinecke), was considered by some of our researchers as tightly connected to the Bronze Age than to the next one, thanks to the presence in this interval of time of the great bronzes deposits<sup>5</sup>. The phenomenon could be therefore similar to that met in the Central Europe, where the historic period, dominated by the demographic increase, by the development and the perfecting of the bronze metallurgy and also by a remarkable cultural

<sup>1</sup> I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien*, in “Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts”, Frankfurt am Main, 22, 1933, p. 80 and next.

<sup>2</sup> A. Vulpe, in *Istoria Românilor*, I, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishing, 2010, p. 220; A. László, in *Istoria Românilor*, I, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Publishing, 2010, p. 289 and next.

<sup>3</sup> A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, “Prähistorische Bronzefunde”, München, Stuttgart, 6, 9, 1990, p. 102 and next.

<sup>4</sup> A. László, *Începuturile metalurgiei fierului pe teritoriul României*, SCIV, 26, 1, 1975, pp. 17-40; Idem, *Anfang der Benutzung und der Bearbeitung des Eisens auf dem Gebiete Rumänien*, in “Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae”, Budapest, 29, 1977, pp. 53-75; N. Boroffka, *Folosirea fierului în România de la începuturi până în sec. VIII î.e.n.*, “Apulum”, 24, 1987, p. 55 and next; A. Stoia, *The Beginning of Iron Technology in Rumanien*, in M.L. Stig Sørensen (editor), *The Bronze Age-Iron Age Transition in Europe. Aspect of continuity and change in European Societies c.1200 to 500 BC*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 43-67.

<sup>5</sup> K. Horedt, *Istoria Comunei primitive* (course, Cluj, 1971), p. 79; V. Leahu, *Cu privire la conceptul “Perioada de trecere la epoca fierului” pe teritoriul României*, SCIV 24, 1973, 3, pp. 477-484.

stability, is conceived as a unitary chronological sequence, that of the “urn-fields” (UFZ), as we have previously mentioned. In the south-west of Europe, in the middle and inferior region of Danube, the final phases of cremation flat necropolis with incised ceramics (“the urn-field”) correspond to the beginning of this period. These are known in the literature as “the cultures” Szeremle, Bjelo Brdo, Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare<sup>6</sup>, being followed by the cultural groups Bistreț-Ișalnița and, in a smaller degree, Cruceni-Belegiș.

Vasile Pârvan in his work *Getica*, which appeared in 1926, considered that the Getic protohistory had started since “the Bronze time”. The author wrote: “actually, we must consider that in Dacia, the Bronze Age is prolonged until the age of Scythians (the 7<sup>th</sup> century), although the Hallstattian influence proves to be strongly active here since the year 1000 B.C.”<sup>7</sup>. As a consequence, the beginning of the Iron Age, as a historical and cultural phenomenon, was situated, in Pârvan’s vision, around 1000 B.C. and from the phenomenological point of view (regarding the use of iron), around 700 B.C., once with the period that the considered to correspond to the appearance of the Scythians, although the current use of this metal was introduced in Dacia only when the Celts came (the La Tène culture), in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. as resulting from the text of the already mentioned work, Pârvan, when talking about Bronze III and IV (1400-700 B.C.), was tempted to understand a unitary period from the cultural-historical point of view<sup>8</sup>. We must therefore mention the resemblance between Pârvan’s intuition regarding the unitary approach of the mentioned period of time and the way we understand to regard the same period in the present work.

In 1933, Ion Nestor<sup>9</sup>, reconsidering the entire archaeological material from Romania, known up to that date and starting a chronological and typological, where the ceramics and the metals had played an important role, defined the main cultures of the Bronze Age. But, because of the archaeological information, reduced at that time, the Early Hallstatt wasn’t approached but tangentially. Nestor only enounced the thesis referring to the development of the Hallstatt, based on certain cultural groups from the Middle and Late Bronze periods from the south-west of the country ant to a classical attempt to classify the existent materials on stages and regional groups. For the first time, the Italic theory of Pârvan was combated, Nestor underlining the role that the middle Danube area had in the genesis of the Iron Age.

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<sup>6</sup> M. Șandor Chicideanu, *Cultura Žuto-Brdo Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, Cluj, Nereamia Napocae, 2003; Chr. Reich, *Das Gräberfeld von Szeremle und die Gruppen mit inkrustierter Keramik entlang der mittleren und unteren Donau*, Berlin, 2006.

<sup>7</sup> V. Pârvan, *Getica o protoistorie a Daciei*, The Romanian Academy. Memoires of the section history, s. III, tom III, Mem. 2, Bucharest, 1926, p. 289 and next.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 191 and next.

<sup>9</sup> I. Nestor, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

Dumitru Berciu<sup>10</sup>, studying the last period of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Hallstatt, brings new contributions to this problem. There are valued most of the materials characteristic to the urn-fields from Oltenia and it is presented for the first time the group “Vârtoș-Ploșor” that, according to Berciu, kept the tradition of the anterior ceramics and had analogies in Banat in the group “Vatina-Vârșeș”<sup>11</sup>. In the same work, the south-western region of Oltenia along with the Romanian and Yugoslavian Banat, the northern parts of Serbia, are treated as a unitary zone<sup>12</sup>.

The identification and the researching, made in 1932 by Nestor and Berciu, of the necropolis from Balta Verde<sup>13</sup> brought forward new elements. The digs continued in 1949 by Berciu and Eugen Comșa<sup>14</sup> favoured the studying of new archaeological situation: in the same area, were found urn cremation tombs, characteristic for the Middle and Late Bronze (Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type) and tombs that, through the black ceramics, decorated with grooves, presented elements considered to be characteristic for the First Iron Age. The presence in the same area of several necropolises chronologically successive could have illustrated the genesis and the evolution of the First Iron Age in the Danube area from Oltenia. But the partial publishing of the results, without any details regarding the plan of the necropolises and without the integral illustration of the tombs’ inventory, leaves a series of questions without answers. We are referring especially the chronological and cultural relation of the graves and the explanation regarding the presence in a great number of successive funerary discoveries in the same area.

Later, the same author, after he had placed the beginning of the Romanian Hallstatt around 1150 B.C., considered that the connection between the Bronze Age and the First Iron Age as being genetically and evidenced both the great number of bronze hoards met in Ha A and B and the cultures from this period<sup>15</sup>. The rarity of the iron objects and the massive presence of the bronze ones, was explained though he technological difficulties in obtaining the iron and the intensifying of the bronze metallurgy that could have handled the already existent requirements<sup>16</sup>.

Afterwards, once with the occasion of the work appeared in 1966<sup>17</sup>, the author made the notice that the passing from Bronze to Hallstatt took place between 1300-1200 B.C., being characterized as a new stage in the ethno-cultural development of the communities from this territory and the formation of new cultural syntheses that replaced the anterior ones. Analyzing the archaeological cultures from the end of the Bronze Age from the south-west of Romania, Berciu reaffirmed the division in five stages of the culture Verbicioara, that the had

<sup>10</sup> D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158 and next.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 102 and next.

<sup>13</sup> D. Berciu, *Ein hallstädtisches Brandgrab aus Balta Verde (Rumänien)*, ESA 9, 1934, p. 165-174.

<sup>14</sup> D. Berciu, E. Comșa, *Săpăturile de la Balta-Verde și Gogoșu*, “Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice”, Bucharest, 2, 1956, pp. 265-319 and pp. 466-476.

<sup>15</sup> D. Berciu, în *Istoria României*, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1960, p. 147.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 139.

<sup>17</sup> Idem, *Zorile istoriei în Carpați și la Dunăre*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing, 1966, pp. 150-151, 170 and next.

previously defined<sup>18</sup> and believed that the end of this culture was due to what he called “the great Aegean migration”, conception that was very popular back then<sup>19</sup>. The Gârla Mare culture was considered contemporary with the Verbicioara culture and was believed to constitute a component of the cultural complex from the Pannonian Danube and from the north-west of Balkans. The presence of the urn-fields is seen as being a characteristic of this cultural complex that he named it “Vatina-Gârla Mare”. Trying to illustrate clearer and with more details the end of the Bronze Age and the genesis of Hallstatt, the author returned later on the periodization of the Verbicioara culture, dividing the phase V in V a and V b<sup>20</sup>.

In 1961, Vladimir Dumitrescu published exemplary the monography of the cremation necropolis from Cârna<sup>21</sup>, making possible the discussing of the internal periodization of the Gârla Mare culture, the chronological parallelisms with the zones and the cultures from the immediate neighbourhood, the evolution of the culture having from this point on, a more solid documentary basis.

Ion Nestor, in *Istoria poporului roman* from 1970, said that in Oltenia took place a penetration of populations from the west side that might also explain the modifications from the Verbicioara culture, a similar phenomenon being the explanation for the Tei culture from Muntenia. The author sustained the existence of an important mobility and mixing between the tribes linguistically related that hadn't affected the ethnic and cultural fond, generating, in exchange, starting with the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. “the counteroffensive of the Carpathian block”. This expression was understood as an expansion towards east of some groups of “warrior shepherders and farmers” that started from the Slovak Carpathians, the Apuseni Mountains, the Middle Danube and the north of Yugoslavia and “they assimilated on their way on groups that had been formatted during the final Bronze Period”<sup>22</sup>.

Knowing the beginning period of Hallstatt was completed through the studies elaborated by Kurt Horedt. Thanks to the material from the cremation necropolises from Cruceni and Bobda, explored in 1958 and exhibited in the museum from Timișoara, but remained unpublished, Horedt distinguished two phases for each of these discoveries. For Cruceni he proposed the definition of the first phase that was characterized by the more frequent presence of the bronze objects *Nackenscheibenaxt* and by a certain repertoire of forms with tradition decoration from the Bronze Age. The second phase was distinguished by the anterior one through the evident changes of the forms and vessels' decoration and through the more intense presence of the grooves. At Bobda, he noticed that the phase Cruceni wasn't present, but began to appear a phase Bobda I analogous to the second phase

<sup>18</sup> Idem, *Die Verbicioara-Kultur. Vorbericht über eine neue in Rumänien entdeckte bronzezeitliche Kultur*, in “Dacia”, NS, 5, 1961, pp. 123-162.

<sup>19</sup> The general presentation of this phenomenon at W. Kimmig, *Seevölkerbewegung und Urnenfelderzeit. Ein archäologisch-historiker Versuch*, in R. v. Uslar, K. Narr (editors), *Studien aus Alteuropa I. Festschrift für K. Tackenberg*, Köln, 1964, pp. 220-283.

<sup>20</sup> D. Berciu, *Date noi privind sfârșitul culturii Verbicioara*, in “SCIVA”, 27, 1976, 2, pp. 171-180.

<sup>21</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cârna*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1961.

<sup>22</sup> I. Nestor, *Istoria poporului român*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing, 1970, pp. 27-28.

Cruceni I, while the phase Bobda II presented similarities as regarding the forms and the decoration of the ceramics in the Gáva culture<sup>23</sup>. Thus, though this succession, established especially on typological criteria, Horedt conceived a relation of the cultural development, starting with the Late Bronze towards the First Iron Age.

The archaeological documentation, improved meanwhile, allowed to Bernhard Hänsel, in 1968, to treat this problem from a position different from that of his predecessors. In the new tripartite chronological system, that he elaborated for the Carpathian Basin, the Vatina culture, along with the group Dubovac are placed chronologically in MD I (*mittlere danubische Bronzezeit* I) and is considered to evolve until SD I (*späte danubische Bronzezeit* I). With this opportunity, analyzing the necropolis from Cârna through the statistic (seriating) method, he proposed a placing in time that, according to his chronological system, it corresponded to the period: 1500-2000 B.C. This dating is similar to that proposed by Vladimir Dumitrescu, but, unlike him, Hänsel divided the evolution of the burials in three phases, dated during MD I and SD I<sup>24</sup>. According to this chronological interpretation, the Gârla Mare culture became contemporary to the necropolises from Vatina and Dubovac and evolved until the end of the Bronze Age.

For the south-western area of Romania it is important the contribution brought by Nikola Tasić, regarding the end of the Bronze Age in Serbia. He is the first researcher that separated the Verbicioara ceramics by that typical for the culture Vatina, trying to present the Verbicioara culture in his own conception (different from that proposed by Berciu), where the phases I-II are unitary treated<sup>25</sup>. Analyzing the origin of the Dubovac-Žuto Brdo culture, Tasić believed that it formed after a process of transformation in the style of the trans-Danube ceramics, based on the autochthon Vatina elements; thus, he took the theory of István Bóna, that saw in the genesis and the evolution of the urn fields from the Middle Danube, the result of the pressure exercised by the bearers of "the tumuli culture" on the printed trans-Danube ceramics culture<sup>26</sup>. The end of this culture is related with the appearance of the Belegiš culture bearers and the tumular tombs culture, around 1400 B.C and for the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare culture, he proposed three phases of evolution<sup>27</sup>.

In the paper from 1976, Hänsel raised again for discussion the data referring to the cultures Verbicioara and Gârla Mare. He considered that to the phases I-III, established by Berciu only on chronological criteria, corresponded only one stage, that he defined as representing the Verbicioara culture, while the phases IV-V (Berciu) were regarded as a cultural group with different characteristics, named "the group Govora"<sup>28</sup>. In the same

<sup>23</sup> K. Horedt, *Problemele ceramicii din perioada bronzului evoluat din Transilvania*, in "Studii și comunicări", Sibiu, 13, 1967, p. 147 and next.

<sup>24</sup> B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Regionalen und Chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, pp. 235, 239-142.

<sup>25</sup> N. Tasić, *Praistorija Vojvodine*, Novi Sad, 1974, pp. 457-458.

<sup>26</sup> I. Bóna, *Die mittlere Bronzezeit Ungarns und ihre südöstliche Beziehungen*, Budapest, 1975, pp. 193-230.

<sup>27</sup> N. Tasić, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-465.

<sup>28</sup> B. Hänsel, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-65; see the review of A. Vulpe, in "Revista de Istorie", no. 12, 1979, pp. 2381-2384.

paper, the culture Gârla Mare was discussed furthermore, according to the chronology established in 1968. With this opportunity, he criticised the internal periodization of the Cârna necropolis that he had proposed while Rolf Hachmann, in the review made for Hänsel's work from 1968<sup>29</sup>, and considered that both the Gârla Mare culture and the Govora group stop their evolution around 1100 B.C., being followed by a sphere of Vârtop type grooved ceramics<sup>30</sup>. He analyzed the problems concerning the emerging of the Vârtop group, after he had established the main types and decorative motives for the ceramics and suggested similarities in the forms and the decoration of the ceramics in the tumulus from Susani, in Banat, establishing in such way a parallel relation between the spheres Susani and Vârtop. The beginning of the Vârtop group is placed according to the development of the grooved motive for the ceramics belonging to Gârla Mare culture, around the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. As a phase intermediary between Gârla Mare and Vârtop, might be, according to Hänsel, placed the Işalniţa group<sup>31</sup>.

The problem concerning the genesis of the First Iron Age was also approached by Sebastian Morintz in his work from 1978<sup>32</sup>. The Bronze Age cultures from the south-west of Romania are analyzed relying on some new archaeological discoveries: the Vatina culture is better individualized, its end being placed between the periods Reincke Br B<sub>2</sub> – Br C, and the Cruceni-Belegiş is considered contemporary and believed to have an evolution almost parallel with Dubovac-Žuto-Brdo. In the Gârla Mare culture he identifies four phases and the Verbicioara culture is presented in five evolutive phases. The Işalniţa aspect, to which Hänsel gave a distinct position, he placed it in the stage Verbicioara Vb. In this manner, Moritz, tried to demonstrate the genetically connection existent between the last phase of the Verbicioara culture (Vb) and the First Iron Age<sup>33</sup>.

The research made by Ion Stratan and Alexandru Vulpe and the publishing, in 1977, of the tumulus from Susani, Timiș County<sup>34</sup>, improved consistently the information for the discussed period. The ceramic material discovered in the tumulus from Susani is rich (over 250 vessels) and the repertoire of shapes, the black colour of the vessels, the technique and the grooved decorative motives, attest an early "Hallstattian" group, entirely formatted, keeping the meaning of this terminology identical to that from the beginning of the present chapter. This tumulus is important in explaining the evolutive process towards the First Iron Age, because the ceramic material, varied as regarding the forms and grooved decorative motives, can be considered as representative from the beginning of a new age.

<sup>29</sup> R. Hachmann, *Germania*, 46, 1968, p. 368 and next (review).

<sup>30</sup> B. Hänsel, *op. cit.*, p. 101 and next.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 104-105.

<sup>32</sup> S. Morintz, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii*, I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 1978, pp. 22, 45.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 61-70.

<sup>34</sup> I. Stratan, A. Vulpe, *Der Hügel von Susani*, in "Prähistorische Zeitschrift", 52, 1977, pp. 228-60; later, Vulpe approached again this discovery: *Zur Deutung und Datierung des Hügels von Susani im Banat*, in B. Schmidt-Sikimić, Ph. Della Casa (editors), *Transeuropam. Festschrift für Margarita Primas*, Bonn, 1995, pp. 81-88.

More recently, for the end of the Bronze Age in Oltenia, important contributions have been brought by Ion Chicideanu who, thanks to his diggings from the Bistreț-Cârna area, defined a cultural group that he named Bistreț-Ișalnița and he chronologically placed between 13<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>35</sup>. Its content is different in a certain extent from what Hänsel named the Ișalnița group. The ceramics of this group is presented in the Danube's meadow, from Clisură to the Olt's river mouth and could have represented the last manifestation of the Bronze Age in this area, being contemporary with the phase Cruci-Belegiș II and preceding the group Vârtoș<sup>36</sup>. It appeared, according to Chicideanu, after grafting some western influences of Belegiș type on the local Gârla Mare elements. The materials placed by Chicideanu in the Bistreț-Ișalnița group had been considered for a long time as belonging to the last phase of the culture Gârla Mare, or to the phase V b of the Verbicioara culture (according to Berciu)<sup>37</sup>. The same author published in the 2011 book that made a well-documented synthesis of Bronze Age funerary practices middle and lower Danube<sup>38</sup>.

The Gârla Mare discoveries from the south Danube were reanalyzed by Tatiana Shalганova<sup>39</sup> who considered that in Bulgaria would exist, in the period that we are discussing, two chronological horizons represented first, by the classical phase of the cultures with incrustrated pottery and the second, by the grooved pottery, specific for the Early Hallstatt. Using the stratigraphic data that had been obtained in the settlements from Balej and from Vidin – "Peștera Magura", but also the analogies with the similar discoveries from Serbia and Romania, the author tries to surprise the process of passing from the incrustrated ceramics of the Bronze Age to the one from the First Iron Age, characterized by the presence of the grooved decoration.

During the last years, Christine Reich had a new attempt of periodization the Cârna cemetery<sup>40</sup>, starting from a proper typology, based on the combinatory analysis of the decorative forms and motifs, realized by putting in order the ceramic inventory from 49 tombs. She considered that the cemetery developed on three funerary parcels, belonging to three numerous families, for each part corresponding tombs from the four chronological stages, the older tombs situating in the middle of each zone. The author emphasized that it can't yet be mentioned a decoration specific for each family or groups of tombs<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> I. Chicideanu, *Die Frühthrakische Kultur. Zur Bronzezeit in Südwest Rumänien*, in "Dacia", NS, 30, 1986, 1-2, pp. 7-47.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 40-47.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>38</sup> Ion Motzoi-Chicideanu, *Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2011.

<sup>39</sup> T. Shalганova, *Das Antreten der kannelierten Keramik und der Übergang von der Spätbronzezeit zur frühen Eisenzeit in Nordwestbulgarien*, in "The Early Hallstatt Period (1200-700 B.C.) in South-Eastern Europe", Alba Iulia, 1994, pp. 185-195; Idem, *The Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture*, in D.W. Bailey, I. Panayotov (editors), *Prehistoric Bulgaria, Monographs in World Archaeology*, 22, Madison, 1995, pp. 291-308.

<sup>40</sup> C. Reich, *Das Gräberfeld von Cârna*, "Prähistorische Zeitschrift", 77, 2002, 2, pp. 159-179; Idem, *Das Gräberfeld von Szeremle und die Gruppen mit inkrustierter Keramik entlang der mittleren und unteren Donau*, Berlin, 2006.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 167.

A major contribution, realized through the critical analysis made to the older and newer discoveries of Gârla Mare type, but also to the definition of the cultural and chronological placing of those sites, is the work recently published by Monica Șandor-Chicideanu who considers unitary these kinds of discoveries from the middle and inferior Danube area, from the both banks of the river Danube<sup>42</sup>. The author placed the culture Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare in the interval situated between approximately 1650-1250/1200, followed by the Bistreț-Ișalnița group that is considered to end its existence around 1100 B.C.<sup>43</sup>.

The discoveries of Gârla Mare type, most of them, come from the necropolises of cremation in urn, being known only few discoveries of settlements (more known are those from Ghidici, Ostrovul Mare in România and Balej in Bulgaria); in most of them hadn't been made systematical digs that would allow them to benefit by an adequate documentation.

An interesting situation can be seen in the south of Oltenia, in the site already mentioned from Ghidici, Dolj County. There uncovered many several dwellings, among which six belong to the Gârla Mare settlement (L 1, L 3, L 4, L 5, L 6, L 11)<sup>44</sup>; two others had been attributed to the dwelling with ceramics belonging to the Bistreț Ișalnița type (L 2, L 9) and other four was found ceramics specific to the First Iron Age, of Vârtoș type (L 7, L 8, L 10 and L 1 – “Balta Țarovei II”)<sup>45</sup>. Other Gârla Mare settlements had been researched at Izvoarele, commune Gruia and at Ostrovul Mare-“Colonie”, both in Mehedinți County<sup>46</sup>.

