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L'IDÉE DE CROISADE AU COURS DES XI^{EME} - XII^{EME} SIÈCLES : ÉLÉMENTS DÉTERMINANTS[1]

Raul-Constantin Tănase*

Abstract

The complex phenomenon of the Middle Age holy wars was received and analyzed in the academic literature through many levels: political, religious, military, cultural and social. Triggered in response to the Muslim conquests initiated as early as the seventh century, these were gradually integrated in the context of the Christian beliefs and rituals. The crusade was defined by the representatives of the traditional conception as an armed pilgrimage for the release the Holy Places and for the help of the Eastern Christians, holding a penitential value, sanctioned by giving a plenary indulgence. Unlike the traditional perspective, the followers of the pluralist doctrine emphasize the idea that the crusade represented a holy war against the internal and external enemies, aiming at recovering the property of the Christendom and protecting the Church and the Christian people. Considering the two sides, it is necessary to highlight the different historical conventions, because the religious medieval wars were based upon a certain ideology and spirituality and they created their own institutions. This study intends to analyze the main elements that contributed to the defining and crystallization of the crusade's characteristic doctrine.

Keywords: *crusade; pilgrimage; penitence; remission of sins; cavalry.*

L'époque des croisades a représenté une période significative de la rencontre culturelle – idéologique entre les deux chrétientés, celle occidentale et celle orientale, étant générées et entretenues par un certain nombre de facteurs politiques, religieux, militaires, économiques, sociaux[2]. Même si les guerres saintes ont été fondées, essentiellement, sur l'élément religieux – la délivrance des Lieux Saints et l'appui pour les frères chrétiens de l'Orient opprimés par les Turcs[3], toutefois, les intérêts laïques ont réussi à s'intensifier progressivement, de telle manière qu'à la fin, ceux-ci sont devenus prédominants, ainsi que le démontre la conquête de Constantinople par les latins en 1204.

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[2]Aux côtés des promesses de rémission des péchés et d'acquis du paradis faites aux croisés, il existait une série de motivations de nature matérielle comme : le désir de gagner des richesses et territoires; la nécessité d'échapper à la famine installée en Occident; l'exonération des impôts et taxes durant l'expédition; la croissance de la population en Ouest qui provoquait une expansion vers l'Est. Voir aussi Michel Balard, *Croisades et Orient latin (XI^{e}-XIV^{e} siècles),* Paris, Armand Colin, 2001, pp. 8-9; Thomas Asbridge, *The first crusade. A new history,* London, Free Press, 2005, pp. 66-67.
[3] Jean Flori, *Les croisades. Origines, réalisations, institutions, déviations*, Paris, Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2001, p. 119.

La fin du X[ème] siècle a été perturbée par de nombreux phénomènes naturels extrêmes (des incendies, des inondations, des épidémies, des tremblements de terre); ceux-ci étaient considérés comme une conséquence des péchés humains qui doivent être expiés par le départ dans l'expédition sainte[4]. La formation d'un nouvel ordre social, basée sur l'augmentation du pouvoir local des princes et de leur armée, ont conduit à la menace de l'Église et de ses biens, parce que la protection de celle-ci était assurée jadis de l'ancien ordre carolingien. Ainsi, les préoccupations ecclésiastiques ont eu comme l'objectif, premièrement, la défense des églises et de leurs fortunes, étant donné que celles-ci devenaient souvent les victimes des pillages. Pour maintenir la paix, la papauté a été tentée de canaliser les luttes en dehors de l'Europe[5], à la frontière de l'Espagne, afin de vaincre les musulmans[6]. Par l'institution de la paix, l'ecclésia considérait que son devoir est de rétablir l'ordre et de limiter la guerre ; la protection du clergé, des biens de la communauté ecclésiastique et des laïcs, ont constitué le programme de nombreux synodes locaux réunis afin de mettre en place la trêve et la paix du Dieu. Voulant s'émanciper du pouvoir impérial, le souverain pontife a reçu l'appui des guerriers qui sont entrés sous la vassalité de l'Église ou qui ont recrutés comme mercenaires[7].

L'union des Églises représentait le prix avec lequel les empereurs byzantins voulaient payer l'appui des latins contre la menace des turcs. Dans sa tendance vers une théocratie universelle, le pape Grégoire VII (1073-1085)[8] s'imagine les Églises unies et obéissantes à Rome et soi-même comme le souverain suprême de celles-ci. L'organisation hiérarchique de l'Église catholique s'identifie avec le Royaume du Dieu, où les gens ont été sauvés du péché et de la mort et, en dehors de laquelle il n'existe pas du salut. L'Église grecque a été considérée comme une branche schismatique de celle romaine[9]. La libération des frères de l'Orient devait avoir pour conséquence leur soumission religieuse, ce qui impliquait la reconnaissance de la primauté du pape et de la doctrine latine. Par les vingt-sept points du *Dictatus Papae,* le pape Grégoire VII apporte dans le plan politique international l'idée de l'universalité à travers la paix en Europe et celle de l'union du monde chrétien.

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[4] Guillaume de Tyr mentionne qu'après la conquête de Jérusalem en 1070, se manifestent plusieurs calamités naturelles (la famine, la sécheresse, les tremblements de terre), miracles qui auraient pu émouvoir les coeurs des gens, les faire s'éloigner du mal et se souvenir de Dieu. Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem de 1095 à 1184,* tome premier, trad. de Geneviève et Réné Métais, Paris, 1999, I, VIII, p. 15.
[5] J. Sydney Jones, *The Crusades. Primary Sources,* ed. Marcia Merruman Means and Neil Schlager, Thomson Gale, 2005, p. 2.
[6] André Vauchez, Robert Fossier, *Histoire du Moyen-Âge (Xe-Xie siècles),* tome II, Bruxelles, Complexe, 2005, p. 35.
[7] *Milites sancti Petri* ont lutté à Civitate en 1053, avant que le pape ait sollicité l'aide des normands contre la royauté allemande. Michel Balard, *op.cit.*, p. 22.
[8] Pour le pape Grégoire VII voir Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church. The Middle Ages. A.D.1049-1294,* vol. V., Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1882, pp. 17-38.
[9] L'unification ecclésiastique constituait, en même temps, une condition préalable d'une entente chrétienne générale pour le secours des intérêts communs. Voir aussi Philip Schaff, *op.cit.,* p. 19.

L'un des paradoxes des guerres saintes du Moyen Âge est représenté par le fait que les expéditions ont été conduites par les chrétiens, sous le signe de la croix, au nom d'une religion qui, à l'origine, se voulait pacifiste[10]. Le message prêché par Jésus détenait un fort caractère pacifiste, étant accentués l'amour du prochain et de l'ennemi, le renoncement au pouvoir terrestre et le refus d'utiliser des armes contre les adversaires[11]. Sur le plan religieux, les grecs rejetaient, par principe, l'idée de croisade et de guerre sainte. Au moment de l'arrivée des soldats du Christ, les byzantins ont été surpris de voir les clercs occidentaux armés, une pratique qui contrastait fortement avec le droit canonique[12]. À Byzance, la guerre contre les infidèles représentait une chose naturelle et un impératif politique rigoureux; l'initiative de la libération des Lieux Saints, un ancien héritage byzantin, devait appartenir à l'État et non au pouvoir spirituel. Le fait que la papauté s'est arrogée le droit de déclencher la croisade au nom de la chrétienté et qu'elle enfreignait le tabou qui interdit aux clercs d'inciter à l'effusion de sang équivalait à l'usurpation de l'autorité impériale[13]. L'idéal de l'Empire byzantin demeurait la paix, et la confrontation militaire représentait la solution extrême, employée lorsque les moyens diplomatiques de résoudre le conflit étaient épuisés. Un autre paradoxe est le fait que les opérations des croisés ont constitué la fin d'un ample mouvement de reconquête chrétienne qui s'achève par le contre-attaque musulmane et la conquête de Constantinople en 1453.

La guerre sainte des chrétiens, prêchée par le pape Urbain II, a été perçue comme un mouvement de libération de la Palestine mais aussi comme un pèlerinage au Saint-Sépulcre. La qualité de guerre sainte découlait non seulement du fait que les ennemis étaient infidèles mais aussi en vertu de sa prédication par le pape et par la défense des intérêts du Saint-Siège. Les martyrs qui combattaient pour Rome arrivaient dans le paradis en raison du caractère de guerre sainte et non pour la qualité des adversaires. Ce caractère sacré a été détourné et valorisé idéologiquement pour servir aux luttes de la papauté contre les ennemies internes (des musulmans, des païens) et externes (des hérétiques, des schismatiques et

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[10] Răzvan Timofte, „Interferențe islamico-creştine (politico-religioase) în perioada cruciadelor", în: *Revista Teologică,* Nr. 3, 2009, p. 92. Le *Jihad* est l'un des principes de l'islam qui implique le pouvoir temporel et devrait englober tout l'univers, même par la force si nécessaire. Il deviendra un élément formaliste de la piété destiné à se transformer dans un outil de conquête. Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, Ridwan Al-Sayyid, „The Idea of the Jihad in Islam before the Crusades", in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (ed.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World,* Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001, pp. 23-29; George T. Dennis, „Defenders of the Christian People: Holy War in Byzantium", in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (ed.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World,* Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001, p. 31.

[11] Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade (XIe-XIIIe siècle). Communication et propagande,* Paris, Perrin, 2012, p. 9.

[12] Gill Page, *Being Byzantine. Greek identity before the Ottomans,* Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 31.

[13] Chris Wright, „On the margins of christendom. The impact of crusades on Byzantium", in Conor Kostick (ed.), *The crusades and the Near East. Cultural histories*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, p. 61.

des rivaux politiques) [14]. La christianisation du conflit armé a été réalisée par le biais du service divin (la bénédiction des soldats et des armes), par le biais de l'hagiographie (les vies de saints militaires et laïques), générant l'apparition d'une nouvelle conception de la lutte contre les ennemis de la foi chrétienne, les païens, représentés par les Normands, les Hongrois ou les Sarrasins [15]. L'évocation de l'idolâtrie des Sarrasins a constitué l'un des thèmes de la propagande du pape Urbain II au concile de Clermont[16]. Les musulmans représentaient une punition pour que les disciples du Christ améliorent leur comportement. Les Turcs étaient des infidèles et les chrétiens ne pouvaient pas conclure aucun accord avec eux[17]. L'Anonyme montre qu'ils sont des barbares effrayants et les adversaires du Dieu et de la croyance chrétienne (*turci, inimici Dei et sancte Christianitis)*[18].

La croisade constituait une guerre sainte dans une double perspective: premièrement, parce qu'elle se déroulait au nom du Dieu, et, deuxièmement, puisque les participants la considéraient comme un acte de pénitence. Il n'existe pas une rupture entre la guerre sainte et la croisade, mais un changement idéologique. La croisade a ajouté à la guerre sainte les caractères qui découlaient de sa destination finale – le tombeau du Christ, le lieu sacré par excellence pour la chrétienté, dans une époque dans laquelle le pèlerinage était devenu un élément fondamental pour la spiritualité médiévale. L'autorisation du conflit militaire était effectuée par le pape, en sa qualité du vicaire du Christ. Les critères de la guerre sainte ont été formulés et présentés par Saint Augustin. Celle-ci devait être déclarée par une autorité légitime, l'intention devait être juste et poursuivre la récupération des biens ou le territoire précédemment perdu[19]. La réponse de ceux qui voulaient participer à l'expédition de libération des Lieux Saints prenait souvent la forme d'une prestation du serment, enregistré par les chroniqueurs par les termes de *prendre la croix*. Le vote croisé constituait le moyen par lequel l'intention personnelle de participer à la croisade se transformait en obligation pénitentielle et juridique. La violation du serment été sanctionnée par l'excommunication[20]. La croix[21] représentait le signe

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[14] Jean Flori, *Les croisades. Origines, réalisations...,* p. 6.

[15]Par la transformation de la guerre juste en guerre sainte, le pape Urbain II a offert à la croisade son caractère original ; cela a été considéré comme une nouvelle guerre et la violence associée naturellement avec des gestes religieux, le sacré intégrant l'action guerrière. Paul Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La croisade,* Lausanne, Éditions L'Age d'Homme, 1983, p. 10.

[16] *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode sur son pélerinage a Jèrusalem*, traduit du latin par Stéphen de Goy, Quimper, 1878, p. 49.

[17] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale,* traduite et annotée par Marie-Geneviève, Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2005, cap. 16, p. 116; cap. 99, p. 327; Foulcher de Chartres, *Histoire des croisades,* in M. Guizot (ed.), *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, Paris, Librairie Chez J.L.J.Brière, 1825, VII, p. 29; XIX, pp. 79, 81.

[18] *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade (Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum)*, éditée et traduite par Louis Bréhier, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1924, 10, p. 52; 14, p. 74.

[19] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The crusades, christianity and islam,* New York, Columbia University Press, 2008. pp. 9, 11-12.

[20] Guibert de Nogent, *Geste de Dieu par les Francs. Histoire de la première croisade*, trad. de Monique-Cécile Garand, Turnhout, Brepols, 1998, II, 5, p. 83.

juridique de la mission des croisés, consacré spécialement par le pape, et permettait la distinction par rapport aux autres guerriers du christianisme ; les chrétiens en cousaient le signe sur l'épaule droit des vêtements[22] ou le fixaient sur les casques[23]. Cela a été considéré le symbole divin du salut, de la victoire et des armées chrétiennes[24].

En même temps, l'Église désirait la christianisation de l'esprit chevaleresque, qui se fondait sur l'ancienne mentalité guerrière des allemands païens [25] . Il y avait dans le christianisme un courant antimilitariste qui condamnait la guerre et le métier de guerrier[26] ; au cours du XIème siècle, l'Église a favorisé le mouvement de la paix qui limitait et réglementait l'activité militaire, mais, dans l'époque féodale, on ne pouvait pas parler de combat d'une mentalité qui demeurait le fondement de la société[27]. L'Église a été satisfaite d'essayer de christianiser les mœurs et l'esprit chevaleresque. Celle-ci a donné une empreinte religieuse à la cavalerie ; la cérémonie était composée de prières et de participation à la messe, et l'institution de la cavalerie a été placée dans le service du Dieu et de l'Église[28]. Le chevalier devenait un héros pieux qui réunissait les valeurs chrétiennes et les anciens symboles celtiques[29]. L'Église, impliquée dans la lutte pour la réforme et pour la libération du contrôle des dirigeants laïcs, a créé *miles sancti Petri,* une armée à la disposition du pape, disposée à utiliser son épée au service du clergé. Plus tard, les chevaliers ont bénéficié de la reconnaissance dans le cadre de l'Église catholique, qui, par les différents rituels qui leur sont dédiés, a essayé les utiliser pour la réalisation de ses objectives. De cette manière, la cavalerie se transformait dans l'armée du Christ (*militia Christi*)[30]. La dignité d'un chevalier se quantifiait non seulement par ses vertus militaires, mais aussi par le statut social, la descendance et la richesse. Les croisés ont réalisé assez rapidement que les orientaux ne partageaient pas ces idéaux, considérant les derniers efféminés

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21 Ammon Linder, Alan V. Murray, „Cross Simbol", in Alan V. Murray (ed.), *The Crusades. An Encyclopedia,* vol. I: A-C, ABC-CLIO, 2006, pp. 301-302.

22 *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode...,* pp. 49, 60; Jacques de Vitry, *op.cit.,* cap. 16, p. 116; cap. 99, p. 327; Foulcher de Chartres, *op.cit.,* I, pp. 10-11; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem de 1095 à 1184,* tome premier,....I, XVI, p. 29.

23 Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.,* II, 5, p. 83.

24 Foulcher de Chartres, *op.cit.,* I, pp. 10-11; Isabelle Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens & Francs au temps de la croisade,* Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner S.A., 2007, p. 232.

25 Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade (XIe-XIIIe siècle)...*, p. 11.

26 Jacques le Goff, *Le Moyen Âge,* Paris, Bordas, 1962, p. 48.

27 André Vauchez, Robert Fossier, *Histoire du Moyen-Âge (Xe-Xie siècles),* tome II, Bruxelles, Complexe, 2005, p. 35.

28 Le premier devoir de la cavalerie était la protection des personnes et des biens ecclésiastiques, étant recommandé la défense des faibles, des veuves, des pauvres et des orphelins, au nom du Dieu.

29 Les dix commandements qui composaient le code chevaleresque sont: la foi en l'enseignement de l'Église et l'accomplissement rigoureuse de toutes les obligations religieuses; la protection de l'Église; la défense des pauvres, des femmes, des faibles, des enfants, des moines et des prêtes; l'amour de la patrie; la résistance à l'ennemi; la lutte contre les infidèles; l'accomplissement stricte des devoirs féodaux; ne pas mentir dans une situation de danger; la générosité et la gentillesse à tous; la lutte contre le mal et la défense du bien. Hervé Martin, *Mentalités médiévales. XIe-XVe siècle,* Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1996, p. 306.

30 Jacques le Goff, *op.cit.,* p. 49.

et rusés. Au lieu de s'appuyer sur la tradition germanique, l'honneur byzantin, avec un évident caractère intellectuel et hiérarchique au détriment de celui guerrier, avait son origine dans le monde romain. Un certain nombre de chroniqueurs grecs considéraient qu'il est plus honorable de vaincre l'ennemi par la sagesse et par la ruse que par la force des armes[31] ; par opposition à ceux-ci, les occidentaux soutenaient que la lutte armée constitue le principal moyen objectif de mesurer l'honneur et la dignité.

La dimension religieuse de la vie et la pensée symbolique représentaient une composante essentielle de la spiritualité du Moyen Âge[32]. Tous les phénomènes physiques et climatiques, les accidents ou les événements historiques, faisaient allusion directe à Dieu[33]. L'une des préoccupations centrales de l'homme médiéval était le fait d'éviter les supplices de la vie éternelle. Le pèlerinage était devenu populaire et les gens visitaient les tombeaux des saints pour l'aide, la protection, la guérison et le pardon. Les Saints étaient considérés comme des intercesseurs à Dieu, et leurs reliques devenaient dans la vision des athlètes du Christ étroitement liées à la vie du notre Seigneur Jésus et des Apôtres[34]. Pendant le temps de déclenchement des croisades, il y avait un climat d'attente eschatologique, tant pour la population chrétienne que pour les clercs[35]. Les premières chroniques insistaient sur l'idée du choix des pauvres pour devenir héritiers du royaume divin, pas tant du celui céleste que du celui terrestre. La participation à la première expédition sainte a été considérée par une série de participants comme une modalité d'entrée dans la vie religieuse. Il existait la croyance que les soldats du Christ accomplissaient un acte de pénitence collective, payant leur dette à Dieu pour les péchés commis, ce qui distinguait cette opération des autres guerres saintes. La deuxième règle du Concile de Clermont montrait que l'expédition sainte remplaçait toute forme de pénitence pour les croisés qui faisaient le voyage à Jérusalem pour des raisons de pure dévotion et de non pas pour gagner la gloire et la richesse. Selon Pierre Tudebode, les premiers croisés ont accepté le martyre en Jésus Christ[36]. Le problème de la conversion religieuse au christianisme comme le but de la première expédition croisée occupait une place spéciale dans la conscience des soldats du Christ. L'idée de la conversion est indirectement exprimée par les toponymes et par les thèmes empruntés aux chansons ou aux compositions des gestes liturgiques.

Pour les chevaliers occidentaux, la libération du Saint-Sépulcre, le centre du pèlerinage, détenait un rôle de purification et visait à rétablir l'héritage de Jésus Christ. Le pèlerinage à Jérusalem a été considéré comme

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[31] Ana Comnena, *Alexiada,* vol. II, trad. de Marina Marinescu, prefaţă şi note de Nicolae-Şerban Tanaşoca, Bucureşti, Ed. Minerva, 1977, XV, III, 3, p. 307.
[32] Jonathan Phillips, *The crusades: 1095-1197,* London, Pearson Education, 2002, p. 15.
[33] Hervé Martin, *op.cit.,* p. 16.
[34] La défaite de Hattin à côté de la perte des saintes reliques du territoire de Jérusalem et de la Sainte-Croix sur laquelle a été crucifie Jésus Christ a conduit au déclenchement de la troisième croisade. Jonathan Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[35] Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.,* II, 4, p. 81.
[36] *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode...*, p. 54. Selon l'avis de Guibert de Nogent, l'attaque des barbares et des païens, a poussé Dieu à susciter les guerres saintes, qui devenaient les moyens par lesquels les chevaliers et les pécheurs pouvaient gagner leur salut. Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.,* I, 1, p. 53.

une forme de pénitence individuelle et un mode d'adoration du Dieu[37]. Lieu chargé avec de nombreuses interprétations symboliques et allégoriques, la Jérusalem est connue sous diverses formes riches en sens: d'une part, la Jérusalem céleste, le paradis, la ville de la paix, d'autre part, la Jérusalem terrestre, où Jésus a souffert la mort et où il reviendra à la fin des temps pour le jugement universel[38]. La visite des Lieux Saints pour la prière et pour l'acquisition des récompenses spirituelles constituait une partie intégrante de la pratique chrétienne médiévale. Les soldats du Christ vont à souffrir pour le Seigneur Jésus et participer à Sa gloire dans le jour du jugement. Ils sont simultanément des soldats et des pèlerins[39], et leur expédition imitait le pèlerinage de Charlemagne. La sainte expédition représentait un chemin vers la rencontre de la parousie, un symbole d'accomplissement des temps et l'un des gestes les plus importants par lesquels l'humanité essayait à sortir du temps de l'histoire[40]. La victoire assurait aux chevaliers chrétiens le salut et la possession de la terre sainte donnait le droit au pèlerinage éternel[41].

Les croisades ont représenté l'une des étapes les plus importantes du conflit entre les deux mondes religieux, celui chrétien et celui musulman, et une période de relancement des contacts entre les latins et les byzantins. Bine qu'initialement les guerres saintes aient ciblé l'appui des chrétiens de l'Orient et la libération du Saint-Sépulcre, l'évolution ultérieure des événements a conduit à un refroidissement des relations entre les deux blocs chrétiens et à mis en péril l'idéal de l'union des Églises, surtout après la conquête de Constantinople par les occidentaux en 1204. Les promesses de rémission des péchés, les récompenses célestes promises aux croisés, le climat d'attente eschatologique qui dominait l'époque, la christianisation de l'esprit chevaleresque, la sacralisation de l'expédition, les souffrances endurées par le chrétiens comme un moyen d'expiation des péchés, le rôle de purification du pèlerinage au Sépulcre du Sauveur, la diabolisation de l'ennemi, ont constitué les éléments qui ont déterminé et contribué de manière significative à la cristallisation d'une doctrine spécifique à la croisade.

