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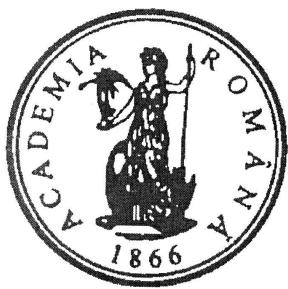
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**“C.S. NICOLĂESCU-PLOPSOR” INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN  
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ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

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# **THE CULTURAL QUEST OF IDENTITY: PILGRIMAGE, KNOWLEDGE AND POSTMODERNISM**

## **ENTRE LACHER PRISE, NÉO-TRIBALISME ET NOMADISME, LE CHEMIN DE SANTIAGO**

**Georges BERTIN\***

**Abstract:** Personal experience, generally difficult to communicate, the pilgrimage is both a social and cultural phenomenon. It is highly recognized even at a institutional level by the classification of certain pilgrimage routes (as Compostela) as World Heritage. It is also social, and by its mythical aspects, testify about comportments beyond contemporary sociability. The present paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of the camino experience by exploring its present meanings with special focus on Santiago de Compostelle.

**Keywords:** pilgrimage, Santiago de Compostelle, neotribalism, nomadism.

L'expérience du «Chemin de Compostella» est une expérience existentielle d'abord personnelle. Lumineuse et transformatrice pour celui qui s'y adonne, elle est mise sur la voie (*initiatio*). Elle se trouve donc appartenir à la catégorie de l'intransmissible puisque justement liée au sujet et à ses propres intimations (de *intimus*, ce qui est intime, ne peut être communiqué).

Et pourtant, le nombre croissant de pèlerins constaté de nos jours et, plus largement, depuis qu'au néolithique des êtres humains dans tout le monde connu ont parcouru le chemin des étoiles, nous incite à comprendre que ce pèlerinage, cette errance volontaire, est aussi un phénomène social et culturel. En témoignerait sur un plan institutionnel le classement de certaines routes du pèlerinage des Chemins de Compostelle au Patrimoine de l'humanité. Elle est donc également

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sociale, et par ses aspects mythiques, relève de conduites dépassant la sociabilité contemporaine.

## Retour sur la méthode

Pour un sociologue d'intervention formé à la rude école de l'analyse institutionnelle (universités de Caen et de Paris 8), puis à celle de l'anthropologie symbolique (université de Paris 5), rendre compte de l'expérience vécue en 2010 par environ 300 000 de nos contemporains (et par lui, en 2009, pendant trois mois et demi), c'est, comme toute approche relevant de la sociologie du sensible<sup>1</sup>, tenter de comprendre, de mieux percevoir, ce qui d'ordinaire ne retient pas l'attention, car occulté ou ineffable, et qui, pourtant mérite d'être déchiffré.

Le chemin de Santiago (le *Camino*) inscrit sur un territoire une expérience symbolique renvoyant à la fois aux Imaginaires qu'il met en œuvre (mythes, histoire et histoires particulières, socialité) et aux réalités naturelles et physiques vécues par les locuteurs, les pèlerins.

Ainsi pour le courant ethnométhodologique, né des travaux du sociologue américain Harold Garfinkel<sup>2</sup>, il s'agit d'apprendre à sonder les imaginaires collectifs à l'œuvre, dans les interactions groupales, les rencontres, les représentations anthropomorphes et surnaturelles, les routines et accomplissements pratiques, les actes, gestes, signes circulant...

C'est ce que nous avons tenté en *convertissant notre regard*. Ce faisant, nous disposions d'une *méthode* (au sens propre: *mise sur la voie*) fondée sur l'approche socio-anthropologique: le pèlerinage s'ancre dans la nuit des temps, il a produit lui-même de nombreuses figures pèlerines, des systèmes d'images largement partagées encore aujourd'hui par ceux qui tentent l'aventure en ce qu'elles viennent conforter leur démarche, les soutenir dans leur marche et pourtant controversées par ceux qui tentent de s'en tenir à la rigueur des faits historiques lesquels dans leur brutalité sont souvent loin des idéologies qui, aux diverses époques, ont fait ou font du chemin de Compostelle un lieu de propagande ou d'influence d'abord religieuse, souvent politique et économique, cette dernière

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<sup>1</sup> donc non positiviste, celle là voulant que « les faits sociaux soient étudiée comme des choses » alors que le principal matériau recueilli chemin faisant relève de l'interaction symbolique...

<sup>2</sup> lequel formule, dès 1967, un certain nombre de recommandations et d'instructions pour l'analyse de la réalité sociale dans un ouvrage intitulé: *Studies in Ethnomethodology* tenu, par certains sociologues contemporains et non des moindres, pour aussi important que *Le Capital* de Karl Marx!

catégorie étant encore en œuvre de nos jours quitte, pour certains à travestir la réalité<sup>3</sup>.

Laissant aux historiens le soin de mettre en exergue les postures et impostures qui ont jalonné l'histoire du pèlerinage<sup>4</sup>, dépassant les *apriori* y compris les nôtres, nous avons vécu et étudié le Camino comme «*un monde social tel qu'il est*», c'est à dire en train de se faire en traitant les faits sociaux comme une réalisation sociale, ... par la prise en compte des modalités propres au chemin, à la vie quotidienne des pèlerins, dans leurs activités et les pratiques de leur vie errante, le temps de leur chemin.

C'est ce qui nous a incité à publier d'abord notre carnet de chemin, fait de notations sensibles puisant à la «connaissance ordinaire» à laquelle nous avons été confronté dans le jeu des imaginaires croisés et accompagnés en résonance avec le nôtre<sup>5</sup>.

Cet article en prolonge la réflexion, laquelle s'inspire largement des travaux menés depuis près de 30 ans avec nos collègues et amis de l'Université Paris 8-Vincennes dans l'école de l'analyse institutionnelle<sup>6</sup> sous la direction de notre maître Jacques Ardoino, et à l'Université René Descartes Paris 5, au Centre d'études sur l'actuel et le quotidien dirigé par Michel Maffesoli, l'une et l'autre école privilégiant ces méthodes d'écriture descriptive pour rendre compte de la réalité sociale. Ni journaux intimes, ni essais distanciés et réifiants échappant finalement à leur objet à force de vouloir l'objectiver, les journaux institutionnels participent de ce postulat d'une implication réelle pour comprendre les phénomènes étudiés, ils relèvent d'une méthode encore appelée observation participante et dont les illustres prédecesseurs ont nom, entre autres, Michel Leiris, Jeanne Favret Saada etc. On peut encore relier cette approche à celle de René Barbier: c'est une technique de recherche que j'ai mise au point pour permettre aux membres actifs d'une recherche-action existentielle de suivre leur processus de travail qui va de la pratique à la théorie, en boucle, et de mieux réaliser, ainsi,

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<sup>3</sup> Voir sur ce point: Denise Péricard-Méa et Louis Mollaret, *Chemins de Compostelle et Patrimoine Mondial*, La Louve, éd. 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Denise Péricard-Méa, *Compostelle et cultes de saint Jacques au Moyen Age*, Paris, PUF, octobre 2000, collection *Noeud gordien*, dirigée par Claude Gauvard. Et *Brève histoire du pèlerinage de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, PUF, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Georges Bertin, *La coquille et le bourdon, essai sur les Imaginaires du chemin de Compostelle*, Arsos, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Rémi Hess, *La pratique du journal, L'enquête au quotidien*, Anthropos, 1998, René Lourau, *Le journal de recherche. Matériaux d'une théorie de l'implication*, Paris, Méridiens/Klincksieck, 1988.

l'objectif à atteindre. Il s'agit d'un instrument d'investigation sur soi-même en relation avec le groupe qui met en oeuvre la triple écoute/parole clinique, philosophique et poétique de l'Approche Transversale<sup>7</sup>.

De fait la complémentarité est nécessaire pour rendre compte de ce type de phénomènes sociaux et humains dans leur diversité... D'où la nécessité de se tenir hors des sentiers battus, de manière plus sensible, existentielle, transpersonnelle (dans la rencontre des personnes) et transdisciplinaire, puisque utilisant à la fois les perspectives historiques, notamment médiévales et anthropologiques, outre les dimensions culturelles, et encore psychosociales, sociales etc.

Prendre le chemin des étoiles, c'est encore se lancer dans une recherche «cheminante», active, une quête s'appuyant sur l'idée que l'humain et le social, en tant qu'objets d'études, présentent des caractéristiques spécifiques car, comme l'écrit Jean Marie Brohm, «le chercheur fait partie de la société qui fait partie de lui»<sup>8</sup>. Ceci rend indispensable une perspective «indexicale», car l'indexicalité, concept-clé en ethnométhodologie, rapporte la définition des expressions rencontrées par le chercheur (et Saint-Jacques seul sait peut-être à quel point il s'échange de paroles sur les chemins qui mènent à son supposé tombeau)... à leur contexte pragmatique: espace, temps, sujet présents, objet présents. L'évolution du contexte pèlerin modifie lui-même le pèlerinage en changeant la signification des expressions, lesquelles se réfèrent, dans chaque contexte, comme nous l'avons constaté à chaque étape pendant trois mois et demi...à des états de choses différents (c'est le concept de dépendance contextuelle), et ne sont jamais interchangeables.

Trois dimensions seront envisagées dans cet article: l'expérience existentielle, les codes du chemin, le néo tribalisme. Elles sont loin d'être exhaustives ni exclusives d'autres méthodes d'investigation.

### **Aspects existentiels: le Camino, contrepoison de la «peste émotionnelle»**

La peste émotionnelle, inculquée à l'enfant dès les premiers jours de sa vie, nous explique Wilhelm Reich<sup>9</sup>, trouve son origine chez les individus dans la frustration génitale et se manifeste dans ce qu'il nomme «les cuirasses caractérielles», ou dispositifs inconscients mis en place par

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<sup>7</sup> René Barbier, *La recherche-action*, Paris, Anthropos, coll. Ethnosociologie, 1996.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Marie Brohm, *Anthropologie de l'Etrange*, Sulliver, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> Georges Bertin, *Un imaginaire de la pulsation: lecture de Wilhelm Reich*, Presses Universitaire de Laval, St Nicolas (Québec), 2004.

les sujets pour neutraliser les difficultés qu'ils éprouvent à assumer, dans l'évolution des conflits, leurs besoins libidinaux face à la peur de la punition. Le Moi y prend sa forme définitive tandis que les restrictions libidinales imposées par la société déterminent des changements qui se manifestent dans des positions personnelles et sociales rigides déterminant un monde de réactions immuables et automatiques, comme si la personnalité se revêtait d'une cuirasse, d'un blindage rigide capable d'absorber les coups portés contre elle par le monde extérieur et intérieur. L'étendue de la cuirasse détermine ainsi la capacité de l'individu à équilibrer son économie énergétique. Et la vie cuirassée domine la vie sociale et se manifeste en son cœur par divers traits décrits par Reich<sup>10</sup>, par une incapacité totale des individus cuirassés d'appliquer des lois simples, par une haine latente à l'égard de tout ce qui rapporte à une vie non cuirassée.

Et voici que pour le temps d'une errance certes programmée et dont la plupart connaissent déjà l'issue, mais vécue réellement, les pèlerins se dépouillant de leurs cuirasses, abandonnent le carcan des habitudes que leur impose la vie sociale, et vivent une expérience de liberté inédite au contact de leur corps qu'ils se mettent pour une fois à écouter. Faisant fi des leurs blocages émotionnels et sociaux, voici qu'ils concentrent leur attention sur leurs gestes, sur leur capacité à sentir et à ressentir alors que la vie productive leur impose souvent de se contraindre. Vivant au contact direct de la nature, en naît un véritable sentiment de communion avec elle comme si d'un seul coup les limites de leur moi (et celles que leur impose la vie quotidienne) étaient repoussées, devenant plus incertaines? Certains y vivent, logiquement, et ce n'est pas si rare comme nous l'avons maintes fois observé, une relation affective, si ce n'est érotique, intense avec leurs semblables, dans une transgression parfaitement assumée. Car l'érotisme est là bien présent sur le chemin de Compostelle, il en est aussi un puissant adjuvant, ce qui peut également expliquer certaines addictions de pèlerins n'en finissant jamais avec le chemin, y revenant constamment à la recherche d'une partie d'ordinaire occultée de leur être.

On se souvient que, pour Georges Bataille, il n'y a érotisme que pour un individu fini, centré sur lui-même, et qui se sent pourtant poussé à se fondre, au risque de s'y perdre, en une communauté avec autrui, communauté charnelle, communauté du sentant et du senti, dans la proximité sensible des corps, c'est-à-dire la volupté. L'érotisme doit

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<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm Reich, *Les hommes dans l'Etat*, Paris, Payot, 1978.

beaucoup à la curiosité, ou plutôt la fascination, pour un corps fait autrement que le nôtre<sup>11</sup>. On voit bien à quel point le vécu du Camino s'inscrit dans cette dynamique de partage, de découverte de son corps et de ceux des autres. A la frigidité des corps réifiés par les travaux de la nécessité, le chemin, dans sa pratique, est bien celui d'une véritable libération corporelle, affective sexuelle.

Alors que nos corps portent, en leurs formes sociales, les signes de la rétention, de la conformité aux usages, voire de la soumission, parfois de la répression, le Camino accomplit, presque à notre insu, un travail de déblocage de nos émotions à partir des situations de tension vécues dans l'effort, il provoque une décharge libératoire, une catharsis, aidant chacun à vaincre ses conditionnements, ses métaux lourds, tout ce qui le ploie vers la terre et dont les blocages corporels sont les symboles.

La posture physique du pèlerin alterne en effet deux phases bien repérables:

1) le dos voûté, ramassé sur lui-même, le pèlerin produit au long du chemin ses efforts, contrôlant son souffle, souffre parfois, ramasse ses muscles en tension, pliant sous le poids de son sac qui lui donne l'air d'un escargot (*caracol*), avance lentement, il est *contracté*...allant parfois chez certains sujets jusqu'à la crispation musculaire, se téstanise, (la tendinite)...

Contraction: le jeu musculaire de la marche, détente, la communion avec la nature, la respiration, le sentiment de mieux maîtriser sa vie, l'espace, qui vous saisit, par exemple du haut d'une colline quand vous allez plonger vers le lieu de l'étape...Sentiment physique de plénitude, que met en oeuvre l'imaginaire pèlerin.

2) à l'étape, en pause, après la douche salvatrice, le voici détendu, il rit, plaisante, entre en contact, il est dans une phase de détente, il est devenu convivial, ouvert à son entourage...

Lâcher prise: pour redevenir le sujet de son histoire corporelle, psychique, spirituelle, les trois étant liés. On voit bien ici la dimension temporelle de ce processus:

La tension musculaire permanente qui ne se résout pas en activité motrice absorbe des énergies qui autrement se manifesteraient sous forme d'angoisse; autrement dit c'est la tension qui empêche l'angoisse. Beaucoup de personnes réussissent de ce fait à éliminer ou réduire des sensations génitales ou d'angoisse par une agitation motrice continue<sup>12</sup>.

Expérience qui m'a été maintes fois soulignées par des pèlerins me confiant avoir «jeté leurs médicaments».

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<sup>11</sup> Georges Bataille, *L'érotisme*, Paris, 1957.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Reich, *L'analyse caractérielle*, Paris, Payot, 1971, p. 287.

Revanche de notre diable au corps? En tout cas le corps retrouve ici toute sa place dans un espace temps qui n'est plus celui de la productivité, de la nécessité mais celui de la redécouverte de soi. On passe du chronologique au biologique, d'où pour certains la difficulté, m-a-t-on dit, à atterrir.

Le lâcher prise joue ici un rôle plein quand il autorise à surmonter nos crispations, dans l'alternance du couple contraction/expansion, les deux pôles de l'anthropologie reichienne développée par son auteur dans *La fonction de l'orgasme*<sup>13</sup>...

Plus loin, le pèlerin rencontre sans doute quelque part cette énergie universelle que Reich nommait orgone, mais peu importe, ce serait aussi la quintessence de Rabelais... Incubateur, transformateur d'énergie, jusqu'ici liée? Oui, le Camino, comme l'orgone de Wilhelm Reich, est bien un moment anthropologique clef, d'expansion/contraction, car il nous renvoie, de fait, à une lecture conflictuelle jamais achevée avec la Nature, la nôtre, le Cosmos, la grande pulsation vitale dont nous faisons ici l'expérience: *de l'Autre au Tout Autre...*

### **Aspects psycho sociaux, les codes du chemin**

Les membres d'une société créent des conduites ordonnées, régulières, standardisées et concordantes et il convient, pour les comprendre, de raisonner plus en termes de relations de ces conduites avec l'environnement qu'en les décomposant en combinaisons élémentaires voulant prétendre épouser la réalité. Il importe donc, dans cette optique, de se mettre à l'écoute des activités les plus communes afin d'analyser la société en train de se faire et de comprendre le comment de son auto-organisation<sup>14</sup>. L'unité de l'esprit humain ne peut, de fait, être recherchée que dans la quête du sens et dans le jeu complexe des significations qui se dégagent des activités humaines et donc des pratiques et praxis sociales.

Le pèlerin de Santiago obéit à une morphologie particulière qui permet à tout un chacun à l'interne comme à l'externe de le reconnaître: vêtements, (très codifiés), chaussures, sac à dos, accessoires, style personnel, couleurs portées, empathie affichée pour les autres pèlerins (moins hélas, parfois, pour les populations traversées).

La coquille (saint Jacques) récipient creux destiné à recevoir l'eau qui vivifie, renvoie le pèlerin aux imaginaires de la source et de la mer,

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<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Reich, *La fonction de l'orgasme*, (écrit en 1945) Paris, L'Arche, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> D'après Garfinkel Harold, professeur à l'Université de Los Angeles, lequel a pour ambition de construire un système social à partir des structures de l'expérience. Ses références théoriques sont la phénoménologie et la théorie de l'action.

de l'intimité, tandis que le Bourdon, sorte de lance du pèlerin, le relie au domaine céleste affirme sa maîtrise sur l'espace ambiant.

Coquille et Bourdon, Graal et Lance des quêteurs du Graal, les formes perdurent quand il s'agit d'errance... sans vraiment renouveler des codes fondés sur des archétypes, schèmes *eidolo* moteurs qui subsument l'imaginaire pèlerin.

Le pèlerinage s'écrit également, chemin faisant, sur les règles implicites que chacun va découvrir, elles forment une grammaire à laquelle il se conforme peu ou prou. Par exemple, le tutoiement entre les pèlerins quasi spontané, le fait de ne pas mentionner ses origines sociales ou professionnelles, au moins dans un premier temps, la proximité chaleureuse des gîtes d'étape dont il faut parfois partager l'inconfort, la solidarité et le soin que chacun doit à ses compagnons en difficultés, autant de comportements, de codes intégrés, de paroles échangées qui sont les caractéristiques du pèlerinage de Compostelle en tant que signes circulant et qui se transmettent d'un pèlerin à l'autre comme si le *Camino* conservait une sorte de mémoire intrinsèque.

Le *Camino* est un lieu de rencontres et les modifications des comportements se produisent essentiellement dans les interactions observées, sauf à considérer les pèlerins qui voyagent en groupes constitués peu attentifs à l'environnement social et humain traversé, telle cette pèlerine me disant qu'elle avait trouvé la cité de Gernika (à l'histoire pourtant si chargée) sans intérêt! (nous y avons pour notre part passé deux jours), tels ces autres pèlerins méprisant les manifestations collectives de la sociabilité basque ou cantabrienne, uniquement préoccupés de ce qu'ils nomment «l'esprit du pèlerinage».

Pour autant, chacun vit et chemine à son rythme, on se retrouve parfois ou jamais, selon les étapes que chacun décide pour lui-même. Ceux qu'on a vu une fois peuvent vous laisser un grand souvenir, parfois lumineux, alors que d'autres rencontrés plusieurs fois à l'étape vous resteront indifférents. C'est la magie de la rencontre qui préside ici sans contraintes, car le *Camino* n'a rien d'une colonie de vacances ou d'un groupe organisé. Quelques uns choisissent de procéder en petits groupes d'amis, en famille d'autres en solo...tous les cas se présentent. Il arrive encore qu'à quelque carrefour, un petit mot plié donne un rendez-vous suggère une nouvelle rencontre, propose une aide à un cheminant en difficultés, situations vécues sur le chemin sont également productrices de sens, de liberté...

Pour qui sait s'y attarder et en extraire la substantifique moelle (un verre de Chinon ou de Txakoli peut en cela être un adjuvant de qualité),

les figures de la vie sociale (cafés, cercles divers, marchés), qui, ailleurs, tendent à se raréfier par un repli vers la vie privée et ses étranges lucarnes, sont porteuses d'une véritable symbolique sociale qui renvoie à des possibles non actualisés – là l'humour partagé est signe de difficultés à dire le non dit – et aux événements imprescriptibles de toute vie collective.

Les scènes de la vie sociale traversées sont absolument indispensables-jusques dans leurs excès- à la circulation d'une parole souvent liée par les institutions et les procédures de contrôle en vigueur. Elles sont le miroir inversé des discours institués véhiculés par les pouvoirs en place, antidotes aux dogmatismes de tous bords politiques (les idéologies) et autres. Le Camino est aussi porteur de cet interactionnisme symbolique là, pour qui veut s'y arrêter.

Le pèlerinage peut-être aussi en effet regard porté sur les sociétés traversées. Car, paradoxalement, alors qu'il a fait un pas de côté en se mettant en chemin, le pèlerin ne saurait être étranger à son temps. Temps d'émerveillement d'abord du fait de cette interaction constante qui l'amène à mieux situer son chemin entre Imaginaire et Réalité... pari loin d'être impossible dans les interactions suscitées avec les autres et entretenues d'étape en étape entre réflexion et action, entre ce grand pèlerinage et ses propres implications, dans la découverte de «ces différents chemins de vie qui passent» comme nous le disait une pèlerine.... elle a pu être aussi celle de ses devanciers sur le chemin.

### **Aspects socio anthropologiques: une néo tribu pour une Nouvel Age?**

Et peut-être à cause de cela, le chemin montre à quel point les gens peuvent échapper à leurs déterminismes socio culturels, sont de fait post modernes, car il est (c'est une de nos hypothèses) le lieu de formation d'une néo tribu (au sens de Maffesoli) intégrant des fonctionnements et des référentiels déjà anciens si ce n'est archaïques amplifiés par les systèmes de communication contemporains<sup>15</sup>. Il se constitue en réseau avec ses propres modalités de fonctionnement.

Si le Chemin de Compostelle est le lieu d'une universalité culturelle historique et en même temps mythologique, les particuliers qui le font, à leurs risques et périls, avec leurs propres histoires de vie, leurs

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<sup>15</sup> L'interrogation du moteur de recherches Google sur les mots « le pèlerinage de Saint Jacques de Compostelle » offre 198000 réponses en français et 228000 en espagnol! La fédération des Amis de Saint Jacques en France compte plus de 5000 membres et plus d'une centaine d'associations.

motivations, leurs désirs, se confrontent aussi à la grande histoire, laquelle plonge ses racines au creux de notre civilisation pour en faire leur propre chemin, singulier, celui-là. Et ces imaginaires croisés renvoient chacun à ses manques, à ses doutes comme à ses certitudes.

Le Camino est le lieu vécu de modes de sociabilité non conformistes, à l'écart des codes convenus dans les sociétés qui ont adopté le conformisme bourgeois comme modalité d'être ensemble<sup>16</sup>. Sur le chemin, la parole se libère, elle circule, les affects aussi...

Michel Maffesoli, dans *Le Temps des tribus, le déclin de l'individualisme dans les sociétés de masse*<sup>17</sup>, définit le néotribalisme en termes de communauté émotionnelle et polyculturelle. Mettant en oeuvre les mécanismes sociaux de proxémie, il révèle la puissance sociétale.

D'abord le Camino a son héros fondateur, Saint Jacques lui-même, reproduit à l'infini dans l'iconographie du chemin, idéal type, forme formante à laquelle adhèrent les cheminants même s'ils ne sont pas catholiques. Le chemin de Saint Jacques est recherché pour le partage d'émotions communes ce que Michel Maffesoli nomme «communalisation ouverte<sup>18</sup>» et dont l'engagement organique que les uns prennent avec les autres est la marque.

Opposé à l'ordre gestionnaire des sociétés technocratiques, la religiosité populaire qui sourd du Camino, la fascination éprouvée pour les histoires de chacun répétées et commentées à l'envie, la constitution d'une mémoire collective du chemin, y concourent comme y participent les réseaux associatifs qui sont issus de ce pèlerinage, souvent en conflit les uns avec les autres, car le Camino est aussi un lieu d'enjeux économico politiques et institutionnels.

Tribal, le Camino l'est vraiment en ses expériences individuelles devenant collectives. Il amène les marcheurs à vibrer à l'unisson de leurs engagements physiques et spirituels, ce que chacun vit et avec quelle intensité!, dans un gîte surpeuplé en pleine montagne, lors d'une veillée commune, en arrivant sur la place de l'Obradoiro etc.

Il y a bien «valorisation de l'être ensemble» dans la promiscuité des auberges où l'on se trouve parfois cinquante (jusqu'à deux cent à Roncevaux) à dormir dans la même pièce y compris et jusque dans les humeurs partagées.

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<sup>16</sup> Nous avons ainsi hasardé l'opinion ressentie que le *Camino* est aujourd'hui le plus grand club de rencontres d'Europe.

<sup>17</sup> Méridiens Klinscieck, 1988.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Le fait que les maux physiques, les recettes pour les éviter et les conseils de soin, sont au menu de chaque rencontre, confortent encore cette idée d'un grand corps communalisant, pèlerins parmi les pèlerins... Certes le vin, «sang du pèlerin», pousse parfois certain(e)s aux confidences, ceux qui refusent ayant bien entendu droit à leur réserve...

Certes, dans le choix des gîtes dans les budgets avoués ou devinés, et que les uns et les autres consacrent au chemin, on peut déduire une certaine stratification économique et sociale des «usagers» du Camino...

Certes les retraités parleront peut-être plus facilement de leur vie passée que ceux qui encore actifs font un break dans une existence stressée...

Il n'en reste pas moins que le Camino est bien le lieu où la socialité s'exprime contre le social, hors institution, même si celle-ci n'a de cesse que de vouloir s'en emparer, où se vit et s'éprouve la sensation collective, «pulsion affective de la structure sociale»<sup>19</sup>, où prédominent groupes et affects, où se constituent de nouvelles agrégations et de nouveaux groupes même éphémères (mais les réseaux prennent alors le relais, voire la prolifération des forums d'échanges sur Internet entre anciens et nouveaux pèlerins). Et ceci dépasse largement les individus, gagne, de proche en proche, dans cette stabilité de l'espace qui depuis le néolithique, via les moines du Moyen Age, les têtes couronnées et les Compagnons du Devoir garantit la survie des lieux sous le chemin des étoiles.

Le pèlerinage de Compostelle après avoir vécu les signes de la chrétienté triomphante en tant que lieu symbolique de la civilisation occidentale est aujourd'hui lui-même élément d'un Nouvel Age polyculturel qui façonne son territoire symbolique et s'ajuste sans cesse aux vécus partagés. Chacun peut en effet y repérer un vrai polythéisme des valeurs qu'il véhicule à dos de pèlerin, nous «assurant que la vie perdure grâce à la multiplicité de ses expressions»<sup>20</sup>.

Comme les réseaux du Nouvel Age, le Camino récupère de fait le «*religieux flottant*», y mêlant religions antiques, cultures primitives, puritanisme, orientalisme, astrologie, voire paganisme et néo-celtisme selon les adhésions particulières des cheminants, les unes, pour certains n'étant pas exclusives des autres, même si le fond commun celto-chrétien reste prépondérant.

Figure du religieux en mouvement<sup>21</sup>, les chemins de Compostelle sont porteurs de la mobilité des croyances et des appartenances

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>21</sup> Danielle Hervieu-Léger, *Le pèlerin et le converti*, Paris, Flammarion, 1999.

religieuses, de cette religiosité post moderne qui se caractérise par la fluidité.

Comme l'a bien vu Régis Debray étudiant les nouvelles formes contemporaines de communication, nous sommes ici en présence d'une manifestation très concrète du village global, lequel globalise le village central, si l'on considère que sur le chemin du Nord que nous avons suivi, ce n'étaient pas moins de 80 nationalités différentes qui s'y retrouvaient. Au lieu de dissoudre le centre dans un réseau mondial, il démultiplie sa centralité par les capacités du réseau mondial<sup>22</sup>, les réseaux venant ici attirer vers ce centre en mouvement qu'est le Camino, cette incarnation du nouveau village mondial, dans des proportions certes différentes mais bien réelles les pèlerins les plus inattendus des coréens du Sud au brésiliens ou canadiens via les espagnols et les allemands, soit une communauté itinérante historique qui se produit et se reproduit à travers sa production symbolique, à savoir le Chemin lui-même. Et d'utiliser pour ce faire de puissants adjuvants fédérateurs.

Une des voies précisées par les réseaux du Nouvel Age (et nous soutiendrons volontiers que le Camino relève de cette sphère de sociabilité comme manifestation des «*christaquarians*<sup>23</sup>») est *l'écologie*. Elle est en effet tentative de resacralisation d'une nouvelle relation entre une partie unique et un Tout universel, séduisant ainsi les amoureux de la Nature et de la Liberté, et l'on a vu dans les motivations décrites par les enquêtes comme dans les «paroles pèlerines» à quel point cet aspect est important dans le vécu des adeptes du chemin.

Les tendances fondamentales des mouvements du Nouvel Age concernent trois domaines:

- *la santé dite holistique*: habiter son corps totalement et avoir recours aux médecines traditionnelles, végétales, à l'acupuncture, à l'aromathérapie... Sur le Camino, la vie en pleine nature, les contacts en albergue, les échanges de remèdes et de soins procèdent pour une grande part de ce courant avec lequel il se trouve en osmose, En ce sens nous sommes loin du «*contemptus mundi*» des pères de l'Eglise, pour lesquels «*mundus est immundus*», l'immanence faisant là irruption dans une chemin autrefois fondé sur la poursuite absolue d'une transcendance recherchée dans l'ascèse.

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<sup>22</sup> André Akoun, *Sociologie de la communication de masse*, Hachette, 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Daren Kemp, « The Christaquarians? A Sociology of Christians in the New Age » in Jim Lewis (éd.), *Encyclopaedic Sourcebook of New Age Religion*, Buffalo, Prometheus Books, 2002.

Pour les chrétiens, l'effort d'ascèse comprend deux aspects, l'un négatif (mortification jeûne, renoncement) et l'autre positif (trouver la maîtrise de soi pour affirmer les vertus propres aux disciples du Christ), car il n'est de vrais chrétiens que forts et l'on n'est forts que si l'on lutte, les chrétiens sont donc invités à sa saisir (Saint Paul) «*de l'armure de Dieu, du bouclier de la foi, du casque du salut*». L'ascèse est ici un combat sur soi et contre la dispersion, elle est fondamentale pour former la volonté et accepter le plan de Dieu sur soi.

L'ascèse chrétienne est donc d'abord *la voie purgative* qui a pour but d'arracher l'âme à la séduction des biens du sensible, à la détacher des liens de la chair et du monde, pour l'*élèver* du plan de la chute au plan créatif, ce changement de plan s'effectuant généralement par ce que les mystiques appellent une *nuit* (cf. saint Jean de la Croix). Alors l'ascète peut accéder à la *voie illuminative* par la pratique de l'oraison, de la méditation, vers la contemplation. «*Cherchez et vous trouverez, dit le Seigneur, frappez et on vous ouvrira (Matthieu 7)*», au bout du chemin, le sage chrétien parvient à la contemplation ou élévation de l'âme suspendue en Dieu.

Pourtant Maître Eckhart précisait que la liberté à l'égard des créatures qui caractérise l'homme juste ne s'obtient pas au terme d'un parcours d'ascèse qui rendrait disponible à la survenue de Dieu, mais exprimerait l'accord de toutes les puissances corporelles et spirituelles à ce qui fait le fonde de l'homme, son égalité avec Dieu<sup>24</sup>.

L'ascétisme au fond nous renvoie à deux attitudes devant le temps et par conséquent devant la mort, donc deux formes de sagesse, l'une, voie occidentale en faisant de l'ascète un manipulateur du destin vise à nier presque magiquement les pesanteurs de la chair et à les dominer, dans un mouvement ascensionnel dramatisé par les représentations qui ont cours sur l'ascétisme et l'autre, voie plus proche du tragique, incorpore l'expérience de l'ascète au cœur de la vie elle-même et l'ascétisme devient une météo érotique qui vise à l'harmonisation des contraires dans le rythme qui les constitue comme complémentaires.

Au fond, le chemin de Santiago dans sa pratique, ne relève-t-il pas de cette conjonction des contraires?

- *le potentiel humain*, en travaillant l'influence du psychisme sur le physique est un courant auquel on peut également aisément rattacher le Camino et ses adjoints, puisque sa fréquentation aboutit pour nombre de marcheurs à un véritable «déparasitage» des participants, une remise

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

en ordre psychique par la pratique physique la lenteur les rythmes du chemin, le sentiment de pouvoir à nouveau maîtriser leur vécu, du fait de l'expérience vécue. Nous l'avons vue en étudiant supra la question de l'énergie et des cuirasses caractérielles dont la pratique du Camino parvient à libérer certains des participants.

• *le respect de la Nature et de l'environnement*<sup>25</sup>: cet aspect est bien évidemment inhérent à la démarche pèlerine puisque la Nature est, des semaines durant, le seul lieu d'activité, et que les participants ne peuvent que se mettre à son écoute, à son école sauf à compromettre leurs chances d'aller jusqu'au bout. Elle est émerveillement continual bien mis en évidence dans tous les entretiens recueillis sur le chemin.

Sur le plan épistémologique, chaque cheminant peut faire l'expérience, même en dehors de tout dogme, du fait que l'homme est un tout, et que la nature humaine recèle un être spirituel potentiel. La spiritualité du Camino, même pour les chrétiens convaincus est situationniste et vise à l'efficacité immédiate, puisque le pèlerin attend de son chemin une transformation de son être. Ce faisant, grâce à l'expérience du temps qu'il vit réellement parce que il se met en danger il tend à resacraliser la mort et la vie qui continue après elle.

Dans l'expérience vécue du tragique le poussant aux limites de lui-même, il part vers les limites de la terre et de la mer sous le regard des étoiles. Sagesse déjà présente dans les temps anciens qui voyaient des pèlerins prendre le chemin pour y finir leurs jours lui assignant une fonction de passage (de cheminée), préoccupation loin d'être absente de l'esprit des pèlerins du XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle et pas seulement des plus âgés, les pèlerins en faisant une quête humaine du sacré marquant, par la gestuaire pratiquée, par l'organicité des espaces pèlerins, une volonté de puissance collective.

Devant la position rationaliste et fonctionnaliste, utilitariste des sociétés techniques, le pèlerinage de Santiago de Compostella offre une transition mystique fondée sur un vitalisme profond articulant à nos vies les figures des dieux et le Cosmos.

Pratique d'un Nouvel Age culturel, le pèlerinage de Santiago offre au pratiquant un espace de méditation, l'ouvre au transpersonnel.

En contrepoint des projets individuels, il appelle à un accroissement de la conscience interne en faisant appel à un réseau planétaire de conscience de correspondances interindividuelles contribuant à «une convergence harmonique». Il constitue donc une société extraordinaire et

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<sup>25</sup> Georges Bertin, *De la quête du saint Graal au Nouvel Age, initiation et chevalerie*, Paris Vega, 2010.

éphémère, confondant les catégories sociales dans des rites assurant aux pèlerins la liberté d'explorer leur unité dans un temps particulier vécu réellement<sup>26</sup>.

Dans les sociétés traditionnelles, le culte des saints personnages auxquels on va rendre hommage, pour s'approprier une partie de leurs qualités, les honorer dans leurs reliques, se gagner une place au Paradis, est bien connu. Il est universel, des rives du Gange aux marabouts africains, des temples incas aux montagnes sacrées du Japon ou du Thibet, des sources guérisseuses aux bois sacrés. Singulièrement, il a connu dans l'Occident chrétien un développement considérable depuis le Moyen Age entre les trois pôles de la chrétienté médiévale: Compostelle, Rome et Jérusalem... En Occident, les pèlerins de saint Jacques ou de saint Michel (le Mont Saint Michel) également fêté à Santiago de Compostella le 29 septembre, soit en des lieux de fins de terre, suivaient la Voie lactée pour monter dans la barque de la mort et s'assurer un bon «passage».

A l'époque moderne, aux siècles rationalistes, ces lieux ne cessent pas tout à fait d'être fréquentés mais l'optique est assez différente, le pèlerin n'est plus mû par une dimension transformatrice, c'est simplement un voyageur curieux, ou encore un esthète attiré par la poésie des ruines à l'époque romantique, même si, curieusement, les romantiques semblent avoir négligé Compostelle.

Notre époque connaît un regain d'intérêt amplifié par les réseaux modernes de communication, sur fond de renouveau des régionalismes, de réaffirmation des identités particulières et multiples, de recherche du sacré dans des sociétés technologiques matérialistes, instrumentalisant l'homme, en faisant un auxiliaire de la machine. La seconde moitié du XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, le XXI<sup>ème</sup> débutant connaissent un Nouvel Age des pèlerinages lié à un spiritualisme diffus, moins orienté par les grandes institutions, et qui semble s'installer dans les creux laissés par les Eglises. Danielle Hervieu-Léger<sup>27</sup> a repéré les marques de ces nouveaux types de religiosité:

- «esthétisation de la référence traditionnelle à la religion», ainsi je n'ai vu aucun pèlerin fut-il le plus agnostique, faire l'impasse de la visite des trésors de l'archéologie et de l'art religieux dont abondent les étapes du Camino;

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<sup>26</sup> A. Dupront, *Le Sacré*, éd. cit.

<sup>27</sup> Danielle Hervieu-Léger, *Le pèlerin*.

- «*recherche d'états altérés de conscience associés à l'intensification de l'expérience spirituelle*», et j'ai montré plus haut à quel point effort physique, marche, hyper oxygénation, contribuaient au lâcher prise des sujets marchants;
- «*figure du pèlerin flottant investie par tous*», et l'on aura compris à lire les témoignages présentés ici, combien cette fluidité de l'expérience est liée aux flux naturels et humains dans leurs interactions;

Pour nous, constatons que ceci est concomitant avec un phénomène que nous avons déjà analysé dans divers travaux<sup>28</sup>, celui de la désaffection de l'initiation dans la société moderne.

La découverte des savoirs du pèlerinage: cette composante est d'abord vécue par osmose et en quelque sorte transfusion implicite. Ils ne sont pas rares les pèlerins qui ayant accompli plusieurs voies d'accès ont à cœur de transmettre leurs savoirs acquis culturels, historiques, d'expérience. Jouent ici un rôle très fort les «hospitaliers», ces bénévoles présents dans un certain nombre d'auberges qui accueillent les pèlerins et autour desquels nous nous retrouvons en soirée pour partager un repas et aussi échanger expériences, anecdotes. Le pèlerinage se crée ainsi, au fil du temps, sa légende sans cesse renforcée et mise à jour et chacun le vit comme accès à une sphère inconnue jusqu'alors, et dont on gardera longtemps la mémoire.

La Culture du Camino est aussi présente et il n'est pas rare de rencontrer quelque érudit, historien, théologien, philosophe, anthropologue qui simplement met là son propre savoir à disposition dans une interaction réellement vécue, humblement, simplement...

#### L'essentiel tient cependant

- au partage d'expériences, de rencontres, de personnages évoqués, de situations, de tout ce qui forme la solide trame de la sociabilité pèlerine entre Histoire et histoires, dans la connaissance intime des pays traversés lentement... ce qui nous permet de mieux accéder à leur âme collective (pour moi les Asturias, le Pays basque),
- à ce que nous apprenons par les pieds, par le corps, apprentissages implicites et réels au fil des kilomètres parcourus.

**En conclusion**, l'expérience du Camino est, au sens propre, initiatique, et cette initiation est vécue, par chacun, à sa mesure et fonction de ses propres attentes car il y a autant de chemins de Compostelle que de pèlerins: «*à chacun son chemin*», dit-on...

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<sup>28</sup> Georges Bertin, *La pierre et le Graal*, Vega 2006; *De la quête*.

En même temps, elle donne le sentiment, au nouveau pèlerin, d'appartenir à une communauté informelle, implicite, une néo tribu dont les ramifications ne cessent de s'étendre, de proche en proche, (cf. le nombre d'adresses, de téléphones, de mails échangés sur le chemin) en des réseaux amicaux et culturels, qui participent – dans une société que l'on dit pourtant marquée par l'individualisme – au renforcement du lien sociétal, dans un monde mutant en quête de sens et d'initiation!

Alors, ils s'enivrent, de vin, parfois, de poésie surtout, de vertu, de méditation, qui sait?... plus sûrement de grands espaces, de cieux embrasés, d'émerveillement au chant des oiseaux, dans les petits matins printaniers, quand ils contemplent les immensités pour certains (*Camino francés*) les plaines à perte de vue de la Meseta et pour d'autres (*Camino del Norte*), l'Océan de la côte cantabrique, les a pics asturiens.

Compagnon de chaque instant de solitude, le voyage pèlerin, la *peregrinatio*, apparaît comme un dynamisme organisateur, une construction par laquelle le voyageur, l'*homo viator*, crée son propre espace symbolique, par un cheminement initiatique qu'il vit et dans la réalité et dans l'Imaginaire, soit symboliquement. A la conjonction de ses pulsions subjectives et des intimations des milieux parcourus, à la rencontre de l'intime et du social, dans une commémoration active, le voyage de l'*illud tempus*», il revit le périple du Voyageur Archétypal. Peut-être le Camino, (et ceci vaut pour toutes sortes d'errances, de pèlerinages aux sources<sup>29</sup>) participe-t-il de la refondation de l'être ensemble, grâce à l'écart que s'imposent des individus de plus en plus nombreux mus par ce que Dupront nomme le «tellurisme du besoin pèlerin», animés par cette vertu purgative de l'espace, dont Gilbert Durand nous rappelle qu'il constitue le sensorium général de la fonction fantastique, source inépuisable d'idées et d'images qui détemporalise le temps<sup>30</sup>.

La marche, la quête d'un *locus* au bout du monde, sont bien ces actes extraordinaires qui mettent entre parenthèses certaines formes pragmatiques de la conscience vécue pour atteindre ce que Michel Maffesoli nomme l'Instant Eternel dans «l'éclatement multiforme des carapaces identitaires», fortement aidée du fait même de ce «primum relationis» que le pèlerin entretient au monde et à l'environnement<sup>31</sup>, ce qui est loin d'être aujourd'hui la chose du monde la mieux partagée...

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<sup>29</sup> Lanza del Vasto, *Le pèlerinage aux sources*, Editions Denoël, Paris, 1943.

<sup>30</sup> Gilbert Durand, *Les structures*, éd.cit, p. 474.

<sup>31</sup> Michel Maffesoli, *L'instant Eternel*, Paris, Denoël, p. 202.

«Une nouvelle société ne peut naître, écrivait Cornélius Castoriadis, que si en même temps et dans le même mouvement de nouvelles significations apparaissent- je veux dire de nouvelles valeurs de nouvelles normes, de nouvelles façons de donner sens aux choses, aux relations entre êtres humains, à notre vie en général<sup>32</sup>».

Pour l'avoir observé, nous avons le sentiment que, paradoxalement, quelque chose de cet ordre se produit sur les Chemins de Compostelle et autres lieux d'errance, de nomadisme, entre intime et social, que ces lieux participent de ce renouveau encore sous jacent de significations imaginaires sociales de plus en plus partagées.

Est-ce une question de point de vue? telle que l'exprimait le mythologue Jean –Charles Pichon: «Selon que nous venons du Nord et marchons vers le Sud ou que nous venons du Sud et marchons vers le Nord, selon que nous quittons un lieu, un être une habitude, ou allons pour les retrouver, tout est noir et tragique: nous voudrions pleurer – ou bien la vie est belle et simple: un rire se forme en nous»<sup>33</sup>.

C'est, en tout cas, la leçon que nous avons reçue<sup>34</sup> et, peut-être, un peu «comprise», du «grand chemin».

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<sup>32</sup> Cornélius Castoriadis, *Une société à la dérive*, Le Seuil, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Charles Pichon, *L'Homme et les dieux*, Maisonneuve, 1986.

<sup>34</sup> Georges Bertin, *La coquille et le bourdon, essai sur les imaginaires du chemin de Compostelle*, Turquant, Editions Arsiris, 2010.

# SURPASSING CLASSICAL THEISM IN A SOCIETY BASED ON KNOWLEDGE<sup>\*</sup>

Vlad Vasile ANDREICA<sup>\*</sup>

**Abstract:** The classical theism describes God as being omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent and having infinite love. There are many mistakes implied in classical theism which weakened the concept of God and the possibility of proving His existence through rational arguments. Neoclassical theism propose to give a better image of God accommodating certain aspects of theistic beliefs such as divine perfection, freedom and creativity and to surpass the difficulties classical theism. Instead of the classical concept of God, neoclassical theism considers the possibility of developing and changing in God. Process philosophy, in general, and neoclassical theism, in particular propose a God that is a subject of change (that means changing for the better, but never for the worse) because He is related to the world and influenced by the world. God's knowledge about the world has to change along with the world which is changing in every moment.

**Keywords:** God, classical theism, neoclassical theism, omnipotence, omniscience, potentiality.

In the classical theism, God is described in absolute terms in what concerns his qualities: omniscience, omnipotence or infinite love. One of the most important idea that stand firmly in classical theism is the denial of potentiality in God. God is supposed to have no possibility of developing, God cannot change, because otherwise he would not be perfect. As a result, in classical theism God cannot change because change requires potency, He created the world out of nothing, He is omnipotent and omniscient.

The mistakes implied in classical theism are traced back to Greek philosophy. It is believed to be the wrong way in which Plato's ideas

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were hidden or distorted by his successors, especially Aristotle. In *Zero Fallacy* Hartshorne explains this point of view:

...classical theists were misled by Aristotle's radically one-sided, and even mildly plausible, view of the divine life as the mere thinking of thinking (totally *devoid* of any intrinsic relation to, or awareness of, the contingent specificities of the world) and how these negations were, with radical inconsistency, combined in patristic and medieval classical theism with so-called knowledge of and love for created individuals and creation of the world *ex nihilo*<sup>1</sup>.

In *Omnipotence and Other Theological Mistakes*, Hartshorne affirms that “classical theology was a compromise between a not-very-well-understood Greek philosophy and a not-very-scholarly interpretation of sacred writings”<sup>2</sup>.

Hartshorne insists that His neoclassical theism is more appropriate to theists than the classical theism exemplified by Aquinas and many others. Hartshorne’s doctrine of God aim to give a better image of God accommodating certain aspects of theistic believes such as divine perfection, freedom and creativity and to surpass classical theism’s difficulties<sup>3</sup>.

In the work entitled *Omnipotence and other Theological Mistakes*, Charles Hartshorne tries to identify mistakes of philosophers in the history of the philosophy of religion, mistakes that weakened the concept of God and His existence. A first mistake, successfully identified also by others refers to the perfection of God: God being perfect can not change. As Plato shows in *The Republic*, God could not change for better because “perfect” means something which can not be surpassed, nor for worse because this thing would imply a weakness. From this point the argument would be convincing only if we assign to “perfect” a meaning which excludes the change in any aspect. In neoclassical theism, perfection does not exclude in a absolute way the change. Even in situations in which God is presented as unchangeable there exists the possibility of an ambiguity. God can be unchangeable in what concerns justice but can be changeable in compatible

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Zero Fallacy*, La Salle, Open Court, 1997, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Omnipotence and Other Theological Mistakes*, New York, State University of New York Press, 1984, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Jay W. Richards, “Charles Hartshorne’s Critique of Christian Classical Theism: Separating the Chaff from the Wheat”, in Randy Ramal (ed.), *Methaphysics, Analysis and The Gramar of God*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, pp. 111-112.

ways with the necessary constant of his justice. The neoclassical perspective includes change, but God could never change into worst<sup>4</sup>.

The neoclassical theism has its tradition back from Socinus to Whitehead and in contrast with classical theism rejects the conclusion of the well known argument from *The Republic* which upholds that God, being perfect cannot change. To contradict this view is enough to show the contingency of the world combined with divine knowledge of that world<sup>5</sup>.

Instead of the classical concept of God, neoclassical theism suggests a God in which there is potentiality. God's knowledge is growing alongside with every action in the world. More than that, if we assume God's potentiality than there are perfections which He lacks: "In every choice some good possibilities are rejected, in every artistic creation possible forms of beauty are renounced"<sup>6</sup>.

If God was dependent on something outside himself he would not be considered perfect. In Hartshorne's view, dependence is not always a defect – he believes in a God which is influenced by the world. This perspective gives more sense to the idea of serving God<sup>7</sup>.

In the classical tradition it was supposed that God could not interact with other creatures:

It was held that while ordinary individuals interact, God's superiority is that he acts only, and does not interact. Unfortunately, this destroys all analogy between God and creatures, and it contradicts the very meaning of worship and related religious ideas. Nor is there any justification for the notion that interaction, as compared to simple action, indicates a weakness<sup>8</sup>.

The exclusion of change in God does not fit in Hartshorne's neoclassical theism: first of all these come in direct conflict with the idea of God being omniscient. If God has no potentiality, then God's knowledge is eternal and if the world changes God's knowledge of the world does not change. Don Viney reformulates the idea this way: "the argument can be expressed in the form of a dilemma. Perfect knowledge

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Omnipotence*, pp. 2-10.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Aquinas to Whitehead*, Milwaukee, Marquette University Publications, 1976, pp. 30-31.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Creative Synthesis and Philosophic Method*, La Salle, Open Court, 1970, p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles Hartshorne and the Existence of God*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *A Natural Theology of Our Time*, La Salle, Open Court, 1967, p.134.

conforms perfectly to its object. Now, temporal events are either eternal or they are not. If they are eternal they are not really temporal events. On the other hand, if the events are not eternal then perfect knowledge could not know them eternally”<sup>9</sup>.

Neoclassical theism considers on the possibility of developing and changing in God: the capacity of being different doesn’t exist in God’s existence, but God’s actuality could always be different of how it is. But this does not mean that the divine actuality may fail in existence. God’s existence is necessary – it has to be somehow actualized<sup>10</sup>.

There are many difficulties in what concerns the classical conception of perfection. When we about the perfections of an entity we have to say that it is more perfect not because we are referring to qualities like love or grace but because it has more experience than another<sup>11</sup>.

Hartshorne believes that an argument which tries to establish God’s perfection with the exclusion of any change may seem convincing only if it is possible to conceive a meaning for “perfection” which “excludes change in any and every respect and that we must conceive God as perfect in *this* sense. Obviously the ordinary meanings do not entirely exclude change”<sup>12</sup>.

One major attack against classical theism concerns the way in which the relationship between God and the world is conceived. It is not true that God remains unaffected by the events that take place in the world. If God knows His creatures, He has to relate with what these creatures do and He can not remain unaffected by what he knows about this world. His omniscience includes the world and the events that take place in it<sup>13</sup>.

In what concerns Charles Hartshorne’s contributions to this problem, many philosophers consider that one of the most important aspects in the philosophy of religion contemporary discussions is the substitution of the classical and monopolar conception of God with the dipolar abstract-concrete understanding of God<sup>14</sup>.

He also defended theism by providing a new type of theism – neoclassical theism which had the task of enriching and strengthening the

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<sup>9</sup> Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles Hartshorne*, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Colin E. Gunton, *Becoming and Being*, London, SCM Press, 2001, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *A Natural Theology*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Colin E. Gunton, *Becoming*, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> George L. Goodwin, “The Ontological Argument in Neoclassical Context: Reply to Friedman”, in *Erkenntnis*, volume 20, 1983, p. 219.

concept of God and also rescuing the ontological argument and the whole theism of its main critiques.

The relationship between God and the world can be better understood if we associate it with the relationship of a person with his body. God's body is changing, but God remains himself and the world is a part of God. In this view, it is clear that no being could surpass God in perfection because no matter what value a human has, God has it too and He has even more. In classical theism, the distinction between God and the world corresponds to the distinction between the creator and the created but in neoclassical theism God is in some respect created<sup>15</sup>.

God's dipolar conception implies a God which in part is affected by the actions of other entity and in other part His existence can not be threatened by what He suffers. He participates to the actions of the world. Classical theism had given a monopolar doctrine and with that they missed important aspects of God<sup>16</sup>.

Hartshorne criticizes classical theism because it was upholding a wrong perspective by introducing a contrast between God and the world. Hartshorne refers to God as being dipolar – starting from the main differences between classical and neoclassical theism: in classical theism God is absolute, creator, infinite and necessary, while the world is relative, created, finite and contingent. In neoclassical theism God has to be seen in the same time absolute and relative, creator and created, infinite and finite, necessary and contingent. So God has an absolute pole and a relative one. Yet God avoids possible contradictions by making the distinction between the different aspects of God. For example, God is not necessary and contingent in the same sense: although God's existence is necessary, the particular manner in which His existence is actualized is contingent (in this way it is made a successful distinction between existence and actuality)<sup>17</sup>. Very often the dipolar concept of God suggested by Hartshorne is being attacked by logic rules but the reality is not that a subject can not have opposites predicates such as p and not-p but that they can not have opposite predicates in the same respect. A person can change in some respects without changing in every respect, or even better “the world may be finite spatially and infinite temporally”<sup>18</sup>.

There have been built arguments in favor of God's non-existence starting from certain incompatibilities between the characteristics which

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<sup>15</sup> Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles Hartshorne*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>16</sup> Colin E. Gunton, *Becoming*, p.21.

<sup>17</sup> Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles Hartshorne*, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Hartshorne, pp. 22-23.

were attributed to Him in the classical tradition. Norman Kretzman builds an argument of this type starting from the incompatibility between God's omniscience and the fact that he is not a subject of changes, upholding that a being which knows everything, knows all the time what time it is and if He knows what time it is He is the subject of changes – in consequence, a perfect being like God could not exist<sup>19</sup>.

Against these views, process philosophy, in general, and neoclassical theism, in particular, propose a God that is a subject of change (that means changing for the better but never for the worse) because He is related to the world and influenced by the world. God's knowledge about the world has to change along with the world which is changing in every moment.

If the reality is in a continuous process and if God's perfection implies the fact that he has to know everything that may be known than God must grow in what concerns His knowledge. Starting from here, God has to be considered perfectly unchanged in what concerns the perfection of His abstract existence which implies knowing all the time what is to be known, but also in a process of development in what concerns the perfection of His concrete actuality – which implies knowing which is actual to be known<sup>20</sup>.

But God does not possess al the actuality: "God does not possess the actuality of having created a world without Augustine. In fact, now that he has created a world with Augustine, He can never had that actuality"<sup>21</sup>.

If God acquires new knowledge as new things are there to be known, the eternity of God cannot mean His immutability. The sense in which God is eternal is the fact that He cannot fail to exist – because the divine essence is necessarily actualized somehow, in some states of knowledge that are omniscient in the sense defined but with contingent aspects and with increments since reality acquires new items<sup>22</sup>.

Hartshorne's position is that God knows futurity in terms of possibility. But there are not future actualities but future possibilities.

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<sup>19</sup> Norman Kretzman, "Omniscience and Immutability" in Timothy A. Robinson, *God-second edition*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 2002, pp. 168-170.

<sup>20</sup> David A. Pailin, "Hartshorne's presentation of the ontological argument" in *Religious Studies*, volume 4.1, 1968, p. 108.

<sup>21</sup> Jay W. Richards, "Charles Hartshorne's Critique of Christian Classical Theism: Separating the Chaff from the Wheat", in Randy Ramal (ed.), *Methaphysics, Analysis and the Gramar of God*, Tubingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, p.115.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Aquinas*, p. 14.

Thus, there it is no limit in God's knowledge because he knows the future events only as possibilities<sup>23</sup>.

In *Man Vision of God*, Hartshorne explain the relation between future events and God's knowledge:

I conclude that omniscience does not imply a knowledge "above time." There could be a future event to an all-knowing being. When a future event comes to happen, such a mind will know more than it did before, but at both times it will know all that there is, though at the later time there will be a new event to know<sup>24</sup>.

The first philosophers who took the problem of human freedom on the right path and put it in a way that explain correctly God's omniscience were the Socinians: human decisions, that were supposed to be freely taken cannot be known in advance because in advance they don't exist to be known. An omniscient God knows the past events as being definite and the future ones partly indefinite. To know the indefinite as definite would be an error<sup>25</sup>.

In the classical tradition, God's omniscience implies that whatever happens must be known by God and as a result our freedom is inexistent, no matter what we, nothing changes.

God does not eternally know what we'll do tomorrow because in this moment there are no such as our tomorrow decisions or actions. As the Socinians put the problem, future events are not there to be known<sup>26</sup>.

Hartshorne gives an accurate response to the classical justification that God surveys on the past, present and future because He is the supreme cause and the world is the effect, or God's knowledge of himself as cause entails God's knowledge of the world as an effect:

...causes never imply any precise actual results, but only a range of possible ones. Thus, God, merely is knowing his eternal essence, would know "possible worlds" so far as these are eternally implied by the essence; but he would not thereby know the actual world. Causes always leave results somewhat open for further decision"<sup>27</sup>.

God is believed to have the knowledge which He might not have had: "Thus he knows that a certain world exists which might not have

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<sup>23</sup> Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles Hartshorne*, p. 31.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Man Vision of God and the Logic of Theism*, Connecticut, 1964, p. 104.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Aquinas*, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Omnipotence*, p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Aquinas*, p. 11.

existed; but surely had it not existed, he would not have known it to exist”<sup>28</sup>.

Another useful point against the idea that God could not change is the fact that if God remains unchanged humans would not try to do good actions since no act would be better than the other because the same reality remains in both cases:

Now traditional theism posits among the circumstances of all acts the existence of an absolutely perfect being. It appears to follow inexorably that no act can, in its consequences, be better than any other, for in either case the outcome can be neither better nor worse than the hypothecated continued or eternal reality of a value from which real subtraction and to which real addition are meaningless<sup>29</sup> (CH – mvg 156).

If God is unaffected by His relation with the world He has to be considered a superobject rather than a supersubject. Aquinas had held that God is omniscient and that His relation to the things He knows remains external – the criticism made to this classical view is that the logic of knowing is turned on its head in the divine case<sup>30</sup>.

Even it is impossible for any other being to surpass God in perfection, God could surpass himself because He is capable of increasing in value. This is possible due to the human decisions – God knowing all the new actions also acquire a new value<sup>31</sup>.

The arguments for God’s unchangeability are considered to be fallacious and the arguments for growth and change in God (as He knows the world which is changing all the time), are considered to be sound in the recent circles in philosophy of religion.

The fact that God posses certain great making properties and omnipotence or perfect power was debated for a long time. Obstacles against classical theism put the problem of reconciliation in God omnipotence and perfect goodness. The problem which was raised is the following: if an omnipotent God is powerless to do evil, then how can God be omnipotent?

Some answers try to surpass the incompatibility between God’s omnipotence and the existence of evil in the world by presenting a perspective in which it is considered that the universe is better with

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<sup>28</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Creative Synthesis and Philosophic Method*, La Salle, Open Court, 1970, p. 48.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Man Vision of God and the Logic of Theism*, Connecticut, 1964, p. 156.

<sup>30</sup> Colin E. Gunton, *Becoming and Being*, London, SCM Press, 2001, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles*, p. 36.

something evil in it than without it. From this perspective, the organization of the universe should be progressive and not static – a progressive insert of evil would be more benefic than an undisputed supremacy of the good. The existence of pain and diseases can make possible the existence of sympathy or heroism. Another solution through which the evil in the world is not connected with God's will is best offered by the Christian perspective of the free will through which humans have the freedom to act and to be responsible for their choices<sup>32</sup>.

There have been raised many dilemmas derived from God's omnipotence – one of the most well-known of them one being the situation in which God is capable or incapable of creating a stone so heavy for him to lift it.

The doctrine about God's omnipotence tries to show us that God can do anything. There have been built questions referring to God's omnipotence and no matter which answer we picked, we would face a problem. A question like the following one puts us in a strange situation: *Can God build a stone too heavy for him to lift it?* – If we say **no**, he lacks omnipotence and if we say that he can build that stone, but he can't lift it, he lacks omnipotence again. However, on the basis of the assumption that God is omnipotent, the statement *a too heavy stone for God to lift* becomes self-contradictory: it would be brought up to a stone which can not be lifted by the one which is capable to do anything. More than that, a being which is described by a self-contradictory statement is impossible<sup>33</sup>.

Hartshorne's perspective is that we have to abandon the idea of theological determinism in favor of a perspective in which each individual has some capacity for self-creation. It is true that God contributes to the character of each individual but He is not responsible for what an individual becomes. Even God can not determine another's individual decision in such a way that no details of the decision were left to that individual. Humans are to be considered *co-creators* of the world with God. The classical concept of omnipotence has to be considered erroneous<sup>34</sup>. Hartshorne denies the doctrine of the immortality of the soul (he denies that the soul continues to exist apart from the body), but he

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<sup>32</sup>J. L. Mackie, "Evil and Omnipotence" in Timothy A. Robinson, *God - second edition*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 2002, pp. 236-239.

<sup>33</sup>George Mavrodes, "Some Puzzles Concerning Omnipotence" in Timothy A. Robinson, *God - second edition*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 2002, p. 164.

<sup>34</sup>Donald Wayne Viney, *Charles Hartshorne*, pp. 32-34.

does not deny what Witehead has called *objective immortality* – this is a part of God’s omniscience and He remembers all that occurred. So all humans live forever in God’s memory<sup>35</sup>.

As an analogy to human death Hartshorne gives a very good example for the way in which all human actions are to be remembered in the divine life: “a book ends with its last sentence or last word; however, the book does not become the mere silence or blank page following that world. The book of life is all its *words* (actions, experiences), and these form an imperishable totality, as adequately retained in the divine life”<sup>36</sup>.

Related to the problem of human freedom and how determinism has been surpassed an interesting perspective about cosmic order related to human’s freedom is that in which the freedom is being limited but not reduced to zero. With too much freedom it would be a chaos. A world is understood as one ordered one but not an absolute ordered world – a system of decision makers in which change is implied. This agents decides things in every moment and “becoming” applies even to God<sup>37</sup>.

In *Logic of Perfection* Hartshorne suggests that:

The ideal rule sets those limits outside of which freedom would involve greater risks than opportunities. Risks cannot be banished, for opportunity would go with them, both having the same root in freedom or self-determination. But too much freedom would extend risks more than opportunities, and too little would restrict opportunities more than risks<sup>38</sup>.

Other critiques aim at the relationship between God and believers in the context in which they conceive God as a being worthy to be venerated. In these circumstances God is presented as a being in front of whom all people should kneel down. More than that, to venerate anybody or anything else would be a blasphemy. James Rachels tries to build up an a priori argument against God’s existence, considering that no being can ever be seen as a fitting object of veneration – veneration implies a superior status of the one which is to be venerated and the believer necessarily assumes his inferiority. From this it can be concluded that no

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<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Hartshorne, *Omnipotence*, p. 39.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Hartshorne, “The Logic of Perfection and Other Essays” in *Neoclassical Metaphysics*, La Salle, Open Court, 1962, p. 231.

being can be a suitable object of veneration as long as veneration implies the abandoning of the believer from the position of an moral agent<sup>39</sup>.

A similar position is adopted by John Hick in the article *The Vail of Soul Making*. Someone who tried to be good when encountering in his way lots of temptations is considered better than someone who tried to be good in a *peaceful* environment. The world was not created as a paradise, but as a scene of history in which human personality must be formed. Humans have to live in an environment in which the purpose is reaching a certain potential in the personality<sup>40</sup>.

For Hartshorne the classical concept of God is incoherent and must be reject because of his internal contradictions. Any society based on knowledge will come to have a concept of that which necessarily exists, as opposed to that which is contingent. Humans live best when they live as though what is best in them resonates to what is highest in the universe. In the final analysis, theism provides the best metaphysics for this kind of thinking. The main directions in classical theism are not of much use anymore because of their internal contradictions between God's qualities like omniscience, omnipotence, perfect goodness etc. Neoclassical theism sugests a God in which the main difficulties found in classical theism are surpassed, provides a dipolar doctrine of God – a God which is related to the world, whose knowledge is growing alongside with every action in the world.

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<sup>39</sup>James Rachels, “God and Human Attitudes” in Timothy A. Robinson, *God - second edition*, pp. 197-207.

<sup>40</sup>John Hick, “The Value of Soul-Making” in Timothy A. Robinson, *God- second edition*, pp. 248-250

# **CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF THE CULTURAL IDENTITY IN POSTMODERNISM. SEARCHING FOR A MULTICULTURAL EGO**

**Florentina PASCU\***

**Abstract:** The present paper propose o revaluation of major paradigms in a cultural context focused on globalism and identity. A necessary debate must take into account the need for a model of reception and of interpretation of the world that passes beyond the limits of any type of Rationalism, wanting to defend its notion of "sublime" and – finally – rediscovering the "divine".

**Keywords:** critique of paradigms, postmodernism, cultural identity, ego

## **1. The Postmodernist Legacy**

The current poetics has given birth to a true "banquet" of ideas. The Postmodernist paradigm, from which we start this Hermeneutic discourse, is placed under the anamnesis, under the "never forgetting". It is talked about a hypermnesia, an excessive functionality of the cultural mechanisms. Postmodernism belongs to a cultural siege system, monopolized by the post-structural languages; it is the prisoner (happy most of the times) of hyper-codification. It belongs to pluralism, it looks for the polyphony and an aesthetic of "anything goes" organizes the world of the texts as a symposium of forms, simultaneously, bringing in synchrony the literary ages.

What did Postmodernism leave us? A road that ends in a technological space, populated by "bodies without organs" (Artaud), "negative space" (Rosalind Krauss), "pure implosion" (Lyotard), "a random mechanism" (Serres).

The art seems to be a conglomerate of scrap signs of the shipwreck of some notions in the value and sacrosanct power of which the old generations believed without doubt. The art is an evolution on the edge of fascination and of desperation, pointing out the entrance in an epoch of death of what is social. We are trying to enter and to search for aspects of the identity of the cultural and social ego in this land where there is no

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ideal, nor sorrows but only a “an extended twilight which erases the forms and shapes of all things”<sup>1</sup>, twilight very similar to that which is watching over Dionysus’ torment in Nietzsche’s work. Postmodernism is a fantastic implosion of the Western cultural experience, since the Western culture develops under a “passive and suicidal nihilism”<sup>2</sup>.

## 2. Cultural Aspects in Europe and in North America

In Europe, the fall of Communism added to this problem a new dimension. The former soviet countries truly orientated towards the Community in order for it to help them regain the identity and unity of the European culture.

In the other space, the North American one, through which we are trying to find cultural affinities, we are witnessing the sustained assault against the Greek-Roman, Hebrew and the Christian West literatures. The victims of this attack, as a result of the political reforms of the left party from the ‘60s, are the American universities dominated by personalities that share profound atheistic and relativist visions based on the positivist idea, according to which faith and intelligence are incompatible. (James T. Burtchaell, *First Things*, chapter 91). The phenomenon of destruction of the liberal arts from the inside is manifested through the compromising of the Western culture and history, in the name of a new multiculturalism.

We have to understand that:

a) this century is, without doubt, an audiovisual century and alphanumeric, which will have enormous consequences for culture, for art, for the individual;

b) the U. S. A. and Europe didn’t have the same starting point, not from the economic point of view and especially not from the tradition and cultural identity point of view.

From the very beginning of their history, European cultures in general, and especially arts, addressed an elite. Decades and centuries needed to pass in order for the artistic works to become accessible for a bigger audience, with great difficulty crossing the boundaries and maintaining their local and national particularities.

Also, one cannot neglect the Christian contribution in Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> John Berber, *Way of Seeing*, N. Y., Viking Press, 1972, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Kroker, David Cook, *The Postmodern Scene, Excremental Culture and Hyper-Aesthetics*, N. Y., St. Martin’s Press, 1968, chapter I.

### **3. Which is The Main Feature of the Christian Existence? The Ego in the Christian European and North American Consciousness**

The ultimate goal and the purpose of the human existence has been defined in patristic tradition as *theosis*, deification. This term is troubling for the modern human ear; it cannot be exactly translated by any modern language and not even by Latin. But the meaning of this word is simple and clear and it will put its mark on the entire way of life but also on the European culture and civilization. It is enough to quote St. Athanasius “He made Himself human in order to deify ourselves in Him”<sup>3</sup>; St. Irenaeus essentially adds “That Who, through His immense love made Himself like we are, in order for Him to make us what He is”<sup>4</sup>. *Theosis* involves a personal encounter. Is that personal encounter of man with God through which the whole existence of man is imbued with the Divine Presence<sup>5</sup>.

I would quote only a few words regarding the status of the ego in the Christian consciousness, which marked the European world very deeply and indubitable through a real philokalic revolution: “In the fullness of the Church communion, the universal transfiguration of the personality is complete”<sup>6</sup>. But the rejection and the denial of our self doesn’t also impose the personality to be annihilated, dissolved in the crowd. Universality doesn’t mean physicality or collectivism. But the opposite, our self-denial broadens our personality purpose, in self-denial we posses the crowd in our self; we gather the most of things in our ego. And in this way the similarity with the Divine Unity of the Holy Trinity is being born. How far we are from this goal!

The culture and the arts have a totally different history in the North America. From the very beginning they are addressed to a popular audience, composed out of immigrants arrived from around the world. They took the art and the culture in their wagons towards an “inevitable” destiny: the crossing of the continent. Therefore, completely different conditions from those of Europe. Further more, the immigrants very rapidly became Americans, adopting in a more or less successful way a common dialect, a language spoken and understood by everyone. On this

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<sup>3</sup> *Contra Arianos*, in *Saint Athanasius the Great. Works*, Romanian edition, 2005, p. 54 (“El s-a făcut om pentru a ne îndumnezei pe noi în El”).

<sup>4</sup> “Cel care, prin imensa Lui dragoste S- a facut una cum suntem noi, pentru ca tot El să ne poată face ceea ce este El”.

<sup>5</sup> Georges Florovsky, *Scripture and Tradition: an Orthodox View*, pp. 114–115.

<sup>6</sup> “În deplinătatea comununii Bisericii transfigurarea universală a personalității este desăvârșită”.

ground, the U. S. A. have developed, in over three centuries, a mass culture, unique in the world, addressed to everyone, that is understood by all, its great common number making it accessible to the vast un-American popular strata world wide. A tradition that has succeeded in unifying the numerous currents that are a part of it in an incomparable authenticity, which cannot be imitated. This is the short Hollywood-ian miracle and, increasingly more, of the American television. In the U. S. A. the achievements on the big and small screen have never been conceived as cultural objects, in the narrow sense of the word, they are in essence, an entertainment that speaks to all, that reflects the dreams and the truth to all. An entertainment developed without complexes, with a magnificent professionalism and an extraordinary "handcraft". And the problem would stop here if we wouldn't try to look in a little critical way at this multiculturalism that has also led to a leveling of the ego, at a smashing of the subjectivity, at a loss of the identity after which coveted so much the patristic literature of Europe. I've taken this idea from the documentary book of Frank Schaeffer<sup>7</sup>. Schaeffer states that America is currently in a state of ideological "war". This "war" is between those who defy history, religion and the Christian civilization society and those who continue to value our cultural and religious heritage. It is a "war" between those who have taken and developed the Protestant pluralist impulse up to its last consequences and those Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants who try to find and to give life a certain moral direction, to discover and to enjoy the beauty and the mystery of this desecrated, materialistic and immoral world.

From newspapers to justice books, from the world of arts and to the world of humanistic sciences, the followers of the atheistic and rationalist social and political beliefs are in conflict with the Christians and the Jews or with anyone who shares another religion. Those who look to destroy the traditions of our Judeo-Christian heritage have politicized the world around them in order to achieve their goals. Through a great number of social engineering programs they have dramatically flawed the way in which society relates to the meaning of life, to truth, to morality and to religion. Politics has replaced the religious truth at every level of society as the main source of morality<sup>8</sup>.

The sustained assault against Greek-Roman, Hebrew and the Christian Western literature, against the Western art is currently in its

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<sup>7</sup> Frank Schaeffer, *Dancing Alone: the Quest for Orthodox Faith in the Age of False Religion*, Brookline, MA: Holy Cross, 1994.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

glory period. “Cultural relativism succeeds in destroying the West’s universal claims”<sup>9</sup>.

Page Smith states that “the Postmodernist spiritual malaria” which affects not only America, but the whole Western world, extends well beyond the academic environment but in that environment it is more acutely felt<sup>10</sup>.

#### **4. What Is the Connection between the Status of These Moods and the Current Culture?**

I would synthetically unite them: between the European negativism (see nihilism) and the American positivism a new current of ideas is being born: the Postmodernism that is still looking for its identity in nature, literature, social sciences, etc. Is Postmodernism an idea, a cultural experience, a social condition or maybe all them combined? Without doubt Postmodernism exists as an idea or as a critical form in the mind of the intellectuals and in the mass-media. From the ‘80s it has given birth to enormous disputes, sometimes violent, sometimes restless, in the middle of various subject matters, from Geography to Theology, from Philosophy to Political Sciences.

A similar controversy related to the “Postmodernism” in art, in architecture, in literary critics and in film critics is even older – see buildings as the wing of the National Gallery in London designed by Venturi, novels like *The Satanic Verses*, movies like *Blade Runner* or serials like *The Real Thing* at BBC (1992) in Great Britain. Therefore Postmodernism had dropped for a long time from its ivory tower, representing for many people a lot of every-day experiences. The idea of post-modernity could also be a figment of the ultra enriched imagination of the scientists, a fashionable parody or the expression of a radical cheated hope.

But it deserves to be analyzed because it attracts the attention towards a series of very important questions related to “the identity of the multi-cultural ego”.

A very important series of Western ideas begin with the notion of “providence” that is transposed in the idea of “progress” and from there it passes in “nihilism”. The notion of “providence” refers to God’s care towards the world after its creation, seeing that the history process goes on in a straight line towards a certain goal. One of its primary followers

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<sup>9</sup> Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1987, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> *Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America*, New York, Viking, 1990.

was the Christian thinker from the 4<sup>th</sup> Century Augustine of Hippo, whose remarks in *City of God* would have a powerful effect on the crystallization of the Western civilization. Postmodernism denies any cyclic movement in history, expressing a more future orientated hope than resignation of pessimism.

Nevertheless, the accent put on the progress of history was often associated with the certainty that generally all things are thriving, especially under the influence of the early Enlightenment way of thinking. Assigning an important role to reason, unlike the medievalism and the traditional dogma, made many to think that it is in the power of man to develop at an even faster pace. As an irony, even the Christian commentators were encouraging these ideas. But highlighting the role of reason and putting aside the Divine Intervention, the seed of another secular version of the providence is being thrown, the idea of progress. The faith in our senses has replaced the faith in God's laws and has opened the way to the coming into being of the modern scientific concepts about the world. As Anthony Giddins says "the growth of the European power has of course given the material support for the hypothesis that the new vision of the world was built on a solid foundation that offered security and made the emancipation from the dogma of tradition possible". Even though the Enlightenment, and therefore the modern project, was designed to reduce the uncertainty and ambiguity, the independent reason will always have its doubt. Only in this way will it manage to avoid the relapse into dogma. The modern way of thinking was built on the relativity of knowledge. But because in the secular parody of the divine way of thinking there were still searching for universal laws, relativity was considered to be a nuisance. Today, the widespread acceptance of the fact that our observations depend on assumptions and these assumptions are related to the conceptions of the world and to the steps of power make relativity – not to say relativism – look more natural. For those with Nietzsche tendencies it is obvious the futility of the modern dreams towards universalism. The nihilism embryo started to form itself in the modernity womb.

From the height of the Victorian certainty, of the European colonialism and the new establishment of the North American boundaries, the faith in progress dominated everything. In spite of what followed – the First World War and the Economic Depression – the hopes didn't totally disappear. The International Exposition in Chicago in 1933 celebrated "A Century of Progress". The faith in progress was diminished after the Second World War but it also was artificially

revived by a great scientific and technical development as well as by an unprecedented growth in consumption. But the damage had already occurred. The colonialism crashed. The hidden parts of the industrial epoch started threatening to come to light in the environment degradation, in the depletion of the resources and in the degradation of the ozone layer.

## **5. Between Modernism and Postmodernism. A Cultural Crisis**

In short, the result was a reconsideration of the earlier doctrines. In the Western world, an extraordinary cultural revolution weakened or removed the old landmarks. In the '60s appeared political and cultural dares: the traditions and gestures had no limit. New social movements appeared. In the mean time, in Eastern Europe the buds of a new democratic movement arose which, blossoming, would lead to the disintegration of Communism.

The years 1789 and 1989 became the two centuries of modernity, whose political expression is finding a rationalized world, starting with the French Revolution and ending with the fall of the socialist bureaucratic state system. When the dreams of Westernization paid and contrary voices began to be heard, like those of the Islamic summism, the idea of culture or universal knowledge was as well put into question. The progress through technological development and economic growth appeared as a confused blessing. Reason brought with it as many nightmares as beautiful dreams and the irrationalism of the drugs or of some of the new religions promised more. The political legitimacy and the civic motivation seemed to be in decline. The intellectuals started to argue in order to establish if there was a crisis in the catastrophic sense or in the sense of a new chance and to look for new terms.

“Postmodernism” is, for now, the most suitable term that they could find and I propose to maintain it and also what they had named “post – postmodernism” for clarity.

The term “postmodern” therefore refers, before anything, to the exhaustion of the modern world. As a strict analytical process, the distinction between “Postmodernism”, where the stress is on culture, and “Postmodernity”, where the stress is on the social aspect, is advised. Therefore, “Postmodernism” refers to cultural and intellectual phenomenon. One is giving up the “Foundationalism”, the idea that science is constructed on a solid foundation of observable facts in the philosophy of science. Postmodernism puts under question the main ideas of the Enlightenment. The second is the collapse of the hierarchies

of knowledge, of gestures and of opinions and the interest based rather on the local aspect than on the universal one. If science is weakening its authority then it is overthrown. “Let’s learn from Las Vegas!” (or from the locals or from nature) becomes a slogan. The third one is the replacement of the printed books with the TV screen or as the artisans of the word prefer, from logo centrism to icon centrism.

Regarding the idea of identity, the precursors of Postmodernism are considered to be Friedrich Nietzsche, with his nihilist concept, and Martin Heidegger, who states in *Being and Time* the fact that the humanism is in crisis precisely because it replaces God with humanity in the centre of the universe. Exactly the same problem is found in the third interpretation of the cultural tragedy, Georg Simmel’s interpretation. Georg Simmel (1854 – 1918) is known today on a large scale not only as one of the fathers of sociology but also as the only postmodern thinker of them. I will insist on this research.

Simmel put together the sociological world and the cultural analysis. This tragedy, or cultural crisis, was to him the growing gap between the objective culture, for example seen in technology, and the more and more alienated individual, frustrated in the search of his individual authenticity. The cultural sociology, as it is conceived by Simmel, highlights the apparent loss of meaning in the modern world of industrialism, loss that he associates, among others, with “the decline of Christianity”. He sees in the contemporary movements, like socialism in politics or impressionism in art, the answer for the need of a “final goal” in life, on top of all that it is relative, on top of the fragmentary nature of the human existence.

Simmel also commented the autonomy of the cultural sphere. Since the objective culture – the form – increasingly militates against life, Simmel develops a tragic idea in which, for example, marriage becomes simply oppressive and lifeless and religion loses contact with certain distinct believes and degenerates into mysticism. And thirdly, the emphasize is put on aestheticism.

For Simmel, art was a way to beat the world’s contradictions and he believed that in times of confusion and uncertainty there will be a more general orientation towards aestheticism. Both reasons – the acknowledgement of the distancing from the form and the search for meaning or even for morality in art – reappear in the debates on Postmodernism and in the actual situation.

From what we can acknowledge only from the several ideas presented here, the European thinkers and theoreticians agree with the

North American ones in this observation of the loss of identity, of the search for a new relationship between ego and God, between ego and society, between ego and culture, etc.

The secular self-imposed limits of the cultural debates now-a-days – phenomenon that Professor Richard John Neuhaus calls it “the public square as it is”, where the religious ideas are excluded from the public discourse – shown that the cultural war goes on, on both sides, on secular ground.

To fight for ideals of freedom and justice without any reference to the Ten Commandments, to Judaism, to Jesus Christ, to the Orthodox tradition, to the Holy Parents, to the Seven Sacraments, to the Byzantine Christianity and the Latin Christianity is not possible or it is possible but with the consequences described before. The Christian West cannot be understood or even less restored outside a moral discourse based on the Indo-Christian religion. Culture and science are searching again and again for solutions to the meaning of man in the universe, with ultrasound advanced technologies which have now become routine procedures, with an ethics based on “the looking for happiness”, with a culture in which the ego is destroyed, annihilated, leveled, globalized, religion has been reduced to a simple subjective opinion which cannot resist the barbarity of an sophisticated Nazi-style eugenics program in terms of the galloping genetic development. Dostoyevsky said that once humans lose their faith in God, they would believe anything.

One of the supporters of Postmodernism, Jean Baudrillard based his work<sup>11</sup> on criticism. Therefore, how can this criticism be built? In any case, not on the Marxist or Rationalism concepts. These are obsolete meta-narrations. Now-a-days our situation is one of hyper-reality. Once developed the distinction between the objects and their representations, there remains nothing but the *semblances*. These don't refer at nothing else but themselves. The mass-media messages, like for example the TV commercials, are the best examples. This reference to oneself goes further than Max Weber's fears related to a demystified and dematerialized world. The signs lose their contact with the things that they signify. The end of the 20 Century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century are the witnesses to an unprecedented destruction of meaning. Searching for a distinction between moral and immoral, between real and unreal is useless.

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<sup>11</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Society*, 1970.

Can this represent a criticism? It would seem that the term itself “criticism” loses its main meaning when there is no position from which to define, to evaluate, to judge. The opinions are divided. We state Arthur Kroker’s opinion which takes Baudrillard’s “panic” as “the main physical state of the Postmodernist culture”, marked by the swinging of the end of the century from a deep elation to a deep despair. Maybe the truth is that in fact Baudrillard’s search for reality is not over. The pure semblances’ world, of the apocalyptic artificiality is more clearly seen in his study, *America*. The hyper-real background, a road in the desert, seems to resume the American civilization. He states that some things cannot be exported; therefore the nostalgia of many American intellectuals after the European culture and ideas has no point. But Europeans do not lack nostalgia, the nostalgia of the failed revolutions. Maybe, suggests Bryan Turner as well as Frank Schaeffer, here exists “a hidden religious paradigm” that not only makes Baudrillard a Postmodernist but also an Antimodernist.

Our conclusion, without attributing to ourselves the exhaustive rights, is the need for a model of reception and of interpretation of the world that passes beyond the limits of any type of Rationalism, wanting to defend its notion of “sublime” and – finally -rediscovering the “divine”.

# **QUESTIONING IDENTITY LANDMARK: ARCHEOLOGY, ARHITECTURE AND METHODOLOGY**

## **BISTREȚ-IŞALNIȚA TYPE DISCOVERIES IN OLTEANIA<sup>\*</sup>**

**Simona LAZĂR\***

**Abstract:** The end of the Bronze Age in Oltenia, I. Chicideanu 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. 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 Cruceni-Belegiș II and preceding the group Vârtop.

**Keywords:** necropolis, Bistreț-Ișalnița cultural group, grooved ceramics, Oltenia.

In the 1980, on the occasion of the digs made in the area Bistreț – Cârna, Ion Motzoi Chicideanu identified a cultural group that the author chronologically placed it during the interval of the 13<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. and that he called *Bistreț – Ișalnița*<sup>1</sup>, encompassing some discoveries analog to the two eponymous sites. At a closer examination, one can notice differences that shouldn't be neglected and they predicted from the start how complex would be the problems emerged in this context. That group was thought to occupy the Danube's meadow, from

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<sup>1</sup> I. Chicideanu, "Die Frühthrakische Kultur. Zur Bronzezeit in Sudwest Rumänien", în *Dacia*, NS, 30, 1986, pp. 7-47.

the Clisură to the river Olt's mouth and would represent the last manifestation of the Bronze Age in that area, being contemporary, in Banat, with the second phase of the cultural group Cruceni-Belegiš and preceding the appearance of the Vârtop type grooved ceramics<sup>2</sup>. The mentioned author considered that this ceramic group appeared after grafting some western influences of Cruceni-Belegiš type on the Gârla Mare local cultural fond. Ion Chicideanu reunited then in the Bistreț-Ișalnița group a series of discoveries in which appeared ceramic forms, similar to those from the eponymous stations<sup>3</sup>.

Later, Monica Șandor-Chicideanu added to the list from 1986 other discoveries considered to belong to this cultural group<sup>4</sup>. Thus, in Bulgaria the most famous discoveries added to this type are the three cremation tombs from Makreš Grobiščeto<sup>5</sup> and the site from Gradešnica<sup>6</sup>, and in Serbia, the tombs from Vajuga (Korbovo-Pesak)<sup>7</sup> and Usije-“Grad”<sup>8</sup>. It is interesting to notice the fact that, most of the times, the funerary discoveries of Bistreț-Ișalnița type are situated in the same places where there were before Gârla Mare type necropolises.

Examining now the discoveries attributed to the Bistreț-Ișalnița type, we can notice major differences, both as regarding the forms and the decoration of the pottery and the quality of the information that refers to the analyzed sites. If this last objection reflects only the actual stage of the research and the publishing of the material, for the repertoire of forms and decoration must be done a distinction starting from the eponymous discoveries. Thus, unlike the vessels from the Ișalnița funerary complex, discovered by accident<sup>9</sup>, at Bistreț were attributed to this group a series of large vessels similar in form to the Cruceni type urns, salt cellar vessels, pedestalled porringers with the lobate edge and square shaped cups. Only

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 40-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 44 next; notice on the map from fig. 36 the author's hesitations as regarding the assigning of some sites, especially those from Vâlcea County, to this cultural group.

<sup>4</sup> M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *Cultura Zuto-Brdo Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, Cluj, Editura Nereamia Napoca, 2003, p. 30 sq.

<sup>5</sup> G. Aleksandrov, *Izvestija na Muzeite v Severozapadna Bălgarija*, 6, 1981, p. 19-45.

<sup>6</sup> G. Georgiev, “Die Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Nordwestbulgarien”, in (ed. B. Hänsel) *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.*, PAS, 1, 1982, p. 187-202.

<sup>7</sup> D. Kristić, *Derdapske Sveske*, 3, 1986, p. 148-151; M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *Cultura Zuto-Brdo*, p. 256 sq.

<sup>8</sup> M. Kosorić, J. Todorović, “Grad naselje jutobrdske kulturne grupe”, in *Starinar* NS. 13-14, 1962-63 (1965), pp. 267-274.

<sup>9</sup> Gh. Popilian, «Un nouvel aspect de la fin de l'âge du bronze en Olténie», in *Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International UISPP*, Prague 21-27 août 1966 (1970), pp. 733-735, fig. 1.

this last type of vessel is present in the both discoveries. The pedestalled vessels, with cylindrical neck and with a square-shaped body from Işalniţa are decorated with geometrical motives that remind the ornaments of the Verbicioara ceramics and the two kantharoi, also with the square-shaped body, are similar with some cups discovered at Cârna. A vessel discovered isolate at Călăraşi, Dolj County<sup>10</sup>, a locality near the Danube, in a certain extent similar in shape with the vessels from Işalniţa, is decorated with grooved garlands and it is attributed to this group.

We should notice that the Işalniţa site, near Craiova, being at a great distance from the Danube's course, might eventually explain formal differences between the two discoveries, but the differences in decoration, are the main reason for which existed different points of view as regarding the cultural attribution: either of a final phase of the Verbicioara culture<sup>11</sup>, or a singular group that came later after the Gârla Mare culture<sup>12</sup>. B. Hänsel considered that the discovery from Işalniţa represents the eponymous discovery of the group with the same name, presenting traditions of the Gârla Mare style and also of the Govora group (defined like this in order to replace the phases IV and V of the Verbicioara culture). Chronologically, it may be considered to be situated between this last one and the Vârtop group or even partially parallel with this last one<sup>13</sup>.

Later, Bistreş-Işalniţa type ceramics was considered only partially contemporary with the Govora type one but also with that characteristic to the second phase of the necropolises from Cruceni and Beograd-“Karaburma”<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> S. Morintz, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii*, I, 1978, p. 65, fig. 19/4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22 next and 61 next; B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Regionalen und Chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, p. 101 sq.

<sup>12</sup> I. Chicideanu, “Die Frühthrakische Kultur”, p. 40 next, followed then by most of the researchers (cf. and A. László, in *IR*<sup>2</sup>, I, 2010, p. 313).

<sup>13</sup> B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Regionalen und Chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, p. 101 sq.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*; B. Hänsel in his work, considers the group Işalniţa contemporary with the phase Babadag I, having certain affinities with the group Vârtop and following after the group Govora. As regarding the position that the mentioned group would have, the author presents two hypotheses: the first is that according to which this group would constitute an intermediary horizon between the group Govora and the grooved pottery of Vârtop type. The second would be that the groups Govora and Vârtop had been contemporary and belonged to the autochthon communities and the Işalniţa type grooved pottery would have arrived from the external area, on the Danube's course.

Still, what can we consider as being certain after studying the actual documentation? First of all, we believe that we should start from the funerary discoveries, realized through systematic researches, from the area of the Bistreț lake, to which we must grant the proper importance. The situation from Ișalnița should be approached from another perspective. The discoveries from Cârna-“Ostrovogania” and also the new ones from the nearby area, at Plosca, constitute now *the only* certain situations that can be regarded a starting point. Here, in the perimeter of the both Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type necropolises, was identified for each a small group of tombs of which ceramic inventory presented specific forms different from those met in the majority tombs (at Cârna-“Ostrovogania”, 9 from 69 tombs) and that, in few cases, superposed stratigraphically the Gârla Mare type tombs<sup>15</sup>.

Similar situations are attested in Serbia, along the Danube, in the Clisură area (Korbovo-“Pesak” and Vajuga-“Pesak”) and Bulgaria (Orsoja) but they are only mentioned and little or at all illustrated (maybe it will be more appropriate to name all these discoveries of “Bistreț type”, avoiding the name Ișalnița, in order not to create confusions).

