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DIMITRIE CANTEMIR'S REIGN – THE CROSSROAD OF MOLDOVAN HISTORY

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Abstract: Communication "Dimitrie Cantemir's reign as crossroad in the Moldovan history" states that from XVth century there were profiled two tendencies of the foreign policy of Moldova concernincg its relations with the Ottoman Empire: military resistance to ottoman expansion, on the one hand and redeeming peace and independence through compromises and concessions to the sultan, on the the other. During his short reign (1710-1711) Dimitrie Cantemir, considering that international situation of that time was favorable, concluded an alliance with Russia of Peter the Great and tried to shake off the foreign domination by force of arms. This political decision of the Moldavian ruler is frequently discussed in the specialized literature. The author of this article shares the point of view according to which Dimitrie Cantemir had risked his live, throne, property, welfare of his family, an the comfort from Istanbul for shaking off the Ottoman rule and regaining the lost territories of Moldova. Unfortunately short reign in 1710-1711 marked by the Prut campaign of Peter the Great resulted in a greater deterioration of the situation of Moldova, which henceforth over more than a century will be governed by foreign princes, remaining in the way of all evils.

Keywords: Reign, Dimitrie Cantemir, Country of Moldova, Russia, Peter the Great, the Prut Campaign (1711), the Ottoman Empire.

Beginning with the reign of Alexandru the Good, especially from Stephen the Great and Peter Aron in political relations between the Country of Moldova and the Ottoman Empire have gradually shaped two tendencies of approach: the first – resisting to armed incursions and second – accepting the tribute payment as a ransom of peace[1].

In the reign of Stephen the Great especially after the fall of Chilia and Akkerman (1484), Moldova started to pass from the armed resistance to the acceptance of tributary relations with the Ottoman Empire and inclusion of

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[1] The Act of June 5, 1456 by which "Peter (Aaron) voievode along with the royal council decide to accept temporarily ... the giving of two thousand Hungarian zlotys required by the the Turks..." (*Documenta Romaniae Historica, A Moldova*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 1976, p. 85-87, doc. 58).

Moldova in the so-called "House of Peace"[2] – sultan's policy of dealing with conquered peoples or those who were in vassalage relations with the Sublime Porte, which represented the acceptance of compromise by both parties. Under these conditions the Ottoman Empire was receiving annual tribute and gifts, meanwhile Moldova continued to keep high degree of autonomy and discretion in internal and external affairs, and Sultan's non-interference in the activity of local rulers.

Under Stephen's The Great descendants on the Moldavian throne - Bogdan III, Stephen the Young, Peter Raresh, the latter until the end of his first reign, largely maintained the same relations with the Ottoman Empire, although from one reign to another, or during one and the same reign tribute payments hat a continuous upward trend. Therefore our chroniclers believed that early period Ottoman domination in Moldova comes from the reign of Bogdan III[3], political move that was blessed by Stephen the Great[4]. However, new sultans always grew-up their demands on the range of duties, which Moldova had to execute. It is known that Petru Raresh tried to curb this process of Moldova's dependency towards the Ottoman Empire by force of arms in 1538, but suffered failure. Even though Petru Raresh manages to regain from sultan a second reign in Moldova (1541-1546), in reigns of his sons Ilie and Bogdan, in that of Alexander Lapushneanu and other rulers who followed him, Moldova returned to its former status of vassal country. But this time the vassalage conditions were more severe.

Another attempt to shake off the Ottoman domination by force of arms was made by Ioan Voda the Terrible, which failed too. This failure resulted in further tightening of Moldova's status: transition from choosing of rulers to their appointment by sultan, more and more was accentuated negative impact upon the rights of Moldovan rulers, were increasing commendations and more often is observed ottoman interference in the affairs of the country.

Thus for a period of over two centuries Moldova Countries rulers, in dealing with the Ottoman Empire, oscillated between compromise and acceptance of vassal country status, on the one hand, and regularly attempted to reject foreign domination and to shake it through the armed resistance, on the other hand. In these attempts to regain full independence of the country, each ruler was always looking for reliable allies' support, which, however, was often insignificant and did not help Moldova to succeed in this strive.

During seventeenth century Moldovan rulers had mostly reconciled this state of affairs in their relations with the Ottoman Empire, although, through diplomatic channels of great secrecy, they periodically tried to enter into certain Anti-Ottoman alliance, and to find the strongest allies between those who were manifested themselves at the European political arena of those times. For instance, at the border of XVI-XVII centuries, under the rulers of Movilesti dynasty, the balance of allies search bowed towards Poland, and in the reign another ruler - George Stephen (1643-1658), was made an attempt to change the

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[2] Gorovei Ștefan S., Szekely Maria Magdalena, *Princeps Omni Laude Maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare¸* Mănăstirea Putna, 2005, p. 238-248.
[3] Ureche Grigore, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*. Ed. de P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1955, p.126.
[4] *Ibidem,* p. 112.

political vector towards Russia, that resulted in a treaty, according to which the Country of Moldova would pass under the obedience of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich[5]; and Constantin Cantemir tried to get closer to Habsburg Empire, and concluded a treaty on alliance[6] with Leopold I, Emperor of Austria. Both George Stephen's and Constantine Cantemir's requests clearly denote that Moldovan rulers were constantly searching political solutions for shaking of the Ottoman domination, but this goal could be achieved only by certain compromises and even failures the new patrons stipulated in these documents benefice .

The Sublime Porte, in its turn, seeks to curb such attempts, and actually no longer fulfilled taken once duties to defend Moldova of foreign invasions. An example in this regard can be Polish large army's entering in Moldova that took place in1653 and 1686, or tacit approval of Tartar incursions. Seldom, the Porte threatened Moldova of transforming it into pashalik.

Searching of a reliable alliance took place on constantly changing European political background. Towards the last decades of XVIIth - beginning of XVIIIth century there is also observed a decline of once great European powers such as Poland in north and Ottoman Empire in south. This process was followed by frequent military defeats and even territorial losses, which incurred for the benefit of neighbouring powers. Instead, during the same period, there were rising other European powers, which were in closer or more distant neighbourhood of Moldova. Such power was the Habsburg Empire, on the one hand which gained new territories as the result of confrontation with the Ottoman Empire: we mean here Transylvania, which passed under Habsburg rule in 1699. And Russia, on the other hand, that also, especially under Peter the Great, succeeded in obtaining a series of victories in the Northern War, and found her window to Europe from the Baltic by obtaining of a great victory over Charles XII at Poltava. All these political metamorphoses which were highly dynamic throughout Central and Eastern Europe and even in close proximity of the Romanian Principalities, of Moldova in particular, for centuries were carried out under conditions of political rivalries amongst the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. By this period the rivalry between Constantin Cantemir and Cantacuzino became more acute. The same conflictual situation happened in his relations with Constantin Brâncoveanu from Wallachia, which has continued in first reign of Antioch Cantemir (1696-1700), eldest son of Constantine Cantemir. These events undermined their endeavor to obtain a more favorable position in relations with Ottoman Empire.

In addition to that, due to being involved in permanent wars, the Ottoman Empire's requirements of material and human resources from vassal countries, was constantly growing. Young Dimitrie Cantemir, born in 1673/1674, as he confesses in "Vita Constantin Cantemir", was involved by his father to discussions that took place at the royal court, and from adolescence witnessed even making of

[5] *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-XVIII в.* Документы и материалы в трех томах. Том II (1633-1673), Москва, 1968, p. 273, d. 89; p. 286, d. 93.

[6] *Moldova în contextul relaţiilor politice internaţionale 1387-1856*. Tratate, Chişinău, 1992, p. 245-246, d. 127.

political decisions in dealing with neighboring powers. Being a very intelligent person, he gradually gets to know all the complexity of Moldova's situation, the events that were taking place in this part of Europe, relationships and responsibilities that Moldova had to provide with sultan.

He saw and actually experienced that his father Constantin Cantemir, who understood the difficult situation in which his country was under Ottoman rule, never accepted that Moldova should pass on Poland's side in the Polish-Ottoman rivalry, preferring, rather to accept the few autonomy which Moldova still preserved in its relations with Sublime Porte.

As was noted above it does not mean that Constantin Cantemir did not search for other solutions in order to liberate Moldova from the Ottoman rule, directing his attention to the Habsburg Empire. But, as we know, the treaty of alliance with the Habsburgs from 1690 remained on paper, having no political results. Basically, the brother of Dimitrie Cantemir, Antiochus continued broadly the same policy in relations with the Ottoman Empire, the Wallachia and Moscovite Russia, etc.

The long stay in Istanbul, determined young Dimitrie Cantemir for acknowledgement of both Ottoman Court's and Empire's realities. It is known that under these circumstances, Romanian princes, Constantin Brâncoveanu in particular was seeking to rise on Moldovan chair people "of his own", and even hoped to become both countries' ruler. Cantemir brothers Antioch and Dimitrie, at the same time, were aware of the idea of mastering both Romanian countries. Rivalries among the two royal houses had worsened in 1699, when D. Cantemir had married the daughter of former Wallachian ruler Serban Cantacuzino - Casandra. Understanding that such matrimonial alliance would make Dimitrie almost equal with other rivals who pretend for the chair of the country, Constantin Brâncoveanu was looking to frustrate this marriage by all means.

Eventually, in an atmosphere full of great events and twists at border of XVII-XVIII century, the two Romanian countries, Moldova in particular, highly reached general pauperization. It is noticed by Cantemir in his famous book "Descriptio Moldaviae", but also by Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers, eyewitnesses at these events.

In these circumstances, when it seemed that Dimitrie Cantemir was reconciled with the thought that Moldova will be in his older brother Antioch's charge, and he will remain the capital of the Empire preferring to handle scholarly scientific activities, being guided by his famous teacher Jeremiah Cacavela Dimitrie wrote and published in 1698 in Jassy his famous treatise "Divan or a quarrel of a wise with the world ...", which we've tried to appreciate as a true European models of doctoral thesis since. Dimitrie, of course, wanted to live a quiet life since building a true palace in Istanbul, he was taking care of the welfare and peace of his family or there were born his children Maria, Smaragda, Matei, Constantine [7]. It's also true that Dimitrie Cantemir still preserved aspirations, to get Wallachian throne, especially because Constantin Brâncoveanu

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[7] Eşanu Andrei, Eşanu Valentina, *Descendenţii lui Dimitrie Cantemir*, in *Dinastia Cantemireştilor sec. XVII-XVIII*. Coord. Acad. Andrei Eşanu, Chişinău, 2008, p. 462-485.

seized some of Serban Cantacuzino's possessions, which had to remain as Cassandra's dowry, wife of Dimitrie Cantemir. Thus, tensions between Constantin Brâncoveanu, on the one hand and Cantemir brothers on the other hand, continued.

Both sides were not really interested in these strained relations, and as a result of secret negotiations, the 1703-1704 between Dimitrie Cantemir and man of trust Brincoveanu - Toma C. Cantacuzino[8], the parties reached an understand that in order to end these rivalries harmful to both sides, Constantin Brâncoveanu was obliged to return Cassandra's dowry in the form of money amounts and Dimitrie Cantemir had not claim to the throne of Wallachia. Each party undertakes the responsibility to make no intrigues against each other in the Porte[9].

This pacification, as well as parties mined should occur and be maintained immediately, as both Moldova and Wallachia have to face a single enemy and feared master - Ottoman Empire. Both countries, in principle, pursued the same goal - shaking of foreign domination. For the realization of this goal, the sides had to maintain good relations, to enter into a wider Anti-Ottoman alliance. After this event Dimitrie Cantemir was looking over his affairs in Istanbul, carefully observed everything that was done in those days in the Empire, trying to support his brother in his efforts to regain the chair of Moldavia.

Of course, in a time-limited communication we are unable, but neither aim to show other events that occurred at European level with direct involvement of the Sublime Porte, and of Dimitrie in person, but it seemed he defined had given up the idea of gaining the throne of Moldavia and even that of Wallachia. Of course we can not overlook the fact that in these years Dimitrie Cantemir, in addition to his scholarly activities continued to remain a very active person in Ottoman capital, maintaining relationships with senior officials from the Ottoman Court and with foreign diplomats in Istanbul.

State of affairs of Dimitrie Cantemir's life changed suddenly in 1710 under the conditions when increased the rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Russia of Peter the Great. The staying of Charles XII camp near the city Bender and more obvious intentions of Russia to strengthen its position in North Sea Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry background and state increasingly uncertain in another boundary of the Ottoman Empire further strained relations in this part of Europe. These tensions led to the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman war respective declarations were made in late 1710, but the main events were held in the spring-summer of 1711.

Under these conditions the Sultan and his entourage looked hurriedly to install someone of trust on the Moldovan chair. As far as one can see, due to these terms Dimitrie Cantemir began to act with more decisiveness. Through senior officials from the Ottoman Court, the Crimean Khan in particular[10], he was

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[8] Ţvircun Victor, *Viaţa şi activitatea contelui Toma Cantacuzino*, Chişinău, 2005, p. 10-11.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 11-12.

[10] Eşanu Andrei, Eşanu Valentina, *Urcarea în scaun şi primele acţiuni de politică internă şi externă*, in *Dinastia Cantemireştilor sec. XVII-XVIII*. Coord. Acad. Andrei Eşanu, Chişinău, 2008,

transmitting signals that could offer his services as Sultan's devoted servil. Without offering details we will show only that Sultan's decision of raising Dimitrie Cantemir to Moldovan chair in the detriment of Nicolae Mavrocordat was an unprecedented rush (or were omitted all lengthy ceremonies at the Ottoman court and were not required rich gifts that was mandatory for the new ruler to give to Sultan and senior officials from the Porte), and by the end of 1710 Dimitrie Cantemir was already in Iasi Moldova's capital.

This new ruler had to prepare the ground and reserves in case of Russian-Ottoman military operations deployment in close proximity to Ottoman territories, or even on the territory of the Country of Moldova, and to seek to apprehend Constantin Brâncoveanu and get him to Istanbul by all means, because he maintained secret relations with the Tsar of Russia. Although Sultan insisted more than once that the new prince of Moldavia should have make steps for arresting of Wallachian ruler, but Cantemir did not rush nor was going to do it. Thus he respected Moldo-Wallachian agreements made through Thomas Cantacuzino in 1703 - 1704[11].

In the specialized literature has been written a lot and historians continue to manifest an increased interest for the brief reign of Dimitrie Cantemir in Moldova, being expressed the most different views. Especially, those refer to the assessing of Dimitrie Cantemir's role as a prince and political figure in taking political decisions of great responsibility in the spring and summer of 1711. However, Dimitrie Cantemir became a ruler and faced a cardinal problem. He had to choose in straight in difficult terms between crescent and the cross. Of course Cantemir would have do this step in extreme emergency conditions or events were carrying fast, because since the late winter and early spring 1711, several units of the Russian army took their pass the theater of Nordic War to the Black Sea and the Danube.

Dimitrie Cantemir found in Moldova a situation in which opinions regarding country's political behavior were different. We know for example, that a group of boyars militated for a prudent and realistic politics of expectation, while another one, that actually stood for Dimitrie Cantemir's side, considered that a turning point for radical change of Moldova's situation and its political status has come. Dimitrie Cantemir in person took that risk on himself. He believed that Russia could become a decisive factor in the victory over the apparent decline of the Ottoman Empire, and could save Moldova from the long foreign rule. There were many discussions concerning political decisions of Dimitrie Cantemir to shift to the side of Tsar, claiming perhaps correctly, that it was a foolish move, wrong, not calculated, etc., and that this action actually stood at the head of upcoming

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p. 195-196. Haidarlî Dan, *Dimitrie Cantemir şi Devlet Ghirai al II-lea*, in Haidarlî Dan, *Relaţiile politice moldo-tătare (1699-1739),* Chişinău, 2009, p. 26-38.

[11] However, thereafter Constantin Brancoveanu regularly conveyed to D. Cantemir in Istanbul annual amounts, on which they had agreed. After Moldovan prince's fleeing in Russia, Sultan learned about those transfers, and required Antioch to return the money to Ottoman treasury (Цвиркун Виктор, *Димитрий Кантемир, страницы жизни в письмах и документах*, Санкт-Петербург, 2010, с.32-33)

dramatic events in the history of Moldavia, which led to the dismantling of this country in 1812 by annexing Bessarabia to Russia.

As for us, we share the point view that whether D. Cantemir had or hadn't taken this decision regarding Moldova's relations with Russian Empire, the latter, especially starting from the reign of Peter I, had intended not only to break the so-called window to Europe through the Baltic Sea, but also to expand its dominions in Southeast Europe, in North-Pontic shores, Caucasus and the Caspian Sea basin, with further strategic orientation towards the Balkans and Constantinople. As for the Cantemir, he hoped that Peter I will gain a great victory over the Ottoman Empire in 1711 and believed with all his being that Christians will gain this victory. In order to achieve this goal Cantemir had staked everything: life, family, wealth, royal chair, former comfortable silence from Istanbul, etc.

After us D. Cantemir did that, not because of a hope to achieve those set both by his father's treaty with the Habsburgs, and by the diploma of Peter I - to become hereditary royal dynasty of Moldavia. The primary was a goal to obtain liberty and independence of his homeland. He took this step especially in order to see his country which reached high economic and political decay, free and prosperous. Cantemir hoped to see his homeland evaluated in accordance with models of governance and economic development of several European countries, models that he got to know after a range of books brought to him from the West. Cantemir believed, or at least according to his view the political situation of that times, that according to the diploma of Lutsk (which also was seriously analyzed by many researchers from both Romania and Moldova, to mention studies of P.P. Panaitescu[12], Andrei Pippidi[13], Ion Eremia[14], Dumitru Grama[15] etc.) that Moldova will become an independent country, will regain its lost territories near by the Black Sea, and will have a guarantor and protector in person of Tsar Peter the Great and the Russian Empire - Orthodox Christian country in breakthrough . Moreover, the idea that Russia had a growing perspective of European power was expressed by Dimitrie Cantemir in his work "Study on the nature of monarchies".

Regarding the authorship of Lutsk Diploma[16], we can say that there were also expressed several opinions among the most important are two: the one first - that it had been drawn up by Tsar's entourage and imposed to Dimitrie Cantemir; the second one – that Moldovan prince himself drew up the majority of the Diploma's

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[12] Panaitescu, P.P., *Tratatul de alianţă dintre Moldova şi Rusia din 1711. 250 de ani de la încheierea lui*, in *Studii. Revistă de istorie,* Bucureşti, 1961, nr. 4, p. 897-914.

[13] Pippidi, Andrei, *Politică şi istorie în proclamaţia lui Dimitrie Cantemir din 1711*, in *Studii. Revistă de istorie,* Bucureşti, Tom 26, 1973, nr. 5, p. 923-946.

[14] Eremia, Ion, *Politica rusofilă a lui Dimitrie Cantemir – mit şi realitate*, in *Dimitrie Cantemir, Fürst der Moldau, Gelehrter, Akteur der europäischen Kulturgeschichte.* Veröffentlichungen des Moldova-Instituts Leipzig, Band 3, Ed. Bochmann Klaus, Dumbrava Vasile, Leipziger Universitärsverlag, 2008, S. 57-79.

[15] Grama, Dumitru, *Reflectarea unor aspecte ale suveranităţii statale a Moldovei în tratatul dintre Dimitrie Cantemir şi Petru I din 1711*, in *Pergament. Anuarul Arhivelor Republicii Moldova*, V-VI, 2002-2003, Chişinău, 2004, p. 134-149.

[16] *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-XVIII в.* Документы и материалы в трех томах. Том. II (1633-1673), Москва, 1968, с. 327-331, д. 113.

items, ensuring that they will be as favourable for his country as possible. Sharing the latter opinion, we'd expressed and argued it in some publications[17].

Unfortunately, the Prut campaign has turned into a complete failure, being even close to a fatal outcome, because the Tsar and his entourage, as well as Dimitrie Cantemir could have got in the hands of the Ottomans, while the Country of Moldova could have been transformed into pashalik. Undeniably, the events of the spring and summer of 1711 had, in spite of all expectations, the heaviest consequences for Moldova, which was not only looted and terribly exiled[18] by the loss of Hotin fortress and its surroundings[19], but also was on the verge of being transformed into an Ottoman province.

The brief reign of Dimitrie Cantemir in the Country of Moldova was a real crossroad of its history which could bring much craved liberty. Unfortunately short reign from 1710-1711 marked by the Prut campaign of Peter the Great led to a even greater aggravation of Moldova's situation, which from now on for more than a century will be ruled by foreign princes, will continue to remain in the way of all evils.

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[17] Eşanu Andrei, Eşanu Valentina, *Tratatul de alianţă cu Rusia (Luţk, aprilie 1711),* in *Dinastia Cantemireştilor sec. XVII-XVIII*. Coord. Acad. Andrei Eşanu, Chişinău, 2008, p. 203-207.

[18] Axinte Uricariul. *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei (1711-1715)*. Studiu introductiv, notă asupra ediţiei, îngrijirea textului, glosar, indice de nume de Andrei Eşanu, membru corespondent al A.Ş.M. şi Valentina Eşanu, ed. Civitas, 1999, p. 47-80.

[19] Ibidem, p. 99-105.

DIMITRIE CANTEMIR AND THE HISTORICAL GENESIS OF THE ORIENTAL PROBLEM

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Abstract: A reconstruction of one essential aspect of Dimitrie Cantemir's politic thinking will be done: the beginnings of the historic crisis process and of the Ottoman Empire's decline, simultaneously with the rise, as Big Powers, of the Austrian Empire of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Tsardom of Russia which were in a hard dispute in order to inherit the legacy of the Ottoman Empire (The Sublime Porte). It was underlined the relation between this historic process and the international judicial status of the Romanian Principalities in the limits of what could be called the historical genesis of the Oriental Problem prefigured in his master piece by Dimitrie Cantemir.

Keywords: monarchic movement, crisis mentalities, military decline, Ottoman legacy.

The work of the prince-scholar Dimitrie Cantemir, with its multiple valences, invited us and even keeps on to tempt us in order to decode its multitude of meanings and understand its message which, even if 300 years after one or other of its constitutive parts, had and still has certain resonances with actual values. And it couldn't be in another way, in our opinion, because, as it is well known, the assembly of Cantemir's work emphasizes the concretization of a huge effort of knowledge, of an author's special passion to discover the truth and specially in order to serve efficiently the main interests of his people, conclusive throwing a light upon between the organic link concerning the knowledge, including the historical knowledge also, and the very life in its running. And by this art, Dimitrie Cantemir proved to be a model of fighting and carrying out about whom a brilliant successor in ideology and spiritual creation who was Nicolae Iorga could, in an exempting definition, detect this essential truth: "a large, various work, full of a huge wish to know more, of a man who loved science more then that reign which the destiny gave him in order to take it back suddenly and violently, of a soul who could be proud of his universal knowledge and so much work, but who never humiliates, under the weight of following the truth, of a powerful man among others of his time, a man valued and valuated in a lot of countries, but who rested, even far away, a personality devoted to his own country"[1].

The great scholar and prince had, in his clear consciousness was shaped the

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[1] Nicolae Iorga, *The History of the Romanian Literature in the XVIIIth century*, Ist tome, second edition, Bucharest, 1984, p. 83.

idea that his work must help the ideal of achievements of exigencies belonging to the society's transformation in its ensemble and, specially, of the very Romanian society, idea from which arose his cares which would lead him to the conclusion with a special politic value that the Ottoman Empire, in its evolution went beyond its own military power's zenith moment and, first of all, fall into a crisis,- in order to use a term which in that time wasn't yet assimilated – and that the future, even more close, couldn't reserve to it but only the decay's acceleration. This conclusion, as it is well known, Cantemir synthetically wrote even by the manner to name his famous paper dedicated to the history of the Ottoman Empire: "Incrementa atque decrement aulæ othomanicæ" – **History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire**, by Ottoman Empire meaning Ottoman's dynasty and, generally, the imperial reign**2**. But this conclusion, founded both on researches which lead him to a deep knowledge of his own contemporary ottoman society and also of its far and nearest past, is find not only inside the text of the **History of the Ottoman Empire**, but is also suggested in some other works like **Hieroglyphic History 3** or **Monarchiarum physica examination** (**Research upon monarchies based on the method of physic examination**)**4** written in 1712. It is true that the idea of the Ottoman Empire's military decay and not only, was written in texts anterior the ottoman empire's history as a kind of political thinking specially justified by philosophic order arguments. It ç the case of the last work of the mentioned papers, in which Dimitrie Cantemir observed that: "any monarchy constitute a special moment in the society's development" and any reign (principatus) is supposed to have naturally an end and – adequately with this infallible truth – "everything it is developed and it ç about specific things (particularia) must rise and decline, change and transform, be born and die, it must, in a way have its end"**5**.