[37] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem,* ed. Susan B. Edgington, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2007, I, 2, p. 5; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem de 1095 à 1184,* tome premier..., I, XVII, p. 30.
[38] Alain Demurger, *Croisades et croisés au Moyen Âge,* Paris, Éditions Flammarion, 2006, pp. 22-28.
[39] *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode...*, pp. 54, 110, 127, 129, 184, 288.
[40] Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages,* Paris, Editions Gallimard, 1987, p. 290.
[41] *Ibidem,* pp. 254-255.

MODERN SOCIETY AND EVERY DAY LIFE IN TRANSYLVANIA AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY[1]

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Abstract

The birth of modern society was accompanied by the increasing importance of the time dedicated to oneself, to individual, independent endeavours and more and more governed by and used for material benefits. Beyond the immediate consequences, namely a more pleasant way to spend time, leisure has also induced rationalisation, acting as a catalyst of modernisation and social change. Daily life itself is a more complex subject than first meets the eye. The term covers, of course, the simple facts of existence: what people wore, ate, how they worked, played, rested, took sick and recovered, and how they prayed, mourned, and celebrated. But the history of daily life does not mean only a long list of activities in a given time of place but also its impact on mentalities and social environment. The paper analyses the manner in which the Romanians living in Transylvania experienced modernity from the perspective of daily life.

Keywords: *modernization; daily life; Transylvania; Romanians.*

After more than two centuries of research and inquiring, the questions *what is modernity, which are the features of the modern phenomenon and when did a society became modern* still do not have a unanimous accepted answer. The birth of the modern world is one of the most argued and analyzed process, as over the years, researchers from different fields, historians, philosophers, sociologists, anthropologist, and economists suggested different ways of analyzing and explaining modern society. For a long period of time, modernity and the modernization process were only looked at from the economic perspective of industrial progress and its consequences on society. Towards the end of the 20th century, cultural history suggested new approaches of the modern phenomena concentrating on the contradictions of this process, inviting researchers to analyse the manner in which modernity as an economic, cultural, politic and social process influenced and transformed society and individuals, their responses to these changes, but also the impact on contemporary society[2]. Although

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[2] See Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan, de 1294 à 1324*, Gallimard, Paris, 1975; Norbert Elias, *Übber den Prozess der Zivilisation*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1976; Robert Muchembeld, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Flammarion, Paris, 1978; Maurice Agulhon, *La République au village:les populations du Var, de la Révolution à la IIU République*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1979; Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1982; Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, MTI Press, Cambridge, 1983; David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*, MTI Press, Cambridge, 1986; Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences*

there is not a general agreement on what modernity means and which are the features of a modern society, everyone agrees that this process profoundly transformed the manner in which people lived and perceived their existence. What really changed were in fact the rhythms of life. From this perspective, daily life expresses both the individual and collective experiences of modernity and at the same time the social, cultural, religious transformations of society.

The major change brought by modernity in what concerns daily life was the democratisation of leisure, as it was no more reserved for a small group of people. Industrialization, the development and spread of new technologies, the emergence and consolidation of middle class made it accessible to larger and larger groups of people generating new habits and new comportments. Leisure activities contributed to the making of modernity in a number of ways, at the same time being transformed by it[3]. Obviously this process had different rhythms as it was influenced by the peculiarities, the traditions and evolutions of each society. The present paper analyses the daily life of Romanians of Transylvania at the end of the 19th century. Why the end of the 19th century? Although the beginning of the modernization process of Transylvania goes back into the 18th or even the 17th century[4], for the Romanian community the 19th century was the century of their own modernity project. Vienna's reforms, although searching for the cohesion and stability of the Empire had contributed to the rise of nationalism, as the nations living in its boundaries developed their own projects and programs. The establishment of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania at the beginning of the 18th century offered Romanians the opportunity of establishing a contact with the occidental culture and values, the Edict of tolerance allowed them to participate to the public life and to improve their social and economic status. A new generation of elites emerged, a group of intellectuals whom were able and began to speak for their people, demanding the recognition of their nation. Put forward in the middle of the 1848 events,

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of Modernity, Stanford University Press, 1990; Idem, *Modernity and Self-Modernity*, Stanford University Press, 1991; Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991; Anthony Giddens, Scott Lash, *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1994; Timothy Mitchell (Ed.) *Questions of Modernity*, University of Minnesota Press, 2000; C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2004, Christophe Charle, *Discordance des temps. Une brève histoire de la modernité*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2011.

[3] On leisure and modern society see: Henri Lefevbre, *La vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne*, Gallimard Collection, Paris, 1968; Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidian*, Vol. 1, Arts de Faire, Union générale d'éditions, 1980; Fernand Braudel, *Les Structures du Quotidien: Le Possible et L'impossible*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1986; Alain Corbin, *Le Temps, le Désir et l'Horreur. Essais sur le dix-neuvième siècle,* Paris, Aubier, 1991; Idem, *Le Temps, le Désir et l'Horreur. Essais sur le dix-neuvième siècle*, Paris, Aubier, 1991; Pronovost, C. Attias-Donfret, N. Samuel (dir.), *Temps libre et modernité. Mélanges en l'honneur de Joffre Dumazedier*, Sainte-Foy/Paris, Presses Universitaires du Québec/L'Harmattan, 1993; Alain Corbin (dir.), *L'avènement des loisirs*, 1850-1960, Champs, Flammarion, 2001; Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 2005; Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales. Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2008.

[4] See Toader Nicoară, *Clio în orizontul mileniului trei (2). Noi explorări în istoriografia contemporană*, Ed. Accent, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

the Romanian national project aimed at emancipating the nation on all dimensions, political, cultural, economical, social and all the actions of the Romanian elites in the second half of the 19th century followed these guidelines, the end of the 19th century becoming for Romanians as for the entire Transylvanian province the time of assessments of the transformations and evolutions registered under the sign of modernity.

The present study concentrates on the journals of the time as the press played an important role in the process of modernization of the Romanian society. These journals and newspapers compensated for the lack of other cultural instruments. Taking in account the social position of Romanians, their founders and editors felt obliged to take stand and became active and militant in the service of the nation. Consequently the press was one of the main channels through which the social actors of the time transmitted to the people its goals and values[5]. At the same time the diversification of journals and papers constitutes an indicator of modernization, as their growing number reflects the consolidation of a middle class capable of constituting the public, buyers and readers. In what concerns the leisure activities of the Romanians of Transylvania, the press is a generous source of investigation. In the years of *la belle époque* some of the Romanian journals had even had columns dealing with these aspects. Let's take for example the *Familia* magazine, one of the most important social periodicals of the second half of the 19th century. Founded in 1865 in Budapest, *Familia* was an encyclopaedic journal publishing literary creations, poetry and prose, historical, linguistic, ethnographic studies, having among its contributors names such as: T. Cipariu, G. Bariț, B.P. Haşdeu, I. Heliade Rădulescu, M. Eminescu[6]. From its first number, the paper proposed two columns which dealt with leisure and daily life aspect, *Articoli de petrecere, caletorii, si altele* ("Articles on parties, travelling and others") and *Moda si modele de lucruri femeiesci* ("Fashion and models of feminine items")[7]. Over time the name of these columns changed, *Articuli din vietia sociala* ("Articles on social life") and then simple *Salon* ("Salon") but their subject did not disappear as there was almost no number of the paper which did not present issues concerning daily life and leisure activities, from the simple mention of a concert, or a party in some corner of the province to more elaborated correspondences on the various balls organised by Romanians all over the country from the capital to the smallest provincial town. A great number of articles dealt with rules of conduct, trying to teach the Romanians how to behave, how to dress, how to lay the table, when and how to have guests or make visits and so one and so forth. The *Familia* magazine constituted a model for other journals. Another example is *Amiculu Familiei* which also paid a close attention to Romanians leisure activities recording their parties, balls, soirées, concerts and plays, but it also published educative articles or criticized the excesses of the society. We note the big number of articles in both magazine, *Amiculu Familiei* and *Familia*

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[5] Mircea Popa, Valentin Taşcu, *Istoria presei româneşti din Transilvania*, Tritonic, Bucureşti, p. 9.
[6] *Ibidem*, pp. 164-165.
[7] "Familia", Year I, no. 1, 5/17 June 1865.

who had as subject women conduct, from fashion advises to more complex editorials on how they should behave. This is no surprise as in the 19th century we witness a real intellectual debate around women's role and position in the society, a debate in which the press was actively involved[8].

Even journals and papers of political character dealt with aspects concerning daily life and leisure activities. An example in this sense is the newspaper *Românul*. Directed by Vasile Goldiş, it was like an official gazette of the Romanian national movement. Altogether this paper had also a column called *Petrecere* ("Entertainement") which published correspondences on leisure activities. The New Years Eve of 1910 party had a whole column in the first number of the following year[9]. Another example is *Tribuna*, which also used to give correspondences on leisure: "Romanian youth party in Oradea"[10], "Romanian women party in Lipova"[11], "Craftsmen party in Arad"[12]. The interest for leisure was part of the objective of the Romanian elites of consolidate and educate the nation on all levels of social life in order to elevate it at the status of the other communities of Transylvania. At the same time the press stimulated leisure by providing generous advertising space for suppliers of items necessary for organizing balls, for tailors or owners of ball rooms. To advertise the organization of a ball became a current practice, increasing the chances of success, and even contributed to the prestige of those organising it.

The press contributed to the diversification and popularization of leisure activities but the organizers of these activities were mainly the associations, regardless of their nature, cultural, economic, professional, or sportive. Ever since their inception and throughout their existence, they had been promoting all kind of entertainment activities: concerts, theatre performances, literary or dancing soirées, balls. The establishment of these associations or "societies" was one of the main strategies of the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire to defend their identity and national values. The most important Romanian association which had the biggest coverage was *Asociațiunea pentru literatura română şi cultura poporului român* ("Astra"). The annual general assembly of Astra became an occasion for the manifestation of Romanian spirit. Each year a different town was chosen for the gathering. The formal section of the meeting which included the presentation of an account on the previous year activity, dissertations on various subjects, debates on the objectives and programs of the association for the current year always ended with what we could call an "entertainment section". Because usually these gatherings had almost the same timetable we stop at one example, the general assembly held in Băile Herculane in 1900, presented in detail by *Familia* magazine in the column *Salon.* The meeting began Sunday 9 of September and ended the following day. The morning of the first day was allocated to the greeting speeches. Andreiu

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[8] See Georgeta Fodor, *Women as Topic of "Intellectual Debates" Case Study: "Amiculu Familiei"*, in "Studia Universitatis Petru Maior. Series Historia", no. 11, Tîrgu Mureş, 2011, pp. 89-98.
[9] "Românul", Year I, no. 1, 1911, p. 10.
[10] "Tribuna", Year II, no. 1, 1/3 January 1898, p. 3.
[11] Idem, no. 22, 1/3 February 1898, p. 106.
[12] Idem, Year IV, no 23, 5/17 February 1900, p. 7.

Ghidiu, the archpriest of Caransebes transmitted the message of the Romanians from those parts. Iosif Vulcan, as delegate of another important Romanian association *Societatea pentru un fond de teatru român* transmitted a message in its behalf. After lunch the section dedicated to dissertations followed. PhD. G. Vuia held an educative lecture on Băile Herculane. The second speaker, the teacher Iuliu Vuia held a lecture on the life of the archpriest Thomici. After these presentations, in Mayerhof garden the party began: "the military music started playing and at the tables on the field the intellectuality was having a delightful time. It was getting dark when we returned to our hotels"[13]. But the day did not end there as at 8 o'clock a concert started. The following day started with the official businesses of the association which included the presentation of the reports of the committees. At half past two it was the time for the banquet, attended by approximately 180 persons. Toasts were held by different personalities, Mihai Popovici, Onororiu Tilea, Parteniu Cosma, Iosif Vulcan, George Pop de Băseşti and the feast lasted until 5 o'clock. The day ended with a special ball[14].

The general assembly of *Societatea pentru un fond de teatru român* also took place each year in a different town. In 1900 the town was Abrud and the festivities were "an endless chain of surprises, pleasures and delights, of joy and charm which you can never forget"[15]. The gathering began Saturday, 8/21 June at Zlatna railway station with the welcoming of the guests. Afterwards all the participants went to the local restaurant for lunch. "Three hours later we all left for Abrud in a beautiful convoy of fifteen carriages". They took a stop in the village of Bucium, where the convoy was welcomed by the local representatives, "in the middle of the road a green arch of triumph formed of branches was raised with the inscription Welcome!" Afterwards they left for Abrud where they arrived at 7 o'clock "in great enthusiasm". In the evening a "soirée for acquaintance" was arranged in the Erdőss garden. "When I entered the beautifully illuminated garden I was surprised by the crowd gathered there. I have never seen at any of these soirées a society as big and beautiful as this one... What truly gave splendour to this reunion was the number of the ladies present. It seemed like all the beautiful ladies of these parts met here. It was a real pleasure to admire this view"[16]. The second day began with the sermon and the church turned out to be too small for the people present there, many remained outside in the cemetery. The formal section of the general assembly opened with the regular speeches. The lawyer Laurentiu Pop greeted the assembly in the name of Abrud inhabitants, and then Mr. Preda, lawyer in Câmpeni addressed the crowd presenting the message of the Society. After the presentation of the account on previous year activities, Mister Valeriu Braniste read a dramatic study. At half past two the banquet began. "The big and beautiful ballroom of Detunata hotel wad crowded. Four long tables and the fifth in front of them at each 40-50 people being set offered a very pleasant image". In the evening at 8 o'clock it was the time for the concert.

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[13] "Familia", Year XXXVI, no. 36, 1/16 September, p. 429.
[14] *Ibidem.*
[15] Idem, no. 29, 16/29 July 1900, p. 344.
[16] *Ibidem*, p. 345.

"To say that the room was crowded is too little. Who wouldn't have wanted to attend this musical festivity when besides our artists Miss Adelina Piso, Miss Valeria Pop and Miss Virginia Gall there also played the vocal choir lead by G. Dima". The concert was followed by a "splendid ball, admirable, as an enchanting dream. So many beauties in a single bouquet have never been seen. Among these fairies you felt proud to be Romanian. To make the list of the ladies present is impossible, so I won't take this challenge. At 2 o'clock when I left the ball room there were still enough people for two Romanians balls". The following day started with a commemoration of the members of the society who had passed away and afterwards the second section of the assembly began. The day ended with a theatre performance. "*Prologul* and *Gărgăunii dragostei* by Iosif Vulcan were performed. "The room was full, the dilettantes perfect. Especially Miss Elena Adomovici impressed the public. She played the part of Olimpia in *Gărgăunii dragostei* with such intelligence, verve and nuances that she could impress any professional actor. Miss Octavia Stoica was also a pleasant appearance in the role of the servant Anica. Among the men, it was George Țintariu who played the best. The auditorium covered them with applauses"[17].

These societies and associations also contributed in popularizing outdoor activities. Modernity and modernization, the permanent change amplified the feeling of decadence, against which one had to react. Sportive activities constituted a way of purifying both the mind and the body[18]. The trips organized on the occasion of these generally assemblies fulfilled this purpose. The general assembly of Astra held in Băile Herculane ended with a trip on the Danube River, on Tuesday, 11th of September. The participants, about 250 persons left with a special train to Orşova where they visited the monument built in the place where the crown had been founded hidden in 1849. They left then with a special boat up the Danube River, "in the middle of the most romantic region, admiring the beauty of the mountains and of the rocks which offered each minute a picturesque view". At 12 o' clock the group had lunch in the sounds of music, leaving afterwards for Ada-Kaleh Island "which we visited with great interest as it was inhabited by Turkish people. We sat down, eat grapes, drink coffee and smoked cigars offered by Turkish in a Romanian style. At 2 o'clock we embarked again on the boat, we passed Porțile de Fer to Turnu-Severin. At half past four when we arrived there a big crowd which had been waiting greeted us with flags and military music. Our musician sang the Romanian hymn and the military music answered with *Deşteaptă-te române!* The air trembled with Hoorays! And we debarked in the middle of an endless enthusiasm"[19]. The group was welcomed by the local authorities and afterwards they visited Traian high school, the public garden, the tour of Sever, the main buildings of the town, the bridge of Traian where "we respectfully bowed at the ruins of one of his columns and each of us took home with him as saint relics, a small stone"[20].

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[17] *Ibidem*, p. 346.
[18] Roger Griffin, "Modernitate, modernism şi fascism. O re-sintetizare a viziunii", în Sorin Antohi (coord.), *Modernism şi antimodernism: noi perspective disciplinare*, Ed. Cuvântul, Bucureşti, 2008, p. 63.
[19] "Familia", Year XXXVI, no. 36, 3/16 September 1900, p. 430.
[20] *Ibidem*, p. 431.

Generally these trips were organized in the surroundings of the town where the assembly took place. The general assembly of the *Societatea pentru un fond de teatru român* of the same year ended also with a trip in the area of Abrud at Detunata. "O cavalcade offering the most picturesque view. Up, at the entry, the convoy stopped at the shadow of the trees and in front of hundreds the priest of Bucium Saşa warmly welcomed us and the president Iosif Vulcan responded. Then we all proceeded to the rock. From up there we could see an admirable view over the mountains and over the public gathered in the valley. As it started to rain we descended and entered the refuge home at the base of the rock. And all of the sudden tables were filled with food and drink brought by the ladies of Abrud and Bucium Saşa whom strived to serve everyone. It was a delicious scene to see Lady Filip, Lady A. Pop, Lady Evira Pop, Lady Ştefan C. Pop, Lady Cirlea, Lady Fodor, Lady David and others serving the tables. The rain stopped and maestro Dima and his choir began singing outside, on the green field, the most beautiful composition. A colossal dance started, over 200 persons were dancing. When the dance stopped Mister Valeriu Branişte and mister Saftu gave inspiring speeches"[21].

The press, the manifestations organized by the numerous associations established across Transylvania had contributed to the dissolving of traditional frameworks and gradually transformed everyday life. But still, we have to take into consideration that the Romanian society remains at the end of the 19th century a traditional one, as the majority of Romanians still live in the countryside. Although the Romanian elite embraced the values of modernity they could not ignore the major part of nation, which was mostly peasant. The fact that the most intense period of the year in what concerns leisure activities was the period between the two major religious holidays, Christmas and Easter, is relevant in this sense. Although, traditionally this period was called *câşlegi*, "between fasting", by the end of the 19th century it borrowed the European name of carnival, "The carnival (*carnevalul*) has arrived; the most delightful season of the year comes with much ado".[22] The main attraction of this period was undoubtedly the ball. The importance and the consequences of this mundanely activity cross over its social and entertaining dimension, as under its bright aura there is a whole complex of social and material, cultural and artistic, moral and affective interests[23]. Due to the statute of the Romanian community living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, leisure activities, including, the ball had also a national dimension, being an opportunity for Romanians to defend their identity. Therefore the press harshly criticized the lack of such activities. "It is sad and painful for our national prestige, that we have to let such occasion of sincere gathering slip from our hands!... Our young have only one soul and they cannot be everywhere. One takes care of his special affaires that keep him away from the public welfare; another maybe meditating on how to change his way of

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[21] "Familia", Year XXXVI, no. 29, 16/29 July 1900, pp. 346-347.

[22] Idem, Year XXXVI, no. 3, 16/28 January 1900, p. 35.

[23] See Dan Dumitru Iacob, "Balurile înaltei societăţi din Principatele Române la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea", în Laurenţiu Rădvan (ed.), *Oraşul din spaţiul românesc între Orient şi Occident. Tranziţia de la medievalitate la modernitate*, Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi, 2007.

living – this one chooses the good part, but without ringing the big bell; the third one and the others may not feel any pleasure when they see themselves surrounded by Romanian hearts. In one word, the missing of the ball from this carnival has its causes…"[24] Despite the irony and the accuses on the lack of interest of being part of these activities, the causes for the lack of balls from the calendar of the Romanian society were most of all financial as the expenses grew each year. An article published in the *Familia* magazine in 1880 gave a warning on the luxury of these manifestations which had become almost princely, therefore the number of those frequenting them it was smaller and smaller. "There is no more money. This is the cause. Concerning women outfits, we can say that it has been a long time since they have been as expensive as now. Light silk is not in fashion anymore; even the young girls, who looked so nice in white outfit last year, now wear heavy silk. The ladies generally wear for the balls in Einsatz embroidered silk and a lot of jewelleries; this expensive luxury is the cause for not frequenting the balls"[25]. As we can see much of these expenses were in favour of women as they were the main attraction of these events. There is almost no account of a ball which does not mention their presence. Sometimes there is a quick note "To do the presence of the ladies is a mission impossible. A challenge I cannot take from fear of leaving someone unmentioned"[26]. Other times the account of the ball not only mentions the ladies present but also describes their outfits. Such a case is the ball of the young people of Cluj in 1890, considered by *Amiculu Familiei,* "one of the most beautiful and elegant parties that Romanians had in this carnival… From ladies present I mention: Alesie Popu, widow Roşiescu, Ana Roşiescu, Galea, Nasta, Janchi, Truța, Fröhlich, Gall of Secuieu, Rațiu of Turda (black silk), Suciu of Indolu, Pipoşiu of Sibiu (outfit: plush Bordeaux), Negruțiu of Gherla (merveilleux olive satin with olive plush), Isacu (national costume), Leotinu Popu (merveilleux black satin), Moldovanu from Turda (black silk), Coroianu (national costume), Podobă (national costume), Gerbert (red with beige Indian satin), Bercianu, Puianu and others, and the misses: Maria and Amalia Roşiescu (the first wore the national costume, the second in pink Indian satin), Elena Câmpianu from Elisabetopole (merveilleux satin), Maria Lăpuşteanu from Şimleu (pink Indian satin), the Rațiu sister (white Indian satin), the sisters Ana and Sidonia Popu (white Indian satin), the sisters Cornelia, Virginia and Tinca Popu (the first: beige and light green Indian satin, the latter Red Indian satin), the Nasta sisters (national costume), Cornelia Lupu from Gherla (green Indian satin), Fröhlich (blue Indian satin), the Galea sisters (white Indian satin), Bercianu (pink Indian satin), Suciu from Indolu (national costume), etc. To the other ladies who I did not mention, I ask them to forgive me, as it is impossible to mention them all"[27].