No matter how much we take into account the influences that came from the western side (we are referring here to the group Cruceni-Belegiș), it is obvious that the mentioned discoveries constitute the organic evolution in the forms of the Gârla Mare culture and, implicitly, of the funerary practices specific for those communities (the cremation remains the exclusively practiced rite). We should also notice that the number of Bistreț-(Ișalnița) type tombs from the cited necropolises is much more reduced as confronted to the one from the Gârla Mare period tombs. This fact might suggest a short period of time when this group developed, but such a conclusion is not mandatory<sup>16</sup>. In the same time, the fact that it isn't yet known any necropolis that can be attributed certainly *only* to the Bistreț-Ișalnița group, this type being always discovered in the area of the Gârla Mare necropolises (even if, in some cases, are disposed in separate group, as in the circumstances from Beograd

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<sup>15</sup> M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *Cultura Zuto-Brdo Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea mijlocie și inferioară*, p. 223 and especially p. 262-297; the researches from Plosca-“Cabana de metal” have been only partially published (*Ibid*, pp. 298-318).

<sup>16</sup> I. Chicideanu, “Die Frühthrakische Kultur”, p. 43 and M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *Cultura Zuto-Brdo Gârla Mare*, p. 209 sq. appreciates its duration to about a century (the 13<sup>th</sup> century at I. Chicideanu and about 1250/1200-1100 B.C. at M. Șandor-Chicideanu).

-“Karaburma”<sup>17</sup>, it proves more likely the tight connection, undoubtedly, with the Gârla Mare culture necropolises and the further on practicing, by the same communities, of the anterior funerary customs.

As mentioned before, to the ceramics from the Bistreț-Ișalnița cultural group were attributed as characteristic a certain repertoire of forms that includes bitronconic amphorae (large vessels), bowls of which shape in the part of the maximum diameter is square, two lugged cups, also with a square form, double vessels (salt cellar), semispherical cups with overdimensioned lug, the ornaments being realized especially narrowed and oblique, placed on its body, garland-shaped, on the vessel's neck<sup>18</sup>.

Unfortunately, most of the materials that are illustrated in literature come, either from isolated discoveries or vessels, most kept in fragments. Until the publishing of the complete context from the Cârna - “Ostrovogania” and Plosca - “Cabana de metal” tombs, all that is known about the Bistreț aspect of this cultural group, are the data discussed above.

Taking into account these data, Ion Chicideanu, placed along the Bistreț-(Ișalnița) group the flat necropolis from Balta Verde and some discoveries published by Dumitru Berciu as coming from Vârtop. On the situation of the materials taken from this last station we shall talk later on, but as regarding the small necropolis from Balta Verde we draw the attention about the fact that few elements would justify such a cultural and chronological placing. The vessels discovered in the 22 tombs identified after the digs present only vague analogies with the ones from Bistreț; we are referring here to the large vessels, a generalized form at the end of the Bronze Age that became common in most of the discoveries from the beginning of the Iron Age, so it may be considered characteristic only for the Bistreț-Ișalnița group. But, the porringers with the edge bended in the exterior, ornamented with grooves disposed in garland, aren't present at Bistreț. On the other side, at Balta Verde, the porringers with the lobate edge that characterize indeed the Bistreț type discoveries are lacking.

After all, the only element that pleads for the relation with the situations from Bistreț, is the presence of the urns field from Balta Verde on the same area with that of the Gârla Mare type necropolis

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<sup>17</sup> J. Todorović, *Praistoriska Karaburma II. – nekropola bronzanog doba*, Beograd, 1977.

<sup>18</sup> I. Chicideanu, *Die Frühthrakische*.

from the same locality: the point “*La morminți*” (in the graves area). Unfortunately, there isn’t a plan of the digs and from the report made by Berciu doesn’t clearly result the superposing of the two necropolises’ positions; the mentioned author declared only the fact that: “in the same point (...) where it was the urn field from the Bronze Age (...), existed a necropolis, *on a larger area* (our mention) that also included tombs with funerary urns”. And he added below: “the urns field from the First Iron Age included the entire part of the urn filed from the Bronze Age, stretching also beyond its limits”<sup>19</sup>.

If we examine the inventories of the 18 tombs from the same necropolis, considered as being of Gârla Mare type, we notice that some vessels discovered in the tombs 16-18 lack the specific decoration and can be related with the Bistreț aspect<sup>20</sup>. In conclusion we have good reasons to consider the situation exemplified through the small necropolises from Balta Verde as suggestive in order to illustrate the process of evolution of the funerary practices in this part of the Dunării de Jos<sup>21</sup>: during the stage with Gârla Mare ceramics (the tombs 1-15) appear elements with ceramics similar to the Bistreț type (in the tomb no. 16 and in the double tomb 17-18) and then was adopted the ceramics predominantly decorated with grooves (the 22 tombs from the necropolis attributed to the First Iron Age). This last discovery is probably, in our opinion, partially contemporary with the necropolis from Hinova and that from Ticvaniu Mare, Caraș-Severin County and some sites with Vârtop type ceramics.

The confusions that result concerning the attribution of some dispersed and ununitary materials from the formal point of view, to the Bistreț-Ișalnița cultural group, also appear due to the unpublishing of the entire material found here, but also due to the unilateral character of the discoveries, most of them of funerary type. The only sites that had the characteristics of a settlement in which it seems that could be noticed this evolution of the material culture are those from Balej (four successive deposits) and Ghidici (the

<sup>19</sup> D. Berciu, E. Comșa, “Săpăturile de la Balta-Verde și Gogoșu” in *Materiale*, 2, 1956, p. 307 sq.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301 sq., fig. 35; 36.

<sup>21</sup> These conclusions are similar with those drawn 50 years earlier by D. Berciu as regarding the continuing of the cultural evolution in this area crossed by the Danube, Oltenia (*Ibid.*, p. 308).

dwellings no. 2 and 9 were attributed to the cultural aspect that we discuss here). But we must bring forward the fact that the discovery from Bulgaria, because the lack of details in the preliminary reports, remains still uncertain.

We believe that these apparent lacks in our information are explained through an objective situation: as A. Vulpe noticed, at the end of the Bronze Age is seen a tendency as regarding the reducing in number of the burials that can be archaeologically identified and, at the beginning of the Iron Age until the Basarabi period and including it, they disappeared in some areas<sup>22</sup>. In other words, in the lack of some necropolises rich in inventory (especially pottery) the image of the archaeological discoveries reveals an apparent “impoverishment” of the proofs of dwelling that is actually a lack of the objective information, of registering some cultural transformations that, with the actual methods the archaeological researching can’t detect. This reduction of the archaeological material doesn’t necessary reflect other structural modifications of the quotidian life in that communities.

For the completion of the image from this controversial period are of great help the discoveries from Banat that we shall bring forward below, in our paper. The situation from Balta Verde, mentioned before, presents similarities with that seen in the great necropolis of Cruceni- Belegiš type from Beograd -“Karaburma”, remarkably analyzed by I. Chicideanu<sup>23</sup>. The horizon of Dubovac – Žuto Brdo type tombs (partial contemporary with the Gârla Mare culture) is followed, apparently immediate, by a horizon with urns of which vessels are decorated mostly with grooves, similar to the Cruceni – Belegiš type. The superposing of the two horizons of discoveries is only partial, the urns are ornamented with grooves being found especially in the eastern side.

This succession was interpreted by the mentioned author as a succession after the acquiring in the communities that used the incrusted pottery of Žuto Brdo – Gârla Mare type of the influences exercised by the Cruceni – Belegiš group, of influences that are seen

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<sup>22</sup> A. Vulpe, in *Istoria Românilor, I*, 2010, p. 366 sq; A. Vulpe, “Zu den Grabsitten der älteren Hallstattzeit in Rumänien”, in (ed. F. Verse, B. Koche et alii) *Durch die Zeiten...Festschrift für Albrecht Jockenhövel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Rahden/Westf., 2008, pp. 269-273.

<sup>23</sup> I. Chicideanu, “Die Frühthrakische Kultur”, p. 30 sq. The necropolis was published by Jovan Todorović: *Praistorijska Karaburma II*.

also in the genesis of the Bistreț-Ișalnița group. Of course, these influences can't be denied, but more important would be that their signification to be fully appreciated. We consider that the actual stage of the information allow us to draw conclusions that involve the history in order to explain this phenomenon.

In Banat, the group Cruceni-Belegiș (the second phase) is followed by the horizon represented by the necropolis from Bobda<sup>24</sup> and illustrated by the rich ceramic material discovered in the Susani tumulus<sup>25</sup>. This last one would constitute the finishing of the evolutive process that started in the 1<sup>st</sup> stage of the Cruceni-Belegiș type necropolises, phenomenon also seen by K. Horedt and reconsidered by A. Vulpe. It is yet appropriate to mention the fact that in Banat the entire process is illustrated only by funerary discoveries. The tumulus from Susani is, up until now, singular, its importance coming also after the complete publishing of its rich ceramic inventory<sup>26</sup>.

It is therefore obvious that a step forward made in the attempt to explain the phenomenon of passing from the period with incrusted pottery of Gârla Mare, Žuto Brdo, Szeremle etc. type to that where the grooved pottery becomes the main category of fine ceramics, can't be made without knowing the forms of dwelling and their material content. Neither in Banat nor in Oltenia this isn't possible to be done in the actual stage of information. The evolution of the material culture specific for this period from Banat and Danube's meadow, presents characteristics different from the sub-Carpathian regions.

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<sup>24</sup> N. Boroffka, "Probleme der jungbronzezeitlichen Keramik in Ostungarn und Westrumänien", in (ed. H. Ciugudean, N. Boroffka) *The Early Hallstatt Period (1200-700) in South-Eastern Europa. Proceedings of the International Symposium from Alba Iulia*, June, 1993, Alba Iulia, 1994, p. 10, fig. 1.

<sup>25</sup> I. Stratian, A. Vulpe, *Der Hügel von Susani*, PZ 52, 1, 1977, pp. 28-60.

<sup>26</sup> Although the publishing of a dig is a duty of its authors, we notice that in Banat the situation of archaeological documentation presents great lacunas: at the large necropolis from Cruceni aren't known but the few tombs dug by Ortansa Radu ("Cu privire la necropola de la Cruceni jud. Timiș", *SCIV* 24, 1973, 3, p. 503-520); the one from Bobda is, excepting few illustrated vessels, apart from their context, N. Boroffka ("Probleme...", supra, p. 10, fig. 1), totally new, and in the The Museum of Banat from Timișoara there is an important amount of material, still in a rough state, coming from the hundreds of tombs of the necropolises that belong to the same periods (Timișoara- "Pădurea Verde", Peciu Nou etc.).

# AN ARCHITECTURAL VARIETY SPECIFIC TO OLTEНИA. THE *CULA* (OLD BOYARS' HOUSE)<sup>\*</sup>

Anca CEAUȘESCU\*

**Abstract:** The cula type edifices, which represent the tower-shaped buildings, appeared out of the necessity of refuge and defending. They are met in our country, in the southern territories, between the Carpathians, the Danube and the rivet Olt, with a prolonging to the river Argeș. From the architectonic point of view, the elements specific for the cula type edifices existed as starting with the 17<sup>th</sup> century at the boyars' houses. But, in the most well-known and better preserved forms, they appeared in the Phanariot period. They had been built by the small and middle boyars from the countryside. The cula type edifices from Oltenia fulfilled different functions, dividing them in three categories: refuge and defending cula or temporary house; watching, signalizing and alarm cula; permanent dwelling-cula.

**Keywords:** the cula, Oltenia, reinforced housing, arhitecture.

Along the princely houses, the boyars' houses and mansions, the old boyars' residences (called *cula* at singular) are constructions that belong to the category of the civil buildings that have been lasting since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in a less or more advanced stage of degradation. If in Transylvania, for the purpose of defending, had been built rural fortresses and in Moldova monasteries with strong walls, in Wallachia, had been built the *cula*. As a real fortresses, with thick walls, stroke through by ramparts, the *cula* is constituting in a type of construction representative in the Romanian architecture. These houses stand for the pages from the history of Oltenia's territory that bring eloquent proofs about the fight carried on by the people of this territory against the invaders from the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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In our country, the *cula* appear in the southern territories, comprised between the Carpathians, the Danube and river Olt, with extension to the river Argeș (fig. no. 1). But, the spreading area of this type of construction, well-defined starting with the 18<sup>th</sup> century, is extending in the entire Balkans' space, especially in Albania and Serbia. It is also present in the regions from France, Spain and Italy.

According to the definition from dictionary, the *cula* represents: “1. tower shaped building, with the rectangular base (that functioned, in the past, as a defending place). 2. (Arch.) Circular tower, cupola, arch. Vaulted tower in the princely palace, in which was kept the treasury. 3. (Arch.) Vaulted cellar; underground gallery. 4. (Arch.) Boyars' mansion, (fortified) house of an estate's landlord”<sup>1</sup>. The researcher who concerned himself with this type of construction defined it as: “fortified rural house, with several superposed floors, having a door braced with iron, protected with an oak bar that it is placed crosswise towards the interior in order to enhance its resistance. The door sometimes has lateral ramparts for the purpose of firing with a rifle from the interior”<sup>2</sup>, “fortified tower-shaped dwelling, a «fortress-house»”<sup>3</sup>.

As regarding the etymology of the word “*cula*”, it derives from the Turkish word “Kula” that it is used with the significance of tower. Yet, this doesn't mean that the construction has the same origin.

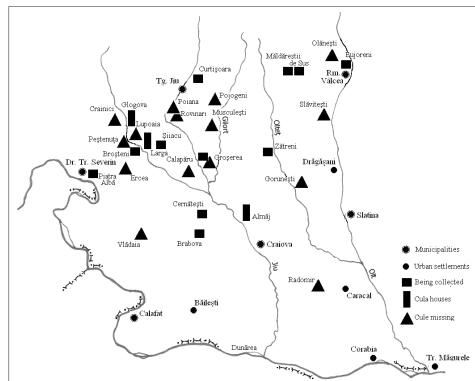


Fig. no. 1 The spreading of the *cula* type edifices in Oltenia (remake after Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, 1969)

<sup>1</sup> \*\*\*, *Romanian Explicative Dictionary*, the second edition, The Romanian Academy, “Iorgu Iordan” Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic, 1998, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> N. Ghica-Budești, *Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia și Oltenia*, IV. *Noul stil românesc din veacul al XVIII-lea*, “Datina Românească”, Vălenii de Munte, 1936, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele din România*, Bucharest, Meridiane, 1969, p. 6.

In some researchers' opinion<sup>4</sup>, the model of the Romanian *cula* type edifices was borrowed from the Balkan Peninsula. Corina Nicolescu sustains the idea that, through its structure and the construction pattern, the *cula* type edifices are related to the tower-houses spread in the Balkan region and considers that from here they passed to the north of the Danube<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, the fact that in our country the *cula* type buildings are present only in Oltenia, in the region of frontier with Bulgaria and Serbia, can sustain this opinion. But, the affirmation lacks, somehow, grounded arguments, because the simple resembling in name and form with the constructions from the south of the Danube can't be decisive in this respect.

The similarities between Balkans' *cula* and that from Oltenia are, indeed, numerous but they resulted from their development in the same historic circumstances. When the Turks had come in this part of Europe, they had found the old Roman guarding towers that were corresponding to their fundamental need of defending the empire; they had copied and had reproduced them exactly<sup>6</sup>. In the south of the Danube, they were necessary for a longer time than in the Romanian territories, fact that determined the maintaining of the Roman shape, while in Oltenia the *cula* type edifices reached an evolved stage. So, "a Balkan influence on the *cula* type edifices from Oltenia can't be taken into consideration but only to prove, in the Balkan area, the existence of the tower-shaped *cula*, with a veranda of arched poles above, with the same constructive type and with an interior structure"<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, the constructive characteristic of the Romanian *cula*, determined Grigore Ionescu to consider it as having some original features: "Belonging to the art genre called citadel, whose far origin must be sought in Persia and Minor Asia, related as concept with the fortified house spread during the Turkish occupation in the Balkan countries, in Macedonia, in Bulgaria, in Albania, in Serbia, the Romanian *cula* represents a version with many original features"<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, such constructions, equipped with defending means, existed in Oltenia starting with the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such is, for example, the house of the Glogoveanu boyars from the village Glogova, Gorj District.

<sup>4</sup> Al. Tzigara Samurcaş, "Arta în România", in *Convorbiri literare*, XLI, (1907), no. 1 (January), p. 91-92.

<sup>5</sup> Corina Nicolescu, *Case, conace și palate vechi românești*, Bucharest, Meridiane, 1979, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *Culele din Oltenia*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1974, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura pe teritoriul României de-a lungul veacurilor*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei R.S.R., 1982, p. 451.

On the other side, we must take into consideration the genesis of the *cula* type edifices and the role that the peasants' houses from the Subcarpathian region. Radu and Sarmiza Crețeanu find a striking similarity between these and the *cula* type edifices: "with their socle made of masonry work or boulders, high and stroke through by ramparts and with the interior staircase that allows the access to the fists floor, these houses – numerous in the past in the Subcarpathian area of Wallachia, but not anymore today – often present the pronounced appearance of a small *cula*"<sup>9</sup>. In the architecture of the *cula* we discover constructive elements and techniques taken from the peasants' dwellings. The frame work from the brick laying of the last floor of the *cula* from Brabova (Dolj District) constitutes a proof in this respect, attributing the construction from the Dolj District locality to the type of original Romanian *cula*, with a pronounced autochthonous character<sup>10</sup>.

The *cula* from Oltenia comes from the tower-*cula* that originated, in its turn, from the fortified tours that functioned as a guard and watch position. These constructions appeared from the necessity of refuge and defending of some wealthy families but also because they wanted to supervise everything that was happening around them. Because the lack of the evidences, we can't precisely establish the date when the first *cula* appeared in our country. What it is known, is the fact that, certainly, the oldest *cula* type buildings, known in Wallachia, date from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. But, characteristic features of the *cula* type edifices had already existed from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, at some of the boyars' houses. They took shape in a general situation of insecurity and fear that was characterizing that time the south part of the country, because of the invasions that came across the Danube. The weakening of the central power that didn't have any resources for securing the country's defensive system, determined the boyars to take security measures for their life and properties. In this way, there appeared the fortified boyars' buildings, considered by some researchers as being precursory to the properly *cula* type edifices<sup>12</sup>.

But the real *cula* type edifices, in their most known and well-preserved shapes, appeared in the Phanariot era. They had been built by the small and middle boyars from the countryside, as a refuge and defending post in front of the Turkish plundering bands. The rulers and the great boyars had built

<sup>9</sup> Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele*, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Elisabeta Ancașa-Rușinaru, "Despre două cule din județul Dolj", în *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monuments istorice și de artă*, year XLVIII, no. 2, 1979, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura*, p. 456.

<sup>12</sup> Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele*, p. 10.

churches and monasteries with fortified walls. There are well-known, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Turkish invasions that had came from over the Danube, of the pasha from Vidin, Osman Pasvan-Oglu, (1801-1802, 1806) and also the devastating incursions of the bands of thugs (called *cârjalii*) or the groups of outlaws (*haiduci*) that attacked the villages and the cities from the north of the Danube. Facing this situation, the wealthier dwellers tried to defend their goods by themselves, building fortified houses that were assuring them a certain protection. Such dwellings, built by the constructors from the rural environment, were similar to the towers. They were all built with thick walls, fortified, stroke through by ramparts, had massive doors and deep cellars.

But the emerging of the *cula* in this period is tightly related to different causes. The boyars were also afraid by the possible rebellions of the peasants, subjected to numerous abuses, impoverished by taxes and duties. That's why, many of the *cula* edifices were built near the mansions and the boyars' houses, especially near those that functioned as guarding and signalling posts. Around them, the terrain was cleared in order to observe the possible attacks.

At that time, the *cula* type buildings had a ground floor, used as a cellar, and one or two floors, to which the access was done on an interior staircase. The construction had two exists: one in the front and another on the opposite side, where the security staff was. At the last level, above the front exit, there was a look-out tower sustained by wooden pillars.

During the Turkish invasions from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the next one, a great number of *cula* type edifices and watching-tower that formed, along with several monasteries, a communication, defending and security network on the courses of the main rivers near the Carpathians or in the Oltenia's Subcarpathic region<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, the *cula* had an important role in preventing the attacks of the invaders. The danger signal was transmitted at night, with the help of the fire and during the day, with smoke. This was launched from the watching-towers near the Danube and was directed to all the dwellers from the villages and cities, no matters the social class to which they belonged. In a relatively short period of time, the news of the danger arrived to the north side of the Wallachian Plain. Such a communication network was made of the *cula* type buildings from the Valea Jiului. The signal started from the cula-tower from Zăvalu to the hermitage Robaia and from here to the *cula* type buildings from Foișoru, Țuglui, Braniștea, all the way to Craiova.

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<sup>13</sup> Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu, *Arhitectura medievală de apărare din România*, Bucharest, Editura Tehnică, 1985, p. 308.

Also, numerous cula type edifices had been built during the ruling of Tudor Vladimirescu, many of those who constructed such structures being Tudor's pandour captains<sup>14</sup>.

Although the *cula*, from the architectonic point of view, had as a model the boyars' house that existed at that time and that, due to the needs of defending against the groups of invaders who had come from the Turkish garrisons over the Danube, had to be fortified<sup>15</sup>. Most of them were placed on the top of the hills, in the points with a wide view that would offer good visibility. The building materials were diverse, according to the resources of the person who was building it, the local raw material, but also to the purpose for which they had been built. Generally, the walls were masonry-worked (quarry or river stones, burned brick or stones mixed with bricks) or wooden. No matter the construction material, all the walls were consolidated with oak beams, put as a part integrated in the masonry layer at diverse floors<sup>16</sup>. The thickness of the walls wasn't uniform to the last floor, but it was reduced with almost 10-15 cm at each level.

The most spread type of Romanian *cula* is that of a prismatic building, with square or rectangular, very similar to the square one, plan. Such a *cula* includes a ground-floor and one or two floors. The walls are made of stone or brick, with the thickness varying from 0.7-1 m, plastered and painted in white. The ground-floor, with one or two rooms, was used for depositing food, tools and, in case of danger, animals. Its walls were stroke through by ramparts (very narrow orifices). The floors had the rooms in which people lived, whose number varied according to the size of the *cula* and its functions. The rooms had low heights, of 2.5 m and are covered with boards made of thick oak beams<sup>17</sup>. The connection between the ground-floor and the other floors was made through an interior wooden staircase. At the Romanain *cula*, the staircase was fixed, unlike those from the Bulgarians and Turks, where it was detachable or retractable to the superior side.

At the last floor, the *cula* from Oltenia, near the dwelling rooms, had also a veranda (look-out tower) with arcades supported by short and thick cylindrical columns made of bricks<sup>18</sup>. It was always situated on the side

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<sup>14</sup> M. Davidescu, *Monumente istorice din Oltenia*, Bucharest, Meridiane, 1964, p. 40.

<sup>15</sup> A. Pănoiu, *Arhitectura și sistematizarea rurală în județul Mehedinți (sec. XVIII-XIX)*, Bucharest, National Museum of History, 1983, p. 178.

<sup>16</sup> Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *Culele din Oltenia*, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura*, p. 452.

<sup>18</sup> Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele*, p. 14.

from where it might have come an attack. From here it comes its important role, of watching and signalling spot. This fact expresses either the fact that they wanted to use the rustic porch or it might have developed under the influence of the Brâncoveanu style architecture. The look-out tower is specific for the *cula* from Oltenia and lacks entirely in other regions.

The access in the *cula* is done through a door, usually situated on the main facade or one of the lateral sides, made of oak beams, having a locking system and being flanked by ramparts.

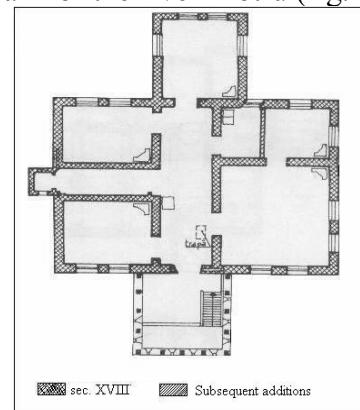
The oral tradition mentions the existence in the *cula* type edifices of some vaults – hidden places in which the boyars kept their values (money, guns, jewellery, muniments etc.) that were better preserved there in case of attacks. They were situated under the steps of the staircase that provided access to the superior floors or in other secret places (behind the icons or pictures, in the spots the lamp posts were fixed etc.).

In Oltenia was developed the type of residence-*cula*, with an open gallery at the last level and the annexe-*cula* of the residence<sup>19</sup>. If we take into consideration the structure variations, the *cula* from Oltenia has two floors (those from Curtișoara, Măldărești, Cernătești, Brabova etc.) or only one floor (Tudor's *cula* from Cerneți – Piatra Albă, the *cula* edifices from Broșteni, Bujoreni, the former *cula* from Radomir etc.).

The elements that characterize the architecture of the *cula* existed, as we were saying, starting with the 17<sup>th</sup> century, at the boyars' houses. Such a house-*cula* is that of the Glogoveanu boyars, built in the village and commune Glogova, placed on the left bank of the river Motru (fig. no. 2).



A.



B.

Fig. no. 2. A. The house of the Glogoveanu boyars (Glogova, Gorj District); B. The plan of the ground floor

<sup>19</sup> Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu, *Arhitectura medievală*, p. 308.

It seems that as regarding the building of the house, can be distinguished two different architectonic stages. In the first stage, it was built a cellar on the ground, construction attributed to Necula Glogoveanu, documentary attested at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. There were made thick walls, of almost a meter and a half, form narrow bricks, with river boulders at the basis<sup>20</sup>, stroke through by many ramparts. Consequently, starting from that period, appeared some elements of fortification specific for the *cula* buildings. The cellar was made of two rooms with cylindrical vaults and strong arches. A detailed description of those architectural elements is realized by Ileana Cioarec in her study about the Glogoveanu boyars: “in the first room there is only one arch, and in the second, there are six arches that lean upon the walls and the two square-shaped piastres. In the bottom of the last room there is a section that doesn’t have a vault, but a straight, wooden ceiling. In this place it used to be a trap door whose opening, now covered, can be observed at the extremity of the ceiling. This trap could be used only to descend in the cellar and not as a stair that allowed the access into the house”<sup>21</sup>. The entrance into the cellar is done on the south-eastern lateral facade, similar to that from a *cula*. In her study on the masonry civil architecture from Wallachia from the 14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Sinigalia Tereza shows the presence, on the side opposed to the entrance, of another cellar<sup>22</sup>.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century there had been done additions, consisting of a floor and two exits. The author was either Matei Glogoveanu, imperial councilor under the Austrian regime, or his son Ioniță Glogoveanu. The frontal exit includes the entrance and the staircase with access at the first floor and, above, a look-out tower leaned upon wooden pillars and that from the opposite side was a guarding building that had ramparts<sup>23</sup>. Above it there was the *sacnasiu* (a small room, prominent as compared with the facade of the building, enclosed with windows or shutters). In this stage also, there had been remade entirely the floor “slightly overhanging in the continuous console”<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Cristian Moisescu, *Arhitectura epocii lui Marei Basarab*, Bucharest, Meridiane, 2002, p. 49.

<sup>21</sup> Ileana Cioarec, *Boierii Glogoveni*, Craiova, Alma, 2009, p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> Tereza Sinigalia, *Arhitectura civilă de zid din Țara Românească în secolele XIV-XVIII*, Bucharest, Vremea, 2000, p. 331

<sup>23</sup> Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele*, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> Cristian Moisescu, *Arhitectura*, p. 49.

The look-out tower, characteristic for this type of house from Oltenia, has a brick and mortar parapet and it is limited by a row of wooden columns that support six beams, made from the same material, nicely shaped and ornamented with notches<sup>25</sup>. From here, it continues with a central corridor, entering into the five rooms of the ground-floors, two on each side and one at the bottom, the *sacnasiu*. After the enlarging done in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the construction gains the features of a boyars' house and fortress, in the same time.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the constructive and architectonic forms are more evolved. The aspect of fortified house was starting to be attenuated. The most conclusive example in this regard is that of the two *cula* type edifices from Măldărești, Vâlcea District: the Greceanu cula and Duca cula. The oldest of them, Greceanu cula, was built towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Nae Paharnicul, as an addition to the defending tower from the anterior century, becoming a fortified dwelling. Its plan had the shape of the letter L. The *cula* was made of a ground floor and two more floors. Unlike the anterior constructions, the cellar of the *cula*, made of three rooms, is slightly deepened into the ground, has a separate entrance and doesn't communicate with the rest of the building<sup>26</sup>. The entrance at the first floor is separated and it is done through a door placed little higher as confronted to the ground level, strengthened and provided with a defending rampart. The rooms in which people inhabited from the two floors are covered with cylindrical vaults, nicely decorated and, also, the look-out tower, placed at the superior floor, on the corner, above the staircase. At the intermediary floor, the *cula* has a "loggia".

Once with the disappearance of the invasions' danger and with the ceasing of the peasants' rebellions, the *cula* type edifices lost their initial use. Some of them were renovated and transformed in common houses. As Grigore Ionescu said, "naturalizing as a dwelling for the freeholders and gents, the *cula*-house loses entirely its aspect of fortified construction and gains, with the help of the local masons, a new look with a national character"<sup>27</sup>. Others, were deserted and few of them transformed in museums.

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<sup>25</sup> Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura pe teritoriul ....*, p. 461; Anca Brătuleanu, *Curți domnești și boierești din România. Valahia veacurilor al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, Ed. Simetria, 1997, p. 89

<sup>26</sup> Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele*, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura populară în România*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 64.

It is the case of the *cula* from Cernătești (commune Cernătești, Dolj District) built in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (fig. no. 3). The building has a rectangular plan, with the sides of 9 and 7 m. The cellar has a direct entrance, placed on the same facade with the floor entrance. Instead of the look-out tower from the last level, it is built a wooden balcony, with a rustic aspect. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the building had some additions, consisting of a second level. In time, the *cula* was consolidated and renovated several times. At the initiative of the primary-school teacher Nicu Pârvulescu, in 1972, was fitted up a museum of the history from the Cernătești village that houses object of popular culture specific for the dwellers from that region: items reflecting the traditional occupations (at the ground floor), archaeological exhibits: Neolithic stone hammers, Roman coins, arrows and spear heads from the feudal age etc. (at the first floor), specific clothes, textile items for interior, household objects (at the last floor)<sup>28</sup>. The *cula* was in a relatively well-preserved state because of the repairing works done due to the funds donated by the descendants of the Cernătescu family and to those of the local administration. Today, the building is an architectonic monument and a museum of national interest.



Fig. no. 3 The *cula* from Cernătești (Dolj District)

<sup>28</sup> Elisabeta Ancuța-Rușinaru, "Despre două cule", p. 78.

Real fortresses erected on the high places, the *cula* type edifices from Oltenia, represented, in the old times, strategic nuclei for the defending against the invaders bands that attacked our country's territory. They present the history of these places but also the mastership, the ability of our forefathers who, with reduced quantities of raw materials, built real national values. Nowadays, the importance of some of them was regained after the restoration and their introduction in the touristic circulation, as museums.

# **SOCIAL PRACTICES AND IDENTITY REPRESENTATIONS WITHIN A COMMUNITY – THE RESEARCHING METHODOLOGY**

**Gabriela Boangiu\***

**Abstract:** The study wishes to approach the importance of some social practices in maintaining the identity in a community. It will be referring to the structure of the property and to its representations in the mentality of a community. A special attention will be shown to the social practices concerning the foundation (stories describing the creation of the communities, for example) and referring to the periodical actualization of some identity guide marks (local customs, events organized at the level of the entire community).

**Keywords:** identity, narrativity, symbolic representations, qualitative methods.

The study wishes to bring forward the importance of some social practices in preserving the identity inside a community. A special attention is given to the social practices of creation (stories regarding the founding of some communities, for example) and referring to the periodical actualization of some identity landmarks (local customs, events organized within an entire community). The socio-cultural identity, community-communitarian spirit, collective memory – syntagmas that became usual and bearer of significations throughout their permanent addition to some researching directions, theories, different methodologies. The conceptualization – although represents an indisputable contribution as regarding the increase of the scientific communities' strictness, isn't sometimes able to evidence or to recover all the aspects that imply the used formulations, expressions and syntagmas. Besides the essentialization, there is a space of the everyday living, of the life of the alive – this is not a parallelism, but a setting into a continuous dialogue. Therefore, the space of the scientific debates is detached through generalizations by the everyday living, in order to explore it, to be able to notice the dynamic equilibrium of a living culture, the

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permanent exchanges of gestures, talks, impressions during the diverse communities.

The concept of identity raised many debates in the circle of the socio-human sciences. Because its multiple aspects that refer to the genetic heritage or assimilated features, the influence of the different social groups, the particularities given by the national affiliation, the socio-cultural identity represents a subject approached from diverse perspectives – psychological, sociological, ethnological. The concept of identity opens debates on the personality – person – social group axis, this last one being

defined according to internal objective criteria (origin, culture, religion community, the kindred relations between the group's members) or external (the common historic route, the situation at the level of the global society, the role of the economy etc.) and according to subjective criteria that can also be internal (the feeling of affiliation, the solidarity relations between the members etc.) or external (the attention towards the group coming from the surrounding society)<sup>1</sup>.

The identity is continuously consolidated or reaffirmed through certain events meant to create the feeling of affiliation, of attachment to the community.

Hence, the socio-cultural identity must be related to many factors – family, social environment, heredity, groups of affiliation. The existence of a stable identity nucleus allows accumulations and evolutions during the entire life, completing the spiritual life of the human being. Conceptually, there is drawn a distinction between the individual's identity and the collective socio-cultural identity, the interferences between them being obvious. Thus, the identity is moreover a process through which its stable nucleus (configured from the individual particularities, aptitudes, spiritual values, beliefs, aspirations, ideals, certain behaviors and attitudes towards certain situations) enters into a relation with other social factors that can either consolidate or reaffirm, stabilize. That's why, the ethnic or the national identity are more stable, because of the existence of certain social values which become active through the primary socialization or through the periodic reactualizations of some principles or identity symbols through rituals, festivities, cultural events. Therefore, the trinominal personality-social group-community is articulated through socio-cultural key-factors, talking today about an

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Bonté, Michel Izard, *Dictionnaire d'ethnologie et anthropologie*, Romanian edition, Iași, Polirom, 1999, p. 217

identity culture that offers particularity/specificity to a social unity, either it is a small group – that shares the same values, ideals, or an ampler association – ethnic community or nation – in this situation, the considered values, the ideals and life principles themselves have more depth and stability.

In the old days communities and in the nowadays ones too, the story-telling enjoyed a special place in the social space, but the ways in which it is “fulfilled” is different somehow, before, the story-telling regulated or was even responsible regarded through an educational angle. The story-telling, therefore as a social practice, fulfills important functions in the consolidation of the communitarian mentality, so we will try to underline the existence of some particularities concerning the relation collective identity – symbolic imaginary of several founding stories – for example – the village Aref from Argeș county.

The binominal “the offered story” – “prestigious identity” proves to be the central axle that facilitates the reactivation of some community values. The structuring of the relations between the protagonists depends on their symbolic positioning towards the discussed phenomenon. The field research made only on one of the groups from the dialog, allows a more detailed analysis not only as regarding the reactivation of some symbolic representations about the dwellers from Aref. Their cultural memory has an imaginative, much stronger component, the story sets in order “naming” each border stone, decreasing the distance between the community and the living space, making it familiar, because its “story” it is known. The connection between memory – identity – imaginative-narrative ability it is obvious for the dwellers from a certain space that they possess or, for a change, they reactivate the legitimate possession through the story, through founding legends. This thing is easily unraveled in the case of the Aref village from Argeș too. Teacher Cezar Bădescu, one of the field informers, keeps alive the village's old days stories. Although we meet an identified memorizing, orientated towards patrimonialization, can be discovered the survivals of some archaic imaginary referring to the village's origin. The seven old people from the beginning of the time, but especially of the space in Arefu are: “Badea, Pechea, Dobrin, Drăgulea, Ionicescu (also called Toinea), Redeche and Roscescu (also called Zăblaică). We come from them”<sup>2</sup>. An authentic story-teller is Aurelia Jugăraru, who asked us to call her “granny Aurelia”, confessing that she is also called “Ciocan's Aurica”. She

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<sup>2</sup> Cezar Bădescu, field informer, teacher, 54 years old, April 2006, Arefu.

remakes the story of the Arefu village's boundaries, reminding us that, through the story, the space enters into the possession of the dwellers. Through the legend, the origin of the village is placed into an indefinite time, because the ancestors that named those places stayed at its origin. Here there are her confessions:

Behind our village, towards the northern side, we have three ranges of mountains: Obârșia, Căprișoara and Măgureaua Arefului. Between Obârșia and Măgureaua Arefului it existed a more dangerous path, that went towards Valea lui Stan...it was called Poteca Mărăcinelui (...) and led to a great groove – Piatra Lalii. Why was it called Piatra Lalii? During an outside assault on the village, a foolish lofty person, very silly, ran from the village and built a tiny groove and there he built his shelter. When he returned to the village, he told about the place where he had been, and the people went there, saw the spot and its name remained Piatra Lalii<sup>3</sup>.

Then come the stories about Bucur's hut and his treasure, about the Pietricelii fountain, Bulzul lui Bucur and La muntișor. The dwellers from Aref reactualize a creation myth, full of symbolic motifs of the life itself.

An ampler discussion can be realized as referring to the methodology of correlations research that can be realized between the social practices and the identity landmarks of the social groups.

The problem regarding the possibility of an assumed objectivity as coming from the researcher reappears in the context of the contemporary researches. The textual representation of the field experience, the subjectivity and the possibilities of objectifying the researcher's observations needs permanent questioning. The objectivity can be configured through a process of incorporation/assuming of the subjectivity, as constant distancing, objectivity that it is born through continuous recurrences that recover the decanted meanings through permanent distancing. The researcher's instrument must include this exercise of the permanent oscillations between observation and conceptualization, the research going further through constant questionings, through an open dialogue with the field, incorporating dynamically its mobility. The objectivity of the researcher is born from the permanent reconsideration regarding his subjectivity, after the decantation of the role that he fulfills during a research from the informal aspects of the discussions, necessary for the configuration of the communication's interactive context, informal aspects that can bear many or rich information, significant for the purpose of the research.

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<sup>3</sup>Aurelia Jogăraru, 79 years old, April 2006, Arefu.

In the context that concern the dynamic of the socio-cultural reality, the folklorist researcher is requested a remarkable theoretic and methodological flexibility, but one that would not make indistinct the academic rigor of his studies, thus, the functionality of some folkloric products can be limited or, on the contrary, reevaluations or recontextualizations of theirs. The methodological sensibility of the researcher is challenged in front of more subtle modifications.

The phenomenon of the narrativity enjoyed a main interest from the researchers, constituting the basis of its constant conceptual theorizations and reconfigurations.

The methodology specific to the contemporary studies of folklore takes part from a more intense incorporation of the investigations developed in the urban environment, along with the studies for the rural side, intensifying the interrelations with the complex of the socio-human discipline, the adequacy of some theoretic structures, concepts that come from the fields of sociology, philosophy of culture etc. The narration of life as a method can find similarities with the folklore tradition but also with its theoretical-methodological extensions.

The stories have a central role in the community, they facilitate the relation, the exchange of some social representations, the intercultural contacts, the emphasizing of some interpretations and re-significations of several social events or characteristic to the quotidian life, in other words “the stories offer a certain type of access to the people's identity and personality”<sup>4</sup>. Between narration and identity there is a clear connection, but the interpretation of this connection differs according to diverse academic currents. Numerous researchers – Bruner, Rosenthal – sustain that

the autobiographic stories, both in form and content, are actually the people's identities. According to this approach, the stories imitate life and present to the exterior world an interior reality; in the same time, they lay the foundation and offer a shape for both the narrator's personality and to the reality in which he lives. The story is someone's identity (...). Not everyone accepts this perspective<sup>5</sup>.

Referring to the same aspect, that of “the truth” recovered through the method of the oral history, have been created realistic, essentialist or historic perspectives that examine the story or any verbal narration as a representation (more or less exact) of the exterior and interior reality. Between the absolute relativism that considers all the oral narrations as

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<sup>4</sup> Ruth Atkinson, *Storytelling with Folktales*, Curriculum Corporation, 2006, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

being just fiction and the nominal valorisation that takes part from the story, the exact and complete representation of the reality, the middle position seems the most correct, because it is important to recover the reference of the interviewed people to the events and not the events from their subjective accounts.

The narrations have a central role in the communication, they facilitate the relationship, the exchange of social representations, the intercultural contacts, the revelation of certain interpretations and the resignifications of some social events or characteristics of the quotidian life. The life stories are subjective, the same as the people's identities are.

The life storytelling method proves to be viable in researching the urban environment, the folkloristic investigation of the urban zone being shaped conspicuously in some recent studies that imply in the same time numerous interrelations with the area of other socio-human disciplines.

The variety of the groups or of the urban zones and of the cultural models specific to the city can be viably investigated by recurring to the method of the oral history, in such way being able the obtaining of important collections of identity cultural information (linguistic, religious, ethnic, spatial). The using of the oral history implies adaptations, improvements of it to the disciplinary identity of the folkloristics.

Hence, the researcher is always facing a challenge to a permanent exercise of distancing from his own positioning and altogether the apprehension of the way in which it is seen by the interlocutor, he cannot seek refuge in the state of neutrality, but he must permanently juggle with the 'Other One' challenge and with the sublimation of any judgment that might affect the narratives.

This exercise of withdrawing, constant returning of the researcher to the way in which he is perceived, implies the necessity of these auto-reflexive regards, meant for the configuration of the dialogical context, for the orientation of the future interpretations or the bringing up, the completions, "the provocations" taken again on the field. This exercise of reflexivity must be methodologically integrated as a measure of rigor and responsibility for the future research that might use the documentary material registered in such a way.

The contemporary challenges of the research open new perspectives both as regarding the studied subject matter and the methodology, the case of the researches that develop in the urban zone being eloquent as also those referring to the refining of the methodology, the redefinition of certain concepts and theories, in the context of the interdisciplinary relationships between the social and humanist sciences.

# **AN ATTEMPT FOR UNDERSTANDING WHY THE IRONSMITH SOMETIME STRIKES ONLY THE ANVIL AND NOT THE IRON PIECE, TOO. FOLKLORISTIC AND COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVES\***

**Laura Jiga ILIESCU\***

**Abstract:** The ironsmiths' gesture of striking only the anvil without striking the iron piece, too, is integrated in a ritual whose function is to reinforce the devil's chains, on the one hand, and in the mental text of the worker, on the other hands. Two very different reasons ascribe to one and the same gesture. The first part of the study analyzes the narrative motif of the object who binds in relation with the ironsmith, Jesus Christ, King Solomon and the devil, as appears in the Romanian and Caucasian culture. The second part purposes, at least as an experiment, to approach the ironsmith's work, in order to produce a specific object, as an oral performance, expressed through body gestures which put in act the mental knowledge of iron processing.

**Keywords:** ironsmith, King Solomon, Jesus Christ, oral narratives, cognitive anthropology.

## I.

“The devil chained in the sea is constantly gnawing the chains and he would set himself free unless the blacksmiths prevented this to happen. They were taught by their ancestors: on Sunday, when the sun is setting or even in the afternoon, they are to hit the anvil once with the hammer, and the chains of the devil will be reinforced”<sup>1</sup>. “The devil is gnawing the chains throughout the year and he would escape on Easter Day if the blacksmiths didn't hammer the anvil once with no purpose at all”<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele poporului român adunate și așezate în ordine mitologică*, Iași, Polirom, I, 1998, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

... Christ came on Earth; then He descended into hell and took out Adam's book and all the souls in hell. And Scaraoschi had prepared a chair for Him to sit on and never to stand up again. When He was invited to sit down, our Lord said: You sit first, as I don't know how to do it. And the devil sat down to show Him. Then Christ, our Lord, blessed him to be chained and said: Whenever the blacksmith will hit the anvil with his hammer with no purpose at all, the chain will be reinforced<sup>3</sup>.

The blacksmith's act done in certain time and space conditions (in the environment of the smithy on holidays and at a certain moment of the day) belongs to the series of ritual gestures and aims at preserving the divine order of the world by keeping the disturber away (there are other actions which are meant to reinforce the devil's chains such as painting the Easter eggs, poking the ashes in the hearth with children's *colindete*<sup>4</sup>, rinsing the buckets before filling them with water).

The importance given to a gesture which may seem banal and useless (he hammers for no apparent reason) but with a major purpose opens the floor for discussions. Firstly, it could mean – in secular terms – a ritual prescription with a non-ritual aim meant to state the indispensable quality of the blacksmith's work. Yet, one has to go into deeper analysis especially because we refer to a European pre-industrial society whose rituals do not only have social values but also mirror a religious system.

We should mention that at the moment of writing the present study, the ritual hammering of the anvil, without an apparent reason, is no longer attested. Not even in the passive fund of the performers' memory. Nowadays, the blacksmiths do strike the anvil with the hammer with no working reason but having other purposes than reinforcing the chains of the devil, as we are going to show in the latter part of the present study. The very few data we have on this ritual date back from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, this information can no longer be checked or directly analysed in field campaigns. The ritual purpose of this gesture is frozen in some narrative excerpts which we will further discuss.

Therefore, we will focus on religious structures expressed in texts and which convey the profound meaning to the text message. As any text and any message is created and transmitted at a certain moment within a historical context which is shaped and which itself shapes the religious and knowledge horizon of the teller and listener(s), the meaning of a tale is unstable in time and space. It is about a process of continuous redefining, a variable process at the message and decoding level. The

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 47.

<sup>4</sup> Wooden sticks decorated by the children who perform Christmas rituals.

topics proposed by this study are drawn up after a 100-year dive back in time without the possibility of synchronization between the artist, the author of the study, and the meaning given to the texts and rituals by those who performed them at least at the time the texts were recorded. What about earlier in time? Therefore the interpretations that follow will be cautiously presented, the main precaution being the concern of keeping them accurately related with traditional Romanian culture in general.

The quoted legends seem to be part of ancient religious mythological structures, which used to be quite extensive and out of which we have witnessed only more or less disparaging fragments. We will not try to rebuild these structures as they have been diluted, reshaped by other religious structures – Christian ones in Europe – or have been spread in parallel with the latter ones, exchanging meanings.

“The so-called *collective* memory is not a closet full of old things but a forever active device which ceaselessly renew the material. The final product, no matter the moment it is grasped should preserve the reshaping and the filtering it has suffered. In other words, the starting topic cannot be recognised at finish. Changed, thus altered by those who handled it for centuries, it now belongs to a pattern which is not longer the original one even if the successive remaking has taken place within one and the same people. More so if the whole process is modified by the intervention of a foreign culture<sup>5</sup>.

Therefore, who is the blacksmith? Which other folk characters is he paradigmatically related to? Who is the captive character? What is the deep message transmitted by the narrative variants which talk about the character’s captivity?

The texts quoted at the beginning of this study contain the motif of a supernatural object which is able to capture anything and anybody – the object which *binds*. This motif opens up the possibility of associating characters which at a first glance has very little to do with each other. At this stage, our analysis funded on narrative scenarios which integrate the above mentioned motif will be more general.

### **Just the blacksmith**

The ATU 330 type in the international catalogue of folk narratives, widespread in Europe, – “A knapsack that draws people into it” [j2071, D1413.1, D1413.5, 1412.1] – mentions a poor blacksmith who puts up

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<sup>5</sup> Georges Charachidzé, *Prométhée ou le Caucase* (Préface de Georges Dumézil), Paris, Flammarion, « Nouvelle Bibliothèque scientifique », 1986, Romanian edition by Barbu and Dan Slușanschi], Bucharest, Meridiane, 1988, p.262.

God and Saint Peter for three miraculous objects able to take anyone captive. In the Romanian folk repertoire this type is very often combined with ATU 332C\* type – “An old soldier becomes the doorkeepers for heaven”<sup>6</sup>.

Elena Niculiță Voronca published the tale *The Blacksmith and the Devil* at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: A poor blacksmith sells his soul to the devil for a barrel filled with money. One day, God and Saint Peter go to the smithy to shoe their horse. The blacksmith does not ask for money. For his kindness God offers him a miraculous chair. Whoever would sit on it could not stand up without the owner’s permission. When the devil comes to take the blacksmith’s soul – as agreed – sits on this chair. *Sit for a while and wait for me to finish my work.* The devil sits down (...) but he is not able to stand up when he wants to<sup>7</sup>. In order to be allowed to leave the devil clears the blacksmith’s duty. Yet, “having been used to lots of money, the blacksmith finds it difficult to make ends meet. Therefore he again promises his soul to the devil and gets another barrel of money.” This scenario repeats two more times, the blacksmith being given a tree (a pear tree) and a knapsack by God as “he would give away the money to everybody who needed it”. Both objects are able to keep someone captive in<sup>8</sup>. On his death bed the blacksmith tells his wife to put his pliers in the coffin<sup>9</sup>. He went to hell but seeing the pliers, the devils got scared and didn’t let him in. “God makes him the Heaven’s gatekeeper”. Here, just like Ivan Turbincă but without the supernatural object which *binds*, the blacksmith distorts God’s words preventing death from its divine purpose (eating trees instead of people) and tending to unbalance the world’s order. “God punished the blacksmith by resurrecting him and making him carrying Death on his back because she<sup>10</sup> was so weak that she could barely walk”<sup>11</sup>. As Death starts eating

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<sup>6</sup> The types mentioned above – and combined with other narrative types – have an almost universal character, being attested in Europe, India, Middle Orient and America.

<sup>7</sup> Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele*, I, 261. The motif of the chair which binds is attested in ancient Greek myths: Hefaiostos makes such a chair that whoever sits on it is not able to stand up. The God sends it to his mother, Hera.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* We think that placing the pliers inside the coffin could be related to the legends about Catholic saints in which the blacksmith shoeing a devil clamps the devil nose with the pliers – this practice is really used when horseshoeing – thus scaring him away. Ever since then the devil has not got closer to the smithy. We are also wondering whether we cannot spot here a custom specific to the blacksmith’s burial.

<sup>10</sup> In Romanian language Death is perceived as a female character.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

people she becomes heavier and heavier and he can no longer carry her. Then, the blacksmith uses a trick similar to Ivan Turbincă's (who locks death inside a coffin pretending he does not know how to get inside) but also to Jesus' (who makes the devil sit on the chair which does not allow him to stand up).

He asks her how she can get inside a locked 16-room house. *I turn into a fly and get inside through the keyhole.*" Asking her to show him how she does it, the blacksmith locks Death inside a walnut. Death is *bound* again but without a supernatural help which means that his gesture does not fit into the divine coherence. Eventually, the blacksmith is hungry and cracks the walnut. Then Death gets out and says: *You wanted to eat me? Well, I will you eat you.* And she eats him<sup>12</sup>.

### Solomon the Wise, the first blacksmith

The strategic trick used to fool the opponent by pretending being ignorant and thus stimulating the other's pride brings forward another character, namely the Wise King Solomon who locks the Plague inside a rabbit's bone (*The Story of Wise Solomon and the Plague*, apud Sabina Ispas, 2006:249-254) and who tricks death pretending he does not know how to lie in a coffin (legend collected by Ovidiu Bîrlea in 1963)<sup>13</sup>. These legends reiterate the last episode in the tale belonging to ATU 330 type in which the hero does **not** have a miraculous *binding* object of divine origin but acts on his own.

However, the connections between Solomon the Wise and the blacksmith are more profound and lead us to the theme of chaining the devil as Solomon himself is considered to have bound the devil in chains according to type ATU 803 (*Solomon binds the devil in chains in hell*).

Solomon made a big chain, girded the mountain with it and bound the devil to the mountain. *Now, you will sit there tied up (...). And this chain no matter how long you are gnawing at it will be reinforced when the blacksmith strikes the anvil with the hammer with no working purpose.* Even nowadays the blacksmiths hammer the anvil once before starting work. Solomon's father was a blacksmith and he strengthened the devil's chain himself<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> William F. Hansen in his book *Ariadna's thread: a guide to international tales found in classical literature* emphasises the parallel between Sisyphus' myth (Sisyphus tricks Thanathos asking him to show how to handle the chains; Thanathos is thus chained in Tartar. From that moment on, nobody on earth dies. Ares, when asked by Zeus, releases Thanathos) and the ATU 330 tale structure.

<sup>14</sup> Sabina Ispas, *Preminte Solomon. Legenda populară românească între canonic și apocrif* [The wise Solomon. The Romanian popular legend between canonic and apocryph], Bucharest, SAECULUM I.O. 2006, p. 149.

Unlike the variant cited at the beginning, in this case the primal gesture of hammering the anvil with no working reason was done by Solomon. Thus, his action set an example, Solomon being the first blacksmith ever. On the other hand, there is a specific group of narratives which reiterate the theme of hero's temporary hidden identity, namely "The Son of the King and of the Smith (AT 920) is frequently connected with the name of the Solomon. The king decides to get rid of his son and exchanges him for the son of a smith"<sup>15</sup>.

### Saint Haralambos

There is yet another character that should not be neglected. This is Saint Haralambos. The hagiographic tales (widespread between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries) present him as keeping the Plague bound in iron chains received from God as reward for his faith and his martyrdom's sufferings. The chain has the miraculous quality of unbinding only at the Saint's command. Yet he does not overuse his power, as other characters do (the blacksmith repeatedly signs the pact with the devil and just like Ivan Turbincă or King Solomon selfishly, superficially and unjustifiably arrogate control over death), thus maintaining this divine gift. Saint Haralambos is the only one who remains obedient to God till the end. This is one of the reasons why we are postponing now the analysis of his place within the gallery of the already mentioned characters. The blacksmith will release the prisoner.

The narratives we are dealing with in this part belong to the two genres: tales (*The Blacksmith and the Devil*) and legends (hagiographic legend – Saint Haralambos' – and etiological ones with eschatological meaning – the chained devil). Their spread in different spaces and cultures is not consistent. *The Blacksmith and the Devil* type attested all over Europe and Middle East<sup>16</sup> has local specific variants due to the manner of combining the episodes, contamination with other types and to its denouement. The legends about the chained devil, also attested in a large area, are usually included in the King Solomon cycle, with local variants. Not the very presence of this kind of narrative in a certain culture gives the specific character to that culture but the way in which both the narrative structures and their heroes are integrated among the

<sup>15</sup> Stith Thompson, *The folktale*, University of California Press, 1977, p. 159.

<sup>16</sup> On type AT 330 narratives, *The Smith and the Devil or The Smith and the Death*, Stith Thompson wrote: "The story has been told in so many forms, both literary and oral, that a clear history of it would be very difficult to trace".

other elements of the cultural system in which they appear. Our general approach of some characters that are involved in similar narrative structures (without being interchangeable) will focus further on shaping the typological profile updated for each of these characters. Then, we will consider their narrative place in order to reach the message transmitted during the hammering ritual and the customs which justify and consecrate it. However, our further analysis will not start from the blacksmith or Solomon or even from Saint Haralambos, but from the common element for all of them: the prisoner.

### The Prisoner

The prisoner is the devil or death or the plague. We will not discuss death as she follows God's order, thus not being destructive. There remains the devil and the plague. The latter is similar to the devil as its hunger makes it the destroyer par excellence<sup>17</sup>.

Before going further allow us to temporarily skip another element, namely the blacksmith in the tales about the devil, as his presence is not compulsory for the plot and its meaning. Moreover, the main character in many 330 ATU type is not only a blacksmith but also a soldier or just a poor man. Yet, the main character in the legends about chaining the devil is the blacksmith. These narratives will be our next main topic.

Which of his many faces does the devil have here?

It is said that once a blacksmith went to his (the chained devil's, L.J.I.) place, underground. And he told him: *Why do you beat us? Why do you kill us, my mother and me?* They are made of iron. That blacksmith went to his place to ask him what he would do if he were set free. *I would crush the world*, he said, *for the good things I've done to the people who are now keeping me bound here!* That blacksmith came back and told the others: *Keep hammering and don't let him go 'cause that's what he said.* And they still keep hammering<sup>18</sup>.

This devil does not belong to the same tradition as the fallen angel's.

The ritual of hammering with no reason for strengthening the devil's chains is part of a tradition spread beyond the Romanian cultural area. We lack both the competence and the information for a comparative analysis between different geographic spaces and cultures.

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<sup>17</sup> That is why Saint Haralambos received the chain which keeps it captive. He releases it only at God's command – its presence in the world is a tool of divine punishment – and brings her back in controlled captivity.

<sup>18</sup> Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele*, I, 115.

In south Germany and the Tyrol, when a blacksmith rests from his work on a Saturday evening, he strikes with his hammer three blows upon the anvil, thereby chaining up the Devil for the ensuing week. And so likewise, while hammering a horse-shoe into shape, he strikes the anvil instead of the shoe every fourth or fifth blow, and thus makes doubly secure the chain wherewith Satan is bound<sup>19</sup>.

The quoted fragment is dated back at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, like in the Romanian case. These are the only mentions we have found except Caucasian epic and ritual ample structures. It might have covered a wider territory but we have not found them mentioned. It is also possible that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (a period rich in folklore collections) the above mentioned traditions to have already been diluted or maybe written down in editions or languages inaccessible to us.

Yet, they could also have appeared at a superficial level in European cultures where they might have had a short life. However we have too few documents to be able to speculate upon their area.

It is remarkable their persistence and presence in the Caucasus Mountains, a place which appears as a burning core very strong compared with the European flickering flames. More than this it is the only place thoroughly known as the first written mention of the traditions we are talking about dates back in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the oral variants are still transmitted. Georges Charachidzé's *Prometheus or the Caucasus* offers an excellent approach of these traditions. An extended epic cycle is dedicated to Amirani (having name variants), the warrior hero. He also has the attributes of a civilising hero but ends up using his physical strength in a destructive way. He kills everyone around him until there is no one left to fight with. Then he challenges his godfather, Jesus Christ, to fight him. In the aftermath of this fight Amirani is alive but bound.

The old women say that he is chained in a cave; that two dogs are licking ceaselessly his iron chains and he is trying to escape to put an end to this world. Yet, at the noise of the blacksmiths' hammers striking the anvils, his chains, it is said, are reinforced. That is why on Sundays many blacksmiths strike the anvil with a hammer three or four times. Thus, they say Artawazd's chains are strengthened again<sup>20</sup>.

This is an excerpt from a text written in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Mentioning the old women as legendmongers could suggest not only that the author

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<sup>19</sup> Robert Means Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horseshoe with Other Folk Lore Notes*, Boston and New York Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 2008, p. 33.

<sup>20</sup> Georges Charachidzé, *Prométhée*, pp. 99-100.

of the manuscript is distancing himself from the legends' truth but also that only the older generations can remember the legend. Here is a fragment recorded in Western Georgia in 1964: "On Maundy Thursday, the blacksmith goes silently inside the smithy and strikes the anvil with his hammer three times. Thus, Amirani's chains become stronger and he remains chained"

Notwithstanding the long distance but considering commercial and transhumance routes which connected the Caucasus and the Romanian area there are striking similarities between these two territories. We will next mention another one directly linked with the characters we are dealing with here: "Amirani was Solomon's son. And according to Georgians of Mingrelian origin, Saint Solomon was considered the funder of blacksmithing. He had a smithy where he was working only with his bare hands, without using a hammer. (...) So a blacksmith is the one who fathered Amirani"<sup>21</sup>.

Coming back to Romanian legends we remember the iron-related nature of the devil which means that his creation had something to do with handling the blacksmiths' techniques, including striking the anvil with the hammer. In other words, the devil was made by a blacksmith<sup>22</sup>. Probably it is him who created his chains and who repeatedly reinforces them. Therefore, the connection between the prisoner and blacksmithing is puzzling. The creator becomes the enemy of the created being. The changing of the sign is mirrored by changing the roles around the chair or the chain which binds: the one who sits down on it is not the one that this chair was meant for and who was supposed to be bound (the devil had created the chair for Jesus Christ) but the one who had intended to bind the sitter.

The entire narrative fragment discussed here emphasises the opposition between *the one who binds* and *the one who is bound*. Each of them defines himself as the very opposite of the other one. The former is witty, the latter witless; the former periodically takes on the role of preserving the world balance, while the latter, the role of destroyer; the former is active (strikes the anvil), the latter, because of the chain, passive (but not motionless, as he is gnawing the chains), pending; the former's action annihilates the latter's action. Moreover, one's presence means the other's absence, or better his retreat.

The presence and absence principle draws us nearer to the core of

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>22</sup> There are a few topics in the study *The Metamorphoses of Iron* which meet the one raised here. See supra.

our study, namely the cyclic feature. The profound and common pattern of all the narratives mentioned so far is as follows: retaining a supernatural being with precise functions for the world balance then releasing this being, then, retaining again. Considering that these legends have an eschatological character we are not talking about seasons' cycles but about mankind cycles. At a certain moment the balance ensuring the current version of the world should fall apart, meaning the end of *this* world, because this is how mankind can move further to new a hypostasis. It will thus suffer a metamorphosis. This destruction will be done by the one who, for now, is kept prisoner, in agreement with the one who has bound him. Saint Haralambos would never do this as he is forever compliant with God. The blacksmith is the one who will eventually do it. He will stop striking the anvil for no working reason as he has already had doubts since he went to the devil to ask him what he would do if he is released. And the chains will be broken.

If we acknowledge the archaic character of the above analysed legends, which might date back in time before Christ, one should not forget that for more than 1000 years they were transmitted within a culture shaped by Christianity. The influence of Christianity is not limited only to a possible change of the character's name (the civilizing character turns into a Christian devil) but moreover to a change in the very meaning of the text.

In the Romanian legend Jesus Christ is the one who started the ritual performed by the blacksmith. Furthermore He is the One who broke the iron gates of hell and freed the captive souls. Yet, the final redemption comes after the release of the devil when the world, as we know it now, is spiritually recreated into divine, heavenly and timeless New Jerusalem. The presence and absence cycle will be broken. As the Holy Spirit will be everywhere changing the essence and not the form of this world and mankind. In this divine plan the blacksmith will have his part to play.

## II.

The 2009-2011 interviews with the blacksmiths whom we watched working have led us towards a totally different level of analysing the gesture which we are going to call generically to strike the anvil with the hammer *with no reason*.

L.J.I: Do you happen to strike only the anvil, without having a piece of iron on it?

C.B.: *Well, how shall I put it? [...]. That is the thinking time from hand to thought* (informant Cornel Balăceanu, 2010).

LJ.I: When you are working why do you sometimes strike the anvil and not the iron piece? Why don't you always strike the iron piece?

I.O.: *Not to hurt it too much* [He laughs]. *I do this in order not to skip the rhythm. 'Cause I move the iron piece and I'm thinking: I have to do this and that* (informant Ilie Olaru, 2011).

The explanations offered by the blacksmiths remain hidden for the outsiders who also notice that he strikes the anvil and not the iron piece but do not have access to the reason of this action. “ ’Cause he is blind like all the blind. If you take a good look at him you’ll see that he cannot see the iron when working – when he strikes, he misses it twice, and only eventually he manages to strike the iron piece”<sup>23</sup>.

A gesture is the kinetic expression of a segment of knowledge characteristic to iron processing. Making an object entails three necessary phases: (1) activating knowledge, (2) transposing knowledge into gestures which aim at (3) making the object. We are dealing with the cognitive realm. What does knowledge consist in? How is it mentally organised? How is it exteriorised? How and how much is the blacksmith aware of it? How does he express this awareness? How is it conveyed? These are questions which aim at an area difficult to investigate by an outsider. The access to the domain to be analysed is mediated by words although it is a domain where words are replaced by gestures and sensory stimuli (colours, hardness, malleability, sounds); a domain whose main verb is *to make* and not *to say; to show* and not *to explain*.

Considering that the blacksmith’s discourse is conveyed by gestures – *to show* – and it implies face-to-face interactive communication, a *sine qua non* condition of orality, we propose the hypothesis of approaching iron processing from a double perspective: folkloristic and cognitive anthropology. Our proposal deals with a theoretical and methodological extrapolation from folkloric performance, when the immaterial artefact is created and transmitted, to the very process of creating the material object. This extrapolation is based on the element common to all mechanisms of creating and orally transmitting the formalized expressions, no matter the language they use (words, melodies, rhythms, gestures), namely variability, *acting* a cognitive structure at a certain moment and, starting from this, creating the unique variant, characteristic for that particular moment. We are talking about the story teller or the epic song singer (we have chosen these two examples because the fairy tales and the epic songs are the most formalized folkloric genres), on the one hand, and the blacksmith, on the

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<sup>23</sup> *The Girl, the Ironsmith and the Boots maker*, 1909, p. 201.

other hand<sup>24</sup>. The fairy tale is a final, unique and distinct product (as it can not be told again in a similar manner) and so is the object produced (we are not considering here the mass market products) although it is tangible. Yet, the whole range of gestures and body movements structurally displayed which aims at producing an iron object is not tangible or material in any way, thus being irreversible and unrepeatable. In other words, the blacksmith's movements while making an object, the sequencing, could be comparable with a folkloric performance process. Lauri Honko's question – “What precedes a performance?” – as well as his considerations upon the process of creating an epic song are also relevant for our topic:

To be able to understand the production of text in actual performance, it seems necessary to postulate a kind of “pre-narrative,” a pre-textual frame, that is, an organized collection of relevant conscious and unconscious material present in the singer's mind. This material consists of (1) textual elements and (2) generic rules for reproduction; we may call it a “mental text.” It is not as fixed as its documented manifestations may suggest, but it is only through its fixed manifestations that we can try to construct components of a particular mental text<sup>25</sup>.

It is obvious that a blacksmith does not use words and his *mental text* is not a verbal one but made up of figurative representations. However, this fact does not fundamentally change the things. The textualization mechanism (in Lauri Honko's terms), namely the multiple phases in assembling the meaning units in order to create a message is similar.

During the process of oral, verbal or musical creation, the creator-performers relate to a mental patter which represents the variant previously produced and which is adjusted to the concrete current performing context.

Unlike the result of a performing situation whose final product is immaterial and irreversible thus not being able to be readjusted afterwards, a material artefact can be felt, smelt, seen when it is completed; it is not irreversible. This is one major difference between the two performing types of creation: the mental model of the blacksmith can be doubles by an exterior, concrete one which is handled as it had been

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<sup>24</sup> This approach could also be used when talking about any of the specialized performers of a certain trade.

<sup>25</sup> Lauri Honko, *Epics along the Silk Roads: Mental Text, Performance, and Written Codification* in “Oral Tradition”, volume 11, issue 1 (March), 1996, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, Columbia University, [http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/11i/honko\\_intro](http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/11i/honko_intro)

produced at a previous moment by himself or by another blacksmith. The concrete presence of the object which is to be re-produced leads to the identity hypothesis opposed to the variability.

LJ.I.: Have you ever made two identical axe blades?

I.O.: *Certainly. Look! Two, three, four alike, look.*

LJ.I.: Are they alike? Are they in any way different?

I.O.: *Everything can be made identical; if I want it to I can make it identical with another one. If someone comes to me and tells me: "Look, I want an axe just like this one", I measure it* (Ilie Olaru, 2011).

Nevertheless, two hand-made objects are never identical as acting the mental text – the fixed structure of gestural sequences which are exteriorized during the process of creating the finished product – cannot be identically repeated at two different moments. Also, as we found out during our field campaigns, the concrete model of the object to be produced does not replace the mental one but creates an image which is called on while performing.

LJ.I.: When you make an axe blade, for example. Do you have a pattern in mind or do draw it on paper beforehand?

I.O.: *No. Its image remains in my mind.*

LJ.I.: While working, are you thinking about that image in your mind?

I.O.: *No need. I can see it. When I start working on it, I can see the object being made.*

[...]

LJ.I.: Coming back to the axe blade. You've said that you have its image in your mind. When you work on it, what are you thinking about: what you have in mind, an axe blade you did before or the way it should look like at the end? Are you thinking about the past or the future?

I.O.: *My mind is at the measurements. At the material. I want to make it of a certain size, I look at it, I'm cutting a little piece off this axe [he has an axe in his hand and points at it], just this little. It will be adjusted at the end, will be cleaned, as I will change a bit here, a bit there* (informant Ilie Olaru, 2011).

The body movement is a manifest text, acting the mental text. Each type of objects has its own gestures organized in characteristic structures. The performing process operates a strategy consisting of selecting the very gestures needed out of the whole repertoire. This is done according to a dynamic relationship between a compulsory mental structure and its continuous adjustment to the specific features of each object and to the concrete performing context:

*One should know the next movement. You turn the metal, you turn the iron piece..., another thing should be done. And quickly or the iron piece is getting colder and you have to put it back in the fire* (informant Cornel Bălăceanu, 2010).

“Structure and performance are understood as mutually constitutive”<sup>26</sup> (Keller, Keller, 1996: 27). The blacksmith’s skills become visible when he is working and consist of the mental elements of his gestures (either autonomous or organized in sequences), of the relationships between them, of his skill to apply them, on the one hand, and on the other hand, of a rich knowledge repertoire having instrumental value: the metal consistency, knowing the temperature after the iron’s colour, knowing the cooling speed, maintaining and adjusting the heat by controlling the air flow, maintaining a certain rhythm appropriate for body movement involved, assessing the strikes, communicating with the team partner (they are two or three when working), etc.

“Tools can refer to words and other intangible as appropriately as to material objects [...]. Blacksmithing provides activity in which the tools themselves are easily identifiable and the practices incorporating them easily observed”<sup>27</sup>.

*There are moments when you have to think very fast and also to make a move, fast. To toss the material* (informant Cornel Bălăceanu, 2010).

The rhythm and alternating movements (when an object is shaped, it is heated, forged, quenched, reheated, etc and the blacksmith is also to move from the hearth to the anvil and back, around the anvil, etc.) done against time (as unlike other types of material iron should be struck while it is still hot) require distributive attention, movement coordination, focusing skills, good memory, speed, ability to assess the previous gestures and to foresee the next ones.

*Hand and memory. If you don’t know how to do it from the very beginning you will never be able to do it* (informant Avram Munteanu, 2009).

*The main thing is to know how to use your hands. This is the starting point for all the rest. ‘Cause if you don’t know what to do with your hands, with this hand [the left one] you work, with this one [the right one] you handle the hammer, you can’t do a thing! And your brain. You don’t have to focus on the moment you take out the iron and placed it on the*

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<sup>26</sup> Janet D. Keller, Charles M. Keller, *Cognition and Tool Use: The Blacksmith at Work*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20

*anvil, and only then to think, well, what shall I do next? You should think ahead [...] and only then to do the rest of the work, the job. Your mind should be ahead, ‘cause that what blacksmithing is about. Not when you take it out and haven’t planned what to do with it. You should have done it before so that when you take it out it is finished. That’s it, blacksmithing* (informant Costina Ion, 2009).

**(translated from Romanian by Anca Stere)**

# **FROM FUNERALS TO PROPAGANDA: HOW RITUALS (RE)CREATE COMMUNITIES**

## **THE FUNERAL FEASTS – REMEMBERING OF THE DECEASED. SPECIAL REGARD ON OLTEANIA<sup>\*</sup>**

**Loredana Maria ILIN-GROZOIU\***

**Abstract:** The funeral feast for the dead represents one of the practices most spread and observed by the believers, being part of the cult of the dead, so much rooted in the liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church. Us, who wish to take care of the dead's souls, we can do that, praying for them and giving alms. Thus, the fallen asleep can be commemorated anytime, excepting the days forbidden by the church, the prayer and the deeds made according to the Christian compassion having an essential part in improving the situation of the deceased.

**Keywords:** the cult of the dead, soul, funeral feast, prayer.

The eternal life was and continues to be, a subject approached frequently in the religious and scientific spheres. Thus, we can talk about a vast specialized literature, according to which we are able to understand the “after life” experiences or, in another manner of speaking, the “out of the body” experiences.

According to the Christian tradition, once with the death of the body, the life doesn't end and the soul continues its existence in “the other world” too. Saint Avva Dorotei, the monk Priest from the sixth century Gaza, talking about the after life, preached that: “Actually, the soul loses nothing from the things done during this world and when it leaves the

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body, it remembers everything clearly and precisely, once it has been released from the earthly body”<sup>1</sup>.

For the orthodox-Christians, “the other world” is a reality in the same way in which God’s Resurrection is<sup>2</sup>. This is “a prelude of our own resurrection”<sup>3</sup>, as St. Apostle Paul said: “God, the One Who resurrected Jesus, will resurrect us, through His mighty power”. “If there is not a resurrection of the dead, then not even Christ has been raised. And if Christ has not been raised, our preaching is useless and so is your faith... But Christ has indeed been raised from the dead, the ripe fruit (firstfruits) (of resurrection) of those who have fallen asleep. For since death came through a man, the resurrection of the dead comes also through a man.” (I Cor. 15, 13-14 and 20-21). But the guarantee of our future life is our Redeemer Jesus Christ Himself. “I am the resurrection and the life. Whoever believes in me, though he dies, yet shall he live (John, 11, 25).

The institution of the Church that takes care of those asleep because “the earthly life is mortal or transient, while death represents the passing into eternity”<sup>4</sup>.

In Oltenia, the funeral feast of the deceased constitutes one of the practices most observed by the believers, “being in connection with the dead people cult, deeply rooted in the liturgical ritual and in the tradition of the Orthodox Church”<sup>5</sup>. The remembering of the deceased is materialized in the eternal memory through prayer, alms and liturgical sacrifice<sup>6</sup>, taking the example of Judah Maccabees who “made atonement on behalf of those who have passed away” (II Mac, 12, 46). Through these funeral feasts we express our respect, gratitude and love for what those who died made for us and ask God to give them the eternal repose in “the company of His chosen people”<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, “The funeral feasts or the burial repasts represent the remembering that is for those who

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<sup>1</sup> Avva Dorotei, *Discourses*, translated by E. P. Wheeler, Kalamazoo, 1977, p. 185-186.

<sup>2</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *Predici la Duminici, la Praznicele împărătești și ale Maicilor Domnului, la Sfinții mari și la Sfinții români; predici ocazionale și la înmormântări*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, 2010, p. 571.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Nicolae D. Necula, *Tradiție și înnoire în slujirea liturgică*, vol. 3, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2004, p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> Irineu Pop-Bistrițeanul, *Vestirea Evangheliei Mântuirii. Predici la duminicile de peste an*, Cluj-Napoca, p. 420.

<sup>7</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *Predici*, p. 568.

passed away, in order to ease their sins and to save them from the torments of hell”<sup>8</sup>.

The Archbishop Ioan Maximovici, as regarding the question whether there is something that could help the souls after death, said: “Each one of us, who desire to show his/her love for those who died and to really help them, can do this by praying for them and especially by mentioning them during the Liturgy service, when the segments with the mentioning with the living and dead persons are put in the God’s Blood, using the words: “Wash, You, Lord, the sins of those mentioned here with Your Holly Blood, for the prayers of Your saints.” We can’t do anything better or grater for those who died, but to pray for hem, mentioning their names during the Liturgy service. They always need this, especially during the forty days when the soul of the deceased walks on the path towards the eternal place”<sup>9</sup>.

The Orthodox Church established special terms or days to remember the dead ones. It is for their individual or general remembering.

Thus, from the first category, we mention the feast three days after the death that coincides with the day of the burial, made in the honor of the Holly Trinity, but also to recollect the Resurrection from the third day of the Redeemer, Who, raising from the dead, became the first fruits or the first one offered in the harvest and pledge for the resurrection of those who have fallen asleep (comp. I. Cor. XV, 20).

The feast nine days after the death is done for the person asleep “to be worthy of joining the nine groups of angels, but also to remember the ninth hour, when the Redeemer, on the cross, promised the heaven to the thief, now being our turn to ask God to favor our deceased to get to heaven”<sup>10</sup>.

Next, is the forty days or six weeks feast that remembers us of the Ascension of the Redeemer to heaven, praying that the deceased’s soul to ascend to heaven too.

At six months is made the feast for the honoring of the Holly Trinity. The feasts continues annually, up until seven years, when it takes place the last feast of this kind, number seven being considered a holly number, recalling the seven days of creation<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Nicodim Măndița, *Priveghiu creștinesc*, Editura Bunavestire, 2003, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Serafim Rose, *Sufletul după moarte. Experiențe contemporane “de după moarte” în lumina învățăturii ortodoxe* (translated in English by Dana Cocageanu), Bucharest, Editura Sophia, 2007, p. 216.

<sup>10</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *Predici*, p. 569.

<sup>11</sup> Gheorghe Safta, *Îndrumar liturgic*, Târgoviște, 1999, p. 176.

Beside the theological interpretations of the terms for the feasts of the dead persons, up to forty days, had been enounced some physiological or natural explanations, founded on the human body's stages of decomposition, until the effective rot. Thus, the feast from the third day after the death is made because, in this day, the dead person's face starts to disfigure; the ninth day feast corresponds to the moment when the deceased's body starts to rot, excepting the heart; at 40 days, because this is the moment when the heart is lost<sup>12</sup>. Considering these realities, the physical decomposition process follows the inverted process of conceiving and forming the human body inside the mother's womb<sup>13</sup>.

There are also some interpretations that belong to the popular belief, concretized in the passing of the soul after the death through the tribute places of heaven<sup>14</sup>. Regarding the state in which the souls are after the death, the metropolitan Macarie Moscovitul said: "We must perceive the tribute places not in a rough and sensorial way, but, as much as we can, in a pastoral way and we must try not to mingle with details that are presented in different lights by diverse authors and by diverse representations of the Church itself, although the starting point of the tribute places is the same in all the cases"<sup>15</sup>.

In the first two days after the death, the soul can go to any place on the earth that it loved and where it enjoyed itself, but, in the third day, it passes towards "other realms". Saint Ioan Damaschin talks about the soul separated from the body, but that is still on earth:

Oh, what a struggle for the soul to separate from the body! Oh, how many tears dropt and there is nobody to show compassion! It raises its eyes to the angels and prays but in vain; it reaches the hands to the people, but there is nobody to offer help. For that, my beloved brothers, knowing the narrowness of our life, we need to ask Christ rest for the departed and great mercy for our souls<sup>16</sup>.

In the third day, the Archbishop Ioan Maximovici says that the soul "passes among the legions of evil spirits that stand in its way, that blames it for the different sins, with which themselves had tempted it. The different discoveries tells us that there are twenty different obstacles, the

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<sup>12</sup> Ene Braniște, *Liturgica specială*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Bucharest, 2005, p. 403.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the phenomenon of the heaven's tribute places see more in: Serafim Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 81-106.

<sup>15</sup> Macarie Moscovitul, *Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă*, vol. 2, Sankt Petersburg, 1883, p. 538.

<sup>16</sup> *Molitfelnic*, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2006, p. 228.

so-called “tribute places”; at each one of them is analyzed a certain sin; after it passes of one it goes to another and only after it had successfully passed all of them, it could continue the road without being thrown immediately to hell... the third day it is really a terrible day for the soul of the departed and therefore this period asks for intensive prayer”<sup>17</sup>.

In the ninth day, the soul comes before God in the sky for the second time, to bow before Him, after it had visited the heaven<sup>18</sup>. According to those said by Saint Macarius of Egypt, the feast for the deceased in the ninth day after the death, beside the fact that it is connected with the nine groups of angels, is officiated because in this moment the soul had been shown the beauties of Heaven and only after that, in the remaining days from the forty existent, it is shown the torments of Hell<sup>19</sup>.

In the fortieth day, it takes place the particular judgment of each soul, after the forty days wondering through the tribute places of the sky, through heaven and hell<sup>20</sup> “to see if the soul is worthy for living in the sky above”<sup>21</sup>.

Along these days of individual feasting of the deceased, the Church established that, as a rule, the general remembering feast of the departed takes place on a Saturday, “in the memory of the Saturday from the Passion Week, when the Redeemer had His body inside the grave and His soul descended in Hell to release all the asleep righteous people”<sup>22</sup>. These Saturdays are: the one before the Shrovetide or that of the Frightening Judgment and that before the Descending of the Holly Spirit or the Pentecost. It is added the general feast of the dead from August 6<sup>th</sup>, that from the Tuesday after St. Thomas Sunday, that from the Thursday of the Lord’s Ascension<sup>23</sup>. During the Lent, according to the tipiconal arrangements from the Triodyon, the feast for the deceased is made in the second, the third and the forth Saturdays<sup>24</sup>.

The service made by the priest for the departed, the requiem, is officiated either at the deceased’s house or at the church, after the Liturgy or after the pulpit’s prayer, or near the grave. At the church, for the

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<sup>17</sup> Serafim Rose, *Sufletul*, p. 207-208.

<sup>18</sup> Ene Braniște, *Liturgica*, p. 403-404.

<sup>19</sup> Serafim Rose, *Sufletul*, p. 200.

<sup>20</sup> Ene Braniște, *Liturgica*, p. 403-404.

<sup>21</sup> Serafim Rose, *Sufletul*, p. 149.

<sup>22</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *Predici*, p. 570.

<sup>23</sup> Nicolae D. Necula, *Tradiție*, p. 262.

<sup>24</sup> See, Nicolae D. Necula, *Sunt toate sărbătele din perioada Postului Mare zile de pomenuire a morților?* in “Vestitorul Ortodoxiei”, III(1991), no. 33-34, p. 7; Idem, *Tradiție și înnoire în slujirea liturgică*, vol. I, Galați, 1996, p. 281-283.

funeral feast service, the relatives or the closest people, bring diptychs to the altar, communion bread or round-shaped bread, *colivă* (boiled wheat mixed with sugar, essence and nuts and decorated with crosses) and wine. Also, are doled other gifts or offerings: eggs, meat, oil, sweets. At the grave, it is brought wine, communion bread (round-shaped bread) and *colivă*, where the priest blesses them in special prayers and sprinkles the grave with wine.

In Oltenia, it also met another kind of feast to remember the departed ones, commonly known as *sărindar* (mass for the dead). Thus, it is done the nominal feast for a deceased (or a diptych of deceased persons), for forty Liturgy services one after another<sup>25</sup>. This feast is based on the popular belief that, in the fortieth day after dying, it takes place the particular judgment, where it is decided the temporary fate until the final judgment of the deceased' soul, "faith that can be lessened, through the intercessions and the alms of the living for the dead"<sup>26</sup>. At the end of the 40 Liturgy services, it is made the dispensing or the absolving of the masses for the dead, "accompanied sometimes by the ordinary Holly Water and the usual meal of the feast"<sup>27</sup>.

During the Lent, at the Churches from Oltenia's towns, people usually bring Lent's diptyches, *păresimi*, lists in which are enumerated both the living and the dead, in order to be mentioned in each liturgical day, being considered that the preparation done for receiving the Resurrection's light it is necessary both for the living and for the dead. Therefore, in the prayers for redemption of the living are mentioned the dead close persons or relatives, too. At the Churches from the rural zone are received these Lent's diptyches for the dead and they will be referred to on Saturday, Sunday or on an important holyday during the Lent (The Saint's Day, St. Haralambos, Annunciation, St. George etc). "The absolving" of the Lent's diptyches is made usually on the Saturday before the Palm Sunday, when people bring offerings to the Church for the mass of the funeral feast.

Made of boiled wheat, sweetened with honey or sugar, *coliva* represents the body of the fallen asleep and the wheat is the symbol of resurrection (John, 12,24). It is decorated with candies arranged in the shape of the Holly Cross, signifying the fact that all the Christians who leave off themselves and take the cross, following their Redeemer, will pass from a troubled life into an eternal and a happy one, where they will

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<sup>25</sup> Ene Braniste, *Liturgica*, p. 405.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

sweeten themselves, “spending their time in the Godly kingdom with the angels and all the Saints, praising and rejoicing in the light of God’s Face” (Apocalypse, ch. 21). In the same time, *coliva* is “a material expression of our belief in immortality and resurrection, being made of wheat seeds that God Himself presented them as symbols of bodies’ resurrection: the same way the wheat seed, to sprout and bear fruit, must first be buried in the ground, to rot, just as the human body first is buried and rots, for later to rise from the dead into an undeteriorated state”<sup>28</sup>.

In the past, *coliva* brought at the funeral services, was blessed through the pronunciation of some special prayers and ceremonials<sup>29</sup>. All the ingredients that make the composition of the *coliva* symbolize “the virtues of the saints and of the deceased or the sweetness of the eternal life that we hope for the departed one”<sup>30</sup>. “The swinging of the *coliva* by the priest and by the deceased’s relatives, while they sing “memory eternal”, symbolizes the spiritual connection, the love and the respect for the departed”<sup>31</sup>.

The bread (the round-shaped bread or the communion bread), braided and embellished with different decorative models, in which it is placed a candle, gains the same virtues as the *coliva*.

The wine brought for the funeral feast is poured by the priest over the grave, at the cemetery, and symbolizes the spices and the balsam with which God’s body was smeared. Also, the wine “that is the grape’s blood, it is the symbol of the blood too, such is the sap of life that flows through the members of the human body and brings it life. Pouring it over the body or over the grave of the deceased represents, through analogy with the Holly Blood from the Sacraments, the image of immortality or resurrection for the eternal life that we all hope for”<sup>32</sup>.

In Oltenia are seldom organized meals for the poor and at the six weeks funeral feast are offered as alms different things and objects that are first blessed by the priest through certain prayers: “Our Lord, Jesus Christ, You Who rule over the dead and the living, Who feed the hungry and dress the bare-bodied, bless these clothes for those who shall wear them and as for Your asleep humble servant (name), dress him in the undeteriorated/undamaged vestment and in the clothing embellished with

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 399.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Gheorghe Safta, *Îndrumar*, p. 169.

<sup>32</sup> Ene Braniște, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

light and put him in Your place for him to rejoice for ever at the delight of Your wonders and thereupon his peaceful resting”<sup>33</sup>.

Through death we must understand the end of the earthly life and also the beginning of the eternal one. Nicolae Velimirovici, talking about the departed, said: “It is better to think that them, as good pupils, finished earlier the school of life and us, as weaker pupils, were let to study more, until we would have learned our lesson”<sup>34</sup>.

We can’t talk about the fear of the death if we have lived our life according to God’s calling. Considering St. Apostle Paul’s words: “As for me life represents Christ and death is a gain” (Philippians 1, 21), death can be “desired” if we understand through this the wish of being, as quickly as possible, along with Christ.

So, the prayer and the alms for the departed are ways of helping them or of easing their condition of sinners. The alms must be done anytime to anyone. Having as a guide mark the periods that the Orthodox Church established for the deceased people and continuing with their general remembering and also with that during each Saint Liturgy, we can be sure that we make the most serviceable and natural deed for the souls of the dead.

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<sup>33</sup> *Molitfelnic*, p. 346.

<sup>34</sup> Nicolae Velimirovici, *Învățături despre bine și rău* (translated from Serbian by father Teofil Petrescu), Bucharest, 2001, p. 186.

# **“MOTHER’S DAY” IN THE YEAR 1939 – OPPORTUNITY FOR CELEBRATION AND PROPAGANDA: OLT COUNTY\***

**Diana-Mihaela PĂUNOIU\***

**Abstract:** “Mother’s Day” represented a festive and propagandistic episode during personal regime of King Carol II that can be fitted into the category of the celebrations dedicated to creation, in population’s ranks, of a mentality favourable to increase of life’s quality, through propagation of some messages that targeted the concern for environmental, for human’s health and, especially for the children’s. Reconstitution and analysis of the mentioned festive moment are focused on realities of 1939 on the Olt County level. The analysis of studied documents sustain the affirmation that: the celebration called “Mother’s Day”, beyond the declared purpose of stimulating the increase of birth rate and prevent the infantile mortality, offered, through his ceremony, the propagation of King Carol II’ image as architect of a new national solidarity.

**Keywords:** “Mother’s Day”, propaganda, celebration, King Carol II.

In the period of 1938-1940, application of King Carol II’s vision regarding reformation of Romanian state and shape the Romanian society reached the peak. In the same time with adopting all the measures that had as result on one side “the affirmation of authority” of the head of state over any possibility of control, and on the other side the severe erosion of

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democratic structure, a powerful propaganda machinery<sup>1</sup> was set up, with the purpose of masking the real situation in Romania in those times.

The celebrations played an important role in the popularisation mechanism of carlist's ideology. These events have been organized by the carlist regime's supporters after an well established pattern, pattern in which King Carol II was the centre of the celebration. The public officials had speeches – pleads reserved in the favour of reformatting opera of the king, and the participants, picked from the “favourable” elements, give the image of a happy nation.

The Romanian youth, considered to be one of the key elements in “the new” society planed by the promoters of the carlist regime<sup>2</sup>, was implicated in the organisation of different celebrations in the studied period. *Straja Țării* [Country's Sentry]<sup>3</sup> had in a year programme, amongst other activities, also involvement of the youth in the organisation of 23 legal and sentry's celebrations (religious, great national holidays, Royal Family's holidays and those specific to Sentry)<sup>4</sup>.

According to “The Calendar for the year 1939-1940” of Country's Sentry, the festive moments were: January 1 – St. Vasile, January 6 – God's Baptize, January 7 – St. John the Baptizer, January 24 – Unification of the Princedoms [*Principate*] and All the Romanians, February 2 – Welcoming of the Lord, March 25 – Good News, 3 days of St. Easter, April 23 – St. Gheorghe, May 1 – Labour Day, May 10 – Nation's Day / Proclamation of Independence and Kingdom, May 21 – St. Emperors Constantine and Helen, June 6 – Hero's Day / Rise of the Lord (40 days after Easter), June 8 –

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<sup>1</sup> Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947)*, vol. III, *Carol al II-lea*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, pp. 260-261, 269-270; *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VIII, *România întregită (1918-1940)*, coordonator: Ioan Scurtu, secretar: Petre Otu, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, pp. 396-397, 401-402.

<sup>2</sup> Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Aspecte privind cenzura cinematografică în cadrul Tinutului Olt (1938-1940)*, in “Analele Universității din Craiova, Seria Istorie”, year XIV, no. 2 (16)/2009, Craiova, Editura Universitară, pp. 301-308.

<sup>3</sup> *Straja Țării* [Country's Sentry] was a state institution that had as gold “moral, national-patriotic, social and physic education for all youth of both genders”, were joined all the boys with ages between 7 and 18 (inclusive) and all the girls with ages between 7 and 21 (inclusive). Other youth's organisations were forbidden in Romania. The Supreme Commander of Country's Sentry was King Carol II, “Marele Străjer al Țării” [The Great Sentry of the Country] (Articles 1 and 16 from “Legea pentru organizarea și funcționarea Străjii Țării” published in “Monitorul Oficial”, year CVI, no. 292 from December 15, 1938, pp. 5942-5943).

<sup>4</sup> *Straja Țării*, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și Instrucțiuni. I Sept.(embrie) 1939 – 31 August 1940*, Vremea, 1939, no number (following, will be quoted: *Straja Țării*, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și Instrucțiuni. I Sept.(embrie) 1939 – 31 August 1940*, ...).