The value of these papers is based both on the personal researches of the authors and the information taken from different publications and comes especially from the interpretations that the presented materials offer. This is the situation of the recent publication of the important cremation necropolis from Hinova, where the authors propose a new way of approaching the problem regarding the chronological succession of the urn fields from the Danube<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> M. Șandor Chicideanu, *Cultura Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, Cluj, Nereamia Napocae Publishing, 2003.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 209-213

<sup>44</sup> M. Nica, *Locuințele de tip Gârla Mare și Hallsattiene descoperite în așezările de la Ghidici*, in “Thraco-Dacica”, no. 13, 1987, pp. 16-38; M. Nica, P. Rogozea, *Șantierul arheologic Ghidici, punctul “Balta Țarovei”*. Campania 1994, “Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă”, 1, Bucharest, 1995, p. 199; S. Lazăr, *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al județului Dolj*, “Arhivele Olteniei”, SN, no. 14, 1999, pp. 19-37.

<sup>45</sup> M. Nica, S. Lazăr, *Locuințele Hallstattiene descoperite la Ghidici*, în “Cercetări arheologice în aria nord tracă” II, Bucharest, 1997, pp. 87-112; S. Lazăr, *Cultura Vârtoș în Oltenia*, Craiova, Fundației Scrisul Românesc, 2005; Idem, *Sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 2011, pp. 36, 225-228.

<sup>46</sup> G. Crăciunescu, *Noi descoperiri arheologice din epoca bronzului de la Ostrovul Mare – Colonie*, in “Drobeta”, 4, 1980, pp. 43-58; Idem, *Așezare a culturii Gârla Mare la Izvoarele*, in “Thraco-Dacica”, 1-2, 1992, pp. 43-47; Idem, *Despre locuirile bronzului mijlociu din Ostrovul Mare*, in “Drobeta”, 16, 2006, pp. 143-164.

<sup>47</sup> M. Davidescu, A. Vulpe, *Urnfield in Hinova, Mehedinți county*, in “Dacia” NS, no. 54, 2010, pp. 5-54.

From this short presentation of the researches' history can be noticed that fact that existed a constant tendency to separate/delimitate the Bronze Age from the Iron Age, despite some different appreciation on the ambiguity of this dichotomy. As we have seen above, there had been different attempts to excel those terminological conventions in the Romanian literature (also see Berciu<sup>48</sup>, Horedt<sup>49</sup>, in a certain extent, even Pârvan in Getica). In 1970, Valeriu Leahu proposed even the definition of a "period of transition to the Iron Age", notion that, according to his opinion, might be justified through the fact of cumulating during this period, in the "economic, social, ethnic and cultural-spiritual structures", some elements specific for the Bronze Age, but with "proper features", in an incipient stage, those of the future era<sup>50</sup>. It is remarkable the fact that such attempts are different especially through the searching of some criteria that seem to strengthen those conceptions. It is also obvious that notions such "passing" or "transition" cannot define a certain historical or cultural sequence and, therefore, are meant to fail because of their banality and ambiguity<sup>51</sup>.

A. Vulpe had proposed since 1990, in the work dedicated to the Hallstattian short swords, daggers and fighting knives from Romania<sup>52</sup> and more recently, in *Istoria Românilor*, the unitary approach of the bronze and Iron Age, as "the metals age"<sup>53</sup>, considering the delimitation, in the Romanian space, of the two eras from 1200 or 1150 B.C., "purely conventional", as a sequence of the inertness imposed by the tradition of the researching. On the other side, he saw, under chronologically aspect, a similarity with the periodization of the Helladic, a cultural-historical rhythmicity common to a wide area from the south-west of Europe, as the only justification with more important cultural-historical implications. In the same time, he considered that the term "Iron Age" partly entitled from the phenomenological point of view, because of the visible multiplication of the proves for the using of this metal starting with the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.<sup>54</sup>, although the extension of the iron processing technique would be realized only in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., in the "Basarabi" period.

<sup>48</sup> D. Berciu, in *Istoria României*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing, 1960, p. 147: "transition period".

<sup>49</sup> K. Horedt, *Istoria Comunei primitive*, Cluj, 1971, p. 79 and next.

<sup>50</sup> V. Leahu, *Cultura Tei*, Bucharest, 1966, pp. 477-484.

<sup>51</sup> The same criticism mentioned Alexandru Vulpe for the notion of "transition period from Eneolithic to the Bronze Age", formulated by Petre Roman, transition that spread for more than a millennium (A. Vulpe, *Puncte de vedere privind istoria Daciei preromane*, in "Revista de Istorie", 32, 1979, 12, p. 2266, note 9).

<sup>52</sup> Idem, *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, in "Prähistorische Bronzefunde", München, Stuttgart, 6, 9, 1990, p. 102 and next.

<sup>53</sup> Idem, *Istoria Românilor*, I, 2010, p. 220.

<sup>54</sup> Idem, *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, in "Prähistorische Bronzefunde", München, Stuttgart, 6, 9, 1990, p. 103, citing Milutin Garašanin (Actes II. Congrès international des études sud-est-européennes, Athena, 1970 (1972), II, p. 21 and next), that proposed the term "makedonische Eisenzeit", taken also in the literature that treats the problems of that age from the Balkans' region (for eg. K. Kilian, *Trachtzubehör der Eisenzeit zwischen Ägäis und Adria*, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, 50, 1975, p. 16 and next, pp. 101-102).

# EL CANON LITERARIO DE LA ESPAÑA DEL SIGLO DE ORO EN LA CULTURA RUMANA

Oana Andreia SÎMBRIAN\*

## THE LITERARY CANON OF GOLDEN AGE SPAIN IN THE ROMANIAN CULTURE

**Abstract:** The main goal of our article is to achieve a complex incursion in the Romanian culture, in order to discover how it has integrated and assimilated the Golden Age Spanish culture. The period we have chosen is being delimited by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the first cultural bonds began to appear between the two spaces. In order to demonstrate our thesis, we will be focusing on the translations, literature histories and academic curricula that have received the influence of the important Spanish Golden Age production. With this analysis we hope to fix for the first time ever the Spanish canon of the Golden Age in the Romanian culture.

**Keywords:** canon, Golden Age, Romania, translations, literature history.

¿Dónde están nuestros libros? ¿Cuáles son los maestros de los que saldrán discípulos? Los maestros de los romanos fueron los griegos; los maestros de los europeos fueron los griegos y los romanos; los nuestros pueden ser los griegos, los romanos, los italianos, los franceses, los españoles, los alemanes, los ingleses. ¿Entendemos bien su idioma? ¿O acaso hemos hecho que ellos hablen el nuestro? Que una nación entienda varios idiomas es más difícil, lo más factible es traducir varios autores al mismo idioma<sup>1</sup>.

De esta manera comenzaba el historiador transilvano del siglo XIX Ion Heliade Rădulescu su introducción de lo que se convertiría en la primera traducción de *Don Quijote* al rumano. A partir de ese momento, la cultura rumana empezaría a recibir una infusión de cultura española que se prolongaría de forma ininterrumpida hasta nuestros días. La evolución de la cultura española en la mentalidad rumana no es fácil de abarcar en su totalidad, puesto que su estudio supone un trabajo recopilatorio de las traducciones, los artículos de investigación que privilegian los temas españoles, los programas escolares y estudiantiles que, al escoger temas españoles en su temáticas, están imponiendo cánones... Al fin y al

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<sup>1</sup> Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere*, Vol. I, Bucarest, Academia Rumana, p. 523.

cabo, tal como observaba Bloom, “originariamente, el canon significaba la elección de libros por parte de nuestras instituciones de enseñanza y a pesar de las recientes ideas políticas de multiculturalismo, la auténtica cuestión del canon subsiste todavía: ¿Qué debe intentar leer el individuo que todavía desea leer en este momento de la historia?”<sup>2</sup>.

A pesar de lo delicado de la tarea, nuestra experiencia investigadora de los temas rumano-españoles ha hecho que adquiriésemos un panorama bastante exhaustivo del asunto sobre el que hoy vamos a tratar. Nuestra intención es señalar cómo se ha ido creando y desarrollando a lo largo de los siglos un determinado tipo de canon español del Siglo de Oro en la cultura rumana mediante las traducciones, compilaciones y programas universitarios que se refieren a temas españoles. Para ello, procuraremos dividir el interés de la sociedad rumana hacia la literatura española de forma cronológica, explicando el fenómeno mediante sus razones históricas o sociales.

Ahora bien, en su presentación *Los estudios hispánicos en Rumanía*, publicada en Bucarest en 1964, Iorgu Iordan y Paul Alexandru Georgescu, afirmaban que “se pueden establecer en la historia de los estudios hispánicos de Rumanía tres períodos, bastante distintos bajo numerosos aspectos”<sup>3</sup>. El primero, denominado el de los comienzos, se caracteriza sobre todo por manifestaciones más o menos espontáneas y aisladas, faltas de un espíritu científico exigente. De esta primera etapa de introducción de la cultura española en Rumanía destaca soltando Stefan Vîrgolici, gracias a su traducción, aunque desafortunadamente incompleta, del Quijote (61 capítulos, todos de la primera parte) y a sus artículos sobre Lope de Vega, Calderón y Cervantes publicados entre 1868-1870 en la prestigiosa revista moldava *Convorbiri literare*. El segundo periodo identificado por los dos hispanistas es la época interbélica, destacando por los trabajos del historiador Nicolae Iorga que escribió una *Historia de las literaturas románicas*, obra no muy documentada, pero que sirvió de tema de investigación a los demás académicos; Ovid Densușianu, quien a parte de sus cursos, no ha escrito mucho más sobre el tema y Ramiro Ortiz, profesor durante dos décadas de la Universidad de Bucarest, que había dedicado su actividad a los estudios de literatura comparada, sobre todo entre Italia y España. Otro hispanista rumano a destacar de este periodo fue Alexandru Popescu-Telega, profesor de lengua y literatura españolas de la Universidad de Bucarest, cuyos temas de investigación se han centrado sobre todo en *Cervantes* (1924), *Similitudes y analogías entre el folklore rumano e ibérico* (Craiova, 1927), *Cervantes e Italia. Estudio de literatura comparada* (Craiova, 1934), *Dos dramas de Lope de Vega que interesan la historia y la literatura rumanas* (Craiova, 1936), *Buscando a Don Quijote* (1942), *Cervantes. Vida y obra* (1947), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Harold Bloom, *El canon occidental*, Barcelona, Anagrama, 1995, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Iorgu Iordan, Paul Alexandru Georgescu, *Los estudios hispánicos en Rumanía*, Bucarest, Sociedad rumana de lingüística románica, 1964, p. 3.

La tercera y última etapa sería la que empieza a partir de 1945. Es ésta, sin lugar a dudas, de las tres etapas, la más rica en trabajos de promoción y difusión de la cultura española en Rumanía. El final de la segunda guerra mundial y la instalación en Rumanía del régimen comunista había tenido sus aspectos, tanto positivos, como negativos. El positivo había sido, sin lugar a dudas, el deseo de impulsar una cultura y enseñanza de masas, lo cual determinó la traducción de los clásicos más importantes de la literatura universal, entre ellos, los del Siglo de Oro español: Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Tirso, Góngora, Calderón vieron la luz, en muy logradas traducciones, algunas de sus obras más ilustres. Claro está que si luego nos ponemos a analizar lo que se ha traducido (en especial los dramas rurales de Lope con su discurso, no tanto anti nobiliario, pero sí pro pueblo), nos damos cuenta de que el discurso de estas obras servía muy bien a la propaganda antinobiliaria y antiburguesa del partido que, o bien estaba enfocada en la adulación del pueblo, o bien en la ilustración de una sociedad nobiliaria caída y corrompida a nivel moral<sup>4</sup>. No insistimos más en este aspecto de momento, pues constituye la idea central de otro trabajo que tenemos en marcha.

Iordan y Georgescu publicaron su libro en 1964, con lo cual a partir de ese año, recibimos el relevo de su misión, actualizando las etapas que ambos empezaron. La reevaluación de los programas de estudios universitarios de la postguerra mundial en Rumanía impulsó la publicación por parte de los profesores de lengua y literatura españolas de cursos universitarios. Es así como la Universidad de Bucarest publicó en 1975 *Historia de la literatura española* en dos volúmenes. El primero, que hacía hincapié en la edad media, el Renacimiento y el Siglo de Oro, había sido coordinado por Paul Alexanru Georgescu, Ileana Georgescu, Ioana Pătraşcu, Domniţa Dumitrescu, I. Bucurenciu-Bîrsan y Victor Ivanovici. Anteriormente, el filólogo G. Călinescu había publicado sus *Impresiones sobre la literatura española* (1965), mientras que Paul Alexandru Georgescu había publicado por su cuenta *El teatro clásico español* (1967). Más tarde, el mismo Georgescu publicaría *Valores hispánicos desde la perspectiva rumana* (1986).

La última etapa conlleva, a nuestro parecer, el periodo que empieza a principios de los años 90 del siglo pasado, cuando, todo hay que decirlo, la llegada de las telenovelas sudamericanas desató un nuevo interés hacia todo lo español, con la distinción de que ahora englobaba también y de forma muy constante, todo lo hispanohablante. Es éste, sin embargo, un periodo de declive de todo lo clásico español, que se ve suplantado por un canon mucho más contemporáneo de lo que lo fuera en su época, formado por literatura tipo Pérez Reverte, además de por un número abrumador de literatura latinoamericana, fenómeno provocado, a nivel sociocultural por las ya alegadas telenovelas, las cuales se convirtieron, en una

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<sup>4</sup> Lope de Vega, *Comedii* se publicó en 1972; *El Quijote* en 1967 y 2004; *Las novelas ejemplares* de Cervantes en 1981 y 2009; *La vida es sueño* en 1980; Tirso de Molina, *Seducatorul din Sevilla*, en 1973, *Criticonul* de Baltasar Gracián en 1975, *El Lazarillo* en 1974; *Sonetul spaniol in Secolul de Aur* en 1982, etc.

sociedad hallada en los albores de una nueva era post dictatorial de tipo comunista, en una alternativa a la promoción de literatura y películas de países que compartían el mismo régimen, razón por la que un público ya saturado, había empezado a rechazarlas sin ningún tipo de criterio estético, salvo su agotada paciencia.

Otra explicación del cambio del gusto del público y de su elección literaria a favor de lo contemporáneo atiende también a razones socio-culturales, puesto que gran parte del pueblo quería simplemente correr el velo sobre su pasado, dando un cambio de tuerca. En su deseo de olvidar su experiencia pasada, el pueblo arrasó asimismo con la producción literaria que la época había producido, volviendo su mirada hacia lo nuevo, lo hasta entonces intocable, la contemporaneidad circundante. Y es que la teoría de Fowler se podría aplicar muy bien al caso rumano: “Los cambios en el gusto literario a menudo pueden atribuirse a una revaluación de los géneros que las obras canónicas representan. En cada época, hay géneros considerados más canónicos que otros”.

Y ahora, vamos a analizar en detalle cada época con tal de establecer la evolución de su canon clásico español.

El interés por la literatura española se manifiesta por primera vez en Rumanía en el siglo XVIII y sobre todo en el XIX cuando los nobles rumanos comienzan, gracias a las ideas de libertad y nación impuestas por la revolución francesa, a sentirse parte de una cultura común greco-latina. A finales del siglo XVII-principios del XVIII, el noble moldavo Nicolae Costin traducía al rumano *El reloj de príncipes* de Antonio de Guevara

Tras la traducción de Nicolae Costin, otras obras españolas se adentraron en el espacio rumano. En la primera mitad de la centuria, la novela mística *Espejo de religioso*, redactada en el siglo XVI, se tradujo bajo el título *Desiderie*. Tal como ocurrió con *El reloj de príncipes*, la obra se difundió primero en Polonia, mediante una versión latina y fue traducida al polaco por el médico de la corte de Nicolas Radziwill, Gaspar Wilkowski. Dada la costumbre de la época de que los intelectuales moldavos estudiaran en Polonia, fray Basilio, procedente de un monasterio cercano a Buzău hizo una copia del manuscrito traducido del polaco al eslavón en 1688. El manuscrito de la novela se inserta en otro más grande. *Espejo de religioso* ocupa los folios 38-112. En la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, la novela fue traducida al rumano. El libro es mencionado por la *Formolarnica Vedomostie a Manastirii Dobrusca pe anul 1809* en la hoja número 19, como libro rumano: “Un libro escrito a mano, *Desiderie*”. La razón por la que la novela se tradujo a tantos idiomas, adentrándose en espacios religiosos distintos, tuvo que ver con el hecho de que su contenido no era especialmente católico, sino místico. A pesar de esto, el manuscrito se convirtió en un buen mensajero de la cultura y la civilización españolas en Rumanía<sup>5</sup>.

Moldavia constituyó sin duda la cuna de las traducciones al rumano de los libros españoles, puesto que fue allí donde en la misma centuria también se tradujo

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<sup>5</sup> Eugen Denize, *Relațiile româno-spaniole până la începutul secolului al XIX-lea*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun, 2006, p. 40.

*El Criticón* de Baltasar Gracián, bajo el título *Critil y Andronicus*. La traducción se llevó a cabo en el año 1794, debido al apoyo del mitropolitano Iacov Stamate y se publicó en Iassi. La versión rumana utilizó una fuente griega, la del noble Ioan Ralis, quien en 1754 había traducido *El Criticón* al griego, consultando la versión francesa de Maunory de 1696. De la versión de Ralis se conservan todavía dos ejemplares manuscritos en la Biblioteca de la Academia Rumana (Biblioteca de la Academia Rumana, Manuscritos griegos, 62 y 68).

La versión rumana de 1794 reproduce nueve capítulos de la primera parte del *Criticón*, según señala su título<sup>6</sup>. Más adelante se tradujeron otros cuatro capítulos de la primera parte<sup>7</sup>, así como la segunda parte del libro de Gracián, teniendo como fuente una versión alemana. La segunda parte del libro de Gracián se conserva todavía en rumano en una copia manuscrita, transcrita el 17 de mayo de 1827 por el copista Ilie Ioan<sup>8</sup>.

Para acabar el listado de obras literarias españolas traducidas en el siglo XVIII, cabe destacar que en el año 1800, el conocido escritor rumano Costache Negruzzi tradujo, junto a un personaje anónimo, *La Celestina*, conservada en la Biblioteca de la Academia Rumana en tres copias manuscritas<sup>9</sup>.

En conclusión, debemos advertir que el siglo XVIII fomentó un incremento significativo de la presencia de España en Rumanía, presencia que se difundió, no solamente a través de las informaciones que los cronistas rumanos recibían sobre este país, sino también mediante la traducción, lo cual suponía una manera más directa y personal de acercamiento al universo español.

Los libros hallados en las bibliotecas nobiliarias de la época dan fe de los gustos literarios de los nobles rumanos, así como de las lecturas que estos príncipes pudieron haber conocido durante su formación intelectual. La circulación de los libros de los Cantacuzino por las manos de dos familias reinantes, Cantacuzino y Mavrocordat, atestiguan la importante formación teológica de los miembros de estas dos familias, cuya amplia visión se tradujo en la tolerancia hacia los demás cultos. Prueba de ello está el hecho de que bajo el reinado de los Mavrocordat, Valaquia y Moldavia no conocieron intentos de supresión de su fe ortodoxa, lo cual bien podría haber ocurrido bajo el mando de príncipes fanariotas<sup>10</sup>.

En la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, los revolucionarios rumanos echan mano de una de las figuras emblemáticas de las letras áureas, Don Quijote, al que convirtieron en su personificación de la guerra justa. A partir del año 1839 cuando se publicaron los primeros capítulos de la novela cervantina en rumano, Don

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<sup>6</sup> *Critil și Andronicus*, Iași, 1794.

<sup>7</sup> Biblioteca de la Academia Rumana (a continuación se citará BAR), ms. grecești, 5654.

<sup>8</sup> BAR, ms. grecești, 1794.

<sup>9</sup> BAR, ms. 452 [*Selestina. Poveste ispaniolească*], ms. 474 [*Telestina*] y ms. 4365 [*Celestina*].

<sup>10</sup> Oana Sâmbrian, *Convergențe româno-spaniole de la Renaștere la modernism*, Bucarest, Academia Rumana, 2013, *pasim*.

Quijote fue coronado como símbolo del guerrero-aventurero, así como de las aspiraciones históricas de independencia del pueblo rumano.

El siglo XIX ha representado en Rumanía, al igual que en la mayoría de los países europeos, un año revolucionario, donde los ideales históricos buscaban apoyo y justificación en la Antigüedad greco-latina, a través de la que los rumanos se sentían más cercanos a los pueblos latinos debido a sus raíces comunes. Insigne representante de la escuela transilvana que a partir del siglo XVIII había militado por las raíces latinas de los transilvanos debido al creciente peligro de la colonización húngara, el pueblo se hallaba en búsqueda de un destino que Heliade Radulescu encontró en la figura de Don Quijote. Fue así como la novela cervantina llegó a traducirse por primera vez en rumano.

En el año 1839, el periódico *Curierul românesc* publicó catorce capítulos del *Ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Un año más tarde, el periódico anunciaba que Don Quijote dejaba de publicarse en prensa para que pudiese imprimirse en cuatro volúmenes su variante integral<sup>11</sup>:

Después de haber deleitado al público con sus hazañas, Don Kișot dejará de publicarse en el *Curier*, a pesar de que es muy útil que se muestren sus logros, por lo menos hasta el momento cuando el héroe vuelva a casa tras su viaje; hemos cesado de publicarlo porque parece ser que a los rumanos no les gustan mucho las *donkișonadas*. El propósito de esta publicación fue que el héroe se diese a conocer entre los lectores para recomendarse, puesto que estamos preparando su publicación en cuatro tomos (...) <sup>12</sup>.

Finalmente, en el año 1840 se publicó una traducción parcial, en dos volúmenes tras la versión francesa de Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian<sup>13</sup>. Se desconoce el autor de la traducción, aunque la mayoría de los especialistas hayan apuntado a Ion Heliade Radulescu como autor de la misma.

La necesidad de literatura en lengua rumana fue una de las principales razones que impulsó el aumento del número de traducciones en la primera mitad del siglo XIX. Al mismo tiempo, se constata un interés creciente de las élites culturales rumanas hacia el mundo ibérico. En 1846, el político y ex primer ministro Mihail Kogălniceanu visitaba España y unos años más tarde fue el turno del poeta Vasile Alecsandri a llegar a tierras íberas, mientras se encaminaba hacia África.