The ball was an opportunity to show one social's status, so it placed in motion a lot of preoccupation and preparing. The press is also actively involved by publishing articles on new trends, fashion advices and

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[24] "Familia", Year XVIII, no. 3, 17/29 January 1882, p. 33.
[25] *Ibidem.*
[26] Idem, Year XXXVI, no 29, 16/29 July, p. 346.
[27] "Amiculu Familiei", Year XIV, no.5, 1st of March 1890, pp. 78-79.

recommended outfits. For example in an article entitled "The Blondes and the Brunets", ladies are advised on how to match their outfit with the colour of their hair. "If you want to be beautiful and your face and hair in harmony with your dress you have to wear an appropriate colour. The most beautiful brunet wearing light lavender will become ugly. The most delightful blonde will lose her beauty if she wears a yellow or red outfit. Even the beautiful colours turn out to be ugly when incorrectly mixed"[28]. Concentrating and stimulating human relations, balls inevitably had generated conflicts, scandals and amorous intrigues which did not escape the attentive eye of the press. *Familia* magazine relates with unction such a story. The protagonist is a young man, Georgescu, a newly arrived in a town, he accepted the challenge of his companions to make a certain young lady, mademoiselle Leniți to fall in love with him and then when she would be most deeply in love, to leave her. This was a punishment envisaged by the lads for her arrogance. They accused this young lady and her mother too of being "ambitious, pretentious, always making fun of boys, always complaining of everything and being offensive". The night of the ball, accordingly to the plan, young men Georgescu approached mademoiselle Leniți, they danced and laughed and danced again and at the end left the party together. No one had seen them for days. After a week Georgescu's friends receive a letter which explained the development of the plan. "I took your challenge, but as true gentlemen I had to be sure of your sayings before putting the plan in motion. The first look of Leniți confused me. Is it possible that such an Angelique being to be worthy of such a punishment...I was soon convinced that all you have said were only vicious words. I don't admonish you...without your initiative and without my hurrying to accept it I would have never known what true happiness is. But be reassured. You have been revenged. From now on you don't have to fear of her defamations anymore. You have here the assurance against them"[29]. A card had been placed next to the letter announcing the engagement of Mademoiselle Leniți and Mr. N. Georgescu. Through their frequency and social implications, the balls represented one of the most important mundane activities of Romanians at the end of the 19th century, constituting the perfect environment for entertainment and socializing and shaping new comportments. Everyday life at the turn of the century is the result of the changes undergone by the Romanian society in the context of modernity. It is the expression of the middle class emergence, of the interference of models which imposed a new pace to everyday life.

[28] "Familia", Year XXXVI, no. 3, 16/28 January 1900, pp. 33-34.
[29] *Ibidem.*

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EXHIBITION OF BUCHAREST (SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 1903) AS REFLECTED IN THE TRANSYLVANIA REVIEW AND THE ECONOMIC MAGAZINE

Gherghina Boda*

Abstract

The exhibition organized by the Association for the advancement and dissemination of science in Bucharest in the period September 21st – October 19th 1903, reunited cultural, scientific and technical products from all the territories inhabited by Romanians. It was organized into 12 sections, in the courtyard and halls of the Chemistry Laboratory on the General Magheru Embankment. Organized after the model of previous European exhibitions, it rose on the scene of Romanian creativity found under the order of the economic and the useful, stimulating national pride, patriotism, respect towards the past and trust into the future.

Keywords*: national exhibition; scientific exhibition; culture; past; economy.*

Organization of exhibitions can be seen at first glance an invention and practice of the modern era. But if we take a trip in time we see that the phenomenon has existed ever since antiquity, although not in the modern sense of the term. Early types of exhibitions can be regarded as private homes where the owner flaunted in front of guests wealth in the form of furniture, precious vases, woven fabric, art and so on. This type of behavior is a human characteristic that is the desire and inner need for pomposity and vanity, to display their valuables to others, necessities arising from certain psychological needs, totally different from considerations concerning education, progress and competition.[1]

Also a kind of exhibition can be considered the fairs, which had both a commercial and a social purpose, developing into the meeting place of townspeople and peasants in the sale-purchase process, a display of products, the discovering of new talent coming from elsewhere, the sharing of knowledge and new techniques, and very often an occasion for fun. Markets or auctions can also be considered exhibitions.

But in the modern sense, we consider exhibitions those public presentations of products and objects made with an informative, commercial, educational and last but not least, commercial purpose, this setting them apart from fairs, markets and auctions. In such exhibitions, whether industrial, craft or agricultural, the economic aspect prevails, while in those with scientific themes, the intellectual and pedagogical aspects are prevailing. But in most of the exhibitions there can be seen a harmonious combination of both aspects. We can also define exhibitions as reflexes of a culture, as a cultural good which deliberately serves both the organizers as well as the exhibitors tempted to convey their vision of the world to the public.[2]

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[1] Alfred Picard, *Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris, Rapport Général,* vol. I, Paris, 1891, p. 3.

[2] Gherghina Boda, *Muzeele din Transilvania între 1817 şi 1905*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 100.

The first exhibition itself dates back only in the eighteenth century and the honor of their creation is due to France[3]. They were, however, limited to the fine arts. If the first art exhibition was held in France in the eighteenth century, the first industrial exhibition in Europe was held in Prague in 1791.[4]

The fashion of national exhibitions, which then spread throughout Europe, was initiated in France as well. In 1798, the First Republic reopens the artistic salons introduced by Colbert in 1667, but in an improved form, simultaneously being organized a national industrial exhibition. This bringing together of industry and art gave rise to new connotations of industrial products, which at that time refers to both pure sciences and applied sciences, as well as to agricultural and industrial techniques, but it is industry that predominates and not science. We must wait for the *Exposition Universelle of Paris* in the year1900 for science to finally delimit itself from industry.

Industrial Exhibitions, closely related to economic progress, become some of the most effective and commonly used means of promoting new technologies and products. They have seen a proliferation in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. Closely related are scientific exhibitions, which were meant to bring to public attention the latest achievements of science and technology, and their economic applications.

Thus, exhibitions, regardless of gender, artistic, scientific, agricultural, industrial, etc., of local, regional, national or international nature, are means of promotion and making others notice the progress of a country, region, community, institution etc. The importance of these first national exhibitions, with obvious commercial purposes, is that they gave the organizing countries the opportunity to present themselves and to be a kind of barometer of progress, illustrating the series of inventions, innovations and imitations of engineering and economics. It should be stressed also their immediate advertising effect for products and manufacturers, conquering markets and, not least, that they are offered an excellent environment for staging and spreading current values so that technical progress, work and the construction of a collective identity became the immediate consequences of these exhibitions. But to make themselves known, such national exhibitions also had to participate in universal or international shows.

Showcases of the cultural and technical progress, universal exhibitions imposed the idea of a global community increasingly integrated from the point of view of economy and civilization. Also, these events allowed participants to put into stage their national peculiarities.

The first Great Exhibition that of London in 1851 launched the internationalization of a type of demonstration which was developed from the national level. The idea of great exhibitions was born during the French Revolution, along with the new way to build iron and glass. The golden age of universal exhibition stands in the second half of the nineteenth century,

[3] Alfred Picard, *op.cit.*, p. 5.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 19.

the era in which they always had a crafts, art and industrial products table, a major technical innovation: CW at the exhibition in 1851, the hydraulic lift in 1867, electric light in 1878, and later on the automobile, radio etc. The number of visitors demonstrates the interest aroused: over 6 million at the exhibition in London in 1851, leading to over 50 million at the Paris exhibition in 1900.[5]

In the second half of the nineteenth century the main European countries, on the French initiative, brought down customs barriers. National exhibitions, organized to raise awareness of new industrial techniques, then become universal. They gather all types of products in a double ambition to confront domestic and foreign products and to analyze the technological and artistic progress of participating countries. Each organizing country has the opportunity to display its economic power, bearing also a testament to the will for a European balance.

It is said that the father of the first idea for universal exhibition was Duke Albert, the dead husband of Queen Victoria, but "the their largest owner and shaper was Emperor Napoleon III", which, at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1867 said that "the goal of universal exhibitions would be to push a man to the ultimate goal for which he is on earth”.[6]

All these exhibitions in Europe, and not only, faithfully reflected the changes that humanity lived in those days and which constituted an opening towards other spheres of human activity, the display of the greatest human achievements at national and international level, an advertising source for national achievements and their inclusion in the world Heritage. Also, these were the scenes where all the nations met and that have strengthened relations between peoples.

All these economic transformations that affected humanity worldwide, have not remained with an echo on Romanian soil, more so that Romania participated in all universal exhibitions organized in London, Paris or Vienna.

Exhibitions are undoubtedly related to the main feature of the second half of the nineteenth century, namely the existence of an unparalleled cultural effervescence. Now arise a series of industrial, cultural, historical and archeological societies, national, provincial and municipal museums are founded, and numerous exhibitions are organized both nationally and internationally, being considered eloquent expressions of the period.

Romanians also organized themselves, after the European model, artistic, industrial, agricultural, ethnographic or scientific exhibitions. If in Transylvania ASTRA organized the most famous national exhibitions, Romania was simply second to none. So in 1903, the *Association for the advancement and dissemination of science* in Bucharest, on the occasion of the second annual congress held in September, would organize an

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[5] See Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus, Anne Ramussen, *Les fastes du progès: le guide des expositions universelles 1851-1992,* Paris, 1992.
[6] “Gazeta de Transilvania”, no. 46, 1873, p. 2.

exhibition of scientific and technical culture, which was to be open from September 21st to October 19th.[7]

The most involved organizer of this exhibition was Dr. C.I. Istrati, helped by a whole team of enthusiastic volunteers. A special contribution was that of the government, which understanding the purpose of this exhibition, designated Prof. Dr. Constantin Miculescu, inspector general for secondary education, in the organizing committee, advertised the announcement in the Official Gazette, invited, through ministries, to attend and exhibit, various universities, schools, factories, associations, individuals etc. and bear the financial costs claimed by this exhibition.

The purpose of the exhibition was that "both the national government and public opinion should be able to realize, in a practical way and in more detail about our cultural movement in general and about the work done in institutes and laboratories of the state or individuals"[8], the exhibitions highlighting those that work, thus becoming a real celebration of labor.

In his speech at the opening of the exhibition, Dr. C.I. Istrati prophesied that "science will revolutionize everything. The whole planet becomes, as days go by, a farm for mankind. Sun and terrestrial natural forces will be in the near future, our work animals".[9] He also made a realistic analysis of education, whose guidelines had to be directed more towards the practical than to theory, making it useful, while supporting the need for real reform in all areas of social life, urging Romanians to "copy as little as possible others; but seriously and judiciously be inspired as much by the needs, means and social, moral and economic environment in which we live and will live in the future".[10]

With a view to meeting a large number of exhibits, especially for the retrospective Section, there was a call in the press for Romanians holding objects, manuscripts, old books, etc., not only to exhibit but also to collect. That "it is time and our duty to revive and the past of our civilization, without which the existence of a nation can not be imagined. For the age of the intellectual life of a nation is measured by its cultural monuments, just as after the trunk rings, we determine the age of an oak."[11]

The exhibition was arranged on General Magheru Embankment, at the headquarters of the Chemistry Laboratory[12], enjoying the participation of all countries inhabited by Romanians.

For the scientific section, a large wooden shed was built in the backyard of the laboratory, whose frontispiece wrote "Science". Also in the yard were also built several smaller pavilions that were exposed by the association of tobacco products and salt, the Târgu-Jiu school of ceramic, the wood factory of E. Lessel, of the practical School of Crafts in Bistrița (Bacşu County), the Society for oil exploitation "Romanian Star", the prison

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[7] "Revista Economică", no. 29/18 July 1903, p. 246. "Transilvania", no. 5-6/November-December, 1903, p. 232.
[8] "Transilvania", no. 5-6/November-December, 1903, p. 233.
[9] *Ibidem*, p. 238.
[10] *Ibidem.*
[11] "Revista Economică", no. 36/5 sept., 1903, p. 305.
[12] "Transilvania", no. 5-6/ November-December,1903, p. 250.

Văcăreşti and many more. In order to relax the visitors a small restaurant was installed, serving Romanian beer.

The exhibition was organized on 12 sections[13]: I. Mathematics and Physics with their applications (publications and demonstration apparatus); II. Chemistry with its applications (all work in laboratories, factories products gunpowder, matches, tobacco, chemical fertilizer, tanning, pharmaceuticals, petroleum, artificial mineralized water, canned food, ceramics, glass, dyes, enamels etc.); III. Mineralogy, petrography and geology (rocks, minerals, fossils, quarries, mines); IV. Botany, zoology and physiology; V. civilian and military genius (plans, photographs, most important works executed by the State); VI. Human medicine, veterinary medicine, pharmacy and dentistry (publications, casts, photographs, watercolors, pieces preserved in various ways, etc.); VII. Agriculture and forestry; VIII. Geography; IX. Social and economic sciences; X. Private sections; XI. Books; XII. Retrospective Section and graphic arts.

The description of the exhibition was made by A. Bârsan in an article in the press of the times. It provides an overview of the objects on display in each section, but without insisting on them, their number being very large and their description not infrequently requiring a specialist opinion.

The main pavilion was dedicated to science and its applications. The transition was made under a scale model of the bridge over the Danube, the visitor's sight stopping on a bust of the king and the bronze statue of a Dorobanț in attack position, whose pedestal had the inscription "I am and I shall be". The back wall was occupied by a huge map of Romania, which was just Moldova, Dobrogea and the south-east of Wallachia, surrounded by other smaller maps made by the Army Geographical Institute, which at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 obtained the highest award.[14]

The right side of the pavilion was occupied by chemical, physical devices, mathematical works, scientific collections of the School of Bridges and Roads, special maps of the telegraph lines, telephone and postal races in the country, telephone and telegraph collection of products and technical service health of the capital, various mining, agricultural, forestry and industrial exploitations of the Crown Domain and "the works of the unfortunate admitted at the Mărcuța hospice".[15]

The left side was occupied by the Romanian Geographical Society, the products of the human, veterinary, pharmaceutical and dentistry medicine, natural sciences, state fisheries, agriculture, forestry, industry, commerce, etc. Here you could find together photos, scientific publications, preparations, models and equipment, mineral collections of rare plants in Romania, insects and butterflies, species, particularly from America and Africa, fish in the Danube Delta, wooden objects, tile, straw and plaiting straw and still hundreds of objects that incited the eye and mind of the visitor.

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[13] "Revista Economică", no. 29/18 iulie 1903, pp. 247-248, "Transilvania", no. 5-6/ November-December 1903, pp. 234-236.

[14] "Transilvania", no. 5-6/ November-December,1903, p. 250.

[15] *Ibidem,* p. 251.

Of the factories and industrial companies exhibiting we can mention: Paper mills in Letea and Buşteni, sugar mills from Roman and Săscut, the brewery in Azuga, cement factories in Braila and Azuga, Society for artificial basalt and ceramics from Cotroceni, artificial marble factories Nessler and Matioli, hydraulic lime factory from Breaza, the chalk factory of Marco Rosazza, glassware factory in Bucharest, the soap "Stella", Franc coffee surrogates, the N. Brădescu Piatra Neamț starch factory and many more[16].

The collection of photos of Professor George Maior, called "farms", made a parallel between Transylvania and Wallachia, offering many interesting economic information about peasant housing and buildings.

In the Ministry of Public Works' pavilion, adjacent to the sciences, Constanta harbor and docks of Braila and Galati were reproduced in miniature, as well as railway bridges and roads in the country, the bridge on the Danube, the Olt and Jiu, admirably performed. Here we could also see the power plan of the Bucharest underground network for drinking water, brought from 11 kilometers away, a very good quality water (work led by Eng. Elie Radu). In the courtyard of the exhibition, near the technical work pavilion, a reinforced concrete beam was exposed, a novelty at the time.

Among the smaller pavilions stood noticed the School of Crafts in Bistrița (Bacău County), which exhibited numerous wooden objects, wheelwrights' wares and blacksmith, and the Ceramic School in Târgu Jiu, who presented a beautiful collection of pitchers of various shapes and diverse ornate flower pots and luxury vases of different colors. These schools had shown that if practical education is of quality, craftsmen graduating from them would be of the highest quality.

The laboratory building housed the other sections, just as interesting as those in the yard. The *history section* included pictures of various prominent people of the nation, objects that belonged to them, manuscripts, books, etc. In the middle of the room was a horizontal window pane in which one could see objects that belonged to Mihail Kogalniceanu, next was the worktable of C.A. Rosetti, his book of notes and writing pen, up on the left wall of the room, a window pane exposed the costume worn by Al. I. Cuza when he was elected prince of the two Romanian countries, his sword and urn in which the votes were cast, two paintings on V. Alecsandri, various pictures in which he appeared, a small bust, a showcase with many objects that belonged to him, including oak branches in the forest in the meadow of Mirceşti and crocuses sung in his *Pastels*.

Here can also be seen the banner of Tudor Vladimirescu under whose folds the Pandurii gathered, flag bullet holes made by the mighty hunters in Ploiesti from the Turks in the battle of Grivița, portraits and scientific works by renowned scientists - Jacob Cihac, ancient doctor of Moldova which in 1833 laid the foundation of the Society for physicians and Naturalists of Iasi, the first scientific society in the Romanian countries, doctor Anastasie Fatu, a member of the Romanian Academy, Marin Alexe, professor of chemistry and one of the most zealous preachers of the natural sciences among the people, physicist Emmanuel Bacaloglu, geologist Gregory Cobălcescu doctor Carol Davila, founder of the first Romanian medical

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[16] *Ibidem*, p. 252.

school, doctors Calinderu, Asachi, Babeş, Marinescu and many others.[17] The gallery of paintings is completed with other prominent figures of people from various fields such as writer Ion Creangă, painter Theodore Aman, ethnologist G. Dem Teodorescu, writer Al. Odobescu, the Brătianu family, deceased members of the Romanian Academy etc.

The exhibits of Transylvania were presented in a special window which included figures of Horea, Avram Iancu, Andrei Mureşanu, Ioan Axente Sever, personal objects and correspondence by Simion Bărnuțiu, Axente Sever, George Barițiu, Aron Florian and Nicholas Bălăşescu, horn of Horea's gunpowder and rifle taken from Vasvári in the battle of Fântânele, objects belonging to the Corcheş family of Câmpeni. [18]

Archaeological objects, costumes and old female ornaments, the numismatic collection of a certain Spineanu in Turnu Severin, the collection of dr. Istrati and many, many other very interesting items were also exposed.

The last section, the retrospective exhibition, included prints of ancient and modern origin, where the collection of old science books (sec. XVIII – 1860) of Professor Gr. Crețu distinguished itself, the popular libraries, exhibits of house of schools, school boards. Romanians form the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy participated here as well – from Bucovina and Transylvania, with textbooks, scientific papers, books and photos from various fields. ASTRA presented its *Encyclopedia* and the *Transilvania* magazine, as well as the plan for the future ethnographic museum, which would open in 1905.

Woven articles produced by Romanian women, or peasant products with which a traditional room from Bucovina was reconstituted were not forgotten either.

The role of this national exposition was to display the level achieved by the Romanian scientific and cultural evolution, but also to encourage Romanians to collect those national goods whose role was to reawaken and empower the artistic sense, love and respect towards our past. Also, it tried to offer a mirror as faithful as possible of our entire culture across the ages, but also a mirror of the level achieved up to the beginning of the XXth century. These national expositions strengthened the cohesion of the Romanian people, raised the level of national awareness to new highs and proved the national unity of all Romanians, no matter what side of the Carpathians they were on.

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[17] *Ibidem*, pp. 256-257.
[18] *Ibidem*, p. 258.

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BELLA CIAO: DE CHANT NATIONAL A CHANT INTERNATIONAL

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Abstract

The study focuses on the motifs and context in which Bella Ciao turned from being a popular song into an international one. It also tries to explain the national and international success of the song.

Keywords: *Bella Ciao; national song; international song.*

Bella Ciao, chant populaire très connu en Italie, a eu un succès important à l'étranger. *Bella Ciao* continue à être interprété en différents styles et versions qui comportent, parfois, des paroles qui s'éloignent du «texte officiel»[1].

Bella Ciao est généralement défini comme «chant des partisans italiens» qui s'inspire d'une chanson populaire des repiqueuses de riz de la Plaine du Pô, utilisé comme hymne par les mouvements de gauche. Est-ce la bonne définition ? Comment expliquer le succès de *Bella Ciao* au niveau national et international ? Après une brève histoire de cette chanson, nous explorerons quelques pistes de réflexion pour essayer de répondre à cette question.

1. Quelles sont les origines du texte et de la mélodie de *Bella Ciao*[2] ?

Les premières recherches sur les origines de *Bella Ciao* remontent, en Italie, au début des années 1950 et se sont poursuivies jusqu'à nos jours. Elles ont été caractérisées par de nombreuses querelles et ont vu les contributions de grands ethnomusicologues et historiens comme Roberto Leydi, Gianni Bosio, Bruno Pianta et Cesare Bermani. Il apparaît indispensable de rappeler brièvement les origines du texte et de la mélodie de ce chant pour pouvoir s'interroger sur son succès. Je ferai appel surtout à Bermani auquel on doit le dernier article publié sur ce sujet en 2003 où il fait le point sur les différentes recherches et les dernières découvertes[3].

La majorité des Italiens ignore que *Bella Ciao* est le fruit d'élaborations de chants populaires, répandus surtout dans le Nord de l'Italie avant la

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[1] Il serait, peut-être, plus exact de parler de « versions officielles » au pluriel, puisque dans les chants populaires, qui privilégient la transmission orale, la transcription écrite comporte souvent des variantes.
Une consultation rapide de *Youtube* offre un large éventail d'interprétations bien différentes de *Bella Ciao*.

[2] Cf. les annexes n°1, n°2 et n°3.

