

New Europe College
Ștefan Odobleja Program
Yearbook 2010-2011



LIVIU BORDAȘ
CAMELIA CRĂCIUN
RALUCA GROSESCU
OANA MATEESCU
NORBERT PETROVICI
EMANUELA TIMOTIN

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CONTENTS

NEW EUROPE FOUNDATION NEW EUROPE COLLEGE

7

LIVIU BORDAŞ

MIRCEA ELIADE AS SCHOLAR OF YOGA
A historical study of his reception (1936-1954)

19

CAMELIA CRĂCIUN

POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN JEWISH ROMANIAN INTELLECTUAL
LIFE DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD:
THE A. L. ZISSU – W. FILDERMAN DEBATE

75

RALUCA GROSESCU

LA LUSTRATION EN EUROPE CENTRALE QUELLES
NARRATIONS SUR LE PASSÉ COMMUNISTE ?

111

OANA MATEESCU

HISTORICAL AND JURIDICAL SUCCESSION:
COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP IN VRANCEA, 1910, 2000

149

NORBERT PETROVICI

BRINGING THE STATE BACK IN TO BUILD THE POSTSOCIALIST CITY:
THE STATE EFFECT AS A POSITIONED CULTURAL CONSTRUCT

185

EMANUELA TIMOTIN

LES APOCRYPHES ET LEURS MOYENS DE LÉGITIMATION.
LE RÊVE DE LA VIERGE DANS LA TRADITION ROUMAINE

209

NEW EUROPE FOUNDATION NEW EUROPE COLLEGE

Institute for Advanced Study

New Europe College (NEC) is an independent Romanian institute for advanced study in the humanities and social sciences founded in 1994 by Professor Andrei Pleșu (philosopher, art historian, writer, Romanian Minister of Culture, 1990–1991, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1997-1999) within the framework of the *New Europe Foundation*, established in 1994 as a private foundation subject to Romanian law.

Its impetus was the *New Europe Prize for Higher Education and Research*, awarded in 1993 to Professor Pleșu by a group of six institutes for advanced study (the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences, Wassenaar, the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences, Uppsala, and the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin).

Since 1994, the NEC community of fellows and *alumni* has enlarged to over 500 members. In 1998 the New Europe College was awarded the prestigious *Hannah Arendt Prize* for its achievements in setting new standards in research and higher education. New Europe College is officially recognized by the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation as an institutional structure for postgraduate studies in the humanities and social sciences, at the level of advanced studies.

Focused primarily on research at an advanced level, NEC strives to create an institutional framework with strong international links that offers to the young scholars and academics in the fields of humanities and social sciences from Romania, and to the foreign scholars invited as

fellows working conditions similar to those in the West, and provides a stimulating environment for interdisciplinary dialogue and critical debates. The academic programs NEC coordinates and the events it organizes aim at promoting contacts between Romanian scholars and their peers worldwide, at cultivating the receptivity of academics and researchers in Romania for fields and methods as yet not firmly established here, thus contributing to the development of a core of gifted young academics and scholars, expected to play a significant role in the renewal of research and higher education in Romania.

Academic programs currently organized and coordinated by NEC:

- ***NEC Fellowships (since 1994)***

Each year, up to ten NEC Fellowships for outstanding young Romanian scholars in the humanities and social sciences are publicly announced. The Fellows are chosen by the NEC international Academic Advisory Board for the duration of one academic year (October through July). They gather for weekly seminars to discuss the progress of their research, and participate in all the scientific events organized by NEC. The Fellows receive a monthly stipend for the duration of nine months, and are given the opportunity of a one-month research trip abroad, at a university or research institute of their choice. At the end of the academic year, the Fellows submit papers representing the results of their research, which are published in the New Europe College Yearbooks. This program also includes a number of international fellowships.

- ***Ștefan Odobleja Fellowships (since October 2008)***

The fellowships given in this program are supported by the National Council of Scientific Research in Higher Education, and are meant to complement and enlarge the core fellowship program. The definition of these fellowships is identical with those in the NEC Program, in which the Odobleja Fellows are integrated.

- ***The GE-NEC III Fellowships Program (since October 2009)***

A new program supported by the Getty Foundation started this academic year. It proposes a research on, and a reassessment of Romanian art during the interval 1945 – 2000, that is, since the onset of the Communist regime in Romania up to recent times, through contributions coming from young scholars attached to the New Europe College as Fellows. As in the previous programs supported by the Getty Foundation at the NEC, this program will also include a number of invited guest lecturers, whose presence is meant to ensure a comparative dimension of the program, and to strengthen the methodological underpinnings of the research conducted by the Fellows.

- ***The Black Sea Link (starting in October 2010)***

This Fellowship Program, sponsored by the VolkswagenStiftung, invites young researchers from Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as from other countries within the Black Sea region, for a stay of one or two terms at the New Europe College, during which they will have the opportunity to work on projects of their choice. The program welcomes a wide variety of disciplines in the fields of humanities and social sciences. Besides hosting a number of Fellows, the College will organize within this program workshops and symposia on topics relevant to the history, present, and prospects of this region.

Other fellowship programs organized since the founding of New Europe College:

- ***RELINK Fellowships (1996–2002)***

The RELINK Program targeted highly qualified young Romanian scholars returning from studies or research stays abroad. Ten RELINK Fellows were selected each year through an open competition; in order to facilitate their reintegration in the local scholarly milieu and to improve their working conditions, a support lasting three years was offered, consisting of: funds for acquiring scholarly literature, an annual allowance enabling the recipients to make a one-month research trip to a foreign institute of their choice in order to sustain existing scholarly

contacts and forge new ones, and the use of a laptop computer and printer. Besides their individual research projects, the RELINK fellows of the last series were also required to organize outreach activities involving their universities, for which they received a monthly stipend. NEC published several volumes comprising individual or group research works of the RELINK Fellows.

- ***The NEC–LINK Program (2003 - 2009)***

Drawing on the experience of its NEC and RELINK Programs in connecting with the Romanian academic milieu, NEC initiated in 2003, with support from HESP, a program that aimed to contribute more consistently to the advancement of higher education in major Romanian academic centers (Bucharest, Cluj–Napoca, Iași, Timișoara). Teams consisting of two academics from different universities in Romania, assisted by a PhD student, offered joint courses for the duration of one semester in a discipline within the fields of humanities and social sciences. The program supported innovative courses, conceived so as to meet the needs of the host universities. The grantees participating in the Program received monthly stipends, a substantial support for ordering literature relevant to their courses, as well as funding for inviting guest lecturers from abroad and for organizing local scientific events.

- ***The GE–NEC I and II Programs (2000 – 2004, and 2004 – 2007)***

New Europe College organized and coordinated two cycles in a program financially supported by the Getty Foundation. Its aim was to strengthen research and education in fields related to visual culture, by inviting leading specialists from all over the world to give lectures and hold seminars for the benefit of Romanian undergraduate and graduate students, young academics and researchers. This program also included 10–month fellowships for Romanian scholars, chosen through the same selection procedures as the NEC Fellows (see above). The GE–NEC Fellows were fully integrated in the life of the College, received a monthly stipend, and were given the opportunity of spending one month abroad on a research trip. At the end of the academic year the Fellows submitted papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the GE–NEC Yearbooks series.

- ***NEC Regional Fellowships (2001 - 2006)***

In 2001 New Europe College introduced a regional dimension to its programs (hitherto dedicated solely to Romanian scholars), by offering fellowships to academics and researchers from South–Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, and Turkey). This program aimed at integrating into the international academic network scholars from a region whose scientific resources are as yet insufficiently known, and to stimulate and strengthen the intellectual dialogue at a regional level. Regional Fellows received a monthly stipend and were given the opportunity of a one–month research trip abroad. At the end of the grant period, the Fellows were expected to submit papers representing the results of their research, published in the NEC Regional Program Yearbooks series.

- ***The Britannia–NEC Fellowship (2004 - 2007)***

This fellowship (1 opening per academic year) was offered by a private anonymous donor from the U.K. It was in all respects identical to a NEC Fellowship. The contributions of Fellows in this program were included in the NEC Yearbooks.

- ***The Petre Țuțea Fellowships (2006 – 2008, 2009 - 2010)***

In 2006 NEC was offered the opportunity of opening a fellowships program financed the Romanian Government through its Department for Relations with the Romanians Living Abroad. Fellowships are granted to researchers of Romanian descent based abroad, as well as to Romanian researchers, to work on projects that address the cultural heritage of the Romanian *diaspora*. Fellows in this program are fully integrated in the College's community. At the end of the year they submit papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the bilingual series of the *Petre Țuțea* Program publications.

- **Europa Fellowships (2006 - 2010)**

This fellowship program, financed by the VolkswagenStiftung, proposes to respond, at a different level, to some of the concerns that had inspired our *Regional Program*. Under the general title *Traditions of the New Europe. A Prehistory of European Integration in South-Eastern Europe*, Fellows work on case studies that attempt to recapture the earlier history of the European integration, as it has been taking shape over the centuries in South–Eastern Europe, thus offering the communitarian Europe some valuable vestiges of its less known past.

- **Robert Bosch Fellowships (2007 - 2009)**

This fellowship program, funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation, supported young scholars and academics from Western Balkan countries, offering them the opportunity to spend a term at the New Europe College and devote to their research work. Fellows in this program received a monthly stipend, and funds for a one-month study trip to a university/research center in Germany.

New Europe College has been hosting over the years an ongoing series of lectures given by prominent foreign and Romanian scholars, for the benefit of academics, researchers and students, as well as a wider public. The College also organizes international and national events (seminars, workshops, colloquia, symposia, book launches, etc.).

An important component of NEC is its library, consisting of reference works, books and periodicals in the humanities, social and economic sciences. The library holds, in addition, several thousands of books and documents resulting from private donations. It is first and foremost destined to service the fellows, but it is also open to students, academics and researchers from Bucharest and from outside it.

Beside the above–described programs, New Europe Foundation and the College expanded their activities over the last years by administering, or by being involved in the following major projects:

In the past:

- ***The Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Religious Studies towards the EU Integration (2001–2005)***

Funding from the Austrian Ludwig Boltzmann Gesellschaft enabled us to select during this interval a number of associate researchers, whose work focused on the sensitive issue of religion related problems in the Balkans, approached from the viewpoint of the EU integration. Through its activities the institute fostered the dialogue between distinct religious cultures (Christianity, Islam, Judaism), and between different confessions within the same religion, attempting to investigate the sources of antagonisms and to work towards a common ground of tolerance and cooperation. The institute hosted international scholarly events, issued a number of publications, and enlarged its library with publications meant to facilitate informed and up-to-date approaches in this field.

- ***The Septuagint Translation Project (since 2002)***

This project aims at achieving a scientifically reliable translation of the Septuagint into Romanian by a group of very gifted, mostly young, Romanian scholars, attached to the NEC. The financial support is granted by the Romanian foundation *Anonimul*. Seven of the planned nine volumes have already been published by the Polirom Publishing House in Iași.

- ***The Excellency Network Germany – South–Eastern Europe Program (2005 - 2008)***

The aim of this program, financed by the Hertie Foundation, has been to establish and foster contacts between scholars and academics, as well as higher education entities from Germany and South–Eastern Europe, in view of developing a regional scholarly network; it focused preeminently on questions touching upon European integration, such as transnational governance and citizenship. The main activities of the program consisted of hosting at the New Europe College scholars coming from Germany, invited to give lectures at the College and at universities throughout Romania, and organizing international scientific events with German participation.

- ***The ethnoArc Project–Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research***

An European Research Project in the 6th Framework Programme: Information Society Technologies–Access to and Preservation of Cultural and Scientific Resources (2006-2008)

The goal of the *ethnoArc* project (which started in 2005 under the title *From Wax Cylinder to Digital Storage* with funding from the Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation and the Federal Ministry for Education and Research in Germany) was to contribute to the preservation, accessibility, connectedness and exploitation of some of the most prestigious ethno-musicological archives in Europe (Bucharest, Budapest, Berlin, and Geneva), by providing a linked archive for field collections from different sources, thus enabling access to cultural content for various application and research purposes. The project was run by an international network, which included: the “Constantin Brăiloiu” Institute for Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest; Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire, Geneva; the Ethno-musicological Department of the Ethnologic Museum Berlin (Phonogramm Archiv), Berlin; the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (Coordinator), Berlin; New Europe College, Bucharest; FOKUS Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, Berlin.

Ongoing projects:

The Medicine of the Mind and Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England: A new Interpretation of Francis Bacon (A project under the aegis of the European Research Council (ERC) Starting Grants Scheme) – In cooperation with the Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, London (since December 2009)

Business Elites in Romania: Their Social and Educational Determinants and their Impact on Economic Performances. This is the Romanian contribution to a joint project with the University of Sankt Gallen, entitled ***Markets for Executives and Non-Executives in Western and eastern Europe***, and financed by the National Swiss Fund for the Development of Scientific Research (SCOPES) (since December 2009)

Civilization. Identity. Globalism. Social and Human Studies in the Context of European Development (A project in the Development of Human Resources, under the aegis of the National Council of Scientific Research) – in cooperation with the Romanian Academy (starting October 2010)

The EURIAS Fellowship Programme, a project initiated by NetIAS (Network of European Institutes for Advanced Study), coordinated by the RFIEA (Network of French Institutes for Advanced Study), and co-sponsored by the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme - COFUND action. It is an international researcher mobility programme in collaboration with 14 participating Institutes of Advanced Study in Berlin, Bologna, Brussels, Bucharest, Budapest, Cambridge, Helsinki, Jerusalem, Lyons, Nantes, Paris, Uppsala, Vienna, Wassenaar. The programme will issue its first call in the nearest future.

DOCSOC, Excellency, Innovation and Interdisciplinarity in doctoral and postdoctoral studies in sociology (A project in the Development of Human Resources, under the aegis of the National Council of Scientific Research) – in cooperation with the University of Bucharest (starting July 2010)

Other projects are in the making, often as a result of initiatives coming from fellows and *alumni* of the NEC.

Present Financial Support

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Religious Studies, History of Ideas and Mentalities

Participation to numerous conferences in several countries

Books:

*Iter in Indiam. Imagini și miraje indiene
în drumul culturii române spre Occident* (Polirom, 2006)

Apașul metafizic și paznicii filozofiei (Humanitas, 2010)

MIRCEA ELIADE AS SCHOLAR OF YOGA

A historical study of his reception (1936-1954)

1. Eliade's work on Yoga and Indian religions

The major outcome of Eliade's study of India is his well-known book "*Yoga. Immortality and freedom*", published in French in 1954 and republished since then in many editions and translations. However, this is only the final result of a long undertaking, stretching over three decades, from the first drafts of his Ph.D. thesis, initiated in Calcutta, in 1929, to the popular version of the book, in 1962. Its development, never thoroughly studied, covers six major stages:

1. 1929-1932: five studies published in Romanian and Italian scholarly journals: "*The main problems of Indian philosophy*", "*Introduction to Sāṃkhya philosophy*", "*Contribution to Yoga psychology*", "*Evil and freedom in the Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy*" and "*Hindu ritual and the inner life*".¹ In a reworked form they will become chapters of his Ph.D. thesis and/or of his first book on Yoga. However, Eliade's scholarly interest in Indian religions manifested itself a few years before his departure for India. His texts dating from this period (1925-1928) deal mainly with mythology as recorded in literature (*Brāhmaṇas*, *Purāṇas*, *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāmīni-Vilāsa*) and eventually with Buddhism.

2. 1933: his Ph.D. thesis, prepared at the University of Calcutta (under the supervision of Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta) and submitted to the University of Bucharest in November 1932: "*The psychology of Indian meditation. Studies on Yoga*" (in Romanian). It was defended in June 1933 and the title of Doctor was awarded *magna cum laudae*.²

3. 1936: the book *Yoga. Essay on the origins of Indian mysticism*, published in French, jointly in Bucharest and Paris.³

4. 1948: the book *Techniques of Yoga*, published in French, in Paris, in which he gives a new form to the material of the previous book.⁴ It was reprinted several times and also translated in Italian (1952), Spanish (1961) and Romanian (2000).

5. 1954: the book *Yoga. Immortality and freedom* also published in French, in Paris, which became the classical expression of his work on Yoga. The 1967 edition benefited from some revisions that included additional bibliography.⁵ It was continuously reprinted and knew several translations – in Spanish (1957), English (1957), German (1960), Italian (1973), Japanese (1975), Dutch (1980), Greek (1980), Serbo-Croatian (1983), Polish (1984), Romanian (1993), Russian (1998), and Chinese (2002) –, which were also reprinted several times.

6. 1962: Finally, Eliade was asked by Seuil Publishers (Editions du Seuil) to contribute to their well-known collection “Spiritual masters” with a volume on *Patañjali and the Yoga*. The collection aimed to offer small and comprehensive monographs of major religious personalities, written for the large public by some of the best scholars of the subject. His synthesis contained reworked parts from the two previous books.⁶ It had various reprints, including a revised edition in 1976. Translations in English (1969), Spanish (1978), Italian (1984), Polish (1994), Romanian (1992), Russian (1998), and Portuguese (2000) were also reprinted several times.

Besides his work on Yoga, he wrote on other topics of Indian religions. In his books and articles on History of Religions published after 1945 he often uses Indian themes and case-studies, keeping in touch with progresses in Indology. His synthesis, *A History of Religious Ideas* (vol. I-III, 1976-1983), gives also ample space to Indian religions. Occasionally he published new articles on Yoga.⁷

According to its international reception, Eliade’s work on Yoga can be divided into four periods: the emerging (1936 - 1954), the golden age (1954 - 1974), the critical challenge (1974 - 1986), and its posterity (after 1986). Here we shall deal with the first of them.*

* This article is the first part of a larger study – divided in four parts – which covers the entire reception of Eliade as a scholar of Yoga, up to the present moment. In what follows here I am focusing on the reception of Eliade’s early writings on Yoga: *Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* and *Techniques du yoga*. Due to space constraints the final part of the article, discussing the reception of Eliade’s writings on Yoga and the History of Religions during the years 1949-1954, will be published subsequently. I express my thanks to the curators of Special Collections Research Centre of the University of Chicago Library for their kind help during my researches of *Mircea Eliade Papers*. I also thank professor Mac Linscott Ricketts for providing copies of Eliade’s unpublished journal and for allowing me to quote from his English translation of it.

2. *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* (1936)

From the first five articles published prior to the submission of his thesis, only the one on Sāṃkhya was briefly reviewed by the Romanian philosopher **Lucian Blaga** (1895-1961), who had an early exposure to and a constant interest for the philosophies of India. Summarising its main ideas, Blaga emphasised that the merit of this article lies in the fact that Eliade worked directly on Sanskrit texts and studied Indian philosophy at its source, in India.⁸ Another article on the botanical knowledge of the ancient Indians was briefly noticed by the Belgian-American historian of science **George Sarton** (1884-1956).⁹

The real international reception of Eliade as a scholar of Indian studies starts in 1936, after the publication of his first book on Yoga. So far, we have been able to identify 13 reviews of it. They were published between 1936 and 1940, in Berlin (2), Rome (2), Paris (4), Brussels (2), Leuven (2), Strasbourg (1), and Wageningen (1).¹⁰ Only five of them are signed by Indologists: Valentino Papesso, Paul Masson-Oursel, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Heinrich Zimmer, and Jean Filliozat. About half of the other reviewers – four theologians, a historian of religions, a historian of science, a scholar of philosophy, and a writer – had various kinds of interest for Indian culture.

The first to review the book – and in a most detailed manner – was the Italian Sanskrit scholar **Valentino Papesso** (1888-1944), professor of history of religions at Bologna University, known mainly for his translations of Vedic and Upanishadic texts. A few years earlier he reviewed, in the same journal of religious studies, directed by Raffaele Pettazzoni, another major work on Yoga: that of Jakob Wilhem Hauer.¹¹ According to Papesso, the new book by Eliade – aiming to complete the works of Surendranath Dasgupta and J.W. Hauer – succeeded in bringing “a quite remarkable contribution to the solution of the problems regarding the influences of pre-Aryan populations of India on the Indo-Aryan religion and culture”. The main argument of Eliade is that Yoga, far from being the patrimony of a few ascetic sects, is a “specific category of Indian spirit”, with an uninterrupted history from the Chalcolithic age till today.

After resuming the content of each chapter, Papesso declares the last one, which deals precisely with the origins of Yoga, to be the most original and interesting of all. In Eliade’s view, Indo-Aryan religiosity has a tendency towards abstract, is “cold” and ritualistic, therefore magic, while the non-Aryan elements tend towards the concrete, are devotional

and mystic. He seeks this pre-Aryan heritage among Dravidian and Muṇḍa populations of South India, whose religion is characterised by *pūjā*, the cult of vegetation, the Great Goddess and by local divinities. These agricultural traditions, originated in the Mohan-jo-Daro civilisation of the Indus Valley (4000 B.C.), were mixed with certain “maritime” traditions (such as *śakti*). In the reviewer’s opinion, Eliade’s conclusions, having a great importance for the religious history of India, are “probable” to a great extent.

Papesso characterises the author as possessing a “sure knowledge” of the religious texts and of the secondary literature, a “unique perspicacity” and a “fortunate ability” to collect and reveal religious facts, to reconstruct their primitive content from the altered forms in which they are found. Nevertheless, he concludes, this “beautiful book” is partially overshadowed by philological inaccuracies: the transcription of Sanskrit words is inconsistent and often mistaken; not rarely the French article or adjective do not concord with the gender of the Indian nouns; too many printing errors escaped undetected, etc.¹²

Perhaps some of the features of this review may be explained by the fact that it was commissioned by the editor of the journal, Raffaele Pettazzoni, who had a long personal relationship with the author. In a letter to him, as early as 9 June 1936, he praises the “magnificent book” – sent by Eliade himself –, which treats a very interesting subject in a “brilliant manner”. He specifically refers to “the idea of tracing back the prehistory of Yoga to the age of Mohan-jo-Daro” as “one of the most captivating”.¹³

Very different is the tone of the second Indologist who reviewed the book, first in an Italian journal devoted to the history of science, then in the journal for the history of religions published by the Guimet Museum of Asian Arts. **Paul Masson-Oursel** (1882-1956), professor of the prestigious École Pratique des Hautes Études, was an established authority in Indian thought as well as in comparative philosophy.

For the French professor, the book of Eliade – acknowledged as a “Romanian Indologist” – does not bring any “new document”. Moreover, several of its ideas had already been put forward by himself: the fact that Yoga, devoid of any relation with the Vedic-Brahmanic rituals, imposed itself little by little on all religions and philosophies of India; that it is related to the Sufi and Taoist practices; that it is the expression of the low social strata and of the non-Aryan Asia; that it suggests a “mystic physiology” and it was used to attain “spiritual autonomy”.¹⁴ This is why, says Masson-Oursel, he agrees with the author in the essential points.

Nor did he find the plan of the work – vague (*flo*) and charged with additions (*hors d'oeuvre*) – satisfying. More positivist than Eliade, Masson-Oursel attaches himself critically to some of the details. In his opinion, the young Romanian Indologist accepts too fast and uncritically any suggestion which might confirm his own views: for instance, the similarities between Yoga and Hesychasm or the interpretation of Borobudur temple's architecture by Heinrich Zimmer and Paul Mus. Such is also his seducing hypothesis of the *yogin* Śiva being represented on the Mohan-jo-Daro clay seals. According to him, the lack of any testimonies between the year 4000 B.C. and the era of classical Hinduism should make one more cautious in asserting such continuities. In the end, of course, he does not forget to mention the failure to respect the gender of Sanskrit words.

This was an overall negative review, even in its ironical appreciation of the book's merit as "pointing insistently" to Yoga as a specific category of the Indian spirituality.¹⁵ In this view it is legitimate to ask why the text had to be published twice. Masson-Oursel was not a collaborator of *Archeion*, a journal of history of science printed in Rome by **Aldo Mieli** (1879-1950), a Jewish-Italian scholar and Socialist activist who, since 1928, lived in Paris as a political refugee (and from 1939 in Argentina). The issue of *Archeion* containing the review, despite bearing an earlier date, appeared in fact a few days after the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, to which Masson-Oursel was a regular contributor. It would be interesting to know whether this had anything to do with the vexation Mieli suffered from his old friend Eliade during his visit in Bucharest, on the occasion of the 8th conference of the International Academy for History of Sciences (10-16 April 1936).¹⁶ A small vexation actually, but one which acquired incredible dimensions for the sensitive and passionate Italian.

On 14th of April 1936, Eliade presented before the scholars gathered in Bucharest his Romanian book *Asian alchemy* (1935). *Yoga*, which contained a chapter on Yoga and alchemy, will come out only a month later (20 May). In his review of the conference, Mieli refers to this chapter, a fact which proves that he already had received the book from Eliade. His assessment is brief and neuter: "an ample discussion" aiming "to demonstrate that Indian alchemy is not, generally, a pre-chemistry, but a mystical, soteriological method similar to other Indian mystical techniques".¹⁷ We can conjecture that, very probably, it is Mieli who requested Paul Masson-Oursel to re-publish his critique of the book.

The third Indological review is that of **Louis de la Vallée Poussin** (1869-1938), Belgian scholar of Buddhist studies, retired from the University

of Ghent, and active in Brussels. He discussed the book twice in a large bibliographical study about new publications on Buddhism, published in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, journal founded and directed by himself, under the aegis of the Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises of Brussels. The critical spirit in which Vallée Poussin used to review the writings of his colleague scholars is well known. It is important to keep this in mind while reading his assessment of Eliade's scholarship.

He starts by observing that, after various "notes" which didn't cross the borders of his own country, this book of Eliade is meant to retain the attention of Indologists. And he has fair words to say about its methodical and clear exposition of the subject matter, the good bibliography in the footnotes and the author's extensive readings. It must be added that Vallée Poussin's own books and articles are often quoted in the footnotes.

The Belgian scholar agrees with Eliade's thesis of the remote antiquity of Yoga, although he makes a discrete reserve regarding a sure dating to the Chalcolithic age. According to him the most "primitive" Yoga is, probably, the one studied in the chapter dedicated to Tantrism (ch. VII), a raw Yoga which he prefers to call "fakirism". He points out that, despite its roots into the "raw paganism", the author is well aware of the fact that, in order to renew its sap, the tree of Yoga breathes from above the most spiritual aspirations: the metaphysical notions and the pure morality. Vallée Poussin adds that there are many other points to be highlighted, in which Eliade says very well old and new things, but did not insist upon them. Instead he announces his disagreement with him on the question of the historical relationship between Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Buddhism.

About the chapter on Buddhism (ch. VI), of which he gives a detailed description, he has good words too. It is an "incomplete but fairly good" study, not lacking in originality, which shouldn't be ignored. He also gives a detailed summary of the chapters on Tantrism, alchemy and the origins of Yoga (ch. VII, VIII, and IX), pointing to the "interest" they present for the chosen topics. In a large footnote, Vallée Poussin makes five small observations disagreeing with the translation of certain Sanskrit and Pāli terms (*vṛtti*, *samādhi*, *īśvarapraṇidhāna*, *vipassanāya samannāgato*, *brūhetā suññāgāraṇam*) chosen by Eliade from the existing scholarly tradition. Here his critique is, indirectly, pointed towards other scholars (Paul Masson-Oursel, Surendranath Dasgupta, Th. W. Rhys Davids).¹⁸

After Italy, France and Belgium, it was the turn of Germany to host the next Indological evaluation of the book. The year 1937, which opened with the review of Paul Masson-Oursel, ended with the publication of a

review by **Heinrich Zimmer** (1890-1943). This was exactly the opposite of the first one, as if the Heidelberg professor of Indian philology would have read the grim text of his French colleague. Interested mainly in Indian art and symbolic forms of expression, Zimmer was also the author of a book and of a few important studies on Yoga.¹⁹ For him the work of Eliade offers a comprehensive and fluently drafted picture of the Yoga phenomenon which could interest the historian of religions, the psychologist and the sociologist of culture as well. One of its main merits lays in the extensive and thorough erudition of the author. The wideness of its horizon proves to be extremely fruitful conferring the book an “epochal rank” in the special literature on Yoga. The richness of the material is coupled with a healthy criticism, an eye for the essential and a remarkable power of synthesis.

Zimmer considers the book a “brilliant testimony” of the Calcutta school of thought constituted around Surendranath Dasgupta. With such works as Eliade’s, or as the book of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas. Essays in the water cosmology* (1928-1931), the study of Indian religion and culture is freeing itself, in the best way, from the Brahmanic-orthodox mythological tradition into which the generation of Max Müller, Alfred Hillebrandt and Hermann Oldenberg have plunged it, as into a deep fog. Indeed, the scholar – who shortly afterwards will be dismissed from University because of his “non-Aryan” wife – finds no objection at all to the hypothesis of a pre-Aryan origin of Yoga. He ends his review in a bold manner by wishing this new direction of studies “Good luck!”.²⁰

The last Indologist to review the book was **Jean Filliozat** (1906-1982), a scholar of several Asian languages, but a medical doctor by profession. Although at that time he had authored only one article on Yoga,²¹ the subject will become one of his special fields of expertise. The young scholar is utterly enthusiastic about the book, which he considers as one of the most important works on Yoga. It does not treat only about its origins, as indicated by the subtitle, but encompasses, in a “successful effort”, everything that concerns Yoga. Eliade proposes no new interpretation, but gives a “general review” of everything that can be known about the subject in the present state of research. The bibliography is richly displayed during the exposition and the judgements made with acumen and caution. Therefore, from several points of view, the book is an “excellent instrument”.

There is still novelty in the book. Filliozat points out that entire chapters are almost completely new. One of them is *Yoga and alchemy*, an important connection neglected before, which throws a good light on the

technical aspect of Yoga. In another chapter, *Yogic ideas and techniques in Tantrism*, Eliade shows the “immoral” practices associated with Yoga as having a “popular” origin. The French scholar thinks that the fact can be explained otherwise than as a defeat of the ascetical ideal. It can be seen as a “defiance of the passions”, a replica on the moral plane of the yogic “superhuman resistance” to the “corporal disorders”. In the end he also passes a brief remark on the high number of printing errors, but only on those of the French language.²²

In a later *Curriculum vitae* Eliade mentioned a sixth Indological review, signed by a certain **P.B. Datta** in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of Calcutta.²³ However, we could not find it in the referred issue, nor in the rest of the journal.²⁴ Nevertheless, he gave – in his Romanian translation – three superlative quotations from it, praising the author’s erudition and profound knowledge of the Indian spirit, remarking especially the chapters on Tantrism, alchemy and the comparisons with Byzantine mysticism, and urging an English translation accessible to the Indian public.²⁵ If the review was ever published it must have been in another journal.

Some brief assessments of Eliade by other Indologists are found in the reviews of the first volume of *Zalmoxis*. For example that of the Sanskrit scholar **Antonio Gargano** (1914-1997), devoted collaborator of Giuseppe Tucci, his assistant at the chair of Religions and Philosophy of India and of the Far East at the University of Rome and one of the directors of IsMEO, in whose journal the review was published. Eliade is presented there as an “illustrious professor”, a “distinguished scholar of history of religions and of things Oriental, well known in the cultural world for an essay, which already become fundamental, on the origins of Indian mysticism, as well as for other important publications.”²⁶ Gargano discusses only those articles on Asian cultures which fall into his field of competence, but says a few good words about Eliade’s text *Metallurgy, magic and alchemy*, remarking his competence on the subject as well as his large erudition.

From the other contributions of Eliade, he gives attention to the short article *Notes de démonologie*, which correlates Jean Filliozat’s researches on Indian demonology with those of Nicolae Cartoian and Valeriu Bologa on the relations between Romanian and ancient Babylonian demonology. Quoting his book *Yoga* (the chapter on the pre-Aryan origins, along with works by G. Combaz, W.F. Albright and P.-E. Dumont), Eliade asserted the certainty of prehistoric and historic connections between India and Mesopotamia. Therefore, he put forward the hypothesis that Indian and Mesopotamian demonologies have a common origin. More precisely, that

pre-Aryan Indian demonic motives come from Mesopotamia. However, the Indian culture assimilated them in a larger non-dualistic perspective, referring the demon and the benign divinity to one and the same principle.²⁷ This extension of Eliade's theory of the non-Aryan origins of Yoga – abandoned later on – has remained unnoticed by the Indologists who disputed him.

At least for those scholars with whom he was in touch, Eliade became already the "well known specialist of Indian religions".²⁸ *Zalmoxis* was also reviewed by the Indian scholar of Sanskrit and Pāli, **Sumitra Mangesh Katre** (1906-1999), professor of Indo-European Philology at Poona's Deccan College, editor of the *New Indian Antiquary* and of the *Oriental literary digest*. Among the contributions to this publication of "class and value", *Metallurgy, magic and alchemy* is considered to be "one of the most interesting and erudite papers".²⁹ The same article will be quoted by **Mario Bussagli**³⁰ and various other Orientalists.³¹

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy quoted positively and repeatedly his article *Les livres populaires dans la littérature roumaine* from the second volume of *Zalmoxis* (1939).³² He failed to mention *Yoga* (only the 1937 article *Cosmical homology and Yoga*³³), a fact which displeased Eliade.³⁴ However, this could be read as a statement that the Anglo-Indian scholar doesn't need (Western) "mediators" for referring to *Yoga*.

One of the early reviewers of *Yoga* was the exiled Russian writer **Marc Séménoff** (1884-196?), a connoisseur of Indian thinking and of occult literature. He discussed it in his regular chronicle from a popular Paris weekly journal. His interest for it lay exclusively in the empirical and sensational aspects of *Yoga*. After describing the results and benefits of its practice, he concludes that "*Yoga* is a book which must find its place in all occultist libraries".³⁵

Another interesting group of reviewers is represented by four French and Belgian theologians. The first of them, the French Dominican **Ernest-Bernard Allo** (1873-1945), professor of history of religions at the Theological Faculty of the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), had in his youth an episode of adhesion to Buddhism and to occultism, but turned afterwards against the modern esotericism.³⁶ The ideas he retains from the book – the pre-Aryan origin, "a specific category of the Indian spirit", the "spiritual autonomy", a "concrete way" to immortality³⁷ – will be those highlighted, more or less, by all reviewers. Comparatively to his other assessments of works on Indian religions, this brief review is neuter and balanced, very probably because he found here what he called "l'Inde

authentique et traditionnelle des Upanishads et du Yoga”, not “l’Inde frelatée des théosophes”.³⁸

The second theologian to review the book was the Belgian Jesuit **Joseph Masson** (1908-1998), a missionary, but also a scholar of Sanskrit and Buddhism (in the '50s he will teach Sanskrit at the University of Namur).³⁹ In his view, it is an “excellent contribution” to Indian mysticism and particularly to Yoga, which represents for Eliade the *mystica perennis* of Hinduism (just as *Sāṃkhya* was considered to be its *philosophia perennis*). The book is considered to be of great interest for all those who study the Indian “doctrines” or the “comparative spirituality”, redesigning several grand routes of orientalist exploration. Eliade’s treatment of the subject is very detailed, but sometimes the wealth of material is not fully mastered. The bibliography is up to date, except for the very last years. Masson is also keen to notice the philological imprecisions and the printing errors, but he passes a much milder judgement on them (“This is only a detail”).⁴⁰

The book will attract the attention of another Belgian Jesuit, **Édouard Dhanis** (1902-1978), professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Jesuit Faculty of Egenhoven (Leuven), an ultra-conservative theologian who will launch, in the '40s, an offensive against the prophecies of Fatima. In a short bland review he states – probably after Masson-Oursel – that the work doesn’t bring any new document and the hypothesis of the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga has already been defended before Eliade. Dhanis points out that it is a work of synthesis rather than one of fresh exploration. Nevertheless, he adds, it is done by an expert, who traces with high competence the history of this vast and complex “spiritual movement”.⁴¹

The theological circle is closed by one more French Dominican, **Albert Vincent** (1879-1968), an expert of Oriental languages and Biblical literature, fresh doctor⁴² and future professor of history of religions at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Strasbourg. In his review, hosted by the journal of his Faculty, he points out the importance of Eliade’s book for all those interested in the history of mysticism. However, Vincent has not much sympathy and understanding for Yoga, whose inanity, he thinks, was immediately perceived by the Indo-Aryans. They tried to oppose to this “spiritual experience” of the aboriginal populations a “reasonable asceticism”, the meditation and the prayer. Buddhism was, in his view, an Aryan reaction to the spirituality of “inferior populations”. After its defeat, the “ecstasy of the yogi” ended up into “tantric deviations” and “mystical eroticism”.⁴³ Indeed, a rough caricature and defacement

of Eliade's thesis, characteristic not only of the conservative theologians, but also of the Aryanist ideology of that time.

Almost all these scholars of Indology and theology had a more or less manifested preoccupation for general and comparative religious studies, but none of them was a representative of the new scientific study of religion. The only one, from among the reviewers of *Yoga*, who could claim such a position was **Gerardus van der Leeuw** (1890-1950). Professor of history of religions, theology and Egyptology at the University of Groningen, he had himself a theological and Orientalist formation, and started his career as pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church. The review itself was published – rather late – in a journal of theological studies.

The Dutch professor gives a brief but fully positive assessment of the book, considered as a true treasure for both Indology and Phenomenology of Religion. This very original, well documented and fascinating work – says van der Leeuw – has made “us” very indebted to Eliade. The Romanian scholar achieved this merit by choosing to study a neglected topic: the *exercitia spiritualia*, the spiritual method which plays such an important role in several religions. Especially in the Indian religions, as everywhere else where there is an attempt to master the reality (by magical or ascetical means), the spiritual exercise is the holy act in itself. As he pointed out, at that moment (in 1939), the idea of spiritual practice was gaining increasing power through the activities of the Oxford Group Movement. Therefore, he thinks, it is appropriate to pay attention to *exercitia spiritualia* and to reflect upon their history. However, quite ironically, from all the chapters of the book – which he describes briefly –, van der Leeuw finds particularly interesting the section dedicated to the erotic mysticism of Tantrism.⁴⁴

The book was reviewed by the German chemist **Edmund Oskar von Lippmann** (1857-1940), former honorary professor of natural science history at the University of Halle, from where he was dismissed on account of his Jewish ancestry. He is one of the important scholars of history of science and alchemy read by Eliade already by 1927 and with whom he even initiated correspondence. Very probably it is the author himself who sent him *Yoga*. Von Lippmann was very prompt in reviewing it; in fact his was the first review to be published, but strangely enough Eliade apparently never learned about its existence.

The German historian of science is concerned mainly with the chapter on Yoga and alchemy (ch. VIII), a topic on which, as he points out, there was previously little or no research at all. In his “detailed work”, Eliade

arrived at remarkable results regarding the relationship between the two disciplines.

Von Lippmann understands alchemy as a forerunner of chemistry, rather than as a spiritual esoteric knowledge. He points out, after Eliade, that what is called Indian “alchemy” is originally in Yoga a “spiritual technique”, whose aim is not the transmutation of metals *per se* but the achievement of perfect health, long life and immortality. This “alchemy” is less concerned with the “body” of minerals than with their “soul”, where their qualities originate. Therefore, he adds, it did not empirically precede the chemistry: an interest for chemistry appeared in India much later.

He considers Eliade’s exposition of Indian alchemy “very remarkable”. It clarifies a context and connections which were not known till that moment and corrects peremptorily certain opinions and interpretations which surface even in the recent literature on the subject. In a last footnote von Lippmann adds that the chapters on India and China from his book *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (I-II, 1919, 1931) are in complete accord with Eliade’s exposition.⁴⁵ In the third volume of this monumental work on the origin and propagation of alchemy – completed in 1940 but published posthumously – he referred several times to the “detailed considerations” from Eliade’s book.⁴⁶

The last review known to us, published when the Second World War was becoming unavoidable, is signed by **Raymond Lenoir** (1890-1972), *agregé de philosophie* at Sorbonne, student of Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, a philosophical commentator very active during the '20s and '30s.⁴⁷ His account, despite being published by one of the most important French journals of philosophy, is of little value. He merely recounts the contents of the book with long enumerations of half-understood facts and ill-digested names. Eliade is characterised as an “accurate Indologist”, guest of Himalayan monasteries, disciple of Surendranath Dasgupta, but also an informed reader of a plethora of French scholars (S. Levi, P. Masson-Oursel, J. Przyluski, Ed. Chavannes, M. Mauss, H. Hubert, P. Rivet), and an intellectual whose horizons stretch over Mongolia, China, Tibet, India, Persia, and Sumatra.⁴⁸

Later on, some brief informative reviews appeared in bibliographical volumes, like those published by the French professor of philosophy **Raymond Bayer** (1898-1959) and by the above mentioned Belgian historian of science **George Sarton**.⁴⁹ Both of them stress that the book is more comprehensive than suggested by its title, engaging a comparative view with other techniques of meditation, especially with Hesychasm and

Sufism. Sarton considered that the “Romanian Indologist” has described admirably the systems of Yoga.⁵⁰

The reviews which are indeed relevant for the scholarly reception of Eliade as a specialist of Indian studies are those published by the five Indologists (Papesso, Masson-Oursel, Vallée Poussin, Zimmer, Filliozat) and by the theologian Joseph Masson. Except for Valentino Papesso and Louis de la Vallée Poussin, they were not members of the traditional philological school of Indology. Masson-Oursel was basically a scholar of philosophy, Heinrich Zimmer was mostly interested in art and symbolism, while Filliozat was an oculist doctor.

We could raise the question: why the reception was so modest in the Indological circles – at least in the French? An hypothesis can be put forward. We know that, only a few months after its publication, the book was already appreciated among the professors of *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and *École des Langues Orientales* as an “exceptional work”. The fact was learned in Bucharest through professor **Jules Bloch** (1880-1953), specialist of Indian languages, and confirmed in Paris by the Romanian linguist **Alexandru Graur** (1900-1988), himself a former student of Sanskrit.⁵¹ It is, most probably, the review of Paul Masson-Oursel that discouraged other eventual reviewers.

The same review was promptly instrumented in Bucharest, by **Anton Dumitriu** (1905-1992) – future professor of Logic at the University, but also a secret Theosophist – to launch an underhanded campaign aimed at denigrating Eliade’s scholarship.⁵² It was subsequently taken over, with the same purpose, by the literary historian **Dumitru Murărașu** (1896-1984), professor at the Pedagogic Seminary of Bucharest.⁵³ Ten years later, this was still the only scholarly critique of the book known to Romanian intellectuals. The young Orientalist Marcel Leibovici assisted to a conversation between two former professors of Eliade, **Mircea Florian** (1888-1960) and **Alexandru Claudian** (1898-1962), from the Universities of Bucharest and Iassy, who recalled this review which shows that *Yoga* “was not a work of value”.⁵⁴

In his autobiography, published in 1966, Eliade believes that Masson-Oursel’s “ambiguous little note” (“*notiță cam în doi peri*”) was triggered by the fact that he himself was preparing a book on Yoga, which however could be completed only fifteen years later.⁵⁵ More probably, the real cause was a different one: the French scholar must have resented not being quoted as much as his own works on Yoga deserved in his opinion.⁵⁶

Eliade himself felt the insufficient reception of *Yoga* and tried to correct it, at least for the Romanian public. In June 1937, in the context of his suppression from University (on charges of pornography in his literary writings), he released a kind of “press file” of the book, made – with a single exception – of excerpts from private letters received from the scholars to whom he had presented the book (a fact which was not indicated as such). He ranged on his list fourteen renowned scholars (in this order): Ernesto Buonaiuti, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Jean Przyluski, Vittorio Macchioro, Carl Hentze, A. B. Keith, Giuseppe Tucci, J. W. Hauer, Samuel Angus, Valentino Papesso, Theodor Stcherbatsky, S. K. Belvalkar, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, and Tenney L. Davis.⁵⁷ But the excerpts from their letters were not always accurate. Sometimes Eliade takes illicit advantage in his translation. Moreover, the short quotations from Stcherbatsky and Coomaraswamy are not found in their letters, while we don't have any correspondence from Keith, Tucci or Belvalkar referring to the book.⁵⁸ The five scholars were certainly added because of their authority as Indologists. In fact, at that moment Eliade had at hand only short remarks from Przyluski and Hauer and the review of Papesso. **Surendranath Dasgupta** (1887-1952), still angry with his former student, didn't even confirm the receipt of the book.⁵⁹ It is true that academic journals were printed slowly and their circulation was often difficult. Two years later, Eliade will have a better view of the reception of his book, but still he missed seeing a third of its reviews.⁶⁰

Jakob Wilhelm Hauer (1881-1962), professor of Indology at the University of Tübingen, and the most important Western authority on *Yoga* till that moment, wrote to Eliade only that his book is “an excellent orientation” (“*eine ganz ausgezeichnete Orientierung*”) on the subject. He vowed to study it carefully as soon as time permits it.⁶¹ Hauer, who in his own books on *Yoga* was seeking its origin in the Vedic – non-Brahmanic but “Aryan” – context, remains completely silent on the pre-Aryan origin hypothesis.

On the contrary, **Ananda K. Coomaraswamy** (1877-1947), like Zimmer, agreed with Eliade on the pre-Aryan origins of *Yoga*. Moreover, he considers that *Yoga* is far from being a purely Indian matter. According to him, it is a universal phenomenon. He boldly points out to a “Christian *Yoga*” in the writings of St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor.⁶² It is not irrelevant to remember that Coomaraswamy's father was a Tamil from Śri Lanka, a population of the old Dravidian stock. He was not only an Indian of non-Aryan origin, but also a Protestant Christian.

Arriving at this point, it is interesting to see how two Protestant scholars of religious studies reacted to the book. **Samuel Angus** (1881-1943), professor of New Testament and Church history at St. Andrew's College of the University of Sydney, was impressed not only by the thoroughness with which Eliade deals with the topic or by his grasp of sources in a multitude of languages, but also by his success in making an "Indian practice and view of life" intelligible to a Western mind. He intended to arrange a review in their *Journal of Philosophy and Psychology*, but the promise remained unfulfilled.⁶³ Much more engaging are the comments of their common friend, **Vittorio Macchioro** (1880-1958), at that time attached at the Archaeological Survey of Venezia-Giulia, in Trieste. He had spent recently two years (1933-1935) in India, as a visiting professor at the charge of Italian government. He visited Calcutta, where he met Surendranath Dasgupta, and taught for seven months at Banaras Hindu University, where he learned Haṭha-Yoga from an Indian yogi. Consequently Macchioro became an enthusiastic practitioner and read extensively on the subject.

With these qualifications, the Italian scholar appreciates that Eliade's book "beats everything" that he could read on the topic. His treatment of Yoga from the perspective of history of religions seems to him "perfect", much more clear and "reasoned" than that of the most famous books on this subject. Like Filliozat, he remarks especially the chapters on Tantrism and alchemy, which represent work of the first order. Interesting enough, Macchioro finds that the book is somehow lacking on the practical side of Yoga and asks Eliade whether he ever attempted to practice this discipline. Pointing out to some small inaccuracies regarding Haṭha-Yoga (which are not entirely appropriate), he quotes in his support Swami Shivananda. Since he was left with the impression that Eliade doubts the therapeutic effects of Yoga, he gives him a personal testimony to the contrary.

Macchioro disagrees with Eliade that the doctrine of the *cakras* is better explained through the magic value of the meditation than by the anatomic and physiologic knowledge of Indians. Therefore he agrees partially with dr. Vasant G. Rele and thinks that the task of the scholar is to find an equivalence between the yogic terminology and the modern scientific nomenclature.⁶⁴ In his kind, diplomatic, answer, Eliade accepts some of Macchioro's observations and explains his option through an excess of "critical" precautions. In other words, he avoided intentionally to dwell on Haṭha-Yoga because he didn't want to endorse the impression of

“mysticism” which his earlier publications left on the Romanian academic community.⁶⁵

Macchioro will recommend Eliade’s book to several persons from his own circle. One of those to whom he lent it was his disciple **Ernesto de Martino**, whose case will be discussed below.⁶⁶ The reading of *Yoga* induced in him only “some reservations and perplexities”⁶⁷, which will be formulated with precision a decade later, after the publication of Eliade’s second book on the subject.

Edmund Oskar von Lippmann and Aldo Mieli were not the only historians of science who took an interest in *Yoga*. Their American colleague **Tenney Lombard Davis** (1890-1949), professor of organic chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a pioneer in the history of chemistry – who had reviewed briefly *Asian alchemy* (1935)⁶⁸ –, comments, in his letter to Eliade, on the chapter *Yoga and alchemy*. Despite acknowledging gently that his conclusions “contribute greatly toward clarification of the problem”, he upholds a different thesis: alchemy – which means for him restrictively the search for transmutation or for the elixir – is more recent than chemistry. He didn’t find any evidence in Eliade’s new book that Indians or Babylonians developed an alchemy in that sense of the word.⁶⁹ By the end of the same year he will publish his thesis in an article entitled *The problem of the origins of alchemy*, in which he makes no reference to Eliade’s books.⁷⁰

As we have seen, the book was discussed mostly in France, Belgium, and Italy. It had virtually no public reception in the English-speaking (Great Britain, U.S.A., and India) Orientalist milieu and only a meagre one in the German-speaking (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) Indological academia. In his autobiography Eliade asserts that “almost all the great Oriental scholars of the time” (J. Przyluski, L. de la Vallée Poussin, A. K. Coomaraswamy, H. Zimmer, V. Papesso, G. Tucci) expressed their agreement with his interpretations and considered the book an important contribution towards the understanding of Indian mystical techniques.⁷¹ Later on, he will discover other scholars, especially in France, who appreciated the work. **Louis Renou** (1896-1966), one of the most important Sanskritists, professor at Sorbonne University, admired it.⁷² So did **René Daumal** (1908-1944), surrealist writer and poet, but also a serious student of Sanskrit and Indian literature.⁷³ For the esotericist **Philippe Lavastine** (1908-1999), eccentric scholar of India, the book was an “authority”.⁷⁴ The wife of the Indologist **Olivier Lacombe** (1904-2001) found it and

read it in the library of the Jesuit monastery-college of Kurseong, in north-eastern India.⁷⁵

Readers and admirers came also from outside the narrow confines of Indology. One of them was **George Bataille** (1897-1962), who read it a few years after its publication and found it to be “the most clear exposition of Tantrism”.⁷⁶ Another reader was professor **Gershom Scholem** (1897-1982) from the University of Jerusalem, renowned specialist in the Kabbala.⁷⁷ Several scholars, both from the area of Indian studies and from outside it, will cite it in their works.⁷⁸

In his letter, **Jean Przyluski** (1885-1944), scholar of several Asian languages and of Buddhism, professor of College de France, wrote that, with Eliade, Romania enters the field of Indology.⁷⁹ It seems that only in Paris was Eliade called an Indologist. Paul Masson-Oursel and Raymond Lenoir were the only reviewers who granted him this title.

Paul Masson-Oursel's irritation seems to have been short-lived. When Eliade came to Paris as a refugee in 1945, the French savant wrote to him: “*Je connais bien votre livre, le meilleur qui soit sur le yoga en Occident, et j'aimerais à faire connaissance avec l'auteur.*” On their meeting, the French professor invites him to collaborate with the members of the Centre d'Études Mystiques (Louis Massignon, Jean Barozi, and Paul Demiéville) in order to elaborate a *définition préjudicielle* of the “mystic fact” and to set up a vocabulary of comparative mysticism, entrusting him with the definition of yogic terms.⁸⁰ Furthermore, he invites Eliade to give a lecture on Yoga at the Institut d'Indianisme of École Pratique des Hautes Études.⁸¹ In his annual rapport to the École, Masson-Oursel mentions him as the “Romanian Indologist”, “the author of the best existing book on Yoga”.⁸²

According to Eliade, Masson-Oursel changed his earlier views and accepted the thesis of a non-Aryan origin of Yoga.⁸³ But **Jean Filliozat**, who became director of studies at École Pratique des Hautes Études, has also changed his views in the opposite direction. He challenged the pre-Aryan origin hypothesis in a study dedicated specially to this topic. The title of his article makes an evident reference to the sub-title of Eliade's book, which he considers an “important work”. It was actually written purposely to refute the “plausible and seducing”, but “rather arbitrary”, pre-Aryan theory. For him, the posture of the character from the Mohanjo-Daro clay tablet, identified by Sir John Marshall as Śiva practicing Yoga, is not immediately and necessarily typical of the *yogin*, but a very common posture in India.

In order to reach a conclusion regarding the origins of Yoga one must do, according to Filliozat, more than speculating on prehistoric iconography and on non-Indian shamans. One should above all study the typical elements of Yoga and determine their place in the Indian culture. In other words, the main task is to examine their relations with the classical Indian notions of psychology and physiology.⁸⁴ After doing it briefly, Filliozat concludes that “there is nothing in this account which must have been borrowed from the uncivilised pre-Aryans”. He finds no ground to accept that, in order to be born, Yoga needed a combination of shamanic techniques of possession and trance with a philosophy of the soul, as Eliade suggested.

In his view, Yoga was, on the contrary, developed from a psycho-physiological theory with materialist tendency, i.e. from the pneumatism characteristic of classical Indian medicine. Yoga is not a “resurgence of pre-Aryan mystic rites, derived from the old, autochthonous shamanic stock”, but “the consequence of speculations based on scientific theories accepted at that time”. The systematic nature of the yogic exercises pleads for a scientific origin. Theoretically, the primitive idea underlying the pneumatism might have been borrowed from the “non-civilised” pre-Aryans, but “we have no way of knowing whether this logical possibility was worked out and no necessity justifies this hypothesis”. Nothing similar to Yoga can be traced among the “non-civilised” of the present day, which are supposedly the descendants of those of ancient India.

Filliozat’s article was reviewed by **Henri-Charles Puech** (1902-1986), historian of religions, expert of Gnosticism, Manichaeism and early Christianity, and a colleague of the former at *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. As secretary of *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* (which hosted Masson-Oursel’s review), he published there an immense number of reviews and chronicles, but never reviewed himself any book by Eliade. Reporting the judgement of “arbitrariness” passed on his hypothesis concerning the origins of Yoga, Puech resumes – in a very detailed and faithful manner – all the arguments put forward by Filliozat in order to refute it.⁸⁵ The intention of amplifying the echo of Filliozat’s article, in the detriment of Eliade, is more than evident.⁸⁶

Eliade was not convinced by Filliozat’s arguments,⁸⁷ but he took no pains to refute them in his second book, *Techniques of Yoga*, published two years later. This displeased the French scholar, who in a new critique in *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* returned to the question with even greater emphasis.

3. *Techniques du Yoga* (1948)

Proposed to Gallimard publishing house by Georges Dumézil, the book was initially titled *Introduction à l'étude du Yoga*. Eliade wrote it in about two months, at the end of 1945, reproducing whole pages from the *Yoga* of 1936. Later on he was asked to revise certain sections and add several explanatory pages. Completed in May 1946, Eliade corrected the manuscript in the month of October, adding a short vocabulary list of technical terms and a preface. However, the printing was delayed because the presses used by Gallimard didn't have the diacritical signs for Sanskrit. Consequently the work came out only in May 1948.⁸⁸ Eliade believed that, in this introductory little book, he succeeded in "expressing more clearly my current conception of Yoga and of all the paradoxical, religious efforts to attain the coincidence of *esse* with *non-esse* here on earth, to become god while still remaining man."⁸⁹ He even felt that he said "many things that I hadn't yet said in any of my works, published or unpublished".⁹⁰

Like the first book, *Techniques of Yoga* received more attention from outside the craft of Indology. We were able to compile a list of sixteen reviews, short notes and articles discussing the new work. Only three are signed by scholars of Indian studies: Jean Filliozat, George Weston Briggs, and Paul Masson-Oursel. The others are due to scholars of religion (4), philosophy (1), history of literature (1), history of science (1), to writers (3) and esotericists (3). Interest for esotericism, sometimes up to a personal commitment, is found across these categories, but mostly among writers. Despite the book's having a much better exposure than in 1936, it was reviewed by comparatively fewer Indologists and religious studies scholars. Instead it had a better reception amidst writers and sympathisers of the occult. There was no reaction from philologists and linguists. Only the Italian translation (1952) was commented on by a scholar of Indo-European linguistics. The geographic distribution is clearly weighted towards France (11 reviews), with Italy (2), Switzerland (1), Belgium (1), and United States of America (1) on the other side.

In his review, **Jean Filliozat** renews his appreciation of Eliade's first work, which he calls "one of the best general books" on the subject. The new book is a "fair general presentation", less detailed as far as the theoretical part of Yoga is concerned, but more accurate with regard to the technical side of it. The work should be welcomed, he thinks, especially in a time saturated with ignorant and fanciful publications on Yoga.

After such a positive but ambiguous introduction, Filliozat jumps directly to a new critique of Eliade's approach of Yoga. Namely, he reproaches him for bringing into account Sāṃkhya philosophy as a way to understand Yoga (a classical and general approach in fact). It is only at a later historical stage (the scholastic syncretism), that Yoga and Sāṃkhya found themselves associated – he argues. The doctrines of Sāṃkhya do not explain the techniques of Yoga, neither historically, nor logically. The technique is – as argued in his earlier article – dependent on the doctrines of the physiologists. The exposition of Sāṃkhya philosophy is certainly not superfluous, and Eliade wrote some excellent pages on it, filled with fine remarks. But it should have been grouped, according to Filliozat, among the systems of thought associated with Yoga at a later time, such as Buddhism and Tantra.

This option is also considered incongruous with Eliade's own theory of the prehistoric origins of Yoga, which makes the Sāṃkhya-Yoga association completely secondary. From the perspective of his theory, the chronological classification becomes unnecessary. But, in Filliozat's view, the theory is only a convenient way to avoid the question of Yoga's origins. He goes on arguing again that John Marshall's hypothesis about the practice of Yoga at the time of Indus Valley civilisation has a very weak foundation. The techniques of Yoga are actually routed in a "pneumatic theory", attested already in the *Vedas* and having "Indo-Iranian" precedents. "It is unnecessary to suppose that practices, which are the natural application of ideas common in the environment where they are attested, stem from other practices supposed to exist in times of which we have no proof of their existence." Eliade – decries Filliozat – ignores completely the Indian physiology as a possible explanation of Yoga's peculiarities. The French doctor is visibly upset that he takes into consideration mainly religious and philosophical facts, and scarcely mentions "trans-physiological" experiences. He contests Eliade's idea that the *cakras* were discovered through such an experience, independently of any objective preoccupation. They could have been discovered more simply by using the existent medical knowledge.