Youth's Celebration, June 17 – St. Trinity (50 days after Easter, Sunday), June 29 – St. Apostles Peter and Paul, August 6 – Days of the Romanian Glory (Mărăşti, Mărăşeşti) / *Schimbarea la faţă* [Change of the Face], August 15 – Assumption of the Virgin, September 14 – The Rise of the Holy Cross, October 16 – Birthday of King Carol II, October 26 – St. Dumitru, November 8 – St. Archangels Mihail and Gavril / Birthday and name's day of Principe Mihai (The Great *Voievod* of Alba Iulia), December 6 – St. Nicolae, December 25-27 – 3 days of Christmas<sup>5</sup>.

In the context when the official celebrations took place with the participation “of the nation” as a result of compulsion of everybody with a paid income from the state’s budget or receiving public money (case of the youth) the legal holidays<sup>6</sup> were the same with the ones of sentry.

To all of these occasional and annual celebrations added, borne from the intention and desire of authorities to make propaganda for the exact problematic situation, with the purpose to create certain mentality in the ranks of population. For these were organized either festive events only, or festive events combined with different activities. These kind of events have been organized to popularize the environmental protection (“Planting of the Trees”<sup>7</sup>, “Day of the Waters”<sup>8</sup>), correlation of the idea of hygiene with health in population’s ranks (“Hygiene Week”<sup>9</sup>), consuming of some aliments needed for normal development of children

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Codul General al României. Legi noi de unificare (1922-1926)*, vol. XI-XII, written and completed by C. Hamangiu, with the assistance of C. St. Stoicescu, Bucureşti, Editura Librăriei “Universală” Alcaly@Co., pp. 421-422

<sup>7</sup> Straja Tării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și Instrucțiuni. I Sept.(embrie) 1939 – 31 August 1940*, ..., pp. 167-169.

<sup>8</sup> “Ziua Apelor” [“Days of the Waters”] started to be celebrated, in the last day of June, 1932. The celebration had the role to produce in population’s ranks (“all the citizens, small and big”) a sentiment of love and cherish for “the value of Black Sea, Danube and Romanian waters” (National Archives, Dolj, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Department, files no.: 187/1940, f. 445v.; 288/1940, f. 85).

<sup>9</sup> “Săptămâna Higienei” [“Hygiene Week”] was organised with the purpose of improving the environmental conditions, that influenced the health of individuals and create a mentality, in the rank of urban and rural population, favourable to apply, in every day’s life, a minimum of hygienic conditions (National Archives, Vâlcea, fund Prefectura Județului Vâlcea, file no. 33/1940, f. 20; National Archives, Dolj, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Department, file no. 288/1940, f. 58).

(“Milk Week” / “Milk Day”<sup>10</sup>) or propaganda in the favour of children’s protection (“Child’s Celebration”<sup>11</sup>) etc.

In this context, “Mother’s Day” fits into a wider assembly of celebrations dedicated to propagation, in population’s ranks, of some messages that were supposed to create a mentality that targeted the increase of life’s quality, through care of the environmental, for wellbeing of the population and, especially, of the children.

In 1939, the leadership of Country’s Sentry propose to organise, during celebrations of “Youth’s Week” – according to documents of the time the complete name of the celebrations was “Week of the Restoration and Youth” (June 1-8) –, “Mother’s Day” with the purpose of making propaganda for the increase of birth rate and prevention of infantile mortality<sup>12</sup>.

Therefore, on May 3, 1939, the Commander of Country’s Sentry, Teofil Gheorghe Sidorovici, issued an address to Ministry of Internals with the objectives from the programme of this institution regarding the solving of the demographic problem. It was specified that this last issue

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<sup>10</sup> “Sărbătoarea laptelui” [“Milk holiday”] was celebrated, between June 12 and 19, 1938, in Bucharest under the form of “Milk Week”, and in the cities that were county’s residency “Milk Day”. The initiative belonged to National Committee of Milk, set up in 1930, part of the National Zootechnic Institute, having over 40 members, and the president was university professor G. H. K. Constantinescu. Some of the means used by the respective committee were cultural propaganda using brochures, conferences, advices, cinema, etc. for the rational increase of cattle that can produce milk, rational, hygienic and economic food, conservation, transportation and production of milk, and also the propaganda using some annual manifestations regarding milk holiday, that celebrated in 1938 in the same time with child’s day “who’s health and life is strictly related with the consuming of a good milk and sufficient”. (“Torța Olteană”, Craiova, year IV, no. 47-48, June 26, 1938, p. 2).

<sup>11</sup> The news paper from Craiova “Jurnalul” from 1937 wrote the fact that “Child Celebration” was: a celebration completely new. It will be a celebration truly unique. In this celebration will stir up a special sensation child’s defilements grown and cared for by the societies of child culture, a real pride of Romanian assistance”; regarding the role of this celebration, that was organised in “Month of Bucharest”, in the specified news paper was mentioned: “Is the case that great masses of Romanian public opinion to understand that the child is the guarantee of the future. The base of the country sits in the generations of children, or in the middle of these children are also the ones grown and take care of by the Societies of assistance” (“Jurnalul”, Craiova, year IV, no. 808, Sunday, June 17, 1937).

<sup>12</sup> To see, regarding the demographic problem from the period between wars, Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947*, Translation by George G. Potra and Delia Răzdolescu, București, Editura Humanitas, 1996, pp. 360-362; and for the period 1938-1940, “Buletinul Statistic al României” – official publication of the Central Statistic Institute, director: dr. Sabin Manuilă, București, 1938, 1939, 1940.

was in the attention of many of the world's countries, everywhere measures being taken with regards of increasing the population and, especially, prevention of infantile mortality.

Country's Sentry having written in his programme a vast activity regarding that problem which was "*obviously...at the beginnings (our underline)*", Teofil Gh. Sidorovici considered that, until the achievement of this great desiderate from sentry's programme", "we have to, using well though measures *to realize a stimulant, in our concern for the Nation's children (our underline)*, seeking through all means to highlight the good mothers and stimulate them to take care of the children's food and supervise their growth<sup>13</sup>.

Was considered that "Youth's Week" could have been the opportunity for "a feminine demonstration in the entire country: mothers with a higher number of live children should be gathered in Bucharest, where they will be celebrated by the Country's Sentry, and with this occasion prizes in money and objects will be given"<sup>14</sup>.

For achievement of propaganda in favour of demographic problem, the Commander of Country's Sentry proposed a detailed program, which had three stages. First, in every *county* of the country were organized, on *May 21*, by the legions of sentries with the assistance of local authorities, celebrations dedicated to all the mothers from that county respectively that had eight living children raised in the parents house. During these celebrations three mothers from every county were chosen, and they participated to other celebrations organised in the residency cities of the *Counties*<sup>15</sup>.

The day proposed for these kinds of manifestations was *May 28*. This kind of festive events had to take place under the patronage of royal residencies. With this opportunity, a mother had to be chosen from every county with the purpose of participating in the day of *June 7* at the celebration of these mothers during sentry's manifestations that took

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<sup>13</sup> National Archives, Dolj, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Department, file no. 86/1939, f. 7.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 8.

<sup>15</sup> *Tinutul* [County] – territorial-administrative unit created through administrative law from August 14, 1938. It was ruled by a royal resident that had wide powers; was the representative of the King in a delimited territory; have been set up 10 counties in the country. Olt County was formed from 6 smaller counties: Dolj, Gorj, Olt, Mehedinți, Romanați și Vâlcea, the residence being the city of Craiova ("Monitorul Oficial", part I, no. 187, August 14, 1938).

place, under the patronage of King Carol II, in *Bucharest* during “Youth’s Week”<sup>16</sup>.

*Celebration of mothers with eight living children raised in the parents house was considered an unique event in Romania* and for the good deployment of the event the Commander of Country’s Sentry requested the support from authorities for the following matters: identification of the aimed mothers, transport and accommodation for them in residency cities of Counties, and also prices in money and object to the most “deserving mothers”<sup>17</sup>.

Considering the proposals done by the Commander of Country’s Sentry, The Ministry of Internals has send on May 9, 1939, to the royal residency of Olt County, Dinu Simian, a document informing him about the purpose for organisation of the celebration called “Mother’s Day” and ask of him to give dispositions to administrative and police authorities under his command to achieve, with the possibilities, the project proposed by the Country’s Sentry. Was also specified that, the *manifestations dedicated to "Mother's Day" had to receive a special fast*<sup>18</sup>.

In his turn, the royal resident fulfil the requests mentioned above, giving orders on May 17, 1939, to prefects, mayors of cities that were county residence, police and gendarmerie inspectorates to take necessary measures to materialize the project started by Country’s Sentry<sup>19</sup>.

At the same date, the head of Financial Service notified the royal resident that the amount of 290.000 lei, in Olt County’s budget for county’s sentry legions, were destined for summer camps and colonies, destination that coordinating Commander in the county wanted to keep. Therefore, the financial solution for the prices was the utilisation of some founds specified in the budget at the chapter “Child’s Assistance”. In these conditions, the prices for poor mothers could only be given as clothes for the children<sup>20</sup>.

Therefore, the prices that had to be given on “Mother’s Day” were symbolic and do not represented a long term solution for the problems that families with many children had. That is way, can be appreciated that the celebration had, mainly, an accentuated propagandistic side.

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<sup>16</sup> National Archives, Dolj, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Department, file no. 86/1939, f. 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 9.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4-4v.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 5

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, file no. 72/1939, f. 4v.

At Olt County level, “Mother’s Day” was organised on June 5, 1939, in the Theatre Hall of “Carol I” College from Craiova, hall placed at their disposal for free by the school’s authorities<sup>21</sup>. Invitations for the officials from the city have been given by the director of the host college, who was appointed for that on May 31, 1939, by the Commander of Olt County Sentries.

At the same date, the college Director was asked “to allow that a delegation of sentries, equipped prefects, accompanied by a commander, to be the guard of honour at the entry in the theatre. On the stairs going to the lodges, on right and left, the guards will be the sentries from El[ena] Cuza High school”<sup>22</sup>.

The programme for this celebration<sup>23</sup> (See the Annex) shows that, although most of the time the event had literal and artistic moments dedicated to Mother, the moments reserved to glorify the king Carol II did not miss. Therefore, after singing the Royal Hymn (compulsory on every celebration), Quotation [Deviza] and Creed [Crezul] were spoken “out loud, rare, outright and accentuating the words in such a way, that every time will produce powerful effects (our underline)”<sup>24</sup>.

The sentry’s *Deviza* was the following: “Faith and work for the Country and King!” and the *Crezul* had the following content:

I believe in God and the church of my forefathers.

*I believe in the Country’s King, the Great Sentry [and] the ruler of Romanian people’s destinies (our underline).*

I believe in work and sacrifice, devoting my entire being for the elevation and prosperity of the Country.

I believe in Country’s Sentry, the guarantee for the unity of Romanian people, boundaries and soul health<sup>25</sup>.

Also the speech given by the Coordinating Commander of the Sentries from Olt County

*had to produce a powerful educative impression (...).*

*This word will have a national, moral, social content, being achieved either by short suggestive stories (without drawing explicitly conclusions and learning,*

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<sup>21</sup> Idem, fund Carol I High School, file no. 7/1939-1939, f. 349.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 350.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 349v.

<sup>24</sup> Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și Instrucțiuni. 1 Sept.(embrie) 1939 – 31 August 1940, ...*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

*because these had to come implicitly from each), either by enthusiastic and raising exposures (our underline)<sup>26</sup>.*

Regarding the impact that the “Mother’s Day” celebration had on women’s ranks, it was not the one expected by the authorities, because, according to statistic data of those years, the demographic problem continued to exist<sup>27</sup>. In the researched period, most of the women in rural areas had multiple duties: agriculture, housekeeping and family care. Many of them worked on the fields even while pregnant, sometime until the moment when they give birth to the child. In these conditions, can be said that given symbolic prices to a reduce number of mothers could only be a populist measure, not even close enough to solve, real and on long term, the demographic mater.

The “Mother’s Day” represented a celebration that, beyond the declared purpose, to stimulate the increase of birth rate and prevent the infantile mortality, offered, through his ceremony, the propagation of King Carol II’s image as architect of a new national solidarity.

## ANNEX

### MOTHER’S DAY JUNE 5, 1939

#### PROGRAMME

*Report*

*Royal Hymn*

*Quotation [Deviza]*

*Creed [Crezul]*

*The speech of Missis Coordinating Commander of Olt County*

*The speech of Mister Royal Resident of Olt County*

*“Mama” [Mother] – quire – Normal School’s “Stol”*

*National Dances – Girls Industrial High School’s “Stol”*

*“Mama” [Mother] – Carmen Sylva – recitation – School Application*

*National Dances – School of Housewifery “Stol”*

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> “Buletinul statistic al României” – official publication of the Central Statistic Institute, director: Dr. Sabin Manuilă, Bucureşti, 1938, 1939, 1940.

*“Mama mea” [My Mother]* – recitation – Urziceanu Girls High School’s “Stol”

*Solo violin* – Carol I College’s “Stol”

*“Rugăciunea Soarelui” [Prayer of the Sun]* – V. Eftimiu – Girls Commercial High School’s “Stol”

*“Mama” [Mother]* – quire – Normal School’s “Stol”

*National Dances* – Girls Commercial High School’s “Stol”

*“Mama” [Mother]* – V. Militaru – recitation – Elena Cuza “Stol”

*Tablou* – “Mama lui Ștefan cel Mare” – Stolul Șc. primare Otetelișanu

“*Şease pui și-o biată mamă*” – V. Militaru – recitation – Elena Cuza “Stol”

“*Tablou*” – “Momente din viața mamei” [“Moments from mother’s life”] – recitation – Elena Cuza “Stol”

*“Mama cerne”* – recitation – Commercial High School’s “Stol”

Granting the prices

### **Elections of mothers that will be send in Bucharest on June 7**

(our underline)

*Our Hymn*

*The Prayer*

*Lights Out*

National Archives, Dolj, fund Liceul Carol I [Carol I High School], file no. 7/1938-1939, f. 378v.

# **OLD AND NEW ARISTOCRATS: GENESIS OF ROMANIAN ELITES**

## **GREAT HIGH-OFFICIALS AMONG THE GLOGOVEANU BOYARS**

**Ileana CIOAREC\***

**Abstract:** In this article the author presents the dignities and offices held by the Glogoveni boyars over time. Some members of this family continued to participate in the life of the country after 1482. They have met numerous officials and functions as Cerneți captain, same district of Gorj, Mehedinți, Vâlcea and Scăieni the Court of Appeal Craiova judge, prefect of Gorj, Ilfov senator. All these officials and functions they fulfill in the political and social, for nobles accounted Glogoveni not just a means of enrichment, but gave them a certain prestige and authority in society in relation with the general population.

**Keywords:** boyar, high-dignities, judge, social classes.

The role of the social classes constituted and still constitutes a constant preoccupation of the Romanian historiography due to the special importance that the influence of the aspects regarding the birth, the evolution, the relations and the interactions; the place and the role in the society and their disappearance was determined because of the entire historic process that took place in a specific temporal space and horizon. In a society, the attention paid to the leading classes it is natural to appear, they were those that were playing an important part in the historic evolution of different people and nations. For the Romanians, the leading class was, as far back as in the period that the feudal states had been founded, the nobility (boyars) who exercised the leading role for almost seven centuries, until its institutional abolishing. As dominant class, it was different from most of the population, not only through the possession of land and the high-offices and also through an entire system

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of privileges that was useful in the same time for some of its essential interests and fixed a limit of definite democracy between the two fundamental sections of the medieval society: the privileged and non-privileged people. The boyars were the lords of the estates exploited with the help of the dependent peasants, having the privileged statute and who, owning the monopole of the high-offices, dominated the state's life<sup>1</sup>.

In our case, we shall prove a special interest for the study of the boyars' evolution from Oltenia, representative component of the entire Romanian boyars. The owning of the estate was the primordial factor that determined the situation of the boyar in the social life and in the state. The land, the dependent peasants and the bonds men didn't represent only the economic base of their social position but it also opened their way for the political affirmation and high-offices.

The great boyar families from Oltenia, very old ones that contributed to the development of the Romanian society and played an important part in our country's history were: Argetoianu, Băleanu, Bengescu, Brăiloiu, Fărcașanu, Glogoveanu, Otetelișeanu, Poienaru, Obedeanu etc<sup>2</sup>. They represented the category of the great boyars and first rank boyars and they represented a small group of great landowners and great high-officers (*dregători*), closely related, with an obvious restrictive tendency: "we, who belong to the first class families, are in blood or in-law related and we are merely able to marry among each other"<sup>3</sup>.

A special position owned, as far as for the beginning of their attestation, in 1405, the Glogoveanu boyar family.

In 1690, the Hungarian Imre Tököly unleashed an anti-Habsburg rebellion in Transylvania. He began the talks with the Turks and with Brâncoveanu, succeeding in proclaiming him the king of Hungary. He managed to keep the throne only a short period of time because the Habsburgs, who took action, determined him to leave the country and to retreat in the south of the Carpathians. Here, along with his troops of Kurucs, started to plunder Oltenia, taking prisoner the captain of Cerneți, Necula Glogoveanu. Under these circumstances, the ruler ordered few of

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<sup>1</sup> Șerban Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânire austriacă (1718-1739)*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 1998, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. IV, Bucharest, 1904, p. 490.

his captains to defend the population from these predators. Necula Glogoveanu was released by the vizier Mustafa the pasha Chiupruliogu<sup>4</sup>.

In 1716, between Austria and the Ottoman Empire broke out a new war, being carried on mostly on Wallachia's territory. In the same year, Matei and Mihai Glogoveanu, along with other boyars from Oltenia, taking chance of the unleashing of this war in which they identified the possibility to remove the Phanariot ruler who had declared his wish to supreme the country's army, rose in rebellion. In order to win, they appealed to the commander of the Austrian troops, Eugene of Savoy. With these soldiers and with the troops they had, the boyars defeated the army of Mavrocordat at Bengeşti in Gorj in 1716. The ruler, hoping to hinder the extending of the boyars' movement, arrested few of its leaders. Instead of ending this rebellion, Mavrocordat amplified it, because the boyars managed to gather more and more sustainers. They succeeded to arrest, on November 14<sup>th</sup> 1716, the ruler Nicolae Mavrocordat and to commit him to the Habsburg authorities<sup>5</sup>. The Russo-Austrian-Turkish war ended in 1718 with the Passarowitz Treaty (July 21<sup>st</sup> 1718), when Oltenia passed under the Ottoman and Habsburg domination. The new possessors gave, through imperial decree, the administration of the province to a central body, The Administration, with the residence in Craiova, made of four councillors under the authority of a ban or president who coordinated and supervised the entire fiscal process, from the drawing up of the censuses to the repartition and the raising of the taxes imposed to the population. The activity of this administrative body had been controlled by an Austrian commander with the residence in Sibiu, who later became the supreme director of Oltenia (Principatus Valachiae Supremus Director). In the first years of occupation, the ban and the four councillors had been appointed among the great native boyars. After 1722, the ban and later one of the councillor were Germans. Among the 4 councillors that were in that administrative body during 1731-1732, was also Matei Glogoveanu. In 1731, he had been proposed to the emperor to fill the position of imperial councillor, function that he obtained on May 26<sup>th</sup> 1732<sup>6</sup>. After his death on December 16<sup>th</sup> 1732, his

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<sup>4</sup> I. C. Chițimia, "Mehedinți, oameni și întâmplări în vechi relatari românești", in *Mehedinți. Cultură și civilizație*, vol. IV, 1982, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Constantin V. Obedeanu, "Petrache Obedeanu", in *Arhivele Olteniei*, year VI, 1927, no. 29-30, pp. 41-46.

<sup>6</sup> Radu Crețeanu, "Biserica din Glogova", in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, year VIII, 1956, no. 6-7, p. 362.

place was taken by J. V. Viechtern<sup>7</sup>. For their duties, the ban and the councillors received a wage that varied from 1000 florins (the councillors) to 6000 florins (the ban)<sup>8</sup>. In his quality of councillor of the Administration, on November 16<sup>th</sup> 1732, Matei Glogoveanu, along with his other colleagues H. Baron Dietrich (president), I W Vogt, G. Vlasto and Ștefan Pârșcoveanu, acquitted the Father Superior from the Bistrița monastery that Vales, who had been appointed by the Austrians to lead in Oltenia, decided that this monastery should have ten families “arrived from the Tatars’ territories” that would be exempted from taxes for three years and in the next years they would pay only 5 florins<sup>9</sup>.

The Romanian Principalities had the same faith in 1787 when a new war broke out between Russia, Austria and Turkey, most of it also upheld on the territory of the Romanian Principalities. Important battles were fought in the mountain area and on the Valea Jiului<sup>10</sup>. Proceeding to the counter-offensive, the Austrians obtained in 1789 numerous victories at Câineni and Calafat, their actions finishing with the occupation, at the end of October and the beginning of November, of the city Craiova<sup>11</sup>. The Austrian occupation in Oltenia, province that they had also possessed during 1718-1739, lasted until August 1791. During all this time, the occupation Austrian troops acted to obtain from the local population important incomes that would allow the continuing of the anti-Ottoman military operations. They entrusted the administration of the region to a Divan made of great boyars with pro-Habsburg affinities, among which was the *stolnic* (High Steward) Ioniță Glogoveanu<sup>12</sup>. The members of this Divan received a salary of 50-200 lei per month<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Constantin Giurescu, *Material pentru istoria Olteniei supt austrieci*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1913, p. 535; Șerban Papacostea, *Oltenia*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>9</sup> *Documente privind relațiile agrare în secolul al XVIII-lea*, vol. I. *Tara Românească* (editorial staff Vasile Mihordea, Șerban Papacostea, Florin Constantiniu), Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 1961, pp.335-336

<sup>10</sup> V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1892, pp. 222-226; Dionisie Eclesiarhul, *Cronograful Terii Rumânești (1764-1815)*, edition by C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 1934, pp. 27-64; Nicolae Stoica de Hațeg, *Cronica Banatului*, edition by D. Mioc, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 1969, pp. 274-279.

<sup>11</sup> Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. III, part I, Bucharest, 1942, pp. 299-301.

<sup>12</sup> Mihai Popescu, “Contribuția Olteniei la răsboiul rusoaustro-turc dintre anii 1787-1792”, in *Arhivele Olteniei*, year IX, 1930, no. 51-52, pp. 306-309; Virgil Joița, “Unele aspecte privind stăpânirea austriacă în Oltenia (1787-1791)”, in *Analele Universității din Craiova*, Series History, Geography, Philology, year I, 1972, p. 63.

<sup>13</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Studii și documente*, vol. VIII, Bucharest, 1906, p. 107.

The Glogoveanu boyars also practiced the function of *ispravnic* (subprefect) in different capitals of diverse districts.

The first member of the Glogoveanu family who filled the position of *ispravnic* was Matei. He was, first in 1719, *ispravnic* of Gorj along Barbu Rioșeanu, Matei Bălăcescu and Constantin Alboiu<sup>14</sup>, and then in 1727 of Mehedinți<sup>15</sup>. His son Ioniță had the same function. He was appointed in 1768 *ispravnic* of Gorj along with the *biv vel serdar* (great cavalry commander) Scarlat Drăgănescu, the *vel spătar* (great sword bearer) Barbu Poenaru and the *vel sluger* (great purveyor) Ștefan Crăsnarul<sup>16</sup>. He filled this position several times: in 1779<sup>17</sup>, 1785<sup>18</sup>. Seven years after the first time he had held the *ispravnic* of Gorj position, Ioniță was appointed, in 1775, *ispravnic* of another district from Oltenia: Mehedinți. Nicolae Glogoveanu had as well the *dregătorie* (high-dignity) of *ispravnic* from several districts: Săcui (1807)<sup>19</sup>, Mehedinți (1810<sup>20</sup>, January 1821<sup>21</sup>, December 1822-1823<sup>22</sup>, 1826<sup>23</sup>), Vâlcea (appointed in this function on July the 15<sup>th</sup> 1811<sup>24</sup>). This Nicolae Glogoveanu was in 1820 member of the Craiova's Divan too. In this quality, on December 8<sup>th</sup> 1820, he sentenced the affair between the *cavafî* (shoemaker

<sup>14</sup> Alexandru Ștefulescu, *Încercare asupra istoriei Târgu Jiului*, Bucharest, 1809, p. 106; Idem, *Gorjul istoric și pitoresc*, Târgu Jiu, 1904, p. LII.

<sup>15</sup> *Dicționarul enciclopedic al județului Mehedinți* (coord. Ileana Romana, Tudor Rățoi), Drobeta Turnu Severin, Editura Prier, 2003, p. 193; I. C. Filitti, “Banul Olteniei și Craiovești”, in *Arhivele Olteniei*, year XI, 1932, no. 63-64, p. 342; Dumitru Z. Furnică, *Din istoria comerçului la români mai ales băcănia*, Bucharest, 1908, p. 227.

<sup>16</sup> Alexandru Ștefulescu, *Gorjul istoric și pitoresc*, p. LII.

<sup>17</sup> Idem, *Încercare asupra istoriei Târgu Jiului*, p. 138.

<sup>18</sup> C. A. Protopopescu, *Studii și articole din istoria județelor Mehedinți și Gorj*, vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>19</sup> SJAN Dolj, *The Collection Documents*, stock XCII, file 3/1812, f. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Radu Rosetti, “Arhiva senatorilor de la Chișinău și ocupația rusească de la 1806-1812”, in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, vol. XXXII, 1909-1910, pp. 283-284.

<sup>21</sup> SJAN Dolj, *The Collection Documents*, stock XVIII, file 8/1821, f. 1; Ion Dărzeanu, *Cronica revoluției din 1821*, in Nicolae Iorga, *Izvoarele contemporane asupra mișcării lui Tudor Vladimirescu*, Bucharest, 1921, p. 15-16; I. Neacșu, *Lista cu numele pandurilor și căpitanilor lor care au participat la răscoală sub conducerea lui Tudor Vladimirescu (componența lor socială, completată cu date biografice) și un extras statistic nominal cu componența socială a 16 căpitanii de panduri*, in “*Studii și materiale de istorie modernă*”, vol. I, p. 394.

<sup>22</sup> SJAN Dolj, *The Collection Documents*, stock XCII, file 21/1822, f. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Emil Vârtoosu, *Tudor Vladimirescu. Glose, fapte și documente noi*, Bucharest, 1927, pp. 152-153.

<sup>24</sup> I. Popescu-Cilieni, *Biserici, târguri și sate din județul Vâlcea*, Craiova, 1941, p. 134, 138; Cornelius Tamaș, Smarand Tana, *Județul Vâlcea și prefecții lui*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Editura Conphys, 2004, p. 72.

merchants) and the *abagii* (the producers and sellers of dreadnought) from Craiova. The motif of this trial was the infringement by the *abagii* of the agreement established between the merchants, according to which they were allowed to sell only the products from their ateliers (clothes) and not shoes<sup>25</sup>.

The *ispravnic* position in Plasa de Mijloc from the Mehedinți District that spread out from Bala and Crainici to Batoți and Hinova, was occupied in 1727 by another representative of the Glogoveanu family: Staico<sup>26</sup>.

Another function filled by the Glogoveanu boyars, was that of *caimacam* (deputy of a high official) of Craiova (1797) by Ioniță<sup>27</sup>.

After the defeating of the Wallachian uprising of 1821, most of the boyars from Oltenia emerged from isolation and involved themselves in the public life of the society. The manifestation background is offered by the social-politic evolutions from this period: the replacement of the Phanariot regime with that of the local rulers and the modernization measures from the period of the Organic Regulation. It was noticed first of all the more and more obvious interest of the boyars for the filling and exercising of public functions and dignities in the administration, justice and army.

The restoring of the local ruling, equivalent with the establishment of a new regime, was followed by important changes in the social configuration of the Principalities. From the dominant politic class' structure was eliminated the Phanariot ruling group, the factor of the entire social evil that had been settled in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In only few decades, as the historians Cornel I. Scafeș and Vladimir Zodian mentioned, the state's power had gone almost entirely to the great boyars, to the high officials<sup>28</sup> who had also taken the traditional relations derived from the leading class's privileges of the political and personal

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<sup>25</sup> Meșteșugari și neguțători din trecutul Craiovei. Documente (1666-1865), Bucharest, 1957, pp. 121-122.

<sup>26</sup> Nicolae Chipurici, "Județul Mehedinți într-o conscripție de la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea", in *Drobeta*, 1978, p. 137.

<sup>27</sup> Ioan C. Filitti, "Banii și caimacamii Craiovei", in *Arhivele Olteniei*, year III, 1924, no. 13, p. 215; Theodora Rădulescu, "Sfatul domnesc și alți mulți dregători ai Țării Românești din secolul al XVIII-lea. Liste cronologice și cursus honorum", in *Revista Arhivelor*, year XLXI, vol. XXXIV, 1972, no. 2-4, p. 300, 443, 681; Șerban Papacostea, *Oltenia*, p. 251, 253.

<sup>28</sup> Cornel I. Scafeș, Vladimir Zodian, *Grigore al IV-lea Ghica (1822-1828)*, Bucharest, Editura Militară, 1986, p. 146.

clientage, the unilateral attitude in solving the social problems, the diplomacy of equilibrium between the neighboring empires etc.

In order to attract in the *dregatorii* (high-dignities) and the public functions, with a high degree of responsibility, the competent small-boyars and boyars, the ruler Grigore Ghica the 4<sup>th</sup> rewarded the most deserving of them. Yet, the possibilities of public manifestation of the aristocracy from Oltenia, were limited during 1822-1828, because of the prudent policy of the ruler in these fields.

The putting into force of the Organic Regulation coincided with the increasing of the number of functions and public dignities. In Oltenia only, from the 70-80 high-dignities from the time of Grigorie the 4<sup>th</sup> Ghica, in the regulations' period their number growing to almost 175 and the boyars' families, through one or several members, succeeded in controlling the public life. Not only the inferior rank boyars and small-boyars had been attracted by the new high-dignities and even the old families of aristocrats, with predecessors from the era of the Romanian states' genesis (Glogoveanu, Poenaru, Păräianu, etc). Under the provisions of the Regulation, beside the administrative institutions, the judiciary ones created numerous functions. That time had been founded law courts in the capital of every district (courts) with 7-8 jobs each (presidents, judges, *mădulari* or *cileni* (members of a court), prosecutors, court's clerks, registering clerks) and other few institutions with zonal character (e.g. The Civil Divan, The Crimes' Divan, The Commerce Court, all at Craiova, with over 27 jobs)<sup>29</sup>. In such institutions functioned the members of almost all the wealthy families from Oltenia (with the domicile in Craiova too), among which there was the Glogoveanu family as well. Thus, during 1831-1847, one of the members of this aristocratic family, the equerry Constantin Glogoveanu was among the magistrates of the Crimes' Divan from Craiova<sup>30</sup>. In his quality of judge of the Court of Appeal from Craiova (had been created in 1849, after the transforming of the civil and crimes' Divan), he was together with other two colleagues of his, Ștefan Prisăceanu and Hr. Marghiloman, who in 1858, sentenced the process filed by several landlords and leaseholders, among which the *serdar* Ghiță Burileanu and the *serdar* Pană Gărdăreanu, the *pitar* (baker) Nicolae Bălteanu, Manolache Mănăstriceanu, Gheorghe Popescu, Dimitrie Burileanu, Matei Vasile Papadopulo, D. Ghiorghiu, G. Cazan,

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<sup>29</sup> Ilie I. Vulpe, *Divanul Craiovei*, Craiova, Editura Scrisul Românesc, 2002, p. 9 sq.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Apostol Nicolau, to the leaders of the rebellion from the winter of 1853-1854<sup>31</sup>.

Other functions occupied by the representatives of the same wealthy boyars from Oltenia, were the public ones, as those created also in the regulations' period, by the quarantine offices' directors, the financial and districts' secretaries, the frontier *cinovnici* (inferior rank clerks), presidents of the towns' councils (the thoroughfares), policemen from the cities, teachers, lawyers who had practiced or had studied in the West. Among the lawyers who studied in the West, is Nicolae Glogoveanu too. He had graduated the courses of the Law Faculty from Paris, before 1875 as long as on February the 12<sup>th</sup> the same year, he asked to be enrolled as a lawyer in the Dolj Bar Association, as probationer<sup>32</sup>. The same quality, of advocate going through his probation, he also had in 1876, 1877<sup>33</sup>. On June 9<sup>th</sup> 1876, he was among the members of the Dolj Court, the commercial section, who sentenced the trial between I. I. Melleu and Ioan G. Vorvoreanu. The motive of the trial was a debt in money that the first should have received from the second<sup>34</sup>.

Graduate of the same law faculty was Ion Glogoveanu (1897) too<sup>35</sup>. He took part first in the Dolj Bar Association, asking on April 9<sup>th</sup> 1899 to be moved at that from Ilfov<sup>36</sup>.

The president function of Craiova's thoroughfare was occupied in 1850 by the great agha Constantin Glogoveanu<sup>37</sup>.

A special domain, in this period of the Romanian public life, is the political one, grown on the dispositions of the Organic Regulation regarding the founding and the functioning of the ordinary and extraordinary national assemblies and of the eligible ways to appoint the deputy boyars. Thus, the boyars from Oltenia could participate to the modern representative public life, a step forward as confronted to the not so far past. The election of the deputies was done according to classes: 1<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Paul Emanoil Barbu, *Acțiuni sociale și politice românești în anii 1853-1854. Documente*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 2003, p. 342-346.

<sup>32</sup> George Mil. Demetrescu, *Istoria baroului Dolj de la 1864-1928*, Craiova, 1928, p. 32, 54.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>34</sup> SJAN Dolj, Fond Vorvoreanu, file 8/1854-1905, f. 58.

<sup>35</sup> *Reperes spirituale românești. Un dicționar al personalităților din Dolj*, Craiova, Editura Aius, 2005, p. 153.

<sup>36</sup> George Mil. Demetrescu, *Istoria baroului Dolj de la 1864-1928*, Craiova, 1928, p. 324.

<sup>37</sup> Mite Măneanu, *Boierii din Oltenia în secolul al XIX-lea*, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Editura Tiporadical, 2007, p. 192.

class had 20 deputies for the entire country<sup>38</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> class organized the election separately, in the districts<sup>39</sup>. Among the deputies elected directly from the 1<sup>st</sup> class, we discover Costache Glogoveanu<sup>40</sup>. In 1860, he was again proposed by the liberals to run for occupying a place in the Legislative Chamber, but, eventually, Nicolae Opran was elected deputy<sup>41</sup>. At the next elections, he succeeded to obtain the number of votes necessary for the entering in the Legislative Assembly<sup>42</sup>. At the beginning of 1871, the same Constantin Glogoveanu was designated to run for the Dolj District, to fill a position of senator or deputy, at the parliamentary elections that were to take place in May-June 1871. Nevertheless, he refused to run and he was replaced by Dimitrie Măinescu. For years later, he would be designated again from the Dolj District to run for a position of deputy or senator<sup>43</sup>.

After the local elections from the fall of 1889, he was chose by the 1<sup>st</sup> Board to take part in the Dolj General Council, the son of Constantin Glogoveanu, Nicolae. He was a councilor until 1896<sup>44</sup>.

Another district, in whose political life the Glogoveanu family got involved, was the Gorj District. Therefore, during 1874-1876, Alexandru Glogoveanu was the sub-prefect of the same district<sup>45</sup>.

The Glogoveanu boyars implicated themselves in the political life after 1900 too. So, in 1931-1932, Ion Glogoveanu, member of the Conservator Party, became senator of Ilfov<sup>46</sup>.

All these high-dignities and functions that they had in the political and social life, represented for the Glogoveanu boyars not only a way to get wealthy but it also conferred them a certain prestige and authority in the society concerning their relations with an important part of the population.

<sup>38</sup> SANIC, fund Obișnuita Obștească Adunare a Țării Românești, file 156/1837, f. 8-12; file 373/1841, f. 10, dosar 382/1842, f. 3-4.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, file 382/1842, f. 121.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, file 156/1837, f. 8, file 436/1846, f. 4-6; Mite Măneanu, *Boierii*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>41</sup> Luchian C. Deaconu, Otilia E. Gherghe, *De la Alexandru Ioan Cuza la Carol I, Craiova, 1859-1878*, Craiova, Editura Sitech, 2000, p. 157.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>43</sup> SJAN Dolj, Dolj District's Prefecture, The Administrative Service, file 3/1875, f. 76-77; Luchian C. Deaconu, Otilia E. Gherghe, *De la Alexandru Ioan Cuza*, p. 191.

<sup>44</sup> Nicolae Băbălău, Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzăra, *Din istoria instituțiilor administrative ale județului Dolj*, Craiova, Editura Sitech, 2004, pp. 124-125.

<sup>45</sup> Vasile Arimia, Pantelimon Manta, Nicolae Mischie, *Instituțiile județene ale administrației de stat. Prefectura și Consiliul Județean Gorj*, Târgu Jiu, Editura Hermes, 2000, p. 338.

<sup>46</sup> *Repere spirituale românești. Un dicționar al personalităților din Dolj*, p. 153.

## ASPECTS FROM THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF IOAN KALINDERU

**Narcisa-Maria MITU\***

**Abstract:** In the present study we tried to bring forward few aspects from the activity of one of the greatest intellectuals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although as a structure he was a jurist and was being remarked in this sector occupying very important functions such as: president of the Ilfov court, first president of the Court of Appeal from Bucharest; member of the Court of Cassation; administrator of the domains and forests of the state; royal director at Berlin of the Romanian railways; member of the Court of Arbitration from Hague, he remained known in history as an administrator of the Crown Domains (1884-1913) and president of the Romanian Academy, the History Section (1895-1898; 1907-1910). His scientific activity is also remarkable, Ion Kalinderu having the necessary capacity to approach a wide variety of themes: Roman law, historic, economic, political and moral ones.

**Keywords:** Ion Kalinderu, the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, jurist, administrator of the Crown Domains, president of the Romanian Academy.

Multiple valences personality, Ioan Kalinderu can be successfully placed among the great intellectuals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Born on December 28<sup>th</sup> 1840, in Bucharest, he is the descendant of an “old, well-known and highly respected family”<sup>1</sup>. After the graduation of high-school in Bucharest, he received his license degree at the Faculty of Law from Paris, from where he also took his Doctor's degree.

When returning in the country, he worked in the magistrature, filling several positions: prosecutor, member and first president of the Ilfov court, substitute, member and first president of the Court of Appeal from Bucharest; member of the Court of Cassation; administrator of the state's domain and forests; royal director of the Romanian railways at Berlin<sup>2</sup>; he was a member of the Court of Arbitration from Hague, administrator of the Crown Domain.

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<sup>1</sup> “Familia”, no. 3 Oradea-Mare, 21 (2<sup>nd</sup> of February) 1896, Year XXXII, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

As a member of the jury, in 1881 and 1882, Ioan Kalinderu was charged by the government I. C. Brătianu with the leading of the actions regarding the Romanian state's compensation for the railways, built by Strousberg, a business that had proved to be extremely damaging for Romania<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, Ioan Kalinderu, along with misters Stătescu and Ștefan Fălcoianu had founded, on 1<sup>st</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> of April 1880, the society "Noua Societate a Acționarilor CFR"<sup>4</sup>. The success of the compensatory mission was evoked by Dimitrie Sturdza:

The juridical difficulties that ought to be defeated, for the state to become the owner of the railways, were tremendous. There were brought forward deep and vast knowledge, in order that the enforcing of the decisions to be fully guaranteed. Was also requested a great amount of restless and brave working, for many years, that couldn't be foreseen, a clear and long thought provision regarding the precise question and its details, a just and loyal character, a amply and unrelenting devotion, an activity carried on from the beginning to the end with talent, warmth, enthusiasm for the people's benefit<sup>5</sup>.

During the actions done for the compensation concerning the railways, Ioan Kalinderu wrote three studies that had this theme<sup>6</sup>.

His scientific beginning, as referring to the law, was a study about "the non-retroactivity of the laws" and a study in French on the sources of the Roman law, very appreciated by many French jurists. The success scored, as also the meeting from Berlin, with Karl Richard Lepsius, determined him to approach the studying of the Roman law and the different aspects of the Roman Empire's history. Thus, in 1884, he published the work *Essai sur les sources du droit romain*, followed by the volume named *Droit prétorien et réponses des Prudents*, published in Paris, in 1885. This work treats the transformations suffered by the *praetura* from its creation to the founding of the empire<sup>7</sup>.

His scientific activity continued in 1886 too, with the publishing of some articles in the magazine of N. Basilescu, "*Revue générale de droit*

<sup>3</sup> Dorina N. Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române (1866-1999). Dicționar*, 2nd edition revised and enlarged, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 1999, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Constantin Gheorghe, Miliana Șerbu, *Ministrii de interne (1862-2007). Mică enciclopedie*, București, Editura Ministerului Internelor și Reformei Administrative, 2007 p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Elena Solunca Moise, *Galeria marilor personalități: Ioan Kalinderu (1840-1913)*, in "Curentul", 10<sup>th</sup> of February 2011, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> "Familia", no. 3, Oradea-Mare, no. 3, 21<sup>st</sup> of January (2<sup>nd</sup> of February) 1896, Year XXXII, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Dorina N. Rusu, *Membrii*, p. 280.

*et sciences politiques*”, among with one was written in Romanian, *Consiliul imperaților la Roma și Constantinopol*, in which it is presented a study on the imperial edicts, rescripts and mandats<sup>8</sup>.

During the next years, he continued writing some interesting works: *Étude sur le régime municipal romain* (1887), *Notice juridique sur un testament* (1889), *Viața municipală la Pompei* (1890), *Viligiatura și reședințele de vară la romani* (1895), *Romanii călători* (1895), *August și literații* (1897), *Literații oposanți sub cesari* (1898), *Portul perucilor și bărbierii la Romani* (1901), *Din viața romană. Societatea înaltă pe vremea lui Pliniu cel Tânăr* (1904), *Din viața romană. Podoabele și toaleta și petrecerile unei elegante* (1903), and others. His last work was named *Doi antagoniști romani*, where he treats the rivalries between Pompey and Caesar. In 1896, he edited the work *Patrie, éducation et travail*, encompassing most of the speeches delivered along the years.

The subjects approached by Ioan Kalinderu evidenced a wide range of themes: Roman law, historic, economic, political and moral. We mention here: *Îndrumări date agenților Domeniului Coroanei*<sup>9</sup>, *Un țăran harnic*<sup>10</sup> *Affaire des héritiers Jean Ottételechano contre Jean Kalindéro*<sup>11</sup>, *Consultațiuni date de d-nii Guillourd, Carel și Jouen în afacerea moștenitorilor I. Oteteleșanu contra Ioan Kalinderu precedate de câteva observațiuni de acesta asupra concluziilor reclamanților*<sup>12</sup>, *August și literații*<sup>13</sup>, *Cultura arborilor roditori*<sup>14</sup>, *Cuvînt de slăvire lui Ștefan-cel-Mare, domnul Moldovei*<sup>15</sup>, *Cuvinte rostite la inaugurarea colecțiilor istorico-artistice ale Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice și ale Administrației Cassei Bisericii*<sup>16</sup>, *De la compétence des tribunaux et particulièrement des tribunaux prussiens dans toute contestation relative aux biens mobiliers qu'un état étranger peut posséder en Prusse*<sup>17</sup>, *Deciziunea Curtei de Apel din Bucureșci în procesul dintre moștenitorii*

<sup>8</sup> “Familia”, no. 23, Oradea-Mare, 5<sup>th</sup> /17<sup>th</sup> June, 1894, Year XXX, p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. I, Bucharest, 1900; vol. II, Bucharest, 1909.

<sup>10</sup> Bucharest, 1896.

<sup>11</sup> Ioan Kalinderu, Charles Beudant, Eugeniu E. Stătescu, Ion Otteteleșanu, Ion N. Lahovari, Claude Bufnoir, Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns, Mihail Pherekyde, Édouard-Louis-Armand Colmet de Santerre, Bucharest, 1889.

<sup>12</sup> Bucharest, 1890.

<sup>13</sup> Bucharest, 1897.

<sup>14</sup> Bucharest, 1906.

<sup>15</sup> Bucharest, 1904.

<sup>16</sup> P. Garboviceanu, Sp. C. Haret, Ion Kalinderu, Bucharest, 1911.

<sup>17</sup> Berlin, 1882.

*Ion Otteteleșanu<sup>18</sup>, De la non-rétroactivité des lois<sup>19</sup>, Discours de réception prononcé à l'Académie Roumaine, le 18 Mars 1894 par m<sup>20</sup>, Du régime dotal: thèse pour la licence<sup>21</sup>, Episcopul Melchisedec: discursul de recepțione rostit în ședință solemnă sub președinția M. S. Regelui la 25 martie 1894<sup>22</sup>, Fundațiunea Ioan Otteteleșanu și Academia Română<sup>23</sup>, Memoire über die Verlegung des Sitzes der rumänische Eisenbahnen-Actien-Gesellschaft von Berlin nach Bucarest<sup>24</sup>, Notă despre un studiu al D-lui Millet<sup>25</sup>, Rolul învețătorului în formațiunea generațiilor noi: discurs ținut la inaugurarea școalei din cătunul Piscu (Domeniul Coroanei Cocio-Ilova la 6 decembrie 1895<sup>26</sup> etc.*

Noted by King Carol I, since 1872, when he was administrator of the State's Domains and Forests, Ioan Kalinderu was appointed, in 1884<sup>27</sup>, at the leadership of the Crown's Domain institutions, function that he filled till the end of his life (1913). This was the period when he managed to fully compensate the attention and the trust that the king showed for him, becoming a conscience influencing agent, image creator and an instrument in making the people loyal to the king and the dynasty. Besides, he considered "this mission as the most complete and honourable work of his life"<sup>28</sup>.

In agreement with the King, he elaborated a workings plan that would lead to the transformation of the twelve estates of the domain, in models for the Romanian rural world. For this, as an evidence, are the numerous leaflets addressed to the superiors of the administrations, addresses that prove the clarity of his way of thinking, the profound knowledge of the people and of the dwellers, but also his philanthropic spirit. "I always searched and I shall further search, that the progresses that had been achieved after the introduced reforms, to pass beyond the boundaries of the Crown's Domains, so that in such a way, the successful

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<sup>18</sup> Bucharest, 1891.

<sup>19</sup> Paris, 1864.

<sup>20</sup> Ioan Kalinderu, Dimitrie Alexandru Sturdza, Bucharest, 1894.

<sup>21</sup> Paris, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> Bucharest, 1894.

<sup>23</sup> Bucharest, 1894.

<sup>24</sup> Berlin, 1881.

<sup>25</sup> Bucharest, 1912.

<sup>26</sup> Bucharest, 1896.

<sup>27</sup> The Service from Dolj District of the National Archives, fund Dolj County Prefect's Office, Administrative Service, file 109/1884, f. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Lindenberg, *Carol I, Regele României*, Bucharest, 1915, p. 24.

interpenetration of the measures taken after our initiative, to leave an impression in a circle as wide as possible”<sup>29</sup>.

A first step was represented by the endowing of the domains with different constructions, equipments and farming implements, among the most improved, activity that intensified once with the taking over by the administration. In the first 16 years, were built: 37 houses for the personnel of the administration, 20 dwelling places for the workshops' superiors, 10 workshops (smithy, charts-workroom, rope-workroom, chimney-workroom), 14 stables, 16 stalls for cattle and a poultry raising house at Periş, a sheepfold Dobrovăt, 3 pigsties at Dobrovăt, Periş and Gherghiţa, 18 grain storehouses for a volume of 175.000 hectolitres, 43 corn storehouse, with a capacity of 2.800 – 4.500 hectolitres each, 12 sheds for the agricultural machinery, model houses and stables for the peasants, with vegetables gardens. All these investments cost The Crown Domain Administration 6.500.000 francs<sup>30</sup>.

The improved agricultural machinery were brought, most of them, from countries such Germany, France, England, USA: Sakou Eckert ploughs, John Fawler mechanic ploughs, screening machines, Drill sowing machines, mowing machines, reaping machines, Ruston & Clayton threshing machines, ventilators, hay tossing machines etc. In 1905, the agricultural inventory of the Crown Domain of 1.245.820 lei included: 5 mechanic ploughs, 333 ploughs, 9 vineyard ploughs, 19 threshing machines, 139 sowing machines (41 through spreading, 96 in rows, one for the experimental field, one for beetroot), 69 reaping machines, 150 clod crushers (2 made of iron), 29 mowing machines, 23 mechanic rakes (one American), 19 screening machines (6 for the wheat's treatment with copper sulphate), 66 mechanic hoeing machines, 278 iron harrows, 12 iron beataxes, 31 winnowing machines, 14 forage choppers (1 for straws, 3 for hay), almost 11 corn threshing machines, 12 wheat threshing machines, 16 machines for chopping the beetroot, 3 machines for extracting the potatoes, 3 hay tossing machines, 16 elevators, 9 locomotives, 3 spins for selecting the seeds, 12 pulverizers for the vineyard, a systematic wine press, a wine press, 2 crushing machines, a circular sow, a crane, 8 pomps for cars, 6 pomps for fires, 225 charts, 6 wagons, 21 trucks, 4 carriages, 20 sledges<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Elena Solunca Moise, *Galeria*, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Dimitrie C. Ollănescu, *Raport general asupra participării României la expoziția universală din Paris (1900)*, Bucharest, 1901, p. 102.

<sup>31</sup> Florian Davidescu, *Monografia Domeniului Segarcea din județul Dolj*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 42-45; Gheorghe Popovici, *Monografia Domeniului Sadova din județul Dolj*,

Although the mechanic work was extending more and more, the animals working wasn't removed. Under these circumstances, noble breed animals were brought, some especially for working and others for milk and meat. Once with the founding of the farms, the villagers had the possibility to improve the animal breeds from their own households, having at their disposal, freely, the sires on the domain but also information regarding the optimal life and food conditions.

Surrounded by agents capable to support him in his actions, Ioan Kalinderu emitted circular letters, most of them constituting pieces of advice for a modern agriculture. The growing of the agricultural production, through the improvement of the cultivated plants' structure and their alternation on the land, according to the nature of the soil and the climatic conditions, represented the main objective. Following the model of the neighbouring states, he organized experimental fields, on which new types, breeds and varieties of cereals and fodder plants were created, in order to adapt easily to the climatic conditions of the region and introduced chemical and animal fertilizers, last of them being also available to the peasants. He introduced new plants, such as: flax, hemp, beetroot, potato etc. He gave much attention to the culture subordinate to the agriculture: vine, fruit trees, sericulture, apiculture. He also encouraged and supported the development of the household industries: dairy producing, rope making, pottery, but also the organization of some mechanics workshops, smithy, well making, cooperage, straws, willow, club rush weaving etc.

Annually, he organized travelling studies in Banat, Transylvania, Hungary and Austria, whose level of development was much superior to that of Romania. During the visits, the administration superiors studied both the farms of the larger domains<sup>32</sup> and the households of some

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Bucharest, 1906, p. 39-41; O. Boiu, Alexandru Precup, *Monografia Domeniului Mălini*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 23; N. Condurache, N. Marinescu, *Monografia Domeniului Dobrovăț*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 19; Gh. Manolescu, Gh. Codrescu, *Monografia Domeniului Gherghița*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 26-28; Eremia Medianu, Gh. Codrescu, *Monografia Domeniului Cocioc*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 15-16; Dumitru Popescu, *Monografia Domeniului Rușetu*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 19-21; Ion Popovici, *Monografia Domeniului Domnița*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 25-28.

<sup>32</sup> We remember here the visits realized in 1898 on the domain of the archiduke Friedrich, prince Swarzenberg, Bucovinei region, Bosnia (see Florian Davidescu, Olimpiu Boiu, *Raport asupra expozițiuniei jubiliare din Viena adresat D-lui Administrator al Domeniului Coroanei*, Bucharest, 1899.), and those from 1905 on the domain of count Zelinski, the domain of village Pecica and the dairy from Otvenes ("Albina", no. 32 from 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1905, p. 865.)

landlords or peasants. Such visits were registered by different Romanian and Hungarian newspapers: “Tribuna”, “Aradi Közlöny”, “Arad és Vidéke”, “Aradi Hirlap”<sup>33</sup>.

The creation of a new image of the Romanian village constituted the central objective of Ioan Kalinderu's managing system. The model peasants' houses, equipped with the necessary annexes: stable, shed, storehouse, barn, pigsty and hen house, surrounded by a small plantation, should have represented a model for the dwellers. With the help of the Administration, these houses were to replace the insalubrious small-cottages, dark and not spacious that generally formed the landscape of the Romanian village. At his request, the gardens, the parks, the alleys from around the administration's houses, the ward's houses but also the peasants' households, were decorated with fruit trees and roses or ornamental trees.

A special attention was given both to the collaboration between the administrations superiors and the employed personnel and dwellers: “The Crown Domain Administration mustn't serve as a model only through the more systematic agricultural and forestry exploitations, through the improvements brought to the population from these Domains, both in material and moral way, but also as regarding the staff”<sup>34</sup>.

A special merit, that should be recorded, is represented by the registration at the Economy House or at its offices, of the office workers from the Crown Domain. This measure extended, starting with July the 1<sup>st</sup> 1893 to the inferior personnel also<sup>35</sup>. On April 1<sup>st</sup> 1900, all the employees of the Crown Domain Administration were constituted in a society called *Societate de pensii și ajutor mutual (Society of pensions and mutual help)*, under the presidency of the Administrator. Starting with 1903, the workers hired on the agricultural machines and those used in the forestry exploitations, had been insured against the working accidents.

The existent disequilibrium as regarding the Romanian peasant, as comparing to that of the dwellers from the west of the country, determined him to introduce the bread both in the food of the inferior and daily workers. In the same extent, he encouraged the consumption of more consistent aliments. Moreover, he arranged the building of bread ovens, on the expense of the administration, for the villagers. The

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<sup>33</sup> “Albina”, no. 32 from 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1900, p. 865.

<sup>34</sup> Îndrumări date agenților Domeniului Coroanei de către Ioan Kalinderu doctor în drept de la Facultatea din Paris, membru al Academiei Române, vol. I, Bucharest, 1900, pp. 67-71.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 41- 43.

frequency of the diseases, as a result of the lack of hygiene and bad nourishment, determined him to take some measures of fighting against the epidemics.

Man of letters, sustainer of the Spiru Haret reforms, Ioan Kalinderu was the first who put into practice his measures, allocating huge amounts of money to culture.

From the beginning, he acted for the restoration of the schools that didn't fulfil the minimal requests concerning the educational system and financially sustained the construction of new buildings, where they didn't exist. Each new school had, in their construction plan, a room for the library, the workshops, the dwelling of the teacher, chicken and few household annexes. The furniture and the didactic materials were bought by the central Administration. The constructions were always supervised, to the smallest details, by Ioan Kalinderu, in whose presence were inaugurated all. The speeches that had been delivered on these occasions, said Luca de Benedetto, "had been simple and wise and profound, coming from the heart and going towards the hearts of the students, parents and teachers"<sup>36</sup>.

The school and parish libraries, those from the cultural societies ones and those of the administrations houses had been endowed with a great number of books – didactic books, literature, history, science, practical works – and magazines whose number was increasing each year, through the acquisition of new books and magazines. Therefore, the subjects were diverse and for all the categories of readers. Preponderant, were the compilations that appeared under the aegis of "The Popular Library of the Crown Domain Administration". They had been realized at the call of Ioan Kalinderu, in simple and common terms. Very many of them were also in the houses of the peasants, to whom were distributed on free<sup>37</sup>.

In 1884, on the Crown Domains, existed 18 schools that functioned, most of them, in rented rural houses, built of half timber walls or entirely of timber. After the implication of the Administration leaded by Ioan Kalinderu, in 1908/1909, their number raised to 42 buildings<sup>38</sup>, among which only three schools functioned in rented houses. The rest of 39 schools benefited by their own places, according to the last pedagogical norms: large rooms, well illuminated and properly endowed. He also took some measures regarding the introduction of gymnastics and

<sup>36</sup> Luca de Benedetto, *Il Dominio della Corona Romena e Jean Kalindero*, Roma, 1904, p. 8.

<sup>37</sup> Until 1906 were edited 42 small books (*Catalog – Administrația Domeniilor Coroanei la Expoziția generală română din București 1906*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 29).

<sup>38</sup> *Îndrumări date agenților Domeniului Coroanei*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1909, p. XI.

military exercises in schools, the creation of school choirs, he encouraged the students to participate to the completion of a proverbs compilation, whose author was to participate to the Orientalists Congress in Rome, he got the people involved in money collecting for the building of monuments in the memory of some personalities such Ion Creangă, V. Alecsandri, for the homage of the 4<sup>th</sup> centenary from the death of Stephen the Great, the celebration of the 25 years jubilee from the Independence War on April 20<sup>th</sup> 1902 etc.

A special attention was given to the extra-school activities: courses for adults to learn how to read and write, conferences, popular evening sitting of the villagers, school workshops, handwork, theatre rooms. On the expense of the Administration, he founded school museums and cultural societies, creating proper functioning conditions, placing at their disposal the edifices and the necessary furniture. The heating, the maintenance of the buildings and the books, that constituted the library, were also under the care of the Administration. During 1899-1910, had been constructed on the crown's domains 11 popular banks with 5.642 members, with a subscribed share capital of 721.890,88 lei and a paid up share capital of 801.727,37 lei<sup>39</sup>, 5 consumption societies, 3 societies for the purchasing and selling of products, 4 societies for the vegetables culture, 9 purchasing societies<sup>40</sup>.

He gave consistent amounts of money for the remaking and the construction of new churches, mayoralties and other institutions. Observing, during his monthly visits on the Crown's Domains, the lack of people from the Sunday and Holiday services, Ioan Kalinderu appealed to the teachers and to the personalities of the communities, asking them to take part at the services and, through their example, to attract as many children as possible and also dwellers.

To this man it is due the placing into the tourist circuit of the Crown Domain of the locality Bușteni, famous for the beauty of the landscape and of the waters that exist there. Here, were built many villas and a hotel, placed at the disposal of the tourists. He built the town's park from which nowadays it is preserved a third part. On the picturesque mountain side of the Caraiman mountain, was arranged a glade with a kiosk, in which a fanfare was singing for the tourists during the summer.

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<sup>39</sup>*Anuarul Băncilor Populare și Cooperativelor sătești din România pe anul 1910*, Bucharest, 1912, p. 30, 74, 120, 150, 166, 164-165, 182, 206.

<sup>40</sup> Ion Kalinderu, *După 25 de ani de muncă*, in “Albina”, no. 31/2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1910, p. 857.

Although he didn't have studies in this field, Ioan Kalinderu also noticed himself through the special attention given to the organization and to the development of the sylviculture. Moreover, he had a deciding role at the founding, in 1886, of the society "Progresul silvic"<sup>41</sup>, being the chairman of the society during 1888-1931<sup>42</sup>. The purpose of the Society was to contribute to the spreading of the modern sylviculture, to the development of the sylviculture from our country and to find solutions for the development of the timber, hunting industry, fish breeding and the establishment of the waters' regime.

"The purpose of our Society – said Ioan Kalinderu – is first of all the fight for the spreading of the modern knowledge in order to take care of the forests"<sup>43</sup>. For fulfilling this wish, were organized public conferences, was edited a specialized magazine, "Revista pădurilor", whose editor was, starting with 1889 and were offered prizes for the works with forest profile that were noticed from the scientific point of view.

During the period of time when he was at the leading of the society several measures had been taken regarding: the formation of a national sylviculture, after the example of the western and central European countries, the application of the provisions from the first Forest code in 1881, referring to the disposal of the forests, the forbidding of the clearings, the afforestation of the degraded lands, especially the "*flying sands (the dunes), steppes and barren slopes*"<sup>44</sup>, the compilation, during 1886-1890, of a provisional "vocabulary" of terms, necessary in the elaboration of a forest specialized literature, the introduction of the gardened forest treatment for the mountainside woods; the analyse of the problem regarding the devastation produced by the torrents as a result of the clearings from the mountainside and hilly regions; the construction of forestry roads and railways, the elaboration of the new Forest Code, adopted in 1910, through which had been brought substantial improvements to the anterior law (The Forest Code from 1881), designed and adopted in the Parliament through the essential contribution of the academician P.S. Aurelian. In 1931 was proposed "the protection of the natural monuments (the landscapes), the cult of the trees and forests" "in

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<sup>41</sup> Cuvântarea D-lui I. Kalinderu la Societatea "Progresul silvic" in "Albina", no. 26/27<sup>th</sup> March 1911, pp. 685-686.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Acad. Victor GIURGIU, *Opera silvică a cărturarului Ioan Kalinderu, la 170 de ani de la naștere*, in "Revista pădurilor", no. 1/2011, pp. 54-55.

<sup>44</sup> Massive afforestations were done on the sandy lands from the Sadova Crown Domain.

order to fix here the oldness and the main preoccupation of this kind of the sylviculturists”<sup>45</sup>.

The devotion that he showed to this institution was honoured on November 5<sup>th</sup> 1906, when he was awarded, by the king, with a special prize, representing a silver vessel with allegorical motives and admirably executed<sup>46</sup>. On this occasion, Dr. C. Istrati, exposing the motives for which was awarded this special prize to the Crown Domains, said: “The Crown Domains represent for a long time a good example for the entire country that manifested in the activity of the great landlords. All that was done there was due to a serious before thinking, was a studied and widely applied action, only after the experience had been previously profitable at a small scale”<sup>47</sup> and he continued, referring to the industry that was developing in the perimeter of the Administrations: “A good effect had also as regarding the country’s industry and especially that able to be done with raw materials coming from the agricultural field, mostly during the winter months, by our villagers”<sup>48</sup>.

In parallel with the function of administrator of the Crown Domains, Ioan Kalinderu also filled other positions. Thus, on the basis of the elaborated scientific studies, in 1887, Ioan Kalindeu was chosen correspondent member of the Romanian Academy, at the section history. In 1893 he became a titular member and then vice-president between 1895-1898, 1901-1904, president between 1904-1907 and president of the Historic Section of the Romanian Academy between 1895-1898 and 1907-1910.

Preoccupied by the situation of the Romanian Academy office workers, Ioan Kalinderu proposed in 1904, the constituting of a pensions fund, offering an amount of 1.000 lei. The commission that took care of this fund was constituted from: Kalinderu, Poni and Sturdza<sup>49</sup>.

Filling important scientific positions, he sustained and encouraged the apparition of the monographic works, offering to the authors prizes consisting of money. We remember here the 1000 lei sum of money,

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<sup>45</sup> Acad. Victor Giurgiu, *Opera*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>46</sup> *Expozițiunea Generală Română din 1906. Seberea distribuirei premiilor*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> “Transylvania, the body of the Association for Romanian literature and culture”, no. III, May-June 1904, Sibiu, Year XXXV, p. 112.

offered as a prize for a monograph of a commune<sup>50</sup>. He took part from the commission for the research of the works from the contest, for the obtaining of the 5.000 lei Lazăr prize. In 1905, the commission made of I. Kalinderu, P. Poni and P.S. Aurelian offered this prize to the work: “Starea economică și socială a României actuale”<sup>51</sup>. Another work got the prize “Vasile Adamache” of the Romanian Academy for the year 1902<sup>52</sup>.

As a member of the Academy, he participated to different national and international congresses. Among these we remember: The international congress of geology from Vienna, organized in the spring of 1898, session in which Ioan Kalinderu draw the attention on the working accidents from the petroliferous exploitations, made through primitive oil derricks. In the support of his affirmations he presented the brochure of A. Richard, *Gisements pétrolifères de la vallée de la Prahova et de la vallée Teleajen*. After that, he solicited the adopting of a law for the protection of work<sup>53</sup>. Also as a member of the Academy, he presided the works of presentation at the congresses 4 and 5 of the Romanian Association for the advancing and spreading of sciences, founded in Iași on June 1902<sup>54</sup>. He was a member of the Geography Royal Society too.

Along other great cultural, political and scientific personalities of that period of time, Ioan Kalinderu signed, on January 24<sup>th</sup> 1903, the document of founding the Tourists Society from Romania. Also, he took part, first as a member and then as chairman, until 1903, from the Commission of the historic monuments, from the editorial staff of the Official Report of the Historic Monuments Commission, the speciality magazine of the Historic Monuments commission, founded in 1892, under the aegis of the Public Instruction Ministry<sup>55</sup>. In 1909, once with the founding of the Monuments'

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<sup>50</sup> The work didn't correspond to the request, reason for which he didn't get the prize. See further, “Transylvania, the body of the Association for Romanian literature and culture”, p. 114.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>52</sup> Acad. Victor Giurgiu, *Opera*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>53</sup> N. Marcovici, *Contribuția Academiei Române la dezvoltarea cercetărilor de geologie din țara noastră, în perioada 1866-1920*, dissertation presented in the meeting of the Geologic, Geophysics and Geographic from 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1977, p. 312. [www.acadiasi.ro/Reviste/.../mss\\_series\\_IV\\_tome\\_I\\_1977\\_macarovici.pdf](http://www.acadiasi.ro/Reviste/.../mss_series_IV_tome_I_1977_macarovici.pdf)

<sup>54</sup> Elvira Botez, *Scurt istoric al asociațiunii române pentru înaintarea și răspândirea științelor*, NOEMA, vol. IV, no. 1, 2005, p. 149.

<sup>55</sup> Alexandru Budișteanu, Radu Moțoc, *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice la 100 ani de la apariție*, in “Revista Bibliotecii Naționale a României”, year XIV, no. 1/2008, Bucharest, pp. 33-34.

Architecture Service, at the proposal of the commission's chairman Ioan Kalinderu, was established that:<sup>56</sup>

For any restoration work that would affect the style of the monument, should be presented previous works: surveying, photographs and detailed reports about the state of those monuments, (...) studies about the new works that are to be done that would help the Commission to give its notification fully aware, with the reserve that where it is necessary, to research on the spot. The reception of the works made under the auspicious of the Commission would be done by a member designated by them<sup>56</sup>.

Together with the ministry of education, Take Ionescu, and the rector of the University from Bucureşti, Titu Maiorescu, Ion Kalinderu, as a delegate of the Royal House, elaborated the regulation for the administration of the Carol I University Foundation<sup>57</sup>, approved by the king, on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1895<sup>58</sup>. He took part from the first administration committee of the University Foundation too<sup>59</sup>.

We also find him taking part from different commissions: "Fundăția Otetelișeanu"; "Fundăția Tache Petre Anastasiu"<sup>60</sup>; "Fundăția Maria General I. Carp"; the commission "Dicționarul"; "Comisia pentru reglementarea fondului de pensie a personalului"<sup>61</sup>; the commission "Neuschotz prize" (with juridical subject), the commission for the examination of the works made in 1899-1900<sup>62</sup>. He took part from the guiding committee that built a statue in the memory of Miron Costin<sup>63</sup>.

Philanthropic nature, Ioan Kalinderu, named executor, donated in 1893 to the Romanian Academy the mobile and immobile goods of the family Ion and Elena Oteteleșanu for the founding of a girls boarding school. Four years later, on 15<sup>th</sup>/27<sup>th</sup> of March 1897, he said that this

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<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>57</sup>Founded in 1891.

<sup>58</sup>"Transilvania", Foia Asociației Transilvane pentru literatură română și cultura poporului romanu, no. 4, 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1895, Sibiu, year XXVI, p. 106.

<sup>59</sup>Carol I University Foundation: (1891-1931), Magazin Istoric..., November, 2005, p. 54.

<sup>60</sup>"Transilvania", the body of the Association for Romanian literature and culture, no. IV, April 1900, Sibiu, year XXXI, p. 77.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>63</sup>Lidia Mihăilescu-Brânceanu, "Demersurile lui V.A. Urechia pentru ridicarea statuii lui Miron Costin" in *Revista Muzeelor și monumentelor*, series "Monumente istorice și de artă", Bucharest, no. 2, 1984, pp. 72-74.

institution “is the greatest heart of culture and education, moral and healthy, made in the country by the Academy”<sup>64</sup>.

In 1898, on the inauguration of the new centre of the Academy, I. Kalinderu donated 800 lei for the strained-glass windows from the Assembly Hall, expressing his wish that the Academy to “be always the intellectual lighthouse of the Romanian nation”<sup>65</sup>.

After mediating the marriage between princess Maria, the nice of Queen Victoria of Great Britain with the prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, brought the distinction: the Order of the Garter.

Great art collector, he donated his building in Bucharest to be transformed into a museum. “Ion and Dr. Nicolai Kalinderu” Museum was founded in May 1916 by his heirs and hosted one of the most rich and interesting art collections from the first half of the last century. It was damaged during the bombarding from 1944, when a part of the collection was destroyed. The museum was suppressed in 1946 and the collections passed to the Museum of Art and Antiquities.

At the death of Ioan Kalinderu, in 1913, C. Istrati said:

During a period when honesty was a quality, the patriotism a worth, work a praised exception and when the character features are rare, in times when the enlighten patriotism is often darken by an incomparable puffing up of the personality and it is frequently stained by fights, passionate and harmful for the country; during long intervals of hesitation and indecision for doing good deeds that would prove a certain lack of competence regarding the inner matters, Ioan Kalinderu was like a lighthouse. He was the one who placed the Academy at the top of all the Romanian institutions, touched by the great role that they should fulfil and by their use concerning our evolution<sup>66</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Elena Solunca Moise, *Galeria*, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

# **DU PREFET AU PREMIER SECRÉTAIRE. LES AVATARS D'UNE INSTITUTION FRANÇAISE EN ROUMANIE, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES\***

**Andrei Florin SORA\***

**Abstract:** The present paper is part of a large research project focused on the political elites and territorial administration in communist Romania. For a better comprehension, our demonstration was divided into two parts. One is dealing with the analyze of the prefect institution in royal Romania during the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of twentieth century, taking also into account the importance of French model. France is a reference for the implementation of legislation on the administration, beginning in the nineteenth century until the late 1930s and, later, in early 1990. The second part is focused on the development at the territorial level of the communist administration, represented at the regional/county level by the body of first secretaries of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) and the Chairmen of the Executives Committees of the Regional / Counties. Our research aims to identify possible similarities between the prefect and the first secretary institutions. Although related to distinct political regimes, social conditions and different institutions, between the prefect of the Romanian monarchy, communist correspondents and even the after 1990 prefect, there are not only disparities and contrasts but also some similarities.

**Keywords:** history of elites, Romania, French model, administrative evolution

Cette étude se penche sur l'évolution de l'institution préfectorale roumaine dans la période 1864-1949, en se rapportant également aux institutions remplaçantes dans la période communiste et à sa renaissance

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juste après 1990, quand on a récupéré des traditions de l'entre-deux-guerres et le système français comme source d'inspiration. Notre démarche repose sur une recherche menée pendant plusieurs années sur le corps préfectoral roumain entre 1864 et 1940<sup>1</sup>, ainsi que sur un travail en cours sur les premiers secrétaires pendant le communisme, analyse qui demande encore la fouille des archives, beaucoup d'entre elles, inaccessibles.

Dans un premier temps ce qui nous intéresse, c'est de voir comment s'est construite la fonction préfectorale roumaine au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour quelles raisons la France avait été constituée en modèle et quelle a été l'évolution de cette institution jusqu'à l'arrivée du communisme. La France est une référence pour la mise en place d'une législation sur l'administration, en commençant dans le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et jusqu'à la fin des années 1930 et, plus tard, au début des années 1990. Dans un deuxième temps, nous nous proposons d'analyser la mise en place au niveau territorial de l'administration communiste, représentée par le premier secrétaire régional/départemental du Parti Communiste Roumain (PCR) et le président du Comité exécutif du Conseil régional/départemental, pour en dégager les éventuels points communs entre l'institution préfectorale et celle du premier secrétaire. Même s'il s'agit des régimes politiques distincts, des conditions sociales et d'institutions différentes, entre le préfet de la Roumanie monarchique, ses correspondants communistes et même le préfet de la période de l'après 1990, il existe non seulement des disparités et des contrastes mais on décèle aussi quelques similarités.

Dans les principautés médiévales de la Valachie (Tara Românească) et de la Moldavie, dès leur constitution au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le prince régnant (*domnitor*) exerçait son pouvoir non seulement au niveau de l'administration centrale, mais aussi au niveau local par l'intermédiaire des dignitaires nommés par le prince et dépendant de lui, qui avaient comme attributions la collecte de taxes et des impôts, la défense du pays, la surveillance des routes, l'application des décisions du prince et les procès (plutôt en matière civile). Néanmoins, dans les Principautés Roumaines, pays sous suzeraineté ottomane, un processus de centralisation et de renforcement des institutions étatiques, analogue à celui des pays de l'Europe Occidentale, n'a eu lieu que tardivement. Un premier essai a été fait en 1740 pour la Valachie, et en 1741

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<sup>1</sup> Nous pouvons utiliser la notion française de corps préfectoral également dans le contexte roumain où, entre 1864 et 1949 la notion de corps préfectoral réunit trois types de fonctionnaires: les préfets, les directeurs de préfecture (ou les secrétaires de préfectures) et les chefs d'arrondissement.

pour la Moldavie, sous le prince phanariote Constantin Mavrocordat. Ainsi, dans chaque division territoriale (*județ* en Valachie et *ținut* en Moldavie) fonctionnait un *ispravnic*, représentant du pouvoir central, recruté parmi les boyards de la première et la deuxième classe, chargé de veiller au maintien de la justice, de protéger les pauvres des abus des agents fiscaux, de surveiller les notables des villages dans la collecte des impôts<sup>2</sup>. Dans la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle le renforcement du statut international et de l'autonomie de la Moldavie et de la Valachie par rapport à l'Empire ottoman ont été accompagnés par un renouvellement institutionnel manifesté par l'accélération de la codification, y compris des conditions d'admissibilité dans la fonction publique, ou l'introduction du principe de séparation des pouvoirs. On voit se mettre en place un contrôle plus étroit du centre qui va élaborer les instruments lui permettant une appropriation plus efficace du territoire. Le processus de codification et l'essai de centralisation, en étendant le contrôle du «gouvernement» à tous les niveaux, étaient des expressions de l'«étatification» du pays – trait de la modernisation.

La création de l'État roumain, entamée en 1859 par l'élection du même prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-1866) sur le trône des deux Principautés, acte suivi par l'unification administrative, a été accomplie en 1878 avec l'obtention de l'Indépendance. Ce processus a été accompagné de l'introduction d'une législation et des institutions modernes. Dans les Principautés Roumaines le prestige de la France était très grand, à ce trait s'ajoutait le fait qu'à partir des années 1820-1830 la jeune élite roumaine commence à étudier en Occident et notamment en France. Dans les premières décennies du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle la langue française devient la langue de l'élite roumaine et la société française se constitue en modèle<sup>3</sup>. Cette forte influence est bien visible aussi dans l'édification étatique et dans l'élaboration de la science de droit administratif en Roumanie. Par voie directe ou par l'intermédiaire de la situation belge, la législation française a été une référence et une source juridique pour la jeune nation roumaine en quête d'indépendance et de stabilité étatique. Les changements législatifs opérés en France et les débats publics sur des questions comme la décentralisation administrative, le statut des fonctionnaires publics ou des problèmes plus pointus comme la suppression de la fonction de sous-préfet ont été posés en Roumanie,

<sup>2</sup> Ovidiu Sachelarie et Nicolae Stoicescu (dir.), *Instituțiile feudale în Țările Române*, Bucarest, Editura Academiei Române, 1988, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Voir l'étude classique de Pompiliu Eliade, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie, étude sur l'état de la société roumaine à l'époque des règnes phanariotes*, Paris, 1898.

parfois au même moment qu'en France. Le constat d'un porte-parole des fonctionnaires publics, Theodor Jerebie, selon lequel puisque "les lois qui sont votées en France sont imitées parfaitement chez nous... c'est la faute de la France de n'avoir aucune nouvelle loi sur l'organisation administrative pour que la Roumanie puisse la copier"<sup>4</sup>, a sa part de vérité<sup>5</sup>. Les spécialistes en droit administratif et, également, beaucoup d'hommes politiques et de membres de l'administration connaissaient très bien les différentes écoles de droit administratif français. Les juristes roumains ont été fort influencés par les traités de droit administratif étrangers, notamment français: les écrits d'Édouard Laferrière, Maurice Hauriou, Léon Duguit, Gaston Jèze etc.

La Roumanie n'est pas le seul pays qui ait remplacé les structures administratives anciennes d'après le modèle français et qui ait ainsi essayé de bâtir un nouveau système administratif répondant aux nécessités de l'époque. Jean-Louis Halperin synthétise ces changements en considérant que «les réformes de l'organisation administrative accomplies en Europe au cours du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ont été fortement influencées par les deux piliers du système français: le découpage du territoire en départements (1789) et la création d'une hiérarchie d'agents uniques dépendant du gouvernement (préfets, sous-préfets et maires), assistés par des conseils dont les membres étaient eux aussi nommés (1800)»<sup>6</sup>. Si dans les Pays Roumains/Roumanie la première réforme n'était pas nécessaire, la deuxième, plus importante, devait être ancrée, les changements administratifs antérieurs ainsi que l'occidentalisation de l'élite roumaine facilitant ce transfert de normativité.

Dès le début des années 1860, on observe l'emploi de la dénomination de *prefect* (préfet) qui désigne l'agent du pouvoir central au niveau départemental, ainsi que celle de *sub-prefect* (sous-préfet), pour son correspondant au niveau de l'arrondissement, les deux reposant sur des fonctions anciennes. En 1861 a été créée la fonction de directeur de préfecture (*director de prefectură*), une sorte d'adjoint du préfet et

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<sup>4</sup> Theodor Jerebie, *Funcționarii. Studiu Administrativ*, Bucarest, 1892, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> À cette époque-là, l'État français avait des lois sur l'organisation administrative qui ont servi de modèles aux législateurs roumains, mais elle n'avait pas encore une loi qui codifie et uniformise les droits, les devoirs, les conditions d'admission et le traitement des fonctionnaires publics. En Roumanie, le premier Statut des fonctionnaires publics date de 1923, qui a eu lui aussi comme source d'inspiration des essais législatifs français: les projets de loi sur les fonctionnaires publics de 1909 ou celui de 1920 (projet Millerand).

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Louis Halpérin, *Histoire des droits en Europe de 1750 à nos jours*, Paris, Flammarion, 2004, p. 348.

chef de la chancellerie de la préfecture<sup>7</sup>, semblable à celle du secrétaire général de préfecture en France<sup>8</sup>. Les nouvelles désignations ont précédé un renouvellement législatif progressif et montrent le désir de changement des hommes politiques roumains, ainsi que le modèle administratif.

### L'évolution du nombre de départements et de régions (entre 1950 et 1968)

Année	1862	1880	1914	1920	1925	1940	1949	1950	1952	1956	1968	1981
Nombre	33	32	34	76	71	58	58	28	18	16	39	41

L'absence jusqu'en 1892 d'une loi qui codifie d'une manière précise les tâches des préfets a été suppléeée par des arrêtés ministériels, par des articles de loi sur d'autres institutions étatiques ou par des décrets-lois qui leur ont accordé des devoirs précis. *La loi des communes rurales et urbaines*<sup>9</sup> (le décret n° 394) et la *Loi des Conseils départementaux* (le décret n° 399), toutes les deux promulguées le 31 mars/12 avril 1864<sup>10</sup> (et parues dans le *Moniteur officiel* le 2/14 avril 1864), ont réduit la nécessité d'une codification spéciale des attributions des préfets et des sous-préfets. Ces lois ont imposé une direction de développement du système administratif local, caractérisée par la centralisation administrative et le contrôle politique exercé par le gouvernement. Nous pouvons considérer le décret n° 399<sup>11</sup> comme l'acte de naissance de l'institution préfectorale roumaine moderne. Les législateurs roumains ont accordé au préfet un double rôle: agent du gouvernement et chef de l'administration départementale. Le préfet était le plus important agent du pouvoir central

<sup>7</sup> Décret n° 697 du 1861, in *Colecțiune de legiuiriile României vechi și noi cîte s-au promulgat pene la finele anului 1870*, Bucarest, 1873, p. 803.

<sup>8</sup> Le directeur de préfecture était le chef hiérarchique de tous les fonctionnaires de la préfecture; en outre, il devait mener à bien les devoirs du préfet dans son absence du chef-lieu du district ou en cas de maladie.

<sup>9</sup> La loi communale de 1864 donnait la personnalité juridique aux communes, créant les prémisses pour un régime d'autonomie locale dans un État moderne. Même si le texte ne le disait pas explicitement, par la loi des Conseils départementaux de 1864, le département recevait la personnalité juridique, conséquence implicite de l'existence d'un patrimoine du département.

<sup>10</sup> Le calendrier grégorien a été introduit en Roumanie seulement en 1919, à la place du calendrier julien. Sauf l'indication des deux variantes, pour la période antérieure au 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1919 (jour devenu le 14 avril 1919, suite à la mise en pratique du calendrier grégorien) nous avons choisi d'indiquer les dates selon le calendrier julien.

<sup>11</sup> Loi du 2 avril 1864 sur les Conseils départementaux, in Ioan M. Bujoreanu, *Colecțiune de legiuiriile României vechi și noi cîte s-au promulgat pene la finele anului 1870*, Bucarest, 1873, pp. 866-876.

au niveau local, le seul chargé de l'exécution des actes du Conseil départemental et du Comité permanent (l'organe exécutif du conseil). Il était même le président du Comité permanent, ayant le droit de vote et, en cas de partage des voix, le vote décisif.

Par le Code pénal et le Code de procédure pénale, les deux de 1864, ainsi que par la loi sur l'organisation judiciaire de 1865, le préfet a reçu des attributions judiciaires en ce qui concernait la composition des listes de jurés et des listes de membres de la Chambre de commerce<sup>12</sup>.

Si le préfet roumain de 1864 ressemblait à son homologue français, le Conseil départemental roumain et son organe exécutif trouvaient leur correspondance au conseil provincial et à la députation permanente belges, ainsi qu'au conseil général français. Manuel Guțan apprécie à juste raison qu'«il est difficile de faire une délimitation stricte de l'influence française ou de l'influence belge, en raison, d'une part, du fait que le législateur roumain n'a pas toujours requis les sources, et d'autre part, du fait que, au moins en matière de principes d'organisation de l'administration publique locale, le droit belge est entièrement tributaire du droit français»<sup>13</sup>.

La nation roumaine des années 1850 et 1860 en train de se constituer en État uniifié et indépendant s'est rapportée souvent à l'exemple belge, même certaines conquêtes de la révolution française ont été adoptées par l'intermédiaire belge. Le corollaire de l'influence belge est représenté par la Constitution roumaine de 1866 qui repose sur la Constitution belge de 1831, vue à l'époque comme la plus libérale de l'Europe. L'administration locale belge n'était pas inconnue aux acteurs politiques roumains: elle était préférable pour une partie des hommes politiques roumains pour son large degré d'autonomie provinciale et communale. De surcroît, en Belgique les représentants du pouvoir central au niveau local, le gouverneur provincial et le commissaire d'arrondissement, tous les deux nommés par le Roi, avaient moins de prérogatives et d'autorité que les préfets et les sous-préfets français.

Dans les années 1860-1880 les gouvernements, la jeune classe politique et les juristes roumains se sont divisés en partisans de la centralisation administrative et adeptes de la décentralisation. Le modèle belge était convenant aussi parce qu'il ne provoquait pas une rupture profonde avec l'influence française. Il est important de comprendre pour

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<sup>12</sup> George D. Bildirescu, *Elemente de drept public și administrativ*, Craiova, 1895, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Manuel Guțan, *Istoria administrației publice locale în statul român modern*, Bucarest, All Beck, 2005, p. 98.

quelles raisons le jeune État roumain a recouru à l'exemple français et pourquoi, finalement, il a été préféré au détriment de celui belge. Aussi faudrait-il se demander pourquoi l'administration prussienne et autrichienne n'ont pas eu une influence plus grande dans le système bureaucratique roumain, et, en outre, pour quelles raisons l'exemple belge n'a pas été continué. La France a toujours été une source juridique en ce qui concerne non seulement le droit administratif, mais également le droit civil, le droit pénal (qui utilise aussi le code pénal prussien ou celui belge) et des institutions comme la Cour des comptes et la Cour de cassation. Le choix et la préservation du modèle français ne s'expliquent pas seulement par sa modernité en comparaison avec les anciennes réglementations législatives roumaines sur l'administration locale, par le prestige de la France ou par une certaine efficacité de ces institutions en France, mais aussi par le fait que jusqu'à la loi de 1929, au-delà des buts déclarés, les gouvernements roumains ont voulu centraliser le pouvoir pour mieux contrôler et mieux gouverner. La législation sur l'administration publique française et notamment le régime des agents du pouvoir central et leur contrôle sur le niveau local répondaient au mieux à la volonté des hommes politiques et des politiciens roumains de bâtir un État uniifié et fort. Elle a été préférée au détriment de celle prussienne et autrichienne pour sa vision centralisatrice, pour son prestige, ainsi que pour des raisons liées à la facilité du transfert: affinités d'ordre politique, liées au soutien de la France à l'édification d'un État roumain, la séduction de la civilisation française ou le fait que les jeunes Roumains étudiaient dans ce pays.

La loi sur les Conseils départementaux du 31 mars/12 avril 1872, adoptée sous un gouvernement conservateur, affermissait le processus de centralisation: la relation des agents du pouvoir central dans le territoire avec le Conseil départemental et le Comité permanent était explicitement présentée. Par contre, la loi suivante, libérale, du 1/13 mars 1883 sur les Conseils départementaux a mis fin à l'ambiguïté existante au niveau départemental, en renforçant la décentralisation administrative. À la tête du Comité permanent il y avait un président, désigné par le prince régnant parmi les membres du Conseil départemental, chargé, à la place du préfet, de l'exécution des décisions du conseil et de son organe exécutif. Le préfet restait agent du gouvernement auprès du Conseil départemental, mais son obligation principale était d'assister le président et les membres du conseil.

La loi visant l'administration territoriale du ministère de l'Intérieur de 1892<sup>14</sup> a mieux codifié les attributions des membres du corps préfectoral ainsi que la hiérarchie dans l'administration territoriale. Le préfet, subordonné au ministre de l'Intérieur et, en raison de ses attributions, également, aux autres ministres, était responsable de la préservation des droits de l'État dans sa relation avec les citoyens, les départements, les communes et toute personne juridique. Le préfet avait l'obligation d'inspecter régulièrement les sous-préfectures et les communes de son département; il assumait la charge de publier et de veiller à l'exécution et au respect de la loi. Une des obligations essentielles du préfet consistant à maintenir l'ordre et la sûreté publique (art. 15-16)<sup>15</sup>, il disposait du droit d'user de la force publique contre rébellions, émeutes, manifestations bruyantes ou d'autres événements imprévus qui pouvaient menacer l'ordre public, la sûreté de la population et des propriétés; il devait rapporter sur ces problèmes au ministre de l'Intérieur (art. 17). Le préfet avait aussi comme devoirs l'inspection des routes nationales et départementales, la responsabilité de veiller sur l'administration des biens des églises communales, l'administration des hôpitaux, des asiles, des établissements charitables d'État ou privés et des écoles publiques, autant d'institutions où il était qualifié pour faire des inspections.

L'institution préfectorale a fait l'objet d'une réforme deux ans plus tard, en 1894, par la loi des Conseils départementaux du 31 mai/12 avril 1894. Son organe exécutif, la Délégation départementale (l'ancien Comité permanent) recevait moins d'attributions par rapport au Comité permanent, qu'elle remplaçait tout en gardant néanmoins les attributions de contentieux électoral et de tutelle administrative en matière fiscale et budgétaire. Le préfet n'était pas membre de la Délégation départementale, mais il redevenait le chef de l'administration «décentralisée» du département. Il recevait également des attributions délibératives en dehors des sessions du Conseil départemental; en cas de dissolution du conseil, le préfet restait seul en charge de l'administration des intérêts locaux du département jusqu'à l'installation d'une nouvelle Délégation, choisie par le nouveau conseil.

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<sup>14</sup> *Monitorul Oficial (MO)*, n° 169, 1/13 novembre 1892, p. 4905-4908.

<sup>15</sup> Les attributions du préfet et du sous-préfet de maintenir l'ordre et la sûreté publique se sont multipliées à la suite de la promulgation de la loi du 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1893 sur la gendarmerie rurale. La gendarmerie était subordonnée aux ministères de l'Intérieur, de la Guerre et de la Justice. Par la loi du 1/13 avril 1903 sur l'organisation de la police générale, à l'exception de Bucarest et de Iasi – où il y avait un préfet de police – sous les ordres des préfets ont été mis les bureaux de police des communes urbaines.

La création de la Grande Roumanie en 1918<sup>16</sup> a généré de nouveaux défis comme l'établissement d'un cadre juridique et institutionnel homogène et cohérent. La Constitution de 1923 représente un moment essentiel pour le nouvel État, démontrant que du point de vue juridique la création d'un organisme fonctionnel était possible. La même année, après un demi-siècle d'attente de la part des «serviteurs de l'État», le 19 juin 1923 a été promulgué le statut des fonctionnaires publics.

Jusqu'au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1926, jour de l'entrée en vigueur de la loi du 14 juin 1925, dans la Grande Roumanie ont fonctionné, plus ou moins, quatre régimes administratifs, auxquels on peut ajouter le cas particulier l'état de siège. Au début des années 1920, la Roumanie devait choisir entre la perspective centralisatrice, dans la tradition du Vieux Royaume, et une autre, encourageant l'autonomie locale (trait spécifique aux nouveaux territoires) et la régionalisation. Cette dernière voie demandée le plus fortement par les hommes politiques roumains de Transylvanie constituerait une confirmation du rôle politique qui devait être joué par les nouvelles provinces et était conforme à l'héritage austro-hongrois. De l'autre côté, les Roumains du Vieux Royaume s'opposaient au régionalisme, perçu comme ennemi de l'État.

En lignes générales, la loi administrative du 14 juin 1925<sup>17</sup> suivait la direction tracée par la législation roumaine d'avant 1918, même si elle proclamait la décentralisation administrative. Le préfet gardait son statut et pratiquement les mêmes attributions que celles existant dans la législation roumaine d'avant 1916. Son double rôle de représentant du pouvoir central et de chef de l'administration départementale a été maintenu, la première fonction étant considérée essentielle<sup>18</sup>. Le préfet recevait un pouvoir décisionnel plus grand qui limitait toute autonomie locale: il assistait non seulement aux séances du Conseil départemental, comme auparavant, mais aussi aux séances des conseils municipaux (art. 333). Le préfet, à côté de la Commission permanente (la Délégation permanente), avait le droit de nommer, promouvoir et révoquer les fonctionnaires départementaux (art. 334).

À la fin des années '20, un gouvernement national-paysan, avec une autre vision de ce que signifiait l'administration locale et après plus de

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<sup>16</sup> Même si la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale a trouvé la Roumanie détruite et saccagée, l'effondrement de la Russie et de l'Autriche-Hongrie a entraîné la création de la Grande Roumanie: «l'union» du Vieux Royaume avec des régions voisines peuplées par des Roumains (la Bessarabie, la Bucovine et la Transylvanie).