[3] Cesare BERMANI, *« Guerra guerra ai palazzi e alle chiese … ». Saggi sul canto sociale*, Rome : Odradek, 2003. Cf., en particulier, La« vera » storia di « Bella Ciao », 223-263, où Bermani, après une étude très riche et documentée, constate qu'il reste encore des points à élucider. Ce livre contient également une riche bibliographie relative aux études concernant la chanson de protestation en Italie.

période de la Résistance. Les paroles et la mélodie apparaissent réunies seulement tardivement dans de mêmes compositions, car elles faisaient partie de catégories de ballades différentes. Aujourd'hui les ethnomusicologues concordent sur le fait que ce chant est d'auteur anonyme, malgré les différentes revendications de sa composition.

Le texte

Dans le texte de six strophes un résistant italien, voyant son pays occupé par l'envahisseur – l'Allemagne – se dit prêt à combattre avec les partisans et à sacrifier sa vie pour la libération de sa patrie. Le deuxième vers de chaque strophe est constitué par le refrain qui donne le titre à la chanson : un dernier au revoir à sa bien-aimée avant de la quitter. Le message fort de ce chant est résumé dans les deux dernières strophes: la fleur sur la tombe du partisan doit rappeler aux générations futures que la liberté a été obtenue à travers le sacrifice de nombreuses personnes.

Comment est-on arrivé à ce texte ? En résumant la complexe question relative aux origines du contenu, il faut souligner la confluence de deux grandes familles de ballades dont les thématiques sont, d'une part, «la fleur sur la tombe» et, d'autre part, «le testament».

La thématique «de la fleur sur la tombe» était déjà présente dans de nombreuses ballades populaires du Nord de l'Italie au XIXe siècle[4](Leydi et Pianta, 1973, 1184) où souvent le premier vers rappelle celui de *Bella Ciao.* Leydi précise que la première attestation écrite d'une ballade sur ce sujet – *La Bella Malgarita* –, découverte par Pianta, date même de 1632[5]. Cette chanson apparaît par la suite dans de nombreuses publications. Cette thématique se décline selon des variantes régionales qui ont en commun le fait qu'une jeune fille demande qu'on lui prépare une tombe sur laquelle il faudra poser des fleurs. Ces fleurs rappelleront aux gens qu'elle est morte d'amour : 1. parce que son bien-aimé a été condamné à mort (version connue seulement dans le Piémont); 2. parce qu'elle a été trahie par son fiancé (version répandue dans toutes les régions et notamment dans la Vénétie[6]). Remarquons qu'à l'inverse du texte de *Bella Ciao,* d'une part, le protagoniste de ces ballades est toujours une femme et que, d'autre part, la cause de la mort est d'ordre sentimental. La fleura la fonction d'alimenter le souvenir d'un amour qui n'a pas pu se prolonger à cause d'obstacles externes. De plus, cette fleur, associée à l'image de la jeunesse de la fille qui veut se donner la mort, contribue à susciter la compassion de l'auditeur.

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[4] En 1953, Alberto Cirese est le premier à signaler que le texte de *Bella Ciao* dériverait de la chanson appelée *Fior di Tomba* publiée par Costantino Nigra dans *Canti Popolari del Piemonte* en 1888. Cf. Roberto Leydi et Bruno Pianta, « La canzone popolare – I. La possibile storia di una canzone », in *Storia d'Italia,* vol. 5, t. 2, Turin : Einaudi, 1973, 1184.

[5] Cf. Roberto Leydi et Bruno PIANTA, *op.cit.*, 1189 : « *Nuova Canzonett/ della Bella Malgarita/Novamente data in luce ad istanza di chi le compra* », in Milan, Giorgio Rolla, *con licenza de' superiori,* 1632, Biblioteca Trivulziana Milano.

[6] Dans cette deuxième version, la jeune fille fait semblant d'être morte. Elle demande à sa mère de lui faire préparer un cercueil pour provoquer le remords et les larmes de son bien-aimé.

A cet ensemble de ballades s'apparente la famille des « ballades du testament » qui s'est développée particulièrement lors de la Première Guerre Mondiale dans les régions de la Vénétie et du Trentin. Prenons l'exemple du chant «Le testament du capitaine». Dans celui-ci, un capitaine demande qu'à sa mort des parties de son corps soient laissées à la patrie, à son bataillon et à sa mère. Le dernier morceau devra être enterré sur les montagnes où il sera recouvert de roses. Soulignons les similitudes avec *Bella Ciao*: l'histoire d'un soldat qui perd sa vie en combattant dans les montagnes.

Ces deux thématiques - la fleur sur la tombe et le testament - renvoient implicitement à la coutume chrétienne de mettre des fleurs sur les tombes qui n'est pas étrangère, dans un certain sens, à des rituels beaucoup plus anciens. La fleur, pour que reste sur la tombe une fleur vivante, doit être arrosée et changée, si bien qu'elle symbolise le prolongement de la vie du mort, ne serait-ce que dans le souvenir de la personne qui l'a déposée et même, au-delà, elle évoquera la vie chez les gens qui la verront. Comme l'explique Leydi (cf. Leydi et Pianta, 1973, 1192-93), c'est comme si les morts pouvaient continuer à vivre sous une autre forme – végétale en l'occurrence – en accédant à une sorte de résurrection ou réincarnation. Cette image est fréquente dans différentes mythologies suivant lesquelles les héros ou les héroïnes renaissent sous d'autres formes. Cette représentation a été reprise en littérature. Or dans les ballades, transmises oralement au cours des siècles dans le milieu populaire, il y a eu une élaboration culturelle[7] : la résurrection/métamorphose du héros ne se réalise plus de manière explicite, comme dans la mythologie ou dans les fables, mais de manière indirecte. La fleur devient le médium qui permet à la jeune fille ou au soldat d'atteindre «l'immortalité» grâce au souvenir qu'elle suscitera dans les générations à venir.

Dans le texte de *Bella Ciao* tous ces éléments sont bien présents, même s'ils ne sont pas consciemment perçus à son écoute. Ceci témoigne d'un processus typique des modalités de la production populaire qui intègre et réinterprète certains contenus en les adaptant à l'évolution des situations et des temps. Dans ce sens, dans *Bella Ciao*, la figure du partisan, tout en évoquant l'image du « héros immortel », acquiert une nouvelle dimension. En répondant aux circonstances historiques de 1944-1945, le partisan devient le héros de la guerre de libération, symbole de la lutte contre l'oppresseur.

Il nous semble maintenant indispensable d'aborder la question du fameux refrain *Oh Bella Ciao* qui renvoie à d'autres chants qui font partie de la famille des « Chants de protestation » et, plus particulièrement, aux chants des *Mondine*, les femmes travaillant dans les rizières d'Italie du Nord, bien montrées dans le film *Riz Amer* de De Sanctis (1949). Très récemment a été retrouvé un texte de 1906 (non enregistré) dont la structure est très proche de celle de *Bella Ciao*: une repiqueuse de riz se plaint des dures conditions de son travail[8] en répétant au deuxième vers de chaque strophe

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[7] Tout ceci renvoie aux systèmes populaires de représentation des rapports avec la mort dans le contexte d'une interprétation magique de la vie qui remonte très loin dans notre civilisation.

[8] En effet, durant ce travail qui avait lieu en juin et juillet, les *mondine* passaient la journée courbées, les pieds dans l'eau, tourmentées par les moustiques, sous le regard et les brimades des surveillants. Il s'agissait d'un travail temporaire, lié à un phénomène

« *O bella ciao* ». Des chants, au contenu semblable, se diffuseront à partir des années 1920 dans les rizières du Nord.

D'autres ethnomusicologues font remarquer que le refrain dériverait d'un autre groupe de chants: diverses variations de la ballade de *La bevanda sonnifera* (La potion soporifique), répandue dans le Trentin, sur laquelle nous allons revenir.

La mélodie

Pour la musique, il serait incorrect de parler d'une production strictement «nationale» car plusieurs éléments remontent à des périodes où l'Italie, comme État-Nation n'existait pas encore[9], et de plus, certains chercheurs y ont retrouvé l'influence de mélodies étrangères. Donc, même de ce point de vue, *Bella Ciao* se révèle comme le fruit d'une succession de transformations.

Aujourd'hui, les ethnomusicologues sont sûrs que cette mélodie existait déjà dans le patrimoine des chants populaires en Italie avant 1943, mais ils ne sont pas d'accord sur les dates. La plupart des familles de ballades dont nous avons parlé, ne présentaient pas initialement la même mélodie que *Bella Ciao*. C'est seulement au cours des décennies suivantes qu'il y a eu une fusion avec d'autres familles de ballades aux textes différents, mais comportant notre mélodie[10].

Étant donné la complexité de la reconstruction des sources musicales et le fait que certains points ne sont pas encore résolus, je me limiterai à rappeler les théories les plus importantes :

1. Dans le Nord de l'Italie, une ballade française du XVIe siècle serait entrée dans la tradition folklorique piémontaise (*La daré d'cola montagna)* du Royaume de Savoie[11].
2. En 1964, Leydi a retrouvé une mélodie presque identique à *Bella Ciao* dans la chanson populaire *E picchia, picchia alla porticella,* qui, toutefois, ne contenait pas le fameux refrain.
3. En 1965, l'ethnomusicologue Coggiola a trouvé et enregistré une version de la ballade de « *labevanda soporifera* » dans la région de Trente (au Nord-Est de l'Italie) qui présentait le fameux refrain accompagné d'un battement de mains.
4. Toujours en 1965, Bermani a trouvé enfin une version de « La fleur sur la tombe », chantée sur la mélodie de *Bella Ciao* dès les années 1920. Dans cette version nous retrouvons réunis la musique, le refrain et la thématique de la fleur sur la tombe présents dans *Bella Ciao*.
5. Certains supposent l'existence de chants deprotestation contre la guerre, répandus surtout après la défaite italienne de Caporetto en 1917, où il y aurait eu une fusion avec la famille des chants « Fleur sur la tombe, variante 2 ». Cette supposition ne peut pas s'appuyer sur des

d'immigration saisonnière, qui concernait en grande majorité les femmes, très appréciées pour leur dextérité et rapidité.

[9] L'unité du Pays remonte à 1861 avec la création du Royaume d'Italie, mais au niveau territorial elle sera achevée après la première guerre mondiale.

[10] Cf. l'annexe n°3.

[11] Cf. Gianni Borgna, *Storia della Canzone Italiana*, Rome-Bari : Laterza, 1985.

enregistrements ou des transcriptions, car il n'en a pas été recensé à ce jour.

Je signale également quelques théories moins accréditées. Selon les différents chercheurs, il est possible de remonter à des :

1. Origines espagnoles : un motif similaire aurait été chanté par les Franquistes durant la Guerre d'Espagne.
2. Origines françaises : en 1974, Rinaldo Salvadori, ex-gendarme et compositeur, raconte que sa bien- aimée Marie Freçhais, ex *mondina* et résistante française, disait que ce chant était chanté par les maquisards du Sud de la France et aurait pénétré dans le Piémont. Salvadori, qui affirmait être l'auteur de *Bella Ciao*, pensait que les partisans français avaient repris sa chanson *La Risaia* écrite en 1934 pour sa bien-aimée[12].
3. Origines slaves : en 1995 on a cueilli le témoignage d'Italiens qui avaient entendu chanter cette mélodie par des filles d'origine ukrainienne servant dans les cantines des camps militaires allemands en 1944[13].
4. Origines yiddish: en 2006, l'ingénieur Giovannardi, lors d'un séjour touristique à Paris, achète par hasard le CD *Klezmer-Yiddish swing music* dont les premières notes du morceau *Koilen* (exécuté par Mishka Ziganoff en 1919) rappellent étrangement le début de *Bella Ciao*[14]. La majorité des chercheurs italiens excluent néanmoins cette origine.

En tout cas, à présent, la majorité des ethnomusicologues affirment que cette mélodie, réélaborée, était entrée dans les *Chants de protestation*[15] de tradition orale des *mondine*. Dans les années 1930, dans la région de Vercelli (Piémont), les repiqueuses de riz devaient chanter quelque chose de très proche de la version de Giovanna Daffini ou de Vasco Scansani qui, eux-aussi, dans les années 1960, ont revendiqué la création de *Bella ciao*[16].

Comment est donc née la *Bella Ciao* de la Résistance?

Nous devons supposer que les paroles et la mélodie de ce chant apparaissent réunies seulement tardivement. C'est seulement grâce à des enregistrements datant de la fin des années 1950 - milieu des années 1960, que les chercheurs ont retrouvé des versions proches du chant connu aujourd'hui, aussi bien au niveau du contenu que de la musique.

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[12] Rinaldo Salvadori affirmait avoir changé les paroles de sa chanson *La Risaia* avec celles de *Bella Ciao* après le 25 juillet 1943, au moment de la chute de Mussolini et de la progressive organisation d'une véritable résistance armée.

[13] Cette chanson commençait par les paroles «*Bièla bièla*» (blanche, blanche) et était accompagnée du battement de mains.

[14] Cf. l'article de Jenner Meletti, Da ballata yiddish a inno partigiano il lungo viaggio di Bella ciao, in la *Repubblica*, 12/04/2008.

[15] A ce propos, il n'est pas inutile de rappeler, comme le souligne Bermani, que le chant de protestation constitue « un phénomène de frontière entre, d'une part, les cultures officielles (dominantes ou d'opposition) et, d'autre part, les cultures populaires». Aussi, ces chants peuvent reprendre des textes et des musiques provenant des cultures dominantes ; d'autres fois, ils sont des productions populaires. Les chants de protestation sont l'expression des cultures d'opposition. (cf. Bermani, 2003, 1-2).

[16] S'ils ne sont pas les auteurs de ce chant, il faut leur accorder le mérite d'avoir mis par écrit les paroles et la mélodie répandues dans le milieu des *mondine*.

La fusion de chants de différentes familles constitue donc le substrat de la création de la *Bella Ciao* de la Résistance, vraisemblablement née dans la région de Reggio Emilia et Modène en 1944.

2. Comment expliquer le succès au niveau national et international de *Bella Ciao* ?

Certainement le rythme entraînant ainsi que le texte simple et le refrain facile à mémoriser ont contribué au succès de ce chant.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. Si, comme nous l'avons montré, *Bella Ciao* n'est pas une authentique création de la Résistance, pourquoi est-il considéré comme le chant de la Résistance italienne aussi bien en Italie qu'à l'étranger ? Et, comme tel, emblème de liberté, chant de protestation ?

Le succès en Italie

En réalité, *Bella Ciao* a été chanté seulement par certaines formations de partisans communistes dans quelques régions, bien délimitées, du Nord de l'Italie (Apennins de Reggio Emilia), du Latium (Reatino) et des Abruzzes (Maiella[17]). On pourrait presque parler de « chant régional », car le vrai chant des partisans italiens était « *Fischia il vento, infuria la bufera* », dont la musique est celle du chant soviétique *Katouscia*[18] (1938), le texte étant écrit par des partisans[19] de la région d'Imperia (Ligurie). D'autres chants partisans italiens ont repris des chants politiques déjà existants, des chants du Risorgimento et de la première guerre mondiale, des parodies des chants fascistes ou de chansonnettes à la mode, en les adaptant à la nouvelle situation politique. Rares sont les vraies créations même si dans l'Après-guerre on assistera à une prolifération d'enregistrements donnant lieu à des « Recueils officiels de Chants de la Résistance ».

Au début des années 1950, dans plusieurs régions italiennes, *Bella Ciao* est chantée uniquement, par des chorales socialistes et communistes, lors de rassemblements et de fêtes d'ex-partisans. A partir des années 1960, elle va progressivement l'emporter sur *Fischia il Vento*. Pourquoi ?

Tout d'abord, au lendemain de la Libération, *Bella Ciao* est proposée dans toutes les fêtes communistes (Fête de l'Unità) tout comme d'autres chansons italiennes ou danses populaires (diverses mazurkas, polkas, valses). Il s'agissait de présenter une alternative nationale aux différents rythmes américains – très aimés surtout par les jeunes –, perçus comme un élément de corruption des meilleures traditions italiennes[20].

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[17] La version chantée par les Résistants de cette région comportait des variantes relatives aux paroles par rapport au texte le plus connu.

[18] Musique de Michail Isakovskij et Matvei Isakovic Blanter.

[19] Paroles de Sibilla et Cascione. *Cf.* Annexe n° 4.

[20] Dans le film *Riz Amer*, nous pouvons voir que les *mondine*, pendant leur temps libre, dansent le *boogie woogie*, qui est même proposé à la fête du village à côté de motifs populaires italiens. Très célèbre est la séquence du *boogie woogie* dansé par les deux interprètes principaux Silvana Mangano et Vittorio Gassman. Ces nouveaux rythmes, aux yeux de la jeunesse de l'époque, comportaient une image de nouveauté, de liberté et de sensualité étrangères aux danses des générations précédentes. Dans l'Italie de la Reconstruction, ces rythmes apportés par les libérateurs Américains, incarnent la

Deuxièmement**,** son texte n'est pas connoté politiquement comme celui de *Fischia il Vento* où l'on invite à se battre pour « conquérir le rouge printemps/ où se lève le soleil du futur ». Les paroles de *Bella Ciao*, « politiquement correctes », correspondaient mieux à la situation politique de l'époque où, à partir de 1962, se forme un gouvernement de Centre-Gauche[21] qui prônait la coopération entre les différentes forces politiques. Dans un esprit de concorde, on insiste alors sur l'idée que la nouvelle république italienne et sa constitution avaient été créées à partir des valeurs de la Résistance à laquelle avaient participé des partisans de différentes obédiences politiques, unis dans la lutte antifasciste. Il avait donc fallu fédérer les différents courants autour d'un même idéal qui se basait également sur le principe d'une guerre patriotique. Dans ce sens, la référence à « l'envahisseur » de la première strophe de *Bella Ciao*, était particulièrement appréciée, puisqu'elle évoquait également toutes les guerres d'Indépendance de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, où les Italiens s'étaient battus, comme durant la Résistance, pour libérer leur pays de l'occupation étrangère. *Bella Ciao* semble ainsi incarner deux moments emblématiques de la construction d'une identité nationale – le *Risorgimento* et la Résistance – où les Italiens se seraient retrouvés unis dans la lutte autour de mêmes idéaux. Cette interprétation apparaît aujourd'hui assez discutable car nous savons que la population n'a pas participé en masse activement à ces mouvements. Ainsi**,** *Bella Ciao* correspondait mieux à l'image idéalisée que les nouvelles générations avaient de la Résistance : un seul peuple uni qui se bat pour un même idéal, la liberté. De même, les jeunes appréciaient ce texte pour sa simplicité et son absence d'effets rhétoriques. Le battement de mains accompagnant souvent le refrain facilitait la participation[22].

Il faut aussi rappeler que les années 1960 représentent un moment important de *revival* des chansons populaires et, *Bella Ciao*, tout en étant reconnue comme une chanson de gauche, participe de ce phénomène. Pour ces raisons, *Bella Ciao*, commence alors à toucher un public plus large, profitant également des nombreux enregistrements de chanteurs italiens populaires au cours des années 1970[23].

Juin 1964 représente un moment essentiel dans ce processus de diffusion. Au *Festival dei Due Mondi* de Spoleto (Ombrie) est proposé un spectacle intitulé *Bella Ciao* qui s'ouvre avec la version *mondina* et se conclut avec la version de la Résistance. En effet, à ce moment-là, les

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modernité et correspondent à une volonté de changement, une envie d'oublier, dans un certain sens, les dures années de la guerre.

[21] Le Gouvernement, formé par la D.C, le PRI, le PSDI, s'ouvre donc aux socialistes qui s'éloignent des communistes, restés à l'opposition.

[22] Quant au battement des mains accompagnant le refrain, Leydi et Pianta pensent qu'il vient d'une version des « ballades soporifiques » diffusée dans les régions du nord-est de l'Italie avant la seconde guerre mondiale. La ballade la plus connue - « *La me nona, l'è vecchierella/ la me fa ciau, le me dis ciau, la me fa ciau, le me dis ciau/ La me manda la funtanela...* » - était chantée surtout par les enfants. Le battement des mains correspondait à une sorte de jeu qui, tout en facilitant la mémorisation de la chanson, favorisait la coordination des mouvements des mains.

[23] Cf., par exemple, les enregistrements de Claudio Villa en 1975 ou de Gigliola Cinquetti (version des *mondine*) en 1971.

ethnomusicologues reçoivent le témoignage d'une ex-*mondina*-chanteuse-compositrice - Giovanna Daffini[24] - qui se rappelle avoir entendu la version *Bella Ciao* des *mondine* en 1932-33 dans les rizières de Vercelli. Elle soutenait également l'avoir mise par écrit, mais elle sera démentie par Vasco Scansani qui affirmait l'avoir lui-même fait en 1951. Ce dernier, ex-partisan et repiqueur de riz, affirmait qu'il connaissait déjà la version de la Résistance. Dans ce cas, la *Bella Ciao* des partisans serait devenue le modèle de la version des *mondine* ! Les querelles concernant les auteurs supposés de ce chant se poursuivront pendant des années. En tout cas, au milieu des années 1960, la gauche italienne voit dans la version des *mondine* une forme de protestation paysanne présente sous le fascisme qui pénétrera dans la Résistance. *Bella Ciao* devenait ainsi implicitement porteuse des aspirations de la lutte des classes.

Quoiqu'il en soit, la majorité des Italiens n'étaient et ne sont vraiment pas au courant de tout ce débat autour de *Bella Ciao.* Ils l'ont apprise et chantée de plus en plus depuis les années 1960, si bien que cette chanson est entrée, à plein titre, dans le patrimoine des chants populaires nationaux.

Le succès international

Ce chant commence à se faire connaître à l'étranger pendant les années 1950, période à laquelle remontent ses premières traductions en allemand, anglais et polonais. Au début, il touche un public restreint, essentiellement lié aux milieux politiques de gauche. Ses premières exécutions ont lieu au Festival de la Jeunesse de Nice en 1947, à Budapest en 1949, à Berlin en 1951. Sa mélodie simple, son refrain aux paroles souvent déjà connues à l'étranger, le battement de mains au caractère entraînant, tout cela facilite, comme je l'ai déjà souligné, son succès, et les « camarades » en traduisent souvent les paroles. De plus, c'est précisément à cette époque qu'Yves Montand, célèbre acteur et chanteur français, d'origine italienne, d'une famille antifasciste et lui-même politiquement engagé auprès du Parti Communiste, sort un disque de chansons populaires italiennes, parmi lesquelles figure *Bella Ciao*[25].