We can also say that, due to his theory of "monarchic movement", which has its origin in the Aristotelian philosophic system about the movement from the east to the west, Dimitrie Cantemir searched for a demonstration that the "monarchic movements" were only a variant of what "the natural continuous order creates accordingly with its own laws", noticing, further, that the cyclic evolution of the big empires lead towards the "natural growth and the perfection of the northern monarchy", in this notion being understood Russia, which could be troubled even by the ottoman imperial monarchy and appreciated, in hard terms, - specific for an anti-ottoman Romanian manner of thinking – like "a monstrous nature's offspring" – which was thrown in the opposite direction of the pre-established natural order's going in the plan of the cyclic historic movement as a reality**6**.

From the logical order shown by the Cantemir's manner of thinking it is easy to

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2 Dimitrie Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1972.

3 Idem, *Hieroglyphic History*, Minerva Printing House, Bucharest, 1973.

4 Idem, *Monarchiarum physica examinatio*, version Ghorghe Haupt, in „Studies", IVth year (1954), #1, p. 218-229.

5 *Ibidem*, p.220.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 221.

catch – due to its compatibility – the observation completely relevant that, after Viena's failed siege from 1683, "ottoman's power was very much diminished by loosing some kingdoms and provinces", which was, in fact, a reality, written like it was at Karlowitz, in 1699[7], in the Peace Treaty's text signed between the Saint League and the Sublime Porte. More, but in his high personality of events contemporary observer, Dimitrie Cantemir mentioned also with rigorously that, after Viena's stranded siege and the peace signed at Karlowitz, even the expansion tendency of ottomans in Europe was proved as limited, even if they tried several times the same military operations, but the Ottoman Empire had to face the graduated Austrian and Russian's consolidation as a strong menacing presence at their borders at to its future as great power. A threatening presence shaped like this, in Dimitrie Cantemir's vision, on the inner meaning more and more critical crisis which affected the intestine structure of Constantinople's regime but sapping, finally, its force to express itself on the external politic and military relational plan. Dimitrie Cantemir had related all in his Hieroglyphic History, in which pages he already sketched a realistic picture of the Turkish society's decay, illustrated with true images about corruption, about the degradation of mentalities which become a binder inside the society and also a solvent of the ottoman politic and military cohesion, having a direct negative impact upon its efficiency in the external politic's plan. Some pertinent observations were realized during Cantemir's exile in Constantinople where he used them as a motive to denounce the existence of a crisis in a whole ensemble, described a a more and more difficult illness of the Ottoman Empire, with his mention that his voice, there, on the Bosphorus's shore wasn't a unique one. It was also Toma Cantacusino's voice, *capuchehaie* (Turkish high dignity – n.n.-M.B.) of Wallachia in Ottoman Empire's capital, voice who, in a 1703 letter portrayed a similar picture like Dimitrie Cantemir's one: "The contemporary Sultan is greedy, envious, fearful, stupid, Christians' great enemy, and all his Court (suite) around him pays nothing, starting with the vizier and all the rest who doesn't think anything but stealing and robbing. God's angry is over them and all of them, at unison [fine allusion to Cantemir himself who was Sultan's confident and counselor – n.n.-M.B.] agreed to say that this Ottoman kingdom will be soon sent to devil's". We hope in the good Lord that this pagan power will be soon sent to devil"[8].

Cantemir's "***Incrementa atque decrementa aulæ othomanique***" related to the internal crisis of the Ottoman Empire and to its reflection over its external politics, specially over its military compound and the history it was written by the great scholar, we should mention that the moment of stopping the historic process of the ottoman power and the beginning of its decay wasn't Viena's 1683 stranded siege but the year of the Camenitza city's conquest, that meaning 1672. "Beginning with this year, Dimitrie Cantemir wrote, it was the last

[7] Because of teritorial clauses which were imposed to it, the Sublime Porte lost, in Austria's favor: a lot of Hungarian teritory, the rest of Croatia and Transilvania, Poland recuperated Camenitza, and extended its domination over Ukraina's western part but also over Podolian's one, and Venice received Moreea, the Corinth, some Dalmatian territories, Albania and Creta [Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, *International Relations from equilibrium to the end of the European Concert (the XVIIth century and the beginning of the XXth)*, Oradea University Printing House, 2006, p. 108.]

[8] Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des Roumanins*, vol.VI, p. 560.

military success which brought something useful to the Ottoman State, by some provinces' annexation…Starting from then…the ottomans' powers diminished very much by loosing a lot of kingdoms and provinces"[9]. And the lost in territories number suffered by the Sublime Porte, only after its war with Austria and its allies (Poland and Venice), corroborated with the huge financial expenses implied by this military confrontation couldn't find a negative reflection in the internal situation, as prove being the Petrovaradin revolt, followed, in Constantinople with even the Sultan Mohammad the IVth's removal, the vizier Siavus Pacha's assassination and, in the external plan, with the result of a humiliating peace signed by the Karlowitz Treaty. All this was narrated and commented by Dimitrie Cantemir, specially by use of some explicative notes, underlining that "ottomans' powers diminished" not only because of their territorial losing, already mentioned, but also "by destroying of a great number of armies and was and civilian dissensions"[10]. Counting all, among Cantemir's considerations, a lot of them with deep interpretative value, we can appreciate that the Ottoman Empire was already "submitted to the worst calamity"[11], and that it was undermined by a real moral decay for which cure it would be imposed some forte actions in order "to put an end to the root of the bad, by reforming customs and amending people's vices"[12]; that a huge wave of popular dissatisfactions was, since a lot of time, supplied by the difficult results of a disastrous economic and financial politics, ideas which were presented by Dimitrie Cantemir, and that "the public treasure is dry and that everywhere the people is able to fulfill its duty"[13] or that the fiscal policy of which they had appealed in order to excessively supply taxes and duties, not only had the purpose "to fill again the dry houses", but, by these means, lead "to so much misery brought to citizens then you couldn't hear that people's crying appealing God's revenge against his unjust oppressors"[14].

Of course, the manner in which Dimitrie Cantemir painted the Ottoman Empire's crisis, associated with a critics, frequently severe, of its politic reported to the Romanian Principalities, but also in a larger plan of reports with other States, it is also the fruit of his anti-ottoman's attitude from which, for example, he determined "the Christian Prices" to understood "how unstable was the peace promised by ottomans" or that "Ottomans had any process of consciousness in order to violate treaties and overlooking their oaths". But more, Dimitrie Cantemir put in edgeways, along the text of his History of the Ottoman Empire, some menaces with the purpose to be understood and held back by the readers, priority having the Russians, when he wrote that: "I heard this even by Ottomans' mouths" that they had the intention to conquer Ukraine, and, accordingly with the same voices, "this country must be conquered with the first blessed occasion"[15].

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[9] Dimitrie Cantemir, *op.cit.,* p. 608.
[10] *Ibidem.*
[11] *Ibidem.*
[12] *Ibidem.*
[13] *Ibidem,* p.611.
[14] *Ibidem,* p.613.
[15] To be seen this analysis to P.P. Panaitescu, *Dimitrie Cantemir, His Life and Work,* Romanian Academy's Printing House, Bucharest, 1958, p. 180-181.

And if ***The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*** had, as addressees, first of all, the adversary of the Sublime Porte, the Prince scholar's thought was always directed towards Moldova and its inhabitants, those who, "in the old days they were used to fight for their freedom and now, anywhere, are forced by the ottoman tyranny not only to cut with their axes the threes from their forest, but also to incline their very heads to the ottoman axe"[16]. All those incontestable truths were also an appeal to action, written like this, in the Lutzk Treaty or in the proclamation to Moldavia from May 30, 1711, when the Russian troops violated the Moldavian borders and Cantemir made public his alliance with Russia against the Sublime Porte.

After the battle from Stănileşti, Dimitrie Cantemir didn't hesitate to supply the consciousness of the Tsar Peter the Ist with the certitude that, from the historical point of view, the Ottoman Empire was condemned and a military campaign was necessary as soon as possible, specially after the new war from 1716 between Austria and the Ottoman Empire. His works carried this message even if it was about ***Descriptio Moldaviæ***, a veritable demonstration of the savant Cantemir concerning the ancient political status of Moldavia, or about ***The Life of Constantin Cantemir*** written in the very year of the new Austrian-Ottoman bursting of the war (in 1716) or about the ***Chronicle of the durability of Romans-Moldavians-Wallachians*** where Dimitrie Cantemir strongly underlined the idea that only the tenacity of their resistance stopped the ottomans in order to bring the Romanian people in a servitude state like that in which were the Bulgarians, the Greeks or the Serbians and that the Romanians even had a real contribution to the defence of the European civilization. And if, as Cantemir wrote in his text: "That Divine Providence which cared about those stupid peoples beaten by northern winds" (from the north of the Europe), then "with the Romans-Moldavians-Wallachian nation, like a strong, invincible wall they would serve"[17]. Following this path they would enlarge the victory's horizon, closer and closer, much more then, as Cantemir will write in his History of the Ottoman Empire, "seeing the present situation, [for the ottomans] it was more necessarily to defend rather then to enlarge the Empire's limits", situation which would be confirmed by the war between Austria and the Ottoman Empire (1716-1718). The Cantemir's thesis about the continuous decay of the Ottoman Empire would be also confirmed in the same time with the ascension of its rivals like Russia and Austria, those Empires working together in order to defeat their adversary or to confront each other with the purpose of inheriting the Ottoman Empire's legacy. This proved to be the content of "the oriental problem" which will often mark the course of the international European relations till the end of the First World War, content from which were part the Romanian Pricipalities or Romania till the obtaining of its national independence as a result of the Russian – Romanian – Ottoman war in 1877-1878.

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[16] *Ibidem,* p. 182.
[17] Dimitrie Cantemir, the *Chronicle of the durability of Romans-Moldavians-Wallachians*, Gheorghe Tocilescu's edition, in Works, IIIrd tome, Bucharest, 1876, p.121.

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NORTHERN–DANUBIAN RURAL COMMUNITIES AFTER THE AURELIAN RETREAT, IN DIMITRIE CANTEMIR'S AND NICOLAE IORGA'S VISION AND IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT RESEARCH WORK

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Abstract: the ideas rendered in the works with regard to the social and political structure of the Northern –Danubian communities, such as the ethnical identity- whether at the end of the 17-th century, the beginning of the 18-th century or during the modern epoch – surprisingly coincide; Dimitrie Cantemir worked less over those principles, yet, his ideas have been confirmed by recent research, through written documents and archaeological sources.

Keywords: rural community, continuity, ethnicity, cultural identity, ethnical identity.

As it is well known, any community or ethnical group belonging to a community source would keep its ethnical *identity* in time, a principle rendered by *long lasting* material and spiritual values created by the members of the community itself. The principle of admitting the material and spiritual values or the ethnical identity consists of an amount of laic and religious circumstances, generating the ethnical character of the human communities alongside historical periods, as well as their affiliation to great cultural and civilization nuclei of the age, with its traditional inheritance, and with discordances motivated by specific and pluralistic cultural differences.

The European mediaeval epoch, "a mysterious and spiritually forgotten time", as Georges Duby stated, one of the great French specialist of the historical era and coordinator of the famous *"L'Histoire du Monde: Le Moyen Ậge"*, issued in Paris, in 2004[1], gave enough proofs enlightening the cultural pluralism preserving the material and spiritual cultural identity, a traditional inheritance of the great civilizations which wholly integrates the Romanian mediaeval epoch, a depositor of identity traditions.

In their works, Dimitrie Cantemir and Nicolae Iorga, two great personalities of our national history, had a common vision on the fundamental matters of the Romanian people, especially on the social and political structure of the rural Northern-Danubian communities after the Aurelian retreat, thus proving the major characteristics of the ethnical identities, such as: *the permanency and*

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promotion of the Northern-Danubian territories, the building of the specific social and political structures, the origin and Latinity of the Romanian people and language, the Christian Religion and the keeping of old traditions.

Before showing the scientific visions of the above mentioned personalities, it is important to say that the material and spiritual values had also been evoked by the 15-th and 16 th centuries humanists, as well as by the Romanian 16-th and 17-th, Romanian chroniclers. All these Romanian and foreign cultural personalities' works presented the Romanian material and spiritual values, the idea of ethnical unity, the Latin origin of the language and of the Romanian people etc. Laonic Chalcocondil, a Byzantine historian, showed in his *"The Growth of the Turkish Power, the Decay of the Byzantine Empire and Other Histories about Different Countries and Peoples"*[2] that the Romanians were similar to Italians in terms of language, customs, arms and way of life.

Maximian, the bishop of Serbia, expressed his point of view in an interesting petition in 1506 with regard to the conciliation between Radu the Great, the Romanian Prince, and Bogdan the Blind, motivating that „*you are both Christians, of the same origin and descent"*[3].

Among the humanists of the 16-th and 17-th centuries, Nicolae Olahus showed that the language of Romanians was once Roman, as they were a Roman colony.[4]

In the 16-th century, Anton Verancsics and the papacy, drew the attention on the role played by the three old Romanian Christian countries, defending the European Christianity, an idea taken by Michael the Brave who considered „ *Transylvania and Wallachia as defenders of whole Christianity"*[5]; in an Italian *Diario*, Michael the Brave, also mentioned in a proclamation addressed to his army that the Romanians fought „*for the glory of their nation as descendents of the Romans"*[6], an idea which had been stated by Prince Despot in front of his Moldavian Army whom he considered „*descendents of the valuable Romans who made the world tremble".*

In the 17-th century, a time when „Romanian writing became glorious"[7], Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin -the Romanian Chroniclers-, and Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino, strengthened those ideas, too.

The Moldavian chronicler Grigore Ureche's statement was illustrious: „Romanians living in the Hungarian country, in Transylvania and Maramures are of the same origin with the Moldavians and they all came from the same Roman

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[2] Laonicos Chalcocondylas, *Expuneri istorice*, în "Scriptoses Byzantini", II, Bucureşti 1958, p.63.

[3] Ion Bogdan, *Cronici inedite atingătoare de Istoria Românilor*, Bucureşti, 1895, p.6, în "Gândirea social-politică despre Unire(1859)", Bucureşti, 1966, p.9.

[4] Nicolai Olahi, Metropolitae Strigoniensis, *Hungaria et Atila sire de originibus gentis regni Hungariae si tu, habitu, opportunitatibus et rebus dello pacequae ab Atila gestis,* Viniobonde, MDCCLXIII, (1763), p.59, 60, 62; vezi în "Gândirea social-politică despre unire (1859)", Bucureşti, 1966, p.9.

[5] *Documente şi însemnări româneşti din sec. XVII*, Bucureşti, 1979, p. 133.

[6] *Hurmuzaki*, III, 2, p.529-530.

[7] P.P.Panaitescu, *Începuturile şi biruinţa scrisului în limba română*, Bucureşti, 1965.

roots"[8], a syntagm gathering the whole process of the material, spiritual values of the Romanian identity.

In his turn, Miron Costin, amplified the proofs with reference to the ethnical identity values of the Romanians, stating that the most authentic and true name the people preserved, from the first Trajan's foundation, was that of *Ruman* or *Romanus,* the same name given to the Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians"[9].

"My thought has won to start this hardwork, to show to the people the kind, the spring and the roots of the people in our country, in Moldavia, Wallachia and of the Romanians and the Hungarian countries, as we have mentioned above, as they are all a kind and a people once founded..... this place where Moldavia and Wallachia are is Dacia in fact as also is Transylvania, Maramures and the country of the Olt"[10].

At the end of the 17-th century and the beginning of the 18-th, Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino, the Wallachian Chronicler also stated: *„The Romanians are not only those from here, they are also those from Tranylvania who are even more genuine, altogether with the Moldavians and those from other parts speaking the same language. So, we all think about them as Romanians, as they came up from the same place, and flowed out from the same well".[11]*

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The end of the 17-th century and mostly the first two decades of the following century marked , in terms of the Romanian people's identity promotion, a higher stage to the Romanian people's material, spiritual values documentation, due to Moldavian Prince Dimitrie Cantemir, a remarkable personality of the European culture, the first Romanian member of the Academy of Science in Berlin[12], who, by sustaining the Romanian ethnical identity went beyond the chroniclers' stage, by simply stating the principle of identity values, being considered a beginner of the Romanian scientific historiography, thus integrating himself into the new trend of Enlightenment ideas which were slowly penetrating the Romanian environment, through such cultural personalities as Dimitrie Cantemir.

"The Chronicle of the old Romanians, Moldavians and Wallachians", a fundamental work written in Latin between 1715-1716, during his exile in Sankt Petersburg, translated into Romanian in 1715, and *"Descriptio Moldaviae",* written in Latin in 1714-1715 proved the rich documentation from important Romanian and foreign bibliographies, with reference to the origin of the people, to the continuation of the human communities on the Northen – Danubian

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[8] Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed.II, P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1958, p. 65, 66, 67, 134; *Gândirea social-politică a Unirii, ...*, p. 11-12.

[9] Miron Costin, *Opere*, ed. P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1958, p. 207, 212, 299, 241, 254; vezi și *Gândirea social-politică a Unirii, ...*, p. 15

[10] Miron Costin, *Opere,* p. 16

[11] Constantin Cantacuzino, *Istoria Țării Românești*, ed. V. Cartojan și D. Simuonescu, Craiova, f.an, p. 70; vezi și *Gândirea social-politică a Unirii, ...*, București, 1966, p. 18.

[12] Istoria Românilor, vol. V, București, 2003, p. 332.

territory, to their social, political structures during the migration of peoples, to their territorial units during that time period etc.

The briefings Cantemir used to write at the beginning of each Book or Chapter in the Chronicle contained fundamental ideas of the identity values which the Romanian historiography has recently wholly confirmed.

From the very title of the *Chronicle*, Cantemir firmly stated: *„The Chronicle of all the Romanian country (which later was divided into Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania), since its foundation during Trajan, the Emperor of Rome"*[13]; or: *„... the source and the root of Dacia (the land of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania of today), a place where the people came and started from"*[14]; or *„... the Romanian's from Dacia who are the Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians of today are, by origin, Romans from Italy, brought by Emperor Trajan on that land"*[15]; or *„... They who look like the Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians (who are all called Romanians)".*[16]

As already mentioned before, Dimitrie Cantemir differed from the chroniclers with regard to the Latinity of the Romanian language; thus, he did not only state the Latin character, he wanted to give undeniable proofs of the syntax and morphology of the Romanian language, rules that govern grammar, finding tight connections with Latin. Dimitrie Cantemir was the first who did that in our historiography.[17]

Perceiving the intimate connection between the permanency of the human communities on the same geographical space and their social and political organization, Cantemir approached the problem of the social and political structures of those communities, for the first time in our history, based on the real facts in Moldavia, during his time, facts passing over many centuries. Cantemir wrote about the *"permanent life of the Romans in Dacia, from Trajan till Isac Anghelos"*[18] and he stated that *"our countries that belong to Romanians today have never been left and abandoned by them, they have always had solid reigning".*[19] Cantemir explained those ideas through the existence of the political and social bodies as a form of communities' organizations, which he considered real "Republics" inside the Moldavian state during his time. He found three great kinds of social and political organization of the inhabitants: in Câmpulung, Suceava, in Vrancea and in Tigheciu, the county of Fălciu. The archaic character of their organization was shown by Cantemir through some features of the archaic form of social and political organization of the rural communities. The inhabitants of those "republics" "did not belong to the boyards, they were not any boyard's subjects and they represented a kind of republic" ... "they kept on their rules and they did not take orders or accept judjement from the Prince."[20]

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[13] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Hronicul vechimii a romano-moldo-vlahilor*, Bucureşti, 1801, ed. G. Tocilescu, p. 131; cf. *Gândirea social-politică despre Unire* (1859), Bucureşti, 1966, p. 18.

[14] Dimitrie Cantemir, *op.cit.,* p. 25, cf. *Gândirea...*, p.19.

[15] Ibidem, p. 57; *Gândirea...*, p. 19.

[16] Ibidem, p. 104, 109; *Gândirea...*, p. 19.

[17] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, Bucureşti, 1976, p. 230 şi urm.

[18] *Ibidem*.

[19] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, Bucureşti, 1976, p. 187-188.

[20] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, Bucureşti, 1976, p. 188.

The question is if one could define the social and political structure of the body that Dimitrie Cantemir called "republic", inside the three Moldavian areas: Câmpulung in Suceava, Vrancea and Tigheciu in Fălciu, "a land at the borderline with the Bugeac Tartars".[21] According to Cantemir, the structural features of such republics were different from those of the "Moldavian peasants in the neighbourhood"[22], meaning that "they did not belong to the boyards, they were not any boyard's subjects and they represented a kind of republic"[23]. On the other hand, the same author differenciated among the three areas by their relief, which influenced the type of the social and political structure in Cantemir's time. Thus the Câmpulung and Vrancea territories were located in a mountain area "surrounded by the peaks of very high mountains"[24] at Câmpulung, whereas in Vrancea the land "was surrounded by the wildest mountains".[25] As for Tigheciu, it was located in the woods in a very dangerous area with inhabitants having military responsibilities of defend against the Tartars. Thus in the case of those three territorial structures there were differences with regard to both the relief and the purposes to defend a country. Whether the communities in the first two "republics", 15 villages in Câmpulung and 12 in Vrancea, with 200 houses and approximately 750–800 inhabitants/village, in Tigheciu the inhabitants were all riders, with an army of 8000 people in the past, while at the beginning of the 18-th century they only were 2000.[26]

The same author also informed about the inhabitants' occupations in those territories, based on the relief type.

In Tigheciu, the things were simple, the inhabitants having military responsibilities against the Tartars in Bugeac. As for the others, due to the mountain relief, they used to work in grazing, they "did not deal with agriculture, because they had no fertile land in the mountain regions".[27]

That is why their duties towards the authorities were different from the farmers paying an annual debt, "as much as they promised to the Prince and not as high as the Prince was asking them".[28] Cantemir underlined that those inhabitants were "once" "free"[29], "otherwise they keep on their laws and they do not take orders or accept judges from the Prince."[30]

Accounting for the peculiarities that "republican" structures had and comparing them with the similar institutions that written documents rendered for the past times, one can consider that there were some familiar social and political structures known as *territorial communes and commune unions, rural democracies, defensive associations* in the fore epoch, as Nicolae Iorga named them, the only ones to ensure the continuation of the ethnical values of the

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[21] *Ibidem*, p. 186.
[22] *Ibidem*, p. 186-187.
[23] *Ibidem*, p. 186-187.
[24] *Ibidem*, p. 187.
[25] *Ibidem*, p. 187
[26] *Ibidem*. p. 188
[27] *Ibidem*. P. 188
[28] *Ibidem*, p. 187
[29] *Ibidem*.
[30] *Ibidem*, p. 187-188.

Northern Danubian rural communities during the great migration time of the 4-th and the next centuries.

During the last part of the 17-th century and at the beginning of the next one, a lot of great changes in the Romanian mediaeval society took place, also reflected in the institutions of those social and political structures like the communes and commune unions passing through an ever deeper period of dissolution, a moment rendered by Cantemir in his *Descriptio Moldaviae*. The relations between the communes, authorities and the judicial institutions were fully affected, the authority taking almost whole control over the old democratic structures of the communes by, nominating rulers in the most important sectors of communes and unions which were subordinated and terminated, in the interest of the feudal state;[31] thus, the long period of the mediaeval, rural democracies in our country, totally different from the similar institutions in the European mediaeval history in their temporal dimension, ended. Similar institutions in France during the decay of the Roman Empire and the merging between the Gauls-Romans and Clovis's Francs led to the ending of the old commune institutions included in the great landowning systems, between the 5-th and the 6-th centuries.[32]

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The coming into the world of Nicolae Iorga in 1871, found the Romanian historians of the time into a state of profound irritation, indignation, and even revolt, given the publication in Leipzig of Robert Röesler's *"Rumänische Studien. Unterschungen zur älteren Geschiste Rumäniens"*, a work in which the author supported the unscientific thesis according to which the Romanian people was exclusively formed south from the Danube, and emigrated from there on the present area between the 9-th and 10-th centuries to the north of the river (the "immigration" theory).

The feed-back of the Romanian historians towards that theory took place immediately by means of a lot of articles, commentaries and papers opposing the German historian's opinion and bringing some more or less objective arguments against Röesler's theory.[33]

It was obvious that young Iorga couldn't get involved in the matter at that time, lacking some historical documents to clarify the complex process of the birth of the Romanian people. Being aware of the almost total lack of sources referring to the mentioned matter, "the great hardship faced by the historian of

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[31] P.P. Panaitescu, Obştea ţărănească în Ţara Românească şi Moldova (secolele XIV-XVII), Bucureşti, 1964; Istoria Românilor, vol. V, Bucureşti, 2001 (Cap.respective).

[32] Jacque-Henri Michel, *La trace du doit romain dens les octes prives du Hant Mogen Age*, în "Reme de L'université de Bruxellesa"... 1977 nr. 1, p. 104; şi urm.; "autonomia aceasta (a comunităţilor obşteşti) se întâlneşte la noi, în Balcani, în Veneţia şi în Roma, în Sardinia şi în Italiaa bizantină, ca şi, am văzut-o în Galia chiar; oameni buni şi bătrâni conduc satul" (N. Iorga, Prelegeri la Văleni de Munte, volum îngrijit de Petre Ţurlea), Bucureşti, 2008, p. 169.