<sup>17</sup> MO, n° 128, 14 juin 1925, p. 6850-6893.

<sup>18</sup> Erast Diti Tarangul, *Curs de drept administrativ*, Cluj, 1947, p. 107.

trois ans d'application défectueuse de la loi du 14 juin 1925, s'est chargé de l'élaboration d'une nouvelle loi administrative. La loi du 3 août 1929 offrait les moyens nécessaires pour une réelle autonomie locale et limitait le pouvoir du gouvernement, en créant sept directorats ministériels, des institutions d'administration et d'inspection locales dirigés par un directeur. Par la création des plusieurs pôles de pouvoir au niveau local on mettait en place la décentralisation de l'administration publique. Le président de la Délégation départementale, distinct de la personne du préfet (l'agent du gouvernement) présidait le Conseil départemental, avec toutes les attributions découlant de cette dignité, y compris celle de chef des services administratifs départementaux<sup>19</sup>.

Suite à la loi de 1929, le préfet est resté seulement le délégué du gouvernement dans le département et le principal fonctionnaire politique. Il était sous les ordres du directeur ministériel, étant obligé de lui donner son concours pour mener à bien les décisions du conseil et de son comité exécutif, la Délégation départementale. Le Parti National-Paysan n'a pas réussi pourtant, ou plutôt ne l'a pas voulu, à déposséder le préfet de la fonction de chef de la police du département. La fonction de préfet ne perdait pas trop son attraction, notamment par le rôle que le préfet continuait de jouer dans l'organisation des élections parlementaires. Néanmoins, au début de l'application de cette loi, plusieurs préfets ont manifesté leur désir de démissionner de cette fonction et de déposer leur candidature comme président du Conseil départemental<sup>20</sup>. Par la loi de modification du 15 juillet 1931, le gouvernement suivant, dit d'«union nationale», dirigé par Nicolae Iorga, a annulé la division administrative de 1929, en rétablissant le préfet comme chef de l'administration départementale, par le fait qu'on le mettait à nouveau dans la fonction de président de la Délégation départementale.

Même si, en lignes générales, la nouvelle loi administrative, du 27 mars 1936<sup>21</sup>, exprimait une fois de plus le retour aux traditions administratives centralisatrices du Vieux Royaume, il y avait quelques innovations. Ainsi, les agents du pouvoir central dans le territoire et notamment les préfets voyaient s'accroître leurs attributions dans des

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<sup>19</sup> On peut observer des ressemblances de cette loi avec la législation hongroise (la distinction entre le *foispan* et l'*alispan*) ainsi qu'avec la loi libérale de 1883, dans le Vieux Royaume.

<sup>20</sup> Archives Nationales Historiques Centrales, fonds *Ministerul de Interne. Direcția Administrației și Finanțelor locale* (1375), ds. 84/1930, f. 31; ds. 42/1931, f. 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Legea administrativă și regulamentul de aplicare a legii administrative*, Bucarest, 1937.

situations d'urgence, y compris en ce qui concerne la défense du département et le fonctionnement de l'administration pendant un conflit armé (art. 85). On a confirmé et consolidé les prérogatives du préfet comme chef de l'administration départementale et sa tutelle sur les fonctionnaires.

Après la Première Guerre mondiale, la Grande Roumanie n'a pas cessé de se rapporter à la France en ce qui concerne le droit administratif, les institutions et les fonctionnaires publics, même si le transfert de normativité est beaucoup moins évident. Pourtant, la science juridique française est encore très présente dans les écrits des spécialistes roumains du droit administratif et les discussions sur l'administration en France trouvent toujours en Roumanie un espace de diffusion. Pourtant, la Roumanie et la France devaient faire face aux nouveaux enjeux politiques et institutionnels. La Roumanie des années 1920 et 1930 jouissait d'un fondement juridique et étatique ancrés et d'un personnel administratif plus qualifié et plus stable qu'il ne l'était dans les années 1860. Les années 1930 ont apporté un autre exemple de développement étatique: celui des pays avec des régimes autoritaires et notamment le corporatisme italien.

Dans les années 1930, l'influence du roi Carol II s'est accrue. Même si l'objectif affiché de la loi administrative du 14 août 1938<sup>22</sup>, considéré comme accompli, était la décentralisation administrative, on assista paradoxalement à une forte centralisation administrative. Le plus important changement reposait sur la création d'unités territoriales administratives plus grandes, les régions (*tinuturi*), ayant personnalité juridique, dirigées par un gouverneur (*rezident regal*). Le préfet conservait ses attributions antérieures, notamment le maintien de l'ordre et la surveillance publique; il était subordonné au gouverneur. La loi de 1938 a institutionnalisé le préfet comme fonctionnaire de carrière, mais cette décision n'a jamais été appliquée. Néanmoins, la grande partie des changements qui ont visé l'institution du préfet n'ont pas été appliqués. On peut parler d'une loi «gelée», suite à l'application de la législation demandée par l'état de siège et d'autres lois restrictives. À partir de février 1938, à la tête des Préfectures on été placés comme préfets délégués des militaires, et notamment de hauts officiers d'active, des chefs de garnisons militaires cantonnées dans le département<sup>23</sup>. Jusqu'en

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<sup>22</sup> Constantin Gr. C. Zotta, *Legea administrativă*, Bucarest, Cugetarea, 1939.

<sup>23</sup> L'habitude de nommer comme préfets d'anciens militaires est l'un des traits de l'administration territoriale roumaine et elle a plusieurs causes: l'armée était un réservoir des capacités intellectuelles, la grande majorité des hauts officiers jouissaient

mai 1940 donc, les civils n'ont plus été nommés préfets, sauf quelques exceptions brèves, nominations qui n'ont pas réussi à limiter la militarisation de l'institution préfectorale. Sous le «nouveau régime» (février 1938-septembre 1940) la fidélité des préfets envers un parti politique a été remplacée par la soumission au roi, les militaires étant perçus comme des alliés traditionnels de la Couronne. De surcroît, la grande partie des officiers supérieurs étaient originaires du Vieux Royaume.

Par le décret du 21 septembre 1940 du nouveau Premier ministre et dirigeant du pays, le général Ioan Antonescu<sup>24</sup>, les prérogatives du préfet étaient celles d'avant 1938. Il était nommé par décret royal à la suite d'un rapport du ministère de l'Intérieur; il ne pouvait être remplacé ou révoqué que par décret royal (art. 4). Le pourcentage des préfets militaires allait connaître une diminution constante, pour remonter en janvier 1941, suite à l'essai de coup d'État mis au point par les légionnaires. Pendant le régime du général Antonescu, la plus grande partie des préfets étaient des militaires, même si, pour la deuxième fois, par la loi du 23 septembre 1943, le préfet était censé d'être un fonctionnaire de carrière<sup>25</sup>. De surcroît, les militaires d'active ont été titularisés dans la fonction de préfet, et non pas comme auparavant maintenus avec délégation. Il fallait attendre la prise du pouvoir par les communistes pour revenir à la nomination de civils dans ce poste.

Après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, le PCR s'essaye à utiliser tous les instruments disponibles pour avoir le contrôle total du pays, commençant par la conquête des préfectures. Cette démarche a commencé dans plusieurs départements aux lendemains du 23 août 1944, quand le régime Ion Antonescu a été renversé et la Roumanie a retourné les armes contre l'Allemagne. Le décret n° 169 du 9 mars 1945 a modifié l'organisation des préfectures, facilitant davantage «l'installation des préfets par les masses populaires»<sup>26</sup>. La République Populaire Roumaine est proclamée le 30 décembre 1947. Suivant le modèle soviétique, entre 1948 et 1950 une nouvelle organisation de l'administration territoriale est mise en place. La première Constitution communiste de 1948 esquissait

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d'une bonne origine sociale, la carrière des armes donnait du prestige, préséance et garantie politique.

<sup>24</sup> MO, n° 221, 22 septembre 1940, p. 5530-5532.

<sup>25</sup> M. Gută, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

<sup>26</sup> Gheorghe Bobocea, *Dezvoltarea autonomiei locale în R.S. România*, Bucarest, Editura Politică, 1981, p. 30

déjà la rupture de l'ancien modèle administratif et l'adoption de celui soviétique, en prévoyant les Conseils populaires (*Sfaturile populare*), comme organismes locaux de pouvoir. À partir du 10 avril 1949, ceux-ci ont remplacé les Conseils départementaux et les Préfectures, ainsi que les sous-préfectures et même les mairies.

Le régime communiste a instauré un système administratif bipolaire formé par des Conseils populaires, organes représentatifs locaux, et la direction locale du PCR. En 1950, les départements (*județe*) ont été supprimés, le pays est divisé en *régions*, à leur tour, divisées en *raïons*, les deux dirigés par le premier secrétaire local du PCR (chef politique) et le président du Comité exécutif du Conseil régional respectivement *raïonal* (chef administratif), lui aussi membre important du PCR. En 1968, la Roumanie – dirigée /gouvernée à partir de 1965 par Nicolae Ceaușescu – revient à une division administrative en *județe*. Conformément à cette loi administrative, le premier secrétaire de l'organisation locale du PCR, devenait automatiquement président du «Conseil populaire» départemental. La réforme de 1968 a réalisé une démarcation par rapport au système administratif soviétique. D'autre part, suite à ce changement, le pouvoir de Ceaușescu est sorti renforcé, en diminuant la possibilité de constitution des pôles de pouvoir à l'intérieur du PCR. Le fonctionnement de Conseils populaires<sup>27</sup> reposait sur des principes parfois opposés comme le «centralisme démocratique» et la direction du Parti (prévu dans la Constitution), par rapport au principe du travail et de la direction collective<sup>28</sup>.

Dans l'historiographie roumaine les références aux membres de l'administration préfectorale portent notamment sur leur implication dans les élections, ce qu'on appelle la «pression gouvernementale». Avant d'être une fonction administrative, la dignité de préfet était importante de point de vue politique. La fonction officielle de veiller au bon déroulement des élections et le devoir, non officiel mais perçu comme preuve de la fidélité au parti d'assurer la victoire des candidats gouvernementaux, faisaient du préfet un personnage important au niveau local.

En règle générale, le nouveau gouvernement n'avait pas besoin de licencier les préfets nommés auparavant par un autre parti politique, parce que ceux-ci donnaient eux-mêmes leur démission au moment où la chute du gouvernement devenait effective, même s'il était évident que le

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<sup>27</sup> La loi n° 57 du 26 décembre 1968.

<sup>28</sup> D'autres principes concernant le fonctionnement des Conseils populaires (départementaux, des villes, ou communaux) ont été: la démocratie socialiste, l'égalité en droits.

nouveau gouvernement ne manquerait pas de les licencier et de nommer à leurs places des personnes dévouées au nouveau pouvoir. Ce phénomène est appelé par le futur Premier ministre Gheorghe Tătărescu «le système des démissions collectives»: «le ministre, le préfet demandent et obtiennent la démission écrite de leurs subordonnés comme gage de leur fidélité à l'égard du gouvernement»<sup>29</sup>. Nous pouvons même considérer qu'il s'agit aussi de pratiques liées au clientélisme politique.

Tout au long de la période 1864-1938, si l'on exclut les préfets délégués, le réservoir de recrutement dans la fonction de préfet était, dans une proportion très élevée la direction de l'organisation locale de parti ou les membres de premier plan de celle-ci. La nomination dans le poste de préfet d'une personne non membre de l'organisation départementale ou sans liaisons avec cette région pouvait conduire à de forts mécontentements parmi les partisans du parti de gouvernement. Maintes fois ces disputes provoquaient des déficiences dans l'organisation de la campagne électorale, et même un mauvais résultat. La décision de Bucarest (siège du gouvernement et de la direction nationale du parti) de nommer un «étranger» pouvait être considérée comme un signe de faiblesse de l'organisation locale du parti et la preuve que sa direction n'était pas trop agréée par la direction centrale.

En analysant les listes de préfets on saisit deux traits. Premièrement, beaucoup de personnes ont été préfets, d'habitude dans le même département, plus de deux fois: sous le même gouvernement ou pendant un autre gouvernement formé par le même parti politique. Ce trait est spécifique à toute la période 1864-1949, mais se révèle plus marqué dans la Roumanie d'avant 1918. Deuxièmement, dans l'entre-deux-guerres, les options et les fidélités politiques changent plus vite qu'avant 1918. Le passage d'un parti à autre est plus habituel, ainsi que la nomination dans la dignité de préfet par des partis politiques différents. Au-delà de ces ambiguïtés politiques, ces individus préservait leur qualité principale: le poids au niveau local, le prestige, ainsi qu'une partie de leur clientèle politique.

L'institution préfectorale d'avant 1949 a évolué du point de vue de la législation, des attributions, mais le candidat, et ensuite le titulaire de ces dignités publiques a également changé, évolution influencée par la modernisation de la société roumaine. En général, l'espace de recrutement de la fonction de préfet était celle de l'élite au niveau local, y compris des gens qui n'étaient pas originaires de ce département, mais

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<sup>29</sup> Gheorghe Tătărescu, *Le régime électoral et parlementaire en Roumanie*, thèse de doctorat, Paris, Université de Paris, Faculté de Droit, 1912, p. 49.

que leur profession ou leur activité antérieure avait mis en contact avec celle-ci. Tout au long de la période 1864-1949, ce n'est qu'en Bessarabie ou en Dobroudja du nord et du sud que l'origine géographique des membres du corps préfectoral ne coïncide pas, dans plus de la moitié des cas, avec le département de leur premier poste. Le lieu de naissance et les liens de parenté étaient des facteurs importants, mais il faut tenir compte également de l'activité professionnelle antérieure. Il nous semble ainsi que l'ancrage dans un département par l'occupation d'une fonction porteuse d'un certain capital symbolique – avocat, journaliste, professeur en secondaire ou à la faculté, militaire ou prêtre – est plus important que le simple fait d'être originaire de cette région.

Jusqu'au début des années 1920, la grande majorité des préfets étaient de grands ou de moyens propriétaires terriens, d'anciens magistrats et membres des professions libres (avocats, médecins), mais qui possédaient aussi des terres. Néanmoins le pourcentage des avocats préfets était assez grand, et dans beaucoup de cas il s'agissait de magistrats convertis ou des propriétaires terriens qui n'exerçaient pas toujours le métier d'avocat. Détenir de grandes propriétés agricoles prouvait en quelque sorte l'appartenance à l'élite. Après la Première Guerre mondiale un plus grand nombre de préfets devaient leur légitimité seulement à l'activité d'avocat liée à celle d'homme politique, et non pas aux propriétés foncières détenues.

Avant 1925, l'absence d'une procédure d'admission à la fonction de préfet a suscité de nombreux débats. Le préfet était censé ne pas être soumis à des critères d'admissibilité parce que «c'est un poste de confiance inconditionnée et nous ne pouvons pas limiter cette confiance par certaines conditions d'admissibilité imposées à l'individu qui bénéficie de la confiance du ministre; par conséquent, nous ne demandons aucune condition d'admissibilité»<sup>30</sup>. De cette manière, les fidèles du parti et les notables du département pouvaient aisément accéder à ces postes. Les préfets avaient une formation scolaire supérieure aux autres catégories de fonctionnaires: nombreux sont ceux qui ont obtenu leurs diplômes à l'étranger, et il y en a qui sont docteurs en sciences juridiques ou en sciences administratives. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, le diplôme d'une faculté de sciences juridiques ou administratives devient une condition d'admissibilité, ce qui, avec toutes ses dérogations, témoigne bien d'une évolution dans les pratiques politiques. En effet, les anciens propriétaires terriens du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle sont

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<sup>30</sup> *Dezbaterile Adunării Deputaților*, n° 48, 23 mai 1892, la séance du 18 mai 1892, p. 683.

remplacés dans l'exercice de ce métier par des avocats ou d'autres représentants des professions intellectuelles. Néanmoins, cette fonction reste une fonction politique.

### **Les études des préfets, 1895-1901**

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

Durant l'entre-deux-guerres l'industrialisation du pays, la réforme agraire, l'apport transylvain (du point de vue de la juridiction, mais aussi des mentalités) firent que le nombre des préfets impliqués dans des activités industrielles et financières augmente: ce sont des directeurs de banque, de grands ou de moyens commerçants, des industriels, des membres des conseils d'administration des sociétés, qui acquièrent la fonction de préfet. Néanmoins, un autre type de légitimation de l'accès à cette fonction devint plus fort: les intellectuels (professeur de lycée, professeur des universités) ou les formateurs d'opinion (journalistes, directeurs de journaux).

Si dans le Vieux Royaume le statut social assurait l'accès à la fonction publique, dans la Grande Roumanie la situation se renverse: la fonction publique est devenue une voie pour la promotion sociale. La fonction de préfet était convoitée par les potentats locaux, modalité pour eux de préserver leur influence à l'intérieur du parti. En outre, le nombre de factions politiques arrivées au pouvoir et de défections politiques a été plus grand après 1918.

Le premier-sécrétaire régional/départemental était le plus important personnage du PCR au niveau local. Par le cumul de la fonction de président du Comité exécutif du Conseil populaire, à partir de 1968, les premiers secrétaires sont devenus les chefs absous de l'administration départementale, seulement la direction du Parti et, dans une moindre mesure, la *Securitate* (la police politique) pouvaient mettre en question leur autorité. Représentants du pouvoir administratif (le Gouvernement)<sup>31</sup> et politique (Parti unique), les premiers secrétaires départementaux étaient à l'échelle locale ce qu'était au niveau national le secrétaire général du PCR. Plus que les préfets de l'entre-deux-guerres, les premiers secrétaires de la période 1968-1989 devaient jouer le rôle de courroie de transmission entre centre et périphérie, entre la direction centrale du Parti et ses membres actifs.

Pour les membres du PCR, cette haute dignité représentait soit un avancement attendu et une étape vers une fonction ministerielle ou dans le Comité Central, soit une retrogradation, et même une mise en attente, dans le cas des membres haut placés de la Nomenklatura. Un trait des régimes communistes est l'usage de «la rotation des cadres», qui en Roumanie est visible notamment à partir de 1971, ayant comme but d'instaurer à l'intérieur de l'élite dirigeante communiste un climat d'insécurité et d'empêcher celle-ci de créer une base de pouvoir personnel et solide<sup>32</sup>. Plus que son prédecesseur Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Nicolae Ceaușescu a promu dans la fonction de premier secrétaire sa clientèle politique, des membres et des proches de sa famille. Nicolae Ceaușescu a mis en place un autre principe: de nombreux ministres communistes ont alterné la dignité de ministre avec celle de premier secrétaire dans les années 1970-1980, ce passage constituant pour Nicolae Ceaușescu une modalité de renforcer et afficher son autorité. Cette dégradation symbolique était masquée par le retour nécessaire, après un certain temps, parmi les *tovărăși* (camarades), les ouvriers et les paysans. La nomination dans le poste de premier secrétaire d'un ministre ou d'un membre du Secretariat du Comité Central pouvait être également un signe de la perte de la confiance de Nicolae Ceaușescu et de son soutien.

Une direction d'étude à approfondir consiste à identifier les *pattern* dans la nomination dans cette fonction. Lavinia Stan montre que, dans le

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<sup>31</sup> En théorie pour la période de 1950 à 1968, les Conseils populaires étaient organes locaux du pouvoir d'État étaient directement subordonnés au Assemblée Nationale et non pas au Gouvernement.

<sup>32</sup> Adrian Cioroianu, *Pe umerii lui Marx. O introducere în istoria comunismului românesc*, Bucarest, Curtea Veche, 2005, p. 427.

cas des premiers secrétaires, ainsi que pour d'autres catégories de la Nomenklatura le principal critère de sélection était la subordination envers le PCR et le respect avec strictesse des décisions du centre, et moins l'expérience dans l'administration et les compétences professionnelles<sup>33</sup>. La loyauté envers le centre signifiait, notamment dans les années 1970-1980, loyauté totale envers la famille Ceaușescu.

### **Conclusions provisoires**

Dans la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'administration locale roumaine moderne est le résultat de la combinaison entre l'administration française, comme modèle principal et son homologue belge, qui, peu de temps après, va s'estomper au profit de la première. Le système français des agents du pouvoir central semble avoir répondu au mieux à la volonté des hommes politiques roumains de bâtir un État uniifié et fort. Néanmoins, le processus de modernisation de l'appareil bureaucratique et la préfiguration de l'administration au sens wébérien du terme ne réussissent pas à remettre en cause l'ingérence du politique dans la gestion des affaires publiques. Dans un État centralisateur comme ce fut le cas de l'État roumain, la fonction de préfet avait une importance particulière. Le préfet roumain reste un fonctionnaire politique, ayant comme principale tâche, informelle, d'assurer la victoire des candidats gouvernementaux.

Il est évident qu'entre les régimes politiques d'avant 1947<sup>34</sup> et le régime communiste existe une rupture profonde, nous ne mettons pas en discussion cet aspect. De surcroît, presque l'entier personnel des Préfectures d'avant 1944 a été épuré par les communistes. Même s'il s'agit de régimes politiques, sociaux et économiques différents, entre la période de la monarchie constitutionnelle et la période communiste on peut observer plusieurs traits communs: la centralisation, la double subordination politique et administrative des dirigeants de l'administration départementale (préfets/premiers secrétaires), un conflit latent entre les élites locales et les «étrangers» de ces régions, une politisation excessive. Les deux fonctions sont des instruments politiques, ainsi que des agents du centre qui contrôlent les collectivités locales.

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<sup>33</sup> Lavinia Stan, *Leaders and Laggards: Governance, Civicness and Ethnicity in Post-Communist Romania*, East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, Boulder, New York, 2003, p. 39.

<sup>34</sup> La Monarchie a été abolie le 30 décembre 1947.

La révolution roumaine de 1989 a entraîné la suppression du système administratif communiste, on renoue avec des traditions démocratiques et le modèle français constitue dans ce contexte une source d'inspiration. La fonction de préfet a été réinstaurée symboliquement par la loi n° 5 du 19 juillet 1990, et son cadre a été mieux précisé par la loi n° 69 du 26 novembre 1991. La dernière loi, dite sur l'administration locale, a fait du préfet l'agent du gouvernement, le chef des services locaux des Ministères et des autres autorités de l'administration centrale; il a reçu également le droit de contrôle sur la légalité des actes des administrations locales. Sans le préciser clairement, le préfet de 1991 était tout comme ses prédécesseurs un fonctionnaire politique. En outre, les principes constitutionnels de la décentralisation administrative et de l'autonomie locale, prévues dans l'acte fondamental de 1991, ne se sont pas toujours matérialisés en réalité.

# **“LE MAL D’UN SIÈCLE”: COMMUNISM AND MEMORY IN EASTERN EUROPE**

## **LES MYTHES ET LES SYMBOLES DU BOLCHEVISME**

**Anatol PETRENCU\***

**Abstract:** The present paper aims to propose an analyze of the actuality of mythology focused on the Moldavian Republic space. A quick survey of recent Russian and Moldavian historiographies shows how myths and symbols used in communist period continue to keep their seduction and even being reintroduced in the public space. The ideological influence of communism is still present in some tendencies of Moldavian historiography that assumed many of Russian myths and symbols as part of their identity. The result is a false culture of memory which gives an important place to Lenin, Ceapaev, the victory against Nazism, the invasion of Bessarabia by Romania.

**Keywords:** communist mythology, Russian myths, Moldavian historiography, culture of memory

### **Le terme „mythe”**

Selon le dictionnaire, „mythe” signifie histoire fabuleuse contenant les croyances des peuples (anciens) sur l'origine de l'univers et des phénomènes naturels, sur les dieux et les héros légendaires etc. Mythe signifie aussi „histoire, légende, conte de fée”<sup>1</sup>. Le dictionnaire philosophique apporte une nuance particulière à la notion de „mythe”: „Dans l'idéologie de l'époque moderne et contemporaine, le terme „mythe” est utilisé pour mettre en évidence diverses idées illusoires qui influencent la conscience des masses.”<sup>2</sup> La corrélation „histoire-mythe” a fait l'objet d'étude de l'historien de Cluj, Ioan-Aurel Pop qui, engagé dans une polémique scientifique avec l'historien de Bucarest, Lucian

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<sup>1</sup> DEX, p. 641.

<sup>2</sup> *Filosofskii slovari*, Moscou, 1975, p. 248.

Boia, a apporté de nouvelles significations du concept de „mythe”, desquelles nous rappelons: „mythe” signifie aussi „fable, histoire, conte de fées”<sup>3</sup>. Les synonymes de la notion „d’invention”, parmi d’autres sont: imagination, invention, fantaisie, création, falsification, mensonge, tromperie, truc, artifice etc<sup>4</sup>. Dans notre approche, la notion de „mythe” désignera à la fois la théorie de la société communiste et les mensonges fabriqués par divers auteurs dans des textes concernant la théorie, l’histoire et la pratique du bolchevisme.

### **L'historiographie du sujet**

Le désir des gens de vivre mieux a toujours donné naissance aux rêves des sociétés parfaites, qui seront des sociétés utopiques. Les créateurs théoriques du communisme, ont fait, eux- aussi, de beaux rêves d'une société idéale. Dans l'historiographie roumaine Lucian Boia a démasqué la mythologie des pères fondateurs du communisme. La mythologie communiste, constate Lucian Boia, „a copié sans scrupules de tout le trésor des connaissances du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle”<sup>5</sup>. L'auteur met en lumière les plus évidents 10 mythes du communisme: 1) le mythe de la raison („la raison n'a jamais tort, ce qui est logique et aussi vrai”); 2) le mythe de la science („la science offre une explication complète et définitive du monde et le change”); 3) le mythe de l'unité („l'univers, la nature, la société, l'homme se réunissent dans un ensemble cohérent et gouverné par des lois rigoureuses”); 4) le mythe du déterminisme („une enchaînement parfait de causes et d'effets conduirait les destinées du monde”); 5) le mythe des lois historiques („il y a un mécanisme de l'histoire, manifesté par des lois qui peuvent être connues et utilisées en faveur du peuple”); 6) le mythe de la prédiction scientifique („la science et la raison peuvent prévoir des réalités qui se refusent à l'observation ou à l'expérimentation, comme celles situées dans l'avenir ou loin dans l'espace”); 7) le mythe du progrès („il y a un sens ascendant dans l'histoire de l'univers, de la vie et de l'humanité „); 8) le mythe de la mutation du monde („l'homme recréera le monde, tant la nature que la société, selon un plan scientifique et raisonnable”); 9) le mythe du nouveau monde („le monde de demain, créé par l'homme, sera

<sup>3</sup> Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Istoria, adevărul și miturile. Note de lectură (L'histoire, la vérité et les mythes. Notes de lecture)*, Bucarest, Edition encyclopédique, 2002, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Dicționar de sinonime al limbii române (Dictionnaire de synonymes de la langue roumaine)*, Bucarest, 1982, p. 564.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului (La mythologie scientifique du communisme)*, București, Edition Humanitas, 1999, p. 40.

essentiellement différent des époques antérieures de l'histoire") et 10) le mythe de l'homme nouveau („le nouveau monde sera peuplé par de nouvelles gens")<sup>6</sup>. Lucian Boia a démasqué l'inconsistance de la théorie de Karl Marx sur la société: le capitalisme, condamné sans appel du père fondateur, a su s'adapter aux nouvelles conjonctures"; la paupérisation absolue du prolétariat – une des „lois" du capitalisme découvertes par Marx a été „démentie par une évolution en sens inverse"; donc l'inconsistance du fameux principe de la lutte de classe<sup>7</sup>. Marx a ignoré l'importance du nationalisme dans l'histoire, souligne L.Boia, et le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle a été un des nationalités. Marx, écrit l'historien Lucian Boia, a prédit faussement le déclin et la disparition de la religion, et la conclusion, formulée par Lucian Boia, est: „... les prévisions scientifiques de Marx sont tombées en dehors du trajet réel de l'histoire"<sup>8</sup>. Or, L.Boia a analysé, avec la même pertinence, les „théories" compilées de manière tout à fait créative par Friedrich Engels, sur la succession du matriarcat et du patriarcat, sur les trois grandes divisions du travail, la disparition de l'Etat et de la famille etc. L'historien bucarestois a dépisté aussi les mythes des œuvres de V. Lénine, I. Staline etc.

En 1995 l'Université de Bucarest a publié un recueil d'articles intitulé „Les mythes du communisme roumain"<sup>9</sup>, coordonné par le professeur Lucian Boia. C'est une collection de communications dans laquelle les conférenciers ont révélé la fantesie des auteurs (non seulement des historiens) qui ont fait références à divers personnages du régime communiste ou sujets historiques (tels que Lénine dans l'article „Après sombre passé, grandiose avenir; Histoire et poésie dans la Moldavie Soviétique" écrit par Marcel Bâlici; URSS dans l'article „La lumière vient de l'Est" écrit par Adrian Cioroianu, la collectivisation dans l'article „La collectivisation entre mythe et réalité" écrit par Petre Gurăn)<sup>10</sup>. Deux ans plus tard, l'historien Lucian Boia publie une monographie<sup>11</sup> dans laquelle il a essayé de démontrer que l'historien licencié produit de la fiction et que l'histoire des Roumains serait au fait, une collection de mythes. Cette monographie a engendré non pas une simple critique, mais un ouvrage fondamental, signé par Ioan-Aurel Pop, cité ci-dessus.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> *Les mythes du communisme roumain*, Bucarest, Edition de l'Université, 1995.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57-67; p. 68-112; 113-130.

<sup>11</sup> Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească (Histoire et mythe dans la conscience roumaine)*, Bucarest, 1997.

Nous partageons entièrement les thèses exposées lorsque nous faisons référence à l'histoire et aux mythes, et dans notre cas – à la mythologie du bolchevisme aussi: il a existé l'histoire conçue comme passé et expérience de la société et il y a des interprétations de l'histoire que font les historiens diplômés. Mais ils ne sont pas les seuls. Surtout quand il s'agit du passé récent, celui communiste, y-inclus. Politologues, hommes politiques, publicistes, écrivains, économistes, militaires etc. en ont fait (et en font toujours). Les historiens diplômés sont ceux qui tentent d'atteindre la vérité absolue et qui mythifient le moins l'objet de leur travail. Pourtant, l'histoire est aussi l'arène de la lutte idéologique, où les historiens ne sont pas les seuls à être impliqués. S'il n'y a pas assez d'arguments, sur le „marché” historiographique il apparaît de nombreux patriotes, prêts à justifier tout crime commis par les régimes totalitaires.

Les historiens et les courants historiographiques ne sont pas classifiés selon des critères ethniques (nationaux), mais selon les services rendus à la vérité et à la démocratie (et dans notre cas – nous nous solidarisons avec les sacrifices du totalitarisme bolchevique) ou bien, selon les justifications des crimes du communisme, de la politique intérieure et extérieure de l'Union Soviétique. Les historiens défendent soit les valeurs de la civilisation humaine, soit la barbarie bolchevique, *tertium non datur!* L'historiographie russe, concernant le passé soviétique totalitaire, peut être divisée au sens large en deux courants: libéral-démocratique et le néostalinien. Durant l'époque de la politique de restructuration et de transparence promues par Mikhaïl Gorbatchev, on a publié des centaines (des milliers) d'études sur l'histoire du Parti Communiste (bolchevique) de Russie (puis de l'Union soviétique – PCUS) et sur le passé bolchevique totalitaire. Bien entendu, il y a eu des situations où on a mélangé la vérité et la falsification, mais dans ces cas, les historiens diplômés ont réagi promptement.

Nous allons illustrer par la monographie de l'historien Alexandre Šubin „10 mythes du Pays des Soviets”<sup>12</sup>. A. Šubin a assisté en qualité

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<sup>12</sup> Alexandre Šubin, *10 mifov Sovetskoj strani* [10 mythes du Pays des Soviets], Moscou, Edition Iauza, Eksmo, 2006. Alexandre Šubin est historien, docteur en histoire, collaborateur de l'Institut d'Histoire Universelle de l'Académie de Sciences de la Fédération Russe, chef du Centre d'Histoire de la Russie, de l'Ukraine et de la Biélorussie. Il est rédacteur en chef de la revue “Istoriceskoie prostranstvo” [“Espace historique”] – publication de l'Association des Instituts d'Histoire de la Communauté des Etats Indépendants (CSI). Il est aussi, l'auteur de plus de 100 publications scientifiques, y inclus 15 monographies, dont Sozializm: “zolotoi vec” teorii” [“Le Socialisme: “le siècle doré” de la théorie”], Moscou, 2007; “Zolotaia oseni ili period zastoia. SSSR v 1975-1985 gg.” [“L'automne doré ou la période de la stagnation. URSS

d'expert et spécialiste de l'histoire du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil d'Europe (décembre 2004) où on a discuté sur la condamnation des crimes du communisme. Le premier mythe auquel A. Šubin fait référence est que tous les régimes communistes ne sont pas forcément totalitaires et que l'Union Soviétique a été un Etat totalitaire depuis le début jusqu'à sa dissolution, ce n'est pas vrai. Le deuxième mythe porte sur «Lénine – espion allemand» [A. Šubin: Lénine n'a pas été espion au sens classique du terme; il s'est servi aussi de l'argent allemand (et non seulement allemand) pour organiser le coup d'Etat en octobre 1917; les intérêts du commandement militaire allemand ont coïncidé avec ceux de Lénine, concernant le parti]. Le troisième mythe: la guerre civile de Russie – l'auteur refait le tableau réel de l'événement, et combat les thèses partisanes et fausses concernant les forces impliquées dans la guerre. Le quatrième mythe concerne la Nouvelle politique économique: A. Šubin explique la politique des bolcheviks envisageant de remplacer la politique du communisme de guerre par celle de promotion des éléments de marché. Le cinquième mythe: la disette des années 30 du siècle dernier en Russie – l'auteur révèle la cause qui a mené au massacre, sous le régime communiste, de 2 ou 3 millions de personnes; d'autres auteurs en estiment le nombre de 2 à 12 millions.] le sixième mythe se réfère à la problématique de la grande terreur stalinienne; le septième – «Quand l'Union soviétique est-elle entrée dans la deuxième Guerre Mondiale?» [L'auteur pense que la date correcte est le 22 juin 1941]; le huitième – la guerre russo-finlandaise [l'auteur pense que l'Union Soviétique a remporté victoire dans cette guerre]. Les masques de Staline font l'objet du neuvième mythe et – finalement – Staline, a-t-il été vraiment tué?

Les historiens honnêtes quelle que soit leur ethnie, s'inquiètent de ce que dans la Fédération Russe, des structures d'Etat (des maisons d'édition etc.) promeuvent exclusivement des ouvrages du courant néostalinien de l'historiographie dont les représentants défendent avec véhémence les politiques du régime de Staline. Il apparaît en Russie dans des tirages de dizaines de milliers d'exemplaires des séries de monographies, signées ouvertement par des historiens-staliniens [pour

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entre 1975-1985"], Moscou, 2007; “1937. Antiterror Stalina” [“1937. Anti-terreur de Staline”], Moscou, Edition Iauza, Eksmo, 2010, 352 p. Notes de lecture: <http://anatolpetrenco.md/?p=1653>.

exemple, la série de livres «Stalinskii renessans» («la Renaissance stalinienne»<sup>13</sup>), ou bien, une autre série, «Le Passé Lumineux»<sup>14</sup>].

Serghei Kremlionov a fait imprimer un livre géant sur Lavrentii Beria<sup>15</sup>, dans lequel il ne condamne pas ses crimes, mais il affirme que ce satrape stalinien «a rétabli le pouvoir de la loi», a prévenu Staline sur la guerre avec l'Allemagne, a organisé la défense de Moscou et après la guerre, il a contribué à la fabrication de la bombe atomique et du système des raquettes. Son image de bourreau, affirme S. Kremlionov, a été promue par les ennemis de la Russie, et le livre présenté avait comme but la réhabilitation historique et morale complète de Beria.

Nous, les historiens, ne pouvons pas ignorer cette réalité, cette vague de productions historiographiques qui justifient la politique intérieure et extérieure du régime totalitaire bolchevique.

En ce qui nous concerne, nous nous sommes proposé de passer en revue quelques-uns des plus viables des mythes bolcheviks, auxquels se confrontent les citoyens de la République de Moldavie et qui persistent dans la mentalité du menu peuple. Nous tenons à préciser qu'à la base de tout mythe il existe aussi des faits réels, concrets; mais la constance de certains mythes sert également des buts politiques évidents. Démystifier des personnages ou des pages d'histoire mènera non seulement au rétablissement du passé ou du personnage donné le plus exactement possible, mais aussi à la diminution de certaines forces politiques qui se prennent aux mythes comme la peste.

**Le mythe no. 1.** Il semble que le mythe le plus attrayant dans la République Moldavie est celui lié au nom de Vladimir Ilitch Oulianov

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<sup>13</sup> Dans cette série de livres on a publié par exemple les monographies de Dmitrii Lîskov “Stalinskie repressii”. *Velikaia lojî XX veka* [“Les répressions staliniennes”. *Le grand mensonge du xx-e siècle*], Moscou, Edition Iauza, Eksmo, 2009 [Selon l'auteur, les répressions stalinienennes sont un mythe noir, qui empoisonne les âmes et les esprits des gens] et Igori Pîhalov *Za cito Stalin vîseleal narodi? Stalinskie deportații – prestupnîi proizvol ili spravedlivoe vozmezdie* [Pourquoi est-ce que Staline a déporté des peuples? Les déportations stalinienennes – abus criminel ou vengeance justifiée?], Moscou, Edition Iauza, Eksmo, 2008.

<sup>14</sup> En 2009, on a publié la monographie d'Igori Pîhalov și Igori Denisov *SSSR bez Stalina: puti k catastrofe* [URSS sans Staline: la voie vers la catastrophe], Moscou, Edition Iauza-press, 2009; en 2010 – l'ouvrage signé par Serghei Kara-Murza et Ghennadii Osipov *SSSR – țivilizația buduscego. Innovaii Stalina* [URSS – la civilisation de l'avenir. *Les innovations de Staline*], Moscou, Edition Iauza-press, 2010, et la monographie d'Alexandr Buzgalin et Andrei Kolganov *10 mifov ob SSSR* [10 mythes sur l'URSS] Moscou, Edition Iauza, Eksmo, 2010.

<sup>15</sup> Serghei Kremliov, *Beria. Lucișii menedjer XX veka* [Beria. Le meilleur manager du XX-e siècle] Moscou, Edition Iauza, Eksmo, 2008, 800 p.

(Lénine) le leader du coup d'état d'octobre 1917 en Russie. La République de Moldavie apparaît non seulement devant Europe mais aussi devant tout le monde comme une réservation naturelle de léninisme, de la théorie à la réalité qui nous entoure.

En ce qui concerne la politique, le Parti Communiste de R. de Moldavie (PCRM) a formulé son but «d'arrêter la calomnie à l'égard de l'histoire soviétique, de la mémoire et de l'œuvre de V. I. Lénine.»<sup>16</sup>, autrement dit – continuer de promouvoir l'image de Lénine. Au VI<sup>ème</sup> congrès de PCRM (15 mars 2008) les communistes conduits par V. Voronin ont reconfirmé leur attachement à l'œuvre théorétique appartenant aux parents fondateurs du communisme, et aussi à l'œuvre héritée de V. I. Lénine; aussi, ont-ils ajouté la création de N. N. Buharin et d'A. Gramsci.<sup>17</sup>.

Il y a en R. de Moldavie une localité qui porte le nom «Lénine»; il y a des dizaines de localités où les rues portent son nom; il y a des dizaines de monuments voués à Lénine, de Briceni à Cismichioi.

Au cours de plusieurs décennies coulant à la file, le bolchevisme a modelé et a propagé une fausse biographie de celui qui a été l'inspirateur et le leader du coup d'état de Russie, en octobre 1917.

Il est très important de souligner le fait que les bolcheviks, en usurpant le pouvoir d'état, ont aussi monopolisé les considérations historiques sur les événements de l'automne de 1917. Après la mort de V. Lénine, son successeur, Joseph Vissarionovitch Staline, a ordonné que tous les matériels signés par Lénine soient amassés et il a mis sous contrôle sévère l'héritage «théorétique» de Lénine. La biographie de Lénine est devenue un sujet extrêmement important dans les préoccupations des camarades d'idéologie d'Oulianov-Lénine, qu'ils ont transformé en l'idole de la nomenclature communiste et soviétique. Pour quelques décennies, le régime bolchevique a publié une série de biographies appartenant au leader de l'état soviétique, mais qui ne reproduisaient pas sa vraie personnalité à cause d'être rédigées dans l'esprit des intérêts politiques et idéologiques du Parti Communiste. Ainsi, la personnalité et l'activité de V. Lénine, ont-elles fait preuve d'être les plus déformées.

Le régime bolchevique a su élaborer un système perfide qui a corrompu aussi l'intellectualité de création, même celle appartenant aux

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<sup>16</sup> Le programme du Parti des Communistes de la République de Moldavie.// *La République de Moldavie: L'histoire politique (1989-2000). Documents et matériaux*, volume II, Chisinau, 2000, p. 144.

<sup>17</sup> <http://e-democracy.md/files/parties//perm-program 2008-ro.pdf>.

poètes. Tous ont été obligés à glorifier et immortaliser l'image déformée du leader du coup d'état de Russie.

Dans l'image poétique, Lénine était comparé au soleil, à un courageux commandant de troupes, qui conduisait les soldats à la lutte contre les envahisseurs fascistes. Il s'agit, par exemple, de la poésie d'Iurii Barjanschi, «Le portrait de Lénine», écrite en 1947. Le poète parle de la fondation imaginaire d'un kolkhoze, en Bessarabie en 1940. Le kolkhoze portait le nom de Lénine et, dans le club du village pendait, bien sûr, le portrait de Vladimir Ilitch. En Juin 1941, l'Allemagne avait commencé la guerre contre l'Union Soviétique, étant soutenue par Roumanie qui voulait récupérer les provinces ravies par les Russes, en Juin 1940. Pour les auteurs soviétiques, c'était une guerre d'*«invasion»*. Les kolkhoziens dans la poésie sont vite devenus des partisans, «ils se sont retirés dans les bois» et ils y ont emmené «le cher portrait» (le portrait de Lénine – A.P.). L'auteur de la poésie, I. Barjanschi, écrit par la suite: «Et ils l'ont mis soigneusement contre le mur/ Dans leur hutte entre les chênes/ Pour qu'il soit le soleil des bandes/ Des jeunes courageux, les âmes fortes./ Les fascistes ne pouvaient pas respirer, / La mort guettait les étrangers. / Et Ilitch vivait dans toutes les âmes/ Et il appelait les braves à la lutte.»

Aussi, Emilian Bucov, a-t-il rédigé une vraie œuvre de spiritisme: «Tu regardes le portrait/ et il semble que/avec ses yeux profonds/ la mince taille/ Lénine sourie et qu'il descende/s'asseoir à la table/ devant toi/ (...) Car Lénine est/ La vie de toutes les vies/ la force qui naît chaque matin/malgré toutes les vieillesses/- la source des jeunesse éternelles.» [La poésie «Lénine»].

On pourrait donner plein d'exemples pareils, puisque les poètes de Bessarabie ont prôné Lénine, qui était présenté «plus vivant que ceux en vie», quoiqu'il fût mort depuis longtemps. Cet ersatz culturel était multiplié en centaines de milliers d'exemplaires, introduit dans des livres et des manuels et des centaines de milliers d'enfants ont été obligés à apprendre par cœur ces «œuvres».

Cependant, les temps ont changé au bénéfice de tous. Les documents publiés par les historiographes de la Fédération Russe démontrent la vraie figure du leader bolchevique.

Les documents et les études nouveaux, surtout ceux de Dmitri Volkogonov<sup>18</sup>, ont jeté une nouvelle lumière sur V. Oulianov Lénine en révélant sa vraie personnalité. Les documents inédits ont élucidé les parts

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<sup>18</sup> Dmitrii Volkogonov, *Lenin. Politiceskii portret*, v dvuh knigah [Lénine. Portrait politique, en deux volumes], Moscou, 1998.

embarrassants de la personnalité de Lénine, qui ont été soigneusement cachés par les autorités soviétiques. Ces publications démontrent, par exemple, que V. Lénine, préoccupé des idéaux de la révolution prolétarienne, admettait tous les malheurs possibles dans la vie des gens, si cela approchait plus ou moins au socialisme. Ainsi, en 1891 Lénine qui se trouvait dans la gouvernance de Samara, gravement affectée par la famine, s'est prononcé violemment contre le fait d'accorder l'aide humanitaire destinée aux affamés, en considérant que «... la disette avait plusieurs conséquences positives, telle l'apparition d'un prolétariat industriel»<sup>19</sup>. La famine, selon V. Lénine, détruit l'économie villageoise désuète et «nous approche objectivement à notre but final, le socialisme (...). Aussi, la faim détruit-elle la foi non seulement en le tsar, mais aussi en Dieux»<sup>20</sup>.

V.I. Lénine a été un homme pragmatique, extrêmement dur, dépourvu de sentimentalismes. Par exemple, quand Cernov, le leader des socialistes révolutionnaires – SR –, se trouvait en Suisse (1911), au temps d'une conversation, il a demandé à Lénine: «Vladimir Ilitch, si vous devenez le chef de l'Etat, vous prendrez dès le lendemain les mencheviks?» ce à quoi le leader du prolétariat mondial a répondu: «Le premier menchevik sera pendu après avoir pendu le dernier SR»<sup>21</sup>.

V. Lénine a été préoccupé non seulement de réaliser le coup d'état, mais surtout de garder le pouvoir. Il a étudié minutieusement l'histoire de la dictature jacobine de la Révolution Française (1789-1799) et il en a tiré la conclusion que les bolcheviks pourraient garder le pouvoir politique seulement s'ils introduisaient le monopole de l'Etat (du parti) sur les produits alimentaires. «On s'emparera de tout le pain et de toutes les bottes des capitalistes», soulignait-il dans son ouvrage «Le marxisme et la révolte» rédigé à la veille du coup d'état d'octobre 1917, «on leur laissera seulement les restes et on les chaussera des *opinci* (chaussures portées par les paysans)»<sup>22</sup>.

V.I. Lénine a manifesté une attitude extrêmement hostile et intransigeante contre les paysans fermiers riches, et les appelle dans ses nombreux articles «vampires», «araignées», «sangsues», «satrapes» etc. Le Gouvernement bolchevique, conduit par V. Lénine, au lieu de

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<sup>19</sup> *Le livre noir du communisme. Crimes, terreur, répression.* Bucarest, 1998, p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Nicolai Starikov, 1917. *Ne revoluția, a spețoperația! [1917. Pas de révolution, mais de l'opération spéciale!]*, Moscou, Edition Iauza Ecsmo, 2007, p. 129.

<sup>22</sup> V.I. Lénine, *Le Marxisme et la révolte* // Œuvres complètes, vol. 34, Chișinău, 1974, p. 294.

promouvoir la politique de redressement matériel des paysans pauvres au niveau de ceux riches, a promu une politique très dure de réquisition des produits alimentaires. En mai 1918, V. Lénine déclare «guerre impitoyable contre ces cossus», qu'il nommait «ennemis du peuple», en lançant l'appel: «À leur mort!»<sup>23</sup>.

En Août 1918, Lénine demandait la peine de mort par exécution pour les personnes qui cachaient des réserves alimentaires. En même temps, le leader bolchevique a envoyé un télégramme au Comité exécutif de Penza, dans lequel il ordonnait: «Camarades! La révolte des cossus (originalelement «kulacio», mot persifleur adressé aux paysans riches – A.P.) de vos cinq *plase* (régions) doit être écrasée impitoyablement. C'est ce que demandent les intérêts de la révolution toute entière, car la lutte finale contre les cossus (dans le texte, «kulacio» – A.P.) a commencé partout. Il faut qu'on donne un exemple. 1. Pendez (pendez sans hésiter de telle manière que le peuple voie) pas moins d'une centaine de cossus, riches, buveurs de sang qu'on connaît. 2. Publiez leurs noms. 3. Confisquez toutes leurs céréales .4. Identifiez (russe: «naznaciti» – A.P.) des prisonniers comme je vous l'ai indiqué dans notre télégramme d'hier. Faites de sorte qu'a des lieues autour de vous, on voie, on tremble, on sache et on crie: ils tuent les cossus vampires et ils vont continuer à le faire. Télégraphiez-moi pour confirmer la réception et l'exécution de cet ordre. A vous. – Lénine. P.S. Trouvez des gens plus durs»<sup>24</sup>.

V. Lénine a promu la même politique contre la plus travailleuse couche de la paysannerie entre 1919-1921, aussi. Il a appliqué la tactique de la famine comme moyen de lutte contre les clercs, en mettant l'accent sur le fait que: «la disette pouvait et devait servir à frapper mortellement l'ennemi dans sa tête»<sup>25</sup>.

Donc, V. Lénine a été l'idéologue principal de la «théorie» et de la pratique de la famine comme méthode d'atteindre les buts politiques. Le leader de la révolution bolchevique a été l'initiateur du ravissement et de l'assassinat des prisonniers; la famille impériale a été massacrée à son indication; il a instigué à l'organisation de raides des détachements terroristes bolcheviks sur les territoires d'autres États (par exemple, de Pologne) pour exporter la révolution prolétariaire. Lénine a déclaré que tout était moral, les crimes et les massacres en masse, aussi tant qu'ils servaient à la cause de la révolution bolchevique.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 37, Chișinău, 1975, p. 45.*Le livre noir du communisme*.

<sup>24</sup> D. Volcogonov, *Lénine*, vol. I, Moscou, 1998, pp. 129-130; *Le livre noir du communisme*, p. 71.

<sup>25</sup> *Le livre noir du communisme*, p. 119.

V. Lénine a été le fondateur du système bureaucratique administratif de commande, qui a anéanti des millions de vies humaines, en essayant de matérialiser une idée utopique – la construction du communisme. Ce sont seulement quelques traits de caractère du vrai V. Lénine, et non pas de celui idolâtré par la propagande bolchevique<sup>26</sup>.

**Le mythe no. 2. Des terroristes célèbres – des «héros» bolcheviques. Vasilii Ceapaev.** Au cours l'été de l'année 1940, l'Union soviétique a envahi des territoires roumains et Bessarabie en était un. À partir de là, il a commencé aussi la promotion des mythes (des mensonges) sur l'Union Soviétique et sur ses politiciens. En juillet 1940, dans les cinématographes des villes de Bessarabie on passait le film «Lénine», tourné en 1938<sup>27</sup>; dans le district Bălți, entre 1940 et janvier 1941, dans 165 localités, on a projeté les films de propagande bolchevique, «Lénine en octobre», «Lénine en 1918», «La riche mariée», «Ceapaev», «Les tractoristes», «Sur le Danube»<sup>28</sup>; le combinat de tabac de Chișinău a commencé à vendre deux sortes de cigarettes: «28 Juin» [le jour où les soviétiques ont annexé la Bessarabie, le nord de la Bucovine et la province Herța] et «Grigore Kotovski»<sup>29</sup>; pour la première célébration de l'envahissement de la Bessarabie (dans le texte original, «libération»), l'Orchestre Philharmonique d'Etat a préparé le spectacle «28 juin», où, dans le premier acte, on montrait «la vie difficile et obscure de la Bessarabie sous le joug des boyards roumains», dans le second acte on montrait «la joie et l'enthousiasme des paysans et la panique des grands propriétaires fonciers quand ils apprennent de l'ultimatum que l'Union Soviétique a donné à Roumanie» et le troisième

<sup>26</sup> Sur le vrai Lénine ont écrit: Vladimir Solouhin, *Pri svete dnea* [A la lumière du jour], Moscou, 1992 [l'auteur considère que c'est Lénine qui a détruit la Russie riche, forte et florissante]; Gh. Vernadski, *Lenin – krasnii dictator* [Lénine – le dictateur rouge], Moscou, Edition "Agraf", 1998 [il s'agit d'une republication de la monographie de l'historien Gheorghii Vernadski, qui a émigré aux Etats-Unis en 1920, l'ouvrage étant publié en anglais en 1931]; A. Arutiunov, *Dosie Lenina bez retuși* [Le Dossier de Lénine, tel quel], Moscou, Edition "Vece", 1999 [nous pensons que c'est la meilleure biographie du vrai Lénine]; Vladimir Poťeluev, *Lenine*, Moscou, Edition Eksmo, 2003; Robert Payne. *Lenin. Jizni i smerti* [Lénine. La vie et la mort], Moscou, Edition Molodaia Gvardia [La Jeune Garde], 2003 [l'ouvrage de R. Payne a été imprimé en 1964, traduit en russe et publié en 2003, dans la série "Jizni zameciatelinih liudei" ("La Vie des hommes célèbres"). A ce sujet, pourquoi l'édition ne publierait-elle pas une biographie d'A. Hitler ou de B. Mussolini? Eux-aussi, ils ont été "célèbres"]

<sup>27</sup> *Pravda*, 1940, le 6 juillet.

<sup>28</sup> *Territoire Soviétique* (Bălți), 1941, le 15 février. [Ouvrage écrit en original dans la langue d'I.D. Ceban: "Nireasa bogată", "Pe Dunai" etc.]

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

acte représentait «l'entrée des premières unités appartenant à l'Armée Rouge en Bessarabie»<sup>30</sup>. Les artistes n'ont plus réussi à démontrer leur grandeur devant les spectateurs: le 22 juin 1941 l'Allemagne a déclaré guerre à l'Union Soviétique.

La République de Moldavie n'a pas pu éviter la «Ceapaev»-ienne staliniste. Jusqu'ici, on a une localité appelée Ceapaevka, dans le *raion* (district) de Drochia.

Situé dans un cratère argileux, le village a été considéré par les communistes soviétiques une place dépourvue de perspective. Les gens sont restés seuls à tenir tête aux fardeaux de la vie. Aujourd'hui, la vie n'est pas facile: la dégradation généralisée de la vie rurale a affecté beaucoup les habitants du village. Quelles sont les perspectives que le gouvernement communiste offrait à V. Voronin? Pour que le «socialisme» des actuels bolcheviques triomphe, il ne leur restait qu'attendre la disparition physique de ces pauvres gens de Ceapaevka, sans aucune perspective.

Ceapaev Vasilii Ivanovici a été une figure réellement mythologique de la propagande bolchevique. Il est né à Budaica [à partir de 1939 – Ceapaev], aujourd'hui quartier de la ville Ceboksarî, la capitale de Ciuvaşia, situé sur Volga.

En l'automne de l'année 1908, V. Ceapaev a été appelé à l'Armée tsariste, mais il a été vite démobilisé. En 1914, mobilisé à nouveau, il a participé aux luttes sur les fronts de la Première Guerre Mondiale et il a été blessé plus d'une fois. Il a fait preuve de courage personnel et c'est pour cela qu'il a été décoré quatre fois avec «La croix de Saint George» et une médaille. En septembre 1917, il est entré dans les rangs du Parti bolchevique, en décembre 1917 il devient commandant d'une division d'infanterie et en janvier 1918 il est devenu Commissaire des Internes dans la région Saratov. Il a participé à la répression des cossus dans cette région-là, en faisant preuve d'une cruauté et une inhumanité inimaginables.

Puisque V. Ceapaev n'avait pas même d'études élémentaires, il a appris indépendamment à lire et à écrire. En novembre 1918 il a été envoyé étudier à l'Académie du Grand État Major de l'Armée Rouge Ouvrière-Paysanne [en russe: Raboce-Krestianscaya Krasnaia Armia, abrégé RKKA], mais il n'a réussi à y résister que jusqu'en janvier 1919 quand il a demandé à ses supérieurs de l'envoyer sur les fronts de la Guerre Civile en Russie. Il a été nommé commandant de la Division 25

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<sup>30</sup> *La Moldavie Socialiste*, le 4 juin, 1941.

d'infanterie; il a lutté contre les forces militaires de l'amiral Kolceac. Mais Fortuna a abandonné Vasilii Ivanovici: le 5 septembre 1919, près de la ville Lbişcensk (aujourd'hui – Ceapaev), le commandant de la division a été blessé dans la lutte, a essayé de traverser la rivière Oural à la nage, mais il s'est noyé<sup>31</sup>.

En Russie, il y avait des milliers de commandants pareils, mais seulement quelques-uns d'entre eux ont acquis la popularité de Vasilii Ivanovici. L'explication serait la suivante: l'écrivain Dmitrii Furmanov, commissaire de la division conduite par Vasilii Ceapaev, a écrit un roman de fiction – «Ceapaev»- dans lequel il a créé un visage légendaire, mythologique de son commandant.

En se servant du sujet de cet ouvrage artistique, les frères Serghei et Gheorghii Vasiliev ont tourné en fins metteurs en scènes, un film ayant le même titre. La production cinématographique des frères Vasiliev a fasciné le dictateur de Kremlin, Joseph Staline. Celui-ci a regardé le film plusieurs fois et souvent, il faisait usage des répliques du film, la voix haute. En ce qui concerne le XV<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire de la cinématographie soviétique, le leader bolchevique s'est adressé aux cinéastes en remarquant que «La force soviétique attend de vous de nouvelles réalisations, de nouveaux films, qui glorifient, comme le film «Ceapaev», la grandeur des faits historiques de la lutte pour la force des ouvriers et des paysans de l'Union Soviétique, [des films] qui mobilisent les masses à la réalisation de nouvelles tâches et évoquent non seulement les succès, mais aussi les peines de la construction socialiste».

Les critiques d'art considèrent que le film est un succès. L'ouvrage cinématographique correspondait aux intérêts politiques et idéologiques et aux goûts artistiques de Staline. Le film est dynamique; il était visionné avec intérêt, surtout par les jeunes. C'est un cas classique qui démontre la force magique de la cinématographie: du commandant médiocre de troupes dont les soldats ont été vaincus par l'armée de Kolceak, Ceapaev devient un héros «légendaire». Quant à la mémoire des masses, on leur a imposé le visage du héros principal du film, à l'artiste Boris Babocikin. Dans les livres d'histoire, les manuels, les

<sup>31</sup> Il existe aussi, une autre version de la mort de V. I. Ceapaev. Le Comandant rouge n'a pas eu une vie de famille habituelle: la première épouse, Pelagheia Metlina, de laquelle il a eu trois enfants l'a quitté et est partie avec son amant. Vasilii Ivanovici s'est remarié avec une veuve de guerre, qui s'appelait aussi Pelagheia, mais toujours sans succès. Ce qui plus est, c'est que Pelagheia a informé les forces militaires de Kolceak sur la situation sur le front. La lutte a éclaté; Ceapaev a été blessé et est mort à cause de l'hémorragie; il a été enterré par deux hongrois au bord de la rivière Oural. – *Kak pogib Ceapaev // 100 velikih zagadok XX veka*, Moscou, 2006, p. 85.

calendriers, les affiches etc. on trouve, en effet, le visage de B. Babocikin, et non celui de Vasilii Ceapaev!

Le film a une fin optimiste: la mort de Ceapaev chagrine le public spectateur, mais il reste confiant: grâce à ces héros du peuple, comme Vasilii Ivanovici Ceapaev, sous le sage gouvernement du parti communiste, la victoire appartiendra inévitablement au socialisme. Les spécialistes considèrent que le film «Ceapaev» a consolidé la confiance de Joseph Staline en la puissance de la cinématographie dans l'ouvrage de blanchissage des cerveaux humains soviétiques (Evghenii Gromov).

Au cours des années de la Force soviétique de Vasilii Ivanovici Ceapaev, on a construit des monuments pour celui-ci; des villes, des villages, des kolkhozes, des détachements de pionnières et de komsooms, des navires militaires et civils ont été baptisés avec son nom de famille, la XXV<sup>ème</sup> Division d'infanterie portait le nom «Ceapaev» etc., etc.

**Serghei Lazo.** Au cours des années de la Force soviétique d'occupation, Serghei Lazo s'est réjoui d'une attention exagérément grande. Ainsi, le *raion* (district) de Sângera a été appelé Lazo; à partir du 7 avril 1965, le centre en a été nommé Lazovsk (jusqu'à cette époque-là, son nom était Sângereia Veche). Dans le même *raion*, le village Chișcăreni a été nommé Lazo. Dans le *raion* de Drochia, le régime communiste a changé le nom du village Cuza Vodă en Vorosilovka et en 1961 – en Lazo, dénomination gardée jusqu'à présent. En 1950, la localité Iacobstal du *raion* de Ștefan Vodă a été nommée Lazo. Aussi, cette dénomination est-elle gardée jusqu'ici. L'Université Technique de Chișinău même portait son nom. Dans la capitale de la République, dans le secteur Botanica, il y a même aujourd'hui un assez grand monument en fonte de Serghei Lazo et l'une des rues principales de Chișinău porte son nom. Des dizaines de kolkhozes de RSSM portaient le nom de Serghei Lazo.

Après tout, qui a été Serghei Lazo? Il est né dans le village Piatra, le *raion* (district) d'Orhei, le 7 mars 1894. En 1913 il a obtenu le gymnase no. 1 de Chișinău et a continué ses études à l'Institut Technologique de Petersburg. En 1916, Lazo était dans son deuxième an de sa vie d'étudiant quand il a été mobilisé dans l'armée tsariste. Nota bene: Lazo n'a pas réussi à terminer ses études et il est resté étudiant en deuxième. Après les cours de préparation militaire, on lui attribue le grade de sous-officier (praporșcik) et il est envoyé dans un régiment de Krasnoiarsk, où il s'implique dans l'activité révolutionnaire et devient membre du Parti des SR- des socialistes révolutionnaires – parti qui représentait les

intérêts de la paysannerie russe; le parti a été plus tard liquidé par les bolcheviks. Après le coup d'Etat bolchevique d'octobre 1917, Lazo prend l'air d'un bolchevique et passe dans leur camp, bien que, formellement, il ne soit pas membre du parti bolchevique. Entre février 1918 et l'automne de la même année, Lazo a conduit des forces militaires bolcheviks, en luttant contre l'ataman Semionov, mais sans succès, parce que la région de Transbaikalia était contrôlée de celui-ci et du Gouvernement conduit par l'amiral Kolceak. Lazo passe dans la région de Primorsk (Vladivostok) et conduit des détachements de partisans. Qu'est-ce qu'ils faisaient? Des rapports militaires signés par Lazo, on apprend que les partisans, ont fait exploser des ponts, ont détruit des chemins de fer et organisé l'impact frontal des trains, tout cela ayant comme fin le sacrifice de dizaines, centaines et milliers de gens innocents, qui n'étaient ni contrerévolutionnaires, ni japonais, mais – la plupart- des femmes, des enfants, des vieux. Autrement, Lazo a été un leader de terroristes qui a tué des milliers de vies des personnes innocentes. L'avidité de Serghei Lazo pour le sang innocent est révélée par un télégramme chiffré, qu'il avait envoyé à Irkutsk, le 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1920. Pour la réalisation d'une intervention militaire, Lazo demandait au Centre «une centaine d'armes» et attention! – «une centaine de millions de cartouches avec des balles». Avec un tel arsenal à cette époque-là, la population de la Russie toute entière pouvait être fusillée.

À une autre occasion, le 19 mars 1920, au cadre d'une conférence organisée par les bolcheviks, Lazo complète une enquête dans laquelle il écrit qu'il a la nationalité russe, et entre parenthèses il mentionne que «ses ancêtres (predki) sont roumains et suisses» et à la rubrique «études» il reconnaît qu'il est encore «étudiant».

Donc, à qui est-ce qu'on a affaire, en effet? À un étudiant dans son deuxième année, à un sous-officier incapable de lutter contre l'ataman Semionov, à un terroriste de l'Orient Extrême qui a massacré des vies innocentes!

**Mihail Frunză.** Dans le *raion* (district) d' Ocnița, il y a la ville Frunze. Celle-ci a été construite en 1925, dans la Grande Roumanie, près de la gare de Gârbova<sup>32</sup>.

En 1970, on a ouvert la fabrique de sucre avec une capacité d'usiner de 40 000 de centenaires de betterave sucré par jour. La fabrique est devenue «un géant de la production de sucre».

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<sup>32</sup> Les Localités de la République de Moldavie. Itinéraire documentaire et publiciste illustré. vol. 6, Chișinău, 2006, pp. 379-380.

La petite ville porte le nom du commandant de troupes soviétique Mihail Vasilevici Frunză (1885-1925). Le grand-père de Mihail Frunză, qui s'appelait toujours Mihail, est parti de Bessarabie en traversant le Dniestr et s'est établi dans la localité Zaharovca, le district de Tiraspol. Il est mort à l'âge de 40 ans.

Son seul fils, Vasile, né en 1856, est resté orphelin depuis sa tendre enfance; il a été recueilli par un orphelinat de Moscou et il a absolument une école d'infirmier; plus tard, il est devenu sous-officier dans l'Armée tsariste de Turkestan. Il y est resté après l'expiration du terme du service militaire. À l'âge de 22 ans, Vasile Frunză a épousé la fille d'un colonisateur russe, originaire de la gouvernance de Voronej. Ensemble, ils ont eu six enfants, Mihail, le futur commandant de troupes prolétaires a été le deuxième, né en 1885, à Pişpek. L'épouse de Vasile Frunză, Mavra Efimovna, dupait son époux et celui-ci a décidé de l'abandonner. En 1897, à l'âge de 41 ans, le père de Mihail Frunză a été trouvé mort. On soupçonnait qu'il s'était suicidé.

Mișa Frunză a passé son enfance en Kirghizistan et il ne savait rien de Roumanie. Il savait seulement qu'une de ses parentés était de Moldavie. Physiquement, il ressemblait à sa mère. En décembre 1919, M. Frunză a eu un rendez-vous avec V. I. Lénine. Le leader des bolcheviks lui a demandé: «Est-ce que vous êtes originaire de Turkestan?». Frunză a répondu: «Oui. Dans ma jeunesse j'ai habité en Semirecye». Lénine: «Est-ce que vous connaissez bien cette région?». Frunză: «Je la connais, j'en connais même la langue, à vrai dire, mieux que la langue kirghize».

M. Frunza jouissait d'une bonne mémoire et d'une capacité de travail intellectuel inégalable. Il a obtenu la médaille d'or à la fin des études d'lycée. Il s'est fait inscrire à l'Institut Polytechnique de Petersburg. Il se présentait Frunze. Il s'est impliqué dans le mouvement révolutionnaire en social-démocrate; il a participé armé à des démonstrations de protestation antigouvernementales et a usé d'armes à feu [sans résultat] contre les forces d'ordre tsaristes et dans l'assassinat [manqué] d'un gérant et il en a été deux fois condamné à mort par pendaison. Autrement dit, Misa Frunza est devenu un terroriste. Grâce aux insistances des parents et à l'appui de certains intellectuels respectés, il a obtenu la suspension de la peine capitale. Frunza a toujours été préoccupé par le renversement du gouvernement tsariste les armes à la main et il cherchait dans l'expérience des guerres des informations dans l'application de l'insurrection armée. Engagé dans l'activité révolutionnaire, Frunza a toujours mené une double vie, en faisant usage

de faux papiers et de pseudonymes. Il se présentait soit «Trifonâci», soit «Arseni», ou «Mihailov», «Vladimir Grigorevivi Vasilenko» etc.

Il a été autodidacte: il a lu énormément, a appris des langues étrangères, mais pas le roumain. Après le putsch bolchevique de 1917, M. Frunza s'est activement engagé dans la guerre civile de Russie et est devenu célèbre grâce aux victoires remportées sur les armées de Koltsak et Wrangel. Mais dans les luttes contre ses adversaires, il a utilisé des méthodes tout à fait détestables. Pour exemple, dans la lutte contre l'émir de Boukhara, il a mis en pratique la demande du Centre: riposter contre une attaque éventuelle de l'émir pourvu que l'«Armée Rouge soit appelée en aide par un centre révolutionnaire boukhariote, plus ou moins connu, même si celui-ci est situé sur territoire soviétique.»<sup>33</sup>. Les bolcheviks useront de ce stratagème aussi à l'avenir, pour exemple en 1939, dans la guerre contre la Finlande, quand les troupes soviétiques soutiendront le «gouvernement» finlandais constitué sur le territoire russe.

Aucun des biographes de Mihail Frunza, tout comme les autres biographies des autres commandants de troupe, d'ailleurs, n'a indiqué le nombre des sacrifiés dans les armées qu'ils avaient menées sur le front. C'est parce que le nombre des victimes a été gênant pour les «vainqueurs». Ainsi, au cours des luttes contre Wrangel, les forces militaires soviétiques commandées par M.V. Frunza 16 229 militaires sont morts, soit 68,2 %<sup>34</sup>.

M. Frunza a rempli de hautes fonctions dans la hiérarchie militaire soviétique, étant aussi Commissaire du Peuple pour des problèmes militaires et maritimes et Président du Conseil Militaire-Révolutionnaire de l'Union Soviétique.

Mihail Frunze s'est considéré même «théoricien» de la guerre, sans avoir pourtant, les moindres études dans le domaine. Au printemps de l'an 1921, en qualité de Chef de l'Etat Major de l'Armée Rouge, M. Frunza a exposé la doctrine militaire du jeune Etat soviétique de la manière suivante: «il faut organiser l'activité des Etats Majors de sorte que l'Armée Rouge puisse accomplir ses tâches dans n'importe quelle direction opérationnelle et sur n'importe quel segment du front futur éventuel. Les limites de ce front sont avant tout, déterminées par les

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<sup>33</sup> D. A. Moldovanu. *Frunze – Le “fils” de Cronos*, Chișinău, Edition Le livre moldave, 1989, p. 149.

<sup>34</sup> Rossia i SSSR v voynah XX veka. Poteri voorujennih sil. Statisticescoie issledovanie, Moscou, Edition “Olma-Press”, 2001, p. 124.

frontières du vieux continent, tout entier.»<sup>35</sup>, c'est-à-dire, par les frontières du continent européen.

La société soviétique des années d'activité de M. Frunza passait par une psychose militaire. Pour exemple, une chanson militaire à l'époque commençait par «Nous déchaînons un incendie planétaire...» et le refrain montrait que «entre la Taïga et les mers anglaises/ l'Armée rouge est la plus forte»<sup>36</sup>. Dans des conditions pareilles, les autorités bolcheviques ont organisé une exportation de révolution en Roumanie, à Tatar-Bunar, mais l'expérimentation a échoué.

E. Garatz affirme que M. Frunza «a participé activement à la création de RASSM. En février 1924 il a soutenu la demande des masses populaires moldaves de former un Etat socialiste moldave au cadre de l'Union Soviétique. Cette demande a été exprimée dans une lettre signée de G. Kotovski, P. Tkacenco, S. Timov et d'autres communistes moldaves et adressée à CC du PC (b) de Russie et à CC du PC (b) d'Ukraine. Frunza a été chargé d'effectuer le contrôle sur la mise en œuvre de cette décision. Maintes fois Frunza a affirmé sa solidarité dans la lutte des ouvriers de Bessarabie pour l'union avec la Patrie Soviétique»<sup>37</sup>.

Dans ce contexte, il faut retenir les moments suivants: 1) la population roumaine du côté gauche du Dniestr n'a jamais formulé son but politique de former une république «moldave» dans la région; elle «n'a jamais eu d'organisations propres social-politiques ou d'institutions illuministes et culturelles, de science et culture nationale, de littérature moldave propre»<sup>38</sup> pour pouvoir prétendre à avoir un Etat national propre; 2) il n'y a pas eu de «demande» des «masses populaires de Moldavie». Quelle Moldavie? Les Roumains du côté gauche du Dniestr n'ont jamais appelé ce territoire «la Moldavie». En 1924 il y avait la Roumanie et non pas la Moldavie. En réalité, le 4 février 1924, un groupe de dix bolcheviques – Gogorii Kotovski, G. Moskovici, (Al. Badulescu), Ia. Antipov (Pavel Tkacenco), I. Canton (Ion Dicescu-Dic) et d'autres, échappés de Roumanie en Russie, dont aucun n'était originaire du côté gauche du Dniestr! – ont adressé aux organes de gouvernement suprême

<sup>35</sup> Mark Solonin. *22 iunia 1941 ili Kogda nacialasi Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina?* [le 22 juin 1941, ou quand est-ce que les luttes de la Grande guerre ont commencé pour la défense de la Patrie], Moscou Edition Iauza, Ecsmo, 2006, p. 436-437.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*. “Mí razjigaem pojar mirovoi...”; “Ot taighi do britanschih morei / Krasnaia Armia vseh silinei...”.

<sup>37</sup> *Encyclopédie Soviétique Moldave*, vol. 7, Chișinău, 1977, p. 181.

<sup>38</sup> Mihail Bruhis, *La Russie, la Roumanie et la Bessarabie (1812, 1918, 1924, 1940)*, Chișinău, Edition Universitas, 1992, p. 157.

de l'Empire Rouge un mémoire sur la nécessite de créer la «République Soviétique Socialiste Moldave». Le but de la constitution de l'«unité autonome social-politique moldave» a été clairement formulé dans ce document: «la République moldave aurait le même rôle de facteur politique de propagande qu'ont la République Biélorusse pour la Pologne ou celle de Carélie pour la Finlande. Celle-ci canaliserait l'attention et la sympathie de la population de Bessarabie et créerait des prétextes évidents dans les prétentions d'annexion de la République Moldave de Bessarabie. L'union des territoires à gauche et à droite du Dniestr servirait de brèche stratégique de l'Union Soviétique (par la Bucovine et la Galicie) visant les Balkans et l'Europe Centrale, qu'elle pourrait utiliser comme tête de pont dans des buts militaires et politiques»<sup>39</sup>. Le mémoire signé des dix bolcheviques présente encore d'autres «arguments» pour la constitution de RASSM. Selon eux, RASSM affecterait l'unité nationale de l'Etat roumain, mènerait à l'émiéttement sur des critères ethniques, stimulerait le mouvement communiste, contribuerait au changement de toute la situation dans les Balkans»<sup>40</sup>. Le Mémoire «des dix» s'intégrait parfaitement dans la vision d'une guerre d'expansion de l'Union Soviétique, préconisée par Frunza dans sa «doctrine» militaire.

Mihail Frunza est mort, suite à une intervention chirurgicale d'ulcère du duodénium sous anesthésie générale. Dans l'historiographie contemporaine il n'existe qu'une légère polémique sur le rôle de Staline dans l'assassinat de M. Frunza<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Ion Șișcanu. *Pris dans la transition*, Chișinău, Edition Civitas, 1999, p. 25-26.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 26. et Ioan Scurtu, Ion Șișcanu, Marian Curculescu... *L'Histoire des Roumains. L'Epoque Contemporaine*. Manuel, la XII-e Chișinău, Edition BALACRON, 2006, p. 80-83.

<sup>41</sup> D. Moldovanu répand les bruits comme que M. Frunză aurait été victime des intrigues politiques, que l'opération aurait été faite à la proposition et à l'insistance personnelle de Staline [D. Moldovanu. *Op. cit.*, p. 185]. Il laisse comprendre que le dictateur de Kremlin aurait été personnellement intéressé par la mort de Frunză. D. Volkogonov n'a pas été catégorique sur les causes de la mort de Frunza, pourtant, il tend croire à l'implication – soit-elle indirecte de Staline dans la mort de Frunza [D. Volkogonov. *Stalin. Politiciskii portret*, v dvuh knigah, kn. 1, Moscova, Editura Novosti, 1998, p. 128]. E. Radzinski rappelle la mort de Frunza et affirme que son épouse était convaincue que son mari avait été mutilé dans la salle d'opération et a commis suicide [E. Radzinski. *Stalin*, Moscova, Editura Vagrius, 1997, p. 234]. A. Bușkov est tout à fait convaincu que Staline n'a pas eu le moindre intérêt dans la mort de M. Frunza, dans la lutte contre le dictateur rouge, contre L. Trotski M. Frunză était son allié, non son adversaire. Staline était donc, le moindre intéressée dans la mort de Frunza [A. Bușkov.

**Grigorii Kotovski**<sup>42</sup> a la même biographie criminelle. Il était de Bessarabie et s'est fait glorifier dans les années de la Guerre civile de Russie, par sa cruauté. Cependant, les monuments qui lui ont été voués restent debout à Chisinau et à Hancesti.

### **Le mythe no. 3. L'«Invasion» de la Bessarabie par la Roumanie, le 27 mars 1918**

Au sens large, toute l'historiographie soviétique a été une mythologique, c'est-a-dire faussée, subordonnée à l'intérêt politique bolchevique.

L'historiographie soviétique, une véritable usine idéologique de mythes historiques<sup>43</sup>, n'a pas reconnu l'aspect légal de l'Union, en considérant que la Bessarabie a été envahie. «En janvier 1918, les troupes [de la Roumanie bourgeoise – A.P.] ont occupé au départ une partie, ensuite toute la Bessarabie. Dans son invasion, la Roumanie royale a été soutenue par l'Entente, le corps de généraux du Front roumain, par le «Conseil du Pays» et la Rada ukrainienne. Les envahisseurs ont anéanti en Bessarabie toutes les conquêtes du Grand Octobre, ont instauré un nouveau régime d'oppression sociale et nationale des peuples, plus féroce que celui de l'époque des Tsars»<sup>44</sup>

L'historiographie communiste postsoviétique a fait circuler des mystifications de la même espèce. Pour exemple, les auteurs de la monographie collective, récemment publiée à Chisinau («Histoire de la République de Moldavie»), soutiennent que le Conseil du Pays, au moment du vote de l'Union, a transgressé les lois démocratiques du vote secret, a introduit le vote nominal et que «l'Union a été réalisée à Bucarest et non pas à Chisinau»<sup>45</sup>, plus précisément, sous la pression des autorités roumaines etc. Par suite, nous nous rapportons à ces interprétations pseudo-historiques et nous avons raison de croire que le

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*Krasnii monarh. Hroniki velikogo i ujasnogo vremeni*, Sankt-Petersburg, Maison d'Édition “Neva”, 2005, p. 324.

<sup>42</sup> En 1950 les autorités bolcheviques ont changé artificiellement le nom du village de Cârlăneni en Kotovskoe, appellation employée jusqu'au présent (en UTA Gagauzia).

<sup>43</sup> L'un des mythes de l'historiographie répandu assidument a été celui concernant la victoire de la révolution prolétariaire en Bessarabie, les auteurs soviétiques étant impuissants dans la démonstration du mécanisme de cette révolution («la voie paisible» ou «militaire»).

<sup>44</sup> *L'Histoire de RSS Moldave*, Chișinău, “Edition Moldovenească”, 1977, pp. 52-53.

<sup>45</sup> *Istoria Respublikî Moldovî s drevneișih vremion do nașih dnei* [L'Histoire de la République de Moldavie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à présent], Chișinău, 1998, pp. 178-179.

problème de l’Union de la Bessarabie, de l’intégration de la province dans tous ses domaines, est traité dans l’historiographie roumaine avec tous ses aspects positifs ou négatifs. Nous faisons, bien entendu, référence à la science historique roumaine dans son ensemble, et non pas à un ouvrage singulier. Tant en Roumanie que dans la République de Moldavie<sup>46</sup> on a publié de nouveaux ouvrages qui clarifient certains événements de ces années cruciales pour le peuple roumain, moins connus. Nous admettons que certains aspects sont encore un mystère. Il s’agit, pour exemple, de l’importance de l’Union pour diverses catégories sociales – paysans, intellectuels etc., du fait qu’il n’y a pas encore d’étude concernant la protection de la santé dans la Bessarabie de l’entre-deux-guerres etc.

Malgré la disparition de l’Empire soviétique, ses mythes se sont préservés et sont perpétués par certains auteurs. Ce sont surtout des auteurs qui ont (ont eu) d’importantes fonctions d’Etat et qui ont promu les mythes anciens dans des emballages nouveaux. Ce ne serait pas vexant si les auteurs en question le faisaient par enthousiasme personnel et s’ils payaient de leur poche la publication de leurs livres. Mais ça n’arrive pas du tout comme ça. Nous prenons pour exemple l’ouvrage de Victor Stepaniuc<sup>47</sup>, publié en milliers d’exemplaires, envoyé aux ambassades de la République de Moldavie, aux lycées, traduit en russe, donc devenu livre de chevet du courant moldave.

L’auteur de l’étude considère qu’«entre décembre 1917 et début janvier 1918, les armées roumaines ont envahi massivement la République de Moldavie», ont influencé le vote du Conseil du Pays concernant l’Union de la Bessarabie avec la Roumanie et que «L’ACTE DE L’«UNION» DU 27.03.1918 EST NUL ET NON AVENU AB INITIO»<sup>48</sup> [La mise en évidence par majuscules et guillemets appartient à Victor Stepaniuc – A.P.]. Ensuite, l’auteur cité décrit très sombrement la situation de la population de Bessarabie dans le cadre de la grande Roumanie.

Nous allons souligner que les premiers auteurs du thème mentionné ont été les témoins mêmes des événements mis en discussion. Pantelimon

<sup>46</sup> A. Moraru, I. Negrei, *L’An 1918 – L’Heure astrale du peuple roumain*, Chișinău, Edition “Civitas” 1998; Gh. E. Cojocaru, *Le Conseil du Pays. Itinéraires*, Chișinău, 1998; M. Adauge, E. Danu, V. Popovschi, *Le Mouvement national de Bessarabie. La Chronique des événements entre 1917-1918*, Chișinău, Edition “Civitas”, 1998 etc.

<sup>47</sup> Victor Stepaniuc, *L’Etat du peuple moldave: aspects historiques, politico-juridiques*, Chișinău, FE-P “Imprimerie Centrale”, 2005.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Halippa en a écrit que «L'acte de l'union a été le bout d'un chemin long et difficile, parcouru par les plus grands patriotes de la Bessarabie, l'acte de l'union a été la flamme du peuple roumain transmise d'une génération à l'autre à partir des familles d'Alexandre Hasdeu, Constantin Stamati, les frères Vasile, Mihai et Alexandru Stroescu. Par l'acte de l'union nous avons accompli les idéaux hérités de nos ancêtres. L'acte de l'union a ouvert les portes à la lumière et à la culture qui ont nourri le peuple roumain d'entre Prut et Dniestr. L'union de notre province avec la Patrie Mère, la Roumanie, a été un acte d'importance inégalable, parce que les effets bienfaisants de cette union se manifestent encore. Dans notre province les gens parlent une belle langue roumaine, tout comme à Bucarest»<sup>49</sup>

Dr. Petre Cazacu, président du Conseil des Directeurs Généraux, dans son ouvrage «La Moldavie d'entre Prut et Dniestr. 1812-1918»<sup>50</sup> a décrit en détail le déroulement des événements de 1917-1918 et dans la monographie «Dix ans depuis l'Union. La Moldavie d'entre Prut et Dniestr. 1918-1928»<sup>51</sup> a analysé l'évolution de la Bessarabie, son intégration dans le cadre de la Grande Roumanie. En s'appuyant sur des données exactes, l'auteur y a démontré une augmentation de la natalité dans la province, grâce à l'amélioration de la situation économique et sanitaire des habitants; il a aussi mis en lumière le problème agraire, en révélant que dans la Grande Roumanie, le paysan de Bessarabie a obtenu légalement son terrain. En rachetant le terrain, le paysan en devenait maître à jamais; il a bénéficié de crédits à intérêts réduits et à longue durée, de semences sélectionnées, de bonne qualité etc.

Les auteurs roumains de l'entre-deux-guerres n'ont pas hésité à critiquer fortement les aspects négatifs de l'acte historique, tout en argumentant la grande importance de l'Union de la Bessarabie avec la Roumanie et ses effets bénéfiques sur les Roumains de la région et leurs opinions sont devenues un bien public. Dans l'ouvrage de Petre Cazacu «Dix ans depuis l'Union...» on a mis en évidence une série de difficultés auxquelles s'est confrontée la population de Bessarabie pendant les dix ans écoulés depuis l'union. Onisifor Ghibu, qui était profondément convaincu de la hâte de l'union, a exposé ses opinions plus carrément encore. «La situation en Bessarabie aurait été tout à fait différente, mentionnait-il, si l'union n'avait pas été forcée et si elle s'était faite

<sup>49</sup> P. Halippa, A. Moraru, *Testament pour les rejetons*, Chișinău, 1991, p. 195.

<sup>50</sup> Petre Cazacu, *La Moldavie d'entre Prut et Dniestr. 1812-1918*, Iași, f. a.

<sup>51</sup> Petre Cazacu, *Dix ans depuis l'Union. La Moldavie d'entre Prut et Dniestr. 1918-1928*, Bucarest, 1928.

naturellement, en l'automne 1918, en même temps que celle de l'Ardeal et de la Bucovine, dans une atmosphère de sentiment national intégral, vainqueur. Bénéficiant de la protection de l'armée roumaine, guidée par la culture nationale et par l'idée de l'union de tous les Roumains, aidée par des gens saisis du sentiment sacré de l'amour pour son peuple, au cours des huit mois (mars – novembre 1918) [de] développement favorable, tel que celui que nous connaissons déjà, la Bessarabie se serait si bien remise qu'elle n'aurait plus été en proie ni aux ambition des uns, ni aux poisons des autres»<sup>52</sup>

Nous ne partageons pas le point de vue d'Onisifor Ghibu; pourtant nous l'avons cité pour démontrer que la science historique roumaine a exprimé diverse opinions à l'égard du même phénomène. Ce sont surtout les hommes politiques de l'époque qui ont étudié la situation de la Bessarabie comme partie composante de la Grande Roumanie.

Nous allons argumenter à travers les ouvrages de C. Stere, qui, en avril 1930, soulignait qu'«on ne peut pas imaginer un échec plus lamentable que le régime «de main forte» inauguré en Bessarabie après l'Union. Le gouvernement roumain s'est montré encore plus aveugle et plus incapable que la domination tsariste»<sup>53</sup> Les opinions de C. Stere sont en quelque sorte gênantes, mais au cas de leur émetteur, il faut y accorder une attention particulière, vu que sa situation politique à l'époque et les buts poursuivis. C. Stere soulignait que «je suis obligé à défendre ces éléments. Ils ne sont pas pourtant pires que la bassesse du personnel administratif du pays. Je pense qu'ils sont plutôt supérieurs par leur esprit d'initiative et par le dynamisme prouvé ne serait-ce qu'en recevant ce «service commandé» dans ces régions opprimées.»<sup>54</sup> Cela veut dire que C. Stere estimait la situation en homme politique, et en faisant usage des réalités de Bessarabie dans la lutte idéologique et politique contre ses adversaires.

Les documents et les archives démontrent que tous les gens n'ont pas été tolérants en Bessarabie, dans leurs rapports avec l'administration roumaine: on a enregistré des cas de révoltes ouvertes, ou de maltraitance des administrateurs etc., si bien que les réalités locales doivent, elles aussi être étudiées dans leur entière complexité.

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<sup>52</sup> Onisifor Ghibu, *De la Bessarabie russe à la Bessarabie roumaine//La Bessarabie roumaine. Anthologie*. Edition soignée, notes et commentaires de Florin Rotaru, Bucarest, 1996, p. 295.

<sup>53</sup> Constantin Stere, *Seul contre les autres*, Chișinău, Edition Cartier, 1997, p. 180.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Par la suite, le lecteur contemporain trouvera dans les ouvrages historiques de l'entre-deux-guerres une gamme assez variée d'opinions concernant tant l'acte de l'Union de la Bessarabie avec la Roumanie, que les conséquences du rassemblement national des Roumains.

Les historiens roumains contemporains ont apprécié avec justesse et de manière multilatérale l'événement de l'union. Nous citons de l'*«Histoire des Roumains. Compendium»*: la Grande Union «a soutenu l'évolution de la communauté de vie matérielle et spirituelle existant au fil du temps dans tous les territoires roumains, a fixé le cadre national et étatique pour le développement rapide de la société roumaine. Les réformes de 1918 – 1923 ont changé les anciennes structures économiques, politiques et sociales. (...) La Grande Roumanie a fini par être non seulement les provinces réunies, mais aussi un Etat plus démocratique. Tous les problèmes n'ont pas eu de solution finale, tous les abus n'ont pas été abolis, toutes les contradictions et même tous les conflits sociaux n'ont pas été évités. Pour autant, en général, (...) on a enregistré des progrès remarquables dans plusieurs directions, sur divers plans. L'Etat roumain a cherché à réaliser et l'a fait, à partir des principes adoptés en 1918, d'importantes réformes démocratiques avec des conséquences dans toutes les provinces roumaines, sur tous les habitants, quelle que soit leur nationalité».<sup>55</sup>

Cependant, malgré les succès enregistrés, les historiens ont été récemment accusés de presque tous les péchés humains. Ainsi, pour répondre à une question, un historien de Chisinau déclare: «Quand je parle de la tendance hyper – critique, j'envisage l'historiographie soviétique et, en général, anti-roumaine. Au cas de la deuxième tendance, je pense seulement aux historiens qui – par commodité, bien entendu – voient seulement les bons aspects du phénomène de l'Union, l'idéalisent autant qu'ils peuvent, sans se soucier de la vérité. À ce sujet, je ferais référence surtout à la mentalité de nos historiens de Chisinau. Certains d'entre eux, peu nombreux, c'est vrai, n'abandonnent pas la «glorifié» tradition soviétique. Les autres, (assez nombreux) se sont assumé un comportement qui donne à penser. Ils se sont tous convertis subitement en patriotes roumains (après avoir longuement servi avec zèle et une fidélité agressive le régime soviétique communiste) et sont arrivés à promouvoir plus ou moins consciemment un nationalisme tapageur,

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<sup>55</sup> *L'Histoire des Roumains. Compendium*. Coordonateurs Ion Agrigoroaei, Ion Toderașu, Iași, Edition “Cultura fără frontiere” [La Culture sans frontières] 1996, p. 273.

strident, primitif et donc, en fin des comptes, nuisible à la vraie cause nationale, qui a toujours été le credo des Roumains sincères.

Et en outre, il y a un nombre croissant de dilettantes, de griffonneurs d'histoire, qui sont une grande calamité pour notre culture historique. D'ailleurs, les historiens «patriotes» et les dilettantes se confondent: ils ont la même vision, le même style, la même mentalité, se conduisent sur les mêmes principes, et contribuent avec des forces communes à la détérioration graduelle de la conception de science historique. C'est pourquoi grand nombre de congrès scientifiques sont devenus de vrais spectacles, au cours desquels les intervenants rivalisent dans des manifestations patriotardes»<sup>56</sup>

Dans le cadre de ces accusations graves, mais dépourvues entièrement d'arguments, certains historiens de Chisinau, se présentant comme des chercheurs «sérieux, «profonds», «objectifs» etc., essayent de «démontrer» comme que dans la période 1917-1918 le Roumains de Bessarabie n'auraient pas été préparés pour l'union avec la Roumanie, que la République Démocratique de Moldavie, qui a existé entre le 24 janvier et le 27 mars 1918, était considérée «par la plupart de ses leaders politiques et par la majorité de la population, tout comme par plusieurs facteurs politiques étrangers, un Etat de droit»<sup>[xxv]</sup>. De telles affirmations dénaturent à bon escient les réalités historiques de l'an 1918. Ainsi, le journal «Cuvantul moldovenesc» [«La Parole moldave»] s'adressait à ses lecteurs: «Frères Moldaves! Le 24 janvier, quand on célèbre l'union des deux pays frères – la Moldavie et la Valachie, pensons, nous aussi, à l'union, à l'union la plus naturelle pour nous: l'union de la Bessarabie avec la Roumanie!»<sup>57</sup>

En conclusion, la place des anciennes mystifications est prise par d'autres, nouvelles, rédigées sous la commande des autorités communistes de Chisinau.