Vers le milieu des années 1960, *Bella Ciao* représente bien un exemple du processus que Hobsbawm appelle « l'invention d'une tradition » (Hobsbawm et Ranger, 1987, 3-4, 8) où nous retrouvons des « traditions » effectivement inventées et l'évolution de traditions déjà existantes, mais sélectionnées. Le recours à des matériaux anciens pour construire des traditions inventées d'un genre nouveau est destiné à des fins nouvelles[26]. Ainsi cette chanson se répand même à l'étranger et progressivement, tout comme en Italie, elle est chantée par un public sans lien direct avec la gauche, qui la perçoit plutôt comme un chant populaire italien. Désormais

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[24] Pour comprendre la complexité et l'ambiguïté des données de ce débat rappelons, entre autres, les témoignages de Mme Daffini qui, enregistrée par Leydi et Bosio, en 1962, disait avoir appris ce motif en 1932-33 dans les rizières de Vercelli (Piémont) grâce à des *mondine* émiliennes». Toutefois, Mme Daffini affirmait à Bermani en 1964 l'avoir entendu en 1940.

[25] Yves Montand, *Souvenir italiano*, Philip, 432 735 (EP, 1963). Remarquons que la dernière strophe n'apparaît pas dans cette version chantée.

[26] Eric J. Hobsbawm et Terence Ranger, *L'invenzione della tradizione*, Turin, Einaudi, 1987.

l'assimilation entre chant emblématique de la Résistance, chant de protestation de paysans (voire également chant à connotation féministe dans sa version des *mondine*), chant populaire national, est accomplie.

Son succès actuel

Aujourd'hui *Bella Ciao* continue d'être chantée ou jouée aussi bien en Italie qu'à l'étranger. On ne compte plus le nombre de langues dans lesquelles ce chant a été traduit sur tous les continents. Il est repris souvent par les partis de gauche, davantage par les socialistes que par les communistes, ces derniers préférant *l'Internationale*. En France, par exemple, *Bella Ciao* est souvent utilisé comme hymne dans les meetings du Parti Socialiste, comme on a pu le constater lors des rassemblements de la campagne électorale présidentielle de François Hollande de 2012[27]. Étant ressentie comme une chanson de lutte, elle est également utilisée par des mouvements de protestation qui la proposent soit en gardant le texte de la version des partisans, soit en élaborant de nouveaux textes qui correspondent aux revendications en question, en gardant toutefois, le plus souvent, le fameux refrain italien.

Nous assistons donc à une sorte de réappropriation de la part de mouvements qui en font l'expression de la résistance populaire des plus faibles face à l'oppression des plus forts, en lui attribuant une dimension internationale. C'est ainsi qu'on la retrouve dans les manifestations altermondialistes rassemblant un public varié, organisées dans des pays différents. On a pu, par exemple, entendre chanter *Bella Ciao* en juin 2013 à Istanbul, lors des manifestations sur la place Taksim[28]. En Italie, il en est de même. *Bella Ciao* est évidemment chantée lors des manifestations commémoratives de la Libération du 25 Avril, mais elle l'est également le 1er Mai où elle symbolise la lutte de classes en devenant la marque de revendications avancées par les forces de gauche. En Italie, durant certaines manifestations publiques, il est presque impossible de dissocier *Bella Ciao* des mouvements de gauche, pourtant elle est plutôt considérée par les Italiens comme un chant anti-fasciste[29].

Nous devons également remarquer que *Bella Ciao* a été et se trouve de plus en plus revisitée sous d'autres styles et rythmes comportant différents instruments. Il suffit d'un petit détour sur le site de You Tube pour découvrir, par exemple, des versions ska-punk[30], jazz-grunge[31] ou électro[32],

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[27] Cf. http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/derniers-meetings-avant-la-primaire-ps_1037995.html, page consultée le 19/01/2014. Au moment de la victoire de François Hollande aux élections présidentielles, dans quelques villes de France on entend chanter *Bella Ciao*. Cf. in http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/topnews/20120506.AFP5343/presidentielle-victoire-de-francois-hollande-en-direct.html, page consultée le 20/01/2014.

[28] Cf. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZfu_qagC7c, page consultée le 15/01/2014.

[29] En juin 2013, par exemple, les Italiens participant aux funérailles de Franca Rame, actrice auteur de pièces théâtrales, féministe et antifasciste engagée dans des batailles civiles - épouse du Prix Nobel de littérature Dario Fo- ont chanté *Bella Ciao*.

[30] Cf., par exemple, la version espagnole des Boikot, in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PdNLSiKWhFE&feature=related, page consultée le 20/01/2014.

ou bien encore des interprétations intégrant des éléments typiques d'autres musiques populaires étrangères [33] à côté, bien sûr, d'interprétations « classiques ».

En même temps, à côté d'une récupération de la part de différents mouvements de protestation, cette chanson semble se vider de son histoire et être reconnue seulement pour son « italianité ». On la retrouve ainsi dans des recueils de chansons populaires italiennes dans les collections de « musiques du monde », interprétée par des groupes folkloriques. Cette seule connotation d'italianité, et une sorte de « banalisation » qui gomme son contenu, explique que *Bella Ciao* puisse devenir sans problème le nom d'un restaurant, d'un hôtel ou d'un magasin quelconque. Pire encore: sa mélodie très connue, dont on oublie même le côté italien, peut être reprise durant des matchs de football, comme, par exemple, par des supporters de l'OM[34].

Ce processus de « spoliation » a atteint le combleen 2007, quand elle a été utilisée dans des spots publicitaires diffusés au Mexique pour la nouvelle boisson Aquarius, un *drink* proposé par Coca Cola Company. La reprise ska-punk de *Bella Ciao*, a contribué dans une large mesure au succès du spot si bien que les adolescents l'avaient élu « spot le plus beau de l'année »[35]. *Bella Ciao* est ici réduite à un jingle et, malheureusement, sa notoriété semble se retourner contre elle. Dans une logique commerciale, l'aspiration à la liberté (du partisan contre l'envahisseur), est véhiculée sournoisement avec une lecture fausse et réductrice : *Bella Ciao* suggèrerait alors une aspiration, une sensation de liberté dans le choix et la consommation de cette boisson ? Cela a scandalisé beaucoup d'Italiens, si bien qu'au México, le collectif d'enseignants de langue et culture italiennes AlterIta a lancé même une pétition en ligne demandant l'interdiction de diffusion de ce spot, pétition qui a été signée par plusieurs intellectuels d'Italie.

Le succès peut ainsi comporter des risques.

Dans cet article, nous avons essayé d'expliquer de quelle manière *Bella Ciao* est passée d'une dimension nationale à une dimension internationale et cela grâce au fait que le patriotisme qui la caractérise est tout autre chose que du nationalisme. S'il est vrai que ce chant fait partie du patrimoine culturel italien en en constituant un trait identitaire indéniable, le fait qu'il soit adopté et repris à l'étranger n'est pas injustifié, à condition de ne pas trahir son message d'origine : l'encouragement à se battre contre toute forme d'oppression politique et sociale, pour le droit à une vie dans la liberté et la dignité, aspiration universelle.

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[31] Cf., par exemple, la version des 21 Love Hôtel, in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M17NZQ4GJKg,, page consultée le 20/01/2014.

[32] Cf., par exemple, la version des Spaceheads, in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lV0vzG6eGV8, page consultée le 20/01/2014.

[33] Nous apercevons, par exemple, des influences musicales irlandaises dans la version des Modena City Ramblers (cf.www.youtube.com/watch?v=55yCQOioTyY, page consultée le 20/01/2014) ou des influences de musique populaire balkanique dans la version de Goran Bregovic (cf. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OyMA84-mowI, page consultée le 20/01/2014).

[34] Cf. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GFzginvD7vY, page consultée le 29/01/2014.

[35] Cf. Gaia TORZINI, *Pubblicità della discordia, Il Sole d'Italia*, n° 63, 16-30 avril 2008, in http://www.ilsoleditalia.com/Notizie/306307/messico-coca-cola-absolut.html, page consultée le 18/01/2014.

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Annexe n° 1

Bella Ciao Version Résistance

Una mattina mi son svegliato
O bella ciao, bella ciao, bella ciao ciao ciao
Una mattina mi son svegliato
E ho trovato l'invasore

O partigiano porta mi via
O bella ciao, bella ciao, bella ciao ciao ciao
O partigiano porta mi via
Ché mi sento di morir

E se io muoio da partigiano
O bella ciao, bella ciao, bella ciao ciao ciao
E se io muoio da partigiano
Tu mi devi seppellir

E seppellire lassù in montagna
O bella ciao, bella ciao, bella ciao ciao ciao
E seppellire lassù in montagna
Sotto l'ombra di un bel fior

E le genti che passeranno
O bella ciao, bella ciao, bella ciao ciao ciao
E le genti che passeranno
Mi diranno: che bel fior

È questo il fiore del partigiano
O bella ciao, o bella ciao, o bella ciao ciao ciao
È questo il fiore del partigiano
Morto per la libertà.

Un matin, je me suis levé
Ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao ciao ciao
Un matin, je me suis levé
Et j'ai trouvé l'envahisseur

Oh partisan emmène-moi
ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao ciao ciao
Oh partisan emmène-moi
Car je me sens prêt à mourir

Et si je meurs en partisan
Ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao ciao ciao
Et si je meurs en partisan
Tu dois m'enterrer

Tu m'enterreras là-haut dans la montagne
Ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao ciao ciao
Tu m'enterreras là-haut dans la montagne
Sous l'ombre d'une belle fleur

Et les gens qui passeront
Ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao ciao ciao
Et les gens qui passeront
Me diront « Quelle belle fleur »

Et c'est la fleur du partisan
Ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao, ô bella ciao ciao ciao
Et c'est la fleur du partisan
Mort pour la liberté

Annexe n° 2

Bella Ciao version *Mondine*

Alla mattina appena alzata
O bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao, ciao,ciao
Alla mattina appena alzata
In risaia mi tocca andar

E fra gli insetti e le zanzare
O bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
E fra gli insetti e le zanzare
Un dur lavoro mi tocca far

Le matin, à peine levée
Ô bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao, ciao,ciao
Le matin, à peine levée
A la rizière je dois aller

Et entre les insectes et les moustiques
Ô bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
Et entre les insectes et les moustiques
Un dur labeur je dois faire

Il capo in piedi col suo bastone
O bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
Il capo in piedi col suo bastone
E noi curve a lavorar

O mamma mia o che tormento
O bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
O mamma mia o che tormento
Io t'invoco ogni doman

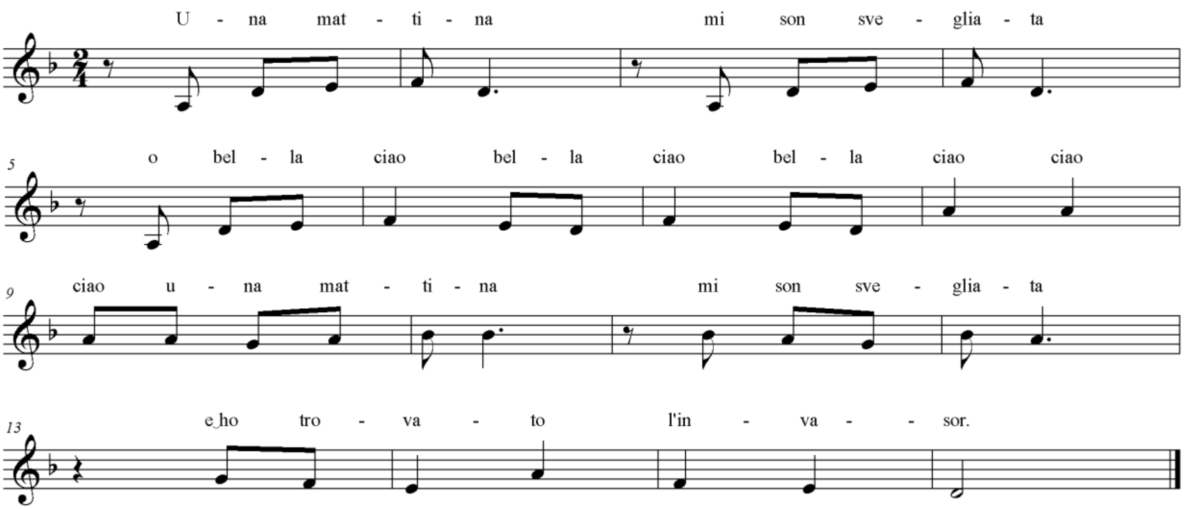
Ma verrà un giorno che tutte quante
O bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
Ma verrà un giorno che tutte quante
Lavoreremo in libertà.

Et le chef debout avec son bâton
Ô bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
Et le chef debout avec son bâton
Et nous courbées à travailler

Ô Bonne mère quel tourment
Ô bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
Ô Bonne mère quel tourment
Je t'invoque chaque jour

Mais un jour viendra où nous toutes unies
Ô bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao
Mais un jour viendra où nous toutes unies
travaillerons en liberté

Annexe n° 3



Annexe n° 4

Fischia il vento, infuria la bufera

Fischia il vento, infuria la bufera,
scarpe rotte eppur bisogna andar,
a conquistare la rossa primavera
dove sorge il sol dell'avvenir.

Ogni contrada è patria del ribelle,
ogni donna a lui dona un sospir,
nella notte lo guidano le stelle
forte il cuore e il braccio nel colpir.

Se ci coglie la crudele morte,

Le vent siffle, la tourmente fait rage
Les chaussures sont cassées, pourtant il faut partir,
Conquérir le rouge printemps
Où se lève le soleil du futur.

Chaque quartier est la patrie du rebelle,
Chaque femme lui offre un soupir,
Les étoiles le guident dans la nuit
Fort est son cœur et son bras pour frapper.

dura vendetta verrà dal partigian;
ormai sicura è già la dura sorte
del fascista vile traditor.

Cessa il vento, calma è la bufera,
torna a casa il fiero partigian,
sventolando la rossa sua bandiera;
vittoriosi e alfin liberi siam.

Si la mort cruelle nous prend,
Le partisan sera durement vengé ;
désormais sûr est le dur destin
du Fasciste, lâche traître.

Le vent cesse, la tourmente calmit
Le fier partisan rentre à la maison,
En agitant son drapeau rouge ;
Victorieux et enfin libres, nous sommes.

The “Peace Fight” Propaganda during Ceauşescu’s Regime Reflected into the ‘80s Press[1]

Corina Haţegan*

Abstract

The last decade of Ceauşescu’s regime was called by the Romanian communist; the “golden age” for various reasons. At first, it looks like it was the peak of industrial development, political and social development of the Romanian society. In reality, the Romanians forced to live under Ceauşescu’s auspices called that period the “dark ages”.

This article aims, first, to present the way in which propaganda masked the shortcoming of the Party and Ceauşescu’s policy, by building a fight towards a more or less real enemy, called the peace fight. Secondly, aims to presents the way this peace propaganda appears in the national press during the ‘80s.

Keywords*: Nicolae Ceauşescu; communism; propaganda; peace fight; press.*

History has shown that even the most determined opponents can become best friends when it comes to eliminating a common enemy. Also, history has shown, however, that when the enemy is eliminated, the “new friends” most often decide, to return to old habits. The best example of this is the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War and their “friendship” which materialized in the so-called “arms race”.

Building and possession of nuclear and chemical weapons proved to be particularly effective. First, it has a strong emotional factor, namely the threat of side effects but also provide a sense of protection of the enemy. Second, nuclear weapons’ possession does not require much human resource mobilization compared with an army. “Soft diplomacy” therefore turned itself into nuclear diplomacy where the placement of missile threats or rumors about the development of new nuclear technologies mattered more than declarations of war.

The real problem occurred when the European allies of the Americans and the Soviets realized that if a war between the two superpowers happened they would be hit first. Neither of the two political blocks did trust any disarmament agreement compliance: Americans did not believe that the Soviets would ever be able to respect an agreement, and the Soviets believed that Americans would not end the arms race and they were in fact preparing themselves for the invasion of Eastern Europe.

On these events and reviewing the “great” achievements of the Romanian Communist Party in the last ten years of life, it can be seen that the need for nuclear disarmament and international peace are recurrent

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themes in the press of that period. All Romanian citizens, regardless of age or profession were involved in the struggle for peace both for their country and for world peace.

The recurrence, almost obsessive, of these issues may lead the reader to think about the fight against nuclear army, as Nicolae Ceauşescu stated, it is made by tireless people, a leader and a party that does not want only their own safety but also the safety of the entire humanity. Slogans such as "Ceauşescu, peace!" chanted during National Holidays or public manifestos, at least apparently, looked like the Romanians were led by A Supreme Leader towards achieving world peace. Nicolae Ceauşescu alongside propaganda apparatus created a common enemy against whom Romania have to fight. The enemy had to be capitalist, imperialist, bourgeois, liberal, corrupt, and last but not least, perhaps worst of all, had to have a policy of arming. Through this aggressive policy, which opposes completely to the communist policy, egalitarian and fair, these countries exploit the Third World, and Ceauşescu was convinced that it would end all in miseries.

"Socialist Romania thus appeared like an island of peace and culture, threatened by evil powers. A center of world pacifism, a Shambala of wisdom where an elite led by Nicolae Ceauşescu, prays unceasingly to maintaining planetary equilibrium. Fighting for peace understood as planetary mission by the beloved leader becomes through the regime's propaganda a nexus for national identity, social humanism and one of the main reasons of pride to be Romanian."[2]

The press mentions often books with political and social themes written by Nicolae Ceauşescu in which people could find his contribution to world peace and obvious echoes in other countries, and of course book about chemistry research of Elena Ceauşescu. Although her research was in chemistry field rather than politics, she is presented, also, as an advocate of peace. Thus, articles like "Eulogies appreciation of political activity and scientific work of wide international recognition of Comrade Elena Ceauşescu"[3]; we understand that she was not appreciated worldwide only for its scientific research but also for her dedications to the "fight for peace" plan.

Elena Ceauşescu, the peace fighter, was actually the representative of Romanian women in the struggle for peace. Magazines for women in particular had a special section on women advocating for peace, which brings into attention the need to involve women in the struggle for peace and disarmament. By presenting the struggle for peace of women's organizations in other countries it highlights the importance of women in the world, but also that the socialist countries, in particular, focus on women's struggle for peace and disarmament more than others. The Romanian women are not inferior, appreciated the Romanian Communist press, being represented by the best possible women, the president's wife. Through the role she plays on the international scene with her husband, she has the opportunity to be at

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[2] Paul Cernat, *Scriitori pentru pacea planetei* in *Explorări în comunismul românesc*, vol. II, Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 498.

[3] *Elogioase aprecieri față de activitatea politică şi opera ştiințifică de larga recunoştere internațională ale tovarăşei Elena Ceauşescu*, in "Scînteia", 5 January 1988, p. 4.

the forefront in the struggle for peace and to voice the wishes of all women in the country.

When it comes to eulogies and friends of the Romanian president, the political peace really looks like a universal wish of the people, being built in a way that Ceauşescu seems a genius and a mediator between the great powers. Under the title "Romania's socialist President Nicolae Ceauşescu, strongly advocates a policy of peace and understanding throughout the world," we find that countries such as Angola, Kuwait, Cuba, Morocco, North Korea, Peru, Mexico, Zaire, Lebanon consider the following:

"International media reflects in its pages the foreign policy dedicated to building peace in socialist Romania, achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament [...] the tireless work of President Nicolae Ceauşescu for the multilateral flourishing homeland, the remarkable achievements obtained in Romania."[4]

The press shows that people wanted peace, the calls were made by the leader of the country himself and the answers were not only timely but also full of praise. People, individual cities united in grand parades to draw attention to the need for peace. We find that in Sibiu, for example, without taking into account ethnicity, people of Sibiu took to the streets to express a desire for peace: "In Sibiu many working people [...] met in a vibrant public gathering for disarmament and peace."[5] Certainly such articles showed obedience to the wise policy of the Party and flattering words were somewhat expected.

"Animated by your marvelous example we express our supreme covenant to act with all the energy in full unity with all the sons of the fatherland, for the unswerving implementation of both domestic and foreign policy of the Party and State in defense of peace - cause of all mankind."[6]

We learn also that policies on disarmament and peace were not developed by groups of experts, scholars, diplomats or politicians but by the cunning mind of the leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu. Romania a country of peace and the President a genius of peacemaking that was the image build, by the communist propaganda, both for the Romania and for foreign countries. This image was apparently supported, as the media reported, even the leaders of other countries and international press welcomed this initiatives. As expected, the struggle for peace and freedom substrate has a history, that of peaceful and innocent people seeing constantly attacked by those who wanted the riches of the country. The theme of the "peaceful people being attacked" was widely used by the propaganda, as a loophole for anything that journalists, historians or policymaker could not explain. So the destiny of the President was the destiny of the people and the destiny of the people was the destiny of mankind.

"It is natural that the Romanian people cherish peace, for he knows from experience what the wars' plague is. Never having ambitions of

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[4] Agerpres, *România socialistă, preşedintele Nicolae Ceauşescu militează cu fermitate pentru o politică de pace şi întelegere în întreaga lume*, in "Scînteia", 7 July, 1985, p. 6.

[5] Virgiliu Tătaru, *Pacea, voință supremă a întregului popor roman*, in "Scînteia", 2 July 1985, p. 3.