On behalf of this reasoning, Filliozat is compelled to contest the correctness of the opinion which can be formed about the techniques of Yoga according to Eliade's book. Nevertheless, he adds, his enquiry into the subject remains fruitful and his descriptions very valuable. Only the high number of printing errors in the Sanskrit words and the confusions

of gender are to be deplored⁹¹ – a courteous criticism, typical of the French academia.

The other two scholars of Indian studies who reviewed the book approved of Eliade and didn't attempt to engage him over the validity of his hypotheses. One was the Methodist clergyman and former missionary to India, **George Weston Briggs** (1874-1966). In India he learned Sanskrit and became an Indologist. Upon his return to America, he taught Sanskrit and was named professor of history of religions at the Theological Seminary of Drew University, New Jersey. He authored several valuable books on Indian castes, among which one on the *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (1938), which will be used by Eliade in his later works. Briggs considers Eliade's appraisal of Yoga to be "careful" and the book itself "highly interesting and useful". Its main interest lies in the fact that it shows Yoga as a multifaceted phenomenon, illustrating the characteristic use which various religious communities make of it. He does not contend the "primitive" and "indigenous" character of Yoga supported by the author.⁹²

In a brief review, **Paul Masson-Oursel** recalls that the author of the book is a very competent analyst who already wrote "the best book on this vast subject" in which abound mediocre works. Contrary to Jean Filliozat, he approves Eliade's option to discuss the *Erkenntnistheorie* and appreciates his precision in the use of Sanskrit terms. Nevertheless, among the various applications of Yoga, the author forgot to deal with "the most spectacular and the most intellectualized" of all, the Buddhist school Yogācāra. The French scholar is saddened again by too many typographic imperfections in the technical terminology, which are going to make a fortune with the popularisers of the subject. In the end, he urges Eliade to publish his "very important" ideas on shamanism as a source of both Yoga and Taoism, either through the myths of reintegration or through Mongolian spirituality.⁹³ It is indeed an indirect way of approving his pre-Aryan theory, without openly engaging Filliozat.

The Indologists were not the most prompt reviewers of the book. In fact they were the last ones. In the first rank were the scholars of religious studies: the young generation, Eliade's own congeners.

One of the very first was the Italian anthropologist and historian of religions **Ernesto de Martino** (1908-1965), also known as a Socialist activist and anti-Catholic militant. The review appeared – in the journal of religious studies published, at the University of Rome, by Raffaele Pettazzoni, who commissioned it⁹⁴ – almost simultaneously with his

second and most representative book *Il mondo magico. Prolegomeni a una storia del magismo* (1948), reviewed by Pettazzoni in the following pages of the journal.

Integrating in his thought influences as varied as Croce, Heidegger, and Gramsci, or Pettazzoni, Rudolf Otto, and Vittorio Macchioro (whose daughter he married), Ernesto de Martino was in many respects floating in the same waters as Eliade. Indeed, he considers that his book responds very well to the “general need of Western culture to enlarge its own humanism, and to renew its own problems through the comprehension of forms of spirituality ideally far from our own”.⁹⁵ The Italian scholar finds Eliade’s interpretation of Yoga “quite suggestive and insightful”. But, he adds, it requests further close examination of the existential drama which gave birth to the “refusal to let oneself be lived” and to the paradox of the “abolition of history”, through which Eliade explained the working of Yoga.⁹⁶

Ernesto de Martino’s reading of the book is filtered by his own ideas of the “existential drama” characteristic of an initial *magic era* – which express itself through magic art, myth and various practices (shamanism, initiation, totemic rituals) – and of the crisis of the *presence*. He understands the problem of the *presence* through the magic-religious polarity, a binary tension detectable in Yoga as well. De Martino ends by asserting boldly that the history of religions is made by the complex weaving of these two distinct “existential situations”. A similar position was, indeed, held by Eliade during the ‘30s – on the track of Rudolf Otto –, but it is more visible in his first book on Yoga than in the one reviewed by the Italian scholar.⁹⁷ The review didn’t make a great impression on Eliade. Writing to Pettazzoni about it, he characterised it in only two words: “concise and clear”.⁹⁸

The second scholar of religious studies was also an Orientalist. **Louis Gardet** (pen name of André Brottier, 1904-1986), a French neo-Thomist thinker and member of the religious congregation of Charles de Foucauld, was at the same time a disciple of Louis Massignon. With the publication of his first book, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane* (1948), he had just obtained an international recognition in the scholarly field of Islamic studies. Preoccupied by what he calls “comparative spiritual theology”, Gardet discusses Eliade’s book along with Gershom Sholem’s *Major trends in Jewish mysticism* (reprinted the same year), in a large article hosted by *Revue Thomiste*.⁹⁹ His analysis is guided by the distinction between natural and supernatural mysticism, not openly identical, but

mostly coinciding with non-Christian and Christian mysticism. He openly refrains from passing judgement on the “supernatural value” of the yogic and Jewish mystic experiences.

Gardet regrets not having been able to read Eliade’s 1936 “big book” on Yoga – being out of stock –, which remains a “document of the first importance on the historical sources of Yoga”. The new book could be considered, in his view, the most up-to-date monograph on the subject, more valuable as it comes in an age too often satisfied with approximations and distortions. It has the double advantage of being accessible to the non-specialist and to offer both reliable information and an inside view of the phenomenon. The Catholic scholar points out that, by approaching Yoga from its technical side, the work answers to a legitimate curiosity of our times (Heidegger’s *Die Frage nach der Technik* will be published five years later). Indeed, for him, the second chapter of the book – *The Techniques* – is the capital one.

Gardet – who liked to present himself as a “Christian philosopher of cultures and of comparative religions” – has only praises for Eliade’s work. Discussing the texts of Yoga, the Romanian scholar is guided by the concern to be “perfectly objective”, being at the same time able to reconstruct the meaning *ab intra* almost always in an excellent way. Gardet praises especially his decision to translate *samādhi* as “stasis”, and further on as “enstasis”. Eliade’s description of the experience of *samādhi* is remarkable, as it follows as close as possible the Indian sources, without transpositions or abusive equivalences. Unlike other Western interpreters, he explains it without any depreciation of the experience and of its positive content, without any pseudo-philosophical or pseudo-mystical fancy.

But Eliade’s explanations don’t answer to all the problems raised by Yoga to the philosopher and the theologian. Some of his expressions may even be misleading, insofar as, “yielding to the monism through which an experience of natural mysticism always tends to express itself, they will present the final state as the realisation of a plenary Being (*ens*) and not as an actualisation of the pure *esse*”.

In a previous article, following on the footsteps of Jacques Maritain and Olivier Lacombe (Indologist and neo-Thomist co-disciple), the Catholic scholar of Islam tried to support his belief that it is possible to go beyond the philosophical explanation of the experience.¹⁰⁰ According to him, it is not the matter of a “being without form”, but of a pure actualisation within the being; it is not about a knowledge of the substance of the soul in itself, but about a seizure of the substantial *esse* of the “I”, and through

it, and in it as *medium*, it is about the creative influx, the effects produced by the presence of the immensity. Maritan's views on the matter¹⁰¹ are equally proposed as *the* explanation for the "paradoxical situation" of the *yogin*, of which Eliade speaks, or for the "difficulties" of Sāṃkhya's realism in regard to the deliverance through *kaivalya*. However, he adds, the rich distinctions made by Eliade – in a very sober vocabulary, constantly respectful of the experience itself – guarantee and support the proposed explanation.

Furthermore, Gardet approves the "essential thesis" of the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga, but has serious reserves regarding the "erotic ecstasy" of Tantrism, which he does not consider, with Eliade, as leading to the same state of liberation as the ascetic Yoga, but an "aberrant form" of Indian spirituality. The same goes for the absolutism of the body characteristic of Haṭha-Yoga.

Gardet goes as far as to propose his own "hypothesis" on the history of Yoga: The classical Yoga of Patañjali was not only an effort of systematisation, as presented by Eliade, but also one of purifications of the older data. A "natural mysticism" may have, just like the supernatural one, diverted, degraded or aberrant forms. Tantrism and Haṭha-Yoga, he thinks, might have put in practice very ancient magical and experimental values, which were discarded by the classical Yoga. Actually this was Eliade's opinion too, but he avoided passing judgements of "purity" or "deviation". Gardet thinks that Tantrism and Haṭha-Yoga lead rather to a "pseudo-liberation", a pseudo-seizure of the pure being, that is a state of instable and sometimes morbid exaltation. To illustrate it he refers to the *alumbrados* and quietists in comparison to the "authentic Christian mysticism".

As a conclusion, Eliade's book is considered an "unrivalled document", not less precious for the study of other "mixed cases" of mysticism (that is natural mysticism combined with supernatural mysticism), like for example the Indian *bhakti*.¹⁰²

The third scholar of religious studies was **Marie Madeleine Davy** (1903-1998), a former student of Etienne Gilson, expert on medieval theology and mysticism, but also a scholar of Hebrew, who recently had moved from the École Pratique des Hautes Études to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. She was one of the early and enthusiastic readers of the book. In September 1948, meeting accidentally Eliade in Café de Flore, she shouted: "*Votre livre a un succès fou! Tout le monde en parle!*"¹⁰³ Her review appeared a few months later in *La Nef*, a new

but influential monthly literary journal, centre-left oriented, directed by two Jewish-French writers, Lucie Faure and Robert Aron. Without ever abandoning her Christian heritage, Davy was open to all Asian mystical traditions, in which she will get involved more than academically.¹⁰⁴

Therefore it is not surprising that she sees Yoga as an experimental method first and foremost. In her opinion, Eliade presents his subject with all the acumen of a scholar who possesses not merely the knowledge but also the “use of the practice”.¹⁰⁵ Davy underlines from the very beginning that the book is not only the result of a theoretical study, but also the fruit of author’s experience as a dweller in the ashrams of Hardwar, Rishikesh and Almora (sic!). She even thinks that the book offers important “practical advice” on meditation and concentration.

One of its strong points, she continues, is that Eliade has succeeded in presenting difficult problems in an accessible way. Secondly, it stands out through the particular originality of the pages treating Yoga techniques in Buddhism and Tantrism (ch. IV). “Nothing has been said on this subject in French language with so much understanding, scholarship, and clarity.” What Eliade writes about the mystic sounds, tantric and haṭha-yogic literature is – according to her – of “absolute novelty” for the majority of French readership.

Without entering into details, like Louis Gardet, Davy singles out the “tendency towards the concrete” of the Indian spirituality, explained by Eliade as the memory of and the nostalgia for a time in which the action and the gesture constituted the sole instrument to conquer the world and, simultaneously, the primal source of inner life. Despite being written by a scholar of religious studies, the review is more characteristic of the profile of the journal in which it was published.

The identity of the last scholar of religious studies who reviewed the book is not known. He signed it with the initials **J.-P. Y.** in *Le monde non-chrétien*, an important anthropological-missionary journal founded by Maurice Leenhardt, Protestant missionary to Melanesia as well as academic ethnologist. The background of the discrete reviewer is itself theological and protestant, as it can be inferred from the fact that he brings in his support a quote from the Protestant pastor Henry Leenhardt (probably a relative of Maurice).

Contrary to Marie Madeleine Davy, he remarks from the very beginning that the book offers more than a “collection of meditation principles”; it brings forward a penetrating view of Indian spirituality and an excellent general study of the various schools of Hinduism.¹⁰⁶ Especially of two main

currents: “popular religiosity” and “yogic mysticism”, or the mysticism of *bhakti* cults, like the one of Kṛṣṇa, and the mysticism of the Self. He even asserts that, according to the last one, the true and absolute knowledge is not the result of an experience, but of a revelation. Furthermore, resurrecting old theological controversies, J.-P. Y. denies to such “revealed philosophy” the possibility of being “religion”, since it is only a revelation of a psychological order, while religion is the “knowledge of God in which the revelation is inseparable from redemption”. He quotes Henry Leenhardt in order to stress that what Indian mystics encounter in their ecstasy is not the “revealed God”, but a “fictitious God”, a “hypostasis emanated from the depth of their organic being”.

Indeed, he is persuaded that God is absent from Hinduism, Buddhism, and Tantrism. Yoga is a method of self-divinisation based on spiritualization through physiological methods. The Indian asceticism is not mortification, like the Western *askesis*, but a “Gnostic absenteeism”. Concluding his theological depreciation of non-Christian religious experience, J.-P. Y. asserts that all mysticisms lead to the knowledge of an “intentional God” which has an ontological kinship with the “thinking being”, while the “religious knowledge” is permitted only through faith. The review is rather a neo-Protestant dogmatic standpoint on Yoga, than an assessment of Eliade’s scholarship.

With a considerable delay, *Techniques of Yoga* will be reviewed briefly by the historian of science **George Sarton** in his regular critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science, published in the journal *Isis*. He only notices the differences between the two books of Eliade. The new one contains more and less: for example, it does not include, except for *Note C*, comparisons with non-Indian yogic techniques (like Hesychasm, Sufism, etc.), but devotes more attention to Yoga in Buddhism and Tantrism.¹⁰⁷

The very first review of the book was published in another new French literary journal – printed in Monte Carlo before moving to Paris – by the philosophy teacher **Aimé Patri** (1904-1983). Simultaneously a journalist, old communist and anti-fascist militant, he was close to the surrealists and to André Breton, and deeply immersed in alchemy in which he was considered by some to be a fine connoisseur.

Patri’s review also starts by saying that those who take Eliade’s book for a practical guide to this technique of “self-divinisation” are going to be disappointed. However, the author’s “indisputable competence” in the subject – as ethnographer and historian of religions – is given by his three

years of study at the University of Calcutta and by the six months spent in a Himalayan ashram. He recommends strongly this “excellent work” to those who want to instruct themselves seriously on the significance and place of Yoga in the Indian spirituality.

Agreeing on the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga, Patri finds one of the main qualities of the book in that it sheds light, along classical (Brahmanic) Yoga, on its multiple “baroque”, popular, forms. He draws the reader’s attention to the fact that, according to the rule of the book series in which it is published (“La Montagne Sainte-Genevieve”), Eliade’s work takes the opportunity of a “specific research” in order to put a “human problem of universal order”: the ways in which man tries to escape from his own condition. However, he denounces the misleading trick used by the editor on the advertising strip attached to the volume, which alludes to a “Hindu existentialism”.¹⁰⁸

To believe Eliade, Aimé Patri was simply enthusiastic about the book.¹⁰⁹ In the next issue of the journal, he will publish a highly interesting interview with the Romanian “learned ethnographer” on the “methods of Hindu asceticism”. His questions insist exclusively on the practice of Yoga and Tantra according to Eliade’s own experience in India.¹¹⁰

Techniques of Yoga is discussed in an article published by **Albert-Marie Schmidt** (1901-1966) in the Swiss Calvinist journal *La Réforme*, to which he was a regular contributor. Professor of the University of Caen, historian of literature, great expert of Middle Age and Renaissance, poet and curious towards the occult, he will continue to review enthusiastically Eliade’s books and eventually will translate in French his Indian fantastic novels (*Nights at Serampore* and *The secret of dr. Honigberger*).

His article, written from an explicit Christian standpoint, is aimed against the apologetic cliché of the “return towards the East”, the “theosophical impostures”, the consoling picture of the “Oriental mirage” and the Western practitioners of Yoga (he singles out the names of Arthur Koestler, Romain Rolland, and Jean Herbert). Schmidt finds Eliade’s book a “remarkable work”, a “treatise which satisfies fully the attention, sometimes difficult to maintain, and becomes authoritative for all Indologists”. He liked especially the “incomparable” sub-chapter II.3, on the “subconscious”, in which Eliade recalls that the first psychoanalysts of the world were the Hindus.¹¹¹

Not surprisingly, what the reading of this book has revealed to him is the fundamental opposition between Yoga and Christianity. Among many differences, attempting to become God is, for Schmidt, the “promise of

the Serpent". Therefore he appreciates Eliade's warning to the Western man of the danger of practicing the various types of Yoga without a truly qualified master. Except that, for the Swiss Calvinist professor, the sole true master is Jesus Christ.¹¹²

As we have seen, several of the above mentioned scholars were engaged Christians and/or possessed a serious interest for mysticism, esotericism, and metapsychic phenomena. This is also the case with some of the writers.

For instance **Michel Carrouges** (pen name of Louis Couturier, 1910-1988), writer and literary critic – not academic but "artistic" –, was both a committed Christian and interested in occultism and esotericism. He reviewed the book in the supplement of the Catholic journal *La Vie Spirituelle*, along with other works on "Hindu spirituality".

Like other reviewers, Carrouges begins by recalling Eliade's experience in India which, however, he remarks, didn't make him forget the imperative of retaining a "rigorous mind".¹¹³ As an "Orientalist of high value", Eliade insists on the complexity of yogic experiences and on the contradictory aspects of the "Hindu soul". The French writer thinks that the choice of Yoga is intended to serve as an axis for understanding the Hindu doctrines, and considers this to be an "excellent method". He also finds very interesting the comparisons with proto-history and shamanism.

As far as the techniques of Yoga are concerned, Carrouges thinks that, through them, the *yogin* experiences remarkable psychic states, but their demonstrative value regarding the non-reality of the world is nothing but a "vicious circle" circumscribing a "metaphysic of the ostrich". Eliade's *Final Remarks* contain, in his opinion, some ill-founded generalisations about the Christian rituals, but, he adds, this doesn't affect the value and the interest of the book. It is an excellent work, which gives good hopes for a future deepening of the "dialog between Christian West and India".¹¹⁴

Another writer who reviewed the book, **Jean Desternes** (1881-196?), was equally a journalist, literary critic and art historian. He talks about it in an article on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, published in *La table ronde*, a young journal of *arrière-garde* literature directed by Jean Cau. Reading the *Gītā* as translated and explained by Aurobindo Ghose, he helped himself with the works of Albert Schweitzer, René Grousset, and Mircea Eliade. For Desternes, the Romanian "historian of religions" gives, in his book, a "curious panorama" of the techniques of Yoga. Like in the case of other reviewers, his attention was attracted by the warnings to the Western amateurs who want to practice Yoga and by the yogic perspective on

the subconscious, as a “prehistory of the psychoanalysis which shows a para-psychological experience”.¹¹⁵

An article on the book was promised by the multiform writer **Georges Bataille**, for his journal *Critique*, but he could not keep the promise.¹¹⁶

In Italy, *Techniques of Yoga* was used by **Giovanni Cavicchioli** (1894-1964) in order to criticize and reject the vulgarizing book of the famous British colonial officer Francis Yeats-Brown, *Yoga explained* (New York, 1937), recently published in Italian translation.¹¹⁷ Writer, poet and playwright, Cavicchioli was an old disciple of Rudolf Steiner whom he visited frequently at Dornach. But the reading of Eliade was recommended to him by his friend Julius Evola.¹¹⁸ A similar effect will have Eliade’s works on the reviewers of other new books on yoga.¹¹⁹

The last group of reviewers are the occultists and esotericists. **Jean Bruno** (1909-1982), a chief librarian at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, was close to the literary circles of the time, like the surrealists, and very interested in Yoga, parapsychology and mystic experiences, the subject of most of his writings. In his review, written for *Revue Métapsychique*, organ of the International Metapsychical Institute, he considers *Techniques of Yoga* to be the best general introduction for the historical study of Yoga as well as for the just understanding of its role in Indian spirituality.¹²⁰ But the work surpasses largely the level of pure erudition. As Eliade himself pointed out, Yoga interests not only the Indologist or the historian of Oriental thought, but also the ethnologist, the medical doctor, the psychologist and the philosopher. Jean Bruno adds the metapsychist to the list. He points to the fact that, despite its final goal, Yoga is also a technique for developing the *siddhis*, or “magical powers”. Therefore, he thinks that, in future, the methods of concentration characteristic to Yoga could be adapted and developed in order to facilitate the experimental study of supernatural phenomena.

A small note was published by the French astrologist **Paul Le Cour** (1871-1954) in his journal *Atlantis*. A prolific esoteric writer – and a critic of Guénon –, his book *L’Ère du Verseau* (1937) is considered today to be one of the anticipators of New Age ideology. His attention was attracted mainly by Eliade’s treatment of Tantrism: “an instrument dangerous to use, with its thesis of mystical eroticism which transfigures life, but which can also deviate to the grossest sensuality”.¹²¹ This was also the subject of his questions when he visited Eliade, in December 1948, but his limited knowledge of the subject became immediately obvious.¹²²

The most interesting among this category of reviewers is certainly the well-known proponent of "Tradition", **René Guénon** (1886-1951), a strong opponent of Western Orientalism, but still considered an Oriental scholar by a small part of the academia.¹²³ In two earlier issues of his organ, *Études Traditionnelles*, he had already reviewed the journal *Zalmoxis* and Eliade's seminal article *The problem of shamanism* (1946), manifesting his agreement and disagreement with some of his ideas.¹²⁴

In *Techniques of Yoga*, Guénon found more "comprehension" for Yoga than in the majority of Western works written on the same topic.¹²⁵ A first sign of this comprehension is Eliade's care to put in inverted commas all those words which he found inadequate for Indian realities – words which are commonly used by other Orientalists without any hesitation and without realising the degree to which they falsify the expounded doctrines. However the Romanian scholar seems to have stopped half way by fear of not moving too far from the generally accepted terminology. On the other hand, he uses some neologisms, not all justified according to Guénon, but of which at least one is an excellent choice: "enstasis" for *samādhi* instead of ecstasy.¹²⁶ Secondly, the book has plenty of "very fair views" and, even if some problems are not always solved, this is a supplementary merit as it expresses a very commendable care not to simplify things excessively and not to hide the real difficulties.

Guénon formulates several reservations from a "Traditionalist" point of view: 1. an insufficient conception of the Hindu orthodoxy and of the manner in which it could incorporate new doctrines and practices; 2. the attention on the variety of Yogas which risks to lose sight of their "principal unity"; 3. some concessions made to ethnological theories on vegetation cults and similar things. On the other hand, he found disseminated throughout the book, and especially in the conclusive chapter, some "really remarkable ideas" – those which he already had found in the article *The problem of shamanism*. In the review of this last one, the French "Traditionalist" remarked two main ideas: the existence of a "universally valid symbolism" and the integration of the "experimental" aspects in a "theo-cosmological assembly much broader than the various shamanic ideologies". He also pointed out the similarity of Eliade's ideas with some considerations expounded by A. K. Coomaraswamy and by himself.

In conclusion, the book is considered worthy to be read by all those interested seriously in this subject matter and – Guénon adds – there are very few books about which he could say the same thing. No wonder that Eliade liked the review. Apparently he learned about both reviews only

one year later, during a casual visit to one of his acquaintances in Paris. In his journal he wrote only this: “Surprisingly enthusiastic for the acrid pen of Guénon.”¹²⁷ But a copy of the review, in his own handwriting, has been preserved among his papers.¹²⁸

The book will be also the subject of a lecture delivered by **Charles Bried** (1921-2006), psychologist and professor at École Normale de Besançon.¹²⁹ A prominent scholar of classical Indology, **Louis Renou** will speak about it in a lecture on recent French research in Indology, delivered to an Indian University. Eliade is classed under “Sanskrit philosophy”, together with the old Alfred Foucher and three Indologists from his own generation: Lilian Silburn, Anne-Marie Esnoul, and Olivier Lacombe. For the French Sanskritist, *Techniques of Yoga* is a “lighter” work, adapting for a larger public his “very erudite” initial book on Yoga. He retains from it: the omnipresence of Yoga in Indian culture, its archaic non-Aryan origins, and the fact that Eliade sees it as a “sort of shamanism”.¹³⁰ Renou will continue to quote the book in other subsequent lectures.¹³¹

Techniques of Yoga became almost immediately a common reference in the works of European scholars of Indian studies. Along with Eliade’s first books on Yoga, it will be cited as an authoritative work by **Jan Gonda** (1905-1991), professor of Sanskrit at the University of Utrecht and one of the most influential Indologists for the decades to come.¹³² The list is filled with important names: **Georges Dumézil** (1898-1986), professor at Collège de France, the greatest scholar of Indo-European studies of his time;¹³³ **Etienne Lamotte** (1903-1983), professor at the Catholic University of Leuven and one of the leading authorities on Buddhism;¹³⁴ **Armand Minard** (1906-1998), scholar of Sanskrit and Indo-European linguistics, professor at the University of Lyon,¹³⁵ etc. In his booklet on Yoga, published in the popular collection “Que sais-je?”, **Paul Masson-Oursel** will treat the subject in a manner very similar to Eliade, a fact which did not pass unnoticed.¹³⁶ Equally early, *Techniques of Yoga* became a reference for scholars of Iranian studies such as **Georges Contenau** (1877-1964) and **Henry Corbin** (1903-1978).

The success of the book brought to his author numerous letters, many invitations for lectures and even demands for occultist consultations or initiation in Yoga.¹³⁷ We shall pause a little to see some of the direct reactions received by Eliade, especially from France. **Henri-Charles Puech** was very enthusiastic about the book, which he found “exceptional”. He

told to Eliade that something like this – i.e. which presents the material clearly, in an accessible way, and yet without making any concession to vulgarization – has not been written so far about Indian religions and philosophies.¹³⁸ Congratulations also came from **Swami Siddheswarananda** (1897-1957), an Indian prince of the house of Cochin and a graduate of history from the University of Madras before becoming a monk of the Ramakrishna Mission, who was, since 1937, leader of the Mission's Centre in France. He assured Eliade that, after reading his first book, he tried to meet the author in France and even looked for him in India.¹³⁹

Louis Renou wrote to him: "In the mass of insipid or false literature relative to Yoga, you are the *first* to have succeeded in writing a book that is correct, well documented, and vigorously thought out."¹⁴⁰ The Jewish-French linguist **Émile Benveniste** (1902-1976), specialist of comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages, professor at Collège de France, expressed his enthusiasm and "total adhesion".¹⁴¹ Equally enthusiastic were **Raffaele Pettazzoni**¹⁴² and **Etienne Lamotte**. For the last one, almost every page was a revelation.¹⁴³ Another flattering letter came from the French philosopher **Jean Grenier** (1898-1971), professor at the University of Cairo and an early admirer of Taoism.¹⁴⁴ **Louis Massignon** (1883-1962), one of the greatest French scholars of Islam, professor at Collège de France and at École Pratique des Hautes Études, was more interested in *Techniques of Yoga* than in other writings of Eliade on the history of religions because, as he said, in the latter ones he does not find "man".¹⁴⁵

Among the readers there were writers with sensibility for Asian cultures, like **Marcel Brion** (1895-1984), **Henri Michaux** (1899-1984), who even read it twice,¹⁴⁶ **Alberto Moravia** (1907-1990), and **Dacia Maraini** (n. 1936).¹⁴⁷ It was received by **Carl Gustav Jung** (1875-1961) too.¹⁴⁸ **Gaston Bachelard** (1884-1962) was interested especially in the imaginary world from the tantric meditation, which the book has revealed to him.¹⁴⁹

The most interesting letter came from **Stig Wikander** (1908-1983), Sanskrit and Iranian scholar, professor of history of religions at Uppsala University. He considers *Techniques of Yoga* a "beautiful book" which does not bring much novelty compared to the "big book on Yoga" – of which he confessed to being an admirer –, but is a comfortable and elegant abridgement of a difficult subject. Declining much competence in Yoga, Wikander nevertheless expresses doubts regarding the pre-Aryan

origin theory. He draws Eliade's attention to an unnoticed article of Otto Schrader in which the German Indologist attempted to prove that the image of the so-called proto-Śiva god from Mohan-jo-daro represents a divinity widespread in the old (Indo-European) Europe.¹⁵⁰ Secondly, based on his own work and on that of Georges Dumézil, the Swedish scholar reclaims the figure of the Mother-Goddess for the religion of the Indo-Europeans.¹⁵¹

Eliade welcomed all these observations. He admits that the only novelty in the book is that of pushing a little further the analysis of Indian "mystical" meditation and contemplation. As far as the pre-Aryan origin theory is concerned, he calls it just a frail hypothesis to which he does not cling too much, but which has encountered more acceptance than disapproval. Eliade acknowledges not knowing Schrader's article, but he raises a question whether the (supposedly) Celtic Gundestrup cauldron – on which his demonstration is based – belongs to the most "authentic" Indo-European religion or, perhaps, suffered some "southern" influences. He accepts that the Mother-Goddess existed in the Indo-European religion; yet her functions and privileges can't be compared with those of the Mediterranean and Oriental goddesses.

But his stronger argument in favour of this hypothesis is the striking absence of any yogic technique outside India. Some "shamanic" elements found in German and Iranian cultures are far from the yogic "mystic physiology". He put it plainly in the following words:

"I would be ready to believe in an Indian (Aryan) innovation if the medieval and modern Hinduism wouldn't have this composite appearance, rather Asian than Aryan. When I was living in India, I found it impossible to understand the living religion around me in relation with the *Vedas* or even with Brahmanism. Only after I understood *puja* and studied a little the «religion of terror», did I start to see more clearly..."

Eliade confesses that the extreme difficulty to decide in such questions has finally driven him away from the "history" of these religions. He rather prefers to look into what a religion *could be* and what it *wants to say*.¹⁵²

An amusing case is that of **Paul Chanson**, a French Catholic lay writer and advocate of sexual continence. He wrote to Eliade in order to ask supplementary details about the tantric techniques of making love without seminal emission. Later on he published several books on the subject

which become best-sellers, but were reproved by the ecclesiastical authorities. In them he summarizes and discusses Eliade's account of *maithuna* in the Sahajiyā sect.¹⁵³

A more serious influence exerted Eliade's book on doctor **Roger Godel** (1898-1961), a famous cardiologist, director of the hospital of the Suez Canal Company at Ismaïlia, but also a student of Greek and Asian philosophies, who already authored several books on his favourite subjects. Attracted by Yoga and interested in the "experience of immortality", he went to India to seek "liberated" masters such as Ramana Maharishi and Krishna Menon. As a result, Godel wrote *Essais sur l'expérience libératrice*, a study on *jīvanmukta* from the epistemological perspective of modern science, which resented the influence of *Techniques of Yoga* and other works of Eliade. It is no surprise that he requested the source of his inspiration to pen a preface to his book. Eliade wrote a text confronting – as the author did – Orient and Occident, Western science and Indian wisdom, but was not satisfied with the result and, in his journal, called it a "very routine" and "distressing" preface.¹⁵⁴ Despite not being written by a "specialist" of India, the book will be quoted by Indologists,¹⁵⁵ and Eliade himself will cite it in his *Yoga* of 1954. Godel's interdisciplinary approach to Yoga was pursued with intellectual rigour and its method of integrating different fields of knowledge opened new hermeneutical perspectives.¹⁵⁶ Very probably, Eliade's endorsement of the book played an important role.

Some of the reviewers and friends of Eliade acted as agents of publicity for the book in their own circles. Aimé Patri gave *Techniques of Yoga* to **André Breton** (1896-1966) and the poet, surprised by the *coincidentia oppositorum* realized by Yoga,¹⁵⁷ found in it the "most formidable historical anticipation of Surrealism".¹⁵⁸ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy recommended it to several of his correspondents, including **André Préau** (1873-1976), a scholar of Heidegger and Jung, but also a friend of Guénon.¹⁵⁹ Ernesto de Martino will recommend the book to **Cesare Pavese** (1908-1950) and the Italian writer agreed to publish a translation in "Collana Viola" conducted by him at the Einaudi publishing house.

In his letter of 9 October 1948, **Ernesto de Martino** appreciates the book as "quite interesting" for its reconstruction *ab intra* and for the comprehension of Indian spirituality. It explores, he says, "with a documented and intelligent analysis" the technical ways used by the *yogin* in order to "suppress history".

“In fact, Yoga expresses in the most radical and consistent way the existential paradox of the man who «grew tired» of history, a paradox whose understanding is essential to comprehending the world of myth and religion in general.”¹⁶⁰

The translation was assigned to Anna Macchioro, his wife and daughter of Vittorio Macchioro, who – we remember – had developed a personal interest for Yoga. But the task was completed only in January 1950 and, by May, as a consequence of political denounces of Eliade,¹⁶¹ Giulio Einaudi decided to drop his name from the editorial plan. However, after the death of Pavese, De Martino succeeded in changing the mind of Einaudi and both *Techniques du Yoga* and *Traité d'histoire des religions* were printed with his own forewords.¹⁶² The first one was planned to come out in October 1951,¹⁶³ but it appeared only in mid-January 1952.¹⁶⁴

On the bookmark which accompanied it, the author is called “one of the most authoritative modern Indologists” and the book is said to offer rich material for the ethnologist, medical doctor, psychologist, and philosopher.¹⁶⁵ Ernesto de Martino informed Eliade that, in his forward, he manifested “full adherence to some of the results” of his work. But he considered that his polemics with historicism is based on a misunderstanding.¹⁶⁶ In fact, half of the foreword transcribes almost literally his review of three years earlier, while the new half is a rejection of Eliade’s supposed anti-historicism. This attitude, he says, is less manifested in *Techniques of yoga* than in his later works (*Traité d'histoire des religions*, *Le mythe de l'éternel retour*, and *Le chamanisme*). What de Martino actually does is to “warn” the Italian reader that, in the “dialogue” which our historically oriented civilisation can engage with itself – thanks to the encounter with coherent systems of thought based on the “refuse of history”, like Yoga – there lies hidden a “great danger” – the danger of being seduced by the object of the research. Eliade succumbed to this seduction and “mixed” in his meritorious researches on the history of religions an “irrelevant polemics against historicism as *Weltanschauung*”. The “refusal of history” became for him an argument against historicism, on the basis of the “pseudo-demonstration” that the reality is not completely consumed in history. To put it bluntly – as the Italian anthropologist did in his letter to Cesare Pavese –, Eliade started to speak “from within”, as a *yogin*, not as a Western scholar.

Ernesto de Martino admits that, unlike the other books of his, *Techniques of Yoga* is kept mostly on the historical level, without methodological

and speculative “divagations”. As usual, Eliade’s information is almost exhaustive. He is one of the “most alive” modern scholars in the field of religious studies. Apart from the above mentioned reservation, de Martino considers the work of the “Romanian historian” useful in alighting with new issues the “historicist conscience of the modern man”.¹⁶⁷ Yet he continued his anti-antihistoricist polemics in the texts dedicated to Eliade’s more recent books, and ended by calling him an “irrationalist” and a “cultural relativist”.¹⁶⁸

Eliade didn’t react directly to this criticism,¹⁶⁹ but his attitude was entrusted to his journal pages. While reading de Martino he had the constant impression that “his greatest fear is that *God may possibly exist*”. That is to say that religious and magical phenomena could be ontologically (not just culturally) “real”, that one might indeed transcend history, acquire supernatural powers or get “liberated” from all types of determinism. Despite the fact that the Italian scholar always thought that his Romanian colleague writes “too favourably” about religions, Eliade never turned against him, as he considered him sincere and truthful to his belief. He assumed that, unlike de Martino and other Western scholars, he lacked an inferiority complex in relation to religion, because in the Romania of his youth religion exerted no constriction, but it was revealed to him rather as a form of culture. This freedom allowed him “objectivity” and, at the same time, “sympathy” toward the religious phenomenon.¹⁷⁰

The Italian translation sold very well: in a couple of weeks, half of the edition was already in the hands of its readers.¹⁷¹ But the reviews seem to have been, by far, less numerous. We could trace only one, in a new journal of philosophy and culture, with a phenomenological profile, which liked to address the most relevant ideas and trends of its time. It was signed by **Gillo Dorfles** (b. 1910), painter, art critic and professor of Aesthetics at Milan University, who also had a degree in psychiatry. His understanding of Yoga is markedly different from that expressed by Ernesto de Martino in his preface. From the very beginning he engaged with his arguments. For him, approaching Yoga only with the view to enlarge the historicist humanism of the Western civilisation would be superficial and external to the phenomenon. It is also erroneous to study it polemically as a “refusal of history” and to consider it a simple “existential medication”, a ritual restoration of a state of freedom from rationality.

Dorfles considers important and beneficial to study this “initiativ technique”, but only “isolated” in its historical frame, without attempting to invest it with topicality or an *a posteriori* existential signification. Yoga

should be considered in a historical way, in its cultural and religious context, not viewed as a “method” which the Western man could use instead of a psychoanalytic cure or a miraculous therapy.

Yet he points out that Yoga anticipates and, at the same time, surpasses psychoanalysis by acknowledging the role of the unconscious, as well as showing the way to free oneself from it, to achieve higher states of consciousness, and to unify all of them. The only reproach to Eliade’s “thick” book is that it remains too general about the “real initiatic technique”, not giving a clear systematic description of the *cakras* and of the methods to “awaken” them in order to achieve “clairvoyance” (i.e. ultimate knowledge). However, Dorflès thinks that, even if such techniques would be valid as mental and psychic exercises, they could never be accepted or followed by a Western mind. The European wants to attain knowledge in a rational way and without abdicating from what characterises the conscious human individuality.

Despite being more sympathetic with Yoga than his historicist colleague, Dorflès confuses its philosophy with the metaphysics of Vedānta. No wonder that he makes naïve proposals. Talking about the liberating knowledge which the *yogin* seeks to achieve through his exercises, he asks whether it wouldn’t be appropriate today to attain it by the means of a conscious and rational study of man in his relations with nature and cosmos. In conclusion, he asserts that it is interesting to learn about forms of thinking so distant from our own, but it is also necessary to keep in mind that the method of Yoga can’t be divulged just like gymnastics or like effortless occult training without a serious risk of letting it fall into the hands of unprepared people who, instead of attaining “clairvoyance”, will only worsen their bondage to the unconscious.¹⁷²

An interesting position, trying to negotiate between Eliade and de Martino, but – because of this – not devoid of self-contradictions. One of them is visible in the mild reproach that Eliade was not more *open* about yogic “initiation”.

Two years later, a short “report” was published by the Austrian linguist **Johann Knobloch** (1919-2010), expert of Indo-European languages and professor at Innsbruck University, in a scholarly journal of classical studies edited by the Viennese Österreichische Humanistische Gesellschaft. He gives a mere summary of the book, recalling, among other things, the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga and the twofold way of the “Asian magic”: the ecstasy of the shaman and the enstasy of the yogi. Knobloch draws attention to the

fact that Eliade does not consider it improbable that Indian missionaries could have brought the knowledge of Yoga into Hellenistic Egypt.¹⁷³

Soon after Einaudi acquired the translation rights, Eliade received a letter from **Tommaso Palamidessi** (1915-1983), founder and director of an Institute of Cosmo-biological Researches. Prolific esoteric writer, very interested by tantric Yoga, on which he published three books – citing of course Eliade –, he expressed the intention of translating *Techniques* for the “spiritualist publishing house” Grande Opera.¹⁷⁴ Another Italian esotericist, **Julius Evola**, who offered – but too late – to shift the translation from Einaudi to Bocca, advised the last publishing house to translate the *Yoga* of 1936.¹⁷⁵ Eliade didn’t accept the offer, since he was already working to a fully revised edition of it. The same year, **Louis Renou** recommended both books to the publisher Sisil Gupta of Calcutta.¹⁷⁶ Nothing came out of this project, and very probably not because Eliade’s lack of interest for being translated in India. Indeed, except for Renou, the Bengali publisher’s attempts to approach his French colleagues were not successful.¹⁷⁷ Apparently, also a German translation of *Techniques* was ready in 1951, but for unknown reasons it has never seen the light.¹⁷⁸

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NOTES

- ¹ "Problematica filosofiei indiene", *Revista de Filosofie* (Bucharest), XV, no. 1, January-March 1930, pp. 50-72; "Introducere în filosofia Samkhya", *ibidem*, no. 2, April-June 1930, pp. 152-177; "Contribuții la psihologia Yoga", *ibidem*, XVI, no. 1, January-March 1931, pp. 52-76; "Il male e la liberazione nella filosofia Samkhya-Yoga", *Ricerche Religiose* (Rome), VI, 1930, pp. 200-221; "Il rituale hindu e la vita interiore", *ibidem*, VIII, 1932, pp. 486-504.
- ² The thesis was published for the first time in 1983-85, in a scholarly journal (*Revista de Istorie și Teorie Literară*, Bucharest), and later on in book form: *Psihologia meditației indiene. Studii despre Yoga*, ed. de C-tin Popescu-Cadem, Ed. Jurnalul Literar, Bucharest, 1992, 224 pp.
- ³ *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris - Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă "Regele Carol II », Bucharest, 1936, 246 pp.
- ⁴ *Techniques du Yoga*, Gallimard, Paris, 1948, 266 pp.; revised edition, 1975, 313 pp.
- ⁵ *Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté*, Payot, Paris, 1954, 428 pp.; 5th ed. revised and enlarged, 1975; 6th ed., 1977.
- ⁶ *Patañjali et le Yoga*, Seuil, Paris, 1962, 190 pp.; revised ed., 1976.
- ⁷ Such as "Yoga and modern philosophy", *Journal of General Education* (Pennsylvania State University), XV, no. 2, July 1963, pp. 124-137; "Yoga", in: M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 15, Mac Millan, New York - London, 1987, pp. 519-523.
- ⁸ "Mircea Eliade, *Einführung in die Philosophie der Samkhya* (Revista de Filosofie, 1930)", in: Lucian Blaga & D.D. Roșca, "Bericht über die rumänischen Arbeiten zur Geschichte der Philosophie. A. Rumänisches Sprachgebiet (1924-1931)", *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* (Berlin), XLI, no. 1-2, January-June 1932, pp. 281-292 (288-289).
- ⁹ "Mircea Eliade, *Cunoștințele botanice în vechea Indie. Cu o notă introductivă asupra migrației plantelor indiene în Iran și China*, Bulletin de la Société des Sciences de Cluj, 6, 221-237, 1931", in: G. Sarton, Al. Pogo, & F. Siegel (eds.), "Thirty-fourth critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science and of the history of civilization (to March 1932)", *Isis* (Bruges), XVIII, no. 3, January 1933, pp. 440-540 (486-487). He merely reproduces the abstract of the article.
- ¹⁰ One review was printed twice, in Rome and Paris.
- ¹¹ V. Papesso, "J.W. Hauer, *Der Yoga als Heilweg*, 1932", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), IX, no. 1, 1933, pp. 103-107.
- ¹² V. Papesso, "Mircea Eliade, *Yoga...*", *ibidem*, XII, no. 2, [July-December] 1936, pp. 218-221; *Dosar V*, pp. 15-18.

- ¹³ *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 112. In his reply, Eliade expresses his delight to be reviewed by Papesso, who was known to him through his “beautiful Vedic translations”; *ibidem*, p. 114 (23 June 1936).
- ¹⁴ He is referring most probably to his book *Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne*, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1923, and to some of the preceding articles: “Sur la signification du mot yoga”, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), 1913, pp. 1-5; “Doctrines et méthodes psychologiques de l'Inde”, *Journal de Psychologie* (Paris), XVIII, 15 July 1921, pp. 529-547; “Les doctrines indiennes de physiologie mystique”, *ibidem*, XIX, 4, 1922, pp. 322-335.
- ¹⁵ P. Masson-Oursel, “Mircea Eliade, Yoga...”, *Archeion. Archivio di Storia della Scienza* (Rome - Paris), XVIII, no. 4, October-December 1936 [printed 10 February 1937], p. 419; *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), LVIII, t. 115, 5 February 1937, pp. 113-114; *Dosar V*, pp. 14-15.
- ¹⁶ A. Mieli, “Un viaggio in Romania”, *Archeion*, no. 2-3, April-September 1936 [printed 15 September], pp. 191-203 (196).
- ¹⁷ “Académie internationale d'histoire des sciences. VIII réunion de l'Académie (Première réunion extraordinaire, Cluj-București, 10-16 Avril)”, *ibidem*, pp. 204-226 (222).
- ¹⁸ L. de la Vallée Poussin, “Notes de bibliographie bouddhique”, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* (Brussels), V, 1936-1937 [July 1937], pp. 243-304 (253-254, 278-279). Eliade discovered the review as late as 1946. See *Journal*, 24 March 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
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- ²⁰ H. Zimmer, “Mircea Eliade, Yoga...”, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin - Leipzig), XL, no. 11, November 1937, pp. 701-703. For his view of the “other India”, as he called the pre-Aryan Indian culture, see his book *Indische Sphaeren*, R. Oldenburg, München - Berlin / Verlag der Corona, Zürich, 1935.
- ²¹ J. Filliozat, “Sur le «concentration oculaire» dans le Yoga”, in: H. Palmié (ed.), *Yoga. International Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Yoga-Forschung* (Harburg - Wilhelmsburg), I, 1931, pp. 93-102. See also the abstracts of his communications: “La mystique du yoga et les doctrines physiologiques de l'Inde”, *VI^e Congrès d'Histoire des Religions. Recueil des communications*, Brussels, 1935, p. 22; “La circulation du souffle dans le yoga”, *Journal Asiatique* (Paris), CCXXVII, no. 3, July-September 1935, p. 152.
- ²² J. Filliozat, “Mircea Eliade, Yoga...”, *Journal Asiatique* (Paris), CCXXX, no. 2, April-June 1938, pp. 347-348.

- 23 *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), XIII, no. 4, 1937, pp. 691-692. "Extrase din recenziiile asupra cărții *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*"; M.E.P. 58a.13. The text is not dated but internal evidence places it somewhere between May and September 1939.
- 24 The book is only listed among new publications in J.C. Sarkhel, "Bibliographical notes", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), XII, no. 3, September 1936, pp. 562-567 (564).
- 25 "An excellent synthesis, claimed with equal justification by both Oriental studies and History of Religions... The author demonstrates extensive readings and an in-depth knowledge of the Indian spirit... Dr. M. Eliade, who studied here, in Calcutta, had a magisterial start and could be already considered as a master..." "Special note deserve the chapters on Tantrism and alchemy. The comparisons with Byzantine mysticism are astounding..." "Yoga of Eliade must be translated urgently into English in order to be accessible to the Indian cultivated public..."; *loc. cit.*, M.E.P. 58a.13.
- 26 A. G[argano], "*Zalmoxis - Revue des études religieuses*, I, 1938", *Asiatica* (Rome), V, no. 3, May-June 1939, pp. 273-275 (273).
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 275. M. Eliade, "Notes de démonologie", *Zalmoxis* (Bucharest), I, no. 1, 1938, pp. 197-203.
- 28 See the reviews of Ernesto Buonaiuti (*Religio*, Rome, XV, 1939, p. 293) and Raffaele Pettazzoni (*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Rome, XV, no. 1, 1939, p. 77).
- 29 S. M. Katre, "*Zalmoxis - Revue des études religieuses*. Publiée sous la direction de Mircea Eliade, I, 1938...", *Oriental Literary Digest* (Poona), III, no. 1, 1939, col. 11-12. M. Eliade, "Metallurgy, magic and alchemy", *Zalmoxis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-129.
- 30 M. Bussagli, "Bronze objects collected by prof. G. Tucci in Tibet. A short survey of religious and magic symbolism", *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona), XII, no. 4, 1949, pp. 331-347 (333).
- 31 Florance Waterbury, "Bird-deities in China", *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona), *Supplementum* no. 10, 1952, p. 69.
- 32 Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Atmayajña: Self-sacrifice", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge MA), VI, no. 3-4, February 1942, pp. 358-398 (363n); "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: Indra and Namuci", *Speculum* (Cambridge MA), XIX, no. 1, January 1944, pp. 104-125 (123); "On the loathly bride", *ibidem*, XX, no. 4, October 1945, pp. 391-403 (403n). The last one cites also the Romanian version from the *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (Bucharest, no. 4, April 1939).
- 33 *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Calcutta), V, 1937, pp. 188-203. See the quotation in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: Indra and Namuci", *loc. cit.*, p. 113n.
- 34 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 17 November 1946, 26 August 1947, M.E.P. 15.1, 15.3.

- 35 M. Séménoff, "Littérature et utilité sociale", *La Griffé* (Paris), VII, 23 May 1937; *Dosar V*, pp. 23-24.
- 36 He was one of the constant critics of Guénon's interpretation of Indian religions and philosophies. Cf. Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, "Ex Oriente Mors, les PP. Allo, OP, et Roure, SJ, face à l'œuvre de René Guénon", in: *René Guénon, lectures et enjeux. Actes du XVIIe colloque international École Pratique des Hautes Études - Politica Hermetica, sous la présidence d'Émile Poulat*, special issue of *Politica Hermetica* (Laussane), 16, 2002, pp. 48-85.
- 37 E. B. Allo, "Bulletin de science des religions. Religions des Indo-Européens et de l'Extrême-Orient", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (Leuven), XXVI, no. 3, 2 April 1937, pp. 592-621 (612 - section "Ascèse, philosophie et mystique").
- 38 E. B. Allo, *Plaies d'Europe et baumes du Gange*, Cerf, Paris, 1931, p. 21 (a book in which he collected most of the ideas expressed in his chronicles from *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*).
- 39 Interestingly, he is considered to be the father of the theological notion of "inculturation", put first in practice by Belgian missionaries to India.
- 40 J. Masson, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *La Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (Leuven), LXIV, October 1937, pp. 913-914; *Dosar V*, pp. 24-25.
- 41 É. Dhanis, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *Revue des Auteurs et des Livres* (Brussels), XXXI, no. 4, April 1938.
- 42 With the thesis *La religion des Judéo-araméens d'Éléphantine*, just published that same year by Eliade's editor, Paul Geuthner.
- 43 A. Vincent, "Yoga de M. Eliade...", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* (Strasbourg), XIX, no. 1, January 1939, pp. 85-86; *Dosar V*, p. 25.
- 44 G. van der Leeuw, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën* (Wageningen), XXII, no. 4, April 1939, pp. 114-115. Eliade read the review shortly after its publication and initiated his correspondence with van der Leeuw, on 14 May 1939, with a letter of thanks; quoted in *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 177n. For their correspondence see *Scrisori primite I*, p. 36; III, pp. 46-47
- 45 Ed. O. von Lippmann, "Zur Kenntnis der sogenannte Alchemie des alten Indiens", *Die Naturwissenschaften. Wochenschrift für die Fortschritte der reinen und der angewandten Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin), XXIV, no. 48, 1 November 1936, pp. 766-767.
- 46 Ed. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, vol. III. *Ein Lese- und Nachschlagebuch*, ed. by Richard von Lippmann, Springer, Berlin, 1954, pp. 25-26, 40 etc.
- 47 Lenoir published several books and articles during the years 1916-1963, being also interested in the relations between religion and ethics or in the "primitive mentality". He was close to Marcel Mauss, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl,

- and Celestine Bouglé, with whom he collaborated within the Institute of Sociology.
- 48 R. Lenoir, "Mircea Eliade, *Yoga...*", *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris), CXXIX, no. 1-2, January-February 1940, pp. 155-157.
- 49 Raymond Bayer (ed.), *Manuel de la recherche documentaire en France*, Tome II, 1^e partie, 7^e section, *Philosophie*, Union Française des Organismes de Documentation, Bayeux - Paris, 1950, pp. 124-125 (under the subsection "Psychologie du mysticisme. Techniques de méditations. Yoga"); George Sarton, *A guide to the history of science. A first guide for the study of the history of science, with introductory essays on science and tradition*, Chronica Botanica Co., Whaltam Mass, 1952, p. 143.
- 50 G. Sarton, "Henri Maspero, Les procédés de «nourrir le principe vital» dans la religion taoïste ancienne, *Journal asiatique*, ...1937...", *Isis* (Bruges), XXXIII, no. 2, June 1941, pp. 278-279 (279). In the third volume of his *Introduction to the History of Science* (1948), he cited a number of times *Yoga* as "an excellent book". See M. Eliade, *Journal*, 23 May 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 51 Bloch wrote to the Romanian linguist Alexandru Rosetti. See Mihail Sebastian's letter of 25 July 1936; *Scrisori primite* IV, pp. 333-334. See also Al. Rosetti's letter of 8 August 1936, reporting news from Gaur; *ibidem*, p. 275.
- 52 A. Dumitriu, "Mircea Eliade, *Yoga...*", *Revista de Filosofie* (Bucharest), XXII, no. 2, April-June 1937, pp. 229-236; "Erudiție și șarlatanie", *Lumea Românească* (Bucharest), I, no. 22, 23 June 1937, p. 4; "Yoga", *ibidem*, no. 39, 10 July 1937, p. 4; "Demascarea genialității... dlui Mircea Eliade", *ibidem*, no. 273, 4 March 1938, p. 2 (other two articles in the nos. 225 and 265 of the same weekly journal); *Dosar* III, pp. 122-145.
- 53 D. Murărașu, *Hasdeu - ediția Mircea Eliade*, Ed. Tiparul Universitar, Bucharest, 1938, pp. 66-67; *Dosar* V, pp. 112-159 (159).
- 54 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 25 October 1947, M.E.P. 15.3. See also the entries of 28 March 1947 and 8 February 1948.
- 55 *Memorii*, pp. 309-310. See P. Masson-Oursel, *Le Yoga*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1954. It is however possible that Eliade confused two different moments, and referred here to his review of *Techniques du Yoga*, published in 1951 (see below).
- 56 Eliade quotes him three times in the first part of his book (*Yoga, op. cit.*, pp. 27, 44, 65n), while Filliozat and Zimmer are referred to one time each in the second part (*ibidem*, 258n, 305). Only Zimmer is praised for his "original book full of suggestions".
- 57 "Ce spun savanții streini despre Mircea Eliade. Cu prilejul apariției cărții *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*", *Vremea* (Bucharest), X, no. 491, 13 June 1937, p. 5. At the end he added requests of collaboration from four journals: *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), *Indian*

Historical Quarterly (Calcutta), *Religio* (Rome), and *Asiatica* (Rome), edited by some of the above mentioned scholars (Pettazzoni, Buonaiuti, Tucci).

58 The letters are published in *Scrisori primite* I, pp. 50, 148, 215-216, 217, 252-253; II, pp. 198, 202; III, pp. 108-110, 320, 367-368; IV, pp. 465. There is no invitation to collaboration from Narendra Nath Law, the editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

59 *Memorii*, p. 312.

60 In the 1939 list "Extrase din recenzii asupra cărții *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*" (M.E.P. 58a.13), he listed 8 reviews (V. Papesso, G. van der Leeuw, E.B. Allo, P. Masson-Oursel, J. Masson, H. Zimmer, A. Vincent, and E. Dhanis) and 5 quotations of the book (J.W. Hauer, J. Maréchal, R. Pettazzoni, A.K. Coomaraswamy, and P.N. Roy). He ignores 4 reviews (Ed. O. Lippmann, M. Sémenoff, L. de la Vallée Poussin, and J. Filliozat). The one by R. Lenoir will be printed shortly afterwards.

61 *Scrisori primite* II, p. 198 (10 July 1936).

62 *Scrisori primite* I, pp. 215-216, 217-218 (3 November and 4 December 1936). See also *Jurnal* II, p. 293 (8 December 1977).

63 *Scrisori primite* I, p. 50 (6 July 1936).

64 *Scrisori primite* III, pp. 108-110 (24 July 1936).

65 *Corespondență* II, pp. 178-179 (4 August 1936).

66 V. Macchioro's letter of 4 January 1939 to E. de Martino, published in: Riccardo De Donato (ed.), *La contraddizione felice? Ernesto de Martino e gli altri*, E.T.S., Pisa, 1990, p. 58.

67 See de Martino's review from *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XXIII, 1951-1952, pp. 148-155, referred to below.

68 "The author believes that true Indian alchemy had nothing to do with chemistry and ought not to be called pre-chemistry", in George Sarton & Frances Siegel (eds.), "Forty-fifth critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science and of the history of civilization (to December 1935)", *Isis* (Bruges), XXV, no. 1, May 1936, pp. 176-317 (258).

69 *Scrisori primite* I, pp. 252-253 (5 July 1936).