[33] A.D.Xenopol, *Teoria lui Roesler*, Iaşi, 1884; idem, *Une enigme historique. Les Roumains au Moyen Age*, Paris 1885; D. Onciul, *Teoria lui Roesler, Studii asupra stăruinţei românilor în Dacia Traiană*, 1885, în "Convorbiri Literare", XIX, 1885 etc.

that time, mostly when the records sources were very rare"[34], as he stated in 1894, N. Iorga directed his scientific concerns, as a research methodology, towards two fundamental aspects of investigation: finding and editing written sources with reference to the whole historical period of the rural communities North from the Danube during the whole mediaeval epoch, on one hand, and, on the other hand, noticing the almost total lack of the written news on the Romanian territory during the time of the Aurelian retreat, South from the Danube, with regard to the development of society in that geographical area. N. Iorga considered that the comparative method applied to the historical evolution of all the surrounding peoples and even of all the other peoples in the Western Europe, should be absolutely necessary.

With regard to the comparative method of our and other peoples' situation, N. Iorga wrote in 1915 that: "by studying the history of other peoples, I tried to add new information about the history of the Romanian people. I tried to focus all the outside rays on the history of Romanians in order to make it shine in the light, and thus to make it known in all it grandeur".[35] In 1934, he said that "the national history without any universal horizon is but unintelligible, fault and with important lacks".[36]

By combining the two research methods - the written sources and the universal history - N. Iorga succeeded, during his life, to extend the Romanian research of history on some social and political structures characteristic to the ethnical identities of the rural communities on the Northern Danubian territory, in the first Christian millennium, the period in which the process of the birth of a new people - named the Romanian people – started being known by the end of the millennium.

The fundamental social and political structure which was the basis of the formation of the Romanian people, the mediaeval territorial commune was considered by our great historian the starting point of the process of Romanian identity, of the social and political organization specific to the ethnical identity with regard to principalities and countries, contributing to the formation of the Romanian mediaeval states in the middle of the 14-th century.

The study of the evolution in time of institutions and of the social and political structure mentioned in sources, as well as the comparative study of similar institutions in the history of other peoples proved a spectacular evolution of N. Iorga's historical thinking, from his introductory lecture at the University in Bucharest, till his last day of life; an immense information worked out through

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[34] N.Iorga, *Despre concepția actuală a istoriei si geneza ei* (lecție de deschidere ținută la Universitatea din București, 1 noiembrie 1894), în *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice*, ed. IV, București 1999, p. 61; vezi și Șt. Olteanu, *Obștea sătească medievală ca structură social-politică la nordul Dunării în primul mileniu, creștin, în viziunea lui Nicolae Iorga*, în "Nicolae Iorga, 1871-1940, Studii și Documente", vol.X, București, p.343 și urm.

[35] "O enormă cantitate din aceste documente, sublinia N. Iorga, a trecut prin mâinile mele în timp de peste 30 de ani de cercetări" (Cuvântare la deschiderea primului Congres internațional de studii bizantine în Generalități...), p. 149.

[36] N. Iorga, *Cum se scrie istoria românilor* (fragmente dintr-o lecție de deschidere), București, 1915, în *Generalități...*, p. 140

lucid judgement in order to find the truth of a passed existence,[37] *"a new vision with regard to the history of Romanians based on the permanencies of historical development".[38]* Nicolae Iorga found the rural communes with the Romanian mediaeval epoch presented in the 6-th and 7-th volumes of the *Studies and documents*, in the forms of the village assembly, the old men's judgement of the commune, considering that the social and political structure of the rural commune "was formed in the independent commune, as the ancient form of the Romanians' organization".[39]

N. Iorga's historical considerations with regard to the mediaeval rural commune on the Romanian territory got a special connotation since the middle of the second decade of the 20-th century (1915), with regard to the expansion of the social and political structure of territorial commune to the rural communities towards the north of the Danube, during the first Christian millennium, through the method of historic comparison. With his outstanding memory, N. Iorga analysed the history of the peoples between the 4-th over the 8-th centuries, the forms of their social and political organization, information that allowed him to compare that type of social and political structure with the Romanian territories ones. Speaking about the 5-th and the next centuries in the European space, N. Iorga stated: *"here, among those included in that type of spontaneous organization which I consider as one belonging to Romanians, there also are peasants. These rural people may be found wherever, in small groups".[40]*

Many such appreciations are made by the great historian in a series of other lectures, articles etc, the most of which rendered in his famous conferences held in the Popular University at Vălenii de Munte, during the last decade of his life.

The most concise characterizations made by N. Iorga to these social and political commune structures referred to *"localism", "solidarity and democracy inside a small group of peasants who live and fight together, with the feeling of each being a part of what they have got".[41]*

The most correct definition of the mediaeval rural commune of the rural communities north from the Danube during the retreat of the Roman Army and

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[37] N. Iorga, *Istorie universală şi istorie na*ţională (lecţie de deschidere la Universitatea Bucureşti, 2 noiembrie 1934) în *Generalităţi ...*, p.234.

[38] N. Iorga, *Cum se scrie istoria românilor* (fragmente dintr-o lecţie de deschidere), Bucureşti, 1915, în *Generalităţi...*, p. 9.

[39] Dreptul de control asupra pământului, Responsabilitatea colectivă pentru deciziile luate, Responsabilitatea juridică, Dreptul la judecată al obştii, Conducerea obştii (oameni buni şi bătrâni), Adunarea satului, Jurământul de credinţă etc. Vezi şi *Viaţa feudală în Ţara Românească şi Moldova* (sec. XIV-XVII), Bucureşti, 1957, p. 91 şi urm. P.P. Panaitescu, *Obştea ţărănească în Moldova ţi Ţara Românească* (sec. XIV-XVII), Bucureşti, 1962.

[40] N. Iorga, *Evolution de la quetion rurale en Roumanie jusqu`a la reforme agraire*, Bucureşti, 1929, p.2; V. Costăchel, P.P. Panaitescu, A. Cazacu, *Viaţa feudală în Ţara Românească şi Moldova* (sec XIV-XVII), Bucureşti, 1957, p. 84.

[41] N. Iorga, *Ev. Mediu şi Antichitate* (martie 1930), în Generalităţi..., p.168; "Cei rămaşi în urmă după retragerea aureliană se constituie ca Romani "homines romani", (v. Roumanchi, romanici) din Retia elveţiană, din jurul Romei cu ai ei Ramagnoli... Autonomia acestora se întâlneşte la noi în Balcani, în Veneţia şi în Roma, în Sardinia şi în Italia Bizantină... oameni buni şi bătrâni conduc satul; pe o vale statele supuse aceluiaşi jude.") (N. Iorga, *Prelegeri la Vălenii de Munte*, Bucureşti, 2008, p. 169, volum îngrijit de Petre Ţurlea).

administration at the end of the 3-rd century A.D. was given by N. Iorga during the Convention of History, in London, on the 7-th of April 1913, when he rendered his vision with regard to the beginning of the Romanian mediaeval epoch.

Speaking about the new society of the mediaeval epoch in general, N. Iorga stated the following idea about the Romanian mediaeval history: *"the future of history will have to start from the first local structures, given the defensive associations during the period of the invasions, the abandoning of the royal power of the reigning rights which old Rome had always jealously kept, rights given by the first reigning of the invading armies over the conquered territories … All these autonomous rural and urban lives which were to be melted in more powerful and solid structures, were the elements of that territorial reality which was to become a heraldic sign of the coming epoch."*[42]

Related to the problem of the Romanian mediaeval epoch dawns, N. Iorga as well as Dimitrie Cantemir recalled the continuity of the local population on the northern Danubian land after the Aurelian retreat. After the disappearance of the "tentacular state", stated N. Iorga, there came a spontaneous regrouping of the active forces of society in political structures - according to their immediate needs - on the old political and administrative structures of the Empire.[43] Thus, starting from the research of social and political structures of the mediaeval rural commune as mentioned in our mediaeval documents "viewed" in a rather older historical period of the first Christian millennium, in total comparison with the corresponding social structure of the European communities of the same time period, N. Iorga likewise Dimitrie Cantemir, his predecessor, gave the Northern-Danubian rural commune the fundamental role in organizing the autonomous rural life at the north of the Danube with regard to the social and political structure and as principle of the ethnical identity, as a first stage in the process of the birth of the principalities and of Romanian countries, followed by the formation of the mediaeval states of Wallachia and Moldavia in the middle of the 14-th century.[44]

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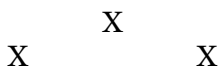
The death of the Romanian historian in 1940 stopped for some decades the efforts of our research workers to continue the finding of evidence demonstrating Iorga's statements with regard to the Northern-Danubian rural commune

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[42] N. Iorga, *Generalități* …, p. 169-170.

[43] N. Iorga, *bazele necesare unei noi istorii a Evului Mediu* (comunicare la Congresul de Istorie din Londra, *7 aprilie, 1913*, în N. Iorga, *Generalități* …, p. 131; vezi şi Şt. Olteanu, Problema începuturilor evului mediu în *Istoria Românilor în viziunea lui Nicolae Iorga şi în lumina cercetărilor recente*, în "*N. Iorga, 1871-1940, Studii şi documente*", vol. V, Bucureşti, 2008, p. 475-488.

[44] N. Iorga, *bazele necesare unei noi istorii a Evului Mediu* (comunicare la Congresul de Istorie din Londra, *7 aprilie, 1913*, în N. Iorga, *Generalități* …, p. 131; vezi şi Şt. Olteanu, Problema începuturilor evului mediu în *Istoria Românilor în viziunea lui Nicolae Iorga şi în* N.Iorga, *Studii asupra evului mediu românesc,* Bucureşti, 1984, p. 403.

structures, in the first Christian millennium

After the second World War and the setting up of the new political regime, N. Iorga's essential contributions to the fundamental social and political structures of the Norther-Danubian society after the retreat of the Roman army and administration were forgotten, being replaced by some totally insignificant syntagms, such as: pre-feudal, pre-state, proto-feudal etc, kind of generalities which were transmitted to the readers by means of treaties and school books of the history of Romanians; the real direction of the evolution of society on the Southern-Eastern area was thus mixed up and lost. Two special events spent approximately, in the middle of the 20-th century were to give evidence and confirmed the vision of the two personalities, the real contribution with regard to the social and political structure of the Northern-Danubian rural communities after the 4-th century A.D. First, it is the initiative of the Romanian Academy to achieve a centralization of the written sources, mostly Byzantine, with reference to the Northern-Danubian area in the first A.D. millennium, a work under the title of *"Fontes Historiae Daco Romanae"*, the 2-nd volume being the most important one in what concerns the epoch of reference.[45]

Thus, a lot of written document of real scientific value were issued with regard to the social and political structures of the local rural communities, rural commune and the Roman Union as shown bellow.

With a view to written sources about the Northern-Danubian rural communes in the 4-th over the 10-th centuries, sources that were not very well considered scientifically speaking, the historical fundamental source is represented by an important letter of a Christian community from the Carpathian Curving area (the Buzău county nowadays) addressed to the communities in Cappadocia, on the occasion of sending the Christian martyr Sava relics in 374 A.D., whose martyrdom had been done by the Goths, two years before, a letter known as *Saint Sava- the- Goth Martyrdom*.[46]

Very many Romanian and foreign historians expressed their point of view about the contents of that letter mostly insisting in the phenomenon of reception of the Christian religion on the territory between the Carpathians and the Danube.

Almost exclusively, these Romanian and foreign historians totally ignored the document regarding the social and political structures and the community of the first Christian of the mentioned area ever remembered in the source, considering that the source referred to the Goth society.

Among the Romanian historians, V. Pârvan was drawing the attention on the new religion preached in Latin by Ulfila and his disciple Auxentiu, as a proof of the existence of the Roman population.[47]

[45] Referințe la Șt.Olteanu, în Etapele procesului de formare a statelor feudale românești în Revista de Istorie, 30, 1977, Nr.2,p. 315-320; Șt.Olteanu, Problema începuturilor evului mediu..., în "N. Iorga, 1871-1940, Studii și documente", vol. V, p. 475-488.

[46] Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae, vol. II, București, 1970; sunt prezentate aici știrile străine care privesc teritoriul românesc de la anul 300 până la anul 1000.

[47] Scrisoarea a fost cunoscută de multă vreme, numeroși istorici exprimându-și părerea cu conținutul ei istoric (Șt. Olteanu, C*u privire la structura socială a comunităților sătești dintre Carpați și Dunăre în secoilul al-IV-lea e.n.,* în Revista de Istorie, 4, 1984; aici o impresionantă

N. Iorga couldn't have missed such a source, but as he had published numerous Romanian mediaeval documents since 1937 which reported about the institutions and basic principles of the Romanian countries mediaeval rural communes, he noted in his work *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale,* the following: "When the Goths, addressing to Valens, asked him to be Christianized, by the people speaking their language, that meant that there was a Christian religion in another language, the language of the old inhabitants, the Greek form having had disappeared".[48]

There was nothing reported about the social structures of the communities of the Carpathian curving, considering that the respective community was of a Goth origin, as some foreign historians, like E. A. Thomson, spoke about that source in 374 as an excellent information for the structure of the Visigoth society, although he theoretically admitted the existence of a Dacian-Roman population on the old Dacian territory, in the 4-th century.[49]

Though the scientific analysis of the document was made almost a quarter of a century ago[50], one has to note the main institutions of the social structure of the local community in 374 B.C., such as *the gathering of the village people with its judges* (the future "kind and old people" mentioned in the coming documents), invested with decisional attributions in sanctioning those who broke the commune rules (like banishing the guilty people), exception for applying the capital sentence, *witnessing* in the litigious matters of the communities, the *solidarity* with the village inhabitants regardless their religious beliefs related to the Goth political ruler. On the other hand, the document abounds in maintaining the farming occupations of the rural area (new lands for the agricultural activity, construction building elements of the farmers' houses), evident for a stable community with farming occupations, with specific farming customs and many other similar things, incompatible with the tribal organization of the people (mainly the Visigoths) in contact with the local population.[51] The detailed

bibliografie privind importanţa textului scrisorii; a se vedea mai recent: Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică în secolele IV-IX. Structuri demo-economice şi social-politice,* Bucureşti, 1997; idem, *Istoria Românilor, vol. III,* Bucureşti, 2001 (cap. respectiv).

[48] Contribuţii epigrafice la istoria creştinismului daco-roman, Bucureşti, 1911, p. 151.

[49] N. Iorga, Histoire des Roumains..., Bucureşti, 1937, p. 129.

[50] E.A. Thompson, *the Visigoths in the time of Ulfila*, Oxford, 1966, p. 4 si urm.; idem, *the Passio S. Sabae and early Visigothic Society*, în Historia, tom. 4, 1955, p. 331-338; întreaga discuţie în această privinţă la Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică...*, p. 228 şi urm.

[51] Şt. Olteanu, *Cu privire la structura...*, în Revista de Istorie, 4, 1984. Cel care a semnalat pentru prima oară importanţa documentului din 374 pentru organizarea socială a comunităţilor locale din zona Buzăului a fost P.P. Panaitescu în lucrarea excepţională referitoare la structura obştească medievală în ţările romane (*Obştea sătească din Ţara Românească şi Moldova. Orânduirea feudală*, Bucureşti, 1964, p. 64-65).

[51] [bis] Detalii cu exemple semnificative in aceasta privinta, la St. Olteanu, *Cu privire la structura sociala ... p. 205 si urm*. Justitia obstilor medievale din tarile romane conserva aproape inalterata aceasta straveche structura social-politica. Documentele cancelariei voievodale evidentiaza acest principiu de justitie autonoma a obstii satesti. Intr-un document din 1531 se arata cum cel vinovat de moartea unui om, trebuie legat si transportat cu carul la scaunul domnesc, singurul in masura sa aplice pedeapda capitala (*Documente privind Istoria Romaniei, veac XVI, B, vol. II, p. 101*). In alt document din 1602 se arata: "Care om va fi vinovat, sa aiba judecata la batranii satului, pe care i vor alege satenii ... care om va fi vinovat de moarte sa-l lege batranii alesi ai satului,

preservation in identical forms of the commune institutions with the Romanian mediaeval communities is a bridge between the 4-th, the 15-th over the 16-th centuries of historical permanency of the Romanian people.

If some 20-th century foreign historians, mainly E. A. Thomson, used to think that the letter in 374 made evident the organization of the Visigoth communities that had come to the Wallachian area in the 4-th century A.D., *did it out of ignoring the social structure of the local communities on the Northern-Danubian territory.*[51 bis] The vision has lately changes due to the Romanian studies with regard to the social and political structure of the territorial rural communes as a main mean of the social and political organization of the people of that time. The most recent paper of Sava- the- Goth according to the written document in 374 A.D., belongs to Mario Girardi the Italian historian, a paper entitled *Saba- il- Goto, martire di Frontiera*, issued in Jassy, in 2009. It was the entire edition of the 374 letter, an original text translated into Italian, in which the author remarked in the foreword that: *"...pone in luce un paradigma "propagandistico" di convivenza politico-culturale, non ultimo religioso, fra popolazioni autoctone, romani e barbari (Goti)".*[52] *In conclusion, the author should that the document in 374 "... presenta un resoconto narrativo di innegalabile valore istorico-documentario, adattato al tri partito modello panegiristico di memoria martiriale e di spessore di convivenza politica culturale, cruciale determinante sui confine danubiane dell Impero fragoti, romani e autoctoni discendenti degli antichi sciti".*[53]

So, D. Cantemir and N. Iorga were perfectly right when they asserted the ethnical identity of the communities after the Aurelian retreat and the thesis that any Romanian historian should start his exposure on the history of Romanians

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sa-l trimita la curte" (Documente ... sec. XVII, B, vol. I, p. 43) etc. Vezi si alte documente in St. Olteanu, Societatea Carpato-Danubiano-Pontica, p. 228 si urm.; St. Stefanescu, "Romaniile" ... in Drobeta, I, 1974, p. 7176; Henri H. Stahl, Contributii la studiul satelor devalmase romanesti, vol. III, Bucuresti, 1965, p. 9 si urm.

[52] Povestind evenimentele referitoare la trecerea vizigoţilor în Imperiul romano-bizantin de la finele sec. III, goniţi din spate de huni, Eunapis precizează, ca martor ocular, că aceşti vizigoţi trecând Dunărea ca federaţi: "fiecare trib (φυλη) aducea cu sine în căruţe odoarele sfinte strămoşeşti luate de acasă împreună cu preoţii şi preotesele lor" (*Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae*, vol.II, Bucureşti, 1970, p. 245).

Aşadar, aceste populaţii germanice, în momentul pătrunderii pe teritoriul nord-dunărean nu depăşisera stadiul gentilic. A se vedea şi alte studii: Şt. Olteanu, *Problema începutului evului mediu...*, în "Nicolae Iorga, Documente", vol. V, Bucureşti, 2008, p. 475 şi urm..; idem, *Obştea sătească...*, în "Nicolae Iorga, Documente", vol. X, Bucureşti, 2010, p. 343 şi urm.

[53] Detalii cu exemple semnificative în această privinţă, la Şt. Olteanu, *Cu privire la structura socială...*, p. 205 şi urm. Justiţia obştilor medievale din ţările române conservă aproape inalterată această străveche structură social-politică. Documentele cancelariei voievodale evidenţiază acest principiu de justiţie autonomă a obştii săteşti. Într-un document din 1531 se arată cum cel vinovat de moartea unui om, trebuie legat şi transportat cu carul la scaunul domnesc, singurul în măsură să aplice pedeapsa capitală (*Documente privind Istoria României,* veac XVI, B, vol. II, p. 101). În alt document din 1602 se arată: "Care om va fi vinovat, să aibă judecată la bătrânii satului, pe care îi vor alege sătenii... care om va fi vinovat de moarte să-l lege bătrânii aleşi ai satului, să-l trimtă la curte" (*Documente* ... secolul XVII, B, vol. I, p. 43) etc. Vezi şi alte documente în Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danibiano-pontică*, p. 228 şi urm.; Şt. Ştefănescu, "Romaniile".., în Drobeta, I, 1974, p. 71-76; Henrri H. Stahl, *Contribuţii la studiul satelor devălmaşe româneşti*, vol. III, Bucureşti, 1965, p. 9 şi urm.

"from the first local groups determined by the defensive associations during the invasions, then the royal power abandoning of the governing rules that old Rome had ever kept ... all those rural and urban lives – stated N. Iorga – were made to melt into the ever stronger and long lasting organizations".[54]

As for the leading of the "defensive associations", of the rural communes of the communities unions or "Romans" as the Romanian historian called them, the research enriched some "previsions" of our great historian, given the written sources. It was remarked that there where there was no "official" Roman ruler, the communion leader was ensured by *the "sinedrion"* (*the old men's judgement group* as mentioned in the letter of 374) which took decisions in some cases, from non-observing commune rules, up to throwing guilty people out of the village, as could be noticed in the communes of Buzău in the 4-th century, cases similarly confirmed by the Romanian mediaeval documents of the 14-th over the 17-th centuries; in such cases, the political rulers – in our case the Visigoths – were the only ones able to apply the capital punishment.

In the rural communes under the Roman ruler (the Dobrudja and Transylvanian lands), the ruler was *"the principes locorum"* as mentioned in the papers of the Roman reign, such as at Tekirghiol[55], Ulmetum[56], Floriile[57] and on the Roman Dacian territories. According to the research workers the *"princeps loci"* was a specific position for a non-Roman structure with territorial commune relations, a *"princeps loci"* being the leader of the respective community.[58] In the 4-th over the 7-th centuries when the Roman army and administration left Dobrudja the *"princeps loci"* position disappeared from the documents[59], and the territorial commune became the general form of the social, economical and political structure of the rural communities. It was probably during that time that the positions of boyards, princes, seniors villarum, positions very frequently met in the documents of the principles' administrations much later, came into being.[60]

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The second event which due to the outstanding results was to mark the historic research of the Northern-Danubian territory in the first Christian millennium was the organization, on a large scale, of the archeological mediaeval

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[54] Mario Girardi, Saba il Goto, Martire di frontiera, Iasi, 2009, p. 15, 60.

[55] Ibidem, p. 67. Nu putem să nu menţionăm aici traducerea integrală a scrisorii din 374, în limba italiană, comparativ cu cea efectuată în *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae,* vol. II, Bucuresti, 1970, unde au fost excluse pasajii întregi din textul original, cu stiri extreme de importante despre comunitatea locală, drept pentru care se impune o nouă traducere în limba română a textului original (în greacă), incluzând si pasajele omise în traducerea din 1970. Pe de altă parte, multumesc d-lui prof.univ.dr. Nelu Zugravu care a mijlocit aparitia lucrării istoricului Italian în Colectia *Bibliotheca Patristica Iassiensis, II, fondator fiind colegul amintit mai sus.*

[56] Generalităţi..., p. 127.

[57] Alexandru Suceveanu, *Viaţa economică în Dobrogea romană*, secolele I-III e.n., Bucureşti, 1977, p. 52, 68.

[58] *Ibidem*, p. 68.

[59] *Ibidem*, p. 74.

[60] *Istoria Românilor*, vol.II, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 73.

research, at the middle of the 20-th century, all over the country, by creating national sites to identify the local population centers, including the aspect of their social and political structures. In more than 50 years of systematic research organized in tens and hundreds archeological sites, many rural communities showed up, their existence being evident in many cases between the 4-th and the 10-th centuries, and offering rich historical information on the social, economic, political and ethnical structure.[61] The main characteristic of those community was represented by their concentration in many community groups, making evident their social and political structure as associations or unions of territorial communes, social and political bodies, remarked by both Dimitrie Cantemir and Nicolae Iorga and called *"Romanii", "republics", "rural democracies" or "defensive associations"*.

Also, the existence of those communities demonstrated the continuity of inhabitants during the whole analysed period, as well as the ethnical character (based on the material and spiritual cultural aspect).[62] It is remarkable to notice the almost 30 settlements in the 4-th century A.D. discovered and searched in the Carpathian curving, on the same area where in the 4-th century they spoke about the historical episode of the first Christian person who was living on the Northern-Danubian area, as mentioned in the written documents. The "nest" distribution of 3 – 4 settlements together in a rural location, proved the existence of the "family groups" mentioned in the Romanian mediaeval documents as entities of the rural population, which were frequently assessed in the works of N. Iorga and other historians.[63]

A brief evidence of the 4-th over the 10-th settlements and necropolis, as incomplete as it might be, searched till 7-8 years ago, showed more than 2,500 traces of the humans' presence on the whole territories of the country. Similar research proved that not all those villages had developed during the mentioned time period. Only some of them had showed their presence during all that time, while others had changed their locations due to many reasons like floods, fire, diseases, invasions of migrating populations etc. In this case, one can consider the great mobility which did not modify the ethnical structure of identity under the conditions of a temporary life together with the allogenous factors.[64]

In the last centuries of the first Christian millennium, a real "demographic explosion", a growth of the territorial group dimension, due to the incoming of

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[61] Alexandru Suceveanu, *op.cit.*, p. 68, 74; *Istoria Românilor*, vol. II, p. 71.