[6] *Ibidem.*

conquest or warlike ambitions, never wanting what was not theirs and taking up arms solely to defend national being, poverty and race needs [...]"[7]

Romanian people sacrificed in the past, the idea the article is, but it is now time to sacrifice for the good of humanity again. This time the course of events is led by people who understand the current imperative of Ceauşescu and into their souls know that deep down everyone from scholars to peasants, workers or doctors have one ideal: universal peace. These were the arguments that the peaceful Ceauşescu's era was built on; leaving the impression that Ceauşescu's foreign policy alone can safeguard the peace. The author mentioned above emphasizes that peace is needed more than ever, now that the arms race escalated, when missiles are placed in more and more places of the Earth and there is the possibility that a world war turn into a nuclear war. The article author appreciates the prodigious work of the President considering that "[...] in a nuclear war in which all mankind would perish, is inestimable merit of the Romanian President to be revealed in all clarity, as these circumstances there is no issue more important than that it would end the arms race [...]."[8]

In addition, continues the author, history will certainly record the president's initiatives and his plans for averting a nuclear conflict. Comparison were made, sometimes hidden and sometimes clear, between Nicolae Ceauşescu and great leaders in the history of the Romanian people who have led the people on the heights of victory is obvious. Numerous letters, proposals by the President of Romania to Soviets, Americans and the United Nation qualifies Ceauşescu, recalls the article, as being the president with the strongest option and consistent strategy on the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Press, especially *Scânteia*, devotes several articles on disarmament. Many of these articles make them somewhat responsible for the existence of social problems not only in those countries but also in countries around the world, those who participate or support arms race. In the way already known, Romania appears in the privileged position that to being able to mediate peace between the two opposing political blocs.

Many of the articles were designed starting from Nicolae Ceauşescu's theses and from the idea that Romania is a country that does not have and does not promote nuclear or chemical weapons and it is meant to be a sort of policeman of Europe or even of the world. The fact that Romania does not own nuclear weapon was often highlighted: "our country, as it declared, has not owned a chemical weapon, it will continue to accelerate the work of the Geneva Conference for [...] the negotiation of an international instrument for banning and liquidation of nuclear weapons.[9]

Therefore, Romania lead by Nicolae Ceauşescu was an important presence at congresses on peace and disarmament, and Romania's point of view was in fact the head of state opinion, an indisputable fact often emphasized by the communist press. In fact, the President work regarding

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[7] *Activitate vastă, neobosită pentru apărarea bunului suprem al omenirii : Pacea*, in "Scînteia", 14 August 1985, p. 6.
[8] *Ibidem.*
[9] S.n., *România se pronunță şi militează pentru lichidarea armelor chimice şi, în acelaşi timp, în etape, a tuturor armelor nucleare,* in "Scînteia", 11 January 1989, p. 6.

peace was presented as a small disarmament treaty "fully in line with the interests and aspirations of all peoples."[10] Promoting peace had become a necessity so urgent that even New Year's posts from the President were dominated by this issue.

Besides peace militancy, Ceauşescu turned his foreign policy into remarkable humanism political strategy, it was a brilliant propaganda strategy meant to hide the shortcomings of internal situation. The possibility of a war where it would be used chemical or nuclear weapons was presented rather as a certainty, and this certainly was deeply rooted in the collective mentality." Is it really necessary to do everything to completely remove the danger of nuclear war, a world war [...]"[11] The imperative of eliminating nuclear danger is one of the most common formulations, the emphasis is on danger. Nicolae Ceauşescu allows himself to be regarded as the only person who can defend mankind and the world from imminent perils.

Although journalists drew attention towards the fact that even if the world is on the peak of scientific development period, the population of many countries live in inhuman conditions, because governments are more interested in military spending than social problems. In this way it is stress, the role of Romania and its leaders in the fight to eliminate disparities. It presents a dramatic reality of capitalist countries not only caused by unnecessary military spending. It also presented the relationship between weapons and all other problems such as unemployment, health; the relationship is expressed as the conclusion of President Ceauşescu research. "As the realities continue to show the increase of military spending [...] deepen the scourge of underdevelopment, exert strong pressure on raw materials, and favor higher prices, increase inflation and financial instability leads to continued expansion of unemployment, affecting social programs [...]"[12]

To the attention of press and propaganda for peace and disarmament came the youth and their role in the fight against arms race. Therefore into the grand movement of President Ceauşescu were mobilized not only workers, teachers or engineers but also young people who were seen as an important factor in the struggle for social renewal, peace and progress. "Builders of the immediate future" were named young pacifist whose fate was already mapped by the leader in caring for the younger generation. Youth Fight for Peace was seen as a concern or as an ongoing process that is performed in accordance with battle standards of the genial president. Among the article we can observe a certain pride to be part of the team that will bring world peace, as Ceauşescu expected. Many articles reproduce speeches of the President, for young activists for peace, not only in Romania but worldwide.

"Combining harmoniously and conscious the young generation into shaping the future [...] bearing the seal of Nicolae Ceauşescu's thought it is

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[10] *Ibidem.*

[11] Nicolae Ceauşescu, *Un proces unitar, o cauză a tuturor popoarelor,* in "Scînteia", 7 February, 1989, p. 6.

[12] S.n., *Dezarmarea, reducerea cheltuielilor militare – cerințe hotărâtoare pentru stimularea dezvoltării tuturor statelor pentru soluționarea acute probleme sociale,* in "Scînteia" 30 0ctomber, 1985, p. 6.

registered as a contribution [...] in an area particularly important for the present and future of mankind."[13]

A study of textbooks, conducted by Manolescu, show the obsession for peace was not limited to the press but extended to textbooks, which should have had the role to educate not to indoctrinate. Using different methods, propaganda intended to inspired people with the spirit of peace even if we are talking about first or second graders-children. Using short story, symbols (such as the dove of peace) or moralizing poems, students had to reach the same conclusion: the future new man is primarily a man of peace. Due to the Romanian President, hero and savior of the world, Romanian children and many other people of Earth have the opportunity to enjoy a heavenly lifestyle free of weapons. "[...] the theme of peace is a stupid stereotype and suffocated everyday life, aiming to persuade the public not of only the correctness of the Party's policy, but also the skills of its titanic leader seen as an combination between native diplomat, philanthropist and planetary guardian of cosmic peace."[14]

There are few who have not wondered what would have happened if Ceauşescu during his lifetime would have achieved this objective, nuclear disarmament and universal peace. Perhaps Ceauşescu would have had to make his way through thousands of diplomas, awards for a Nobel Peace prize or ought to seek another obsession, another imminent threat to the Romanian people and the Universe.

So, how much did people want peace or how much were people interested in world peace and how much did the leader himself wanted peace? It was rather a part of the propaganda that was meant to wash more and more people's brains and throw dust in the eyes of international organizations accusing Ceauşescu of unorthodox practices or was it indeed a goal of the entire Romanian people?

Certainly it can be said that the struggle for peace in Nicolae Ceauşescu's case, became a sort of supreme object of adoration. Either way, the theme of peace almost monopolizes formal discussions of politics. Not just the press was overwhelmed by the subject but textbooks, books, poems and patriotic songs all touched in a way the peace theme.Some might be prone to say that in this way the president was trying to wash away the sins, believing that if he was able to achieve peace then history would have looked at him differently and not just as a dictator. Others might say that his obsession was rather foolish, given that the president was more interested in world peace than the actual daily life of the Romanian people.

Nicolae Ceauşescu was considered a sort of policeman of the world endowed with great geniality and ability to pacify people just like Roman emperors. His plans on pacifism were not short; some even made reference to peace in 2000. Beyond the debate of true or not Nicolae Ceauşescu's patriotism, real or imagined nationalism, Head of Romanian Socialist Republic taught until the last moment it qualifies for the Nobel Prize. Finally

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[13] Ioan Timofte, *Înlăturarea primejdiei nucleare şi promovarea păcii – obiective vitale ale tinerilor de pretutindeni*, in "Scînteia", 1 November, 1985, p. 6.
[14] Ion Manolescu, "Clişee tematice ale manualelor comuniste de clase primare", in *Explorări în comunismul românesc*, vol. II, Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 304.

as another Nicolae said, but this time called Iorga, peace cannot come from a desire for peace, but from suppression of war instincts. Ceauşescu however, had not relied on suppression of instincts but on serving fight for peace as camouflage for other shortcomings.

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VANTAGGI E SVANTAGGI DELL'ADESIONE ALL'EUROZONA

Lucian Săcălean*

Abstract

Adopting the euro was until recently a goal for the European countries. Meanwhile shades appeared...

In 2008, the appreciation of the euro has led to a decrease in competitiveness of those countries that had a course currency fixed in relation with the euro, while the simultaneous increase in international prices has resulted in more domestic high inflation rates.

Where are we today? If in 2008-2009 the solutions to the international financial crisis seemed accessible, today, despite the optimistic discourse of the European officials, the uncertainty persists. The adoption of the single currency has become more and more a target more political than economic, although it must be said from the beginning that it also has positive aspects.

The only possible question that might be worth to answer is who would gain and who to lose if the euro zone ceased to exist.

***Keywords**: Euro zone; economic crisis, Euro; exchange; macro benefits.*

La crisi che ha colpito l'Europa nel 2008 ha lasciato segni profondi. Gli Stati dell'Europa centro-orientale hanno temperato il loro discorso politico a favore dell'adozione della moneta comune. L'adesione all'eurozona, a cui fino a quel momento si era guardato con invidia, ha cominciato a essere progressivamente rinviato. Esistono, senza dubbio, anche delle eccezioni. Per Paesi come la Romania, l'Ungheria, la Bulgaria, la Lituania, l'Estonia, la Polonia, gli obiettivi dell'adesione all'euro sembrano simili, eppure essi sono differenti. La creazione di benessere e stabilità occupa un ruolo centrale nell'agenda politica di queti Paesi, ed essa si accompagna a una sempre più ampia assunzione del principio sovrastatale. In realtà tale principio non costituisce una novità assoluta. Basterebbe ricordare il progetto del 1462 avanzato dal re di Boemia Giorgio Podebrad e fondato sulle idee di Antonio Marini. Seppure tale progetto non giunga realizzarsi in pratica, rimane il fatto che esso fosse costruito sull'idea del divieto dell'uso della forza nei rapporti tra Stati nonché sulla generalizzazione di un processo decisionale comune basato sul voto a maggioranza. Qualche decennio più tardi, poi, nel 1623, il monaco francese Émeric de la Croix, probabilmente ispirato dall'opera di Tommaso Campanella, proponeva nel suo *Le Nouveau Cynée* lo sviluppo di un'economia equilibrata basata sul libero commercio e priva di barriere doganali quale mezzo per assicurare la pace in Europa. Un concetto che oggi viene tradotto in termini di libera circolazione.

Dalla nascita di una prima moneta unica nel 1968, accompagnata dalla creazione di un'Unione doganale, fino alla sua effettiva entrata in circolazione nel 2002, la via percorsa indica sia il desiderio di dare vita a una costruzione rigorosa, sia anche le difficoltà legate ai negoziati politici e

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alla realizzazione di quei criteri considerati vitali per la sopravvivenza e il successo della nuova moneta. La crisi finanziaria apertasi con la caduta di Lehman Brothers negli Stati Uniti ha dimostrato quanto grandi siano i rischi e le minacce che possono interessare la moneta unica. La crisi ha generato accesi dibattiti in merito all'opportunità di aderire all'eurozona e di tornare, eventualmente, alle monete nazionali, per giungere fino a teorie cospirative incoraggiate dall'apparente lentezza con cui le autorità europee hanno reagito di fronte al reale pericolo di aggravamento della crisi che ha interessato Stati come la Grecia, l'Irlanda o la Spagna. I parametri stabiliti dal Trattato di Maastricht hanno cominciato a essere utilizzati quali motivi per il rinvio dell'adozione della moneta unica, nonostante il fatto che loro scopo fosse quello di evitare l'accesso di quei Paesi che non fossero stati ancora pronti. Nel 2012 poi, quando il caso della Grecia ha cominciato a essere studiato più in dettaglio, è diventato evidente come, nel corso degli anni, il Paese ellenico non avesse rispettato i criteri di equilibrio fiscale e finanziario imposti dagli altri Stati membri, dimostrando così che il rispetto dei parametri di Maastricht è condizione necessaria ma non sufficiente.

Sarebbe opportuno porsi delle domande su cosa sia più importante, se i vantaggi o gli svantaggi legati all'adozione dell'euro. Per tentare di dare una risposta, bisognerebbe probabilmente, in primo luogo, analizzare i costi intrinseci all'adozione della moneta unica. A livello macroeconomico, dove si registrano i costi maggiori, essi sembrano derivare dalla rinuncia a importanti strumenti di politica economica. In altre parole, la rinuncia all'indipendenza della politica monetaria porterebbe alla perdita di quegli strumenti attraverso i quali è possibile realizzare gli opportuni aggiustamenti, anche se va precisato che la dimensione di tali costi dipende in gran pare dalle differenze economiche, strutturali e legali, tra Stati[1]. Il tasso di cambio e l'inflazione sono infatti strumenti che, se opportunamente utilizzati, possono ridurre gli effetti negativi e strimolare le economie nazionali, ma il ricorso a tali strumenti è possibile soltanto in presenza di una moneta nazionale.

Accanto alla perdita della possibilità di ricorrere alla politica monetaria e al tasso di cambio per operare degli aggiustamenti in caso di shock economici, esistono però altri costi connaturati all'adozione dell'euro, determinati in gran parte dalle asimmetrie esistenti nel continente europeo. Appare poi il problema di identificare in maniera corretta la parità con cui si realizza il passaggio all'euro, come pure i rischi di contagio e le possibili asimmetrie nella trasmissione della politica monetaria. Anche se nel lungo periodo l'equiparazione dei tassi d'inflazione non produce costi in termini di disoccupazione, sul breve termine, per i Paesi che presentano un elevato tasso d'inflazione, l'adesione all'unione monetaria presuppone l'accettazione di una disoccupazione maggiore[2].

Il 2004 ha rappresentato un momento importante nel processo di integrazione europea, che conta da quel momento dieci nuovi membri. Tra questi, l'Ungheria, la Slovenia e i Paesi baltici manifestano fin dall'inizio un

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[1] Cristian Socol, Aura Socol, *Adoptarea euro: costuri sau beneficii?*, p. 52, http://store.ectap.ro/articole/181.pdf.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 53.

interesse per quanto riguarda l'adesione alla zona euro. L'adesione all'eurozona diventa un nuovo obiettivo politico per quei Paesi che, con un successo più o meno ampio, erano riusciti ad aderire all'Unione Europea. In breve tempo diventa però evidente come le implicazioni e i costi legati all'adozione dell'euro non siano soltanto politici. Nel 2008 circa trenta analisti, interrogati da Reuters, stimavano le seguenti date relative all'adesione all'eurozona: per la Lituania e l'Estonia il 2012; per la Polonia e la Lettonia il 2013; per l'Ungheria, la Bulgaria e la Repubblica Ceca il 2014; per la Romania, infine, il 2015[3]. L'evoluzione successiva ha dimostrato come queste stime fossero eccessivamente ottimiste. Le sole eccezioni sono rappresentate dall'Estonia e dalla Lettonia, che hanno aderito alla moneta unica rispettivamente nel 2011 e nel 2014. A fronte di ciò stanno i casi della Romania che, a seconda delle stime, prevede il suo ingresso nel 2018 (nella variante ottimista) o nel 2021, a seconda di quanto rapidamente potrà ridurre la distanza che la separa dagli altri Paesi dell'Unione monetaria; a differenza della Romania, la Bulgaria – il più povero tra i membri dell'Unione Europea – ha sospeso a tempo indeterminato il processo di adozione dell'euro, nonostante che nel 2010 Sofia avesse espresso la sua intenzione di iscriversi formalmente per l'adesione al meccanismo del tasso di cambio, con l'obiettivo di passare all'euro nel 2013.

Per poter valutare in maniera corretta gli effetti dell'adozione della moneta unica bisogna però tenere conto del fatto che alcune differenze dipendono dal fatto che il tasso di cambio tra moneta nazionale ed euro sia fisso o flessibile[4]. Nel 2008 l'apprezzamento dell'euro ha portato a una diminuzione della competitività per quanto riguarda la produttività di quei Paesi che avevano un corso valutario fisso in rapporto all'euro, mentre la contemporanea crescita dei prezzi internazionali ha avuto come effetto tassi inflattivi interni più elevati. Nei Paesi baltici, dove si registrava un'inflazione compresa tra il 16 e il 20%, gli interessi reali sono divenuti negativi, la politica monetaria ha incoraggiato i consumi mentre il corso fisso ha scoraggiato la produzione. Nello stesso tempo in Romania veniva elaborata una strategia basata su un'ipotetica crescita economica del 6%, prognosi minacciata fin dall'inizio da una serie di fattori esterni, tra cui in particolare l'evoluzione economica mondiale e in particolare europea, l'evoluzione del prezzo del petrolio, le fluttuazioni della produzione agricola, influenzata in gran parte dalle condizioni metereologiche. La successiva crisi finanziaria avrebbe portato al crollo di tali stime.

Un'analisi effettuata nel 2008 dall'Erste Group[5] rilevava i seguenti aspetti relativi ai Paesi che aspiravano all'adozione della moneta unica. Nel caso dell'Ungheria, si identificavano elevati costi politici generati dalla necessità di consolidamento fiscale, e quindi dalla riduzione del deficit fiscale. La realizzazione, nel 2006, del programma di aggiustamento fiscale, che aveva prodotto una riduzione del deficit di bilancio, come pure la rinuncia alla banda di transazione del forint all'interno del sistema dei

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[3] http://www.euractiv.ro/uniuneaeuropeana/articles%7CdisplayArticle/articleID_13278/Romania-nu-va-adopta-euro-inainte-de-2015.html.

[4] Leszek Balcerowicz, *Criza financiară şi efectele asupra adoptării euro*, in "Oeconomica", n. 1, a. 2009, p. 5, http://oeconomica.org.ro/files/pdf/131.pdf.

[5] http://www.erstegroup.com/en/Press.

cambi valutari, potevano costituire un buon punto di partenza per l'adesione all'ERM II (il Meccanismo dei tassi di cambio), tappa preliminare per l'ingresso nell'Unione monetaria. Nonostante ciò, rilevavano gli analisti, l'adozione dell'euro non era stimata possibile prima del biennio 2014-2015. Per quanto riguarda la Repubblica Ceca, l'adozione dell'euro non rappresentava un obiettivo politico prioritario, considerandosi più imporanti le riforme strutturali, la crescita della competitività e la creazione di una moneta relativamente ben quotata. D'altra parte la strategia elaborata da tale Paese e adottata nel 2007 legava l'adozione dell'euro alla soluzione dei problemi associati alla riforma delle finanze pubbliche, e nessuna previsione stimava possibile il passaggio all'euro prima del 2015. Per la Polonia, nonostante non esistesse alcuna data ufficiale per l'adozione dell'euro, l'ingresso nell'ERM II era considerata realizzabile non oltre il 2010, il che avrebbe garantito l'ingresso nell'eurozona entro il 2013. Nel caso della Romania, la realizzazione delle riforme strutturali avrebbe richiesto più tempo. Il Paese non presentava un deficit pubblico particolarmente elevato, e il rapporto tra debito pubblico e PIL era uno dei più bassi tra quelli degli Stati di nuova adesione. Nel 2007, però, solo due dei cinque indicatori nominali di convergenza corrispondevano ai parametri di Maastricht. La prognosi, per la Romania, era che questo Paese avrebbe potuto presentare la propria candidatura per l'adozione dell'euro entro il 2013 ed entrare effettivamente nell'eurozona a partire dal 2014. Per quanto riguarda i Paesi baltici, il principale ostacolo in vista dell'adozione dell'euro era rappresentato dal consolidamento fiscale e dal rispetto dei criteri relativi all'inflazione. Il principale problema era dato dal fatto che le monete di questi Stati, legate all'euro da un sistema di cambio fisso, non sembravano capaci di sostenere lo sforzo deflazionistico, soprattutto in rapporto ai Paesi che avevano un sistema di cambio flessibile. Secondo l'analisi, questi Paesi – che già avevano aderito all'ERM II – avrebbero potuto applicare per l'adozione dell'euro non appena si fossero inquadrate nei parametri relativi al tasso d'inflazione. Nel caso della Croazia, infine, il suo calendario politico era strettamente legato alla data in cui questo Paese avrebbe aderito all'Unione Europea, anche se l'elevato ricorso all'euro per le transazioni economiche avrebbe potuto costituire un aspetto capace di favorire il processo di adesione all'eurozona.

Il 2008 porta però alla rivalutazione di queste stime. La preoccupazione generata dai fattori di rischio, i timori legati alla recessione, la mancanza di liquidità, il declino delle attività produttive portano a un profondo ripensamento delle politiche macroeconomiche. Fino a quell'anno i valori di riferimento dei tassi d'interesse medi sul lungo periodo non erano stati superati se non dall'Ungheria e dalla Romania, a cui nel 2008 si affiancano la Lettonia, l'Estonia e la Polonia; allo stesso modo, fino a quell'anno tutti i nuovi Stati membri si erano inquadrate nei parametri relativi al tasso di cambio. Nel 2008 il corso valutario dei Paesi dotati di un consiglio monetario (Bulgaria, Estonia, Lituania) rimane stabile, mentre quello di Lettonia, Ungheria e Romania conosce un deprezzamento[6]. Il debito

[6] Napoleon Pop (coord.), *Tendințe în conduita politicilor macroeconomice de adoptare euro în noile state membre ale Uniunii Europene. Performanțele politicilor macroeconomice ale*

pubblico è cresciuto in tutti gli Stati di nuova adesione, e la comparsa della crisi si è associata a un cambiamento nella politica monetaria[7]. I timori, poi, sono cresciuti ancor più allorché la Slovenia, dopo una sostenuta crescita economica e nel pieno rispetto di tutti i parametri, ha registrato dopo alcuni mesi dall'adozione dell'euro, una significativa crescita dell'inflazione, determinata dalla crescita dei prezzi degli alimenti e dell'energia[8].