**Le mythe no. 4. «La deuxième République Moldave».** Les idéologues du bolchevisme autochtone ne condamnent pas le rapt de la Bessarabie, le nord de la Bucovine, le Territoire de Herta en juin 1940, par l'Union Soviétique; au contraire, ils estiment que la création de ce qu'on a appelé la République Soviétique Socialiste Moldave (le 2 août 1940) n'a été rien d'autre que «la deuxième république moldave»<sup>58</sup>,

<sup>56</sup> Litterature și art (Chișinău), 1998, 26 novembre.

<sup>57</sup> Ion Țurcanu, *L'Union de la Bessarabie avec la Roumanie. Prélude, prémisses, réalisations*, Chișinău, 1998, p. 161.

<sup>58</sup> Gh. E. Cojocaru, *Le Conseil*, p. 77.

la première étant celle de 1918. La question qui s'imposerait serait «Mais où ont-ils “perdu” l'autre, celle d'octobre 1924?»

En juin 1940, l'Union Soviétique a enlevé de force la Bessarabie, le nord de la Bucovine, le Territoire de Herta – anciennes régions roumaines, en s'appuyant sur les circonstances internationales favorables et en se basant sur sa force militaire.

Le régime terroriste soviétique a organisé les nouveaux territoires conquis d'après sa structure: la propriété privée a été anéantie, la seule propriété reconnue étant celle de l' «Etat», l'appareil administratif amené en tanks soviétiques avait une formation professionnelle et une culture générale déplorables. La constitution de la RSSM s'est faite arbitrairement, sans en avoir consulté la population roumaine, autochtone et majoritaire; les frontières de la nouvelle «république» ont été tracées en respectant seuls les intérêts géopolitiques de l'Union Soviétique et les ambitions des «camarades» ukrainiens. La nouvelle organisation administrative de la Bessarabie a divisé la population roumaine en diverses républiques, et l'a soumise à la russification forcée ou à l'influence de la culture ukrainienne. Les sujets traitant la Frontière d'Etat avec l'Ukraine sont tout à fait actuels et bien explosifs.

Malgré l'anxiété provoquée au sein de la population autochtone, le rapt de la Bessarabie, du nord de la Bucovine et du Territoire de Herta, une partie des représentants des ethnies cohabitantes a salué l'arrivée des forces militaires soviétiques et s'est solidarisée avec cet acte agressif des bolcheviks. L'agence philo soviétique de Bessarabie et de Bucovine a facilité en quelque sorte l'action de l'envahisseur, le dernier en l'employant dans des fonctions inférieures, en guise d'instrument administratif.

Au cours de cette année tragique, la Bessarabie a connu pleinement la mise en pratique de la politique de transfert forcé de la population. Les colonisateurs allemands ont été expulsés au Troisième Reich. Ils ont été remplacés par des Ukrainiens et des Polonais provenus de l'Est de la Pologne qui, à l'époque, n'existant plus en tant qu'Etat, sur la carte politique de l'Europe. Bon nombre de Roumains ont profité du départ des Allemands et se sont enfuis avec, tout comme des gens d'autres ethnies, citoyens de la Roumanie.

Les organes de répression soviétiques ont vite procédé à la sélection de la population selon des critères «de classe»: tous les «éléments» estimés hostiles au prolétariat (au régime bolchevique) ont été préparés pour la déportation aux régions orientales et de nord de l'Union Soviétique. L'opération de déportation a débuté au cours de la nuit du 12 au 13 juin 1941. Selon les données existantes, les bolcheviks n'ont

réussi à envoyer en Sibérie que 22000 personnes («le plan» prévoyait l'envoi de 85000 personnes).

Pendant l'opération de déportation les soviétiques ont commis des abus inimaginables. Enfants, femmes enceintes, vieux, invalides, tous étaient jetés dans des wagons-tombereaux, sans souci aucun; les parents étaient isolés de leurs enfants, les épouses de leurs maris. Des centaines et des milliers de personnes sont mortes dans de telles conditions inhumaines, y compris des Juifs et d'autres ethnies qui ont été enregistrés par les bolcheviks comme «pertes de guerre». Nous rappelons ici, sans entrer en détail que la guerre d'Allemagne contre la Russie a été une de prévention; Staline, pourtant, a préparé une guerre agressive, qui allait commencer le 6 juillet 1941.

«L'activité» criminelle des bandes bolcheviks ne s'est pas limitée à cela. Des milliers de Roumains de Bessarabie ont été arrêtés sans raison (ou bien, surtout pour la simple raison qu'ils étaient Roumains), torturés des manières les plus cruelles, dans les sous-sols des sièges de NKVD et NKGB; fusillés, jetés dans des tombes communes et arrosés de vitriol pour ne pas être reconnus. Pour avoir arboré le Tricolore – le drapeau de leur peuple-, un groupe de lycéens de la ville d'Orhei a été enterré vivant. Et la suite sanglante des crimes bolcheviks peut continuer.

Des actions de pillage, pour exemple, changer l'argent roumain en argent russe – une vraie spoliation, fixer des prix trop grands pour la production industrielle et extrêmement réduits pour celle agricole etc., paraissent de simples délits face aux cruautés commises sur les gens.

Avec la retraite des forces armées soviétiques (22 juin-26 juillet) de Bessarabie, les autorités bolcheviks ont mis en œuvre la tactique de «la terre brûlée», en abîmant tout ce qui y était valeureux. Voilà la vraie «deuxième république moldave»!

**Le mythe no. 5. La prétendue «victoire» de la République de Moldavie dans la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale.** Le 9 mai on célèbre dans la République de la Moldavie le Jour de la Victoire sur l'Allemagne nazie; on tient des discours et on écrit sur «La Grande guerre pour la défense du Pays». Ce sont des notions qui ne nous représentent pas.

Chaque année, des progressistes de l'Europe Orientale célèbrent le 9 mai, le Jour de la Coalition antihitlérienne sur l'Allemagne fasciste et le Jour de l'Europe et de la Réconciliation.

L'acte de capitulation sans conditions de l'Allemagne nazie – le principal coupable pour l'éclat de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale – a eu une histoire à part: il a été signé deux fois. Après la mort d'Adolphe Hitler, son successeur est devenu l'amiral K. Dönitz (le 2 mai 1945), qui

a commencé tout de suite à chercher des moyens pour mettre fin à l'état de guerre. Il a envoyé deux de ses émissaires – Friedeburg et Iodl – à Reims, où se trouvait le Quartier général du Commandant suprême des troupes alliées, D. Eisenhower. D'ailleurs, ils sont ceux qui ont signé, le 7 mai, à 2h30 la capitulation de L'Allemagne qui allait entrer en vigueur à minuit du 8 mai. En ce qui concerne les Soviétiques, c'est le général major I.A Susloparov qui a assisté à la cérémonie et a signé l'acte de la capitulation, à Reims. Staline, pour autant, a été indigné que l'acte de capitulation de l'Allemagne n'ait pas été signé à Berlin, «le centre de l'agression fasciste», occupé à l'époque, par les troupes soviétiques. A l'insistance de Staline, le premier ministre britannique W. Churchill et le président des Etats-Unis, H. Truman, ont accepté de prendre l'acte de capitulation de Reims pour préventif et de demander aux Allemands de le signer à Berlin. La deuxième signature de l'acte de la capitulation a eu lieu à Berlin, le 8 mai, à 22h 43 (l'heure locale) ou à 0h43 (l'heure de Moscou). Le gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne et celui des Etats-Unis ont déclaré officiellement que le 8 mai était le jour de la capitulation de l'Allemagne, le gouvernement soviétique – le 9 mai. D'où la célébration différente du Jour de la Victoire en Est et en Ouest.

Que certains mettent en doute la célébration du Jour de la victoire sur l'Allemagne fasciste, ce n'est plus un secret: la libération, disent-ils, n'a été en réalité qu'une occupation, un régime totalitaire remplacé par un autre, aussi tyrannique. A ce sujet, il faut dire que le fascisme allemand, basé sur la haine raciale envers les peuples considérés inférieurs, promouvait l'extermination physique de millions de personnes en Europe et dans le monde. Devant ce danger mortel qui allait ruiner la civilisation du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il était obligatoire de réunir tous les Etats et tous les peuples menacés par le nazisme. Nous n'allons pas commenter ici les erreurs de calcul et la peur des leaders des pays occidentaux qui n'ont pas pris les mesures nécessaires pour stopper l'agression allemande en Europe, avant l'été de l'an 1939. Nous allons procéder de la même manière, bien que ce ne soit pas le cas, par rapport aux erreurs gouvernement de Kremlin à la veille et au début de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale. Ce sont des thèmes à traiter dans des études spéciales. Dans le contexte de cet ouvrage, nous pensons qu'il est peut-être important de souligner que, malgré les graves erreurs des gouvernements, des idéologies dominantes et hésitantes, les peuples ont défendu la liberté et leur droit à l'existence. Dans ce carnage démesuré du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le rôle de l'Union Soviétique à l'écrasement du nazisme a été assez important. Et ce n'était pas la faute du soldat russe (soviétique) qui, en risquant sa

vie, avait chassé les agresseurs de son pays et des autres de l'Europe Orientale que juste après, les leaders politiques communistes, rassasiés, venaient mettre en pratique leur théorie sur la «nouvelle vie».

C'est uniquement par hasard que, le régime totalitaire soviétique a rejoint les démocraties occidentales dans leur lutte contre le nazisme. Sa victoire a semblé plutôt à une défaite: Staline et son entourage, ambitieux et incapable de saisir l'essence des événements, intolérant avec les opinions différentes, a payé trop cher sa victoire. Dans les pays de l'Europe Orientale, libérée de nazisme, Staline a imposé des régimes totalitaires similaires à celui de Kremlin. Mais, malgré tous les efforts, ces régimes se sont écroulés, en démontrant leur incapacité de survivre. Au contraire, les démocraties ont fait preuve de viabilité et de progrès. L'Allemagne de nos jours en est un exemple éloquent. Ainsi, le 9 mai est considéré le Jour de la Victoire des forces démocratiques, du progrès sur les tyrannies totalitaires. Et en ce qui concerne la République de Moldavie, sa contribution à la victoire sur l'Allemagne a été le sacrifice de sang de nos hommes enrôlés par la force dans l'Armée Rouge et envoyés à la guerre en guise de chair à canon. La Bessarabie a été enlevée de nouveau à la Roumanie qui est sortie de la guerre vaincue. Nous avons perdu la guerre et nous avons dû supporter les conséquences de la politique d'un régime totalitaire extrêmement dur – le totalitarisme bolchevique.

**Les Symboles Bolcheviques.** La faucille et le marteau sont un symbole bolchevique.<sup>59</sup> Son utilisation indique une association au bolchevisme, au parti bolchevique (communiste ou des Communistes, dans la République de Moldavie) ou bien, à un autre Etat communiste. Il est représenté par une faucille et un marteau superposés. Les deux outils symbolisent le prolétariat industriel et la paysannerie des Kolkhozes; leur assemblage représente l'unité entre les ouvriers agricoles et ceux industriels. C'est un emblème conçu à l'époque du gouvernement soviétique, le plus connu symbole bolchevique. D'autres en sont le Drapeau Rouge de l'Union Soviétique et l'Etoile Rouge.

Avant la faucille et le marteau il y avait un marteau sur une charrue, ayant la même signification (d'unité entre les paysans et les ouvriers) et mieux connu, encore. La faucille et le marteau, employés depuis 1917/1918 n'ont été le symbole officiel qu'à partir de 1922, quand les signes originaux ont été empruntés par l'Armée Rouge et la Garde Rouge, en tant qu'enseigne sur leurs uniformes, médailles, bérets etc. Plus tard, le symbole a été imprimé sur l'étendard de l'Union Soviétique

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<sup>59</sup> Victor Stepaniuc, *L'Etat du peuple moldave*, p. 287.

(adoptée en 1923), finalisé par la Constitution soviétique de 1924 et sur les étendards des républiques de l'Union Soviétique, après 1924. Avant, les drapeaux soviétiques visaient un simple champ rouge imprimé du nom doré de la république respective, conformément à l'article 90 de la Constitution soviétique de 1918.

La symbolique de l'Etat d'union a été adoptée même avant la naissance de l'URSS (1922). Elle était représentée par la faucille et le marteau superposés sur l'image du globe terrestre. Les chefs bolcheviques ont expliqué leur choix par le désir de symboliser la victoire planétaire de la révolution prolétai re. La déclaration concernant la constitution de l'URSS prévoyait la tâche (et le but) du nouvel Etat: de se transformer en la République des Soviets du Globe terrestre [en russe: тъли СССР – «*prevratitisea v Zemsarnuiu respublicu Sovetov*»]<sup>60</sup>

En ce qui concerne la RSSM, sa symbolique a été adoptée le 16 février 1941 (article 122 de la Constitution RSSM): le blason – l'image de la faucille et du marteau au milieu des rayons du soleil levant encadrés par une couronne d'épices et de maïs. Le blason était composé de fruits, de raisins et de l'inscription «Prolétaires de tous les pays, unissez-vous!», de l'abréviation RSSM en russe et en roumain et de l'étoile rouge à cinq branches.<sup>61</sup>

Le drapeau RSSM était rouge – c'était la couleur utilisée au cadre des mouvements révolutionnaires, dans la tapisserie et dans le costume national. Le vert symbolisait, selon les créateurs du drapeau d'Etat de RSSM, la végétation abondante, le caractère agricole de la république ...»<sup>62</sup> Plus tard, on y a inséré le symbole de la faucille et du marteau et de l'étoile à cinq branches jaunes – «symbole des moissons abondantes de maïs et de blé récoltées sous le soleil, au Sud...»<sup>63</sup>

A présent, le gouvernement séparatiste de Transnistrie utilise (avec de petites modifications) le drapeau et le blason de l'ex RSSM qui contiennent aussi la faucille et le marteau.

Ce symbole est utilisé aussi par les partis communistes dans la majorité des pays, y inclus PCRM.

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<sup>60</sup> Courte synthese des informations sur l'Internet (Google).

<sup>61</sup> Andrei Burovschi. 1937. *Contrarevoluția Stalina* [1937. *La Contre-révolution de Staline*], Moscou, Iauza-Ecsmo, 2009, p. 53. et Gheorghe E. Cojocaru. *Le Traité d'Union Soviétique*, Chișinău, Edition Civitas, 2005, p. 152 e à suivre.

<sup>62</sup> Silviu Andrieș-Tabac. *La création des symboles d'Etat de la République Socialiste Soviétique: le blason, le drapeau, l'hymne// la Bessarabie. Les Dilemmes de l'identité*, Iași, 2001, p. 176.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

L'hymne des bolcheviks – l'Internationale, chant socialiste, l'un des plus connu dans le monde. Les vers originaux ont été écrits en français en 1870 par Eugène Pottier (1816-1887), membre de la Commune de Paris. Au début, les vers devaient être chantés sur la mélodie de la célèbre chanson révolutionnaire La Marseillaise. Pierre Degeyter (1848-1932) en a créé la musique en 1888 et la mélodie est vite devenue célèbre. L'Internationale est devenue l'hymne du mouvement révolutionnaire socialiste et international. Le refrain («C'est la lutte finale/ Groupons-nous et demain/ L'Internationale/ Sera le genre humain.») montre le mieux l'essence de l'idéal humanitaire socialiste. L'Internationale était chantée traditionnellement, la main droite levée et le poing serré en signe de salut.

La version russe a été créée pour la première fois en 1902, par Arkadi Iakovlevici Kots et imprimée à Londres, dans le journal de l'émigration russe («La Vie»). Cette version n'avait que trois strophes, à la différence de la version originale française qui en comptait six. Plus tard, la version russe a été étendue et modifiée.

Dans nombre de pays européens, l'Internationale a été déclarée illégale au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, étant donnés ses vers (que les autorités estimaient antigouvernementaux) et l'incitation à la révolution. En Suède, la cinquième strophe a été même censurée pendant la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale.

L'hymne de la RSSM a été créé par concours. Ses auteurs devaient tenir compte du «rôle du parti communiste et du grand Staline dans la libération du peuple moldave du joug des boyards et des capitalistes; du développement de la situation matérielle et culturelle du peuple basé sur le socialisme, dans la grande famille fraternelle des peuples soviétiques; de la victoire sur les envahisseurs fascistes sur la terre sainte de la Moldavie».<sup>64</sup> A la fin du concours, on a retenu les vers d'Emilian Bucov et de Bogdan Istru, qui présentaient de la manière la plus adéquate les demandes des envahisseurs soviétiques: «Sur la voie de la lumière, avec Lénine et Staline/ On a écrasé l'oppression des boyards cruels// Nous allons de victoire en victoire / Guidés par le glorifié parti communiste»<sup>65</sup>

Conclusion: La Symbolique stalinienne a été imposée à notre peuple, elle s'associe aux crimes féroces commis par les bolcheviks; elle est loin des traditions roumaines et européennes civilisées, c'est pour cela qu'elle devrait être interdite par la décision du Parlement, tout comme on a interdit la symbolique du nazisme.

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<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

# SOVIET PERSONALITIES IN THE ROMANIAN PARLIAMENT DEBATES (1919-1937)

Radu FILIPESCU<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** During the post-war period, Romanian MP's were generally informed about Soviet personalities. Some of the information about the Soviet realities, especially the predictions about the leaders of the neighbouring state, was wrong. But these wrong predictions are explicable; the public opinion in Western Europe, and even the Soviet citizens, believed them. At one moment, Lev Trotski and Grigori Zinoviev were considered the possible V. I. Lenin' successors and V. Stalin was an anonymous person. Stalin's victory against Lev Trotski was initially saluted by some Romanian MPs, who provided a new moderate Soviet regime. The „Iron Man” dictatorship was understood and revealed only in the years 1936-1937. It was also during these years that Romanian politicians warned about a possible leadership change at Kremlin, the appearance of a pro-Nazi Soviet ruler. The Soviet personalities of Romanian origins especially generated internal debates.

**Keywords:** Soviet, Parliament, debates, MP.

In the early years after World War I, a great part of the Romanian MPs (Members of the Parliament) had identified the Soviet neighbour state with the phrase “Lenin and Trotsky”<sup>2</sup>. This phrase was commonly used in the Parliament, no matter of simple accounts, glorifications or critics concerning the Soviet Union. After V. I. Lenin’s death, he continued to be considered a doctrinal symbol of the U.S.S.R.; his mummification was part of this cult of personality<sup>3</sup>. We did not find any concrete account about this in the Romanian Official Report (“Monitorul Oficial”); only in 1931, some Romanian deputies compared the Soviet

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<sup>2</sup> The ordinary Soviet citizen of that period considered the two Bolshevik leaders symbols of their country, too. “Since I was a kid I knew two names: Lenin and Trotski”. Valentin Berejkov, *În umbra lui Stalin*, București, Editura Lider, 1994, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Dimitri Volkogonov, *Lenin. O nouă biografie*, București, Editurile Orizonturi și Lider, f.a, p. 473.

Union with Ancient Egypt, a possible irony at the Red Square Mausoleum<sup>4</sup>.

At the same time, different assumptions appeared concerning V. I. Lenin's successor. Two names were mentioned by the Romanian MPs, Lev Trotsky and Grigori Zinoviev. Both of them were considered people of culture, talent, enthusiasm and oratory. Lev Trotsky's volcanic temper, his radical ideas, were known in Bucharest and had caused different impressions. Initially, the Socialist deputies had regarded this Soviet leader with respect and optimism. In 1920, N.D. Cocea<sup>5</sup> recommended him as a model for the Romanian leftist politicians<sup>6</sup>. One year later, deputy Gheorghe Cristescu<sup>7</sup> denied "with much satisfaction" the rumours of the Bolshevik leader's death<sup>8</sup>. In their turn, in 1923, the Peasant Party's deputies, a center-left organisation, considered Trotsky and Lenin as the leaders of the reformist Bolshevik faction, advocates of a "peasant cooperative state of Russia"<sup>9</sup>. In their opinion, the conservative faction was ruled only by Felix Dzerzynski<sup>10</sup> and Nikolai I. Buharin<sup>11</sup>, regarded

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<sup>4</sup> Deputy Pamfil Șeicaru compared the Soviet state with Ancient Egypt. Grigore Gafencu and Nicolae Iorga added that, unlike the Soviet leaders, Egyptian pharaohs had "some artistic" and "funeral satisfactions". Dezbaterile Adunării Deputaților (DAD), ședință din 24 februarie 1931, în *MO*, no. 51, din 25 februarie 1931, p. 1044.

<sup>5</sup> N. D. Cocea was an independent deputy, but he considered himself an "independent Socialist". Ion Constantinescu, *Din însemnările unui fost reporter parlamentar*, București, Editura Politică, 1973, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> In that session, the Deputies Assembly overturned Socialist M. Gh. Bujor's mandate because of his pro-Bolchevick attitude during World War I. N. D. Cocea criticized that decision and warned that Lev Trotsky had been convicted in the past by the Old Russian Regime too and in that moment he was a "deputy of the people" in Soviet Russia. N. D. Cocea added that the Romanian militant could have a bright political future, alike his Soviet comrade. DAD, ședință din 23 august 1920, în *MO*, no. 52, din 2 septembrie 1920, p. 1251.

<sup>7</sup> Extreme-left Socialist, first leader of the Communist Party in Romania in 1921.

<sup>8</sup> DAD, ședință din 12 martie 1921, în *MO*, no. 60, din 17 martie 1921, p. 1206.

<sup>9</sup> Dezbaterile Adunării Naționale a Camerei Deputaților (DANCD), ședință din 28 noiembrie 1923, în *MO*, nr. 21, din 15 decembrie 1923, p. 322. Romanian Peasant Party saluted the New Economic Policy of the Soviet Union and considered it the victory of the Russian peasantry over the Bolshevik doctrine. Radu Filipescu, "Atitudini românești pro și contra U.R.S.S. în Parlamentul României (1919-1925)", în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol"*, tome XLIII-XLIV, 2006-2007, p. 497.

<sup>10</sup> Felix Dzerzynski was indeed the radical measures' advocate. Dimitri Volkogonov, *Lenin*, p. 336.

<sup>11</sup> At least in that period, Nikolai I. Buharin had a radical attitude, too. *Ibid.* especially right Romanian MPs, as the National Liberal Vespasian V. Pella, quoted the Bolshevik leader in order to reveal his attitude. In *The ABC of Communism* (1919) Nikolai I. Buharin asked for the liquidation of the bourgeoisie, considered a "parasitic class".

as the only Soviet politicians who “were keeping the Bolshevik idea”<sup>12</sup>. On the contrary, Romanian right-wing MPs pointed that Lev Trotsky was a radical politician, as all of his Soviet colleagues, especially concerning the regime’s opponents suppression<sup>13</sup>. They used the appellation “Trotsky” during the home political debates, addressing it to different political opponents: Jewish MPs<sup>14</sup> suspected of Bolshevik sympathies and leftist politicians<sup>15</sup>.

In the year of 1924, after V.I. Lenin’s death, Romanian MPs noticed Lev Trotsky’s great influence in the Soviet state<sup>16</sup>. This influence started to decrease more and more in the following years. The Soviet leader started to equally lose his sympathisers from the Romanian Parliament. The right-wing continued to consider Lev Trotsky a malefic symbol of violence<sup>17</sup>. At the same time, the Romanian Social Democrat deputies<sup>18</sup> denied their sympathy for this Soviet politician. In 1931, deputy G. Grigorovici saluted the “mad (!-note ours) man removal”<sup>19</sup>.

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Radu Filipescu, “Atitudini românești”, p. 504, nota 93. In “The Official Magasine of the Soviet Justice”, nr. 1/1922, the same Soviet leader considered that the only right for the bourgeoisie was “to be judged and punished”. DANCD, ședință din 16 decembrie 1924, in *MO*, no. 47, din 28 ianuarie 1925, p. 1108.

<sup>12</sup> DANCD, ședință din 28 noiembrie 1923, in *MO*, no. 21, din 15 decembrie 1923, p. 322.

<sup>13</sup> Bessarabian National-Liberal politician Ion Inculeț considered this attitude of Lev Trotsky as “rarely cynical”. Radu Filipescu, “Atitudini românești”, p. 504, nota 93.

<sup>14</sup> The extreme nationalist A.C.Cuza interrupted the speech of his Jewish colleague, Benno Straucher, calling him “Trotsky”. Șerbănescu Ion, *Parlamentari evrei în forul legislativ al României(1919-1940). Documente*, București, Editura Hasefer, 1998, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Peasant Party deputy, G. Lupașeu, complained that on the day of 8 March 1925, at the inauguration of his party club in the city of Giurgiu, a political opponent ironically chanted the name “Trotsky”. DANCD, ședință din 12 martie 1925, in *MO*, no.74, din 9 aprilie 1925, p. 1759.

<sup>16</sup> In December 1924, National-Liberal deputy Ion Florescu called the Kremlin regime “Trotsky’s dictatorship”. Radu Filipescu, “Atitudini românești”, p. 494.

<sup>17</sup> In 1929, strongly criticised by a National Peasant colleague, National Liberal senator Gheorghe Tătărăscu compared his language with that of the Bolshevik politician. Dezbaterile Senatului (DS), ședință din 5 iulie 1929, in *MO*, no. 75, din 5 octombrie 1929, p. 2547.

<sup>18</sup> The year 1921, split between Socialist and Communist factions, was followed by a period of tensions and divisions. The Social Democrat Party, formed in 1926 from the unification of different moderate Socialist factions, had its group of MPs after the elections in 1928.

<sup>19</sup> He said that “Trotsky was the the evil man of Europe and of Socialism. Trotsky was the mad man who wanted permanent revolution, who had no mercy for his old people,

Grigori Zinoviev was the other politician considered to be able to lead the U.S.S.R.. Bessarabian Ion Inculeț had met him personally in Russia before 1918 and considered him “a decent, decided, honest and open man”<sup>20</sup>. Different deputies, Peasant Daniil Ciugureanu<sup>21</sup>, National Liberal Vespasian V. Pella<sup>22</sup>, the moderate Socialist Iacob Pistiner<sup>23</sup>, mentioned him among the other possible successors of Lenin, Lev Trotski and Karl Radek<sup>24</sup>. Grigori Zinoviev’s function of Comintern president was regarded as an advantage for his political career. Different MPs considered him to be “the great Russian leader” of the moment<sup>25</sup>, who had “the greater authority in hole Russia”<sup>26</sup>. However, despite his good impression for Grigori Zinoviev, Romanian politicians had no illusions of his communist convictions, considering him to be a devoted Bolshevik<sup>27</sup>.

The only Soviet personality whose actions were most debated in the Parliament during 1919-1924 was Cristian Racovski, former Romanian Socialist leader<sup>28</sup>. In 1917-1918, Romanian army was engaged in a desperate fight with the forces of the Central Powers. That situation would have required “all the solidarity of the Romanian political class”<sup>29</sup>. On the contrary, Cristian Racovski, in spite of his Romanian citizenship, had an attitude that reflected the official Soviet point of view. He vehemently contested the existence of the democratic kingdom, which he wanted replaced by a soviet republic. He also denied the unitarian Romanian state, claiming the belonging of the new provinces to its

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nor for its good economic existence”. DAD, şedinţă din 26 iunie 1931, în *MO*, no. 10, din 2 iulie 1931, p. 325.

<sup>20</sup> Radu Filipescu, “Atitudini româneşti”, p. 498, note 45.

<sup>21</sup> G. Zinoviev was considered “one of the most important members of Moscow Commissariate”. DANCD, şedinţă din 25 noiembrie 1924, în *MO*, no. 22, din 10 decembrie 1924, p. 296.

<sup>22</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 16 decembrie 1924 în *MO*, no. 47, din 28 ianuarie 1925, p. 1108.

<sup>23</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 12 decembrie 1924, în *MO*, no. 43, din 22 ianuarie 1925, p. 998.

<sup>24</sup> After Karl Radek fell into disgrace, the dispute for Soviet authority was considered to be between Trotsky and Zinoviev. DANCD, şedinţă din 12 decembrie 1924, în *MO*, no. 43, din 22 ianuarie 1925, p. 998.

<sup>25</sup> Allegation of National Liberal deputy Mircea Djuvara.

<sup>26</sup> Conclusion of Ion Inculeț. Radu Filipescu, “Atitudini româneşti”, p. 498, nota 45.

<sup>27</sup> Ion Inculeț quoted a Zinoviev speech which proved his conviction for the right cause of proletarian dictatorship. *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Deputy Anibal Teodorescu ironically called Racovski the “god of the Romanian Socialist Party”. DAD, şedinţă din 7 august 1920, în *MO*, no. 41, din 15 august 1920, p. 878.

<sup>29</sup> Statement of deputy Leonte Moldovan. DAD, şedinţă din 27 noiembrie 1919, în *MO*, no. 6, din 3 decembrie 1919, p. 59.

neighbours. This attitude was criticised after World War I by almost all the Romanian MPs. The Socialist leader refugee in Soviet Russia was accused to be a Bulgarian nationalist, rather than a real Communist<sup>30</sup>.

Especially right-wing MPs used the name “Rakovski” for any hypothetical traitor of the country, considered to have no “Romanian feelings”<sup>31</sup>. Also, these MPs were suspecting the Socialist Romanian Party of keeping strong links with the refugee. The National Liberal deputy G.G. Mârzescu<sup>32</sup> was one of the Romanian politicians who had carefully received all of Racovski’s actions. He pointed that Cristian Rakovski had participated at the first Comintern Congress as a representative of the Balkanic states, including Romania<sup>33</sup>.

During the year of 1920, “doctor Racovski”- as he was called by the MPs, was still accused of communist propaganda in the Romanian socialist media. Deputies Gheorghe Mârzescu<sup>34</sup> and Nationalist-Democrate A. C.

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<sup>30</sup> Cristian Racovski claimed that the South of Dobrudja, Romanian Cadrilater province, must be restituted to Bulgaria. Anibal Teodorescu considered that the concept of Balkanic Socialist Federation, desired by Cristian Racovski, was in fact a tool for a Bulgarian hegemony in the region. DAD, ședință din 7 august 1920, în *MO*, nr. 41, din 15 august 1920, p. 878. Marin C. Stănescu, *Moscova, Cominternul, filiera comunistă balcanică și România (1919-1943)*, București, Editura Silex, 1994, *passim*. Alexandru Vaida-Voevod ironically considered that the “doctrine” of doctor Rakovski “served more to hide his Bulgarian feelings”. Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, *Memorii*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, tome II, p. 78.

<sup>31</sup> In 1922, the Socialist deputy Iacob Pistiner had accused the Brătianu government of conspiracy with France against Soviet Russia. In response, a National Liberal colleague, M. G. Orleanu, called Iacob Pistiner a “shameless Racovsky”. DANCD, ședință din 20 iunie 1922, în *MO*, nr. 28, din 29 iunie 1922, p. 613. Another Socialist deputy, the independent N. D. Cocea, was acused by a political opponent to be “a comrade of Rakovsky in Iași” in the hard period of the war. DAD, ședință din 27 noiembrie 1919, în *MO*, no. 6, din 3 decembrie 1919, p. 59.

<sup>32</sup> He was very active in order to combat the political extremes. In 1924, as a Minister of Justice, he conceived the law that urged the Communist Party from Romania to become outlaw.

<sup>33</sup> DAD, ședință din 11 februarie 1920, în *MO*, no. 35, din 14 februarie 1920, p. 498. This piece of information was partially true. At that Congress, C. Racovski was contested by the Serbian and Greek observers who denied him the right to represent their countries. The minutes of the Congress recorded Racovski’s mandate only for the Bulgarian and Romanian Communist movement. Marian C. Stănescu, *Moscova*, p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Gheorghe Mârzescu presented a document sent to Romanian Socialists, called “The clarifying of our party’s situation” in which he asked for the adhesion to the Third Internationale, including the adoption of the political and economical program of this organization. DAD, ședință din 11 februarie 1920, în *MO*, no.35, din 14 februarie 1920, p. 497.

Cuza<sup>35</sup>, senator Gheorghe Becescu-Sylvan<sup>36</sup> considered the refugee “(the Romanian – note ours) to be the enemy of the people”, like the Soviet Bolsheviks who shared his ideas<sup>37</sup>. Being in a process of post-war reorganization, the Romanian Socialist parliamentary group preferred to adopt a neutral position. Deputy Alexandru Dunăreanu claimed that since Cristian Racovski had left Romania, he had broken all of his links with the Socialist Party<sup>38</sup>. However, he considered this problem to be an internal party affair, and asked for the noninterference of the colleagues from others political parties<sup>39</sup>. Some politicians accepted this request. Peasant Party member doctor Nicolae Lupu, known for his leftist sympathies, tried to minimize Cristian Rakovski’s actions of propaganda<sup>40</sup>. However, except for the Socialists, the leftist and the right-wing MPs clearly separated themselves from Cristian Racovski<sup>41</sup>.

At the same time, Cristian Racovski’s status caused controversies in the Parliament. According to Romanian laws, he was sentenced to death *in absentia*. In the Soviet Union, the same political man had obtained leadership positions. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Take Ionescu, pointed out this contradiction in 1921, close to some Romanian-Soviet

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<sup>35</sup> He noticed the appearance of the Third International manifesto, signed by Cristian Racovski in “Socialistul”, nr.78, din 1920. DAD, şedinţa din 7 august 1920, în *MO*, no. 41, din 15 august 1920, p. 879.

<sup>36</sup> DS, şedinţa din 20 februarie 1920, în *MO*, no. 31, din 27 februarie 1920, p. 331.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> It was one of the few times when a Socialist deputy was applauded by the great part of the Assembly. DAD, şedinţa din 12 februarie 1920, în *MO* no. 35, din 14 februarie 1920, p. 504.

<sup>39</sup> DAD, şedinţa din 7 august 1920, în *MO*, no. 41, din 15 august 1920, p. 870.

<sup>40</sup> As Ministry of Interior, he ironically pointed that Cristian Racovski’s enemies made him an accidental favour. The discussions concerning him in the Parliament were published in the “Monitorul Oficial” (the Official Report), a 40.000 print publication. The advertising for the Communist leader was better than the 4000 print publication of the official Socialist gazette, “Socialismul”. DS, şedinţa din 20 februarie 1920, în *MO*, no. 31, din 27 februarie 1920, p. 335.

<sup>41</sup> Nicolae Lupu declared that he had never met the Communist politician, and added that he did not desire this to happen. *Ibid.*, p. 331. In his turn, the People’s Party’s senator Gheorghe Becescu-Sylvan asked his Socialist colleagues to deny from Cristian Racovski by an official statement of the leaders. He considered that Alexandru Dunăreanu’s statement was not an official one, because that deputy was “a young man, former worker, without culture and political skill”. The senator expected a statement from the Socialist personalities, also members of the Parliament, such as Toma Dragu, Ilie Moscovici or Alexandru Dobrogeanu-Gherea.

diplomatic meetings proposal<sup>42</sup>. Take Ionescu announced Cristian Rakovski's participation, as president of the "Ukrainian Soviet", at a projected diplomatic meeting in Warsaw, although he had "a deal" with the Romanian justice<sup>43</sup>. This dilemma was presented as a specific foreign policy concession<sup>44</sup>. However, it seems that doctor Racovsky's opinions concerning the resumption of the Romanian-Soviet diplomatic relationship had a certain importance at Kremlin<sup>45</sup>.

However, the Romanian compromise policy had its limits. In 1924, the Communist Party from Romania was outlawed and Cristian Racovski was still convicted to death. In this year, the opposition, especially the Peasant Party, criticised the National Liberal government very roughly, trying to replace it. One of the main critics was the lack of diplomatic relationship with U.S.S.R., which was considered to be a consequence of the governmental foreign policy. Due to this situation, Cristian Racovski was presented by the Peasant Party MPs as an internationally successful man, persecuted by the ignorant authorities from Bucharest. One of the most active deputies, doctor Nicolae Lupu, compared his status of outlaw convicted to death in Romania, with his quality of Soviet ambassador in London<sup>46</sup>. As a matter of fact, the letter correspondence between Cristian Racovski and Nicolae Titulescu was well known in the epoch<sup>47</sup>. The MPs of the other important opposition party, the National Party, considered him to be "one of the victims and also the creations of the Brătianu family (the leaders of the National Liberal Party – note

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<sup>42</sup> In 1920-1924, at the discussions with the Romanian diplomats, the Soviet delegations included both Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics representatives.

<sup>43</sup> DAD, şedinţă din 9 iulie 1921, în MO, no.144, din 22 februarie 1922, p. 3666.

<sup>44</sup> The Romanian official ironically commented that it was contemporary with "an age when things are very complex". *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Emilian Bold, Ilie Seftiu, *România sub lupa diplomației sovietice (1917-1938)*, Iași, Editura Junimea, 1998, p. 26.

<sup>46</sup> The Peasant deputy presented the diplomatic succes of Racovski, who was "meeting in his palace the lords and all the tycons of England" in "tails and white shirts". DANCD, şedinţă din 2 decembrie 1924, în MO, nr. 28, din 21 decembrie 1924, p. 462. Some years earlier, the tail of Gheorghe Cicerin, different from the typical Soviet suits, was pointed out at a diplomatic conference. Raul Bossy, *Amintiri din viaţa diplomatică*, Bucureşti, Editura Humanitas, 1993, tome I, p. 86

<sup>47</sup> Even in 1925, Nicolae Titulescu, in his quality of Romanian Minister in London, was attending a meeting with Racovski in order to discuss various aspects of the Romanian-Soviet relation. *Relațiile româno-sovietice. Documente. 1917-1934*, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, tome I, 1999, pp. 258-259.

ours)"<sup>48</sup>. However, all these gestures belonged to the Romanian internal policy. Neither the Peasant Party, nor the National Party, really sympathised Cristian Racovski.

The MPs from the National Liberal majority continued to consider doctor Racovski as a traitor, "the snake that was raised and warmed up in this country's bosom. (Romania-note ours)"<sup>49</sup>. In their turn, they accused the Peasant Party of links with Cristian Racovski, especially since he was elected ambassadeur in Paris<sup>50</sup>. However, historiography considered the appointment of Racovski as ambassador in 1923 to be just a "luxurious exile", which removed him from the political struggle of Kremlin<sup>51</sup>.

During the following years, the name of this Soviet politician was rarely mentioned in the Parliament. The right-wing MPs still considered him responsible for the foreign campaign directed against Romania. In 1925, deputy D. Lascu linked Cristian Racovski, Soviet ambassadeur in Paris, with the visits of some French leftist politicians in Romania, in order to control the human rights situation<sup>52</sup>. One year later, in the conditions of Lev Trotsky's disgrace, Cristian Racovski suffered the same humiliations; he was recalled at Moscow and became a second rank Bolshevik<sup>53</sup>. In the Romanian Parliament, his name ceased to be considered to be a synonym of the Kremlin regime<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> The National Liberals were accused that they did not allow dr. Racovski "to develop his idea in the country" and therefore he refugee "in Lenin's arms" and became "his country's enemy". National-liberal Istrate Micescu quoted this fragment from the article "Between Racovski and Brătianu", from the National Party newspaper, "Patria", published in Sibiu, 24 March 1922. DANCD, ședință din 11 aprilie 1922, în MO nr. 28, din 29 iunie 1922, p. 621.

<sup>49</sup> Afirmația deputatului Ion Florescu. DANCD, ședință din 26 noiembrie 1924, în MO nr. 23, din 12 decembrie 1924, p.319.

<sup>50</sup> Peasant Party deputy, Teodor Iacobescu, indignantly quoted an article from the National Liberal official newspaper, "Viitorul" (11 December 1924). The article tried to link the visit of Nicolae Lupu in Occident with a subversive meeting of him and Cristian Racovski. DANCD, ședință din 15 decembrie 1924, in MO no. 45, din 24 ianuarie 1925, p.1072.

<sup>51</sup> The appointment took place when V. I. Lenin's illness was aggravated and the main political decisions belonged to I. V. Stalin. Stelian Tănase, *Clienții lu' tanti Varvara*, București, Humanitas, 2005, 2008, pp. 98-99.

<sup>52</sup> DANCD, ședință din 18 decembrie 1925, in MO, no. 39, din 9 februarie 1926, p. 1089-1090.

<sup>53</sup> Stelian Tănase, *Clienții*, p. 99.

<sup>54</sup> "Viitorul" announced in May 1934 an edifying title "Dr. Rakowski, former ambassador in Paris, beg Stalin for mercy". The article remembered the dismissal from the post of Paris, the repeated exiles in Siberia. *Viitorul*, sămbătă, 5 mai 1934, p. 1.

A similar situation was the case of the Communist militant Ecaterina Arbore, refugee in Soviet Russia at the end of World War I. There was a difference between her and Cristian Racovski. Ecaterina Arbore's father was a Socialist faithful to the Romanian authorities; he had a certain influence in the political circles of Bucharest. Because of this, she was able to return home<sup>55</sup>. This return took place, but the authorities shortly decided upon her expulsion, due to her Communist propaganda<sup>56</sup>. As in Cristian Racovski's case, the opposition pointed out that the expulsion was not the most efficient solution. Peasant Party MP Nicolae Lupu said that "this daughter of the country" will "do more harm there (in U.S.S.R., note ours)"<sup>57</sup>. He and a group of prominent party colleagues (Ion Mihalache, Nicolae Lupu, Paul Bujor, Virgil Madgearu) criticised the forced expulsion of the Communist militant because of her Romanian citizenship<sup>58</sup>. They considered Ecaterina Arbore harmless, unable "to cause the revolution in Romania"<sup>59</sup>. In response, Richard Franassovici, Secretary of State at the Ministry of Interior, consider her "an undesirable foreigner, dangerous for our state's safety and public order"<sup>60</sup>. The National Liberal official pointed that "Miss Arbore" occupied an official position in U.S.S.R. without the appointment of the government from Bucharest<sup>61</sup>. Additionally, the Secretary of State declared that the Communist activist had voluntarily renounced at her Romanian citizenship<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> His father, Zamfir Arbore, asked the Romanian authorities for a passport in order for his daughter to come home. Elisabeta Ioniță, *Ecaterina Arbore*, București, Editura Politică, 1973, pp. 67-68. His daughter too asked for her return. *Ibid*, p. 76. The official reason claimed by her was that Zamfir Arbore "was dying". Mihai Dim. Sturdza, "Ecaterina Arbore", in *Magazin Istoric*, nr. 11, November 2004, p. 7.

<sup>56</sup> She started a series of conferences about the Soviet Union, which actually proved to be a Communist propaganda. Mihai Dim. Sturdza, "Ecaterina Arbore", p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> DANCD, ședință din 19 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 108, din 24 iulie 1924, p. 2994.

<sup>58</sup> DANCD, ședință din 17 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 106, din 11 iulie 1924, pp. 2905-2907.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*. Romanian Socialist circles asked for the cancelling of the expulsion. Elisabeta Ioniță, *Ecaterina Arbore*, p. 74.

<sup>61</sup> In a brochure of the Communist Party from Romania, Ecaterina Arbore appeared as "a Soviet civil servant". DANCD, ședință din 17 iunie 1924, în *MO*, no. 106, din 11 iulie 1924, p. 2906.

<sup>62</sup> Richard Franassovici reminded to the MPs that she had been judged by several Romanian courts and in front of these she had refused to answer about her renunciation at her citizenship some years earlier. *Ibid*. Her supporters claimed that, according to Romanian laws, as a Romanian citizen, Ecaterina Arbore could not be expelled. Elisabeta Ioniță, *Ecaterina Arbore*, p. 73.

The opposition presented humanitarian and diplomatic aspects of this case. Doctor Nicolae Lupu reminded to his colleagues in the Parliament the fact that Ecaterina Arbore was still trying to return in Romania to her aged parents<sup>63</sup>. This argument was based on her father's prestige, Zamfir Arbore. Nicolae Lupu also warned about a diplomatic prejudice, since "the family feeling is precious" to the world public opinion<sup>64</sup>. Another concern, expressed by the Bessarabian Peasant Party deputy Pan Halippa, was about her safety, in the conditions of a very discreet expulsion<sup>65</sup>. Richard Franassovici tried to reassure that "Miss Arbore lives in the most perfect safety in the Russian Soviet Republic"<sup>66</sup>.

Later, the information concerning the communist militant was unclear. The Romanian government continued to consider her harmful for the national interest, while the opposition tried to defend her image. In December 1924, Minister G.G. Mârzescu announced that Ecaterina Arbore was taking part in the "provisional Committee of the Moldavian Soviet Republic"<sup>67</sup>. Deputy Pan Halippa denied this and declared that the Communist activist "is simply a doctor in Seuci (Soci, note ours) city, in Caucasia"<sup>68</sup>. At the same time, the Peasant Party MPs reminded to the government's members about Ecaterina Arbore's forced expulsion in U.S.S.R.<sup>69</sup>. All in all, in 1928, the Romanian public opinion knew her position in the Soviet Autonomous Republic<sup>70</sup>.

The name of Iosif V. Stalin was mentioned in the sessions of the Parliament only in the years 1928-1929. This long time omission could be explicable. Romanian MPs were not familiar with "the Man of Steel".

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<sup>63</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 19 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 108, din 24 iulie 1924, p. 2994.

<sup>64</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 19 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 108, din 24 iulie 1924, p. 2994.

<sup>65</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 17 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 106, din 11 iulie 1924, p. 2904. She was transported to the Constanţa harbour and forced to leave the country on an Italian ship bound for Odessa. Mihai Dim. Sturdza, "Ecaterina Arbore", p. 7. DANCD, şedinţă din 17 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 106, din 11 iulie 1924, p. 2904.

<sup>66</sup> He ironically added that Ecaterina Arbore "probably works there in Romania's interest". DANCD, şedinţă din 17 iunie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 106, din 11 iulie 1924, p. 2904.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* At least during 1925-1929, she was Minister of Health of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Mihai Dim. Sturdza, "Ecaterina Arbore", p. 7.

<sup>68</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 29 noiembrie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 26, din 18 decembrie 1924, p. 399. At least during 1925-1929, she was Minister of Health of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Mihai Dim. Sturdza, "Ecaterina Arbore", p. 7.

<sup>69</sup> DANCD, şedinţă din 29 noiembrie 1924, în *MO*, nr. 26, din 18 decembrie 1924, p. 399.

<sup>70</sup> Some rumours were predicting her imminent dismissal. Panait Istrati, *Spovedanie pentru învinşi*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1991, p. 82.

In November 1924, National Liberal deputy Ion Florescu presented a list of 50 Soviet political personalities, which did not include Iosif Stalin<sup>71</sup>. Even the Soviet citizens started to know him only at the end of the twenties<sup>72</sup>. The Georgian tried in those early years of the Bolshevik regime to quietly increase his power, waiting for the moment of glory<sup>73</sup>. A great advantage for his arising was the contradiction with Lev Trotsky. Trotsky's radical spirit gave his opponent an image of a moderate politician. Some MPs, especially the Social Democrats, saluted Lev Trotsky's failure as one of the Bolshevik extreme left-wing. Deputy G. Grigorovici provided "a new life of good living for peasant and industrial workers"<sup>74</sup>. Another MP, professor Eugen Mironescu, considered Stalin to be "a very skilled man" who "wrote many works in the political and economic field"<sup>75</sup>.

The cult of "the Man of Steel's" personality started discreetly only in the years 1933-1934<sup>76</sup>. In this situation, although right-wing MPs continued to make harsh indictments to the Bolshevik regime, U.S.S.R. was not perceived as a one-person dictatorship. In December 1934, National Liberal senator Mihail Gh. Orleanu observed that the supreme political institution in the Soviet Union was both theoretically and practically the Politbureau of the Communist Party<sup>77</sup>, consisting of nine

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<sup>71</sup> The source was a volume appeared in the Western Europe, called "The cause of World's troubles". It contained a list of fifty Soviet political personalities, who were leading Soviet Russia in 1920-the year of the volume- or, at least, "were responsible for the establishment of the Bolchevik regime". The list included almost all the prominent leaders, except for I. V. Stalin and A. Rykov. Radu Filipescu, "Atitudini românești", p. 498, nota 47.

<sup>72</sup> Until that moment, nobody had heard about Stalin. Valentin Berejkov, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>73</sup> Dimitri Volkogonov, *Lenin*, p. 286 sq. If Lev Trotski has an impulsive character, Iosif Stalin was patient in order to carry out his plans. "His ideea easily appeared and increased [...] in order to become real". Lacques de Launay, *Istoria secretă a Cominternului, 1919-1943*, București, Editura Venus, 1993, pp. 33-34.

<sup>74</sup> DAD, ședință din 26 iunie 1931, în M Of, nr. 10, din 2 iulie 1931, p. 325.

<sup>75</sup> He considered this characterisation as a reason for Stalin's ideas to be listened to in the Deputies Assembly. DAD, ședință din 21 martie 1931, în MO, nr. 69, din 24 martie 1931, p.1795.

<sup>76</sup> Christopher Andrew, Oleg Gordievski, *KGB, istoria secretă a operațiunilor sale externe de la Lenin la Gorbaciov*, București, Editura All, p. 94.

<sup>77</sup> The Politbureau was initially created to take the urgent political decisions of the Central Committee. Richard Pipes, *Scurtă istorie a Revoluției Ruse*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1998, p. 146. Later, it became the supreme Soviet institution. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

persons<sup>78</sup>. The presence of I. V. Stalin on the top of the piramide of power was not highlighted<sup>79</sup>.

This image of the Soviet leader may have sounded distorted, as long as the memories of Soviet dissident refugees in the Western Europe were known in the Romanian Parliament. M. G. Orleanu urged his colleagues to read the memoirs of the Stalin's former personal secretaries, Boris Bajanov<sup>80</sup> and Grigori Besedovski<sup>81</sup>. Another National-Liberal, Em. Slătineanu, quoted Boris Souvarine<sup>82</sup>. However, the cult of personality was suggested by the National Christian deputy, Octavian Goga. In 1936 he remembered that, at that year's Comintern Congress, the loyalty of the participants for the Soviet lead, and especially for Iosif Stalin, had been reaffirmed<sup>83</sup>. The Romanian deputy quoted the president of the Comintern, Wilhelm Pieck, who included the actual Soviet leader on the list of great Communist personalities<sup>84</sup>.

The year of 1937, the last year of the Romanian democratic Parliament, was open to any international political change. The impressions concerning the Soviet Union's future were unclear. Deputy Pamfil Ţeicaru did not exclude the establishment of a pro-Nazi dictator at Kremlin, in the conditions of a possible Soviet-German alliance<sup>85</sup>. Kliment Voroshilov "or other militaries" were considered possible successors of I.V. Stalin<sup>86</sup>. The groundless rumour of a Soviet generals' conspiracy persisted a long time in the U.S.S.R..<sup>87</sup> Kliment Voroshilov

<sup>78</sup> DS, şedinţa din 14 decembrie 1934, în *MO*, nr. 14, din 24 decembrie 1934, p. 149; 151.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* I.V. Stalin controlled the Politbureau, therefore he was practically the leader of the U.S.S.R.. Richard Pipes, *Scurtă istorie*, p. 330.

<sup>80</sup> Mihail Gh. Orleanu named him "Stalin's secretary general". DS, şedinţa din 23 noiembrie 1936, în *MO*, nr. 4, din 4 decembrie 1936, p. 28. Boris Bajanov, *Avec Staline dans le Kremlin*, Paris, Editions de France, 1930.

<sup>81</sup> DS, şedinţa din 23 noiembrie 1936, în *MO*, nr. 4, din 4 decembrie 1936, p. 28. Grigori Besedovskii, *Staline. L'homme d'acier*, Paris, A. Redier, 1932.

<sup>82</sup> DS, şedinţa din 23 noiembrie 1936, în *MO*, nr. 4, din 4 decembrie 1936, p. 28. Boris Souvarine, *Stalin*, Paris, Les Petits-Fils de Plon et Nourrit, 1935.

<sup>83</sup> DAD, şedinţa din 13 martie 1936, în *MO*, nr. 43, din 5 iunie 1936, p. 1711.

<sup>84</sup> Wilhelm Pieck named the Communist flag "the flag of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin". *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Radu Filipescu, "Problema alianței româno-sovietice în Parlamentul de la București (1934-1937)", în Ioan Ciuperca, Bogdan-Alexandru Schipor, Dan Constantin Măță (eds.), *România și sistemele de securitate în Europa (1919-1975)*, Iași, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Iași, 2009, p. 186.

<sup>86</sup> DAD, şedinţa din 6 februarie 1937, în *M Of*, nr. 24, din 26 februarie 1937, p. 877.

<sup>87</sup> Robert Conquest, *Marea Teroare, o reevaluare*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1998, pp. 228-230.

really enjoyed an immense popularity in the Soviet Union<sup>88</sup> but had a modest intellectual capacity<sup>89</sup>; he was harmless for the political power and therefore tolerated by it. After the Parliament dissolution in 1937, former MPs presented practical issues of Stalin's dictatorship in particular writings<sup>90</sup>.

We could thus conclude that, during the post-war period, Romanian MPs were generally informed about Soviet personalities. Some information about the neighbouring state, especially the predictions about its leaders, proved to be wrong. But these false predictions are explicable; the public opinion in Western Europe, and even the Soviet citizens, believed them. At one moment, Lev Trotsky and Grigori Zinoviev were considered -in Romania, but also in the U.S.S.R.- to be the possible successors of V. I. Lenin. Also, I.V. Stalin's discretion and subtlety in his attempt to conquer the political power apparently positioned him in the second echelon of the Soviet leadership. The Georgian's victory against Lev Trotsky had been initially saluted by Romanian MPs, especially by the Social Democrats. They provided a new moderate Soviet regime. The "Iron Man's" dictatorship was only understood in the years of 1936-1937.

The Soviet personalities of Romanian origins especially generated internal disputes. Both Cristian Racovski and Ecaterina Arbore were considered by the right-wing MPs who were dangerous for the national security. The Peasant Party politicians criticised the National Liberal Party, which was considered to be responsible for the two Communist activists' refuge. But this attitude was only a desire to combat the National Liberal Party, not a proof of Soviet sympathies. Only the Peasant MPs from Bessarabia seemed to have a real sympathy for Ecaterina Arbore, whose family had its origins in the same province.

"The Soviet generals' conspiracy" against I. V. Stalin, expected in the Soviet Union during 1936-1937, had also been perceived in the Romanian Parliament. Right-wing MPs warned that a German-Soviet alliance could be possible, favoured by a presumptive new leader at Kremlin, a pro-Nazi and also antisemitic one. After the dissolution of the Parliament in 1937, former MPs continued to observe the Soviet leaders and to comment on their actions, in private works.

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<sup>88</sup> Roy Medvedev, *Stalin și oamenii săi*, București, Editura Meridiane, p. 21.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>90</sup> Nicolae Iorga considered "citizen Stalin [...] as the most powerful heir of Ghenghis-Khan". He ironically specified that, unlike the khan, the communist leader was atheist and with no national ideal. Nicolae Iorga, *Hotare și spații naționale în Hotare și spații naționale*, 1938, p. 94.

# **THE POLISH CRISIS AND THE CONFERENCE OF LEADERS' PARTIES AND STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION (MOSCOW, 4 – 5 DECEMBER 1980)**

**Petre OPRIŞ, Laura SAVA\***

**Abstract:** The exponential development of the “Solidarity” trade union and the permanent hesitations of Warsaw authorities, who avoided to enforce the martial law and to intervene in force for the repressing of popular movements in the entire country, determined the leaders of WTO's states to meet at Moscow (4-5 December 1980) for convincing Stanislaw Kania to utilize harder means to re-establish the order in Poland.

The respective reunion started on December 4, 1980 without the participation of the leader of the Polish communist party, only one day after Marshal Viktor G. Kulikov solicited the agreement of General Wojciech Jaruzelski to start in Poland the common military manoeuvres “SOIUZ-80”. During the second session (December 5, 1980), Stanislaw Kania was the first who presented some point of view regarding the events from Poland. At the final of his speech, the Polish communist leader committed himself to annihilate, helped by the party he led, “the contra revolutionary activity” on the whole his country and declared he was disposed to put in practice other measures, too, besides the political ones (this practically being a veiled allusion to the introduction of martial law). The reunion in Moscow continued with the speeches of Todor Zhivkov, Gustav Husak, Erich Honecker, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Janos Kadar and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

**Keywords:** Polish crisis, Warsaw Treaty, Solidarity, communist regime.

In the early 1970s, the Central and East European communist countries developed a relatively economic growing period, but the attained rate of developing was not of long standing. Gradually, these states began to confront a series of problems concerning the extremely slow development of the living standard of population and this perspective became more and more visible by the end of the 1970s.

For understanding the events from that period, we chose to present some aspects of the Polish crisis in the late 1970s and the early 1980s and

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the reactions of all leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) members' states toward the Polish crisis, trying to find an answer for two essential questions: Which was the position adopted by the leaders of WTO members' states towards a possible military intervention in Poland, immediately after the signing of Gdańsk Agreements (August 31, 1980)? Which was the position of the same leaders towards a possible military intervention in Poland one year later, before the enforcement of the martial law on 13 December 1981?

The exponential development of the "Solidarity" and the permanent hesitations of Warsaw authorities, who avoided to enforce the martial law and to intervene in force for the repressing of popular movements in the entire country, determined the leaders of WTO members' states to meet at Moscow, on 4 and 5 December 1980 for convincing Stanisław Kania to utilize harder means to re-establish the order in Poland.

The respective reunion started on 4 December 1980 without the participation of the leader of Polish communist party (PUWP), only one day after Marshal Viktor G. Kulikov asked the agreement of General Wojciech Jaruzelski to start the military manoeuvres "SOIUZ-80" in Poland. Some documents didn't reveal anything regarding Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev's intention to create a powerful psychological pressure on Stanisław Kania, by using just the solicitation of his marshal, but we consider such an hypothesis may be true, because the Moscow authorities were interested to re-establish order in Poland, and the formulation by the Soviet part of some threats less or more veiled to the address of one WTO's state, couldn't be a novelty within the communist system from Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. "Hungary-1956" and "Czechoslovakia-1968" cases).

The meeting that took place on December 4, 1980, at Moscow had the purpose to know in detail the points of view of all participants towards the Polish crisis, to finalize the common strategy to be applied during the discussions on the next day with the PUWP leader. At that session, János Kádár and Nicolae Ceaușescu declared that they will not be supporters of a WTO' states military intervention in Poland.<sup>1</sup>

During the session from December 5, 1980, Stanisław Kania was the first who presented one point of view regarding the events evolution in his country. In the speech he presented in the reunion plenum, he firstly emphasized the fact that "the fundamental sources of the crisis that arose

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stelian Tănase, *Miracolul revoluției. O istorie a căderii regimurilor comuniste* [The miracle of the revolution. A history of the communist regime failure], București, Humanitas, 1999, p. 68.

in Poland are concentrated at the level of the central leadership of our party". Then, the Polish leader remembered about "the immense material help which we have lately received from the Soviet Union", as well as about "the help given by the German Democratic Republic and other fraternal socialist countries as well"<sup>2</sup>. Such a sentence revealed the fact that Poland received until that moment an important economic support especially from the part of USSR and GDR.

Also, Stanisław Kania thought right to submit a *sui-generis* fidelity oath towards Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, by emphasizing the important role the last one had for the fate of Poland. "We maintain permanent contacts with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with comrade Brezhnev personally – the Polish leader stated. We highly appreciate your opinions and advice, Leonid Ilyich. Your assessments of the difficulties in our country, of the conflicts in Poland were of fundamental importance. For the second time, Leonid Ilyich, the sentiment of appreciation for the characterization of the situation in Poland and our tasks for the future was indissolubly tied to your name. This contributes to the consolidation of Polish friendship and goodwill towards the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – the leading force of the international communist movement"<sup>3</sup>. In our opinion, the purpose of this declaration was obvious: Stanisław Kania wished to convince the Soviet leader he was devoted, in order to avoid the Poland invasion by the armies of the WTO' states.

In order to present the causes that generated "the deepest crisis that has ever taken place in Poland", Kania evoked a series of events during the post-war period and rhetorically asked: "What do the difficulties of this crisis consist in? In the fact mainly that it is not the first crisis, but the result of other crises that happened in Poland. Such events took place in Poznań [in 1956], and they were followed by changes in the leadership and a wave of revisionism in Poland. Such events also happened in 1968, the well-known demonstrations of the students, then the dramatic events in December 1970, on the Polish seaside, followed by the demonstrations in 1975, and, finally, in 1976. They were very dangerous demonstrations, triggered by price increases"<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Central History National Archives, *the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party – Chancellery Collection* (hereafter CHNA, CC of RCP – Chancellery), file 74/1980, pp. 48-49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

The mass character of the crisis, as well as the extremely active participation of the young engineers, technicians and workers to the protest movements, worried very much the PUWP Prime-Secretary. Such a reaction from the part of the Polish working class was extremely dangerous for the communist regime and for the sacrosanct ideology all PUWP leaders appealed at. On the one hand, they precisely arrogated the qualities of exponents and defenders of the working class interests, but, on the other hand, they ordered in various moments (in the years 1956, 1970, 1976) the repressing by force of the worker movements of protest.

In Stanisław Kania's opinion, there was necessary "the understanding of all of the mechanisms that brought about the decomposition of the party, state, and economy of our country, of all the reasons and instruments that enabled the opposing forces to penetrate the working class and the counterrevolutionary forces to infiltrate it". Trying to indicate the guilty persons for the situation his country traversed, Stanisław Kania remembered about the Catholic Church implication to defence "the material interests of workers (...) mainly in Silesia, and on the coast of the Baltic Sea", as well as the financial and propagandistic support afforded to the "anti-socialist elements" by "the diversionist centres abroad, especially «Radio Free Europe» and the counterrevolutionary emigration circles"<sup>5</sup>.

Although he admitted that his predecessors made mistakes, Stanisław Kania announced one conclusion: if the ideology of his party was applied and the economic activities unfurled outside the state centralized system were not encouraged, Poland would never confront with such a crisis.<sup>6</sup> The communist leader thus emphasized the infallibility of the communist ideology and the way this was applied in Poland<sup>7</sup>, believing further on in a utopia. In our opinion, Stanisław Kania

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 49; 51.

<sup>6</sup> In his speech, Stanisław Kania stated: "The party turned out to be weak with regard to the ideological activity (...) It was too early for us to launch the slogan of building a developed socialist society. We did this while in Poland's villages the individual household predominates, in the situation where in the 1970s the private initiative strongly developed in trade and other sectors. From the experience we have gained so far it is apparent that when mistakes appear in the party's policy, the working class – the party's foundation – reacts to these mistakes just as it must react. Our adversaries, the counter-revolutionaries, the fascists, taking advantage of our incompetence, tried to channel all this through a political groove". *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> The Polish leader stated: "We have tried to formulate certain assessments, certain programmatic stipulations in such a way that they correspond to the new circumstances. *The main point was the affirmation that it was not socialism that had caused these deficiencies, but the fact that socialist principles had not been observed; that it is not*

did not take into account the numerous tentative to impose this ideology, helped by the saying: “All who are not with us are against us! (All who are not communists are contra-revolutionaries, anti-socialists, adversaries, fascists, etc!)”.

At the same time, Stanisław Kania considered that the decision to negotiate with the Gdańsk workers representatives was well deliberated, though he was conscious that the situation Poland traversed “represents by itself a serious danger for socialism”<sup>8</sup>. Because the Polish leader concluded that “our party leadership came out of these strike-type conflicts with certain political advantages, in the sense that these conflicts were not solved by force but by political means, via agreements with the workers”<sup>9</sup>, we may ask if by chance, the Polish leader was not capable to understand the political significance of “Gdańsk Agreements”<sup>10</sup> or this was only a premeditated political artifice<sup>11</sup> he used

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*the party that should be blamed for this situation, but the fact that some mistakes had been made. We launched the slogan of re-establishing socialist principles in Poland, re-establishing Leninist norms in our party life, and observing socialist ethics and norms of impartiality. The line adopted at the seventh Plenary Session was approved by the whole party, and by public opinion. Within the framework of the party there existed, for a long time, a certain state of mind, a situation in which the party members and the party active (core) turned their backs on the issues they had to solve. It is for this reason that of late, all the members of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee have taken part in the meetings with the party members, as well as in the meetings with non-party members, the party thus re-establishing its force and influence on the masses (our underlining)”. Ibid., p. 52.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48. Stanisław Kania also stated: “Even in the current difficult conditions, we think that the use of political measures to solve strike-type conflicts was appropriate. Different measures could have given rise to a wave of demonstrations, and bring about bloody confrontations”. *Ibidem*, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> Starting from Stanisław Kania’s declaration, we may ask: What kind of advantages a dictatorial political regime can obtain when it is confronted with a deep economical crisis? An economical crisis evidently presumes to loose political capital, not to gain it! When it comes to a political system based on the theory of unique party, the situation becomes more serious, because during the economical crisis are troubled the interests of the entire (unique) leading political class, fact which puts in danger inclusively the national security of the respective state.

<sup>11</sup> The balance between the admittance of the gravity of crisis Poland traversed and the wish to demonstrate that efficient measures were adopted for keeping the country under the control, between the emphasizing of political advantages which were in fact non-existing, and presenting the errors committed by the party leaders, had probably the purpose to create confusion among the listeners. A series of perturbation factors (information offered in cascade, the participants boredom, the speech length, the tension

for imposing his conclusions by an ambiguous reasoning/speech<sup>12</sup>. In our opinion, the rightfulness of that decision determined an effect exactly contrary to the one expected by the Warsaw authorities: loosing of control exercised by the communist party on the majority of Polish workers. The massif diminution of the numbers of members from the trade unions controlled by PUWP (about 6 millions in just three months<sup>13</sup>) demonstrates the imperative wish of changing of the Polish people, and changing meant renouncing at the communist ideology and

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of the historical moment), could act like inhibiting agents in the analysis processes of the participants at the reunion and, thus, the reasoning presented by Stanisław Kania could became, at least for the moment, acceptable/true for all.

<sup>12</sup> The Polish leader admitted, among others: “*We have done our utmost to re-establish the situation, but we have not succeeded in doing everything that was needed in regard to both the propaganda and the organization of the fight against the antisocialist forces (...) We have also underrated the great force represented by the pressure exerted by the hundreds of thousands of party members for the purpose of calling to account those who committed the serious mistakes that had caused the situation – so dramatic – of our country.* Hence the necessity of making cadres changes (sic!). At the latest plenary session of the Central Committee *the necessity arose of drawing conclusions about comrade [Edward] Gierek, who was invited to the plenary session but he did not turn up, and about comrade [Piotr] Jaroszewicz* (our underlining)”. CHNA, CC of RCP – Chancellery, file 74/1980, p. 52.

In the Stanisław Kania’s speech may be observed that he pleaded a “pro domo” cause to assure his own political survival. But he did not tell the essential conclusion: PUWP lost on 31 August 1980 control on the Polish workers. In return, with the help of general auto-critical sentences, the Polish leader admitted two of the less important failures: the low efficiency of the communist propaganda and the insufficient organizing of the fight against “anti-socialism forces”. In the same time, he cunningly minimalized the guilt of the Polish communist leaders, by mentioning for the respective failure only the leaders who were during December 1970 – August 1980 on the top of the Polish political pyramid and who were already “proscribed” by Moscow: Edward Gierek, former prime-secretary of CC of PUWP, and Piotr Jaroszewicz, former prime-minister during the Gierek’s period.

Was Stanisław Kania not conscious by the fact the guilt actually belonged to the entire Polish political class? Did Stanisław Kania deliberately omit to pronounce other names, not to endanger his situation within his own party? In our opinion, both questions could receive an affirmative answer, because the lie by omission was part of the communist propagandistic arsenal, but only the following researches may confirm or invalidate these hypotheses.

<sup>13</sup> According to Stanisław Kania’s affirmation at the reunion in Moscow, “the [industrial] branch trade unions [which were controlled by PUWP] include somewhere about five million working people, while – unfortunately – about six million people joined the “Solidarity” trade union [since August 1980]”. *Ibidem*, p. 51.

disappearance of the political regime, which imposed it by force and maintained it by terror.

Consequently, we consider it was natural for Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and the other leaders of the states who were WTO members not to agree “the using of political measures to resolve the strike conflicts” and to consider the only method by which Stanisław Kania and his party colleagues could maintain their positions was the massive using of the security forces loyal to PUWP, against the leaders of “Solidarity”.

Analysing all these facts, we may formulate the following hypothesis: Stanisław Kania understood the fact that, suddenly, the main leaders of the PUWP and the leaders of the Polish security forces could be obliged to renounce at the privileges they afforded during a long period, by force, lie and trade of influence, because that privileges precisely contradict with the communist ideology they preached and defend. This hypothesis may be true because the Polish leader remembered in his speech about the fact that “in Poland there appeared a strong phenomenon of strongly criticizing the cases of many representatives of the leadership circles who enriched themselves, and used their situation in their own interests”. Stanisław Kania admitted, also, the fact that “much to our regret, this phenomenon has had a mass character in the last ten years” and announced that measures were adopted to analyze the respective situation by the Control Commission of PUWP.<sup>14</sup>

In order to convince the communist parties leaders who participated at the reunion of the fact that a military intervention in Poland of the armies of WTO members’ states was not necessary, Stanisław Kania briefly presented some of the concrete repressive and administrative measures<sup>15</sup> he took or was going to take in the next period: establishing

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52. Stanisław Kania stated: “The situation in the country is difficult, but it has a differentiated character. The most difficult situation is on the Baltic seaside, in the capital, and in the Wroclaw region. Positive changes took place in Silesia, Katowice, Krakow, and Poznań”.

<sup>15</sup> The Polish leader stated: “We had to take a whole series of steps of repressive and administrative character. Under the leadership of the President of the Council of Ministers, there works a general staff constituted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which monitor the application of a series of measures among which the introduction of military state [martial law] in Poland is included since the country’s constitution does not provide for such a situation. We envisaged such a measure only from a military point of view. In addition, an operation to take the most active leaders of the counterrevolution into custody is being prepared. The principles of ensuring connections and the functioning of mass propaganda means, along with the communication and transport ways, are also being prepared. We are also creating

of a special general staff (formed by the Political Bureau of C.C. of PUWP and led by the Polish Premier) for introducing the emergency state in the entire country; preparing of a vast operation to arrest the most important leaders of the anti-governmental protest movements; assuring of a total control on the mass-media, on the transport means and telecommunications; selecting of party members who remained “loyal to the communist cause” to form some armed special groups<sup>16</sup> to assure, if necessary, the enforcement of martial law.

The Polish leader presented, also, his opinion regarding the main problems he had to resolve in the next period. Firstly, he referred to the situation inside PUWP. This followed to be strengthened by a drastic limitation of the right of free expression.<sup>17</sup> The critics of the party members at the address of PUWP leaders were absolutely forbidden, because in the Stanisław Kania’s view, they affected the party ideological unity and led to the appearance of the supreme crime of the dissident communists, the fraction forming<sup>18</sup>. Also, the Polish leader did not agree

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special groups of party members whom we trust without reserve, and – if need be – we will give them weapons” (*Ibid.* p. 54).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Until the beginning of December 1980, 19000 party members were already selected, and Stanisław Kania hoped that until the end of the same month he would have at his disposal 30000 of loyal men.

<sup>17</sup> The PUWP leader also stated: “The main issue is the party. *It is very important for us to come out of this situation of settling accounts* to understand the great danger menacing socialism in Poland. Not all of the party members realize this danger. *We underscore the necessity of ideological unity, of discipline, of the fight against factions, which – in our conditions – gives rise to attempts to create, throughout the country, several centres, appeasement commissions, coordination commissions outside the party structure, with the regional committees, and in other instances.* One of the organizers of this factionist activity was expelled from the party a week ago (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

The respective interdiction was formulated by specific terms of the communist manner of speaking, as to only apparently respect one of the purposes of the ideology proclaimed by the communist propagandists: the right for free expression for the entire working class. In reality, due to the ideology they assimilated and promoted, the communist leaders from the whole world were from the beginning meant to become dictators. According to the communist ideology, only the working class had the right to designate the political representatives who would become at a certain moment leaders of the party-state. The conviction and destroying of the system with several parties by the communists, finally generated the appearance of dictators, who claimed/pretended social origins of workers to benefit of the support of the working class in whose name they pretended they led the country.

<sup>18</sup> According to the communist ideology, the working class had to fight both against the exploiting classes (the bourgeoisie and the landowners), but also against the

with the organizing of party Congress in those moments because he wished to avoid the PUWP splitting up. He admitted the fact that “we cannot be sure that we could have delegates [at the Congress] who are people faithful to the party cause, to Marxism-Leninism”<sup>19</sup> and announced that the Congress works were going to take place only at the end of the first trimester or at the beginning of the second trimester of 1981<sup>20</sup>.

In the second place, Stanisław Kania remembered the fact that mass-media was no longer entirely under the control of the communist party and promised he will continue to realize a series of changes to improve the propagandistic activity among the people.

In the third place, the Polish leader referred to the problem created by the “Solidarity” independent trade union that practically destroyed the trade union unity in Poland. In order to counteract the actions of the new trade union, Stanisław Kania announced that pressures were exercised to organize new elections within “Solidarity”, occasion to impose “trustful people of the party” in certain leading structures of the leadership of the “contra-revolutionary forces”. The infiltrating action of some secret agents within leadership of the “Solidarity” trade union was unfurled in the same time with criticizing its rules. Stanisław Kania considered that “Solidarność” was a simple trade union organization and, consequently, it had no right to interfere in the political problems of the country. Practically, the Polish leader wished to utilize attorney artifices against an organization he did not control, hoping to provoke as large as possible dissensions within the trade union leadership.

In his speech, Stanisław Kania mentioned also that the youth organizations controlled by the communist party followed to be further on supported, but he did not precise in what way that support was afford. In the same time, the Polish leader declared that both the army and the security forces behaved well until that moment, and affirmed that the new recruitments did not influence in a negative way the discipline

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“fractioning” people, who would try to split up the worker movement from the inside. But such a view permitted the communist leaders (V.I. Lenin, I.V. Stalin, N.S. Khrushchev, L.I. Brezhnev, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej etc.), in countless times, to forbid the right of free expression when they were criticized and contested by the ordinary members of the party – who invariably were accused by “fractioning” and, in most of the cases, violently eliminated.

<sup>19</sup> CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 55.

<sup>20</sup> The works of the PUWP Congress started eventually on 14 July 1981.

within the state military structures, as long as the measures for a political-ideological education of the young recruits were maintained.

Also, Stanisław Kania referred to the Sejm activity and the popular council's activity and affirmed he did not agree with the organizing of general and local elections, as the leaders of the "Solidarity" trade union wished. In order to however stop the wave of discontent in the country, he disposed that at the end of the legislative activities unfurled by the Sejm, a session of interpellations would took place during an hour, with the participation of all ministers. Both the questions asked to the ministers, and their answers, were already live broadcasted by the Polish television.

The last important problem Stanisław Kania wished to present was that which referred to the economic crisis Poland traversed. He emphasized the fact that the merchandises existent on the internal market were insufficient (the difference between offer and demand was about 20% in the demand favour)<sup>21</sup>. As a result, the imports of food products increased, thus aggravating the problem of the country external debts<sup>22</sup> and the aliments repartition system was modified by introducing a rationalization through the aliments cards.

The situation was identically dramatic concerning the Polish exports. The reducing of coal production directly affected the country balance of payments because the coal formed important merchandise for the Polish export. Also, the tensions on the Polish internal market determined the Warsaw authorities to significantly diminish the export of modern TV sets with colour image, and also the automobile export, to may honour the massif demands on the internal market.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> Stanisław Kania stated: "We also have serious problems in regard to our foreign debts. Our debts in connection with the short-term credits amount to about 26 billion dollars. Next year we will have to import goods for about 10 billion dollars. Consequently, the exports will not be enough for us to make the payments for credits, and the whole import will be made on credit (our underlining)". *Ibidem*, p. 58.

<sup>23</sup> According to the economical view of the Warsaw communist authorities, the industrial units that realized modern products of current consumption were built by the help of the external credits, and they had to export the absolute majority of the products they realized, in order to obtain the hard currency necessary for paying the external debts created when the respective industrial units were bought. Thus, an extremely restrictive economical circuit was created, which was profitable only as long as those products were realized with Polish labour force, which was extremely cheap, and exported at the high prices from the developed capitalist states. The communist economists did not take into account that the market of capitalist states functioned on other criterions, being very mobile and unpredictable on a long term. They tried to

The Polish communist leader admitted at the reunion in Moscow, without denial, that Poland economically depended by the financial credits and aid from abroad (offered both by USSR and the developed capitalist states, especially by USA and the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>24</sup>), but he considered that only the Western states generated threats with political character for the Warsaw regime, and not the Soviet Union. According to the respective reasoning, the massive economical support offered by USSR and GDR (mentioned just at the beginning of his speech) and the possible military intervention in Poland of the WTO members' states did not constitute a political threat for the Warsaw authorities because USSR and GDR and the "brotherly armies" intervened only to maintain the communist ideology in Poland. According to the communist theory, both the fractionating process inside the communist parties, and the fractionating process outside it, within "the international communist and worker movement", represented a political crime, and the concepts of national suzerainty and independence, of patriotism, were thrown to the history bin in the moment they appealed "the Brezhnev Doctrine".

Consequently, we can affirm that the support offered to Poland by the various international organizations and by a series of capitalist states, was refused by the Warsaw regime firstly from ideological reasons.<sup>25</sup> The invoking by Stanisław Kania of the reappearance of new salary claims in the case new Western financial credits were accepted represents, in our

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realize products according to the socialist economy rules, and sell them on a market where the production and selling rules were very different. Thus, we may say that the communist leaders tried to impose an economy which was planned from the level of political power's centre, not only to the countries they led, but also to the capitalist countries, where the freedom of action was in flagrant contradiction with the framing into a hyper-centralized "Procrust's bed".

<sup>24</sup> Stanisław Kania stated at Moscow: "Poland is still very strongly dependent economically on capitalist countries, especially the Federal Republic Germany and the USA. This situation gives rise to certain threats of a political character". CHNA, CC of RCP – Chancellery, file 74/1980, p. 58.

<sup>25</sup> Stanisław Kania stated: "*The United States gave us to understand that if we participate in the International Monetary Fund, we will have more advantageous credit terms. Our position is very clear on that score. We let the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union know our position, telling them that we will not make such a decision – first of all from the point of view of principle since we do not want to create a diversion in our family of socialist countries – and, secondly, because if we used such credits, certain pressures on us to increase wages on a national scale would once more gain impetus (our underlining)". Ibidem.*

opinion, a wrong justification<sup>26</sup>, which was meant to rather demonstrate his fidelity over the “common cause of the communism”. Stanisław Kania wished to maintain the Polish economy in the limits imposed by the communist ideological concepts (with the purpose to keep his political power), although this situation generated great problems for the national economy managing and leading, much more serious than a limited increasing of the worker salaries.<sup>27</sup> The Polish leader foresaw on December 5, 1980, that he would succeed to organize and stabilize the country’s economic situation in about three years, but to reach this purpose he needed “a powerful help”/massif economical support, especially from USSR.<sup>28</sup>

At the final of his speech, the Polish communist leader committed himself to annihilate, helped by the party he led, “the contra revolutionary activity” on the whole territory of his country<sup>29</sup> and declared he was disposed to put in practice other measures, too, besides the political ones (this practically being a veiled allusion to the introduction of martial law).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> In our opinion, Stanisław Kania was conscious of the fact that the International Monetary Fund offered credits only for realizing a macro-economic stabilization in Poland and re-launching of some profitable economical activities, not for increasing the internal consumption.

<sup>27</sup> The Poland economical situation was so disastrous that this seriously affected the citizen living standard. Consequently, we may ask in what consisted, from a moral point of view, the communist humanitarianism the propagandists of the Warsaw authorities preached? In the macabre application of the communist ideology, which had to be maintained in Poland even with the price of sacrificing the life of all Polish citizens?

<sup>28</sup> “We took certain steps to stabilize the economic situation of our country – Stanisław Kania stated. *This activity will last about three years, and its purpose will be to organize and re-stabilize the situation in Brezhnev to grant us help, and we have guarantees from the Soviet experts.* We have already received a lot of help from Polish economy. To be able to come out of this difficult economic situation, *we need strong help*. We asked comrade the Soviet Union, a fact we highly appreciate. We are now drawing up an economic reform, which is prepared by an Economic Commission. We want to use the experience of the fraternal socialist countries (our underlining)”. CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> Analyzing on the whole the Stanisław Kania’s speech, we may observe the fear/obedience he had towards Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, who could at any time order the Poland invading, and also the wish the Polish communist leader had to deal tactfully with the Moscow leader susceptibilities in order to apply his own economical politics, that resembled very much with a politics of the fact already carried out.

<sup>30</sup> Stanisław Kania stated: “The most important is the party, its consolidation, its influence on the whole working class. A main condition is to stop the activity of the counterrevolutionary forces. The evolution of the situation can present us with the necessity to take steps not only of a political character. Rest assured, comrades, we will

The reunion in Moscow continued with the speeches of Todor Zhivkov, Gustav Husák, Erich Honecker, Nicolae Ceaușescu, János Kádár and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.<sup>31</sup>

In order to demonstrate especially to the socialism adversaries that “Poland is not and will not remain alone in this hard period”, Todor Zhivkov started his speech from an ideological precept, well known by the communists: the proletarian internationalism.<sup>32</sup> He appreciated the events that took place in Poland starting from August 1980 did not constitute only a Poles problem, but a problem of the entire community of communist countries (that was inclusive the WTO members’ states). To support his affirmation, the Bulgarian communist leader invoked, successively, the following reasons which were entirely true: the Poland territorial dimensions; the important role the Polish state had within the Warsaw Treaty Organization, in the conditions of existence of two great rival political-military alliances, NATO and WTO; the anti-communist actions in Poland could generate similar protest movements in the other states which were WTO members’ states (the Domino’s principle)<sup>33</sup>.

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be ready to act against the counterrevolution, for the defence of socialism in Poland”. CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 59.

<sup>31</sup> According to some protocol rules established by the Soviets, the representatives of the states who participated at the reunions of the Warsaw Treaty Organization began to speak in the following order (it was taken into account how the first letter of the respective country name was positioned in the Cyrillic alphabet): Albania (since 1961 Albania did not participate at the WTO meetings), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Poland, Romania, Hungary, USSR. During the extraordinary session in Moscow (5 December 1980) the respective rule was not respected by Stanisław Kania because the specific subject of that reunion: the special situation Poland traversed at that moment.

<sup>32</sup> “This meeting – the Bulgarian leader stated – represents an expression of the consistent internationalism that characterizes the relations between the parties and countries belonging to our socialist community. The socialism adherents, and also the socialism adversaries, both from the inside and from abroad, all will become aware that Poland is not alone and will not remain alone in this hard situation. This raises the state of mind of the healthy forces in Poland and will act to clarify those who believe Poland will be diverted from the course it chose”. CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 67. An example of application of “the proletarian internationalism” in the name of “the communist cause” is invading of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 by the troops of five WTO members’ states (USSR, GDR, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria).

<sup>33</sup> “We must take into account – Todor Zhivkov stated on 5 December 1980 – that Poland is the second in size among the socialist countries who are members of the Warsaw Treaty [Organization] and that we cannot admit any under-appreciation of the destabilization in Poland and of the events that took place. In the second time, Poland occupies an important place in the European balance of forces and the negative development, further on, of the events there, can provoke a chain reaction, with

In his speech, Todor Zhivkov declared that, in the opinion of Bulgarian authorities, and in his opinion, of course, the economic and political crisis in Poland appeared as a result of some mistakes committed by the PUWP leaders, at which added the actions organized by the ideological enemies from inside and outside the country.<sup>34</sup> In the same time, the Bulgarian leader emphasized the fact that at the level of PUWP leadership “it does not exist a clear appreciation of the events and it does not exist a program to get out from the actual situation”, and “the absence of a program is one of the causes this process continues”<sup>35</sup>.

After he critically appreciated the situation Poland traversed, Todor Zhivkov made a proposition for the crisis resolving. “Firstly – declared the Bulgarian communist leader –, *we consider the solution must be searched by the Poles themselves*. Various variants must be elaborated, according to the real situation, and *the Polish comrades must be ready to apply them inside the country by the forces of the PUWP and the Polish Popular Republic*. Our appreciation is reduced at the fact that such possibilities exist in the present (our underlining)”<sup>36</sup>. Todor Zhivkov considered that the Warsaw authorities spent almost all the political solutions and, consequently, he urged Stanisław Kania to use the Polish army and the security forces he had at disposal, against all who contested in a way or another the leading role of PUWP within the Polish society.<sup>37</sup>

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extremely grave consequences. In the third time, no doubt exists that the class enemy makes all the efforts to transform Poland in a factor of anti-socialist fight, which will influence the other socialist countries – and this is a real danger. That is why we have no right not to see these events or to underestimate them. The events in Poland must lead to conclusions for our countries, too and that is why we act in this direction”. CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 68.

<sup>34</sup> The Bulgarian leader stated: “Our appreciation is that here we deal with an economical and political crisis in the Poland development, provoked, on the one hand by the mistakes of the PUWP and on the other hand, by the actions of the anti-socialist forces, who, without doubt, act for a certain time inside and outside Poland”. *Ibidem*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>37</sup> “In our opinion – Todor Zhivkov stated –, if there would be made a class appreciation towards the situation in Poland, we must say that *the possibilities of political approaching used by the Polish comrades are almost finished (...)* That is why I believe that we must strongly act, joining peaceful and not peaceful means, using the army, the security organs and the police, who must enter into the fight against the enemy, as the essence and the functions of the state organs ask it. Only this way, the balance of forces can be changed for the socialism benefit. *If they will not proceed this way, the danger exists to desegregate the proletarian dictatorship. We will not have other choice, too.* A

Implicitly, the Bulgarian leader proposal excluded an imminent execution of a military intervention in Poland by the armies of the WTO members' states, but, on the other hand, Todor Zhivkov affirmed in a veiled mode that an eventual failure of the PUWP leader would dangerously deteriorated both the Poland situation, and that of the WTO members' states, and such a crisis would inevitably generate a foreign military intervention (of the WTO) in Poland.

After Todor Zhivkov's speech, it followed the speech of the Czechoslovakian leader, Gustav Husák. He presented, at large, his point of view regarding the purpose of those who supported "The Prague Spring" and compared the situation in 1968 in Czechoslovakia with the evolution of events in Poland in the autumn of 1980<sup>38</sup>. In his opinion, the capitalist states were guilty for the political and economic crisis that appeared in the socialist countries<sup>39</sup>.

Gustav Husák approached also, the subject regarding the organizing of the works of the PUWP Congress. He advised Stanisław Kania to postpone the congress unfurl and firstly to realize a filtering of the party he led<sup>40</sup>. In the same time, the Czechoslovakian leader encouraged his Polish homologue to use without fear the repression forces, including the army units, against those who contested the PUWP leading role within

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favourable variant to defence the socialism in Poland is extremely important, both for the Poles and for us (our underlining)". *Ibid.* pp. 70-71.

<sup>38</sup> The Czechoslovakian communist leader declared at a certain moment: "In Czechoslovakia, also, at the end of '60s increased the spirit of not satisfaction in the society (...) The imperialism understood quite rapidly that because of this situation, a possibility opens to realize plans which were plotted during a long time, for capitalism reestablishment, and started this in Czechoslovakia. In the summer of 1968, what happened on the whole in our country was prepared during a long time by the imperialist forces, by various anti-socialist, contra revolutionary forces, and this resemble very much with the facts that took now place in Poland. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>39</sup> "If something negative happens in the socialist countries, the capitalist countries are responsible for this – declared Gustav Husák in Moscow. They want to extend the situation in Poland and Czechoslovakia, to the German Democratic Republic and to other socialist countries". *Ibidem*, p. 75.

<sup>40</sup> The Czechoslovakian leader mentioned, among others: "Some of the comrades present here, among who is the comrade Brezhnev, said so [in 1968]: do not rush, do not hurriedly convoke the congress. I listened to that advises and when the party was purified, when the links were in the communists hands, I prepared the XIV<sup>th</sup> Congress, which opened the way to the country socialist development, further on". *Ibid.*, p. 77.

the Polish society<sup>41</sup>, and gave himself as an example for the mode he decided to use force against his own citizens in August 1969<sup>42</sup>.