[62] Dispariţia acestei funcţii este însoţită de dispariţia unei alte instituţii romane, cea a villae-lor; aceste două instituţii, au apărut odată cu cucerirea romană şi au dispărut împreună după retragerea armatei şi administraţiei otomane de pe teritoriul întregii Dacii.

[63] Pentru această întreagă evoluţie vezi Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică...*, p. 269 şi urm.

[64] Una dintre cele mai recente lucrări în această privinţă: Şt. Olteanu şi colab., *Comunitatea sătească de la Sirna, jud. Prahova (secolele II-X d.Hr.), în lumina izvoarelor arheologice,* Bucureşti, 2007 (cu bibliografia existentă până acum); Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică în secolele IV-XI...,* Bucureşti, 1997, p. 17 şi urm. Trebuie să ţinem seama de faptul că evidenţa numerică la care ne referim, datează cu circa 10 ani în urmă, aşa încât, datele pe care le prezentăm, în această privinţă, ar putea fi depăşite, nesemnificative, desigur, datorită unora dintre cele mai recente studii efectuate în acest sens.

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other smaller groups in the immediate vicinity took place, giving birth to the social and political structures known as Romanian principalities, and mentioned so in the written documents as a result of their evolution from the communes and commune unions of the former centuries[65], which Dimitrie Cantemir and Nicolae Iorga, the two great personalities of our history, called "republics", "Romanii", "rural democracies", "defensive associations" etc.[*] By relating the information in the written documents – mainly chronics – to the demographic concrete situation, one could notice a perfect correspondence between the contents of the written documents and the results of the archeological research. Thus, the territorial group of houses formed of about 50 units, identified in the Northern-Western part of Transylvania and dating from the 8-th over the 10-th centuries, according to the ceramics and the monetary materials, corresponded to the social and political body under the reign of Menumorut, mentioned in the *Anonimous Chronics*.[66] A similar correspondence may be found in the case of the territorial groups in the center and South-East of Transylvania, formed of tens of villages, as mentioned in the chronics, in the case of Gelu's principality (*quidam blachus*) and in other Eastern and Southern Carpathian areas[67].

As for the Latinity and the people's religion in the mentioned social and political structures, and in general in the rural communities on the Northern-Danubian territory during the first Christian millennium, there are numerous proofs, represented by the Latin inscriptions on the ceramic fragments and by the written documents of the Byzantine sources. In many archeological sites, elements of culture provincial Roman civilization – as for instance the specific ceramics – were found on a ceramic fragment found in Vârvoru (the Dolj county) with the Latin words *"Patel <l>" and "Marcus"* (the 4-th – 5-th centuries) were carved. Also, there were bricks on which Latin words were carved, bricks found in the areas of Sucidava, Drobeta, Jidava etc., and an inscription from Romula of that time and from Ratiaria: *"Anastasiana Ratiaria simper floreat"[68],* as well as Latin names of places: Caput Bubali, Pons Aluti, Aquae etc.

With regard to the spoken language, written sources -among which that of Priscus of Panion- mentioned that at Atilla's court the language spoken by the Byzantine delegations was the Ausonic language used by the translators, a language of Latin character[69]; in 545, an inhabitant on the Wallachian land, "was speaking in Latin"[70].

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[65] Şt. Olteanu şi colab., *Comunitatea ...,* Bucureşti, 2007.

[*] Şt. Olteanu şi colab., Societatea ..., (capitolul respectiv).

[66] Şt. Olteanu, *Cu privire la structura socială*..., în Rev.ist., 4, 1984; vezi şi Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea...,* p. 237.

Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, ed. Szentpetery, vol. I, Budapesta, 1937, p. 59-64, 101-103;cf. G. Popa Lisseanu, Izvoarele istoriei românilor, vol.I, Bucureşti, 1934, p. 64-65; Şt. Olteanu, *Realităţi demografice pe teritoriul Transilvaniei în sec. VIII-XI*, în *"Studii",* 1975, p. 12

[67] H.H. Stahe, *op.cit.,* vol. III (passim).

[68] Şt. Olteanu şi colab, Comunitatea sătească de la Sirna...; Şt. Olteanu, Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică în secolele IV-XI, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 19 şi urm.

[69] Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea...* (cap. respective); H.H. Stahl, *op.cit.*, în special vol. III.

[70] *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, ed. Szentpetery*, vol. I, Budapesta, 1937, p. 59-64, 101-103;cf. G. Popa Lisseanu, Izvoarele istoriei românilor, vol.I, Bucureşti, 1934, p. 64-65; Şt. Olteanu, *Realităţi demografice pe teritoriul Transilvaniei în sec. VIII-XI*, în *"Studii",* 1975, p. 12

In the 7-th century, the *Strategikon* of Mauricius mentioned the fact that some refugees North from the Danube in the Byzantine Empire were used by the Byzantine army as guides in the military campaign against the Slaves and the Avars at the North of the Danube. A fragment of *Strategikon* clearly showed that a Byzantine army fighting the migratory groups who were settling there used the information given by the inhabitants at the North of the river, for not falling into the ambush, news reported several years ago.[71]

The new religion, Christianity in the Latin language, which played an important role in the process of Romanization was proved by the numerous inscriptions with a Christian character found on ceramic pieces, stones and bricks in the searched settlements (Christian signs and symbols)[72], information added to what was provided by the written sources as mentioned before, all demonstrating the tight connections between the Roman world and Christianity, along the first Christian millennium on the Northern-Danubian territory.

Several significant conclusions can come out, for better understanding the historical process in terms of the social and political structure of the rural North Danubian communities after the Aurelian retreat, as it was reflected in the works of Dimitrie Cantemir and Nicolae Iorga, the two great personalities of our national history.

Although so different from the epoch there were living in, one at the end of 17-th century and the beginning of the next one, and the other during the full Romanian modern epoch, the ideas rendered in their works with a view to the social and political structure of the North-Danubian communities, expressed as principles of the ethnical identities, surprisingly coincide, even if with Cantemir these principles are less analyzed, compared to Nicolae Iorga's rich approach in his work.

The communities continuous living, the Latin origin and the Christian religion, the genuine social and political structures called "*republics*" by Cantemir and "*romanii, rural democracies, defensive associations* or *communes* and *commune unions*", they all render the same organizational contents, clearly reflected in the Romanian mediaeval documents. All these ideas of the two personalities have been confirmed by the research in the second half of the 20-th century to date, by the written sources and by the archeological research facts – founding, as the author tried to demonstrate in the above lines.

Nicolae Iorga, considered the greatest Romanian historian, the depositor of an exceptional historical information, created a new dimension to the dawns of the Romanian mediaeval historical epoch, on the grounds of the ethnical identity principles already exposed, proving his scientific maturity.

As Nicolae Iorga showed during the History Convention in London, in 1913, "the historian's lecture has to start from the first local formations due to the defensive associations during the migration time ...; all these autonomous rural and urban lives, meant to melt in even stronger and long lasting formations, were the elements of a territorial reality, the sign that differentiated the epoch which was to arise soon ... I could add that studying the independent groups ...

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[71] Şt. Olteanu, *Societatea...*, p. 35-36.
[72] *Istoria Românilor*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 612-613.

*of the "Romanii" was, for me, one of the major lines of the mediaeval epoch".***73**

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73 *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae*, vol. II, p. 265, 277, 279.

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DESCRIEREA MOLDOVEI, UN CHEF - D'ŒUVRE DU GRAND SAVANT HUMANISTE DIMITRIE CANTEMIR

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Abstract: Description of Moldova, is a masterpiece of art of the great humanist Dimitrie Cantemir, by emphasizing the Roman origin of the people and the Romanian language, continues and develops ideas of our chroniclers. The humanist philosopher Dimitrie Cantemir went through the experience of a personal synthesis between the two cultural areas - eastern and western – and he developed a profound intuition of the European culture characteristic of his people. It is this greate merit that we try to explain in this communication.

Keywords: description, masterpiece, humanities, civilization, culture, people, European spirit.

Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723), souverain et grand érudit

Prince de la Moldavie, fils du prince régnant Constantin Cantemir, Déméter Cantemir (1673 - 1723) a été détenu par les Turcs, comme otage pour la fidélité de son père. Habitant à Constantinople entre 1688 - 1691, le jeune Cantemir a étudié à l'Académie de la Patriarchie où il a appris, outre le latin, le grec et le slavon qu'il avait déjà appris chez lui, le turc, le persan et l'arabe. Déméter Cantemir, voïvode de la Moldavie, devenu ultérieurement conseiller du tsar Pierre Le Grand, mathématicien, historien, théologien, compositeur, architecte et romancier, est l'une des grandes personnalités de la culture orientale, l'une des plus complexes et des plus originales de son époque.

Né dans un pays dévasté par les guerres qui était sous la vassalité des Turcs et sans avoir accès aux bibliothèques et aux salles d'études, Déméter Cantemir a su créer un ouvrage qui aujourd'hui encore est inégalable. En effet il a réussi à le faire grâce à l'environnement intellectuel qui régnait dans sa famille, ainsi qu'à la période qu'il a passé à Constantinople en tant qu'otage. C'était „à la mode" à l'époque que le prince régnant envoie en tant qu'otage un des ses proches, un fils ou une fille, qui était décapité en cas de révolte du prince régnant contre la Porte Ottomane. A Constantinople, le jeune Déméter Cantemir est allé à l'école de la Patriarchie Orthodoxe où il a appris plusieurs langues étrangères telles que le latin, le grec, le turc, l'arabe, le persan, l'italien, le slavon, le français, l'allemand. Il a été aussi initié dans les mathématiques, l'histoire, la géographie. Il y a également étudié la musique, se montrant très intéressé aux harmonies de la musique turque et leur a donné plus tard une forme musicale, devenant ainsi le premier musicologue turc. Durant toute sa vie, Déméter Cantemir a été proche des livres et des savants, fait apprécié par le sultan turc et, plus tard, par son ami,

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le tsar russe Pierre le Grand. En 1711, après avoir perdu la bataille menée avec l'armée de Déméter Cantemir, Pierre le Grand a dû conclure un armistice avec les Turcs. A la demande de la partie turque de rendre le prince moldave, le tsar a répondu: „Je céderais plutôt le territoire russe jusqu'à la mer Azov, car je suis conscient que je pourrai le récupérer, mais je ne céderai jamais mon ami". Les œuvres d'études orientales de D. Cantemir sont «Incrementa atque decrementa aulae othomanicae», écrite en latin, à la demande de la Reine de l'Angleterre (1716), «De muro Caucaseo», écrite en latin en 1722, «Le Système de la religion mahométane», écrite à la demande du Tsar de la Russie en 1722 - l'original de l'ouvrage en latin étant nommé «Curanus » (Le Coran) - Colectanea orientalia, écrite en latin en 1722. On pourrait y ajouter un «Traité de musique orientale», «Tarifu ilmi musiki ala veghi makus», écrit en turc en 1704. Écrivain de formation encyclopédique, membre de l'Académie de Berlin à la proposition du philosophe allemand Leïbnitz, Déméter Cantemir est resté dans la conscience de la postérité aussi par le fait que son nom est inscrit sur l'une des plaques en marbre de la façade principale de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Géneviève de Paris. Vivant dans l'ambiance idéologique et culturelle de l'Académie grecque de Phanar, qui perpétuait la tradition de Byzance, et dans l'ambiance du milieu turco-oriental où il avait pénétré, le prince moldave réussit à s'assimiler les trois grandes cultures de son époque: le classicisme gréco-latin, l'humanisme italien et la culture musulmane, s'avérant ainsi le plus grand encyclopédiste de son temps. Son séjour à Constantinople se place à la fin du XVIIe siècle (1688 - 1710), alors que la décadence de la puissance et de la grandeur de l'Empire Ottoman avait déjà commencé. Durant l'automne de 1700, victime de quelques complots, le frère de Déméter Cantemir, le prince régnant Antioche, est chassé du trône. Se trouvant encore à Constantinople, Déméter vit une période de l'argent donné par son frère alors que celui-ci se trouvait encore au pouvoir; mais les ressources financières s'étant épuisées, il devient précepteur des fils de quelques riches de la ville. C'est ainsi que, à la demande de ses élèves, il écrit ce traité sur la musique turque, «Tarifu ilmi musiki ala vêghi makus» (1704), c'est-à-dire «Brève explication de la musique théorique», l'unique ouvrage écrit en turc et conservé dans la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Turcologie d'Istanbul. Son œuvre d'homme de lettres et savant européen se concentre entre 1711 et 1719. Humaniste reconnu, il est nommé à l'Académie de Berlin en 1714. C'est cette dernière qui lui commande sa *Descriptio Moldaviae*, qu'il rédige en latin en 1714 et qui reste l'un de ses ouvrages les plus connus. Ecrit en latin pour qu'il soit accessible à tous les savants, ce livre a été acquis par toutes les grandes bibliothèques du monde.

Dans son dernier ouvrage, *L'Historique de l'ancienneté des Roumano-moldo-vlaches*, il démontre la latinité des Roumains et le rôle de sacrifice qu'ils ont joué dans la défense de la civilisation européenne."Descriptio Moldaviae", œuvre de Déméter Cantemir écrite à la demande de L'Académie de Berlin est composée de trois parties: I. La Partie géographique; II. La Partie politique; III. La partie concernant les conceptions religieuses et les lettres des Moldaves. La première partie contient une description géographique de la Moldavie, l'auteur étant préoccupé par les formes de relief, par les eaux de la Moldavie, par les localités, par la flore et la faune du pays. Déméter Cantemir est aussi le premier

qui réalise une carte de la Moldavie. La deuxième partie de cette œuvre représente la structure politico-administrative du pays, la forme de gouvernement, la façon de nommer les princes régnants, ou celle de les répudier, les traditions de fiançailles, de noces et d'enterrements chez les boyards et dans la famille du prince régnant, les cérémonies des festins à la cour princière. La troisième partie concerne le folklore des Moldaves, Cantemir étant préoccupé d'abord par la poésie des incantations, par les chants funèbres ou par la légende de «Traian et Dochia». On présente aussi différents aspects de l'ethnographie moldave notamment concernant les vêtements. Les références à la langue des Moldaves sont aussi très intéressantes surtout en ce qui concerne certains aspects de l'étymologie des mots, faisant référence aux régionalismes, de même que les lettres utilisées dans l'écriture des habitants de la Moldavie. Dissertant «de litteris Moldavorum» — sur l'écriture cyrillique — l'ex-voïévode de Moldavie, réfugié en Russie à la suite de la victoire turque de Stànilesti sur l'armée du tsar Pierre Ier (18-22 juillet 171 1), note de très intéressants détails sur la formation intellectuelle des fils de boyards: la seule langue qu'on leur faisait apprendre était le slavon (langue de la chancellerie, comme de l'Église roumaine), nécessaire à la lecture de la sainte Écriture[1]. Descriptio Moldaviae décrit aussi la langue parlée dans les écoles et les autres traditions insistant autant sur les qualités des Moldaves telles que: la gaieté, l'hospitalité que sur leurs défauts comme le caractère coléreux, l'humeur irascible. Sont aussi présentés les rites et les dieux: Lado, Mano, Zana Dragaica, Ursitele, Sanzienele, étant rappelé pour la première fois le nom du Zburatorul, être surnaturel doué d'un pouvoir extraordinaire, celui d'insuffler le sentiment d'amour dans l'âme des jeunes filles. L'œuvre de Déméter Cantemir «La Description de la Moldavie», en dehors de sa remarquable valeur scientifique a aussi une valeur littéraire par les descriptions vraiment poétiques que l'auteur fait surtout concernant les formes de relief: montagnes, vallées, collines, eaux, rivières, fleuves, plaines, etc. Les beautés de la Moldavie créent l'impression d'un pays de rêve, édénique. La description de Ceahlau, de la montagne mythologique est accentuée par des éléments visuels, chromatiques et auditifs, par des vues d'ensemble, panoramiques, telles que les gros plans. A la grandeur géologique dans son aspect immuable, on ajoute le filon d'eau, signe de la dynamique, du mouvement et du son. La beauté des images artistiques et les comparaisons soulignent le tableau unitaire. Et voila de quelle façon artistique réussit Cantemir à rendre ce merveilleux tableau de nature.

«Muntele cel înalt se numeşte Ceahlăul, despre care, dacă anticii ar fi făcut

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[1] Voir Dimitrie Cantemir qui ajoute: «Qui grammaticae slavonicae operám daret, vix aliquis reperiebatur, praecipue cum eius linguae grammatica a Maximo Cretensi, quem hodie Rutheni canonicum sanctum habent, elaborata, et semel tantum Moscvae édita, rarissime inveniretur, at super ioři saeculo, postquam sub Basilii Albani principátu oecumenico throno reddita fuerit Moldavia, expergefieri, et e profundis, quibus obsita [erat] barbariei tenebris, ad lucem aliquantulum perduci coepit. Huius enim principis cura primo Iassiis schola Graeca condita, iussumque fuit, ut in omnibus lauris maioribus monachi graeci reciperentur, qui nobilium filios graecis litteris et scienta instruerent; ab eodem institutům fuit, ut in templo cathedrali in honorem patriarchalis ecclesiae alter chorus graecis psaltis constaret, totaque liturgiae dimidia graeco, dimidia slavonico sermone recitaretur, quod et hodie observatur.» cité par la grammaire slavonne de Mélétius Smotrit-Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique, XVI (1), janv.-mars 1975, pp. 119-121.

vorbire în Basmele lor, ar fi fost tot atât de vestit ca şi Olimpul, Pindul sau Pelias. Este aşezat în ţinutul Neamţului, în apropiere de izvoarele Tazlăului şi pe la mijlocul lui, acoperit de zăpezi. Pe vârf nu se găseşte pic de nea, încât pare a fi deasupra norilor. De pe culmea cea mai ascuţită, care se ridică sub forma unui turn, izvorăşte un pârâu alb care se rostogoleşte printre stânci abrupte şi se varsă în Tazlău cu mare zgomot. Drept în vârf se vede o statuie străveche de cinci coti, înfăţişând, de nu mă înşel, o bătrână cu douăzeci de mioare."[2]

D. Cantemir n'oublie pas de mettre en évidence avec rigueur scientifique l'origine latine de notre langue et de notre peuple. A cela s'ajoute un sentiment de fierté que nos ancêtres les Romains ont été les créateurs de civilisation et non seulement les conquérants du monde. Comme l'affirmait George Calinescu dans son «Histoire de la littérature roumaine»[3], le concept de civilisation est dans la conception de Cantemir celle d'un grand humaniste[4].

"Umanismul lui Cantemir nu formează o particularitate a unui om izolat, care a văzut multe ţări şi a citit multe cărţi. Desigur că ideile lui sociale şi politice, ca şi cele despre civilizaţie întrec pe cele ale lui Miron Costin şi ale stolnicului Cantacuzino, dar ele derivă din acelaşi curent cultural care formează şcoala umanistă românească. Şi Miron Costin tradusese şi scrisese versuri, încercase să descrie frumuseţile Moldovei, văzute de pe varful Ceahlăului. Aşadar, Dimitrie Cantemir are locul său în istoria culturii noastre şi nu în afara ei; el este un mare continuator şi un vârf de munte izolat de şirul munţilor din ţara noastră"

D. Cantemir a mis les fondements de la conscience de soi, de son identité et de sa valeur dans le cadre de la culture européenne. A une époque où l'Occident tentait de se définir lui-même en tant qu'esprit européen, Cantemir a connu une expérience particulière, et nous devons souligner que le grand érudit est le créateur d'une synthèse personnelle entre les deux espaces culturels: oriental et occidental et il a eu toutefois l'intuition profonde de la caractéristique européenne de la culture de son peuple. C'est en cela que réside son grand mérite et son immense originalité. D. Cantemir écrit avec fierté une description de la Moldavie, tout en essayant de faire connaitre à l'étranger l'image d'un peuple brave et celle d'un pays riche et il faut noter qu'il s'est proposé de le faire dans la plus stricte objectivité scientifique. Le Chapitre «Sur les mœurs des Moldaves» signale les défauts qui caractérisent son peuple et au lieu d'essayer de le tromper par des louanges. Donc on met en évidence tant les ombres dans les caractères que les lumières.

En effet, dans ce chapitre, le savant essaie une première définition de la personnalité de son peuple avec les quelques limites imposées par son époque. On remarque ainsi que les Moldaves sont des personnalités ouvertes, joviales, mais parfois caractères instables, fiers, aimant le scandale et méprisant l'étude, mais connaisseurs des choses de la guerre comme tous les peuples qui ont de la confiance dans le destin. Animés par la joie de vivre, les Moldaves aiment toujours faire la fête et accueillent les étrangers avec beaucoup d'hospitalité. L'auteur offre des informations concernant la façon de choisir les princes

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[2] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei,* BPT, 1981, p.39
[3] George Calinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, 1941, Bucureşti.
[4] George Călinescu, ibidem, 1941, Bucureşti.

régnants et celle de les répudier et de les chasser du trône, les habitudes des Moldaves concernant les événements les plus importants de leur vie: le baptême, le mariage, l'enterrement. Concernant les habitudes de mariage l'auteur précise la cérémonie religieuse et le festin. Il constate l'état général de pauvreté du peuple à cause des tributs dus aux Turcs, il déplore le sort malheureux du pays. Comme nos grands chroniqueurs Neculce, Ureche ou Costin, l'érudit prince Cantemir condamne l'avidité abusive des Ottomans qui spoliaient les pauvres Moldaves.

Les riches traditions expriment la fantaisie et l'esprit créateur des Moldaves telles que l'auteur nous décrit et réalisant ainsi une vraie étude ethnographique: "hora, paparudele, drăgaica, zburătorii, orația de nuntă, căluşarii, (…)" Căluşarii se adună o dată pe an şi se îmbracă în straie femeieşti. În cap îşi pun cunună împletită din pelin şi împodobită cu flori (…). Toţi au în mână câte o sabie fără teacă, cu care ar tăia îndată pe oricine ar cuteza să le dezvelească obrazul (…). Căpetenia cetei se numeşte "starit", al doilea "primicer" (…). Căci ei au peste o sută de jocuri felurite şi câteva aşa de meşteşugite, încât cei ce joacă parcă nici nu ating pământul şi parcă zboară în vazduh. În felul acestea petrec cele zece zile între Înălţarea la cer a lui Hristos şi sărbătoarea Rusaliilor şi străbat toatea târgurile şi satele, jucând şi sărind (…)" Bogăţiile neasemuite, păduri, lunci, ape, ogoare, livezi, vânat ales fac din Moldova un tărâm edenic. "Ierunca are o carne foarte gingaşă şi albă, şi la gust întrece potârnichile şi chiar fazanii".[5]

Très importantes sont aussi les descriptions sur les rituels religieux et sur les croyances du peuple dans le chapitre «Sur la religion des Moldaves» de même que sa théorie sur la descendance latine de la langue roumaine. Pour démontrer la continuité de l'élément latin dans notre langue, a son avis, plus que dans l'italien, l'auteur de l'ouvrage Descriptio Moldaviae réalise la première fiche de philologie comparée. Nous mentionnons, qu'avec ces théories, Cantemir voulait mettre en évidence l'origine noble des Roumains en tant que descendants directs des Romains. Déméter Cantemir décrit avec fierté La Moldavie, désirant imposer à l'étranger l'image d'un peuple brave et d'un pays riche mais malheureux à cause de la domination ottomane. Il se propose toutefois une très stricte objectivité.

Conclusion

Par la complexité de ses analyses et descriptions le livre Descriptio Moldaviae devient un chef d'œuvre consacré à l'ethnographie et à la géographie de notre peuple. L'écrivain devient ainsi notre premier savant manifestant des préoccupations pour les études d'ethnographie et de folklore avec un profond amour du pays et témoignant d'authentiques qualités littéraires.

Nous pouvons constater que l'œuvre de Cantemir propose un style érudit et, en général, rhétorique. Sa valeur s'impose d'une façon ample, documentaire par des idées progressistes et par son esprit encyclopédique.

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[5] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei,* BPT, Bucuresti, 1981.

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DIMITRIE CANTEMIR AND *THE BOOK OF THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC,* AN UNPRECEDENTED MUSICOLOGICAL DOCUMENT IN THE HISTORY OF MUSIC.

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Abstract: Dimitrie Cantemir, a European encyclopedic scholar, composer, musicologist and theorist had a major contribution to the history of music by writing the first scientifically structured work dedicated to the Oriental music, designed in an erudite, European style. His Book of the Science of Music, a collection of over 350 compositions, nine of which were his own, outlined the theory and patterns of the 17th and 18th century Ottoman music, being written in a notation system which was also created by Cantemir himself. His document majestically reveals over the centuries Istanbul's three major ethnic communities, Turkish, Armenian and Sephardic, with their both secular and religious music.

Keywords: musicologist, theorist, Ottoman music, erudite style, unprecedented research, notation system.