70 Tenney L. Davis, "The problem of the origins of alchemy", *The Scientific Monthly* (New York), 43, no. 6, December 1936, pp. 551-558. He mentions "a number of recent publications on the origins of alchemy", but quotes only British and American scholars (A.J. Hopkins, W.H. Barnes, and J.R. Partington). He himself believed that alchemy is not a pre-chemistry but, contrary to Eliade, considered it a derivation of chemistry. For Davis, alchemy originated in China, with some influences from Egypt or Mesopotamia. He does not exclude the possibility that it may have been imported from India, but considers it unlikely. It is obvious that Eliade didn't judge him competent on Indian alchemy. He quotes his name – in *Asian Alchemy* (1935), *Yoga. Immortality and freedom* (1954), *The Forge and the Crucible* (1956), and

- A History of religious ideas* (1976) – only with a publication on Chinese alchemy signed jointly with a Chinese pupil of him.
- 71 *Memorii*, pp. 309-310.
- 72 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 25 November 1945, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 73 *Ibidem*, 26 May 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 74 *Ibidem*, 24 March 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 75 *Ibidem*, 4 August 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 76 *Ibidem*, 4 March 1948, M.E.P., 15.3 (*Jurnal I*, p. 136). M. Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe*, entretiens avec Claude-Henri Rocquet, 2nd ed., Rocher, Paris, 2006, pp. 108-109. H.-Ch. Puech told Eliade that he was an "ardent admirer" of the book; *Journal*, 10 November 1947.
- 77 *Ibidem*, 20 august 1949, M.E.P. 15.4.
- 78 Some of them: **Jeannine Auboyer**, "Le grandes lignes de la pensée indienne", *Revue de Philosophie* (Paris), 37, no. 6, May-June 1937, pp. 492-507 (500); **Raffaele Pettazzoni**, "A functional view of religions", *The Review of Religion* (New York), I, no. 3 1937, pp. 225-237 (236-237); reprinted as "Religioni nazionali, supernazionali e misteriche", in: *idem, Saggi di storia delle religioni e di mitologia*, Edizioni Italiane, Rome, 1946, pp. 153-168; **J.W. Hauer**, *Glaubensgeschichte der Indo-Germanen*, I. *Das religiöse Artbild der Indogermanen und die Grundtypen der indo-arischen Religion*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 344, 345 ș.u.; **Joseph Maréchal**, *Études sur la psychologie des mystiques*, tome II, L'Édition universelle, Brussels / Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1937, the chapter *Yoga*, passim; **Ananda K. Coomaraswamy**, "Symbolism of the Dome", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), XIV, no. 1, March 1938, pp. 1-56 (53n); **Prabuddha Nath Roy**, "Antica poesia hindi", *Asiatica* (Rome), IV, no. 3, 1938, pp. 188-195 (189); **Stig Wikander**, *Der arische Männerbund. Studien zur indo-iranischen Sprach- und Religionsgeschichte*, Hakan Ohlsson, Lund, 1938, pp. 4-5; **Aldo Mieli**, *La science arabe et son rôle dans l'évolution scientifique mondiale*, Brill, Leiden, 1938, p. 65; **Jan Gonda**, "Altind, şanta-, şantara-, usw", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (The Hague), 97, no. 4, 1938, pp. 453-500 (480); **P. Masson-Oursel**, *Le fait métaphysique*, P.U.F., Paris, 1941; **Aram M. Frenkian**, *L'Orient et les origines de l'idéalisme subjectif dans la pensée européenne*, tome I. *La doctrine théologique de Memphis (l'inscription du roi Shabaka)*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1946, p. 27; **Jean Filliozat**, "L'inconscient dans la psychologie indienne", in: *Library of the Xth International Congress of Philosophy (Amsterdam, August 11-18, 1948)*, vol. I. *Proceedings of the Congress*, North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 462-464 (462); **Helmuth von Glasenapp**, *Der Philosophie der Inder. Eine Einführung in ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre*, Alfred Kröner, Stuttgart, 1949, pp. 470, 481; **Julius Evola**, *Lo yoga della potenza. Saggio sui Tantra*, 2nd ed. completely reworked, Fratelli Bocca, Milan, 1949, pp. 134n, 148n, 204n,

- 220n, 289n, 290n, 366n, 367n; **Constantin Regamey**, *Buddhistische Philosophie*, A. Francke, Bern, 1950, p. 80; **Erich Frauwallner**, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, vol. I, Otto Müller, Salzburg, 1953, pp. 472, 483; **Raniero Gnoli**, "Hesychasm and Yoga", *East and West* (Rome), IV, no. 2, July 1953, pp. 98-100 (100).
- 79 *Scrisori primite* III, pp. 367-368 (21 November 1936).
- 80 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 March 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 81 *Ibidem*, 27 March 1946; *Memorii*, pp. 309-310.
- 82 P. Masson-Oursel & Paul Mus, "Religions de l'Inde", *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses. Annaires 1945-1946 et 1946-1947*, Paris, 1946, pp. 116-118 (118).
- 83 Letter to Stig Wikander from Paris, 2 November 1948; *Correspondență* III, pp. 249-250.
- 84 J. Filliozat, "Les origines d'une technique mystique indienne", *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris), 136, no. 4-6, April-June 1946, pp. 208-220 (212-213); *Dosar* VI, pp. 49-62. An offprint of the article is preserved in Eliade's Paris library with the following autograph dedication: "A Monsieur Mircea Eliade, bien sympathique hommage" (F.M.E.).
- 85 H.-Ch. Puech, "Aux origines du yoga", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), 131, no. 1-3, 1946, pp. 219-221.
- 86 However, in the course of 1946, their relations will become quite good and Puech refused to take into consideration those who "denounced" Eliade to him as a former fascist. M. Eliade, *Journal*, 14 and 15 January 1946, M.E.P. 15.1 (many mentions of him during the years 1946-1950).
- 87 See his indifferent little note about the article; M. Eliade, *Journal*, 12 April 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 88 From the many entries about the book in his *Journal*, see mostly those of 26 September, 8, 18, 28 October, 3 December 1945, 19 January, 20, 22 July, 3, 4, 7 October 1946, 30 May, 11 October 1947, 18 February, 3 May 1948; M.E.P. 15.1-3. See also the letter of 7 January 1948 to R. Pettazzoni; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 170.
- 89 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 23 November 1945, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 90 *Ibidem*, 11 March 1946.
- 91 J. Filliozat, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), CXXXV, no. 1, January-March 1949, pp. 118-120.
- 92 G. W. Briggs, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *The Review of Religion* (New York), XIV, no. 1, January 1950, pp. 206-207.
- 93 P. Masson-Oursel, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *La Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris), 141, no. 1, January 1951, pp. 135-136.
- 94 See his letters of 6 and 16 July 1948; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, pp. 186, 187.

- ⁹⁵ E. de Martino, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XXI, 1947-1948, pp. 130-132
- ⁹⁶ It is not unlikely that de Martino could have been influenced by what Eliade said about Yoga in his review of *Il mondo magico*; M. Eliade, "Science, idéalisme et phénomènes paranormaux", *Critique* (Paris), III, no. 23, Avril 1948, pp. 315-323. See also *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), 135, no. 1, 1949, pp. 105-108.
- ⁹⁷ He read Eliade's first book on Yoga, as acknowledged in his second review. E. de Martino, "Mircea Eliade, *Le mythe de l'éternel retour. Archétypes et répétition*, Paris, Gallimard, 1949, pp. 254; *Psychologie et histoire des religions, à propos du symbolisme du 'Centre'*, in «Eranos-Jahrbuch», XIX (1951), pp. 247-282; *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, Paris, Payot, 1951, pp. 447», *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XXIII, 1951-1952, pp. 148-155.
- ⁹⁸ Letter of 8 March 1949; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 204.
- ⁹⁹ L. Gardet, "Chronique de théologie spirituelle. Quelques références de mystique comparée: Yoga indien et mystique juive", *Revue Thomiste* (Toulouse), XLVIII, no. 4, 1948, pp. 613-630 (615-621).
- ¹⁰⁰ L. Gardet, "Recherches sur la «mystique naturelle»", *ibidem*, no. 1-2, 1948, pp. 76-112.
- ¹⁰¹ See Georges Dandoy, *L'ontologie du Vedanta. Essais sur l'acosmisme de l'advaita*, commentaires de Jacques Maritain et Olivier Lacombe, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1932.
- ¹⁰² See also Gardet's book *Expériences mystiques en terres nonchrétiennes*, Alsatia, Paris, 1953, pp. 25, 30, 34, 170.
- ¹⁰³ M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 September 1948, M.E.P. 15.3. See also the letter to Brutus Coste from 6 September 1978; *Correspondență* III, p. 470. For their relations, see the journal entries of 5 April, 28 September, 29 November, 5, 16 December 1946; 8 February, 5 June 1947; 4 September, 13 October, 12 December 1948; 21 May, 23 October 1949; 30 July 1950; 29 July 1965; 26 August 1967; and 20 July 1968 (M.E.P. 15.1-4, 16.7, 16.10).
- ¹⁰⁴ In 1950 M. M. Davy will study Yoga with Sri Mahesh and later on will become a follower of Father Henri Le Saux, the well-known Christian monk "inculturated" in India as Swami Abhishiktananda.
- ¹⁰⁵ M. M. Davy, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *La Nef* (Paris), V, no. 50, January 1949, pp. 121-122.
- ¹⁰⁶ J.-P. Y., "M. Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *Le monde non chrétien* (Paris), n.s., III, no. 10, April-June 1949, pp. 241-243.
- ¹⁰⁷ "Eliade, Mircea, *Techniques du Yoga...*", in: G. Sarton & F. Siegel (eds.), "Seventy-eight critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science and of the history of civilization (to December 1951)", *Isis* (Bruges), XLIII, no. 2, July 1952, pp. 128-208 (168).

- 108 A. Patri, "Les techniques du Yoga par Mircea Eliade », *Paru. Revue de l'actualité littéraire* (Monte Carlo), IV, no. 45, August 1948, pp. 107-108.
- 109 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 29 May 1948. For his relationship with Patri, see also the entries of 16 March 1947; 15, 26 June, 3, 10, 23 September 1948; 19 February, 28 March, 2 April, 30 November 1949; 20 January 1950; 3 September 1953; January 1959; 26 August 1960; 29 February, 8 October 1961; 20 October 1962 (M.E.P. 15.3-6, 15.9-10, 16.3).
- 110 "Mircea Eliade nous parle des méthodes de l'ascétisme indou", propos recueillis par Aimé Patri, *Paru*, no. 46, September 1948, pp. 49-54; reprinted in *Le Courrier des Indes* (Paris - Bombay), II, 1949.
- 111 A.-M. Schmidt, "Le yogi et le chrétien", *La Réforme* (Lausanne), 29 October 1948; reprinted in: A.M. Schmidt, *Chroniques de "Réforme" (1945-1966)*, Rencontre, Lausanne, 1970, pp. 117-121.
- 112 In a later review, he will underline that Eliade "remains a Christian" and calls him a "Christian Indologist"; A.-M. Schmidt, "Eloge de Mircea Eliade", *La Réforme* (Lausanne), 4 August 1956; *Dosar VI*, pp. 119-123.
- 113 M. Carrouges, "Spiritualité hindoue", *La Vie Spirituelle. Supplément* (Paris), II, no. 7, 15 November 1948, pp. 358-360.
- 114 Eliade made his acquaintance – and that of Paul Vulliaud, André Breton, and Aimé Patri – in the house of Henry Hunwald, occasion on which Carrouges offered him *La Vie Spirituelle* containing his review. They will become soon friends and by November were planning, together with Aimé Patri, a new journal called *Mythologies*. M. Eliade, *Journal*, 2 April, 27 June, 8 July, 30 November 1949, 20 January 1950, 20 February 1961, 18 July 1962, M.E.P. 15.4, 15.9, 16.2.
- 115 J. Desternes, "Le chant du bienheureux", *La Table Ronde* (Paris), I, no. 9, September 1948, pp. 1565-1573 (1565, 1571).
- 116 G. Bataille, letter of 26 May 1952; *Scrisori primite I*, p. 75; M. Eliade, *Journal*, 11 July 1962, M.E.P. 16.2.
- 117 G. Cavicchioli, "Che cos'è lo «Yoga». Un metodo offerto all'uomo per conquistare e superare se stesso", *Giornale dell'Emilia* (Bologna), V, 9 October 1949, p. 2. He recommends Eliade's book along with works by Giuseppe Tucci and René Guénon. Eliade knew this article and added it to a list of reviews of *Techniques* (M.E.P. 57.1), which means that he received it from Italy, probably from the author itself. Later on Cavicchioli reviewed *Le mythe de l'éternel retour*; "L'éternel ritorno", *Valori* (Bologna), II, no. 1, January-February 1951, pp. 10-21.
- 118 See Evola's letter to Eliade from 10 January 1952; *Scrisori primite V*, p. 350. In Eliade's Paris library there is a copy of Cavicchioli's book *Favole* (1951) with an autograph dedication dated July 1951 (F.M.E.).
- 119 See the review by **Guy A. Deleury** S.J. (b. 1922), French scholar of Indian literature, to the book of father P. Johanns, long time missionary in India; "Pierre Johanns, S.J., *La pensée religieuse de l'Inde*, Bibliothèque de la

- Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de Namur, 1952”, *Études* (Paris), 86, no. 278, July-August 1953, p. 122.
- 120 J. Bruno, “Eliade (Mircea), *Techniques du Yoga...*”, *Revue Métapsychique* (Paris), n.s., I, no. 4, October-December 1948, p. 242.
- 121 *Atlantis* (Vincennes), XXII, no. 139, January 1949, p. 61.
- 122 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 December 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 123 See more recently his inclusion in François Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, 2nd ed., Karthala, Paris, 2008, pp. 465-466.
- 124 *Études Traditionnelles* (Paris), 47, no. 249, January-February 1946, pp. 250-253; 49, no. 269, July-August 1948, p. 186; reprinted in R. Guénon, *Comptes rendus*, Éditions Traditionnelles, Paris, 1986, pp. 187-189, 198-200.
- 125 R. Guénon, “Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga* (Gallimard)”, *Études Traditionnelles* (Paris), 49, no. 272, December 1948, pp. 371-372; reprinted in *idem*, *Études sur l’hindouisme*, Éditions Traditionnelles, Paris, 1968, pp. 210-212.
- 126 *Enstasis* (*enstase*) was a neologism in French, but it existed, with different meanings, in ancient Greek and early Christian literature. As a complement to ecstasy, the word was used by some German theologians in the 19th century. However, Eliade coined the word independently of them.
- 127 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 6 November 1949, M.E.P. 15.4.
- 128 M.E.P. 120.9. Most probably he copied it because he couldn’t get a copy of the journal. However, this is the only review in his archive transcribed by himself. Probably, it is Eliade who reported it to his friends from the “Radio Free Europe”. When presenting the way in which “almost all specialised journals” have received the book, they chose as examples the reviews of J. Filliozat, L. Gardet, M. M. Davy, and R. Guénon. Nevertheless, the text “Activitatea culturală a românilor din străinătate” (15 December 1950) – written by Monica Lovinescu or Virgil Ierunca – was not aired by the censors. See *Dosar VI*, pp. 80-81.
- 129 “Les *Techniques du Yoga* selon Mircea Eliade”, cf. *Thalès. Recueil annuel des travaux de l’Institut d’histoire des sciences et des techniques de l’Université de Paris*, 1949, p. 137.
- 130 “Travaux relatifs à l’Inde faits en France dans les dix dernières années », lecture delivered during the winter 1948-1949, and printed in: Louis Renou, *Sanskrit et culture. L’apport de l’Inde à la civilisation humaine*, Payot, Paris, 1950, pp. 80-94 (91). See also L. Renou & J. Filliozat, *L’Inde classique. Manuel d’études indiennes*, vol. I, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1949, p. 45.
- 131 See L. Renou’s letter of 18 November 1951 about a conference in London; *Scrisori primitive IV*, p. 44.
- 132 J. Gonda, *Inleiding tot het indische denken*, Standaard-boekhandel, Antwerp, 1948, pp. 67, 151; *idem*, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, 1952, pp. 165, 166; 2nd edition, 1973, p. 266; *idem*, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, A. Oosthoek, Utrecht, 1954, p. 37.

- 133 G. Dumézil, *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, Gallimard, Paris, 1949, pp. 58-59, 242.
- 134 E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, tome II, Muséon, Leuven, 1949, p. xix.
- 135 A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur le « cent chemins ». Recherches sur le Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, tome I, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1949. A copy of the book is preserved in Eliade's Paris library with the autograph dedication: "A Monsieur Mircea Eliade, hommage d'un modeste grammairien" (F.M.E.).
- 136 P. Masson-Oursel, *Le Yoga*, P.U.F., Paris, 1954. Cf. Sergiu Al-George, *Arhaici și universal. India în conștiința culturală românească*, Eminescu, Bucharest, 1981, pp. 164-166.
- 137 M. Eliade, letter to Brutus Coste, 7 September 1948; *Correspondență III*, p. 472; See also *Journal*, 17 November 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 138 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 17 May 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 139 *Ibidem*, 29 May 1948.
- 140 *Ibidem*, 24 May 1948.
- 141 *Ibidem*, 3 July 1948.
- 142 Letter of 6 July 1948; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 186.
- 143 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 6 June 1948, M.E.P. 15.3. He already congratulated him for the article "Le problème du chamanisme" (1946): "Plein d'admiration pour la façon magistrale avec laquelle vous avez su démêler l'écheveau compliqué des origines du chamanisme. Il fallait pour cela toute l'érudition et l'information que vous êtes seul à posséder sur un sujet aussi spécial..." *Ibidem*, 5 August 1947.
- 144 *Ibidem*, 24 February 1949.
- 145 *Ibidem*, 28 August 1950, M.E.P. 15.4 (*Jurnal I*, p. 173).
- 146 *Ibidem*, 10 March 1949, M.E.P. 15.4; M. Brion's letter of 28 September 1953; *Scrisori primite I*, p. 116.
- 147 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 September 1967, M.E.P. 16.10.
- 148 Letter of 2 August 1948 from his secretary, Aniela Jaffé; *Scrisori primite II*, p. 283.
- 149 M. Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe*, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
- 150 Friedrich Otto Schrader, "Indische Beziehungen eines nordischen Fundes", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), 88, 1934, pp. 185-193.
- 151 Letter of 15 October 1948; Mircea Eliade - Stig Wikander, *Întotdeauna Orientul. Correspondență (1948-1977)*, ed. by M. Timuș, Polirom, Iassy-Bucharest, 2005, p. 103.
- 152 M. Eliade, letter of 2 November 1948; *Correspondență III*, pp. 249-250.
- 153 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 27-29 September 1950, M.E.P. 15.4. The book referred to here could be *Art d'aimer et continence conjugale*, Editions Familiales de France, Paris, 1949.

- 154 M. Eliade, "Préface", in Roger Godel, *Essai sur l'expérience libératrice*, Gallimard, Paris, 1952, pp. 7-13. See *Journal*, 2 October 1950, 18 February and 9 July 1952, M.E.P. 15.4-5. The book, with a warm autograph dedication of the author, is preserved in Eliade's Paris library (F.M.E.).
- 155 Corrado Pensa, "On the purification concept in Indian tradition, with special regard to yoga", *East and West* (Rome), XIX, no. 1-2, March-June 1969, pp. 194-228 (198, 204); Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff, "Der Weg zur Erlösung bei Lebzeiten, ihr Wesen und ihr Wert, nach dem *Jīvanmuktiviveka* des Vidyāraṇya", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* (Vienna), XIV, 1970, pp. 131-159. See also *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (Naples) XIX, 1969.
- 156 See M. Eliade, "La méthode de Roger Godel", in: *Roger Godel, de l'humanisme à l'humain*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1963, pp. 99-105; reprinted in: *idem, Briser le toit de la maison. La créativité et ses symboles*, Gallimard, Paris, 1986, pp. 251-260.
- 157 M. Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.
- 158 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 29 May, 15 June 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 159 Jean-Pierre Laurant, *René Guénon. Testimone della Tradizione*, Ed. Mediterranee, Rome, 2008, p. 190.
- 160 Letter of 9 October 1948; Cesare Pavese & Ernesto de Martino, *La collana viola. Lettere, 1945-1950*, ed. by Pietro Angelini, Bollati Boringheri, Turin, 1991, pp. 107-108.
- 161 Not only the Romanian legation in Rome opposed its publication, but also some Italian communist intellectuals: the politician Antonio Giolitti (1915-2010), the literary critic Carlo Musceta (1912-2004), and the historian of religions Ambrogio Donini (1903-1991). Interestingly, the last one was a student of Ernesto Buonaiuti – equally admired by Eliade –, whose "spiritual heir" he appeared to be for some time. Eliade suspected also an anonymous letter from Claudiu Isopescu (1894-1956); *Journal*, 8 June 1960, M.E.P. 15.8.
- 162 C. Pavese & E. de Martino, *ibidem*. Eliade's name is occurring regularly in their correspondence, pp. 107-179 (and pp. 182-183 for the letters to Einaudi). See also R. Pettazzoni's letters; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, pp. 195, 196, 240, 242 (25 October, 29 December 1948, 11 and 20 February 1952), and that of E. de Martino to Eliade; *Scrisori primite* III, p. 154 (1 March 1952). Apparently, the last one asked Palmiro Togliatti to intercede with Einaudi. M. Eliade, *Journal*, 12 September 1949, 23 June 1965, M.E.P. 15.4, 16.7; *Memorii*, pp. 425-426.
- 163 Paolo Boringhieri to M. Eliade, 19 May 1951, M.E.P. 73.26; published in the *Addenda* to my article "The difficult encounter in Rome. Mircea Eliade's post-war relation with Julius Evola's - new letters and data", *International Journal on Humanistic Ideology* (Cluj), IV, no. 2, Autumn-Winter 2011, pp. 125-150 (156-157).

- 164 Eliade received it on 28 January. See *Journal*, 31 January 1952, M.E.P. 15.5.
- 165 “Scheda bibliografica Einaudi, no. 4, Gennaio 1952”. The text is written probably by E. de Martino. A copy is preserved with the book in Eliade’s Paris library (F.M.E.).
- 166 E. de Martino, letter of 16 December 1951; *Scrisori primite* III, p. 152-153.
- 167 E. de Martino, “Prefazione” in: M. Eliade, *Tecniche dello Yoga*, tr. by Anna Macchioro de Martino, Einaudi, Turin, 1952. pp. 9-11.
- 168 E. de Martino, “Prefazione”, in M. Eliade, *Tratato di storia delle religioni*, tr. by Virginia Vacca, Einaudi, Turin, 1954, pp. xi-xiv; *idem*, “Mircea Eliade...”, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XIII, 1951-1952, pp. 148-155. See also, *Il mondo magico. Prolegomeni a una storia del magismo*, 2nd ed., Edizioni Scientifiche Einaudi, Turin, 1958, p. 313.
- 169 He criticised the “historicist idealism” of de Martino when he reviewed his book; see the two articles cited above (n. 97).
- 170 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 11 September 1959, 29 October 1960, 19 January 1961, 23 June 1965, M.E.P. 15.6, 15.9, 16.7; *Jurnal* II, p. 163 (June 1974). Our interest in de Martino - Eliade debate is restrained here by the limits of our topic. For a larger discussion see especially the works of Pietro Angelini, “Il rapporto con Ernesto de Martino”, in *idem*, *L’uomo sul tetto. Mircea Eliade e la “storia delle religioni”*, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin, 2001, pp. 76-101; “Eliade, de Martino e il problema dei poteri magici”, in Giovanni Casadio & Pietro Mander (eds.), *Le forme della tradizione e del sacro in Mircea Eliade*, Ed. Mediterranee, Rome, 2012 (forthcoming).
- 171 M. Eliade, letter to Vintilă Horia, 7 February 1952; *Correspondență* I, p. 448.
- 172 G. D[orfler], “Mircea Eliade, *Tecniche dello Yoga...*”, *Aut Aut* (Milan), II, no. 10, July 1952, pp. 371-373.
- 173 J. Knobloch, “Mircea Eliade, *Tecniche dello Yoga*, 1952...”, *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* (Vienna), VII, no. 1, 1954, p. 111.
- 174 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 20 October 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 175 J. Evola, letters of 15 December 1951, 10 January, and 8 July 1952; *Scrisori primite* I, p. 277; IV, p. 349, 353.
- 176 L. Renou, letter of 30 March 1952; *Scrisori primite* IV, p. 44.
- 177 His name is more commonly spelled Susil Gupta. Eliade would have been in the company of such authors as Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Helmuth von Glasenapp, Th. Stcherbatsky, Reinhold Friedrich, and of writers in English like J.R. Ballantyne, H.H. Wilson, M. Monier-Williams, T.W. Rhys Davids, R.S. Whiteway, G.H. Westcott, Samuel Beal, Richard Temple, etc.
- 178 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 7 December 1951, M.E.P. 15.5. The translation appears to have been engaged in 1949. See Eliade’s letter to Brutus Coste, 28 July 1949; *Correspondență* III, p. 483. A year later, on 6 December 1952, the editor Eugen Diederichs seemed to be interested in a German version of the book; *Journal*, *ibidem*.



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POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN JEWISH ROMANIAN INTELLECTUAL LIFE DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD: THE A. L. ZISSU – W. FILDERMAN DEBATE

The current article aims at demonstrating that, despite the general perception launched by the large bibliography concerning the political history of the Jewish community in Romania during the interwar period, the conflicting relationship between Wilhelm Filderman, the leader of the Jewish community, and A. L. Zissu, the Zionist ideologist, was severely undermined by a commonality of aims and goals which determined the two intellectuals to recognize it and to attempt a potential rapprochement during moments of crisis; the projected rapprochement was constantly bound to fail due to the opposing strategies of pursuing the goals, general political discourses and eventually ways of relating to the central concept of *law*. My demonstration starts and utilizes as a theoretical motive the concept of “narcissism of minor differences” which enjoys currently a long and profitable career in areas such as conflict resolution, ethnic studies and international relations as it is able to explain processes taking place between groups (see Michael Ignatieff), but which initially pointed out to individual and personal relationships as it is visible in Ernest Crawley’s and Sigmund Freud’s approaches. Drawing theoretically the limits and main direction of the current analysis, I reconstructed the intellectual profile, as well as the personal relationship between the two political figures, in order to stress their individualities in terms of background, education, professional evolution and political discourse, but also I planned to demonstrate that internally the aims were common, although the means and the paths taken in order to accomplish them were different. The revelation came while reading the mostly interesting exchange of letters between A. L. Zissu and W. Filderman during late 1941 in which both came to this open conclusion of opposing stances while acknowledging the great contributions that both had within the political life of the Jewish

community in Romania. In order to support my demonstration, I heavily relied on memoirs, letters, autobiographical writings, monographs and articles dedicated to Zissu and Filderman, but also on their literary and political writings.

1. “The narcissism of minor differences”: The Career of a Concept

Michael Ignatieff has recently revamped the old concept of the “narcissism of minor differences” transforming it into a scholarly explanatory tool for ethnic conflicts and group identification which became thus a productive theoretical approach in international relations, conflict resolution and ethnic studies flourishing during the last three decades. Although my study focuses on individuals and on ideological discourses, the essence of Ignatieff’s work may be used for a better formulation of my conclusions, as “brothers can hate each other more passionately than strangers can.”¹

Going back to the origins of the concept, we may discover that, actually, nor Ignatieff is the first one to formulate it, neither the concept referred from the beginning to groups and ethnicity matters. Sigmund Freud brought the concept to fame in 1930, when he wrote a large conceptualization of the “narcissism of minor differences” in his *Civilization and its Discontents*:

It is always possible to bind together a considerable number of people in love, so long as there are other people left over to receive the manifestations of their aggressiveness. I once discussed the phenomenon that it is precisely communities with adjoining territories, and related to each other in other ways as well, who are engaged in constant feuds and in ridiculing each other—Germans and South Germans, the English and the Scotch, and so on. I gave this phenomenon the name of ‘the narcissism of minor differences,’ a name which does not do much to explain it. We can now see that it is a convenient and relatively harmless satisfaction of the inclination to aggression, by means of which cohesion between the members of the community is made easier.²

This analysis represents the redefinition of a former study of his published in 1918, *The Taboo of Virginity*, in which it becomes clear that originally the idea was borrowed from British anthropologist Ernest

Crawley and it basically was linked to individual and psychological processes:

Crawley, in language which differs only slightly from the current terminology of psychoanalysis, declares that each individual is separated from the others by a 'taboo of personal isolation', and that it is precisely the minor differences in people who are otherwise alike that form the basis of feelings of strangeness and hostility between them. It would be tempting to pursue this idea and to derive from this 'narcissism of minor differences' the hostility which in every human relation we see fighting successfully against feelings of fellowship and overpowering the commandment that all men should love one another.³

The current short insight into the history of the concept shows us that the illuminating theoretical tool started from an originally non-ethnic non-collective observation which an anthropologist such as Ernest Crawley made initially on individuals and on their social relationships in general. Far from being exclusively the explanatory tool of ethnic and collective conflicts, the "narcissism of minor differences" served originally as a tool for understanding psychological and intellectual processes such as the one under discussion here.

2. The Filderman – Zissu Debate Reflected in the Secondary Literature

In general, all historical accounts on the interwar period perceive the political situation of the Jewish community in Romania as being mainly animated by the long lasting enmity between Wilhelm Filderman and A. L. Zissu; this fact became practically general knowledge and historians rarely question the origins and the last days of the conflict in order to bring new insights into this almost stereotypical approach. As little attention as Jewish Romanian political history received during the last decades within the historiography of the Romanian Jewry, if compared with other more favored areas of scientific investigation (intellectual and economic history, anti-Semitism, Holocaust studies), the researcher did not go over or more deeper into this general perception.

The few studies analyzing the Jewish Romanian political life consolidate or offer some more elements supporting this perception. Thus, Claudia

Ursutiu, in her remarkable book, *Senatori și deputați evrei în Parlamentul României (1919-1931)*, starts a whole new section by discussing “The Jewish Political Orientations in the Romanian Parliament” with a special subchapter “Jewish Ideologies and Ideologues: W. Filderman – A. L. Zissu”. From the beginning, the ideological opposition is clearly marked starting from the title through the antagonism established textually between the two political leaders, but this suggestion in the manner titles and subtitles are formulated is also consolidated within the text, the author stating that “actually, the two Jewish ideologists, intransigent with their doctrines – the ‘assimilism’ moderated by the need for preserving a cultural and religious Jewish identity and the Zionist nationalism – monopolized almost exclusively the battle of ideas within Romanian Jewish political life”.⁴ Thus, in Claudia Ursutiu’s perspective, the ideological debate animating the two ideologists was basically the most important one within Jewish political life, with Filderman and Zissu occupying the center of the stage as main actors.

In the only so-far official monograph on the life and activity of Wilhelm Filderman, *Dr. W. Filderman. 50 de ani din istoria iudaismului român*, S. Schafferman dedicates a whole chapter to “Disagreement on the Jewish street”, followed by “Between W. Filderman and A. L. Zissu” in order to suggest once more the opposition between the two intellectuals, concluding at some point that “It is without any doubt that the rivalry between U. E. R. (Union of Romanian Jews) and P. N. E. (Jewish National Party) was based on the rivalry between Filderman and Zissu.”⁵ Thus, once more, Schafferman reduces the political tensions within the Jewish community to the personal and ideological tension between the two men of ideas.

The first editor of Filderman’s *Memoirs and Diaries*,⁶ Jean Ancel had a similar perception regarding the relation between the two parties. He considered that Zissu’s attacks targeting Filderman were undeserved and not always justified, but they managed to cause a clear separation within the Jewish electorate; in exchange, Filderman never wrote or manifested reactions against the Zionist camp, moreover being often and profoundly involved into the activity of the international Zionist organizations in Romania and lending them his full support. According to Jean Ancel, Zissu’s “notorious aversion against Filderman” deeply influenced the general profile of the political life of the Jewish Romanian community during the interwar period.

A reputed analyst of the Romanian and Jewish intellectual life, Leon Volovici investigated the issue from the perspective of ideological confrontations and intellectual debates. In his seminal article on “Romanian Jewish Intellectuals after World War I: Social and Cultural Trends”, Leon Volovici noted that “in Jewish intellectual life, Zissu was the most powerful personality opposed to the policy of Filderman and U. E. R.”.⁷

Summing up, the centrality of the Zissu-Filderman conflict presented in the historiography of Jewish interwar politics is an obvious fact, showing also its consequences onto the electorate. Generally perceived as two personalities radically opposed to each other in terms of intellectual, political, ideological perspective, and also in terms of strategies of action, the two intellectuals were basically transformed into symbols and identified forcefully to the ideological trends which were central to the political life of the time.

The natural question following this investigation reflects a larger complexity of factors; if tracing the differences between two individuals, two groups and even two ideologies is easy, may this be all encompassing in terms of explaining a complex process such an ideological debate or a socio-intellectual conflict? Naturally, this scholarly belief of adversity proves to be the easiest to be adopted when trying to find an explanation for the conflict, but was this all and what is it left outside opposition?

3. The Theorist and the Practitioner.

A. L. Zissu – W. Filderman Correspondence

A series of letter exchanged between A. L. Zissu and Wilhelm Filderman during September – December 1941 comes to bring a new personal insight into the relationship established between the two political figures. The correspondence started while Filderman established contact with Ion Antonescu and was trying to alter the regime applied to the Jewish population. This series of letters is initiated by Zissu who projects a necessary collaboration imposed by dramatic circumstances between two persons who opposed each other for decades and Wilhelm Filderman responds favorably. Eventually, the communication breaks as Zissu considers that Filderman should resign and leave his position to Zissu, request rejected by Filderman, finding the letter insulting. In a later letter from March 1942, Zissu apologized as having been very distressed by

Filderman's politics and suggests the end of the conflict due to the tragic evolution of the events as it was necessary to ally and struggle together. Apart from the actual reason which caused the letter exchange, a constant evaluation of their relationship, as well as each other's past political activity emerged; thus, the content of the letters brings new insights into the relationship established between the two politicians.

Long-Term Relationship. As the letter exchange testifies, the relationship between the two political figures was one between two individuals who "have been debating for a quarter of a century and who took parallel paths"⁸ as Zissu declared. Belonging to the same political generation, the two intellectuals came to the public eye relatively in the same time, in the second decade of the 20th century; while Filderman joined the Union of Indigenous Jews (U. E. P.) and embarked on a political career, Zissu started his activity in the Zionist camp and his editorial activity causing Filderman in his turn to declare that he, as well, was "following for over two decades (Zissu's) activity".⁹

A. L. Zissu's Criticism: "*Breaking the Jewish Law*". This long-term political intimacy made Zissu acknowledge the role and the abilities manifested by the leader of the Union of Romanian Jews (U. E. R.): "I should not and I don't want to deny and forget that you are the most indicated and that you have the right to bear the burden which you accepted a quarter of a century ago by your free will; I also gladly recognize your remarkable skills, your unusual work, the impressive energy and the devotion which you fully displayed".¹⁰ Eventually, after criticizing Filderman, he concluded that "I considered you technically capable, the most capable for the position you occupy".¹¹

Although this sudden expression of appreciation might come as a surprise after more than two decades of open confrontation, Zissu did not spare his criticism, reproaching Filderman that his political results were reached "most of times (I am speaking of the past) breaking the commandments of a dignified authentic Judaism – to the benefit of the Jewish community in the country".¹² Also, Zissu considered Filderman as having "doctrinal and conceptual sins; apart from a lack of political faith, meaning apart from acknowledging your spiritual amateurism in political life".¹³

These reproaches being expressed, Zissu's pedagogical need to avoid "the ruin of the sinner"¹⁴ by planning his correction led to his constant public challenging Filderman's work. Zissu's hidden pedagogical aims expressed through his "frantic campaign of a quarter of a century"¹⁵ hoping

for “a revival in your conscience and conduct”¹⁶ could be identified when he declared that “I do not refuse you the honors which you deserve, but I will not spare you, as I did not in the past either, of my criticism until that revival in which I continue to believe and to hope for will take place in yourself”.¹⁷

In conclusion, from Zissu’s part, Wilhelm Filderman had “the right to bear the burden”¹⁸ of leadership as being capable, hard-working, energetic and devoted to his job. Nevertheless, Zissu is criticizing once more the fact that Filderman was “breaking the commandments of a dignified authentic Judaism”¹⁹ for the community. This aspect in Filderman’s work determined Zissu to start a frenetic campaign to revive Filderman’s conscience for a long time manifested in debates. Their conflictual relationship was due to their “parallel paths”, even “divergent”, which led to a large debate and polemic, eventually, Zissu defining their relationship as the one between *opponents*: “I am your political opponent; *the* political opponent”,²⁰ but which in times of crisis, he suggests abandoning and finding a common path to follow.

In opposition, Zissu defined his own public position in relation to the one acknowledged for Filderman as “an opinion leader, a seismograph of the Jewish sensitivity, a mentor, a spiritual guide, who, if I preferred loneliness, he did not do it in order to taste the selfish pleasures of his ivory tower, but in order to preserve the cleanliness and – as much as I was able – to enrich the spiritual and ethic heritage of eternal Judaism”.²¹ In a different letter, Zissu describes himself as “a politician. Because I have political instinct, perspicacity, sound intuition of what it is useful and what it harms us. And most importantly, I have the passion of fulfilling the task which I took over and the conscience of my duty as nobody else”,²² despite his “complete lack of political ambition”.²³ In order to simplify their relationship, Zissu defines his role as a “spokesperson of non-secular Judaism”²⁴ in relation to the one acknowledged for Filderman, “the political representative of the Jews from the country”.²⁵

W. Filderman’s Approach: “The Theorist and the Practitioner”. In turn, Filderman’s pragmatic approach places their relationship in a non-oppositional perspective; in his view, their political approaches were simply different in terms of *appearance / shape / form* rather than in terms of *substance / content*. He does not identify any opposition, but rather different facets of the same phenomenon.²⁶

The explanation for such an approach is simply generated by transferring their discourses on the same level as in the classical opposition between

the *theorist* and the *practitioner*; they differ only in terms of manifestation and means of action, rather than in content as A. L. Zissu was so keen to express. The difference emerges visibly in instances when the freedom to act according to one's status is affected; if the theorist has the freedom to follow his principles, the practitioner has to act in connection with the present situation and according to practical norms: "...what separates us is more the appearance (form) than the substance. You were a theorist, I was a practitioner. If the theorist may open new ways and new horizons, it is not allowed to the practitioner who has the responsibility of the current survival to apply from the theoretical realm but what he considers possible at the moment when he acts. It is the materialization of the saying "que le temps respecte peu ce qui se fait sans lui".²⁷

The Need for Collaboration. Despite all these oppositions and distinctions, the initiative of resuming direct contact and collaboration came from A. L. Zissu who considered that "the primordial commandments deriving from the Jewish tragedy caused both of us to stray for a moment from our divergent directions in order to find ourselves on a common road indicated by them".²⁸ Thus, "the tragic circumstances to which the Jewish community is currently subjected determined two people who have been debating for a quarter of a century and who took parallel paths to get closer".²⁹ In order to be able to collaborate, Zissu proposed that, due to their distinct personalities, it was necessary to give up "to the substance of our personalities and if we do not betray the fate that temperament, ideology, perception of the world, destiny, spiritual background and natural abilities offered to you and myself".³⁰

Using from now on the 1941 letter exchange between Wilhelm Filderman and A. L. Zissu as a second *leitmotiv* for my research (together with the concept of "narcissism of minor differences"), I will basically focus on the two different perceptions of their political, but also personal, relationship; if A. L. Zissu perceives the state of affairs as an ongoing *conflict* (using terms such as *adversaries*, *opponents*), confirming the largely acknowledged perspective launched by the secondary literature on the topic, Wilhelm Filderman's view on their common past is radically different, pointing towards a different type of reading of the situation. Stressing for *distinctiveness*, rather than opposition and adversity, Filderman objects to the idea of conflict, stating a situation in which the two politicians were going same direction, although using different means which would make the opposition *theorist vs. practitioner* and *substance vs. form* a productive one. Starting from this new way of perceiving the

situation, I started looking for the common substance mentioned by Filderman, rather than for the opposing grounds populating the different approaches on interwar Jewish political history.

4. The Portrait of a Leader: W. Filderman

Returning to Zissu's characterization of Wilhelm Filderman, writing that "you are the most indicated and that you have the right to bear the burden" of leadership, indeed, Filderman is generally perceived as the most important Jewish leader during the interwar period, as well as the most important non-Zionist politician during that period, a brilliant lawyer and a skilled representative of the Romanian Jewry both in relation with the Romanian authorities, but also internationally.

Determined by his professional training and his formative experiences, Filderman once stated that

The political man shapes the life of the people and he is not allowed to ask but what he thinks it is necessary and it may adapt to the moment he lives in. This is why we should not be accused for not including in the program everything we could, but what we think we may accomplish today. The moment when we would be able to ask for more will come; today we ask only what it is strictly necessary. The future will continue. Which country, what people reached civilization in sudden leaps? Who wants to climb a ladder should do it step by step, otherwise one may fall together with the ladder.³¹

One of his very few personal statements untangling for us and for the public his adaptive strategy when approaching the practical aspects of politics, this fragment is extremely significant for the way he understood to accomplish his task. Supporting Filderman's self-definition as a *practitioner* as opposing Zissu's position as a public *theorist*, the quotation helps the reader follow, as on a conceptual map, the significant moments in his life and career which shaped his perspective on politics and life of the community and functions.

Born in 1882 in Bucharest, Wilhelm Filderman came from the family of a small businessman, owner of "a printing and bookbinding shop",³² as he confessed in his *Memoirs*; after the untimely death of his father, his mother struggled by herself with her lingerie workshop in order to

support her five children out of whom only Willy studied for a university degree. Bucharest was, at the time of his birth, a multicultural capital with a traditional Jewish quarter; the level of acculturation and integration of the Jewish community was significantly higher than in other parts of the country and thus emerged the option of many families to send their children to Romanian language schools and to study at the university for professional degrees. Filderman's *Memoirs* account that young Willy, extremely gifted for public speaking, went to Romanian language schools and studied French very early, being also interested in acquiring knowledge of Jewish history and notions of Judaism with a local rabbi. After attending "Matei Basarab" High School (1894-1902) where he first met his colleague, future Marshall Ion Antonescu, Filderman left for Paris to enroll into the Law School (1902-1906) for a BA and, afterwards, for a PhD in comparative constitutional law (1907-1909), returning only briefly in 1905 to Romania for the due military service.

Returning highly educated to Romania, Filderman was not able to practice the legal profession for which he was trained into as, just like the rest of the Jewish population by that time, he had no Romanian citizenship and the access to bureaucratic, state-funded positions was therefore blocked to the Jewish population. Between 1910 and 1912, he taught Romanian at the Jewish High School "Cultura"; after receiving Romanian citizenship in 1912, he entered the Bar and started his own successful practice in Bucharest.

Constituting as a solid base for his future arguments related to the war effort on behalf of the Jewish population in Romania, Filderman's war experience was impressive; enrolled in both the First Balkan War (1912-1913) and the First World War (1916-1918), he had a first hand experience of the statistical data collected later for his reaction³³ against anti-Semitic allegations on behalf of the right wing political voices.

Considered the most important leader of the Jewish community in Romania between 1919 and 1947, leading almost all the non-Zionist organizations of the Romanian Jews, Filderman started his political career in 1913 when he was elected in the Central Committee of the Bucharest branch of U. E. P. (Union of Indigenous Jews); led mostly by reputed old-fashioned political figures such as Adolf Stern, U. E. P. represented a great platform for young Filderman who became in 1921 vice-president of U. E. P. and eventually president of the organization in 1923 (when he changed

its name into U. E. R. – the Union of Romanian Jews).³⁴ His profile as a leader of the Romanian Jewry was consolidated when he became member in the Romanian Parliament on the lists of P. N. L. (National Liberal Party) during its 1927-1930 mandate (Filderman left the Parliament after only a year, 1927-1928, due to internal disagreements).

His international exposure during his studies and legal training, as well as his impressive knowledge of foreign languages, especially French, turned him into an outstanding representative of the Romanian Jews abroad; thus he participated in the Paris Peace Conference as U. E. P. delegate between 1919 and 1921, joining the efforts of elaborating the Minorities' Treaty. In 1920, he became also the president of Joint (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) – the Romanian branch, while in 1929 he became the president of the Jewish Agency for Israel (Sohnut), Bucharest branch (on behalf of the non-Zionists), after being a founding member and member of the general board of the international organization starting from 1920. Similarly, Filderman was the president of the Romanian branch of B'nai B'rith and member in the general board from New York starting from 1929.

His activity within the Jewish community included also other public positions such as vice-president (starting from 1924) and president of the Jewish Community of Bucharest (1931-1933) and president of the Union of the Jewish Communities in Romania (1929-1948). A victim of the anti-Jewish legislation (excluded from the Bar in 1943) and of the political repression (he was deported to Transnistria for three months in 1943 for opposing a special governmental tax on the Jewish population, returning to Bucharest only due to high level diplomatic interventions), he briefly returned to Jewish communitarian activity after the end of the World War II when he became the president of the Jewish Council and reorganized the Federation of the Union of the Jewish Communities (1945-1948).

In 1948, after the change of the political regime, when his projected activity was no longer possible, Filderman left Romania illegally and settled in France, just in time before him being trialed by the Bucharest Military Tribunal later that year. Although he visited Palestine (and later Israel) three times (1926, 1951 and 1956), Filderman remained in France, faithful to his political credo, until his death in 1963.

5. A. L. Zissu as a seismograph: A Self-Portrait

A. L. Zissu's life revolved around two major, basically connected and interdependent, poles: religion and politics. In one of his studies, *Nu există cult mosaic*, a theological demonstration of the impossibility of reducing Judaism to the status of a religious denomination, Zissu concludes by declaring that "My childhood and adolescence were consumed by the incandescent flame of a religious frenzy which not only once opened to me the heavenly gates of ecstasy. I am, therefore, an initiated – an initiated through grace, through intense experiencing, not through adaptation and not through dogmatic adaptation; initiated through "dvekut", as it is called in the kabalistic language, which is the realization of the metaphysical adherence to divinity, so I may say that in this area I am able to speak with the certainty of the irreversible experience".³⁵ At the other extreme, his political fervor, manifested through a devoted Zionist adherence, determined him to perceive himself as "an opinion leader, a seismograph of the Jewish sensitivity, a mentor, a spiritual guide, who, when preferring loneliness, he did not do it in order to taste the selfish pleasures of his ivory tower, but in order to preserve the cleanliness and – as much as he was able – to enrich the spiritual and ethic heritage of eternal Judaism".³⁶ Animated by his profound religious structure, Zissu's political discourse and actions, as it will be visible later, were organized accordingly by the belief in the divine law, just as the legal training in the case of Filderman dictated his sense of justice and attachment to secular law.

Writer, essayist and journalist, political ideologist and businessman, A. L. Zissu is a complex and at times paradoxical figure of the Jewish political, but also intellectual life during the interwar period. One of the important Zionist leaders, definitely the most articulate Zionist ideologist in Romania, more specifically a representative of the revisionist Zionism, Zissu left his mark on the literary, journalistic and political milieus of his time.

Born in 1888 in a large Hassidic family in Piatra Neamt, A. L. Zissu was one of the ten children of an accountant and received a solid Jewish education from his early years. Knowing both Yiddish and Hebrew, knowledgeable in Jewish thought and mysticism, as well as in biblical exegesis and Talmudic literature, Zissu was a very religious man and, in 1908, he received the rabbinical diploma (recognized by the Romanian authorities), although he never used it.

Nevertheless, in 1910, Zissu had started working for the "Moldova" Bank in Iasi until 1914 when he organized and led a strike described

in his novel, *Marcu sin Marcu*. Important to note for his future political trajectory is also his conflict with the nationalist student group led by Professor A. C. Cuza in Iasi in 1910. Getting married and starting his own business career, Zissu moved to Bucharest in 1914, working first as an administrator of a sugar factory in Ripiceni, then of a metal ware store and forestry exploitation, starting business activity in publishing and journalism as well.

Although his public position came to prominence due to his political and financial activity, his *violon d'Ingres* was journalism and literature, being very active in the journalistic, cultural and literary life. He started very early to contribute to both Romanian, but also Jewish publications, especially to leftist and culturally avant-gardist publications, some of them founded by him and his young friends. In 1904, he made his debut in the Romanian-language Jewish journal *Egalitatea*, followed in 1914 by his debut in the Yiddish magazine, *Likht*; in Iasi, in 1911, he founded together with P. Constantinescu-Iasi the literary journal *Floare albastră*, followed in 1912 by the Hebrew journal *Ha-Mekitz*, initiated by A. L. Zissu together with M. Braunstein-Mebashan in Piatra Neamt. In 1918, he started enthusiastically the project of the short-lived review *Spicul*, together with Gala Galaction and L. Algazy. Despite his early effervescence directed towards literary journals, his masterpiece was the national Jewish daily *Mântuirea* (1919-1922) which he founded, acting as its director and as a permanent collaborator and which appears as one of the most important Jewish political publications during the interwar period and also as the major Zionist journal in Romania.

Instrumented through his journal and contributions in press, Zissu's reputation as a Zionist leader and ideologist was consolidated at the same time with his becoming the initiator of the Zionist group *Renasterea* (1922). Important representative of the revisionist Zionism and leader of the Zionist movement in Romania, Zissu was also the founder of the Jewish Party in 1930.

During 1937-1944, A. L. Zissu was affected by the anti-Jewish legislation, had no occupation and was forbidden to publish, acting only as the president of the Migration Bureau for Palestine, office which attempted to save Romanian Jewry through international efforts supporting its migration. In 1944, he was imprisoned on political grounds at Târgu-Jiu for two months for sending an insulting letter to the Jewish Central Office (organism created by Ion Antonescu in order to better control the Jewish community) during the Antonescu regime. After the end of the World War

II, he attempted to recreate the Jewish Party and became again the leader of the Zionist movement in Romania for a short period.

In 1950, during the Zionist trials, Zissu received a life sentence for his political activity and remained in prison until 1956, when he was released due to his severe medical condition and allowed to leave for Israel, dying a few months later in Tel Aviv.

6. Addressing to the Public:

A. L. Zissu's and W. Filderman's Works

Investigating libraries and archives, the discursive traces left by the two political figures confirm the initial dichotomist perception; following their political argumentation, if Wilhelm Filderman follows a solid *legal discourse*, A. L. Zissu moves freely between a *theological and essayistic discourse* and a literary corpus able to illustrate in more sensitive terms his ideas already presented in his other writings.

W. Filderman was not a writer or a journalist; he was a lawyer defending a cause and therefore his activity was based in the Court and in his office. Nevertheless, whenever necessary, his argumentation was collected in pamphlets and in small volumes destined to answer and deconstruct anti-Jewish stereotypes and public attacks. Therefore, among his publications, we count *Adevărul asupra problemei evreești din România în lumina textelor religioase și a statisticei: urmate de listele nominale ale ostașilor evrei morți, răniți, prizonieri, dispăruți și decorați în războiul pentru întregirea României* (1925), *Problema muncii naționale: criza în barouri* (1935), *Răspuns unor mistificări or Unde duce antisemitismul*. Statistical, demographical, legal and constitutional arguments were brought together into a great effort of organizing a reality in order to respond to anti-Semitic allegations, as well as to formulate and further claims. His personal writings,³⁷ autobiographies and memoirs, follow somehow a similar line, constituting an *addenda* to his political activity as they tend to explain retrospectively his actions by placing them in the context of Jewish and Romanian political and social life. Such works are *Pro domo mea: rectificări, autobiografie* (1937) and his *Memoirs and Diaries* recently published in Israel.

On the contrary, Zissu was a devoted writer and essayist, reputed journalist and polemist for whom writing represented first of all a way of expressing his ideas rather than justifying his actions. His essays and

ideological writings (*Noi... Breviar iudaic*, 1932; *Logos, Israel, Biserica*, 1937; *Nu exista cult mosaic*, 1947) were also illustrated in literary terms in *David Brandeis* (1914), *Spovedania unui candelabru* (1926), *Ereticul de la Mănăstirea Neamtu* (1930), *Marcu sin Marcu* (1934), *Calea calvarului* (1935), *Samson și noul Dagon* (1940). Thus, Zissu's theological and essayistic writings came to justify his ideological discourse and were continued and illustrated through literary works and journalistic activity. The coherence of an ideological construct emerging under different forms on various levels of intellectual expression revealed a determined ideologist and a great thinker, despite the unevenness of his works and the thesis-oriented character of his literary activity diminishing often its artistic value.

As simplistic as it would seem, this distinction and opposition between the legal and theological and ideological discourses of the two intellectuals may be easily justified through their background, formative experiences, professional and educational training and occupations; all these factors previously presented and analyzed here shaped basically two predictable intellectual types and model trajectories deepening even more the already mentioned obsessive dichotomy generated by the historiography dedicated to the Jewish Romanian political life during the interwar period. If differences are easily recognized, the common substance mentioned by Wilhelm Filderman in his letters should from now occupy the center of the current analysis; but first, a short survey of the evolution of the relationship between Wilhelm Filderman and the Zionist movement should be presented, therefore also the connection with A. L. Zissu, in order to trace the factual origins of the conflict.

7. The Anatomy of a Conflict: the UEP and the Zionist Movement

The history of the relationship between U. E. P., Wilhelm Filderman and the Zionist movement might bring some new insights into the monolithically defined approach, fixing everything into an insurmountable opposition.

Going back in time, before the end of WW1, tracing clear ideological borders would be impossible; thus, documents show that the Zionist movement included often U. E. P. leaders and political figures who adhered to the Jewish national revival, but who were also following the

non-Zionist way of struggle for equal rights in the Diaspora defined by U. E. P. Such an example was Horia Carp who, although a leader of U. E. R., he was also a director of Keren Hayesod (United Israel Appeal), Zionist international organization. Thus, U. E. P. included a great number of Zionists who did not find any serious ideological obstacles in activating within both political directions. Filderman himself, despite the ideological disagreements, maintained a long and fruitful collaboration with different international Zionist organizations supporting their fundraising actions, although never being a Zionist activist. Thus, as the political platforms were still unclear, *ideologically* the U. E. P. supported the Zionist ideal of creating the Jewish state, while Zionist adherents joined the U. E. P. efforts of continuing the struggle for civic and political rights in the Diaspora, while *practically*, U. E. P. and W. Filderman supported many of the actions of the Zionist movement in Romania.

The disagreements started to emerge more clearly after 1918, when a new generation of Zionists emerged from within the student body with a more articulated and clearly defined political discourse.

Filderman was not a Zionist, but he was not an anti-Zionist either; his declaration at the inauguration of the Romanian branch of the Jewish Agency in 1929 was that "I believe that, Zionist or non-Zionist, a Romanian Jew can not oppose to the creation of a Jewish national state", thus publicly stating the relation and the compatibility between the Zionist doctrine and his political views as a Jew and as a leader of the U. E. R.

Filderman contributed to fundraising activities for Zionist organizations such as Keren Kayemet (Jewish National Fund) and Keren Hayesod (United Israel Appeal) which used to collect funds for buying lands in Palestine and for developing agricultural areas. Therefore, Filderman participated in meetings and fundraising campaigns, launched public appeals to Zionist actions for collecting funds, delivered speeches of support on these occasions, organized public events on his behalf for fundraising purposes. Apart from the direct involvement into these practical matters, Filderman acted also as a facilitator for Zionist activities such as presenting the Zionist cause to the Romanian political groups, favoring visits of the major figures of the Zionist Organization (Weizman and Sokolow) to Romania and facilitating their contacts with Romanian politicians.

Due to his activity, Filderman was highly appreciated by the World Zionist Organization and his collaboration was publicly praised, enjoying recognition as, for example, on Misu Weismann's behalf, thanking Filderman for his precious collaboration. His inclusion into international

Zionist organizations demonstrated once more Filderman's wide appreciation as being elected as a member in the executive committee of the Jewish Agency (Sohnut) from the creation of the organization in 1929 in Zurich. In his capacity, Filderman elaborated the founding documents and participated in all the general meetings, drafted important documents and was elected as a president of the Romanian branch. In case of need, he supported the general actions of the organization, lending them the support of his prestige, such as in the case of the temporary halting of *aliya* by the British authorities; as a reaction, Filderman drafted a protest letter on behalf of the general assembly of the Jewish Agency and went together with a delegation at the British Embassy in Bucharest in order to demand the resuming of the *aliya* process.

8. The Anatomy of a Conflict II: W. Filderman - A. L. Zissu conflict

More complicated to document is the personal conflict between Wilhelm Filderman and A. L. Zissu. By the time Wilhelm Filderman entered U. E. P. politics in 1913 and even more after WW1, U. E. P. was already a strong organization with a fair representation in the territory, while the Zionist movement was still dispersed into groups often opposing each other, and being obviously in its formative period. By the same time, A. L. Zissu entered the political scene bringing a dynamic approach to the Zionist movement and basically starting an unprecedented process of coagulation.

According to S. Schafferman, the conflict was initiated by the defiant attitude of the young Zionists around *Hatikva* review, together with A. L. Zissu, who criticized U. E. P.'s way of doing politics even before the end of WW1 and suggested their change their ideological direction from the so-called "assimilationism" to the struggle for national revival and reconstruction of the Jewish state. But while W. Filderman supported this ideological direction, he also insisted in continuing to fight for civic and political rights in Diaspora, here conflicting with the Zionists.

Even more punctually, Schafferman believes that the beginning of the divergence between the two politicians was represented by a debate that A. L. Zissu had with W. Filderman concerning the manner in which citizenship should be granted. While A. L. Zissu proposed that citizenship should be granted based on certificates issued by the Jewish

communities, W. Filderman discarded this solution as the communities were still not organized and did not function as legal or moral entities and not all the Jewish population was listed. In exchange, W. Filderman proposed that citizenship to be granted to all Jews living in Romania based on a simple declaration, this solution becoming eventually the basis of the emancipation campaign within the Paris Conference. From then on, all governments consulted U. E. P., namely W. Filderman, for drafting the citizenship legislation until it was granted, thus acknowledging his competence on juridical and communitarian problems on the international level.

The conflict continued, despite moments of practical collaboration, through their respective journals, *Curierul Israelit* as the official journal of U. E. P. / U. E. R. and *Mântuirea* for the Zionist group (after *Mântuirea's* disappearance, the attacks against W. Filderman continued through *Renașterea noastră*) confirming the existence of a tension between U. E. P., and later U. E. R., and the Zionist group.

After identifying the points of divergence and the differences between the two intellectuals, the elements which bring them together and undermine the common perception of their enmity should be found within the common *goal* and within the *manner* employed for accomplishing it; thus, the *common substance* of their public discourse, be it articulated in legal or theological and literary terms, is the Jewish *identity preservation, affirmation and representation* as a common goal, while the manner of fulfilling the task belongs to their specific intellectual trajectories: following the *divine law* commandments, or the *secular law* ordering the life of the people on everyday basis, both forms of *law* being appealed to obsessively and surprisingly in their respective public discourses.

9. Defining Jewish Identity within Modernity

Accused often of “assimilationism”, mostly by voices from the Zionist camp, U. E. R. and, therefore, Wilhelm Filderman expressed on many occasions the manner on defining Jewish identity within the current political and socio-cultural context. Therefore, at this point, it is necessary to understand in which terms both Wilhelm Filderman and A. L. Zissu defined Jewish identity within modernity, nation states and emancipation.

Naturally, the specificity of their formative experiences and intellectual background are to be found in the way they express their approach to Jewish identity; if Wilhelm Filderman pragmatically focuses on political, social and civic terms in an objective manner expressed through wide usage of acknowledged modern concepts such as *minority*, *population*, *nation* and *ethnicity*, A. L. Zissu employs a specifically spiritual approach based on subjective elements coming from within Judaism and communitarian identification. Nevertheless, despite the two opposite ways of perceiving and defining identity, the irreducibility of Jewish identity and thus the impossibility of assimilation are valid in both cases.

Thus, Filderman answers within an interview with the following clarifying terms:

The Jewish population of the country forms, without question, a religious minority because its religion is the religion of a numerical minority, but also an ethnic minority because scientifically the difference in terms of origin between the majority and the Jewish population is beyond any doubt.³⁸

A few years earlier, A. L. Zissu in one article on political representation declared that

Judaism (and implicitly the Community which it represents) may be considered a race, a nation, an idea, a vision of existence, a tragedy, a permanent universal digression, but it is definitely not a religious denomination.³⁹

Apart from the religious idealism of Zissu's approach, his consistent stance on the problem of the impossibility of reducing Judaism to a religious denomination turned into a long-term mission for the ideologist who later wrote *Nu există cult mosaic* in a period when the attempt of reducing the community representation to a mere religious denomination became a threatening option, thus forcing an assimilating approach to the Jewish population. In more pragmatic and political terms, Filderman stresses the religious and ethnic distinctiveness of the Jewish population within Romanian state, therefore pleading, just as Zissu a few years earlier, for preservation of a distinct identity in religious, ethnic and cultural terms.