Por tanto, la primera traducción de Don Quijote al rumano no fue un hecho fortuito, sino una consecuencia normal del interés creciente hacia la cultura española. Para acabar, queda una pregunta: ¿por qué la traducción de El Quijote y no otra cualquiera? ¿Qué esperaban el director del periódico y el autor de la traducción a conseguir, ya que el periódico de Eliade beneficiaba de más público que una novela traducida de la literatura universal?

<sup>11</sup> Eugen Denize, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Vasile Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800 la 1864*, Vol. 2, Bucarest, 1892, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> *Don Quichotte de la Manche*, traduit de l'espagnol par Florian, Paris, Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1858, 498 p.

Una posible respuesta nos ofrece el poema *Tândală y Păcală o el Caballero y el escudero*, escrito por Heliade en 1855. Conciente de la falta de una literatura en lengua rumana, Heliade editó los primeros periódicos rumanos, además de obras de los jóvenes escritores rumanos (tanto traducciones como originales).

El héroe del poema de Heliade pertenece a la tipología del revolucionario-aventurero, cuyas hazañas tienen como finalidad el conseguir un reino para sí. En la visión del poeta rumano, este reino era Polonia e incluía Moldavia y Valaquia. Se trata por tanto de una trasposición en verso de los planes de confederación destinados a los Países rumanos a principios del siglo XIX, en un periodo cuando los rumanos intentaban convencer a Londres y París de la necesidad de su unión en un país unitario<sup>14</sup>. Estas utopías solo podían corresponderse, en la visión de Heliade, a la figura quijotesca. Don Quijote se convierte para Heliade en un símbolo de la lucha nacional, en cuyo centro se hallaba la fe del héroe en el éxito de su empresa. “Voy a cantarte sobre un caballero/ que no hay otro bajo el cielo”<sup>15</sup>, le promete Heliade a su musa en el primer canto de su poema. Más adelante el poeta da a conocer su intención de recrear a Don Quijote:

Decidme cómo se llama y quién es el caballero  
cuya talla y figura  
nos hacen pensar en el héroe  
de la Mancha, en él mismo<sup>16</sup>.

El héroe moderno es también armado caballero y se le desea que tenga “la fe de Loyola”. Pero un caballero no es uno de verdad si le falta su Dulcinea:

...pues es una barrera  
que no puede pasarse a los hechos de armas  
el héroe si no tiene una Dulcinea,  
que en la batalla vaya a invocar<sup>17</sup>.

Para el caballero de Heliade, el correspondiente de Dulcinea es Polonia, un estado al que el héroe del poema tenía que conducir, asegurando su independencia y su grandeza. El poeta rumano no se olvida tampoco del escudero Sancho y considera que su héroe necesita una ayuda.:

¿Ahora habéis entendido? Os digo en cristiano  
le falta un escudero;  
.....  
y los busca, según es la costumbre, bajo y algo panzón<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Heliade Rădulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 216.

Sin embargo, la traducción de Heliade, por mucho que sea la primera que se ha hecho del libro de Cervantes, tiene una gran tara: el hecho de que la traducción no fuese directa, realizada del español. Para ello tenemos que esperar a la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, cuando la traducción se llevó a cabo de la mano del hispanista Ștefan Vârgolici. Durante los años 1879-1880, Vârgolici organizó un curso de literatura española en la Universidad de Iassi, publicando una serie de estudios sobre Miguel de Cervantes, Lope de Vega y Calderón. Su traducción del Quijote es incompleta, al abarcar 61 capítulos que se publicaron en *Convorbiri literare* en el periodo 1881-1891 y se llevó a cabo tras la edición de 1857 publicada en la editorial Librería Española.

Además de esta traducción, se publicaron también varias adaptaciones del Quijote para niños. En 1904 se publicaba en la colección *Biblioteca para todos* el libro *La increíble historia del insigne hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, cuyo autor quedó desafortunadamente anónimo. En 1910, Lazăr Șăineanu ofrecía al público rumano otra adaptación, titulada *La vida y las aventuras del valiente y noble Don Quijote de la Mancha*. De entre las traducciones parciales de otras de las obras de Cervantes destacan *El loco. Leyenda de Valladolid*, publicada en 1894, la novela *Los perros* publicada por Alexandru Luca con el título *Los perros de Valladolid* y una traducción anónima de la *Señorita Cornelia*.

Varios de los grandes poetas rumanos del siglo XIX se han visto influenciados por el espíritu del Quijote. El poeta nacional rumano, Mihai Eminescu, escribía un poema dedicado al caballero de la triste figura, titulado *La visión del Quijote*. Otro poeta destacado del romanticismo rumano, Vasile Alecsandri, afirmaba que España era “la patria del Cid Campeador y del Quijote”, lo cual demuestra, una vez más, la manera cómo la conciencia colectiva rumana se hizo eco de la identificación del espíritu quijotesco con la imagen de España.

En la actualidad, Cervantes se celebra en Rumanía el día 23 de abril, cuando muchos rumanos se dan cita en el Instituto Cervantes de Bucarest para leer por turnos de la obra maestra del genio cervantino. Las *Novelas ejemplares* se han reeditado con éxito en el año 2001, mientras que con ocasión del centenario del Quijote en el año 2005, Sorin Mărculescu volvió a publicar una nueva traducción de *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

Con tal de fijar el canon, toca elegir, seleccionar y es por esta razón que a continuación nos centraremos en las historias de la literatura que en Rumanía se han hecho de la cultura española, puesto que ellas también determinan lo que los lectores se llevan a sus bibliotecas, debido a su forma concisa de dividir el material en categorías.

En la literatura rumana no existen muchas compilaciones de literatura española. Y la mayoría de los que sí existen son cursos universitarios, lo cual quiere decir que su circulación es extremadamente limitada. La primera de ellas se inserta dentro de una compilación mucho más genérica, *Historia de las literaturas románicas* (1920), cuyo autor fue el ilustre historiador Nicolae Iorga, poseedor de un

espíritu enciclopédico que le ha llevado a dedicarse a temas tan diversos como el Imperio Bizantino o la historia de la literatura rumana o universal.

Tras echar un simple vistazo al índice queda claro enseguida que el canon establecido por Iorga se centra mucho más en las literaturas inglesa, francesa e italiana, puesto que de todos los capítulos del libro, solo uno está dedicado exclusivamente al siglo XVII español. Se trata del capítulo IV que retrata la poesía aurisecular. Lo más probable es que Iorga ni siquiera había tenido acceso directo a la bibliografía española, más que a través de las fuentes franceses. Es así como en la página 18 cita para hablar de Quevedo *La comedie espagnole* de Martinenche de 1864. De hecho, la impresión general que nos da Iorga al comparar permanentemente la literatura española y la francesa es que toma como modelo el impacto de la sociedad y de la literatura española aurisecular en Francia para decidir su propio canon.

En el capítulo dedicado a la poesía española, Iorga cita a Góngora y, “más importante todavía, Quevedo”<sup>19</sup>. El historiador se dedica muy poco a interpretar los poemas a los que alude en su historia literaria, limitándose a reproducir los versos en español y en rumano. Lo malo en el caso de esta obra es que Iorga, llegado ya a la fama y sin mayores deseos de justificar sus afirmaciones, puesto que en su calidad de miembro de la Academia Rumana y de reconocido investigador, nadie se hubiese atrevido a poner en tela de juicio sus palabras, no indica en muchos casos sus fuentes de inspiración, con lo cual poco sabemos acerca de lo que ha determinado sus opiniones, salvo meras suposiciones.

El capítulo V de su historia de la literatura es dedicado por Iorga a la literatura francesa y española del siglo XVII, llevando como subtítulo *El teatro de Calderón*. Aquí, Iorga evoca a Baltasar Gracián y dedica un apartado especial a la filosofía política. Ahora, si en el caso de la elección de Góngora y Quevedo como poetas representativos para el Siglo de Oro español estimamos que Iorga se ha dejado influir por los escritos ya existentes de la época, mencionados en el apartado dedicado a las traducciones, en el caso de la filosofía política estimamos que allí se entrevé el criterio jerarquizante de Iorga, cuya propia formación histórica desataba el interés por aquel tipo de literatura. Asimismo, el historiador nombra a Diego de Saavedra Fajardo con *Idea de un príncipe cristiano* y *Locuras de Europa* (texto menos conocido y al que se han acercado sobre todo los historiadores, lo cual viene a apoyar nuestra afirmación anterior de que las obras políticas de *Historia de las literaturas románicas* son el resultado del criterio de selección del propio Iorga), *Política de Dios* de Francisco de Quevedo, *El reloj de príncipes* de Antonio de Guevara, Iorga afirmando sobre este último que “lo traducía al rumano, décadas más tarde, el moldavo de la escuela jesuita de Polonia, Nicolae Costin”, señal de que el historiador rumano estaba al tanto de la traducción que mencionamos anteriormente. La explicación allí es sencilla, puesto que la mayoría de los

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<sup>19</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturilor romanice în dezvoltarea și legăturile lor*, vol. I-III, Bucarest, Tipografia “Cultura neamului românesc”, 1920, p. 36.

manuscritos de la traducción de Costin habían sido adquiridos en las últimas décadas del siglo XIX por la biblioteca de la Academia Rumana, donde Iorga pasaba muchas horas estudiando y donde seguramente las consultó.

Por último, Iorga le dedica su atención a Calderón. Destaca una vez más, por un lado, la influencia del criterio francés, puesto que Iorga recuerda la influencia de Corneille en la creación del drama calderoniano *Todo es verdad y todo es mentira*. Por otro, Vîrgolici había publicado en *Convorbiri literare* el ya aludido artículo sobre Calderón, que, conociendo la capacidad intelectual asombrosa de Iorga, es muy probable que el historiador hubiese conocido. Las alusiones a Lope de Vega son más bien pocas. Está claro que el académico rumano considera a Lope inferior a Calderón, puesto que afirma que a este último se le habían ocurrido ideas que “jamás se les hubiesen ocurrido a Guillén de Castro o a Lope”<sup>20</sup>. Para concluir la visión de Iorga sobre la literatura española del Siglo de Oro, señalamos una vez más la abrumadora influencia de la literatura franceses, a través de la que es muy probable que Iorga haya recibido su información sobre la literatura española, tal como había ocurrido anteriormente cuando Heliade Rădulescu había traducido al Quijote no desde una variante original, sino francesa.

No ocurre lo mismo, sin embargo, con la compilación realizada por George Călinescu, sobre el que el mismo autor afirmaba que no ofrecía “un estudio sobre la literatura española, mas una obra literaria ensayística, aunque creo que el lector rumano cogerá de este libro más conocimientos sobre la literatura española que de cualquier otro libro que pudieses haber existido en rumano” (5) Excelente conocedor de la literatura italiana, aunque también buen observador de las demás, el autor confiesa haber consultado la *Biblioteca de autores españoles* de Rivadeneyra mientras se encontraba en una biblioteca en Roma. Calinescu define su libro como “un índice espiritual” que guía al “viajero” rumano con el propósito de conocer España directamente (7) y afirma asimismo que “una literatura con grandes de España, con pícaros, licenciados, alcahuetes, don Juanes, Celestinas (...) es sustancialmente romántica. Al mismo tiempo, la discreción alabada por Gracián (...) es una reacción clásica, mientras que el truhan humorístico de Quevedo, el cultismo de Góngora son barrocas”. Călinescu realiza en su libro una muy buena definición y utilización de los conceptos que emplea, con ejemplos claros y comprensibles. Su perspectiva de las cosas es muy amena y es que, si fuésemos a dar crédito a Paul Georgescu, “para ser un investigador total de la creación literaria, tienen más oportunidades aquellos capaces ellos mismos – en distintas formas y grados – de creación”<sup>21</sup>.

Si nos detenemos a mirar tan solo el índice del libro de Călinescu, nos damos cuenta enseguida de que contiene la quintaesencia del canon realizado por el escritor rumano. Las creaciones españolas van divididas por temas y tipos de

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60.

<sup>21</sup> George Călinescu, *Impresii asupra literaturii spaniole*, Bucarest, Editura pentru literatură universală, 1965, p. 20.

personajes: La honra (sobre El Cid, Don Juan, Peribáñez, *El alcalde de Zalamea*, *El médico de su honra*, *Del rey abajo ninguno* de Zorrilla), El humor democrático (sobre La Celestina, El Lazarillo, *El mejor alcalde el rey*, *El perro del hortelano*, *Los comendadores de Córdoba* – Lope de Vega), La picaresca (El Lazarillo, Guzmán de Alfarache, Vida de Marcos de Obregón, La Gitanilla, Rinconete y Cortadillo, etc.), Bachilleres, licenciados, letrados, Don Juan, La Celestina, Santa Teresa de Jesús, La soledad (Góngora, la poesía de Lope), El discreto (Gracián), La vida es sueño, La locura (Don Quijote, *El lindo don Diego*), El espíritu crítico, etc.

Una de las contribuciones de máxima importancia de Călinescu mediante este libro es la distinción teórica entre clásico, barroco y romántico, con la que se abre su obra, distinción que puede aplicarse no solo a la literatura española, sino también a todos los tipos de literatura en general. Allí el crítico y escritor rumano identifica las características de los personajes clásicos, barrocos y románticos, los rasgos de los paisajes, etc. Así pues, el clásico y el romántico serían dos tipos ideales, inexistentes en realidad, mientras que el barroco sería una mezcla de los dos prototipos, que había renunciado a la observación moral de los clásicos y a las preocupaciones de los románticos para limitarse a los problemas “técnicos” (el claroscuro, los colores, los temas, etc.) El esbozo de historia de la literatura española llevado a cabo por Călinescu está ampliamente citado hoy día en Rumanía cuando se habla de literatura española, siendo este libro uno de los más populares sobre el tema. Publicado por una conocida editorial en una generosa tirada, el libro de Călinescu se encuentra en muchas bibliotecas personales e institucionales rumanas, dando buena prueba de la mentalidad colectiva sobre la literatura española que se forjó a partir de sus páginas.

*La historia de la literatura española* realizada por el colectivo de profesores de la Universidad de Bucarest en 1975 se diferencia en muchos aspectos de la literatura de Călinescu. Si en el caso de éste último, su estilo es más ensayístico, la versión de 1975 es mucho más científica y exhaustiva, incluyendo un valioso apartado bibliográfico. Tal como queda expresado por Paul Alexandru Georgescu en el estudio introductivo del volumen, titulado *Las características generales y la especificidad de la literatura española*, los problemas que supone tal elección son extremadamente generales<sup>22</sup>. El hispanista rumano destaca asimismo algunas de las corrientes de opinión con respecto a las características de la literatura española, empezando por la posición contestataria, según la cual se niega en principio la posibilidad de la existencia de tales características, capaces de resistir al paso de los siglos, citando a Arturo Farinelli, quien afirmase que la creación artística era en esencia un diálogo del autor consigo mismo, un soliloquio que interesaba y se valoraba mediante su unicidad<sup>23</sup>. Para Georgescu, “la opinión negativa de Farinelli

<sup>22</sup> Paul Alexandru Georgescu, *Istoria literaturii spaniole*, Bucarest, Universidad de Bucarest, 1975, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

actúa como estímulo para determinar las características definitorias, generales de la literatura española<sup>24</sup>, puesto que desde su punto de vista, Farinelli y sus seguidores estaban muy equivocados, al transformar la metodología en ontología y el punto de vista del investigador en calidad del objeto investigado<sup>25</sup>.

La segunda actitud que Georgescu destaca es la que busca la impresión dominante de la literatura española en su totalidad, un rasgo de su “alma nacional”. El investigador menciona como rasgos del barroco español la rebeldía, la ironía, el caballero, el gracioso, el pícaro. La tercera división de la literatura española es la tipológica, partiendo de la opinión de Ramón Menéndez Pidal<sup>26</sup>. Desde el punto de vista de Georgescu, el español es espontáneo, sin mucho deseo de hacer arte por el arte, lo cual supondría reflexión y un permanente esfuerzo para mejorar, sino que practica un arte por la vida en doble sentido. Aquí Georgescu destaca los géneros españoles específicos, como el romancero, el auto sacramental, la picaresca, las obras refundidas, un caso “frecuente e impactante en el teatro del Siglo de Oro”<sup>27</sup>, las comedias de capa y espada, la actitud existencial hacia la vida concebida como hazaña. También con respecto al Siglo de Oro, Georgescu hace hincapié en la profundidad de Cervantes y en el vigor de Lope de Vega, señal de que para el hispanista, son estos dos los personajes más destacados del periodo aurisecular español. El canon español del Siglo de Oro en la visión de los autores de la *Historia de la literatura española* incluye a Fernando de Herrera, Fray Luis de León, Teresa de Jesús, Juan de la Cruz, Lope de Rueda, Miguel de Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Tirso, Ruiz de Alarcón, Góngora, Quevedo, Calderón y Baltasar Gracián. Además, el libro incluye un capítulo especial dedicado a la novela picaresca. La historia de la literatura española publicada en Rumanía en 1975 fue, sin lugar a dudas, una obra muy completa y actualizada para su época, donde los autores del Siglo de Oro encontraban un sitio para darse a conocer ante el público del otro lado de la Rumania. Hoy en día ha habido también, por supuesto, más tentativas de cursos universitarios de literatura española. Sin embargo y desgraciadamente, no pasan de ser cursos universitarios con información escasa y con poca fuerza interpretativa. La *historia de la literatura española* publicada por la Universidad de Bucarest destaca sobre todo por exponer criterios propios (no olvidemos que Paul Alexandru Georgescu fue el creador de la visión sistémica de la literatura, una visión que posteriormente aplicó a todos sus estudios). Es un libro que se desarrolla a base de hacer y contestar preguntas, como por ejemplo “Es Don Quijote de la Mancha un libro pesimista u optimista?” Mientras tanto, los cursos actuales no pasan de ser meras compilaciones, donde una bibliografía más o menos actualizada no puede suplir la falta de originalidad en la ilustración de un problema que debería

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17.

empezar por exponer la opinión propia del autor/coordinador sobre las características de la literatura del Siglo de Oro y sobre la metodología que se va a emplear. Para no entrar en más polémica, me limitaré a decir que desde que se escribió y publicó la *Historia de la literatura española* del colectivo de profesores de la Universidad de Bucarest, que se puede consultar en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, no ha aparecido todavía ninguna otra que la supere en cuanto a calidad de la información y en rigurosidad científica en Rumanía.

En *Valores hispánicos desde la perspectiva rumana*, publicada en 1986, Paul Alexandru Georgescu prosigue sus valiosas incursiones en el canon de la literatura española aurisecular, definiendo la obra literaria como un sistema axiológico *sui generis* – semiótico, con sentido y valor estético<sup>28</sup>. La entrada en el sistema asegura para Georgescu la relación del ser humano con la historia, mientras que la salida aseguraba la relación con los valores, entre los *input* y los *output* existiendo una serie de mediatizaciones complejas. De la multitud de escritores auriseculares, Georgescu selecciona para su canon “restringido” de la literatura española aurisecular a Cervantes y a Quevedo, afirmando sobre este último que “no es tan humano como Cervantes, ni tan fecundo como Lope de Vega, ni tan grave como Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Y aun así, más que cualquiera de todos estos grandes escritores, intriga, hace reflexionar, asombra”<sup>29</sup>.

Después de incurrir en las traducciones y en las historias de la literatura española, vamos a presentar a continuación lo que denominaríamos la quintaesencia del canon: los programas universitarios. Y para refinar todavía más nuestra búsqueda, nos hemos centrado en los programas de licenciatura, puesto que, si durante la carrera, el alumno se puede acercar, más o menos, a todo tipo de literatura, es el programa de licenciatura el que establece el conocimiento esencial que el alumno debe alcanzar al acabar su carrera. Hemos escogido como modelo los programas para el año 2012-2013 de las universidades de Bucarest, Craiova y Spiru Haret. Del top 10 de temas elegidos para la evaluación en el examen final de los alumnos de la Facultad de Filología, especialidad Lengua y literatura españolas, solo el 30 por ciento le correspondía al Siglo de Oro en la visión de la Universidad de Craiova (Cervantes, Don Quijote; Tirso, El burlador; Lope, Peribáñez), el resto de 70 por ciento siendo dedicado a la literatura de los siglos XIX y XX; 30 por ciento en la Universidad Spiru Haret (Cervantes, Lope y Calderón). Ambos programas resultan muy pobres a la hora de referirse al Siglo de Oro, pero desde luego el más pobre, sobre todo en temas referentes al teatro del Siglo de Oro, es el programa de la Universidad de Bucarest, que únicamente requiere de sus alumnos conocimientos sobre Don Quijote y la poesía de Quevedo. Ninguna mención a Lope, ni a Tirso, ni a Calderón. Nadie se acuerda de Góngora, ni tampoco de Gracián. En contrapartita, los alumnos del departamento de teatro de la

<sup>28</sup> Idem, *Valori hispanice în perspectivă românească*, Bucarest, Cartea românească, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

Universidad de Craiova tienen que preparar para su examen de licenciatura, no solo un tema general sobre las características del Siglo de Oro español y sobre los géneros teatrales, sino que después han de hacer hincapié en Lope, Calderón, Tirso, Moreto... Por consiguiente, los alumnos de teatro pasarían a tener más conocimientos, por lo menos teóricamente hablando, sobre el Siglo de Oro que sus colegas de filología española. Sin embargo, la especialidad de literatura comparada, pretende de sus alumnos conocimientos sobre Cervantes y Calderón. Desde luego, la vertiente filosófica de las obras calderonianas atrae mucho más a Rumanía que Lope, con lo cual Iorga podría darse por satisfecho, puesto que al parecer, “a Lope no se le habría ocurrido lo que a Calderón”. Todo esto, como no, desde un punto de vista subjetivo, pero que a falta de otra corriente, está creando cánones.

Seguramente lo más apropiado en este tipo de casos, y puesto que ninguna facultad impone hoy en día más de diez temas para su examen de fin de carrera, sería hacer una división no por autores, sino por periodos, evitando así la eliminación de una multitud de vínculos que forman parte de la historia de la literatura.