At his turn, Erich Honecker expressed his point of view regarding the crisis in Poland. He mentioned in his speech some statistical data concerning the help his country offered to Poland<sup>43</sup> and manifested his disappointment regarding the inconsequence of the PUWP leader, who promised he will not cede again towards the claims of “Solidarity”, but did not respect his word, accepting the legal registering and acknowledgement of that trade union.<sup>44</sup> In the same time, the East-German leader manifested his discontent related to the strikes unfurl in Poland, affirming that: “It is inadmissible that strikes take place in

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<sup>41</sup> The humanitarianism at which the communist leaders refer in their speeches, evidently came in contradiction with the violent measures they applied to maintain their power. The application of the communist ideology was firstly realized by force, by terror. For example, in Moscow, Gustav Husák offered Stanisław Kania a very self-evident advice: “In any battle is a risk. *The greatest risk is that to loose all the socialism conquers – and this thing must be avoided at any price. If there is necessary to resort to extreme measures, then for a people of 35 millions the effort is not the most painful one* (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>42</sup> Gustav Husák briefly presented in his speech the situation he confronted with in August 1969: “When an year passed after the army forces of the brotherly countries entered in Czechoslovakia – declared the Czechoslovakian leader – in the country revived the anti-socialist forces in Prague and in other localities. But I warned them that the agitation do not help them. *The fights in Prague lasted three days, but I used force, the popular police, the state security organs, including the army. Then, only at Prague 2800 active participants were arrested, but not for a long time. They were registered and released.* From then, the anti-socialist, contra revolutionary forces did not appear any longer on the streets of our towns. *I realized this with our own forces; although on our country territory is the army forces of the allied countries.* The contra-revolutionary elements came to the conclusions about this situation and did not appear on the streets. *This, also, is one of the administrative measures which can be used by the socialist state in the given situation. So, the proper combination of the political measures with the administrative ones is rights* (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>43</sup> “In this difficult situation – Erich Honecker stated –, we lent substantial material assistance to Poland. *We delivered to the Polish comrades 100,000 tons of wheat, 1,000 tons of butter, and other goods amounting to a total value of 3 million marks, including free convertible currency, as a non-reimbursable aid.* We know that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries also granted important aid to Poland (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>44</sup> Erich Honecker stated: “*Comrade Kania assured us that the party and state leadership of Poland would not fall back a step further but the Supreme Court cancelled the decision of the court of justice in Warsaw [and it was accepted the official registration of the “Solidarity” trade union].* The consequence of this cancellation was that the situation worsened even more, and was a blow to the expectations of positive changes being made in Poland’s situation (our underlining)”. *Ibid*, pp. 82-83.

socialist society. The strikes in socialist society are directed against socialism and are not useful to either the workers on strike or the working class in general. These demonstrations are directed against peace, security, and détente”<sup>45</sup>. Erich Honecker considered Stanisław Kania proved weakness both on a political plan and on the administrative domain, because he allowed the discussions about organizing free elections and the discussions about the errors committed by his predecessors, instead to impose his will by firm measures towards the claiming movement of the Polish workers. Also, the East-German leader considered the anti-communist groups of opposition in Poland were directed from shadow by the leaders of NATO countries and by the leaders of the countries from the European Economic Community.<sup>46</sup>

However, Erich Honecker declared that he agree with the opinion expressed at the beginning of November 1980 by Bruno Kreisky, the leader of the Social-Democratic Party in Austria, not to send in Poland military forces of the WTO members to resolve the political crisis.<sup>47</sup> After just a few minutes, the East-German communist leader took again the same idea in his speech and strongly affirmed: “We take the view that the popular forces in Poland are capable of solving their problems to their advantage”<sup>48</sup>. As his homologues from Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia did, Erich Honecker encouraged Stanisław Kania to use the force against the anti-communist groups of opposition, using both the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the army. In the same time, the East-German leader agreed the idea proposed by the PUWP leader, that a part of the Polish population to be armed by the authorities and used in repressive actions against their fellow countrymen<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>46</sup> Erich Honecker stated: “*The representatives of various groups emerging in Poland now state at the top of their voices that the aim of their actions is to serve the renewal of Poland. It is quite obvious, however, that the purpose they pursue is precise, and that – in attaining their goals – they are backed by NATO and the Common Market, which make every effort to support them in all of the actions they under-take*”. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>47</sup> Erich Honecker argued his point of view thus: “While these issues were being analyzed at Poland’s Supreme Court, I was in Austria. On that occasion, [Chancellor Bruno] Kreisky and other persons asked me about the issues in Poland. Despite the fact that our opinion about Poland being capable of solving the issues on its own was unanimous, I tell you in all sincerity that when I heard about the decision of the Supreme Court I was not even thinking about it any longer, I did not expect such a result (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>49</sup> “To our knowledge – Erich Honecker stated – *the Polish United Workers’ Party enjoys authority, and it can rely on the backing of the security forces and of the armed*

The speech of Erich Honecker was followed by the Nicolae Ceaușescu's speech. Unlike the other representatives of the WTO members' states, the Romanian leader briefly saluted the participants at the reunion, without evoking the name of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the hostess of that reunion<sup>50</sup> and directly passed to the presentation of his opinion regarding the international political and economic situation. With that occasion, Nicolae Ceaușescu wished to affirm his intention to support the process of security increasing between the European countries, process started in Helsinki in 1975, and reaffirmed four from the five base principles of the Romanian external politics: the total equality in rights of all states of the world; respecting of the national suzerainty and independence; non-interference of other states into the internal affairs of Romania; renouncing at force and at threatening by force in the relations between states<sup>51</sup>.

Then, Nicolae Ceaușescu evoked the world economic crisis to emphasize the necessity for intensifying the collaboration between the countries COMECON members (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). He considered that one of the causes which determined the crisis apparition in Poland was just the insufficient economical

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*forces. We are of the opinion, therefore, that these bodies will do their duty. Comrade Kania gave me to understand that in Poland there also was the possibility of arming a sizeable part of the working class. We agree with what the other comrades said, namely that the Polish United Workers' Party should not allow itself any further steps backwards (our underlining)". Ibid. p. 85.*

<sup>50</sup> Only at the final of his speech, Nicolae Ceaușescu pronounced the following sentence of courtesy: "To conclude, comrades, I would like – in my turn – to thank the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and comrade Brezhnev for the organization of this meeting, and for their hospitality. Thank you". *Ibid.*, p. 47.

It is known the fact that the personal relations of Nicolae Ceaușescu with the Soviet leaders, including Leonid Brezhnev were rather cold, for the protocol. Consequently, we may consider that mentioning of the Soviet leader's name at the end of the speech of the Romanian leader – not at the beginning, as proceeded all the other leaders of the WTO members' states during the reunion in Moscow – was not a pure happening, but a premeditated action. According to our hypothesis, Nicolae Ceaușescu tried again to distinguish himself with his attitude of frond towards the Soviets, although the subject on the reunion agenda did not aim the political, economical or military situation in Romania.

<sup>51</sup> The fifth base principle of the Romanian external politics was collaboration with all states of the world.

collaboration between that states<sup>52</sup>, but he admitted in the same time the fact that “the preoccupation and desire exist for these issues to be solved by the Poles themselves, and they should not affect the policy of détente, collaboration, and peace”<sup>53</sup>. Such a declaration announced in a veiled mode, the decision of the Romanian leader to not participate at an eventual military intervention in Poland. Few minutes later, Nicolae Ceaușescu took again the respective idea in his speech, strongly affirming: “I want to declare right from the outset that the Romanian Communist Party, our Central Committee, the Romanian people take the view that the issues in Poland must be solved by the Polish United Workers’ Party, by the Polish working class, by the Polish people in full unity, starting from the necessity of insuring Poland’s socialist development, of uninterruptedly toughening its independence and sovereignty, its economic force, the people’s material and spiritual welfare, and the cooperation with the socialist countries”<sup>54</sup>.

Conscious by the difficult situation of Poland and of the fact that could negatively affect Romania, too, Nicolae Ceaușescu criticized the PUWP leadership for it permitted the development of a private sector within the economy. In his opinion, such an economical politics contributed at the appearance and development of a social stratification, which generated “strong class contradictions”<sup>55</sup>. Also, the Romanian

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<sup>52</sup> Nicolae Ceaușescu stated: “*In our view, some of the difficulties encountered by socialist countries, including the events in Poland, must lead us to conduct a very serious analysis – starting from the necessity of solving, to a greater extent, and via collaboration between the socialist countries – the issues of economic and social development, and of socialist and communist construction, using only our own forces (...)* I think I am not wrong if I contend that if – over the years – we had thoroughly analyzed the issues of the development of socialist construction in our countries, the events in Poland could have been avoided (our underlining)”. CHNA, CC of RCP – Chancellery, file 74/1980, pp. 39-40.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>55</sup> “It has many times been asserted that a rift exists between the party and the working class –Nicolae Ceaușescu stated. The very fact that various elements came to influence a significant part of the [Polish] working class shows the especially serious and grave character of the situation that appeared. *In our opinion, the situation in Polish economy must also be taken into account, more precisely the fact that two sectors, a socialist sector and a private production one, with many capitalistic elements – I am chiefly referring to the situation in agriculture – actually exist, which give rise to strong class contradictions*, and are an important cause of the current state of affairs (our underlining)”. *Ibidem*.

However, the Romanian leader avoided to present the implications of the development of bureaucratic apparatus of the PUWP, because thus he would implicitly reveal the

communist leader underlined the fact that the PUWP leaders did not prove political firmness in the summer of 1980, but he did not concretely explained how his homologue in Poland had to proceed; Nicolae Ceaușescu limited himself at the using of a consecrated expression from the communist manner of speaking, but extremely ambiguous by its content: “appropriate actions”<sup>56</sup>.

The Romanian leader came than back to the most important idea from the beginning of his speech, unequivocally declaring: “We do not want to meddle in the internal affairs of Poland”<sup>57</sup>. The respective crisis resolving depended, in his opinion, by the elaboration of a political program by the PUWP leadership in accordance with precepts of the

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essential problems of the Romanian Communist Party, almost identical with those of PUWP. Because the appointments in the important economical functions were realized on political criterions (for example: the industrial unit directors) and the low competence of the members of the party apparatus generated at a certain time serious economical problems, which the workers from various economical units observed. In the conditions the privileges offered to the members of the party apparatus were increasing as they were situated in a function with more important decisional power, but without proving a special economical efficiency, the Polish workers started to ask themselves if they were not led by some incompetent parvenus. The discrediting of the members of the PUWP/RCP bureaucratic apparatus started from the small echelons and, when time passed and the economical crisis in Poland/Romania accentuated, the workers gradually less trusted the leaders of the PWUP/ Nicolae Ceaușescu. Step by step, the lump of the hidden discontent of the Polish workers transformed at the end of the ’70s in a real avalanche, which covered the whole political system in Poland and gravely affected the entire economy.

By the measures he imposed in Romania after December 5, 1980, Nicolae Ceaușescu succeeded only to postpone with some years the sombre denouement of the communism, described in Moscow by Stanisław Kania, and this delay led him eventually in the front of the firing squad.

<sup>56</sup> Nicolae Ceaușescu stated: “In fact, *in our view, if in the previous period [the Polish United Workers' Party] had acted with more political firmness; things would not have been what they currently are. Even when intense dissatisfaction [with the situation in Poland] was expressed last summer, it would have been possible – via appropriate actions – to prevent things from becoming more serious and the occurrence of the well-known events.* I had the impression that even the Polish leadership had underrated the situation, and did not pay suitable attention to taking immediate measures to solve the issues. This made things get worse and worse for several weeks, and triggered the organization of the strikes and of the other actions (our underlining)”. *Ibidem*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43. Nicolae Ceaușescu also stated: “It is undoubtedly the task of the Polish United Workers' Party, the [Polish] working class, the Polish people, and all of the progressive forces in Poland to find the most appropriate ways of overcoming the crisis situation, and of ensuring the economic and social development, the increase of welfare on the basis of the socialist construction in accordance with the conditions in Poland”.

communist ideology, which indicated the working class as the only progressive political force<sup>58</sup>. In the same time, Nicolae Ceaușescu declared that he did not agree with the idea that independent trade unions exist in Poland and sustained that “it is just the antisocialist and reactionary forces that try to cast doubt on the socialist achievements in order to undermine the leading role of the party and be able to promote their policy”<sup>59</sup>.

In order that the new political program should be successful, the Romanian leader considered that it was necessary to attenuate the critics inside PUWP at the address of their own leaders<sup>60</sup> to avoid the “fractioning”<sup>61</sup> and suggested the realization of an image campaign to present only positive events and realizations that advantaged the Polish communist party<sup>62</sup>. Also, he proposed the workers massive promoting “to

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<sup>58</sup> “We think, however, that it is necessary to do everything possible to devise a clear orientation, to draw up a program that is very clear and can be adopted by the working class, the broad masses, the whole people, and which can [finally] become the program of action first of all of the working class – the Romanian leader stated. Without such a political program, adopted by the working class and the broad popular masses, the over coming of the crisis situation cannot be conceived. New ways of directly attracting the working class and the other social categories in the leadership of all of the fields of activity have to be found (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> “We think that more attention must always be paid to the people, to the cadres, even when they have made various mistakes. The punishment of some activists must in no way lead to a weakening of the party’s force but, on the contrary, should ensure the toughening of Communist responsibility and discipline – Nicolae Ceaușescu stated. We wish to tell the Polish comrades frankly that, in our opinion, the punitive measures taken against some cadres are played up too much (...) More than ever, just in such circumstances, without overlooking the serious cases of some cadres, it is highly desirable to make every effort to achieve the union of the whole active, of all of the party’s forces, to insure the defeat of the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces and [to continue] the socialist development of the country (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>61</sup> The Romanian leader stated at Moscow: “I was very much surprised by comrade Kania’s assertion that there are several centres, that there is the danger of the unity of the party being broken and of factions appearing. This is actually, in my view, the main danger and such an eventuality would make it impossible for the party to fulfil its role. I believe that some antisocialist elements, allegedly by virtue of their possible good will, want to criticize some mistakes, deliberately determine that [punitive] measures are taken against some activists and cadres in order to discredit not only the latter, but the activists in general and, through their agency, the party in general, and the party’s role of leading political force (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>62</sup> “It is for this reason that, in our view, more attention should be paid to the way the various aspects are criticized, and everything that is positive in the activity of the Polish

various leadership positions until the Congress takes place, and will assume responsibility for insuring the organization of the Congress, imparting a revolutionary, workers' spirit to it”<sup>63</sup>.

Then, for the second time, Nicolae Ceaușescu returned to the idea of non-interference with troops from the WTO members' states in Poland<sup>64</sup> and declared: “We must not overlook the fact that the possibility of an intervention from abroad would be a very serious thing for socialism in general, and all the more for the policy of détente and peace”<sup>65</sup>.

At the final of his speech, Nicolae Ceaușescu took again another main idea – communist countries collaboration within COMECON – and tried to use the opportunity offered by the extraordinary reunion of the leaders of the WTO members' states to determine them to reunite in a

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*United Workers' Party*, of the Polish people in relation to the construction of socialism should be underlined – Nicolae Ceaușescu stated (our underlining)”. *Ibid.* p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*. Nicolae Ceaușescu proposed a solution which was not based on the efficiency criterions of the acts of political, economical, social or military leading. In his view, the simple worker origin gave a simple citizen the right to be promoted in leading functions within the party and state structures. The Romanian leader considered it was properly that some representatives to be elected from the Polish working class and rapidly promoted in various leading functions within the Polish communist party. Thus, some privileges were offered to the working class representatives, privileges they would not benefit of if they remained simple workers in the industrial units.

The upstarts' desire of the worker-citizens offered to the members of the PUWP propagandistic apparatus the possibility to attract by the communist party's side, by various methods, other workers, too, who tried at their turn to benefit of privileges, without proving a professional competence according to their pretensions. Thus, the Polish working class became again dependent by the privileges the PUWP leaders offered, and they could insistently claim the statute of representatives of the most numerous social classes in Poland. In Nicolae Ceaușescu's opinion, too, such a statute offered to the PUWP leaders the right to lead the country and to maintain their power with the aid of the party-state they created.

The respective principles were exactly applied in Romania after Nicolae Ceaușescu's return from Moscow.

<sup>64</sup> Nicolae Ceaușescu stated: “I would like to emphasize once more the fact that *everything necessary should be done by the Polish comrades* – who have an important duty, both national and international – *to solve their problems with their own forces*, ensuring the development of socialist construction (...) we have to give the Polish comrades *all our support to enable them to solve their problems by their own forces*, in the ways they deem to be the best and the most useful – and they have such ways at their disposal – *to ensure the development of socialist construction* (our underlining)”.

*Ibidem*, p. 46.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

new session to resolve a series of economic problems<sup>66</sup>. He mentioned from the beginning of his speech the fact that “a special case is constituted by the issues of the energy and raw material sources, which were not solved in a satisfactory manner”<sup>67</sup> and considered it was the right time to propose the organizing of another reunion at high level, as soon as possible. This rush of the Romanian leader, the moment he chose to make such a proposal and his unequivocal declaration, indirectly emphasizes the fact that not only the Polish economy traversed a crisis, but also the Romanian economy.

Then was followed the speech of János Kádár. He firstly presented the objectives of the reunion in Moscow: knowing the opinions of the session participants regarding the international political and economic situation and discussing from this perspective the Polish crisis; drawing up a common press communicate and its publishing, with the purpose of an propagandistic support for the Warsaw communist authorities; intimidating of all organizations who criticized the communist political regimes and especially of the anti-communist groups of opposition in Poland<sup>68</sup>.

Regarding the situation the Warsaw authorities confronted with, the Hungarian leader wished to emphasize the fact that “the situation created in Poland already reaches our heart, the heart of the Warsaw Treaty organization (sic!)”<sup>69</sup>. In his opinion, the causes that generated the

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<sup>66</sup> “In view of the limited duration and the character of this conference, *it is necessary for us* – Nicolae Ceaușescu stated – *to think about the organization of a new meeting at this level with a view to discussing in more detail the issues of economic collaboration and development of socialist construction in our countries and the strengthening of our solidarity and collaboration*. To do this is all the more necessary as *in the coordination of the five-year plans a series of problems appeared which presuppose a political approach* and have to be solved at the higher level of the party and state leaderships (our underlining)”. *Ibidem*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>68</sup> “This meeting – János Kádár stated – is of great actuality because it is consecrated to a problem that mostly preoccupies us now. I consider this meeting has, in the first place, three objectives of great importance: the first, to know each other opinions and to agree on this matter, regarding the international situation and, within it, the Polish problem; the second objective of this meeting is its Communicate, which will be public and will form an encouragement for the socialism adepts in Poland and in the entire world; the third objective consists in warning the socialism opponent forces in Poland and in the entire world”. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*. We may remark the fact that János Kádár used the name of “Warsaw Treaty organization” for the political-military structure founded on 14 May 1955, in contrast with the Romanian political leader who currently used only the “Warsaw Treaty” syntagm. It is possible the document translator not to write with capital letter the word

respective crisis were numerous; among these were the insufficient development of the Polish agriculture, the excessive rhythm of the industrial increasing and the increasing of worker salaries.<sup>70</sup>

Starting from the cause analysis, János Kádár described a series of problems the Polish crisis generated in Hungary, to express then clearly his intention not to support a military intervention of the WTO members' states in Poland. "We are solider with PUWP – the Hungarian leader stated –, with the working people in Poland, with the working class, with the Polish people, but *we would wish that the Polish comrades resolve their problems by their own*, to find a socialist solution of the problem. *This is our position, which we declared in public, inclusively in the Parliament* (our underlining)"<sup>71</sup>. János Kádár was conscious of the fact that WTO had serious problems indeed, because of the Polish crisis<sup>72</sup>, but he considered there was a limit not to be passed over.

In order to be more convincing in his affirmations, the Hungarian leader declared in the plenum of the Moscow reunion that his opinion was already known by the official representatives of Yugoslavia and Great Britain.<sup>73</sup> In the same time, at the end of his speech, János Kádár remembered the fact that Todor Zhivkov, the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, too, expressed a similar point of view<sup>74</sup>.

Regarding the mode in which the PUWP leader had to act for the stabilization of the political and economic situation in his country, János Kádár advised Stanisław Kania not to cede before the pressures exercised by the opposition groups, to use force<sup>75</sup> – inclusively to shoot in the

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"organization" because he was not accustomed to use the correct name, "the Warsaw Treaty Organization".

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> "In the end – János Kádár mentioned –, *I would like to say that I join the appreciation of comrade Zhivkov that the situation in Poland is a problem of the Poles themselves, but it is also a problem directly linked with our interests and problems* (our underlining)". *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>75</sup> "Returning as well to the party platform, the firm decision of defending the socialist system in Poland must be manifested in this – the Hungarian leader stated. Some events took place. *It must be clear that the PUWP and the Polish government will not search the problems resolving by force, but – if it is needed – they will shoot. Defending of certain things must be assured by any means.* This is the best way, if they know that any means will be used, because this will have a great influence over the adversary (...) You

demonstrators, if there was opportune – and to urgently elaborate a political program<sup>76</sup>. In the same time, the Hungarian leader encouraged the Polish leader in his decision to wait a more favourable moment for the unfurl of the Congress works, to rapidly purify the party<sup>77</sup>, and also to considerably attenuate the critics inside PUWP to the address of the former leaders<sup>78</sup> – idea expressed during the reunion by Nicolae Ceaușescu, too.

The last speech presented during the Moscow reunion belonged to the leader of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. Even from the start of his speech, he declared he was disturbed not only by the critical situation of the PUWP, but also by the way its leadership behaved. Wishing to demonstrate that he was permanently preoccupied by the fate of the communist authorities in Warsaw, Leonid Brezhnev affirmed that “in my conversations with [Edward] Gierek, I raised the issue of the negative tendencies which begun to manifest in Poland many times in the last few years”<sup>79</sup>. In his opinion, the PUWP leader hid him every time the truth about the real situation in Poland, even with the occasion of the meeting they had in Crimea<sup>80</sup>, in Vnesniaia Oreanda, on 31 July 1980<sup>81</sup>.

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*must be ready for all kinds of administrative measures, not only political measures* (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>77</sup> János Kádár also stated: “As far as we know, the PUWP counts 3 millions members. The present situation is more peculiar. *The Congress must not be organized now. Firstly the party must be purified*. At the present the main thing is not how many party members are on the paper and how many comrades comprises the classified list. The principal thing is if they adhere at the party platform. *If we want unity at any price, if we base on compromises, nothing will be resolved*. That is why, *firstly the party purifying must be fulfilled* (our underlining)”. *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>80</sup> Mark Kramer, *Soviet Deliberations During the Polish Crisis, 1980-1981*, Special Working Paper No.1, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, April 1999, p. 41.

<sup>81</sup> “Even this year – Leonid Brezhnev stated – *during the discussions I had with the Polish comrades in the Crimea, I raised the question that action is necessary against the counterrevolutionary elements. It said that anything is produced. What was this? Was superficiality, ambition, arrogance? I do not know*. Now the consequences of the Polish crisis have become very serious not only for Poland but also for the whole community of socialist countries, for the international communist and workers’ movement. The Polish crisis can negatively influence the general ratio of forces (our underlining)”. CHNA, CC of RCP – Chancellery, file 74/1980, p. 60.

Although he correctly observed the fact that Edward Gierek and the other leaders of the Polish communist party made mistakes<sup>82</sup>, Leonid Brezhnev decided/dictated that they would no longer be criticized. According to his ideological conception, the public admittance of the mistakes committed by the communist party leaders, the responsibility assuming of the facts committed by the communists represented a blasphemy. “*It is inadmissible – the Soviet leader stated – that, under the pretext of lying the blame on some persons, the party is the fall guy for all of these mistakes from the past*, and in this way the system as such to be disparaged. *It is not good that the Communists be put in the situation of repenting in the front of opponent* (our underlining)”<sup>83</sup>.

The Soviet Union leader reminded in his speech about the discussion he had with Stanisław Kania in November 1980 and about the decisions they took together: “to re-establish the fighting capacity of the party, to make all of the party’s components active”, to rely “on the healthy forces of the people, the army, the Militia and the security forces, and that part of the trade unions that remained faithful to the party”, and also “we must not wait for the enemy to push the party into a deadlock”. Leonid Brezhnev considered the claiming actions of the “Solidarity” were encouraged by the Catholic Church and these were combined with those of the Peasant Party and of the Democrat Party. Consequently, the decisions adopted by both communist leaders had as purpose “the defending of socialism”, in the conditions that an “acute class fight” was unfurling against a centre that are “leading the counter-revolutionary actions in Poland”<sup>84</sup>.

Although the turning round, typical for the communist manner of speaking, “the wood manner of speaking”, strongly marked his speech, Leonid Brezhnev succeeded to be more concrete than all the others leaders of the WTO members’ states regarding the characterization of the situation in Poland from an ideological point of view (the famous “acute development of the class fight”) and in establishing a direction of action for resolving the Polish crisis. “*We have received with good faith the*

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<sup>82</sup> The Soviet leader criticized the PUWP leadership because they neglected the ideological work, launched the slogan of the nation renewal – fact that generated “the darkening of the class fight”, “started to withdraw at the first contact with the strike movement”, and made mistakes in planning the economical and social constructing of Poland. The leaders of the Polish communists were not only criticized, but also bantered by Leonid Brezhnev, who stated: “It is easy to issue a slogan: let us give each worker a car, and feed him from the budget”. *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

*declarations of the Polish comrades stating that they want to solve the crisis by political means – the Soviet leader stated. We are not partial to extreme measures if they are not necessary. We will be patient, but there is no certainty that the enemy will be equally restrained. If the enemy comes to power, he will use the most extreme measures. In fact, the enemy has not minded the choice of his fighting means for a long time.* The enemies of socialism say that the occupation of enterprises, of the transportation and communication means are peaceful means, that they do not use violence. The actions of deriding the men in military uniforms, sabotaging the supply of foodstuffs and other goods, hiding foodstuffs to worsen the situation in the country, the illegal introduction of foreign currency and of foreign mass information media into the country, the attacks on honest people, the threats of a violent settling of accounts with the Communists, makes it impossible for us to speak of a restrained behaviour of the opposition. *Consequently, whether we like it or not, the confrontation is in full swing. The most painful thing is that this confrontation is now taking place on a platform imposed by the adversary* (our underlining)<sup>85</sup>.

Wishing to determine the PUWP leader to be more firm when he took the decisions – which presumed, among others, the enforcement of the martial law<sup>86</sup> –, Leonid Brezhnev appealed at the slogans used by the members of the communist propagandistic apparatus and at his own linguistic clichés created in his youth: “*If things go on like that in the future, in our opinion the issue of the social system being overthrown will only be a question of time* –the Soviet leader stated. *That is why, comrades, it is our duty to call a spade a spade.* A very serious danger hovers over socialism in Poland. *The enemies succeeded in digging a moat between the party and the working people (...) The Polish comrades must say firmly and convincingly: no step back, but only forward to consistently regain, one after the other, the positions lost by the party, to re-establish the leading role of the party, to launch an offensive.*

*We say “yes” to the improvement of socialist democracy, which presupposes the active participation of the working people in the leadership of society.*

*We say “yes” to the role and activity of the trade unions.*

*We say “yes” to an improved manner of leading society.*

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>86</sup> In order to thoroughly prepare the enforcement of the martial law, Leonid Brezhnev proposed during the reunion in Moscow “to create organs of the Central Committee that can be used in sectors of vital importance to the socialist state”. *Ibid.* p. 64.

*But in an equally determined manner we say “no” to the attacks against the party, against socialism, and we say a categorical “no” to the counter-revolution which tries to throw Poland into anarchy and chaos, which tries to over-throw and destroy the socialist system in Poland, under the banner of the renewal of socialism (our underlining)*<sup>87</sup>.

The Leonid Brezhnev's slogans were immediately followed by promises with economical character. The Soviet leader announced that his country put at Poland disposal, as aids, credits in currency and in convertible roubles, food, raw materials and other kinds of merchandises. The total value of the Soviet economic support was of about 2 billion dollars, from which 1300000 were offered in hard currency. In addition, the Soviet Union participated, together with Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and German Democratic Republic, to the creation of a fund of aids for Poland which exceeded 450 million dollars.<sup>88</sup>

In the Soviet leader's opinion, the measures with economical character had to be accompanied by actions against the members of “Solidarity” trade union and the Catholic Church. Thus, Leonid Brezhnev imperatively demanded to Stanisław Kania not to pay salaries to the strikers and to try to influence the moderated church circles to calm together the population<sup>89</sup>. He also reminded about the extremely important role the mass media had and about the necessity that PUWP leaders re-establish an efficient control of it<sup>90</sup>.

In the end of his speech, the Soviet leader declared that “in Poland, the situation was not declared exceptional, but in fact – as I pointed out here – such a situation exists” and consequently, urged the Polish communist to be prepared “to take extraordinary measures against their adversaries”<sup>91</sup>, namely to enforce the martial law. In the same time, Leonid Brezhnev advised the Warsaw authorities to be reassured that the army and the Polish security forces permanently controlled the railways and ports and suggested the immediate application of some special measures to supervise the ways of communication, as the establishment of special military commandments and military patrols along the railways and roads, even if the martial law was not yet enforced.<sup>92</sup> Blocking of the terrestrial and maritime ways of communication in Poland would

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64-65.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

generate serious military and economic problems not only for the Polish state, but for the other communist countries, especially for the Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, because Poland had an extremely important strategic position within WTO, being a real turn-table between those states.

According to the desire expressed by Leonid Brezhnev, all the leaders of the states WTO member who participated at the reunion in Moscow on 5 December 1980, signed at the end of the session a common press communicate, by which was suggested the decision of the socialist countries to help Poland, but without offering other information.

The secret-mania that possessed the minds of the communist leaders was applied at once by Nicolae Ceaușescu, too, who deliberately avoided to present on 16 December 1980, during the session of the Executive Political Committee, his conclusions regarding the discussions he had at the reunion in Moscow on 5 December 1989, although on that session agenda was explicitly foresaw for him to present information about the respective meeting<sup>93</sup>. The Romanian leader's declaration resumed at the following phrase: "Those who are in Bucharest<sup>94</sup> read the materials. The comrades [from the Executive Political Committee], who came from the counties, will read them, too, so we will not make now a presentation"<sup>95</sup>.

Although Nicolae Ceaușescu refused to discuss about the crisis in Poland on 16 December 1980, in the Romanian newspapers appeared on the next day an ample communicate where the President of Romania was extremely praised for the activity he unfurled at the reunion in Moscow. In the press communicate was specified, among others: "(...) The comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu presented, in the continuation of the [Executive Political Committee] works, an information concerning the meeting of the state and party leaders of the countries which participate at the Warsaw Treaty, that took place in Moscow on 5 December this year"<sup>96</sup>. The press communicate exactly reproduces the largest part from the protocol content of session (December 16, 1980).

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<sup>93</sup> The agenda of that session (December 16, 1980) was the following: "I. The program regarding the population supplying; II. The decision's project regarding the 1981 New Year's Eve Celebration and of the Winter Tree; III. Proposals regarding various activity domains; IV. Information regarding the Moscow's meeting of the leaders' party and state from the countries which participate at the Warsaw Treaty". *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> That was about the members of the Executive Political Committee who activated in Bucharest.

<sup>95</sup> CHNA, CC of RCP – Chancellery, file 74/1980, p. 24.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Analysing all three documents, we may easily observe a contradiction between, on the one hand, the press communicate and the ExPC. Session's protocol and, on the other hand, the shorthand report of the same session. Because a fact is obvious that, Nicolae Ceaușescu did not present the Executive Political Committee any verbal or written information about discussions from the Moscow reunion, we may affirm that the information offered to the “popular masses” by the regime propagandists was a lie.

Nicolae Ceaușescu's dictatorial way of leading in the field of external politics clearly appeared on December 16, 1980, during the session of the Executive Political Committee (ExPC). At the same reunion, Nicolae Ceaușescu decided, and all the ExPC members completely consented “discussing within the base organization of RCP“ and excluding from the party of Constantin Pîrvulescu<sup>97</sup>. Was it a simple coincidence? The measure dictated against Constantin Pîrvulescu really represents a reaction of the Romanian leader after he listen the speech presented by Stanisław Kania in Moscow on 5 December 1980? Within a future research theme, it is possible we find the answers at these questions. A thing is nevertheless certain: during the reunion in Moscow,

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<sup>97</sup> Constantin Pîrvulescu (10 October 1895 – 11 July 1992), member of Central Committee of Romanian Workers' Party (hereafter: CC of RWP) (21 October 1945 – 25 June 1960), president of the Central Commission for Control of CC of RWP (21 October 1945 – 28 December 1955), member of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly (the Communist Parliament of Romania) (13 April 1948 – 24 January 1953), member of the Political Bureau of CC of RWP (27 May 1952 – 25 June 1960), president of the Party Central Collegium (28 December 1955 – 25 June 1960), the president of the Central Control Commission (25 June 1960 – 12 August 1969), member of the Central Control Commission (12 August 1969 – 23 November 1979). Cf. Gheorghe Crișan, *Piramida puterii. Oameni politici și de stat din România (23 august 1944 – 22 decembrie 1989)*, Editura PRO HISTORIA, București, 2001, p. 227.  
In the last day of the XII<sup>th</sup> Congress of RCP (23 November 1979), Constantin Pîrvulescu, member of the Central Control Commission, exercised his right “*to criticize of principle, in the party meetings, any party member, no matter his function, with the purpose of work improvement* (our underlining)”, right foresaw at article 3, position b, in the RCP Statute. Concretely, Constantin Pîrvulescu unexpectedly intervened during the plenary session of the party Congress and hardly criticized Nicolae Ceaușescu, accusing him for monopolizing the entire political power. His speech was not published in the work of the Romanian communist propaganda: *Congresul al XII-lea al P.C.R., 19–23 noiembrie 1979* (hereafter *Congresul al XII-lea*), Editura Politică, București, 1981. Details about that incident in *Istoria României în date*, editor: Dinu C. Giurescu, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2003, p. 675; Vasile Toma Vlase, “*Incidentul Pîrvulescu*” la *Congresul al XII-lea al PCR*, in “*Dosarele Istoriei*”, Year XI, no. 2 (114)/2006, pp. 20-22.

Nicolae Ceaușescu understood that his homologues from Poland committed a mistake when they permitted to be criticized inside their party. Consequently, the Romanian leader should not repeat the mistakes of the Polish leaders if he wanted to maintain his power, and any form of opposition at the address of his regime should be rapidly annihilated, including by dismissing from RCP of some “veterans”, as Constantin Pîrvulescu<sup>98</sup>.

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<sup>98</sup> According to article 11 from the Romanian Communist Party Statute, a RCP member was excluded from the party in the case it was proved he “performed grave violations of the party program, of its general political line, strikes the party unity, enters into a compact with the enemies of socialism construction, is not sincere and cheats the party, divulges party and state secrets, in the cases his behaviour proves moral decomposition or he commits other things that contravene to the statute’s rules”. *Statutul Partidului Comunist Român*, Editura Politică, București, 1979, pp. 29-30.

According to the communist democratic centralism, which was “the fundamental principle of the organization structure and of the party activity”, the superior structures of RCP leadership had the right to exclude a party member from a base organization without asking its agreement. In the same time, the party statute foresaw that “the decisions of the superior organ are unconditionally compulsory, for the party organizations and for all party members from its radius of activity”. *Ibidem*, pp. 50-51. Another rule of the RCP Statute established that “excluding of a member of the party Central Committee from the Central Committee, and his excluding from the party, too, are decided by the party congress, and between the congresses by the plenary of the party Central Committee, with a majority of two thirds of its members”. *Ibidem*, pp. 31-32.

Although the RCP Statute foresaw the mechanism by which a member of CC of RCP could be excluded from the party, the same was not applicable for the members of the Central Control Commission (commission chose by the party Congress). As well, in the mentioned statute was clearly specified the fact that “the members of the Central Control Commission can not be chosen in the same time as members of the party Central Committee”. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

Constantin Pîrvulescu’s case put certainly into difficulty the members of a commission designed by the Executive Political Committee (which assured the leading of the party activity between its plenary) and who had to examine “the content, the causes and purpose pursued by Constantin Pîrvulescu by his provoking, anti-party and inimical attitude manifested at the XII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the party”. CHNA, *CC of RCP – Chancellery*, file 74/1980, p. 3.

The respective problem found its solution after one year (16 December 1980). It is possible the members of the respective commission tried to find a suitable formula to eliminate Constantin Pîrvulescu, and they evidently invoked the democratic centralism to impose their decision. In the same time, they wished to avoid the recognition of the natural right of Constantin Pîrvulescu to criticize the party leader and especially the appearance in mass media (from abroad) of some information regarding the problems the RCP leadership confronted with.

The threats concerning a possible intervention in Poland of the armies of the states which were members of the WTO, formed even after the Moscow's reunion in December 1980 a way of pressure used by the Warsaw authorities in the negotiations with worker leaders to temperate their economic and political claims. However, Stanisław Kania was not succeeding to master the situation in the country, and the strike started on January 24, 1981, at the appeal of "Solidarność", for reducing the working week at five days<sup>99</sup>, deteriorated even more the position of the communist leader.

The "Solidarity" trade union had problems at its turn because of the splitting that existed between the moderates (pragmatics) and the radicals. However, both groups agreed the idea that "Solidarity" would not pretend to take the political power, to avoid a military intervention of the WTO armies in Poland. In the same time, the union's members supported the idea of not soliciting their own government the repudiation of Poland international engagements, especially those which referred to the alliance with USSR and the affiliation at the WTO. "Poland is not an independent country – admitted Lech Wałęsa –, and its government must be acceptable for the USSR leaders"<sup>100</sup>. The union leader thought in that moments in "the revolution auto-limitation" and tried to obtain by negotiations a series of compromises in the discussions with the representatives of the government led by Józef Pinkowski.

A new ceding of the Polish government towards the worker claims<sup>101</sup> led to the dismissal of Józef Pinkowski on February 9, 1981. Stanisław Kania was obliged to appoint, with the Soviets agreement, a new Prime-Minister, in the person of Wojciech Jaruzelski, who kept the Defence portfolio, too.

Three days after his appointment, the new Prime-Minister demanded in public the worker representatives not to start strikes in the next three months, explaining that Poland economy was about to collapse.<sup>102</sup> His initiative surprised the leaders of the independent trade unions.

Trying to obtain the social peace needed for the country recovering, General Wojciech Jaruzelski appealed at the national sentiments of his

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<sup>99</sup> Cf. Thomas Parish, *Enciclopedia Războiului Rece*, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, Bucureşti, 2002, p. 365.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>101</sup> According to an agreement realized between the representatives of the Pinkowski government and those of the "Solidarity", the workers followed to benefit of free time on Saturday, two times a month.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Thomas Parish, *Enciclopedia*, p. 365.

people, too, by reminding in a veiled mode about the danger of a Soviet military intervention in Poland. In order to demonstrate the respective threat was real, both General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the leadership of PUWP accepted that, during 17-25 March 1981<sup>103</sup> military manoeuvres took place, manoeuvres organized by the Commandment of the United Armed Forces of WTO, in Poland and in the German Democratic Republic (the war operative games named “SOIUZ-81” and “DRUJBA”).<sup>104</sup> More than that, “SOIUZ-81” extended from 25 March until 7 April 1981<sup>105</sup> as a result of the demands of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Stanisław Kania. The respective application would continue after that date, too, if in the respective period the Polish soldier’s moral did not dramatically diminished. Their commanders noticed this aspect to the Soviets, inclusively to the Marshal Viktor G. Kulikov, and openly expressed their wish to not imply at that moment their troops to enforce the martial law<sup>106</sup>.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski’s efforts to save what could be saved, without instituting the martial law, were however overthrew by the

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<sup>103</sup> Andrzej Paczkowski, Andrzej Werblan, *On the Decision to Introduce Martial Law in Poland in 1981: Two Historians Report to the Commission on Constitutional Oversight of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland*, Working Paper No. 21, Cold War International History Project, Washington, D.C., November 1997, p. 18. The historian Vojtech Mastny sustains, on the other hand, that the respective military exercises started on 16 March 1981. Vojtech Mastny, *The Soviet Non-Invasion of Poland in 1980-81 and the End of the Cold*, Working Paper No. 23, Cold War International History Project, Washington, D.C., September 1998, p. 19.

<sup>104</sup> With the aid of the American espionage satellites, the military leadership of NATO was permanently kept well informed on unfurl of the military events that took place in Poland. A week before the starting of the “SOIUZ-81” military manoeuvres, one of the satellites succeeded to identify the moving of some armoured cars to the country’s capital. This detection determined the government in Washington to take up an attitude towards a possible foreign military invasion in Poland and they immediately sent a warning message to the Soviet authorities in order to force Moscow to renounce at its possible invading intentions. Cf. Jean-Louis Dufour, *Crise internationale. De la Beijing (1900) à Kosovo (1999)*, Editura Corint, Bucureşti, 2002, p. 159.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Vojtech Mastny, *The Soviet Non-Invasion of Poland in 1980-81 and the End of the Cold*, Working Paper No. 23, Cold War International History Project, Washington, D.C., September 1998, pp. 20; 22.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22; Mark Kramer, *Soviet Deliberations During the Polish Crisis, 1980-1981*, Special Working Paper No.1, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, April 1999, pp. 96-97; Andrzej Paczkowski, Andrzej Werblan, *On the Decision to Introduce Martial Law in Poland in 1981: Two Historians Report to the Commission on Constitutional Oversight of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland*, Working Paper No. 21, Cold War International History Project, Washington, D.C., November 1997, p. 28.

dramatic situation of the Polish economy. Forced by the circumstances, he announced on 26 March 1981 that his country was temporarily ceasing the payment of the external debts and solicited to the creditors the rescheduling of all Poland external debts.<sup>107</sup>

Although the Polish Prime-Minister was confronting with an unprecedented economic crisis, which eventually determined him to declare that his country had no longer the capability to pay the financial obligations it assumed, the Moscow authorities followed to press him to prepare as rapidly as possible the documents for enforcing the martial law.<sup>108</sup> In the same time, Leonid Brezhnev and Marshal Viktor Kulikov, the chief-commander of the United Armed Forces of WTO, noted in turn the fact that both Stanisław Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski were trying to postpone as much as they could the Moscow decisions applying. In the session of the Political Bureau of CC of CPSU on April 2, 1981, Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov and Andrei Gromyko expressed in various ways their worry concerning the situation in Poland. The general secretary of CC of CPSU considered that the worker movement led by Lech Wałęsa was in fact a contra-revolution. "All of us are deeply alarmed by the further course of events in Poland – Brezhnev stated. What's worst of all is that the friends listen and agree with our recommendations, but in practice do nothing. In the meantime the counterrevolution is on the march all over (...) Kania described the recent plenum of the PUWP Central Committee and, in so doing, complained that they had been roundly criticized at the plenum. I then said to him: «They were right in doing so. They shouldn't have just criticized you; they should have raised a truncheon against you. Then, perhaps, you would understand». These were literally my words"<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>107</sup> Cf. Joseph F. Harrington, BruceJ.Courtney, *Relații româno-americane, 1940-1990*, Institutul European, Iași, 2002, pp. 450-451.

<sup>108</sup> During January-September 1981 the main documents regarding the enforcement of the martial law were finalized. Andrzej Paczkowski, Andrzej Werblan, *On the Decision to Introduce Martial Law in Poland in 1981: Two Historians Report to the Commission on Constitutional Oversight of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland*, Working Paper No. 21, Cold War International History Project, Washington, D.C., November 1997, p. 11-12; Mark Kramer, *Soviet Deliberations During the Polish Crisis, 1980-1981*, Special Working Paper No.1, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, April 1999, p. 16.

<sup>109</sup> Vladimir Bukovski, *Jugement à Mouscou. Un Dissident dans les Archives du Kremlin*, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1995, p. 442; Mark Kramer, *Soviet Deliberations During the Polish Crisis, 1980-1981*, Special Working Paper No.1, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, April 1999, p. 92-93.

In order to clarify the Polish communist leaders about the more drastic attitude they had to adopt, Leonid Brezhnev made a proposal, too: “In particular, I think it would be worthwhile to act in accordance with the wishes of the friends by permitting Cdes. [Yuri] Andropov and [Marshall Dmitri] Ustinov to go to Brest [-Litovsk, near the Soviet-Polish border] for a meeting with Cdes. Kania, and Jaruzelski”. Yuri Andropov immediately reacted at the proposal made by the general secretary of CC of CPSU and declared: “I believe the proposal offered by Leonid Ilyich [Brezhnev] regarding our next steps *vis-à-vis* Poland and his assessment of the situation there are absolutely correct. Indeed, what we're trying to find now is some way of exerting greater influence and greater pressure on the leadership of our friends”<sup>110</sup>. At his turn, Andrei Gromyko intervened in discussion, trying to temperate the ardour of those who desired to send the WTO troops in Poland, and declared: “In addition, they [both the American and the West European] speak a great deal about the Soviet Union, as though warning us that the Soviet Union must not use its armed forces to interfere in Poland's affairs”<sup>111</sup>.

The following question may naturally appear: Which were the causes that determined the two Polish leaders to postpone the imposing of the martial law in the summer of 1981? In the case of the PUWP leader, his tendency for delaying the things was natural, in the conditions he wished to successfully organize the works of the party Congress, as he announced even on 5 December 1980, with the occasion of the reunion in Moscow. For Stanisław Kania, this could be the last hope to save his own political career. Regarding the attitude adopted by Wojciech Jaruzelski, this was ambivalent because, on the one hand, he was a disciplined and patriot career soldier, who knew very well what meant the army force and who wished to establish the order in his county, and, on the other hand, who was in the same time conscious and worried by the fact that the enforcement of the martial law could provoke a civil war. That is why, the Polish Prime-Minister wished to thoroughly prepare the entire operation, to avoid the losses of human lives and of goods.

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<sup>110</sup> Vladimir Bukovski, *Jugement*, p. 443; Mark Kramer, *Soviet Deliberations During the Polish Crisis, 1980-1981*, Special Working Paper No.1, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, April 1999, p. 94.

<sup>111</sup> Vladimir Bukovski, *Jugement*, p. 443-444; Mark Kramer, *Soviet Deliberations During the Polish Crisis, 1980-1981*, Special Working Paper No.1, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, April 1999, p. 95.

The unfurl works of the Extraordinary Congress of PUWP at the middle of July 1981, aroused a special interest both from Moscow, and the Western states. Among others, it was well known the fact that “The Prague Spring” annihilation in August 1968 was realized just before the start of the congress of the Czechoslovakian communists, in the moment when it was waited the victory of the reformists led by Alexander Dubček. And the measures taken by the Soviets, starting from August 1980, let to foresee the very possible repeating of the military intervention of some states which were members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, for this time in Poland.

Although Moscow tried by several means to influence the decisions adopted at the PUWP Congress<sup>112</sup>, the Polish communists decided to massively purify the Central Committee of PUWP and the Political Committee, but also to maintain Stanisław Kania as party Prime-Secretary (21 July 1981)<sup>113</sup>.

These measures did not succeed to attenuate the political, economic and social crisis Poland traversed and, under the insistent pressure of Moscow, Stanisław Kania ceded without conditions the PUWP supreme leading function to General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Concentration of the entire political and military power in the hand of the Prime-Minister allowed, in the end, the enforcement of the martial law on the night of 12 to 13 December 1981 and rapidly arresting of the majority of the leaders of “Solidarity”, and so the anti-communist fight in Poland passed into a new phase.

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<sup>112</sup> For example, Vitalii Pavlov, chief of KGB residence in Warsaw, received an order from Moscow to have “a discussion with S. Kania and Jaruzelski and to remind them their previous declarations that they are ready to renounce at their functions in party and government, if that was for the interest of socialist system salvation in Poland and of the unity of the socialist block in Europe”. Cf. Vasili Mitrokhin, Christopher Andrew, *Arhiva Mitrohin. KGB în Europa și în Vest*, Editura Orizonturi, București, 2003, p. 522.

<sup>113</sup> From the 8 members of the Central Committee, only one was re-elected, while at the Political Bureau were kept only 4 members, the other 7 being replaced. Cf. Stelian Tănase, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

# **LES COMBATS MEMORIELS DU POSTCOMMUNISME BULGARE: LE COMMUNISME ET SES MONUMENTS\***

**Claudia-Florentina DOBRE\***

**Abstract:** “Crossroads images”, the monuments are sometimes at stake in the appropriation and/or disavowal processes of the past, while still being marks of a personal identity of a city, society, and even of a nation. They are concrete images of the rapport to the past of the society which builds, commemorates, and sometimes, destroys them. Moreover, they are under attack of vandalism when changes occur in the society, especially during revolutions, “Coups d’État”, wars etc. The communist monuments, like any trace speaking about a darkened and controversial past, were victims of the regime collapse, but also the object of active politics of oblivion or/and re-appropriation. Landmarks of regime legitimating policies, the Red Army monument and Dimitrov’s mausoleum in Sofia have been at the core of memorial battles pertaining to the memory of communism in post-socialist Bulgaria. Less visible in the battlefield of memory struggles, the Memorial to the victims of communism witnesses its appropriation by the public actors according to their political agenda.

**Keywords:** Public Memory, Memorials, Collective Memory, Communism, Post-socialism, Memory laws

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*Nous sommes assis à une table ronde  
Dans un café du quartier.  
Toi, membre de notre Parti  
Moi, du SDS.  
Accorde-moi le divorce,  
Cesse de me tourmenter,  
Prends l'appart en préfabriqué, la Trabant,  
Laisse-moi l'air à respirer...<sup>1</sup>*

## ***Introduction***

“Images carrefours”, comme les nommaient Régine Robin<sup>2</sup>, les monuments sont à la fois enjeu d’appropriations et de réappropriations du passé et marques d’une identité de soi d’une ville, d’une société, voire d’une nation. Ils sont l’image concrète du rapport au passé de la société qui les bâtit, commémore, (re)approprie, détruit, oublie, néglige, gomme de la mémoire collective. Qui plus est, les monuments sont souvent la cible des vandalismes, notamment le temps des révolutions, des coups d’État, voire des guerres.

Cette étude porte sur trois monuments communistes et postcommunistes qui habitent au propre et au figuré l'espace public<sup>3</sup> de Sofia: le mausolée de Guéorgui Dimitrov, le monument à l'honneur de l'Armée soviétique et le Monument à l'honneur «des victimes du communisme». Elle se penche sur le sens, les significations et les conséquences des gestes d'exorcisation et/ou de réappropriation du passé récent de la Bulgarie.

L'étude part de l'hypothèse que les monuments destinés à des rituels communistes ou anticomunistes/postcommunistes tendent vers la sacralisation caractérisant les manifestations-cultes de la mémoire, les Mémoriaux. Un mémorial est «un artefact qui impose de l'ordre et du sens au-delà des expériences temporelles et chaotiques de la vie.<sup>4</sup>» Ayant une

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<sup>1</sup> La chanson « Accord-moi, le Divorce » est cité par Ralitsa Frison-Roche, « Bulgarie: vingt ans après la chute du communisme, qui veut danser une « dernière valse ? » Sur le site: <http://www.newropceans-magazine.org/content/view/9573/121/>

<sup>2</sup> Régine Robin, « Berlin, la persistance de l'oubli », dans Sonia Combe, Thierry Dufrêne et Régine Robin, eds. *Berlin, l'effacement des traces: 1989-2009*, Editions FAGE, 2009, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> J'utilise ici le terme espace public dans le sens d'espace accessible à tous et non pas dans le sens d'un espace qui contribue à la formation de l'opinion publique.

<sup>4</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, “The Significance of the Artifact”, dans *Geographical Review*, no. 70, 1980, pp. 462-472.

utilité publique, en rendant service à la société<sup>5</sup>, le mémorial a la fonction d'engendrer une valeur morale et généralisatrice à travers le passé remémoré<sup>6</sup>. C'est dans cette sacralisation que résident les controverses autour des monuments sélectionnés pour illustrer nos cas de figure.

## **2. Les régimes mémoriels<sup>7</sup> du communisme bulgare**

La démission de Todor Jivkov en novembre 1989 n'a pas apporté la chute immédiate du communisme. Le coup de palais n'a fait que changé de leader, à la tête du parti communiste bulgare étant nommé un ancien ministre des affaires étrangères, le futur président de la Bulgarie postcommuniste, Peter Mladenov. Au niveau mémoriel, après la démission de l'ancien secrétaire général du parti communiste, les nouvelles autorités ont entamé la réhabilitation de ses anciens adversaires: tout d'abord, les anciens communistes, et par la suite, les antifascistes des années 1940<sup>8</sup>.

À partir du 10 novembre, l'atmosphère, calme en province, devient fébrile à Sofia où le désir du changement total du régime politique anime les forces émergentes de l'opposition. Peu à peu, «une joyeuse contestation»<sup>9</sup> s'empare des rues à Sofia. L'hiver 1989-1990 a été marqué par les marches silencieuses, les chaînes humaines, les «semaines protestataires», les rassemblements improvisés des opposants du communisme. En février 1990, le parti communiste est contraint à renoncer à son rôle primordial sur la scène du pouvoir. Les négociations entamées avec les forces démocratiques aboutissent à l'organisation des élections en juin 1990, élections gagnées par le parti communiste

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<sup>5</sup> Un mémorial rend service puisqu'il pose la question de l'identité (quelque chose d'extraordinaire étant commémoré dans cet endroit spécifique), il éduque les nouvelles générations qui n'ont pas connu l'événement, les personnes, les actes, etc. (symbolisés par la construction), il honore les personnes, événements, etc., ou/et il plaide pour une société qui ne doit plus connaître des événements meurtriers ou destructeurs.

<sup>6</sup> James A. Mayo, "War Memorials as Political Memory", dans *Geographical Review*, vol. 78, no. 1, January, 1988, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> Je définis le «régime mémoriel», dans le sillage de Johann Michel comme «une matrice de perceptions et de représentations de souvenirs publics officiels à une époque donnée». Les acteurs publics et sociaux sont à la fois les producteurs et le produit de régimes mémoriels. Johann Michel, *Gouverner les mémoires. Les politiques mémorielles en France*, PUF, Paris, 2010, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Antony Todorov, «Bulgarie: l'émergence d'une nouvelle histoire officielle», dans *La nouvelle alternative*, no. 32, décembre 1993 (cité dorénavant comme Todorov, «Bulgarie»), p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Catherine Durandin, «Roumanie, Bulgarie, un processus de démocratisation», dans *Matérieux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, no. 71, juillet-septembre 2003, p. 82.

rebaptisé le parti socialiste bulgare en référence à «un héritage imaginaire de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>10</sup>.»

Pendant la première décennie postcommuniste, le pays reste divisé entre les anticomunistes de l'Union des forces démocratiques (UFD) ou «les bleus» et les ex-communistes du Parti socialiste bulgare (PSB) ou «les rouges». Au schisme politique correspond un schisme religieux: la Bulgarie ayant un synode «bleu» et un synode «rouge». Au niveau mémoriel, «la guerre civile symbolique bloquait la réflexion rationnelle sur le passé»<sup>11</sup>. La mémoire officielle du communisme est remplacée par un antagonisme mémoriel. Deux narrations contradictoires, voire opposées, sur le communisme et l'histoire nationale ont dominé l'espace public en fonction de la nécessité de légitimité des élites politiques. Chaque groupe a tenté d'imposer sa propre mémoire en éliminant les arguments et les preuves de l'autre<sup>12</sup>.

Entre 1990 et 2001, les deux principales forces politiques ont joué la carte du passé pour gagner l'électorat. «Ce jeu de “ping-pong politique” à coup de “loi de décommunisation”, de pseudo-dossiers compromettants de collaboration avec les services de l'ancienne police politique, empêchait toute émergence politique nouvelle, du moins non extrémiste»<sup>13</sup>. L'arrivée au pouvoir du Mouvement Politique Simeon II (MPSD) en 2001 change la donne. Une troisième force politique s'insinue dans l'espace public, promouvant également une autre vision sur le passé. L'ancien roi assume «le rôle de réconciliateur avec le passé, de celui qui accorde le pardon et l'amnistie en dépit de ses problèmes personnels avec ce passé»<sup>14</sup>.

Cette réussite de l'ancien monarque met aussi fin à la division entre ex-communistes et anticomunistes. La victoire du Mouvement Simeon II envoie les deux partis rivaux, le PSB et l'UFD, sur les banques de l'opposition. Quelques mois plus tard, l'élection comme président de la République du socialiste Guéorgui Parvanov apporte une cohabitation

<sup>10</sup> Ivaylo Znepolski, « Les discours politiques monstrueux du postcommunisme », dans *Divination*, vol. 15, printemps-été 2002, (cité dorénavant comme Ivaylo Znepolski, « Les discours »), p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> Ivaylo Znepolski, « Les discours », p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> Liliana Deyanova, “Rewriting official memory after 1989. How historians remember communism. » Article cité avec l'accord de l'auteure. À voir aussi le site du projet « Remembering communism »: <http://www.rememberingcommunism.org/> index. php?id=4&res=2

<sup>13</sup> François Frison-Roche, “La situation politique en Bulgarie à la veille de son entrée dans l'Union européenne sur le site <http://www.diploweb.com/forum/frison0511.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Ivaylo Znepolski, « Les discours », p. 76.

inattendue entre un monarque converti en premier ministre et un héritier du communisme converti en démocrate.



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La fin du clivage ex-communistes/anticommunistes permettra en 2005 la formation d'un gouvernement regroupant le Parti socialiste et le mouvement Simeon II auxquels s'ajoute le parti de la minorité turque. Cette coalition fête l'entrée de la Bulgarie dans l'Union européenne le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 2007, mais la situation économique et sociale, la corruption et les problèmes sociaux l'ont fait perdre le pouvoir. Un nouveau parti de droite, «Citoyens pour un développement européen de la Bulgarie», créé en 2006 par Boyko Borisov, emporte les élections en 2009 avec la promesse d'un nouveau changement politique, social et économique.

Après 2009, le passé communiste quitte l'enjeu électoral, mais pas la scène publique. Les scandales autour des dossiers de l'ancienne sécurité d'État, l'appropriation de la mémoire des victimes du communisme (comme fut le cas des festivités du février 2010 pour commémorer les victimes du Tribunal du peuple du 1<sup>er</sup> février 1945), tout cela font du communisme une présence forte dans l'espace public bulgare. Les luttes pour le monopole sur la mémoire historique du communisme se jouent encore autour des monuments, des lois, des cérémonies, des expositions, des manuels d'histoire, etc.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Sur ce dernier aspect à voir les travaux de Liliana Deyanova. Liliana Deyanova, « Les manuels après la bataille: les livres d'histoire nationale en Bulgarie après 1944 et après 1989 », dans *Histoire de l'éducation*, no. 86, mai 2000, pp 171-186 (cité dorénavant comme, Deyanova, « Les manuels après la bataille »).

Sur ce canevas, les gens ordinaires ont brodé leurs propres souvenirs issus de leurs expériences individuelles et de leurs horizons d'attente. Une étude de 2006 portant sur le communisme en Europe centrale et orientale met en évidence une perception plutôt positive concernant ce régime chez les Bulgares. À la question «êtes-vous d'accord que le communisme était une bonne idée, mais mal mise en oeuvre?», 59, 80 % des Bulgares ont répondu par un oui<sup>16</sup>.

## 2. 1. La «décommunisation»

Mettre un terme au passé communiste en Bulgarie s'est avéré être une entreprise difficile. Plusieurs facteurs contribuent à la manière dont le passé est utilisé, approprié, rejeté, apprivoisé, nié dans l'espace public. Tout d'abord, la manière dont le régime communiste a été évincé de l'histoire. La transition vers la démocratie avec ses problèmes économiques et sociaux a mis également son empreinte sur la présence dans l'espace public du passé communiste. L'existence et l'importance d'une société civile pendant le communisme, mais également la tradition pseudo-démocratique du pays ont également joué un rôle de premier rang dans l'approche du passé «rouge».

En Bulgarie, le régime communiste est sorti de l'Histoire par la volonté de ses leaders qui ont entamé des discussions de type «Table ronde» visant à restructurer le système. Ils promouvaient le consensus national et la réconciliation dans le but de réformer le pays. En dénonçant le régime Jivkov, ils ont même reconnu les crimes et les abus commis par certains membres du Parti communiste bulgare<sup>17</sup>.

Déjà à l'époque des discussions de la «Table ronde», la «décommunisation» était exigée dans la rue. Après les premières élections de juin 1990, les demandes de «décommunisation» se font aussi entendre dans la nouvelle assemblée. Ainsi, à la fin de l'année 1990, le Parlement se voit obligé à gérer le problème des anciens cadres de la Sécurité d'État (Durjavna Sigurnost -dorénavant cité dans le texte comme

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<sup>16</sup> Pourcentage cité par Antony Todorov, «Discontinuités de la mémoire générationnelle: diverses images du communisme», dans Bogumil Jewsiewicki, Erika Nimis, dir., *Expériences et mémoires. Partager en français la diversité du monde*, L'Harmattan, 2008 (cité dorénavant comme, Antony Todorov, «Discontinuités de la mémoire générationnelle»), p. 240.

<sup>17</sup> Albert P. Melone, «Bulgaria's national roundtable talks and the politics of accommodation», dans *Revue internationale de sciences politiques*, vol. 15, no. 3, juillet 1994 (cité dorénavant comme Melone, «Bulgaria's national roundtable talks»), pp. 259-270.

DS) dont la présence parmi ses membres aurait entravé les travaux d'élaboration de la nouvelle constitution<sup>18</sup>.

Les débats, les accusations réciproques entre les membres de l'opposition et ceux du pouvoir n'ont pas abouti à un résultat visant la «libération» du poids de la présence dans les structures de l'État de la police secrète communiste. La réforme de cette dernière a pris beaucoup de temps, un premier démantèlement des anciennes structures ayant lieu en 1991. Néanmoins, une nouvelle Agence nationale de la Sécurité d'État a été créée seulement en 2007. Vingt ans après la chute du régime, la nouvelle Agence emploie toujours un bon nombre d'anciens cadres du service communiste<sup>19</sup>.

Le problème de la «décommunisation» revient à l'agenda public lors du gouvernement de l'UFD en 1991. En 1992, le député Guéorgui Panev a élaboré une loi de lustration visant la restriction du service public à une grande majorité des anciens cadres communistes, liés soit au parti communiste, soit à la Sécurité d'État. Votée par le Parlement, la loi devienne caduque une fois le nouveau gouvernement du PSB arrivé au pouvoir. En 1993, le Parti socialiste alternatif propose une loi «anti-Panev», destiné à bloquer la loi «bleu». Une autre loi contenant des clauses de lustration, votée en 1998, est rejetée par le veto du président Peter Stoyanov<sup>20</sup>.

En juin 1997, une loi visant le dévoilement de dossiers de la DS a été votée par le Parlement bulgare. L'acte énumérait 32 catégories de personnes qui tombaient sous l'incidence de la loi et dont les relations avec la DS devraient être vérifiées avant de prendre des hautes fonctions dans l'administration d'État, les cours de justice, les services d'audit, etc. L'acte amendé en 2001 permettait aussi l'interdiction de l'accès à des fonctions publiques à ceux qui ont détenu des postes politiques et

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<sup>18</sup> Michael Meznik, «Dealing with legacies of socialism in south east European societies-the case of the Bulgarian state security files», dans *Der Donauraum*, no. 1, 2009 (cité dorénavant comme Michael Meznik, «Dealing with legacies of socialism»).

<sup>19</sup> Maria Dermendzhieva, «Darzhavna Sigurnost (The Communist State Security Service) and its place in the new security services», présentation dans le cadre de la conférence internationale organisée par l'Institute pour l'investigation de crimes communistes en Roumanie, le 25-27 juin 2009, Sambata de Sus, Romania (cité dorénavant comme Dermendzhieva, « Darzhavna Sigurnost »).

<sup>20</sup> Liliana Deyanova, « Des condamnations locales du communisme à la condamnation internationale de janvier 2006 » dans Bogumil Jewsiewicki, Erika Nimis, dir., *Expériences et mémoires. Partager en français la diversité du monde*, L'Harmattan, 2008 (cité dorénavant comme Deyanova, « Des condamnations locales du communisme »), pp. 200-201.

idéologiques pendant le régime communiste. Une commission pour l'étude de dossiers de la DS et la vérification des personnes concernées par la loi, dont le président sera Metodi Andreev, a été également créée<sup>21</sup>.

La «décommunisation» a été un enjeu fort de la première décennie postcommuniste bulgare, elle a connu des hauts et des bas en fonction de résultats des élections et des gouvernements qui arrivaient au pouvoir à un moment ou à un autre. Ainsi, en 2000, le gouvernement UFD fait voter une loi élaborée par le même Guéorgui Panev pour «décréter le régime communiste comme régime criminel.»<sup>22</sup>

L'arrivée au pouvoir du Mouvement national Simeon II a mis fin aux tentatives déjà entamées de «décommunisation». Promouvant «le pardon» comme éthique politique de l'État, l'ancien roi a mis un terme au processus de renouvellement de la société par le biais des lois démocratiques visant à découvrir les membres de l'ancienne police secrète. En 2002, la loi de 1997 sur le dévoilement des dossiers de la DS a été supprimée, ainsi que la commission Andreev<sup>23</sup>.

Une nouvelle page dans le processus de «décommunisation» sera écrite en 2006, lors de la condamnation officielle «des abus et des crimes» des régimes communistes par le Conseil de l'Europe, le 26 janvier 2006. La résolution 1481 du Conseil a été également le fruit des actions et des propositions d'un député bulgare, ancien membre de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, Latchezar Toshev<sup>24</sup>.

Dans les premières années du XXI siècle, la «décommunisation» de la Bulgarie semble se faire, dans une grande mesure, sous l'impulsion externe. Ainsi, la question d'un membre hollandais du Parlement européen visant la situation des archives de l'ancienne Sécurité d'État en Bulgarie, la visite d'un groupe des députés européens dans le pays et les discussions eues à l'occasion avec le ministre des Affaires intérieures ont contribué, en décembre 2006, au vote d'une loi qui a permis l'ouverture des Archives et la création d'une commission pour l'étude des dossiers de la DS. Néanmoins, l'activité de la nouvelle commission a été entravée par l'absence du personnel, d'un siège propre, de la volonté politique et par les actes de blocage de la part de la nouvelle Agence Nationale de la Sécurité d'État<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Dermendzhieva, « Darzhavna Sigurnost ».

<sup>22</sup> Deyanova, « Des condamnations locales du communisme », p. 194.

<sup>23</sup> Deyanova, « Des condamnations locales du communisme », p. 201.

<sup>24</sup> Il a milité depuis 2003 pour faire voter cette résolution. Sur son activité, à voir Liliana Deyanova., « Des condamnations locales du communisme », pp. 195-198.

<sup>25</sup> Michael Meznik, « Dealing with legacies of socialism ».

Depuis la chute du régime socialiste bulgare, les lois et les institutions démocratiques visant la «décommunisation» ont été créées, supprimées, transformées, adaptées en fonction de besoins de légitimité des partis politiques, de leurs intérêts électoraux, mais également économiques. Elles n'ont jamais fait l'objet de véritables discussions publiques sur le passé, les politiciens réussissant à caricaturer souvent les débats par des propos révérencieux<sup>26</sup>.

## 2. 2. Les combats pour les monuments

Les avatars des régimes mémoriels bulgares se reflètent mieux qu'ailleurs<sup>27</sup> dans les polémiques et les débats concernant les monuments communistes. Avant même la démission du Teodor Jivkov, des groupes restreints d'intellectuels entamaient les premières discussions portant sur les symboles communistes<sup>28</sup>. Le changement du régime a été accompagné par une série d'actes qui ont modifié «l'organisation symbolique de l'espace social<sup>29</sup>.» Ces actes ont visé l'enlèvement de statues, le changement de noms de rues, de villes et de villages.

Entre 1990-1992, plusieurs statues de Marx, Lénine, Blagoev et Dimitrov, disséminées partout en Bulgarie, ont été retirées de l'espace public monumental<sup>30</sup>. À la même époque, la royauté a été réinscrite dans l'espace public. Le roi Boris III, dont le tombeau a été détruit par les communistes, a été non seulement réhabilité, mais il a fait l'objet d'un rituel de re-sacralisation. En août 1993, le cœur de l'ancien souverain a été enterré dans le cadre d'une cérémonie funéraire dans son ancienne place d'enterrement, à Rila.

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<sup>26</sup> Deyanova, « Des condamnations locales du communisme », p. 202-203.

<sup>27</sup> En tout cas, différent qu'à Bucarest où les monuments n'ont pas engendré autant de débats et ne se présentent comme de repères essentiels de la mémoire du communisme roumain.

<sup>28</sup> Irina Guénova, « L'organisation symbolique de l'espace social », dans *La Nouvelle Alternative*, no. 32, décembre 1993 (cité dorénavant comme Irina Guénova, « L'organisation symbolique de l'espace social »), p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Irina Guénova, « L'organisation symbolique de l'espace social », p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> L'enlèvement de statues a généré de grands débats. Les solutions adoptées ont dépendu des autorités locales qui ont joué un rôle important dans cette entreprise. Ainsi, la statue de Blagoev de Blagoevgrad a été retirée en 1992 pour être remise en place en 1996. Nikolai Vukov, Svetlana Toncheva, « Town squares and socialist heritage: the reworking of memorial landscapes in post-socialist Bulgaria », dans Sebastian Schroder-Esch, Justus H. Ulbricht, eds., *The Politics of Heritage and Regional Development Strategies-actors, interests, conflicts*, Weimar, 2006 (cité dorénavant comme, Nikolai Vukov, Svetlana Toncheva, « Town squares and socialist heritage »), pp. 125-126.

Si le statuaire communiste a occasionné des débats, la présence au centre de Sofia du mausolée de Guéorgui Dimitrov a engendré une vive et dure bataille au sein de l’opinion publique. Construit comme dans les contes de fées, en six jours, en juillet 1949, le mausolée était un symbole du communisme bulgare. Sa destruction aurait représenté un acte de rupture avec l’ancien régime.

Le 2 juillet 1949, Guéorgui Dimitrov meurt à Moscou. Dès le lendemain, un train spécial était envoyé dans la capitale russe pour ramener le corps du dirigeant communiste. Il revient à Sofia traversant la Roumanie le 10 juillet. Le jour même de son arrivée, les masses mobilisées ont pu assister à une cérémonie funéraire fastueuse, un premier acte d’un culte de la personnalité<sup>31</sup> qui mettait en scène à la fois l’imaginaire utopique communiste et le culte des morts d’inspiration chrétienne orthodoxe<sup>32</sup>.

Le soir même de la mort de Dimitrov, le bureau politique du parti décida d’embaumer le corps du grand chef et de l’exposer dans un mausolée pareil à celui de Lénine à Moscou. Dès le 4 juillet, les unités de travail de l’armée, des volontaires, des ouvriers des unités de travail forcé ou ceux détachés se mettent à construire un bâtiment néo-classique devant l’ancien palais royal. Même les détenus politiques y sont convoqués! L’architecte choisi à élaborer le plan de l’édifice avait été (ou il était toujours à l’époque) incarcéré dans le camp de Béléné<sup>33</sup>. Le travail sans arrêt donne ses résultats. Le mausolée est prêt, sauf pour la façade, lorsque le corps de Dimitrov arrive.

Il sera officiellement ouvert au public, le 11 décembre 1949. Selon un ancien commandant du mausolée, 18 millions de personnes l’auront visité pendant ses 50 ans d’existence<sup>34</sup>. Endroit sacré pour les rituels

<sup>31</sup> Le culte de la personnalité de Dimitrov a été également expliqué par la tradition autoritaire bulgare d’avant le communisme. La présence du corps embaumé a contribué à sa sacralisation dans un esprit qui rappelle celui oublié-européen concernant les rois: le double corps du roi. À ce sujet, voir, Ivaylo Znepolski, « Stalin et Dimitrov », dans *Kultura*, no. 4, le 1<sup>er</sup> février 2007. En ligne: <http://www.kultura.bg/bg/article/view/12549>

<sup>32</sup> Dimitar Grigorov, « National and communist Heroes in Modern and Contemporary Bulgarian history: Vasil Levski and Georgi Dimitrov », dans Joaquim Carvalho, ed., *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*, Pisa University Press, Edizioni Plus, 2007, pp. 314-315.

<sup>33</sup> “Dust to dust in Central Sofia” dans *Vagabond*, vol. 38, novembre 2009 (cité dorénavant comme, “Dust to dust in Central Sofia”), p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Георги Гергов, *Истината за мавзолея (командантът разказва)* (La vérité sur le mausolée. Le commandant raconte), Sibia, 2000 (cité dorénavant comme, Георги Гергов, *Истината за мавзолея*), 12.

communistes, il a été le point central des grandes festivités, des défilés et des marches organisés par le régime à l'occasion du 1<sup>er</sup> mai, de 9 septembre, etc. Il représentait un haut lieu de pèlerinage pour les chefs d'État ou/et de gouvernement en visite à Sofia, mais également pour les écoliers, les *chavdarche* et les *septembriitche*.

Pendant les premiers mois de l'année 1990, les manifestations de l'opposition visaient non seulement le parti communiste, rebaptisé socialiste, et l'ancien régime, mais également les dépouilles de Dimitrov. Ainsi, «un camp révolutionnaire contre la momie» a été organisé autour du mausolée<sup>35</sup>. Les personnes y résidant demandaient le départ du communisme, avec son étoile rouge de la Maison du parti qui attirait l'œil (mauvais œil) des passants et la momie de Dimitrov.

«La cité contre la momie» qui a duré deux mois a pressé les autorités à prendre une décision concernant le corps embaumé de Dimitrov. La commission créée pour réfléchir sur les dépouilles du ex.-leader a concédé finalement le corps à sa famille. Il a été ôté de son endroit le 18 juillet 1990, incinéré, et ensuite enterré dans un cimetière à Sofia<sup>36</sup>. Le bâtiment est resté vide pendant encore neuf ans avant d'être terrassé. Tour à tour, il a servi de tribune pour l'opposition démocratique (les bleus), de scène des spectacles d'opéra et de nombreux concerts, et même de pissoir. Il a été couvert de graffiti et même de taches noires pour célébrer la première du film 101 Dalmatiens<sup>37</sup>.

Pendant toute cette période, le «Mausolée de Dimitrov» a interpellé les gens: simples passants, touristes, membres de l'intelligentsia, et notamment, politiciens. Une commission a été convoquée pour réfléchir sur son rôle et son éventuelle re-utilisation<sup>38</sup>. Le mausolée a ainsi servi de catalyseur de l'opinion publique postcommuniste<sup>39</sup>. Stefan Sofiyanski (ancien maire de Sofia) l'a vu en tant que musée d'art tandis que Guéorgui Parvanov (ancien président de la Bulgarie) lui aurait attribué un rôle de monument militaire. D'autres ont considéré que l'ancien mausolée pourrait bien servir comme disco-club. Un groupe d'intellectuels a suggéré sa transformation en un musée dédié au communisme. D'autres ont proposé la création d'un parc des statues

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<sup>35</sup> Vladimir Gradev, « Le mausolée de Dimitrov », dans *Communications*, no. 55, 1992 (cité dorénavant comme Gradev, « Le mausolée », pp. 77-80).

<sup>36</sup> Gradev, « Le mausolée », p. 77.

<sup>37</sup> «Dust to dust in Central Sofia,» p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> Nikolai Vukov, Svetlana Toncheva, « Town squares and socialist heritage », p. 128.

<sup>39</sup> L'opinion publique est ici comprise dans sa pluralité et non pas dans le sens classique d'Habermas.

communistes parmi lesquelles aurait également pris place le mausolée. Un groupe d'architectes ont considéré que le bâtiment se prête à une transformation en Panthéon à l'honneur de toutes les victimes, toutes époques historiques confondues<sup>40</sup>.

Après des discussions vives, une décision de transformation du mausolée en un lieu de passage vers la Galerie d'Art Nationale a été prise par le gouvernement. Cette «ré-utilisation démocratique» n'a pas réussi à rédorer le monument, le symbole communiste attirant souvent les injures à l'adresse de l'ancien régime et de ses héritiers. Ainsi, le 21 août 1999, le gouvernement anticomuniste d'Ivan Kostov a pris la décision de le terrasser<sup>41</sup>. «Symbole du pacte signé entre le Parti communiste et le peuple»<sup>42</sup>, le mausolée avait anticipé son destin. Depuis sa création en 1949 jusqu'à sa démolition 50 ans plus tard, «son sort était davantage scellé dans le buffet, l'urinoir et le bureau du commandant que dans le sarcophage et la dépouille»<sup>43</sup>.

Sa destruction a offert aux Sofiotes un spectacle auquel ils ont assisté en grand nombre. Entouré de mystère pendant le communisme, le mausolée a toujours suscité la curiosité des gens. Venus assister à sa destruction, ils ont eu la surprise de le voir résister aux assauts des explosions contrôlées. Le premier et le deuxième essai de le faire exploser ont échoué, message symbolique du régime qu'il incarnait et qui refusait de partir. La troisième explosion a eu beaucoup plus de succès, le bâtiment acceptant enfin de se rendre à la volonté du nouveau pouvoir.

Le peuple bulgare n'a jamais été consulté eu égard à sa présence ou à son absence dans l'espace public. Néanmoins, les opinions étaient partagées: il y avait ceux qui insistaient que le bâtiment doit être gardé et les autres qui demandaient sa destruction: «le cœur de Sofia était partagé en deux: le souvenir et le mépris»<sup>44</sup>. La majorité y voyait un spectacle de plus de la mise en scène du socialisme bulgare.

D'autres monuments construits pendant le communisme ont fait à égale mesure l'objet de controverses, de combats idéologiques et politiques et de luttes mémoriales. Les monuments à l'honneur de l'armée russe étaient disséminés partout sur le territoire de la Bulgarie. Un certain nombre d'entre eux étaient dédiés aux soldats morts pendant

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<sup>40</sup> Gradev, « Le mausolée », p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> “Dust to dust in Central Sofia,” p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> Gradev, « Le mausolée », p. 86.

<sup>43</sup> Gradev, « Le mausolée », p. 84.

<sup>44</sup> Георги Гергов, *Истината за мавзолея*, p. 5.

la guerre russo-turque de 1876-1878. Néanmoins, la grande majorité de soldats qui posaient sur les statues représentaient l'armée soviétique.

La bagarre entre les ex-communistes et les anticomunistes s'est également emparée de l'armée soviétique. Le rôle de cette dernière dans l'histoire bulgare de l'après-guerre sera remis en question. Les monuments à son honneur deviennent vite le point central des combats symboliques, des attaques violentes, de création des chaînes humaines pour leur défense, des campagnes de nettoyage, etc<sup>45</sup>. Les débats et les controverses autour du soldat soviétique s'étaient répandus au-delà des frontières de la Bulgarie, allant de Moscou via Ankara<sup>46</sup> et retour. À plusieurs reprises, les autorités russes ont dû protester auprès de l'État bulgare postcommuniste, en invoquant des traités bilatéraux, mais également les traités internationaux de sauvegarde du patrimoine.

En dépit de combats acharnés autour de ces monuments, une seule statue a été détruite, celle de Pleven. Par contre, celle de Roussé acquiert le statut «d'objet historique» à être préservé. Étant «nationalisé», le soldat soviétique est devenu la propriété de l'État bulgare<sup>47</sup>.

Les statues à l'honneur de l'armée soviétique de Plovdiv et de Sofia ont généré les plus amples débats, les luttes les plus violentes (au propre comme au figuré) et les transformations les plus inattendues. Depuis deux décennies, elles ne cessent pas de tourmenter et de surprendre l'opinion publique. Re-appropriées, re-interprétées, les deux monuments hantent l'imaginaire des Bulgares.

La statue, érigée sur une colline de la ville de Plovdiv, a une hauteur de 10,80 mètres sur un haut piédestal qui porte un bas-relief représentant des Bulgares qui accueillent l'armée soviétique «invincible et libératrice». Nommée Aliosha, la statue a été construite en 1955/1956.

Après la chute du communisme, Aliosha a fait l'objet des fréquentes luttes mémorielles qui s'intensifiaient notamment pendant les campagnes électorales. Les maires «bleus» de Plovdiv annonçaient à ces occasions son enlèvement pour une «meilleure utilisation de l'espace public».

À son tour, le monument à l'honneur de l'armée soviétique de Sofia, qui domine par sa grandeur le parc situé entre le Pont des aigles et l'Université de

<sup>45</sup> Nikolai Vukov, "Emergent reinscriptions and dynamics of self-representation: Socialist monumental discourse in post-1989 Bulgaria", in *Kakanien Revisited*, 2007: <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/emerg/NVukov1.pdf>

<sup>46</sup> Les débats autour de symboles communistes ont entraîné de discussions portant également sur d'autres monuments comme la plaque mémorielle de la rue Shipka à la mémoire de soldats ottomans morts pendant la guerre russo-turque de 1876-1878.

<sup>47</sup> Nikolai Vukov, Svetlana Toncheva, « Town squares and socialist heritage », p. 127.

Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski, a aussi connu de temps forts de tension expiatoire. Il a été à plusieurs reprises la cible du vandalisme, de l'organisation des chaînes humaines, des séances de nettoyage, des essais de destruction<sup>48</sup>.

Les débats visant les monuments soviétiques ont impliqué même la Cour Supreme. En 1998, celle-ci s'est prononcée contre toute décision des autorités municipales de démantèlement des statues. La Cour Supreme bulgare, ayant joué le rôle d'arbitre de la transition,<sup>49</sup> s'était investie à diverses occasions dans les débats sur les monuments, sur les lois de dévoilement des archives de la DS, etc., autant d'actes qui ont fait de celle-ci un agent actif de l'espace public postsocialiste.

Les luttes symboliques ou/et physiques autour des statues à l'honneur de l'armée soviétique qui ont perduré pendant la première décennie postcommuniste s'expliquent par la position de ces monuments dans le champ mémoriel, par leur construction sans arrêt durant le communisme, par les rapports de la Bulgarie avec l'Union soviétique et par la place spéciale qu'occupe la Russie dans la mémoire collective et historique des Bulgares.

Après la chute du communisme, l'espace public monumental acquiert également des plaques commémoratives, des croix et des mémoriaux bâties à l'honneur de «victimes du système»<sup>50</sup>. Une fois le régime Jivkov tombé, les Bulgares ont pu faire connaissance avec les crimes du communisme: des milliers de condamnations à mort décidées par le «Tribunal du peuple», des dizaines de milliers des détenus politiques envoyés dans les prisons et dans les camps de travail forcé, des assassinats commis par la DS, des détournements de fonds, etc. Sur la charte du Goulag bulgare, les camps de Sveti Vrach, Béléné, Lovech occupent une place de premier rang.

Néanmoins, la mémoire de la répression reste marginale dans l'espace public bulgare pendant les deux décennies du post-socialisme. C'est seulement en novembre 1989 qu'une première exposition portant sur le camp de Béléné sera étalée au Musée National d'Art, l'ancien palais royal<sup>51</sup>. Conçue par «l'Institute pour l'étude du passé récent de Sofia», l'exposition raconte par le biais des objets, des photos, des cartes, des documents l'histoire du «célèbre» camp de travail forcé, situé sur une île du Danube, près de la frontière avec la Roumanie.

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<sup>48</sup> Une description détaillée chez Vukov, «Emergent reinscriptions»

<sup>49</sup> Bruno Sconfelder, “Judicial independence in Bulgaria: A tale of Splendor and Misery”, dans *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 57, no. 1, janvier 2005, pp. 61-92.

<sup>50</sup> Nikolai Vukov, Svetlana Toncheva, «Town squares and socialist heritage», p. 131.

<sup>51</sup> A lire plus sur: <http://www.minaloto.org>

## **2. Les monuments et la mémoire individuelle**

Les monuments parlent de l'identité, de la mémoire et de l'oubli, mais notamment du présent et de la manière dont la société se projette dans le futur. D'ailleurs, la mémoire elle-même parle beaucoup plus du présent que du passé<sup>52</sup>. Elle est toujours une reconstruction en fonction du présent, soit qu'il s'agit de la mémoire collective, soit de la mémoire des individus<sup>53</sup>.

Les discours publics sur le communisme bulgare constituent la toile de fond dans laquelle les gens communs intègrent leurs propres souvenirs. Soient qu'ils ont fait l'expérience directe du régime, soient qu'ils ont seulement lu, vu, étudié, entendu des choses portant sur cette période du passé, les individus placent leur narration quelque part sur la charte mémorielle postcommuniste.



En 2010, j'ai entamé une enquête auprès de 30 étudiants de la première année d'étude de la Faculté de sociologie de l'Université de Sofia<sup>54</sup>, et 20 adultes, fonctionnaires d'État ou anciens fonctionnaires qui habitent toujours à Sofia<sup>55</sup>. Faite à la base de questionnaires assortis des photos représentant trois monuments de Sofia, la recherche s'est donnée

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<sup>52</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1994.

<sup>53</sup> Marie-Claire Lavabre, «Usages et mésusages de la notion de mémoire», dans *Critique internationale*, no. 7, avril 2000, p. 54.

<sup>54</sup> Les questionnaires ont été rédigé en bulgare, les réponses également. Les réponses ont été traduites du bulgare en français par Momchil Hristov, Martin Petrov et Dimitar Bojilov. Je le remercie de tout mon coeur pour leur aide désintéressé.

<sup>55</sup> A certains questionnaires, les répondants ont choisi de répondre soit en français, soit en anglais.

comme but de mettre en évidence l'importance des cadres sociaux de la mémoire pour la mémoire individuelle<sup>56</sup>.

La première image présentée a été celle du monument à l'honneur de l'armée soviétique de Sofia. Imposante, mais surtout objet de disputes intenses dans les années 1990, la statue ne passe pas inaperçue. Ainsi, la majorité des étudiants questionnés l'ont facilement reconnue. Une partie d'entre eux l'ont plutôt associée à l'armée russe, tandis que d'autres l'ont identifiée comme étant bâtie à l'honneur de l'armée soviétique dans les années 1950. Quelques-uns ne la reconnaissent pas. Ils expliquent cette absence de leur mémoire par leur lieu d'origine, ce qui montre l'importance de l'espace, de la territorialité, pour notre mémoire. Les adultes n'ont pas de doutes en ce qui la concerne. Ils le reconnaissent comme étant le monument de l'armée soviétique à Sofia. Une seule personne se trompe de lieu et le place à Plovdiv.

Les informations historiques auxquelles s'ajoutent celles véhiculées par les médias transforment le monument en un véritable «lieu de mémoire»<sup>57</sup>. Les individus par leurs expériences et leurs souvenirs contribuent aussi à lui donner un contenu et même une nouvelle forme<sup>58</sup>. Un étudiant se rappelle avoir entendu qu'à un certain moment les autorités voulaient le détruire, tandis qu'un jeune adulte se souvient du fait qu'il avait été couvert de graffiti dans les années 1990. Pour d'autres, c'est le lieu où ils font du skateboard où ils boivent de la bière avec les amis ou encore un point de rendez-vous pour des promenades à deux.

Un autre monument proposé à l'identification des participants à l'enquête avait marqué la conscience des élites bulgares: le mausolée de Guéorgui Dimitrov. Au fil des années, il a été objet d'admiration, de fantasmes et de rumeurs, la cible du vandalisme, l'endroit de contestations publiques, etc. Lieu de mémoire d'un régime communiste à la bulgare, il habite la mémoire de gens même après sa disparition physique.

Les étudiants l'associent à «un symbole communiste détruit par l'arrivée de la démocratie» ou au roman de Rouja Lazarova, intitulé «Mausolée»<sup>59</sup>. Un de mes répondants, un jeune homme de 35 ans le

<sup>56</sup> La traduction en Bulgare des questionnaires a été faite avec l'aide de Liliana Deyanova. Je tiens à lui remercier de tout mon coeur pour son aide précieux pendant la recherche.

<sup>57</sup> Dans le sens donné à ce concept par Pierre Nora. Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire, III, Les France*, La génération, Paris, Gallimard, 1993, pp. 2975-3015.

<sup>58</sup> En 2011, le bas-relief a été transformé en personnages des bandes dessinées, comme Superman, Batman etc.

<sup>59</sup> Rouja Lazarova, *Mausolée*, Paris, Flammarion, 2009.

caractérise ainsi: «The mausoleum was a staple of communist propaganda in my youth. It was an object of pride as the equivalent of the Lenin mausoleum in Moscow. It served as a podium for the communist leadership during military parades and forced manifestations of “happy” socialist workers on several occasions every year and thus received good TV coverage. ... I was already living in Sofia, and in my twenties, when the Mausoleum was demolished and I felt that the propaganda circus the “democrats” made of the whole affair was ridiculous and the expense unjustified at the time. I felt that there were much more important and sinister relics of the communist regime, such as the files of the political police informants, which could have been brought to light in order to “create a new beginning” rather than this empty and expensive posturing. I did not, however, feel any regrets for the removed Mausoleum after the fact<sup>60</sup>.»

Les souvenirs personnels de mes répondants liés à ce bâtiment dépendent aussi de leur âge. Lieu de visite, endroit central de grandes festivités communistes, mais également de grandes réunions postcommunistes, ou les trois à la fois, le Mausolée hante les souvenirs des gens interviewés. Un étudiant se rappelle qu'il avait visité le mausolée avec ses grands-parents, mais que la seule chose dont il se souvient ce sont les gardiens devant l'entrée<sup>61</sup>. Un autre l'associe au théâtre, parce que petit, il est allé y voir une pièce de théâtre. Une femme âgée de 53 ans se rappelle les grandes manifestations qui finissaient toujours pour elle «dans un pub à côté».

La destruction du mausolée s'est gravée dans l'esprit de tout le monde. Les adultes se rappellent qu'il a été détruit à un moment donné dans les années 1990, ou bien en 1997, la plupart le disent terrassé en 1999. Parfois sa destruction est regrettée, bien qu'il soit considéré comme un symbole du régime communiste. Un étudiant raconte qu'apparemment sa destruction a duré beaucoup plus que sa construction et qu'il y avait beaucoup de tunnels là-dessous et que ceux-ci se prolongeaient loin sous la ville.

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<sup>60</sup> En anglais en original.

<sup>61</sup> Je me demande s'il s'agit d'un souvenir personnel réel ou un souvenir construit à l'âge adulte grâce au roman de Rouja Lazarova, «Mausolée», dans lequel l'auteur raconte avoir été impressionné par la présence des gardiens.



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La recherche a également proposé comme catalyseur de souvenirs des personnes interrogées l'image d'un mémorial, composé d'une petite église et un mur sur lequel sont gravés les noms des persécutés politiques. Derrière la muraille se trouve un morceau du mur du Berlin offert à la Bulgarie en 2006. Le Mémorial se trouve dans le jardin du Palais de la culture (NDK), tout près du monument dédié aux 1300 ans de la création de la Bulgarie<sup>62</sup>.

Le Mémorial semble être inconnu à la fois parmi les étudiants et les adultes. Bâti «un peu à côté» (de l'Histoire?, de la Mémoire? du chemin?), comme disait un de mes répondants, il est associé, dû à l'église, à la religion orthodoxe. Néanmoins, quelques-uns de mes répondants ont reconnu le complexe comme étant dédiés aux victimes du socialisme. «Le mur de larmes» comme il a été nommé par un des étudiants, il est lié dans les souvenirs au service religieux offert à la mémoire de victimes du communisme.

Les monuments proposés à la contemplation et à la remémoration des répondants semblent être liés à une mémoire historique incorporée pendant les cours d'histoire (les étudiants) ou dus aux débats, aux grandes réunions de l'opposition, aux festivités et aux médias (les adultes). Leur visibilité dans l'espace public communiste et postcommuniste semble jouer aussi un rôle important dans leur inscription dans la mémoire à la fois collective et individuelle. Cette

<sup>62</sup> Richard Watkins, Christopher Deliso, *Bulgaria*, Lonely Planet Publications, 2008, p. 93.

dernière subit une influence décisive des discours publics. Ainsi, les monuments sont décrits par les répondants comme des symboles du passé édifiés à l'honneur des personnages ou des événements historiques. En fonction de leur expérience et de leur horizon d'attente, les gens les considèrent soient comme étant importants pour la fierté nationale et historique<sup>63</sup>, soient inutiles et hors du nouveau contexte.