Such a reduction to elementary structures was necessary as often the "assimilationist" attribute was attached to U. E. P. / U. E. R.'s, respectively

W. Filderman's manner of doing politics. Definitely, such an ideological trend existed, emerging immediately after WW1, but it enjoyed very limited success, being mainly followed by intellectuals and academics and not having a large adherence within the masses. Far from identifying with such political direction, W. Filderman and U. E. R. pleaded for integration within Romanian society, pressing for the necessity of granting equal rights to Jewish population, but also for preserving the national specificity and identity in religious, cultural and ethnic terms. An obvious clarification of the manner in which Filderman understood to distance himself from the "assimilist" accusations appears in one of his speeches when he explained that

...assimilism, if it is perceived as a complete dissolution of a plant, an animal in another environment, it is obviously impossible to be accomplished; but if by assimilation we think of the adaptation of the plant or animal to the surrounding environment, then without any doubt not even Jewish nationalism can not avoid being assimilist as the preservation of the ethnic and national Jewish essence can not exclude the adaptation of the Jewish population to the majority as Jewish people may admire and feel love for the language of the majority without abandoning its own national and ethnic Jewish essence.⁴⁰

Filderman's main fault in the eyes of A. L. Zissu was the fact that, dealing with the state and with its policy, Wilhelm Filderman acted as a lawyer and employed juridical means, treating basically the situation of the Jewish community as a simple legal issue which was supposed to be solved through legal means. For such a religious man as Zissu, such a reduction was unacceptable, justifying this way his accusations of "betraying the Jewish law" while favoring the secular one.

Nevertheless, even for a determined Zionist ideologist such as A. L. Zissu, the absence of the "assimilationist" direction and ideological trend in Romania was obvious, despite the accusations against Filderman and U. E. R., as he declared in one of his articles that "such a thing does not exist within our people, but as a euphemism".⁴¹

10. Two Political Doctrines?

Apart from the common rejection of assimilationism and struggle for identity preservation, the public discourses of the two intellectuals represented the manifestation of two different, basically opposing, political doctrines, therefore often prone to open confrontations on theoretical grounds.

A profoundly religious man and a devoted Zionist, A. L. Zissu was the ideological promoter of *integral Judaism*; starting from the concept of Jewish nationalism, Zissu envisaged that the situation of the Jewish population should be solved according to their status of a *national minority*. In this respect, socio-political issues concerning the status of the Jewish population within the Romanian state, the problem of the citizenship included, interested him only as a means for the Jewish community to preserve its spiritual identity. His radicalism in this matter was obvious and any other solution suggested for the situation of the Jewish minority which did not follow this line was severely criticized and openly opposed by the fierce ideologist; as already mentioned, his major objection to Filderman's manner of doing politics referred obsessively to his "doctrinal sins"⁴² and "betrayal of Jewish law" when appealing to secular and legal norms able to regulate the status of the Romanian population in general, including its Jewish community.

Filderman's political agenda consisted from the beginning of obtaining citizenship rights for the Jewish population in Romania, followed by the organization of the Jewish community as a national minority and by obtaining its cultural and religious autonomy. Indeed, during his mandate as a member of the Parliament on the lists of the National Liberal Party (although the mandate lasted between 1927-1930, he left due to some disagreements after one year, in 1928), Filderman succeeded 1) to receive state funding for the "mosaic cult" (syntagm and definition highly criticized by Zionists due to the assimilationist danger hidden within this manner of approaching the status of the Jewish community reducing it to a mere religious denomination) and 2) to achieve the autonomy of Jewish schools, both important steps towards accomplishing its previously defined objectives.

In this context, it appears that, despite doctrinal tensions and polemical confrontations related to radically opposed perspectives on the needed political action, Filderman reached basically the same goals that also Zissu envisaged, albeit using a different political strategy of negotiation with

the State and its representatives. But, as Filderman and U. E. R.'s legal and political strategy was adapted to the Romanian interwar political conditions and legislation, searching for ways of collaboration and mutual support and breaking the goals into more tangible and accessible objectives to be accomplished step by step, A. L. Zissu stated bluntly from the beginning the final scopes and aimed at reaching it directly and without any potential compromise, without taking into consideration the general hostile socio-political environment of the moment in Romania. Thus, connecting Zissu's ideological claims and Filderman's declarations and public actions, it became obvious that, far from any form of assimilation, both intellectuals shared similar goals, but approached them in different and specific manners, faithful to their political doctrines.

11. Stating Political Goals

In one of his articles on Jewish autonomy and the state interests published in 1919, Wilhelm Filderman declared that

...as we can not stop being Jewish and no one has the right to force us not to be, we want to be authentic Jews. Or, for this it is necessary to freely manifest our national life, freedom which, far from being in conflict with the laws of the country, it addresses to them, asking for warranty and defense. Similar to the way the individual has to act when it is about the recognition of his rights. The poli-ethnic state has no right to refuse this right to its minorities as the sovereignty of the majority was ethically earned based on the same principle which grants to minorities the minor right within the state.⁴³

Faithful to his ideals, Zissu clearly stated, immediately after the realization of Greater Romania and in the new context of a "poli-ethnic state", the need for an equal status for the Jewish minority in relation with the majority group in order to have an *equal affirmation* of the Jewish identity and community, a fair *public representation* and also *preservation* of the identity within the larger context, conditions which were supposed to be necessary to "freely manifest our national life" as being "authentic Jews". The new socio-political context offered new grounds for supporting the "warranty and defense" of the equal rights of individuals, but also of the community, and Zissu adapted his discourse accordingly.

Unlike A. L. Zissu who articulated his discourse on the fact that the Jewish community is not only a minority, but also a *national group*, Wilhelm Filderman employed a more diplomatic language, starting from the fact that the Jewish community represented a *minority group*, but continuing with elements which, summed up, constituted the characters defining Zissu's "nation group". Thus, Filderman stated in one of his interviews in 1934 that

The Jewish population of the country forms (...) a religious minority (...) and an ethnic minority (...). But based on this fact, I do not think that the majority population may deny to the Jewish people its complete equality – or that the minority group may have the right to ask for anything but complete equality – because the state rule offers rights for duties, the origin and religion of its inhabitants should not be legal criteria neither for enjoying the rights, nor for fulfilling the duties.⁴⁴

Therefore, Zissu's concept of nation is recreated in Filderman's statement using instead of the monolithic definition of a nation its defining characteristics in terms of ethnicity and religion; basically, the demands for equal rights, identity protection and preservation remain similar.

Moreover, answering to the incessant accusations of "assimilism", Filderman declared in a debate on the Law of Secondary Education in the Parliament from 1928 that

...as we already clarified that we have a distinct ethnic origin, a religion and tradition of our own, we consider we need to respect and preserve them, because it is just and good, for us and for the general heritage of the whole humanity, for our original being to be preserved further as centuries of civilization shaped it. We have the right and the desire to preserve our traditions, our religion, our customs, our specific aspirations, essentially everything that comes from our independent ethnic being.⁴⁵

Indeed, Zissu contested every time he had the chance the attempts of looking at the Jewish population in Romania as at a "religious minority" as, according to his long and brilliant essay *Nu există cult mosaic*, this type of approach represented an attempt of assimilating the Jewish population by reducing it to a mere religious denomination, while deliberately ignoring the national, ethnic, cultural complexity specific to the group. Although Filderman accepted this political compromise by supporting the "Law for

Religious Denominations”, his actions have to be analyzed in a larger context as he also lobbied for additional laws, documents and decrees stating the rights of the Jewish community also as an ethnic and cultural group entitled to a specific system of education up to a certain level as well as to cultural affirmation, elements which would complete the status of the Jewish community by bringing it closer to Zissu’s initial ideal. Thus, mostly condemned by the Zionist camp, W. Filderman approached a more political and diplomatic discursive and negotiating strategy which brought results and public recognition.

In order to accomplish the similar goals commonly pursued by the two intellectuals, each of them suggested a series of distinct measures and applied a set of divergent actions confirming their individual backgrounds and political strategy.

A. L. Zissu, consistent with his approach to the Jewish community as a national group, suggested from the beginning a collective political representation, distinct within the Romanian state. Thus, his suggestion for the creation of a Jewish Party, its achievement and success confirmed his initial enterprise as

a political organization, central and representative, of the Jewish population from the country – the Jewish party – should: 1) Channel the greatest part of the Jewish votes towards the direction considered most suitable with our interests and prevent the waste of the votes among different political parties (...); 2) Watch so that the rights we earned on paper – and for now only on paper – to be fully applied without restrictions and legal tricks; 3) Watch so that any potential scholarly elaborated decrees or shrewd documents should not be able to diminish or annihilate the national rights granted to the ethnic minorities of Greater Romania, so also we, the Jewish population (...).⁴⁶

On the contrary, Wilhelm Filderman challenged Zissu’s perspective and found an opposite strategy of political representation through alliances with the major parties in power, able to fight also for the demands of the Jewish population in exchange for electoral support. Trying to eliminate any accusations of separatism and, thus, to deconstruct anti-Semitic stereotypes of self-segregation and lack of interest for integration, Filderman attempted the ultimate compromise between identity and representation in political terms by arguing that

...our interests do not differ from the interests of the country; they merge with the general interest of the country. If we have also specific interests which our moral being demands for thousands years, they are not in disagreement with the general interests of the Romanian state, but, on the contrary, in perfect agreement with those interests, as there is no greater danger in the development of Judaism in the Romanian state as it would be in the development of Magyarism, Germanism or Russism, so why placing an obstacle for the Jews only and not also in the other direction.⁴⁷

If Zissu accused Filderman once more of assimilation and betrayal of the Jewish law by assuming this political strategy, Filderman expressed also his fears and doubts in relation with the existence of a Jewish Party as

the creation of a Jewish party would be even more dangerous as it would cast an abyss between the Romanian people and the Jewish population. The isolation was never a good option for creating a rapprochement and mutual understanding. The only means of accomplishing this are the constant manifestation of solidarity of the Jewish population in presenting its demands towards the government and the activity of presenting the Romanian people its own interests through the voice of a Jewish organization of self-defense. In order to demonstrate my thesis I could present you many examples from the country or from abroad.⁴⁸

12. Accomplishing the Goals: Jewish Law versus Secular Law

In his struggle for obtaining equal rights and reaching public representation for the Jewish community in Romania, Wilhelm Filderman adopted always a legal type of discourse which came naturally due to his training and profession. The appeal to the *law*, the secular type, appears obsessively in his public declarations, often invoking the Constitution, the international treaties, the Western models of democracy and political orders as

...to create equal regimes for different minorities, be them minorities of race, language, religion or national minorities. A non-equal regime between minorities would lead naturally to the creation of privileges on the expense of the others and therefore to new struggles and tensions. It would also be against the Constitution which does not allow that the rights granted to some citizens to be refused to some other, all being necessary equal.⁴⁹

A flawless discourse of argumentation, following the logics of the international and national legislation, leads to the natural conclusion of the necessity of granting equality, recognition and representation for the Jewish population as a group within the larger Romanian nation and within the larger context of modernity, emancipation and enlightenment. The line of argumentation comes from the objective sphere and goes towards the specific group targeted, while planning to apply evenly the commonly regulated norms:

Jewish population needs to express its demands. They can be summarized in a single word: equality. Equality de facto and de jure, equality in terms of rights, but also in terms of duties. This and nothing more. But from this demand, all the others are naturally implied as they are nothing else but the application of the principle of equality.⁵⁰

A profoundly religious man, deriving from this source also his political ideology, A. L. Zissu accused Filderman of breaking the Jewish law while accomplishing his political actions and compromises, as he served the community “most of the times (...) breaking the commandments of a dignified authentic Judaism – to the benefit of the Jewish community in the country”.⁵¹ This was such a serious and obsessive accusation against Filderman, that Zissu indirectly returned to it later, in the more specific context caused by their resumed correspondence from 1941, aiming at Filderman’s actions once more.

In a more complex way, A. L. Zissu’s manner of approaching politics and therefore Jewish identity was directly connected to and influenced by his religious thinking. A sophisticated ideologist of Zionism, Zissu based his discourse on religious arguments as

the movement of Jewish rebirth has not only to re-edit national and universal messianism, resuming under new forms the mission of the past; thus Jewish nationalism does not mean only to return to the deeper sources of Judaism and to channel the inner life power of the Jewish people; thus, the desire of returning to Zion does not mean only the creation of natural healthy economic basis for the Jewish work, but also simply the preservation of human culture.⁵²

For him, “Jewish law”, far from turning into an argument while constructing his anti-Filderman discourse, represented the center of

his ideological thinking which he followed consequently. Deciding to give preeminence to religious Zionism and to its ideology and not to the emergence of the civic modern principle of self-determination and equality in rights, A. L. Zissu confirmed once more his lifetime option for the *religious law* able to order also the modern society, while discarding its more recent secular offspring, the legal and social system:

...the Zionist organization, long before the emergence of the new concept of self-determination, being aware of the equity of this principle, imposed, as a necessary task coming immediately after the Basel programme, the organization of the Jewish people for political activity in Diaspora. (...) to accomplish the coalization and reorganization of the Jewish forces with the purpose of recognizing the Jewish nationality and of obtaining the right of legal self-administration in all the matters connected to national life. The seed was initially planted by the Russian Zionists in 1906, immediately after 1905 revolution, but it could not root as many other seeds thrown by the revolted Russian people could not root as this tragic land was waiting for a later bloody fertilization in order for the fruits to ripe now, after the fall of Tsarism. The fact that the new Gospel gave us back the country of which we were tied through thousands of threads which could not be torn during the 19 centuries of separation did not take from us the right to national autonomy in the countries where compact masses of Jewish people live.⁵³

Obviously, for both intellectuals, the *law*, the rules and regulations ordering the society and the world in general, were capital, being heavily used as a leitmotiv, but also as instruments in the public debate and struggle for the common goals. But while A. L. Zissu employed as a constant reference the *religious law*, Wilhelm Filderman adopted *secular law* and thus was severely criticized by the Zionist camp, namely by Zissu and his adepts for “betraying the Jewish law”. If Filderman employed the secular law to demand equality and public representation for the Jewish community from the state, Zissu draws from the Jewish law arguments to ground his Jewish nationalism and integral Judaism when making political objectives, rather than claims. This dichotomy between religious, symbolic law, and its secular, practical counterpart, is extremely significant for the relations between the two intellectuals and it accounts greatly for the debates and polemics generated by their diverging manner of accomplishing their similar goals.

Conclusions

The largely acknowledged adversity and opposition between Wilhelm Filderman and A. L. Zissu was actually based, as I attempted to demonstrate, on issues concerning rather the political strategies employed than the substance represented by common goals and shared final objectives. Starting from an extremely personal letter exchange from 1941, a different insight comes to relatively contradict the conclusions of the historians based on cold historical facts and public documents: that the enmity and adversity between the two intellectuals was rather a long-term tense admiration and distinctiveness caused by an unspoken division of the tasks between the *theorist* and the *practitioner*, a relationship which was anytime able to be transformed into cooperation as shared goals were always acknowledged. Theoretical instruments able to better structure my empirical line of arguments were the concept of “narcissism of minor differences” stressing on the shared values undermining the apparent conflict, while the leitmotif of *law* was employed in order to separate in more obvious categories the levels of opposition between the two intellectuals such as religion, symbolized by Zissu’s favorite syntagm of “Jewish law”, and politics, reasoned through the secular legal system and constitutionalism, highly credited by W. Filderman. Aiming to challenge the general perception on the enmity between A. L. Zissu and W. Filderman, the current article planned also to bring new insights within the complex political life of the Jewish community during the interwar period.

NOTES

- ¹ Michael Ignatieff, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences" in *The Warrior's Honor – Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*, 1999, p. 47.
- ² Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1930, p. 114.
- ³ Sigmund Freud, *The Taboo of Virginity*, 1918, p. 199.
- ⁴ Claudia Ursuțiu, *Senatori și deputați evrei în Parlamentul României (1919-1931)*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, pp. 35-36.
- ⁵ S. Schafferman, *Dr. W. Filderman. 50 de ani din istoria judaismului român*, Tel Aviv, 1986, p. 129.
- ⁶ Wilhelm Filderman, *Memoirs and Diaries. 1900-1940*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Ancel, The Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University and Yad Vashem Jerusalem, 2004.
- ⁷ Leon Volovici, "Romanian Jewish Intellectuals after World War I: Social and Cultural Trends" in *Shvut. Jewish problems in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, no 16/1993, Tel Aviv University, p. 319.
- ⁸ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ⁹ W. Filderman, *Letter to A. L. Zissu*, 4.10.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁰ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹¹ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹² Often, A. L. Zissu criticized the politics of U. E. R. and Filderman's as being "asimilist" in relation to the demands of the state of the majority, thus sacrificing the Jewish identity and representation.
- ¹³ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁴ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁵ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁶ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁷ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁸ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- ¹⁹ A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.

- 20 "It is correct: I am your political opponent; *the* political opponent. But this does not cloud my conscience. On the contrary: it makes me more objective and serene than the others – than the 'friends', the clowns and the opportunists surrounding you" in A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 21 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 22 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 23 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 24 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 25 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 26 W. Filderman was not a Zionist, but not an anti-Zionist either, and had no problem in supporting Zionism in some of its actions, although ideologically he disagreed with the Zionist doctrine. Moreover, he was the leader of Romanian branches of a few Zionist international organizations and supported their enterprises in his discourses and campaigns.
- 27 W. Filderman, *Letter to A. L. Zissu*, 4.10.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 28 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 29 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 30 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 31 Wilhelm Filderman, "Discursul prilejuit de alegerile din 1922" published in *Curierul israelit* on 5.03.1922, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol. 2, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, p. 24.
- 32 Wilhelm Filderman, *Memoirs and Diaries. 1900-1940*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Ancel, The Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University and Yad Vashem Jerusalem, 2004, p. 75.
- 33 Wilhelm Filderman, *Adevărul asupra problemei evreești din România în lumina textelor religioase și a statistice: urmate de listele nominale ale ostașilor evrei morți, răniți, prizonieri, dispăruți și decorați în războiul pentru întregirea României*, Tipografia Triumful, București, 1925.
- 34 Wilhelm Filderman was the president of U. E. R. (Union of Romanian Jews) form 1923 (its creation after the Great Unification in 1918 as a reorganization of former U. E. P., Union of Indigenous Jews) to 1947 (the dissolution of the organization due to the change of the regime).

- 35 A. L. Zissu, *Nu există cult mosaic*, Editura Socec & Co., S. A. R., București, 1947, pp. 98-99.
- 36 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941., Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 37 Such works are *Pro domo mea: rectificări, autobiografie* (1937) and his *Memoirs and Diaries* recently published in Israel (2004, 1st volume).
- 38 Wilhelm Filderman, Declaration published on 28.11.1934 in *Curierul israelit*, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol. 2, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, p. 45.
- 39 Abraham Leib Zissu, "Contra reprezentării profesionale. Interview" published on 10.07.1926, collected later in volume *Noi... Breviar Judaic*, Editura Adam, București, 1932, p. 218.
- 40 Wilhelm Filderman, *Discursul D-lui Dr. W. Filderman, Președintele UER, rostit în Congresul Uniunii din 18, 19 și 20 februarie 1923*, Atelierele "Adeverul", 1923, p. 23.
- 41 A. L. Zissu, "Clubul Parlamentar și Partidul Național Evreesc. Răspuns la o anchetă" published on 17.06.1920, collected later in volume *Noi... Breviar Judaic*, Editura Adam, București, 1932, p. 234-5.
- 42 A. L. Zissu accused W. Filderman of "your doctrinal and conceptual sins; apart from a lack of political faith, meaning apart from acknowledging your spiritual amateurism in political life" in *Letter to W. Filderman*, 4.12.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 43 Abraham Leib Zissu, "Autonomia evreiască și interesele de stat" published on 13.07.1919, collected later in volume *Noi... Breviar Judaic*, Editura Adam, București, 1932, p. 84.
- 44 Wilhelm Filderman, Declaration published on 28.11.1934 in *Curierul israelit*, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol. 2, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, p. 45.
- 45 W. Filderman, Intervention in the meeting of 20.03.1928 for discussing the Law of Secondary Education in the Parliament (night session), published in *Monitorul Oficial*, no.82 / 7.06.1928, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol. 1, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, p. 514.
- 46 Abraham Leib Zissu, "Partidul evreesc... Pentru *Îndreptarea*" published on 11.01.1920, collected later in volume *Noi... Breviar Judaic*, Editura Adam, București, 1932, pp. 101-102.
- 47 W. Filderman, *Discursul D-lui Dr. W. Filderman, Președintele UER, rostit în Congresul Uniunii din 18, 19 și 20 februarie 1923*, Atelierele "Adeverul", 1923, p. 19.

- 48 W. Filderman, Declaration published on 28.11.1934 in *Curierul israelit*, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol. 2, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, p. 46.
- 49 W. Filderman, "Memoriul Reprezentanței U. E. R. în problema învățământului particular" published in *Curierul israelit* on 12.12.1925, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol 1, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, p. 246.
- 50 W. Filderman, Declaration published on 28.11.1934 in *Curierul israelit*, collected later in volume *Un avocat al etniei sale. Un avocat al cauzei naționale a României*, vol. 2, Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, București, 2000, pp. 45-6.
- 51 A. L. Zissu, *Letter to W. Filderman*, 25.09.1941, Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 52 Abraham Leib Zissu, "Naționalismul evreesc" published on 14.09.1924, collected later in volume *Noi... Breviar Judaic*, Editura Adam, București, 1932, p. 238.
- 53 Abraham Leib Zissu, "Emanciparea reală" published on 24.01.1919, collected later in volume *Noi... Breviar Judaic*, Editura Adam, București, 1932, pp. 208-9.

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LA LUSTRATION EN EUROPE CENTRALE QUELLES NARRATIONS SUR LE PASSÉ COMMUNISTE ?

Introduction

Après la chute des régimes dictatoriaux, les lois qui réglementent le rapport avec le passé dictatorial sont des éléments importants dans la construction de la mémoire collective visant l'ancien régime et son caractère répressif¹. Les différentes mesures de justice de transition, telles les procès pénaux intentés aux anciens responsables politiques, les lois d'épuration, la réhabilitation des victimes, la restitution des propriétés, ou bien les commissions de vérité et réconciliation, constituent les résultats et les symboles légaux d'une réflexion sur le passé² et elles ont la capacité de forger des récits historiques sur la violence d'Etat perpétrée par le régime non-démocratique antérieur. Mises en place dans le double but de rendre justice et de consolider le nouvel ordre démocratique, ces mesures sont également censées tirer une ligne de discontinuité au niveau de la narration historique sur l'ancien régime³. Par leurs motivations, leurs contenus et leurs résultats, les lois qui légifèrent la justice de transition contribuent à la réécriture de l'histoire du passé dictatorial⁴. Elles ont le pouvoir de condamner le passé et ses injustices et de créer ainsi le nouvel univers symbolique de la société en transition. Elles sont donc porteuses d'une lecture « officielle et normative » sur les événements historiques et contribuent à fixer les cadres de la mémoire nationale⁵.

En Europe de l'Est, le plus grand symbole de la répression totalitaire a été l'appareil de la police politique et ses méthodes de surveillance. Vu l'ampleur du contrôle exercé par les services secrets communistes sur la population, à l'entremise d'un vaste réseau d'informateurs, tout comme le secret qui entourait les opérations et l'identité des collaborateurs de ces services, la mesure de justice de transition la plus utilisée dans l'après-

communisme a été la *déconspiration*⁶ de l'ancienne police politique, connue également sous le nom de lustration⁷. Si les procès pénaux intentés aux responsables communistes ont été rares, si des commissions historiques n'ont été établies que dans les Pays Baltes, en Allemagne et en Roumanie, jusqu'en 2000, tous les pays de la région ont voté des lois de lustration, afin de rendre publics les noms des personnes impliquées dans la violation des droits de l'homme.

Partout en Europe de l'Est, l'un des arguments principaux⁸ pour l'adoption de ces lois a été le besoin de connaître l'histoire, de clarifier le passé communiste et surtout la responsabilité pour la violence d'Etat. En nommant des catégories responsables pour la répression, en rendant publiques les listes nominales des agents et collaborateurs de la police politique et l'histoire de leur participation à la violation des droits de l'homme, ces lois auraient été censées fournir un récit éclaircissant sur le fonctionnement et la hiérarchie décisionnelle des appareils répressifs communistes.

Ainsi, en Tchécoslovaquie, 14% des parlementaires qui votent pour l'adoption de la loi de lustration de 1991 le font au nom du droit de la population d'apprendre la « vérité » sur le passé et sur les responsables des crimes et des abus politiques⁹. « Avant pardonner, nous devons savoir quel mal nous pardonnons et qui l'a commis » – voici l'argument des avocats de la *déconspiration*, qui réclament l'exposition du personnel de la police politique¹⁰. En 2002, lors de la promulgation de la loi qui légifère l'ouverture complète des archives et la *déconspiration* de tous les agents et les collaborateurs de la StB, le Président tchèque Vaclav Havel déclare qu'en comparaison avec l'accès à la l'histoire du passé qu'une telle loi offre au public, tout autre argument contraire à son adoption manque de signification¹¹. En Roumanie, les arguments en faveur de la lustration évoquent, entre autre, la nécessité de rendre public le rôle « dévastateur de la police politique sur la société roumaine », dont le résultat avait été la destruction de millions de vies¹². Dans la vision des avocats de la *déconspiration* roumaine, connaître la « vérité » sur l'appareil de la Securitate et ses actions répressives constitue un moyen de comprendre le fonctionnement du régime communiste, de désigner les coupables des crimes et des abus politiques et de restaurer la dignité des victimes¹³. De même, l'accès des citoyens au dossier personnel établi par la Securitate constitue un moyen d'apprendre si, et comment, les vies des Roumains ont été influencées par la politique de l'Etat communiste et de favoriser l'émergence d'une réflexion et d'un débat public sur le passé¹⁴. Les projets

de lois proposés en Hongrie évoquent à leur tour le besoin de promouvoir la transparence sur l'activité de l'ancienne police politique et de son personnel et de permettre aux citoyens de connaître la « vérité » que l'on retrouve dans les archives¹⁵.

L'adoption des lois de lustration repose donc, entre autre, sur une fonction épistémique que cette mesure de justice de transition est censée remplir. Mais comment précisément ces lois sont créatrices de narrations sur le passé ? Premièrement, tout acte de lustration fait référence à des catégories de positions détenues sous l'ancien régime, dont les occupants doivent être exposés publiquement et auxquels est éventuellement défendu l'accès aux fonctions publiques dans le nouveau régime. Ces catégories mentionnées par la loi sont implicitement désignées comme responsables pour la violation des droits de l'homme durant la période communiste¹⁶. La lustration officialise donc, par un texte législatif, le locus de la responsabilité. Elle accuse certaines catégories d'individus et exonère d'autres, par leur inclusion ou leur exclusion dans le texte de la loi. A partir de cette définition des groupes responsables, la lustration interroge différentes archives et elle procède à un découpage propre dans l'univers des faits et des documents possibles¹⁷. La loi sélectionne certaines parties du passé, qu'elle met en relation avec le présent et le futur qu'elle veut construire, et contribue à une synthèse de l'identité présente de *nous* en opposition avec l'identité passé ou présente d'*eux*¹⁸.

Deuxièmement, en fonction de la procédure décidée, la lustration permet, dans un degré plus ou moins important, la révélation du rôle joué par différentes personnes dans le système répressif ou au sein des réseaux informatifs des anciennes polices politiques. La lustration d'un tel ou tel individu, sa *déconspiration* en tant qu'agent ou collaborateur des services secrets communistes peuvent être accompagnées par la publication de l'histoire des relations entretenues avec la police politique. L'opinion publique reçoit ainsi une narration « officielle » sur la participation de différentes personnes aux actes de violation des droits de l'homme, une narration qui relatent les faits, indiquent les causes et les effets et attribuent des responsabilités. Par la publication de cette histoire et des documents qui l'attestent, la lustration devient un procédé de construction narrative, comprise comme mise en récit de la responsabilité pour la répression communiste.

Cet article analyse les narrations sur le passé communiste produites par les lois de lustration adoptées après 1989 en Roumanie, en Hongrie et en République Tchèque, s'interrogeant sur la façon dont cette mesure

de justice de transition remplit une fonction épistémique. Quels récits sur la responsabilité dans le régime communiste créent les processus de lustration dans les trois pays ? Quelles catégories de positions occupées sous l'ancien régime sont désignées responsables pour la violation des droits de l'homme ? Qu'est-ce que ces lois permettent au public d'apprendre sur la violence d'Etat perpétrée sous l'ancien régime ? Quelle est la relation entre l'adoption de ces lois et l'écriture de l'histoire ?

L'article examine le cadre législatif qui règlemente la lustration dans les trois pays et les résultats produits entre 1990 et 2010. Il est structuré en trois parties. La première présente un bref historique du régime communiste et de sa police politique en Hongrie, en Tchécoslovaquie et en Roumanie. La deuxième explore les processus de lustration mis en place dans les trois pays. Les textes législatifs, les procédures d'application et les résultats sont examinés du point de vue des récits historiques qu'ils produisent sur la responsabilité en régime communiste. La troisième partie analyse les narrations sur le passé créées par les lois de lustration et s'interroge sur la capacité et les limites de la fonction épistémique de cette mesure de justice de transition.

Les régimes communistes et leurs polices politiques

L'histoire des régimes communistes de l'Europe de l'Est est intrinsèquement liée à leurs appareils répressifs et à leurs polices politiques. Malgré les différentes étapes que ces régimes ont connues, avec différents degrés de tolérance à l'égard de l'opposition, avec différents degrés de légitimité ou de libéralisation, les systèmes de type soviétique ont toujours reposé sur l'activité de plusieurs institutions répressives (armée, milice, procureure etc.)¹⁹, dont la plus importante la police secrète : l'AVO et plus tard l'AHV en Hongrie, la StB en Tchécoslovaquie et la Securitate en Roumanie. Dans tous ces pays, la police politique fonctionne sous la coordination du Parti communiste, qui approuve sa structure, ses méthodes et la sélection de son personnel et indique les victimes de la répression. Si dans les années 1950 et le début des années 1960 la violence de masse est employée comme principal moyen d'élimination des opposants politiques et de prévention de la dissidence, à partir de la fin des années 1960, les méthodes changent. La violence ouverte n'est plus utilisée que dans des cas extrêmes, étant remplacée par un système de surveillance généralisée de larges catégories de la population. Ces nouvelles méthodes reposent

sur le fonctionnement d'un réseau secret de collaborateurs de la police politique, qui informent les autorités sur l'activité des potentiels opposants du régime. Il est coordonné par des officiers de l'appareil de sécurité, qui recrutent les collaborateurs et assurent leur préparation, suivant les procédures approuvées par le Parti communiste.

En Hongrie, un pays avec une population d'environ dix millions d'habitants, le nombre des personnes condamnées pour des raisons politiques entre 1946 et 1956 est estimé à 42.679²⁰ auquel s'ajoute 26.621 convictions pour la participation à la Révolution de 1956²¹. Après l'intervention soviétique à Budapest, la violence d'Etat est diminuée graduellement et le régime communiste hongrois devient à partir des années 1960 le moins répressif de la région. Le « goulasch communisme » de Janos Kadar signifie libéralisation économique et politique, élections à plusieurs candidats, cooptation importante des technocrates et des intellectuels au sein de l'appareil d'Etat, réformisme à l'intérieur du Parti et, à la fin des années 1980, tolérance à l'égard des groupes opposants. Tous ces aspects débouchent en 1989 à une transition négociée et non-violente vers le pluripartisme et le libéralisme économique.

Malgré cette détente du régime communiste hongrois, la police politique continue à jouer son rôle, sans atteindre pourtant l'ampleur du système de surveillance mis en place dans les autres pays de l'Europe de l'Est. Jusqu'en 1989, l'AHV fonctionne en tant que département numéro III du Ministère de l'Intérieur et elle est structurée en cinq divisions²² : Division I – opération internes ; Division II – contrespionnage ; Division III – prévention de la réaction ; Division IV – espionnage et contrespionnage militaire ; et Division V – support technique²³. En 1989, le personnel de l'AHV compte environ 5.000 officiers et 10.000 collaborateurs, tandis que le nombre total des collaborateurs de la police politique recrutés entre 1946 et 1989 est estimé à 200.000²⁴.

Entre 1948 et 1989, en Tchécoslovaquie, un pays avec une population de 15 millions d'habitants, 262.500 personnes ont été incarcérées pour des raisons politiques, 234 ont été exécutées et 4.000 sont mortes suite à la torture ou à l'affamement²⁵. La période de « normalisation » qui suit à l'invasion de 1968 dure 20 ans et constitue l'un des plus répressifs régimes communistes de la région. Plus de 150.000 tchèques et slovaques s'exilent à l'étranger, 500.000 personnes sont exclues du Parti communiste et ceux qui continuent leurs protestations contre l'invasion perdent leurs emplois et sont marginalisés dans la vie sociale. Les protestations du mouvement civique la Charte 77 sont suivies à leur tour de répressions

contre les dissidents politiques, dont la plupart sont des Tchèques. Les élites communistes, peu perméables à la réforme, maintiennent un régime rigide et, en 1989, elles assistent à l'implosion du système, sans aboutir à déployer des négociations avec leurs opposants.

A partir des années 1970, la StB est organisée en six départements principaux : Département I – espionnage ; Département II – contrespionnage ; Département III – contrespionnage militaire ; Département IV – Surveillance ; Département V – Protection des officiels du Parti ; Département VI – support technique pour espionnage. La Stb compte également une division d'archives et une division d'encryptage. Au sein du Ministère de l'Intérieur fonctionne également un département d'Investigation qui coopère étroitement avec la StB dans le but de prévenir les actes d'opposition contre le régime communiste²⁶. A la fin des années 1980, la police secrète tchécoslovaque compte environ 9.000 officiers²⁷ et 29.192 collaborateurs pour une population de 15 millions d'habitants²⁸.

Le régime communiste roumain est à tour connu pour son caractère répressif et l'ampleur des opérations de surveillance menées par la police politique. Consolidé dans les années 1950 par des méthodes brutales d'élimination des adversaires politiques, le communisme roumain repose dans les premières deux décennies sur un système policier qui utilise ouvertement la violence contre ses opposants. La brève période de libéralisation qui suit l'arrivée au pouvoir de Nicolae Ceausescu en 1965 attire le soutien de nombreux intellectuels roumains, mais elle prend fin en 1971, dans la première moitié des années 1970. Les efforts d'améliorer l'image de la Roumanie sur le plan international impliquent l'abandon des mesures de terreur appliquées jusqu'en 1964 ou leur dissimulation devant l'opinion publique. Malgré la légalité que le régime veut prouver à ses citoyens et à la communauté internationale, les pratiques violentes continuent jusqu'en 1989, sans égaler pourtant les excès de l'époque Gheorghiu Dej. Le système de surveillance de la population demeure l'un des plus amples et des plus organisés de la région. Réticentes devant les réformes politiques et économiques engendrées par Gorbatchev en 1987, les élites communistes roumaines proches de Ceausescu perdent leur légitimité, s'avèrent incapables de toute ouverture et interviennent violemment contre les manifestations populaires éclatées en décembre 1989. Le nombre de victimes du communisme roumain est estimé entre 300.000 et 500.000 sur une population de 20 millions d'habitants²⁹.

En Roumanie, à la fin des années 1980, la Securitate est structurée en six directions et huit unités spéciales³⁰ : Direction I – informations internes ; Direction II – contrespionnage économique ; Direction III – contre-informations ; Direction IV – contrespionnage militaire ; Direction V – Protection des officiels du Parti ; Direction VI – investigations pénales. Parmi les unités spéciales, nous mentionnons : protection des secrets d’Etat, désinformation, informatique et documentation, enseignement et mobilisation etc.³¹. En 1989, la Securitate compte 11.114 officiers et 3.179 sous-officiers et 144.289 collaborateurs actifs pour une population de 21 millions d’habitants³². Le nombre total des collaborateurs recrutés à travers la période 1945 – 1989 est estimé entre 600.000 et 700.000³³.

La répression en régime communiste n’est pas seulement le résultat des opérations de la police politique. Elle implique l’activité de plusieurs appareils qui se trouvent, malgré leur apparente indépendance sous la coordination du Parti unique : l’armée, la milice, la procureure etc. De même, les services secrets communistes n’ont pas seulement le rôle de surveiller la population ou de prévenir et réprimer les mouvements dissidents, mais ils ont également en charge la coordination des activités de contrespionnage externe politique, économique ou militaire, opérations exercées par tout service secret. Officiellement, l’organisation des structures de sécurité communistes fait une différence claire entre le rôle et l’activité de différents départements de la police secrète (comme présenté plus haut). De ce point de vue, les divisions considérées les plus actives dans le domaine de la répression sont celles en charge avec les affaires internes : la division III de l’AHV en Hongrie, les départements I et IV et le département d’Investigations en Tchécoslovaquie, et les directions I et VI en Roumanie.

Cette délimitation officielle est pourtant contestée par les historiens des polices politiques communistes qui montrent la difficulté de faire une distinction nette entre les buts et les activités de différents départements des services secrets. Ainsi, de nombreux documents prouvent, par exemple, dans le cas roumain, l’implication de la direction de contrespionnage économique dans les représailles contre les ouvriers protestataires de Brasov en 1987, ou bien l’implication de la direction de contrespionnage externe dans plusieurs attentats organisés contre les opposants roumains de l’exil³⁴. En Hongrie, les experts de l’histoire de l’AVO montrent que les ordres visant l’activité de police politique étaient donnés à l’ensemble des départements et non pas seulement à la division III. Les exemples sont multiples dans tous les pays de l’Est et ils indiquent une interdépendance

entre toutes les structures des polices secrètes, tout comme un parcours fléché de leurs cadres³⁵.

Transformation des polices politiques après 1989

Après 1989, la chute du régime communiste implique également la réforme des services secrets. Cette transformation diffère d'un pays à l'autre et reflète différents degrés de rupture avec le passé.

En Hongrie, la plupart des départements de l'AHV, leur personnel y compris, sont intégrés dans les nouvelles structures de sécurité (l'Office National de Sécurité – en charge avec les opérations externes et le Service National de Sécurité – responsable avec la défense de l'intérêt national sur le territoire hongrois) ou continuent à fonctionner au sein du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Seule, la division III/III est déclarée inconstitutionnelle en 1991, suite à un scandale éclaté en 1990 et qui avait prouvé la continuation, dans l'après-communisme, des opérations de surveillance menées par ce département de l'AHV³⁶. Les employés de la division III/III sont réorientés vers des postes au sein de différentes institutions de l'Etat postcommuniste. En 1999, la Cour Constitutionnelle réitère l'inconstitutionnalité de la division III de l'AHV, considérant qu'elle avait été créée dans le but d'assurer la domination du Parti-Etat. Quant aux autres départements de l'ancienne police politique, la Cour affirme qu'ils n'avaient pas agi contrairement à l'Etat de droit³⁷. La réforme des services secrets communistes se résume donc en Hongrie à la dissolution de la division III de l'AHV, tous les autres départements et presque l'ensemble du personnel de l'ancienne police politique continuant leur activité au sein du Ministère de l'Intérieur ou des nouvelles structures de sécurité. Cette transformation reflète une rupture mineure avec le passé communiste, la division III représentant le bouc émissaire d'une réforme minimale de l'ancienne police politique, fait qui peut être explicable par la nature peu répressive du communisme hongrois.

En Tchécoslovaquie, sous la pression de l'opinion publique, le nouveau ministre de l'Intérieur, Richard Sacher, décide en février 1990 la dissolution de certaines sections opératives de la StB et du département d'Investigation, annule le schéma organisationnel de l'ancienne police politique et met les bases d'un nouveau service d'information³⁸. En septembre 1990 d'autres départements, dont la division I – espionnage, sont démantelés. Au total, plus de la moitié du personnel de la StB, environ 7.700 employés, sont

provisoirement destitués ou prennent la retraite anticipée en 1990. Le reste, d'environ 1.500, est intégré dans différentes structures du Ministère de l'Intérieur, dont la plus importante, la police. Certains officiers destitués en 1990 seront réemployés. A partir de 1992, les personnes occupant des postes de direction dans les nouveaux services secrets, dans le Ministère de l'Intérieur et dans la police sont soumis à des procédures de vérification quant à leurs actes de violation des droits de l'homme menés au sein de la police politique communiste³⁹. Dans la première moitié des années 1990, environ 2.500 officiers de la StB travaillent encore dans les services secrets ou dans la police postcommuniste⁴⁰. Cette réforme, qui reflète une plus grande rupture avec l'ancien régime que le cas hongrois, sera appliquée surtout en République Tchèque et beaucoup moins en Slovaquie, caractérisée tout au long des années 1990 par la continuité des structures et des élites communistes.

La réforme roumaine de la police politique ressemble beaucoup, dans son minimalisme, à celle hongroise, avec la grande différence que la question de l'inconstitutionnalité de la Securitate n'est jamais posée. En décembre 1989, la Securitate est officiellement démantelée et son personnel intégré dans les structures du Ministère de la Défense⁴¹. Certains officiers impliqués dans les représailles de décembre 1989 sont jugés et condamnés au début des années 1990⁴², d'autres sont mis en réserve, mais la grande majorité des employés de la Securitate continuera son activité dans les nouveaux services secrets (le Service Roumain d'Information et le Service d'Information Externes – créés en 199à), dans le Ministère de l'Intérieur ou dans l'Armée⁴³.

Les lois de lustration : catégories responsables, procédures et résultats

Après la chute du régime communiste, des lois de lustration sont adoptées en Tchécoslovaquie en 1991, en Hongrie en 1994⁴⁴ et en Roumanie en 1999. Elles visent premièrement la vérification du passé communiste et l'appartenance à différentes structures de l'ancien Parti unique ou aux services secrets des personnes qui occupent certaines positions politiques, administratives ou judiciaires dans l'Etat postcommuniste⁴⁵. La lustration s'occupe donc principalement avec l'investigation du passé de nouvelles élites. En Tchécoslovaquie, elle implique le renvoi de leurs postes publics de tous ceux pour lesquels la vérification s'avère positive, tandis qu'en

Hongrie et en Roumanie la loi stipule seulement l'exposition publique de ces personnes, sans qu'une punition leur soit appliquée. Deuxièmement, la lustration vise également, surtout en Roumanie et en République Tchèque, la *déconspiration* des agents et des collaborateurs de l'ancienne police politique, bien que ceux-ci occupent ou non des fonctions au sein de l'Etat postcommuniste (voir *infra* les procédures). Cette version étendue, qui va au-delà de la vérification des personnes publiques, est censée fournir des données qui aident à la reconstitution du personnel impliqué dans la violation des droits de l'homme. Votée initialement pour une période déterminée, la lustration est prolongée par la suite dans les trois pays⁴⁶. En Hongrie elle s'applique jusqu'en 2008, alors qu'en Roumanie et en République Tchèque elle est toujours en vigueur au moment de l'écriture de cet article (juillet 2011).

La vision sur les catégories responsables : minimalisme hongrois, maximalisme tchèque et ambigüité roumaine

Comme nous l'avons vu, les lois de lustration sont créatrices de narrations sur le passé tout d'abord par la désignation du locus de la responsabilité, fixé dans différentes catégories de positions de l'ancien régime, dont les occupants doivent être exposés publiquement dans l'après-communisme.

La loi hongroise de lustration fait référence, d'une part, à tous les membres de l'ancien Parti nazi hongrois (Les Croix Fléchées) et, d'autre part, à trois catégories de positions détenues sous le régime communiste⁴⁷. La première comprend les officiers et les collaborateurs du département III de l'AHV et de ses prédécesseurs. La collaboration est établie à partir de plusieurs types de preuves, deux étant obligatoirement nécessaires afin de démontrer la qualité de collaborateur : accord signé avec ou rapports écrits pour la police politique, ou commissions, bonus, ou bénéfices reçus suite aux activités déroulées au sein du département III de l'AHV. Le contenu des notes informatives ou le contexte de la signature de l'accord ne sont pas analysés, l'existence seule de ces documents suffisant pour établir la collaboration. La deuxième catégorie inclut les personnes ayant servi l'appareil de sécurité et les forces armées durant la répression de la Révolution de 1956. La troisième catégorie vise les personnes qui avaient détenu des fonctions politiques ou gouvernementales et qui avaient utilisé dans leurs décisions des informations produites par le département III de

l'AHV. Elle peut inclure donc des leaders du Parti communiste et des membres du gouvernement, à condition que des preuves écrites indiquent qu'ils avaient fait usage des documents tenant de la police politique.

L'acte normatif hongrois limite donc la responsabilité pour la répression communiste à ceux ayant réprimé la Révolution de 1956 et ceux liés aux activités du département III de l'AHV. Il exonère par conséquent la direction du Parti communiste, malgré son contrôle systématique sur l'AHV, et tous les autres départements de la police politique. Cette narration donne l'impression que la division III représentait une sorte d'État en État, sans commandement supérieur et sans aucune liaison directe avec les autres institutions répressives. La référence exclusive de la lustration à la division III sera d'ailleurs considérée comme la seule solution légale par la Cour Constitutionnelle hongroise qui, en 1999, déclare qu'uniquement ce département de l'AHV avait été créé dans le but de perpétuer la domination du Parti communiste. Selon la Cour, les autres sections de la police secrète n'avaient pas agi dans des buts répressifs et contraires à l'état de droit, les informations visant leur activité n'étant donc pas d'intérêt public⁴⁸.

En République Tchèque, la lustration évoque la responsabilité des catégories plus larges et plus diversifiées. Elle vise tout d'abord l'ensemble des officiers et les collaborateurs de la StB, quel que soit le département où ils activaient. A elle seule, l'une des preuves suivantes suffit pour établir la qualité de collaborateur : la simple mention du nom dans les registres ou les dossiers de la StB, l'existence d'un accord signé ou d'un rapport écrit, la preuve d'une rémunération ou d'un bénéfice reçu de la part de la police secrète. La nature de la collaboration ou le contenu des rapports ne sont pas analysés, ne jouant aucun rôle dans la prise des décisions des comités de lustration. La loi comprend également la direction du Parti communiste au niveau fédéral, national et régional (sauf ceux qui avaient détenu ces positions entre janvier 1968 mai 1969), les membres des milices populaires qui avaient participé à la répression du Printemps de Prague, et toute personne ayant suivi une école de la KGB ou ayant enseigné dans une telle école pour une période de plus de trois mois⁴⁹.

Ainsi, par rapport à la loi hongroise, le projet tchèque de lustration élargit les catégories de positions responsables pour la répression communiste. Si en Hongrie, seul le département III de l'AHV est considéré comme contraire à l'état de droit, en République Tchèque toutes les branches de la StB sont perçues comme ayant eu des buts répressifs et mené des actes de violation des droits de l'homme. L'idée que la police politique avait

également rempli des fonctions de défense de l'intérêt et de la sécurité nationales n'est pas admise en République Tchèque, ce qui fait une grande différence par rapport au cas hongrois et au cas roumain. De même, par l'inclusion de la direction du Parti communiste, la loi tchèque s'attaque à l'institution qui avait joué le rôle le plus important dans la perpétuation du régime. L'intégration des professeurs et des étudiants des écoles de la KGB pointe vers la responsabilité des collaborateurs des services secrets de l'URSS et des individus formés dans la moule idéologique soviétique. Ce fait qui s'explique par la forte culpabilité attribuée par les Tchèques aux soviétiques pour l'instauration du régime et surtout pour l'invasion de Prague de 1968. La qualité de collaborateur de la police politique a, à son tour, une définition maximaliste en République Tchèque, toute liaison avec la StB étant condamnable et perçue comme un soutien aux intérêts et aux méthodes répressives de l'ancien régime. De ce point de vue, une seule preuve est nécessaire pour établir la collaboration, par rapport à deux preuves exigées par la loi hongroise.

Les lois de lustration tchèque et hongroise se rapprochent toutefois en se qui concerne l'absence de tout intérêt accordé à la nature et au contexte de la collaboration. Le manque d'analyse sur ces aspects élimine de la narration créée sur le passé la subtilité et la diversité des relations de collaboration construites à travers le temps entre les individus et la police politique. Dans le cas tchèque, cela donnera naissance à de nombreuses fausses accusations, démontrant le caractère abusif de la loi (voir *infra* les résultats).

La lustration roumaine fait référence aux officiers et aux collaborateurs⁵⁰ de la police politique, tout comme aux personnes ayant pris des décisions sur le fonctionnement de la police politique ou d'autres structures répressives⁵¹. Jusqu'en 2006, la narration sur la responsabilité pour la répression communiste s'avère ambiguë, compte tenu que le texte de loi définit la police politique comme : « les structures de la Securitate créées pour l'instauration et le maintien du pouvoir totalitaire et pour la suppression des droits de l'homme », et non pas comme l'ensemble des départements de la Securitate, comme dans le cas tchèque, ou un département spécifique, comme dans le cas hongrois. Cette définition est problématique dans le sens où elle n'indique pas exactement quelles sont les structures créées pour le maintien de l'Etat totalitaire et quelles sont les structures créées dans un autre but. Elle laisse ainsi à l'appréciation du CNSAS de faire la différence. Après l'adoption de la loi, le flou de la formule « police politique » produira les conflits d'interprétation entre les

membres du Collège du CNSAS, bloquant l'activité du Conseil (voir *infra* les résultats)⁵². Suite à ces controverses, le gouvernement modifie la loi en 2006, remplaçant la définition du syntagme « police politique » en tant que « structures » avec la formule « violation de droit de l'homme ». Ainsi, à partir de 2006, le CNSAS est censé « déconspirer » tous les agents et les informateurs dont les actions ont favorisé la violation des droits de l'homme⁵³.

Par rapport aux lois hongroise et tchèque, la loi roumaine implique l'analyse du contenu des documents et, par conséquence, de la nature de la collaboration ou de l'activité au sein de la Securitate. Tout en indiquant des catégories responsables, telles officier, collaborateur ou bien personne à pouvoir décisionnel sur le fonctionnement des structures répressives, la loi roumaine est censée examiner l'activité effective de chaque individu et son implication dans la répression. Ce qui compte tout d'abord est la preuve d'avoir favorisé l'atteinte aux droits fondamentaux et non pas l'adhésion formelle à la Securitate. De ce point de vue, le texte de la loi roumaine de lustration favorise l'émergence d'une narration sur la responsabilité individuelle plus nuancée que les définitions mécanicistes hongroise et tchèque, mais elle suppose également un plus grand degré d'arbitraire de la décision, vu l'interprétation des documents que les membres du Collège du CNSAS doivent effectuer. Cet arbitraire peut servir à l'instrumentalisation politique du passé dans le contexte où les membres du Collège du CNSAS sont nommés par les partis parlementaires.

Les procédures : occultation hongroise, transparence tchèque et ouverture mitigée roumaine

La procédure d'application de la lustration constitue à son tour un facteur important dans la production du récit sur le passé. En fonction du degré de transparence de la prise des décisions et surtout en fonction de la publication ou la non-publication des documents justificatifs sur lesquels repose la lustration, le récit devient plus intelligible ou plus fragmentaire. Ainsi, les procédures à huis clos, suivies de la non-publication de l'histoire issue des dossiers, ne permet au public d'apprendre que des noms et des fonctions, sans lui offrir une narration sur ce qui s'est effectivement passé. Au contraire, les procédures à salle ouverte, qui se passent, par exemple, dans les tribunaux, et qui sont suivies de la publication des preuves, favorisent le débat sur les cas jugés et offrent au public des verdicts

motivés qui mettent en récit la responsabilité sous l'ancien régime⁵⁴. Dans les trois pays analysés, les procédures de lustration reflètent des visions différentes sur la nature et l'ampleur des informations que le public est autorisé à connaître.

En Hongrie, des comités de lustration formés de trois juges analysent à huis clos le passé communiste des personnalités publiques et peuvent émettre les types suivants de documents : une décision positive de lustration ; une décision de dispense (où des preuves incriminantes sont trouvées, sans pourtant suffire à démontrer l'activité en conformité avec la loi) ; une décision attestant que des preuves n'ont pas été trouvées ; et un arrêt de fin de procédure, émis à tout moment quand la personne vérifiée décide démissionner ou finit son mandat. La décision positive peut être attaquée à la Cour Suprême de Justice et, si elle reste définitive, elle peut être rendue publique seulement si la personne vérifiée refuse démissionner de sa fonction. Même si l'information est publiée, la personne a le droit de garder sa position, la seule sanction de la loi hongroise étant donc la menace de la *déconspiration*. De même, la loi autorise seulement la publication de la fonction détenue par la personne vérifiée avant 1989, sans aucun autre document, puisque les preuves en cause demeurent classifiées pour une période de 30 ans⁵⁵. Malgré l'accès accordé aux victimes du régime communiste à leurs dossiers créés par l'AHV⁵⁶, l'identité des agents et des collaborateurs consignés dans ces registres demeurent à son tour secrète, jusqu'en 2003, quand la loi permet finalement leur *déconspiration*.

Ainsi, entre 1997 et 2002, la loi hongroise de lustration s'appuie très peu sur la quête de « la vérité » sur le passé. D'une part, les résultats de la lustration sont publiés seulement dans le cas des personnalités publiques qui refusent démissionner. L'identité de la plupart des collaborateurs de l'ancien régime continue à rester classifiée, la Cour Constitutionnelle notifiant que ces informations tiennent de la vie privée des individus, si ceux-ci n'occupent pas une fonction publique⁵⁷. Cette décision, qui ressort de l'intérêt de la Cour pour la protection de la vie privée des individus, restreint pourtant l'ouverture des archives et l'écriture de l'histoire à partir de ces archives. De même, elle limite la fonction épistémique de la loi de lustration et son potentiel de clarifier la responsabilité pour la répression communiste. D'autre part, l'histoire que l'on retrouve dans les preuves des décisions positives de lustration demeure secrète, le public n'ayant aucun accès aux informations sur ce que la personne a effectivement fait, dans quel contexte et avec quelles conséquences.

En 2002, une nouvelle loi autorise la diffusion « d'informations très limitées » sur les relations entre les personnes qui détiennent des fonctions publiques et tout département de l'ancienne police politique. Constituant un pas important pour la transparence sur le passé communiste, la loi est toutefois ambiguë, puisqu'elle ne définit clairement ni les fonctions publiques auxquelles elle fait référence, ni le type d'information « très limitée » qui peut être diffusée⁵⁸. Les révélations publiées après l'adoption de cette loi donneront naissance à bon nombre de procès contre les historiens ou les journalistes qui assument la diffusion (voir *infra* les résultats). A partir de 2003, la loi permet également la *déconspiration* des agents et collaborateurs qui figurent dans les dossiers des individus surveillés par l'AHV, même si ceux-ci occupent ou non des fonctions publiques. L'histoire contenue par ces dossiers, le contexte du recrutement, la nature de la collaboration et les conséquences continuent toutefois à demeurer secrets.

En République Tchèque, une commission créée au sein du Ministère de l'Intérieur émet des certificats positifs ou négatifs de lustration, après la consultation des archives de différentes institutions communistes, la StB y compris. Les décisions, prises à huis clos, peuvent être attaquées à la Cour d'Appel, et, si elles demeurent positives, la personne en cause doit démissionner de sa fonction publique et elle n'a plus le droit de présenter sa candidature pour les postes éligibles mentionnés dans la loi. De même, tout citoyen peut demander l'investigation d'une personne publique en échange d'un dépôt d'environ 35 dollars, qu'il perd si le résultat de la vérification s'avère négatif. Les noms des individus qui reçoivent des certificats positifs de lustration sont rendus publics, mais le contenu des dossiers reste classifié, même pour la personne vérifiée⁵⁹. Jusqu'en 1996, les archives de la StB, du Ministère de l'Intérieur et du Parti Communiste demeurent fermés. Ce n'est qu'à partir de cette année que les citoyens tchèques sont autorisés à consulter leurs dossiers personnels établis par l'ancienne police politique, sans pourtant pouvoir demander la *déconspiration* des agents et des collaborateurs de la StB enregistrés dans ces documents. En 2002, onze ans après l'adoption de la loi de lustration, le Parlement tchèque autorise finalement la *déconspiration* et l'accès aux dossiers du personnel de la StB (sauf pour les documents qui portent atteinte à la vie humaine, aux agents étrangers et à la sûreté nationale) et décide la publication, dans un délai d'un an, de la liste intégrale des officiers et des collaborateurs de l'ancienne police politique avec l'histoire de leurs relations avec la StB⁶⁰.

Ainsi, par rapport au cas hongrois, le législateur tchèque accorde plus d'importance à la fonction épistémique de la lustration. D'une part il stipule la publication des noms de tous ceux tombant sous l'effet de la loi. D'autre part, il donne le droit à tout citoyen de demander l'investigation d'une personne publique et de s'informer ainsi sur son parcours communiste. Toutefois, jusqu'en 2002, la narration sur le passé demeure très fragmentaire, puisque la loi n'autorise pas la *déconspiration* de l'ensemble des officiers et collaborateurs de la StB ou l'accès à l'histoire que l'on retrouve dans leurs dossiers. Le contexte et la nature des relations entretenues avec le pouvoir communiste demeurent classifiés et même les victimes se voient restreint leur droit de savoir qui les a surveillées et qui a favorisé cette surveillance. La construction de l'histoire à partir de la loi de lustration est donc limitée, le législateur tchèque entretenant dans une première phase la même culture du secret des archives que l'ancien régime communiste. Les changements législatifs de 2002 donnent une autre envergure à la fonction épistémique de la lustration, d'un côté, par l'accès presque illimité aux archives et, d'un autre côté, par la publication de l'histoire sur laquelle reposent les certificats positifs de lustration. De ce point de vue, le texte de loi tchèque évite l'ambiguïté de la lustration hongroise et assume, à partir de 2002, une approche maximaliste sur le dévoilement des agents et des collaborateurs de la StB.