Para concluir, si echamos una última mirada sobre la cultura rumana y su recepción del modelo cultural español, observamos que éste último ha oscilado casi siempre entre Lope, Quevedo y Calderón, sin embargo ha mantenido un modelo inamovible, común a todas las épocas y a todos los determinismos históricos: la figura del Quijote. Ya sea por las razones histórico-sociales ya expuestas, ya sea porque según Bloom “a la hora de buscar el juego del mundo en la mejor literatura, ésta es la obra donde siempre lo encontraremos”<sup>30</sup>, el caballero de la triste figura no ha sido únicamente un personaje canónico, mas se ha convertido poco a poco y con toda certeza en un verdadero modelo cultural. Pensamos aquí no solamente en la adaptación para los escenarios de la historia del Quijote, el espectáculo más reciente teniendo no más de tres-cuatro años y perteneciendo al repertorio del Teatro Nacional de Craiova, pero también en ejemplos tan poco académicos como la publicidad. Hace unos años, el periódico rumano *Adevarul (La verdad)* promocionaba sus números con una imagen de Sancho Panza, Don Quijote y los molinos de viento y el lema: “La verdad. Abre tus ojos”. Y es que cuando se abandona lo científico-académico y nos sumergimos en lo cotidiano, es allí donde los cánones comprueban su universalidad y validez.

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<sup>30</sup> Harold Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

**POUR UNE HISTOIRE CULTURELLE DES GROUPES  
INTELLECTUELS. REFLEXIONS SUR LES PRATIQUES  
CULTURELLES DE L'ELITE INTELLECTUELLE ROUMAINE  
PENDANT L'ENTRE-DEUX-GUERRES**

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**FOR A CULTURAL HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL GROUPS.  
REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THE ROMANIAN  
INTERWAR ELITE**

**Abstract:** This text tries to underline the cultural practices of *Criterion* beginning from his conferences upon the problem of Idols (Lenin and Mussolini). As a matter of fact, this cultural practice is an exercise of thinking critically the identity, resuscitating the collective memory. This relationship between identity and memory, as the mark of *anamnesis*, regulates the function mechanism of any elite beware of the cultural destiny of his proper nation. Thus, the critical analysis of these symbolic figures, through the process of demystification, is important especially when the members of *Criterion* insist on the major consequences of such mythography that turns into idolatry, by suppressing the human freedom and the critical spirit.

**Keywords:** cultural history of intellectual groups, interwar Romania, *Criterion*, Nae Ionescu, intellectual sociability

L'article présent groupe des réflexions préliminaires sur la possibilité d'ouvrir une enquête plus systématique sur l'histoire des groupes intellectuels en Roumanie. Il s'agit des groupes concentrés autour du pouvoir princier<sup>1</sup>, royal, communiste, groupes organisés autour des personnalités qui fonctionnent comme des vrais *magister* tels Titu Maiorescu pour *Junimea* ou Nae Ionescu pour *Criterion*,

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<sup>1</sup> On peut aisément citer le nom de Gheorghe Asachi en Moldavie durant le règne du prince Mihail Sturdza ou celui de Ioan Heliade-Rădulescu associé au patronage exercé par le prince de la Valachie, Gheorghe Bibescu.

groupes marqués parfois par une forte *tentation du politique* (les deux exemples déjà mentionnés).

Les difficultés engendrées par une telle démarche ne peuvent pas être seulement réduites à des questions portant sur la variété des sources, l'absence des études précises sur des problèmes importants pour le sujet ou l'influence de l'idéologie communiste qui a mis appart alors qu'elle n'a pas falsifié l'histoire des élites intellectuelles. À notre avis, plus importante s'avère être l'option méthodologique. Puisqu'au delà de lier l'histoire des intellectuels ou des groupes intellectuels seulement à un approche centré sur les institutions, il vaut mieux la mettre en perspective avec d'autres concepts tel *sociabilité*<sup>2</sup>, *réseau*, *contexte de référence*, *communauté émotionnelle*<sup>3</sup>.

Or si on comprend l'histoire des intellectuels comme discipline qui s'intéresse aux intellectuels «à partir de leurs expressions et manifestations publiques» tel que François Dosse nous propose, il faut prendre attention à leur engagement dans la vie publique, qui peut «se décliner très différemment selon l'époque, le lieu et même se combiner des multiples manières dans un même moment»<sup>4</sup>. En fait, on évite utiliser le syntagme «intellectuel engagé», vraiment tautologique car l'engagement est vu «comme marque définitoire de l'intellectuel»<sup>5</sup>.

Heureusement, en Roumanie, les dernières années ont vu apparaître une série de recherches qui ont visé les migrations des étudiants, le rôle des universités étrangères dans la formation des élites intellectuelles roumaines ou même l'analyse des mécanismes de leur constitution et sélection à travers des pratiques assez ignorées telles les alliances matrimoniales<sup>6</sup>.

Notre étude se propose de déceler les rapports entre l'identité et la mémoire à partir des représentations culturelles d'un groupe intellectuel roumain, *Criterion*, constitué en Roumanie pendant l'Entre-Deux-Guerres, groupe qui a réussi à connecter la culture roumaine à la tradition européenne. Ce qui nous intéresse c'est

<sup>2</sup> Stéphane Van Damme, *La sociabilité intellectuelle. Les usages historiographiques d'une notion*, dans «Hypothèses», 1998/1 (1), pp. 121-132.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional communities in early Middle Ages*, New York, Cornell University Press, 2007. Voir la définition donnée par l'historienne nord-américaine à ce nouveau concept, avec des possibilités intéressantes à exploiter aussi pour l'histoire moderne ou contemporaine (le cas des nations, par exemple), dans l'introduction de cet ouvrage, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> François Dosse, *La marche des idées. Histoire des intellectuels-histoire des idées*, Paris, La Découverte, «Armillaire», 2003, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Michel Winock, *L'écrivain en tant qu'intellectuel*, dans «Mil neuf cent. Revue d'histoire intellectuelle», 2003/1 (n° 21), p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Cornel Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualității românești din Transilvania și Banat în epoca modernă. Studenți români la universități din Europa Centrală și de Vest*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000; Elena Siupiur, *Intelectuali, elite, clase politice moderne în Sud-Est Europa. Sec. XIX*, Bucarest, Dominor Éditeur, 2004; Lucian Nastasă, „Suveranii” universităților românești. *Mecanisme de selecție și promovare a elitei intelectuale. Profesorii Facultăților de Filosofie și Litere (1864-1948)*, Cluj-Napoca, Limes Éditeur, 2007; Lucian Nastasă, Dragoș Sdrobiș (editori), *Politici culturale și modele intelectuale în România*, Cluj, Mega Éditeur, 2013.

de souligner l'importance du *Criterion* en tant que véritable cadre du débat intellectuel académique, lieu d'effervescence intellectuelle et relation affective mais aussi l'espace des vifs débats. En respectant le modèle d'analyse offert par Jean François Sirinelli<sup>7</sup>, on y reconnaît l'importance de la revue comme structure élémentaire d'un milieu intellectuel qui réunissait des intellectuels avec orientations aussi diverses, des gauchistes comme Belu Silber, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, des cosmopolites tel Petru Comarnescu ou des représentants de droite et extrême-droite comme Mircea Vulcănescu, Mircea Eliade, Paul Sterian, Constantin Noica, Dan Botta, Ernest Bernea et Mihail Polihroniade, pour en citer seulement quelques noms mieux connus. Il s'agit des universitaires, des écrivains (les plus nombreux), des scientifiques ou des fonctionnaires, partisans d'une polémique érudite raffinée et qui s'appuient sur la dimension de l'esprit critique, de la pensée féconde. Au sein du *Criterion*, les thèmes variaient en partant de Proust, à Gide, Bergson, Chaplin en passant par Gandhi, Lénine, ou Mussolini.

Est-ce qu'on peut inaugurer l'analyse des pratiques culturelles du *Criterion* à partir du rôle des *symposia* que les membres de cette association ont consacré à la problématique des idoles (les conférences sur Lénine et Mussolini)? La réponse ne peut être que positif. En fait, cette pratique culturelle est un exercice qui consiste à penser l'identité d'une manière critique, en ressuscitant la mémoire collective. Ce rapport entre l'identité et la mémoire, en tant que signe d'*anamnesis*, règle le mécanisme de fonctionnement de toute l'élite qui se sentait responsable de la destinée culturelle de sa propre nation.

Notre démarche s'inscrit ainsi dans la perspective de l'histoire culturelle, la perspective qui sous-entend l'histoire intellectuelle et qui se retrouve au centre des questionnements de l'historiographie<sup>8</sup>. Selon Christophe Charle, le principe de comparaison en tant que *tertium comparationis* est essentiel pour la compréhension de l'histoire des intellectuels<sup>9</sup>. Mais cette comparaison a aussi ses limites qui, selon Michel Trebitsch, attestent le fait que ce *tertium comparationis* «n'est le plus souvent que la projection sur l'autre d'un point de vue strictement national»<sup>10</sup>. C'est en ce sens que nous recourons à cette perspective complexe de l'analyse du groupe *Criterion*, en tant que catégorie culturelle, idéologique et sociale. Il ne s'agit pas d'une analyse de type sociologique ou d'une expression de l'histoire sociale, mais d'une recherche pluridisciplinaire dans la perspective de l'histoire intellectuelle.

<sup>7</sup> Jean François Sirinelli, *Comprendre le XXe siècle français*, Paris, Fayard, 2005, p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> François Dosse, *op. cit.*, chap. 5, «De l'histoire des idées à l'histoire intellectuelle dans le monde anglo-saxon», pp 199-226.

<sup>9</sup> Christophe Charle, *L'histoire comparée des intellectuels. Quelques points de méthode et proposition de recherche*, dans Michel Trebitsch, Marie-Christine Granjon, *Pour une histoire comparée des intellectuels*, Paris, Éditions Complexe, IHTP-CNRS, 1998, p. 40. Voir aussi ses ouvrages, notamment *Les élites de la République. 1800-1900*, Paris, Fayard Publishing, 1987 et *Naissance des intellectuels 1880-1900*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1990.

<sup>10</sup> Michel Trebitsch, *L'histoire comparée des intellectuels comme histoire expérimentale*, dans Michel Trebitsch, Marie-Christine Granjon (éds.), *Pour une histoire....*, p. 70.

On ne peut pas comprendre la constitution et le fonctionnement du *Criterion* indépendamment du rôle que ses membres ont accordé à celui reconnu comme leur maître, Nae Ionescu, le bien connu et controversé professeur et journaliste, formateur de la jeune génération d'Entre-Deux-Guerres. Le rôle de celui-ci dans la naissance d'un milieu intellectuel, fortement critique et essentiellement européen, que le *Criterion* a représenté, reste encore à bien éclaircir.

La présence de Nae Ionescu<sup>11</sup> dans le paysage intellectuel construit autour l'Université de Bucarest (mais pas du tout réduit à son cadre), avec le résultat de reconnecter la tradition roumaine à la tradition européenne (la synchronisation avec l'espace occidental) s'est produite au moins pour une période de 15 ans, par ses conférences tenues à l'Université de Bucarest<sup>12</sup>. La vie du philosophe roumain a été l'une des plus intéressantes et des plus originales de l'histoire intellectuelle roumaine. Car cet homme, professeur de vocation et journaliste raffiné, a eu le sentiment de la *grande aventure*, utilisant toutes ses ressources intérieures d'une manière impressionnante. Depuis 1922, les étudiants ont vécu sous l'influence spirituelle de Nae Ionescu. Dans la vie universitaire, le professeur de Bucarest se situe, dès le début, comme héritier direct du savant Nicolae Iorga, l'artisan du réalisme historique. Chronologiquement, Nae Ionescu apparaît aussi comme un héritier de l'historien Vasile Pârvan, qui avait exercé une certaine fascination sur les étudiants roumains, jusqu'à sa mort en 1926. Une génération d'étudiants ne se rapproche pas toujours du professeur le plus érudit ou du pédagogue le plus efficace. C'est une méthode de vie et de pensée qu'ils cherchent, un maître spirituel et pas seulement un enseignement.

Les caractéristiques de la pensée de Nae Ionescu sont aisément repérables au niveau des problèmes dont il traite. Il demeure toujours réaliste, organiciste et *fataliste* – ce qu'on appelle son *fatalisme* est plutôt un exceptionnel instinct ontologique; le philosophe sait que tout ce qu'il y a ne peut être contesté par la dialectique ou par les décrets. La voie vers l'Être commence par une grande quête de soi-même, mais va au-delà de soi, en Dieu (*soteria*) ou dans l'Histoire (*sympathia*). L'authenticité réclame de la part de l'homme d'être lui-même. Et si,

<sup>11</sup> Nae Ionescu (1890-1940) professeur de Logique et de Métaphysique à l'Université de Bucarest, l'un des plus redoutables publicistes pendant la période d'Entre-Deux-Guerres mondiales, créateur d'une féconde école de Philosophie. Il suit à Göttingen et à München les cours de Husserl, Minkowski, Külpe (psychologue, philosophe et logicien, représentant du réalisme critique néokantien), de von Aster et de Bäumer, qui va diriger sa thèse. Il a obtenu son doctorat à l'Université de München, avec la thèse *Die Logistik als Versuch einer neuen Begründung der Mathematik*. Depuis 1920, il a été assistant du professeur Constantin-Rădulescu Motru, théoricien du *personnalisme énergétique*, puis maître de conférences et professeur au Département de Logique et de Métaphysique de l'Université de Bucarest où il a donné des cours de Logique, d'histoire de la Logique, de Métaphysique, de Philosophie de la Religion. Sa leçon inaugurale de 1919, *La fonction épistémologique de l'amour* avait configuré sa pensée, imposant dans la tradition intellectuelle roumaine de cette période une manière propre de philosopher.

<sup>12</sup> Voir Mircea Eliade, postface à Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor*, Bucarest, Cultura Națională Éditeur, 1937, p. 440.

dans la vie individuelle, la liberté de l'homme consiste seulement dans sa liberté de pécher, un autre type de liberté, une liberté spirituelle, lui permet, elle même, de s'intégrer aux lois, de choisir l'Histoire (la communion d'amour) au lieu de choisir la mort (l'arrêt, la pétrification).

Dans un contexte dominé par des rationalismes et des positivismes comme sources d'angoisse, le groupe intellectuel construit autour de Nae Ionescu, qui comprenait les uns des meilleurs représentants de leur génération (Mircea Vulcănescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Noica, Vasile Băncilă, pour en citer les plus connus), constituait la garantie de l'authenticité et de la reconfiguration d'un milieu intellectuel par rapport au canon culturel préexistant<sup>13</sup>. Après la Grande Guerre, après l'accomplissement de l'idéal historique – la Grande Roumanie –, on remettait en question l'idéal culturel comme une nécessité qui doit être réalisée. Cette mission sera assumée par la jeune génération qui se forme sous le patronage de Nae Ionescu, une génération qui se propose d'assurer le revirement de la culture nationale, par une projection vers l'universel.

L'Association *Criterion* qui se constitue en 1932 et qui ne durera que deux ans, se manifeste comme un véritable cadre de débat, à la fois intellectuel et affective, émotionnel. Réunissant des intellectuels avec des orientations diverses, elle offrait un modèle authentique à une polémique érudite et raffinée, appuyée sur la dimension prégnante de l'esprit critique, de la pensée féconde, ou le national et l'universel pouvaient établir des relations surprenantes.

Une de ses formes d'action, qui allait lui apporter un succès étonnant dans l'espace public, s'accomplira par le biais de conférences. En fait, *Criterion* ouvre son activité publique par l'inauguration de deux cycles: le premier cycle intitulé «Idoles» s'est déroulé sous la forme de *symposia*, de débats, par la confrontation de diverses positions intellectuelles. Il se présentait sous une forme de communication orale, supposant la présence de deux ou trois orateurs qui parlaient sur le même thème, confrontant des divers points de vue, avec le résultat de la naissance d'une véritable polémique. Dans ce cycle, on discute en marge des personnalités du début de la période contemporaine.

Le second cycle, dédié à la *culture roumaine actuelle*, s'est déroulé par le biais des conférences et des exemples artistiques des créations spirituelles roumaines. *Criterion* était une manifestation de la jeune génération roumaine d'Entre-Deux-Guerres, une tribune et non un courant ou une doctrine.

Nous voulons bien insister sur les deux conférences de *Criterion* sur Lénine et Mussolini, en tant que regards critiques sur deux tendances idéologiques présentes en Europe pendant l'Entre-Deux-Guerres, un débat sur le fonctionnement des idoles dans la culture moderne. Par le biais de ces conférences, le groupe intellectuel *Criterion* remet en question la problématique de l'identité, c'est-à-dire qu'il se demande dans quelle mesure ces figures tiennent d'une mode ou d'un

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<sup>13</sup> Constantin Mihai, *Arca lui Nae. Perspective culturale asupra generației '27*, Craiova, Sitech Éditeur, 2004, pp. 7-10.

recours à celle-ci et ne constituent pas une fétichisation de l'aspect identitaire; de plus, une autre interrogation concerne la capacité de la mémoire culturelle à s'adapter, dans un exercice de démythification des idoles. Autant de questions auxquelles les jeunes intellectuels de *Criterion* essaient de répondre.

*Criterion* commence son activité en octobre 1932, par le cycle *Idoles*, organisé sous la forme du symposium-débat. Le premier thème de ce cycle a été consacré à la présentation de Lénine, de diverses positions idéologiques, sous la présidence du professeur de Psychologie Constantin Rădulescu-Motru. Dans le cadre de ce débat, cinq approches ont été exposées: Mircea Vulcănescu, l'artisan du *Criterion* et le chef de la jeune génération d'Entre-Deux-Guerres, fut le défenseur de la thèse léniniste, Petre Viforeanu, de la thèse bourgeoise, H. H. Stahl, de la thèse sociale-démocrate, Constantin Enescu, de la thèse paysanne et Mihail Polihroniade, de la thèse de la tactique politique.

La position de Mircea Vulcănescu quant à «l'orthodoxie léniniste» se situe dans la perspective d'un intellectuel dont l'attitude spirituelle – il n'était pas communiste, il avait un contact plutôt livresque avec la classe ouvrière, ses sympathies sociales allant vers la paysannerie – assure sa liberté d'être honnête dans son approche herméneutique, rétablissant dans sa forme réelle une théorie en dépit de tout préjugé. Sa manière d'envisager le rapport entre l'idole et le mythe éclaircit la question de la réception de Lénine au niveau de la mémoire publique, en fixant les traits de son profil qui marqué d'autant d'aspects identitaires.

Dans le sillage de la théorie de Ricoeur, faire appel à la mémoire collective c'est empêcher que ne s'instaure l'oubli; c'est pourquoi le recours à l'identité est un exercice indispensable à l'entraînement au non-oubli. C'est ici que se discutent les rapports entre l'idole et le mythe. On sait que toute image ne prend sens que par le jeu de ressemblance et de dissemblance avec son référent; creuser la différence dans l'image c'est risquer de la réduire à l'irréel, mais, à l'inverse, surcharger la consistance de l'image, c'est risquer de prendre la copie pour le modèle, risquer de réifier la représentation, bref risquer d'engendrer une idole. En ce sens, l'idolâtrie constitue une menace permanente de l'expérience spontanée attestée au plan religieux. L'image religieuse représente sans doute le prototype de l'image en général, car celle-ci ne naît que de l'absence de ce qu'elle représente. Et, en effet, l'imagination est la production d'une représentation *in absentia*.

Dans le sens propre du terme, l'idole c'est l'image sculptée, signe devant lequel on se prosterne tout comme on se prosternerait devant Dieu. Au sens le plus large, l'idole, c'est la représentation d'une divinité qui est l'objet d'un culte d'adoration. Et dans un sens plus spécifique, l'idole, c'est une idée admise sans aucun contrôle rationnel, un préjugé. Résultat du mélange des aspirations et des craintes humaines avec les vellétés d'éclaircissement causal de l'esprit logique, avec le besoin de fabuler et de concrétiser en symbole, ainsi qu'avec la tendance de la communion collective, l'idolâtrie est un mélange de rêves et de contraintes, de vénération et de fabrication, de connaissance et de mythification. L'individu

idolâtré a, pour les gens qui le regardent d'un esprit critique, de l'importance. Parler de l'idole, c'est en ce cas, se superposer à l'analyse d'une manière systématique et génétique. Le mythe n'est pas le produit arbitraire d'une imagination qui crée au hasard, mais c'est le fruit, dans le cas de l'idéologie communiste, de la conscience de classe. La morphologie du mythe aura de nombreuses variantes ainsi que l'idole.

Parler des idoles, consiste à distinguer deux paliers de signification: dans le sens propre du terme, l'idole c'est le visage sculpté, signe devant lequel on prie, tout comme on prie Dieu et, dans le sens figuré, l'idole, renvoie à tout être sanctifié, adoré et loué en tant que tel, tandis que dans un sens spécifique, il s'agit d'une idée admise sans aucun contrôle rationnel ou préjugé<sup>14</sup>.

Non pertinent pour l'idole, sans connaître le milieu idolâtre et la fonction accordée par le mythe, l'individu devient intéressant dès lors que l'on comprend son rôle. La question se formulerait à peu près de cette manière: comment le veau est devenu idole? Pour Mircea Vulcănescu, le mythe c'est l'ensemble des opinions et des croyances de chacun sur lesquelles repose l'idole, c'est le fait par lequel un certain visage s'attache symboliquement et causalement à un ensemble de circonstances par rapport à la polarisation affective de l'âme idolâtre<sup>15</sup>. Soumettre les idoles d'une époque quelconque à une analyse, selon l'exemple des conférences du *Criterion*, consiste à scruter les fondements d'un mythe, à mettre en question ses fonctions et, surtout, à comprendre sa pertinence pour la mémoire collective, c'est-à-dire à vérifier la validité de sa construction pour tout espace identitaire.