Dopo aver realizzato questa breve, ma opportuna rassegna della situazione fino al 2008, è opportuno interrogarsi su quale sia la situazione attuale. Se nel 2008, e ancora nel 2009, le soluzioni per l'uscita dalla crisi sembravano abbordabili, oggi – nonostante i toni ottimisti dei rappresentanti europei – persiste uno stato di incertezza generalizzato. L'adozione della moneta unica si è trasformato sempre più in un obiettivo più politico che economico, anche se va detto fin dall'inizio che essa presenta anche aspetti positivi. Una moneta comune presenta infatti tutti i vantaggi connaturati alle monete in generale, a cui si aggiungono un corso valutario stabile e la possibilità di creare riserve monetarie esenti dai rischi insiti nelle operazioni di cambio. Il beneficio maggiore, d'altra parte, sta proprio nell'eliminazione dei costi intrinseci alla conversione da una moneta all'altra e di quelli di *hedging* valutario propri dei singoli tassi. Esemplificando, se si realizza un export pari a 1.000 euro a un corso valutario di 4,5 lei per un euro, ma la fattura è incassata tre mesi dopo la fornitura dei prodotti, se il tasso di cambio scende a 4,3 lei si produrrà una perdita, mentre se sale a 4,8 lei si realizzerà un profitto supplimentare. Evidentemente, per l'esportatore esiste il rischio di registrare una perdita determinata dall'evoluzione del cambio sulle piazze internazionali. Un altro beneficio garantito dall'introduzione di una moneta unica è rappresentato dall'eliminazione – o almeno dalla riduzione – dei flussi speculativi di capitale tra Paesi partner. In presenza di un numero maggiore di monete, e quindi di corsi variabili (flottanti), e quindi in presenza di una volatilità maggiore, le variazioni possono generare comportamenti speculativi; una moneta comune, con la riduzione dei corsi valutari, può contribuire a creare fiducia e stabilità. Un altro vantaggio è costituito dall'eliminazione della necessità di creare riserve in valuta straniera, e la situazione diventa simile a quella di diverse regioni all'interno di uno Stato. Altro importante vantaggio, capace di condurre all'armonizzazione delle politiche economiche, è costituito dal fatto che l'integrazione monetaria può stimolare l'integrazione delle politiche economiche, sottintendendo la realizzazione di una politica valutaria comune.

Per sintetizzare, si farà qui ricorso alla formula proposta da Miroslav Singer, vicegovernatore della Banca Nazionale di Cechia, inerente i vantaggi legati all'adozione dell'euro:

Vantaggi macroeconomici:

1. Riduzione del rischio di turbolenze monetarie e finanziarie;

României în adoptarea monedei unice Europene, in "Studii Financiare", a. XIV, Serie nuova, vol. 1 (47), 2010, Academia Română, Institutul Național de Cercetări Economice, pp. 9-10, http://fs.icfm.ro/SF12010vol47.pdf.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 11.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 12.

2. Introduzione di una certa disciplina nella realizzazione delle politiche economiche;

3. Riduzione dei rischi connessi alle operazioni di prestito per le economie meno sviluppate;

4. Possibile stabilizzazione del livello degli interessi di lungo periodo.

Vantaggi microeconomici:

1. Eliminazione del rischio connesso all'evoluzione del tasso di cambio in rapporto all'eurozona;

2. Riduzione del costo delle transazioni;

3. Crescita del volume degli scambi esteri.

Parlando di costi, bisogna ricordare in primo luogo la rinuncia alla sovranità statale, di cui la moneta rappresenta senza dubbio un simbolo. La rinuncia alla moneta nazionale dello Stato che decide di passare alla moneta unica implica anche una perdita di autonomia per quanto riguarda le politiche monetarie e valutarie del Paese. In pratica, nel momento in cui si realizza la piena integrazione, le banche nazionali tendono a essere assorbite de facto dalla Banca Centrale Europea, che per sua natura è un'istituzione sovrastatale. La scomparsa di una simile istituzione, accanto alle variazioni dirette del tasso di cambio, potrebbere generare seri problemi se il ritmo dell'evoluzione dei salari, della produttività e dei prezzi nei diversi Paesi non giungono a sincronizzarsi. Esiste quindi il pericolo che, quanti più sono i membri di un certo spazio monetario, tanto più i fattori di perturbazione, generati dalla perdita della moneta nazionale, diventino visibili.

L'Unione europea è riuscita finora ad assorbire più facilmente gli shock economici proprio perché l'unione monetaria è costituita da Stati relativamente forti, con la sola parziale eccezione della Grecia; ci si può però chiedere come si sarebbe presentata l'Europa se la maggioranza degli Stati dell'eurozona si fosse trovata in una situazione simile a quella della Grecia. Allo stesso modo, è lecito chiedersi quale sarà il futuro dell'unione monetaria nel momento in cui Paesi come la Bulgaria, l'Ungheria, la Romania, la Polonia (peraltro tra i pochi Paesi ad avere un'economia stabile) aderiranno all'euro.

Un altro costo importante è dato dalla possibile crescita della disoccupazione. Partendo dalla premessa che lo spazio monetario comune comprende oggi un Paese che presenta un'inflazione oltremodo bassa, è possibile che questo diventi dominante e chieda opportuni aggiustamenti a quei Paesi che presentano invece un'inflazione più elevata. Se la Romania ha un'inflazione ridotta, lo stesso non può dirsi della Bulgaria o dell'Ungheria. In conseguenza di ciò, i Paesi che presentano un'inflazione elevata saranno obbligate ad applicare misure restrittive che produrranno a loro volta una diminuzione del livello dell'occupazione, in particolare nell'ambito della pubblica amministrazione.

In sintesi, quindi, si può parlare della difficoltà di stabilire in modo corretto la parità tra moneta nazionale ed euro, della perdita della possibilità di ricorrere alla politica monetaria e al tasso di cambio per effettuare delle correzioni in caso di necessità, delle possibili asimmetrie nella trasmissione della politica monetaria, dell'adozione di una politica monetaria comune che può non soddisfare tutti i Paesi dell'eurozona. La perdita dell'autonomia monetaria sembra rappresentare uno dei costi più elevati inerenti l'adozione dell'euro, capace di provocare effetti negativi sul tasso d'inflazione. Per quanto riguarda quest'ultimo punto, va però detto che la perdita dell'autonomia monetaria piò avere effetti diversi sull'inflazione: la crescita geenralizzata dei salari che si è registrata in Slovenia dopo l'adesione alla zona euro ha determinato infatti una crescita della domanda, con un impatto negativo sull'inflazione; la trasformazione del surplus di reddito in consumo è stata determinata in parte anche dall'esistenza di interessi relativamente bassi, che la Banca di Slovenia non ha più potuto controbilanciare con una crescita del tasso ufficiale d'interesse. Al contrario nel caso della Slovacchia, una recessione molto più accentuata rispetto a quella degli altri Paesi della zona euro ha determinato una riduzione dell'inflazione, il cui livello è divenuto, a partire dal novembre 2009, più piccolo di quello dell'eurozona; la forte contrazione dell'attività economica che ha caratterizzato la Slovacchia prima di quell'anno era stata determinata da un apprezzamento eccessivo della corona, e quindi in questo caso l'introduzione dell'euro ha rappresentato un elemento di stabilizzazione[9].

Si può dunque affermare che un importante beneficio garantito dall'Unione monetaria è dato dalla facilità con cui è possibile procedere ad aggiustamenti; l'identificazione di tassi di cambio fissi produce così quattro beenfici fondamentali: la diminuzione dei costi connessi alla volatilità del tasso di cambio; la riduzione dei costi delle transazioni; la riduzione delle incertezze; la diminuzione delle cosiddette "preferenze locali". Vantaggi, questi, che diverranno sempre più evidenti con il progressivo perfezionamento dei meccanismi di aggiustamento[10]. Per questo diventa fondamentale sapere qual è il grado di sincronizzazione dei cicli economici dei Paesi che aderiranno all'eurozona. Lo sviluppo dell'eurozona e dei suoi meccanismi di funzionamento può produrre poi altri effetti positivi in rapporto con altre aree ecomomiche, accrescendo il grado di sincronizzazione (come già avvenuto nel caso degli Stati Uniti o del Giappone) come conseguenza del processo di globalizzazione[11]. Un maggiore livello di sincronizzazione (convergenza reale, strutturale, finanziaria e ciclica) può attenuare dunque gli effetti potenzialmente negativi, il che dimostra come, nell'attuale congiuntura economico-finanziaria, il semplice rispetto dei parametri di Maastricht rappresenti una condizione necessaria ma non sufficiente.

L'Unione economica e monetaria rimane dunque un progetto di grande portata, e il superamento dell'idea del ricorso alla politica monetaria per la realizzazione degli obiettivi economici nazionali in favore di un'opzione continentale produrrà senza dubbio effetti positivi nel medio e lungo termine. Non vi è dubbio che anche nel prossimo futuro si assisterà a cambiamenti e adattamenti, necessari per affrontare le minacce con cui l'Europa si confronta. Il processo diviene dunque strettamente politico, sia per la rinuncia a un simbolo della sovranità (la moneta nazionale), sia per la

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[9] Monica Damian, *Implicații ale pierderii autonomiei politicii monetare asupra procesului inflaționist*, MPRA Paper No. 35061, p. 10, http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/35061/.
[10] Cristian Socol, Aura Socol, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[11] Robert Bîtcă, Veronica Preotu, Gabriela Radu, Ana Maria Tonița, *Influența adoptării Euro asupra ciclicității economice*, http://econosofia.files.wordpress.com/2007/10/bitca-influenta_euro.pdf.

volontà di procedere sulla via delle riforme e della ristrutturazione di quelle economie che desiderano aderire a tale spazio. D'altra parte è lecito attendersi che, dopo l'esperienza della Grecia, i Paesi che presentano un reale potere decisionale diventino più attente all'adesione di nuovi membri. Affinché il processo continui, questi Paesi dovranno fornire l'adeguata assistenza ai potenziali candidati, in cui nuove misure di austerità porteranno senza ombra di dubbio al deprezzamento dell'idea di unione economico-monetaria ma anche di quella di unione politica. Non vi è dubbio che i Paesi candidati dovranno accelerare le riforme strutturali. In questo momento in Paesi come la Romania l'adozione della moneta unica rappresenta in generale una cattiva notizia per gli agenti economici interni e per l'intera economia nazionale, e ciò a causa della scarsa capacità di adattarsi agli shock economici; la parte positiva è rappresentata invece dalla tendenza di integrazione commerciale e finanziaria, capace di generare, in determinate condizioni, un aumento delle probabilità di manifestazioni di shock più simmetrici e quindi una crescita della sincronizzazione del ciclo d'affari con la zona euro[12].

L'unione monetaria può quindi assicurare, quanto meno nel medio termine, l'equilibrio tra le diverse economie nazionali, ma il suo successo è legato non solo alle politiche monetarie comuni, bensì anche all'armonizzazione delle politiche fiscali e sociali. Di certo, oggi si discute di una possibile divisione dell'eurozona, come pure di un possibile fallimento dell'euro. Tali dibattiti possono però essere visti anche come un potenziale apporto al consolidamento dell'unione e all'identificazione di soluzioni per le lacune esistenti. L'unica possibile domanda a cui forse vale la pena tentare di dare una risposta è chi avrebbe da guadagnare e chi da perdere nel caso in cui la zona euro cessasse di esistere. In questo momento, è nostra opinione che siano in numero maggiore coloro che beneficiano o beneficeranno di tale progetto.

[12] Marius-Corneliu Marinaş, *Analiza riscurilor adoptării euro de către România pe baza a zece criterii*, in "Economie teoretică şi aplicată", vol. XX (2013), n. 1 (578), pp. 18-21, http://store.ectap.ro/articole/814_ro.pdf.

OLD PHARAOHS, NEW PHARAOHS
FROM THE IMAGE OF A GREAT CIVILIZATION, TO THE IMAGE OF AN UNFAITHFUL DICTATOR

Ana-Maria Gajdo[*]

Hosni Mubarak, The Pharaoh

Abstract

In January 2011, the Egyptians were shouting in the street that Egypt will be better without Pharaoh. Hosni Mubarak, the Pharaoh, was removed from power in February 2011, after a revolution, part of the wave of change that swept North Africa and the Middle East, known as the Arab Spring. Mubarak's dictatorship lasted 40 years. But it is not the first Egyptian president who was named Pharaoh. One of those who had assassinated Anwar Sadat, who ruled Egypt before Mubarak, said „I killed the Pharaoh". On the other hand, the Egyptians are proud of their history and are saying to those who are trying to give them lessons in democracy, that their civilization is older with at least 5,000 years than of other peoples. They are proud of their Pharaohs and Pyramids. And, in this case, when and where the gap occurred? Why the contemporary Pharaohs are despicable and the old ones are worthy of admiration and source of national pride?

Keyword: *Pharaoh; Islam; unfaithful; betrayal; God.*

1. The Old Pharaohs

In our mind, when we think of Egypt, the images of pyramids appear, the Sphinx of Giza, hieroglyphics, pharaohs, the beautiful queen Cleopatra. Who are the Pharaohs? „Pharaohs of ancient Egypt were kings-gods on Earth (...) They had in their hands the power of life and death."[1]

Names of many pharaohs remained in history, more than others: Cheops is known for the Great Pyramid which is said to have originally a

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[1] Peter A. Clayton, *Cronica Faraonilor- Consemnarea, domnie de domnie, a suveranilor şi a domnilor din Egiptul antic,* Bucureşti, Editura RAO, 2007, p. 6.

height of 146 meters and an area of 5.3 ha; About Tutankhamun we know that has a solid gold sarcophagus. Djoser, Kefren and Mikerinos, they are all known for building pyramids. „The 170 or more known Pharaohs were part of a royal lineage that goes back to the year 3.100 B.C."[2], formed 30 dynasties, recorded by Manethon, dynasties grouped into three major stages: the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom.

The word "Pharaoh" that now appears in connection with the kings of Egypt was originally mentioned in the Bible[3] and then in the Qur'an. But nowadays we refer with this term, Pharaoh, to all the kings of Egypt. Mentioning the word Pharaoh in holy writings does have importance as we shall see, in assigning a negative connotation to this quality.

Egyptian Pharaohs are in decline with the arrival of Alexander the Great, then with the Greek Ptolemaic reigns. Cleopatra, wife of Ptolemy XV, then wife of Roman Emperor Caesar and then, after the assassination of Caesar, wife of Marc Antony, was the last Egyptian queen. Caesar's nephew, Octavian, defeated Antony in 31 B.C. at Actium[4], which led to the refuge's Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria, then the two committed suicide. Caesarion, son of Caesar and Cleopatra, was killed on the orders of Octavian. But as Egyptians accepted Caesar as sovereign, also Octavian was accepted as king. Meanwhile Octavian became Emperor of the Romans under the name of Augustus. By the Emperor Decius (250 A.D.), Roman emperors were considered also kings, or as we would say today, pharaohs of Egypt. After the decline of the Roman Empire, Egypt was under the influence of Byzantium, and after the year 639 AD was conquered by the Arabs.

In this paper we are not interested in establishing the sequence of names or achievements of the pharaohs of Egypt, but mainly what they meant and mean to Egyptians. "He (the King - our note) is closest to the Gods, he belongs to that world and we can not treat him apart from Gods"[5]. King represents the people in front of the Gods, is the administrator of worship, the only one who can build temples, he is "a holy person"[6]. People work for Pharaoh, Pharaoh divides resources, he is always represented as a young man regardless of age, never sleeps because is concerned with the problems of the kingdom, etc. „ The Pharaoh is expected to repeat doings of the creator God and to bring the world to the ideal state of the Beginning"[7]. The pharaoh in the Middle Kingdom is the "solar king": he is shining, banishes darkness and drives away the enemies of Egypt, so "military victories are exclusive of Pharaoh, generals and soldiers are not mentioned"[8]. Pharaoh's task was to enforce the principle of *Maat*, ie social

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[2] *Ibidem.*
[3] Cf. Arthur Weigall, *Istoria Egiptului antic*, Editura Artemis, Bucureşti, 1996, p.15. "By the word Pharaoh the Bible renders the Egyptian term *per-aa*, meaning (...) the one who owns the earth".
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 275.
[5] Erik Hornung, "Regele", in Sergio Donadoni (coord.), *Omul egiptean,* Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2001, p. 260.
[6] *Ibidem.*
[7] *Ibidem*, p. 265.
[8] *Ibidem*, p. 280.

equality. "Pharaoh was linked to a role that highlights his creative power: he had to act like a creator god on earth and overcome by his own divine nature, human imperfection"[9].

2. Islamization of Egypt. Pharaoh and the Qur'an.

With the advent of Islam and the dating of events since 622 A.D. (Muhammad leaves from Mecca to Medina), a new world appears. In the name of Islam, the Arabs conquered part of the Byzantine Empire (including Egypt) and the Sasanian Empire, Central Asia and Spain. Christianity has come, before the Arabs, in the regions of the Roman Empire or Eastern Roman Empire, in Egypt the Coptic language being the language used in administration. Arabs brought Islam with them, a revelation that completes the previous revelations, sent to the prophets Moses and Jesus, as those two are seen by Muslims, and a new language: the Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. After the year 910, a descendant of Ali and Fatima[10] has created the Fatimid dynasty, whose members have conquered Egypt in 969 and created the present town of Cairo.

Most historians are wondering how fast Islam was accepted in the new territories conquered by Arabs. It is estimated that the mid-eighth century, only 10% of Egypt's population was Muslim and in the tenth century most of the population has adopted the new religion[11]. „One reason may have been that Islam gained a much clearer definition (...) Muslims were living in an elaborate system of ritual, doctrine and jurisprudence"[12]. Non-Muslims were not forced to convert, but their religious freedom had a price: they paid special taxes, could not marry Muslim women, were not allowed to testify against a Muslim and, most often, they were excluded from the administration apparatus. Arabic was more readily accepted as literary and spoken language - except in Iran where Persians dominate - but even today there are very many dialects. Furthermore, those peoples previously conquered by the Byzantines and the Sassanid were not willing to support their former masters, the greedy ones, especially since „new rulers proved quite tolerant" [13] . Islam supports the idea of equality of all Muslims, regardless of ethnicity. In Egypt, a large part of the population remained Christian (Coptic) until today.

How is described the pharaoh in Qur'an?

Firstly you have to remember that in terms of Islam, Mohammed is the third and final Prophet sent by God (Allah), after Moses and Jesus. "It is not given to a human creature to be chosen by Allah, so He speaks to this

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[9] *Ibidem*, p. 286.
[10] Fatima is the Prophet Muhammad's daughter with Khadija. Ali is the son in law of the Prophet and Caliph of 656 to 661.
[11] Albert Hourani, *Istoria Popoarelor Arabe*, Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2010, p. 63.
[12] *Ibidem*, p. 64.
[13] Nadia Anghelescu, *Identitatea arabă- istorie, limbă, cultură,* Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 36.

human creature, unless it happens by an inspiration, or from behind a veil or it is sent a Messenger in order to realize an inspired communication, with His permission, of what He wants"[14]. The Qur'an, ie the revelations sent to Mohammed in Mecca and Medina, "seals the revelations previously submitted to other peoples, who believe in God"[15].

Where Judaism and Christianity have failed – "*Christ was crucified, Moses died without entering the Promise Land"*[16] – would be completed by Mohammed: he died as a sovereign and conqueror. "Allah is the symbol of supremacy. During his life, the Prophet is Its legitimate representative and supreme ruler on earth"[17].

In the Qur'an, respectively in Surat Al-Qasas, (The Naration) it is mentioned the story of the Pharaoh and Prophet Moses. Moses has received the 10 commandments (Torah) and so was founded the Judaism. Also the 10 commandments are found in the Old Testatment. Under this Surat, Pharaoh is the embodiment of evil, he is the unbeliever: "Indeed, Pharaoh exalted himself in the land and made its people into factions, oppressing a sector among them, slaughtering their [newborn] sons and keeping their females alive. Indeed, he was of the corrupters"[18]. In fact, "all historical narratives of the Qur'an have their biblical equivalent, except for a few exclusively Arab (...) Moses appears in 34 surahs"[19]. "In the Qur'an, Pharaoh is the villain of a story in which Moses and the children of Israel are the heroes, and in several passages Pharaos appears as the ultimate example of the irreligious and oppressive ruler whom it is the beliver's duty to disobey and if possible to overthrow"[20].

3. The New Pharaohs - The Unbelievers, the Tyrants

Images of Revolution, 2011

After Islam became not only the dominant religion in Egypt, but also a source of law, the dominant image of the Pharaoh is that of the unbeliever, the tyrant. The President Anwar Sadat, when he was assassinated in 1981, was considered a „Pharaoh". Anwar Sadat was a member of the Free Officers group, next to Gamal Abdel Nasser. On 23 July 1952, the Free Officers ended the Egyptian monarchy (Faruk) and the governance of the political

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[14] Translation from Qur'an, according to Charles Andre Gilis, *Spiritul universal al Islamului,* Bucureşti, Editura Herald, 2014, p. 128.
[15] Nadia Anghelescu, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
[16] Bernard Lewis, *Islam in History- Ideas, People and Events in the Middle East,* New Edition, Revised and Explained, Illinois, Open Court Publishing Company, 2002, p. 264.
[17] Philip K. Hitti, *Istoria arabilor,* ediția a X-a, Bucureşti, Editura ALL, 2008, p. 79.
[18] *Traducerea Sensurilor Coranului…cit.*, p. 427 see also: http://quran.com/28
[19] Philip K. Hitti, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
[20] Bernard Lewis, *op.cit.*, pp. 375-376.

class represented by the WAFD party. The king was exiled and a year later was proclaimed the republic, led by Muhammad Neghib who called the first government, of the military. Egypt was led by Nasser (until 1970), then by Anwar Sadat. Sadat was assassinated in 1981, according to most authors, because of his policy of openness to the US and Israel (declared independent in 1948). Sadat was the first Arab who spoke in 1977, the Israeli parliament. „Camp David Accords of 1978 and Washington in 1979 have established peace between Israel and Egypt, which is an extremely important fact for Egypt and the Arab world. Egypt was isolated from the Arab world, expelled from the Arab League and the Islamic Conference and thus Egypt lost the leadership of the Arab world”[21]. Thus Sadat became the target of radical Islamic forces. „According to Muslim legal doctrine, sovereignty is contractual, and the head of the state holds his office by a contract between him and the community, a contract that imposes duties on both parties, the ruler and the ruled and if the ruler for any reason fails to carry out his part of the contract or, worse still, if he acts in an evil way, then the contract lapses and the obedience to the ruler is no longer obligatory (...) „there is no obedience in sin”[22]. Bernard Lewis believes that Islamic fundamentalists, who want restoration of Sharia, see the state secularization as the paganization of the state. „There is a widespread assumption that Sadat was murdered because he made peace with Israel; this is not correct (...) the real accusation against Sadat was that under the guise of Islam and with a pretense of being Muslim, he was de- Islamizing the Egyptian state (...) The leader of the group of murderers exclaimed: „I killed the Pharaoh”[23]. Actions of „punishment” by fundamentalists are not pointed toward foreign powers which are supporting corrupted regimes - corrupted within the meaning of removed from true Islam - but against conationals belonging to these regimes removed from Islam, which is much worse than being unfaithful, infidel or non-Muslim. „They are apostates, and the penalty for apostasy is death. The Shah of Iran and President Sadat of Egypt were seen as such apostates”[24].