Comme en Hongrie, la loi roumaine de lustration adoptée en 1999 n'est pas punitive, car elle n'implique que la publication des noms des agents et des collaborateurs de la Securitate, sans qu'une sanction leur soit appliquée. Toutefois, les candidats aux fonctions publiques sont obligés de remplir une déclaration quant à leur collaboration ou la non-collaboration avec la police politique. Toute fausse déclaration expose le signataire à des sanctions conformes au Code pénal, sans pourtant l'obliger à démissionner de sa fonction. Les citoyens roumains ont le droit de consulter leurs dossiers personnels établis par la Securitate et de demander la *déconspiration* des agents et des collaborateurs enregistrés dans ces dossiers. L'information est fournie au demandeur qui peut la rendre publique. Le Collège directeur du CNSAS émet des certificats positifs ou négatifs de lustration après la consultation des archives de la Securitate, qui doivent être transférées dans la gestion du Conseil, sauf les documents tenant de la sûreté nationale. Les décisions peuvent être attaquées à la Cour d'Appel et, si elles demeurent positives, les noms des officiers et des informateurs sont publiés dans le Bulletin Officiel, sans que les documents justificatifs soient rendus publics⁶¹. A partir de 2006, la loi

oblige le Conseil à publier dans le Bulletin Officiel également l'histoire des activités menées au sein de la Securitate par les personnes *déconspirées* et de mettre à la disposition des médias les preuves⁶². 2006 représente également l'année où le CNSAS reçoit la majorité des archives, ayant donc accès à plus d'information et de nuances sur l'activité de la Securitate.

En 2008, la procédure change de manière suivante, compte tenu que la Cour Constitutionnelle certaines activités du CNSAS inconstitutionnelles⁶³. Tout d'abord, le CNSAS n'a plus le droit d'émettre des certificats visant l'activité au sein de la Securitate, cette fonction tombant dans la charge des tribunaux, qui décident, dans des procès publics, à partir des preuves fournies par le Conseil. D'une part, les organes judiciaires jugent les cas concernant les personnes à fonctions publiques, pour lesquelles ils peuvent constater tant la qualité d'officier que la qualité de collaborateur de l'ancienne police politique. D'autre part, si le détenteur d'un dossier de suivie informative demande la *déconspiration* publique d'un officier de la Securitate figurant dans son dossier, les tribunaux sont habilités à décider pour les personnes qui sont toujours en vie. Toutes les décisions positives sont publiées dans le Bulletin Officiel et sur le site du CNSAS et les documents justificatifs sont mis à la disposition des médias. Pour les individus décédés, la violation des droits de l'homme durant le régime communiste ne peut plus être constatée de manière officielle, le CNSAS ayant le droit de publier sur son site les noms des officiers décédés, mais non pas la liste des collaborateurs. L'histoire de leurs activités au sein de la Securitate demeure également secrète pour le grand public.

Dans un premier temps, la loi roumaine de lustration autorise donc la publication des noms des officiers et des collaborateurs de l'ancienne police politique, gardant en revanche le secret sur l'histoire que les dossiers révèlent. La procédure de *déconspiration* se déroule à huis clos, elle n'est pas transparente et elle ne favorise pas un débat public sur le contenu des documents justificatifs de la décision. Par rapport à la loi hongroise et tchèque, le législateur roumain accorde, dès le début, le droit aux victimes de connaître l'identité des personnes impliquées dans leur surveillance. Entre 2006 et 2008, la fonction épistémique de la lustration prend une plus grande importance, car la loi oblige à la publication de l'histoire des activités menées au sein de la Securitate et à la diffusion publique des documents. Ce changement d'optique est similaire en termes de transparence sur le passé à la loi tchèque de 2002, car elle favorise l'accès à toutes les informations, sauf celles tenant de la vie privée des individus. Les modifications imposées restreignent en revanche la narration

sur le passé que le CNSAS crée, la limitant à l'histoire des officiers de la Securitate qui sont toujours en vie et à celle des anciens collaborateurs qui occupent à présent une fonction publique. Le CNSAS garde son droit de publier sur son site les noms des officiers décédés, mais non pas la liste des collaborateurs. La *déconspiration* de ceux-ci est toutefois permise aux victimes intéressées, qui décident sur la publication des informations.

Les résultats : lustration « sans dents »⁶⁴ en Hongrie, *déconspiration* intégrale en République Tchèque, débouchés partiels en Roumanie

En Hongrie, jusqu'à la fin de 2004, 9.548 personnes sont vérifiées par les commissions de lustration. Des données incriminantes sont trouvées dans 126 cas. Parmi eux : 24 personnes démissionnent de leurs fonctions avant la publication de toute décision ; 14 investigations sont arrêtées suite à la fin du mandat de la personne vérifiée ; dans 42 cas, les commissions prononcent des dispenses (signifiant que les preuves trouvées ne sont pas suffisantes pour encadrer la personne dans les catégories « responsables » stipulées par la loi)⁶⁵. Seulement 21 décisions positives de lustration sont publiées dans le Bulletin Officiel. Cinq font référence à des informateurs, une *déconspire* un ancien officier de carrière qui avait également servi dans la police en 1957 et 15 visent des personnes qui ont utilisé dans leur travail des informations tenant du département III de l'AHV⁶⁶. Parmi les personnes « lustrées », les cas les plus notoires concernent certains députés et le Premier ministre socialiste en place en 1997, Gyula Horn, membre des milices qui avaient réprimé la Révolution de 1956 et ministre des Affaires Etrangères en 1989, dans le dernier gouvernement communiste⁶⁷.

Parallèlement avec la lustration officielle, une *déconspiration* officieuse, qui va au-delà des catégories « responsables » mentionnées dans la loi, est entamée par des journalistes et des historiens, surtout après 2002, quand la loi autorise la diffusion d'informations « très limitées » sur les relations des personnes publiques avec l'ancienne police politique. En 2002, le quotidien *Magyar Nemzet* publie des informations sur l'activité menée par le Premier ministre socialiste Peter Medgyessy au sein de la division II de l'AHV, où il avait travaillé en tant qu'officier de contre-informations entre 1962 et 1982. Vérifié déjà par les commissions de lustration, Medgyessy avait reçu un certificat négatif, qui infirmait ses relations avec le département III⁶⁸. La même situation vise en 2003 la directrice de la

radio publique, Katalin Kondor, identifiée agent de la division II entre 1974 et 1983. Le chef de la police magyare, Laszlo Salgo est exposé par la presse pour ses rapports informatifs soumis au département III, malgré les certificats négatifs émis par les commissions de lustration. Salgo reconnaît sa collaboration, mais il refuse démissionner. Suite au scandale Medgyessy, une commission parlementaire dirigée par le député Imre Mecs est établie afin de vérifier le passé communiste de tous les ministres nommés après 1989. Elle identifie la collaboration de 10 anciens ministres avec l'AHV, mais la commission est déclarée inconstitutionnelle et elle se voit interdit le droit de rendre publiques les informations. Les noms sont toutefois publiés par le quotidien *Magyar Hirlap*⁶⁹. Au total, jusqu'en 2010, la *déconspiration* officielle vise environ 1500 agents et collaborateurs de l'AHV. Mais la publication de leurs noms engendre des procès contre les journalistes et les historiens qui assument la diffusion de l'information. La plupart des procès sont gagnés par les personnes *déconspirées* et obligent les publicistes à des amendes substantielles⁷⁰.

Ainsi, dans les premières huit années de fonctionnement, les commissions de lustration rendent publics seulement 21 noms (avec les fonctions détenues sous l'ancien régime). De toutes les catégories « responsables » énoncées par la loi, celle visant l'utilisation des documents produits par la direction III de l'AHV est la plus exposée (15 verdicts), tandis que celle d'officier est la moins exposée (1 verdict). L'histoire de l'implication effective de ces personnes dans la violation des droits de l'homme, le contenu des rapports soumis ou utilisés, les effets de leurs actions demeurent secrets. Pour tous les autres cas, où une décision positive n'a pas été prononcée, le résultat des investigations reste classifié, car la procédure se passe à huis clos tant au sein des commissions de lustration que dans les tribunaux (quand une décision est contestée). De son côté, la *déconspiration* officielle prend de l'ampleur après 2002 et elle dévoile l'identité d'un nombre beaucoup plus important d'agents et collaborateurs de l'AHV, mais ses résultats sont systématiquement contestés dans des scandales publics et dans les tribunaux, amplifiant le doute sur le processus de lustration, tel envisagé par l'Etat. Au total, la lustration hongroise « sans dents » n'aboutit qu'à une transparence très limitée à l'égard du passé communiste, elle exonère presque l'ensemble de l'appareil répressif de l'ancien régime et cultive le secret sur l'information qui se trouve dans les archives.

En République Tchèque, entre 1991 et 2005, les commissions de lustration émettent 451.000 certificats, dont approximativement 9.000

(2,03%) positifs⁷¹. La moitié fait référence à des positions responsables au sein du Parti communiste, tandis que le reste se partage entre les officiers et les collaborateurs de la StB⁷². 870 décisions de collaboration avec la StB sont contestées en justice et, dans environ 800 cas, la Cour d'Appel statue qu'elles ne sont pas justifiées. Les certificats négatifs sont à leur tour mis en question et de nombreuses ré-vérifications sont demandées à travers les ans⁷³. La nature de la collaboration n'est pas établie et, jusqu'en 2002, les documents justificatifs demeurent secrets, fait qui empêche l'émergence d'une narration nuancée sur la responsabilité des personnes *déconspirées*. Les premières dix années de renforcement de la lustration sont marquées par une vision mécaniciste de l'attribution de la responsabilité, qui ne fait pas la différence entre les officiers chargés des enquêtes, les anciens détenus politiques forcés à signer un accord ou bien les collaborateurs figurant dans les registres de la StB mais qui n'ont jamais soumis des rapports. A partir de 2002, le modèle tchèque promue beaucoup plus la transparence sur le passé, d'un côté par l'ouverture quasi-intégrale des archives et, d'un autre côté, par la publication des noms de tous les agents et collaborateurs de la StB avec l'histoire de leurs activités au sein de la police politique. Ce modèle offre au public l'accès aux documents historiques et à une narration nuancée sur l'activité menée par chaque individu lors de sa collaboration avec la StB.

Jusqu'en 2004, les résultats de la lustration roumaine sont très faibles, car, durant les premières quatre années de son activité, le CNSAS ne publie que 140 noms d'informateurs et 89 noms d'officiers de l'ancienne police politique⁷⁴. Les chiffres comptent tant des candidats aux fonctions publiques, que des personnes *déconspirées* suite aux demandes des victimes qui ont eu accès à leur dossier de surveillance informative.

Ces résultats modestes s'expliquent d'un côté par le refus de nouveaux services secrets de fournir des dossiers. Entre 2000 et 2004, ils n'autorisent au Conseil que la consultation de 9.000 des 2.500.000 dossiers hérités de la Securitate⁷⁵. Reposant sur cette documentation partielle, le CNSAS se voit obligé par la loi de fournir des certificats de non-collaboration à la plupart des candidats aux postes publics, bien que certains d'entre eux soient connus pour leur activité de police politique. Parmi les cas les plus représentatifs : Ristea Priboi, sénateur du Parti social-démocrate et conseiller du Premier ministre Adrian Nastase, nommé en 2001 à la direction de la Commission parlementaire pour le contrôle du Service d'Informations Extérieures. Malgré la carrière de Priboi en tant qu'officier de la Securitate pendant 28 ans et son implication incontestable dans

des actes de répression contre les ouvriers révoltés à Brasov en 1987 et contre certains opposants de l'exil roumain⁷⁶, le CNSAS se voit obligé de lui rendre un certificat de non-collaboration avec « la Securitate en tant que police politique », puisque le SRI déclare ne pas avoir d'informations en ce sens. Cette exonération provoque un grand scandale public, suite auquel le SRI fournit au CNSAS, après quelque mois, de nouveaux documents. Le Conseil change d'avis sur les activités de Ristea Priboi, il le déclare agent de « la Securitate en tant que police politique », mais le cas Priboi attire des critiques sévères à l'encontre du CNSAS, démontrant que le Conseil n'est pas une institution fiable, mais plutôt un organisme de blanchissement des anciens officiers de la Securitate⁷⁷.

D'un autre côté, l'ambiguïté du syntagme « police politique » rend problématique le travail du Conseil du CNSAS et provoque des dissensions entre ses membres. D'une part, compte tenu de la réalité des archives, le Conseil divise la notion de « collaborateur » en trois sous-catégories : « personnes qui ont eu des activités de police politique », « personnes qui ont collaboré avec l'ancienne **Securitate**, mais dont l'activité de police politique ne peut être prouvée par les documents présents dans le dossier » et « personnes qui ont signé un engagement avec l'ancienne **Securitate**, mais qui ont refusé ultérieurement la collaboration ou n'ont pas fourni d'informations pertinentes ». Malgré les critiques adressées par différents chercheurs au CNSAS pour la création de ces nouvelles sous-catégories⁷⁸, elles sont utiles dans le contexte où la publication des documents justificatifs demeure interdite jusqu'en 2006. De ce point de vue, elles apportent certaines clarifications sur la nature de la collaboration et elles aident à l'émergence d'une narration plus nuancée sur les relations entretenues avec l'ancienne police politique.

D'autre part, vu le vague du syntagme « police politique », des conflits émergent entre les membres du Conseil à l'égard de l'interprétation de cette définition. Le scandale le plus notoire vise le cas du leader du parti nationaliste la Grande Roumanie, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, ancien apologiste du national communisme roumain et auteur de nombreux articles diffamatoires à l'égard des opposants du régime dans les années 1980. Certains documents issus des archives du SRI attestent, d'une part, que Tudor avait rédigé plusieurs dénonces à la Securitate contre des personnalités culturelles roumaines et, d'autre part, qu'il avait utilisé pour ses articles des documents fournis par la police politique. La majorité des membres du Conseil décident toutefois que, malgré, des relations entretenues avec la Securitate, les actes de Vadim Tudor ne peuvent

pas être considérés comme tenant de la police politique, surtout dans le contexte où il n'avait pas signé un engagement. Cette décision provoque la démission d'un membre du Conseil et les protestations de trois autres⁷⁹.

Entre 2005 et 2008, suite au changement de la définition de la police politique et après le transfert des documents du SRI, le CNSAS aboutit à « déconspirer » 505 officiers et 1272 collaborateurs⁸⁰. Parmi les figures publiques **déconspirées** se retrouvent des hommes politiques provenant de toutes les formations partisans, des magistrats, des journalistes et des prélats de l'Église orthodoxe. Mais le CNSAS continue à prononcer des verdicts de non-collaboration dans plusieurs cas où les candidats à diverses fonctions publiques affirment eux-mêmes avoir collaboré avec la Securitate⁸¹. Cet aspect montre que le Conseil manque d'informations complètes sur l'activité de l'ancienne police politique et il met en question sa capacité d'offrir de données cohérentes sur l'ensemble des agents et des informateurs de la Securitate. Toutefois, à partir de 2006, l'histoire de la collaboration et les documents justificatifs sont rendus publics, offrant aux citoyens la possibilité d'une lecture plus nuancée sur la responsabilité des personnes **déconspirées**.

Au total, les résultats de la lustration roumaine sont considérés faibles⁸². Le nombre des agents et des collaborateurs déconspirés est bas, la procédure fastidieuse, alors que la narration sur le passé met exclusivement l'attention sur l'ancienne police politique, exonérant de la sorte l'appareil du Parti communiste. Aucun cas de *déconspiration* visant des personnes qui ont pris des décisions à l'égard du fonctionnement de la Securitate, plus précisément des leaders du Parti unique qui avaient en charge les relations avec la police politique, n'est produit par le CNSAS. Comme le souligne Daniel Barbu, selon la loi de *déconspiration*, « le délateur de l'époque communiste mérite d'être ostracisé, mais le bénéficiaire direct ou indirect de la délation, le procureur ou le haut dignitaire du Parti, jouit encore d'un statut pleinement honorable »⁸³.

En guise de conclusions : la lustration et la narration sur le passé

L'analyse des processus de lustration mis en place en Hongrie, en République Tchèque et en Roumanie révèlent que ces lois n'aboutissent à produire qu'un récit fragmentaire et parfois ambigu sur la responsabilité pour la violation des droits de l'homme durant le régime communiste.

Premièrement, toute mesure de gestion du passé implique une sélection symbolique de certains aspects qu'elle doit gérer et, par conséquent, un oubli imposé sur les questions qu'elle ne touche pas⁸⁴. La justice de transition est toujours sélective et jamais intégrale. Ainsi, de l'ensemble des institutions et des individus responsables pour la répression durant le régime communiste, les lois de lustration choisissent seulement certaines catégories. Mais cette sélection ne tient pas toujours compte de rapports des historiens, mais elle est plutôt influencée par les jeux politiques présents et leurs acteurs qui instrumentalisent l'histoire dans des buts de légitimation⁸⁵. De ce point de vue, le passé est toujours contrôlé par les intérêts et les stratégies spécifiques des acteurs politiques du présent⁸⁶. Certes, on ne peut jamais parler d'histoire intégrale et toute démarche historiographique tient du partiel. Mais les choix opérés lors de l'adoption d'une mesure de justice de transition est moins le résultat d'une analyse équilibrée des preuves historiques et plus le résultat d'une négociation politique entre différents groupes et personnes avec des intérêts divergents et avec différents niveaux d'instruction sur le plan historique. Les lustrations hongroise et roumaine sont des exemples percutants pour l'exonération de la plupart des appareils répressifs du régime communiste et surtout du Parti unique, principal artisan du système non-démocratique. La loi tchèque saisit davantage, par l'inclusion des leaders du Parti, la responsabilité en régime communiste, mais elle élimine à son tour d'autres fonctions qui ont contribué à la violation de droits de l'homme. Toute loi de lustration est destinée à faire des découpages au sein des institutions qui ont mené la répression, à fixer un locus de la responsabilité et à clôturer ainsi un questionnement qui pour l'historien reste toujours ouvert.

Deuxièmement, toute loi opère avec des normes et des définitions fixes, qui, malgré une certaine possibilité d'interprétation, ne peuvent être réévaluées que par une autre loi. A la différence de l'historien, qui détermine ses propres règles et catégories, qu'il peut modifier sur le parcours ou bien préciser les nuances et les exceptions, les commissions de lustration analysent l'information au sein d'un cadre fixe. L'établissement de la qualité de collaborateur est heuristique en ce sens. A part le cas roumain après 2006, où les membres du Conseil du CNSAS ont la liberté d'interpréter les documents pour établir qui a commis des actes de violation de droits de l'homme, dans les deux autres pays, la loi fixe rigoureusement la définition. En République Tchèque, toute personne qui figure avec un rapport, un engagement ou une carte de collaborateur dans les registres de la StB est intégrée dans les catégories responsables,

sans qu'une analyse du contenu des documents soit réalisée. Ce type d'encadrement élimine de l'équation de nombreuses nuances, et, plus important, l'événement en soi, l'activité concrète que la personne effectue. En ce sens, la lustration tchèque échoue jusqu'en 2002 à surprendre les circonstances et les nuances de la collaboration et à faire la différence, par exemple, entre un officier chargé des enquêtes, un ancien détenu politique forcé à signer un accord ou bien un collaborateur figurant dans les registres de la StB mais qui n'a jamais soumis de rapports. Du point de vue procédural, le cas hongrois est similaire, avec la seule différence que l'exigence de deux preuves au lieu d'une seule rend la *déconspiration* plus difficile. De ce point de vue, la procédure roumaine est la plus proche de la démarche historiographique, car elle regarde les faits et leur donne une interprétation. Elle aboutit ainsi à définir plusieurs types de collaborations et à être plus attentive à la nature des relations entretenues avec la police politique. Toutefois, même dans le cas roumain, les faits passés ne sont présentés que sous la qualification délictueuse choisie préalablement par le texte de la loi proprement dit, alors que toute démarche historique présuppose un regard vers l'effectivité pure des faits⁸⁷. De même, compte tenu de la politisation du Conseil du CNSAS, la procédure roumaine favorise l'instrumentalisation politique du passé.

Troisièmement, la limite de la fonction épistémique des lois de lustration réside dans les restrictions qu'elles ont toujours imposées à l'égard de la publication des documents sur lesquels les décisions ont reposé. Dans les trois pays analysés, les premières années de l'application de la loi ont été marquées par des procédures à huis clos et par l'interdiction de rendre publics les documents justificatifs. Ce type de démarche a partout mené à l'émergence d'une narration historique fixe et close, qui a essayé de clôturer officiellement le débat sur la nature de la responsabilité. De ce point de vue, seul le cas tchèque après 2002 a assumé une transparence presque totale, publiant la liste intégrale des officiers et des collaborateurs de la StB et offrant l'accès à toutes les archives de la police politique.

Quatrièmement, les processus de lustration impliquent, comme les procès pénaux, l'établissement d'une version fixe des faits à la faveur du caractère définitif de la décision. Les membres des commissions de lustration sont en ce sens obligés de trancher et de juger, et leurs arrêts ne peuvent pas être soumis, comme la production historique, à de multiples révisions. Comme la sentence judiciaire, la décision de lustration représente une dernière parole, elle clôt le débat et « arrête » la controverse.

Ainsi, malgré le but affirmé de faire ressortir la « vérité » et de retracer l'histoire de la responsabilité pour la violation des droits de l'homme, les processus de lustration ne peuvent aboutir qu'à des narrations historiques fragmentées, qui échouent généralement à surprendre tant l'ampleur de la répression durant le régime, que les nuances particulières du rôle joué au sein de l'appareil répressif par chaque individu vérifié. Produites dans le contexte des stratégies de légitimation des acteurs politiques présents et soumises aux contraintes des procédures judiciaires, les lois de lustration ne forment que des récits limités et peu nuancés sur la responsabilité en régime communiste.

NOTES

- ¹ TEITEL R., *Transitional Justice*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, p. 71.
- ² PRIBAN J., *Legal Symbolism. On Law, Time and European Identity*, Ashgate, Hampshire, 2007, p. xiii.
- ³ OSIEL M., *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1997; OFFE C. « Disqualification, Retribution, Restitution: Dilemmas of Justice in Post-Communist Transitions », *Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol. 1, n° 1/1993.
- ⁴ TEITEL R., *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- ⁵ REMOND R., « L'histoire et la loi », disponible sur www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/IMG/pdf/LHistoireetlaLoiReneRemond-2.pdf, [consulté le 31 juillet 2011].
- ⁶ J'emprunte ici le terme utilisé en Roumanie pour désigner la révélation, l'exposition des officiers ou des collaborateurs de l'ancienne police politique dont l'identité étaient généralement secrète et cachée sous des noms conspiratifs.
- ⁷ J'utilise ici le terme « lustration » dans son sens large, comprenant à la fois les lois qui interdisent aux anciens leaders communistes et membres de l'appareil répressif d'occuper des fonctions publiques après 1989, et les lois censées seulement vérifier le passé des nouvelles élites postcommunistes, en vue de rendre publique leur collaboration avec l'ancienne police politique.
- ⁸ D'autres arguments importants pour l'adoption des lois de lustration ont été : d'une part, leur capacité de renforcer la construction démocratique par l'élimination de la scène politique des anciennes élites communistes, susceptibles de demeurer enclavées dans une culture de type autoritaire ; et, d'autre part, la capacité de la lustration de rendre une « justice minimale », en bloquant l'accès à la sphère publique pour ceux qui ont contribué à la perpétuation des régimes répressifs. Pour une analyse des discours portant sur la lustration en Europe de l'Est voir LOS M., "Lustration and Truth Claims : Unfinished Revolutions in Central Europe", dans *Law & Social Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 1 / 1993, pp. 117-161.
- ⁹ DAVID R. « Lustration Laws in Actions : The Motives and Evaluation of Lustration Policy in the Czech Republic and Poland (1981-2001), dans *Law & Social Inquiry*, Vol. 28 / 2001, p. 405.
- ¹⁰ CELP W., « Lustration in CSFR : Ritual Sacrifices », dans *East European Constitutional Review*, n° 1 / 1993, pp. 24 – 26.
- ¹¹ *Apud*. NEDELSKY N., « Cehia si Slovacia » (La République Tchèque et la Slovaquie), dans STAN L., *Prezentul trecutului recent. Lustratie si decomunizare in postcomunism* (Le présent du passé récent. Lustration et

- décommunisation dans le postcommunisme), Curtea Veche, Bucarest, 2010, p. 114.
- 12 Archives de Parlement Roumain, « Débat parlementaire sur le projet de Loi visant l'accès au propre dossier et la déconspiration de la Securitate comme police politique du 11 mai 1999 », p. 1.
- 13 *Ibidem*, p. 2.
- 14 *Ibidem*, pp. 2 – 3.
- 15 BARRET E., HACK P., MUNKACSI A., “Lustration as Political Competition: Vetting in Hungary”, MAYER-REICKH A., DE GREIFF P. (éd), *Justice As Prevention: Vetting Public Employees in Transitional Societies*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 2007, p. 268.
- 16 VOICULESCU A., *Human Rights and Political Justice in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: Prosecuting History*, Edwin Mellen Publisher, New York, 2000, 143.
- 17 RICOEUR P. *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, Seuil, Paris, 2000, p. 225.
- 18 PRIBAN J., *op. cit.*, p. 196.
- 19 Pour l'histoire des régimes communistes voir IONESCU Ghita, *L'avenir politique de l'Europe de l'Est*, SDEIS, Paris, 1967 ; TISMANEANU V., *Reinventing Politics. Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel*, The Free Press, New York, 1992; KOTKIN S., *Uncivil Society. 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment*, Modern Library Edition, New York, 2009.
- 20 Les chiffres ne font pas référence aux personnes condamnées pour des crimes de guerres ou crimes contre l'humanité.
- 21 RAINER J., « The Crimes of the Communist Regime in Hungary. National Report », pp. 1-2, présenté à la conférence internationale *Crimes of Communist Regimes*, l'Institut d'Etudes des Régimes Totalitaires, Prague 24-26 février 2010, disponible au https://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/konference/zlociny-komunizmu/Janos_Rainer.pdf, [consulté le 31 juillet 2011].
- 22 Le nom et la structure de la police secrète hongroise ont changé à travers le temps. Fonctionnement à la fin des années 1940 en tant que département de la police et jusqu'en 1953 en tant qu'institution indépendante, elle est intégrée à partir de cette date au sein du Ministère de l'Intérieur. La structure présentée ici date de 1963 et elle ne sera plus modifiée jusqu'en 1989.
- 23 STAN L., *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- 24 RAINER J., *art. cit.*, p. 4, [consulté le 31 juillet 2011].
- 25 DAVID R., CHOI S., « Victims on Transitional Justice: Lessons from the Reparation of Human Rights Abuses in the Czech Republic », dans *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 27, n° 1 /2005, p. 397.
- 26 La structure présentée ici date de 1969. Pour l'histoire de la structure de la StB voir BLAZEK P., ZACEK P., « Czechoslovakia », dans PERSAK K., KAMINSKI L., *A Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944 – 1989*, Institute for National Remembrance, Varsovie, 2005 ; WILLIAMS K., « The StB in Czechoslovakia », dans WILLIAMS K.,

- DELETANT D., *Security Intelligence Services in New Democracies : The Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania*, Palgrave, New York, 2001.
- 27 WILLIAMS K., *art. cit.*, p. 32.
- 28 BLAZEK P., ZACEK P., *art. cit.*, p. 130.
- 29 Pour l'histoire du communisme roumain voir : TISMANEANU V., *Stalinism pentru Eternitate. O istorie politică a comunismului românesc (Stalinisme pour l'éternité. Une histoire politique du communisme roumain)*, Polirom, Iasi, 2005 ; VERDERY K., *Compromis și rezistență. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu (Compromis et résistance. La culture roumaine sous Ceaușescu)*, Humanitas, Bucarest, 1994 ; DELETANT D., *România sub regimul comunist (Le Roumanie sous le régime communiste)*, Fundația Academia Civică, Bucarest, 1997. Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România, *Raport Final (Rapport Final)*, Humanitas, Bucarest, 2007.
- 30 Pour l'évolution des structures de la Securitate à travers le temps voir DELETANT D., « Romania », dans PERSAK K., KAMINSKI L., *op. cit.*
- 31 *Ibidem*, p. 295.
- 32 DOBRE F., BANU F., DUICA C., MOLDOVAN S.B., TARANU L., *Trupele de Securitate 1949 – 1989 (Les troupes de la Securitate)*, Nemira, Bucarest, 2004.
- 33 STAN L., « Moral Cleansing Romanian Style », dans *Problems of Post-communism*, vol. 49, n° 4 / 2002, p. 55.
- 34 OPREA M., *Mostenitorii Securitatii (Les héritiers de la Securitate)*, Humanitas, Bucarest, 2004 ; CNSAS, *Securitatea – Structuri, cadre, obiective si metode. Documente din arhivele secrete ale comunismului (La Securitate – Structures, cadre, objectifs et méthodes. Documents des archives secrètes du communisme)*, Vol I-II, Enciclopedica, Bucarest, 2006.
- 35 Voir PERSAK K., KAMINSKI L., *op. cit.*
- 36 KISS C., « The Misuses of Manipulation: The Failure of Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Hungary », *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 58, n° 6 / 2006, p. 930.
- 37 BARRET E., HACK P., MUNKACSI A., *art. cit.*, p. 299.
- 38 BLAZEK P., ZACEK P., *art. cit.*, pp., 100, 111.
- 39 « Acte n° 279 / 1992 », connu également sous le nom de *Petite lustration*.
- 40 Je remercie Neela Winkelmann, Directeur Exécutif des Affaires Européennes au sein de l'Institut d'Etudes des Régimes Totalitaires, République Tchèque, de m'avoir mis à disposition ces informations issues des rapports publiées en tchèque par l'Institut d'Etudes des Régimes Totalitaires de Prague.
- 41 « Décret n° 33 / 1989 visant la dissolution du Département de la Sécurité de l'Etat », *Monitorul Oficial*, n° 8 / 31 décembre 1989.
- 42 Pour les procès intentés aux dignitaires communistes après 1989 voir GROSESCU R., URSACHI R., *Justitia penala de tranzitie de la Nürnberg la*

- postcomunismul romanesc* (La justice pénale de transition : de Nürnberg au postcommunisme roumain), Polirom, Iasi, 2009.
- 43 OPREA M., *op. cit.*, p. 89.
- 44 Adoptée en 1994, la loi de lustration hongroise est attaquée à la Cour Constitutionnelle par les représentants du Parti Socialiste et sera appliquée seulement à partir de 1997, après sa modification en conformité avec les exigences de la Cour.
- 45 La liste des positions vérifiables diffère d'un pays à l'autre et connaît des modifications à travers le temps, mais elle comprend généralement le Président de la République, les membres du gouvernement, les parlementaires, les journalistes actifs dans les médias publics, les juges et les procureurs (à l'exception du cas hongrois), différentes positions dans l'administration locale et dans les nouveaux services secrets (également à l'exception de la Hongrie).
- 46 Adoptée en 1991 pour une période cinq ans, la lustration tchèque est prolongée en 1995 pour une autre période de cinq ans et en 2000 pour une période indéterminée. En Hongrie, la lustration est également mise en place pour une période de cinq ans et prolongée en 2000 pour encore huit ans. En Roumanie, la loi adoptée en 1999 fait référence à l'application des vérifications pour une période de six ans, mais en 2006, elles sont prolongées pour une période indéterminée.
- 47 Voir la « Loi n° 23 / 1994 sur la vérification des personnes détenant certaines positions importantes », publié dans KRITZ N. J. (éd), *Transitional Justice, Vol III, Laws, Rulings, ans Reports*, US Institute of Peace Press, Washington D.C., 1995, p. 418.
- 48 BARRET E., HACK P., MUNKACSI A., *art. cit.*, p. 299.
- 49 Voir « L'acte n° 451 / 1991, La loi de lustration », Neil J. KRITZ (éd), *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 313.
- 50 Plusieurs preuves peuvent établir la qualité de collaborateur : la rémunération ou les récompenses reçues pour les activités de police politique ; la détention d'une maison conspirative ; les rapports, les notes ou les déclarations dénonçant des attitudes contraires à l'Etat communiste ou favorisant la violation des droits de l'homme.
- 51 « Loi n° 187 / 1999 sur l'ouverture des archives et la déconspiration de la Securitate comme police politique », *Monitorul Oficial*, n° 603 / 9 décembre 1999.
- 52 URSACHI R., « L'accès aux archives de la Securitate. Histoire d'un échec institutionnel », *La Nouvelle Alternative*, n° 64/2005, p. 62.
- 53 « O.U.G. n° 16/2006 pour la modification de la Loi n° 187/1999 visant l'accès au propre dossier et la déconspiration de la Securitate en tant que police politique ». En 2008, une nouvelle ordonnance gouvernementale, « O.U.G. n° 24/2008 », éliminera le syntagme « police politique », la loi faisant référence tout court à la violation des droits de l'homme.

- 54 NINO C.S., *Radical Evil on Trial*, Yale University Press, New Heaven, 1996,
p. 147.
- 55 « Loi n° 23 / 1994 sur la vérification des personnes détenant certaines
positions importantes », publié dans KRITZ N. J. (éd), *op. cit.*, Vol. III,
p. 424.
- 56 Pour faciliter l'accès aux dossiers de surveillance créés par le département
III de l'AHV, un Office Historique est constitué en 1997 en tant que custode
des archives de l'ancienne police politique. En 2003, l'Office Historique sera
transformé en Les Archives Historiques de la Sécurité d'Etat, responsables
avec la gestion des dossiers de l'AHV et avec les dossiers produits par le
processus de lustration.
- 57 HALMAI G., « Lustration and Access to the Files in Central Europe »,
dans DVORAKA V., MILARDOVIC A., *Lustration and Consolidation of
Democracy and the Rule of Law in Central and Eastern Europe*, CPI, Zagreb,
2007, pp. 33-34.
- 58 BARRET E., HACK P., MUNKACSI A., *art. cit.*, p. 273.
- 59 Voir « L'acte n° 451 / 1991, La loi de lustration », KRITZ N. J. (éd), *op. cit.*,
Vol. III, p. 313.
- 60 NEDELSKY N., « Divergent Responses to a Common Past: Transitional
Justice in the Czech Republic and Slovakia », dans *Theory and Society*, n°
33 / 2004, p. 79.
- 61 Voir la « Loi n° 187/1999 visant l'accès au propre dossier et la déconspiration
de la Securitate en tant que police politique ».
- 62 « O.U.G. n° 16/2006 pour la modification de la Loi n° 187/1999 visant
l'accès au propre dossier et la déconspiration de la Securitate en tant que
police politique ».
- 63 En 2008, la constitutionnalité du CNSAS est attaquée par le président du
Parti Conservateur, Dan Voiculescu, qui avait été déclaré collaborateur
de l'ancienne police politique. La Cour Constitutionnelle déclare
inconstitutionnelle la loi roumaine de lustration, arguant que par son mandat
d'émettre des verdicts quant à la collaboration ou la non-collaboration avec
la police politique, le CNSAS fonctionne en tant « qu'instance exceptionnelle
de jugement ». Le fonctionnement du CNSAS sera alors modifié par « O.U.G.
n° 24/2008 ».
- 64 Le terme est emprunté de Lavinia Stan, STAN L., *op. cit.*, p. 215.
- 65 BARRET E., HACK P., MUNKACSI A., *art. cit.*, p. 277.
- 66 *Ibidem*, p. 290.
- 67 Malgré la pression de l'opinion publique, Horn refuse de démissionner. Selon
Timothy Garton Ash, ce refus pèsera beaucoup dans la défaite des socialistes
aux législatives de 1997. GARTON ASH T., *History and the Present: Essays,
Sketches and Dispatches from Europe in the 1990s*, Londres, Vintage, 2001,
p. 305.

- 68 Medgyessy motive sa collaboration avec le département II contre-
informations par patriotisme et antisoviétisme, déclarant qu'il avait empêché
Moscou de découvrir les plans de la Hongrie d'adhérer au Fond Monétaire
International. KISS C., *art. cit.*, p. 934 ; STAN L., « La Hongrie » dans, STAN
L., *op. cit.*, p. 218.
- 69 Il s'agit de cinq membres du cabinet Orban (Laszlo Bogar, secrétaire d'Etat ;
Imre Boros, ministre des fonds PHARE ; Zsigmond Jarai, ministre des
Finances ; Janos Martonyi, ministre des Affaires Etrangères ; Laszlo Nogradi,
ministre des Transports), quatre membres du cabinet Antall (Bela Kadar,
ministre du Commerce Extérieur ; Ferenc Rabar, ministre de Finances ; Erno
Raffai, secrétaire d'Etat au ministère de Défense ; Laszlo Sarossy, secrétaire
d'Etat au ministère de l'Agriculture), le ministre du Commerce du cabinet
Horn, Szabolcs Fazakas et le Premier ministre Peter Medgyessy. STAN L.,
« La Hongrie », *art. cit.*, pp. 224-225.
- 70 RAINER J. *art. cit.*, p. 4, [consulté le 31 juillet 2011]. Par exemple, les
historiens de l'Institut de la Révolution 1956, dirigé par Janos Raine, reçoivent
à deux reprises des amendes d'environ 10.000 euros pour la publication de
différents noms d'officiers et collaborateurs de l'AHV. Dialogue avec Janos
RAINER, Bucarest, 21 juin 2010.
- 71 NEDELSKY N., « Cehia si Slovacia », *art. cit.*, p. 108.
- 72 Nous n'avons pas des données exactes sur la distribution des certificats de
lustration.
- 73 En 2007, par exemple, le chef de l'Interpol tchèque est démasqué en tant
qu'ancien collaborateur de la StB, malgré un certificat négatif obtenu
quelques années auparavant, suite à son changement de nom. A l'occasion
de sa ré-vérification, 15 autres chefs au sein de la police tchèque sont
démasqués en tant qu'informateurs de la StB, malgré leur exonération initiale
par les commissions de lustration. NEDELSKY N., « Cehia si Slovacia », *art.*
cit., pp. 108 – 109.
- 74 Correspondance avec Germina NAGÂȚ Germina, Directrice du Département
d'investigation et recherche au sein du CNSAS, Bucarest, 10 décembre
2009.
- 75 URSACHI R., « Le rapport au passé en Roumanie. Entre lustration et
frustrations », dans *Le courrier des pays de l'Est*, n° 1006 / 2008, p. 83.
- 76 Priboi avait dirigé dans les années 1980 un département chargé de surveiller
les opposants roumains exilés en Occident. Durant cette période, des colis
piégés avaient été envoyés par la police politique roumaine à plusieurs
écrivains opposants vivant à l'étranger (parmi lesquels Paul Goma), certaines
agressions avaient été commanditées contre d'autres dissidents (tentatives
d'empoisonnement et de kidnapping, assassinat au couteau) et une bombe
avait explosé au siège de la *Radio Europe Libre*, à Munich. En 1987, Priboi
avait également participé directement aux enquêtes et aux répressions
menées contre les ouvriers révoltés de Brasov.

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HISTORICAL AND JURIDICAL SUCCESSION: COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP IN VRANCEA, 1910, 2000

The paper is strongly guided by the importance of historical sequentiality as a source of tension for the present. One can play an 18th century clavichord after the instrument's revival in 1900, but one cannot hear it after two intervening centuries of the pianoforte in the way it was heard in 1700 (Daston and Galison 2008). The same goes for the reconstitution of communal ownership practices in contemporary Romania, and particularly taking into account the intervening decades of socialism. Inevitably, the resurgence of the communal in Romania and elsewhere in Eastern Europe invites also inquiry into the ways in which the socialist collectivization of everyday life has subtly transformed previous communal and cooperative practices. In this sense, historical sequentiality affects not only the practical realization of social forms in the present, but acts also retrospectively on their very conceptualization. That is, contemporary understanding of 19th and early 20th century scholarship on these issues has to contend with a certain degree of indeterminacy (Hacking 2002).

The very passage of time, its serial order, affects irrevocably the past. The sequential order of a conversation is constitutive of the meaning of things said: a second thing said throws light on a first and so on (Garfinkel 2002), creating thus an ongoing order of forward-backward conversational interaction. Likewise, within the parameters of the "historical ontology" articulated by Ian Hacking (2002), new ways of naming and classifying can reach back into the past and change it retroactively. As Hacking (2002) puts it, understanding past actions under new descriptions – such as dishonorable desertion in WWI as an instance of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) – introduces indeterminacy in the past. For Hacking this is inevitable inasmuch as "human kinds" – descriptions that define the gambit of possibilities for human ways of acting and being – are characterized by

“looping effects”, that is, forms of feedback that turn knowledge back onto the known. Being described as a certain kind of person affects someone by opening up or foreclosing choices and ways of acting. Along the temporal axis, one cannot claim that new descriptions actually change the past – the invention of PTSD now cannot affect the lives of World War I deserters – but they do transform the way we understand the past and this transformation – even if it only introduces an element of uncertainty – is just as irrevocable as the summary deaths which those deserters were put to. In a similar, but perhaps more ambitious, vein, Bruno Latour (1999) contends that not only human kinds, but things themselves, such as the microbes discovered in 1864 by Louis Pasteur, have their own historicity. His half playful, half serious question, “did microbes exist before Pasteur” hints in part at what Hacking calls retroactive description. For Latour though, the other part of the answer involves “backward causation”, that is actual work by Pasteur and his followers “to retrofit” the past and thus make it appear that microbes have existed all along. In this sense, the year of discovery 1864 changes with each succeeding year along an axis of sedimentary temporal succession – there is an “1864” of 1865, an “1864” of 1866 and so on – that traces the unfolding triumph of Pasteur’s theory of airborne germs over the failing theory of spontaneous generation. Latour’s (1999: 173) answer to his own question is thus ingenious: “‘After 1864 microbes were there all along.’ This solution involves treating extension in time as seriously as extension in space. To be everywhere in space and always in time, work has to be done, connections made, retrofitting accepted.”

It is precisely such work of retroactive description and, at some moments, even backward causation that characterizes the existence of communal ownership, both as an object of scientific inquiry and as a form of practice. This paper discusses the continuous description of communal ownership in Vrancea as an anachronism, a thing of the past, dead or on the verge of extinction at the moment of encounter. Communal ownership died many such deaths at various points in time, ranging from early 19th century to early 21st century, every time at the hands of different actors motivated by sometimes contradicting reasons. This perpetual relocation to the distant past accomplished agendas as different as those of 19th century peasants who worked to prove immemorial possession against the claims of encroaching noblemen, those of interwar scholars who were interested in rewriting the history of Romanian feudalism and those of contemporary state officials who tried to legislate it out of existence. Anachronism is most often understood as a historical fallacy, at best instrumental in the

dating of questionable documents and at worst indicative of an inability to understand the past in its own terms. For my part, I take it as a device of temporal misplacement that signals and sometimes even solves problems raised during the process of reconstituting communal ownership.

Particularly relevant here is the temporal stratification of the ownership practices constituting the object of restitution and their simultaneous coexistence in the present. What is being re-created now is not a temporally stable set of relationships but one that has been already constructed on several levels and at different points in time. Thus, is the new communal forest to be such as it was made recognizable to the state at the beginning of the 19th century, as it was in the 1920's after the codification project of the first national Forestry Code, as theorized by sociologists and historians during the interwar period or perhaps as it persisted in various practices during socialism? Which communal forest is to come into being? How are such practices, with their different temporal inflections, assembled in a newly ordered state of affairs? What kinds of knowledge are created and erased in the course of this process? Constructing a phenomenon out of successive layers renders it more real, but also vulnerable at the points of juncture: the work of keeping constant the "circulating reference" (Latour 1999) of communal property throughout its temporal transformations is at the same time a history of mistranslations, omissions, and fabrications. A biography of communal property would have to account for this multiplicity of temporally stratified phenomena as well as the conditions of their coalescence into a working form of contemporary practice.

In my own attempt to narrate these entangled temporal strands, I use a form of decoupage (Veyne 1984: 44) that takes "1910" as a pivot to help turn the mechanics of my story. I do so not only because I am motivated by the desire to create my own historical plot, but because "1910" is indeed a significant cut into previous history; after 1910, there is no more continuity, at least not of the kind that characterized communal ownership as an immemorial and hence atemporal practice. To put it briefly, 1910 stands for the meeting (or better yet, collision) between civil law and local custom. However, this is a creative collision, to the extent that it affords the emergence of something like "local custom" in the first place as well as of a historicity defined by civil law notions of succession.

1910 is the year of the first national Forestry Code and thus of the first state attempt at organizing communal forests from a juridical and administrative point of view. But 1910 itself came into being as the effect of other novel practices of forestry and commerce. Communal ownership and

the social forms that supported it began to deteriorate in the last decades of the nineteenth century when industrial logging first appeared in the region. With the help of local middlemen, foreign companies (German, Hungarian and Austrian) tried and, in many cases, succeeded to buy the right to use forests from the villagers and to harvest thus large quantities of timber. In 1910 the Romanian state enforced a Forestry Code that attempted to prevent the complete deforestation of Vrancea (as well as of other regions) by giving legal recognition to communal forests (*Obște*) and trying to re-organize them according to modern property norms. This attempt at imposing legibility on what seemed as an incoherent mode of ownership worked by quantifying the “shares” that each villager was supposed to have in the communally owned forest. As in Vrancea the forest property of each individual was not localized or bounded in any way, the 1910 legislators and judges were forced to come up with an abstract notion of individual “right”, which in turn created a novel way of understanding communal membership and the form of its succession.

Therefore, I will discuss the problems of sequentiality and anachronism, by focusing on several issues, most importantly, on the form of 1910 archival records of communal forests and on the definition of communal membership as it is presented in such records. During the application of the Forestry Code, the problem of membership was already framed as a question of graphical representation, in the form of lists of individual names or tables by family, a question that had in turn effects upon the creation of rules for updating membership in the event of death, birth, marriage, and on the debates regarding the legitimacy of practices of inheritance and transmission. As such, the paper covers rather extensive historical ground, but not in a chronological or exhaustive manner. That is, I follow those historical strands of events and practices which coalesce in the present.

1.1. Death

We have often spoken of *the death of Vrancea*, and we must now recognize that this death is present, in a much more painful way, in the very soul of Vrancea... This is the fascinating psychological drama of a community that was extremely alive only a century ago and that now dies in a painful agony (Stahl 1939: 382).

Historiography uses death to articulate a law (of the present)
(de Certeau 1988: 101).

Only when the past and the present were effectively separated, could modern historians begin their work, argues Michel de Certeau in his influential account of “the historiographical operation” (1988: 56-114). Their work aims at establishing temporal distance and difference, at burying the dead in order to redeem space for the living, refusing to allow death to continue as a mode of presence. In this sense, history is a science of “heterology” (de Certeau 1988: 3) that needs first to establish the past as that which is missing so that it can, then, conjure it up. However, this is a paradoxical endeavor, for such a “negative ontology of the past” (Ricoeur 1988: 150) is forced to reckon with the numerous and uncanny ways in which the absent past returns to haunt the present. “The dead souls resurge, within the work whose postulate was their disappearance and the possibility of analyzing them as an object of investigation” (de Certeau 1988: 37).

“Death is present ... in the very soul of Vrancea” wrote in 1939 Henri Stahl, the most dedicated historian and ethnographer of this highland region. What did he mean by asserting, at the same time, the strange *death* of a place, an immaterial death that is located at the elusive core of a place’s soul, and its irrepressibly painful *presence*? It is easy to understand this statement as yet another lament about the disappearance of tradition - in this context, a long and rich tradition of free communal ownership that succumbs under the attack of the market economy, foreign capital, the modern state, law, and other such enemies. But the drama of Vrancea is also a story about the changing faces of time and feeling. The archeological narrative turns into a visceral history that obeys in fact the rhythmic movement of Stahl’s feelings as they pulse forward, bearing into the present the image of an intense and disquieting past. Disturbed by “the extremely vivid memory of ancient times” (Stahl 1939: 232), the social archeologist realizes that he has to excavate the layers of a haunted landscape of memory:

Only one thing is undeniable, the fact that the villagers of Nereju long today after the bygone times of their independence. The conscience of the past is vivid and painful as a wound in the heart of the people of Vrancea. (...) The Nereju villagers will talk of nothing more nostalgically than of these customs of their ancestors, which nobody respects anymore since "the world has decayed." It is such a great bitterness (*amertume*)... (241)

For Stahl, the depth of local memory is revealed through the movement of a history that he had exhumed from documents and archives. But he also realizes that the dissolution of the ties by means of which the past continues into the present is intelligible only through a poetics of crisis. The dominant theme then is that of loss, of the impossibility to recapture the past and to archive memory and of the inability to deal with this excess of presence of the past that is still haunting the present. There is an evil magic about this *trop vive* memory that brings the past back to life only to underline the painful discrepancy between independence and quasi-colonial servitude, harmony and dissolution.

Even though Stahl meant more than an epitaph to the memory of the dying Vrancea, that additional meaning was soon effaced by the official obituary, swiftly proclaimed by the Romanian communist state with the 1948 decree for the nationalization of forests. However, some four decades later, there begins the story of a ghostly claim to property, for the "dead" Vrancea comes back to a kind of afterlife, asking for "legal resuscitation" (Caruth 2002) and for the restitution of its forests.

"What does it mean (...) for the dead to speak - and to speak before the law? And what does it mean, moreover, for the law to listen to this claim coming, as it were, from the dead?" - asks Cathy Caruth in an unsettling analysis of Balzac's 1832 novel, *Colonel Chabert*, the tale of a soldier, thought dead, who appeals to the help of a lawyer in his attempt to reclaim his identity, property and wife. In 1999 Romania, the law, speaking through one of its many voices, Deputy Șerban Mihăilescu, responds in shocked disbelief:

Unbelievable, but true! In the year of grace 2000, there will be established traditional communities (*obști*) of freeholders (*răzeși* and *moșneni*), communal ownership (*composesorate*) and other Dacian-Roman or Austrian-Hungarian vestiges so that we can restitute forests to them now, in the third millennium!¹

Here, a representative of the Social Democratic Party uses irony to express his incredulity in face of calls from the Peasant and Liberal parties for the passage of a law establishing the recreation of traditional communities and the restoration of their rights to communal ownership. Although he had previously deployed elaborate arguments to resist the restitution of forests to former private owners, the Deputy's stance seems to suggest that it is pointless to even argue in the case of communal ownership. If one simply points out that this is basically a claim from the dead, then it is impossible not to recognize the ludicrous nature of the whole attempt – such “vestiges” have no place in “the third millennium”! What he mainly resents is the temporal affront posed by such a law that stands in utter contradiction to his taken-for-granted sense of historical progression. In contrast, a representative of the Liberal Party contended that the law must face its traumatic past, advocating an imaginary return in time as a model for empathy:

We try to repair whatever can be still repaired from a moral, juridical and legal point of view, by restituting those properties that can still be restituted. (...) Unfortunately, this law cannot repair the suffering that these former proprietors, many of them already gone, have endured once they lost their right to property. This is one thing that cannot be rectified in any way. Besides discussing the pragmatic side of this debate, all those who come to this microphone should at least attempt a return in time – mentally, of course – in order to understand what it means to lose one's property, but, at the same time, to lose also one's life, one's liberty, one's children ... this is beyond any material loss.²

The 2000 law that emerged from these debates did indeed provide for the re-establishment of communal ownership over forests, but did not address in any way the question of loss or that of temporality. Moreover, the Vrancea peasants, and others like them, were successful only because they could prove that their ownership claim had been previously recognized by the state - in their case through the 1910 Forestry Code - and not because of any genealogical, historical or sentimental connection they could invoke with respect to their place.³

Interestingly enough, this previous recognition had to contend with similar arguments against the anachronism represented by communal ownership. The 1910 opposition to the Code anticipated the outrage of the 1999 opposition to the reconstitution of communal ownership. Take

Ionescu, a liberal MP as well as a lawyer for early 20th century lumber companies, condemned the Code as an unconstitutional “revolution of the Romanian property regime” (APR 1910: 1423) and an instance of historical regression:

Everywhere, in all the civilized societies, collective property is a leftover of the primitive state. I do not share the opinions of those who think individual property is an evil which should be suppressed. I share the opinions of those who obey our present Constitution and who understand the present society – those who think individual property is the best form of allocation. From the point of view of the current constitution of property, indivisible property with all its complications and difficulties is surely a rest of barbarism. (...) [The Code supports] the same wretched idea of going back to collectivity instead of going forward towards individuality (APR 1910: 1422).

Already in 1910, communal ownership appeared as an embarrassing relic and raised fears of a return to barbarism or primitivism. Such panic was well informed by the movement of 19th century legal codification throughout Europe towards the dissolution (by means of enclosure, partition, heavy taxation) of existing communal forms of landed property, in alignment with the prevalent liberal ideology of individual property as well as the precepts of the scientific (and hence, efficient) agronomy inaugurated by the French Physiocrats (Vivier 1998; Demélas and Vivier 2003; Moor and Warde 2002).⁴ While European states were slowly but surely extinguishing the communal, Romania appeared to give it a new life in the guise of the *Obște* and even tried to protect it from the influence of capitalism and modernity. It was precisely this archaic flavor – the anachronistic persistence of communal ownership into the 19th and even 20th century – that was irresistible to the Romanian historians, jurists, economists and social reformers who debated the origins of property in late 19th and early 20th century.⁵

In the 1920s, once the Romanian School of Sociology embarked on an ambitious fieldwork project in Romania’s remaining communal villages, the topic became a crucial ingredient for the very disciplinary articulation of the social sciences and humanities (Rostas 2001). At this point the emergence of communal ownership as an object of scientific (sociological, historical, juridical) study interweaves with and makes possible the foundation of an anthropological tradition in Romania. While late 19th and

early 20th century students of communal property had only occasionally ventured outside the bounds of archives, libraries and legal collections, a new generation of scholars in the 1920s questioned the limits of written evidence and proposed to read the past of communal ownership in the landscapes and social relations of contemporary surviving communal villages.⁶ In this context, the anachronism of communal ownership seemed to offer a new way of writing history backwards and thus rethinking major topics such as the characteristics of feudalism in Romania, the existence and features of “second serfdom”, the impact of capitalism, as well as the relationship between law and custom (Panaitescu 1964; Stahl 1939; 1958; 1980). However, their main arguments rested on the “unique” evidence of a Romanian communally organized free peasantry. In this sense, it is difficult to estimate the extent and density of their ties to the vast comparative research projects that turned communal or collective ownership into one of the most debated juridical and historical questions of 19th century Europe (including European Russia).

In mid-19th century, European jurists, historians, economists and sociologists were locked in or furnished material for the controversy over the historical antecedence of communal over private property.⁷ At the same time, this was a debate on the status of Roman law (and implicitly natural law theory), the value of the comparative method as a proof-making process, the claims of written and unwritten evidence, the nature of relations that make up social entities as well as the manufacturing of historical periodization.⁸ The terrain of the communal was particularly fertile in this sense, inviting inquiry into the nature and form of social bonds, the moral and legal personhood of associations, and, implicitly, their “real” or “fictive” character. Historical investigation provided a rich register for the understanding of social association: from the Roman notion of *corpus* and variously inflected concepts of *collegium*, *universitas*, *societas* and *communitas* (Black 1984) to vernacular notions of community and togetherness, such as the Romanian *devălmășie* or the Russian *obshchina*. Thus, the debates over communal ownership were also debates about the patterned effects of social connectivity, extending in some cases (such as the work of German historian Otto von Gierke) to the articulation of a *Gemeinwesen* (lit. common being) that could be read as a characteristically Romantic formulation, but also as an early attempt to tease out the contours of a social and historical ontology.

Moreover, applied to the question of communal ownership as an originary, yet present phenomenon, the comparative method which was

the mainstay of 19th century scholarship was inevitably faced with the problem of anachronism. As Vico (2002) had emphasized, any inquiry into the problematic of origins and succession depends also upon the taxonomy of anachronism. While probing for historical depth, the comparison of ancient Roman property with the surviving 19th century Russian communal village required the fabrication of simultaneity. Such phenomena became part of a contemporaneity that seemed slightly out of joint.⁹ In this sense, the communal was in a state of perpetual mediation, either between the deep past and the present or between the present and the distant future. Such debates over communal property promise to reveal just how productive anachronism as a form of temporal incongruity could be for the project of a historical periodization relatively detached from the rigors of absolute chronological time (Chakrabarty 2000; Davis 2008; Kracauer 1969; Wilcox 1987).

Even at the time of the critical legal debates involving Romanian communal villages in early 19th century, specifically, the lawsuit carried by the peasants of Vrancea in 1801-1816 to contest the possibility of royal donation, the regime of communal ownership was understood as the relic of an immemorial past (Constantinescu-Mircesti 1985). This transmutation into the past was a practical achievement of the peasants of Vrancea and of the kind of documentary evidence they could produce in order to support their claim of continuous possession. Just as Pasteur worked hard to show that microbes existed all along after 1864 when he discovered them, the participants to this lawsuit collaborated into proving that after 1816 communal ownership existed all along, or, at the very least, since the donation performed by king Stephen the Great in the 15th century. Inevitably, such extension in time became a given for the subsequent practitioners and interpreters of communal ownership, bringing together past, present and future in a series of nested inclusions.

A telling example of how inclusive temporality works is another juridical conflict, this time in 1995 over the boundaries of communal forests belonging to two neighboring villages, which shows how the manipulation of anachronism extends not just the past but also the future. In 1995, that is, five years *before* communal forests were restituted to their communities and while they still existed under state ownership and administration, two villages went to court over the contested boundaries of *their* communal forests. In the course of the lawsuit, the lawyers of both villages presented themselves as acting in the name of the *Obște* – an entity that had existed before 1950 but had still not come into being in 1995 – and fought over

the division of forest properties that nominally did not even belong to the parties named in the lawsuit. They did so based on the documentary evidence produced by the villagers – interestingly enough, this evidence consisted of an accounting of debts between the two villages at the closing of the 1801 lawsuit that I mentioned above. Thus, one can look at this 1995 event as a double anachronism: on the one hand, the re-emergence of debts almost two centuries old into the present; on the other hand, the present invocation of an entity that had not yet come into being. In this sense, the 1995 lawsuit performs a double temporal extension, bringing into the present both the distant past and not yet realized future and doing so strategically at a moment when the question of restitution for communal forests was already on the political agenda.

More to the point, these instances of anachronism as well as my previous discussion of recurrent moments – 1801, 1910, 1920, 1999 – when communal ownership is invariably pronounced dead or just about, share an important element. In each case, the confusion between past and present, extinction and existence occurs at the intersection of different modes of knowledge, more precisely when communal ownership comes under the metropolitan gaze of 19th century noblemen, the modern civil code, interwar sociologists, or the contemporary state. Temporal incongruities arise out of the different referential systems present in these encounters (see also below). In a bold move, Timothy Jenkins (2010) argues that the persistence of practices of property and inheritance – in his case the Béarnais house ‘discovered’ in the 19th century by Frédéric Le Play as the stem family just as it was transformed by the Civil Code and in the twentieth by Pierre Bourdieu as a paradox of inheritance – relies precisely on presenting to outsiders the appearance of being on the verge of extinction. Neither party in these encounters – the Béarnais local society and the sociologists – is left unchanged, but Jenkins (2010: 159) claims that “the results of these encounters between local and modern life appear to lead to prolongations of local life rather than its obliteration.” His attempt to tease out “the life of property” through time concludes that that it is a form of existence based on “the mode of ‘being about to disappear’” (Jenkins 2010: 24; 63).