La littérature autour de Lénine – Merejkovski, Berdiaev et Lafue, qui appartiennent aux apologistes bourgeois mais aussi Zinoviev et Iaroslavski revendiqués par les biographes bolcheviques – opte pour trois manières d'envisager son visage historique: le type du Lénine *héros* qui force le destin, le type du Lénine en tant qu'*homme représentatif* et le type du Lénine *anormal* ou *monstre*, toutes ces hypostases étant en étroite liaison avec la reconnaissance, l'espoir, la crainte ou la vengeance du milieu social que ce modèle reflète.

Le premier type, celui du héros, dans le sens des personnages de Carlyle, une sorte de monstre sous le pouvoir duquel se penche l'humanité et s'ébranle le cours naturel des événements. Impressionné par son esprit fanatique, combatif, par son rôle dans la révolution rouge ou par la projection de son visage au niveau des espoirs des Russes, Lénine a pris la place de Robespierre, de Danton ou de Cromwell (Malaparte). Ses biographes officiels ont mis l'accent sur la dimension du héros marxiste, rationnel, froid et calculé, qui s'oppose au type romantique du héros bourgeois. Un autre d'interprétation s'arrête à la dimension d'anormalité, dans le sens du type de héros de Dostoïevski. Spéculant sur la contradiction entre son fanatisme doctrinaire et son opportunisme tactique, les autres ont opposé un

<sup>14</sup> Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Bucarest, Academie Roumaine Éditeur, pp. 41-57.

<sup>15</sup> Mircea Vulcănescu, *Așa cum l-am cunoscut*, Bucarest, Humanitas Éditeur, 1992, p. 273.

diagnostique médical: la schizophrénie au *génie révolutionnaire*. Poussant les limites de l'anormalité plus loin, l'exil russe, troublé par la projection du visage de Lénine au niveau de ses propres souffrances, l'identifie à Lénine, à l'Antéchrist ou au Grand Inquisiteur.

Si ces miroirs brillent d'une manière différente, ce n'est pas étonnant, car ce n'est pas l'individu qui compte, mais la perspective par laquelle cette individualité se conjugue avec les tendances des individus qui idolâtrèrent. Les différentes formes qu'emprunte le mythe de Lénine ne sont pas un hasard. La forme que prend le mythe de Lénine se cantonne, dans une certaine mesure, au besoin de mythifier le milieu dont appartient l'apologète ou le détracteur. Par conséquent, la morphologie de ce mythe aura de nombreuses variantes et l'idole, de nombreux visages, en fonction des perspectives qui y sont abordés. C'est pourquoi le prolétariat russe, le prolétariat mondial, les chefs du bolchévisme, la social-démocratie, la bourgeoisie, la paysannerie, et l'exil entourent la personne de Lénine d'un autre mythe fondamental autour duquel se regroupent plusieurs aspects.

C'est en ce sens que le prolétariat russe cultive le mythe d'un Lénine sauveur, idolâtré dans le sens de divinisé. Il s'agit d'une double signification: Lénine en tant qu'incarnation du socialisme prophétisé par Marx et Lénine en tant que Messie, c'est-à-dire comme prophète de la révolution qui *va venir*. Le premier type appartient au prolétariat russe, tandis que le deuxième type appartient au prolétariat occidental, pour lequel, la révolution est un objet d'attente eschatologique. L'adoration de Lénine, dans la vision de l'idéologie matérialiste, évite les formes du langage religieux en faveur du langage scientifique. Le ton apologétique des biographies soviétiques de Lénine, le caractère dogmatico-exégétique des discussions doctrinaires sur l'orthodoxie léniniste, la psychologie du sacrifice exigé volontairement envers une génération en vue du bonheur de la suivante, montrent qu'il s'agit d'une véritable mystique, avec ses fidèles, ses prêtres et ses castes.

La bourgeoisie cultive, au contraire, le mythe d'un Lénine aux dehors de monstre, renvoyant à l'anormalité dans sa double forme: le monstre moral, apocalyptique et le monstre racial, historique; Lénine, l'Antéchrist ou Lénine, le Barbare. Il existe aussi une interprétation du mythe de Lénine comme fou, selon la vision de l'exil russe ou de la bourgeoisie occidentale, tandis que la paysannerie conçoit Lénine comme un tsar fournisseur de terre pour les populations. C'est le mythe sur lequel repose la doctrine léniniste.

À partir de cette morphologie du mythe de Lénine et de ses invariants au niveau des visages de l'idole, Mircea Vulcănescu explique en quoi consiste le mécanisme de fonctionnement de la doctrine léniniste, envisagé comme le marxisme de l'époque impérialiste et de la révolution prolétaire ou, plus exactement, la théorie et la tactique de la révolution prolétaire, en général, et la tactique de la dictature prolétaire, plus particulièrement. Autrement dit, le Léninisme est une théorie et une méthode de combat révolutionnaire, issues de l'entretien du socialisme marxiste avec l'expérience du mouvement prolétaire. Plus

précisément, le Léninisme est issu du combat du mouvement prolétaire contre la théorie et la tactique opportuniste du marxisme social-démocrate.

L'ouvrage d'Alain Besançon<sup>16</sup> sur les sources intellectuelles du léninisme est une contribution fondamentale pour la compréhension de cette idéologie: le léninisme est envisagé comme un manichéisme qui s'appuie sur le principe du dualisme des classes. Un autre ouvrage essentiel est celui de Stéphane Courtois<sup>17</sup>, *Communisme et totalitarisme*, 2009, qui traite Lénine ainsi que des origines et de l'invention du totalitarisme.

La théorie de Mircea Vulcănescu est confirmée après par les analyses d'Alain Besançon et Stéphane Courtois.

L'idée d'une époque de transition comprise entre le moment où le prolétariat a obtenu le pouvoir dans un pays et le moment de sa victoire partout et née de l'analyse des conditions révolutionnaires du capitalisme durant la période impérialiste et confirmée par l'expérience de la révolution russe, caractérisée par la dictature du prolétariat, constitue l'idée centrale de la pensée politique de Lénine. Le Léninisme n'est pas seulement une théorie de la révolution, mais aussi une méthode de critique révolutionnaire, politique et sociologique, dans sa tentative de définir la ligne générale de son corpus politique. Mais si la théorie a ses défauts, la méthode a des qualités. Et il est important de le retenir, car la critique du Léninisme réside dans l'emploi de la méthode en vue de corriger la théorie. Bref, les éléments qui caractérisent le rôle de Lénine dans la révolution prolétaire sont: 1. la lutte contre l'opportunisme marxiste; 2. la fondation théorique du combat révolutionnaire par l'analyse du capitalisme, le renversement du rapport entre la révolution sociale et la révolution politique, la définition de la mission du prolétariat; 3. l'organisation stratégique du mouvement ouvrier révolutionnaire avant et après la conquête du pouvoir politique.

L'analyse du mythe de Lénine dans un contexte historique européen de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres où l'idéologie communiste commençait à être présente, constitue un exercice critique fait par le groupe intellectuel *Criterion*, dans l'optique de remettre en question toute une mythologie politique. C'est un exercice qui questionne le fonctionnement d'un mythe camouflé à travers une idole au niveau de la mémoire collective, remettant en question son actualité ou inactualité pour tout espace identitaire.

Le *symposium* dédié à l'idole Mussolini a réuni cinq types de positions de la part des intellectuels du *Criterion*: Mihail Polihroniade – *De l'homme à l'idole* –; H.H. Stahl – *De l'idole à l'homme* –; Alexandru-Christian Tell – *Le Créateur* –; Constantin Enescu – *Le Destructeur* – et R.Hillard – *L'Antidémocrate*.

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<sup>16</sup> Alain Besançon, *Les origines intellectuelles du Léninisme*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1977. Voir aussi pour les origines du communisme, Alain de Benoist, *Vu de droite. Anthologie critique des idées contemporaines*, Paris, Copernic, 1978.

<sup>17</sup> Pour une meilleure analyse du communisme en tant que doctrine et pratique, voir Stéphane Courtois, *Communisme et totalitarisme*, Paris, Perrin, 2009.

Les représentations culturelles des membres du *Criterion* visaient pour cette conférence la révélation de la mythologie politique de Mussolini, du fascisme italien, en vue de saisir les mécanismes de fonctionnement sur lesquels reposent les ressorts identitaires des espaces dominés par cette forme de totalitarisme, ainsi que sa projection au niveau de la mémoire collective. Mihail Polihroniade a envisagé, par exemple, la réalité politique du fascisme italien et la personnalité qui l'incarne, Benito Mussolini, en tant qu'idole. Il explique aussi la naissance du fascisme comme une conséquence de l'état anarchique de l'Italie après la Grande Guerre, sous l'influence de la déception face à la défaite, du mouvement socialiste et du système de gouvernement démocratique. L'émergence du fascisme implique donc une triple réaction de la part des anciens combattants contre le défaitisme et des jeunes contre le socialisme et l'anarchie, au nom de l'ordre et du nationalisme. Polihroniade étudie les phases successives du fascisme, à partir de l'aventure de D'Annunzio à Fiume, en passant par la liquidation violente du communisme dans la rue jusqu'à la conquête du mouvement syndical et la destruction des organisations maçonniques, culminant par le gain du pouvoir de l'état et sa définitive consolidation en 1926. Enfin, Mihail Polihroniade s'arrête sur les implications du rétablissement de l'ordre et de l'équilibre social pour l'organisation de l'État corporatiste et la charte du travail. De plus, l'auteur explique la solution de la question romaine et le renversement de l'équilibre européen dans un sens favorable à l'Italie; l'isolement des adversaires et les progrès économiques, par la stabilisation de la lire, l'activation de la balance commerciale et le développement des travaux publics<sup>18</sup>. Sur ce fond idéologique, Polihroniade réussit à saisir comment se construit la structure de l'idole à partir de l'homme, comment se façonne ce modèle au niveau de la mémoire, dans un espace identitaire, tel que celui de l'Italie qui avait connu auparavant le socialisme, une autre mythologie politique qui s'appuie sur l'idole-Lénine.

H.H. Stahl entreprend une analyse sociologique de la situation de l'Italie où le fascisme se manifeste comme une tentative désespérée de la part de la bourgeoisie de faire face à la dissolution de l'état bourgeois, en utilisant dans ce but les représentants de ses adversaires, parmi lesquels on trouve Mussolini. Selon Stahl, dans la vie sociale, les réalités économiques sont plus fortes que les intentions politiques des hommes. C'est en ce sens que le triomphe de Mussolini au niveau des catégories formelles de la vie sociale, tant juridiques que politiques, se heurte à ses défaites spirituelles et économiques. Comme phénomène italien, la politique mussolinienne se circonscrit aux impuissances inhérentes à la situation italienne: pays pauvre, surpeuplé, dépendant économiquement et demeurant dans un régime mixte capitalisto-agraire. La preuve de l'impuissance de la politique mussolinienne de vaincre ces réalités constitue ses échecs dans le combat contre la dénatalité en milieu urbain, contre les crises économiques, ainsi que dans ses

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<sup>18</sup> Mircea Vulcănescu, *De la Nae Ionescu la Criterion*, Bucarest, Humanitas Éditeur, 2003, p. 296.

efforts pour rééquilibrer le budget. Ni la législation fasciste, ni l'exemple mussolinien ne fait baisser la dénatalité; ni l'État corporatiste n'évite la crise économique, ni la politique forte ne peut réaliser l'équilibre du budget. Dans ces conditions, comment peut-on justifier, du point de vue éthique, la suppression de la liberté, le seul bien de l'essence humaine? C'est en ce sens que le sociologue H.H. Stahl parle, dans sa conférence, du déplacement de l'idole vers l'homme, tout en attirant l'attention sur les possibles dangers de cette mythologie politique au niveau de la mémoire.

L'analyse de la doctrine fasciste d'Alexandru-Christian Tell ne porte pas sur la politique d'un État particulier, mais sur la politique, en général, touchant une question de fond: la crise de l'organisation de l'État au cours de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres. L'idée de Mussolini sur l'État consiste à tenter de supprimer l'opposition démocratique entre individu et État, affirmant la primauté de la dernière catégorie face à la première. Cette thèse repose sur quatre idées: l'idée nationale (le nationalisme italien); l'idée d'un État fort (la dictature fasciste); l'idée d'un État corporatiste (l'organisation du peuple sur les professions et non pas sur les opinions) et l'idée d'une économie disciplinée (l'organisation des rapports entre divers facteurs de la production). Selon Mussolini, l'idée d'un État fort, inhérente à la notion d'État, prend le contrepoint de l'idée d'un État démocratique, faible. Le nationalisme, le corporatisme et l'économie disciplinée ne sont que des moyens par le biais desquels peut s'accomplir le renforcement de l'État. L'intervention d'Alexandru-Christian Tell s'appuie donc sur la révélation des traits saillants de l'espace identitaire italien à partir de l'idéologie fasciste et de son créateur.

Symétriquement, Constantin Enescu, dans sa critique de la doctrine mussolinienne, s'avère être un déconstructeur du mythe fasciste. En exposant la politique mussolinienne, l'auteur montre que l'essence de toute doctrine de l'État ne repose pas sur l'idée politique, mais sur l'idée sociale. De ce point de vue, le fascisme n'est plus une nouvelle forme d'organisation sociale, mais un simple changement de régime bourgeois, qui passe d'une phase libérale à une phase monopoliste. Le Corporatisme et la dictature sont deux idées indépendantes, tandis que le nationalisme peut revêtir une double signification: une signification formelle et agressive: l'impérialisme et une signification réelle, de préservation des valeurs propres à une nation. Si cette situation existe, le fascisme peut se résumer au dilemme suivant: si le corporatisme est l'idée essentielle et que celle-ci est compatible avec un régime de liberté politique, alors comment peut-on justifier la dictature? Ou bien, si le corporatisme n'est pas l'idée essentielle, mais plutôt l'idée d'autorité et d'État fort, comment peut-on justifier l'État? En analysant cette mythologie politique, l'auteur réussit à démythifier son mécanisme qui agit au niveau de la mémoire: l'essence du fascisme réside dans la dictature du parti, appuyée sur la force. En fait, le seul succès de la politique de Mussolini est d'avoir réussi à se maintenir au pouvoir.

La dernière conférence de R. Hillard s'axe sur l'antidémocratie du fascisme, qui façonne les rapports entre l'identité d'un pays et sa mémoire collective, par l'insertion des idoles en tant qu'expressions des figures symboliques du Sauveur. L'auteur distingue le fascisme comme phénomène italien du fascisme en tant que phénomène politique universel. Le fascisme en tant que phénomène italien s'identifie à Mussolini, constituant la ligne de la tradition politique italienne; il est le mouvement de l'Italie par lequel un homme réussit à vaincre la destinée des circonstances et à affirmer une volonté de vie. L'impérialisme, le colonialisme et la dictature ont vraiment leurs racines dans les traditions les plus vivantes de la vie italienne: le romantisme, la tradition médiévale et le machiavélisme de la Renaissance.

Comme phénomène politique général, le fascisme n'est qu'une forme de réaction contre la démocratie: l'État qui s'oppose à l'individu, le gouvernement corporatiste qui s'oppose au gouvernement d'opinion et du parti, le dirigisme économique en défaveur de la liberté économique. C'est sous ce rapport que R. Hillard attaque la généralité de la doctrine fasciste qui, selon le contexte historique où un peuple est arrivé à une impasse politique, est pourtant en contradiction avec les idées essentielles sur lesquelles repose la civilisation humaine<sup>19</sup>.

Le cycle dédié à la figure symbolique de Mussolini essaie donc de reconstituer le profil d'un idole qui marque l'espace identitaire de certains pays européens, pendant la période d'Entre-Deux-Guerres, en déconstruisant la mythologie politique d'une doctrine qui agissait au niveau de la mémoire collective. Ses mécanismes de la démythification révélaient comment fonctionnait le mythe du Sauveur incarné dans la personne de Mussolini, à partir de la constitution du processus de métamorphose: *l'homme – l'idole*, en passant par les phases du *créateur, du destructeur et de l'antidémocrate*. Le groupe intellectuel *Criterion* réussit à saisir l'essence de cette doctrine totalitaire, son influence au niveau de la mémoire collective, par un exercice critique de la déconstruction d'une mythologie politique qui dominait le contexte historique et idéologique européen.

Ces deux cycles de conférences organisées par *Criterion* autour de deux mythes fondateurs de l'espace identitaire d'Entre-Deux-Guerres – Lénine et Mussolini en tant qu'expressions de la mythologie politique du totalitarisme, l'un incarnant le communisme, l'autre le fascisme – constituent, au niveau des représentations et des pratiques culturelles de ce groupe intellectuel roumain, une opportunité de mettre en question tout un système idéologique fondé sur une mythographie spécifique, à partir de la relation entre l'identité et la mémoire. En fait, l'analyse critique, dans une perspective comparatiste, de ces deux figures symboliques, par un processus de démythification, est très importante dans la mesure où les membres du *Criterion* insistaient sur les conséquences majeures d'une telle mythographie qui se transformait en idolâtrie, en annulant la liberté humaine et sa pensée, par l'atrophie de l'esprit critique. Si la mythologie léniniste

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 298-299.

part du déterminisme scientifique pour aboutir au volontarisme révolutionnaire, la mythologie mussolinienne part du rationalisme communiste pour aboutir à l'irrationalisme. Ce sont des millénarismes sécularisés, situés à la fin de l'Histoire. La mentalité millénariste est bien repérable dans les deux cas.

Si l'individu et tout un programme destiné à l'accomplissement de la personnalité humaine se retrouvent au cœur de la mythologie communiste, la nation, la communauté et l'État se retrouvent au milieu de la doctrine fasciste. C'est pourquoi du point de vue de la mythologie scientifique, la doctrine communiste se caractérise par le rationalisme, tandis que la doctrine fasciste se caractérise par l'irrationalisme. Mais tous les deux s'appuient sur la même tendance à l'idolâtrie au détriment de l'essence humaine. C'est en ce sens que le groupe *Criterion* s'est proposé d'attirer attention sur les implications de cette mythification au niveau de la mémoire collective, qui n'échappe à aucun espace identitaire, la solution étant le retour à la tradition spécifique pour chaque peuple.



## THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST WORKER. THE CASE OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST REALIST ART

Gabriel LOHON\*

**Abstract:** Like in all other states of the former communist regime, Romania had Stalin as undisputed prototype of worship of the leader. Simultaneously having two fixed points, politics and economy, the homage of Stalin and, in our case, of the communist worker, has represented the more “visual” method to sovietize Romania. In time, the idea of worker, as well as its symbols, had become synonymous with the idea of building communism, a guarantee of the Communist future of Romania and of the protection of peace and socialism. At first it was only an image, easy to expose, and for ordinary citizens, it did not attract negative attitudes. But as the political elite was changing, forced industrialization and collectivization of agriculture caused massive social unrest; under these conditions, the spread of the cult of Stalin was not perceived as a harmless way to cultivate feelings of closeness to the Soviet Union and, even more, it was hardly acceptable to impose, at that time, a new father figure, almost repulsive, other than the mythical “Liberator Red Army”.

**Keywords:** Romanian socialist realism, communist art, the new model of communist man, proletariat, worker.

A quite long list of art critics and theoreticians<sup>1</sup> have analyzed such painted and sculpted representations of muscular producers, often accompanied by the

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<sup>1</sup> Among them I mention Cleas Arvidsson and Lars Erik Blomqvist (eds.), *Symbols of Power. The Esthetics of Political Legitimation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, Almqvist & Wiksell International Stockholm, Sweden, 1987; Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko (eds.), *Socialist Realism Without Shores*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1997; Gray, Camilla, *The Great Experiment. Russian Art (1863-1922)*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc. New York, 1962; Hans Günther (ed.), *The Culture of the Stalin Period*, Macmillan in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies University of London, 1990; Nina Kolesnikoff and Walter Smyrniw (ed.), *Socialist Realism Revisited. Selected Papers from the McMaster Conference*, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 1994; Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd (eds.), *Russian Cultural Studies. An Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 1998; Michael Scriven and Dennis Tate (eds.), *European Socialist Realism*, Berg, Oxford/New York/Hamburg, 1988; Robin, Régine, *Socialist Realism. An Impossible Aesthetic*, Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 1992; Prokhorov, Gleb, *Art under Socialist Realism. Soviet Painting 1930-1950*, 1995; Stites, Richard, *Russian Popular Culture. Entertainment and Society since 1900*, Cambridge University Press, 1992; John O. Norman (ed.), *New Perspectives on Russian and Soviet Artistic Culture. Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate, 1990*, St. Martin's Press, 1997; Tupitsyn,

results of their labors, helped to deflect exploitation era anxieties about unemployment, and undercut worries about the roles and responsibilities of masculine breadwinners. By largely avoiding contemporary labor issues such as collective bargaining, deskilling, mass-production, unionization, work-stoppages, and strikes, the vast body of these images and objects helped also to bolster post-war era government and business intentions to cast and constrict wage labor as a classless and collective enterprise. That is an iconography of labor presented in much Romanian communist art of the 1950s often upheld status quo patterns of corporate management and control, rather than proposing a radical critique of the meaning of work and the relationships between workers and management. This is most obviously the case among much (but not all) government sponsored “bourgeois” art, and it continued under both government and private patronage during World War II. In comparison with the U.S.S.R., from 1941 to 1945, the success of wartime mobilization demanded the rising of an iconography of labor, and Romanian artists produced plentiful militant posters overlays the silk-screened silhouette of a little boy upon a cannon, surrounded by peace doves and asking the audience: “war?... *who wants WAR?*”<sup>2</sup>.

He symbolically fuels a burgeoning Romanian communist so-called *non militarism*, itself fueled by the economic mandates of socialism. As these types of artworks reveal, from 1947 to 1957, Romanian artists produced a large number of images and objects which meshed with the social mores and political ideology of Romanian communist government and Romanian steel works, both of which were aligned in the revitalization and sustenance of a culture of communism. A vast iconography of labor was marketed to the Romanian public, aimed at persuading people of various tenets of this kind of culture, including faith in work and faith in technology. Many art theoreticians<sup>3</sup> argued that many images including workers, women or children, were *emblems of production*, and that both the workers and the kind of work depicted emphasized the technological renewal which The Five Year Plan envisioned as essential to modern Romanian society. Some were simply offbeat and oddball. Obviously, neither of these objects is particularly explicable as political propaganda. They might be dismissed out of hand as bad design and bad art but, issues of taste and quality aside, their existence complicates many of our assumptions about the representation of work and workers in Romanian art in the 1950s. So do other images and objects in the different museums or exhibitions collections.