Dimitrie Cantemir, a European encyclopedic scholar, orientalist, historian, philosopher, linguist, ethnographer, geographer, composer became also famous for his theoretical musicological contributions, and also for his original artistic creations, which offered him a world-wide fame, during his time and over the centuries, too.

It is meaningful that the first contacts which Cantemir had with the musical domain took place in his early youth. Due to his father's initiative, he had the privilege of being initiated into the study of Byzantine and Gregorian music by Ieremia Cacavelas[1], a Greek scholar who originated from Crete, whom Constantin Cantemir had brought from Valachia especially for his son; Ieremia who was also a monk-priest, having studied religion, philosophy, as well as medicine, and had been appreciated by the famed *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettre ed arti* as being among "illustri maestri, poliglotta famoso, compositore di musica e abile desegnatore"[2]. It goes without saying that those two years (1691-1693) during which Cantemir was his disciple were very significant for his future musical creations.

Cantemir arrived in Istambul in 1693, at the age of twenty, at first as an elegantly appointed diplomatic hostage, which was a way of assuring the Sultan

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[1] Victor Ghilaș, *La musique religieuse dans l'oeuvre de Dimitrie Cantemir*, in <*Travaux du symposium international Le Livre. Les Roumains. L'Europe*>. Editeur Bibliothèque de Bucarest, București, 2011, p. 108
[2] *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettre ed arti,* Instituto Treccani, Roma, 1972, p 778

that his home province, Moldavia, wouldn't undertake plans for independence. Later on he came as a diplomatic envoy of his father, Constantin Cantemir, the ruler of Moldavia.

Arriving in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, he goes deep into the study of music within the Academy of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate from the Phanar under the direction of Kremani Ahmed and Tamburi Angelicos both of them being famous teachers of musical interpretation, playing the kemânče and the tambur.

It was during this period that he began studying philosophy and Greek antique music with Meletius of Arta, Arabic with Nefioglu and mathematics and Turkish with Esad Efendi of Ioannina. It is not surprising that his excellent skills in studying and learning foreign languages, especially the Eastern ones, helped him learn the "subtleties of Eastern music from Kemani Ahmet Efendi"[3].

In that cultural background of Constantinople, for about twenty years he ardently studies Oriental culture and history, and obviously the technical, theoretical and practical notions of Turkish and Persian music. The end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century are as a matter of fact highly favourable for the Ottoman arts and of course for music, too. This was cultivated and privileged and those who created or played were highly honoured.

It is worth mentioning that the second half of the 17th century coincides with a continuous attempt of the Turkish artists to create an authentically Turkish style, to fiind their own artistic identity, distinguished from the scholarly music of Persian-Arabian tradition. Before that period the Persian, Syrian and Byzantine patterns had been considered to be the *canon* to follow.

Thus Cantemir became very well-known in the sphere of the Ottoman aristocracy, gaining the fame of being a virtuoso of Oriental instruments[4], enjoying a vast repertory of instrumental music: the *tanbur* (a sort of long-neckled lute, like a long guitar) and of the *ney-flute (*like the Romanian pipe)*, which were highly appreciated in Istambul. The scholar is often required to offer music classes to reputed people from the high society, aristocracy of the time. Once discovering the Turkish- Persian music, and becoming a maestro *(usta)* of this art, Cantemir turns to the best his exceptional musical gift, becoming highly appreciated as a composer, after writing his magnificent musical work *The Book of the Science of Music (Kitâbu 'Ilmi'l-Mûsîkî 'ala vechi'l-Hurûfât)),* which he dedicated to Sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730).

Cantemir's musical work, *The Book of the Science of Music* is considered by specialists to be a unique document from many perspectives: first, as an extremely important source of information regarding the theory, style and forms of the 17th century Ottoman music, and also as one of the most picturesque illustration of musical life of one of the foremost Oriental countires[5]. This

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[3] Namik Sinan Turan*, http://www.turkishmusicportal.org/article.php?id=7&lang2=en*
[4] Victor Ghilaş, *Demersul teoretico-practic al lui Dimitrie Cantemir în muzica clasică turcească*, Sud-Est, Artă. Cultură. Civilizaţie, Bucureşti, 2002
[5] *Ibidem.* p. 110

collection entirely follows the Ottoman tradition[6], but it also brings a few substantial innovations among which the most important one is a system of musical notation based on the Arabian alphabet, a notation invented by Cantemir himself, of course, and which remained in use well into the 19th century.

The musical treatise itself is joined by a collection of 355 instrumental compositions among which nine are his own. It constitutes the most important collection of 16th and 17th centuries.[7] Ottoman instrumental music which has survived up to the present, being the major source of information concerning the music of the Ottoman composers from these centuries.

The notation invented by Cantemir for writing the Turkish compositions of that time is a system of alphabtical and numerical musical writing *(ebdjedî ve'adedî)* which uses 33 combined alphabetical signs from the Arabian alphabet as well as Arabian figures from 1 to 8, for the 33 sounds from the musical scale based on the tonal capacity of the tambur. This had a length of two octaves plus one tone.

Cantemir shows that it is within these thirty-three signs that the whole music is comprised, as all musical sounds and all possible compositions can be rendered through them. They are sufficient for composing all melodic patterns, making up the basic 'vocabulary', just as the 24 letters of the alphabet were the source of so many languages. As Cantemir himself showed in the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, his method of musical notation was an invention which the Turks had never known about. The idea of using the alphabetic signs (the letters) for marking musical notes had been used ever since the 9th century by the Arabic theoriticiens, who had taken this over from the Ancient Greeks[8].

From a certain point of view, music is an infinite science, since the patterns, the structures of its composition are boundless, nevertheless it is at the same time limited, since it uses a definite number of modes.

The theory according to which the component structures of music are infinite is taken over by Cantemir from the ancient Greek theoreticiens.

The axiom according to which it is stated that the components are infinite *(anima ki terkibata nihayet yok)* is the guideline through which the Romanian erudite illustrates his new theory on creating musical modes.[9]

A way of widening the range of possible modal structures in music is consonance and dissonance. Through these notions Dimitrie Cantemir expresses the 'sympathy' and 'attraction' that a sound has towards another sound and the possibilities of substitution and mixture between two sounds, the familiarity between the modes. He refers to five types of consonances, according to the intervals between the two sounds.

The dissonance or the lack of correspondence between the sounds (that is

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[6] This issue is extensively enlarged by Corina Dumitrescu and Dragoş Rădulescu, in *Promotion of tradition in Dimitrie Cantemir's work*, in the volume *Dimitrie Cantemir A Prince among Philosophers and a Philosopher among Princes*, Pro Universitaria, Bucureşti, 2011, p. 15-21

[7] Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Dimitrie Cantemir, Cartea Ştiinţei muzicii,* Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală, 1973, p 35.

[8] Tiberiu Alexandru, *Folcloristică. Organologie. Muzicologie. Studii.* Editura Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1980, p.231

[9] *Ibidem*, p.56

their non-consonance) has itself five forms. This happens when the instrument is not correctly tuned, when the musician does not obey the mode structure, when he does not play sounds accurately, or when he changes the musical mode from a composition to another within the same suite. The author makes detailed reference to the affinity of a certain sound towards others, based not only on the interval between sounds but also on the tonal consonance.

All the ideas concerning the modes, which are expressed by Cantemir in the first part of the treatise, are unprecedented, being illustrated for the first time in the Turkish music literature. The treatise majestically reflects his scientific research for creating a logical paradigm in a field which was up to that time devoid of a real theoretical support, and to assert a new theory based on a scientifical and practical method. Dimitrie Cantemir collects in his treatise a highly precious collection of instrumental compositions, the most important from the end of the 17th century. As a matter of fact, Cantemis's collection is the only instrumental one from the literature of Turkish classical music.

Interestingly, Dimitrie Cantemir asserted himself in the domain of musical composition, too. His creations, which have been preserved in the original notation system is only part of his whole original creations written by the erudite. At present it is considered that about 43 musical works (mostly instrumental ones) belong to him, these being transcribed into the western notation by Rauf Yekta, Suphi Ezgi, Halil Can, Iacob Ciortea.

Cantemir's erudition was also expressed in another musical area: the musical acoustics. He refers to his own invention: a mathematic instrument of musical sonometry, capable of measuring the height of temperate and non-temperate sounds natural and artificial, simple and composed sounds.

Around 1700, Cantemir himself remarks in his *History of the Ottoman Empire:* 'Europeans may fiind it strange that I refer here to the love of music of a nation which Christians regard as barbarian'[10]. He admits that barbarianism possibly reigned during the period when the empire was being formed, but the author states that once the great military conquests had finished, the arts, 'the ordinary fruits of peace, found thier place in men's minds. The following lines come as a conclusion, which may appear to be very surprising to the European readers: I would even venture to say that the music of the Turks is much more perfect than that of Europe in terms of metre and the proportion of words, but it is also so difficult to understand that one could hardly be put to find more than a handful of individuals with a sound knowledge of principles and subtleties in this art'[11].

His impressive learning and cultural experience are obviously mirrored in his creations; the religious dimension of his musical work are also to be taken into consideration when referring to Cantemir's cultural legacy ant to his musical creations in particular. As a matter of fact, his works illustrate his vast knowledge of Orthodox-Christian religion, as well as Islamic one, which are an important source of his musical creations.

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[10] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Istoria Imperiului Ottoman. Creşterea şi scăderea lui.* Ed. Societăţii Academice Române, Bucureşti, 1876, p. 724. The traslation into English belongs to us.
[11] *Ibidem*, p. 725

His reflections on the Byzantine music lay emphasis on his well-known musical culture, since Byzantine music is achieved by his own national and spiritual identity and later on by means of his education in the spirit of the Orthodox Christian religion.

Certain specialists show that Cantemir mastered the Ecclesiastical Slavon used in the choral psalmody in Romania and the other orthodox countries. So he had the immense privilege of getting in the know with the music of the canon Ecclesiastical tradition. In support of this we could mention his ties with Calinic II, the patriarch of Constantinople during 1694-1702, with Dosoftei II (1669-1707) and his nephew Hrisant Notaras. Even during his 'exile' to Russia he actually continued to have very good relationships with the circles of the orthodox Church and Byzantine medium. Interestingly, his personal secretary himself, Ivan Ilinsky, had graduated from the Academy of Orthodox Theology in Moscow.

In his writings, as we have already stated, Cantemir also dealt with religious music, which he analysed from the perspective of the orthodox religion. For example he enlarges upon the music unfallibly accompanying the coronation ceremony of the Moldavian princes.

Cantemir also illustrates by means of conclusive examples that religious music is very tightly related to the ceremonies specific to the princely court: it is the case of the time when the prince is leaving for war: this is the scene when the prince goes to the bishop in order to receieve his blessing; all during this time, church choir is glorifyingg the prince, singing the *Axion* (*Dignus est* – in Latin).

Other passages of his writings provide the readers with very interesting details on the ceremonies of the religious services other than the Liturgy: the Vecernia (the evening prayer) when David's psalms are sung and the Utrenia (the morning prayer).

For a very long time Dimitrie Cantemir's music was preserved in a hardly accessible musical notation and in foreign languages which were not widely used in the scientific research, being away from any exegesis. An important contribution to throwing light upon Cantemir's musical creation was the research made by scholars like Burada, Ciortea, Breazu, Cosma, Popescu –Judetz, etc.

Thus, Cantemir's musical creation has remained a very precious artistic thesaurus, which is valued not only in Romania and Turkey, but also throughout the Balkans, and all over the world.

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DIMITRIE CANTERMIR'S DIPLOMACY IS STILL PRESENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD EVEN AFTER THREE CENTIRIES

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Abstract: Born in October 26, 1673, Dimitrie Cantemir reigned in Moldavia between 1710 and 1711; his fame was unanimously acknowledged by all European personalities in his quality of a historian, geographer, sociologist, philosopher, jurist, man of letters, orientalist, theologian and musician.

At the same time he made himself known as a remarkable diplomat who distinctly expressed valuable concepts on the foreign policy and diplomacy concerning the history of the Romanian law.

His seven-months-reign - December 1710 - July 1711- were equidistant from the Union of the Romanian countries during the reign of Prince Michael the Brave (1600) and the year of the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu (1821).

Keywords: Cantemir, Peter the Great, Istambul, diplomacy, Ieroglific history, The Treaty since 1711, the feud, moral, human flaws.

Cantemir is to be studied in the context of the relationship between the man of science and the politician, between the philosopher and the diplomat, between theory and practice, between certainties and desiderata, between the home and the international context, between the struggle for Union and Independence.

When speaking about Cantemir one has to take into account the ups and downs of a mere seven-months reign, the tactics and strategy of the Stănileşti battle, the insufficient psychological training of the nobility and of the people before the Stănileşti battle, as well as his international acknowledgement as a member of the Berlin Academy and his diplomatic activity - aspects to be enlarged upon in the following.

As a successor of Prince Neagoe Basarab - who, two centuries before, wrote "*Moral Advice to His Son Teodosie*", Dimitrie Cantemir made himself appreciated for his various preoccupations, as well as for the connections he established between the practical activity and his social and political theories rooted in the realities of his epoch.

Consequently, his "*Hieroglyphic History*" (1705) - written during his stay in Constantinople - expressed his diplomatic activity and, at the same time, his own conceptions regarding the problems appeared in both diplomacy and foreign policy.

Dimitrie Cantemir was interested in discovering truth and in establishing

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justice; with this view in mind he issued political principles meant to train the Romanian people in ethics and politics.

Animated by a deep and strong love for his country, he was much above the petty ambitions dominting the ruling classes who, unfortunately, brought about an undesirable deepening of the Romanian countries' dependency on the Turks.

His political and juridical conception was put into practice in the period of his Moldavian reign; later, it was enlarged and analyzed in some of his works, completed and printed in Russia, in the period he was carrying out his diplomatic activity at the Court of Czar Peter the Great.

In the old public law of Romania, Dimitrie Cantemir is considered to be a precursor in both home and foreign constitutional law. In all his works Dimitrie Cantemir investigateds all the aspects connected with the constitutional law, formulated diplomatic and foreign policy norms, examined the international and juridical status of Moldavia as well as the old treaties with the Porte which recognized Moldavia's autonomy, by motivating her aspirations regarding her independence and sovereignty. It is from these positions that Dimitrie Cantemir suggested another direction to be taken in the country's foreign policy, meant to lead to the independence of the Romanian state, a century and a half later.

Since his early youth Cantemir started to train himself for the diplomatic career. In the Iaşi of 1686 Dimitrie Cantemir - the young son of the Prince - participated in Moldavia's most significant diplomatic events, welcoming, together with other members of the nobility, Şerban Cantacuzino, the Prince of Wallachia who was on the way to liberate the country with Russian help, as stipulated by the treaties concluded by the Wallachian Prince.

In 1688, Cantemir was sent by his father to be a hostage for the Porte; it was there where he studied the political state of the Ottoman Empire and, on behalf of the Prince of Moldavia, he maintained, by correspondence, relations with the diplomatic representatives of the European countries.

In 1695 he was offered the throne of Moldavia, but Cantemir renounced it in favour of his brother, Antioh, as he himself aspired to the throne of Wallachia; this was the reason why he remained in Constantinople as a "capuchehaie" - that is a diplomatic representative of his brother.

By his marriage with the daughter of Şerban Cantacuzino - the ex Prince of Wallachia - Cantemir becomes his political heir and descendant in as far as the attempts of Wallachia's liberation from under the Turks were concerned.

In Constantinople Dimitrie Cantemir proved to be a good diplomat because, lacking any material means, he succeeded in annihilating a whole network of intrigues plotted against him by Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu; the latter was scared by Cantemir's diplomatic skills by which he succeeded in hiding his intentions against the Turk leaders, who, in December 1710, appointed him to the throne of Moldavia.

The Alliance Treaty between Moldavia and Russia (1711). While the Romanian countries were surrounded by the Ottoman Empire - with the exception of the Northern frontier, where Sobieski's Poland started to decline and fall under Russian influence - in 1699, after the peace concluded at Karlowitz, Austria gained Transilvania, and thus became a neighbour to Moldavia and

Wallachia; Russia, ruled by Peter the Great, became a great European power.

Dimitrie Cantemir - a connoisseur of the secrets of the Ottoman Empire - was the herald of the Turks weakening and fall and, consequently, started to elaborate a political plan meant to liberate the country, a plan based on a long time preparation and mature thinking. While in Constantinople, Cantemir promised Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, that if he became a sovereign he would side Russia; this promise made Peter the Great become his ally in his resuming the struggle for independence.[1]

The Luck treaty - wholly issued by Dimitrie Cantemir - consecrated the mutual will of the two sovereigns; it was both a military and political alliance. Cantemir's realistic vision concerning the conditions and the price under which Moldavia could liberate herself from under the Ottoman domination resided from the treaty.

The treaty - a real diplomatic success of the Moldavian man of letters - settled all the juridical and political frontiers - possible for that period - concerning the surface of Moldavia and her independence. It also included a military alliance for the liberation, defense and assurance of the main rights of the country and in case of victory - the recognition of the Cantemir dynasty or - in case of the defeat - the granting of hospitality.

The treaty also consecrated the two contractual parties their equality in rights, stipulating bi-lateral relations, materialized in the basis of certain firm declarations included in articles 1, 2, 4, 12, 13 and 16. Thus, Cantemir obtained - in exchange for his oath sworn to the Czar - the support he needed for liberating the country from under the Turks, and the future defense of Moldavia and her people.

Until the Russian troops arrived in Moldavia, the two sovereigns promised each other "to keep everything in an utmost secrecy" while Cantemir offered the Czar his support consisting in secret diplomatic information.

Peter the Great promised to throw in the fight his troops, while the Moldavian Prince offered the support of his country's troops, as well. The agreement consisted in the fact that the Czar assumed the financial support of the Moldavian troops and Cantemir, in exchange, had to offer the Czar "his precious advice." Cantemir's loyalty was to be compensated by the Czar's permanent defense and protection of Moldavia. He also assumed this obligation for his descendants to respect the clauses and the spirit of the Agreement/ Treaty, in the basis of article 16.[2] Moldavia's sovereignty was guaranteed by articles 3-10.

On the grounds of the treaty, the Cantemir family became a hereditary dynasty, having the right to transfer the throne - under the title of a sovereign - to even collateral branches, so that the Czar could not appoint any Sovereign; this clause of the treaty abolished the right of nobility to elect a Sovereign, as well as the possibility to nominate a foreign one.

The whole power of the State was concentrated in the hands of the Prince, according "to the customs", the absolutist power being in force an all European

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[1] P.P. Panaitescu, *The Alliance Treaty Between Moldavia and Russia* (1711) *250 Years Since the Conclusion of the Treaty*, "Studies", no 4, 1961, pp. 205.

[2] M. Oroveanu, *History of the Romanian Law*, Cerma, Printing House Bucharest pp. 71.

countries with the exception of Poland and the Romanian countries.

The sovereign made use of the old power in as far as the nobility was concerned, yet no changes appeared with respect to their privileges; it, thus, meant the recognition of the existing order, by the right of nobility to have authority over their properties and subjects. The whole income of the country was placed at the disposal of the Prince - with no possible control from the part of the nobility - as it happened before - and all the towns entered the property of the Prince, as well. The whole nobility and all subjects were to submit to the Prince "with no opposition or pretexts"; the decision also consecrated the Prince's power over the army, because, in the terms of the epoch, the orders regarded military obligations.

The law and the judgment belonged to the Sovereign - from the right of issuing laws on the organization of the State to social relations. The authority of administering justice - authority attributed to all the former country's rulers - was a proof of internal autonomy, the way it was defined by the old Romanian law, that is by" the law of the custom of the country."

The Czar could take no measures in Moldovia without a Prince's diploma/ authorization, so that the above mentioned protection could, by no means, prejudice the sovereignty of the country. This was the way Cantemir tried to establish an absolute reign in Moldavia, by taking into account the "old customs."

The treaty acknowledged the territorial integrity of the sovereign State of Moldavia - within the former frontiers from the Stephan the Great's reign - before losing the Danube fortresses - in the basis of article 11:"Moldavia's borders stretch between the Danube, Wallachia, the Great Duchy of Transilvania, the Polish territory, the Nistru, Cameniţa and Bender, together with the land of Buceac."[3]

This is the reason why this international document had such a great importance for the Romanians, as it stipulated the political and juridical guarantees for the whole Moldavian territory, Bessarabia included, up to the Nistru. The document was signed by Czar Peter the Great who assumed this obligation on behalf of his descendants, irrespective of their political ideology.

Nevertheless, all his descendants were and still are unanimously admiring and respecting the conceptions of this great emperor so, to observe the terms of this treaty signed by him should necessarily be enforced.

Article 14 focused on the fact that Russia bound herself not to conclude a peace treaty able to make Moldavia remain under the Turks' domination; yet, in the case the Turks succeeded to conquer Moldavia, Cantemir and his successors were offered hospitality in Russia.

The last clauses of the treaty regulated the oaths of both the Czar and Cantemir; the latter engaged himself that the moment the Russian troops were in the country, he would make all nobility, the petty nobility, the army and the Moldavian people vow their vow while, at the same time, Peter the Great solemnly engaged himself - in the ending clauses of the treaty - to "defend the Moldavian people against all their enemies."[4]

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[3] I. Minea, *On Dimitrie Cantemir, the Man, the Writer and the Sovereign,* Viaţa Românească Printing House, Bucharest, pp. 370.
[4] M. Oroveanu, *quoted works*, pp. 73.

Legally speaking, the terms of equality between the two signatory contracting parties was manifested in the rights through which both parties recognized each other's obligations.

Moldavia's autonomy and sovereignty, the power of the sovereign as well as other involved clauses, the right to have an army, to treat with other states in fully equal terms, demonstrated Moldavia's legal status as reported to other foreign countries.

Ultimately, emphasis should be laid on the fact that Peter the Great - on behalf of Russia - engaged himself to defend - from against Turkey - Moldavia's territorial integrity, maintaining her historical borders and keeping the river Nistru in her Eastern part.

Consequently, the Treaty mirrored Moldavia's historical relationships and old rights over her own territory, inhabited and defended by the Romanians against any kind of aggressors, in the terms of article 16, obliging - at the same time - all her successors to observe those terms. The ultimatum of June 6, 1940 issued by the foreign minister of the Soviet Union obliged Romania that in less than 24 hours to agree with the restoration of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union together with the Northern part of Bucovina in "compensation" for the damages caused by the 22 years' "domination" of Romania over Bessarabia.

As a result of putting the Treaty into force, on the day the first Russian detachments entered Iaşi (May 30, 1711), the Prince issued a Proclamation to the people announcing the affiliation to Russia and the interruption of any relations and vassalage with the Porte; Cantemir entitled himself the "Sovereign of Moldavia for the rest of his life, by God's mercy."

That Proclamation, whose importance was recognized by Nicolae Iorga himself, underlined the fact that the old treaty concluded by Bogdan - Stephan the Great's son - with the Turks, had been violated by the Turks for whom there existed the obligation of having paid a tribute. The Proclamation also emphasized that the old treated had been violated by the Turks when turning into ruins the Moldavian fortresses, conquering the South-Eastern part of the country, forcing some of the ladies of the country to adopt the Mohammedan religion, increasing the rate of the tributes and of the obligations to the Porte, etc.

Certain motivations from the Proclamation with regard to the independence of the country have been enlarged by Cantemir in his work "*Descriptio Moldavie*" while the evolution of the relationship between Moldavia and the Turks as well as the agreement between Bogdan the III-rd and the Porte were also enlarged in his work "*History of the Ottoman Empire.*" Cantemir's historical and juridical arguments had later been taken over by Romanian diplomats and used in a patriotic manner until the liberation of the Romanian countries from under the domination of the Porte, liberation that led to the final victory of 1877-1878, as because they corresponded to the historical truth.

Cantemr's diplomatic conception was amply described in his "*Hieroglyphic History.*" Carrying on a remarkable diplomatic activity while living in the Porte, Cantemir - when writing the above mentioned work - used a series of diplomatic codes widely used by the secret correspondence of the time and which consisted in granting animal names to certain politicians.

In improving his conceptions in the domain of diplomacy, Dimitrie Cantemir had always respected truth and justice, underlining the fact that justice cannot be stifled for ever and that the crooked and unjust works should not escape punishment.[5]

Cantemir always appreciated he who "honoured the word" more than his own life; this conception made him respect those who "kept their word."

According to his opinion, a good diplomat is to "restrain himself" from haughtiness and ambition and take into consideration only the clever advice, striving hard to choose and maintain friends and friendships."[6]

A diplomat shall - in Cantemir's opinion - work exclusively in the interest of his own country, to make use of an exquisite vocabulary, to avoid inadequate and injurious language and to be preoccupied especially by the creation of a peace favourable climate, considering, at the same time, that permanent feud could be dangerous and inconvenient.

He always spurred diplomats to use "a mild vocabulary" recommending them that, when negotiating, not to remind former misunderstandings that might create and maintain an improper atmosphere for the development of the agreements. He also suggested them to keep a certain limit during the discussions and to use only adequate words as to avoid troubles and misunderstandings which might incite the adverse part. He also invited them to cautiousness and avoidance of provoking language, as not to "exceed the limits established by the Head of the Sate".