It is certainly significant that Jenkins’ analysis is focused on practices of inheritance and thus on the part that death (in this case, literal, biological death) plays in enabling the continuity of ownership practices. In what follows, I discuss how a local way of life is codified with the result that inheritance itself becomes the problem and “death” is produced as a

relevant ownership phenomenon where it had not existed before (Ingold 2000). This is, in other words, the encounter between an ownership identity that lies in people's belonging to the forest – and thus excludes death as irrelevant to continuity – and a set of norms, proposed by the Forestry Code, in which ownerships appear as a property of persons themselves and is extinguished by death, making thus continuity impossible in the absence of succession.

1.2. Succession

The 1910 Forestry Code attempted to regulate all forms of communal ownership (*devălmășie*) over forests by instituting special commissions that would investigate and codify local customs, thereby offering them the protection of the law (Botez 1923). It was the first time the Romanian state tried to intervene directly in the workings of such communities and the debates that preceded the adoption of the Code amply illustrate the legislators' ignorance and even bewilderment about "this ancient and extremely complicated juridical problem" (APR 1910: 1422). The intervention was framed as protection: the state had a duty to shelter the weak and the ignorant, that is the freeholders who lived in *devălmășie*, and to institute itself as their guardian against foreign or domestic "exploiters" who persuaded them to sell their forests at ridiculous prices and then cut them down for a profit. To this purpose, the Code organized freeholders in *Obști* (communities) after the model of joint stock companies, stipulated their form of administration, instituted rural judges as their foremost guardian authorities, prohibited individual sales of rights unless the buyers were members of the same community and prevented unfair transactions by forbidding the division of communal forests, unless it was performed in kind and approved unanimously by the community. The latter prohibition was, in fact, a permanent one, as the Code drafters explicitly acknowledged the impossibility of territorial division for highland forests as well as the improbability of unanimous agreement in communities of hundreds of people; it was, nonetheless, meant to reflect and perpetuate local customs of indivisibility however far removed they were from the current constitutional regime of private property.

The *Obște* of 1910 was a legal creation that embodied a precarious compromise between the precepts of the 1864 Civil Code and the various local customs gathered under the umbrella of the term *devălmășie*. Even

though the Forestry Code charged local commissions with the codification of local customs, the statutes of the *Obște* were uniformly drafted and perpetuated several important misunderstandings about the form of communal forests. The most relevant one concerned the confusion of *devălmășie* with indivisible property as recognized by the Civil Code. In the latter sense, indivisibility was a temporary state that resulted from unfinished acts of succession; it was an accident that would be corrected as soon as the inheritors divided the property among themselves. When applied retrospectively, this understanding of indivisibility reframed communal forests as the effect of a sequence of unfinished acts of succession. Following this logic, their origin rested with one or several ancestors whose descendants multiplied but never completely exited the state of indivisibility. It also meant that communal forests were organized genealogically from the very beginning, that is, the original private property had slowly decayed into an indivisible communal property. This genealogical principle was, moreover, in perfect agreement with the civil law rules of transmission for private property. The Code drafters were encouraged in this interpretation by several more known cases of *devălmășie* in Central and Southern Romania. These were genealogically organized communal forests where each member of the community was entitled to a definite share calculated by rules of inheritance. In these instances, the unequal rights of community members could be neatly mapped onto genealogical charts and divisibility appeared indeed as the underlying basis of property organization. It was only later, in the interwar period, that historians and ethnographers (Stahl 1939; Caramelea 1944) criticized this view and argued instead that genealogical arrangements were later stages of an original state of total, egalitarian *devălmășie* – what Henri Stahl called “absolute joint ownership.”

When inscribed in the *Obște* statutes, this vision of indivisibility resulted into what the Code drafters called “joint stock company” organization (Botez 1923). Each community member was entitled to an abstract share – the right – that could be variously calculated in local terms, according to territorial units of measure, money, kinship lineages, etc. This made some sense for the genealogically organized communal forests, where members could end up with one right, half, quarter or even one tenth of a right according to their lineage. In Vrancea, though, these registers of rights prescribed by the Forestry Code created chaos and confusion. As articulated by Vranceans, *devălmășia* meant primarily that “the forest was free” for all the locals to use, „the rich and the poor, the old and

the children" (*cum bogatul, cum săracul; cum bătrânul, cum copilul*). It was indeed upheld as an "unruly togetherness" that denied any form of divisibility: anyone could go into the forest and cut "without measure, without limit" (see paper 2 for a discussion of the implicit measurement of rights). The 1910 commission for the constitution of the *Obște*, headed by the county judge, did make an effort to translate local usage patterns into something resembling customary law. After questioning villagers throughout Vrancea, it condensed *devălmășia* into the following set of rules of inclusion, exclusion and transmission:

Obșteni [community members] are considered all the inhabitants, men and women, who are settled in the village and are born of parents who were themselves *Obșteni*. Everyone's right is equal, both in what concerns pasturage and the taking of wood from the forest. This right belongs to all the children who come of age, even though their parents might be living, and disappears with death. The *Obșteni* who leave the village with no intention of returning lose their right but regain it should they return, even if after many years (Hârnea [1930] 2007: 47).

Faced with such a radically professed egalitarianism, the local commission ended up compiling membership lists where each villager was inscribed with the mention "one right" next to their name. In this context, the register of rights was basically a list of all the villagers, recognized as natives (*de baștină*) by a community gathering. Those excluded were usually only the newcomers recently settled in the village or people who had moved to a different village upon marriage. Several villages made amendments to the *Obște* statutes offering to newcomers from outside Vrancea— identified as *lăturași* (literally, the marginal) – the right to use the forest upon payment of an annual tax. Similarly, people who married into the village were also acknowledged as members, but only if they also came from within Vrancea. In contrast, those who had moved to another Vrancean village lost their right quite irrevocably, and especially so since they were expected to be admitted into the *Obște* of their residence.

Nonetheless, the inscription of membership did not go as smoothly as the Code drafters had intended. The registers of rights themselves were not taken seriously by villagers until the late 1920s, in part because of the lengthy and expensive updating procedures they required. Each new member who came of age had to write and deliver a petition to the County Tribunal; this application of membership would then be reviewed

and voted upon in the annual gathering of the *Obște*. The first decade, nobody actually bothered to write such petitions or even to hold the annual meetings stipulated by the Code. In many cases, the first constitutive gathering of the *Obște* was held only in 1919, after the war, while the proper membership updating procedures were initiated as late as 1927. As long as everyone knew who belonged and who didn't, the membership documents had little consequence for the actual business of forest usage. In the meantime, the *Obște* on the paper and the *Obște* in reality began to drift farther apart as these registers remained frozen in time, finally turning into lists of the dead. After his fieldwork in Nereju in 1927, Stahl (1939) observed that the membership register was in fact a diptych (*pomelnic*) where more than half of those inscribed were deceased.

However, the registers demanded by the Forestry Code were by no means the first or only documents to deal with the configuration of communal forest rights. The codification instituted by the Forestry Code came after two decades of industrial logging and an assiduous commerce in "rights" to the forest initiated by international logging companies and their local delegates. Such companies had been ignoring local customs since 1890 – except those that declared rights of use to be unlimited – and had purchased dozens of rights from villagers who had left the *Obște* of their residence. This regime of transactions had already established the alienability of forest rights to outsiders as a regional practice that conflicted with the newly recognized customs. Soon after World War I the County Tribunal was flooded with contestations of the 1910 membership lists. The contestants – some of them the same logging companies – were not at all bothered by the locals' laxity in updating the membership registers. On the contrary, they immediately recognized the benefits of this documentary regime and embarked upon remarkable feats of "necropolitics" (Mbembe 2003), readily transacting with the dead but properly listed members. As a visiting forestry specialist noted in 1936, industrial logging societies would make a wholesale purchase of 76 "rights" from 73 villagers, of whom 17 were dead and 10 had long left the village. Ridiculing the situation in the annual meetings of the *Obște* that approved such transactions, the same observer exclaimed: "You are not really impressed when the living vote with the dead, but the dead who vote with the dead – this was possible only in Vrancea!" (Anon. 1943: 105-6). This industrious presence of the dead was possible only because of the agentive role acquired by membership lists. The documents themselves became actors in their own right, opening up paths for transactions that would otherwise have been

almost impossible. As in the case of identification papers such as birth certificates or passports, the documentary substance of membership lists was more pertinent than the corporeality of members, persisting even in the afterlife.

The reason for these contestations concerned rather the manner of updating membership lists, and particularly the question of how to perform the transmission of communal forest rights. After the war, companies that had bought the majority of rights in a village had to suddenly deal with the descendents of the villagers they had originally transacted with: these young men, many of whom had returned from the battlefield restless and penniless, demanded either payment or the right to take lumber from the same forests leased by their parents. Their demands were not couched only in a juridical register, but often took the form of direct confrontations with company employees and acts of sabotage, such as the derailing of forestry trains and the burning of company buildings.¹⁰ The conflict came to be known as “the battle of the majors” (Hârnea 1930; Stahl 1939), pitting the youth who came of legal age after the formulation of the 1910 membership lists against logging companies, juridical authorities, and even their own parents.

The contestations of these young Vranceans whose parents were still living reached two different sections of the County Tribunal: one gave precedence to civil law norms of inheritance over local custom, the other considered local custom first, according to the Forestry Code. In the first view, communal forest rights, just as any other property, could be transmitted only after death and then divided equally to all the descendents of a member. In the second view, “the custom of the place” (*obiceiul locului*) denied any possibility of transmission in the communal ownership over forests. Juridical and ethnographic accounts of the 1920’s cite repeatedly the same local saying that had suddenly become popular in the region: “The Vrancean is born and dies together with his own right” (*Vrînceanul se naște și moare odată cu dreptul lui*), or, more rarely, “The right of the Vrîncean is born and dies with him” (*Dreptul Vrînceanului se naște și moare odată cu el*) (Harnea 1930; Sava 1929; Stahl 1939). This was basically a tangible right to use, whose materiality extinguished together with that of the person, being indissolubly attached to the body and its actual capacities of forest work. The tenets of this ostensibly “customary” law, articulated so rigidly in the context of opposition to civil norms of inheritance and especially to the attempts of industrial logging companies to commodify these local “rights” (Stahl 1959: 215-7), asserted

a non-genealogical principle that is still taken for granted in the workings of today's communal forests: "rights" cannot be inherited and all those who are natives of the village (men, women and children who come of age) have the same kind of entitlement to the use of the forest. The origin of this right lies not in an act of succession, but one of regional and local citizenship and the nature of this belonging is a form of social relatedness that cannot be simply circumscribed by family ties.¹¹ In 1927, one of Stahl's informants put the matter quite starkly: "there's no tie between children and parents, except the biological one."

The result of these two contradictory juridical interpretations was that those villages that appealed to the first section of the County Tribunal had their statutes modified according to civil law while the others continued according to local custom. Not surprisingly the locals were bitter about this state of affairs that divided the region into a patchwork of conflicting membership rules and, more importantly, into equal and unequal configurations of communal forest rights. Simion Hârnea (1930), a clerk at the Naruja Courthouse, deplored the example of a villager with five children: two of them were of legal age in 1910 and were listed together with their father, each with their own right, while the other three who came of age after the ruling of the County Tribunal were entitled only to a fifth of a right and only after their father's death. As a result, the question of inheritance was hotly debated throughout the 1920s: in 1922, the Obștea of village Paltin, in conflict with the logging company SARIF, took the matter to the Supreme Court of Justice and obtained an annulment of the County Tribunal's decision and a further confirmation of the legality of local custom (Hârnea 1930). Spurred by this success, several other villages initiated procedures to amend their statutes until these local claims resulted in 1930 in an inheritance amendment, specially designed for Vrancea, to the Forestry Code (Botez 1923). In 1927, Aurel Sava, county judge and amateur historiographer of Vrancea (Sava 1929; 1931), presided over an extraordinary gathering of the Obștea Naruja, called for the express purpose of amending membership updating procedures, that is, "inscribing the children who have come of age and erasing the dead."¹² The villagers present at the meeting argued emphatically for the prevalence of "immemorial customs" that had already been recognized by former kings of Moldavia and even by the recent Forestry Code. Judge Sava, sympathetic to their claims, agreed to the proposed amendments and went even further, taking it upon himself to organize, analyze and turn into "general principles" the customs described by the villagers.

Beginning from the oft repeated saying – “everyone is born and dies with their right” – he proceeded to extrapolate and codify the customary vision of *devălmășie*:

1. A person becomes *Obștean* through the simple fact of his birth, from within the group, regardless if his parents live or not. The birth generates rights, not in relation to the parents, but in relation to the community to which the parents also belong.
2. The right of the *Obșteni* is a usage right. This right does not end according to abstract juridical norms, but in a natural manner, through death or definitive departure from the village, that is, a material impossibility to continue using the forest. Thus conceived, the right dies together with the person, because it is a personal right tightly linked to the physical body of the *Obștean*. “Everyone is born and dies with their right.”
3. The *Obștean*’s right being tightly linked to the material, physical possibility of usage, it follows that minors are fully or partly incapable from a juridical and actual point of view of exercising the rights which they acquired through birth. Settling upon the age of 21 as the date of full juridical capacities combines in a felicitous manner the principles of civil law and those of the custom of the place.
4. Since all the members have the right to use the communal forest to the limit of their physical powers, they all have equal rights. “The rich as the poor, the children as the elder”, all together (*deavalma*), “without limit, without measure.” In this context, there can be no actual distinction between the member with one right and the one with two rights. (...).¹³

Judge Sava’s principles codified a series of ownership practices in order to make them amenable to the forms of inscription demanded by the Forestry Code. This definition of membership and succession was not just a translation of “immemorial custom” but also an effect of the particular form of the register of rights, and, by extension, of the entitlements and obligations that followed from the very act of inscription. The register of rights was, in theory, the only document that identified the members of the community created by the Forestry Code – a community that could not achieve a legally valid meeting unless two thirds of its members

were present, that was supposed to take decisions by voting procedures, that decided the payment of tax contributions or revenue dividends according to the number of listed members, in short, a community that was accountable to a list. “The battle of the majors” was thus not simply a conflict between civil law and custom, capitalism and the traditional economy, the individual and the community. It was rather an ensemble of actions brought on by the realization that counting and accounting procedures had an intrinsic effect on the configuration of communal forests.

In this context, the denial of succession – more precisely, the idea that “rights disappear through death into the common mass of *devălmășie*”¹⁴ – was a way of controlling the effects of accounting. Rights would not disperse or fragment into tenths and fifths according to the arbitrary dynamic of family demographics; instead, the community remained the single originator and repository of rights, creating itself anew with each generation rather than succeeding the previous one. Needless to say, the documentary form of the list with its sequence of numbered names and its procedures for inscription and erasure, made this transformative process visible, accountable, and, ultimately, open to manipulation. What used to be an amorphous togetherness based on mutual recognition developed in time and dependent on the time that it took to ascertain belonging became an instantly accessible list of names and an instantly computable number. The list itself could exert a similar degree of control over the definition of succession, and implicitly, of community.

The tensions brought by these accounting procedures returned with a vengeance after the 2000 reconstitution of Vrancea’s communal forests. As the villagers of Nereju soon discovered, legal recognition is not tantamount to the exercise of property rights. Their newly created *Obște* is still largely dependent upon the local branch of the State Forestry Office (*Ocolul Silvic*) which is in charge with the rational administration and guarding of the forests as well as with overseeing all the steps of the timber-cutting process (the amount and type of timber, the area, the time, etc.). In fact, the state, through its local forestry agents, has hijacked the new communal organization: besides the president (a native of the village of Nereju), all the other four members of the first administrative council are state forestry agents. State control is deemed necessary by the *Obște* leadership (and by the law) because, otherwise, people will “indiscriminately” cut down the trees, supposedly destroying the whole forest.¹⁵

The strangeness of this situation is brought into focus by the fact that, according to the *Obște* statute, only natives of the village are allowed to exercise full rights of control and voting.¹⁶ Establishing what makes one a “native” is as complex a matter as it was in the 1920s.¹⁷ Autochthony in this case does not necessarily rely on a rigid genealogical memory or a denial of historical movement (Loraux 1996: 82; Geschiere 2009:12), but constitutes rather an insistence on a certain kind of commitment to the place, which can only be judged internally and according to the particulars of each context. In this sense, the widow of a local priest commented about two state foresters who come from local families: “they’re from here, damn them, but now they’re of the state (*de-acum sînt de-ai statului*).”

However, as many people complain, not even the full members of the *Obște* receive their timber quotas and many of them have to pay dearly for the “privilege” of getting timber cutting permissions from the state foresters. At the same time, foresters give discretionary permits to local and county-based businessmen for cutting large amounts of timber in exchange for bribes or other facilities. The father-in-law of the *Obște* president owns the largest sawmill in the village, equipped with modern power saws and several large trucks that make daily transports of timber. The lawyer of the *Obște* is another important player in the local lumbering industry. Former party activist and organizer of pyramid games in the early 1990s, godfather of the County Prefect’s niece, this businessman apparently profits from the large exports of timber from the Vrancea forests and villagers estimate that timber worth more than half a million USD was illegally exported in 2000-2002 through shady procurement deals.

In this context, the law’s capacity to bring about resurrection is seriously undermined, in part by the skillful performances of a ventriloquist state. “This is not our *Obște*. It’s *theirs!*” exclaims a peasant from a distant hamlet of Nereju, referring mainly to the ubiquitous foresters and their simultaneous impersonations as businessmen and *Obște* councilors. “It is *they* who have the power, the connections, and the money! They cut the forest and they threaten to kill us if we speak against them.” Another villager who has actually sued the local Forestry Office expressed the same dilemma with bitter concision: “The forest is our milk cow: we hold it by the legs and they milk it!”

These conflicts spurred by the role of the State Forestry Office took at first an electoral form and divided the village into two factions that ended up engaging in quarrels and street fights that made the headlines of county newspapers and determined the Prefect of Vrancea to send in special

police troops. During the first two years of its existence, the leadership of *Obște* Nereju was hotly contested by almost two thirds of the villagers. Trying to fight back by legal means, they organized new elections in February 2002. The elections, called by the then village mayor and his brother, director of the village Cultural House, benefited from widespread participation (more than a thousand members) and supported a candidate with no ties to the State Forestry Office as well as several changes in the *Obște* statute, such as the creation of private forestry agents. The acting leadership did not recognize these results (nor did the County Tribunal) and decided, in turn, to respond by organizing a separate round of elections.¹⁸ As less than 200 people answered their call, the organizers appealed also to the nether world, enlisting the ignorant help of dead villagers. Upon realizing this maneuver, an old villager expressed his astonishment: "I went and looked at their lists; they were posted on the fence. And there were 70 dead people there. Believe me, I checked and they were dead, they weren't alive. Still, they signed and they voted, yes, they did..."

This arguably classic example of electoral fraud serves not just to illustrate yet another conjuring trick on the part of "those who have the power", but, more importantly, to reveal the many guises in which membership documents disrupt and reconfigure everyday relations of ownership. The presence of the dead on the electoral lists was not really accidental, as the former village mayor pointed out to me. The *Obște* president has refused to update the membership lists, so that now there are dozens of dead proprietors who can be easily mobilized, while, at the same, preventing the living from exercising their ownership rights.

While the dead members could be brought to vote by counterfeiting their signatures on ballots, they could hardly use their voice to change the balance of power in the general meetings of the *Obște*. This could, however, be achieved by denying the youth the right to vote and the right to be elected in the administrative positions of the *Obște*. The same inheritance debate that had raged throughout interwar Vrancea was revived in contemporary Nereju, just three years after the restitution of communal forests. The initial statute of the *Obște*, drafted by the County Council and identical for the entire region, distinguishes between three categories of members: founding, associated and members. The first includes the people inscribed in the last membership lists of the interwar *Obște* or, if they are dead, their direct descendents, establishing thus the present community as a successor of the past one. The last refers to non-natives, newcomers to the village who are only entitled to a heating wood quota in virtue of an

annual subscription and have no electoral rights. The associated members are the young: men and women whose parents – founding members themselves – are still living. The statute makes no difference between the rights of founding and associated members, preserving thus the customary denial of inheritance with regard to the communal forest. However, in the course of the electoral conflicts discussed above, the administrative council decided by itself to amend the statute, an illegal maneuver since only a general meeting of the entire community was entitled to such action. The new rule, presented as accomplished fact in the general meeting, specifies that associated members have the right to vote and the right to be elected only after the death of their parents (their rights to timber quotas remain unchanged). Since the main contender to the position of President of the Obște was just such an associated member, the new rule effectively cut him off the electoral run and together with him all his young supporters. With a single strike, 2,565 associated members were taken out of the electoral equation and deprived of any say in the general meetings of the Obște. The rest of 1,250 founding members and their successors constitute a much more manageable quantity, given that many of them are elderly and can be more easily manipulated or even intimidated in exchange for their support. The statute document itself remains unaltered, but the new unofficial rule can be temporarily invoked to silence vocal youths in the general meetings or to browbeat them into submission to the decisions of the administrative council. From a political point of view, the newly manufactured rule of inheritance is eminently useful for the manipulation of electoral numbers. In this sense, the re-emergence of inherited rights could be taken as the sign of an intrinsic problem of counting within the organization of communal ownership over forests.

Nonetheless, from a historical point of view, it begs the question of sequentiality anew. Few people in contemporary Nereju are aware that this same inheritance debate was successfully settled in the interwar period. There are no explicit memories of “the battle of majors” as in other Vrancean villages, in part because the Nereju of the 1920s was so adamant in refusing the application of the Forestry Code that the question of updating membership lists did not even come up. The villagers of Nereju insist that the forest has always been free for all, but this memory of ideal *devălmășie* lacks the concise and unassailable clarity of the bootstrap codifications performed in those villages that had to actually navigate the interwar maze of forestry rules and documents. The allegedly immemorial saying “Everyone is born and dies with their right” is simply absent; in its

place there is a sense of wrongness and anger about the idea of inheritance, but no “customary” maxim to express it. In turn, the very invocation of a rule of inheritance was possible only because of the distinction already established in the statute between founding and associate members. Whatever officials of the County Council were responsible for drafting this uniform statute for Vrancea’s communal forests, they clearly operated with an underlying notion of genealogically transmissible rights: members of the interwar lists became founding members (also called “authors”), while their descendents are members only in virtue of genealogical association. The origin of rights resides not in the community, but in the person of a certain number of people; rights do not die with their users, but postexist them indefinitely. If the customs codified on the occasion of the Forestry Code had been fully upheld, there would have been no need for this distinction: the founding entity would have been the community as a whole, establishing the 2000 *Obște* as a *historical*, rather than genealogical, successor of the 1910 *Obște*.

The local 2000 restitution commission in Nereju received the statute document with the in-built distinction, but read it and applied it initially as though there were none: all members have the same and equal rights. Nevertheless, as soon as political conflicts developed, the membership loophole became instantly visible and attempts to revive inheritance were underway. The fact that Nereju is the only village in Vrancea so far to contend with this problem only serves to draw attention to the potentiality of inheritance as it is already inscribed in the statutes of all other communities. In this sense, the present *Obște* is a true historical successor to the past one, embodying anew the latent potential of its contradictions. What it succeeds is not the ideally free community of “custom” and not even the legally valid 1910 community, but the sequence of actually existing communities shaped by successive acts of codification, documentary inscription, and political and economic conflicts.

The 2000 law for the reconstitution of communal forests explicitly acknowledges historical succession as its purpose, but treats it as an exclusively legal achievement. Within the situated practices of reconstitution, though, succession unfolds as a process of assemblage, alternatively actualizing various historical versions of the communal forest. This is not simply a form of historical recapitulation or inevitable re-occurrence giving rise to awkward instances of *déjà vu* or inconvenient temporal incongruities. The (re)emergence of different latent potentialities depends both on their resilience – the extent to which they remain

recognizable in the form of memories, archival documents, types of graphical representation (such as the membership list) – as well as on the contingent concatenations of present events which constitute their contexts of actualization (such as, for instance, the electoral conflicts of 2003). If there is a regime of latency at work here, it is the substantive achievement of variously situated actors, and not an inherent feature of formally designed processes of recapitulation. Contemporary reconstitution consists of local actors working through a register of potentialities that depend on social occasioning, individual purposes and projects, and social recognition, in order to be variously actualized (Cole 2001: 106; Lambek 1996).

The temporality of this process might variously appear as a form of succession, duplication or anachronism, but such labels ultimately obscure the complexity of any sequentially organized event or situation. Erving Goffman (1986: 9) argues that any inquiry into the temporality of a situation has to contend with multiplicity: “in most ‘situations’ many different things are happening simultaneously – things that are likely to have begun at different moments and may terminate dissynchronously. To ask the question ‘what is *it* that’s going on here?’ biases matters in the direction of unitary exposition and simplicity.”

1.3. Emergence

Given the radical misunderstanding between the 1910 code drafters who insisted on treating local communal ownership as a distorted form of indivisible property and the villagers who continued to see the forest as “free for all to use”, the new statutes were often ignored in practice. The “authentic social palimpsest” of the late 1920s Vrancea villages, wherein the official (state) and unofficial (local custom) function in parallel, triggered the “despair of the social archeologist” who was investigating them at the time: “Today one needs to work hard in order to be able to recognize in a ‘Community Council’ what is it that derives from the Forestry Code and what from the judge who wrote the “establishment”, that is, the Statute of the community and, finally, what constitutes the custom of the place” (Stahl 1939: 232).

The social palimpsest described here makes a mess of the proper sequential order of historical events. Time is conventionally structured by succession and not by coexistence, which is a proper spatial attribute. It is only at the intersection of time and space and from the perspective

of an observer, in this case the locally situated social archeologist, that simultaneity becomes noticeable. Even so, this simultaneity is more properly a form of collocation in which events ascribed different temporal affiliations occupy the same place, rather than the modern notion of simultaneity instituted by relativity theory, which requires an observer mediated coincidence of events at different locations (Jammer 2006).

The simultaneity of events that are, as Kracauer puts it, “asynchronous” serves to underline the fragile texture of contemporaneity, and indeed of all historical periodization. Reinhart Koselleck’s meditation on *Zeitgeschichte* as the meeting point of present presents, past presents and future presents is only a vivid illustration of what he considers to be the plural nature of all historical time or “the temporal multilayeredness of historical experience” (2002: 141). The coexistence of temporal layers or what Koselleck (1985: 95; 247) refers to as “the contemporaneity of the noncontemporaneous” (*Gleichzeitigkeit der Ungleichzeitigen*) suggests an implicit critique to the project of historical periodization when based on the idea of a chronologically determinate and homogenous time. In a similar vein, Siegfried Kracauer (1969: 150), one of the most articulate critics of the notion of periodization and indeed of the pernicious effects of chronology in the writing of history contests the idea that the period can be “a meaningful spatiotemporal unit” and sees it instead as a kind of “meeting place for chance encounters – something like the waiting room of a railway station.”¹⁹ The inconsistent nature of the period arises from its double constitution: it requires a sequential order out of which it emerges and a simultaneous assemblage of elements that might or not have the same chronological age.

In the broadest sense, this paradoxical formulation of the period, blending both sequence and simultaneity, could be taken as another way of conceptualizing the effect of history. Indeed, Koselleck’s very notion of *Gleichzeitigkeit der Ungleichzeitigen* (alternatively translated as “the simultaneity of the nonsimultaneous”) has a much longer biography, cropping up in accounts as various as Karl Marx’s famous musings on history in the *18th Brumaire*, Karl Mannheim’s and Edward Shils’ theorizations of the encounter between tradition and modernity and Claude Levi-Strauss’ influential critique of “the historian’s code” – that is the ordinal structure proposed by historical chronology – in response to Jean-Paul Sartre’s model of historical progression-regression (Chandler 1998). I do not have the space here to rehearse such debates on the intrinsic values of diachrony versus synchrony or indeed history versus anthropology (see Fabian 1983).

I focused on Koselleck's and Kracauer's formulations because they suggest the opposition is an artificial one; for them, sequence and simultaneity cannot be thought apart precisely because they work implicitly with a notion of time based on multiplicity.

What does it mean to work with a plural notion of time? One of the most comprehensive and least considered answers (but see Abbott 2001), is that of George Herbert Mead (1932) in his posthumous publication, *The Philosophy of the Present*. Mead is primarily concerned with integrating the findings of relativity theory into a working notion of social time (Joas 1997). He does so by firmly grounding time into the present, which has indisputable ontological priority over the past and the future. However, the central notion of his metaphysics is the notion of emergence, or more precisely, the emergent event, which is, at the same time, a social event. Emergent events can occur only within a social reality and with this insight Mead constructs a theory of time that is based on the ontological ground of sociality. True, he operates with an extended concept of sociality that includes humans, objects, nature and even, at an abstract level, the cosmos. In his most concise formulation, "sociality is the capacity of being several things at once" (Mead 1932: 49). In this view, "every event that is simultaneously of two different kinds can be called 'social.' (...) To be of two different kinds at the same time means, therefore, belonging simultaneously to two referential systems" (Joas 1997: 182). The simultaneity of this membership occurs within the moment of emergence, that is, in the "phase of readjustment" when an event passes from one referential system into another. Thus, time is constituted by emergence which is a dynamic negotiation among multiple frames of references or, to put it otherwise, a continuous "exchange of perspectives" (Mead 1932).

In this paper I have discussed 1910 and 2000 as such emergent events defined by the presence of multiple referential systems: in this case, custom and civil law. The analysis of succession (in juridical terms) is a very appropriate illustration of the conditions of emergence, not just because it entails a profoundly temporal dimension of transmission, but also because it underlines the necessity of anachronism in the persistence of communal ownership. It does so by pointing out the distinct notions of ownership that are at stake in the two versions of succession – one of them a genealogical model and the other based on coexistence with the forest, or even citizenship in the forest. It is only from the latter point of view, of customary law, that one can grasp the fallacy of reading as succession what is in fact simultaneity.

NOTES

- 1 Transcript of the June 10, 1999 session of the Chamber of Deputies regarding general debates over the legislative proposal for the reconstitution of property rights over agricultural fields and forests. www.cdep.ro
- 2 Deputy Gheorghe Cristea, Transcript of the June 10, 1999 session of the Chamber of Deputies..., www.cdep.ro
- 3 Elizabeth Povinelli's (2002: 153-85) investigation of native Australian land claims shows the perverse ways in which "the cunning of recognition" affects the extent to which such more elusive connections can or cannot be brought within the sphere of the law. Moreover, as she points out (172), the Australian Supreme Court identified the authenticity (and thus, validity) of native claims with temporal distance, stating that "native title obtains its value from its ability to signify fixity, stasis and resistance to a historical dialectic."
- 4 For the Russian context, and particularly the effects of the Stolypin agrarian reforms on rural communal property arrangements see Atkinson (1983), Bartlett (1990), Heinzen (2004), Pallot (1999). A few studies of Romanian 19th century property relations touch also on questions of communal ownership (Mitrany 1930; Roberts 1951; Chirot 1976).
- 5 Some of the early 20th century Romanian scholars involved in the discussion of communal ownership, and particularly the study of free communal villages were Alexandrescu (1896), Angelescu (1909), Brezulescu (1905), Calinescu (1908), Creanga (1907), Mototolescu (1910), Petriceicu-Hasdeu (1878), Radovici (1908), and Sarbescu-Lopatari (1906). It is no less significant that such debates over the nature of property and community developed in the context of a relatively coherent cooperative movement that explored forms of association for ownership, production and consumption, not only in an attempt to improve the condition of rural populations, but also to articulate alternative political ideas. For a history of the Romanian cooperative movement as well as its connections to European socialist thought, see Angelescu (1913) and Mladenatz (1931). On cooperatives in Eastern Europe and Russia see Coffey (1922); Carlson (2007) and Kotsonis (1999).
- 6 The main reference here is the work of Henri H. Stahl (1938; 1958), a prominent member of the Romanian School of Sociology in the interwar period. But see also Caramelea (1944); Jivan (1936); Poni (1921).
- 7 Though the list is not exhaustive, among the European scholars debating communal ownership I can name here Frédéric le Play (1855), Georg Ludwig von Maurer (1856), August von Haxthausen (1856), Otto von Gierke (1950; 1990), Henry Sumner Maine (1986; 1871; 1874), Emile de Laveleye (1874; 1885), Denis Numa Fustel de Coulanges (1879; 1885; 1893), and Ferdinand Tonnies (2002 [1887]). For Russia, see in particular the work of Nikolai Chernyshevsky (1911 [1858]) and Maxim Kovalevsky (2000) in the context

- of 19th century Russian social thought and early socialism (Vucinich 1976); more generally, see Kharkhordin (1999).
- 8 The 19th century debate over communal property overlapped with and provided material for early Marxist theory (Marx 1972). Its echoes are also discernible in the historical sociology of Max Weber (Momigliano 1994) and the beginnings of economic and historical anthropology in the work of Karl Polanyi and Moses Finley (Nafissi 2005).
- 9 Given the temporal entanglements faced by the 19th and early 20th century scholars of communal property, it is only fitting that “the commons”, with its attendant variations as communal or collaborative ownership, has become again a useful register for the resolution of historical shifts. Paolo Grossi (1981) argued that the emergence of the communal as an object of study in the 19th century provided also a glimpse into the formulation of a different way of possessing, alternative both to the tradition of possessive individualism and Marxist ideology. Currently, the expansion of a virtual economy of information calls for the renaissance of the commons as such a potentially alternative framework for rethinking intellectual property and indeed for imagining the very production and transmission of knowledge (Biagioli and Galison 2003; Ghosh 2005; Hess and Ostrom 2007).
- 10 Interviews Paulesti (Vrancea), 2007.
- 11 This principle is non-genealogical in a limited sense, to the extent that it denies the possibility of inheritance within the family with respect to communal property rights (but not to private property rights such as those concerning the house or the household land plots). That is, the children who come of age do not have to wait for the death of their parents in order to become full members of the village *obște*. However, in a more diffuse sense, genealogy permeates the whole mechanism of communal ownership: ideally, one cannot become a member of the *obște* unless one is a Vrancean (that is, an inhabitant of Vrancea), someone born of Vrancean parents and within Vrancea’s borders. In this sense, there exists a feeling of relatedness that unites the whole region, but this is not particularized to the level of each village or each household. See also Stahl 1939; 1959.
- 12 ANVN, F514 Naruja Courthouse, file 101/1919, p. 652.
- 13 ANVN, F514 Naruja Courthouse, file 101/1919, p. 661.
- 14 ANVN, F514 Naruja Courthouse, file 101/1919, p. 660.
- 15 Nereju (which is composed of five different hamlets) covers a surface of 18, 500 ha land of which 1,587 ha are agricultural land and 16, 913 ha forest. The property of *Obște*a Nereju covers 4, 325 ha forest, the rest of the forest being state property. Both types of forest fall under the supervision of the State Forestry Office.
- 16 People foreign of the village, the newcomers, at they are called, are members only in virtue of an annual subscription in exchange for which they have the right to receive a certain quantity of heating wood.

- 17 In 1927, when Henri Stahl did a census of the village, most of the respondents claimed that their families were “truly ancient” whereas the others were “newcomers” from Moldova and Wallachia (1939, vol. I). At the same time, most of the 18th and 19th century documents (Sava 1929; 1931) show that hamlets established by newcomers were allowed to make their own temporary forest clearings but their representatives were not accepted in the Great Council of Vrancea, which administered the communal ownership of the whole region.
- 18 The two parties (that of the former village mayor and that of the present *obște* president) tried to settle the dispute in court, but the trial was postponed several times, mainly because of procedural inconsistencies. In addition, trying to stop what they see as the plundering of “their” forest, the former mayor and his supporters called in a control from the National Anticorruption Office. Before the arrival of the control team, the local state foresters threatened (and in several cases beaten up) villagers who wanted to guide the controllers to those forest areas that had been abusively deforested. The control did not yield any conclusive results and the mayor called a general meeting of the *Obște* to decide upon a form of protest. In September 2003 almost a hundred villagers from Nereju arrived in the Romanian capital city and protested in front of the central government building, dressed in traditional local costumes in order to draw more attention to their cause.
- 19 Siegfried Kracauer (1969: 147) develops his argument in this sense: “Any period, whether ‘found’ or established in retrospect, consists of incoherent events or groups of events – a well-known phenomenon which accounts, among other things for the occurrence of events relatively unaffected by the *Zeitgeist*: thus the overstuffed interiors of the second half of the 19th century belonged to the same epoch as the thoughts born in them and yet were not their contemporaries. The typical period, that phase of the historical process, is a mixture of inconsistent elements.”

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BRINGING THE STATE BACK IN TO BUILD THE POSTSOCIALIST CITY: THE STATE EFFECT AS A POSITIONED CULTURAL CONSTRUCT

The postsocialist prosperous families from Cluj started, in the second part of the 90s, to build new villas in the interstices of the interwar villa neighbourhoods or to erect new outskirts colonies of villas, in the rural hinterland. In the second postsocialist decade, the emerging capitalism transformed this category in highly targeted demographics for real estate projects, yet the quality and safety standards varied considerably. A big media scandal started when in a new suburban neighbourhood, populated by young educated families with well paid start-up jobs, a bathtub fell two floors through the neighbours' ceilings until it hit the ground floor. As an irony, the new residential project was called 'Luxor', a suggestive marketing name picked by the developer because it connotes with luxury.

Urban studies in the postsocialist region have often pointed out that the current round of chaotic urbanization and urban sprawl is an effect of the retreat of the neoliberal state from the economy. State regulation and intervention are kept at a minimum level, in order not to impair the market, since the new postsocialist state does not have the capacity to provide new housing, as it was the case of its socialist paternalist predecessor. In addition, because of the abusive and strong interventionist overtones of the socialist state, urban regulations in the postsocialist era were delegitimized in both the eyes of state actors and the new urbanites. The market was considered the solution to the housing problem, as it was believed to be the force that would sort everything out. Yet, when the ceiling falls down, or the suburban areas are sprawling uncontrolled, or the neighbouring building does not conform to safety rules and impairs the exercise of one's property rights, the state is summoned back in. The power asymmetries produced by an unregulated market are the reasons why the need for

state regulations is salient once again. Attention to the new urbanization process reveals how the boundaries between state-society and state-economy are once again recreated and redrawn. The processes related to the new urbanization appear like strategic social spaces in which the representations of the state are constituted, contested and transformed on an everyday basis.

I will show that even if there are multiple positioned state effects, the postsocialist state is imagined as a Paper Trail State, a complicated network of records and files that fades away in the face of the materiality of property rights. The urban planning regulations are systematically circumvented through informal arrangements and negotiation because the ownership rights are reified in such a measure 'that state' is dismantled even in the eyes of the state agents, rendering it an 'entity' that regulates only papers through papers. I have conducted 36 interviews with urban planners, architect, bureaucrats, real estate agents and people leaving or buying houses or apartments in the new developments. I had three waves of interviewing on a period spanning from 2003 until 2008. I was also part of different teams involved in urban planning in the city of Cluj. In what follows, first I discuss the relation between the state and state representations, and subsequently I point out the way in which state is embodied in everyday practices and representation during the first and then the second postsocialist decade of urbanization in Cluj. As Kowalski observes much of the scholarship which emphasizes the cultural dimension of the state focuses on the practices of legibility and control, erasing the agents from the analysis. My endeavour is exactly to reveal the situated state effects of the different actors enmeshed in the new urbanization power assemblages. The chapter ends with a comparison of the two decades and a discussion of the theoretical implications.

The State Effect of the Power Assemblages

Opposing structural and functional analysis that imagined the state as a preconstructed "thing", the current stream of state theories tend to examine the state as an emergent "effect" of mundane everyday practices, representations, and multiple strands of power. This conceptualization of the state is strongly rooted in a more flexible concept of power, which, in its exercise is ambiguous, multidirectional. Such a vision creates a complex paradox for the state theory. If considered from a methodological vantage

point, the edges of the power system and institutionalized practices that form the state become indeed elusive exactly because of the capillary distribution of power. Nevertheless, this is not the case when considered from the point of view of everyday life: in this case, the state gains a clear corporality, and the state comes to be represented as possessing the coherent boundaries of a transcendent body.

In order to avoid the trap of seeing the institutional system as real, and the representation of the state as pure illusion, I lean on Miller and Rose to restate the terms of my analysis. Following Foucault's concept of governmentality, Miller and Rose claims that the modern experience of power is an effect of the rules of ordering put in motion by complex assemblages that link together apparatuses deemed 'political' with institutions that are constituted as non-political. The distinction between what comes to be classified as political and non-political, state and non-state, public and private, or law and norm is an *internal* operation of the diverse assemblages. Thus any attempt to explaining how 'the State' arises has to come to terms with the way the networks of power are producing the operational distinction between what is the external, or the non-state. While Miller and Rose does not come to designate the mechanisms of this operational performance, Timothy Mitchell forcefully argues that even if the state does not have an actual clear cut structure, the structural effect comes to be bestowed by the everyday practices permeated by disciplinary techniques of the conduct as those described by Foucault – the detailed organization of space, movements, positions, bodies. The same methods and mechanisms that work locally, breaking the actions into separate components, rearranging their parts to increase the efficiency and precision produce the specific appearance of an external structure. The forces at work in the structuring of everyday practices through discipline, come to recompose the nation-state as "something much more than the sum of everyday powers of government", in order to appear "as a structure containing and giving order and meaning to people's lives" (p. 179). The forces that are organizing internally the assemblages of power are producing the effect of externalities, 'the state effect' .

I find the paradigm of disciplinary practices as somewhat narrow, given that these particular practices have emerged in a specific historical context, namely the 17th and 18th century European modernity. Occidental-type of disciplinary techniques are probably a tenable supposition when discussing the 'state effect' for Western societies. However, when applied to peripheral settings the paradigm becomes problematic. Indian

bureaucracies are not organized and disciplined as would have predicted the Weberian ideal-types, yet the State is still imagined as an external entity, even if not as unitary as expected. Gupta demonstrate that everyday practices and discourses of corruption are mechanisms through which the State is imagined and through which people see themselves as exploited, or conversely, as citizens entitled with certain rights. Furthermore, Dunn shows that even if the state-institutions dose not infuse the entire social space in contemporary postsocialist Georgia, state is still conceived as an external reified actor. Even if Mitchell's theory has debatable assumptions, it brings up a crucial point that helps shade light on the postsocialist field. The micro organization of power it is an element to be taken into account in any historical attempt to disentangle how the state effect is created. If the appearance of the state as an external entity is produced through internal processes of the power assemblages, than the way power is organized inside these assemblages matter.

Any view is a view from within somewhere in a power assemblage, and any description will be a positioned description. The endeavour to think the state as a construction cannot avoid the issue that the state effect is an emergent distinction from within a power assemblages. Bourdieu warns that any thinking of the state runs 'the risk of taking over (or being taken over) a thought of the state' (p.1). The categories produced within the power assemblages, the categories through which the state is constructed as a transcendent entity, not only transform my writing on the state in a situated text, but constrains me to recognize that there is no exteriority from which I can project an objective external view on what is the state. It is Bourdieu contention that in contemporary society, the state 'imposes and inculcates all the fundamental principles of classification' (p. 13). But the irony is that Bourdieu argues exactly against this kind of reification when he speaks about the 'fictive body' of the state. 'The state' is not a homogeneous singular structure, as Haney excellently reveal in her careful empirical analysis of welfare state institutions. On the contrary, she demonstrates that the categories and principles of classification put forward by 'the state' are contradictory, and if viewed at the institutional level, the state is fragmented and coated in various sites of control and resistance, and the form of control over the welfare clients vary by state agency. Therefore, one should restrain for totalizing images about what state does and does not.

The postsocialist state is no exception here. As Deneva shows, what comes to be called the Bulgarian State is an achievement of multilayered

and conflicting sets of practices and institutions, 'the state' of the Bulgarian Muslims immigrants appears as a situated accomplishment depending on the subject's position in different translocal fields of power. From this vantage point, the postsocialist state effect is performed in a similar manner as the Western one. Yet, some specificities still can be discerned. The void left by the downfall of the socialist industrial world, regulated workplaces, highly scrutinized markets, and centrally managed agriculture was filled by the expansion of the domestic and private world. When the complicated web of state institutions collapsed, 'what was left was the private, domestic, invisible or hidden world'. In addition because of the interventionist abuses in socialism, the private became the prime source of what is acceptable, while public regulations were delegitimized. This gave rise to a sort of popular neoliberalism. Therefore the state institutions were in the difficult position to regulate the inviolable private through illegitimate public means. My approach follows the culturalist agenda, which conceives the state as a cultural construct, a product of situated discourses and beliefs. Therefore, states are not just bureaucratic organizations, but fragmentary power relations that are culturally represented in complex ways. Abrams warns that the modes and effects of state-idea may vary historically, yet he does not specify ways for identifying the fluctuations. Nevertheless, Mitchell's idea on the state effect may be helpful here: one has to investigate how the exercise of power aggregates and comes to be perceived as something exterior. Focusing on the nexus of practices and discourses involved in the urbanization power assemblages from Cluj I will delineate the contours of the positioned transcendent body of the state. In the following sections, I am describing the socialist urbanization, the first postsocialist decade, and finally the developments from the second postsocialist decade.

How the State Faded Away

Some key neostalinist elements of governmentality, in the double sense of Rose's (1996) of political rationalities and technologies of government, had a major impact on the way the postsocialist state apparatuses handled the multitudinous affairs of territory and urbanization. First, the *political rationalities* through which territory was governed it has to be taken into account; that is the practices for formulation and justification of idealized schemata and categories, which render reality thinkable and politically

programmable. The socialist administration was the owner of most of the urban land stock. When a specific landplot was manipulated by a state agency, it was from the perspective of the landlord, not from the perspective of an urban manager. Urban space was not imagined as a space to be regulated or controlled, but as a discretionary playground for systematization and development. This specific political rationality became even stronger after 1970, when Ceușescu's industrialization project of Cluj started. The urban real estate market was heavily restricted and there were barely any land transactions or private building projects. Moreover, in order to make way for the socialist block of flats neighborhoods, important parts of the previous urban stock of houses was pulled down¹. The restrictions on the real estate markets, the misused and the discretionary way of managing property during socialism had delegitimated subsequent regulation of property in the postsocialist era.

Second, the socialist *technologies of government* through which different socialist authorities enacted the political rationality of the 'owner' were deeply entrenched in the logic of resource accumulation of the redistributive system, in the sense theorized by Szelenyi . The socialist bureaucratic leaders, in the process of enhancing their redistributive power, have created a dense institutional network in order to maximize the bureaucratic seats available for redistribution. Yet, this mechanism produced uncertainties and arbitrariness, because the demarcation between the proper sphere of competence and resources of different offices was unclearly marked. In this context, the informal networks became the secondary mechanism that was holding up the functioning of the state agencies. However, these informal networks were tied around some central actors – generally party members – that could link through their authority disparate resources, in time and space.²

At the beginning of the '90s, these socialist rules of ordering of the city triggered a series of reactions, which, to some extent, de-sta-tize the practices of urban government and planning. The local state was degovernmentalized, the substantive authority of expertise in regulating urban development was disconnected from the apparatuses of political rule, and most of the responsibilities of managing real estate properties was transferred to the owners. A new form of *political rationality* emerged, property was reified and the hope emerged that once the proprieties restituted back to their rightful owners it will be taken care off; it will be governed, it will govern itself. Ownership was no longer a social relation between social actors with regard an object; a relation that referred to the

reciprocal recognition of the condition of handling real estate possessions. Through reification, property rights were schematized, leaving aside any social relations that it may have implied, rendering in this way the object of possession maneuverable only by the 'owner'. The political apparatuses were excluded from the ownership relations, reducing the range of legitimate urban management interventions, even if some owners would abuse their rights. The sum of private owners came to be imagined as the market, the perfect device amenable to regulatory functions. Yet, land restitution started at the national level only at the beginning of 1996 and the land market was heavily restricted by the tight delimitation of the city edges from its agricultural hinterland (another socialist legacy).

An idealized schema of the self-governing property has begun to take shape already since the beginning of the 90s, being easily amenable to political action through the idea of market. However, the actual new urban planning for the city of Cluj-Napoca started later, in the second half of the 90s, and was done through the local administration, a bureaucracy organized, as I mentioned, on very different principles than those outlined by Weber's ideal-type. Instead of reorganizing the administration, the local government in Cluj elected after 1992 deepened the informal coordination between offices, through favouring of the local and private networks. The planning proceeded in three ways. First, the 1996 city master plan was meant to redraw the boundaries of the city: the surface of the city was doubled by incorporating the southern hinterlands. The decision was a result of channelling up requests from land owners from the city fringes. Nonetheless, the plan was administratively effective only in 1999. The second form of planning, consistent with the idea of self-governing property, was more consequential: building became possible even on pieces of land lacking the adequate amenities (roads and public utilities). The local administration had the legal responsibility to prepare the territory for urbanization, but it did not have such an infrastructural power, and the owners were entitled to provide for themselves all the necessary facilities. Third, the local administration negotiated the official urban regulations on a case-by-case basis, in order not to impair 'the property rights' of the owners. What came to be actually enacted was not really a market, but in effect an emergent complex assemblage that was lashing up together political and administrative forces and private owners of land and real estate properties.

Most of the building plots were irregular, being former agricultural fields, and their limits most of the times were unclear. Therefore, it became

a very difficult task to state some urban-planning regulations, even to sketch the street structure or fix some buildings height standard were very difficult tasks. Thus, the strategy was to wait for the first buildings and use them as guides for the subsequent regulations. In fact, every new construction was obliged first to provide a zoning plan which had to be approved by the local government. This opened the door to a case-to-case negotiation of the building parameters (height, percentage of the land used for building, etc.) between the administration and the owner, and between the owner and his/her neighbours. However, even if these negotiations were important, still they were rendered less consequential since there was never a precedent in tearing down an illegal building³. The legal system was working in the paradigm of the self-governing property, and, in the last instance, always favoured the 'owner'⁴. In addition, when a big plot was divided in order to be sold, the owners' pressured the notary to use any legal means to maximize the marketable surface. Since afterwards the buyers of the divided plots were reluctant to give away expensive land to facilitate the construction of proper roads, the result was a bent and narrow street structure, or sometimes even the complete lack of access streets. All these unwanted effects proved very frustrating and created tensed relationships between neighbours.⁵

To sum up, in the 90s 'the state' came to be imagined as the structure that was hindering the freedom and self-management of the individuals and the properties. Thus, there was a great deal of pressure towards deregulation and real estate market creation. Yet, what came to be actually enacted was not a market for single-familiar houses, but a complex in which the owners and different political and administrative actors have been bound together. But what do these negotiations say about how the state effect is produced? The most important theoretical consequence for our understanding of the way the line between state and society is created within complex configurations of practices and relations is the fact that the very production of this boundary represents what one can call a *positional state effect*. On one hand, for the families investing in the villas, anything restraining their self-governing property rights was just parts of the oversized and constraining postsocialist bureaucracy. The state appears here as the limiting huge paper trail that had to be bypassed using the state agents themselves, through informal arrangements. For the urban planners the incoherency of all the market forces were pointing out to the weakness of the unable politicians, responsible with issuing adequate legislation, while for the politicians the most important task of the centralized power

was to retreat by any means from the economy. 'The market' as the rest that appears from curtailing everything that is 'political' is composed from all the forces embodied by the private owners. However, even though one can identify the different 'state effects' produced by the multiple forces at work in the process of the postsocialist urbanization, the state-idea, its invisible transcendent body, can be still discerned from all these positions. It loomed threatening over the self-governing property that, if left on its one, could somehow deliver a self-regulating market. The outcome of this configuration was a privatized and chaotic process of urbanization which produced a specific postsocialist landscape: the new misshapen but nevertheless prestigious villas neighborhoods.

Current Urbanization: The New Power Assamblage

At the end of the 90s, after the national level stabilization, the city of Cluj enters i the second postsocialist decade and into an economic expansion cycle. While the pace of urbanization until that date was rather slow and it entailed only the construction of houses, after 2002, the rhythm grew steadily and more and more blocks of flats were built instead of villas. The local administration was overwhelmed by the new situation and a new political rationality was needed to tackle the rapidly changing situation. A new schema to handle the reality came through perfecting the privatized urbanization technique. Deprived of effective instruments of planning, as pointed above, architects and urban planners had externalized in the previous decade the requirements of urbanization to the investors. Yet the scale of the transformations asked for a change in the scale of the privatization of the urbanization: the big investments were favoured because they had enough resources to furnish the territory with the adequate public amenities. An investor could get also an exemption from the zoning rules if he/she is willing to invest in the necessary urban infrastructure⁶. Even if this was just a small perfecting of the privatized urbanization scheme, in fact the effects brought paradigmatic changes. Up until then the rules for regulating an area were produced in the process of building up a zone, rules were derived from the first few cases and then applied to all the subsequent cases. Even if not always successful and most of the time impaired by the self-regulating ideology, the planners were still trying to impose a consistent geometry to the city. Now rules were becoming negotiable if the developers were auctioning for bigger

investments in urban amenities. The old power assemblage which coordinated the case-to-case petty negotiations of the first postsocialist decade underwent a series of profound transformations. Consequently, in the process of changing the technologies of government that enacted the new political rationalities of 'big investments', the smaller investors, (the villa builders), were systematically prejudiced, while the block of flats builders, became the favorites of the local administration.

Holding an explicit pro-growth agenda and capitalizing on the capitalist expansion of the second postsocialist decade, a new configuration of power emerged. The nexus comprised primarily urban planners and architects, politicians, clients and homeowners, developers and building companies organized in complex institutional networks. However, the new political rationality was not enacted in a smooth and coherent manner by the ensemble of actors, practices, and institutions involved in the urbanization expansion. Expert knowledge is a key part of the urbanization process since the sole bureaucratic body entitled to issue construction permits is composed by a numerous personal (more than 30 members) of urban planners and architects. Because of the case-by-case negotiation planning of the 90s, the expert commissions became central in any arrangements, therefore there were pressures to extend the body of the committee to make way to all the stakeholders. At the same time, in order to still hold grip of the informalized urbanization process, a whole institutional proliferation flowered. New committees were put in place to issue particular permits (water piping, gas, sewer system, etc.). The paper work necessary to be filled in was very consistent and it represented one of the tasks of any architect hired by a client. In addition, the architects had to negotiate or incorporate the recommendations given by the main planning commission. The clients did not have a direct relation with the commissions; it became an internal affair of the architectural and planning expert field. As a result, the evaluations produced inside of the commission became deeply embedded in the logic of prestige distribution and authority of the architectural field. For an external observer, the criteria of evaluation for different projects became opaque and time consuming⁷. As a local politician puts it: "we face a bureaucratic apparatus which tries to demonstrate it's needed" (M, 44, politician).

For the politicians, the commission became a classical example of "red tape bureaucracy", based on an obscure logic of power. Aware of the cyclical movement of capital, the politicians were interested in capitalizing on the current economic expansion. 'The growing construction trend

will last only two or three years. If we prevent this capital entering Cluj, by cutting down the red tape, the city will lose billions of lei" (M, 43, politician). At the same time, big economic actors were trying also to avoid the timely, and thus costly, logic of the expert bodies. Militating for a more transparent power exercise, the big developers came to lobby the political apparatus, playing it against administrative apparatus⁸. The result is that facing the bureaucratic apparatus different categories of actors experience the emergence of two different temporalities as the architect commission prioritizes the big developers on the expense of the small investors⁹. It is clearly not a political victory over the bureaucracy because it only enforced the tendency of the whole architectural field and specifically the planning commission to favour bigger projects. It became clear for the commission that the owners of small lots were interested in introverted private spaces, while the market driven developers were putatively more interested in high quality urban amenities. Therefore it became easier to negotiate the production of public spaces with the big developers: roads, public utilities, green areas, kindergartens and spaces for convenience stores. It was a win-win situation: the politicians could pose as agents of change and development, the planners had some public spaces, and the new capitalists could invest on their terms. Even if the expert bodies had to give up to some regulations, making more flexible the conditions for giving permits, it was still a win-win situation; the politicians could pose as agents of change and development, the planners had some public spaces, and the big capital could invest on its term.

However, there was a category for which this situation was not an advantageous one: the buyers of the new houses. Sometimes the quality of the construction was very poor, or the neighbourhoods of villas of the 90s. These houses were supposed to be luxurious, yet there were invaded by the blocks of flats.¹⁰ The reaction was very bitter from the part of those who were living in the new areas. "There is no concrete urban planning, they are building chaotically, no respect for the already existing neighbours" (F, 23 years, economist, mother of one).¹¹

The inadequate urban planning provisioning and the power alliance between big investors and the politicians was translated by this frustrated middle stratum into a complex discourse about the immoral economic game played both by the developers and by the local state¹². The market was imagined as a space dominated by private interests and unethical behaviour and misconduct, while the City Hall was held responsible for the chaos represented by the unordered geometry of the space and the unfair

spatial relations. That is because the “state” should intervene to moderate any misconduct, and when this does not happen the state is suspected to be corrupt and unable: *“The circumstances that allow the urban plans to be disregarded is the corruption. The bureaucracy is moving very slowly”* (F, 30, economist). Moreover, both institutions “the market” and “the City Hall” are permeated by supposedly private interests because at this level the actors know each other and form a local network. As the people from these new neighbourhoods see it, the muddy waters of the local interests can be avoided only at the ‘higher’ state levels. *“The interests are on both sides. Both the City Hall and the developer! Here some higher authority should intervene, because here, locally, the City Hall, the County Council can do their dirty tricks, it is easy, they know each other”* (M, 21 years, student, resident in a new development).

The existence of ‘the state’ becomes problematic in itself, not only in the eyes of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods, also in the eyes of those who are supposed to embody it. The control commission is a special administrative department, which checks out if the buildings are constructed in conformity with the approved plans. Yet, in practice, the building inspector has merely a formal role because the authority that she or he is supposed to enact disappears when faced with the materiality of the building. Once a building was erected, it becomes “private property” and it cannot be demolished any more. This is why generally the inspector instructs the developer to submit for authorization a second round of plans that incorporates all the changes of the initial plan.¹³ Paralyzed by the self-governing property rationality, ‘the state’ dissolves ‘the state’.