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Margarita, *Margins of Soviet Art. Socialist Realism to the Present*, Giancarlo Politi Editore, 1989; Valkenier, Elizabeth, *Russian Realist Art. The State and Society: The Perdvizhniki and Their Tradition*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1989; Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art: In the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and The People's Republic of China*, Overlook Books, 2011 or John Berger, *The Shape of a Pocket*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Grant, *Lupta pentru pace (The Struggle for Peace)*, in “Arta Plastică în Republica Populară Română. 30 decembrie 1947-30 decembrie 1957”, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1957 (fig. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Some artists such as Amelia Pavel and Ion Jalea or the Soviet commissar V. S. Kemenov.

For example, when the artists depicted women in much of the “official” art of the mid 50s, are usually presented as tractor drivers, mothers, weavers or as different kinds of operators. Women workers were rarely illustrated according to the so-called the turning points of the history of communism in Romania. There are a few pretty rare examples including woman tractor driver<sup>4</sup>, or a weaver<sup>5</sup>. Both features depict autonomous female workers. The comparison of the two portraits leads to questions about what kind of work women felt comfortable about doing that work, and how the artists wanted to represent them, and female labor, during the communist era.

Few women artists, including Justina Popescu or Lidia Agricola, produced paintings which pointedly praise the state of labor, and the relationship between industrial labour and communist vision upon agriculture, in the 1950s. Octavian Angheluță’s gloomy painting<sup>6</sup> depicts several steel workers trying to fuel an abandoned furnace inside a mill and a sculpture done by Maximilian Schulmann<sup>7</sup> shows the “exploited class” gazing to something beyond them. Near them can be seen a ruined furnace and on their left, a kind of train which awaits the energy to come immediately. All these images present a particularly heroic or idealized Romanian communist worker, and with their emphasis on mine closures and labor strife, the glorifying of the industrial production. More interestingly, because all of these pictures were produced under the auspices of a single ideology, all of them catered to the New World image of a collective and cooperative way of work. This suggests that an “official” ideological or propagandistic agenda was more dominant than we may want to believe. At the very least, such objects show that 1950s government arts patronage was punctuated by uniform declarations of the razing of the bourgeois past and its stability.

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> Francisc Ferch, *Tractorista (Woman Tractor-Driver)*, in “Arta Plastică în Republica Populară Română (1944-1954)”, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, (fig. 2). It will be further cited as *Arta Plastică...*

<sup>5</sup> Justina Popescu, *La Uzinele “23 August” cresc cadre noi (New Cadres Are Trained at “23 August” Works)*, reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Octavian Angheluță, *Reparații la cuptoare la Uzina Reșița (Repair of Furnaces at the Reșița Works)*, reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 4).

<sup>7</sup> Maximilian Schulmann, *Furnalistul (Furnace Worker)*, reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 5).

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

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

Sadly, at the time when social and industrial progress seemed inert, many Romanian artists chose to depict sturdy, strong, muscular, and dynamic laborers, as if these painted and sculpted symbols of manly might and movement might actually propel Romania out of its economic slump. But what do we make of the nakedness, or near-nakedness, of many of these male workers? The powerful laborer of Boris Caragea<sup>8</sup>, for instance, is nude and bare-chested<sup>9</sup>. Among the many other examples are the Lucaci's sculptures<sup>10</sup> or Maxy's paintings<sup>11</sup>, both of which feature semi clothed working men, one duo operating steel furnace, and the other

<sup>8</sup> Boris Caragea, *Miner - bronz* (Coal Miner - bronze), reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*

<sup>9</sup> Mihail Onofrei, *Montarea liniei ferate* (Lying of Railway Track), reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 6).

<sup>10</sup> Constantin Lucaci, *Creșterea tinerelor cadre la Reșița* (Young Cadres Are Trained at Reșița), reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 7).

<sup>11</sup> M. H. Maxy, *Bogăția apelor noastre* (Wealth of Our Waters), reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 8).

counting the fish harvest. *The Welder*<sup>12</sup>, a 1953 sculpture depicts a similarly shirtless young man, his head turned slightly, and the weight of his torso relaxed in a traditional pseudo-*contrapposto* stance.

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

When that identity was obviously in crisis, these pictures suggest that artists attempted to sustain a sense of the masculine self through depictions of the manly body, a body defined by muscles and might. In a fairly typical pattern of Soviet and Romanian artistic response, they avoided the real labor issues of power and authority in the workplace and among workers, and focused their attention specifically political manipulation.

In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, issues of labor collectivity, mass-production unionization, and workplace reform were similarly sublimated by artists who focused on the manliness of the male body and, ultimately, on the immortality of that body. Nearly nude, these manly workers are eternal as objects of the Romanian gaze. Well-muscled, sinuous, and virile, they are the source of visual pleasure and the ideological artistic motto. What may have been desired most is to literally have, hold, or own the body of the worker. First of all, these representations of the worker's body may be seen as signals of collectivist desire to own labor and control the working class. It is worth noting that, aside from purely aestheticized representations of naked men after the World War II in Romanian art, the male most often depicted nude or nearly nude was communist worker, and the act of reducing the Romanian individualism to a savage, exotic, and "primitive" body was akin to their social marginalization. It is also noteworthy that of the many Romanian artists who were openly committed to representing and encouraging labor and the labor movement in the 1950s, workers were consistently illustrated fully clothed. The body of labor is seen marching to work, whereas in Fekete's sculpture, it is the laborer's body that is singled out and openly invites our brazen scrutiny of male flesh. Fekete's worker is, in fact, not working but posing: flanked by the tools of his trade, his protective goggles perched on his head, and his leather safety gloves completely encasing his hands and forearms, *The Welder*'s thumbs are firmly hooked into the belt buckle of his overall. His downward gaze and the obvious positioning of his big gloves on his thrusting hips draws our attention to his groin-not to his status as a skilled laborer. But, labors aren't metaphoric: they have only real utility, save as hard bodies whose athleticism serves to pique the admiration and persuasion of spectators.

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<sup>12</sup> Iosif Fekete, *Sudor (The Welder)*, reproduced in *Arta Plastică...*, (fig. 9).

Dehumanized as permanent working objects, these images of seminude workers are also indicative of a unique line of importance of work for the Romanian communist regime in the 1950s. With the shift from manual labor to the machine operations of the large-scale industrial workplace, bodily strength was increasingly superfluous for the typical Romanian workingman. But, if 1950s artists, and audiences, found everything very heroic or ennobling about the real conditions of factory labor, and the image of the mostly sedentary and highly-schooled worker was found similarly lacking, it is no surprise that they struggled to hold on to an image of dynamic masculine strength. Men continued to identify with and pursue a masculine image defined by muscular brawn and athleticism. The strong male body they promoted was emblematic only for the communist ideology not for leisure and consumption which dominated, for example, the twentieth century American culture and society. As an American art critic writes<sup>13</sup>, the “manly worker” image offered by many American artists of that similar era “embodied nostalgia for an imagined past of individual dignity lost in the modern world of work”. But the prevalent seminudity of that image also signaled a widespread loss of certainty about the centrality that labor had traditionally held as the key indicator of masculine identity in the United States. The ambivalent images imposed a newer model of masculinity, one which dominates today, which posits the strong male body as simply a body, an icon of personal goals and an object of political ideology, of social construction and production.

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

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<sup>13</sup> Barbara Melosh, *Manly Work: Public Art and Masculinity in Depression America*, in Barbara Melosh (editor), *Gender and American History since 1890*, Routledge Publishing, 1993, p. 173.



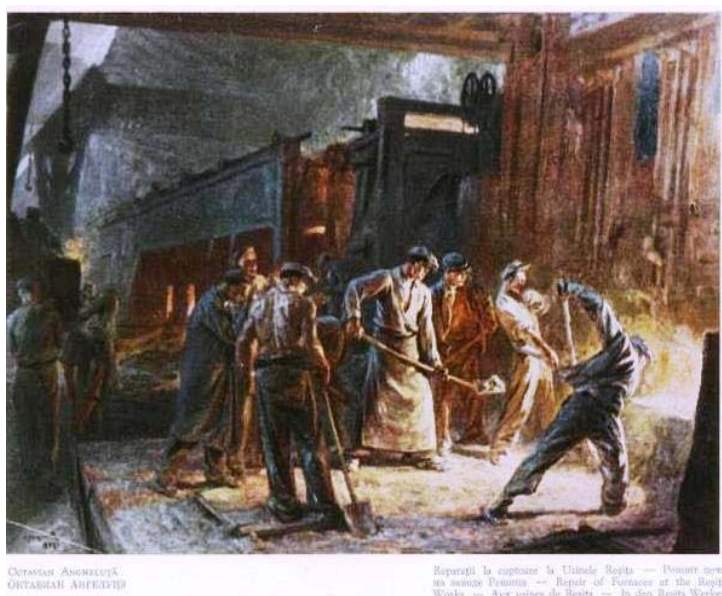
**Fig. 1** – Pierre Grant, *Lupta pentru pace* (*The Struggle for Peace*).  
Source: The Album “Arta Plastică în R.P.R.”, 1957.



**Fig. 2** – Francisc Ferch, *Tractorista* (*Woman Tractor-Driver*).  
Source: “Arta Plastică în R.P.R. ...”, 1957.



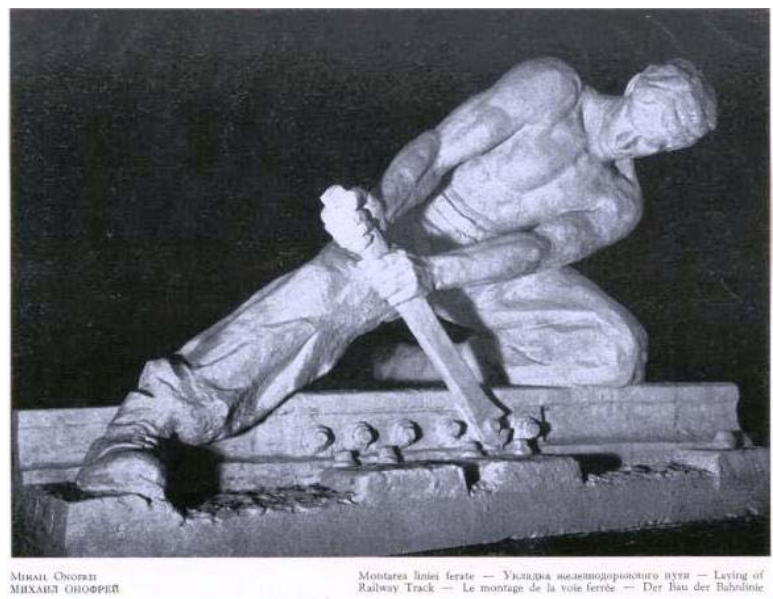
**Fig. 3** – Justina Popescu, *La Uzinele “23 August” cresc cadre noi* (*New Cadres Are Trained at “23 August” Works*).  
Source: “*Arta Plastică...*”, 1957.



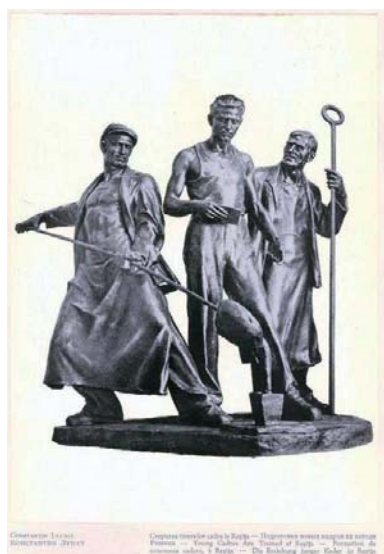
**Fig. 4** – Octavian Angheluță, *Reparații la cuptoare la Uzina Reșița* (*Repair of Furnaces at the Reșița Works*).  
Source: “*Arta Plastică...*”, 1957.



**Fig. 5** – Maximilian Schulmann, *Furnalistul (Furnace Worker)*.  
Source: “Arta Plastică...”, 1957.



**Fig. 6** – Mihail Onofrei, *Montarea liniei ferate (Laying of Railway Track)*.  
Source: “Arta Plastică...”, 1957.



**Fig. 7** – Constantin Lucaci, *Creșterea tinerelor cadre la Reșița* (Young Cadres Are Trained at Reșița).  
Source: "Arta Plastică...", 1957.



**Fig. 9** – Iosif Fekete, *Sudor* (The Welder).  
Source: "Arta Plastică...", 1957.



**Fig. 8** – M. H. Maxy, *Bogăția apelor noastre* (Wealth of Our Waters).  
Source: "Arta Plastică...", 1957.

## **THE HIGH REPUTATION OF PRIEST NICULAE M. POPESCU, MEMBER OF THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY, IN THE ROMANIAN CULTURAL LIFE**

**Dorin-Demostene IANCU\***

**Abstract:** Niculae M. Popescu was an important Romania theologian and Church historian. He studied history in Vienna and he was remarked by professor Nicolae Iorga, the most important Romanian historian. The young deacon Popescu taught at Iorga's Summer University in Valenii de Munte. In 1925, he became member of the Romanian Academy, with the support on Nicolae Iorga. Later, Father Popescu taught Prince Michael religion and he was appreciated by the King Carol II. After the communists came into power, Father Popescu was expelled from The Romanian Academy. In 1990, after the fall of the communist regime, he was rehabilitated by the Romanian Academy.

**Keywords:** Niculae M. Popescu, priest, The Romanian Academy, Church history, Nicolae Iorga.

Priest Niculae M. Popescu's personality – a remarkable historian and full member of the Academy of Romania – was a first rank personality of the Orthodox Church of Romania within the period of World War I and World War II. After the end of the "Great War" and the unification of Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina with the mother-country, the future of the cultural evolution was going to play a very particular place in the education of the society. During this period, more than never before, scholars and men of science were granted the right and deserved consideration they were worth of in strengthening the elite of the younger state.

Priest Niculae M. Popescu was one of those who – through his scientific activity and the competency of his studies – brought his contribution to the improvement of the theological education. He would soon be known in both clerical and, especially, in the lay circles, as well.

Soon after having obtained his doctor's degree in Vienna, Nae Popescu, the deacon, drew Nicolae Iorga's attention. A summer university was inaugurated in Vălenii-de-Munte under the latter's aegis where many famous personalities,

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belonging to different domains of culture, delivered speeches on various topics of interest. In 1914, a year after having ended his doctoral studies, Nae Popescu delivered four lectures on: Byzantine Studies on the History of the Romanians, The Influence of the Byzantines over the West, The Influence of the Byzantines over the Romanian countries, Catholicism and Byzantium, Attempts of Unifying the Eastern and the Western Church. In the same year, N. Iorga delivered 2 courses, Constantin Moisil 1, P.N. Panaitescu 1 and Al. Demetrescu 1<sup>1</sup>.

A very important period in Priest Nae Popescu's life was marked by his attitude against the Nazi occupation of Romania (1916-1918); it became a turning point concerning the relationship between those who had to suffer from the consequences of Mackensen's troops and those accused to have made a pact with the enemy. In such an unstable atmosphere the betrayal accusations were very acute. Among those accused by such a behavior was Priest Nae Popescu as well. King Ferdinand, himself, was much interested in his attitude and behavior. Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș, chief commissioner of the Municipal Police at the time of the Sovereign's refuge in Iași and His Majesty agent, registered all the discussions between the Sovereign and himself in his memories: "His Majesty particularly asked me about the behavior Priest Popescu had in Cotroceni, as his information about the Priest were not very favorable. I contested everything"<sup>2</sup>. In the course of time Priest Nae would never forget Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș's gesture of having protected him in front of the unjust accusations. So, the art historian wrote that "I felt a great satisfaction to further renew the honorific delegation granted to me, that of «General Inspector of the museums all over the country» by decision 19125 of April 19, 1938, signed by the new under secretary, Priest N.M. Popescu"<sup>3</sup>. It was Nicolae Iorga who offered the most important testimonies about Nicolae M. Popescu in as far as the impact with the academic life was concerned. He wrote in his memories of November 21, 1919: church service at Mihai Vodă for the customary commemoration. Moldavia Metropolitan Bishop (Pimen Georgescu), Bishop Cristea, and other bishops (Mustea, Bădescu) from the other side, deputies and senators from Transylvania and Bukovina were present at the ceremony. From the pulpit the deacon Nicolae Popescu is speaking in a thundering voice, impetuously<sup>4</sup>. On March 30, 1922 Iorga wrote: "The University Senate [...] recommend Priest N. Popescu in the quality of professor of History of the Romanian Church"<sup>5</sup>. The great historian also promoted and sustained Priest Nae to

<sup>1</sup> Ion Sân-Giorgiu, *O cetate culturală: Vălenii de munte 1908-1928*, Vălenii de Munte, Tiparul Așezământului tipografic "Datina Românească", 1928, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș, *Memorii*, vol. II (1910-1918), Bucharest, "Grai și suflet-cultura națională" Publishing, 1999, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *Memorii. Lupta vieții unui octogenar 1937-1941*, Bucharest, Vitruviu Publishing, 2008, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> N. Iorga, *Memorii*, vol. II. *Însemnări zilnice maiu 1917-1939, mart 1920. Războiul național. Lupta pentru o nouă viață politică*, Bucharest, Editura "Națională" S. Ciornei (withant year) p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, *Memorii*, vol. III, *Tristețea și sfârșitul unei domnii (1920-1922)*, Bucharest, Editura "Națională" S. Ciornei, 1939, p. 291.

become a professor in the Bucharest Faculty of Theology. Nevertheless, there were persons who tried to encumber the priest's promotion. "April 7, 1922. I am contested by the University Senate the right to participate in the debates in my quality of a deputy-dean. The reason is that of failing the recommendation for Priest Popescu. The servants told me that «I was invited there by mistake»"<sup>6</sup>.

Iorga's appreciations extended even more: "November 16, 1922 opens the course of Priest N. Popescu with a beautiful and courageous speech. At the opening there were present the Bishop of Râmnic together with many priests"<sup>7</sup>.

The First World Congress on Byzantine studies took place in Bucharest on April 14, 1924. French, Italian, English, Spanish, Belgian, Serbian and Russian scholars had been invited on the occasion. N. Iorga presided over the organizing committee and Priest N. Popescu was appointed secretary general<sup>8</sup>.

On June 3, 1925 Priest N. Popescu delivered a speech on the occasion of his being called to be a member of the Academy of Romania. Iorga wrote in his memories that "in the afternoon, Priest N. Popescu's membership will be accepted by the Academy. He, very cautiously speaks about Onciu, alongside with very courageous appreciations regarding other personalities who answer his questions. Patriarch and Metropolitan Bishop Pimen are also present"<sup>9</sup>.

Priest Nae Popescu was grateful to Iorga for supporting him. So, on July 15, 1931 the great historian wrote about the "opening of the courses. Not many from among the old friends are present. Bishop Leu and Bishop Simedrea are there. Priest N. Popescu endearingly speaks about my influence over his generation"<sup>10</sup>.

By the royal decree no. 1687 of June 15, 1934 Priest Nicolae M. Popescu was appointed member of the "Crown of Romania" Order in rank of Great Cross<sup>11</sup>.

On April 28, 1937, King Carol II wrote in his diary that "at 6, priest Nae Popescu, would come for the confession"<sup>12</sup>; this is a proof that the sovereign was the Priest spiritual son.

On July 18, 1938 Queen Mary left for eternity. The one chosen to perform the funeral service was Priest Nae. "These kinds of performances are tedious and unpleasant – wrote King Carol II on July 22 – no matter of how much do the priests involve in them. I decided that tomorrow it will be Priest Nae Popescu to

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, *Memorii*, vol. IV, *Încoronarea și boala regelui (1922-1925)*, Bucharest, Editura "Națională" S. Ciornei, 1939, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> The National Archives of Romania (it will be further quoted ANR), fund Ministerul Instrucțiunii, file 461/1924, f. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, *Memorii*, vol. V, *Agonia regală și regența (1925-1930)*, Bucharest, Editura "Națională" S. Ciornei, 1939, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *Memorii*, vol. VI, *Încercarea guvernării peste partide (1930-1932)*, Bucharest, Editura "Națională" S. Ciornei, 1939, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, Part I, no. 144, 26 June 1934, p. 4122.

<sup>12</sup> *Carol al II-lea, Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice, (1904-1939)*, vol. I, edited by Marcel Dumitru Ciucă, Narcis Dorin Ion, Bucharest, Silex Publishing, 1995, p. 174.

perform it and make everything in dignity<sup>13</sup>. The coffin with the dead body was brought from the Peleş Castle to Bucharest. The King wrote: “from the railway station we will immediately arrive the Cotroceni Palace where the customary service is performed. The main celebrant priest is Nae «Popescu», he who is mostly dignified, he who has such a warm and beautiful voice and properly celebrates without that nasal singing of Greek origin”<sup>14</sup>.

Professor Augustin Z. N. Pop considered, in 1943, that “in the conclave of the Academy of Romania, where – through the voice of Priest Nae Popescu, the faithful historian of monasteries and of our old ecclesiastical servants – the ancestral voice of Orthodoxy finds out the worthy remembrances of the priests of the Iași synod. His Reverence was “the most proper immortal” person meant to speak in the sweet patriarchal language about the synod assembly of September 15-October 27, 1642, under the protection of Vasile Lupu, for both his soul born from a spiritual texture and from the efforts spread around, in lections and interpretations and without any foreign aids, a history of a national ecclesiastical school, a friendly and forerunning apprentice. It is a known fact! that the teachings of his mentor were not in vain, planted in dry rocks and meant to not bear fruit. The Church and, alongside with it our aboriginal spirit, were met together as friends of the Academy, the one which it itself, protected the printings and the norms all over Romania and towards all the Romanians.