### ***Conclusions***

La manière dont le communisme a été évincé de l'histoire a mis son empreinte sur les régimes mémoriels du postcommunisme bulgare. En outre, d'autres facteurs tels que «la privatisation de la nomenklatura»<sup>64</sup> et la présence dans les nouvelles structures de l'État de ce que Baylis nommait «lower nobility of the communist era»<sup>65</sup>, jouent un rôle important dans la manière dont le communisme est présenté et représenté dans l'espace public (à la fois, dans le sens d'Habermas que dans le sens concrète, physique). L'alternance au pouvoir de gouvernements anticomunistes et ex-communistes jusqu'au 2001 a également mis son empreinte sur la manière dont le passé (très)récent a été traité dans l'espace public (monumental and habermasien).

Le changement de noms de rues, la destruction de plaques mémorielles des communistes ou des anciens combattants antifascistes, les essais de démolition de la statue de l'armée soviétique à Plovdiv et à Sofia<sup>66</sup>, la destruction du mausolée de Guéorgui Dimitrov sont autant d'actes qui visaient à faire table rasse d'un passé inquiétant, honteux, contradictoire, voire suspecté de résurrection.

Cette attitude s'est confrontée à celle des adeptes du paysage monumental communiste. Ceux-ci militaient pour la présence, la restauration et la mise en valeur des mémoriaux du communisme. Qui plus est, ils ont continué à traiter les monuments de l'ère socialiste comme des objets destinés à de rituels commémoratifs des personnes, des événements, des lieux.

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<sup>63</sup> Une étudiante mentionne que le monument de l'armée soviétique est un de plus grand de l'Europe de l'Est, que le mausolée est le deuxième plus imposant après celui de Lénine à Moscou, ce qui n'est pas forcément réel.

<sup>64</sup> Helga A. Welsh, "Dealing with the communist past: Central and East European Experiences after 1990", dans *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 48, No. 3, May 1996, pp 413-428.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas A. Baylis, "Plus ça change? Transformation and continuity Among East European Elites," dans *Communist and Post-communist Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1994, p. 317.

<sup>66</sup> Antony Todorov, « Bulgarie », p. 10.

# **HOW UNIVERSAL IS A MESSAGE? A THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE**

## **THE THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE EXILIC AND POSTEXILIC HEBREW UNIVERSALISM IN THE BOOK OF PROPHET ISAIAH\***

**Mihai Valentin VLADIMIRESCU\***

**Abstract:** The present study aims to present the main features of the Hebrew universalism, as they can be extracted from the Old Testament book of prophet Isaiah. Although in the modern and contemporary scholarship it is agreed that Isaiah's book displays three different layers of redaction, set in pre-exilic, exilic and postexilic times, the universalist perspective is a common characteristic to all the constitutive parts. The main aspects of this perspective are the identification of Yahweh with the God of all the earth and the understanding of Israel's role as a witness and preacher of God's revelation to the nations.

**Keywords:** universalism, Isaiah, exile, Judaism

The Babylonian exile had a very serious influence on the religious and political mentality of the Israelite people. On one hand, Israel had to renounce to many of its political ambitions, but on the other hand, the Exile offered the appropriate framework to a powerful ideological and religious revival. In this context, there can be distinguished two main directions of interpreting the relation between the chosen people and Yahweh and its role in the life of the entire humanity. The first direction is nationalist one, and its greatest representative is the prophet Ezekiel, while the second is the universalist one, developed especially in the book

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of prophet Isaiah<sup>1</sup>. As far as Ezekiel's book is concerned, there are no doubts on its authorship, but in Isaiah's case the problem is somewhat complicated. Prophet Isaiah lived in the 8th century B.C. and in the beginning of the 7th century, so the material contained in chapters 40-66 of his book cannot be accepted as his own redaction, as it presents specific elements to the exilic and postexilic Judaism. Under these circumstances, the researchers separated this material from the rest of the book and further divided it into Second (or Deutero) Isaiah (chapters 40-55) and Third (or Trito) Isaiah (chapter 56-66). In general, though, it is admitted that the book of prophet Isaiah, as a whole, presents some very important elements of the Hebrew universalism, representing a true turning point in a mentality previously dominated by the strictest nationalism. The universalist perspective in the book of Isaiah is a profoundly theological one, being based on the consolidation of Israel's intimate relation with Yahweh and on the assumption by the chosen people of its role as a mediator or even as an active preacher of the divine word.

### **The book of prophet Isaiah**

Isaiah<sup>2</sup> is widely considered to be one of the greatest Hebrew prophets. He lived and prophesied in the eighth century B.C., in a very turbulent period for the kingdom of Judah. Most of the information concerning Isaiah is to be drawn from the biblical book ascribed to him. We know that he was the son of Amos (to be distinguished from the homonymous prophet) and, according to the Hebrew tradition, he was of royal blood. Some researchers even advanced the opinion that he was king Amaziah's brother. Isaiah grew up in Judah's capital, Jerusalem, and received a very solid education. This, along with his sociability and ability to decipher people's thoughts and intentions promoted him in a very important position, as a religious and political counselor of some Judean kings. Actually, it appears that Isaiah was also the official historiographer during the reigns of Uzziah (2 Chr. 26:32) and Hezekiah (2 Chr. 32:32), a position in which his contacts with the monarchs and the royal elites were frequent and stable. Despite his important offices, Isaiah had the appearance and character of a pure prophet. He preferred

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<sup>1</sup> H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1913, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> In biblical Hebrew *yeshayahu*, meaning "the salvation of Yahwe" (Wilhelm Gesenius, Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*, Logos Research Systems, Bellingham, 2003, p. 374).

to wear very simple clothes and sandals, contrasting with his entourage, and he even went barefoot for a couple of years, fulfilling a divine commandment (Is. 20:2-6). Concerning his character, we could say that Isaiah displayed the most profound verticality, criticizing both the kings and the members of the higher class. He asked from the political elites for responsibility, seriousness and care for the people, while asking all to obey to God's words. In theological matters, Isaiah was very preoccupied, like all the prophets, in maintaining Judah's right beliefs about God and in denouncing the pagan practices. He also had harsh words on the formalism and lack of sincerity displayed by the ceremonies and rituals of his own religion: "And the Lord said: 'Because this people draw near with their mouth and honor me with their lips, while their hearts are far from me'" (Is. 29:13)<sup>3</sup>.

In point of international context, the first years of Isaiah's times were quite peaceful for both Judah and Israel. This was due to the weakness of the Aramaean kingdom and to the non-interventionist policy of the Assyrian kings. The turbulences began with the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (747-727 B.C.) in Assyria. Against his increasing power, king Pekah of Israel formed a coalition together with the kingdom of Damascus (Aram), but found it very difficult to cooperate with his Israelite counterpart in Judah, king Ahaz, who refused to join the alliance. As a result, Judah entered a political turmoil, because Pekah and his ally tried to place a more favorable king on the throne of Judah, while Ahaz asked for Assyrian help. In 732 B.C., the Assyrians, under the command of Tiglath-Pileser III conquered Damascus and the northern parts of Israel, while transforming the rest of the country into a vassal state, governed by king Hoshea. But the atmosphere in Israel was still tensioned, so in the following years Hoshea prepared and started a rebellion against the foreign rule. The successor of Tiglath-Pileser III, king Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.) attacked Israel, but he died before capturing the capital of Israel, Samaria. Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) conquered the city and took a large mass of captives (27.900, according to the Assyrian archives), distributing them in Halah, Gozan and Media (2 Kgs. 17:6). The southern kingdom of Judah, which was a satellite state of Assyria, after the episode involving king Ahaz and the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser III, started to revolt against the foreign domination in the end of the eighth century B.C. As a punishment for their rebellious attitude, king Sennacherib (70-681 B.C.) launched an expedition in Judah

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<sup>3</sup> Walter A. Elwell, Barry J. Beitzel, *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible*, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1988, p. 1046.

and besieged Jerusalem in 701 B.C., without success<sup>4</sup>. The first part of the book of prophet Isaiah (chapters 1-39) covers the period between the prophetic calling of Isaiah (in the year that king Uzziah died; Is. 6:1) and the last years of Hezekiah's reign (the eighties of the seventh century) and it is considered, by the vast majority of scholars – beginning with the 11th century Hebrew rabbi Ibn Ezra -, as the only portion of the book written by Isaiah himself<sup>5</sup>.

Despite this widely spread opinion, that the prophet Isaiah is the author of just part of the book, there are a lot of scholars nowadays who support the idea of the unity of the book, although they accept that the author or authors of Deutero-Isaiah cannot be identified with the historical prophet. One of these scholars, J. Alec Motyer, asserts that we are dealing with an Isaiah school, which collected the sayings and prophecies of Isaiah. He strongly believes that the main reason that lead the nineteenth century scholars to deny the unity of the book is their rationalistic opposition to predictive prophecy. We know that chapters 40-55 of Isaiah's book present a very accurate image of the Babylonian exiles, while chapters 56-66 suggest a postexilic setting. In the traditional Christian theology, the predictive prophecy is very common and its accuracy is a sign of authenticity; such is the case of Isaiah predicting Cyrus by name (Is. 44:28). On the contrary, the rationalistic exegetes considered this exact prediction a sign of later redaction, sticking to their hermeneutic principles<sup>6</sup>. J. Alec Motyer is right to denounce this approach, but we cannot ignore the fact that “all literature is to a large extent a reflection of the period in which it was written, and has been influenced by the circumstances in which the authors lived”<sup>7</sup>. Even if we accept that a first redaction of the entire book belongs to Isaiah himself, we are forced to acknowledge that many key concepts contained in chapters 40-66 belong to exilic and postexilic interventions.

In modern scholarship, there is a debate whether we should speak only about a Second Isaiah (chapters 40-66), or about a Second (chapters 40-55) and Third Isaiah (chapters 56-66). The first opinion is still maintained by the majority of biblical scholars, but an increasing number

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<sup>4</sup> D.R.W. Wood, Howard Marshall, *New Bible Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., InterVarsity Press, Leicester, 1996, p. 512.

<sup>5</sup> David Noel Freedman, Allen C. Myers, Astrid B. Beck, *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, W.B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 2000, p. 648.

<sup>6</sup> J. Alec Motyer, *Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries 20, InterVarsity Press, Nottingham, 1999, pp. 34-36.

<sup>7</sup> R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah*, T&T Clark, London & New York, 1995, p. 2.

of exegetes plead for the existence of a third unit in Isaiah's book, based mainly on the historic events. In 605 B.C., king Nebuchadnezzar of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty defeated Pharaoh Necho in Carchemish, in a decisive battle for the fate of the Middle East and became the most important leader in the world. After this victory, Nebuchadnezzar advanced southwards and he subjugated all the territories in the region. A first carrying away of captives from Jerusalem to Babylon occurred in August 605 B.C. and was followed by a second one in 597 B.C., when king Jehoiakim of Judah refused to pay the tribute to Babylon. Some ten years later, Zedekiah of Judah upset Nebuchadnezzar by negotiating treaties with Egypt and the Babylonian king invaded again the country, taking captives. Finally, the fourth deportation occurred during the attack of Nebuchadnezzar on Egypt, in 582 B.C., raising the total number of Judeans deported in Babylon to nearly 70.000 people<sup>8</sup>. Second Isaiah is most probably set some years after this final deportation, but before Cyrus issued the edict allowing the Jews to return to their homeland, in 538 B.C. In the exile, the social and political elite of Judah enjoyed a very limited autonomy, but managed to keep their national and religious identity<sup>9</sup>. The struggle to preserve the monotheistic religion and the intimate character of the relation between Jews and God combined with the international evolutions and the raise of the Persian power as a rival to Babylon created a favorable context for the development of a universalist perspective in the Hebrew thought.

### **The Holy One of Israel – God of all the earth**

The universalist perspective of Second and Third Isaiah is a theological one. Although the social and political frameworks played an important role in the general atmosphere of the exilic and postexilic times, the universalism developed in the midst of the Hebrew thought had at its base the strictest monotheism. In the Ancient Near East, the universalism was mainly a consequence of the expansionist policy of the great states in the region. Egypt, Assyria and Babylon were the most important powers and each had their own period of hegemony. But, because of their polytheistic backgrounds, these countries were not able to develop a religious universalism in the full sense of the expression. It is true that in the ancient past, the Sumerian god Ninurta demanded to be worshipped by all the captives taken from defeated countries and that

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<sup>8</sup> Walter A. Elwell, Barry J. Beitzel, *Baker Encyclopedia*, p. 734.

<sup>9</sup> Paul J. Achtemeier, *Harpers's Bible Dictionary*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1985, p. 430.

many of the gods of the conquerors entered the pantheon of their former enemies<sup>10</sup>, but this doesn't mean that we can identify a universalist ideology. The religious expansionism in the Ancient Near East involved only adding a foreign god to the local pantheon, without removing the old gods. Actually, this is what happened to all the ancient civilizations. None of them managed to remain untouched by the religious influences from abroad. But what is specific to the Hebrew religion is, of course, its monotheism. Moreover, in the Hebrew thought, this monotheism was a very particular one, because it involved a very intimate relation between God and His chosen people. Fighting against the armies and the religions of the neighboring countries, the Israelites, through the mouth of their prophets, proclaimed the total superiority of their God over the foreign gods. But still, this was not universalism, because God's message was directed only towards the children of Israel, in order to help them overcome the difficulties. In the book of prophet Isaiah, especially in the second part – the so-called Second Isaiah or Deutero-Isaiah – we can identify the first sensible traces of a reorientation of the Hebrew thought towards a theological universalist perspective. God is called "The Holy One of Israel", but He is also portrayed as the "God of all the earth". The special relation of Israel with God is seen not only as a privilege for the chosen people, but also as position from which Israel is called to spread the divine word into the entire world, either as an active missionary or as a passive witness. These two key concepts – the identification of the national God with the universal God and the mission to the nations (*goyim*) – are the main aspects of the universalist perspective of the exilic and postexilic Judaism.

The expression "the Holy One of Israel" is one of the divine names used in the Old Testament. This name is, actually, characteristic to the Hebrew religious tradition. It cannot be found in any other Semitic tradition, although one can identify some old Canaanite expressions which include terms used to describe holiness<sup>11</sup>. The oldest Old Testament passage where Yahweh is called "Holy" is 1 Sam. 6:20. The text says that seventy people were struck down by God, because they had dared to look into the Ark of God. Commenting the scene, the other inhabitants of Beth-Shemesh, the town where these things had happened,

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<sup>10</sup> Marjo C. A. Korpel, "The Greek Islands and Pontus in the Hebrew Bible", in *Old Testament Essays*, no. 19/1 (2006), p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> Like "bn qdsh", used in the Canaanite religion as a synonym for "il". Other constructions like "etzpn wqdsh" or "qdsh (w)amrr" are also used.

concluded, in a rhetorical language: “Who can stand before the Lord, before this Holy God?”.

The concept of holiness designates the very essence of the sacred and the absolute lack of any kind of impurity. The Semitic root “qds” implies, first of all, the idea of separation, of distinction and absolute otherness. In the early ages of the Semitic language family, the root gave birth to two main, basic forms – “qadish” and “qadosh”, while later, the Aramaic equivalent was established as “qedasha”<sup>12</sup>. The inspired authors of the Old Testament books present God only as Holy *par excellence*. He is separated by an infinite distance from everything else and, compared to Him, all the other things and persons are defined as common, unclean or profane (see Is. 40:25). Despite all these analogies and comparisons, we cannot explain in detail the exact meaning of holiness, because humans, as created beings, are unable to directly experiment it through their senses or to get a clear and distinct idea on the concept. The only way in which the divine holiness becomes accessible to the human experience is through its historic manifestation. The intimate relation between the Holy God and His chosen people, Israel, offered the adequate framework for this partial communication of holiness. Although God remained distant by nature – and His holiness continued to express an ineffable mystery and a consequence of the strictest monotheism – He came to be portrayed as the “The Holy One of Israel”.

This expression is used 26 times in the book of prophet Isaiah and only 6 times elsewhere in the Old Testament<sup>13</sup>, making it Isaiah’s favorite divine name. Given the special covenantal relation mentioned above, in chapters 40-55 Isaiah presents the Holy One of Israel as a Redeemer who will set free all the exiles from Babylon. The passage where Yahweh is portrayed as national God in the highest degree is, very likely, Is. 43:14-15. Firstly, the text identifies the Redeemer with the Holy One of Israel, and then it emphasizes the fact that the Redeemer will deliver the children of Israel, while bringing down all the Babylonians as fugitives. Addressing Israel, God says about Himself: “I am the Lord, your Holy One, Israel’s Creator, your King” (Is. 43:15). This phrase includes one of the clearest and most explicit definitions of the Hebrew national God, but, as we shall see, a real progress concerning

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<sup>12</sup> Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles Driver, Charles Augustus Briggs, *Enhanced Brown-Driver-Biggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Logos Research Systems, Oak Harbor, 2000, p. 871.

<sup>13</sup> Kendell H. Easley, *Holman QuickSource Guide to Understanding the Bible*, Holman Bible Publishers, Nashville, 2002, p. 146.

this understanding of God is present later on in Isaiah's book. Is. 54:4 represents a true turning point in the Hebrew religious and political thought, as Yahweh, a divine entity previously considered as a national God, superior to all the other gods of the nations, is proclaimed as a universal God: "the Holy One of Israel is your Redeemer; He is called the God of all the earth". This identification of Israel's God with the God of all the earth represents, in fact, an active remembrance of the universal character of the divine jurisdiction. This character was emphasized in the Noachic covenant, made by God with Noah, as a representative of the entire humanity, after the Flood. According to the covenant, Noah received the control over the entire creation. Humans, though, did not observe the covenant, and the consequence of their transgression is described by Isaiah in the terms of a universal judgment: "The earth will be completely laid waste and totally plundered" (Is. 24:3)<sup>14</sup>.

Thus, in the book of prophet Isaiah we witness a reevaluation of the universalist perspective enounced in the Pentateuch. In the context of a very difficult period for the children of Israel, who were forced to wander in a foreign land, but who finally managed to return, in part, to their homeland, the Hebrew thought goes to its premises, and it begins to reaffirm Yahweh's role as a universal God. This theological revival is very easily to observe in Second and Third Isaiah and this is an important argument for those who maintain the distinction between the text actually written by the prophet and the chapters added in exilic and postexilic times. In the previous centuries, both prophets and political leaders had struggled to prove Yahweh's superiority over the gods of the neighboring countries, but the perspective in Isaiah shows a remarkable maturity. The emphasis is now on the unity and uniqueness of God and on the fact that, no matter their attitudes and idolatrous religious practices, all the nations are under His power. In consequence, we may assert that the universalism proclaimed by the exilic and postexilic Hebrew theology, as proved by the book ascribed to prophet Isaiah, is, in fact, a strong consolidation of the monotheism. The national God of Israel, with which Israel has a special and specific relation, becomes "the One", the almighty God of all the earth. Although the nations do not know him yet (or at least not all the nations), everything they do is possible only because God allows them to act. Sooner or later, they will all know God,

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<sup>14</sup> Se-Hoon Jang, *Particularism and Universalism in the Book of Isaiah*, Peter Lang, Bern, 2005, p. 128.

and, according to the book of prophet Isaiah, Israel has the mission to spread His word to the nations<sup>15</sup>.

### **The Role of Israel in Spreading God's Message**

The debate concerning the presence of universalist perspectives in the books of the Old Testament prophets has been present in the biblical studies since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As we have seen, H. Wheeler Robinson emphasized the ideological clash between nationalism and universalism in the exilic and postexilic Hebrew thought and, on his footsteps, the biblical scholars underlined the strong contrast between Isaiah's universalist tendencies and Ezekiel's fundamentally nationalist vision. Of course, between these two distant poles, the discussion can have a lot of nuances, because, as we will be able to observe from the short analysis of Second Isaiah, there are multiple ambiguities and *loci* of tension in the prophetic passages that seem to support one of the two radical perspectives. Things are even more complicated by the terminology the researchers used and still use to present the problems raised by Second and Third Isaiah. Thus, as far as Israel's mission to the nations is concerned, the concept of "universalism" received different definitions. It could imply, on one hand, an active participation of the chosen people in the process of preaching God's word to the gentiles, while, on the other hand, it could imply just a passive role of Israel, who stands as a testimony of God's existence and sovereignty, provoking a crisis of religious conscience to the nations. This crisis would lead them to recognize, accept and worship God the One, which is Yahweh. In general, though, no matter the side they prefer, modern scholars consider that the book of prophet Isaiah offers the premises of a universal salvation<sup>16</sup>.

The classic and modern exegesis on Second Isaiah recognized a universalist perspective centered on the concept of mission, of active preaching of the divine word by Israel to all the nations in the world. Even in the New Testament we see how passages from the second part of the book of prophet Isaiah are used to illustrate the missionary role of the chosen people. Saint Apostle Paul, addressing the Jews in Antioch in Pisidia, quotes God's words from Is. 49:16: "I have made you a light for

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<sup>15</sup> Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *An Introduction to the Theology of Religions*, InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, 2003, pp. 39-40

<sup>16</sup> Millard Erickson, "The State of the Question," in W. V. Crockett and J. G. Sigountos (eds.), *Through No Fault of Their Own? The Fate of Those Who Have Never Heard*, Baker, Grand Rapids, 1991, pp. 32-33.

the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth" (Acts 13:47). In the following centuries, this interpretation of the book of Isaiah dominated the Christian exegesis and the prophet – or, better said, the author of Deutero-Isaia – was considered a true opener of the way for the Hebrew missionarism<sup>17</sup>. From the theological point of view, the interpretation in a missionary key of the exilic and postexilic universalism was based on the identification of Yahweh, the national God of Israel, as God the One, the God of the entire world. The process through which the prophet carries out the transition from this identification to the affirmation of the missionary duty of the children of Israel is a subtle one, involving deductions, rather than direct declarations. In a first stage, Israel will be the medium for Yahweh to make His holiness present and known to the nations, and that is why the chosen people is called "the light of the nations" (Is. 51:4). Then, all these nations will bow before Israel, but not as a consequence of a violent conquest, of a war, or of an ideological domination, but due to the intimate relation between it and the true God (Is. 49:22-23). Therefore, Israel is portrayed as a world teacher, which has to deliver the law and the worship of Yahweh to all the peoples<sup>18</sup>.

Bernard Wodecki, one of the most important contemporary researchers interested in the Hebrew universalism, pleads for a content unity of the book of prophet Isaiah, even though the controversies concerning its authorship cannot be overlooked. He considers that the entire book is penetrated by a universalist perspective and that the ideas acquire a more marked outline a greater theological depth in Second Isaiah. In chapter 1-39, the emphasis is on Zion, as a cosmic center of the world, where the nations will come as pilgrims. First of all, Jerusalem, and particularly Mount Zion, is seen as a safe haven for God's people, but its vocation is universal, as it will not become a political capital of a certain state, but a place where the divine authority on all the nations will be present. Jerusalem will overcome the status of a material place, of a determinate space, and will affirm itself as a New Paradise, where the entire humanity will be in a direct and intimate relation with God<sup>19</sup>. In Second Isaiah, Israel's role begins to be a more active one, through the Servant of God, who is identified by Wodecki with the Messiah, a classic

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<sup>17</sup> Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament*, trans. A. W. Heathcote, P. J. Allcock, Harper and Row, New York, 1958, p. 220.

<sup>18</sup> John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes*, The Anchor Yale Bible, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2008, p. lvii.

<sup>19</sup> Se-Hoon Jang, *Particularism*, p. 180.

identification in the Christian thought. Messiah will spread the teaching and the Law in the entire world, so Israel's collective missionary duty is to be considered quite limited. The most important results will be attained in the messianic age – that is, for Christians, in all these centuries that followed Jesus' earthly activity<sup>20</sup>.

After 1950, though, some scholars expressed the opinion that nationalism is, actually, the center of the prophetic discourse in Second Isaiah and that the universalist accents should be viewed as secondary elements. Most of the authors who opt to see Isaiah as a mainly nationalistic prophet, consider that the universal perspective in the exilic and postexilic Hebrew thought concerns, first and foremost, the divine plan in itself. In other words, universalism is a dimension of the providence, rather than an historic manifestation of Israel. Therefore, it could not be maintained the necessity of a missionary work on the part of the chosen people<sup>21</sup>. In this context, Israel's role in the universalist equation is that of simply being the chosen people. Israel acts exclusively as passive mediator by its very existence, as a medium of Yahweh revelation to the nations<sup>22</sup>. But, as we've previously pointed out, there are some visible fluctuations in Isaiah's prophetic message, which seems to oscillate between a nationalist perspective and a universalist one. For most of the contemporary exegetes, these fluctuations are due to the specific historic circumstances in which each of the three parts of the book was written. Because of the political instability in exilic and postexilic times, the members of the so-called "School of prophet Isaiah" reinterpreted the old traditions in a manner more appropriate to the new national and world configuration.

It is, however, possible to consider that the redactors of Deutero-Isaia assumed the mainly nationalist material in the Isaiah original tradition. Because of the strong roots that nationalism had in the Hebrew mentality, they were not able to fully remove it from their redaction<sup>23</sup>. In this context, the book of Isaiah, as a whole, managed to exploit the

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<sup>20</sup> Bernard Wodecki, "Heiluniversalismus im Buch des Propheten Jesaja", in J. Reindl, G. Hentschel (eds.), *Dein Wort Beachten: Alttestamentliche Aufsätze*, St. Benno-Verlag, Leipzig, 1981, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations: A Study of the Old Testament Conception of Israel's Mission to the World*, trans. J. P. Smith, Oliver and Boyd, London, 1962, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Michael A. Grisanti, "Israel's Mission to the Nations in Isaiah 40-55: An Update", in *The Master's Seminary Journal*, no. 9/1 (1988), p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> A. Gelston, "The Missionary Message of Second Isaiah", in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, no. 18 (1965), p. 316.

nationalist grounds by calling the Israelites to renew their covenantal relation with God and to reaffirm their status as Yahweh's privileged people. This normalization in the link between the children of Israel and their God was a prerequisite for the understanding of the central role that Israel is called to play in the plan of the expansion of the divine word. Thus, the historic evolution determined Israel to go through two very important stages: the first consisting in the consolidation of its character as the chosen people and its return full of love and obedience to Yahweh, and the second consisting in its universalist opening, as a witness and/or as a preacher of the existence and authority of God the One. Other researchers tried to redefine the terms of Isaiah's discourse, in order to explain the fluctuations between nationalism and universalism, but such an approach seems to adapt the prophetic content to the outer realities, rather than to explain Isaiah's vision in the given historic context<sup>24</sup>.

### **Conclusions**

As we have seen, the details of the universalist perspective present throughout the book of prophet Isaiah are still a question of debate in the academic world. But what we can assert with certitude is the fact that the exilic and postexilic age of the Hebrew history is dominated by an evident widening of the religious and political horizon. This universalism has its roots in the time of Isaiah himself, because in the first 39 chapters of its book, which are for sure his work, we can find a theological understanding of the fact that Yahweh, the national God so closely attached to the children of Israel, is, in fact, the One and Only God of the entire creation. Although this belief was, actually, fundamental in the Hebrew Bible (as proved by the Genesis), it was necessary to be reaffirmed in Isaiah's times and in the exilic and postexilic age. The Israelites had to understand that the salvation is not guaranteed by the ethnic origin, but by the degree in which the divine commandments are observed. As a consequence of the Exile, Deutero-Isaiah asked Israel to start to assume its role as a chosen people in the right manner, not as a matter of narcissistic pride, but as an obligation to act as witness and preacher – more or less active – of God's revelation to the nations.

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<sup>24</sup> D. E. Hollenberg, "Nationalism and 'the Nations' in Isaiah XL–LV", in *Vetus Testamentum*, no. 19 (1969), pp. 26-29.

# **LES APORIES DE L'AMOUR ET DE LA LIBERTE: QUAND L'AMOUR UNIT ET L'HISTOIRE PROMET\***

**Ion MILITARU\***

**Abstract:** Taking into consideration one of the most famous literary work, the present article traces the evolution of the main *aporia* of Eros, that of having to choose between love and freedom. The main purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which binding love opposes the desire for freedom. This is the tragic meaning attributed to an Eros that has become part of history. Without pretending to resort to the study of logic, the article aims to prove how Eros manages to overcome its rigorous linearity and thus, faced with aporias, it is unable to think of solution.

**Keywords:** aporia, Eros, feeling, liberty.

Il est difficile à savoir exactement si dans la liste des lectures de Freud – toujours discutables au point de vue esthétique! – *Adolphe* a jamais présenté quelque intérêt. Il est possible qu'il ait fallu susciter un tel intérêt, sinon d'un autre point de vue, au moins d'un point strictement médical, c'est-à-dire psychanalytique, sans ignorer, en même temps, le fait que Benjamin Constant a passé bien des années en Allemagne comme immigrant et les personnages de son amour sont des Allemands, autrement dit, il pourrait être intégré à la culture allemande de son vivant.

Du point de vue de Freud, qui aurait pu retenir son attention, il n'est pas seulement question de l'amour, qui a toujours sa propre place sur le tableau des matières de la psychanalyse, mais de la manière où le mot organise et produit une biographie narrée. Un amour qui a lieu exclusivement par l'intermédiaire du mot, où le mot a la priorité par rapport à l'apparition du sentiment et sa propre existence pouvait

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intéresser la psychanalyse d'une manière naturelle. Sans la grille de lecture psychanalytique, le roman de Constant reste encore ouvert à la lecture libre.

L'amour d'Adolphe, qui avait terminé les cours de l'Université de Göttingen et Ellénore, la maîtresse du comte de P., commence par une lettre et finit toujours par une lettre.

Arrivé dans la petite ville de D., au désir de son père, celui de voyager dans les pays les plus importants de l'Europe, le jeune Adolphe s'ennuie. À côté de son ennui, la timidité est l'état d'esprit qui le mène à prendre en charge un type de *weltanschauung* qui ne lui offre pas trop de satisfaction. Je trouvais qu'aucun but ne valait pas la peine d'aucun effort<sup>1</sup>, en admettant tout à la fois qu'il se trouve dans la situation *d'une certaine absence d'abandon...*<sup>2</sup> et d'un

...désir ardent d'indépendance, une grande impatience des liens dont j'étais environné, une terreur invincible d'en former de nouveaux. Je ne me trouvais à mon aise que tout seul, et tel est même à présent l'effet de cette disposition d'âme que, dans les circonstances les moins importantes, quand je dois choisir entre deux parties, la figure humaine me trouble, et mon mouvement naturel est de la fuir pour délibérer en paix<sup>3</sup>.

Il est assez rare qu'on retrouve des prémisses convenables-soient-elles désintéressées!-pour éviter toute possible implication sur le territoire de l'amour. Malgré cette position existentielle et une *weltanschauung* correspondante, Adolphe veut aimer, se propose d'aimer, poussé plutôt par la biologie de l'âge que par l'abandon moral. En conséquence, malgré ces prémisses, qui étaient loin de favoriser certaine chose tel l'amour, *la chose* se passe. « Je portais au fond de mon cœur un besoin de sensibilité dont je ne m'apercevais pas, mais qui, ne trouvant point à se satisfaire, me détachait successivement de tous les objets qui tour à tour attiraient ma curiosité. Cette indifférence sur tout...»<sup>4</sup>

Il se dit pourtant: *je veux être aimé*. Or, il est difficile à voir de quelle manière se déroule la réconciliation entre cette indifférence sur

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe*, Flammarion, 1965, p. 55. Pour une excellente analyse voir Sophie-Anne Guermès, « Benjamin Constant: de la passion à l'apathie, itinéraire d'un mélancolique » in *Romantisme*, 2001, n°111. *L'œuvre et le temps*, pp. 29-38.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 54

tout, le goût pour la solitude, l'aversion contre la société des hommes et l'amour, dont le sens réside exactement en ce qu'il rejettait.

Avec de telles données contradictoires, l'amour dont l'histoire va suivre, ne peut pas être simple, ni sa fin heureuse. «Mon cœur avait besoin d'amour...» dit-il, de l'autre côté. Il est difficile à en croire mais, enfin...

Ellénore, avoue Adolphe, «me parut une conquête digne de moi». De la même façon que, sans être convaincant dans son témoignage: «mon âme avait besoin d'amour, ma vanité de succès»<sup>5</sup>.

Après quelques hésitations de début, *je me suis déterminé à lui écrire*<sup>6</sup>. Et Adolphe lui écrit. C'est-à-dire il préfère lui écrire, mais il ne lui parle pas, parce que le mot écrit est plus proche des données naturelles primaires, c'est-à-dire des données de son caractère, tel qu'il s'était construit dans les descriptions antérieures: la timidité et la solitude.

Néanmoins il n'aime pas: l'impatience que j'éprouvais de n'avoir pu le surmonter [son caractère], mon incertitude sur le succès de ma tentative, jetèrent dans ma lettre une agitation qui ressemblait fort à l'amour. Echauffé d'ailleurs que j'étais par mon propre style, je ressentais, en finissant d'écrire, un peu de la passion que j'avais cherché à exprimer avec toute la force possible<sup>7</sup>.

Au début de son histoire d'amour, Adolphe parle des miettes et d'une inquiétude pareille à l'amour. Il n'a, par conséquent, rien de propre à l'amour, c'est-à-dire rien: des fragments, des tourments ou des vocations où il puisse trouver l'amour proprement-dit. Ce qu'il essaye se trouve dans le voisinage de l'amour, quelque chose qui lui ressemble, il n'essaye pas quelque chose qui soit.

Ce n'est pas étonnant parce que: «Ma mémoire me retraçait les instants où je m'étais dit que je n'aspirais qu'à un succès; que ce n'était qu'une tentative à laquelle je renoncerais sans peine»<sup>8</sup>. Sous la menace qu'il quittera le pays si elle ne l'accepte pas, Adolphe a la première rencontre avec Ellénore. Une fois accepté, il lui parle de son amour. «Je passai quelques heures à ses pieds, me proclamant le plus heureux des hommes, lui prodiguant mille assurances de tendresse, de dévouement et de respect éternel...»<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p.67

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*. p.70

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Peu après, l'amour apparaît dans sa tenue parfaite. Mais, au moment où l'amour se manifeste dans son expression parfaite, l'interprétation d'Adolphe entre par la porte de l'herméneutique négative. Lui qui, en vérité, n'était pas préparé pour l'amour, ni pour l'offrir, ni pour le recevoir, fait l'interprétation dans sa dialectique négative, c'est-à-dire dans son expression physique, dépourvue d'authenticité et accablante. Les faits de l'amour sont déplacés de leur signification déjà vécue, c'est-à-dire ils sont éloignés du langage du cœur où ils exposent leur vérité et entrent dans le langage du temps physique et celui des choses physiques.

Elle ne me laissait jamais la quitter sans essayer de me retenir. Lorsque je sortais, elle me demandait quand je reviendrais. Deux de séparation lui étaient insupportables. Elle fixait avec une précision inquiète l'instant de mon retour. J'y souscrivais avec joie, j'étais reconnaissant, j'étais heureux du sentiment qu'elle me témoignait. Mais cependant les intérêts de la vie commune ne se laissent pas plier arbitrairement à tous nos désirs. Il ne m'était quelques fois incommodé d'avoir tous mes pas marqués d'avance et tous mes moments ainsi comptés. J'étais forcé de précipiter toutes mes démarches, de rompre avec la plupart de mes relations<sup>10</sup>.

C'est le moment où tout se sépare. L'amour devient matériel, accablant et restrictif. Les sentiments de ces deux êtres commencent à différer. Pour Adolphe, l'amour est ressenti dans toute sa manifestation inférieure, pour Ellénore, c'est tout différent. L'amour devient quelque chose de différent pour chacun d'entre eux. «Ellénore était sans doute un vif plaisir dans mon existence, mais elle n'était plus un but: elle était devenue un lien»<sup>11</sup>. Voilà donc ce que l'amour représentait pour Adolphe, ou qu'il était arrivé à ce point. En revanche, pour Ellénore, l'amour était un *abandon complet*.<sup>12</sup>

Dans l'histoire de l'amour qui évolue en histoire – pas du tout en éternité! – c'est-à-dire de l'amour qui apparaît, se développe et s'éteint, il y a trois termes qui décrivent parfaitement son évolution: but, plaisir, liaison. Au début, l'amour est but, c'est-à-dire, il vit en soi et pour soi, il n'a aucune transcendance, aucune motivation en dehors de lui-même, c'est lui purement et simplement, lui en exclusivité, lui comme absolu. Au deuxième moment du schéma historique, l'amour perd sa qualité de but, arrête d'être vécu en soi. Vivre l'amour se transforme maintenant en

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.90.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

motivation du plaisir. Il devient partie, fragment, motivation partielle, un tout mutilé.

Enfin, en troisième lieu, susceptible de toute dégradation de l'amour, de sa transformation en oppression, dépendance et non-liberté, c'est le terme de la liaison dans le plus grossier sens du mot.

L'amour, de la liberté absolue, devient prison absolu. Or, devant les murs et la clôture, le premier instinct est celui de refus et d'issue de l'autre côté. Adolphe veut évader, c'est-à-dire veut quitter l'horizon frustrant des murs et respirer l'air frais de la géographie dépourvue d'obstructions.

Ce qui se trouve au-delà des murs, c'est-à-dire au-delà de l'amour, apparaît pour Adolphe comme représentation, en vérité, du potentiel qui doit être actualisé. C'est pourquoi donc, il fait la description de toute la série des possibles qui se situeraient de l'autre côté.

Dans ce moment précis, parvient la lettre de son père, la norme morale éternelle, qui lui demande de revenir chez soi. Conformément à la requête de son père, l'amour se montre comme le domaine de l'aliénation, renoncer à celui-ci est le synonyme du retour à la maison. La maison serait exactement ce qui se trouve au-delà de l'amour, en dehors de lui et sans lui. Ou, au moins, il paraît être ainsi, à la suite de l'intervention paternelle, au sens de laquelle Adolphe adhère sans hésitation.

Des discussions à adresse ferme apparaissent maintenant: «Je me plaignis de ma vive contrainte, de ma jeunesse consumée dans l'inaction du despotisme qu'elle exerçait sur toutes mes démarches»<sup>13</sup>.

Les mots viennent pour dire non seulement ce que c'est ou ce qui paraissent dire, ou ce qu'Adolphe pourrait comprendre. Les mots viennent pour rester eux-mêmes, pour être quelque chose en soi. Enfin, ce sont des mots qui ne peuvent pas être pardonnés.

Parce qu'il voit en Ellénore l'absence de sa liberté, Adolphe fait des syllogismes concernant toute la condition de la femme. Il ne se lance pas dans des jugements sur des personnes particulières, mais sur la femme en général. Malgré le fait que dans son témoignage de début, il déclarait avoir horreur d'axiomes et de jugements généraux, maintenant il fait recours à ceux-ci avec toute l'inconséquence de la manque d'attention: «...mais j'avais pris en horreur l'empire des femmes. Je ne cessais de déclamer contre leur faiblesse, leur exigence, le despotisme de leur douleur. J'affichais les principes le plus durs...»<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

En parlant ainsi, il parle inconsciemment, contre les prémisses les plus élémentaires de l'amour. Dans l'économie du langage et du lexique approprié, il renonce peu à peu à parler de l'amour, en le remplaçant par des termes subordonnés: «...je me félicitais quand j'avais pu substituer les mots d'affection, d'amitié, de dévouement, à celui d'amour...»<sup>15</sup>. Les mots ne viennent pas cette fois-ci pour diriger et construire un sens, mais pour produire des effets, ils deviendront des armes proprement-dites: «...je n'envisageai plus mes paroles d'après le sens qu'elles devaient contenir, mais d'après l'effet qu'elles ne pouvaient manquer de produire...»<sup>16</sup>.

La comparaison indique la différence d'attitude et mène à des frustrations: *Je comparais ma vie...* – c'est l'intervalle où Adolphe vient s'installer dans une autre ville où Ellénore aussi allait y arriver! – «...indépendante et tranquille à la vie de précipitations, de troubles et de tourment à laquelle sa passion me condamnait»<sup>17</sup>.

Il est sans doute qu'Adolphe voit maintenant en Ellénore l'amour, le sentiment dans son expression matérielle, réduit à son expression physique absolue, mais c'est exactement ce qu'on retrouve dans le support concret, dans son expression ontologique cruelle et non pas dans sa totalité. Dans l'absolu de l'amour, c'est-à-dire dans sa totalité, l'amour est – tout d'abord c'est-à-dire dans sa vérité complète, en ce qui lui donne le sens et ne lui permet pas d'être confondu avec la physique du monde ni avec sa matière – le contraire de tout cela. On ne retrouve rien de ce qu'Adolphe ressent comme liaison et tourment dans l'oubli de soi où vit Ellénore.

La sélection pour le négatif de l'amour, c'est-à-dire pour retenir sa dimension matérielle, c'est une carence après laquelle l'amour s'éteint. L'amour n'est pas fait pour vivre longtemps dans le cœur d'Adolphe pendant que ce n'est pas le cœur qui vient lui parler de la liaison et du tourment. Le cœur d'Adolphe est perverti. Il vient faire la lecture de l'amour à l'envers. La perversion de cette lecture est synonyme à la descente dans la matière inférieure, sur la dernière marche de l'existence.

**Coincidentia opositorum**, l'amour ne vit aucun moment séparé de l'une de cette dimension. Sans corporalité, il devient amour angélique – avec trop peu de correspondance, ou pas du tout, dans notre monde tombé, c'est-à-dire dans le monde historique! – et finalement, sans passion divine, sans sacrifice, sur le plan de la gratuité, satisfaction

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p.108.

permise à l'occasion du cycle d'une biographie prolongée au niveau du plaisir perpétuel<sup>18</sup>.

Incapable de vivre l'amour, Adolphe a à sa portée le pendant artificieux d'une autre chose qui lui aurait été à son effet.

Je jetais un long et triste regard sur le temps qui venait de s'écouler sans retour; je me rappelais les espérances de ma jeunesse, la confiance avec laquelle je croyais autrefois commander à l'avenir, les éloges accordés à mes premiers essais, l'aurore de réputation que j'avais vue brille et disparaître. Je me répétais les noms de plusieurs de mes compagnons d'étude que j'avais traités avec un dédain superbe, et qui, par le seul effet d'un travail opiniâtre et d'une vie régulière, m'avaient laissé loin derrière eux dans la route de la fortune, de la considération et de la gloire: j'étais oppressé de mon inaction. Comme les avares se représentent dans les trésors qu'ils entassent tous les biens que ces trésors pourraient acheter, j'apercevais dans Ellénore la privation de tous les succès auxquels j'aurais pu prétendre. Ce n'était pas une carrière seule que je regrettai: comme je n'avais essayé d'aucune, je les regrettai toutes<sup>19</sup>.

Ce contenu, mis au compte de la liberté, fait de l'amour le terme d'une disjonction désavouée. Là, ne fonctionne pas un registre disjonctif kierkegaardien de type ou-ou. L'un des termes de la disjonction est à préférer. C'est le terme qui aurait pu acquérir l'actualité en absence de l'amour. Or, comme l'amour l'avait empêché de s'actualiser, il devient désirable et l'amour désavoué. Désavouer l'amour est plus fort que désirer la liberté. Cela pourrait être ainsi pour Adolphe.

Ce que le héros ne comprend pas – ce qui le mène à pervertir le sens de l'amour et à créer une attitude hostile – c'est son fonctionnement selon d'autres critères que ceux mis à la portée de l'acceptation, de l'attitude disjonctive.

L'essence de l'amour ne se prête pas au sens des opérations logiques – disjonction ou conjonction – elle s'allume dans la totalité du sentiment pour lequel il n'y a rien de la sorte. La disjonction et la fonction à laquelle peut aboutir quelqu'un qui tente d'expliquer pourquoi on n'aime plus, et le sens de cette fonction est de maintenir au superlatif le vivant.

L'apparition de la disjonction ne sert pas seulement à opérer logiquement, invoquée pour soi d'une manière absurde, mais à une vitalité de l'orgueil et de la vanité, à un narcissisme déjà en train de

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<sup>18</sup> Nicolaus Cusanus va développer le thème à un double niveau, théologique et anthropologique mais va garder essentiellement sa disponibilité universelle.

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe*, p.133

contacter la maladie. Le narcissisme sain est celui qui s'explique ou parle. Justifier le narcissisme c'est déjà passer en avant le logique, établir la priorité d'un ordre où la vanité est sollicitée par des suggestions impropre.

Puisque la structure du discours entier d'Adolphe donne préférence à la liberté – à une liberté, c'est vrai, superficiellement imaginée et non pas rigoureusement élaborée, comme il a l'intention d'exposer ses préférences devant la vanité logique – il la gagne. Il se libère d'Ellénore par la mort de celle-ci. Il souhaitait presque. Sa mort vient comme possibilité de liberté de dehors. Mais c'est Adolphe qui la lui a causée.

La liberté – c'est la leçon de cette histoire-ci – peut être gagnée n'importe quand. La parcourir offrira à son tour une autre leçon: elle n'est pas toujours désirée peut-être. Au moins, au cas d'Adolphe, on montre comment la liberté a été désirée de façon précipitée, de la même manière précipitée, on a renoncé à l'amour.

Qu'est-ce qui se passe plus loin avec la liberté gagnée par le sacrifice de l'amour? Quels sont les contenus inoculés d'Adolphe et à quel point il est satisfait suite au fait que, cette fois-ci, il a fait ce qu'il devait faire, c'est-à-dire grâce au fait qu'il s'est fait construire son *dasein* d'après la norme de *sollen*. C'est-à-dire, suite au fait que tous les deux sont un tout: **sein et sollen?**<sup>20</sup>

C'est l'éditeur qui le dit, celui qui a disposé du manuscrit où Adolphe avait raconté sa vie: «J'aurais deviné qu'Adolphe a été puni de son caractère par son caractère même, qu'il n'a suivi aucune route fixe, rempli aucune carrière utile, qu'il a consumé ses facultés sans autre direction que le caprice, sans autre force que l'irritation...»<sup>21</sup> et qui, par des compétences éditoriales qui démasquent à peine, au fond, la personne de Benjamin Constant, met tout dans une clé moralisatrice. Une histoire vraie du malheur de l'âme humaine.

Avant l'éditeur- ou à Constant même! – le personnage avait été appelé à un exercice de moralisation tardive, un exercice de lucidité où les chimères de ses anciennes illusions sur la liberté et l'amour changent leur sens. La mort d'Ellénore n'apporte pas à Adolphe la liberté par laquelle il mettait en doute l'amour.. Elle lui apporte en échange son désert; c'est-à-dire le monde vidé de vie – quel métaphore admirable y apporte Constant pour la liberté nue.

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<sup>20</sup> Voir la différence kantienne de la philosophie morale.

<sup>21</sup> Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe*, p. 182.

Combien elle me pesait, cette liberté que j'avais tant regrettée! Combien elle manquait à mon cœur, cette dépendance qui m'avait révolté souvent! Naguère toutes mes actions avaient un but; j'étais sûr, par chacune d'elles, d'épargner une peine ou de causer un plaisir: je m'en plaignais alors; j'étais impatienté qu'un œil ami observât mes démarches, que le bonheur d'un autre y fût attaché. Personne maintenant ne les observait; elles n'intéressaient personne; nul ne me disputait mon temps ni mes heures; aucune voix ne me rappelait quand je sortais. J'étais libre, en effet, je n'étais plus aimé: j'étais étranger pour tout le monde<sup>22</sup>.

La sagesse dernière ne l'aide à rien et la lucidité à laquelle il aboutit n'est autre chose que la lucidité qui reflète son chagrin. L'amour ... *lutte contre la réalité*<sup>23</sup> – peut-il admettre – c'est-à-dire exactement ce qu'il n'avait pas fait, ce qu'il n'avait pas cru et n'avait pas entrepris. **Le principe de la réalité**<sup>24</sup> auquel il avait cru appartenir et au nom duquel il avait tout sacrifié, s'était avéré être plus fort.

Adolphe n'avait pas affronté la réalité au nom de l'amour, ni même la réalité tenace et ferme qui lui s'oppose, mais seulement son ombre ou l'inertie: «...j'allais vivre sans elle dans ce désert du monde, que j'avais souhaité tant de fois de traverser indépendant»<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>24</sup> S. Freud, *Au-delà du principe du plaisir*

<sup>25</sup> Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe*, pp. 169 -170.

# LES TRAITS SAILLANTS DE LA PHILOSOPHIE DE NAE IONESCU<sup>\*</sup>

Constantin MIHAI<sup>\*</sup>

**Abstract:** This study tries to underline the essence of Nae Ionescu's philosophy, beginning from two aspects: the philosophy as a regard toward the world, the matter of Absolute as the objective of knowledge. The importance of Nae Ionescu in the Romanian interwar culture consists not in the attempt of creating a metaphysical system, but in creating a method to perceive the reality and a technique to formulate it. The features of Nae Ionescu's thinking can be revealed on the level of all problems treated: from *soteria* to *sympathia*, from the individual salvation to the place of the human being in the world – the Christian communion. In fact, this is the philosophy of being that begins with the inner exploration and finishes beyond itself in God (*soteria*), or in History (*sympathia*). Thus this is the value of the human being's authenticity, given by his spiritual freedom, revealed by Nae Ionescu's philosophy.

**Key-words:** philosophy, *soteria*, *sympathia*, being, communion, freedom, Absolute, subject, existence.

La présence de Nae Ionescu<sup>1</sup> dans la culture roumaine moderne est essentielle dans le sens où il a réussi à reconnecter la tradition roumaine à

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<sup>1</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 Bäumker, 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.

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>2</sup>. La vie du philosophe roumain a été l'une des plus intéressantes et les 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 et jusqu'à après la première guerre mondiale, les étudiants ont vécu sous l'influence spirituelle de Nae Ionescu. Dans la vie universitaire, le professeur Nae Ionescu se situe, dès le début, comme descendant direct du savant Nicolae Iorga, l'artisan du réalisme historique. Chronologiquement, Nae Ionescu apparaît aussi comme un descendant de l'historien Vasile Pârvan, qui avait exercé une certaine magie 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 non pas seulement un simple enseignement.

## 1. La philosophie comme regard sur le monde

La philosophie de Nae Ionescu est, selon Mircea Eliade, une philosophie existentialiste-chrétienne, de facture orthodoxe. Dans ses manuscrits, Mircea Vulcănescu l'envisage comme une philosophie qui a nettoyé le terrain d'une réorientation en sens simultané vers une vision réaliste, intellectualiste, mystique, statique, substantialiste et transcendante. C'est une philosophie marquée par un subjectivisme évident<sup>3</sup>. Adversaire inflexible de l'histoire de la philosophie, conçue comme un processus permanent d'évolution organique et progressive de la pensée humaine, dénonçant les présuppositions qui se cachent habilement derrière une telle conception, ainsi que ses confusions, Nae Ionescu ne l'admet que dans les termes d'une *typologie de l'esprit humain* détachée de toute contingence.

Nae Ionescu envisage la philosophie comme acte de *philosopher*, aspect surprenant pour un penseur formé dans l'esprit de la philosophie

<sup>2</sup> Voir la postface substantielle de Mircea Eliade, en tant qu'éditeur du recueil des articles de Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor* 1926-1933, Bucureşti, Cultura Națională, 1937, p.440.

<sup>3</sup> Mircea Vulcănescu, « Gândirea filosofică a domnului Nae Ionescu » (La pensée philosophique de Nae Ionescu), in Marin Diacon (ed.), *Mircea Vulcănescu. De la Nae Ionescu la Criterion*, Bucureşti, Humanitas, 2003, p.46.

allemande – il ne s'agit pas dans le cas du philosophe roumain d'un partisan du système philosophique, dans le sens méta-philosophique. Malgré cela, la problématique ontologique se mêle, chez lui, avec la problématique gnoséologique, avec des prolongements incessants dans les sphères épistémologique, logique et anthropologique.

Dans *L'Histoire de la logique* (1924-1925), Nae Ionescu perçoit la philosophie comme étant l'adaptation de l'univers aux besoins de l'être. La Philosophie ne dispose pas d'un objet précis; elle est le reflet d'une personnalité humaine en train de s'approprier l'univers; c'est l'activité humaine par excellence. L'activité philosophique constitue, donc, une synthèse novatrice entre le sujet pensant et l'univers sensible<sup>4</sup>.

Dans le *Cours de l'histoire de la Métaphysique* (1930-1931), Nae Ionescu fait une subtile distinction entre philosophie et métaphysique. Tandis que la connaissance philosophique est une connaissance de type *effet – cause* (il n'y a aucune différence entre la philosophie et la science comme modalités spécifiques de connaissance), la connaissance métaphysique vise le rapport *cause – effet* (du dedans vers le dehors). La Métaphysique est le dernier ressort de l'activité spirituelle humaine<sup>5</sup>. L'accent mis sur la métaphysique équivaut à un déplacement de l'aspect de la connaissance de la totalité vers celui de la connaissance des fondements du monde; par conséquent, le philosophe roumain passe de la connaissance vers l'Etre, vers l'ontologie.

Il faut préciser que pour Nae Ionescu, la philosophie n'est pas un métier quelconque qu'on peut s'approprier – comme le Wagner de *Faust* qui a acquis le métier de la science et de la technique –, mais c'est une *vocation propre à la personnalité métaphysique*. Dès la leçon inaugurale de *La fonction épistémologique de l'amour* (1919), le philosophe affirme vraiment que la personnalité métaphysique, dans son aspiration vers l'équilibre, ajuste l'existence aux espoirs métaphysiques de l'homme.

Nae Ionescu envisage la philosophie *comme une vision d'ensemble de la réalité*, vision réalisée non pas du point de vue scientifique, objectif, mais comme une mise en accord de l'existence avec le soi. C'est le résultat de l'état d'inquiétude intérieure, de trouble, de rupture et de souffrance du au fait que notre exploration intérieure, au lieu de nous apporter la quiétude promise, nous mène à la conclusion de l'insuffisance humaine consistant à se renfermer en soi-même.

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<sup>4</sup> Nae Ionescu, *Istoria logicii* (*L'Histoire de la logique*), Bucureşti, Humanitas, 1993, pp.49-50.

<sup>5</sup> Nae Ionescu, *Curs de istorie a metafizicii* (*Cours de l'histoire de la métaphysique*), Bucureşti, Anastasia, 1996, p.150.

On y remarque tout d'abord une condition *sine qua non*: pour faire de la Philosophie, il faut être un *homme*, au sens fort du terme, c'est-à-dire une personnalité bien affirmée; il faut avoir aussi une grande sensibilité, un grand besoin de se mettre en accord avec soi-même, une nécessité accrue de trouver son équilibre et un centre de gravité propre permettant de trouver son équilibre. Après cette étape obligatoire, commence l'effort sysiphiqe de la quête de l'insondable individuel. Cette étape engendre un conflit entre le Moi et le monde: le monde harcèle le Moi de plusieurs informations que celui-ci doit ordonner en vue d'obtenir une *unité organique*.

On arrive ainsi à un stade de division en deux termes: d'une part, le Moi en tant que monde du sujet, d'autre part, le monde sensible qui existe objectivement en dehors, au-delà de soi et que le Moi compose à partir des données existantes. Il s'agit, donc, de deux univers: le Moi et le monde qui sont dans une permanente opposition. C'est dans cette contradiction que réside l'essence du processus de philosopher. Ce processus de recherche du rapport entre le Moi et le monde constitue, selon Nae Ionescu, la préoccupation prééminente de la philosophie. Par conséquent, la philosophie est une activité de connaissance propre à l'homme; elle existe depuis que l'homme existe, répondant à son besoin intérieur de connaître le monde dans son ensemble et les rapports qui y sont en jeu. Que cette activité ait été au début orale ou écrite, n'a en principe aucune importance pour le philosophe.

Le tableau d'ensemble du monde peut être aussi réalisable par le biais de la science, tout comme dans le cas du monisme matérialiste ou bien de l'idéalisme objectif. Ce sont des systèmes philosophiques accomplis à des périodes distinctes, qui ont correspondu aux besoins de leur temps. Le caractère historique de ces tableaux accomplis soit par le biais de la science, soit du point de vue de l'idéalisme objectif ou comme une exigence de la raison d'assurer l'unité du monde (La Renaissance ou Les Lumières) est prouvé par les divers types de systèmes philosophiques qui ont été créés.

La période roumaine d'entre-deux-guerres est dominée par le grand désespoir de la science qui s'imposera dans la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, lorsque la connaissance théorique sera incapable de réaliser rationnellement un tableau d'ensemble de la réalité, qui aurait offert beaucoup de satisfaction au sujet. De plus, vers la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la science arrive à admettre ses limites au niveau de la connaissance rationnelle.

Les limites de la connaissance rationnelle demandent l'emploi d'autres moyens pour réaliser une vision d'ensemble. Comme une réaction à cette impuissance, Renouvier et Bergson remettent en question les notions d'intuition et d'irrationnel. En outre, le néothomisme de Jacques Maritain sensibilise Nae Ionescu d'une manière particulière. C'est pourquoi, le philosophe compare son époque à l'époque médiévale, à l'exception de l'atmosphère de bienséance qui dominait au Moyen Âge. Après le *désastre* rationaliste de la période grecque, le Moyen Âge représentait une époque de pénitence.

Dans l'odyssée de la philosophie européenne, après l'apocalypse du Moyen Âge, le revirement de la raison et de la connaissance marque la Renaissance, les Lumières et le scientisme du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. La reconnaissance des limites de la connaissance scientifique détermine la résurgence de certains principes médiévaux, tels que l'intérêt, la préoccupation pour la dimension du vivre de l'existence. En accord avec sa conception créationniste, la vision métaphysique médiévale du monde a été toujours présente chez Nae Ionescu, en dépit de quelques moments de rupture. C'est en ce sens qu'il considère les grandes créations philosophiques, en tant que grandes renaissances religieuses. C'est la question de la Création à laquelle le philosophe roumain consacra sa jeunesse. Ce point de vue sera cependant nuancé par Nae Ionescu au cours de sa période de maturité, lorsque le concept de *vivre-compréhension*, modalité spécifique de la connaissance de la philosophie, va sonder les profondeurs de l'Absolu.

## 2. L'Absolu, objectif de la connaissance?

La philosophie reste une connaissance qui essaie d'atténuer le conflit tragique entre le Moi et le monde et qui cherche l'équilibre intérieur de l'homme et de celui-ci avec le monde. Mais, cet équilibre *Absolu* que l'homme cherche partout et auquel il aspire existe-t-il?

L'introspection mène l'homme à la conclusion qu'il n'est pas autosuffisant, étant obligé de sortir de soi-même. Outre le soi, il y a le monde sensible, objectif, qui s'y oppose. La tâche de la personnalité métaphysique réside dans la réconciliation de ces deux modes d'existence. Quelle sorte de réconciliation est possible? L'homme s'intègre-t-il au monde? sont des questions qui s'imposent d'emblée.

La personnalité philosophique suppose un *noyau spirituel*, le Moi ou la conscience de soi, qui polarise toutes les ressources humaines dans une unité organique harmonieuse. C'est cette personnalité qui reçoit et intègre les informations et les données de l'extérieur en fonction de ses besoins. C'est en ce sens que se réalise une unité, un équilibre dicté par la

personnalité philosophique. Celle-ci part de sa propre expérience, qui lui fournit les informations filtrées par le concept central de *vivre-compréhension*. Vivant l'existence, la personnalité dispose d'une expérience qui peut être plus vaste en fonction des connaissances acquises. Et cette formule qui exprime notre manière générale d'agir devant l'existence constitue la philosophie.

Le but de la philosophie est de trouver une forme d'équilibre entre le Moi et le monde. Mais cet équilibre implique l'immobilisme, le manque de vie. Pour l'atteindre il faut transcender les limites de la condition humaine, vers le virtuel, l'Absolu. La raison n'est ni capable, ni suffisante de le saisir et c'est pourquoi Nae Ionescu partage l'opinion de sa génération, selon laquelle l'échec de la science en quête de l'Absolu équivaut à celui de la raison. Evidemment, la science est valable et profitable puisque elle nous fait connaître des événements, des causes efficientes – *de simples correspondances*, dans la conception de Nae Ionescu – ou des vérités objectives, mais relatives. Une connaissance des fondements de l'Etre s'accomplit par le biais du vivre qui devient possible au moment du positionnement à l'intérieur de l'événement. Une telle connaissance va mener aux vérités absolues, mais subjectives, du point de vue de la personne qui est arrivée à de telles conclusions philosophiques.

Une autre question se pose: ces dernières vérités appartiennent-elles au monde sensible où l'on se meut? Si tel était le cas, alors la philosophie n'aurait pas visé l'Absolu. C'est ici que Nae Ionescu remet en question l'aspect de la réalité métaphysique, de l'Absolu, du virtuel. Comment l'homme peut-il transgresser les limites du monde sensible, actuel, vers un monde possible? La réponse est fournie par le philosophe roumain dans le cadre de la théorie de la connaissance métaphysique par le biais de la question de la *causalité symbolique*<sup>6</sup>, aspect que nous aborderons ultérieurement dans cet ouvrage.

Pour Nae Ionescu, la causalité efficiente qui engendre l'immédiat, ne peut être conçue car tout est la création de Dieu. Seul LUI sait tout et ne répond de Ses actions devant personne, surtout quant à la manière dont Il a créé le monde à partir de soi-même. Par conséquent, tout ce qu'on appelle normalement la causalité dans le monde sensible est, pour le philosophe roumain, une *simple correspondance*.

L'état d'équilibre, de bonheur, est refusé à l'homme dans ce monde sensible. Par le péché originel, il a hérité d'un *monde déchu*, mais est

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Constantin Mihai, *Descartes. L'Argument ontologique et sa causalité symbolique*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2007, pp.35-36.

devenu conscient de lui-même. Le monde créé par Dieu est équilibré, celui-ci ne voulant pas dépasser les limites de sa création initiale. À cause du péché<sup>7</sup>, l'homme cesse d'être une créature divine équilibrée et devient un *être abnorme*, incapable de transcender ontologiquement le monde sensible. Ce qui lui est resté dans cette existence qui oscille entre le réel et le possible, c'est l'aspiration permanente vers l'équilibre.

### 3. Une formule métaphysique impure

Ce sous-titre emprunté à l'ouvrage<sup>8</sup> de Ștefan Afloroaei qui s'intéresse à la problématique de la réception de la philosophie de Nae Ionescu, est significatif pour l'analyse de ce phénomène. Si pour Nae Ionescu et ses contemporains, la question de la délimitation de zones distinctes de la philosophie n'avait pas un caractère d'urgence, il en est autrement, pour nous. En fait, pour nous, c'est une question qu'on ne peut plus éviter. C'est pourquoi nous choisirons une certaine catégorie de problèmes que Nae Ionescu développe, catégorie tournant autour de la notion de métaphysique.

Une première discussion qui touche la zone de la pensée métaphysique se réalise, comme nous avons vu auparavant, dans le premier chapitre, sous la forme d'une conférence, plus précisément, la leçon inaugurale tenue à l'Université de Bucarest, à l'automne de l'année 1919, et qui s'intitule *La Fonction épistémologique de l'amour* – leçon publiée plus tard dans les *Izvoare de Filosofie (Sources de philosophie)*, I, 1942, p.1-17. L'idée sera reprise dans une conférence ultérieure sur *L'Amour, instrument mystique de connaissance*. Ceux qui comptent sont

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<sup>7</sup> Voir l'interprétation du péché chez le Père Paul Florensky, *La Colonne et le Fondement de la Vérité*, traduction du russe par Constantin Andronikof, Suisse, L'Âge d'Homme, 1994, p.114-136: « Le péché consiste à ne pas vouloir sortir de l'état d'identité à soi-même, du *Moi=Moi*; ou, plus précisément du Moi. S'affirmer soi-même, en tant que soi, sans relation à *l'autre*, c'est-à-dire à Dieu et à tout le créé, la concentration sur soi sans issue hors de soi, voilà le péché radical ou la racine de tous les péchés... En d'autres termes, le péché est la force de conservation de soi en tant que tel, qui fait de la personne une *auto-idole*, une idole pour soi-même, qui explique le Moi par le Moi et non par Dieu, qui fonde le Moi sur le Moi et non pas sur Dieu. Le péché est la tendance fondamentale du Moi par laquelle celui-ci s'affirme dans son solipsisme, dans sa singularité et qui fait de soi, le seul point de la réalité » (p.121).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ștefan Afloroaei, *Cum este posibilă filosofia în Estul Europei (Comment peut-on philosopher dans l'Europe de l'Est)*, Iași, Polirom, 1997, p.88-91. On va suivre les lignes de l'analyse de l'auteur qui saisit l'essence de cette formule métaphysique.

les cours où la métaphysique est reconnue comme telle et pratiquée comme une manière spécifique de penser<sup>9</sup>.

Nae Ionescu refuse explicitement la signification de dictionnaire de la métaphysique, en la considérant, en dernier instant, une expérience personnelle. Si on tient compte de ces six ou sept formules métaphysiques existant dans la culture européenne, on peut remarquer que le philosophe roumain se rattache d'une certaine manière de la formule kantienne<sup>10</sup>. Ce qui interpelle toujours Nae Ionescu est la recherche des conditions et de la manière dont on comprend l'existence comme telle. La formule pratiquée est impure jusqu'à un point, car sur l'intention épistémique ou critique de la métaphysique, s'articule une autre formule au caractère édificateur. Donc, la métaphysique est, pour Nae Ionescu, aussi une compréhension du fait de l'existence, qu'une forme d'*aedificatio*, de juste positionnement de l'homme dans le monde<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Ce sont les cours de Nae Ionescu sur: *La Métaphysique. Le problème du salut chez Faust de Goethe* (1925-1926); *La Métaphysique. La Théorie de la connaissance* (1925-1926); *La Métaphysique I. La Théorie de la connaissance. La Connaissance immédiate* (1928-1929); *La Métaphysique II. La Théorie de la connaissance. La Connaissance médiate* (1929-1930); *L'Histoire de la métaphysique* (1930-19310; *Problèmes de métaphysique* (1936-1937); *Cours de métaphysique* (1937-1938). À tous ces cours, on peut ajouter des conférences, des lettres, des textes où la problématique métaphysique y est présente: *La Philosophie de la religion (Métaphysique et religion)* (1923-1924); *Péché et Création* (1928); *La Chute dans le Cosmos* (lettres) (1938-1939). Ou bien on mentionne aussi des textes que Nae Ionescu commente avec ses étudiants aux séminaires: *Schopenhauer, De la quadruple racine du principe de raison suffisante* (1922-1923); *Locke, Essai sur l'entendement humain IV* (1922-1923); *Sextus Empiricus, Courte exposition sur la philosophie sceptique* (1923-1924); *Descartes, Regulæ ad directionem ingenii* (1925-1927); *Aristotel, La Métaphysique I* (1927-1928); *Aristotel, La Physique I* (1928-1929).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ștefan Afloroaei, *Cum este posibilă filosofia în Estul Europei* (*Comment peut-on philosopher dans l'Europe de l'Est*), p. 89: « La compréhension de la métaphysique comme: 1. une recherche de l'être en elle-même ou dans son Absolu (Aristote et la tradition aristotélique); 2. *scientia transcendens* (Thomas d'Aquin et la tradition scolastique, surtout Duns Scott); 3. la connaissance des premiers et des derniers principes de l'existence (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz); 4. une recherche critique des conditions de possibilité de notre pensée (Kant et la tradition critique moderne), 5. une histoire de l'être et de son occultation (Heidegger); 6. exploration des suppositions de la connaissance humaine (Collingwood, Quine, Suppes); 7. jeu de langage ou événement de discours qui est en train d'être déconstruit (Wittgenstein, Foucault, Derrida) ».

<sup>11</sup> Ștefan Afloroaei, *Cum este posibilă filosofia în Estul Europei* (*Comment peut-on philosopher dans l'Europe de l'Est*), p.89.

Même si la métaphysique est envisagée comme un essai de la conscience pour percevoir la manière dont se constitue la réalité, elle se rapporte à ces intentions initiales. La question de la constitution du fait de la réalité est vraiment une question de type kantien. Comment notre connaissance et le phénomène sont-ils possibles? c'est une question qui a été discutée par Kant, dans toute sa gravité. Pour justifier un phénomène, il est nécessaire de connaître la manière dont celui-ci s'articule, la manière dont le temps, l'espace et d'autres données participent à sa constitution. Les conditions de possibilité sont libres quant à l'aspect de la temporalité et de la matière historique, ce qui détermine Nae Ionescu à les considérer comme étant de nature métaphysique. C'est ce que métamorphose notre rapport cognitif avec elles dans un rapport métaphysique. Et la réalité sensible devient alors le signe de l'existence d'une autre réalité.

L'intention traditionnelle de la métaphysique n'est pas abandonnée. La question de l'existence reste encore incontournable. La récurrence de la question *pourquoi* nous montre que le problème de justifier un phénomène et, en dernier instance, l'existence, reste prééminente. Selon řtefan Afloroaei, la métaphysique de Nae Ionescu «a une dimension pragmatique, un caractère thérapeutique. Elle ne s'identifie pas à la théologie, ne visant pas la révélation de l'Absolu. On se retrouve avec cette recherche dans la proximité de ce que Hans Georg Gadamer et Boehm ont appelé *la réhabilitation actuelle de la philosophie pratique* ou bien d'une variante éthique de la métaphysique de Lévinas»<sup>12</sup>.

Cette manière de comprendre les choses réserve aussi au lecteur un autre détour intéressant, celui du déplacement de la métaphysique vers le discours de la vie dans la communauté et dans l'Histoire. La métaphysique de Nae Ionescu se métamorphose plus tard en une métaphysique de l'histoire, tout comme chez Berdiaev. On peut saisir deux sources essentielles de la pensée de Nae Ionescu: Origène, avec la théologie de l'Histoire et la *philosophie de la vie* (*Lebens philosophie*) propre à l'espace allemand du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

«Ce qui sont plus significatives pour notre horizon d'attente sont les explicitations de Nae Ionescu sur le *Moi* (*ego*) et sur la personne. La métaphysique retrouve ainsi ses deux limites: une limite décrite par les sciences de la nature ou plus exactement par les mathématiques et une autre limite annoncée par la théologie. Depuis Descartes, elle n'a jamais abandonnée la proximité de ces deux zones de compréhension»<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.98.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Un exemple de ce que signifie l'essence de la métaphysique de Nae Ionescu se manifeste dans la «topologie de l'existence». Le philosophe thématise les cinq concepts fondamentaux de la métaphysique: le Moi ou le sujet, le monde ou le non-Moi, leur relation, leur essence et la réalité ou le monde réel qui supprime l'opposition entre le sujet et l'objet. Cette pentade métaphysique annonce déjà l'espace conceptuel de l'Etre.

Les deux limites de la pensée métaphysique, l'une donnée par les sciences, et l'autre par la théologie, sont également explorées. Tout cela peut encore compter dans une recherche critique sur la Métaphysique: les concepts mis en jeu ne valent plus comme des personnages de la Métaphysique, comme substances ou noms, mais seulement comme des *topoi* de notre pensée. Il s'agit justement de ces *topoi* qui prétendent saisir les dernières significations du fait d'être. La perspective métaphysique traditionnelle est ainsi abandonnée. C'est dommage que le temps n'ait pas permis, après la guerre, de reprendre et de développer les questions de cette métaphysique, au caractère personnel et critique à la fois<sup>14</sup>.

#### 4. Quelques conclusions

Nae Ionescu a réussi à créer la première philosophie roumaine originale. Ce n'est pas un système de philosophie, mais une philosophie, c'est-à-dire une méthode pour connaître la réalité et une technique pour la formuler. Préoccupé par la *soteria*, Nae Ionescu accorde aussi une importance particulière au problème de la *sympathia*, de l'homme dans le monde. Il n'a jamais oublié ce besoin de communion, cette possibilité de *se perdre en l'autre*.

De plus, il a souvent parlé de l'amour comme outil de connaissance. Or, qu'est-ce que l'amour sinon la forme la plus parfaite de la *sympathia*? Il a prouvé que l'Orthodoxie essaie de réunir ces deux grandes voies spirituelles, car la Rédemption, selon la conception du christianisme orthodoxe, s'accomplit à l'intérieur de la communauté d'amour, avec tous les gens. Nae Ionescu a été vraiment guidé par cette vérité puisqu'il parlait parfois d'*apokathastasis*, de ce terrible espoir d'Origène selon lequel les gens ne peuvent obtenir leur rédemption que conjointement.

Les caractéristiques de la pensée de Nae Ionescu sont aisément repérables au niveau de tous les 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

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.99.

tout ce qu'il y a ne peut être contesté par la dialectique ou par les décrets. La voie vers l'Etre commence par une grande quête de soi-même, mais finit 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 dans la vie individuelle, la liberté de l'homme consiste seulement dans sa liberté de pécher, il y a aussi un autre type de liberté, une liberté spirituelle qui lui permet de s'intégrer aux lois, de choisir l'Histoire (la communion d'amour) au lieu de choisir la mort (l'arrêt, la pétrification).

# **DISTURBING SOCIETIES: SOCIAL EMOTIONS IN ACTION**

## **L'HYPERSOMNIE COMME SYMPTOME SURSIGNIFIANT DE LA DEPRESSION**

**Sarah MEZAGUER\***

**Abstract:** Tiredness is a common symptom of most of pathologies, but it seems that there's an even more tight link between sleep and depression. The exhaustion the depressive feels isn't necessarily a consequence of a loss of sleep. At the contrary, it seems that some of them always need to sleep more and more. Whereas the depressive suffers from a loss of energy, he can't help thinking about his suffering like a snake biting his own tail, so the need to sleep over and over may be a soothing response to the noise he feels in the inside. But on the other hand, this need to sleep may be even more, like an epiphany of what the depressive is willing to, without always acknowledging it. Indeed, the fall into sleep realizes in a fantasmatic way a willing to die.

**Keywords:** Sleep, death instinct, depression, hypersomnia

Parmi la pléthore des symptômes assignables à la dépression on trouve les troubles du sommeil, que ce soit sous la forme de difficultés à dormir ou, au contraire, d'une tendance à dormir plus que de raison. Si la fatigue est un symptôme commun à la plupart des pathologies existantes, il semble pourtant qu'il y ait une conaturalité essentielle entre fatigue et dépression, comme si le refuge dans le sommeil était en soi révélateur de symptômes dépressifs. Pour mieux comprendre cette parfaite réversibilité entre sommeil – ou plutôt hypersomnie – et dépression, nous avons choisi l'angle de la phénoménologie initiée par Gaston Bachelard, bien que cette question-là en particulier n'ait pas été traitée par le philosophe.

On partage communément l'œuvre de Bachelard en deux pans: celui qu'il a consacré à l'épistémologie, avec des ouvrages comme *La formation de l'esprit scientifique*, *La dialectique de la durée*, *L'intuition*

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*de l'instant* ou *Le Rationalisme appliqué*, et celui consacré à la poétique, à la poétique des éléments, d'abord, avec des ouvrages comme *L'Eau et les rêves* ou *la Psychanalyse du feu*, puis élargissant ses ambitions premières, il s'intéressera par exemple à l'imaginaire de l'espace, mais aussi à la psychologie de l'animé dans son *Lautréamont*. Ce dernier pan de son œuvre est habitée par une méthode, la phénoménologie, qu'il peaufinera au fil de ses ouvrages et qui est, pour l'essentiel, théorisée dans *La Poétique de la rêverie*. Pour comprendre ce qu'est la phénoménologie selon Bachelard, il faut se départir de la référence, trop savante, à Merleau-Ponty qui est ici de peu d'utilité; car, la phénoménologie, Bachelard se l'est appropriée, la maniant avec un art qui lui est propre et l'appliquant surtout à un domaine tout à fait original, celui de la poétique. Pour ne retenir que l'essentiel, la phénoménologie désigne tout simplement, pour Bachelard, le fait de ressusciter une expérience, un vécu initial, dans le but d'étudier les retentissements de celui-ci sur notre être. Cela consiste donc à se mettre en état de réceptivité pour accueillir toutes les images que font naître cette expérience. Ainsi notre rapport aux éléments que sont l'eau, l'air, la terre et le feu est imprégné par ces expériences primordiales à leur contact. C'est un rapport pétri d'affectif, très éloigné de notre rapport objectif aux choses et auquel il est utile de faire référence pour comprendre véritablement l'imaginaire d'un poème. Dans notre cas, le détour par la phénoménologie consistera à nous mettre dans un état de sympathie avec le dépressif pour apprêhender son ressenti de l'intérieur. Bachelard explique, en effet, que la phénoménologie va à rebours des disciplines qui traquent les causes, se départissant des notions de principes et de concepts, elle cherche moins à *expliquer* qu'à faire *comprendre*. Il existe une différence de taille entre expliquer et comprendre: tandis que le premier renvoie à l'idée de connaître de l'extérieur, c'est-à-dire en faisant ressortir des liens objectifs, "comprendre" suppose de saisir les choses de l'intérieur, dans toute leur subjectivité. Or, en ce qui concerne le ressenti de quelqu'un, comment pourrait-on prétendre le comprendre en restant purement objectif?

Pour commencer, intéressons-nous d'abord à ce qu'est la dépression, à la manière dont elle se manifeste chez celui qui en est la proie. Si chez bien des gens on trouve des phénomènes de dépression larvée qui se manifestent par une certaine hyperactivité, par le fait de chercher à s'étourdir par une activité accrue ou une vie sociale effrénée, la dépression sous sa forme avérée a plutôt maille à partir avec un repli sur soi: le sujet dépressif a du mal à se mobiliser pour une quelconque

activité, il souffre comme d'un déficit d'énergie, de motivation, tout semble l'ennuyer, y compris ce qui auparavant était pour lui source d'intérêt. Il en va généralement de même de sa vie sociale qui tend à s'amenuiser dans la mesure où, accaparé par sa souffrance intérieure, il trouve peu d'intérêt à ce qu'on pourrait nommer «les sujets de conversation ordinaires» qui lui paraissent forcément triviaux. Le dépressif a d'autant moins d'intérêt à fréquenter autrui que ceux-ci montrent d'ordinaire peu d'empathie envers ses symptômes, l'accusant volontiers de laissé-aller.

Or, nous allons voir que c'est justement ce que l'on taxe habituellement de "laissé-aller" qui fait l'idiosyncrasie de la dépression. Si le dépressif ne peut réagir c'est précisément parce qu'il souffre d'une atrophie de la volonté: il ne veut rien, tout est pour lui source d'ennui, sinon de souffrance, ce qui l'amène à se mettre en marge des agitations du monde. Nous allons voir que, dans cette perspective, l'habitation se meut en habitacle, en cocon, qu'elle est comme une seconde peau qui donne corps au repli sur soi.

Parmi les diverses manifestations de la dépression, on trouve une fatigue chronique, un besoin de dormir exagéré qui n'est pas fondé sur un manque de sommeil, bien au contraire. Pour le sujet dépressif, c'est comme si le sommeil venait redoubler l'espace clos de son chez lui, c'est un refuge<sup>1</sup> plus reculé qui le met en état d'isolement total par rapport à toute personne extérieure, y compris ses proches. Mais c'est un refuge qui le met également à l'abri de lui-même, des mauvaises pensées qui l'habitent. Car si le dépressif est plutôt au ralenti du point de vue de l'activité, c'est rarement le cas du point de vue de la pensée. Il est en proie à des tergiversations sans fin, comme un serpent qui se mord la queue, il ne peut s'empêcher de ressasser ses souffrances, ne faisant qu'alimenter toujours et encore son mal-être.

Dans ces conditions, on comprend aisément que le repli dans le sommeil puisse constituer un refuge salutaire. Mais il ne faut pas seulement voir dans ce repli une stratégie visant à mieux supporter la maladie; ce que nous voudrions montrer, c'est que l'hypersomnie est un symptôme sur signifiant de la dépression, qu'elle constitue, en quelque sorte, une épiphanie de ce à quoi aspire le dépressif.

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<sup>1</sup> Pour la référence au thème du refuge, on peut parcourir *La Poétique de L'Espace* de Gaston Bachelard, dans lequel il étudie précisément tous les lieux, du grenier de notre enfance à la grotte, en passant par le nid ou la coquille, qui servent de support au fantasme de protection, de repli.

Si la dépression s'accompagne de pensées relatives à la mort, au suicide, tous les dépressifs ne se tournent pourtant pas vers la solution finale, loin s'en faut. On explique ceci du fait que, dans certains cas, les pulsions suicidaires sont forcloses en raison d'une hypertrophie du Surmoi: pour des raisons x ou y ressortant d'un sentiment de culpabilité fortement intérieurisé, certains dépressifs ne s'autorisent en effet pas à envisager sérieusement le suicide. Or, nous allons voir que, d'un point de vue phénoménologique, la plongée dans le sommeil peut être vue comme la réalisation fantasmatique d'une pulsion de mort.

Si l'endormissement peut paraître comme une réalisation métaphorique du fantasme de mort, c'est sans rapport avec la violence attachée ordinairement au suicide. Quelle que soit la méthode – que ce soit par arme à feu, par défenestration, par pendaison, ou en s'ouvrant les veines –, le suicide est toujours un acte d'agressivité tourné contre soi-même. Comme l'avait si bien souligné Bachelard<sup>2</sup>, la noyade elle-même, dans sa réalité crue, dans ses derniers instants de lutte, n'échappe pas à la règle. Or, le type de mort que réalise fantasmatiquement le sommeil est très loin de l'acte d'agressivité tournée contre soi même dont parlent les psychiatres et les psychologues.

Pour s'en convaincre, on peut s'arrêter sur quelques passages d'une nouvelle de Maupassant, *Yvette*, où l'héroïne, tentant de s'empoisonner au chloroforme, est la proie d'un lent assoupissement, à mi chemin entre sommeil et mort:

Elle buvait à long traits cette vapeur mortelle, fermant les yeux et s'efforçant d'éteindre en elle toute pensée pour ne plus réfléchir, pour ne plus savoir.

Il lui sembla tout d'abord que sa poitrine s'élargissait, et que son âme tout à l'heure pesante, alourdie de chagrin, devenait légère, légère comme si le poids qui l'accablait se fût soulevé, allégé, envolé.

Quelque chose de vif et d'agréable la pénétrait jusqu'au bout de ses membres, jusqu'au bout des pieds et des mains, entrait dans sa chair, une sorte d'ivresse vague, de fièvre douce.

(...)

Elle reprit la bouteille, et imprégna de nouveau le petit morceau de ouate, puis elle se remit à respirer. Pendant quelques instants, elle ne ressentit plus rien; puis ce lent et charmant bien-être qui l'avait envahie déjà, la ressaisit.

Deux fois elle versa du chloroforme dans le coton, avide maintenant de cette sensation physique et de cette sensation morale, de cette torpeur rêvante où s'égarait son âme.

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<sup>2</sup> Bachelard, *L'Eau et les rêves*, Paris, José Corti, 1942, chap. 3: Le complexe d'Ophélie.

Il lui semblait qu'elle n'avait plus d'os, plus de chair, plus de jambes, plus de bras. On lui avait ôté tout cela, doucement, sans qu'elle s'en aperçût. Le chloroforme avait vidé son corps, ne lui laissant que sa pensée plus éveillée, plus vivante, plus large, plus libre qu'elle ne l'avait jamais sentie<sup>3</sup>.

Ce sentiment ressenti par l'héroïne, rejoint ce que Bachelard qualifie de "sentiment cosmique", ou "sentiment océanique". Même si ce point d'analyse dépasse ici notre propos, on pourrait résumer en disant qu'il consiste à s'affranchir des données temporelles et des données strictement individuelles: on voit ici que l'héroïne réussit à s'affranchir des souffrances morales qui l'accaparaient jusqu'à lors, que sa conscience s'élargit, jouissant comme d'un don d'ubiquité qui lui fait dépasser ses propres limites et coïncider avec la nature toute entière, comme dans les passages qui suivent mais sur lesquels nous ne nous attarderons pas.

Ces différents passages nous font sentir le type de mort fantasmée à l'œuvre dans le sommeil. C'est un désir plus fondamental de retour à l'inorganique, de retour à un état fusionnel qui serait en deçà des luttes journalières pour la vie. Or, ce phantasme qui coïncide avec une nostalgie du lieu des origines, parce qu'il est un désir de retour à l'inorganique, à l'homéostase, est littéralement une "pulsion de mort". En tant que telle, cette tendance contraire à l'instinct de vie, en effet, est en soi néfaste pour l'individu: elle lui fait rechercher l'inertie plutôt que l'action, elle le fait se complaire dans un immobilisme tel qu'il peut aller, selon les degrés, jusqu'à lui faire négliger les actes les plus élémentaires de la survie, comme le fait de s'alimenter par exemple. Freud, le premier, avait affirmé que l'homme passait la moitié de sa vie dans le sein maternel en se livrant au repos nocturne.<sup>4</sup> Mais c'est Ferenczi qui a le plus analysé cette conaturalité entre sommeil et pulsion de mort. Ainsi, voit-il dans le sommeil «une satisfaction hallucinatoire de ne pas être né»<sup>5</sup> et analysant d'ailleurs, un peu plus loin, le coït sexuel à l'aulne de la même catégorie.<sup>6</sup>

En conclusion, on voit donc que le refuge fourni au dépressif par le sommeil n'est pas vide de sens, que c'est une satisfaction métaphorique de la pulsion de mort qui l'habite. Mais c'est une pulsion de mort dédramatisée et qui ne serait, en dernière analyse, qu'une aspiration de

<sup>3</sup> Maupassant, *Yvette*, Paris, 1997, Gallimard, Folio, p 133 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> Sandor Ferenczi, *Thalassa*, Paris, Petite Bibliothèque Payot, rééd. 1992, p 130.

<sup>5</sup> Sandor Ferenczi, *Masculin et Féminin*, Paris, Petite Bibliothèque Payot, rééd., p 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p 27.

retour dans le sein maternel. Car ce que le sommeil offre au dépressif, comme à tout un chacun d'ailleurs, c'est un refuge en marge des brutalités du monde extérieur, où les tensions aussi bien physiques que psychiques s'apaisent, même si ce n'est que pour un moment. On comprend donc bien que pour le dépressif, obnubilé par sa souffrance, le sommeil puisse devenir un besoin quasi vital et qu'il s'y livre comme à une addiction.

Après diverses recherches sur les enfers grecs, l'auteur a soutenu une thèse de Doctorat à l'Université de Lyon III intitulée, *La Femme et la Mort, ou les figures de l'altérité radicale en Grèce ancienne*, dont une version est à paraître à la rentrée chez L'Harmattan (collection thanatologie). Ses orientations de pensée sont au carrefour de la phénoménologie bachelardienne, de la psychanalyse freudienne et de la psychologie jungienne. Elle a depuis lors participé à l'élaboration d'un index des auteurs cités par Bachelard qui sera, lui, à paraître prochainement aux Presses Universitaires de Besançon. Ses dernières recherches, toujours au croisement de la philosophie de l'imaginaire et de la psychologie, portent notamment sur les théories du complot. Elle soutient ainsi une thèse tout à fait novatrice, soulignant leurs travers et leur *modus operandi* mais refusant de les rejeter en bloc, elle y voit un mode de lecture de la modernité qui serait comparable au rôle joué traditionnellement par le Mythe.

# **THE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK OF PROSPERITY: BANKS, LABOR AND INCOMES**

## **CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE MANAGING SYSTEM OF THE POPULAR BANKS FROM OLTEANIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY<sup>\*</sup>**

**Georgeta GHIONEA<sup>\*\*</sup>**

**Abstract:** In a society with a preponderantly agrarian population and economy, such was the Romanian world at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the involvement of the primary-school teachers, the priests, the great and middle landlords in the processes of initiation, organization and leadership of the popular banks came naturally. Surprisingly, as confronting to the events and to the modalities in which the credit systems from the developed industrial societies had been built, was the presence of the wealthy peasants in such activities. The active involvement of some wealthy peasants groups, identified in the economic literature of that time, usually with the names of foremost people or landlords, in the process of establishment of the popular banks, reflects their direct participation in the process of modernization for the villages' region.

**Keywords:** 20<sup>th</sup> century, Oltenia, popular bank, functionary, management.

The appreciations regarding the quality of the bank workers' intellectual and specialized knowledge, remained, in the specific literature, at the standard of the general impressions. They all noticed the fact that the professional training of the workers with medium, high-school or superior (in universities and academies) studies was realized, preponderantly, in other fields than those of the strict specialization, such are the commercials schools and faculties. This fact was due to the

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orientation of the young people towards the traditional professions: priests, lawyers or primary school teachers, and not to that from the economics field.

The insufficiency of trained employees was reflected, most of the times, in the way the annual banking balance sheet is concluded or in the inadequate use of the specific terminology. The manifestation of such dysfunctions created real problems and difficulties, even in the case of some popular banks with an important significant financial capacity. Thus, in 1944, as a sequence of some deficiencies registered in the “Clerul Mehedințean” Popular Bank, the Cooperation Ministry took the decision of dissolving the administration council and appointing a new one<sup>1</sup>. In order to avoid the bankrupt, caused by the administrating deficiencies, few popular banks, meeting with difficulties, asked for the support of the Romanian National Bank, the district's federal commissions, of the important commercial banks or they appealed to fusions. A swift incursion in the archive documents shows us that, in 1947, “Tudor Vladimirescu” Popular Bank, from Tg. Jiu, which had been existing for almost 37 years and “a well-prepared staff”<sup>2</sup>, took, after the fusion, the entire assets and the liabilities of the “Lumina” Popular Bank from the commune Bârsești, institution that went bankrupt due to the defective management<sup>3</sup>. A similar situation was that from Turnu Severin, where “Victoria” Popular Bank, took the assets and the liabilities of the “Vulturul” Popular Bank, from Dedonița, a society that was bankrupted<sup>4</sup>.

In the attempt of avoiding such situations, as far back as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the authorities came with solutions for preparing the bank's staff. In preparing the young clerks, the commercial schools that had syllabi with a preponderant economic content played a special part<sup>5</sup>. The commercial schools from Oltenia (The Commercial School, from Craiova; The Superior Commercial School, from Turnu Severin) offered to the labour market a valuable contingent of specialists. Some of them hired, as clerks, at the popular banks from Oltenia, becoming banking specialists (Constantin Neamțu, Aurel Ionescu, D. Bobină etc).

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<sup>1</sup> The Service from Mehedinți District of the National Archives, “Clerul Mehedințean” Popular Bank, file 31/1946, f.6 (next will be cited as S.N.A. Mehedinți District)

<sup>2</sup> Idem, ressource “Muncitorul” Popular Bank, file 73/1947, f. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Idem, “Victoria” Popular Bank, file 6/1941, f. 155.

<sup>5</sup>\*\*\*, *Situațiunea Școalei comerciale din Craiova de la înființarea ei și până astăzi, 1877-1891*, Craiova, 1891, p. 22.