Bernard Lewis states that the Pharaoh became only later, after the nineteenth century, a reason of national pride in Egypt. In a reversed chronological order, Muslims have firstly known the image of the Pharaoh in Qur’an, that of the tyrant who does not want to accept the law of God (Allah). Lewis's statement makes sense if we think that the most important archaeological discoveries related to the pyramids of Egypt were made only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in our language the term has been used only since then as synonymous to the old Egyptian kings.

After the assassination of Sadat and the taking of power, Hosni Mubarak - also an Egyptian army officer - tried to bring capitalism's ideas in order to transform Egyptian society, but made strong a police state. He was

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[21] Francesco Anghelone, Andrea Ungari (coord.), *Egipt* in *Atlante Geopolitico del Mediterraneo 2013*, Instituto di Studi Politici „S. Pio V”, Rome, Italy, 2012, p. 198.
[22] Bernard Lewis, *Faith and Power-Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 49.
[23] *Ibidem*, p. 53.
[24] *Ibidem*, p. 116.

removed from the leadership of Egypt after 40 years of dictatorship, with the Arab Spring in 2011. He was also called Pharaoh, but for different reasons than Sadat. Mubarak was the one who led a repressive regime and has oppressed people, like Pharaoh of the Qur'an. “The new president hung onto the economic opening (...) he moved Egypt back toward the Arab mainstream, but did not repudiate Sadat’s separate peace with Israel (...) However, thirty years after Mubarak unexpectedly became president, stability paradoxically produced an environment conducive to instability”[25]. Since 1987 Mubarak began to become authoritarian leader: he refused to reform the Constitution, extended the state of emergency, ousted the opposition parties from local councils and has tightened the National Democratic Party's governance over parliament. On the eve of the outbreak of revolution in 2011, Hosni Mubarak was already characterized as the ruler who monopolized power for 30 years through falsified, rigged elections, and who wanted, as the Pharaohs, to pass the power to his son; the corruption in government has reached unprecedented levels – a group of businessmen, close to President, had complete control of the Egyptian economy, in their own interest; 40 million Egyptians, more than half of the population, lived below the poverty line, with less than two dollars a day. Egypt was in decline in terms of health systems, education, economy etc. A vast police apparatus was spending billions of dollars from the budget and was a terrible instrument of retaliation against those who have called into question leader's decisions. “For decades he has behaved as though he were God-incarnate, carrying a royal staff, ruling autocratically over his minions, consolidating power, eliminating opposition”.[26]

Conclusions

Ancient Egyptian kings, which today are named Pharaohs, became reasons of national pride for Egyptians only after the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the Egyptians figured out the extent of civilization created by their ancestors. Islam and the Qur’an have imposed in the collective mental the image of Pharaoh as tyrant and infidel, who doubts the word of God. Two presidents - Sadat and Mubarak - from the total six presidents of Egypt, namely Naguib, Nasser, Sadat, Mubarak, Morsi and Sisi, were removed because of their „pharaonic” conduct.

[25] Steven A. Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt - From Nasser to Tahrir Square,* a Council on Foreign Relations Book, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 274.

[26] Judie Fein, *Mubarak: Modern-Day Pharaoh of Egypt,* Huffington Post, March 2, 2011, available online at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/judie-fein/mubarak-modernday-pharoah_b_816944.html, accessed at: November 2014

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Reviews

Corina Borş, *Protejarea patrimoniului arheologic din România. Despre situri şi monumente arheologice din perspectiva evoluției cadrului legislativ în context european*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2014, 346 pp.

"*The protection of the archaeological heritage of Romania. About archaeological sites and monuments from the perspective of the evolution of the legislative frame in European context*", is a complex work structured in six great chapters. Its complexity is given not only by the importance of the topic but also by the great (even huge) number of sources used by the author. The premises of the book, as the author herself stresses out in the foreword, lies in the work itself performed by Ms. Borş, a work which enabled her to „know from different perspectives the policies and practices of protection of the archaeological heritage - and not only – from Romania, and also from a number of different European states." Of course the main problem which occurred was the great difference between Romania and other European countries concerning the protection of the archaeological heritage. From this starting point a few questions emerged: 1.) *How is in the present the archaeological heritage defined or, what can be understood under this term? 2.) Why must be protected the archaeological heritage? 3.) Who must protect this heritage? 4.) Who is the owner of this heritage?* In the search of answers the book offers a synthetic approach and, by reading the work a rather painful situation is revealed: although Romania has a long legislative tradition in preserving archaeological heritage, little was done for the factual preservation of it.

The author stresses out from the first place that, the aim of the book is not a factual presentation of the history of Romanian archaeology (although this also would be necessary in a more or less close future) but the legislative frame, considered to be the key element of the actual practices of preservation of the archaeological heritage, in a wider, European, frame.

An interesting aspect of the present work is the fact that a first part (not chapter) is consecrated to the origin and evolution of notions as cultural patrimony or historical monument in Europe due to the fact that these are the terms considered as starting point of the research. An interesting and practical approach in the condition which many decision making factors in different specialized institutes have no clue what actually these terms mean and, more than that, they cannot operate effectively with them.

The first chapter entitled: "*A short history concerning the evolution of the protection of the archaeological patrimony from the middle of the 19th century and to the first two decades of the 20th. Premises and directions of development*", has three main coordinates: the evolution from the "tradition of antiquaries" to the apparition of the notion of "national antiquities"; the beginnings or the "Romantic era" of the Romanian principates (1834-1864), and the half century of pioneering in the protection of the archaeological patrimony from Romania (1864-1918). This chapter can be considered one the most important part of the work because in that period, under French and later German and Italian influence, the foundation of archaeology, as modern science in Romania, was laid. Of course all these efforts were concentrated around the figure of "founding father": Vasile Pârvan. Ms. Borş stresses out a very important aspect: the directions of development and the theoretical approaches made by Pârvan are still valid, not to mention the first two laws given in 1892 and 1913 for the protection of archaeological patrimony which were one of the most modern approaches of the time.

The second chapter: "*The protection of the archaeological patrimony from Romania in the interwar period (1919-1945)*" deals with the legislative regulations concerning the protection of archaeological patrimony and a comparative analysis with further regulations. A second aspect of the chapter is dedicated to the directions and evolutions in the protection of the archaeological patrimony in Romania. An interesting text of that period, and still very modern is the "*Legislative pre-project for the protection of monuments and ancient objects and for the founding of the Archaeological College*", a project unfortunately very quickly "forgotten" by the decisional factors.

"The protection of the archaeological patrimony in the communist era" presents the institutional frame in the domain of protection of the heritage, the evolution of the legislative aspect and, the main issue, "Romanian Archaeological Repertory". This Repertory begun as project in the 50's and was, more or less, realized after 1989. The communist era should be studied *sine ira et studio*, as the author stresses it out, more than that is important to understand that beyond the archive documents in this case we have eyewitnesses to the legislative and field-practice directions and evolutions of the time.

The following chapter is presented as an antithesis to the previous: "*The protection of the archaeological patrimony - an European issue*" and presents the change of perspective at European level concerning the preservation of the archaeological heritage/patrimony. This change of perspective was reflected on national level and, in the case of Romania the results were contradictory. "I want to emphasize that Romania has to offer its own response for this problem (archaeological patrimony) and the takeover of forms without substance cannot be – under no circumstances – a viable solution to contribute now and in the future to a good state of fact". From many points of view this chapter is the key-stone of the entire book. The theoretical/legislative approaches are doubled by practical facts of including the archaeological research (excavation) in a much larger (European) frame. "The archaeological patrimony must not be studied only by excavations –but it must be understood in a larger relation with the natural environment thus becoming a resource what needs a responsible administration integrated to some politics of durable development." And the author stresses out an even more painful reality for Romania: in 2005 *the Europe Council Framework Convention regarding the value of patrimony for society*, was elaborated, in the idea that the knowledge and the usage of patrimony is a citizen's right of participation to the cultural life and, therefore are part of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights. Romania never signed and ratified this treaty. The chapter also presents three study cases: England, France and Hungary of including the archaeological patrimony/heritage in a wider frame of national development emphasizing in this perspective the multidisciplinary aspect of the archaeological research. "The key-stone of such a vision resides in the participative manner to identification, prioritization, implementation and monitoring."

The fifth chapter *"The evolution of the national system of managing and protecting the archaeological patrimony in Romania after 1989"* continues the "cold-shower" administrated to the reader from the previous chapter. The beginning of the 90's was dominated by a void of legislative frame. Later a number of laws and Government decisions were elaborated (and more or less respected) but this number made the author to ask whether "can we speak about a qualitative contribution or just a quantitative one?"The answer to this question is as painful as the question itself.

The last chapter: "*Conclusions and perspectives regarding the necessity of a new approach in the domain of protection of the archaeological patrimony in Romania*" offers not only a great list of legislative aspects but also invites the reader to a philosophical debate about the possible future of the national patrimony. A debate which in the present conditions can be made only with the participation of all specialists: archaeologists, historians, architects, anthropologists etc.

Fábián István

Francesca Romana Lenzi, *Italia e Romania tra sviluppo e internazionalizzazione. L'esperienza della Banca commerciale italiana e romena (1920-1947),* Roma, Carocci editore, 2013, 169 pp.

Les préoccupations pour les thèmes appartenant au champ de l'histoire économique plus récente et, surtout, pour l'évolution du capital italien dans les différents espaces de l'Europe ont représenté pendant longtemps l'objet de quelques études substantielles des historiens italiens. Il y a aussi d'autres ouvrages qui ont discuté la signification des investissements du capital italien du point de vue des chercheurs roumains. L'étude de l'expansion du capital italien dans le périmètre de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale et Balkanique, après la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale, jusqu'à l'installation des régimes communistes dans cette partie de l'Europe, a mis en évidence quelques particularités du phénomène, telles que la réalisation d'une efficiente expansion externe par les forces financières italiennes, la promotion des objectifs concernant les investissements, réalisée par les banques italiennes, en tenant compte des stratégies financières et industrielles, mais aussi les objectifs concernant la politique étrangère, l'influence des relations bilatérales de l'Italie avec les états balkaniques, par la participation, en ce qui concerne les investissements, des grandes banques italiennes. En effet, les grands instituts de crédit italiens ont initié et ont ouvert des filiales à l'extérieur du pays et ont constitué des banques affiliées dans les pays où il y avait la possibilité de la pénétration économique des finances et de l'industrie de l'Italie. Ce processus d'internationalisation a culminé pendant les années '20, lorsque l'activité des banques italiennes à l'extérieur du pays s'est intensifiée et a permis un plus grand degré d'ouverture de l'économie italienne aux flux internationaux.

Le livre de la chercheuse Francesca Romana Lenzi étudie deux thèmes majeurs, qui interfèrent profondément, l'internationalisation de l'espace italien et roumain et «l'expérience couronnée de succès de la Banque Commerciale Italiana e Romena» dans l'espace roumain des investissements. L'entière architecture du livre s'inscrit dans la sphère de l'analyse réalisée du point de vue des relations internationales et, dans une moindre mesure, de l'histoire économique. D'ailleurs, l'analyse de l'activité bancaire et financière de la Banque Romcomit, des stratégies bancaires aux crédits et aux participations réalisées dans les différents domaines de l'économie roumaine, est esquissée par rapport à la diplomatie et à la politique externe, l'un des mérites de la recherche étant la mise en évidence de l'impact que les prises de position des banquiers italiens ont exercé sur le milieu diplomatique et sur les relations bilatérales italo-roumaines. Du point de vue méthodologique, l'insistance sur la perspective internationale et de politique externe est reflétée par l'interprétation des sources archivistiques diplomatiques ou militaires italiennes, consultées à l'Archive Historique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères ou de l'Etat-Major de l'Armée. Les documents consultés à l'Archive Historique de la Banque Intesa-Patrimonio Banca Commerciale Italiana et à l'Archive Historique de la Banque d'Italia sont très importants en ce qui concerne la dimension économique du thème, et surtout en ce qui concerne les activités bancaires et financières de la Banque Commerciale italienne et roumaine. En essayant de mettre en évidence les particularités de la Banque Romcomit dans l'espace roumaine, mais aussi les relations bilatérales, l'auteure du livre utilise des sources archivistiques du fond Nuove accessioni, Carte Archivio di Stato di Romania.

En faisant preuve de précision et de méticulosité, la chercheuse suit le parcours des investissements de la Banque Commerciale Italiana de Milan, du point de vue de son évolution en Roumanie, mais aussi du point de vue de la reconstruction des relations roumaino-italiennes ou de la projection de la politique étrangère italienne dans l'espace balkanique. L'intérêt de la Banque de Milan pour l'espace de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, «un secteur géopolitique d'un grand intérêt pour Rome», a été déterminé par des raisons économiques ou géographiques, mais aussi géopolitiques, car la banque constitue, sans doute, un «élément de la politique étrangère italienne».

L'esprit critique et la minutie de l'interprétation des documents archivistiques ont permis à l'auteure d'observer les difficultés des investissements que Comit ou Romcomit ont réalisés en Roumanie, mais aussi les aspérités diplomatiques qui sont apparues dans le cadre des relations bilatérales, ayant une moindre intensité pendant les années '20-'30, mais qui sont devenues plus profondes et, ensuite, même irrémédiables à la fin des années '40. On n'oublie pas – donc – le problème difficile concernant l'achat des actions des entreprises de l'ex-Empire Austro-Hongrois par le capital italien, qui étaient considérées comme des ennemis par le gouvernement roumain et qui se trouvaient en difficulté, par conséquent, après 1918. L'auteure met en discussion les plaintes de la Banque Commerciale Italiana, adressées au Ministère des Affaires

Etrangères de l'Italie, concernant les préjudices financiers soufferts, mais aussi l'observation d'Aloisi concernant «les mouvements xénophobes» du Ministère Roumain de Finances (1923), qui étaient, en réalité, des actions ayant une forte dimension nationale. Certainement, les banques italiennes, surtout Comit, ou les banquiers italiens célèbres, tels que Camillo Castiglioni, ont été préoccupés par la prise en charge et par le sauvetage d'une partie des investissements autrichiens, allemands ou hongrois en Roumanie, comme c'est le cas pour la Banque Agraire Timişana. D'un autre côté, il faut préciser la décision de l'état roumain de ne pas liquider le capital considéré comme ennemi en Roumanie après la Première Guerre Mondiale, excepté quelques cas appartenant au capital ex-allemand. Toutefois, les actions hostiles des gouvernements libéraux dirigées vers Romcomit n'ont pas été absentes. Par exemple, le refus de la Banque Nationale de la Roumanie d'accepter le recours au réescompte de la banque italienne. La question des bons du trésor a déterminé une autre crise en ce qui concerne les rapports diplomatiques italo-roumains.

Après 1945, au moment où la Roumanie est entrée dans la sphère d'influence soviétique, les relations bilatérales ont continué à se dégrader. Francesca Romana Lenzi réussit à révéler quelques aspects des coulisses de la négociation entreprise par des diplomates italiens tels que Gerbore ou par des banquiers tels que Valiani, afin de sauver les propriétés des Italiens en Roumanie. Elle indique avec précision le fait que l'expropriation et la liquidation des biens des Italiens dans l'espace roumain ait dépendu de décisions du Traité de Paris signé entre l'Union Soviétique et l'Italie, mais aussi de conclusions des commissions mixtes italo-soviétiques. L'observation attentive des détails et l'interprétation correcte des données par l'auteure ont révélé le fait que les officiels italiens ont essayé de négocier l'exclusion – en ce qui concerne les expropriations – des italiens résidants plus de trois ans en Roumanie. Enfin, conformément aux dispositions du Traité de Paris, l'Italie devait céder à l'Union Soviétique les propriétés italiennes de la Hongrie, de la Bulgarie et de la Roumanie, comme une partie des compensations. On pourrait ajouter aussi une information sur la législation roumaine concernant la nationalisation, qui a respecté les règlementations internationales, et les accords ultérieurs signés par l'état italien et l'état soviétique (les accords La Malfa, 1949) ont confirmé cette réalité.

La recherche sur la fin des investissements italiens en Roumanie est achevée par la présentation détaillée des étapes de la liquidation de Romcomit, de la cession des actifs à la sous-évaluation des participations et des locaux des banques ou au blocage des monnaies étrangères. Après la liquidation partielle de la banque, qui s'est produite en 1948, il y a eu, en 1951, une étape de fonctionnement formel (*dormant*); on pourrait ajouter, aussi, l'année 1952, qui représente le point final de la liquidation. Les horizons de l'après-guerre des dernières actions des banques italiennes en Roumanie sont présentés de nouveau par l'appel aux documents d'archive, car l'analyse de l'auteure met l'accent non seulement sur les implications économiques ou financières du phénomène des expropriations, mais aussi sur le contexte international, diplomatique ou politique de l'époque.

Le livre de la chercheuse Francesca Romana Lenzi reflète un esprit critique, de l'objectivité et de la clarté, la profondeur du phénomène des investissements italiens dans l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, représenté – au plus haut niveau – par Comit et, en Roumanie, par Romcomit. L'analyse de l'activité des investissements de deux banques, mais aussi de leurs participations dans certaines sociétés de la Roumanie, représente une contribution significative à l'approfondissement du phénomène des investissements italiens avant et après 1945. L'originalité de la recherche est donnée par l'étude de l'expansion du capital italien dans le contexte des relations internationales et de l'évolution des relations bilatérales italo-roumaines. De plus, le phénomène Comit et Romcomit est valorisé en tenant compte de la diplomatie, des stratégies de politique étrangère et géopolitique. Le livre constitue une évaluation objective de la contribution du capital italien au développement du système des investissements européens, de l'évolution des relations italo-roumaines, mais aussi de l'interaction entre le milieu des investissements et la diplomatie ou entre les banquiers et les hommes politiques. Toutefois, les limites de ce capital ont reçu moins d'attention.

Anca Stângaciu

Anne Applebaum, *Gulagul: o istorie*, Bucureşti, Editura Humanitas, 2011, 682 pp.

The known journalist of Polish origins Anne Applebaum managed to create one of the most complete and novel researches on the prison universe of the Soviet Union, investigation which strikes us through the ample documentation, analysis and interpretation of the historical Gulag (1917-1939), of the life and work inside the concentration camps, of the development and abolition of the industrial complex of these concentrationary spaces (1940-1986).

Without a doubt, the author which activated at some prestigious publications like *The Spectator*, *Washington Post* or *The Economist* has fully proven its abilities and capacity of research specific to the professional historian and, well deserved, was awarded the Pulitzer prize for this book in 2004.

Its scientific endeavor logically falls into the continuation or completion of the three memorial volumes of the Gulag Archipelago written by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn or of other specialized works like that coordinated by Stephane Courtois, *The Black Book of Communism*, of Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, and of the French historian Jean Jacques Marie, *The Gulag.*

Extensive in its number of pages, as well as in the information it provides, the book has an uniform structure, in three parts: the author commences chronologically with explaining the term GULAG and its senses acquired throughout time, scans the creation of the first concentration camp on the Solovetsky island, explores the manner in which camps extended and arrives to the great terror of the years 1937-1938, when the repressive system intensified.

In the second part, Applebaum analyzes thematically a few of the important moments of life in the Gulag: the arrest, the manner in which prison was perceived, punishment and rewards, description of wardens, convicts, women and children, highlighting the survival strategies, but also the manner in which detainees manifested their discontent, many times through riots and escapes.

Part III details the years 1940-1986 and is dedicated to the favorable historical context of the ascension of camps with the beginning of World War Two, of different nationalities and ethnicities sent in these prison spaces, of the manner in which convicts form different camps experienced the death of Stalin.

Also, in the end of the last part the author presents: the riot of the detainees caused by Stalin's death, which she names, suggestively, the Zeki revolution, the thaw and the liberation; the era of dissidence and resistance strategies, especially through literature, here naming: Iosif Brodski, Varlam Şalamov, Evghenia Ghinzburg, Vladimir Bukovski, Anatoli Marcenko, Eduard Kuznețov, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Applebaum does not neglect the policies led by soviet Russia's president Yuri Andropov in the first half of the eighties towards dissidents, which will remain "the era most marked by repression in post-Stalinist soviet history" (p.554).

Unlike Andropov, the new secretary general of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, elected in march 1985, had a more condescending attitude towards dissidents, permitting the publishing of several books that had been censored before, written by: Osip Mandelştam, Iosif Brodski, Ananna Ahmatova, *Requiem*, Boris Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago,* or of *Lolita*, by Vladimir Nabokov. It's now as well, the author states, that the magazine *Novîi Mir,* publishes in a series *The Gulag Archipelago* and *A day in the life of Ivan Denisovich*is sold in millions of copies.

The epilogue of the book is named by Applebaum *Reminiscence* and it presents the "traces" left by this unforgettable past, although the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1992. A brutal past "is pressing upon Russia more than any other country. Russia has inherited the marks and symbols of soviet power and also the complex of great power of the Soviet Union, its military system and imperial aspirations. As a result, the political consequences of the non-existence of memory were more harmful in Russia than in other former communist countries… In a certain sense, something from the ideology of the Gulag survives in the world vision of the Russian elite" (pp.572-573).

But the book strikes us by its clarity in describing the events. The Gulag as the author presents it is not just a place of suffering, but also a space in which humans learn to survive even in the harshest conditions.

An ambitious and ample research, the book will be difficult to match, as it's vision is integrating, the Gulag being presented at a macro level, but the insertion of the testimonials of former detainees brings into debate "the history of the petty", which must be stored and recalled.

With a remarkable bibliographic arsenal, from memoirs and literary works, unpublished stories, referential papers, archives and interviews, *The Gulag*, published in English in 2003 and translated into Romanian three years ago, can be considered a *document-book*, a work that must be a compulsory read by those researching the history of the communist repressive system.

The book recounts, thus, the story of a space of torment, but also represents the memory of the Russians in a difficult era, a memory that is still under pressure from the reminiscence of the Gulag. But the memory of the Gulag is not just the memory of the Russians, it also reflects a common European memory, still traumatized and partially assumed.

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