In certain special situations they were suggested to act promptly, because any delay in decisions might bring about the appearance of undesirable prejudices. In order to efficiently carry out certain difficult missions, keeping the secret is considered to be a better way in achieving them than the discovery of the secret, which might compromise the actions to be carried on.

Cantemir appreciated that wise silence when the diplomat just listened and reflected upon the problem under discussion, in order to find the best solution meant to solve it. In case of a very firm and inflexible adverse party, Cantemir recommended a malleable position, that is no vain insistence or argumentation to be used if a certain aspect had no chance of success, at all.

Cantemir criticized and deplored the fact that the diplomatic agents of the Romanian countries at the Porte did not really serve the higher interests of their country, but only their own personal interests; they simply "sowed discord" in order to justify the utility of their fulfilled missions by creating and maintaining that tension which is contrary to a real diplomat's profile; they simply feared that, having no activity at all, they might become useless and thus, they were ready to invent no matter what as to perpetuate a painful and unfortunate business in the detriment of their country; such diplomats are not indicated to take part in negotiations as they contribute to the delay and annihilation of the negotiations.[7]

Consequently, Cantemir suggested that for the negotiations to be successful, there would be more indicated for Romanian authorized representatives be

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[5] *Ibidem*, p. 75.

[6] D. Cantemir, *Hieroglyphic History*, II-nd vol., Bucharest, 1973, pp. 67, 110, 218.

[7] M. Oroveanu, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

temporarily given a certain diplomatic mission or another.

Dimitrie Cantemir - the Romanian patriot and diplomat - dedicated his whole life and activity in favour of his country aiming to liberate her from under the Turks; all his life he carried on a permanent diplomatic activity in the service of an ideal based on a sound practical activity rooted in the conceptions of a man of science whose whole works demonstrated to be a unitary political and juridical system.

Deeply involved in the knowledge of the political phenomena, Cantemir realized that if the Romanian countries did not improve and increase their trend towards a higher state organization and remained in a state of poverty and lack of education, it was the result of the hundreds of years of Ottoman exploitation.[8]

As long as the Turks domination existed - said Cantemir, the diplomat - no suggested reforms could be enforced as for the people to prosper. A right and enlightened monarchy - the way it was imagined by Cantemir - having authority over the nobility and able to stop abuses - could not be set up in the Romanian countries, if the monarch were be forced to oppress the country in order to respond to the requirements of the Turks and when the discontented nobility denounced him to the Porte.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the fight for the State's independence was imperative in Cantemir's mind and, to achieve that aim, he demonstrated that the Ottoman Empire was failing and, consequently, he recommended that the fight for the liberation of the Romanian countries could begin.[9]

Cantemir's tendency and orientation with regard to the liberation of the Romanians also resides in the fact that he emphasized the idea that the Romanians, who had been defending the European civilization, standing like a barrier against the Turks, could deserve to be defended - in their turn - by the European states. So, he advocated a re-conquering of the Romanian countries by a war launched against the Turks, in which the Romanians should fight alongside with the Russians; the result was the conclusion of a Alliance Treaty with Russia.[10]

Being guided by lofty conceptions, Dimitrie Cantemir - the humanist and scientist -was the first to transmit the future generations of fighters for Union and Independence the juridical argument concerning our contractual relationships with the Porte, underlining the fact that the Romanian countries had not only obligations, but also rights as, for instance, the observance of the right to sovereignty.

Animated by strong feelings of love for his country and of the idea of justice, Cantermir formulated - in the domain of foreign policy - principles grounded on the traditional Romanian peace policy, on the non-interference in the home affairs of other countries and on the condemnation of invasion wars.

A highly reputed European personality, whose works placed him among the most representative names of the Romanian people, a statesman endowed with a keen juridical spirit, the first historian of the Romanian people, a profound

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[8] *Ibidem.*

[9] D. Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Bucharest 206, pp. 70 and following.

[10] *Ibidem*, p. 91.

analyst of the social and political life of his time, Dimitrie Cantemir had also worked out foreign policy principles he experienced in practice, being counted as an important doctrinarian of the Romanian diplomacy.

After a period of 300 years, Cantemi's works are sounder, more actual and more necessary than ever. The respect and appreciation he acquired in the long run, conferred the politician, the sovereign, the diplomat and the humanist personality, significance, durability in the pantheon of the Romanian science, culture and diplomacy.

The present interest manifested for Dimitrie Cantemir can support the idea that if erasing time and such syntagmata as "The Porte", "Turkey" , "Russia" one can easily notice that the relations between the past and the present, between cause and effect, empires and neighbours, sovereign and people, encyclopedic personality, man of letters, philosopher, diplomat, historian and politician, ruler or leader, the home and foreign context would find out a large similarity even after 300 centuries.

Cantemir's morality and ethics are impressive and valuable even in the present times. At Cantemir's urge "to arms" almost eight decades before the Marseillaise the "to arms citizens" was uttered. Cantemir's salvation through sacrifice is given by the report between independence and the 'pashalik' status, by the urge to modernism and legitimacy to be found with Nicolae Iorga and Nicolae Titulescu, as well. The value of Cantemir's thinking is the result of his works and of the acts concerning the discovery - with God's mercy - of the surrounding world, of the struggle between good and evil. His codified message and the transfer to animals of the human flaws - in his "Hieroglyphic History" - is nothing but hints referring to the fight for truth and justice, for honouring the word, for a favourable climate of peace. Dimitrie Cantemir condemned feud, as he considered it a chronic disease and claimed that the undesirable and injurious words should be replaced by an academic language, that the negotiators and diplomats should be more receptive to wise advice and that a "mild" tone should be used.

The so much contested feud and enmity, Cantemir often mentioned, are, nowadays, more frequently used than ever. After a long period of 300 years, the large majority of the people, the Romanians themselves, are for quietness, harmony, wisdom able to offer them the possibility to work, to create, to improve, to progress, to spiritually uplift. The punishments of those transgressions Cantemir referred to are nowadays more actual and more requested by the larger part of the Romanian population. They need Cantemir and the imminence of his thinking and writings is imperative in founding a real "School of diplomacy". We have experts in diplomacy whose knowledge, experience, wisdom and devotion shall be cleverly turned to the best of account, permanence and efficiency by the entitled ones; they are enabled and prepared to continue the tradition of the Dacians and Romanians, with pride and dignity, for the interest of the nation and of the human reason.

"The need of Cantemir" is absolutely necessary even after 300 years, the need of making his works actual, the strong need of finding among us real statesmen and patriots devoted, up to the supreme sacrifice, to the national ideals.

All through his historical works he created a vivid image of the Romanians' antiquity and unity, since their appearance on the territory of our forefathers' Dacia. Cantemir transmitted the fight for the national liberation one of the fundamental items of his political program, making the ever envisaged ideals of his people last - even if they had to face a temporary failure: The Union and the Independence - these were the ideals he - in his short reign - tried to give the a new life and the eternity.

After a period of 300 years, life and history acknowledge him!

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THE RELATION BETWEEN MORALITY AND JUSTICE IN „DESCRIPTIO MOLDAVIAE"

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Abstract: In a time when the West knew very little about this part of Europe, "Descriptio Moldaviae" provides within pages of great beauty, a broad detailed and accurate overview of the history of our country, state organization, institutions, systems of government, social life , culture, religion, customs etc.

Cantemir's works, treasury of new and old teachings, are evidence of the process of laicization of European thinking, synthesis of correction measures arising from Christian concepts, dominant in the society of that time, or of profane nature.

Keywords: law, morality, rationality, justice.

Dimitrie Cantemir, scholar opened minded towards both Eastern and Western values, left for posterity a work marked not only by the strong Slavic-Greek-Latin education, mainly owed to his teacher of Greek, Latin and philosophy, Jeremiah Cacavela, but also to the interest towards trend ideas of his time.

Being absorbed by the Greek antic sources, associated with newer writings, the scholar joins the progressive trends in an era when individualism was just beginning to establish itself, in a shy attempt to temperate absolutism and assert individual rights.[1]

Relation between morality and justice, subject of wide debate between 17th and 18th centuries, aren't an unknown concept for Dimitrie Cantemir, even though the accent is still on public interest, within a society founded on strong hierarchy, not on individual affirmation, of knowledge of separation from political power.[2]

The individual must use all his intellectual and moral qualities for the public interest: "all the glory and praise in the name of that who sweated going through a lot for his country and for his people faced all dangers"[3], "the one who seeks only his good and wealth, that lusts all evil and dark for others"[4]; "since all humanity and human dignity is accomplished by helping the helpless and not

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[1] Gh. Dănişor, *The philosophy of human rights,* Judicial Universe Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011, p. 17-18.

[2] Gh. Dănişior, *op.cit.,* p. 22-23.

[3] D. Cantemir, *Hieroglyphic history*, within *Works*, Romanian Academy Publishing House – Encyclopedic Univers, Bucharest, 2003, p. 432.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 431.

only by word, but in real example teaching the unwitting ones."[5]

The individual, always seen through the relationship with the Divine, in search of the Good, is framed in the context of his historical time, between his peers, where he can express his moral dimension; he may acquire and technically practice his virtues. Laic life does not prevent spiritual development.

Justice as social virtue is closely related to individual morality as self virtue.

In a remarkable manner, Dimitrie Cantemir proves a constant concern for ethical issues and tries to find an answer, which turns out to be surprisingly modern.

The humanist Cantemir believes the city must be strengthened from within, by promoting virtue and worthy actions throughout public life.

The value of an individual consists in his intellectual and moral qualities, not in the physical qualities („as for most people the heavy weight and the large size of the body are signs of how little their minds and souls are" and „the valor of soul is not assessed by beauty or measure of the body"[6]) of the fortune („ The wealth, the walls, the citadels are shattered and their grounds overthrown. As wealth increases more, as more the greed grows. Greed bears envy, envy springs death"[7]) or of the social situation („in this manner, by chance, the rich becoming more rich, honors and holds the highest rank; and as higher he goes, he occupies higher ranks and even higher he would go, unwilling to stop at lower rank"[8]; „as knowledge of science does not sit on thrones or in noble ranks, but it dwells in bowed and learnt heads"[9]).

Reaching personal accomplishment is the goal of life („do not be peaceful nor pleased for achieving one of the lower steps of virtue, but work continuously forward the highest step so that to be able, as much as possible, to sit on the long craved and best peak, becoming perfect" of whom final purpose is harmony and order. Knowledge of the inner self is essential within this endeavor.

The philosopher Dimitrie Cantemir, proponent of rationalism, yet young, is convinced that using sense is achieved a superior knowledge derived from sensibility, however, without challenging the latter source of knowledge. [10] Mind is given a preponderant role in finding the truth.[11]

Virtues are to be grown, the individual is perfecting by education, through rational knowledge (guided, however, by the light of faith) by the desire to understanding the laws governing nature and society ("as science of things is light of mind, so is ignorance the dark of consciousness"[12]).

The scholar observes the Moldavians lack of interest for knowledge, „not

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[5] *Ibidem*, p. 472.

[6] D. Cantemir, *Hieroglyphic history, op.cit.,* p. 443.

[7] D. Cantemir, *The Divan*, within *Workspere*, Romanian Acadamy Publishing House – Encyclopedic Univers, Bucharest, 2003, p. 185.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 186.

[9] D. Cantemir, *Hieroglyphic history, op.cit.,* p. 444.

[10] D. Bădărău, *The Philosophy of Dimitrie Cantemir,* Bucureşti, 1964, p. 303-304.

[11] V. Cândea, Introductive study to *The Divan,* within Works, *op.cit.,* p. 55.

[12] D. Cantemir, *Hieroglyphic history, op.cit.,* p. 428.

only they do not love learning, but they hate it".[13]

„Moral behavior is seldom encountered, as they were not properly raised, nor benefited of good behavioral habituation; hardly one can find among them a person adorned with good behavior, if this is not endowed with good nature."[14]

Opponent of tyranny based on unfairness, Dimitrie Cantemir supports the monarch's just domination. The ruler, must be wise, prudent, modest, gentle and just with his subjects, he also must defend and obey laws, to flee from pride and vain glory, to cultivate science and encourage teaching.[15]

The essential virtue is *wisdom* - „wisdom is the substance, the core substrate of all deeds done with fairness or of the life lived according to holly scriptures: the strength of soul is right and ordained; [...] it is the health of the human soul as the health of soul is much stronger than the one of the body"[16] - rationality *of facts*.

Praiseworthy qualities are considered as being goodness, kindness, modesty, faith in justice and "community use", as are condemned greed, lying, or thirst for glory, enriching by fraud or upward social mobility based on wealth, all the vices of the ruling class, often counting corrupt, incapable and intriguing people.

Dimitrie Cantemir mentions „Moldavians – used to have an old habit that was enforced as law - not granting the boyar rank to young people, not even if they belonged to the highest class lineage, unless they first have proved faith and skill in lower jobs[17] [...]. Only after proving the ruler, their faith and skill within this low job, they were promoted to higher positions at the royal court, even in the secret jobs; and so, after spending youth, they were promoted to 3rd boyar rank and following to the 1st rank, and in case the ruler observed cleverness and wise mind to any of them, that one could have been promoted to the highest boyar rank, even if he belonged to the lowest social position."[18]

Such a state of things no longer corresponded to the realities of the current times, when fraud enrichment and social ascension based on wealth power were common and accepted as social practices, "all military and political dignities hang [the ruler] only by his will, he grants riches to his loved ones by taking from those displeasing him, and their division is not made according to any laws." Due to such reasons "one can not even know what kind of inhuman reach the highest boyar ranks" where "among the highest boyars are the most arrogant, exalted and angry nobles; these do not have any knowledge of ruling, nor any moral behavior or honest life, being impossible to find something worthily in them, apart, possibly in some cases, of certain goodness, granted by nature, but that did not benefited of proper growth."[19]

Worthy of admiration are those, few in number, which are distinguished mainly by culture, whose merits ("worthies"), Dimitrie Cantemir does not hesitate

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[13] D. Cantemir, *Description of Moldavia,* Semne Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, facsimile reproduction of, *Description of Moldavia by Dimitrie Cantemir,* Socec & Co Library Publishing House, Anonimus Society, Bucharest, 1909, p. 227.

[14] D. Cantemir, *Description of Moldavia, op.cit.*, p. 224.

[15] N. Stoicescu, *Introductive Study to the Hieroglyphic history*, within Works, *op.cit.,* p. 338.

[16] D. Cantemir, *The Divan, op.cit.,* p. 260.

[17] D. Cantemir, *Description of Moldavia, op.cit.,* p. 209

[18] *Ibidem*, p. 210.

[19] *Ibidem.,* p. 211.

to praise even if these may be his opponents or enemies. Undeniable qualities are considered wisdom, love of learning, courage to fight for truth, knowing the limits in politics.

Ignorance, malice, wickedness, greed, injustice, lust for undeserved power, lies, all of them are condemned and criticized.

Progressive spirit and keen observer, the scholar notices the relativity of law and its arbitrary application. He considers that Abusive practices of the boyars can justify resistance to oppression, „crushing Boyar power."

Even the ruler is not always fair in his decisions („All the boyars above mentioned are supported by the country for the royal services; that is why hardly can someone reach to these positions, if one does not belong to boyar lineage, although it is the will of the ruler, to grant boyar rank even to the most ignorant ones"[20]), but it is not indulged to question this facts, the ruler's will being free of any exterior censure.

The solution proposed regarding organizing of the state is the establishment of absolute hereditary monarchy, renewing institutions and election for royal services among the capable ones, without taking into account their origin.

Promoter of the idea of *justice*, Dimitrie Cantemir places it in relation to *law* and especially to the *Christian law*. Judgment is made by "law and justice", in relation to the social benefit, but also to the ideals of fairness, to the principles that gather the Dacian-Roman heritage and the influences of Byzantine and Christian morality.[21]

Dimitrie Cantemir notes on one hand, a certain superiority to the customary rules compared to written rules - laic or religious, borrowed, a better adaptation of the former laws to the local social life realities, but he understands, on the other hand, the importance of written laws, the need and benefits of their codification and especially of codifications in Romanian language, which enables knowledge of law, especially for those who are supposed to enforce the right measure.

„For that reason, in Moldavia there were enforced two laws, one written, based on canons of the Romanian and Constantinopolitan kings and also based on the ecclesiastical canons; and another law, unwritten, that it can be called customary law, based on old costumes of the ordinary people. Due to the unwritten form of these laws, they were often violated and mocked by the unjust judges; for such reason, Vasile, the Albanian, who ruled in Moldavia, the past century, named authorized people, well trained in law sciences, to gather in one document, all the laws of the country, written and unwritten, organizing them in a single book of laws, that even today stands as right measure for the judges of Moldavia, using it to make fair judge."[22]

The just man has the liability "to guard and keep himself away from all of those forbidden by law and regulation, to observe and to accomplish all is

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[20] *Ibidem*, p. 158.
[21] F. Negoiță, *History of Romanian law and state,* Universitary Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008, p. 64-65.
[22] D. Cantemir, *Description of Moldavia, op.cit.*, p.184-185.

provided and ordered by law."[23]. On the other hand, however, "in those cases when the law is based on reluctantly and unfair justice, instead of fair and good reckoning, there is no obedience mandatory for subjects."[24]

The reign regarded of divine right, constituted the institution that concentrated all the state power, exercising the most important functions: legislative, executive and judicial. However, the powers of an authoritarian ruler are not discretionary, but have some limitations imposed by the customary rules (law of the country), the provisions and church canons. [25] Judgment is done according *justice and law of the country*.

In a period when there are no professional judges remunerated by the state, justice is considered a source of income for the ruler, for the ones tasked with judicial services and for their auxiliaries, which often proceeded at will, abusive, to the detriment of the parties.[26]

Within the Hieroglyphic History, but also in the Description of Moldavia, the scholar ruler distinguishes between three categories of boyars, nobles: the high rank ones (diligent and greedy), the middle ones" of the second category" and small nobles.[27]

„They are called in the language of the country boyars, the term being borrowed from Slavic language, by changing the Slavonic meaning of the *boleariu* word, used by Slavonic peoples in old times to call their magnates priests.

The knowledge about the boyars emergence is unknown and dark for the indolent Moldavian historians."[28]

The great boyars (first rank) are those "who stand beside the ruler during the Divan meetings, and who also accomplish the ruler's commandments in the provinces of the country and serve at the royal court. In Moldavia they are organized according to the old Greek model, mainly in consultant boyars and Divan boyars.[29] [...] And separate from the dignity of their positions, they also have the power to judge and decide over the conflicts aroused between their subjects from the lands the boyars owned in Moldavia. But the boyars of second and 3rd rank do not have such powers.[30]"

In addition to the presentation of the general atmosphere of the era, of the intrigues and excesses committed by the boyars, of the moral behavior, Dimitrie Cantemir grants valuable information, some of them unique, regarding the state organization, administrative and justice, institutions, the ruling system, political and social life of his time.

As one may have noticed, we have reason to consider that what brings Dimitrie Cantemir close to Renaissance humanism[31] and to the modern era, is

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[23] D. Cantemir, *The Divan, op.cit.*, p. 134-135.
[24] D. Cantemir, *Hieroglyphic history*, *op.cit.,* p. 443.
[25] *Ibidem*, p. 67.
[26] I. Ceterchi, coordinator., History of Romanian law*, Second Volume, Academy's Publishing House*, Bucharest, 1984, p.167.
[27] D. Cantemir, *Description of Moldavia, op.cit.*, 211-213.
[28] *Ibidem*, p. 146.
[29] *Ibidem*, p. 147.
[30] *Ibidem,* p. 154.
[31] P. Vaida, *Dimitrie Cantemir and the humanism,* Bucharest, 1971, p. 263.

primarily his deeply patriotic spirit that transpires in all his writings, especially historical ones

The Latin origin or the nation unity are leading ideas transiting his entire work, guiding milestones for determining its undeniable contribution to the progress of self-consciousness of Romanian people.[32]

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[32] S. Toma, *Introductive study to the Chronicle of old age of the Romanian-Moldavian-Wallachia people,* within *Works, op.cit.,* p. 813-816.

CANTEMIR'S ROLE AND IMPORTANCE IN EDUCATION. PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

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> *Motto*: „'A people that does not know the history, it is like a child who does not know the parents and past."
>
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Abstract: Recognition of Cantemir's interdisciplinary culture was performed at the time of his election as a member of the Berlin Academy. It works Cantemir managed to highlight culture remains and Islamic culture in Europe. Framed in history and philosophy, culture remains and Islamic culture in Europe. Framed in history and philosophy, ideas and concepts that we developed Dimitrie Cantemir still be found in the literature of our country and abroad.

Keywords: Culture, ideas, culture interdisciplinary, Romanian culture, Islamic culture.

In view of George Calinescu, Dimitrie Cantemir Lorenzo de 'Medici is ours, characterized it as:

"Prince enlightened, ambitious and blasé, man of letters and ascetic library, intriguing and solitary and misanthropic organizer people, lover of Moldova, crave and adventurer, academician Berlin, Russian prince, Roman chronicler Dimitrie Cantemir, Lorenzo de 'Medici is ours."The thought and deed to have brought forth over the centuries, deep and permanent wearing their significance in the minds and souls of those who have taught the brave struggle Dimitrie Cantemir"[1]

"Cradle Cantemiriștilor the country where they started and where they ruled, is Moldova"[2].

Dimitrie Cantemir, "was born on October 26, 1673, into a family of yeomen, Fălciu area."[3]

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[1] Simionescu Paul, Dimitrie Cantemir, ruler and humanist scholar, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969;

[2] Ștefan Lemny, *Cantemiriștii-Aventura europenă a unei familii princiare din secolul al XVIII-lea;*

[3] Lemny Stephen Cantemiriștii-European Adventure of a princely family in the eighteenth century, Ed Polirom, 2010;

1673, coinciding with the beginning versificării Romanian, marked the publication Uniev in Poland, a Psalter in verse, which is written by Metropolitan Dosoftei.

Love for teaching, he inherited from his mother, Anna, a woman who had a rich culture, to it was added in the care of his father, training, enjoyed with his brother Antiochus, which was performed on several years.

His father, "Constantin Cantemir was gifted with the art weapons and not that of the pen, the merit of his father's bravery, Constantin Cantemir, who obtained several governors, and in 1685, under the name Conastantin Voda receives the seat, the prince of Moldavia."[4]

The first teacher, Dimitrie Cantemir's, was brought especially his father "Constantin Cantemir, in Iasi, "in 1688, to deal with the education of his son named Jeremiah Cacavela, a scholar of Greek origin from Crete that contributed to the education of Dimitrie Cantemir to broaden the intellectual horizon and commitment to orthodoxy and philosophy."[5]

Scribe Jeremiah Cacavela, was a man of wide culture, passionate Latin and Greek antiquities and good knowledge of languages: Greek, Latin and Slavonic languages as Dimitrie Cantemir, he learned from it. Relative to the first notion of filozfie, Dimitrie Cantemir and has mastered all of this scholar, who incidentally, put and classical culture and theological foundations.

In the period between "1689-1691, ie at the age of 15, Dimitrie Cantemir, was sent by his father to Constantinople as a pledge, the sultan, respectively, during the turbulent wars between Turkey and Poland."[6] During this time, Dimitrie Cantemir, he continued his studies at the Academy Orthodox Patriarchate, called the Great School.

Dimitrie Cantemir is describes himself as "Greedy to know and learn many things in common and the special" Academy studying with teachers Orthodox Patriarchate, such as: Alexander Mavrocordat, Meletius of Art, notary.

His studies were focused on this period, the knowledge of philosophy, geography, general medicine, knowledge of languages: Turkish, Arabic, Persian, was performed with famous teachers.

He was concerned and studied in this period and culture, religion, literature and Turkish music with famous scholars in Fanar.

Oriental Culture, investigated Dimitrie Cantemir, will reflect later in his works.

On top of that, "also in this period, his father, made and correspondence Gate, established diplomatic relations, maintain active links with envoy of Louis XIV and the Dutch representative, through which it is in contact with science and Western culture, which demonstrates that Cantemir was known before the publication of his writings."[7]

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[4] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Constantine*, Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

[5] Stan Stoica, *Biographical dictionary the history of Romania*, Ed. Meron, New York, 2008;

[6] Idem.

[7] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine*, Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

"In 1691, back in Moldova, where he remained until his father's death in 1693, year in which the boyars elected prince of Moldavia, for proper only 20 days because the Ottoman favorite was Constantin Duca who had support from Constantin Brancoveanu, Prince of Wallachia.

In these condițiieste is forced to go to Istanbul, where you live and will continue their studies up to 37 years. In 1606, Antioch Cantemir, elected prince of Moldavia, during which, Dimitrie Cantemir, becomes reprentantul diplomatic, its the gate. "[8]

Dimitrie Cantemir, in this period, besides studies, writings, music, accompanying Ottoman army, and military experience.

Relative to the music, Cantemir Dimtrie composed music, often singing in Istanbul, the Ottoman rulers of the great feasts being considered by the Turks, a great musicologist.