In the second postsocialist decade, the state idea came to represent an incoherent structure plagued by corruption, structure which hinders consistent accumulation because of its absence from the economic game and the development processes. Although this is an important departure from the pure self-governing property political rationality, it was not a radical move. The administrative agents were still stunned when facing the reified private property dismantling state authority in the process of enacting precisely this authority. For the residents of the villa neighbourhood the new waves of unrestrained developments create strong disaffection with the ‘market’, and the need for a regulatory state. Observing the inability of the state institutions to enforce the urban plans, the sole explanation is to attribute to the state agents a continuity of interests with the market agents, and a systematic favouring of big capital. For the politicians and administrative apparatuses, ‘the state’ should take advantage of

the available capital to develop and extend the city. Historicizing the state (Mitchell 1992?) means in this case contingently defining it as the aggregation of the forces which are facilitating the development of the city by putting the market forces on the right track.

The State Idea and the State Effect

The building inspector's fading away state certainly is a different state when compared with the politician's state, lost when facing the smilingly opaque expertise of the urban planning commission. The state is a situated effect emerging from within the power assemblages that lashes together in the planning process experts, developers, politicians, administrative bureaucrats, villas, blocks of flats, lands, notary public, real estate agents, workers, offices, procedures, official forms, etc.; the distinctions between state/non-state vary depending on the position of the subjects in the power networks and their changing form. Nevertheless, behind the spectres of multiple state effects, one can still discern the idea of a fictive body that gives coherence to the assemblage put in motion by the urbanization process. But in what relations stands the multiples positioned state effects with the fictive body of the state?

In an attempt to explain the perceived unity of the institutionalized political power, Abrams argues the state-idea becomes the veil that masks the actual disunity of the institutionalized political power. Abrams retains Poulantzas' insistence on the state as institutional system constituted by a set of interconnected arenas that derives their unity from power transformations and class struggles. Therefore Abrams argues that 'the state-idea' is an effect of these class struggles that provides a unified symbol, "the state", that misrepresents the volatile political power in order assure subjection. Notwithstanding some important theoretical differences, Bourdieu, in a similar move as Abrams, conveys unity to the complex power apparatuses through the concept of symbolic capital. The unity around the interconnected strategic power fields is established by struggles over the right to name or to consecrate. The validity of a document is given by the one who certifies it. However the issue here is to certify the one who signs the official act, yet this creates a causal chain that has to stop somewhere; for Bourdieu the state-idea breaks the *regressus ad infinitum*: one "gives the name of 'state' to the last (or to the first) link in the long chain of official acts of consecration" (p.12). Both Abrams and

Bourdieu link the state idea to class struggles and retain the classical Marxist concept of state-idea as a veil over the class struggles enacted in the state-system. These perceptive interpretations, put class at the centre of the social processes that composes the state-idea, linking the state idea with the workings of modern power. In this reading, the state-idea is far from just a hallow entity with an epiphenomenal existence; in fact is a nodal point that gives unity to the fractures produced by the workings of class struggle - a device that constitute the very field where the processes of power transformation may occur.

In my reading however, even if class is an important part of the state-idea formation it still does not capture the fundamental social relations that underpins it. The beginning of neoliberal policies in Romania can be traced already in the 1990s. Unemployment soured, violent social movements disrupted the fragile social fabric, and marginality and social inequalities became highly visible. The first postsocialist debates concerned the logic and pace of privatization, regarded as the main means to create capitalist property and responsible management. They were fueled by the Washington Consensus, IMF and World Bank, and the neoliberal prescription to deregulate and roll back the state. In advanced neoliberal democracies, the modern experience of power is a result of the rules of ordering put in motion by complex networks of political apparatuses and non-political organizations. The rolling back of the core capitalist states, while supposedly the market takes over, is in fact a new way of organizing state power (Rose and Miller, 2008), in which self-regulated locales achieve increased importance. In the Eastern European periphery, the new power technologies display severe disfunctionalities. The infrastructurally weak Romanian administrative-system lacked the power instruments to penetrate society and economy, directly impacting its capacity to access resources and collect revenues. It thus forced new waves of regulations, which ended up thickening the bureaucratic procedures, without actually enhancing its infrastructural penetration. Their effect was to weaken administrative-system's extraction capacity even more, calling for further tides of national regulation strategies. As a consequence, the back-and-force administrative-system became a constant presence throughout the national space, creating bounded spatial effects on a faint vision of self-regulating market. In addition, the local structures of micropower subverted, altered and remodeled the wider forces at work, producing particular local ontologies and epistemic readings of the social world. The self-managing property enacted at local level was supposed to

produce self-regulating market outside of localist power relations, a neutral institution that will allocated in the best way possible the land resources and housing opportunities. Such a system supported an ontological reading of the social as a centrally organized container space, inhabited by clear-cut objects, and determined by causality. The state idea is the social form that stabilize this world of objects in a given spatial container, city/nation. Any instability is only attributable to the uncertainties of improper enactment of the self-governing property on the self-governing market. The state-idea itself can have various enactments, yet its contour is linked with the ontologies that underpin class relations.

In the second postsocialist decade many Romanians benefited from the opportunities offered by the European labor market, academic institutions or tourist resorts. The Romanian national space though was still not vanishing. The European Union put pressure on central state institutions to devolve regulatory powers to the market and intermediate bodies, similar to its core capitalist states. This only added to the chaotic back and forth waves of institutionalization and retreatment of the first postsocialist decade. The political discourse of 'big corruption' that prevailed during these years insisted that had the state been managed by law-abiding politicians, the whole nation would have had a different fate. Here is the same logic of a centrally dependant world of objects sustained or destroyed by centralized forces: an imaginary world that makes possible ontologies where objects inhabit contained spaces, with clear prime movers and fields of causality. The urbanization process was the place of producing new neighborhoods that with adequate public amenities, where the big developers negotiated directly with the local administration. Even if there are multiple state effects, the very practices of enacting the class struggles produced an ontology with stable objects in clear spaces.

Conclusion

The new postsocialist neighbourhood is a complex product of the postsocialist dream for a private home far from the putative urban postsocialist ills. The weak infrastructural administrative-system was colonized by the 'self-governing property' imaginary and suburban desires. The market came to be imagined as the real salvation and the answer to all social problems after the demise of the socialist regime, and was transformed in foremost mean to attain the suburban single-family

house. The effects were urban-sprawl and ill equipped areas with public amenities, with practical no public areas and services. However, the very mean to attain the suburban housing fantasy was the Trojan horse through which the entrepreneurial-capital colonized in the second decade the new neighbourhoods. The new projects and blocks of flats of the second postsocialist decade were erected wall-in-wall with the postsocialist villas. The hope of the public planner were that in this way some public spaces could be produced, even with the cost of scarifying some regulations (building highs, densities, distances between constructions, mixing of villas with blocks). Yet, this solution only depend the lack of genuine public spaces and services; most of the developers actually sold 'the public spaces' to their clients.

The postsocialist urbanization summoned for the various actors involved in the process various contours of what is the state, where the state begins and where society starts. The common point of these positioned state effects is that the fictive body of the state-idea looms in the very way the state is imagined. One way to imagine this is to place the state idea as an emerging effect of the class struggles over the functioning of the power arenas. In order to evade such facile resolutions and rescue the stake of the state as a power transformation locus of contending groups and hegemonic projects I situated the discussion at the level of the ontologies produced and favoured by class struggle. The very process of remaking the national state-system and enacting the local urbanization process produced a specific ontology and favors particular practices and ways of organizing practices. While rooted in socialism, self-govern property has been enforced by the postsocialist transformations of the administrative-system. This imagery suffered some transformations along the two postsocialist decades, yet it offered a particular world with stable objects smilingly instituted or destitute by traceable acts or practices, while all social ills originated in corrupted practices. As Mitchell argues the forces at work in the structuring of everyday practices come to recompose as state, a structure containing and giving order and meaning to people's lives. The fictive body of the state-idea is an emergent effect of the way power is composed and recomposed through the struggles inside various assemblages. The power assemblage of the postsocialist urbanization process is a revealing vantage point from which to observe the way power is amassed by the planning networks and class actors.

NOTES

- ¹ The dramatic effect of these practices is captured in an interview by Bekis et. al. Dennis Belkis et al., "Urban, Social and Symbolic Constitution of the Manastur Neighborhood," *IDEA Arta și Societate* 15 (2003).. The subject recalls her last night in her house before demolition in the Manastur neighborhood "Our house wasn't demolished yet and I said to Paul: come, let's spend the last night in the house together, as I knew that the next morning the bulldozers would come. Paul and I broke the windows with pleasure so that we don't leave that pleasure for the bulldozers. We parted, Paul and I, like in the Indian movies: as if he went to another world ... He wove at me, we cried our souls out. We hugged, the houses were torn down."
- ² This logic of coordination is excellently explained with the aid of an example by an interviewee: "and then [during communism] this forest [from Cluj called Făget] was well organized, managed. Of course the City Hall through FSA – Forest and Street Administration – did not have any power to take care of the forest.. But the local party chief [ro. Secretarul de partid] gave these orders to the Forest Agency, because they have the experts to manage the forest as a resort forest. In communism this story was very simple. The local party chief gave orders, and the job was done. And the forest was well managed, cleaned, planted, trimmed, etc. (M, 68, architect, urban planner).
- ³ A frustrated local politician argues: Yes, Yes, yes, this is the situation. They win also in the court. We have a lot of litigations and we lose. Those who started to build an illegal constructions obtain through the our lawsuit a kind of legalization. I don't know any more... here it's the society who has to draw together, because both the authorities and justice, and even the civil society, and ... the environment, health authorities, ...and what ever...do we rather want to live in a healthy environment, or just live anybody to make illegal constructions where ever they want to?..." (56, M, high ranking administrative position).
- ⁴ In addition when a big plot was split up to be sold, the owner was making pressure on the notary to use any legal means to maximize the marketable surface. The notary without some guiding urban plan usually was giving up to such request. The buyers of the smaller plots were reluctant to give away expensive land afterwards in order to facilitate the construction of proper roads. The effect is a bent and narrow street structure or sometimes no access streets at all.
- ⁵ „Here, in our country, if someone laid two bricks one over another, nobody demolish them anymore. But when you look and see the chaotic placements, without any alignment, with no....urbanism, no systematization... So, effectively, the one who is meant to live there is uncomfortable. If someone buys a plot, given that in this condition of already such sinuous lands as

were the grazing fields before... and everyone chooses a corner anywhere, disturbing the neighbors around him... we cannot even map out a road any more." (56 years old, B, politician and resident of a villa neighborhood).

- 6 The shifting perspective is excellently synthesized by an architect at the beginning of 2002: "Normally, the licenses should be Issued like this> whether the building is located in our own town, they should require the owner to build the sewerage as well. Or a stretch of road... Why should they issue a license knowing that you propose to alter the local regulation of the area, maybe also the allowed use, or even building higher and so on? But then at least, they should oblige you to pay for a part of the infrastructure. In my opinion, this is how the council should have done" (M, 56, architect).
- 7 More than six thousand files were not addressed and given a solution until the beginning of the September 2008.
- 8 "The official time span for obtain the building license is 30 days. This is theoretically, yet practically this never happens. We managed the situation differently... our managers went directly to the City Hall, at the mayor office and requested a meeting. They explained their construction plans and our idea, and that there are some developers that have obtain the license in due time and that we did not received it through the normal procedures. They told him 'we really want to build something beautiful, why do you forestall us?' and then we obtain with no pain the permits" (F, 29, construction engineer).
- 9 "There is this Mass-Media and Protocol Department that handles with the big developers, those interested in urban development rich the higher level and from there through their paper work they are sent to the department that can really speed the stuff" (F, 45, urban planner at the City Hall).
- 10 An official from the City Hall observes: "The positive side [with the derogation from the rules] is that lots and lots of apartments were built; the downside is that they disturb their neighbors. At this point I do not know what's best".
- 11 And she continues "[...] the flats are built very close to the nearby houses. That is not ok. Just an example, our neighbor built for himself a very nice house, with great efforts. He suddenly fond himself with six storey block of flats in front of the house and with half of his alley collapsed in his foundation. Once the block has been erected, he's going to find himself with a lot of people staring directly in his house." An important detail is that she and her family are living in a block of flats, which was causing the same problems to her future neighbors.
- 12 "The town hall plan was not complied with, the builders dug right under our fence; our fence is now running loose, the electricity pole is loose, as well. We sent official litigations to the City Hall, one complaint after another, yet nothing was solved. After we will sue them, we hope will manage to solve part of the issues. At least, they should comply with the plan, and not to exceed the surface they were approved to built on, obey the working

timetable and the silent hours during the day and they should not destroy our foundation. I don't know, but if they continue building like this, we think of moving to someplace else, where no further building is possible" (F, 23 years, economist, mother of 1).

13 A public servant working at the urban planning department from the City Hall recalls:

Public Servant: In this case, the inspector, my workmate here, goes on the site and ascertains whether the building was compliant to the actual official building license. And if he finds out it didn't comply, he will not relapse a fine

Me: He'll make a notice...

PS: He won't make any notice. The errant comes with a new project to modify the building license following his advice. What should he do, demolish the errant's house? No one dares to do that if the errant comes with an amendment to the project and sets it legal; this is what I am saying...

Me: And why doesn't it get demolished?

PS: Because when private property is in matter, you need trails...

Me: So sue them and you go in court.

PS: Of course.

Me: And in court, as usual, the demolition won't be approved. Is there a reason for this? Why?

PS: Yes...why should we tear down the man's house? Because of the 40 cm he exceeded by? (M, 53, engineer, public servant in the planning department).

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LES APOCRYPHES ET LEURS MOYENS DE LÉGITIMATION. *LE RÊVE DE LA VIERGE DANS LA TRADITION ROUMAINE*

Cette étude porte sur l'écrit intitulé *Le Rêve de la Vierge*, qui s'est rattaché assez tardivement au « continent apocryphe »¹, comme l'indiquent les renseignements sur sa diffusion qui suggèrent que l'on a affaire à un thème médiéval développé dans l'Europe occidentale.

Le texte a une structure extrêmement simple : la Vierge se trouve dans un endroit significatif de la topographie chrétienne (Bethléem, mont des Oliviers etc.), s'endort et rêve de la crucifixion de son Fils. Christ la réveille, lui confirme la véracité du rêve et lui dit que Sa mort apportera la vie éternelle aux fidèles. Le texte se clôt par la remarque que ceux qui lisent ou portent le *Rêve de la Vierge* vont bénéficier du secours divin dans l'avenir immédiat, seront éternellement gratifiés de la protection de la Vierge et gagneront le paradis après leur trépas.

Ce récit apocryphe a joui d'une grande popularité dans le monde chrétien : il fut copié et imprimé en plusieurs langues et était encore diffusé à la fin du siècle précédent. Son thème se retrouve également dans le chant liturgique, dans la tradition orale et dans l'iconographie.

Malgré cette diffusion, l'histoire du thème apocryphe reste assez obscure, quoiqu'on lui ait consacré dès le XIX^e siècle une étude de synthèse, riche en idées, due à A. N. Vesselovsky². Un siècle plus tard, l'ethnologue L. Kretzenbacher reprit le sujet dans une étude monographique, où il esquissa une courte histoire de la diffusion de l'apocryphe : le thème du rêve prophétique de la Vierge, présent aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles dans la littérature et la peinture italiennes, se retrouve au début du XVII^e siècle dans un livre de chansons liturgiques imprimé à Graz et chez les Polonais. Beaucoup plus nombreuses sont les données sur la diffusion du texte en

Europe orientale, et plus précisément sur l'usage que les Bulgares, les Grecs, les Roumains ou les Serbes en firent aux XIX^e-XX^e siècles³.

À part ces recherches, on peut constater un intérêt plutôt occasionnel pour *Le Rêve de la Vierge*, grâce, d'une part, aux études sur la littérature apocryphe, et, d'autre part, à l'analyse systématique de sa fortune dans certaines régions⁴.

L'intérêt pour ce sujet a connu un nouvel essor grâce aux recherches sur l'iconographie de l'apocryphe⁵. Ses premières représentations apparaissent au XIV^e siècle dans l'œuvre de deux peintres bolognais, Vitale da Bologna et Simone dei Crocefissi. Ils dépeignent la Vierge allongée sur un lit et endormie : elle rêve la résurrection du Christ et de son ventre sort un arbre ayant la forme d'une croix, sur laquelle est pendu le Christ ; en même temps, sous le lit de la Vierge on aperçoit une tombe ouverte dont sortent Adam et Eve. Au XV^e siècle, le thème apocryphe est toujours présent à Bologne, mais l'artiste qui s'en inspire, Michele di Matteo, change légèrement le model : l'arbre sur lequel est pendu le Christ est l'arbre de la connaissance, sur lequel monte le serpent tentateur ; à gauche, sur un lit, se voit la Vierge endormie ; à droite, Adam et Eve, debout, approchent l'arbre. Les études sur ces représentations et sur leurs auteurs ont permis, dans les dernières années, la mise en relation systématique des productions littéraires et iconographiques⁶.

Nous nous proposons ici d'apporter des éclaircissements sur la tradition roumaine du texte, en établissant d'abord les repères chronologiques et les formes de transmission de l'apocryphe. Pour déterminer la place du texte dans la littérature de l'époque, nous allons étudier la stabilité ou la variabilité textuelle de l'apocryphe dans l'espace roumain en dégagant ses motifs compositionnels. On envisagera ces motifs comme des maillons d'une tradition littéraire ; on analysera leurs usages tant dans la littérature canonique, que dans la littérature apocryphe ; on se servira de ces motifs pour comprendre la construction du récit, ses points d'articulation et on essayera de circonscrire à partir d'eux la part du texte dans la littérature de l'époque.

1. Le Rêve de la Vierge dans l'historiographie roumaine. État de la question

Le Rêve de la Vierge a préoccupé seulement de manière passagère les spécialistes roumains. Il était pourtant, dès la fin du XIX^e siècle, bien connu autant aux philologues, qu'aux folkloristes ou aux anthropologues.

1.1. Les philologues

Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu fut le premier à se pencher sur la tradition roumaine de l'apocryphe, en 1879, lorsqu'il dédia une vaste étude au manuscrit 447 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest, connu sous le nom de *Codex Sturdzanus*, d'après son possesseur, Dimitrie A. Sturza⁷. Par son ancienneté et par la diversité de son contenu, ce *codex miscellaneus*, rédigé entre 1583 et 1619 par plusieurs scribes de Transylvanie et de Hunedoara, est un des plus importants manuscrits de la littérature roumaine⁸.

Ce manuscrit contient un bon nombre de récits apocryphes : *L'Apocalypse de la Vierge*, *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, *La Légende de Saint Sisinius* etc. *Le Rêve de la Vierge* en fait défaut, mais Hasdeu en traite, dans son analyse, à la fin de l'étude consacrée à *L'Apocalypse de la Vierge*. Dans ce contexte, Hasdeu décrit brièvement l'histoire du *Rêve de la Vierge* et évoque la fortune européenne du texte, qui avait été diffusé aussi bien en prose (en hongrois, polonais, ukrainien), qu'en vers (en italien, portugais, provençal, russe)⁹. Il attire l'attention sur le fait qu'il n'y avait pas de traces sur la diffusion du récit en grec et que, par cette particularité, *Le Rêve de la Vierge* se présentait comme un texte unique parmi les apocryphes roumains qui, comme les apocryphes slaves, sont généralement issus du monde gréco-byzantin¹⁰.

Quant à l'histoire roumaine du récit, Hasdeu ne connaissait que des textes imprimés, dont le plus ancien datait de 1846, qui illustraient deux recensions distinctes¹¹. Enfin, Hasdeu s'est intéressé également à la place de l'apocryphe dans la littérature de l'époque, à partir, d'une part, du nombre important de tirages du récit¹², et, d'autre part, de son influence sur le folklore roumain, une influence qui avait des parallèles dans d'autres espaces culturels, par exemple chez les Espagnols¹³.

En 1884, dans son ouvrage de synthèse sur la littérature roumaine, Moses Gaster revient sur le *Rêve de la Vierge*, dont il traite dans le chapitre intitulé *La Lettre de la Vierge*, où il discute deux autres écrits apocryphes :

L'Apocalypse de la Vierge et La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel. Selon Gaster, les trois textes étaient imprimés ensemble sous le nom de la *Lettre de la Vierge*¹⁴.

Pour ce qui est de l'origine de l'écrit, Gaster reprend la thèse de Vesselovski, selon laquelle le *Rêve de la Vierge* proviendrait d'une version latine de la *Dormition de la Vierge*. Ce texte comprend un fragment dans lequel la Vierge supplie son Fils de la prévenir de sa propre mort. Christ lui répond qu'après Sa Passion, Sa Résurrection et Son Ascension, elle ne le verra plus jusqu'à ce que son âme ne quitte son corps. Selon cette version latine de la *Dormition*, le Christ évoque ainsi, dans sa réponse à la question de sa mère, non seulement le moment du trépas de la Vierge, mais aussi sa propre mort, dont Marie ne connaissait pas les détails¹⁵.

Gaster apporte des éclaircissements sur la transmission des versions roumaines de l'apocryphe, car, à la différence de Hasdeu, qui n'en connaissait que des versions imprimés, il en possédait un texte manuscrit, rédigée en 1784¹⁶. Ce texte illustre la version « courte » de l'apocryphe, une version qui, selon Gaster, était plus proche d'autres récits similaires, issus d'autres espaces culturels. C'est toujours cette version courte qui, dans des livres imprimés connus par Gaster, circulait non seulement à côté de *L'Apocalypse de la Vierge* et de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, mais aussi à côté de *La légende de saint Sisinius*¹⁷.

En 1938, dans son ouvrage de synthèse sur les livres populaires de la littérature roumaine (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles), Nicolae Cartoian s'arrêta très brièvement sur *Le Rêve de la Vierge*. D'ailleurs, il ne lui consacra pas un chapitre à part, mais en traita dans le chapitre dédié aux *Amulettes*¹⁸. De même que ses prédécesseurs, Cartoian évoque la grande diffusion européenne de l'apocryphe et soutient, comme Gaster et Vesselovski, l'idée de la provenance du récit d'une version latine de la *Dormition de la Vierge*. Pour ce qui est de la tradition roumaine, il s'arrête sur la large diffusion du texte, dans les milieux citadins et villageois à la fois, comme le montre son influence sur le folklore. À la différence de ses prédécesseurs, qui travaillaient à une époque où les archives roumaines étaient à peine constituées, Cartoian donne aussi une liste de sept manuscrits préservés dans la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest (ms. 68, 69, 94 [=1155], 105, 189, 3518, 3766), dont le plus ancien, rédigé en 1784, avait été mentionné par Gaster¹⁹.

La tradition des recherches philologiques roumaines sur l'apocryphe s'arrête à Cartoian. Toutefois, des circonstances heureuses ont favorisé

plus ou moins récemment une meilleure connaissance de l'histoire roumaine du texte.

En 1992 fut achevé le catalogue de manuscrits roumains de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest²⁰. Son index révèle l'existence de 42 codex comprenant l'apocryphe.

Nos recherches sur *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* nous ont donné l'occasion de découvrir plusieurs versions du *Rêve de la Vierge* qui ne sont pas répertoriées dans les catalogues. Il s'agit de douze manuscrits préservés dans la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest²¹.

1.2. Les folkloristes et les anthropologues

En s'inspirant des recherches philologiques, les folkloristes ont remarqué le succès de l'apocryphe dans le milieu villageois, succès qui s'exprime par la reprise du thème, éventuellement modifié, dans d'autres productions littéraires, ou par l'utilisation du texte dans des contextes différents.

Sur les traces de Hasdeu, Sim. Fl. Marian établit une correspondance entre l'apocryphe et certaines légendes roumaines sur la Vierge²², alors que Tudor Pamfile consignait la coutume de chanter le texte à la veille de la fête de la Dormition de la Vierge (15 août) ou dans tout autre jour perçu comme dangereux²³.

Il existe aussi un autre courant de recherche, qui privilégie le contexte d'utilisation du récit, en précisant les utilisateurs typiques et les situations où ils en font usage, sans pourtant s'intéresser au contenu du texte.

Cette analyse des recherches roumaines sur le *Rêve de la Vierge* montre qu'avant la Seconde Guerre, sur le fond de l'intérêt pour la littérature apocryphe, le récit fut étudié par les plus importants philologues roumains, qui firent remarquer sa grande diffusion européenne. Ces études montrent que l'apocryphe avait joui d'une importante circulation manuscrite ; à partir de 1846, il fut transmis également par des livres de colportage. De plus, les philologues, les folkloristes et les anthropologues semblent s'accorder sur la large transmission de l'apocryphe non seulement dans les milieux citadin, mais aussi dans le milieu villageois où il a pu influencer les productions folkloriques.

2. Un texte nouveau et sa parenté

Dans les deux dernières décennies, *Le Rêve de la Vierge* n'a pas suscité l'intérêt des chercheurs, étant perçu comme un texte mineur en raison de ses dimensions, de sa fonction d'amulette que Cartoian lui avait octroyée et que d'autres anthropologues lui ont confirmée, et de sa présence constante à côté d'autres récits apocryphes considérés plus « importants ».

Parmi ces récits il convient de mentionner d'abord *La lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, un des apocryphes les plus répandus dans le monde chrétien²⁴. Ce texte, ayant la forme d'une lettre venue du ciel attribuée au Christ, dans laquelle Jésus enjoigne aux chrétiens de respecter le dimanche²⁵ et leur recommande des normes de comportement qui garantissent la vie éternelle, est l'apocryphe le plus diffusé dans la littérature roumaine²⁶ : il fut intensément traduit et copié du début du XVII^e siècle au milieu du XIX^e siècle ; ensuite il fut diffusé à travers les livres de colportage, phénomène encore vivant de nos jours. Dans l'espace roumain, *La lettre du Christ* a circulé en deux rédactions majeures, qui se distinguent en premier lieu par l'endroit où, dit-on, fut trouvée la lettre : Jérusalem ou le mont des Oliviers.

La rédaction 'Jérusalem' est la plus ancienne et la plus diffusée. Au niveau du contenu, les textes de cette rédaction ont la forme d'un catéchisme *sui-generis* qui enregistre et condamne les comportements indignes d'un bon chrétien, parfois sur la base d'explications théologiques²⁷, ce qui fait que du XVII^e siècle aux premières décennies du XVIII^e siècle, des prêtres et des diacres les transcrivent et les lisent devant les fideles.

La rédaction appelée conventionnellement 'mont des Oliviers' apparaît en roumain dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle. À l'encontre des textes 'Jérusalem', les textes 'mont des Oliviers' condamnent un nombre assez réduit de comportements jugés inadéquates par rapport à la morale chrétienne, ils comprennent peu de conseils donnés par le Christ aux fideles et promettent plusieurs bénéfices, ici-bas et dans l'au-delà, pour ceux qui respectent les paroles divines.

L'Apocalypse de la Vierge, un autre texte à côté duquel *Le Rêve de la Vierge* fut constamment diffusé dans la tradition roumaine, a également joui d'une grande popularité. Il s'agit d'un remaniement byzantin de *l'Apocalypse de Paul*, qui resta inconnu dans l'Occident médiéval, malgré son importante diffusion dans l'Europe orientale dès l'époque byzantine²⁸. Le récit présente la Vierge, guidée par l'archange Michel et entourée par des cohortes angéliques, voyageant aux enfers où elle voit les tourments

des damnés²⁹. Marie y est figurée surtout comme un intercesseur, car, à la suite de ses prières, les pécheurs obtiennent un apaisement annuel de leurs châtements. Dans la tradition roumaine³⁰, l'histoire de cet apocryphe ressemble à bien des égards à celle de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* : il circula dans plusieurs rédactions dont la plupart suivent des modèles slavons ; il fut copié constamment à partir de la fin du XVI^e siècle et imprimé à partir du milieu du XIX^e siècle.

Enfin, un troisième apocryphe à côté duquel le *Rêve de la Vierge* a circulé, surtout dans les livres de colportage, est *La Légende de saint Sisinnios*. Cet apocryphe qui, comme *l'Apocalypse de la Vierge*, a circulé surtout dans l'Europe orientale, présente l'histoire du combat mené contre une démonsse maléfique qui nuit aux nouveau-nés et aux accoucheuses. Chez les Roumains, cette démonsse s'appelle Samca ou Avestița, mais ses dénominations assyro-babylonienne et grecque, Lilith et Gylou, sont les plus connues³¹. Selon les versions roumaines du récit, qui fut copié dès la fin du XVI^e siècle³², la démonsse est vaincue soit par saint Sisinnios³³ soit par l'archange Michel.

Les études de Hasdeu, Gaster et Cartoian sur la diffusion roumaine du *Rêve de la Vierge* à proximité d'autres apocryphes, corroborées par les recherches philologiques récentes, montrent que le texte a circulé à côté des plus anciens apocryphes roumains. À part leur enracinement dans la littérature roumaine ancienne, ces récits se caractérisent par une longue et importante diffusion dans le monde chrétien (*La lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*), ou du moins dans le monde byzantin et dans son orbite culturelle (*L'Apocalypse de la Vierge*, *La Légende de Saint Sisinnios*). Leurs héros principaux sont des figures importantes de la hiérarchie chrétienne (le Christ, qui parle aux fidèles par le truchement d'une lettre, ou la Vierge) ou Sisinnios, un saint qui vainc les démons, trait qui le rapproche de l'archange Michel, par lequel il est parfois remplacé. Ces récits ont été plusieurs fois traduits en roumain, ils ont été même légèrement modifiés et, par conséquent, ils présentent une certaine variabilité textuelle.

Le Rêve de la Vierge se distingue des textes à côté desquels il circule par plusieurs traits importants : sa diffusion est attestée à partir d'une date tardive (XIV^e siècle) ; les premiers renseignements sur son existence proviennent de l'Europe occidentale ; il n'a pas joui d'une diffusion constante dans le monde gréco-slave avant d'être transmis en roumain, comme c'est le cas de la plupart des apocryphes traduits en roumain. Sa transmission roumaine manuscrite n'est pas comparable avec celle de *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* (plus de 100 versions) ou de *l'Apocalypse*

de la Vierge (plus de 90 versions). Par contre, le texte fut beaucoup plus répandu que d'autres apocryphes qui entrèrent en roumain par filière slave³⁴.

3. La tradition roumaine du *Rêve de la Vierge*

À partir de Gaster, les chercheurs roumains ont attiré l'attention sur le fait que le *Rêve de la Vierge* n'a circulé, avant le milieu du XIX^e siècle, que sous forme manuscrite. Cette manière de transmission suggère que le texte était perçu comme un écrit « non canonique » par le clergé qui, sans exprimer une position officielle à cet égard, n'approuvait pas sa publication, comme ne l'avait fait ni pour d'autres récits du même genre. C'est toujours Gaster qui fixa en 1784 le début de la transmission manuscrite du texte, et l'étude de Cartojan ne devancera pas cette date malgré le nombre plus élevé de manuscrits qu'il connaissait.

Les recherches menées dans les archives de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest nous ont permis d'enrichir les renseignements sur la diffusion manuscrite de l'apocryphe en roumain, à la suite de la découverte de nouvelles versions du *Rêve de la Vierge* non répertoriées dans les catalogues³⁵, et de devancer le *terminus post quem* proposé par Gaster. Le plus ancien codex roumain comprenant l'apocryphe semble être, en effet, le manuscrit 1317 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest, datant de 1727³⁶.

Malgré sa présence tardive dans la littérature roumaine, l'apocryphe fut copié à plusieurs reprises jusqu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle. C'est à la même période qu'en fut publiée la première version imprimée, qui, selon Hasdeu, datait de 1846. Les aléas de l'histoire de ces livres de colportage restent encore à étudier, et pour que l'étude ait une certaine représentativité, il faut à la fois répertorier les types de brochures où la *Lettre du Christ*, l'*Apocalypse de la Vierge* et la *Légende de saint Sisinius* furent incorporées ; il faudrait voir également si *Le Rêve de la Vierge* n'a pas été publié à côté d'autres récits, apocryphes ou non, et enfin établir dans quelle mesure ces versions imprimées diffèrent de celles manuscrites. Il est pourtant sûr que la diffusion imprimée du récit fut reprise avec beaucoup de succès après 1989 ; à part les petites brochures de ce genre, en témoigne aussi une timide réaction de l'Église³⁷.

La tradition roumaine du *Rêve de la Vierge* semble avoir été assez stable. On n'en connaît que deux versions, qui ont été établies en fonction de leurs dimensions.

3.1. La version courte du Rêve de la Vierge

La version appelée « courte » de manière conventionnelle, que Gaster avait mise en relation avec des textes similaires issus d'autres espaces culturels, est la plus ancienne. Un tel texte fut copié dans le plus ancien manuscrit roumain connu contenant le *Rêve de la Vierge*, ms. 1317 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest. Nous donnons ici une édition de cette version accompagnée de traduction³⁸ :

Visul Preacuratii Născătoarii de Dumnezeu

Când au adormit Ficioara în Muntele Maslinilor, au visat prin somnu un visu. Și veni cătră dânsa aieve, adică în vedere, domnul Isus Hristos și i-au zis:

'O Maica mea iubită! Au dormi și nu auzi prin somnu?'

Apoi, dacă s-au dișteptat sfânta, au și răspunsu lui Isus Hristos și i-au zâs:

'Adormii, fiul meu iubit, și iar m-am dișteptat și te-am visat prinsu, la stâlpu legat și pre cruce răstignit și de pre sfântul tău cap curge<a> sângele și pârau făcând, și pre sfântul tău trup l-am văzut <ca> un lemn di coajă juchit'.

Răspunsă Isus Hristos și zisă:

'O Maica me iubită! Visul ci l-ai visat eu voiu să-l paț pentru norodul ominesc'.

Și cine o va scriia această sfântă carte și o va purta la dânsul, aceala om va ave milă de la Dumnezeu și priință di la toți oamenii și la ceasul morții lui mă voiu arăta sângură și mă voiu ruga cu toți îngerii cătră fiul meu pentru sufletul acelu om pentru sufletul acelu om ci o va scriia și o va citi și altora și să o poarti la dânsul această sfântă carti și-l voiu duce întru împărăția cerului, amin!

Le rêve de la très sainte Mère de Dieu

Quand la Vierge s'endormit sur le mont des Oliviers, elle rêva un rêve quand elle était endormie. Et le Seigneur Jésus Christ vint vers elle réellement, et lui dit :

'O, ma mère aimée ! Est-ce que tu dors et n'entends pas dans ton sommeil ?

Ensuite, quand la sainte se réveilla, elle répondit à Jésus Christ et lui dit :

‘Je me suis endormie, mon fils aimé, et je me suis réveillée à nouveau ; et je t’ai rêvé capturé, lié au pilier, crucifié sur la croix, et de ta sainte tête le sang s’écoulait et un ruisseau faisait ; et j’ai vu ton saint corps comme un arbre écorcé.’

Jésus Christ répondit et dit :

‘O, ma mère aimée ! Le rêve que tu rêvas, je vais le souffrir pour l’humanité !’.

Et celui qui écrira ce saint livre et le portera sur lui, cet homme-là jouira de la miséricorde de Dieu et de la bienveillance de tous les gens ; et au moment de sa mort, je me montrerai moi même et je prierai mon Fils avec tous les anges pour l’âme de cet homme, qui l’écrira et le lira aux autres et portera sur soi ce saint livre, et je l’amènerai dans le royaume des cieus, amen !

a) Les rêves divins

De par son titre, le texte fait valoir son « apocryphité »³⁹, car un tel rêve n’est pas attesté dans la littérature canonique. Dans l’Ancien Testament, il existe pourtant de nombreux épisodes où différents personnages sont crédités d’un rêve divin⁴⁰. Les rêveurs sont les élus du peuple d’Israël, comme Abraham (*Gn* 15, 1), Isaac (*Gn* 26, 24), Jacob (*Gn* 28, 13, 31, 10-13 ; 46, 2-4), Joseph (*Gn* 37, 5-10), Samuel (*1 Rois* 3, 5), Daniel (*Dn* 7, 1-14) et Zacharie (*Za* 1, 7-8) ; parfois ils sont des étrangers comme Abimélech (*Gn* 20,3), Laban (*Gn* 31, 24), l’échanson et le panetier de Pharaon (*Gn* 40), Pharaon (*Gn* 41, 1 -32), et Nabuchodonosor (*Dn* 2,1 ; 4,2).

Dans le Nouveau Testament⁴¹, Joseph a plusieurs rêves: un ange lui recommande en rêve d’épouser Marie (*Mt* 1, 20), et c’est toujours en rêve qu’un ange lui conseille de s’enfuir avec toute la famille en Egypte (*Mt* 2, 13), de rentrer en Israël, car Hérode était mort (*Mt* 2, 19-20), et de se rendre en Galilée (*Mt* 2, 22). C’est toujours par un rêve que les Mages sont avertis de ne pas retourner à Hérode, mais de rentrer directement chez eux (*Mt* 2, 12).

b) Un endroit pour rêver

L’endroit où, selon l’apocryphe, la Vierge s’endormit et rêva, n’est pas dépourvu de signification : c’est le mont des Oliviers, un endroit

significatif dans l'histoire chrétienne. Dans l'Ancien Testament, mention est faite de son caractère sacré dans *Ezéchiel* 11 :23 ; c'est en cet endroit que Salomon bâtit des autels pour les dieux de ses épouses (*Rois* III 11 :7), contre lesquels s'éleva le roi Josias (*Rois* IV 23, 13). Selon une prophétie apocalyptique, Yahvé s'y tiendra debout et la montagne se fendra par le milieu (*Zacharie* 14 : 4). Le mont est souvent mentionné aussi dans le Nouveau Testament, comme une route reliant Jérusalem à Béthanie (*Mt* 21, 1 ; *Mc* 11, 1 etc.). Jésus y enseigna (*Mt* 24-25) et parla à ses disciples de Sa seconde venue (*Mt* 24, *Mc* 13 ; cf. *Lc* 21) ; au pied de la montagne, Il aura pleuré sur Jérusalem (*Lc* 19, 37-44), aura passé la fin de la journée (*Lc* 21, 37) et aura séjourné dans la nuit de sa trahison (*Mt* 26, 30, *Mc* 14, 26 ; *Lc* 22, 39). C'est au mont des Oliviers que l'on croit que le Christ se leva aux cieux à l'Ascension (*Actes* 1, 9-12).

Malgré la fréquence des mentions de cet endroit sacré dans la Bible, il n'y a pas de renseignements scripturaires qui établissent une relation entre cette montagne sacrée et la Vierge. Par contre, la riche tradition textuelle de la *Dormition de la Vierge* en fait souvent mention et la désigne comme l'endroit qui aura accueilli la maison de la Vierge ou sa tombe⁴².

C'est toujours là que Marie, selon la tradition grecque de la *Dormition*, est censée avoir appris d'un ange la nouvelle de sa mort imminente. Elle lui aura demandé son nom, mais l'ange lui aurait répondu qu'il ne lui sera révélé que sur le mont des Oliviers⁴³. S'il lui dévoilait son nom à Jérusalem, la ville serait en danger d'être dévastée⁴⁴. La Vierge se rend à la montagne où les arbres inclinent leurs branches devant elle⁴⁵.

Une version latine de la *Dormition* raconte que l'apôtre Thomas, arrivé à Jérusalem après l'enterrement de Marie, se retrouve miraculeusement sur le mont des Oliviers ; c'est là qu'il voit Marie qui montait aux cieux et reçoit d'elle sa ceinture. Grâce à cette rencontre sur la montagne, il est le premier à faire apprendre aux autres apôtres que le tombeau de la Vierge était vide et qu'elle s'était élevée au paradis⁴⁶.

Une version grecque de la *Dormition de la Vierge*, rédigée aux VI^e-VII^e siècles à Constantinople, raconte que Paul avait demandé à Pierre de lui partager les secrets que le Christ avait enseignés aux apôtres sur le mont des Oliviers. Pierre refuse sous prétexte qu'il aurait été impossible que Paul comprenne les révélations ; il lui conseille pourtant d'attendre jusqu'à ce que le Christ vienne enlever le corps de Marie et de poser ce problème à Jésus lui-même. Quand le Christ apparut, il dit à Paul : « Paul, mon bien-aimé, ne sois pas triste car les apôtres ne t'ont pas révélé les glorieux mystères. Je leur enseignai ces mystères sur terre, à vous, je vous

les enseignerai dans les cieux »⁴⁷. Les paroles attribuées au Christ ont pu facilement être lues comme une prophétie sur la vision du paradis dont l'apôtre fut gratifié (2 *Cor* 12, 2-4) et qui légitima la plupart des récits visionnaires médiévaux.

En faisant du mont des Oliviers l'endroit idéal pour les théophanies⁴⁸, ou en établissant une homologie entre la révélation reçue sur le mont des Oliviers et la vision du paradis, la *Dormition de la Vierge* consacre cette montagne comme un endroit de prédilection pour avoir accès aux mystères divins. La tradition apocryphe se fait l'écho de cette croyance, et des textes comme l'*Apocalypse de Pierre* (1, 1), l'*Histoire de Joseph le Charpentier* (Prologue), les *Actes de John* (97) ou *Pistis Sophia* (2) attribuent au mont les mêmes vertus⁴⁹.

Les scribes roumains qui ont copié *Le Rêve de la Vierge* ignoraient, très probablement, les qualités dont ce mont fut gratifié au fil du temps dans la tradition chrétienne. Ils savaient pourtant qu'il était un endroit souvent évoqué dans les apocryphes apocalyptiques roumains. Selon la riche tradition de l'*Apocalypse de la Vierge* (grecque, slavonne ou roumaine), la Vierge a la vision de l'au-delà sur le mont des Oliviers où elle était venue prier.

Selon une certaine tradition de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, c'est toujours là que fut trouvée l'épître miraculeuse attribuée au Christ. La rédaction 'mont des Oliviers' de la *Lettre* a été diffusée chez les Hongrois, les Polonais, les Roumains et les Ukrainiens⁵⁰, et elle remonte au moins au XVI^e siècle, comme en témoigne un texte polonais datant de 1599, selon lequel la lettre, écrite en lettres d'or, serait tombée sur le Mont des Oliviers devant l'icône de l'archange Michel⁵¹. Les textes hongrois et ukrainiens qui préservent le motif du mont des Oliviers datent, de même que les textes roumains⁵², du XVIII^e siècle⁵³. Dans la tradition roumaine, la diffusion de la rédaction 'mont des Oliviers' de la *Lettre du Christ* est étroitement liée, dès le début, au *Rêve de la Vierge* : les plus anciens textes roumains des deux apocryphes sont conservés dans le même manuscrit (ms. 1317 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine), et 30 sur 34 manuscrits comprenant la *Lettre du Christ* (rédaction 'mont des Oliviers') renferment aussi *Le Rêve de la Vierge*.

c) Vision en rêve – vision à l'état de veille

Le *Rêve de la Vierge* établit dès le début une opposition nette entre les révélations reçues à l'état de veille et les révélations reçues en songe⁵⁴.

Les scribes roumains qui ont transcrit le texte n'ont pourtant pas très bien compris cette distinction, raison pour laquelle la partie initiale du récit semble le plus souvent plutôt obscure⁵⁵.

L'opposition a pour fonction d'insérer le contenu du rêve la Vierge dans sa biographie et dans celle du Christ, en montrant ainsi qu'il s'agit bien d'un rêve prophétique, comme le Christ l'avait confirmé de manière explicite : « Le rêve que tu révas, je vais le souffrir pour l'humanité ! ».

L'idée que Marie est douée du don visionnaire, en ayant accès aux mystères divins est enracinée dans le Nouveau Testament. La Vierge est d'abord un témoin privilégié de la théophanie du Christ. On lui attribue constamment une relation particulière avec les puissances angéliques : un archange, Gabriel, lui annonce qu'elle sera la Mère de Dieu (*Mt* 1, 18-24 ; *Lc* 1, 26-38). Dans la tradition de la *Dormition de la Vierge*, un ange ou l'archange Gabriel lui annonce également sa mort proche et parfois, à l'ordre de Dieu, lui transmet une prière mystérieuse réservée aux élus⁵⁶. Les apocryphes exaltent à profusion cette communion entre la Vierge et les êtres angéliques. Une fois entrée dans le Temple, Marie aurait reçu la nourriture quotidienne de la main d'un ange⁵⁷ ; c'est toujours dans le Temple que, dit-on, les anges venaient lui parler⁵⁸ et lui obéir⁵⁹ ; un ange apparaît soudain lorsque quelques pucelles appellent Marie « reine des vierges » pour leur faire savoir que leurs paroles étaient prophétiques⁶⁰. Enfin, selon *l'Apocalypse de la Vierge*, il suffit que la Vierge prie son Fils de lui dévoiler les tourments des damnées, pour que l'archange Michel descende du ciel avec quatre cents anges pour l'escorter dans l'au-delà et lui servir de guide.

L'idée que la Vierge eut une vision en rêve par laquelle elle prévint la mort de son Fils est absente du Nouveau Testament. La prophétie que Siméon avait faite à Marie à la présentation du Christ au Temple (« à toi-même une épée te transpercera l'âme », *Lc* 2, 34-35) contribua pourtant à la légitimation du rêve attribué à la Vierge. Elle contribua également, dans le monde occidental, à l'essor d'un type particulier de piété envers les douleurs de Marie

Il n'est pas anodin, dans cette perspective, que, selon la tradition, Marie fut la première à apprendre le mystère de la Passion et de la Résurrection du Christ. En témoigne la version latine de la *Dormition de la Vierge* qui aurait servi de point de départ au *Rêve de la Vierge*⁶¹. L'idée est particulièrement bien soulignée dans la tradition exégétique qui fait de Marie le premier témoin de la Résurrection du Christ⁶². Le don prophétique de Marie est évoqué également dans certains apocryphes : lorsque la Vierge et Joseph

allaient vers Bethleem, elle eut la vision de deux peuples dont l'un pleurait et l'autre se réjouissait⁶³. Le premier est le peuple juif et le second sont les 'gentils' qui recevront la foi chrétienne, comme l'explique Marie elle-même⁶⁴, ou un ange qui descend des cieux pour réprimander Joseph qui avait douté du don visionnaire de sa fiancée⁶⁵.

d) Le rêve de Marie

Le rêve de Marie porte sur la Passion telle qu'elle est décrite dans le Nouveau Testament. La Vierge est censée avoir vu en rêve le moment où le Christ fut pris dans le Jardin de Gethsémani et emmené chez le grand prêtre (« Je t'ai rêvé capturé » ; cf. *Mt* 26, 47-50 ; *Mc* 14, 43-46 ; *Lc* 22, 52-54 ; *Jn* 18, 3-12) ; où il fut lié à la colonne (cf. *Mt* 27, 26 ; *Mc* 14, 65 ; *Lc* 22, 63-65 ; *Jn* 19, 1) ; et où il fut crucifié (cf. *Mt* 27, 33-50 ; *Mc* 15, 22-37 ; *Lc* 23, 33-46 ; *Jn* 19, 17-30).

Toutefois, la vision onirique ne suit pas fidèlement la chronologie des épisodes de la Passion et passe sous silence les phénomènes naturels qui, selon les Évangiles, ont accompagné la mort du Christ (éclipse, tremblement de la terre etc.). Elle évoque pourtant des épisodes antérieurs à la Crucifixion : la couronne d'épines qui expliquerait le sang qui en coule comme un ruisseau (« et de ta sainte tête le sang s'écoulait et une rivière faisait » ; cf. *Mt* 27, 29 ; *Mc* 15, 17 ; *Jn* 19, 2, 5), et la flagellation, pendant laquelle le corps du Christ prit l'apparence d'un arbre écorcé (« et j'ai vu ton saint corps comme un arbre écorcé » ; cf. *Mt* 27, 26 ; *Mc* 14, 65 ; *Lc* 22, 63-65 ; *Jn* 19, 1).

Le récit ne se contente donc pas de fournir une version des souffrances de Jésus qui double la narration biblique. Le motif du sang qui s'écoule comme un ruisseau, en particulier, semble avoir pour objectif de montrer la grande affliction que la Passion avait engendrée dans l'âme de ceux qui y ont assisté. À la différence des Évangiles qui parlent de la foule qui entoura le Christ lors de sa Passion (*Lc* 23, 27 et 35), dans le *Rêve de la Vierge* il n'y a qu'un spectateur qui regarde les souffrances de Jésus : Marie. Mais ici encore l'apocryphe utilise des textes canoniques, quand il évoque la rencontre entre la Vierge et Jésus sur la *via crucis*, la Vierge accompagnant Jésus sur le Mont du Calvaire et restant près de la croix jusqu'à sa mort. L'innovation de l'apocryphe réside dans le rôle privilégié assigné à la Vierge dans le récit de la Passion – elle est la seule qui y assiste –, et dans la mise en évidence particulière de sa douleur, qui fait

de la Vierge l'intermédiaire par excellence pour tout chrétien désireux d'avoir accès aux mystères de la Passion.

e) *Un rêve pour tous*

La dernière partie de l'apocryphe a un caractère indépendant en ce qu'elle ne porte plus sur le récit de la vision onirique, mais souligne l'importance d'écrire, de porter ou de lire le texte, détails qui ont amené les chercheurs à considérer que l'on a affaire à une amulette. La partie finale de l'apocryphe consigne également la promesse que Marie fait aux lecteurs du *Rêve de la Vierge* de descendre des cieux au moment de leur mort et de prier son Fils de leur accorder la vie éternelle. On n'insistera pas sur la vertu d'intercesseur de Marie, souvent soulignée dans la tradition chrétienne en Orient comme en Occident, mais il est important de constater qu'elle est glorifiée aussi dans la littérature apocryphe.

Dans l'*Apocalypse de la Vierge*, Marie, effrayée par les tourments subis par les âmes pécheresses, ressemble toutes les puissances angéliques et les saints et prie le Christ de leur donner une période de soulagement. Sa prière est exaucée, et ils obtiendront le repos pour une période qui s'étend des Pâques à la Pentecôte ou au premier dimanche après Pentecôte⁶⁶. La *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* célèbre également l'intercession de la Vierge et son pouvoir de fléchir la volonté du Christ⁶⁷.

Si le rôle d'intercesseur de la Vierge est un *topos* de la piété mariale, sa fonction psychopompe évoquée dans le *Rêve de la Vierge* est moins bien attestée. C'est surtout l'ange gardien qui a le rôle de guider l'âme dans l'au-delà⁶⁸, une fonction qui peut revenir aussi à l'archange Michel, notamment si le mourant est une figure exceptionnelle⁶⁹. Le Christ assume ce rôle à la mort de sa mère, et la tradition de la *Dormition de la Vierge* décrit sa descente des cieux afin de prendre l'âme de Marie et tenir ainsi la promesse qu'il lui aura faite lors de sa vie terrestre : « Ce ne sont pas les anges qui viendront te chercher, ni les archanges, ni les chérubins, ni les séraphins, ni quelques autre puissance, mais je viendrai moi-même chercher ton âme »⁷⁰. La représentation de Marie dans le *Rêve de la Vierge* comme un guide des âmes recoupe ainsi le rôle analogue attribué au Christ dans les récits sur la *Dormition de la Vierge* : comme Il descendit des cieux pour prendre l'âme de sa mère, de même Marie descendra des cieux pour glorifier ceux qui ne doutent pas de la véracité de sa vision.

3.2. *La version longue du Rêve de la Vierge*

Dans la tradition roumaine, la version appelée « longue » du *Rêve de la Vierge* fut transmise par les mêmes voies que la rédaction « courte ». Sa diffusion manuscrite semble pourtant être attestée à une date plus tardive, vers le début du XIX^e siècle. Nous donnons ici l'édition de cette version⁷¹ :

Visul Presfântei de Dumnezeu Născătoarei până a nu răstigni pre Domnul

Dormind Preasfânta Fecioară Născătoare de Dumnezeu în Muntele Maslinilor, când au fost în cetate Vitleemului, unde ar fi venit la sfinția <sa> Domnul Isus Hristos și au întrebat-o:

'Maica me preasfântă, dormi?'

Iar ea au zis:

'Fiiul meu preadulce, preafrumosule Iisuse. Am fost adormit și iată că am văzut strașnic vis pentru tine.'

Iară Domnul au zis:

'Spune, maica me, visul ce ai văzut.'

Și ea au zis:

'Fiiul meu preadulce, am văzut pe Petru în Roma și pe Pavel în Damasc, iar pe tine te-am văzut în cetate Ierusalimului răstignit pe cruce între doi tâlhari; cărturarii și fariseii și necredincioșii jidovi defăimându-te foarte te-au batjocorit, și disculț te-au giudicat, și cu fhiere te-au hrănit, și cu oțat ti-au adăpat pe tine, cu trestie și cu toiag preste cap ti-au bătut, și în sfântul obraz ti-au scuipt, și cu <nu>nă de spini pre capul tău au pus, și cu sulița în coastă ti-au împunsu, din care îndată au ișit singe și apă, soarele s-au întunecat, luna în roșăță s-au schimbat, catapeteazma bisăricii de sus până gios în douo s-au ruptu, întunerec mare s-au făcut peste tot pământul, de la al șasăle la al noule ceas, Iosif și cu Nicodim mi să păre că te pogorără de pe cruce, și cu giulgi curat te-au înfășat, și în groapă te-au pus, și în iad te-ai pogorât, ușile ceale de aramă le-ai sfărâmat, zăvoarele cele de fhier le-ai zdrobit, pe Adam și pe Eva scoțându-i afară, înviind a treie zi, te-ai înălțat la ceriu și te-ai pus în dreapta Tatălui.'

Iară el au zis:

'Maica me preasfântă, adevărat vis ai ai văzut, care eu toate aceste voiu să le pățimescu pentru niamul omenescu. Și de va scrie cineva visul tău, și-l va ceti, și la sine îl va purta, și în casa lui îl va ține, de acea căsă focul nu să va apropia și pe duhul necurat îl va goni și îngerul lui Dumnezeu totdeauna va sta lângă dânsul, de-a dreapta lui, de năvălirile și supărările despre oamenii cei răi va fi mântuit și la drum de va călători și va ave acest vis la sine, acel om nu să va teme de grindină, de tunet și de fulger, și de toată moartea grabnică va fi izbăvit; arhanghelul Mihail va fi lângă

dânsul îndreptându-i calea lui oriîncotro va merge și la dreapta giudecată va afla milă, cum și la ieșire din viața aceasta mă voi arăta celui om dimpreună cu tine, Maica Me, și îngerul meu va lua sufletul lui ducându-l întru împărăție cerurilor, vesălindu-să dimpreună cu tine, Născătoare de Dumnezeu, și cu toți dreptii din veac, carii bine mi-au plăcut în vecii netrecuți și nesvârșiți, amin’.

Le rêve de la très Sainte Mère de Dieu avant la Crucifixion du Seigneur

La très sainte Vierge, la Mère de Dieu étant endormie sur le mont des Oliviers, lorsqu’elle était dans la ville de Bethlehem, sa Sainteté, le Seigneur Jésus Christ vint près d’elle et lui demanda :

– Ma très sainte mère, dors-tu ?

Et elle lui dit :

– Mon Fils très doux, mon très beaux Jésus. J’étais endormie, et j’ai vu un rêve effrayant sur toi.

Et le Seigneur lui dit :

– Dis, ma mère, le rêve que tu as vu.

Et elle dit :

– Mon Fils très doux, j’ai vu Pierre à Rome et Paul à Damas, et je t’ai vu dans la ville de Jérusalem, pendu sur une croix entre deux larrons ; les prêtres et les Pharisiens et les juifs mécréants t’ont humilié en te diffamant ; ils t’ont nourri avec du fiel et t’ont abreuvé avec du vinaigre, ils ont battu ta tête avec un roseau et un bâton, et ils ont craché sur ta sainte joue, et ils ont mis une couronne d’épines sur ta tête, et ils ont piqué avec une lance ta côte dont jaillirent du sang et de l’eau ; le soleil s’obscurcit, la lune tourna rouge, le retable du temple se scinda en deux de haut en bas, il fit noir sombre dans le monde entier de la sixième à la neuvième heure ; Joseph et Nicodème me semblent t’avoir descendu de la croix ; ils t’enveloppèrent dans un linceul pur, ils te mirent dans la tombe, et tu descendis aux enfers, en brisas les portes d’airain, rompis les verrous en fer, et en tirant Adam et Eve dehors, en ressuscitant le troisième jour, tu montas aux cieux et te mis à la droite du Père.

Et il dit :

Ma très sainte Mère, un rêve vrai tu as vu, car je vais tout cela souffrir pour l’humanité. Et si quelqu’un écrira ton rêve et le lira et le portera sur soi et le mettra chez soi, le feu ne touchera pas cette maison-là, et il [celui qui écrit le texte etc.] écartera l’esprit impur et l’ange de Dieu sera toujours près de lui, à sa droite, il sera délivré des attaques et des malheurs provoqués par les gens méchants, et s’il voyage et portera ce rêve sur soi, il n’aura pas peur de la grêle, du tonnerre, et de l’éclair, et il sera délivré de toute mort inattendue ; l’archange Michel sera près de lui et lui montrera la bonne voie quelle route qu’il prenne, et il jouira de

miséricorde au Jugement juste, de même qu'à la sortie de cette vie je vais me montrer à cet homme avec toi, ma Mère, et mon ange prendra son âme pour l'amener dans le royaume des cieux, pour qu'il se réjouisse avec Toi, Mère de Dieu, et avec tous les justes, que j'ai toujours aimés, dans les siècles des siècles, amen.

a) Le rêve

De même que la version courte, cette version annonce dès le début que la Vierge eut un rêve. De plus, le titre de l'apocryphe met en relation le contenu du rêve et la vie terrestre de Jésus et de Marie : « Le rêve de la très Sainte Mère de Dieu avant la Crucifixion du Seigneur ». De cette manière, il fournit des renseignements sûrs pour tout lecteur qui, par mégarde ou par manque de familiarité avec l'histoire sacrée, n'aurait pas compris le caractère prophétique du rêve de la Marie.

b) Un endroit pour rêver

C'est toujours sur le mont des Oliviers que la Vierge est censée avoir eu le rêve prophétique. Le mont n'est pas la seule indication topographique, puisque le texte évoque aussi la ville de Bethléem : « Étant endormie la très sainte Vierge, la Mère de Dieu, sur le mont des Oliviers, quand elle était dans la ville de Bethléem ». Le rapprochement est évidemment maladroit, car la ville de Bethléem ne se trouve pas à proximité du mont des Oliviers. Il peut s'agir d'une contamination, due à la mécompréhension, avec un autre toponyme, probablement Béthanie. De toute façon, si l'on a affaire à une telle contamination, elle n'est pas survenue dans la tradition roumaine, car dans le roumain du XIX^e siècle la forme littéraire du nom « Bethléem » était « Vitleem », donc sa confusion avec le nom « Betania » est peu probable.