A special attention was given, by the Central Office of the Popular Banks, to the accounting and cooperative education practical schools. These schools' syllabus encompassed the next studying subjects: cooperative accounting, cooperative legislation, commercial mathematics and geometry, calligraphy, notions of history and economic geography, notions of agriculture and hygiene<sup>6</sup> etc. In 1922-1923 functioned, in the entire country, 17 practical schools of accounting and cooperative education, three of them carrying on their activity in Oltenia at: Craiova, Tg. Jiu and Turnu Severin. The graduates of the cooperative schools occupied, in the popular banks from Oltenia, specific jobs, fulfilling secretariate and accounting activities. Due to the amplification of the banking operations, they replaced the primary school teachers and the priests who, meanwhile, had occupied these functions, especially that they had their own responsibilities to school and church. There were distinguished themselves, thanks to their activity, the next accountants and cashiers: Al. Georgescu, Ilie Gruescu, Mihail Tabacu, Eftimie Stăncioi, Aurel Moraciu, I. Mateuță (graduates of the cooperative school from Tg. Jiu), Nae I. Brînzan, V. Gh. Mirescu (graduates of the accounting school from) etc.

The high expenses for the functioning of the cooperative education schools and the lack of devoted teachers determined the diminishing of their number. Thus, in the school year 1927-1928, The Central Office succeeded in sustaining only six specialized schools. One of them functioned in Craiova too and reunited the districts Dolj, Gorj, Romanați, Vâlcea, Olt, Argeș and Teleorman. This situation had been maintained until 1948. In the same time, for preparing the bank clerks, a special attention was given to the press. The press organism of the cooperative movement from the city was "The urban cooperative society", whose first number would be printed on October 1<sup>st</sup> 1920. Along this, in Oltenia had also been edited: Oltenia cooperative action (Craiova, 1922), *The bimonthly leaflet of the Cooperators Accountants Association* (Caracal, 1927), *The Cooperator* (Tg. Jiu, 1919-1919), *The Cooperator from Vâlcea* (Rm. Vâlcea, 1928-1930)<sup>7</sup> etc.

Along with the clerks' organization, the structure of the managing and administration bodies from the popular banks encompassed, decreasing according to their importance, the next bodies: the general

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<sup>6</sup> "Curierul cooperăiei sătești", no. 1/January-February 1922, p. 14-18.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Emanoil-Barbu, *Din istoria cooperăiei de consum și de credit din România*, vol. II, Bucharest, Editura Universul, 2000, pp. 86-87.

assembly of the stockholders, the administration council and the censors commission.

a) *The general assemblies of the stockholders were ordinary and extraordinary.* The ordinary ones were convoked annually, by the administration councils, through announces in the press or through the posting of the convening at the bank's residence or at the local police center<sup>8</sup> and were held in the first semester of each year. The participation and the influence of the stockholders when taking the decisions in the general assemblies was done according to the proportion of the stocks subscribed by each member of the assembly. That is why, at some popular banks from the city, the stockholders were successful in imposing, though their large number of votes they had, the options regarding the orientation of the financial policies of the institutions and to assure their presence in the managing bodies. We met such a case at the "Albina" Popular Bank from Rm. Vâlcea, where Mitică Simian, an important landlord from the locality, subscribed a large number of stocks, managing to impose himself in the financial policy of the society<sup>9</sup>.

The general assemblies debated upon and approved the activity of a bank during an entire administration year, having as a support the annual reports of the administration councils and of the censors commissions. Altogether, they established: the finishing of the annual balances and the establishing of the dividends and the supradividends quantum, of the clerk's shares, the sums of money for the charity; they also chose or brought new members in the leadership body or in the censors commissions; they took the decision regarding the reducing or the rising of the social capital and, in consequence, for the emitting of shares; they decided the modification of the institution's status; in extreme cases, they gave the verdict for the dissolving and merging of the bank with other societies etc. Their decisions, noted down in the minutes of the general assembly, were taken with the majority of the expressed votes and became mandatory both for the managing bodies and for the bank's stuff.

The extraordinary general assemblies were convoked by the ordinary general assembly or by a number of stockholders that should own at least 10% from the total number of shares from a bank and they usually met to discuss the situations concerning the important defaults from the activity of the credit institutions, caused by the faulty

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<sup>8</sup> S.N.A. Mehedinți District, resource "Biruința" Popular Bank, file 3/1941-1942, f. 20.

<sup>9</sup> S.N.A. Mehedinți District, resource The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Rm. Vâlcea, file 55/1931, f. 3.

management of the leadership. The discussions, often heated, during the ordinary general assembly, concerning the registered failures in the administration of the financial businesses of some banks, ended, sometimes, at strife that finished with the changing of the leadership in those credit institutions or with their punishment. We notice, in this regard, the situations that appeared at the popular banks: "Muncitorul"<sup>10</sup> and "Biruința"<sup>11</sup>, both from Turnu Severin, where the members of the general assemblies were sued, due to the negligence they had proved when administrating the societies.

In time, in the general assemblies, had been appointed some local personalities that were sustained, beside the personal votes, by an extraordinary intellectual and moral prestige, important for the attracting of the future clients and for the increasing of the credibility of the institutions at which they were stockholders. Thus, at The Popular Bank of the public clerks that in 1937 was named "Albina" Popular Bank, the members of the general assembly are "mayors, communal and district councilors from Mehedinți"<sup>12</sup>.

b) The administration councils were considered the executive bodies of the bank, being obliged to act for the applying of the general assemblies' decisions that usually showed the essential features of the financial policies for the current year. Altogether, their role was to correctly administrate the funds of the credit institutions and to coordinate the financial-banking operations, for the realization of substantial profits.

The attributions of the administration council, established in the statutes of each bank, were specially important because, through the commissioning of the decision power by the general assemblies, they decided and disposed on the entire banks' businesses, having the right to: represent the banking society in front of the authorities; it also decided the naming and the permanent appointing on a job of the clerks named by the directors; it established the competences and the salaries of the clerks body; it established the special regulations regarding the internal organization; it determined the conditions for using the societies' capital; it supervised the carrying on of the financial activities; it examined the society's accounting society; it set up the annual balances and the proposals for the dividing of the net profit; it disposed the organization of some reserve funds for the charities etc. The administration councils

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<sup>10</sup> S.N.A. Mehedinți District, resource "Muncitorul" Popular Bank, file 2/1929, f. 218.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, resource "Biruința" Popular Bank, file 2/1941, f. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Idem, resource "Albina" Popular Bank, file1/1936, f. 11-12.

debated and approved, weekly, monthly or *any time it was needed*<sup>13</sup>, all the things that involved the proper functioning and administration of the banks, first of all the problems that were referring to the carrying on of the financial operations<sup>14</sup>.

In Oltenia, the distribution of the administration councils according to professional criteria, to the intellectual grounding and to the economic position, is unfolding like this: the most important place is occupied by the primary-school teachers, followed, in descending order, by the clergy members, the wealthy peasants, the landholders, the lawyers etc. After studying of the archive documents, we can notice a higher percentage registered by the groups of the clergymen and primary school teachers, preponderantly at the small and very small popular banks and, only as exceptions, at few banks of medium financial capacity where, usually, the main stockholders were the clergymen and the primary-school teachers themselves, as in the case of the next popular banks: “Clerul Gorjean”<sup>15</sup>; “Clerul Mehedințean”<sup>16</sup>; “Învățătorul” from Craiova<sup>17</sup>; “Învățătorul Vâlcean”<sup>18</sup>; “Învățătorul Gorjean”<sup>19</sup> etc.

Yet, at the big and middle popular banks the laical persons predominate, especially the landlords, the clerks, the lawyers, the notaries or the doctors, such was the case of the next popular banks: “Sanitarul Gorjean”, “Muncitorul” and “Dunărea”, both from Turnu Severin, “Albina” from Rm. Vâlcea etc. The presence of the landlords, the lawyers, the notaries and the doctors was explained both through the

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<sup>13</sup> Idem, resource “Muncitorul” Popular Bank, file 2/1929, f. 218v.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> “Clerul Gorjean” Popular Bank was founded by 105 priests and singers from Gorj District, in S.N.A. Gorj District, resource The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, office Tg. Jiu, file 10/1931-1946, f. 5.

<sup>16</sup> “Clerul Mehedințean” Popular Bank was founded on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1931, by 200 societies, among which: 192 priests and 8 singers, from Mehedinți District, in S.N.A. Mehedinți District, resource “Clerul Mehedințean” Popular Bank, file 31/1946, f. 1.

<sup>17</sup> “Învățătorul” Popular Bank was founded by 79 primary-school teachers from Craiova, on December 30<sup>th</sup> 1930, in S.N.A. Dolj District, resource The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 414/1931, f. 1.

<sup>18</sup> “Învățătorul Vâlcean” Popular Bank was registered at The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Vâlcea in 1931, with a social capital of 10 million lei, subscribed by 79 societies, in S.N.A. Vâlcea District, resource The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Vâlcea, file 234/1931, f. 1.

<sup>19</sup> “Învățătorul Gorjean” Popular Bank was founded in 1930, by 356 primary-school teachers, from 543 that existed at that date in Gorj District, in S.N.A. Gorj District, resource The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, office Tg. Jiu, file 11/1928-1946, f. 2.

economic capacity, the intellectual groundings and the exceptional morality. Therefore, we notice, as a chairman in the first administration council of the credit and economies cooperative society, “Banca Mehedințului” from Turnu Severin, M. G. Burileanu, great landlord<sup>20</sup> and at “Dunarea” Popular Bank, from the same locality, the chairman function, during 1910-1932, was occupied by D. Popescu, recognized “as a moral person in the society”<sup>21</sup>. The reason for which the authorities considered necessary that from the administration council of the popular banks to take part “the landlord and the land worker and the mayor and the priest and the primary-school teacher and the craftsman”, those who could guide the villager<sup>22</sup>, was determined by the presence of a great number of illiterate members (over 50%)<sup>23</sup>.

In the same time, we can remark a great number of wealthy peasants (foremost people, in that age's language) in the administration councils. This was determined by the numerous numbers of peasants, abreast of the stockholders that founded the small and very small banks. Such a situation is also met at the next popular banks: “Buna Vestire” (the members of the administration council were foremost peasants<sup>24</sup>), “Valea Câlnicului”<sup>25</sup>, “Muntele Cărbunele”<sup>26</sup>, “Negoești”<sup>27</sup>, all from Gorj District etc.

Through the role and the place that he had, according to his statute's provisions, the chairman was the most important person from the leadership of a bank. He represented the bank before the state's authorities and, at internal level, he controlled and approved the actions of the chairman and of the administration councils. Usually, he was chosen among the stockholders or the members who evidenced themselves through their professional and moral prestige. From the archive information and specialized literature, we find out that, most of the chairmen and managers, were priests and primary-school teachers, who, most of the times, had also the function of cashier or accountant. We met such cases at the “Banul Mărăcine” Popular Bank, where the

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<sup>20</sup> S.N.A. Mehedinți District, resource The Bank of Mehedinți, file1/1899-1902, f. 152.

<sup>21</sup> Idem. resource Romanian National Bank, Turnu Severin Agency, file 3/1941, f. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Paul-Emanoil Barbu, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Craiova, “Scrisul Românesc” publishing House, 1996, p. 139.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> I. Mateiescu, P. Popeangă, V. Uscătescu, *Istoricul băncilor populare din județul Gorj*, Craiova, f.a., p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

priest Dimitrie Lungulescu was both chairman and cashier; at “Straja” Popular Bank, from commune Lelești, Gorj District, the priest Gr. Bardan, officiated as chairman and also cashier and accountant<sup>28</sup> and at “Traian” Popular Bank, from commune Vlăduleni, Al. I. Vlădoianu, primary-school teacher and founding member of the book, is chairman and both cashier and accountant<sup>29</sup>.

As regarding the vice-president function, in the countryside area it wasn't appreciated by the leaderships of all the popular banks as a necessity, and, at the 155 banks from Gorj District that existed in 1928, was nominated only 7 vice-presidents<sup>30</sup>. In the cases these functions were missing, the president and the members appointed at the bank's leadership had the capacity to solve the leading and administration problems from the credit institutions, in optimal circumstances. The lack of the vice-president function was determined by certain economic criteria because it wasn't especially or preponderantly present at a certain category of banks. It is not the same situation in the city, where the vice-president function was nominated at almost all the popular banks. As in the case of the chairmen, for the vice-president function were appointed moral persons, priests or primary-school teachers from the locality.

The attracting of some personalities from the cultural-spiritual and public environment, in case they weren't also stockholders, to fill a post in the administration councils, was a constant feature of the human resources management that the banks took into consideration for maintaining and forming an image favorable in the society. We discover, in the leadership of the “Cipria” Popular Bank, in 1902, Gh. Dumitrescu-Bumbești, founding member of the “Luminarea Săteanului” cultural society, school reviser in Mehedinți District (1899) and in Dolj District (1900), ex prefect and senator of Arad<sup>31</sup>. At “Galbenul” Popular Bank from commune Poenari, Gorj District, we meet Ion Ciotor, two times senator in the government led by General Al. Averescu<sup>32</sup>. I. Mateescu,

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 448.

<sup>30</sup> In Gorj district had been nominated the next vice-presidents: Mihail Tabacu, vice-president of the “Înălțarea Săteanului” Popular Bank, from commune Peștișani; D. Diaconescu at “Sporul” Popular Bank, from commune Godinești; C. C. Micodin, at “Bujorăscu” Popular Bank, from commune Vârtopu; N. Al. Popescu, at “Viitorul Sătenului” Popular Bank, from commune Tismana; I. G. Preoteșescu, at “Gilortul” Popular Bank, from Novaci; Toma Bălan, at “Slătioara” Popular Bank, from commune Cornești; Ion P. Ungureanu, at “Leul” Popular Bank, from commune Sterpoaia.

<sup>31</sup> I. Mateiescu, P. Popeangă, V. Uscătescu, *Istoricul băncilor populare*, p. 505.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 285.

deputy of Gorj between 1919-1922, founding member of the Gorj Federation, officiated as a chairmen at “Frăția” Popular Bank, from commune Stroești, Gorj<sup>33</sup>. We find priest Ilie Roșoga, ex senator, we find him as a founding member and chairmen of “Scumpa Dinastie Hohenzolern” Popular Bank, from commune Turburea, Gorj<sup>34</sup> and at “Vasile Alexandri” Popular Bank from commune Sadova, Dolj district, honorary chairmen is appointed Ioan Kalinderu, jurist, Romanian silviculturist and publicist, titular member (from 1839) of The Romanian Academy<sup>35</sup> etc.

Due to the special involvement, both in the process of preparing and founding of the credit institutions and as main stockholders, several personalities were chosen in the administration councils of the districts' federal commissions or in the administration councils of some commercial banks. Thus, at Dacia Federal Commission, among the founding members we find Șt. Richman (the chairman of the popular bank and of the cooperatives from Vișina) and C. Ianculescu (the leader of the popular bank and of the cooperative Cezeni)<sup>36</sup>. At Gorjul Federal Commission, in the first administration council were appointed: priest Ilie Roșoga (president of the “Scumpa Dinastie Hohenzolern” Popular Bank, from commune Turburea, Gorj District) and Mihail Tabacu<sup>37</sup>. At “Mihai Viteazul” Federal Commission, priest Dimitrie Lungulescu (chairman at “Banul Mărăcine” Popular Bank, from Craiova) is a member of the censors commission<sup>38</sup>. Ilariu Marian, chairman of “Independența Calafat” Popular Bank (founded in 1905), founding member of “Înfrățirea” Society (founded in 1881)<sup>39</sup>, is member of the administration council at the Dolj's Credit Bank<sup>40</sup>.

c) The censors committees functioned according to the provisions written in the banks' statutes of functioning. Their duties were to control

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>35\*\*\*</sup>, *Calendarul cooperăției oltene pe anul 1921*, Craiova, 1921, p. 240 (next will be cited as: *Calendarul cooperăției...*).

<sup>36</sup> Șt. Richman, *Monografia județului Romanați*, Craiova, 1928, p. 242.

<sup>37</sup> Georgeta Ghinea, *Istoria băncilor urbane din Oltenia (1880-1948)*, Craiova, Editura Aius, 2009, p. 227.

<sup>38</sup> *Calendarul cooperăției...*, p. 79.

<sup>39</sup>Din orașul Calafat odineoară și astăzi. Schițe istorice și administrative, Craiova, 1906, p. 154-155.

<sup>40</sup> The official report of the Administration Council and the report of the Censors Council to the general assembly of the stockholders from February the 1<sup>st</sup> 1920, Craiova, 1921, p. 4.

the financial operations and the administrative activities carried on by the administration councils and by the clerks' body, evaluating the correctness of all the banking operations, during an entire financial year and the observing of the norms concerning the registers, official papers and the credit institutions' house. In the same time, the censors committees were evaluating the quality of the annual balance situation and the proposals regarding the dividing of the net profit. The censors were chosen by the general assemblies for a 3 years period, after which, a part of them ended their duties by drawing lots, the others having the right to be appointed again. In the current practice, at most of the popular banks was generalized the system of re-appointing all the members from the former censors commissions, excepting those that didn't meet the conditions of exercising the attributions or in the cases when, on their own initiative, some members gave up running for such functions. The number of the censors varied between 3-5 persons.

The results of controlling or revising the activities from the censors commissions were noted down in special registers, with the possibility to bring into operations the observations of the administration councils, to correct the eventual problems that had been noticed during a financial year. The discovered troubles were usually solved by the leading bodies, in order not to offer motivations for a negative publicity that would have interfered with the interest of a certain bank<sup>41</sup>.

The priority of the primary-school teachers and clergymen, among the stockholders with free professions or even among the rest of the shareholders, was preponderant, at some banks, thanks to the number of subscribed stocks and, in conclusion, to the contribution at their social capital. We observe the small numbers of handicraft workshops landlords or industrial factories landlords, but we can observe a high percentage of wealthy peasants, beside the stockholders and shareholders. By confirming the origin of most banks' shareholders from the country side area or being tightly connected with the rural environment, we are proven the preponderant orientation of the credit toward the agrarian specific activities and the important investments, destined for the acquisition of agro-sylvic techniques, with direct implications in the increase of the middle landlords number.

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<sup>41</sup> S.N.A. Mehedinți District, resource “Muncitorul” Popular Bank, file 2/1929, f. 219.

# **THE REGULATION OF LABOR RELATIONS IN FEDERAL STATES**

**Roxana Radu, Cezar Avram, Florin Nacu\***

**Abstract:** The federal state is a specific legal and political organization, separate from others organizations such as that of Governments of the Member States. From this point of view, the analysis of labor relations regulation in federal states is important, compared to unitary states, due to fact that the mechanism of regulation differs, as well as social dialogue between social partners (government, unions and employer associations) take specific forms.

**Keywords:** agreement, employment, federation, labor, state

Born through the component states will, upon its own constitution, the federal state is a specific legal and political order, which includes relatively subordinate organizational and operational mechanisms of state government. He has a political organization, distinct from that of Member States governments, which involves a constitution, state organs and its own powers (legislative body, in principle two chambers, one chamber representing the people and the other one the federal states, executive and judicial organs), a purpose and its own assets, so it's a subject of law separate from its component states. From this point of view, analyzing the regulation of labor relations in federal states is important, compared to unitary states, because the mechanism of regulation differs, and also social dialogue between social partners (government, trade unions, and employers associations) takes specific forms.

Specific for federal states is that state functions are divided between the federal and Member States, placed on two different plans. Consequently, inside the federal state there is a parallelism between federal organs of power and rule of law and the national bodies of Member States. This separation between the three powers that are performed on different levels, both in the Federal State and the federated

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states – combines with the separation between the economic and political sphere, the regulatory process and procedures for labor relations and collective employment, dispute resolution becoming the more complicated. While the federal state is responsible for solving common problems and federal representation in international relations, Member States retain a relative autonomy in the sense that they have legislation, enforcement bodies and their own institutions, but these do not replace the ones of the federal state. Subject to compliance with the federal Constitution, each state has its own constitutional order, enshrined in its basic law – its Constitution.

Technically, right-to-work law as a branch of law is divided also into two branches, corresponding to individual and collective labor relations: Federal labor laws deal with employer-union relationships and Federal employment laws deal with employer-employee relationships.

The manner in which federal labor laws interact with state laws is important to understanding the procedure of regulating labor relations and the role of right-to-work laws. The “supremacy clause” stipulated by the U.S. Constitution means that “federal laws supersede any state law that might conflict with them”<sup>1</sup>. The U.S. Supreme Court has established that federal laws, through a pre-emption doctrine based on the supremacy clause, may render a state law inoperative: “A fundamental principle of the Constitution is that Congress has the power to preempt state law. Even without an express provision for preemption, we have found that state law must yield to a congressional Act in at least two circumstances. When Congress intends federal law to ‘occupy the field’, state law in that area is preempted. And even if Congress has not occupied the field, state law is naturally preempted to the extent of any conflict with a federal statute. We will find preemption where it is impossible for a private party to comply with both state and federal law and where «under the circumstances of [a] particular case, [the challenged state law] stands as an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of the full purposes and objectives of Congress»<sup>2</sup>. In the same way, according to a federal district court in Oklahoma<sup>3</sup>, when and where the Congress is silent, “Rules of statutory construction dictate that the court should find the federal government exempt from the application of state statutes which

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Constitution, art. VI, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick J. Wright, *Federal Labor Law, State Labor Law and Right-to-Work*, <http://www.mackinac.org/8966>.

<sup>3</sup> Local 514, *Transport Workers Union of America v. Keating*, 212 F.Supp.2d 1319, 1325 (E.D. Ok. 2002), cited by Patrick J. Wright, *Federal Labor*.

attempt to regulate any collective bargaining agreement to which the federal government is a party”<sup>4</sup>.

In Germany, article 31 of the Basic Law provides that federal law takes precedence over state law. According to art.70 (and following) of the Basic Law, Member States have the right to legislate, except on subjects for which the Federal State enjoys exclusive legislative power (e.g. in the field of foreign affairs and defense). Basic Law has left civil law, law of association and labor law under the concurrent legislative power of the Federal and State legislative institutions. Member States of the German federation thus have law making power to the extent that the Federal legislature has not exercised its right to legislate in that specific field. In Practice, civil law, law of association, employment and labor laws are entirely governed by Federal Law. The States nevertheless influence the adoption and amendment of the above-mentioned normative acts, because they take part in the legislative procedure. Member States are distinguished by the local administrative-territorial unit in the unitary state by the fact that they have own competence in legislative, executive and judicial field, set by the Federal Constitution, and will participate in the formation of the federal state (central) as the organization of the federal parliament comprises on the one hand, an assembly representing the whole population (the federation), and on the other, an assembly representing the Member States of the federation. The major sources of German labor law are Federal legislation, collective agreements, work agreements and case law: “The German system appears to be more corporatist than interventionist, resting on written and unwritten agreements between employers and trade unions about how the German labor market (...) should be regulated”<sup>5</sup>. Unlike other unitary states, there is not one consolidated Labor Code. Minimum labor standards are laid down in separate normative acts on various labor and employment related issues, which are supplemented by the government’s ordinances. As we can observe, this is a similarity with the present situation of Romanian labor and employment laws.

The interaction between federal labor laws and state laws is complicated because, unlike unitary state where is a single law system, in a federal state, labor and employment laws represent a heterogeneous collection of state and federal law which not only sets the standards that

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<sup>4</sup> *Crosby v. Nat'l Foreign Trade Council*, 530 US 363, 372-73 (2000), cited by Patrick J. Wright, *Federal Labor*.

<sup>5</sup> Jack Eaton, *Comparative Employment Relations. An Introduction*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000, p. 85.

govern workers' right to organize in the private sector, but overrides most local laws that attempt to regulate this area<sup>6</sup>. For example, in USA, federal law also provides more limited rights for employees of the federal government. These federal laws do not, on the other hand, apply to employees of local governments, agricultural workers or domestic employees; any statutory protections those workers have derived from state law.

Although the United States Constitution stipulates the rights to freedom of speech and freedom of association, federal law does not provide employees of state and local governments with the right to organize or engage in union activities. The Constitution provides even less protection for the right to engage in collective bargaining in case of governmental employees: while it bars public employers from retaliating against employees for forming a union, it does not require those employers to recognize that union, much less bargain with it. That's why the situation is different from one state to another. While most states laws provide public employees with limited statutory protections, a few recognize to the public employees the right to strike in support of their demands in some circumstances and some state laws make it illegal for a governmental entity to enter into a collective bargaining agreement with a union.

According to the US Department of Labor, when federal and state labor laws conflict, the law that most benefits the employee is the law that should be applied to the circumstances. That means that whenever both federal law and state law address the same issue, whichever law provides the employee the most protection is the one that will be applied to the situation. In other words, it is applied the law which is more favorable to employees.

Structuring on two levels – federal state and state (national) government – is even more obvious in the area of working conditions. Federal law establishes only minimum wages and overtime rights for most workers in the private and public sectors while state and local laws may provide such rights in a higher amount. Similarly, federal law provides minimum workplace safety standards, but allows the states to take over those responsibilities and to provide more stringent standards of worker's safety and security. In other words, state and local laws can not establish rights to a level below that set by federal law. The relation between federal law and state government law is similar to that existing

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<sup>6</sup> Greg Patmore, *The Origins of Federal Industrial Relations Systems: Australia, Canada and the USA*, in Journal of Industrial Relations, no. 51/2009, p. 151.

between the collective and individual employment contracts in unitary states. Thus, individual employment contracts can not contain clauses that establish rights to a level below that established by collective bargaining agreements (principle applies also to Romania).

The specifics of the federal states, which operates by its own principles – the principle of separation, the principle of superposition, the principle of autonomy<sup>7</sup> – has created “tensions in federal political systems over whether the central government or the states/provinces are the most suitable jurisdictions for dealing with the relationship between employers and unions”<sup>8</sup>. According to the principle of autonomy, local communities have competences in the field of education, regulation of labor relations, issues related to social security, public health system etc<sup>9</sup>. As economies grow and face a number of problems / crises, there are growing pressures on federal governments to intervene in the regulation of industrial relations. But to be effective, federal law should take account of economic and social conditions prevailing in each Member State. These tensions are opposed by the American new trend called “new federalism” having at its core the concept of “state sovereignty,” which, through a number of constitutional provisions, seeks to preserve the “immunity” rights of states, protecting them from unnecessary or unwarranted intrusion by the federal government<sup>10</sup>.

As with Australia and Canada, the tension over states rights to legislate labor relations was an important issue in the development of a national labor relations jurisdiction. Like USA, these two countries shared a federal system, but the president and state governors in USA have significant executive powers compared to the largely ceremonial role played by the Queen’s representatives in Australia and Canada<sup>11</sup>. The legislative power was enhanced in Australia and Canada by their common law courts following the English tradition of parliamentary supremacy.

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<sup>7</sup> Claude Leclercq, *L’Etat fédéral*, Dalloz, Paris, 1997, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> D.H. Rosenbloom, *Fuzzy law from the high court*, in *Public Administration Review*, no. 54/1994, pp. 503-506; Idem, *Public employees’ liability for “constitutional torts”*, in C. Ban, N. M. Riccucci (eds.), *Public personnel management: Current concerns, future challenges*, Longman, New York, 1997, p. 237-252.

<sup>9</sup> Norma M. Riccucci, “The U.S. Supreme Court’s New Federalism and Its Impact on Antidiscrimination Legislation”, in *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, vol. 23, no. 1/2003, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Greg Patmore, *The Origins*, p. 154.

<sup>11</sup> R. Archer, *Why is there no Labor Party in the United States?*, University Press, Princeton, 2007, p. 92, 97.

Federal systems are also characterized by the principle of participation. This principle implies that Member States participates in the federal decision-making process. Federal entities must participate, through voting, to the delegation of powers within the federation (the second room in the federal Parliament). Thus, U.S. Senate is elected by direct universal suffrage. Evidently, there are different degrees of Member States participation, the degree to which institutions held to manage the common interest let this interest form in a natural way: “Federal systems of government have been described as weak states because they involve compromise between different levels of government”<sup>12</sup>. Participation may be made to the constituent, legislative and executive power: “A weak federal government may exacerbate problems at the state or provincial level where economic competition between states may undermine attempts to establish minimum national labor standards. On the other hand, while centralizing power at the federal level may reduce checks and balances about issues relating to labor organization and management prerogative, it can ensure efficiency through greater coordination of the national economy”<sup>13</sup>.

While there are similarities between the USA and other federal states – notably, a federal political and juridical order and the same principles of organization – the size and scale of the US economy dwarfs them. In USA, the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) or the “Wagner Act” is a 1935 United States federal law which provides the employees with “the right of self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection” (section 7). In the same time, the act limits the means with which employers may react to private sector workers that create labor unions, engage in collective bargaining, and take part in strikes and other forms of concerted activity in support of their demands<sup>14</sup>. The Wagner Act” does not apply to workers who are covered by the Railway Labor Act, agricultural employees, domestic employees, supervisors, federal, state or local government workers, independent contractors and some close relatives of individual employers. The Railway Labor Act recognize the right of employees to form unions and engage in collective bargaining and

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<sup>12</sup> Greg Patmore, *The Origins*, p. 152.

<sup>13</sup> A. Cox, “Federalism in the Law of Labor Relations”, in *Harvard Law Review* no. 67(8)/1954, p. 348.

<sup>14</sup> Greg Patmore, *The Origins*, pp. 164-165.

creates a different procedure for resolving labor disputes, requiring bargaining under indirect governmental supervision and permitting strikes only in limited circumstances. The NLRA establishes the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) which has exclusive jurisdiction to determine whether an employer has engaged in an unfair labor practice and to decide what legal remedies should be provided. States and local governments can, on the other hand, impose requirements when acting as market participants (public sector employers or parts in lease contracts), such as requiring that all contractors sign a labor agreement to avoid strikes when building a public works project, that they could not if they were attempting to regulate those employers' labor relations directly<sup>15</sup>.

The Taft-Hartley Act was a major revision of the "Wagner Act" of 1935, the most important labor law in American history. This new normative act allowed the president of USA, when he believed that a strike would be a danger for national health or safety, to appoint a board of inquiry to investigate the dispute (the so-called "procedure of investigation"). After receiving the final report on the investigation, the president could ask the Attorney General to seek a federal court injunction to block or prevent the continuation of the strike. If the court found that the strike was endangering the nation's health or safety, it would grant the injunction, requiring the parties in the dispute to amicably settle the conflict within the next sixty days. A procedure for settling collective labor disputes specific for USA is high-level mediation which requires that disputes (conflicts) on the important branches of national economy are subject to ad hoc mediation by the President or members of the Executive, while conflicts concerning the issues of local interest are subject to mediation by the Governors. Most times, these leaders have no direct authority to impose a solution but have the ability to direct potential conflict to a swift and effective resolution.

To the Wagner Act's list of prohibited employer's practices, the Taft-Hartley Act added a list of prohibited labor union practices: secondary boycotts (when a union induces employees to strike against their employer to get him to stop doing business with another employer with whom the real dispute exists); sympathy strikes or boycotts (attempting to compel an employer, other than one's own, to recognize or bargain with an unrecognized union – this is a practice often called "blackmail picketing" by anti-labor groups); and jurisdictional strikes and boycotts (attempting to force an employer to give work to members

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 166.

of one particular union instead of another). The act allowed union shops as long as state law did not forbid them.

Between the evolution of collective bargaining in USA and the stability of employment contract is a direct relation. While most state and federal laws start from the presumption that workers who are not covered by a collective bargaining agreement or an individual employment agreement are “at will” employees who can be fired without notice and for no stated reason (with no employer’s liability), state and federal laws prohibiting discrimination modified that rule by providing that discharge or other forms of discrimination were illegal if undertaken on grounds specifically prohibited by law. The contract at will means “absolute managerial discretion”: “If the contract is at will, no legal limits are set on the authority of the employer, especially on the key issue of dismissal. The employer is free to hire and fire unrestrained by the legal requirement that he have just cause for rescinding a contract not yet expired. Moreover, the contract at will is not a device for framing agreed-upon conditions to govern day-to-day activities. Since there is no definite duration, the terms of the contract are not binding for the future. The employer is free to modify them at any time, without notice. The main economic significance of the contract at will was the contribution it made to easy lay-off of employees in response to business fluctuations. But it also strengthened managerial authority. By the end of the nineteenth century, the employment contract had become a very special kind of contract – in large part a legal device for guaranteeing to management the unilateral power to make rules and exercise discretion”<sup>16</sup>.

As we can observe, in the absence of a collective agreement, “management had absolute discretion in the hiring, firing and the organization and direction of the working forces, subject only to such limitations as may be imposed by law”<sup>17</sup>. That’s why, in order to offset employer’s discretionary power, a number of states have modified the general rule that employment is at will by holding that employees may, under that state’s common law, have implied contract rights to fair treatment by their employers. US employees in private-sector thus do not have the indefinite contracts traditionally common in many European countries.

In federal states, laws regulating the labor and employment

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<sup>16</sup> P. Selznick, *Law, Society and Industrial Justice*, second edition, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1980, cited by Jack Eaton, *Comparative Employment Relations*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 98.

relationship can come from different federal, state, or local sources and it can be confusing to figure out which ones are applicable to a certain situation. Which ones apply depends on factors such as the location of the employer, the total number of employees, annual revenue and the minimum number of employees specified in the particular employment law statute. Each law contains its own scope of coverage requirements. For example, federal laws such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Americans with Disabilities Act apply to all private employers, state and local governments, and educational institutions with 15 or more employees. They also apply to private and public employment agencies, labor organizations, and joint labor management committees controlling apprenticeship and training. Other federal laws, like the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, apply to all private employers with 20 or more employees, state and local governments (including school districts), employment agencies, and labor organizations.

The federal Equal Pay Act applies to all employers who are subject to the federal Fair Labor and Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938. FLSA establishes minimum wage and overtime rights for most private sector workers, with a number of exemptions and exceptions but Congress amended the Act in 1974 to cover almost all employers, including governmental employees. In particular, in the private sector FLSA generally applies to any company/ organization with annual dollar volume of sales or receipts in the amount of \$500.000 or more. The FLSA does not preempt state and local governments from providing greater protections under their own national laws. A number of states have enacted higher minimum wages and extended their laws to cover workers who are excluded under the FLSA or to provide rights ignored by federal law. Local governments have also adopted a number of “living wage” laws that require those employers that conclude contracts with them to pay higher minimum wages and benefits to their employees. The federal government, along with many state governments, likewise requires employers to pay the prevailing wage, which typically reflects the standards established by unions’ collective bargaining agreements in the area, to workers on public works projects.

As with most other federal laws, there are exceptions to the minimum wage regulations. There are situations in which an employer may pay less than the minimum wage such as: when vocational education students (also known as “student-learners”) are employed; when full-time students are hired in retail, service establishments, agriculture or

institutions of higher education; when individuals are hired whose earning or productive capacity is impaired by a physical or a mental disability (including those related to age or injury). In order for an employer to pay its workers less than the federally mandated minimum wage, he must first apply for a certificate through the Wage and Hour division of their local FLSA office. There are also employees who are exempted from both the minimum wage and overtime pay rules: any professional, executive or administrative employees; teachers and academic administrative personnel in elementary and secondary schools; outside sales employees; employees in certain computer-related occupations.

While the FLSA does set basic minimum wage and overtime pay standards and regulates the employment of minors, there are a number of employment practices that it does not regulate: vacation, holiday, severance or sick pay; meal or rest periods, holidays off or vacations; premium pay for weekend or holiday work; pay raises or fringe benefits; a discharge notice, reason for discharge or immediate payment of final wages to terminated employees.

Complicating matters even further, employers based in the United States and employers based outside the USA that operate in the United States also are covered by different laws. For example, employers that are incorporated or based in the USA or are controlled by US companies and that employ American citizens outside the United States or its territories must comply with Title VII, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and the Americans with Disabilities Act with regard to all US citizens in foreign offices. Multinational employers that operate in the United States (or its territories) must comply with certain federal equal employment opportunity laws to the same extent as US employers, unless a bilateral treaty or other binding international agreement applicable to that employer limits the applicability of the laws.

State anti-discrimination laws have their own eligibility requirements and application area. For example, in California, the Fair Employment and Housing Act applies to employers who regularly hire more than five persons (with some exceptions for religious and nonprofit organizations). The California Family Rights Act applies to employers who do business in California and employ 50 or more full-time or part-time employees. California has its own wage and hour laws regulating minimum and overtime requirements which are applicable to virtually all employers; different rules are applicable depending on the employer's industry.

A curious situation met in federal states is that even some localities also have living wage requirements for employers who contract with the local government. Some localities have minimum wage requirements regardless of whether the employer has a local government contract or not. Other localities, like New York City, have their own discrimination laws that apply to certain employers depending on their size.

Employers cannot pick and choose which laws to follow, even if federal, state, and/or local law requirements overlap. Employers must comply with all federal, state and local laws that are applicable, even if the laws have different legal standards. That means that applicable law is the most favorable to the employees. Companies based in several states face particular challenges because it must also be determined whether to apply the federal, state and local laws specific to each location or whether to combine the laws of all the jurisdictions and apply them uniformly across the board. Sometimes, it may be easier and more consistent with the corporate culture to apply the broader protections of some state and local discrimination laws in all locations in which the company does business rather than applying different employment standards to employees based on geographic limits.

Collective bargaining and the concluding of collective agreements (contracts) are equally important for federal and unitary states. In all federal countries, collective bargaining is subject to a double coordination. First, confederations unified federal claims, and then the branches which are considered to be the most important are conducting basic negotiations. The fundamental principle of this system is that negotiation results are imposed to both employers and employees, members of organizations that participate at negotiation. The result is a set of industry agreements which no company can avoid.

In Germany, collective agreements (*Tarifverträge*), usually concluded at the branch level by the appropriate trade union and employers' association, are legally binding as long as they keep in line with the statutory minimum standards<sup>18</sup>. A particularity of German law system is that there is no trade union law. Even though trade unions are generally defined as associations with no legal capacity, they are legally entitled to collectively bargain as well as to take legal action or to be taken to court<sup>19</sup>. The duties and rights of trade union members are laid

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<sup>18</sup> Gunter Halbach, Norbert Poland, Rolf Schwedes, *Labor Law in Germany*, published by the Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs, Bonn, 1991, pp. 303-304.

<sup>19</sup> Sec. 2 paragraph 1 of the Act on Collective Agreements and sec. 10 of the Labor Court Act.

down in the relevant trade union's status (constitution act). Even though the statuses may vary between different trade unions, they traditionally establish similar essential duties and rights. There are also written agreements concluded between the employer and the works council (a body representing the employees of the establishment) because "the relationship between the industrial unions and work councils in Germany seems to have been highly significant. Pressures for the decentralization of collective bargaining have been deflected onto the works councils. The works council system and its linkage with industry-wide bargaining have endowed the German economy with a unique capacity for what K. Thelen called «negotiated adjustment»<sup>20</sup>. Far from weakening unions, co-determination provides an institutional underpinning for a wide variety of union policies intervening in the organization and operation of the economy"<sup>21</sup>.

Negotiations are based on a written text on which the parties agree, containing a clause of social peace, which restricts the possibility of conflicts to the (re)negotiation period (as long as the collective agreement remains in force, new demands and labor disputes about included topics are absolutely banned). In this way, social peace at both enterprise and industry level is ensured for the entire period of agreement's validity. Collective bargaining can also take place at the enterprise level but companies are not obliged to negotiate, because they are covered by branch agreements (this does not mean that enterprise-level bargaining is prohibited).

German government has a discrete role in employment relations. Its contribution is notable in two aspects: first, sets the legal framework of negotiation and conflict; second, government can intervene when there is an extension of a collective agreement, its role being to convince companies that are not members of employers' organizations to meet agreement's conditions. A collective agreement may be declared as generally applicable to all employment relationships within its geographical scope, whether or not the employer or the employee are members of the parties to the agreement. This declaration is done by the Ministry of Labor; if at least 50% of the employees who come under the agreement's geographical area are hired by employers already bound by the agreement (it also requires the accordance of both industrial partners and must be of public interest).

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<sup>20</sup> K. Thelen, *Union of Parts: Labor Politics in Post-war Germany*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1993, cited by Jack Eaton, *cit. work*, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53-54.

In USA, as well as in Canada, there is a long-established practice of “bargaining in good faith” (since 1935). This fact means that employers and employees’ representatives have to approach bargaining with an open mind and with the aim of reaching agreement but there is no obligation to make concessions or conclude an agreement. Employees are often represented in bargaining with the employer by a union or other labor organization. Collective bargaining is governed by federal and state statutory laws, administrative agency regulations, and judicial decisions. In areas where federal and state law overlap, state laws are preempted<sup>22</sup>.

In conclusion, we can say that the regulation of labor relations is a much more complex process in federal states in comparison with the unitary states but their experience can suggest a series of key lessons for the Romanian democracy in which the principle of negotiation of working conditions, the freedom of labor, the right to strike and freedom of association have a recent history.

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<sup>22</sup> See Article VI of US Constitution.

# ACCOUNTING OF INCOMES RELATED TO COST OF PRODUCTION IN PROGRESS

Silvia SIMIONESCU\*

**Abstract:** Incomes related to production in progress are not incomes generating revenue money in a near-future period; as a source of virtual enrichment for the enterprise, they are measured, for reasons of prudence, to the level of costs of production. At the level of principle, we can discuss the means to separate costs related to the finished production from those related to the production in progress, a particularly thorny issue encountered in practice and which, in most cases, determines the productive entities either to drop the actual determining of production costs or to make an improvised calculation. In our opinion, the problem is not the method of accounting the incomes associated with the cost of production in progress, but the way of evaluating the production obtained and stored, especially when both finished goods and goods in process are obtained.

**Keywords:** income, stocks, costs evaluation, cost of purchase, cost of production, direct costs, indirect costs, finished goods, goods in process.

In full agreement with the opinion of C. Staicu et al. (2010)<sup>1</sup>, the production activity of any economic entity is reflected on the one hand, in various material assets, which are reflected in the accounts corresponding to their nature, existing in the stock accounts class (3), and on the other hand, in incomes related to this production obtained and delivered to the warehouse (deposit) of the entity, for storage (keeping) until recovery to customers, as well as to the unfinished production at the end of the period, which **in our opinion outlines the aspect of variation of stocks.**

Thus, changes in stocks of finished products can represent a plus (in case of storage, when the final stock is greater than the initial stock) or minus (in case of shortage when the final stock is lower than the initial stock). In other words, the income from stock variation is calculated as the difference between the value of the production cost of stocks of products and goods in process at the end of the period and the initial value of these stocks, without taking into account the provisions made for impairment.

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<sup>1</sup> Staicu C. et al, *Contabilitate financiară. Abordare în context european și internațional*, Editura Universitară, 2010, p. 128.

The variations of stored goods are determined for each form of stored products (finished products, semi-finished products, waste) as well as for the production in progress. **Incomes related to the cost of production in progress are not incomes generating revenue money in a near-future period; as a source of virtual enrichment for the enterprise, they are measured, for reasons of prudence, to the level of costs of production.**

Revenues from production stored influence the final outcome of the activity, enrolling in the profit and loss account with a plus or minus sign as shown as a balance in hand and respectively balance due.

What OMFP 3055/2009 brings new is that it separates the incomes related to costs of products stocks (account 711) from the incomes related to costs of services in process (account 712) and whose economic content and ways of operation are presented in diagram below:

<b>Income for costs stocks of products 711</b>		<b>Income for costs of running services 712</b>	
<b>D</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>C</b>
Information on effective cost for production emerged during the month, regardless of the period it was obtained (341, 345, 346, 348, 361, 368) Information on effective cost for production in progress resumed at the beginning of the month (331)	Information on effective cost for production emerged during the month (341, 345, 346, 348, 361, 368) Information on effective cost for production in progress resumed at the end of the month (331)	Information on effective cost for running services at the beginning of the month (332)	Information on effective cost for services at the end of the month (332)

Summarizing the above, we note that the difference between the creditor and debtor turnover in account 711 "Changes in stocks" represents, at the end of each reporting period, increase or decrease of the total cost, including the price differences related to its production finished and stored, difference which is transferred to the income statement, but the influence it exerts will be annulled in time<sup>2</sup>.

Although we speak of incomes, in fact the question is to determine the costs of production that serve to assess the stocks obtained from own production and that generate revenue when sold.

The calculation of production costs is an attribute of management accounting and, in a general way<sup>3</sup>, is presented according to the schema shown in Figure 35.

Ch. Horngren, S. Datar și G. Foster (2006)<sup>4</sup>, as it results from the practice of SMEs in our country, following a study on the Australian companies in different

<sup>2</sup><http://www.scribd.com/doc/40081387/tea-Veniturilor-Si-Cheltuielilor-Din-Activitatea-de-are-2>, accessed sept. 2010

<sup>3</sup> C. Iacob, I. Ionescu, D. Goagăra, *Contabilitate de gestiune conformă cu practica internațională*, Craiova, Editura Universitară, 2007, p. 43.

industry (food, textile, steel, chemicals, petroleum, printing and publishing, furniture and accessories, machinery and computers, electronics), note that the way to determine the production costs varies considerably from one sphere of activity to another.

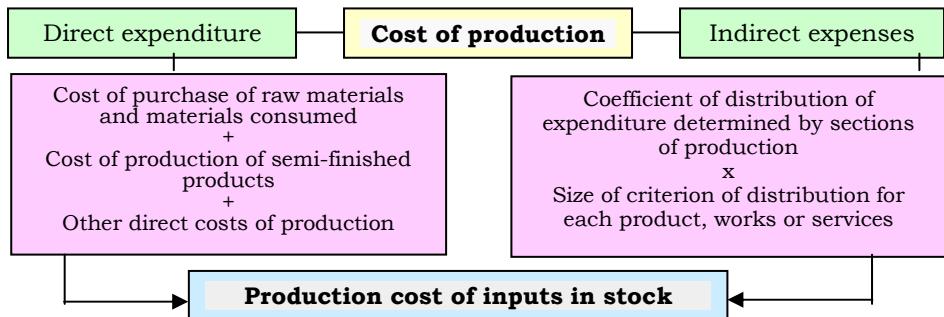


Figure 1. *Formation of the production cost*

In the context set, it is very difficult to bring to attention a calculation effective under the pretext of its validity for all types of activities. Yet we may state that, **at the level of principle, we can discuss the means to separate costs related to the finished production from those related to the production in progress, a particularly thorny issue encountered in practice and which, in most cases, determines the productive entities either to drop the actual determining of production costs or to make an improvised calculation.**

Given the above statement, using the accounting method on the example SC QQQ SRL (manufacturer of integrated circuits for electronic chips), we started from three working hypotheses<sup>4</sup>, namely:

- *Hypothesis 1*: there is no production in progress, neither in the beginning nor at the end of the period;
- *Hypothesis 2*: there is no production in progress in the beginning but it appears at the the end of the period,
- *Hypothesis 3*: running production both in the beginning and at the end of the period.

**Hypothesis 1.** In month N, within the production department 400 units of integrated circuits are manufactured and transferred to the products warehouse. For achieving this, there were recorded raw materials expenses worth 36,000 lei and 20,000 lei manufacturing costs, total 56,000 lei.

In this case, as the products are homogeneous and there is no production in

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Horngren, S. Datar, G. Foster, *Contabilitatea costurilor, o abordare managerială*, Xith edition, Editura ARC, Chișinău, 2006, p. 643.

<sup>5</sup> C. Iacob, I. Ionescu, D. Goagără, *Contabilitate*, p. 72.

process, the unit production cost is 140 lei/pcs, of which 90 lei/pcs raw materials and 50 lei/pcs manufacturing costs.

Basically, this reasoning applies to all enterprises with homogeneous production and justifies the application of the method of simple division for the calculation of the unit cost and, in terms of accounting, the revenues related to the cost of production are recorded according to the scheme below:

D	Income account for costs of products 711	C	D	Stock account 345	C
		56.000			

**Hypothesis 2.** In month N +1, in the production department 400 integrated circuit units are manufactured but only 175 units are completed and transferred to the products storehouse, the remaining 225 are still in progress.

If raw materials expenditures are incorporated at the beginning of production process (and therefore they will raise the sum of 36,000 lei, too), the manufacturing costs being incurred evenly throughout the entire period of production operations, they justify the registration of their lower level than the previous month, respectively of 15,500 lei and, following the evaluation, it is estimated that the finishing stage of production in progress is of 60%.

For the calculation of the cost it is necessary firstly to determine the products in progress equivalent finished, in order to achieve the correct charging of expenses using the principle of lump assessment on each cost component, as seen in Table 40.

Explanations	Physical units	Physical units which will be charged	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Units went into production	400		
Units of finished products	175	175	175
Products in progress (60% finished)	225	225	135 (225x60%)
Total units for calculation	400	400	310

Table 1. *Calculation of equivalent units under the hypothesis 2*

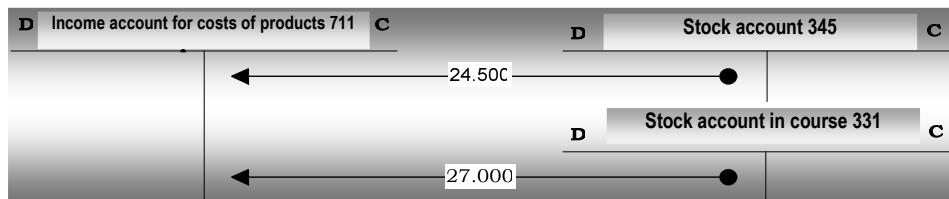
According to data from the table, the separation of costs between the finished production and the work in progress will be carried out according to equivalent units, with details that we will determine the two unit costs, one for raw materials and another one for manufacturing costs, as shown in Table 41.

Explanations	Total producti on cost	of which:	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Expenses recorded	51500	36000	15500
Units to which the costs are allocated		400	310
Cost per equivalent unit		90	50
Cost for finished units	24500	(175 x 90) + (175 x 50)	
<b>Current production cost</b>	<b>27000</b>	225 x 90	135 x 50
Total cost	51500		

Table 2. Separation between the finite production and production in progress under the hypothesis 2

The use of the lump assessment on each component of costs of production in progress presents the advantage of avoiding errors in decisions, especially those related to pricing policy.

In terms of accounting, the incomes related to the production in progress are recorded according to the schema below:



If the size of the indirect costs of production would be reported to the 400 units launched into production, without taking into account their degree of finish, the unit cost would have reduced from 140 lei to 128.75 and the error is obvious.

**Hypothesis 3.** In month N+2, there are in stock a number of 225 integrated circuits units in progress with a completion rate of 60%, and a number of 275 integrated circuits are launched in production.

We grant that we get 400 units of finished products and 100 units remain in progress, with a grade of 50% completion, at the end of the month. In terms of expenses, we have in view the following information: the value of production in progress at the beginning of the period of 27 000 lei, raw materials consumed during the month of 22,000 lei and 19,800 lei indirect production costs, total 68,800 lei.

**Given the existence of the two types of production in progress, at the beginning and at the end of the period, in order to separate the costs between the two elements it is necessary to resort to methods of stock assessment, as shown in IAS 2, respectively the average weighted cost (AWC) method, the FIFO method and the standard cost method, methods used in theory and practice exclusively for stocks assessment, other than of**

**finished products, much less for the production in progress.**

**AWC method.** The average weighted cost method can be used to calculate the cost of equivalent units during the exercise, having in view both the production in progress at the beginning and the end of the period, and of the finished products to be sold and delivered for valorization.

The AWC is obtained by dividing the total production costs by the total number of equivalent units which cross the production process over a reporting period. Therefore, what is important to establish aims at determining the equivalent amount of products, and which, according to data from hypothesis 3, is as follows (Table 42):

Explanations	Physical units	Physical units which will be charged	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Production in progress at the beginning of the period	225		
Units went into production	275		
Total products in manufacturing	500		
Units of finished products	400	400	400
Products in progress (50% finished)	100	100	50 (100x50%)
Total units for calculation	500	500	450

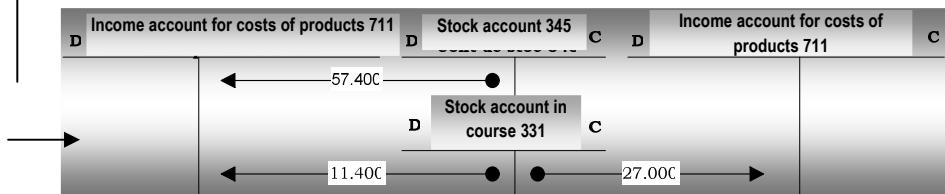
Table 3. *Calculation of equivalent units for separation of costs according to hypothesis 3, by AWC method*

The calculation of equivalent units by AWC method is based on the total equivalent units to which the technological operations shall be carried out until the end of the reporting period, regardless of the fact that they originate from the previous period or from the current period.

The major problem that arises is to consider all costs involved in carrying out the production and according to which the separation on stages of production progress is done and the unit cost can be determined, as seen in Table 43, which leads to reflection in accounting according to the attached scheme.

Explanations	Total production cost	of which:	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Production in progress at the beginning of the period	27000	20250	6750
Expenses for the period	41800	22000	19800
Total expenses incurred		42250	26550
Units to which the costs are allocated		500	450
Cost of one equivalent unit		84,5	59
<b>Total cost of production, of which</b>	<b>68800</b>		
- for finished products	57400	(400x84.5) + (400x59)	
- for the production in progress at the end of period	<b>11400</b>	8450	2950
		(100 x 84.5)	(50 x 59)
Total cost of production	68800		

Table 4. Calculation of average weighted cost



**FIFO method.** Unlike the AWC method, the FIFO method is characterized by the fact that it makes a distinction between the products which are in progress at the beginning of the period and the products launched in manufacturing during the period. The expenditure incurred during the current period and the units produced during the same period are used to calculate the unit cost by validating the units on which technology operations were executed during the current period.

In the context set, the FIFO method involves the following calculations:

- The cost of production in progress at the beginning of the period is charged to articles finished and transferred outside the department;
- The cost of equivalent units executed during the period alleges as follows: first to the finished products obtained from the initial production in progress, then to the new items went into production and, finally, to the units under execution at end of the period.

The FIFO method assumes that the older product units finish first.

Continuing the previous example, the calculation of the equivalent units, according to specifications, is presented in Table 44, in which the following can be noted:

- first units of products considered to be finished during the period are the 225 physical units existing at the beginning of the exercise in progress;
- according to Hypothesis 3 stated above, we admitted that 400 product units were finished during month N+2. If 225 were finished from the original production in progress, it results that from the production of 275 units launched in manufacturing in month N+2, 175 product units were finished,
- at the end of the month it remains a production in progress of 100 units and that represents the difference between the production launched in manufacturing (275) and finite production of 175 units manufactured obtained during the period.

Explanations	Physical units	Physical units which will be charged	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Products in progress at the beginning of the period (60% finished)	225		
Units went into production	275		
Total products in manufacturing	500		
Units of finished products in initial stock	225	0	90 (225 x 40%)
Started and finished products	175	175	175
Products in progress at the end of the period (50% finished)	100	100	50 (100x50%)
Total units for calculation	500	275	315

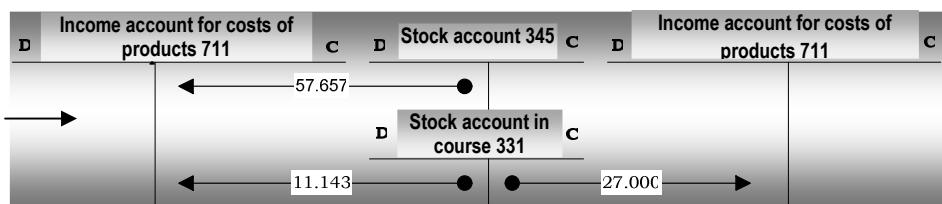
Table 5. *Calculation of equivalent units for separation of costs by FIFO method, according to Hypothesis 3*

Equivalence of units produced has in view the degree of their finish in the following sense: the 225 units in progress at the beginning of the period still need 40% to be completed, and those at the end of the period show a degree of finish of 50%. Therefore the 225 product units will not receive raw materials costs but only manufacturing costs.

In the context set, the calculation of costs is presented in Table 45, and in terms of financial accounting, the cost of the obtained production reflects according to the attached scheme:

Explanations	Total production cost	of which:	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Production in progress at the beginning of the period	27000		
Expenses for the period	41800	22000	19800
Units to which the costs are allocated		275	315
Cost of one equivalent unit		80	62.857
<b>Total cost of production, of which</b>	<b>68800</b>		
- for finished goods manufactured from the initial stock	5657 +	0	5657
	27000		(90 x 62.857)
- for finished production in the current month	25000		(175 x 80) + (175 x 62.857)
Cost for finished products	57657		
<b>- for the production in progress at the end of period</b>	<b>11143</b>	8000 (100 x 80)	3143 (50 x 62.857)
Total cost of production	68800		

Table 6. Calculation of cost by FIFO method



The FIFO method in its pure form is very rarely applied. The method practiced in reality is a modified method called the method "by workshop/department"<sup>6</sup> because it is used to calculate the cost of products manufactured in a production department and transferred to other departments.

For convenience, in terms of practical aspects, the products went to the next department (when we have a chain of operations) or handed over to the products warehouse, are valued at average unit cost, which makes the application of IAS 2 on using the FIFO method to unnecessarily complicate the accounting, given that the principle of continuity of methods is not respected.

Making a comparison between the way of establishing the costs of the two stages of the production by FIFO method and by AWC method, the following result is reached (Table 46):

<sup>6</sup> G Langlois, *Comptabilité de gestion*, Paris, Ed. Pearson Education, 2006, p. 106.

	AWC (Table 43)	FIFO (Table 45)	Differences
Cost of finished units	57400	57657	+257
Cost of production in progress	11400	11143	-257
Total cost of production	68800	68800	

Table 7. *Comparison of costs by methods AWC and FIFO*

As observed, the cost of production in progress by the AWC method is 257 lei higher than that determined by the FIFO method. This difference is significant if the differences are aggregated with differences of other products manufactured by the company. The AWC method has the effect of increasing the value of production in progress recorded in the balance sheet, and so an increase in the result of the operation and income tax.

The differences in costs between the two methods are a consequence of the manner of establishing the equivalent units used in the evaluation of production.

The FIFO method has the advantage that, on the one hand, it provides information on the evolution of unit costs from one period to another and thus the performance of the current period can be compared with the performance of the previous period, and that, on the other hand, provides useful information for forecast and control.

The AWC method produces a mixture of costs of successive periods, reason why it hampers the comparability of data. However, the AWC method has the advantage of simplicity of calculations and of obtaining an average unit cost which is very significant when prices of raw materials show significant fluctuations from month to month.

**Standard cost method.** The AWC and FIFO methods become very complicated at the level of companies which manufacture a wide range of products. The standard cost method has the advantage of outlining the quantities needed to manufacture a product and, therefore, the standard unit costs may be affected to these standard amounts of resources to determine the standard cost per unit of product. The identification of the standard cost per each product avoids the inconvenience to determine the actual cost of all products or the calculation of an average cost.

For illustration, we will resume the data used in the presentation of the FIFO method and we will assume that the size of standard costs is:

- Raw materials ..... 74 lei/unit
- Production costs ..... 54 lei/unit
- Standard production unit cost ..... 128 lei/unit

To be more explicit, we recall the situation of production during the month, namely:

<input type="checkbox"/> Production in progress at the beginning, 60% degree of finish, for which it is consumed: - direct materials 100% - production costs 60%	225 units
<input type="checkbox"/> Products started to be processed during the month	275 units
<input type="checkbox"/> Finished products at the end of the month	400 units
<input type="checkbox"/> Products in progress at the end of the month, finishing 50%, for which it is consumed: - direct materials 100% - production costs 50%	100 units

Based on the above data, the standard cost of unfinished production existing at the beginning of the period will be of:

• Raw materials (225 units x 74 lei)	16650 lei
• Processing costs (225 units x 60% x 54 lei)	7290 lei
• Total standard cost of unfinished production at the beginning of the period	23940 lei

We remind that the amount of the actual expenses during the month was of 22,000 lei raw materials costs and 19,800 production costs, total expenses 41,800 lei.

As in the previous example, the calculation of the equivalent units, according to specifications, is presented in Table 47.

Explanations	Physical units	Physical units which will be charged	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Products in progress at the beginning of the period (60% finished)	225		
Units went into production	275		
Total products in manufacturing	500		
Units of finished products in initial stock	225	0	90 (225 x 40%)
Started and finished products	175	175	175
Products in progress at the end of the period (50% finished)	100	100	50 (100x50%)
Total units for calculation	500	275	315

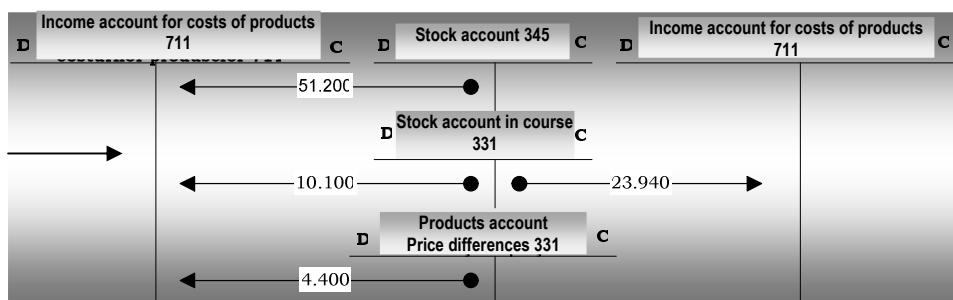
Table 8. Calculation of equivalent units for separation of costs by the standard method, hypothesis 3

As it can be seen, as in the case of the FIFO method, the 225 units in progress at the beginning of the period still need 40% to be completed, and those at the end of the period show a degree of completion of 50%. Therefore the 225 product units will not receive raw materials costs but only manufacturing costs.

In the context set, the calculation of the standard costs and of the cost differences is presented according to the data in Table 48.

Explanations	Total producti on cost	of which:	
		Raw materials	Production costs
Standard unit cost	128	74	54
Production in progress at the beginning of the period at standard cost according to calculation made	23940		
Standard costs for the current period (275 x 74) + (315 x 54)	37360	20350	17010
<b>Total standard cost</b> (debit account 921, analytical cost of production), of which:	61300		
- for finished goods manufactured from the initial stock	4860 + 23940	0	4860 (90 x 54)
- for finished production in the current month	22400		(175 x 74) + (175 x 54)
Cost for finished products	51200		
<b>- for the production in progress at the end of period</b>	<b>10100</b>	7400 (100 x 74)	2700 (50 x 54)
Total cost of production (credit account 921, analytical cost of production)	61300		
Determination of differences			
standard costs	37360	20350	17010
actual expenditure	41800	22000	19800
unfavorable differences	+ 4440	+ 1650	+ 2790

Table 9. Cost calculation according to standard method



Although the standard cost method is much simpler to apply, as it can be seen, all price differences pass onto the finished products.

Thus, **in our opinion, the problem is not the method of accounting the incomes associated with the cost of production in progress, but the way of evaluating the production obtained and stored, especially when both finished goods and goods in process are obtained.** The same problem is found also in the case of services, when there are both performed services (completed) and running services (particularly appropriate in case of service activity).

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Georges Bertin, *La Coquille et le Bourdon. Essai sur les imaginaires du chemin de Compostelle*, Arsis, 2010, 248p.**

Le Professeur Georges Bertin, auteur de quelques ouvrages essentiels de l'anthropologie de l'Imaginaire, tels: *Guide des chevaliers de la Table Ronde en Normandie* (1991), *Rites et sabbats en Normandie* (1992), *La quête du saint Graal et l'Imaginaire* (1997), avec la préface de Gilbert Durand, *Les grandes images: lecture de Carl Gustav Jung* (avec Véronique Liard, 2005), *La Pierre et le Graal, une expérience de quête initiatique* (2006), propose un livre d'anthropologie culturelle portant sur la thématique de l'aventure initiatique à travers le chemin de Compostelle – *El Camino de Compostela* –, un travail de recherche et d'expérience pratique, reconstituant un trajet spirituel *sui generis*. C'est la célébration d'une expérience culturelle et spirituelle par le biais des histoires des gens que Georges Bertin rencontre à travers son chemin, des histoires qui témoignent la culture de la mémoire, en défaveur de l'oubli. Dans la préface de cet ouvrage, le professeur Fatima Gutierrez affirme que: «Georges Bertin est, sans doute, un homme de foi et de désir qui, en tant que tel, a vécu ces très (jamais «trop») humaines expériences. Obéissant aux demandes de toute Aventure authentique, il abandonna le confort de sa quotidienneté, pour, seul et à pied, partir au bout du monde: *Finisterra*, à travers une route signalée, jadis, par les étoiles, *El Camino de Compostela*. Arrivé, triomphant, à son but, *La Coquille et le Bourdon*, ce livre qui s'ouvre également à nos yeux, à notre cœur et à notre esprit, en est la joyeuse commémoration (dans son plein sens étymologique de *remémorer avec*) et le resplendissant témoignage» (p.13).

Le voyage de l'auteur jusqu'à Santiago de Compostelle, c'est une incursion archéologique propre au pèlerin qui refait un trajet initiatique, avec la splendeur des paysages, la beauté des espaces y traversés, enfin une géographie symbolique qui s'avère tout à fait réelle dans ses données physiques et historiques. Santiago de Compostelle c'est le lieu attaché à la figure de saint Jacques, dit le Majeur, l'apôtre du Christ, fils de Zébédée, frère de Jean l'Évangéliste. Une légende fait l'apôtre de l'Espagne. Ses reliques, vénérées à Compostelle, deviennent le but, à partir le X<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'un des plus célèbres pèlerinages de la chrétienté. Même si les routes qui aboutissent à Compostelle sont infinies, il n'y qu'un seul et droit Chemin, selon Fatima Gutierrez, c'est le Chemin de la quête toujours renouvelée et institutrice de sens dans l'ordre ontologique. L'itinéraire de l'auteur vise trois aspects: 1. remarquer *les environnements spatiaux et temporaux du fait pèlerin*; 2. *collecter les documents et les témoignages, quand la parole pèlerine circule*; 3. *sonder les imaginaires collectifs à l'œuvre, dans les interactions groupales, les rencontres*,

*les représentations anthropomorphes et surnaturelles, les routines et accomplissements pratiques, les actes, gestes, signes circulant.* Donc, toute cette recherche socio-anthropologique repose sur une triple lecture méthodologique: *l'approche sociohistorique et anthropologique; recherche cheminante, active d'une quête et l'analyse de l'implication* qui essaie de restituer de l'intérieur, pendant un voyage de 4 mois, les valences du pèlerinage. Le chemin de Compostelle, le *topos* de l'universalité culturelle et mythologique, avec les imaginaires croisées (les histoires particulières des gens qui refont ce trajet), façonne invariablement un *forma mentis*, restituant la spécificité symbolique d'un espace *sui generis*.

Après un chapitre dédié aux *figures de l'histoire* – un excursus dans la mythologie du Camino et la problématique du pèlerinage, avec la *figure hagiographique et héroïque de Saint Jacques* –, Georges Bertin s'arrête sur la question proprement dite des *figures pèlerins*, avec ses formes et ses visages, avec leur situation à Compostelle, en 2009, avec ses rencontres, les *figures du chemin, pays et paysages*, ainsi qu'avec les réflexions sur son chemin. Les images du pèlerin: *l'errant, le chevalier et le clerc*, selon la typologie médiévale, sont toujours présentes dans la mémoire collective de l'Occident. En fait, les raisons des pèlerinages au Moyen Âge tenaient d'un exercice d'ascèse et d'un idéal missionnaire, les pérégrinations aux lieux saints étant *un exercice de sacralisation, religieux, à l'imitation du Christ*; le pèlerinage fonctionnait comme *figure d'intercession*. Les descriptions des paysages alternent avec des éléments d'enquête socio-anthropologiques.

La troisième partie de l'ouvrage s'axe sur les *figures du Camino* et sur les *pratiques pèlerins* en 2009, en y insistant sur les interactions, sur la valeur initiatique du Camino, ainsi que sur l'interrogation portant sur le Camino en tant que *tribu postmoderne*, dans le prolongement de la théorie du sociologue Michel Maffesoli. Cet ouvrage comprend aussi des annexes sur *le Grand Pardon de saint Jacques à Locquirec*, sur une chanson *Compostelle* d'Anne Sylvestre, sur les statistiques du chemin, sur le *degré de pilgrim* et sur *le corps du saint* (le corps de saint Jacques de Compostelle serait à Angers!).

L'ouvrage de Georges Bertin qui mêle une écriture raffinée, littéraire avec une recherche scientifique, est un livre incitant et savoureux d'anthropologie culturelle, une initiation au chemin de Compostelle, un exercice de restituer pour la mémoire collective un *topos* significatif de l'histoire spirituelle et culturelle de l'Europe, avec la morphologie de ses rites, représentations et pratiques.

*Constantin Mihai*

**Marius Sala, 101 cuvinte moștenite, împrumutate și create, Bucharest, Humanitas, 252 p.**

The present volume opens the collection “Viața cuvintelor”, initiated by the academician Marius Sala and imagined “as an itinerary in the world of the Romanian words” (p.9). The readers interested in “the biography” of some words will find here, undoubtedly, the answers that they look for because each book of the collection – *101 argot words, 101 terms used in chess, 101 religious terms, 101 music terms, 101 coins names, 101 diseases, 101 forgotten words* etc. – tells a story, oftentimes fascinating, about the apparition, the evolution or the disappearance of some lexemes from those mentioned fields.

Bringing up the present volume, after a short introduction (p. 9-12), in which the author explains the way it appeared “Viața cuvintelor” and what it supposes, we start the adventure implying the knowledge of some words inherited, borrowed or created in the Romanian language. For the start, are treated few general problems: what etymology is (p. 19-20), referring, for short, to its history in the area of the Romance languages (p.20-22) and, also, how did the researchers in the field of the Romanian etymology evolve (p. 22-25), given the fact that the Romanian language had, in its history, much more varied contacts with other languages from other linguistic families than with the related Romance languages.

An important moment in the evolution of a word is, therefore, the correct establishing of its etymology. This can be direct – when we stop only in the last “station of its travel” (p.26), an appellative, or indirect – when it is noticed its entire route, before it enters a certain language. The finding of the etymology is a complex process that includes several criteria: phonetic, semantic, geographic, functional, semantic-onomasiological, historic-social, comparative. Not few times, when they weren't properly understood, the words were wrongly analyzed. Upon all these aspects insists Mr. Marius Sala in the work “*Certificatul de naștere al cuvintelor*” (p. 26-33).

In any idiom, beside the words inherited from the mother-tongue, there are words created in that language, through internal ways (derivation, compounding etc.) and external ways (borrowing). In the section “*Apariția cuvintelor*” (p. 34-92), the author is referring, widely, to the last one especially.

The vocabulary is an open system that must keep up with the changes that take place in the society; the lexical borrowing phenomenon happens, therefore, concomitantly with the evolution of the human community. The direct borrowings appear as a sequence of the contact between the speakers of a language with the languages from the neighboring states or come from languages with cultural tradition (as Italian and then English). Their research implies numerous aspects that should be analyzed: if the borrowing was realized directly and how did this take place; what the oldest borrowings are; borrowings that compete with the already existent terms in the language; the polysemanism of some words, the homonymy etc.

Unlike the words that entered into the vocabulary directly, those borrowed indirectly have more spectacular life histories. And, “the more a lexeme passed through as many languages, the bigger are the differences between the origin and the destination language” (p.54). The author sustains this affirmation with numerous examples of Romanian words whose far origin is in: Latin (*buletin, cartof, stres, umor* etc.), Greek (*cremă, persoană, prosop* etc.), German (*aspirină, dolar* etc.), Dutch (*iaht, macrou, manechin* etc.) old Egyptian (*barcă, chimie, pahar* etc.), Hebrew (*calvar, înger, osana* etc.), Arab (*algebră, cifră, zero* etc.), Sanskrit (*caravană, junglă, safir, zahăr* etc.), Persian (*alcov, bazar, cearșaf* etc.), Chinese (*caolin, ceai, farfurie* etc.), Japanese (*ricșă, gheișă, samurai* etc.), Hindi (*piper, şampon* etc.), African languages (*banana, cușcus, satana*) and Amerindian languages (*cacao, ciocolată, hamac, jaguar, mocasin, oposum, piranha, savană, yucca* etc.), Eskimo language (*caiac, hanorac, iglu*) etc.

After we saw – in “the birth certificate” – “the parents” and even “the grandparents” of the words, we are about to know, in “*Viețuirea cuvintelor*” (p. 93-154), “their life style” too – as the author himself says. There are analyzed a series of appellatives that belong to the same semantic field. He chooses opposed types of semantic fields: some are closed, in which the neologisms hardly penetrate and other are open, in which the novelty is permanently reflected.

In the beginning, we stop on some more conservatory and better organized lexical fields. Among these are the terms that denominate parts of the human body (the nouns *barbă, braț, corp, deget, frunte, ochi, pumn, sânge, ureche* etc., but also the verbs *a asculta, a gusta, a naște, a simți, a vedea* etc. and the adjectives *acru, dulce, surd* etc.) and the names of animals (*bou, capră, cerb, cocoș, găină, lup, oaie, porc* etc.) and colors (*alb, negru, verde, vânăt, bleu, gri*).

In opposition with these, the terms that name foods or pieces of clothes, represent open semantic fields, in which new words entered frequently, as the society changed its culinary and vestimentary tastes. As regarding the nourishment, exist – beside the words inherited from Latin (*aluat, turtă, zeama* etc.) – superposed layers of appellatives that come from Turkish *arpagic, bostan, susan, ciulama, sarma, baclava, cafea* etc.), Greek (*friganea, pandispan, bezea, salată* etc.), French (*antreu, desert, pane, rulada, caramel, savarină, omletă* etc.), German (*strudel, chiflă, maghiran* etc.), corresponding to the influences of those languages on our language. The things are the same as regarding the clothing too, to where it reached “from the Roman *toga* to the *cămașă* (*shirt*) from our days and to *pantaloni* (*trousers*)” (p. 147)

The changing of the society leads, therefore, to the emerging in the vocabulary of some neologisms and, in the same time, it determines the exit from the current use of those words that are old and don't correspond to the reality anymore. And as concerning the causes that lead to the going out of fashion of some appellatives and their disappearance, the academician Marius Sala talks in “*Moartea cuvintelor*” (p. 155-162).

The second part of the work *Despre cuvintele românești, în special* (p. 165-226) encompasses a wider examination on the origin and the history of the Romanian language (*Ce este limba română, Ce fel de română?, Variante diacronice, Variante geografice, Variante sociale, Straturi etimologice, Limba română de două ori latină*), and on its vocabulary.

At the end, *În loc de concluzii* (p. 231-236), the author proposes few exercises, through which we can verify the knowledge learned in the pages of the present volume.

*101 cuvinte moștenite, împrumutate și create* is a very well-documented book that shouldn't be absent from the bookcase of any person interested in the history of our vocabulary. It is written in an language accessible to everyone and, sometimes, with the sense of humor, and the words are treated as if they were living beings, each of them with its own “destiny”.

*IustinaBurci*

**Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *L'Orient islamique face à l'Occident. Histoire d'une coexistence tumultueuse*, Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2011, 334p.**

Quintessence de plusieurs années d'enseignement consacré aux *mythologies et histoire des religions*, le volume du réputé professeur Claude-Gilbert Dubois porte sur un thème assez sensible, mais incitant: *L'Orient islamique face à l'Occident. Histoire d'une coexistence tumultueuse*. Même si l'auteur n'est pas un spécialiste dans la problématique de l'Islam, il réussit à proposer une synthèse sur ces rapports parfois troublants entre l'Occident et l'Islam, en s'appuyant sur une bibliographie composite qui varie des ouvrages des spécialistes jusqu'aux contributions notables des historiens des mentalités, des historiens de la culture (y compris la dimension de l'histoire sociale). Les représentations de l'espace islamique en Occident et inversement, les perceptions réciproques ont toujours tenu et tiennent compte jusqu'à présent de *forma mentis*, de plusieurs types de préjugés ou stéréotypes qui y fonctionnent: c'est très difficile pour l'Occident à comprendre un autre espace, un espace oriental, mais qui ne se confond pas avec l'Orient chrétien, avec une tradition et une mentalité spécifiques, d'une part, et de l'autre part, la perception islamique sur le monde occidental, cosmopolite, bigarré, façonné, à sa base, par le christianisme et maintenant la sécularisation.

Dans la première partie de l'ouvrage, Claude-Gilbert Dubois prend des *précautions de démarche et de méthode sur un terrain miné*, en y insistant sur quelques aspects importants: *de l'Orient désert à l'Orient compliqué; du curieux désir à la collection d'images stéréotypées: arabesques et turqueries de l'époque classique; l'orientalisme du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: esprit de pionniers ou impérialisme colonisateur? Recherche scientifique ou idéologies scientifiques?* ou bien *Les remous des temps modernes (1919-2009): choc des civilisations ou lois incontournables de la cohabitation mondiale?* Selon l'auteur, les rapports entre l'Occident et l'Orient peuvent se résumer à quelques *apparences de ressemblance*, des possibles sources de malentendus ou d'ambiguités, ainsi qu'à quelques *dissemblances apparemment inconciliables et vigoureusement récusés*. Les considérations de Claude-Gilbert Dubois sont tout à fait justes: L'Islam est une religion de la parole et du mot écrit, qui préfère le signe à l'image; «L'Islam manifeste par là la sensibilité qui s'exprime à la même époque dans le monde byzantin, et anticipe de plusieurs siècles le retour à la lettre, forme de *rejudaïsation du christianisme* (contre les tendances réputées, *païennes de l'Église romaine*) qui se manifestera dans le monde post-renaissant par une réaction aux traditions catholiques antérieures» (p.70). Outre les valeurs des croyances et des rites, il s'agit aussi du souci de comprendre les mots, l'exigence de la justice, en défaveur des *qualités du cœur*, trouvables parmi les Occidentaux – mais cet aspect avec une note de bémol pour l'Occident actuel qui ne vit plus à l'intérieur de la religion chrétienne de l'amour.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage s'arrête sur la *mise en place de l'Islam*, dans un exercice de reconfigurer l'histoire de cet espace, ses antécesseurs, ses figures symboliques – la biographie de Mahomet entre *histoire et fable* –; l'enjeu du Coran en tant que *livre des devoirs et des droits des entrants*, avec quelques accents sur la genèse, l'histoire et les particularités du texte. La troisième partie, *De l'Islam à l'Islam, l'expansion d'une doctrine et la formation d'une civilisation*, est une incursion historique dans la constitution de cet espace, avec des divergences et des convergences: l'institution du califat et les premiers califats dits orthodoxes; la première *fitna ou* la période de ruptures; *la structuration intellectuelle de la société islamique au cours du Moyen Âge*; la structuration politico-religieuse, l'essor de la philosophie et des sciences, ainsi que les intrusions des peuples asiatiques dans l'Islam et l'Europe: la dynamique des nomades, histoire de *corsi e ricorsi* de l'Empire ottoman.

La dernière partie de l'ouvrage porte sur la question de l'Islam à l'*orée des temps modernes*, en y mettant l'accent sur le phénomène de la colonisation et de la décolonisation, sur les aspects de la tradition et de la modernité. Claude-Gilbert Dubois traite le problème du *démantèlement de l'empire ottoman et la constitution des zones d'influence et des empires coloniaux européens (1775-1945)*. En dépit du fait qu'il s'agit d'un *héritage lourd à porter*, l'auteur se penche aussi sur la problématique de la politique contemporaine visant le conflit israélo-palestinien, les *zones d'incertitude* (Afghanistan, Irak), la *nébuleuse Al-Qaïda*. Sur le fond de ce rapport entre identité et mondialisation, le débat entre l'Occident et l'Orient «doit être relativisé quant à son amplitude et à sa signification» (p.288).

L'ouvrage du professeur Claude-Gilbert Dubois est une synthèse sur la dynamique des rapports entre l'Occident et l'Islam, dans la perspective d'un exercice critique lucide, équilibré et bien motivé par la substance de son argumentation. Sa démarche peut s'inscrire dans la tradition de l'histoire culturelle qui porte sur les valeurs et les significations des pratiques culturelles, idéologiques et spirituelles d'un espace au carrefour de l'histoire: l'Occident et l'Orient islamique.

*Constantin Mihai*

**G. Gruiță, *Mode linguistique actuelle. Norme, l'use et l'abus*, II<sup>e</sup>me édition, revue, Pitesti, Maison d'édition Paralela 45, 2011, 238 pages.**

Monsieur le professeur G. Gruiță traite, dans les sept chapitres de son livre, d'une manière qui combine la rigueur scientifique avec un langage accessible à un large public et, parfois, même avec l'humour, une série d'aspects illustrant les tendances dans l'évolution de la langue roumaine actuelle.

Dès le *Préface* (p. 9-14), l'auteur nous clarifie l'analogie qui existe entre la mode linguistique et la mode vestimentaire. Il part de l'idée que, tout comme dans le domaine de l'habillement, «pas tout ce qu'on porte à un moment donné est bon, correct et beau, mais on ne doit pas automatiquement rejeter» (p. 9) tout ce qui ne correspond pas au goût personnel. Le matériel analysé lui a été fourni par la presse écrite mais aussi par les émissions de radio et de télévision; après l'école, ils représentent les facteurs les plus importants dans l'éducation des masses.

Le premier chapitre, *La marché des mots, des syntagmes et des lettres* (p. 15-60), met en évidence un nombre des mots (*réaliser, nominaliser, acteur, location, formel* etc.) qui ont, maintenant, été enrichis avec des sens nouveaux, calqués après le modèle de l'étranger (principalement l'anglais). Au début du millénaire, les mots *européen* et *professionnel*, qui expriment le superlatif ont aussi eu du succès, en opposition avec les mots *non-européen*, *de Dâmbovița, amateurisme, dilettantisme, mioritic* etc., des qualifications qui ont devenues une vraie «axe du mal» (p. 28). En outre on rencontre des appellations qui, soit ont réentrées en force dans le langage usuel (*impact, segment, signal*), soit ont été prises du langage général d'un certain domaine (*test, top, trend*). De cette dernière catégorie fait partie la terminologie sportive, transplantée aujourd'hui dans le langage de la vie politique, économique, culturelle etc.

Dans le deuxième chapitre, *La politesse chez les roumains* (p. 61-84), nous est présentée l'histoire de l'évolution du mot *dânsul*, imposé actuellement par l'usance, comme prénom de politesse; puis on parle de la suprématie du masculin, devenu synonyme avec le prestige social et professionnel, pour qu'à la fin, l'auteur plaide pour la réglementation plus rigoureuse, sans distinction de l'utilisation des noms de personne, dont la structure naturelle est: prénom + nom et non pas nom + prénom.

*Paresse linguistique* (p. 85-114) est le chapitre dans lequel monsieur G. Gruiță tire notre attention sur la tendance de supprimer l'auxiliaire chez les verbes coordonnés (... *pentru a discuta, rezolva și găsi soluții* (...pour discuter, résoudre et trouver des solutions)) et le génitif-datif dans les constructions du type *în slujba Jihad* (dans le service de Jihad) etc., et ainsi en ne respectant pas «des modèles linguistiques obligatoires» (p. 87). L'Economie, normale dans la dynamique de la langue, est bienvenue, mais dans des autres situations: celles dans lesquelles il n'y a pas le risque de la confusion sémantique et grammaticale (*flagrant* au lieu de *flagrant délit*, *cellulaire* au lieu de *téléphone cellulaire* etc.).

Dans *Sujets de carton* (p. 115-155), l'auteur analyse en détail les structures qui comportent les appellatives suivantes: *manière (fel)*, *série*, *nombre*, *part*, *majorité*, *le reste* et il apporte, comme d'habitude, des nombreuses exemples de la presse écrite et de l'audiovisuel.

L'ambivalence lexico-grammaticale (verbe-adjective) du participe fait l'objet du cinquième chapitre, *Le participe vilain* (p. 157-178). Ce mode impersonnel du verbe apparaît ici dans des diverses constructions avec *beaucoup*, *bien*, *nouveau*, *ainsi*, *prêt*.

Le chapitre VI, *Beaucoup et (pas trop) petits* (p. 179-211) atteint d'autres sujets intéressantes et d'actualité: une forme verbale hypercorrecte (*or sa spuna* au lieu de *o sa spuna*), des îles et des péninsules dans la géographie du verbe (le passage du verbe d'une conjugaison à une autre), dans la cour de l'adjective (pronominal et non seulement), des problèmes avec *unu* et *doi*, *al* et ses frères (*a*, *ai*, *ale*, *alor*), des articulations étrangères.

Le dernier chapitre aborde des problèmes relatifs aux *Anacoluthes*, *pléonasmes et cacophonies* (p. 217-237), toutes présentes, malheureusement, dans le langage actuel aussi.

Ce livre représente, tant par les sujets abordés que par le langage très accessible, une ouvrage qui ne doit pas manquer de la bibliothèque des spécialistes, mais aussi de la bibliothèque de tous ceux qui sont intéressés de l'évolution de notre langue.

*Iustina Burci*

## **ANNIVERSARY**

### **Vladimir Osiac-70**

Le professeur Vladimir Osiac vient d'atteindre un âge rond, une excellente occasion de commémoration et de célébration à la fois parmi la communauté scientifique de Craiova. Professeur à l'Université, chercheur de l'Académie Roumaine, un collègue bien estimé par ceux qui ont eu la chance de travailler avec lui (collègues ou étudiants), il s'est remarqué particulièrement par l'élégance discrète et l'esprit affable qui ont toujours caractérisé sa présence dans la communauté.

Peu de personnes toutefois soupçonne que derrière une telle présence chaleureuse se trouve un trajet particulier, dominé par une mobilité géographique et culturelle, qui le fit transporté de son village de Dolj à la ville universitaire de Iasi dans une période historique difficile marquée par la mise en place du régime communiste.

Né le 1<sup>er</sup> Octobre 1941 dans une communauté rurale en Olténie (Braloștița, Dolj), Vladimir Osiac a fait ses études primaires et secondaires en Olténie (Braloștița, Slatina, Turnu-Severin), les études lycéales en Moldavie (Roman). Passionné d'histoire, il sera admis, en 1959, à la prestigieuse Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » de Iași, où il va fréquenter les cours et les séminaires donnés par les membres du corps professoral de la Faculté d'Histoire. Étudiant à une université avec une forte tradition historique et culturelle, sous un régime dominé par des inquisiteurs idéologiques ou le profil scientifique de la discipline était âprement conservée seulement à l'intérieur d'un petit groupe, il a bénéficié de l'occasion heureuse d'entrer en contact avec des spécialistes réputés tels Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița (archéologie), Constantin Ciohodariu (histoire médiévale), Gheorghe Platon (histoire moderne) à cette époque-là, assistants à la faculté.

Certes, ses enseignants de l'université lui ont marqué le choix pour l'histoire moderne, option renforcée puis par le biais des contacts avec les spécialistes de l'Institut d'histoire « N. Iorga », notamment Dan Berindei et Nichita Adăniloaie. Le dernier sera aussi celui qui allait accepter de lui superviser la thèse doctorale sur le phénomène ouvrier dans l'espace olténien au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, sujet plus facilement acceptée à l'époque, bien qu'autrement utile pour l'histoire sociale roumaine.

Ensuite, les préoccupations du jeune Vladimir Osiac vont viser des sujets plus ambitieux, concernant le début de la modernisation de la société roumaine dans l'espace de l'ancienne principauté de la Valachie, et notamment de l'Olténie. Ses contributions à l'histoire sociale de groupes particuliers comme les

pandours, l'histoire de la révolution quarante-huitarde en Olténie, l'histoire de la modernisation économique aux différents niveaux de la société roumaine, ont essayé de souligner des aspects importants des relations *rural-urbain*, *idéologie-modernisation*, des questions importantes pour l'historiographie roumaine, mais également difficiles à traiter dans une ère dans laquelle le contrôle idéologique du régime communiste imposait une ré-écriture/falsification de l'histoire. Conformément à une direction de recherche spécifique, le premier pas a été celui de se familiariser avec les documents nécessaires. Leur édition s'avrait par conséquence un exercice élémentaire, ce qui explique la présence du jeune historien dans des équipes de spécialité ayant comme but la réalisation des instruments de travail si utiles (avec Ileana Petrescu, par exemple, l'édition des documents relatives à la révolution quarante-huitarde de l'Olténie). Cet exercice lui a permis de ramasser un riche et varié matériel documentaire notamment sur le sud-ouest de la Roumanie qui allait constituer la base des nombreuses études, articles, communication ou des livres publiés.

Une telle évolution n'aurait pas été possible sans un cadre de recherche adéquat, derrière lequel se trouve une rencontre avec une autre personne qui a marqué la biographie de Vladimir Osiac. À l'académicien C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, à qui il va conserver un souvenir chaud, lui doit aussi l'occasion de revenir en Olténie, en tant que membre de l'équipe des jeunes chercheurs du Centre des sciences sociales de l'Académie roumaine à Craiova. Il restera ici jusqu'en 2001.

En parallèle, depuis 1975, va également commencer une carrière universitaire, d'abord comme lecteur (1975), puis en tant que maître des conférences (1990) et professeur (1998). L'appréciation de son activité scientifique lui a permis obtenir le droit de diriger thèse de doctorat, pas moins de trois prix de l'Académie roumaine récompensant les recherches déroulées par ses doctorants. Le professeur Vladimir Osiac a été également élu Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres et d'Histoire (1996-2000), d'Histoire, Philosophie et Géographie (2000-2008) de l'Université de Craiova, après avoir reçu un mandat en tant que directeur de l'Institut de recherches socio-humaines « C.S. Nicolaescu-Plopșor » de Craiova (1998-2000). Un *Cursus honorum* pas poursuivi, mais gagné parce qu'il a su faire preuve d'une qualité rare de nos jours, la civilité, de stimuler tout ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans ses collaborateurs et de laisser derrière le souvenir d'une présence encore aimée.

*Ileana Cioarec*

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### **For books**

Joseph Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France. Revolution and Remembrance 1789-1799*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 21-30.  
*Ibid*, p. 45.

### **For articles:**

Silvia Sovič, “European Family History: Moving Beyond Stereotypes of ‘East’ and ‘West’” in *Cultural & Social History. The Journal of the Social History Society*, volume 5, issue 2, June 2008, pp. 141-164.

Emmanuel Fureix, «Tours de ville frondeurs: les boulevards, la mort et la contestation (1815-1848)» dans *Romantisme. Revue du dix-neuvième siècle*, 2006, 4e trimestre, no.104, pp. 7-18.

### **For studies in collective volumes:**

Heinz-Gerhard Haupt et Jürgen Kocka, “Comparative history: methods, aims, problems”, in Deborah Cohen et Maura O’Connor (eds), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, New York et Londres, Routledge, 2004, pp. 23-40.

- 9) The quotes must appear between quotation marks; pay attention to the French («») and English ("‘’") quotation marks. If the quotation is less than 4 lines long, it can be given in the text; otherwise, any quotation more than 4 lines long, will be indicated apart with a smaller font (11) and without quotation marks.
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*Ibid*, p. 45.

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