In addition to being talented, he also was among the first Turkish folklore gathered and which, in transcribed by a system of musical notes, invented all by himself. Because interselor Gate, "in 1710, Dimitrie Cantemir in Moldavia is called by the port, which saw in him a man faithful and energetic to promote their policies."[9] To the throne of Moldavia, there Brancoveanu old rivalry game and the Cantemiriştilor.

Brancoveanu managed several times to obtain Moldova seat for people you's, when Dimitrie Cantemir, Prince of Wallachia was seeking, and more Romanes countries wanted release from the Turkish yoke.

"His whole life has been guided by this idea of freedom of the Romanian people."[10]

Relatively, the royal throne, prince of Moldavia, Dimitrie Cantemir, he formed the royal council of noblemen who were his loyal Cantemir family, including: Neculce chronicler Ion Nicolae Costin.

Dimitrie Cantemir, wants an absolute rule and hereditary.

During his reign, he supported small free nobility and peasantry respectively social categories to which he was tied. Dimitrie Cantemir, proceeded to the reduction of tributes, which resulted in attracting support and sympathy from their side.

Dimitrie Cantemir and externally imposed political principles, which were intended, getting neatarnării country, but being short reign and many of its ideals has not been implemented. Treaty of Lutsk, from 13.04.1711, "in the context of the Russo-Turkish alliance to provide Russia with Moldova that, Moldavians, Russians counted on Moldovan army, which was to assist the Russian army, instead, asked alliance both politically and militarily, for which, Tsar ensure liberation of Moldova under Turkish rule, while ensuring absolute rule and hereditary Cantemir's."[11]

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[8] Stan Stoica, *Biographical dictionary the history of Romania*, Ed. Meron, New York, 2008;
[9] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine*, Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;
[10] Stan Stoica, *Biographical dictionary the history of Romania*, Ed. Meron, New York, 2008;
[11] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine,* Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

Between 8 to 12 July 1711, following the war wore Stanilesti between Russian and Ottoman armies, which trminat in failure, Dimitrie Cantemir, was forced by circumstances to seek help to escape the Tsar in Russia, as the followed peace between Russia and the Sublime Porte.

In 1714, "after high activity that Dimitrie Cantemir had in various fields, both nationally and internationally, for his absolute, who was recognized by the Academy of Berlin, honoring him as honorary member of the Academy."[12]

Cantemir was, is and will remain in the hearts of both Moldovan and Romanian people and for the people learn today's modern world, for which both Romanian students attending university both TRA and abroad, their knowledge writings and works great Dimitrie Cantemir.

In Russia, Dimitrie Cantemir was approved by Peter the Great, so, Dimitrie Cantemir, is called its intimate adviser, and in 1721 Debin and member of the government.

"Permanent center of its concerns throughout this long period of wandering was the firm especially his interest in books and writing"[13]. Primary work that compose the opera, the great scholar Dimitrie Cantemir in their sequence, is as follows:

1. Sage sofa or quarrels with the world in 1698;
2. Metaphysics in 1700;
3. Logic in 1701;
4. Universal Physics Van Helmont in 1701;
5. Turkish music treaty in 1704;
6. Ierogrifică history in 1705;
7. Study the nature monarchs in 1714;
8. Descriptio Moldaviae in 1716;
9. History of growth and decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1716;
10. Life of Constantine Cantemir in 1718;
11. Cantacuzinos events and Brancoveanu in 1718;
12. Consciousness in 1722;
13. Mohammedan religious system in 1722;
14. Hronicul Moldovan-Roman antiquity Vlachs in 1723;

These works, plus numerous studies, notes that lay testament to its concerns and broadmindedness which he embraced his work.

The richest writings, aims, history Moldavia respectively Moldova description, written by the great Romanian scholar Dimitrie Cantemir, at the request of the Berlin Academy. "Work description Moldova is the first writing a Romanian with a strong scientific, geographical, political, linked to the organization of the state, society, culture, religion, school, manners, specific period."[14]

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[12] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine,* Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

[13] Simionescu Paul, *Dimitrie Cantemir, ruler and humanist scholar,* Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969;

[14] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine,* Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

"This paper is a true encyclopedia, due wealth of data and information contained within it and more, for the first time Cantemir us known in the East and the West, as a nation, as a country, as Latin."[15]

Proper documentation and sources used by the great scholar, Dimitrie Cantemir in Moldavia description is far superior to literature, the type of chronicles written up to that time.

The paper "Description of Moldova", is grouped into three parts:

1. Chapter I is an overview geographic targeting, dividing the country into provinces, with water, mountains, valleys, plains, forests, income, etc;

2. Chapter II. is a chapter covering political structura, namely:'s reign, about boyar ranks, host country's, laws, etc.;

3. LII Chapter. Is the chapter in which the organization of the church, literature, language structure, is speaking about education.

Description of Moldavia, is one of the most valuable works and addresses men of culture in Europe. "Up to Dimitrie Cantemir, none presented with such conviction and clarity desire for independence and the idea of Latin origin, our people."[16]

Hronicul Moldovan-Roman antiquity Vlachs, illustrates the history of all Romanians, who has a strong historiography. In this paper, present logical arguments. Wealth and presentation of data, the struggles waged by our people and especially that for the Cantemir we can consider our first historical for the first time with a superior work of those who have posted before.

The idea of independence from Dimitrie Cantemir, involves the idea of culture, education and fighting. By Dimitrie Cantemir, we as a people, we entered civilization and European culture.

As a man of letters and historian, "was confirmed by Divide Ottoman historical works, which illustrates an epoch of decay of the Ottoman Empire, is how Cantemir addressed the European powers in the first place by Peter the Great of Russia, to liberate subjugated people, danger from the Turks were subjugated culture and civilization"[17] and presentation states social, political and economic conditions at the time, the work on periadele1698-1723:

1. During the period, 1698-1701 - dafilozofică periods: Soft, image sacred science, logic;

2. During the period, May to December 1705 is being written from his beginnings: History Ierogrifică;

3. 1711-1723: During refuge in Russia: History of the Ottoman Empire, description Moldova, Moldovan-Roman antiquity Hronicul Vlachs.

Under the influence of Aristotelianism, Cantemir show a broad interest in ethnic issues for individual status, meaning that the individual is a rational being, able to decide their own destiny.

"Dimitrie Cantemir, advocates achieving perfection, but not by giving up life as expected, docmatica Orthodox, but by living them, according to Stoic ethics

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[15] Idem

[16] Idem

[17] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine,* Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

returning assigned primary human freedom, namely, the right to think and to have itself. The theme of the relationship between individual and community is one of the leit-motives, all his works."[18]

Dimitrie Cantemir, "believes that each individual must decide the whole activity, completeness intellectual and moral qualities "benefit of the congregation", noting that these concerns puts the author in the constellation Ierogrifice spiritual history, the most advanced Italian humanists such as as, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Machiavellian, who saw the civic one of the fundamental criteria of social ethics."[19]

Peter Vajda, noted that the Cantemir, promoting the "Using publicity", was born in the struggle for independence and was met with aristocratic oligarchy struggle with his moral critique of course the expected state is essentially medieval scholar, he or urmărşte could not take into account the social determinations, political and weather. But his removal transformation of morals, subordinating personal interests, the public.In a world where social value criterion they represent wealth and noble lineage, humanist Cantemir introduces another axiological scale, the individual is an expression of intellectual and moral qualities.

Romanian scholar, expresses and this time, one of the fundamental ideas, humanism: "Nobility is not in idleness says Bernardino of Siena, but the work done on behalf of the family and the state, and Coluccio salutation, made famous aphorism:" scholars people are more perfect than those unlearned".

Cantemir, believes that "science wisdom not arrogant and high chairs, but bowed heads and learned lives". Are among the most prominent European personalities of the time, the ideas, the scientific rigor of his research, the methodology adopted by the critical spirit that has investigated mainly by documentary sources."[20]

"The work of Dimitrie Cantemir, our historiography, enters the modern phase, there therefore, the study of history is not a mere record of events, but as an explanation of them, by the context of social, economic, political and their interaction, as otherwise, the increase and decrease in the history of the Ottoman court, daily life and customs, language, culture, religion Turks."[21]

"There is no man to doubt that science and penetrating mind set which was created based on known principles which creates uninterrupted natural order, according to their own laws."[22]

Based on the theory of double truth, Dimitrie Cantemir, sits research, in terms of causality, considering the state as a natural fact. "What man will deny that the whole mind and monarchies itself be deemed of particular things?" Pointing out that "and monarchies follow a natural circle and impossible to change that and they need to keep the order of the past, present and future."

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[18] Idem

[19] Peter Vajda, *Dimitrie Cantemir and humanism,* Minerva Publishing House, 1972;

[20] Peter Vajda, *Dimitrie Cantemir and humanism,* Minerva Publishing House, 1972;

[21] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine,* Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;

[22] Idem

Form of social organization[23] expected Cantemir, is cyclical in human history, Dimitile Cantemir "manages to decipher the sequence of four monarchs' corresponding to the four parts of the world, Eastern, Southern, Western culminating in the north."[24] "Cantemir's writings have u expilicativ pronounced political character. Cantemir beyond humanistic concerns "theory of history is dominated by a political purpose, the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire, but in the latter tendency that emphasize Cantemir anticipated political spirit of the Enlightenment."

In his writings, Dimitrie Cantemir turned to[25] Byzantine sources, or to testimony of ancient historians Slavic chronicles Polish or Hungarian.

Cantemir reveals ancient unity of the Romanian people, divided in medieval times, due to historical visicitudinilor in three distinct political entities.

"Latin origin demonstrated by chroniclers, especially by invoking arguments emphasizing language belonging to the family of Romance languages Romanian language, is widely discussed Cantemir in complexity with a great wealth of historical arguments, linguistic, ethnographic, as it did in describing particular Moldovan or Romanian-Moldovan Hronicul of age-vlahilor.

Remarcabil is demonstrated in the Chronicle, the idea continuiții our people "unruptured follower" Cantemir giving a reply on those unassailable position subjective, unfounded scientifically disputed this fact."[26]

The idea of atinity and that our people never left that place "never set foot outside of its borders have not removed" Admitting that during migration, at certain times, people are withdrawing to natural shelter of the mountains.

Cantemir points out that after the storm passed those prey varvaresti, back to his place, leave and all dominion is sucking all places and cities, now Ardelia, Moldova and Wallachia is.

Examination of Romanian continuity eminent scholar has raised interesting methodological problems that you solve copy.

"Demonstration of Romanian political rights of the people taken by Cantemir, integrating national history in circuit universal history, he emphasizes the contribution of the Romans in defense of European civilization, the other Romanic peoples:

"In nature we seek, heart and courage iroicescă, aive iaste that decisions novelistic world against stirpelor (the wild) immortal Tatar (barbarian), like walls of brass put and apathy were considered invincible".[27]

By this "Cantemir out of the narrow circle of his predecessors, incorporating our culura a wider circuit of the ideas of modern Europe."[28]

In his writings, Cantemir, demonstrate and argue. Studying history by Dimitrie Cantemir is made, in an effort to justify political rights of our people and fight against their Ottoman emulate.

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[23] Idem
[24] Idem
[25] Peter Vajda, *Dimitrie Cantemir and humanism*, Minerva Publishing House, 1972;
[26] Dimitrie Cantemir, *Moldavian description prefaced by club Măciuca Constantine*, Ed. Ion Creanga, Bucharest 1978;
[27] Idem
[28] Idem

Criticism of Cantemir initiated against oppressive Turkish system is made based on a profound knowledge of Ottoman mores, is one of the most incisive of our literature.

In the allegorical language of history Ierogrifice, Dimitrie Cantemir, called Porta "City Epitihimii" or "craving" or a temple of greed, the corruption, plunder are institutionalized habits.

Social issues, occupies a central position in the work of Cantemir. The relationship between landlords and the downtrodden especially concerned him though he himself an exponent feudal Cantemir often find words to condemn the great boiermi, showing understanding, even defending the interests of serfs and free peasants. Rivalries between aristocratic parties who detemina frequent rule changes obtained with countless bags of gold taken from the backs of people's prilejuiesc them Cantemir bitter imprecations.

"Cantemir the height or the exception that confirms the rule, the period commonly called" old "(seolele XVI-XVII)."[29]

In "Cantemiriştii-European Adventure of a princely family in the eighteenth century," Stephen Lemny, specifies that: "Moldova" and "Moldovans" were terms that sounded familiar and less-century Europeans before. Darkness of ignorance born imaginings.

Echoes his former teacher are illustrated his first book: Divan.

Emblematic character at the junction of East and West, is forming under the influence of several traditions personalittaea.

Upon receipt of Dimitrie Cantemir Academy in Berlin and elaboration of Moldova description upon request Academy Europeans vision changes.

Once in the cultural landscape, Dimitrie Cantemir "will not prezntă as a continuation of scholars in his native country but will exceed the scope of its concerns, he climbs the top of the social and political hierarchy, known as the first ruler and scholar from these regions, which is recognized as such and its counterparts from throughout Europe."[30]

"There is significant that a culture like ours, chaired by Cantemir model"[31], who "embodies our encyclopedic scope, capacity gnoseologic, encyclopaedism or polihistorisml."[32]

Roman people with a history of over 2000 years, with a troubled history, has gone through many armed conflicts, since other peoples migratory invasion was under occupation for centuries, starting from 101-102 AD, the Roman people was occupied and the Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, later the Russians, the Germans, until 1918, when it gained independence, but things did not stop there, he was forty-eighters rvoluția in 1821 and then the two world wars , 1914-1916 and 1940-1945, the War of Independence in 1877.

A statesman and former minister Nicolae Iorga it's the postwar period,said a more printers dictum concerning the national history of the Romanian people, "A

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[29] Monica Joiţa, *Time and history in the work of Cntemir*, Ed. Romanian Writing, 2004;

[30] Lemny Stephen Cantemiriştii-European Adventure of a princely family in the eighteenth century, Ed. Polirom, 2010;

[31] Noica Constantine, lăutism, Humanitas Publishing House, 2008;

[32] Monica Joiţa, *Time and history in the work of Cntemir*, Ed. Romanian Writing, 2004;

nation which does not know the history and roots, is like a child who knows his parents and past."

Education, not just culture, education involves training at different stages of life of the individual, which Cantemir, enjoyed to the full.

The whole experience, lived at home and abroad, illustrated with craft in his work, was, is and will be a wellspring for Danubian-Pontic area.

Contribution to education, contribution to science, Dimitrie Cantemir, made by his wonderful works. Understanding education, Dimitrie Cantemir, speaks, in his "Description of Moldova", a work which is one of the most valuable works and addresses men of culture in Europe.

Since his work refernţă that topic was written and who put a lot of heart, wisdom, devotion, patriotism, love of country and the people and the struggle for independence from centuries of the Roman people, respectively, in Chap LII. famous work of Moldova description. Is the chapter in which the organization of the church, literature, language structure, is speaking about education.

The idea of education in Cantemir is a corollary of his entire work. Fantastic contribution that had Dimitrie Cantemir, education, fundamental vision is owed, in areas such as history, philosophy, geography, political science, literature, music, and so on, plus, the scientific rigor of research its demonstration based on argumentation theory, the methodology adopted by the critical spirit that has investigated mainly by documentary sources.

It works scribe novel, Dimitrie Cantemir, has contributed economic, geographic, political, social, philosophical, etc. These works, which are, prominently both in university libraries in the country and srăinătate constitutes a real source of cunaştere for young people who want to do a specialization in the history, philosophy, philology, geography, etc., but also a source culture. Cantemir Dmitrie taught mathematics, history, philosophy, geography, Mohammedan religion, music from renowned scientists at the time.

He had contact with finest backgrounds, including United shone Orthodox Patriarchate School or Academy, University successor Byzantium, then filled with vast knowledge of Turkish-Arab culture, which he wrote later.

Dimitrie Cantemir is a versatile scholar who used his spiritual power, culture and education has to enter the Western European values and that he wanted to leave behind his immeasurable wealth for the education, culture and science.

His work constitutes a veritable treasure trove of works and manuscripts, as representative of Islam, and the Romanian nation, is also a precursor of the Transylvanian School. For young people today, a tendency towards work cantemiriană, means knowledge, culture and education, respectively, a much broader knowledge base and more detail that would be helpful and would understand better titanic work of predecessors our.

For young people today, Dimitrie Cantemir, is a model of culture and education.

Cantemir's training was done by his father's care and was progressive.

While the desire for knowledge of Dimitrie Cantemir developed by scholars, scholars at that time, so that, at the time when his father Constntin Cantemir decided to give guarantees for the Turkish Sultan, thought so, First, the political

and secondly, to think about training and education more laborious, his son, to be able to receive training and education chosen from teachers, scholars and scholars who mastered very well, political science, military, philosophical, geographical, linguistic, theological.

Sultan Gate, at the time Dimitrie Cantemir had the opportunity to know the history of Byzantine, Ottoman history, that when the pledge was given up when he returned to the country as the gentleman was able to see both flowering of the Ottoman Empire from all points of view and its decay.

All what he learned there, he tried to implement since it became ruler of Moldavia, both on the history, philosophy, politics, geography, modern world that has left a priceless treasure, both for the country our and Europe, for which, for its merits, to culture: philosophical, historical, literary, was, is and will remain, a visionary and a wise man.

Dimitrie Cantemir, expressed love for nation and country, as a politician, but as a great scholar, with concern for accuracy, authenticity by comparing its scientific research documents and arguments, in order to obtain conclusions.

Which is why, in his book masterpiece respectively Decrierea Moldova, stated in this regard that "we do not dare to decide which of the two would be closer to the truth, for fear that love of country might we blind and let our gaze away some things that others may see them easily, so let the good reader to judge yourself. "An eloquent proof on the merits to culture, both domestically and in Europe, by Demetrius Cantemir, is the fact that these merits were recorded in dictionaries and encyclopedias, and especially the fact that recognition was by the Academy of Berlin, where he was a member of the Berlin Academy, which is recognized all the credit.

Philosophically speaking, Dimitrie Cantemir, is and will remain, one of the great philosophers of Europe of his time.

In addition to contributions in the areas listed above, Dimitrie Cantemir, and has contributed and education through his writings, which are in a place of honor in university libraries in the country and srăinătate, which is a real source knowledge and depth for young people who want to do a specialization in the history, philosophy, philology, geography, etc., but also a source of culture, for which the Romanian people, it honors every year on 26 October.

Out of respect and appreciation, in Romania, there are higher education institutions and high schools that bears nmele.Thus, in 1990, the same considerations as a sign of respect and appreciation, was born, Christian University "Dimitrie Cantemir" of Bucharest, the care membrilorilor founders: Mr. Prof. Luburici and Mrs. Prof. Momcilo -Adriana Corina Dumitrescu (Radu), from whose initiative and whose financial and material resources was established that private higher education institution under the auspices of the Cultural Association "Dimitrie Cantemir", where, in addition to the core business, University carries out activities related or complementary educational and research activities.

Due to the contribution by the steering group, the group of teachers who started a higher education that year by year, trying to raise the bar even higher, and therefore can be seen from the results year by year, to students that when

universitatre graduation, they are licensed, and many try and go farther to deepen as much knowledge as master and PhD students.

Due to requirements for submission to year, this passionate group of teachers led by its founding members, who want to inspire all the knowledge they have of their students to the name and emblem which bears University of respect for Dimitri Cantemir and requirements which are recognized this university, these students can be rightly called, cantemirişi, which in turn will certainly carry on all the teachings and superb depth of this illustrious university, which is Christian University "Dimitrie Cantemir "Bucharest.

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EPISTEMIC VALIDITY AND SOCIAL RELEVANCE IN THE VALIDATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE: AN UNEASY BALANCE?

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Abstract: This paper considers the relation between distinct requirements underlying the scientific enterprise (validity, relevance, legitimacy) and argues for a revised understanding of how they interact in the production and validation of scientific knowledge. Here, two related proposals are critically discussed: the case for a 'new social contract for science' and the case for 'post-normal science'. Their limitations are traced back to certain unquestioned assumptions and conceptual distinctions that need revision.

Keywords: scientific knowledge, validity, relevance, legitimacy, post-normal science.

Introduction

Traditionally, the hallmark of scientific knowledge was the possibility of *validating* it (replicating experiments, verifying results, making falsifiable predictions etc.). Validation was understood in terms of epistemic reliability. Non-epistemic components, such as contextual constraints or considerations of relevance and opportunity, were of course an important and unavoidable aspect of the organization of science. However, they were not thought of as part of the scientific epistemology. At the same time, the *social status* of science was usually understood in terms of a largely unidirectional progression from science (as the repository of reliable - albeit imperfect - knowledge) to society (as recipient and user of this knowledge). The role of science was to promote innovation and social change, inform policy and 'speak truth to power'. This implied that the fundamental responsibility of the scientist was to make sure results are valid. He had a secondary responsibility to ensure that these results are put to good use. But this was a responsibility he shared with politicians, policy makers and various social actors. In other words, he had an intrinsic *epistemic responsibility*, understood as an *internal* matter of science, and a derived *social responsibility*, understood as external to the scientific process.

However, in the last three or four decades this understanding of the epistemic and social role of science has been challenged on several fronts. Some criticisms were directed at the alleged elitism and lack of social relevance of *some* scientific activity. Other criticisms focused on the limitations of scientific methodology in its application to complex systems characterized by uncertainty,

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reflexivity and value-ladenness. Both lines of criticism share the idea that science is not properly connected to the wider social and ecological environment, in terms of research agendas and priorities, research methodologies, sustainability measures, ways of validating scientific results or use of these results.

The standard model of expert-based peer community has been criticized for its reductionism, for not properly accounting for reflexivity and normative commitments, or for lacking social legitimacy[1]. The calls for a 'new social contract for science'[2] and the post-normal approach both advance the idea of *extending the peer community* and ensuring that science integrates *multiple legitimate perspectives* in its analysis. The extension of epistemic communities beyond the limited circle of experts is considered an effective way to better account for complexity and uncertainty, to make research more relevant and solution-oriented and to facilitate the policy implementation of scientific results. By the same token, epistemic and methodological pluralism is understood as a way to offer a more comprehensive and nuanced description of complex phenomena, while at the same time acknowledging the distinct values and perspectives of the involved actors[3].

The standard model and its problems

Science is a collaborative enterprise. Just as research is greatly facilitated by teamwork and networking, the validation of knowledge is the responsibility of fellow scientists working in a given area of expertise - the *peer community*. These scientists are involved in setting research priorities, developing research projects or assessing their results. Apart from its key role in validating knowledge, and therefore in its subsequent dissemination and use, the peer community is also involved in defining and upholding the values and norms that guide scientific research. Robert Merton[4] famously codified the scientific ethos in the form of 'institutional imperatives' guiding the organization of science: universalism, communalism, disinterestedness and skepticism - with a fifth one, originality, being added later[5].

Although Merton's model did not explicitly include requirements of social relevance and legitimacy, they were to a certain degree implied by the imperatives of communalism and universalism. After all, scientific knowledge was considered a *public good* that, in its diverse applications, should address and alleviate social problems. Nevertheless, science was assumed to have an intrinsic *epistemic value*

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[1] See for instance Demeritt, D. (2000) The new social contract for science: accountability, relevance and value in US and UK science and research policy, Antipode 32:3, pp. 308-329 and Gibbons, M. (1999) Science's new social contract with society, Nature 402, C81/1999.

[2] Gibbons, M. (1999) Science's new social contract with society, Nature 402, C81 (1999) and Nowotny, H., Scott, P., & Gibbons, M. (2001). Re-thinking science: knowledge and the public in an age of uncertainty. Polity.

[3] Funtowicz, S. and Ravetz, J., "Science for the Post-Normal Age", Futures, 25/7 September 1993, 739-755

[4] Merton, R. K., "The Normative Structure of Science", in Merton, Robert K., The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

[5] Ziman, J., Real Science: what it is, and what it means, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

that needs to be considered separately from the potential uses of its results. Vannevar Bush's 1945 report 'Science, the Endless Frontier'[6] offered a good illustration of the 'postwar paradigm', based on a linear progression from basic research to applied research to technological development. It was assumed that there is "an inherent tension between understanding and use as goals of research and, by extension, an inherent separation between the categories of basic and applied research that are derived from these goals"[7] and that applied research invariably drives out pure research.

At the end of the 1990s, Donald Stokes offered a revised understanding of how 'pure' and 'applied' research interact, and how they can both contribute to socially desirable ends. Stokes advocated a refocusing of public funds and political attention on the so-called 'use-inspired basic research'[8], which follows the lines of fundamental research without losing sight of societal needs and potential uses. Apart from pure basic research, which aims to further our understanding of the reality, and pure applied research, which is improving the way we deal with practical problems (including the technology we use), Stokes argued that there is a third possibility that combines the quest for fundamental understanding with the considerations of use. *Use-inspired basic research* is fundamental in that it seeks understanding, not merely narrow practical interest; yet it is socially-inspired and socially-legitimated because it never loses sight of real problems and potential applications in the public interest.