Si ni les scribes, ni les éditeurs ne semblent avoir essayé de corriger cette topographie, c'était peut-être aussi parce que ce n'était pas pour la première fois qu'un apocryphe diffusait une topographie impossible. *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* dont le début précisait l'endroit où l'on avait trouvé l'épître divine, dispensait aussi d'autres détails ayant le rôle d'augmenter la véracité de son contenu : des ans, des jours de la semaine, des noms de patriarches etc. ; on multipliait aussi le nombre des éléments topographiques, ce qui pouvait amener à l'apparition des topographies irréelles. Le phénomène apparaît déjà à la fin du XVII^e siècle, dans une

Lettre du Christ du type 'Jérusalem', où mention est faite des villes de Jérusalem et de Bethléem⁷². Dans la tradition roumaine, la topographie évoquée dans les textes du type 'mont des Oliviers' présente elle aussi une déformation analogue issue d'une étymologie populaire qui eut comme résultat la transformation du « Pays de Béthanie » (roum. *Țara Betaniei*) en « Pays des Ancêtres » (roum. *Țara Bătrânilor*)⁷³.

c) Vision en rêve – vision à l'état de veille

À l'encontre de la version courte, cette version ne traite plus de l'opposition rêve – état de veille. Si par cette omission le texte devient plus claire, il perd pourtant de sa tension dramatique sous-jacente, car de cette façon le caractère exceptionnel du rêve est largement estompé.

d) Le rêve de Marie

Il est caractéristique pour cette version de créditer Marie d'une expérience onirique plus complexe qui mélange les événements relatifs à la Passion et à sa postérité.

La description du rêve débute par l'évocation, assez vague, des plus grands apôtres de la christianité, Pierre et Paul. L'évocation de Pierre (« j'ai vu Pierre à Rome ») peut se référer aux dernières années de l'apôtre à Rome, à son martyre et à son rôle de premier évêque de Rome etc., alors que l'affirmation « j'ai vu [...] Paul à Damas » est susceptible de porter sur la conversion de Paul sur la route de Damas (*Actes* 9, 1-7 ; 22, 5-10 ; 26, 12-23), sur sa guérison et son baptême dans la même ville (*Actes* 9, 8-22 ; 22, 11-15), ou sur sa fuite et son retour à Damas (*Actes* 9, 23-25 ; 2 *Cor.* 11, 32-33 ; *Gal.* 1, 17).

La description de la Passion débute par l'évocation de la Crucifixion de Jésus entre deux larrons⁷⁴, mais puis le texte suit de près la chronologie des derniers épisodes de la vie terrestre du Christ. Le *Rêve de la Vierge* évoque la comparution du Christ devant le Sanhédrin et devant le préfet roman⁷⁵, les humiliations qu'il souffrit avant de monter sur le Calvaire⁷⁶ et les supplices qu'il pâtit sur la croix⁷⁷. Le texte évoque aussi les phénomènes naturels qui eurent lieu à la mort de Jésus⁷⁸ et la déposition du Christ en tombeau⁷⁹. La Vierge est également créditée d'avoir vu en rêve la descente du Christ dans les limbes⁸⁰, sa Résurrection⁸¹, son Ascension⁸² et Sa place dans les cieux⁸³.

La comparaison des récits oniriques présentés dans les deux versions roumaines de l'apocryphe montre l'existence de différences significatives entre eux. Le rêve de la version longue n'évoque pas uniquement la souffrance du Christ au long de la *via crucis* et la douleur éprouvée par la Vierge, mais il présente aussi le Christ en tant que Fils de Dieu, qui ressuscita, monta aux cieux et règne à droite du Père ; il évoque les privilèges que Sa mort a apportés aux hommes et exalte l'Église triomphante par les références aux apôtres Pierre et Paul.

Par tous ces nouveaux motifs, la version longue du *Rêve de la Vierge* se présente comme une déclaration de foi qui fait valoir les dogmes du christianisme. Cette transformation du *Rêve de la Vierge* dans une sorte de *Crédo* se produit au détriment des motifs spécifiques des récits visionnaires et de l'insistance sur la douleur de Marie lors de la Crucifixion, élément narratif qui, légitimé par la prophétie de Simon, occupe une place centrale dans la version plus ancienne de l'apocryphe.

e) *Un rêve pour tous, un rêve pour tout*

Les récompenses attribuées à ceux qui se fient à l'apocryphe, soigneusement exposées dans la partie finale du texte, montrent une fois de plus la différence profonde entre les deux versions. Par rapport à la version courte, leur nombre a beaucoup augmenté.

D'abord, le texte promet la protection des maisons contre le feu, une promesse plausible, vu qu'une des conditions de jouir de l'efficacité du *Rêve* était de le garder chez soi, comme un talisman. Les pouvoirs protectifs attribués au texte s'accroissent au moment où il est crédité du pouvoir de chasser toute forme de mal, aussi bien naturelle, que surnaturelle, et d'accorder à ses utilisateurs la protection constante d'un ange, assimilable à l'ange gardien : « Et si quelqu'un écrira ton rêve et le lira et le portera sur soi et le mettra chez soi, le feu ne touchera pas cette maison-là, et il [celui qui écrit le texte etc.] écartera l'esprit impur et l'ange de Dieu sera toujours près de lui, à sa droite, il sera délivré des attaques et des malheurs provoqués par les gens méchants ».

Le texte développe aussi un fragment qui porte sur la protection que l'apocryphe pourvoit aux voyageurs. Si l'on pense combien de risques les voyageurs encouraient jadis, il est facile de comprendre le poids de ce motif dans la diffusion et l'utilisation du récit. Les voyageurs pouvaient, évidemment, se servir toujours des bénédictions de voyages, des prières canoniques conservées dans les *euchologia*, que les prêtres lisaient dans

le cadre d'un rituel bien établi. Par rapport à ces prières, le *Rêve de la Vierge* a pourtant un caractère plus personnel en ce qu'il accompagne le voyageur d'une manière palpable et devient ainsi la preuve matérielle d'une protection divine omniprésente.

Les dangers évoqués dans l'apocryphe, la grêle, le tonnerre et l'éclair, sont des phénomènes qui occupaient depuis toujours une place importante dans la mentalité traditionnelle. D'une part, ils furent perçus comme des manifestations de la colère divine, sur la base de l'*Exode* 9, 18 (la grêle est la septième plaie de l'Égypte). Cette interprétation, corroborée par d'autres passages bibliques qui présentent Dieu en tant que maître des phénomènes atmosphériques⁸⁴, servit de base aux prières contre les intempéries conservées dans les *euchologia*⁸⁵. La littérature apocryphe se fait l'écho de cette conception. Certains apocryphes à fonction édifiante, comme la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, évoquent ainsi les « pluies mauvaises » par lesquelles Dieu manifeste sa colère, dans un scénario qui peut revêtir aussi des connotations apocalyptiques⁸⁶.

D'autre part, dès l'Antiquité, l'apparition de ces phénomènes, et surtout de la grêle, était attribuée aux démons ou à des figures investies d'un pouvoir particulier⁸⁷. Une telle croyance n'était pas étrangère aux Roumains qui avaient utilisé longtemps des exorcismes qui attribuaient la tempête et la grêle au diable des eaux combattu par un archange⁸⁸. On croyait aussi que les diables qui provoquent la grêle demeurant dans les eaux ne peuvent en être écartés que par l'action d'un prêtre⁸⁹, ou d'un maître du temps, soupçonné éventuellement d'avoir conclu un pacte avec le diable et auquel on attribuait une sagesse exceptionnelle⁹⁰.

Le texte est censé protéger aussi contre la mort subite. Il s'agit d'un *topos* des amulettes, qui s'appuie sur la croyance que la mort sans préparation peut nuire à l'âme dans son essai de gagner l'au-delà et que, surtout dans le cas d'une mort violente, l'âme pouvait rester entre les deux mondes et revenir de temps en temps pour hanter les mortels⁹¹. Le thème des dangers associés à une mort inattendue se retrouve aussi dans les *euchologia* et dans les apocryphes. Une version roumaine de *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* est très nette à cet égard : la mort subite est une punition pour ceux qui n'ont pas cru au Christ et à ses paroles : *Să aș fi crezut în Isus Hristos și într-această carte, n-aș fi lăsat pîiatră și moarte fără de vreamea* « si vous aviez cru à Jésus Christ et à cette lettre, je n'aurais laissé ni la grêle tomber sur vous, ni la mort subite vous attraper »⁹².

En relation avec le danger d'une mort subite, le voyageur encourait aussi un autre risque : si sa famille apprenait tard son décès, elle ne

pouvait accomplir les rituels funéraires habituels⁹³. Dans cette situation se trouvaient surtout les soldats. Pour eux, le spectre d'une mort sans funérailles pesait lourdement, comme en témoignent de nombreuses chansons militaires, dont voici un exemple :

Trage-o cătană să moară/ Și-așa trage de cu milă/, Că moare în țară străină,/ Ba moare fără lumină/ Și la cap fără perină ;/ Și-așa trage cu năcaz,/ Că nu-s scânduri spre sălaș,/ Nici nu-i pânză pe obraz,/ Nici îi maică cu mila/ Și nici soră cu gura...

Un soldat est sur le point de s'éteindre ; et il s'y empresses doucement, car il meurt en pays étranger, sans lumière, ni oreiller ; et il s'y empresses avec fureur, car il n'a pas de planches pour sa demeure, ni de linceul sur sa joue, ni sa mère avec l'amour, ni sa sœur avec les cris⁹⁴.

Le Rêve de la Vierge semble suggérer que les soldats étaient une catégorie privilégiée d'utilisateurs. On sait, en effet, que l'apocryphe était diffusé dans les milieux militaires, comme en témoigne déjà un texte intitulé *Lettre aux troupes*, publié à Saint Petersburg en 1831. Le récit est censé persuader les soldats de ne plus se fier aux récits de visions, de rêves, de miracles etc., car ces textes ne sont pas acceptés par l'Église. Le texte dénombre toute une série de pratiques et d'écrits répudiés par l'Église, parmi lesquels *Le Rêve de la Vierge*. Le texte condamne aussi de prétendus visionnaires en évoquant le cas d'un soldat qui avait gagné beaucoup d'argent en persuadant les villageois qu'il avait eu une vision de la Vierge dans laquelle elle lui avait confié *Le Rêve de la Vierge*⁹⁵.

Au plus tard au début du XIX^e siècle, les soldats roumains lisaient, eux aussi, des apocryphes ou, du moins, les gardaient chez eux, comme en témoignent deux versions de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* copiées respectivement, en 1803, par un capitaine, et en 1819, par un caporal. Dans le premier quart du XIX^e siècle, deux soldats roumains attachés aux unités de frontière s'intéressent aussi à *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, et l'un d'entre eux paye deux lapins domestiques pour un manuscrit comprenant *La Lettre du Christ* et *Le Rêve de la Vierge*⁹⁶. La popularité des deux apocryphes au sein de l'armée roumaine est bien attestée notamment lors de la Première Guerre Mondiale, comme le montre les nombreuses éditions, dans les régions germanophones et dans les pays de l'Europe de l'Est, de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*⁹⁷. De l'usage que les soldats roumains firent du *Rêve de la Vierge* lors de la Première

Guerre témoigne la critique adressée par le théologien Nichifor Crainic à un évêque qui avait publié un nouveau tirage du *Rêve de la Vierge* et l'avait diffusé parmi les soldats.

La partie finale de cette version du *Rêve de la Vierge* promet aux utilisateurs de l'apocryphe la vie éternelle, motif qui se retrouve aussi dans la rédaction courte, qui attribuait à Marie le rôle de psychopompe pour les âmes de ceux qui s'étaient fiés au récit. La version longue multiplie le nombre de figures divines auxquelles on attribue le pouvoir d'emmener l'âme du trépassé au paradis ; à part la Vierge, il évoque le Christ et l'ange gardien.

En guise de conclusion, on peut affirmer que les premiers renseignements sur la présence du *Rêve de la Vierge* dans la littérature roumaine remontent au début du XVIII^e siècle. Malgré cette date tardive, cet apocryphe issu du Moyen Age occidental jouit d'une diffusion beaucoup plus large que d'autres textes du même genre qui traitaient aussi de la vie du Christ et de Marie et qui, entrés dans l'espace roumain par filière gréco-slave, circulaient dans les manuscrits roumains depuis quelques siècles. Ce succès, qui ne se limite pas à la diffusion manuscrite – qui cesse vers le milieu du XIX^e siècle –, mais se prolonge, à travers les livres de colportage, jusqu'à nos jours, repose d'abord sur les motifs véhiculés par l'apocryphe, tels qu'ils furent enchaînés dans les deux principales rédactions qu'il a connues dans la tradition roumaine.

Le Rêve de la Vierge se présente comme un récit qui côtoie les histoires bibliques et qui s'inscrit parfaitement tant dans la littérature religieuse officielle, que dans la littérature apocryphe de l'époque. La ressemblance ou la quasi-identité entre les thèmes qu'il véhicule et les textes bibliques ou apocryphes justifie pleinement sa traduction en roumain et sa diffusion.

Il s'agit d'abord d'une autorité que le texte acquiert par la présence dans le récit des plus importantes figures chrétiennes, le Christ et Marie, et de la Passion, qui est son thème principal. Par la fidélité par rapport au texte biblique, *Le Rêve de la Vierge* se délimite d'autres apocryphes qui se servent des mêmes figures et épisodes pour traiter des événements absents du Nouveau Testament et qui ne sont pas retenus par la tradition de l'Église.

La crédibilité de l'apocryphe est renforcée par l'exaltation de l'amour entre la Vierge et le Christ, évoqué déjà dans le Nouveau Testament et que la tradition de l'Église glorifie surtout en relation avec la dormition de la Vierge et avec son rôle d'intercesseur.

Enfin, le texte est légitimé aussi par certains motifs qui s'enracinent dans la tradition canonique et qu'il partage avec des apocryphes plus anciens et plus connus. Cet usage commun qu'un groupe d'apocryphes fait de certains motifs représente un moyen de légitimation circulaire des textes qui en font partie.

En vertu de ce système de correspondances, un endroit sacré comme le mont des Oliviers est repris par la littérature apocryphe de manières différentes : c'est là que la Vierge est censée avoir des révélations (*Apocalypse de la Vierge, Rêve de la Vierge*) et que l'épître du Christ tomba du ciel (*La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*) ; c'est toujours de cette montagne que l'archange Michel, *analogon* de Sisinius, descend pour combattre la démons qui nuit aux nouveau-nés (*La Légende de Saint Sisinius*). De même, si la Vierge fut créditée d'une vision de l'au-delà dans un apocryphe largement diffusé dans l'Europe orientale (*L'Apocalypse de la Vierge*), il est facile de comprendre la popularité dont a pu jouir un récit similaire fondé sur un épisode dont la véracité est universellement reconnue dans le monde chrétien, la Passion, et qui attribue à la Vierge une vision onirique (*Le Rêve de la Vierge*). Les lettres miraculeuses se légitiment mutuellement : à l'épître du Christ dont fait mention l'apocryphe homonyme correspond une *Lettre de la Vierge* qui n'est pas un récit autonome, mais un groupe d'apocryphes (*La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel, Le Rêve de la Vierge, L'Apocalypse de la Vierge*) qui circulent ensemble.

Ces motifs, qui sont des *topoi* des apocryphes, étaient largement reconnus par les utilisateurs. Ils sont des motifs « relationnels », qui légitiment le récit dans le contexte de la littérature de l'époque et, dans une certaine mesure, lui assurent la popularité. Leur rôle dans la morphologie de ces écrits apocryphes est très important : la version longue du *Rêve de la Vierge* qui, dans la tradition roumaine, est la version la plus récente, ne préserve, en effet, sans modifications que ces motifs « relationnels » et la structure générale de l'apocryphe.

Le fragment qui décrit le rêve de Marie est complètement modifié dans la deuxième version, ce qui suggère un intérêt décroissant pour l'image de la Vierge affligée au pied de la croix. Pour étayer cette hypothèse, il faudrait constituer un dossier sur la présence du thème de la Vierge souffrante dans l'imaginaire roumain aux XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles. Ce dossier devrait comprendre un répertoire des textes religieux qui en traitent (les textes lus aux messes à la veille du Vendredi Saint et à la fête de la Dormition de la Vierge, les sermons, les hymnes à la Vierge), un

inventaire iconographique (surtout les icônes provenant de Transylvanie qui présentent la Vierge en larmes, en premier plan, et le Christ crucifié, en second plan), et un recueil de données ethnographiques, notamment les légendes sur la Vierge dans la recherche de son Fils (où la Vierge apprend Sa crucifixion), mais aussi celles où la Vierge maudit les apôtres, pour ne pas être restés près du Christ lors de la Passion, gronde son Fils, pour s'être laissé tuer etc.⁹⁸.

Renonçant à présenter les supplices du Christ et les souffrances de la Vierge pour décrire le triomphe de l'Église par le sacrifice du Christ, la version longue du *Rêve de la Vierge* se présente comme une sorte de Crédo. Il s'agit d'un Crédo vulgarisé, dont le contenu théologique est facile à véhiculer, grâce notamment aux bénéfices que le texte promet. On assiste en effet à une normalisation de l'apocryphe, à son adaptation à la littérature apocryphe contemporaine, car le texte finit ainsi par véhiculer des enseignements théologiques et moraux, comme le faisaient depuis longtemps déjà *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* et *L'Apocalypse de la Vierge*, qui se servaient de certains motifs apocryphes (la lettre miraculeuse, la vision de l'au-delà) pour diffuser des normes morales et religieuses.

Les bénéfices promis aux utilisateurs, consignés dans la part finale du récit, délimitent clairement les deux versions roumaines de l'apocryphe. Par rapport à la version courte, qui assurait ses lecteurs qu'ils gagneront le paradis grâce à l'intercession de Marie, la seconde version évoque plusieurs récompenses, associées tant à l'au-delà, qu'au monde d'ici-bas. Ce qui surprend dans ce cas est la capacité remarquable du récit de s'ancrer dans la mentalité traditionnelle, car les récompenses évoquées viennent apaiser précisément les angoisses qui ont hanté depuis toujours l'homme traditionnel. En promettant d'écarter les dangers auxquels on se sentait exposé autrefois, le *Rêve de la Vierge* parvient à acquérir des fonctions multiples. L'apocryphe couvre ainsi un domaine réservé traditionnellement à certains textes à fonction déterminée (les exorcismes contre la grêle, les bénédictions des voyageurs, les prières contre les intempéries etc.). En raison de sa polyvalence, validée par l'histoire sacrée qu'il transmet, il finira progressivement par les éliminer. Par rapport à ces textes, l'apocryphe a de surcroît un avantage significatif : pour en faire usage, son bénéficiaire n'a pas besoin d'un intermédiaire (prêtre, maître de temps etc.), car le *Rêve de la Vierge*, comme tout apocryphe, se suffit à lui-même : on le lit, on le récite, on le garde chez soi.

Efficace aussi bien dans l'au-delà, que dans le monde d'ici-bas, investi de plusieurs fonctions auxquelles son bénéficiaire peut faire appel sans avoir besoin d'intermédiaires, *Le Rêve de la Vierge* légitime ainsi l'espoir d'une relation directe avec Dieu, l'espoir d'être gratifié d'une manière quasi-miraculeuse, une gratification dont le récit lui-même fournissait déjà l'exemple.

NOTES

- ¹ La formule est empruntée à Jean-Claude Picard, *Le continent apocryphe. Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1999.
- ² A. N. Vesselovskij, « Oputy po istorii razvitiia khristianskoi legendy, II », in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvescheniia* 173-175, 1876.
- ³ L. Kretzenbacher, *Südost-Überlieferungen zum apokryphen 'Traum Mariens'*, Munich, 1975.
- ⁴ Pour la tradition italienne, voir P. Toschi, « *Il Sogno di Maria* », in *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 7, 1965 [= *Studi in onore di Alfredo Schaffini*], p. 1104-1127 ; pour la diffusion du récit chez les Croates, voir A. Sapunar, « Das Apokryph *Unser Liber Frauen Traum* bei den Kroaten im 18. Jahrhundert », in *Studia slavica* 45, 2000, p. 39-48 ; pour la présence de l'apocryphe chez les Bulgares, voir I. Dujčev, « Apocrypha Byzantino-slavica. Une collection d'exorcismes d'origine byzantine », in *Zbornic filozofskog fakulteta* 9, 1967, p. 247-250.
- ⁵ R. Gibbs, « Two Families of Painters at Bologna in the Later Fourteenth Century », in *The Burlington Magazine* 121, 1979, p. 560-573 ; R. Gibbs, « Cristoforo da Bologna, Jacopo di Biondo and the Mezzaratta Frescoes in Bologna », in *The Burlington Magazine* 131, 1989, p. 460-467 ; S. Skerl del Conte, *Vitale da Bologna e la sua bottega nella chiesa di sant'Apollonia a Mezzaratta*, Bologna, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1993 ; R. Varese, « Proposte ed ipotesi per il *Sogno della Vergine* di Simone dei Crocefisi », in *Temì e metodi : Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, Rome, Sintesi Informazione, 1999, p. 679-688 ; C. Villers, R. Gibbs, R. Hellen, A. King, « Simone dei Crocefissi's 'Dream of the Virgin' in the Society of Antiquaries, London », in *The Burlington Magazine* 142, 2000, p. 481-486 ; A. Volpe, *Mezzaratta. Vitale e altri pittori per una confraternità bolognese*, Bononia University Press, Bologna, 2005.
- ⁶ M. Montesano, « Il 'Sogno della Vergine' : fra iconografia e cultura folklorica », in *La madre* [= *The mother*], Florence, 2009, p. 347-359 + 6 planches, [Micrologus, 17] ; L. Salmi, M. Catassi, *Il sogno della Vergine. L'enigma di una pittura dalla Bologna del Trecento tra mito, superstizione e preghiera*, Bologna, 2010.
- ⁷ B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente den bătrâni, II. Cărțile poporane ale românilor în secolul XVI în legătură cu literatura poporană cea nescrisă. Studiu de filologie comparativă*, édition procurée par G. Mihăilă, Bucarest, 1984.
- ⁸ Voir Gh. Chivu, *Codex Sturdzanus*, étude philologique, étude linguistique et édition, Bucarest, 1993. Pour tous les renseignements de critique textuelle (date de rédaction des textes, scribes et leurs endroits d'origine, origine des textes etc.), on se reportera à cette édition et à Al. Mareș, « Unde s-au tradus cele mai vechi apocrife religioase ? », in idem, *Cărți populare din secolele*

al XVI-lea – al XVIII-lea, Bucurest, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă-Academia Română, 2006, p. 9-43.

- 9 La plupart de ces textes se lisent dans B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente...*, p. 391-396.
- 10 *Ibidem*, p. 398.
- 11 Hasdeu présente les deux versions *in extenso* ; *ibidem*, p. 388-390.
- 12 Hasdeu connaissait plusieurs éditions de livres de colportage qui comprenaient *Le Rêve de la Vierge*. Selon ses calculs, chaque tirage était d'environ 5000 exemplaires ; voir *ibidem*, p., 388-389.
- 13 Pour l'influence de l'apocryphe sur le folklore roumain, voir *ibidem*, p. 400-402; 721-723 ; pour la présence du thème apocryphe dans le folklore espagnol, voir *ibidem*, p. 399-400.
- 14 M. Gaster, *Literatura populară română*, édition, préface et notes par M. Anghelescu, Bucurest, Minerva, 1983 (1^e édition 1883), p. 240-252.
- 15 Voici le texte, repris de C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, Lipsiae, Hermann Mendelssohn, 1866, p. 113-114 (*Transitus Mariae A*, § 1-2) : « In tempore illo antequam dominus ad passionem veniret, et inter multa verba, quae mater filio inquisivit, de suo transitu interrogare coepit eum tali affamine : O carissime fili, precor sanctitatem tuam ut, quando anima mea de corpore exierit, tertio die ante facias me scire, et tu, dilecte fili, cum tuis angelis eam suscipe. Tum suscepit deprecationem dilectae matris dixitque ei : O aula et templum dei vivi, o puerpera benedicta, o regina omnium sanctorum et benedicta super omnes feminas ; antequam me portares in tuo utero, semper custodivi te et cibare feci te cotidie meo angelico cibo, ut nosti : quomodo te deseam, postquam tu me portasti et nutriti, fugiendo in Egyptum detulisti et multas angustias pro me sustinuisti ? Ecce scias quia angeli mei semper custodierunt te et custodient usque ad transitum tuum. Sed postquam sustinero passionem propter homines, sicut scriptus est, et in die tertio resurrexero et post XL dies in caelum ascendero, cum videris me cum angelis et archangelis, cum sanctis et cum virginibus et cum meis discipulis ad te venientem, scito pro certo quod anima tua separabitur a corpore et in celum eam deferam, ubi nunquam penitus tribulationem vel angustiam hebebit ».
- 16 M. Gaster, *Literatura populară română*, p. 244-245.
- 17 *Ibidem*.
- 18 N. Cartoian, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească*, vol. II. *Epoca influenței grecești*, Bucurest, Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă « Carol II », 1938, p. 102-114, ici p. 104-106. À part le *Rêve de la Vierge*, dans le chapitre sur les amulettes, Cartoian traite aussi du palindrome *Sator arepo tenet opera rotas*, et des textes intitulés respectivement *Les 72 noms du Christ* et *Les 72 noms de la Vierge*.
- 19 *Ibidem*, p. 106.
- 20 Voir G. Ștrempele, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, t. I-IV, Bucurest, 1978-1992. Il convient pourtant de rappeler que Ioan Bianu avait entamé,

en 1907, une première édition du catalogue des manuscrits roumains de la de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest, mais son projet s'est arrêté au ms. 1380. L'édition de G. Ștrempele prend en compte la totalité des 5920 codex préservés dans les archives.

- 21 Le catalogue de G. Ștrempele et nos propres recherches permettent d'affirmer à présent que les plus importantes archives roumaines préservent 54 manuscrits comprenant *Le Rêve de la Vierge* : ms. 187, 281, 573, 1066, 1119, 1129, 1155, 1166, 1194, 1317, 1346, 1414, 1442, 1516, 1517, 1735, 1785, 1878, 2071, 2183, 2188, 2226, 2247, 2248, 2313, 2323, 2351, 2366, 2376, 2871, 2881, 3181, 3479, 3518, 3627, 3760, 3766, 3824, 3964, 3987, 4012, 4085, 4270, 4862, 4917, 5187, 5195 5309, 5320, 5328, 5460, 5479, 5531, 5824.
- 22 Sim. Fl. Marian, *Legendele Maicii Domnului. Studiu folkloristic*, Bucarest, Institutul de Arte Grafice « Carol Göbl », 1904, p. 206-282.
- 23 T. Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români*, édition et préface par I. Datcu, Bucarest, Saeculum I.O., 1997 (1^e édition 1910-1914), p. 163.
- 24 À partir du VI^e siècle, le texte est attesté aussi bien en langues anciennes (grec, latin, syriaque, copte, arabe, arménienne, géorgienne, éthiopienne, slavonne), qu'en langues vernaculaires (dans la plupart des cultures européennes). Sur cet apocryphe et sa diffusion, voir A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, Pars prior, Mosquae, 1893 ; H. Delehay, « Note sur la légende de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* », in Idem, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*, Bruxelles, 1966 [Subsidia hagiographica XLII], p. 150-178 (extrait de *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres*, 1899, p. 171-213) ; C. Brunel, « Versions espagnole, provençale et française de la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* », in *Analecta Bollandiana* 68, 1950, p. 383-396 ; J. Amadès, « Cartas del cielo », in *Revista de dialectologia y tradiciones populares* 14, 1958, p. 42-44 ; D. Deletant, « The Sunday Legend », in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 15, 1977, p. 431-451 ; M. van Esbroeck, « La lettre sur le dimanche, descendue du ciel », in *Analecta Bollandiana* 107, 1989, p. 267-284 ; P. Geoltrain, J.-D. Kaestli, éd., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, t. II, index établis par J.-M. Roeselli et S. J. Voicu, Paris, Gallimard, 2005, p. 1101-1108.
- 25 Pour l'histoire de la consécration ecclésiastique du dimanche, voir G. Dagon, « Jamais le dimanche », in M. Balard et alii (éd.), *Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, **1998**, [Byzantina Sorbonensia 16], p. 165-175.
- 26 Voir E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, monographie, édition et glossaire, Bucarest, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă-Academia Română, 2005 [Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română 10].
- 27 Pour ces particularités compositionnelles qui rattachent les manuels à l'usage des confesseurs aux apocryphes, tels *La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* et *l'Apocalypse de la Vierge*, voir idem, « Particularități comune versiunilor

- de tipul 'Ierusalim' ale *Legendei duminicii* și textelor de legi », in *Studii și cercetări lingvistice*, 54, 2003, p. 203-225.
- 28 Pour cet apocryphe, voir S. C. Mimouni, « Les *Apocalypses de la Vierge* : État de la question », in *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, p. 101-112 ; R. Bauckham, « The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary », in idem, *The Fate of the Dead : Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, Leyde, Brill, 1998, p. 332-362 ; J. Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium. Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, *passim*. La date de composition de l'apocryphe est sujette à caution : Simon Mimouni a plaidé pour le VII^e siècle comme terminus *ante* (S. Mimouni, *Les Apocalypses de la Vierge*, p. 108-109), alors qu'Évelyne Patlagean, suivie de Jane Baun, a proposé les X^e-XI^e siècles (E. Patlagean, « Byzance et son autre monde : observations sur quelques récits », in *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle*. Table ronde organisée par l'École Française de Rome, Rome, 22-23 juin 1979, Rome, 1981 [Collection de l'École Française de Rome 51], p. 201-221, ici p. 201 ; J. Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, p. 16-17, 215-217).
- 29 Les versions tardives de l'*Apocalypse* (grecques, slavonnes ou roumaines) présentent parfois un fragment final qui décrit la joie des justes dans le paradis ; voir récemment J. Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, p. 58 ; C. Dima, « *Coborârea Maicii Domnului la iad*. Criterii de clasificare », in *Limba română* 60, 2011, p. 47-58, ici p. 53-54.
- 30 Cristina Dima a consacré récemment une thèse de doctorat à la tradition roumaine de l'apocryphe. Jusqu'à la publication de cette thèse, voir idem, « O versiune a *Apocalipsului Maicii Domnului* de la începutul veacului al XVIII-lea », in *Limba română* 52, 2003, p. 136-144 ; idem, « Două redacții mai puțin cunoscute ale *Apocalipsului Maicii Domnului* », in *Limba română* 55, 2006, p. 287-300 ; idem, « *Coborârea Maicii Domnului...* », *art. cit.*
- 31 Voir surtout JoAnn Scurlock, « Baby-Snatching Demons, Restless Souls and the Dangers of Childbirth: Magico-Medical Means of Dealing with Some of the Perils of Motherhood in Ancient Mesopotamia », in *Incognita* 2, 1991, p. 135-183 ; R. Greenfield, « St Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou : the Typology of the Greek Literary Stories », in *Byzantina* 15, 1989, p. 83-141.
- 32 Pour la diffusion roumaine de cet apocryphe, voir B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente...*, II, p. 263-291 ; M. Gaster, *Literatura populară...*, p. 259-264 ; Idem, *Ilchester Lectures on Greeco-Slavonic Literature*, Londres, 1887, p. 79-83 ; Idem, « Two Thousands Years of a Charm against the Child-Stealing Witch », in Idem, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology*, vol. II, New York, Ktav Publishing House Inc., 1971 (1^e édition 1928), p. 1005-1038 ; Idem, « Lilith și cei trei îngeri », in Idem, *Studii de folclor comparat*, édition procurée par P. Florea,

- Bucarest, 2003, p. 46-51 ; N. Cartoian, *Cărțile populare...*, t. I, p. 145-155 ; M. Mazilu, « *Legenda sfântului Sisinie. Redacțiile românești* », in *Limba română* 57, 2008, p. 75-88.
- 33 À part la fonction de vainqueur de cette démons, Sisinius peut revêtir aussi le rôle de guérisseur de la fièvre, quand il est censé vaincre toujours des démons féminines. On considère que celles-ci étaient apparentées à Hérodiade, la figure impliquée dans la décapitation de Jean-Baptiste, et qu'elles avaient le pouvoir de produire la fièvre ; voir récemment W. F. Ryan, « Ancient Demons and Russian Fevers » in Ch. Burnett, W. F. Ryan, éd., *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, Londres-Turin, Warburg Institute-N. Arago, 2006 [Warburg Institute Colloquia 7], p. 37-58 ; E. Timotin, « Queen of the Fairies and Biblical Queen. Notes on the Romanian Herodias », in É. Pócs, éd., *Folk Religion and Folk-Belief in Central-Eastern Europe [Acta Ethnographica Hungarica. An International Journal of Ethnography, LIV/2, 2009]* p. 363-376.
- 34 On peut mentionner, à titre de comparaison, un autre apocryphe lié à la figure du Christ, *Le bois de la croix*, préservé en 11 manuscrits (voir E. Timotin, *Lemnul crucii*, édition critique, étude philologique et linguistique, Bucarest, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2001, [Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română 5], p. 107-199) et un autre récit apocryphe sur les vertus prophétiques du rêve, *Les rêves du prince Șahanci*, conservé en 9 manuscrits (voir Al. Mareș, *Cele douăsprezece vise în tâlcuirea lui Mamer*, monographie, édition et glossaire, Bucarest, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2003, [Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română 8], p. 15-133, 193-213).
- 35 Ces omissions ont pu avoir plusieurs raisons : d'une part, *Le Rêve de la Vierge* est un texte de petites dimensions, d'autre part, les scribes ne le séparent pas toujours des textes précédents.
- 36 Pour ce manuscrit, voir G. Ștrempel, Fl. Moșil, L. Stoianovici, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, IV, Bucarest, 1967, Editura Academiei R.S.R., p. 539 ; G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul...*, I, p. 290. Pour la *Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel* préservée dans ce codex, voir E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, p. 389-391.
- 37 Voir *Efecte înșelătoare: Talismanul, Visul, Epistolia...*, édité avec la bénédiction du Mgr. Teodosie, archevêque de Tomis, 3^e édition, révisée et ajoutée, Constanța, Monastère de Derwent, 2008.
- 38 Comme le texte du ms. 1317 est parfois fautif, nous présentons ici le texte du ms. 1155, rédigé en 1784, mentionné également par Gaster et Cartoian.
- 39 Sur le concept d'« apocryphité », bâti sur la notion de canonicité, voir S. C. Mimouni, « Le concept d'apocryphité dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval. Réflexions en guise d'introduction », in S. C. Mimouni (sous la direction de), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions*

- du livre. *En hommage à Pierre Geoltrain*, Turnhout, Brepols [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes. Sciences Religieuses 113], p. 1-30.
- 40 Voir surtout E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament*, Berlin, A. Töpelmann, 1953 [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 73] ; A. Caquot, « Les songes et leur interprétation selon Canaan et Israël », dans *Les songes et leur interprétation*, Paris, Seuil, 1959, p. 106-124 ; J.-M. Husser, *Le songe et la parole. Étude sur le rêve et sa fonction dans l'ancien Israël*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1994.
- 41 Voir A. Wickenhauser, « Die Traumgeschichte des Neuen Testaments in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht », in T. Klauser, A. Rucker (éd.), *Pisciculi. Festschrift F. J. Dölger*, Münster, Aschendorff, 1939, p. 320-333 ; J. Le Goff, « Le christianisme et les rêves (II^e-VII^e s.) », in T. Gregory (éd.), *I sogni nel medioevo*, Rome, Ateneo, 1985, p. 171-218 ; J. Amat, *Songes et visions : l'au-delà dans la littérature latine tardive*, Paris, Etudes Augustiniennes, 1985.
- 42 Selon certaines versions de la *Dormition de la Vierge*, la maison de Marie aurait été à Bethléem ou sur le Sion, alors que son tombeau serait dans le jardin de Gethsémani ou dans la vallée de Josaphat.
- 43 « Lorsque Marie eut appris du Seigneur qu'elle allait sortir de son corps, le grand ange vint à elle et dit : 'Marie, lève-toi [...]' Marie répondit : '[...] Que veux-tu que je fasse ou quel est ton nom ? [...]' L'ange lui dit : 'Pourquoi demandes-tu mon nom ? Il est merveilleux et tu ne peux l'entendre [...] Va donc au Mont et là tu connaîtras mon nom' » (Transitus Grec R, § 2, 3 ; texte repris de S. C. Mimouni, S. J. Voicu, *La tradition grecque de la Dormition et de l'assomption de Marie*, textes introduits, traduits et annotés, Cerf, Paris, 2003, p. 71). Des fragments similaires se retrouvent en d'autres textes grecs sur la *Dormition* ; voir *ibidem*, p. 114 (Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, G 3/I, § 3) ; p. 146 (Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, G 3/II, § 2).
- 44 « Va donc au Mont et là tu connaîtras mon nom, car je ne le dis pas au milieu de Jérusalem, de peur qu'elle ne soit entièrement dévastée, mais tu l'entendras sur le Mont appelée depuis longtemps des Oliviers » (Transitus Grec R, § 3, apud *ibidem*, p. 71).
- 45 « Alors Marie s'en alla au Mont des Oliviers [...]. Lorsqu'elle arriva au Mont, celui-ci se réjouit avec tous les arbres qui s'y trouvaient. Ceux-ci inclinaient leur tête et se prosternaient devant le signe de triomphe qui était dans sa main... » (Transitus Grec R, § 4, apud *ibidem*, p. 72). Des fragments similaires se retrouvent *ibidem*, p. 114 (Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, G3/I, § 3), p. 146 (Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, G 3/II, § 2).
- 46 C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, p. 119-121 (*Transitus Mariae A*, § 17-21).
- 47 S. C. Mimouni, S. J. Voicu, *La tradition grecque...*, p. 96-97 (Transitus Grec R, § 45-46).

- 48 Comparable au Mont Horeb ou au Mont Sinaï ; l'observation appartient à S. Mimouni et S. Voicu, *ibidem*, p. 72, n. 19.
- 49 Les textes apocryphes qui font mention du Mont des Oliviers comme un endroit des révélations ont été inventoriés par S. Mimouni et S. Voicu ; *ibidem*.
- 50 B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente...*, II, p. 29-36.
- 51 D. Deletant, *The Sunday Legend*, p. 439.
- 52 E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, p. 167-229.
- 53 D. Deletant, *The Sunday Legend*, p. 441.
- 54 Pour cette opposition dans les récits de visions, voir A. Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance. Étude sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine (IX^e-XI^e siècles)*, Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2010 [Dossiers byzantins 10], p. 53-58.
- 55 Une étude sur le vocabulaire roumain de la 'vision', à partir justement de cette variation du *Rêve de la Vierge*, reste à faire.
- 56 Voir S. C. Mimouni, S. J. Voicu, *La tradition grecque...*, p. 74, 80 (Transitus Grec R, § 7, 19).
- 57 F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain, éd., *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens*, t. I, index établis par S. J. Voicu, Paris, Gallimard, 1997, p. 89 (*Protoévangile de Jacques* § 8, 1) ; p. 124-125 (*Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu* § 6, 2 ; 6, 3).
- 58 *Ibidem*, p. 125 (*Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu* § 6, 3), p. 155 (*Livre de la nativité de Marie* § 7, 2).
- 59 *Ibidem*, p. 125 (*Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu* § 6, 3).
- 60 *Ibidem*, p. 129 (*Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu* 8, 5).
- 61 Voir le texte cité *supra*, n. 15.
- 62 Voir J. D. Breckenridge, « *Et prima vidit. The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother* », in *The Art Bulletin* 39, 1957, p. 9-32.
- 63 « [] Et Joseph se retourna et la vit triste ; et il disait : 'Peut-être ce qui est en elle la fait-il souffrir.' Et de nouveau Joseph se retourna et la vit qui riait ; et il dit : 'Marie, qu'en est-il donc, que je vois ton visage tantôt riant et tantôt attristé ?' Et elle lui dit : 'Joseph, c'est que je vois devant mes yeux deux peuples, l'un qui pleure et se lamente, l'autre qui se réjouit et exulte' » ; texte repris de F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain, éd., *Ecrits...*, I, p. 97 (*Protoévangile de Jacques* § 17, 2).
- 64 « En cours de la route, Joseph regarda Marie qui paraissait affectée à la fois par le souci et la joie. Il lui dit : 'Comment se fait-il que je te voie soucieuse et joyeuse ?' Elle répondit : 'J'ai eu deux rêves différents et étranges ; j'ai vu le peuple d'Israël en pleurs et attristé, semblable à un aveugle se trouvant au soleil mais ne se réjouissant jamais de sa lumière ; et j'ai vu les peuples étrangers assis dans les ténèbres ; la lumière s'était levée sur eux et ils étaient heureux et joyeux comme l'aveugle dont les yeux se sont ouverts » ; *ibidem*, 212 (*Vie de Jésus en arabe* § 2, 2-4).

- 65 « Comme, donc, Joseph et Marie voyageaient par route qui conduit à Bethleem, Marie dit à Joseph : 'Je vois deux peuples devant moi, l'un en larmes, l'autre en joie'. Joseph lui répondit : 'Reste assise et tiens-toi sur ta monture, et ne dis pas de paroles superflues'. Alors un bel enfant vêtu d'un habit éblouissant apparut devant eux et dit à Joseph : 'Ce que tu as entendu au sujet des deux peuples, pourquoi l'as-tu appelé 'des paroles superflues' ? Car elle a vu le peuple juif en larmes parce qu'il s'est éloigné de Dieu, et elle a vu le peuple des gentils en joie parce qu'il s'est approché du Seigneur, selon la promesse faite à vos pères Abraham, Isaac et Jacob » ; *ibidem*, p. 132 (*Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu* § 13, 1).
- 66 Sur le repos accordé aux pêcheurs dans la tradition roumaine de l'*Apocalypse de la Vierge*, voir C. Dima, « *Coborârea Maicii Domnului...* », p. 53, 57. Pour les variations du thème du repos des âmes dans la littérature apocalyptique et apocryphe, voir R. Bauckham, « The Conflict of Justice and Mercy : Attitudes to the Damned in Apocalyptic Literature », in *Apocrypha* 1, 1990, p. 181-196.
- 67 Voici deux exemples de la tradition roumaine, dont le premier est repris d'un texte type 'Jérusalem', et le second d'un texte type 'Mont des Oliviers' : « Ce gândiiu să vă pierdu pre voi, pentru sveanta dumenică, ce mă rugară svinții îngeri și apostoli și plânse maica mea și toț svinții drept voi și-mi întorș mâniia » (Eu j'avais pensé de vous perdre à cause du saint dimanche, mais les saints anges et apôtres me prièrent pour vous, et ma mère et tous les saints plainquirent pour vous et j'ai apaisé ma colère) (Ms. Martian, fols 50^v-51^r) ; « Pentru mila maicii meale, a sînteii Precuratei Fecioarei, Născătoarei de Dumnezeu, iată că vă poruncescu voao pentru ca să vă sculați să meargeți duminecă la biserică și dă faptele voastre ceale reale să vă lăsați. Și iată că vă mai poruncescu voao sâmbăta după vecernie să vă feriț de tot lucru rău, pentru cinstea maicii meale, că de nu m-ară fi rugat pentru voi maica mea, de mult v-aș fi certat eu pre voi, pentru fărădelegile voastre (Pour la miséricorde de ma Mère, la sainte très pure Vierge, la Mère de Dieu, voici que je vous ordonne de vous réveiller et d'aller à l'église le dimanche et de renoncer à vos mauvaises actions. Et voici que je vous ordonne aussi d'éviter toute action mauvaise à partir du samedi soir, après les vêpres, en l'honneur de ma Mère, car si elle ne m'avait pas prié pour vous, je vous aurais réprimandés depuis longtemps à cause de vos méfaits » (ms. 1317, f. 374^r) ; voir E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, p. 330, 390.
- 68 Voir A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Philonenko, éd., *La Bible. Ecrits intertestamentaires*, Paris, Gallimard, 1987, p. 1689 (*Testament d'Abraham* § XX, 10-12) ; P. Geoltrain, J.-D. Kaestli, éd., *Ecrits apocryphes...*, p. 41 (*Histoire de Joseph le charpentier* § 13, 6).
- 69 A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Philonenko, éd., *La Bible...*, p. 1689 (*Testament d'Abraham* § XX, 10-12) ; cf. P. Geoltrain, J.-D. Kaestli, éd., *Ecrits apocryphes...*, p. 40 (*Histoire de Joseph le charpentier* § 13, 2).

- 70 S. C. Mimouni, S. J. Voicu, *La tradition grecque...*, p. 115 (Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, G 3 / I, § 4).
- 71 Selon le texte préservé dans ms. 5309 (fols. 1^r-7^v), rédigé dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle ; pour la description du codex, voir G. Ștrempele, *Catalogul...*, IV, p. 264.
- 72 « Epistoliiia [...] au trimisu Domnul nostru Isus Hristos din ceriu întru sfântă cetate în Ierusalimu, în dzi de mercuri. Făcură cuvântu și făcură rugăciune cu frică și cu cutremuru, ce au fost în sfântul Sion în Ierusalimu. Și așa easte adevărată epistoliiia, că au cădzut o piatră din ceriu, ce mică era în vedeaere, iară foarte era grea, câtu nime nu putea să o rădice. Această piatră a cădzut la Vitfleaimu și era aceastea cuvinte scrisă dumnedzăiești într-înșă... » (La lettre que le Seigneur Jésus-Christ envoya des cieux dans la sainte ville de Jérusalem, un mercredi. On réunit le conseil et on fit une prière avec effroi et crainte, dans l'église de Sion de Jérusalem. Et cette lettre est vraie, car une pierre tomba des cieux, elle était petite, mais très lourde et personne ne pouvait l'élever. Cette pierre tomba à Bethlehem et ces mots divins s'y trouvaient) (ms. 5910, fol. 220^v) ; voir E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, p. 353.
- 73 Această carte arată în Țara Bătrânilor, în Munții Maslinilor, înaintea icoanei a sfântului Arhanghel Mihail (Ce livre apparut dans le Pays des Ancêtres, dans les Monts (sic !) des Oliviers, devant l'icône du saint archange Michel) (ms. 1317, fol. 373^v) ; *ibidem*, p. 389.
- 74 « Je t'ai vu dans la ville de Jérusalem, pendu sur une croix entre deux larrons » ; cf. *Mt* 27, 38 ; *Mc* 15, 27-28 ; *Lc* 22, 32-33 ; cf. *Is* 53, 12.
- 75 « Les prêtres et les Phariséens et les juifs mécréoyant t'ont humilié en te diffamant » ; cf. *Mt* 26, 59-68 ; 27, 39-42 ; *Mc* 14, 55-65 ; 15, 31-32 ; *Lc* 23, 10-11, 35-37 ; *Jn* 18, 22.
- 76 « Ils ont battu ta tête avec un roseau et un bâton, et ils ont craché sur sa ta sainte joue, et ils ont mis une couronne d'épines sur ta tête » ; cf. *Mt* 27, 28-31 ; *Mc* 15, 17-19.
- 77 « Ils t'ont nourri avec du fiel et t'ont abreuvé avec du vinaigre » ; cf. *Mt* 27, 34 ; cf. *Ps*. 68, 25 ; *Mt* 27, 48 ; *Mc* 15, 36 ; *Lc* 23, 36 ; *Jn* 19, 29 ; cf. *Ps*. 68, 25 ; « ils ont piqué ta côte avec une lance, dont jaillirent du sang et de l'eau » ; *Jn* 19, 34.
- 78 « Le soleil s'obscurcit, la lune tourna rouge, le retable du temple se scinda en deux de haut en bas, il fit noir sombre dans le monde entier de la sixième à la neuvième heure » ; cf. *Mt* 27, 45 et 51 ; *Mc* 15, 33 et 38 ; *Lc* 23, 44-45.
- 79 « Joseph et Nicodème me semblent t'avoir descendu de la croix ; ils t'enveloppèrent dans un linceul pur, ils te mirent dans la tombe » ; cf. *Mt*. 27, 59-60 ; *Mc* 15, 46 ; *Lc* 23, 53 ; *Jn* 19, 38-41.

- 80 « Et tu descendis aux enfers, en brisas les portes d'airain, rompis les verrous en fer, et en tirant Adam et Eve dehors » ; cf. *Rom* 10, 7 ; Col. 1, 18 ; *Actes* 2, 24 ; 2, 27 ; 13, 34 etc.
- 81 « En ressuscitant le troisième jour » ; cf. *Mt* 28, 1-11 ; *Mc* 16, 1-18 ; *Lc* 24 ; *Jn* 20, 1-25.
- 82 « Tu montas aux cieux » ; cf. *Lc* 24, 51 ; *Mc* 16, 19 ; *Jn* 20, 17 ; *Actes* 1, 9-11.
- 83 « Et [tu] te mis à la droite du Père » ; cf. *Mc* 16, 19.
- 84 Cf. Ps. LXXVII, 47-48 ; CIV, 32-33 ; XVIII, 13-14 ; CXLIII, 6 ; CXLVI, 8 ; CXLVII, 16-17 ; CXLVIII, 7-8 ; Job XXXVIII, 22-30.
- 85 Voici un fragment repris d'une *Prière contre la peur des tonnerres et des foudres (Rugăciune la îngrozirea de tunete și de fulgere)*, publiée dans *Molitfelnic cuprinzând slujbe, rânduieli și rugăciuni săvârșite de preot la diferitele trebuințe din viața creștinilor*, Bucarest, 1998, p. 402 : « Doamne, Dumnezeuul nostru, care întărești tunetul și slobozești fulgerele și toate le faci spre mântuirea lucrurilor mâinilor tale, caută cu iubirea de oameni și ne izbăvește pe noi de tot necazul, mânia și nevoia și de îngrozirea cea de acum ; că ai tunat din cer, Doamne, și fulgerele ai înmulțit și ne-ai tulburat pe noi ; îndură-te spre noi, Milostive ; la tine scăpam, și milele Tale cele bogate trimite peste noi și miluiește robii Tăi, ca un bun și iubitor de oameni, ca să nu ne ardă pe noi focul mâniei Tale, nici să ne topească pe noi iuțimea fulgerelor și a tunetelor Tale ; ci după știuta milostivirea Ta potolește-ți mânia și schimbă vazduhul în bună liniște, și cu razele soarelui risipește întunecimea care este asupra noastră și împrăstie norii cei întunecați » (Seigneur, notre Dieu, qui renforces le tonnerre et lâches les foudres et qui fais tout afin de sauver ceux qui sont issus de Tes mains, regarde avec Ton amour pour les hommes et délivre-nous de tout malheur, colère et besoin et de la terreur présente ; car Tu as fait tonner du ciel, Dieu, et as multiplié les foudres et nous as troublés ; aie pitié de nous, [Toi qui es] miséricordieux ; en Toi est notre salut, et envoie sur nous Ta grande miséricorde et sauve Tes serviteurs, car Tu es bon et aimes les hommes, afin que le feu de Ta colère ne nous brûle pas, que la célérité de Tes foudres et des Tes tonnerres ne nous fasse pas fondre ; mais selon Ta bien connue miséricorde apaise Ta colère et change l'air en bonne paix et ôte par les rayons du soleil l'obscurité qui est sur nous, et dissipe les nuages obscurs).
- 86 Voici quelques exemples repris de la tradition roumaine de l'apocryphe : « așa mă voiui giura pre îngerii mii și pre arhanghelii că nu voiui avea a tremate cetenie pre pământ, ce voiui deschide șapte ceriuri și voiui ploua spre voi piatră ardându și uncrop » (je vais jurer sur mes anges et archanges que je n'enverrai plus une autre lettre sur la terre, mais je vais ouvrir les sept cieux et je ferai pleuvoir sur vous de la grêle ardente et de l'eau chaude) (ms. 5032, fol. 175^v-176^f) ; « De nu veț creade Evangheliia mea și această epistolie, să știț că am la ceriu ploii aprinse și pietri am a lăsarea spre voi »

'si vous ne croyez pas à mon Evangile et à cette lettre, sachez que dans les cieux *j'ai des pluies ardentes et j'ai aussi de la grêle pour vous*' (ms. 26 Brasov, fol. 34^v) ; « Că pentru păcatele voastre și pentru sfânta duminică am tremis spre voi [...] vânturi groznice și *tunete și fulgere cu foc și foașe cu grindine și ploaie cu piatră* » 'Car pour vos péchés et pour le saint dimanche j'ai envoyé vers vous des vents terribles et des *tonnerres et des éclairs de feu et des tempêtes de neiges avec grêle, et de la grêle*' (ms. 4182, fol. 527^r) ; « Pentru sfânta duminică ce nu o țineți și nu o cinstiți, *tremite-voiu* spre voi ierni greale și geruri mari și *vânturi și tunete și trăsnete și fulgere și grindine*. Ce de nu vă veți pocăi, deschide-voiu închisorile ceriului și *voiu ploia ploaie de foc* [...]. Și iarăși *voiu ploaia ploaie de sânge și cu foc* [...] și *voiu tremite trăsnet din ceriu*, să văz atunci ce veți face » 'Pour le saint dimanche que vous ne respectez et n'honorez pas, *je vais envoyer* vers vous des hivers lourds et de forts froids et des vents et *des tonnerres et des éclairs et de la grêle*. Mais si vous ne vous repentissiez pas, j'ouvrirai les portes du ciel et *je vais faire pleuvoir une pluie de feu* [...] Et *je vais faire pleuvoir* encore une fois *une pluie de sang et de feu* [...] et *je vais faire tonner du ciel* et voyons alors ce que vous allez faire' (ms. 701, fols. 8^{r-v}) ; « voiu tremite pre voi *tunet cu foc din ceriu* să vă arzu » 'je vais envoyer du ciel vers vous un tonnerre de feu pour vous faire brûler' (ms. 4182, fol. 529^r) ; « *vă voi certa pre voi cu tunet și cu fulger*, pentru ca să cunoașteți că easte mâniia mea cea adevărată pentru păcatele voastre cât easte » '*je vais vous réprimander par le tonnerre et l'éclair*, pour que vous connaissiez combien grande est ma colère à cause de vos péchés' (ms. 1317, fol. 374^r) ; « Iar de nu veți păzi poroncele mele, atunce *vă voiu pedepsi cumplit cu fulgere, cu ploi mari, cu ciumi* » 'Si vous ne gardez pas mes commandements, *je vais vous punir impitoyablement par des éclairs, de grandes pluies, des pestes*' (ms. 1442, fol. 25^v) ; voir E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, p. 323, 346, 365, 373, 390, 394.

⁸⁷ Voir W. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1931.

⁸⁸ Pour ces textes rédigés en roumain entre le début du XVII^e siècle et le XVIII^e siècle et qui véhiculent les croyances, attestées dès la fin de l'Antiquité, dans la puissance des archanges de régir les phénomènes atmosphériques, voir E. Timotin, *Descântecele manuscrise românești (secolele al XVII-lea – al XIX-lea)*, édition critique, études linguistiques et philologiques, Bucarest, Editura Academiei, 2010, p. 27-42, 237-246.

⁸⁹ On attribue aux prêtres le pouvoir d'écarter les démons aquatiques surtout à l'Épiphanie, jour où l'Église orientale fête le Baptême du Christ, lorsqu'ils procèdent à une bénédiction des eaux courantes ; voir T. Pamfile, *Mitologie românească*, édition par M. Al. Canciovici, Bucarest, Editura All, 1997 (1^e édition 1916-1924), p. 250.

⁹⁰ Pour ces maîtres du temps, appelés surtout *solomonari* (< *Solomon* « roi Salomon »), voir I. Talos, « Solomonarul în credințele și legendele populare

- românești », *Anuar de lingvistică și istorie literară*, 25, 1976, p. 39-53 ; A. Oișteanu, « Balaurul și solomonarul – Termenii unei euații mitice arhetipale », in idem, *Motive și semnificații mito-simbolice în cultura tradițională românească*, Bucurest, Minerva, 1989, p. 166-259.
- 91 Pour l'ancienneté de cette croyance et son encrage dans la pensée religieuse gréco-romaine, voir l'étude classique d'E. Jobbé Duval, *Les morts malfaisants (Larvae et Lémures) d'après le droit et les croyances populaires des Romains*, préface de C. Lecouteux, Chambéry, Exergue, 2000 (1^e édition 1924).
- 92 E. Timotin *Legenda duminicii*, p. 350 (ms. 26, fol. 36^v).
- 93 Pour les morts en pays étranger restés peut-être même sans tombeau, les familles achevaient pourtant les rituels habituels avec cette particularité qu'elles devaient confectionner un double symbolique du mort : on donnait à l'église des bougies d'une longueur similaire à celle du mort et au moment où l'on apprenait la mort du parent, on confectionnait un pilier en bois, après quarante jours on y mettait des vêtements (en fonction du genre du défunt) et on l'enterrait selon le rituel habituel ; voir G. F. Ciușianu, *Superstițiile poporului român în asemănare cu ale altor popoare vechi și noi*, édition par I. Opreșan, Bucurest, Saeculum I.O., 2001, p. 120-122 ; Sim. Fl. Marian, *Înmormântarea la români. Studiu etnografic*, édition par T. Teaha, I. Șerb, I. Ilișiu, texte établi par T. Teaha, Bucurest, Editura « Grai și Suflet – Cultura Națională », 1995 (1^e édition 1892), p. 25-27.
- 94 *Ibidem*, p. 25.
- 95 W. F. Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight. An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999, p. 300.
- 96 E. Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, p. 239-240.
- 97 Voir K. Ruh (coord.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon*, IV, Berlin–New York, 1983², s.v. *Himmelsbrief*, p. 29.
- 98 Pour ces légendes, voir T. Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români*, p. 151-161.

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