Re-establishing, in the course of centuries, the merit of initiating the Petru Movilă's synod of Iași (whose grandfather died as a monk: Ioanichie, and whose consanguine uncle was Gheorghe, the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldavia), Priest Nae Popescu makes a deep analysis over the theological substance of *The Orthodox Testifying*, the catechetical “constitution” of our Holy Spirit. His Reverence also speaks about the original Greek manuscript of the normative work sent in 1673 by interpreter Panait Nicussios to Louis XIV with the express wish to be kept in the French Royal Library; that was a direct response against all the impostors and the *Westerns* who, mercilessly in their confessional disputes, denied the Orthodox paternity of the manuscript – *manuscris parisianus* [Parisian Manuscript] – which was also printed in Romania, after 300 years since the Iași Assembly, with the aid of His Most Blessed Tit the Metropolitan Bishop of Bukovina<sup>15</sup>.

Referring to the book “The Fallen Asleep in the Lord Parish Priests” written by priest Nae Popescu, professor Aurel Sacerdoțeanu who, at that time, was a General Director of the State Archives appreciated that “it is not enough to recommend the idea of collecting a bunch of so many studies lost in unimportant periodicals. Priest Popescu's writings, rarely presented to the readers, are to be noticed in his only one guiding line: his concern for the *people* of our Church. [...] Historical testimonies accompany each name. There where such testimonies were

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 285.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 286.

<sup>15</sup> “Revista fundațiilor regale”, year X, nr. 12, 1 December 1943, p. 717.

less convincing Father Popescu knew how to fill the loss with the help of his talent or with the help of the evocative history. I have read them with an obvious interest but, at the same time, with a great regret: Priest Popescu rarely unfasten his sack with precious things!”<sup>16</sup>

In the dossier of informative prosecution opened in the name of Priest N.M. Popescu, the intelligence agents drew the following conclusion: “he was a teacher of religious sciences and of classical languages in the time of ex-king Michael, a friend of the ex royal family until the royal family left the country”<sup>17</sup>, underlining the fact that “he performed church services in the ex-royal palace”<sup>18</sup>.

Father Nae Popescu was a scholar recognized by the entire cultural and intellectual élite since the communist régime had been set up in Romania. Excluded from the Academy of Romania by the new power submitted to the Moscow leaders, Priest Nae lived the last period of his life in patience and piety passing through two great ordeals: his son’s, Michael, and his wife, Eufrosina’s passing to the Lord after only two years.

In a letter of September 4, 1956, addressed to G.T.Kirileanu, professor Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu wrote: “I sent to Father Popescu your message, which he received it with gladness, I think; he told me that he had three more volumes of sermons translated from Russian, which you have probably heard about. Yet, he is unable to write any more now, he told me regretfully. I told him not to be overwhelmed by that idea especially when it is not about writings addressed to a scientific apparatus but about a totally different thing. I could certainly not convince him as it was a known fact that he was writing with difficulty even in the past. This is a pity. So few things remain behind him, of him who knows so may! He also and again told me about the many mistakes of the Romanian nation; I consider this is one of the mistakes His Reverence fell too deep in”<sup>19</sup>.

In 1990 Father Nae Popescu was rehabilitated by the Academy of Romania. In the session of July 3, the academician Zoe Dumitrescu-Bușulenga, when referring to electing Father Dumitru Stăniloae to become a member of that forum, she referred to the fact that it was established a tradition in the Academy “to always include distinguished prelates bishops or professors”. This very select gallery included Priest Nicolae M. Popescu, as well”<sup>20</sup>.

Father Nicolae M. Popescu was a model. The prestige he achieved did not make him proud of himself but, according to the saying of the much regretted Academician Florin Constantiniu, history helped him become meek and pious.

<sup>16</sup> “Hrisovul. Buletinul Școalei de Arhivistică”, III, 1943, pp. 141-142.

<sup>17</sup> National Archives of the Council for Studying the “Securitate” Archives (A.C.N.S.A.S.), Information fund, file 375907, f. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Romanian National Archives (ANR), “Sacerdoțeanu Aurelian” personal fund, file 824, f. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Romanian Academy Archives, Chancellery Service, file 4/1990, p. 10.

Ministry of National Education  
Upper Education Department  
No. 73941/1945

We are honored to acknowledge you that the Ministry in conformity with the dispositions of Art. 58 of the Law on Upper Education award Priest N. Popescu, the full professor on the History of the Romanian Church, a certificate of merit on April 1, 1945.

The payment will be made from the omission gradation fund stipulated by the budget in art 56 of the accounting period 1945/1946.

Minister,  
illigible

Director,  
illigible

[marginal notes:]

Oct 1, 1945. Father Professor, in agreement with the Rector will be included in the pay roll.

Ministry of National Education  
Upper Education Department  
No. 81884/1947

We are honored to inform you that according to decree no. 333/ 1947, Priest Popescu Nicolae, full Professor in the Chair on History of Romanian Church, within the Bucharest Faculty of Theology is maintained in position in the Chair of Upper Education until October 1, 1947, according to the decision taken in the University Senate and in conformity with art 89 paragraph 2 of the Law concerning the organization of the Upper Educational System

Minister,  
illigible

Director,  
Illigible

[marginal notes:]

March 20, 1947. Note is taken and communicated to Father Professor Nicolae M. Popescu.

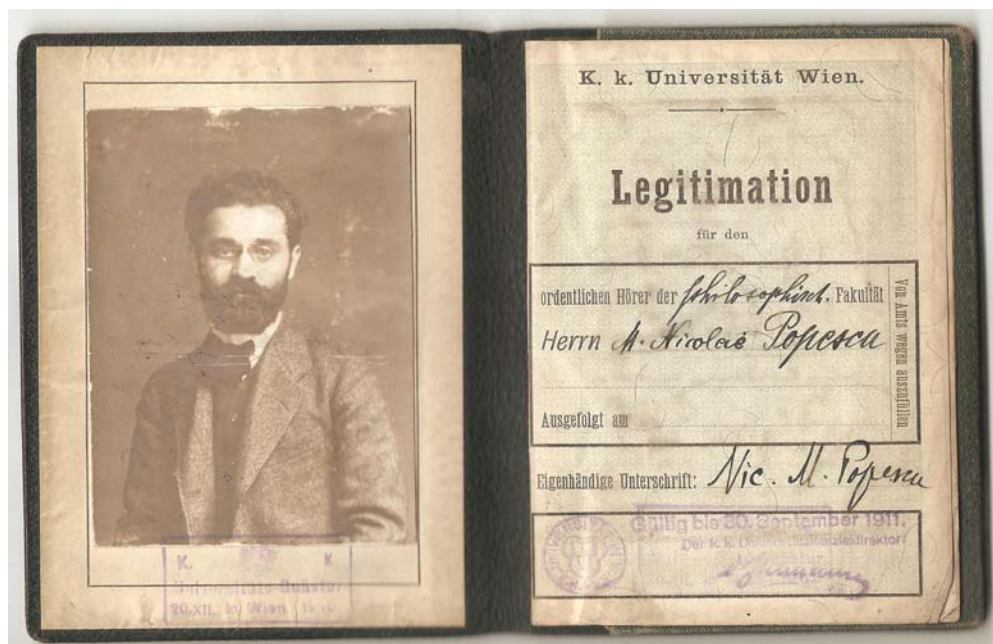
Father Professor P. Vintilescu.



**Fig. 1** – Priest Nicolae M. Popescu Member of the Romanian Academy.



**Fig. 2** – Nicolae M. Popescu at the opening ceremony of the courses at Vălenii de Munte.



**Fig. 3** – Viena University membership card.  
Source: Priest Nicolae M. Popescu Archive.



**Fig. 4** – Mirăușilor Church. Front view. The Great Voivode with his colleagues discussing about religion.

Source: Priest Nicolae M. Popescu Archive.

## THE FAMILY OF PUȚUREANU FROM CRAIOVA

Șerban PĂTRAȘCU\*

**Abstract:** After studying the documents from the archive of Puțoreanu family, this research is trying to reconstruct the biography of Mihail Puțoreanu, lawyer, secretary and librarian of the Bar Association from Dolj and the College of Barristers from Craiova.

The documents depict him as an active intellectual, constantly eager to improve his knowledge, involved in the social, cultural and political life of the city.

Without neglecting the family aspects, it was especially insisted on the activity of Mihail Puțoreanu in the Bar Association, and then in the College of Barristers, where he worked for over 4 decades.

Witness of the transformations from the Bar, after 1944, he survives to the purges and adapts to the new norms of behaviour, imposed by the communist regime.

**Keywords:** Puțoreanu, lawyer, Bar Association, purging, communism.

We continue presenting the history of Puțoreanu family from Craiova, this time approaching particularly the life of Mihail Puțoreanu, lawyer, librarian and secretary of Dolj Bar Association and the College of Barristers from Craiova<sup>1</sup>.

### *Who was Mihail Puțoreanu?*

The name of Puțoreanu family<sup>2</sup> is well-known to the people of Craiova, due to Puțoreanu Inn – which is declared historic monument – built in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by the trader Niță D. Puțoreanu, the father of Mihail (1841-1910).

The son of two peasant parents from the village of Puțuri – Dolj County, Niță, succeeds in raising beyond his common condition, joining the Bourgeoisie from Craiova. His businesses with liquors, well managed, which connect him to national and foreign companies, bring significant income that he uses to build the famous inn, which becomes a cosy shelter for the people who travel to Craiova,

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<sup>1</sup> See G. Mil Demetrescu, *Istoria Baroului Dolj dela 1864-1928*, Craiova, Tiparul “Prietenii Științei”, 1928, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> In order to know the family and the businesses of Niță D. Puțoreanu, see our articles about *Hanul Puțoreanu din Craiova (I) și (II)*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, no. 27/2013, pp. 147-153, and in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor»”, XV/2014, pp. 131-137.

decade after decade. The gates of the inn were always open for the young lawyer and poet N. Burlănescu – Alin, who, with his poetry, touched the heart of Niță.

From the marriage of Niță Puțoreanu with Maria Dimianu, the daughter of a shoemaker from Sf. Gheorghe Vechi quarter, in 1875, six children are born, but only three survive: Zoe, Eliza and Mihail.

Mihail Puțoreanu, the youngest child of the family, was born in Craiova, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1889. In 1895, little Mihail suffers a terrible shock when his mother suddenly dies, at only 36 years old. Finding himself a widower, Niță Puțoreanu entrusts the supervision and the upbringing of his children to a generous woman, Alexandrina Zamfirescu, an old tenant of the inn.

After he attended the primary school at Arnold Institute and the secondary school at Carol I High-School – a highly rated school – where, without being a bright student<sup>3</sup>, he gets a serious education, Mihail, as many other young men from Craiova, chooses the profession of lawyer<sup>4</sup>. The death of his father, in 1910, does not divert him from his plans, and between 1911 and 1915, he attends the courses<sup>5</sup> of the Faculty of Law from Bucharest. After the graduation<sup>6</sup>, he comes back to Craiova and he joins, as probation advocate, Dolj Bar Association, led by Dean N. B. Rioșianu, and he becomes a titular lawyer in 1919.

Between 1916 and 1918, he participates in the campaign of the Romanian army, and, after the redrawing in Moldova, he holds the position of head of the military censorship in Botoșani. At the end of the war, Lieutenant Mihail Puțoreanu is decorated with “The Commemorative Cross 1916-1918”. Mobilised again, he takes part in the military action of Romania against the Bolshevik Hungary and, in 1919, he is appointed the military commander of Turnu-Severin train station. The military career<sup>7</sup> is, for a while, appealing to him, the request addressed to the War Office, in which he solicits his joining among the active cadres of the army, is a proof for this statement, but, shortly after, Mihail changes his mind, and returns to law.

The election, in 1921, of Dem. Stoenescu, as a dean, opens new perspectives in the history of Dolj Bar Association, marked by numerous transformations.

<sup>3</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1900, the director of Arnold Institute was appreciating the activity of the pupil Mihail, in 1899-1900, as following: “Well behaved. Sufficient general studies. Weak at compositions and solving problems. During the tuition classes he is not hard-working, he is rather distracted and turbulent” (post card having the heading of Arnold Institute, dated 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1900).

<sup>4</sup> From the 68 graduates of Carol I High-School, series 1898-1899, among which there was also the future Dean Dem. Stoenescu, over a third of them become lawyers (see *Aniversarea a 25 de ani dela Absolvirea Liceului Carol I, Craiova a promoției 1898-1899*, Craiova, Tipografia “Ramuri”, 1924).

<sup>5</sup> With periods of interruption: in 1911, when he is in the military service, and 1913, when, after the entering of the Romanian troops in Bulgaria, he is advanced to second lieutenant and received the medal “Avântul Țării” (approx. Progressing Country).

<sup>6</sup> According to his Bachelor Degree in Law, issued by the University from , on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 1915, Mihail Puțoreanu passed his exam with a white ball and three red.

<sup>7</sup> Starting from 1914, he was writing to the minister: “Wishing to interrupt my attendance to the courses of the faculty and to dedicate my time to the military career, I ask you, Mr. Minister, to allow my temporary call to activity, in the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Hunters, as there are vacant positions...”.

Sustained by many young lawyers, among which he is recruiting his team of counsellors, Dem. Stoenescu<sup>8</sup> will try and succeed, to a great extent, to adapt the Bar to the socio-economic realities from the interwar period, to modernise its institutions, to increase its prestige through dignity, honour and professionalism. Thus, only few years later, after a remarkable activity, the Bar Association from Dolj is an example to be followed by the others from the country. Unfortunately, the price paid for it was equally divided. Exhausted due to the hard work (13 consecutive years as a dean), disappointed by some dissatisfactions and many of his so-called friends, almost losing his house, mortgaged for a loan to support cultural activities, Dem. Stoenescu becomes ill and, despite the treatments, he dies in December 1934. This man – who definitely deserves the writing of a biography – kind and naive as a child, and therefore a sure victim in front of so many profiteers, was always finding the resources to advise Mihail Puțoreanu, in one of his last letters: “In life, you should be on the look-out!”.

Mihail also joined the reforming nucleus around Dean Stoenescu. Without being a close friend to the family of Dem. Stoenescu – as G. Mil. Demetrescu – Mihail Puțoreanu, enjoyed the trust and the friendship of his superior. In 1924-1925, he obtained two important positions in the structure of the Bar, being appointed librarian (decision no.462/1<sup>st</sup> of November 1924) and the secretary of Disciplinary Judging Commissions. Owing to the professionalism that he proved when carrying out his duties, he held the both positions until 1957, the year of his retirement. To him it is due the elaboration of the Bar’s Library Regulations, the inventory, the ordering, the classification, and sometimes acquisition of books. In his quality of secretary of the Bar, keeper of all the secrets, Mihail always behaves as a good colleague, proving tact and discretion, having a conciliating attitude, on the occasion of different conflicts emerged among the lawyers.

Year 1924 brings personal satisfactions to Mihail as well. In summer, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July, he gets married with Miss Sofia Mayer (1895-1977), daughter of trader Friedrich G. Mayer<sup>9</sup>, subjected to the Austro-Hungarians, established in Craiova since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Soon enough, Puțoreanu family becomes extended, after the birth of a girl, Olguța, and, later, of a boy, Bebe Niță.

Thanks to the rents obtained from the inn, which he inherited from his father, and adding the salary of librarian (2,000 lei), Mihail, unlike other lawyers, does not worry<sup>10</sup> about tomorrow. His stable financial situation allows him to practice only

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<sup>8</sup> For the activity of Dem. Stoenescu, see G. Mil. Demetrescu, *cit. work*; and Mihail Puțoreanu, *Istoricul fostului Barou de Avocați al jud. Dolj 1864-1948* (publishing).

<sup>9</sup> Besides Sofia, Friedrich G. Mayer had two sons: Friedrich – doctor at Filantropia Hospital and the Military Hospital, teacher at the Nursing Officials School – who played an important role in the cultural movement from Craiova, until 1940, when he moved to, and married to Mărioara, the daughter of General D. Vișiorianu; and Ioan – engineer and architect – the constructor of many impressive buildings from the country (for example at Ploiești), musician, a flute virtuoso, painter and sculptor.

<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, more than once, the expensive life does not match his budget. In the Returns and Expenses Record for 1935, Mihail notes: “Returns 114,214 lei, Expenses 160, 245 lei = 46,031 extra expenditure”.

occasionally his profession of lawyer, pleading only for the trials of his friends or acquaintances. Nevertheless, at the request of the Judicial Assistance Office, he carries out an intense activity, defending, in dozen of trials, the interests of the needy people.

In the tranquillity of the Bar's library, Mihail does not waste the time: he reads a lot and from different domains (from the juridical literature to history, geography, literature, poetry etc.), he makes himself library cards and takes notes about the subjects he is interested in (for example, the history of the duel, the lives of the famous people). Passionate with music (he attends the courses of Cornetti Conservator and is a permanent presence at the concerts from the city), politics (prolific member of the local organisation in People's Party led by General Averescu), science and culture (member of the Royal Eugenics Society, member in the leading committee of "The Fellows of Science" Society from Craiova), Associate Professor (he has classes at the Free University from the locality), writer and translator (he publishes chronicles, translations, poems and literary and political articles in "Flamura" magazine and others), art lover (he purchases different paintings from exhibitions), Mihail actually represents the prototype of the intellectual from the interwar society in Craiova, in which the lawyers, belonging to Dolj Bar Association, are part of the elite. Those familiarised with the history of Craiova, already know their contribution to the development of the local and county administration. Thus, among the lawyers, there were chosen many mayors and deputy mayors, prefects and police quaestors, leaders of cultural, banking and commercial institutions etc. Their involvement was also present in the social and cultural life, founding or managing newspapers and magazines, associations and cultural societies, or charities. Undoubtedly, the lawyers of the Bar, ambitious people, with high principles and ideals, could not be separated by the politics: some of them were liberals, others belonged to the national-peasant or socialist parties. Few of them manage to accomplish their dreams, joining the Parliament or even the Government. The career of Gheorghe Chițu, the first dean of the Bar Association, who becomes the mayor of Craiova and then the Prime-Minister, is permanently an example for all of them.

As regarding the issue of having only Romanians in the Bar Associations, which was flaring up people starting with 1935, Mihail has a reserved attitude. He loathes any kind of excess. Although he attends, as assistant, to the General Assembly of Lawyers from Dolj, who, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1937, debate this problem, his feelings and thoughts are rather different. From his later notes and deeds, one can observe that Mihail did not consider appropriate the adopting of *numerus nullus* motion. On a document, from the same period, through which the lawyers were advised to enrol in *The Christian Romanian Lawyer Association from Craiova*, having as objective the transforming of the Bar into an association only with Romanians, Mihail writes indignant: "What a stupid thing!". Born and brought up in a Jewish neighbourhood (Sf. Dumitru Street – Elca Street – Horezu

Street – Madonna Dudu Street), Mihail Puțoreanu not only that he was never the partisan of a nationalist current, but, every time he had the opportunity, he helped his Jewish neighbours and friends. It is the same attitude that, for example, he had, according to his confessions, “during the iron-guard period, when I defended many of the Jewish citizens from my quarter, at any risk”; or in the summer of 1944, when, terrified by the American bombardment on Craiova, the Romanians and the Jews together, found a shelter in the basement of Puțoreanu Inn.

In the years during the World War II, Mihail was often mobilised, and advanced to the rank of reserve captain. In 1940, we find him detached at the General Staff, Section I, Department for the Study of Laws (Bucharest), in 1942 he was holding the position of deputy Military Attorney at the Martial Court of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army Corps, and between 1943 and 1945, that of delegate of Dolj Territorial Department, being commissioned with the requisitions for the army.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, he was demobilised, and restarted his activity at the Bar, where the situation was starting to damage rapidly, under the pressure exercised by the constituents of the left policy, sustained by the minister of justice, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu. Dean I. B. Georgescu had been removed from his position, and he was soon arrested. It was formed *The Group of the Democrat Lawyers* (communists – a/n) that took the decision to “clean” the Bar Association and to “democratize” it, by removing the lawyers considered fascist or iron-guardist – which were actually the ones thought to have adverse feelings against the communist regime from Romania. The purging of Dolj Bar Association was an ample one. From the 217 titular lawyers and 31 probation lawyers, registered in *The Record of Lawyers* from 1944, there were, in October 1948, only 32 titular and 4 probation lawyers. The purged ones were – in most of the cases – imprisoned in the communist prisons, had their pensioned reduced, or they were refused the right to work, ending their existence in miserable conditions.

Mihail witnesses the dissolution of the Bar, without being able to interfere, and observes, full of concern, the tragic faith of his former colleagues. An equilibrated nature, he rejects the excesses and the extreme manifestations, hoping, as all the other Romanians do, that all will pass after the electoral elections<sup>11</sup> from 1946. When he clearly notices that the communist regime is there to last, he tries to adapt. From his vast personal library, he studies the books about Bolshevism, in order to find which step is the next. For example, in December 1946, he reads with

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<sup>11</sup> Among the notes of Mihail Puțoreanu, there is also a poem, signed and dated from the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1946, four days before the elections falsified by the communists:

An upside-down world  
Petru Groza is a fine  
Teohari a Christian,  
Pătrășcanu is a right  
And Zăroni is a bright,  
Maniu is a fascist  
And the King a communist!

excitement and resumes the work of Karl Kautsky, "Terrorism and communism", in which he discovers the Bolshevik manner for seizing the power and the way to lead the society through dictatorship: "As in our case, in the days of 1946, November, under the Governing of Groza" – is the note made by Mihail.

Confronted to the repressive methods of the regime, which crush any resistance, Mihail Puțoreanu, fond of the Bar's institution, complies with the new communist dogmas. In his 60s, he makes visible efforts to learn Russian, he enrolls in A.R.L.U.S. (The Romanian Association for Closer Connection with the Soviet Union), he reads mandatory works of communist doctrine – such is *The history of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union* – from which the lawyers have to prepare conferences or lectures, he patiently listens to the communist theories about *the new type of lawyer* and his role in "the popular democracy". In conclusion, he accepts to be re-educated, because the sayings of Molotov from 1947, noted by Mihail, seems to become true: "We are living in an age where all the roads are heading for communism". "I am part – writes Mihail in an autobiography from the 1950 – from the Syndicate of Trade and Finances and I hold the position of Secretary of the College Syndicalist Group. I am also a member of the mass organisations in the College, called Arlus, Peace Fight, Red Cross, «Progress» Sportive Society and I attend to all the cultural and political manifestations of the College and Justice. I learnt from the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine, as the rest of the clerks and lawyers, due to the initiative and the perseverance of the College leadership. I work hard at my job". Moreover, in 1946, he enrolls in the National Popular Party, a creation of the communists, where he is a member, until its self-dissolution.

With all his wish for integration, the Communist Party will not forgive his bourgeoisie origin. After his enrolling, in June 1948, as pleading lawyer had been admitted by the College of Barristers Commission from Dolj, in 1949, the President of the Colleges of Barristers Union appealed, asking the annulment of the decision and the rejection of the enrolling application "because he does not have as the main source of income the profession of lawyer, but he has numerous others too...". Although bachelor of laws, he would remain until his retirement only an office worker of the College, yet keeping his two positions: of librarian and clerk of the court.

A year later, in 1950, Puțoreanu Inn was nationalised, and Mihail becomes a tenant in his own house.

In 1959, the communist Government, without explanations, removes his pension, depriving him of any means of subsistence. Through the Decision no. 759 from December 1959 of the Executive Committee of the Popular Council from Craiova, his "rights to receive a pension are removed, starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1959". Desperate, having his wife ill, the 70 year old Mihail, after his contestation is rejected, he asks the help of his former colleagues, now into the good graces of the communist regime. Nicu Popilian, Alexandru Urziceanu,

Xenofon Vlăsceanu, Horia Tâlpeanu and others will provide positive references about the activity of Mihail, helping him to regain his right to pension.

About the last years of Mihail, we have little information. In 1977, his wife, Sofia, who had been by his side for 53 years, dies. “My beloved wife – as the deeply grieved Mihail is writing – which I lost forever”. Nonetheless, the year when Mihail Puțoreanu dies is unknown, being buried, seemingly at Sineasca Cemetery.

Devoted to his institution, in which he worked for over 4 decades, he did not waste any chance to celebrate its existence and accomplishments. He was easily writing epigrams and poems, more or less literary valuable, that he used to read on different occasions: at the election of the Colleges of Barristers Council from the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 1954, at the voting for the budget of 1955, at New Year in 1955 etc.

In 1964, at the 100 year celebration since the founding of the bar associations, Mihail Puțoreanu writes a short history of the former Bar Association of Dolj County and the Colleges of Barristers from the Region of Oltenia.



**Fig. 1 – Mihail Puțoreanu**  
Lawyer, Secretary and Librarian of the Bar Association from Dolj  
and the College of Barristers from Craiova  
Puțoreanu family from Craiova.  
Source: Personal archive.



**Petronela Savin, “The Universe of the Spoon. On Romanian Culinary Terminology”, Iași, The European Institute Publishing, 2012, 200 p.**

In this paper Mrs. Petronela Savin is treating a subject less approached in the field of Romanian linguistics: the terminology related to human nourishment. The lady author founded the research she had undertaken on the documentary and content analysis, as well as on the etymological study of the names belonging to this lexical sphere, falling into the following categories of terms: edible plants, raw materials necessary for nourishment, cooked dishes, drinks, food features, actions and states regarding feeding, digestive organs, instruments, installations.

Taking into consideration the previously mentioned division, in the first chapter of the book, “*The Stratigraphic organisation of the culinary terminology*” (pp. 21-74), the author examines the inventory of names, analysing them from an etymological point of view, identifying words inherited from Latin (*fruct* = fruit, *pâine* = bread, *a coace* = to bake, *lapte* = milk, *sete* = thirst, *gură* = mouth, *lingură* = spoon, etc.), words belonging to the indigenous substratum (*brânză* = cheese, *leurdă* = a green plant whose leaves taste like garlic, *strugure* = grapes, *vatră* = hearth, etc.) words coined on Romanian territory (by derivation: *brânzică* = little cheese, *ciorbar* = a person who cooks / enjoys sour soup, *cuișoare* = cloves, *păhărel* = a little glass, *sărățele* = a sort of salted pastry products, *vișinată* = sour cherry liqueur, etc. or by composing: *pui la ceaun* = chicken boiled in a sort of big cast-iron kettle, *untdelemn* = edible oil, etc.) as well as borrowed words.

In the case of borrowings, the linguistic study is conducted from the perspective of the diacronic, diatopic and diastratic variation, as follows: names derived from Paleoslavonic or Slavonic language (*anafură* = Eucharist bread, *blid* = a wooden, earthenware or metal bowl, *hrean* = horse radish, *drojdie* = yeast, *hulpav* = greedy, etc.), from Old Greek (*ciutură* = well-bucket, *scafă* = wooden bowl, etc.), from the Turkish language (*acadea* = caramel, *cazan* = boiler, *dovleac* = pumpkin, *ghiuden* = dried pressed and very spicy sausage, *mahmur* = having a hangover after drinking heavily, *trufanda* = early young vegetable or early fruit, etc.), from neo-Greek (*aguridă* = unripe sour grape, *azimă* = unleavened bread, *zahăr* = sugar, etc.), from neo-Slavonic languages (*bragă* = millet beer, *ceaun* = a big cast-iron container used for cooking, *orez* = rice, *ștevie* = garden sorrel, etc.), Hungarian (*arpacș* = peeled barley/wheat, *balmoș* = a hot dish made from green cheese boiled in milk, maize flour added, *hârdău* = tub, *muștar* = mustard), German (*cartof* = potato, *cremșnit* = a sort of cake with a sweet vanilla filling, *maghiran* = marjoram, *vafă* = a sort of ice-cream), French (*antricot* = steak, *cotlet* = chop, *cremă* = cream, *gamelă* = small metal bowl for the soldiers' cooked food, *lichior* = liqueur, *omletă* = omlette, *pateu* = pie, *picant* = spicy, *sos Bechamel* = Bechamel sauce, etc.), Italian (*rizoto* = a rice dish, *spaghete* = spaghetti, ravioli, etc.), learned Latin (*aperitiv* = appetizer, *a degusta* = to taste, *digestie* = digestion, etc.), English (*chips*, *coca-cola*, *fast food*, *hamburger*, etc.).

In the second chapter, “*Nuclei of nourishment terminological corpus*” (pp. 75-108), the author initiates “the placing of the corpus in a semantic pattern for classifying the terms into the following categories: names of foods, of drinks, actions, states, activities, features, ways, organs, senses, instruments and equipment” (p. 75) in order to better represent “the diacronic evolution of the lexic, pointing out the cultural models assumed in certain historical and social circumstances” (*ibidem*). On the basis of this semantic pattern one can easily notice the heterogeneous character of the Romanian culinary terminology, which includes names from Latin, Slavonic, Old Greek, Turkish, German and other languages alike, and after 1990 especially from French and English.

The last part of the work, “*A complex updating insight into the field of diaphasic variation. The discourse of the menus*” (pg. 109-138), studies the culinary lexic from the perspective of the manner in which language is used in this domain in order to create the connection between transmitter and receiver. In the beginning, she analyses the semantic, stylistic and pragmatic value of the diminutives (*dovlecel* = little pumpkin, *fripturică* = little roast meat, *mâncărică* = little cooked dish, *vițeluş* = little veal, etc.). These may indicate both the size of the object and the emotional relation to it.

Advertising – meant to influence, by persuasive methods, the consumers’ behaviour within the commercial environment – is present in the discourse of the menus too, a reason for which the latter is also an object of minute examination for Mrs. Petronela Savin.

The difference between the peasant culinary reality and the urban one is brought to the fore in the final part of the chapter in which the author examines two types of literary discourse: the former is represented by Ion Creangă’s creation, specific to the rural background, while the latter is illustrated by the works of N. Filimon and I. L. Caragiale, which depict the urban environment.

The answers attached at the end of the book include titles of cookery books and recipes belonging to the Romanian culinary history.

The knowledge of the food products terminology, the way in which this was formed and developed represent an important aspect of Romanian linguistics, which up to the present has not been the object of proper attention. Mrs. Petronela Savin’s paper is meant to fill this gap by offering an opportunity “for clarifying and developing certain directions of research which, hopefully, will benefit from the advantage of contextualisation, through later scientific contributions”.

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**Sorin Liviu Damean (coordinator), Dan Claudiu Dănişor, Mihai Ghiţulescu, Alexandru Oşca, *The evolution of the political institutions of the Romanian state from 1859 until nowadays*, Târgovişte, Cetatea De Scaun Publishing, 2014 (306 p.).**

Subordinated to the principle according to which it is researched *the mechanism of power and the institutions that enable its exercising in a state*, the work *The evolution of the political institutions of the Romanian state from 1859 until nowadays*, answers the interest shown by the acknowledged historians, or the ones who are still training. The volume was structured on 4 chapters, which observe the chronological principle for the framing of the debated problems. Each author brought his scientific contribution to a chapter, as following: Sorin Liviu Damean – *The political institutions during 1859-1918*; Alexandru Oşca – *The institutions of power during 1918-1945*; Mihai Ghiţulescu – *The political institutions during the communist regime*; Dan Claudiu Dănişor – *The evolution of the Romanian political institutions after 1989 – liberalism or another type of totalitarianism?* Each chapter has several other sub-chapters, which help the carefully done analysis, and the adequate language denotes the authors’ easiness to place themselves in the logical filed of facts and conclusions.

Our political institutions had started to be shaping by the end of the 19th century and, from that moment on, they have been affirming themselves more and more, especially since 1859, when the Romanian state gained the physiognomy of the modern European states. The Romanian state has been especially strengthen since 1881, when its full sovereignty was recognised by all the powers.

A significant part of the first chapter was reserved to the Constitution from 1866, a fundamental law of Romania, which represented an instrument helping the acceleration of the process that concerned the completion of the modern institutions for the national Romanian state. Drafted on the basis of an agreement between the national representation and the Monarch, the Constitution instituted the hereditary constitutional monarchy and the parliamentary regime, providing the background for the natural development of the Romanian society. On addressing the organisation of the state, it was stipulated the principle of the separation of powers into: legislative – exercised collectively by the prince and the National Representation; executive – given to the Monarch, and the judicial – assured by Courts and tribunals. Moreover, it was also provisioned the transition from the elective ruling to the hereditary one, the Prince holding a predominant position in the state. Hence, he enjoyed the amnesty right in politics, he appointed or confirmed the public positions, he was the head of army, he gave decorations, coined money, had the absolute right of veto etc. The Romanian Governments and Parliamentary (1866-1918), the Constitution and the electoral law, are few of the themes approached by the author Sorin Liviu Damean, on which he insisted in the second part of the first chapter.

The formation of the national unitary state, after World War I, marked the entering of Romania into a new stage of its evolution. In this context, an important role was played by the electoral reform from 1918, the adopting of the minorities' stature, the monetary unification and that of the administrative and legislative system. Up until Romania joined World War II, as the author of the second chapter, Alexandru Oșca establishes, there were several periods delimited by the type of the political regime: 1918-1939, a constitutional democrat regime; 1939-1940, a monarchical authority regime; 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1940-21<sup>st</sup> of January 1941, Romania became National Legionary State, with a regime of legionary dictatorship, without a Parliament, based on the recognition of the existence of an only totalitarian party; 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1941-22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1941, national legionary regime, followed by the dictatorship of Antonescu, without Parliament and political parties. One of the most important sub-chapters of the second chapter, is that dedicated to *The Romanian Government during 1919-1940*, from which we extract the next ideas: the government exercised the executive power in the name of the King, with two exceptions (1922-1926 and 1934-1937), the Governments did not succeed in maintaining themselves in the leading positions during the entire constitutional mandate, and in the 22 years of the interwar period, 33 Governments functioned successively.

At the end of World War II, Romania entered into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, becoming a component part of the communist coalition, with political institutions created by this totalitarian regime. The author of the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter, Mihai Ghițulescu, insists on the main political institutions: The Great National Assembly, The Presidium of the Great National Assembly and the President of the Republic. A significant part of this chapter is reserved for debating the process of installation of the communist authorities, at the leadership of different public institutions, organisation, functioning and the presidium of the Great National Assembly. After the explanations given about the way the central departments for exercising the power were founded and structured, along with the local ones, the authors reaches the conclusion, at the end of the chapter, that: *the communism created a popular culture which is highly difficult to exceed, a culture in which the institutions are not (yet) taken seriously*.

The last chapter of the volume, *The evolution of the Romanian political institutions after 1989 – liberalism or another type of totalitarianism?*, is dedicated to the transition from the totalitarian regime to the democratic one. After 1989, our political institutions suffered frequent legislative modifications, imposing the actualisation or even the rethinking of some specific issues. Firstly, the constitutional mutations, which took place once with the revised Romanian Constitution, in 2003, which aimed, among others, the constituting of Government, the relations between the President of Romanian and the Prime-Minister, the relations between the Romanian Constitutional Court and the Government etc., triggered modifications, supplementations and drafting of new normative documents, which, according to Dan Claudiu Dănișor, can be still subjected to analysis and reflection.

In the same time a synthesis and a working instrument, the work *The evolution of the political institutions of the Romanian state from 1859 until nowadays*, is the result of many researches and investigated details, the intention of the authors being that to comprise as much information as possible, and to present them to the reader, both from the historical, and also expositive and interpretative perspective.

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**Loredana-Maria Ilin-Grozoiu, *Concepts, Beliefs and Traditions Regarding the Immortality of the Soul and the Cult of Deads*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing; București, Pro Universitaria Publishing, 2014, 240 p.**

The importance of the chosen theme is doubled by its major signification, not only related to the historiographic significance, but in a much broader meaning too, for the actuality of the subject nowadays, the history of religion still constituting a concerning field.

From the very beginning of the work, the author draws the attention on the fact that the people from all over the world, did not share the same belief and, rather randomly, the ideas, the religious beliefs and the funerary practices were different. Yet, we have to remember the presence of a religious attitude that confirms the belief in a divinity, or many divinities, and the belief in immortality. It is probable that these beliefs influenced, to a certain extent, the behaviour of a person inside a community as well.

The work contains a *Foreword*, three chapters *Conclusions* and a *Selective bibliography*. The investigation is opened through the chapter called *The immortality of the soul: myth or reality?*, in which there are brought forward archeological and historical data, along with the cultural anthropology ones. The author mentions that, through the performing of the funerary practices, the man, regardless the time of living, pursued, on one side, the total separation of the two worlds, and on the other side, the maintaining of a permanent collaboration between them. A special attention is paid to the belief of the Geto-Dacians in soul immortality, with the mention that, a part of the Geto-Dacian funerary customs have been kept in the Romanian folklore, although modified in time, through the local popular creativity.

As the author herself noted, a variety of opinions and beliefs related to the faith of the human after death, imposed by the desire to bring closer the two worlds, have been developed in time, transforming themselves into a complex cult of the forefathers and great-forefathers. The modifications appeared in the collective mentality, contributed to the perception of the death phenomenon as “a passing” into another world, populated by the passed away, and not a rupture in the individual’s destiny.

Moreover, in this chapter too, the author brings to our attention the beliefs and the contemporary religious ideas that refer to the eschatological problems and the cult of the dead. From all the beliefs contained by this system, the author mentions: the Hinduism, the Buddhism, the Islamism, the Judaism and the Christianity.

In the second chapter, *A history of the Romanian Christian beliefs and traditions on the immortality of the soul and the cult of the dead*, the author presents an exquisitely realised transition for the stages of the discussed problems, because, for the Romanian space, it should be remarked the almost unchanged preservation of the funerary practices, from the ancient times and until nowadays. This is due to the fact that there is vividly present the belief that any digression from the norms, will

generate the loss of the efficient “passing”. From this perspective, the inclusion in the same analytical segment of the Christian beginnings and the Christian ritual practices, along with the perpetuation of beliefs and traditions according to which the soul survives the death of the body, can be considered inspired. For this respect, the belief into a post-mortem existence, is exemplified by the author through: the funerary wake masks, the ritual breaking of a pot and the funerary feast, the custom, archeologically attested, of closing up the orifices of the skull with clay, the rite of the soul window.

Once created the cultural background, the author led the analysis in the ethnographic space from Oltenia, where she noticed that the funerary ceremony has been preserved until today, in meaningful traditional forms, expressed by the variety of ritual and magical acts and practices, encompassing ancient elements. Consequently, in the second chapter, *The intersecting of the popular tradition with the religious tradition in the practising of the funerary ritual from Oltenia*, through examples and observations, she managed to identify the elements specific for the spirituality from Oltenia, along with roots that grow from the centenary history of this historical province. They motivated her to consider the funerary offerings and the ritual substitute of the dead (the candle, the funerary water, the round-shaped bread, the alms, the fir-tree, the cross) and the funerary rites (the wake, the censing, the repast).

*The conclusions* and *The selective bibliography* make this work complete, a work that synthesises a history of the mentalities, a reflection on the ideas, behaviours and the Christian imaginary, on the way in which the actual structures and beliefs have evolved.

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**Radu Ștefan Vergatti, Cristina Narcisa Vergatti, *The Uncle and the Nephew: Matei Basarab and Constantin Basarab*, Baia Mare, Science Press Publishing House, 2014, 429 p.**

In 2014, 300 years had past since the appalling death of Constantin Brâncoveanu of his four sons, preceded by the death of Lord Steward Ianache Văcărescu, on which occasion the influential institutions of our country: the Government of Romania, The Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate, the Romanian Academy, the universities, libraries, institutes of research and associations of research organized symposiums, conferences, te-deum religious, ceremonies and many other kinds of events. All these were meant not only to enhance the cognitive dowry related to Constantin Brâncoveanu’s life and reign, but also to commemorate and pay homage to one of the few princes and voivodes of our nation who fully correspond with the suggestive characterization defining the legendary heroes of peoples, that of being “one of those rulers who preferred dying upright rather than living on their knees”. Among the works which remarkably appeared in the wake of all the events related to Constantin Brâncoveanu tricentenary, there is a paper which occasioned a fine editorial event that took place in the year of the tricentenary, at Râmnicu Vâlcea, within Antim Ivireanu Library. Published in Baia Mare, under the coordination of Professor Radu Ștefa Vergatti Phd and of his distinguished wife Cristina Narcisa Vergatti, with the considerable assistance of an authentic representative of the ecclesiastical rank, the Right Reverend Daniel Gligorie, the work was simply but suggestively given a name suitably chosen by the coordinators, that is “The uncle and the nephew: Matei Basarab and Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu”. The title of the book, as well as a pictures on the cover, suggest the idea of continuity, especially cultural continuity, less analyzed by the historians and more highlighted by literary historians, while the book, right from viewing the contents, enables us to define it as a genuine miscellany, with carefully assembled studies and articles which, through

the variety and diversity of the thematic approach, apparently try to thoroughly examine the complex history of the two reigns. Professor Radu Ștefan Vergatti, a versed, or I should better say a highly versed expert in the Romanian Middle Ages and not only, with real and appreciated analytical extensions in modern and contemporary periods as well, winner of several prizes and awards in the country and abroad, author of several works concerning the reigns of the two rulers, managed to assemble, in a diachronic, intelligible and unitary form, the results of the research undertaken by 13 famous historians, thus making up a substantial volume which might be considered a real monograph of the two voivodes to whom it pays homage. In our opinion, the themes approached in this fine book, many of them being the outcome of laborious doctorate papers and assiduous research work, most of them new or less used even in ex prosesso literature, undoubtedly turn the volume into a landmark book for all those who wish to explore the middle and the end of XVII<sup>th</sup> century as well as the first two septennial periods of the next century in the Romanian history.

In his studies, the coordinator tackles problems which had not been given a historiographical solution before. He succeeds in offering sensible answers, in keeping with his scientific fame, namely: starting from an appropriate critical analysis of the existing documents and papers, he fairly intelligibly rebuilds the image of the ties of kinship between the two princes, both of them of Basarab descent; likewise, with the competence of genuine jurists, the two coordinators, Radu Ștefan Vergatti and Cristina Narcisa Vergatti analyze and throw into relief the importance of the first penal code in the Romanian society, elaborated during Matei Basarab's reign, with the assistance of the metropolitan bishop Ștefan, a code named "The improvement of the law" whose overwhelming importance for the Romanian juridical practice is given, among many others, by its long applicability in the Romanian judicial system, lasting – in the author's opinion – at least till the Organic Regulations; furthermore Radu Ștefan Vergatti dissects Matei Basarab's relations with Eastern Europe, both with the political representatives of Poland, Ukraine and with the ecclesiastical representatives in the area, whom – by means of all kind of help – he tried to use in various missions, managing to create an authentic system of relations with the states of Eastern Europe; and, last but not least, the beginnings of the Princely Academy in Bucharest are examined, the way in which it was formed, the author having his own point of view, different from that of many exegetes of this subject, concerning the year of establishing this first Romanian educational institution.

Another historian – who through his studies has made his conspicuous mark on his historiography of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century and the first two septennial periods of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century – is Dinică Ciobotea who, alone or in cooperation with others, is the signatory of six studies containing questions which are essential to knowing the reigns of the two rulers, namely: Matei Basarab's links with the boyars from Mehedinți, his relation with Craiova town, his action of rebuilding the Saint Demetrius church of Craiova, the way the landed properties of Horezu monastery appeared, as well as interesting suppositions concerning the policy of genuine cultural mécénat undertaken by this voivode reigning south of the Carpathians.

Extremely interesting studies carried out by well-known historians are attractive for the readers owing to the problems they approach: in this book they display an authentic archeology of the founding act performed by Matei Basarab in Oltenia, they produce a synthesizing and intelligible analysis of the history of the Câmpulung Muscel monastic complex, they scrutinize Constantin Brâncoveanu's policy of supporting the town south of the Carpathians, they examine Matei Basarab's relations with the Romanian gentry, especially his relationship with the high dignitary Udriște Năsturel and, last but not least, they present the way in which the two rulers managed to support the printing activity of their time.

As a last conclusion, the analysis of this book undoubtedly enables us to hold that, through the complex and various problems analyzed, this work represents an indispensable landmark for all those interested in the history of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century.

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