However, *real* science was not necessarily a good illustration of Stokes' model at the end of the XXth century: curiosity-driven research was increasingly displaced by 'mission-oriented' research funded by corporations, with a corresponding shift from 'public knowledge' towards 'corporate know-how'[9]. The distinction between discovery and invention became increasingly blurry, as patenting extended to previously inaccessible knowledge such as DNA sequences or whole genomes. The traditional quality control and peer-review systems saw the development of self-regulated online communities, open access and 'grey literature'. All this, together with broader societal, cultural, economic and technological processes of the last three or four decades, led to important changes in the "social practice and the public image of science and the issue of 'quality assurance' of scientific understanding and research"[10]. In particular, it led to questioning the epistemological foundation of science, including the criteria of truth and the basic values orientating the scientific enquiry. In ecology, this was manifested through the growing tension between the 'analytical' and the 'integrative' streams of research[11], including differences in "basic assumptions on

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[6] Bush, V., (1945), Science: The endless frontier. Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science (1903), 231-264.

[7] Stokes, D.E., Pasteur's quadrant: Basic science and technological innovation. Brookings Inst Press, 1997, p. 3

[8] Ibid

[9] Gallopín, G. C., Funtowicz, S., O'Connor, M., & Ravetz, J., *Science for the Twenty-First Century: From Social Contract to the Scientific Core.* International Social Science Journal, 2001, 53(168), 219-229

[10] Ibid, p. 221

[11] Holling, C. S., Two cultures of ecology. Conservation Ecology, 2(2), 4, 1998.

causality, criteria of truth and epistemological acceptability, and evaluation criteria, among others"[12]. New problems demanded new solutions that the current organization of science seemed unable to provide. Climate change, financial instability or political change were poorly accounted for by the dominant explanatory and predictive models. As the calls for an extended accountability of public research multiplied, both the procedures of knowledge validation and the organization of science were called into question. New criticism emerged - and, along with it, new proposals.

A new social contract for science?

Several proposals were made, in the last three decades, to address the perceived inadequacies of the standard model. Two main lines of argument can be distinguished[13], although they are often combined. One of them insists that the new social and political environment requires science to become more democratic, in order to keep up with convergent development in all other areas of social interest, as well as ensure that scientific knowledge is perceived as relevant and legitimated. The other focuses on epistemological reasons for extending the peer community: better addressing complexity and uncertainty, producing knowledge that is not only more equitable, but also more specific and accurate. Both arguments agree on the need to more towards a more 'socially robust' science, but differ when it comes to justifying this process.

According to the first argument, science needs to revise its procedures of epistemic validation and the way it interacts with society in order to adjust to a new social and cultural context in which "traditional boundaries between university and industrial science, and between basic and applied research, are disappearing"[14]. This calls for a rethinking of values, norms and responsibilities guiding scientific research, from its organization down to its epistemological core. Simple local adjustment will not do: a new, global social contract is needed, in order to "ensure that scientific knowledge is 'socially robust', and that its production is seen by society to be both transparent and participative"[15]. In order to reflect the increasingly porous boundaries between science and society, and the demands for increased accountability, "the public sphere in cooperation with a kind of 'public science' would be charged as a second centre of 'discursive checking' of scientific laboratory results"[16]. Apart from its epistemic involvement, the public would have an explicit normative role, as it "would be charged to apply the standard, 'How do we wish to live' to scientific plans, results and hazards"[17].

The proposed social contract includes distinct but interconnected requirements related to higher education, government or industry. Its role is to enable society to 'speak back to science' in identifying relevant topics and

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[12] Ibid 10, p. 3

[13] Forrester, J., Potts, L., & Rosen, P., *Creating science's new social contract.* In Conference paper at European Association for the Study of Science and Technology, 2002, August, York.

[14] Gibbons, M., *Science's new social contract with society,* Nature 402, C81, 1999, p. 11

[15] Ibid

[16] Beck, U., *From industrial society to the risk society: questions of survival, social structure and ecological enlightenment. T*heory, culture & society, 9(1), 97-123, 1992, p. 119

[17] Ibid

research priorities, framing research problems or validating results. But although the argument for a new social contract is mainly driven by considerations of legitimacy, it has epistemological consequences. The search for truth *per se* is now balanced against 'socially robust' knowledge[18] that functions successfully in a given context (that is, for given aims and preferences of the relevant peer community). 'Socially robust' knowledge is characterized by three elements: "First, it is valid not only inside but also outside the laboratory. Second, this validity is achieved through involving an extended group of experts, including lay 'experts'. And third, because 'society' has participated in its genesis, such knowledge is less likely to be contested than that which is merely 'reliable'"[19]. There is a shift from the scientific ideal of approximating universal and objective truths towards "the more pragmatic aim of providing a provisional understanding of the empirical world that 'works'"[20]. Uprooted from its traditional foundation, the production of scientific knowledge appears as relative to context and driven by pragmatic considerations.

According to the second argument, science has to reconsider its procedures of epistemic assessment and validation in order to better account for complexity, uncertainty and value-ladenness. In contrast with the first claim, considerations of relevance and legitimacy are here justified only insofar as they potentially enable better knowledge: "while social issues of democratization, trust, and increasing stakeholder involvement are laudable, they do not build upon perhaps one of the most important potentials for increased public involvement: namely improved data collection and improved local accuracy – i.e. more reliable science"[21]. Criticisms of mainstream methodology or epistemological assumptions of science are, in this context, more carefully directed to certain domains, models or particular research issues, rather than criticizing undifferentiatedly the foundations of modern science. Some of the problematic areas appear through a process of divergence whereby a given disciplinary domain (e.g. the economic treatment of environmental goods) is approached differently by an older, predominant discipline (environmental economics) and a more recent one (ecological economics). Other problems appear at the crossroads between several disciplines (e.g. ecology, environmental economics, social psychology, value theory) which deal with a common issue (e.g. the sustainability of social-ecological systems). In both cases, the call to reconsider the assumptions and procedures of science is not simply motivated by extra-scientific factors, no matter how important they may be in the general economy of the scientific enterprise. The former argument for opening science up to society, which regards science as part of a broader social process whose criteria of quality it needs to better integrate. The current argument, in contrast, proceeds from within science and claims that criteria of social relevance and legitimacy *can* have an epistemic value. Accordingly, this line of argumentation discusses cases where experts have

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[18] Nowotny, H., Scott, P., & Gibbons, M., *Re-thinking science: knowledge and the public in an age of uncertainty*. Polity, 2001.
[19] Ibid 15, p. 13
[20] Ibid
[21] Ibid 14

produced questionable scientific results, fed into poor policy-making (for instance, the way UK scientists assessed the risk of an epidemic of 'mad cow' disease among humans, as well as the measures taken by the British authorities to deal with the epidemic[22]).

The post-normal approach

Acknowledging the need to better specify the terms of this epistemological shift towards increased relevance and legitimacy, S. Funtowicz and J. Ravetz proposed the concept of 'post-normal science'. Their basic claim is that, for many situations which are qualitatively different from those of 'normal science', the relevant peer community needs to be extended in order to deal with radical uncertainty, divergent values and multiple legitimate perspectives. Post-normal science applies to contexts where "facts are uncertain, values in dispute, stakes high and decisions urgent"[23] and where scientific facts seem to be unable to determine the correct policy conclusions directly. Based on a differentiation between contexts of 'normal science' (understood as puzzle-solving, paradigm-based research) and contexts of 'post-normal science', where standard assumptions and procedures are in need of revision, their approach tackles both the procedures of knowledge validation and the organizational aspects of science.

There are three key criteria used to differentiate between 'normal' and 'post-normal' science: uncertainty, social stakes and values. The authors differentiate between three levels of uncertainty: a *technical* level (where standard routines can be applied), a *methodological* level (appropriate in contexts where personal judgment, experience and higher-level skills are required) and an *epistemological* level (characterized by 'irremediable uncertainty'). This is translatable in a similar progression framed in terms of decision stakes, from near-certainty or quantifiable risk expressed as probability distributions (first level) to irreducible uncertainty (third level). Similarly, in terms of social impact and value-ladenness, Funtowicz and Ravetz differentiate between three levels, going from relatively value-neutral, low-impact scientific issues (first level) to high-stake and/or disputed issues with significant consequences.

When considering the convergent action of these parameters, one can differentiate between *applied science* (where the standard procedures apply), *professional consultancy* (where personal expertise and discernment are needed) and *post-normal science*, which occurs "when uncertainties are either of the epistemological or the ethical kind, or when decision stakes reflect conflicting purposes among stakeholders"[24]. Therefore, post-normal science is not proposed *against* 'normal' science; rather, it attempts to identify contexts of application in which the standard procedures seem to fail systematically. Post-normality emerges in contexts where these qualitative parameters reach the third level (irreducible uncertainty, high stakes, high normative load), while the lower levels can in principle be dealt with by refining or adjusting the procedures of 'normal' science. The transition to post-normal science implies a methodological change

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[22] Ibid 10
[23] Ibid 4, p. 744
[24] Ibid, pp. 749-50

focused on accepting pluralism and contextualization: the task is "to choose the appropriate kinds of problem-solving strategies for each particular case"[25]. However, this methodological revision is only possible on the basis of an epistemological and normative shift, whereby "science is no longer imagined as delivering truth, and it receives a new organizing principle, that of quality", understood as "dynamic, systemic and pragmatic"[26]. Moreover, the questioning of dominant assumptions and guiding values of science leads to a more critical attitude towards the ideological and cultural forces that are driving scientific development. A revised view of how science deals with truth and quality implies a revision of the way scientific problems and framed and research priorities are selected. Therefore, this epistemological shift is intrinsically linked to questions of organization of science and the way it interacts with the broader social and natural environment. Post-normality claims to offer a new organizing principle - that of *quality* - which affects the epistemological, methodological and organizational levels simultaneously. The requirement to extend the peer community "beyond the direct producers, sponsors and users of the research, to include all with a stake in the product, the process, and its implications both local and global"[27] has to be understood in this integrative framework. Therefore, scientific problems are opened up to the public debate; 'lay experts', practitioners, investigative journalists and concerned citizens are contributing their contextual/local knowledge, as well as discussing and sometimes challenging the dominant procedures of knowledge validation. The extended peer community thus becomes a deliberative forum that fulfills at the same time the requirement of increased legitimacy *and* that of improving the methods and procedures to deal with uncertainty, complexity and disputed values. In this process, there is no clear-cut boundary between epistemic and non-epistemic aspects: both requirements contribute to improving knowledge but, at the same time, their epistemic value is considered in the broader context of knowledge quality, which goes beyond formal considerations of validity.

J. Ravetz[28] sums up the problems of the dominant scientific approach and the required changes by differentiating between 'mainstream science' (elitist, analytic, reductionist, based on the assumption of inevitable progress, increasingly shaped by corporate and commercial interest) and 'precautionary science' (inclusive, allowing a plurality of legitimate perspectives, explicitly dealing with values, issues of social legitimacy and policy). Precautionary (or post-normal) science claims to offer an integrative framework for considering the requirements of reliability, relevance and legitimacy. However, in order to make this claim credible and clarify the options for further development, several issues still have to be considered.

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[25] Ibid, p. 744

[26] Funtowicz, S.O., & Ravetz, J. R., *The worth of a songbird: ecological economics as a post-normal science.* Ecological economics, 10(3), 1994, pp. 197-8

[27] Ibid, p. 747

[28] Ravetz, J., *The post-normal science of precaution.* Futures, 2004, 36(3), 347-357.

Epistemic validity and social relevance: unsolved issues and ways forward

One important insight of from the literature on post-normal science is that the social variables underlying the criteria of social relevance and legitimacy *can* contribute to improving the *epistemic* quality of scientific knowledge. Understanding scientific knowledge in terms of *validity* (as a proper epistemic criterion) versus *legitimacy* (as a non-epistemic requirement) does not offer the proper epistemological and normative basis for dealing with complex and uncertain phenomena whose description is implicitly loaded with normative commitments. However, in order to proceed towards an integrative framework of assessment and validation of knowledge, the assumptions and normative commitments have to be themselves subjected to a critical analysis, in the deliberative forum of the extended peer community. Insofar as the role of values and assumptions is both *acknowledged* (for instance, at the level of problem framing) and *discussed critically* (in order to evolve towards a *reasoned* agreement), these variables become part of the epistemological framework, rather than being treated as exogenous constraints.

For instance, the *testability* of a particular model of ecosystem management can be enhanced by integrating into the analysis the perceptions, normative commitments and local knowledge of users (farmers, conservationists, local authorities). Instead of drawing rigid boundaries between 'reliable' and 'unreliable' knowledge on the basis of compliance with pre-existing theory or modelling methodology, one can try to consider the added value of 'non-validated' knowledge for the specific case under analysis. There is evidence that 'non-experts' can gather and process contextual knowledge at higher levels of accuracy and reliability than the predominant wisdom would suggest[29]. 'Non-validated' knowledge does not only offer more information (given the diversity of sources), it offers a *different* type of information that is often underrepresented in scientific analysis: contextual data on specific cases.

The arguments for a 'new social contract for science' and the characterization of 'post-normal science' are moving towards an integrative understanding of reliability and social relevance, as interconnected elements in the validation of scientific knowledge. However, they still discuss legitimacy largely in terms of *outcomes* (social agreement) and tend to ignore the *process* (the specific mechanisms and dynamics of aggregation of choices and validation of results). This way, the critical component underlying, in various forms and degrees, the processes of social consultation and deliberation is obscured. This reductionist account of social legitimation overlooks the distinction between *motives* and *reasons*. Motives are characterized by reference to psycho-sociological and other contextual factors that apply to a particular case; they are descriptive and 'local'. Reasons are normative and trans-contextual: they are based on arguments that can be defended and criticized in a rational discussion, and that hold beyond a

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[29] See for instance Forrester, J., (1999), '*The Logistics of Public Participation in Environmental Assessment'*. International Jnl. of Environment and PollutionVol.11: 316-330, and Irwin, A & Wynne, B (eds) (1996) Misunderstanding Science? The Public Reconstruction of Science & Technology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

specific context. Simply appealing to normative justifications without evaluating the degree of social support does not confer legitimacy. At the same time, however, simply appealing to motives does not offer a justification, as long as there is no recourse to proper arguments. Legitimacy is created through the interplay of arguments proposed and defended in particular social settings, characterized by multiple values, interests and objectives. Justification implies an appeal to norms, criteria or values that apply across contexts and are not reducible to individual subjectivity or group bias.

At the same time, the proposed shift towards a contextual and pragmatic understanding of truth still lacks a serious analysis of what this implies for the epistemology and the organization of science. To be sure, pragmatic considerations shape the scientific process in various ways: they guide decisions to invest in some research projects and not others, they influence problem framing and methodological choices, and they have a large say in the way research outcomes are integrated into policy. However, pragmatic aspects cannot be considered in isolation from questions of justification: what *works* in a particular context is not an obvious, self-justifying fact. It has to be considered in the broader context of available alternatives (which would also work in the same context) and constraints. What *works* can only be established by reference to the *intentions and objectives* of the relevant actors, as well as the available alternatives. But these intentions and objectives cannot be taken for granted; they can be themselves questioned from the perspective of their *reasonability* (feasibility, long-term consequences, considerations of fairness etc.). Social demands on science still have to be evaluated from the perspective of their contribution to improving knowledge. Thus they are confronted with established criteria of validity, while at the same time challenging the current understanding of these criteria and proposing revisions. Do unreasonable social demands still have to be taken into account in collective deliberation? Does consensus on particular topics always reflect reasoned, informed choices of the individual members? Do certain individuals or groups exert a disproportionate influence on group deliberation? How to decide between multiple and sometimes conflicting demands? These questions cannot be avoided if *legitimacy* is to refer to something more than the current configuration of group interests and power relations that shape collective demands and decisions.

Finally, some of the arguments for an increased social accountability of science misrepresent 'normal science' in order to maintain the perception that it is possible to strictly differentiate between 'normal' and 'post-normal' contexts. For instance, Funtowicz and Strand[30] claim that scientific knowledge is assumed to be "really objective, valid and reliable" and that the dominant model assumes "not only that uncertainty can be eliminated or controlled, but also that the scientific information can be complete in the sense that it tells the policy maker everything that is necessary to know in order to decide for the common good: there is only one correct description of the system, and it is to be provided by

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[30] Funtowicz, S., & Strand, R., *Models of science and policy*. Biosafety first: Holistic approaches to risk and uncertainty in genetic engineering and genetically modified organisms, 2007, 263-278.

science"[31]. Both claims are problematic; taken at face value, they are simply false. Scientific results are validated (experimentally and theoretically) and, in this sense, they are assumed to be reliable and to approximate objectivity. But there is no claim as to the absolute objectivity or infallibility of currently available knowledge. These are *epistemic values* guiding scientific activity, not hard facts concerning scientific results. And while it is true that the 'standard model' assumes that reliable knowledge *informs and guides* policy-making (just as it informs and guides decision and action in general), it does not pretend that there is a unique and unidirectional relation between knowledge and policy decisions.

Thomas Kuhn's definition of 'normal science' (as paradigm-based, 'puzzle-solving' activity) is adopted rather uncritically by the proponents of 'post-normal science' in their attempt to offer a revised framework for scientific quality assessment. The strict differentiation between 'normal' and 'post-normal' science can be accepted as a rhetorical device whose role is to clarify or emphasize a point. But it becomes problematic when taken as an actual description of science. Post-normality is defined by Funtowicz and Ravets [32] by reference to three qualitative parameters: uncertainty, decision stakes and divergence of normative commitments. Funtowicz and Strand [33] offer as example of 'post-normal' scientific problems the health risks of low-dose radiation, the assessment of benefits and risks of new technologies, as well as research on cloning, human embryonic stem cells, nanotechnology, and climate change. These are all research contexts in which high uncertainties are coupled with strong value commitments, dividing the scientific community as well as the broader public. While one can accept the distinction between different ways of doing science (and the parameters used to distinguish between them), this may not offer much help in making methodological choices in a particular context. Differences in the quality of information available or the complexity of analyzed systems are gradual and continuous, not neatly distributed in predefined categories.

Moreover, decision stakes cannot be evaluated independently of *facts* (in this case, the alternative actions available and the impact of their probable outcomes), but postulating 'irreducible uncertainty' undermines the capacity of assessing probabilities and impacts. Uncertainty is usually discussed as though 'irreducible uncertainty' is readily identifiable in the research context and remains essentially the same phenomenon across different post-normal contexts. This is not self-evident. Notwithstanding the complexity of systems under study, whether uncertainty is considered reducible or not will depend on a contextualized judgment, in which 'multiple legitimate perspectives' and values and not only acknowledged, but also subjected to critical deliberation. Uncertainty assessment cannot be done exclusively by democratic decision; good science proceeds by assessing competing hypotheses on the basis of empirical testing. But in a post-normal context the interpretation of facts is itself disputed, undermining the very basis of empirical testing. This circularity cannot be solved by simply appealing to

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[31] Ibid, p. 264
[32] Ibid 4
[33] Ibid 31

an 'extended peer community', as long as this extension is not translatable in improved methodologies and quality assessment.

Some conclusions

Both lines of argumentation discussed above, the case for a 'new social contract for science' and the one for 'post-normal science', converge on the need to reframe the relation between the requirements of validity, relevance and legitimacy in science. Nevertheless, this acknowledgement is not translated into a compelling epistemological argument. The criteria of relevance and legitimacy are still understood as exogenous requirements on science, to be followed in parallel with 'proper' epistemic criteria such as testability, falsifiability or coherence. Despite a large amount of research on the socio-normative basis of science, these two categories of requirements are still generally understood as *decoupled* criteria that need to be addressed in parallel. Several problems deriving from this conceptual framework are discussed: the differentiation between 'normal' and 'post-normal' science, the pragmatic-contextual perspective on truth and the reductionist understanding of legitimation in terms of social outcomes rather than processes.

An integrative framework for assessing the role of these requirements in the dynamics of scientific knowledge is still missing. Consequently, there is also a lack of clarity regarding the epistemological and organizational changes required in order to address the limitation of the standard scientific model of knowledge validation. If the call for 'opening up science' implies a relaxation of generally-agreed standards of reliability, then one could be faced with the uncomfortable choice between knowledge that is either more 'reliable' or more 'legitimated'. However, this is a false choice. The dominant model of quality assessment of scientific knowledge need to better acknowledge the heterogeneity of criteria and the role of supposedly 'non-epistemic' aspects in the overall quality assessment. The critical analysis developed above builds on the valuable insight of the 'post-normal' approach that we need to move beyond the rigid distinction between purely 'endogenous' (or epistemic) criteria and purely 'endogenous' (or contextual) criteria for knowledge assessment and validation. An integrative framework of assessment is needed, one which acknowledges that validity, relevance and legitimacy are actually components of the same broader criterion for knowledge quality, and that they act interdependently and in a mutually-reinforcing fashion.

In this perspective, socio-normative aspects are not simply contextual constraints that influence the epistemic process; they become themselves epistemic variables subjected to the scientific inquiry. By integrating a critical reflection on the values and assumptions underlying both the epistemology and the organization of science, the interconnection and mutual reinforcement of criteria of validity, salience and legitimacy can more clearly emerge.

FORMAL AND SUBSTANTIVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

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Abstract: The article deals with two important aspects of equality of opportunity, the formal and the substantive. The idea of formal equality of opportunity states that access to desirable social positions should be allowed to all applicants and their selection is to be done through formal procedures and according to competence, and as such presents a number of difficulties and limitations. The most important one comes from the fact that in general it does not take into account the way in which circumstances beyond the control of an individual do have influence on his ability to compete for access to certain resources. The principle of equal opportunities may remain just an empty form, so it is necessary a substantial approach that takes into account the actual social situation when it comes to the problem of determining the evaluation criteria of qualification and competence. Substantial or real equality of opportunity requires that all individuals have the same opportunities to become qualified to occupy that position through competition, so society should take appropriate measures to ensure those equal opportunities, such as the equalization of starting conditions for everyone.

Keywords: equality, justice, formal equality of opportunity, substantive equally of opportunity, affirmative action.

Equality of chances or opportunity denotes the absence of discrimination according to criteria that are personal involuntary traits of individuals, such as sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, age, sexual orientation or different disabilities. In this context, equality is conceived as a situation where open and fair competition for available resources is guaranteed, but the principle does not go as far as to challenge the unequal distribution of resources in society, which often led to political and theoretical disputes about the criteria that a just society must meet.[1] The concept of equality of opportunity represents the concentrated expression of a political ideal that does not preclude the existence of social hierarchies in general, but only those of them who have a character of caste. It is generally accepted that any society includes one or more hierarchies where certain positions are more desirable and others less desirable, some higher and

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[1] Cf. R. Arneson, Equality of Opportunity, in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, available on-line at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/equal-opportunity/; N. Richardt, T. Shanks, Equal Opportunity, in W.A. Darity Jr. (Ed.) International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 2nd Edition, Detroit, Macmillan Reference USA, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 611-614.

others lower. In societies that include hierarchies based on caste, a person's social status and position in the hierarchy are determined by those of his parents. Social mobility is not excluded altogether, but the process through which one can access the upper level is open only for certain people, depending on their initial social status. In societies where equality of opportunity prevails, individuals are given access to the desired positions in the social hierarchy trough a competitive process in which all members of society can participate from equal departing positions. Most of the differences of opinion between the supporters of the idea of equality of opportunity arise precisely from their different ways to understand what exactly means this equality of initial positions.

The idea of formal equality of opportunity means that access to desirable positions, jobs and social situations should be allowed to all applicants and their selection is to be done through formal procedures that employ as the main criteria the qualifications held by each candidate and relevant for the successful fulfillment of duties presupposed by the specified position. Candidates are examining for assessing their merits, and the position is won by the one who is considered the most qualified according to relevant criteria set beforehand. Evaluation criteria include personal qualities and skills, but also ambition, while exclude those factors derived from the group identity assigned to the candidate by the circumstances of his birth or by social group membership, such as race, family, caste, religion.

Formal equality of opportunity guarantees social and economic mobility and possibility of ascension, as it involves removing reserved legal rights and privileges of certain groups or social categories and argues instead for a meritocratic system, where are rewarded the most talented and ambitious individuals, regardless of their socio-economic background. Unlike other conceptions of the idea of equality, such as equality of resources or democratic equality, in this case the focus is on procedural and legal means of ensuring equal access to the benefits of social life, an idea based on the assumption that it is not right that factors beyond the control of persons should decisively determine their chances in life. Formal equality of opportunity can be understood both as a way to enhance the life chances of individuals, but also as a means to maximize the welfare of society as a whole.[2]

In principle, the formal equality of opportunity does not necessarily presuppose a specific economic and social context, such as a market economy in which the production and distribution of goods and services should be organized according to the principle of private property and the law of supply and demand. A totalitarian society, such as that communist one, where the economic, political and social privileges belong to Communist Party members can work according to the ideal of formal equality if access to party membership and leadership positions within the party is granted through competition open to all citizens, where the person that has the best score is considered the most qualified and therefore gains access to a privileged status or position.

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[2] N. Richardt, T. Shanks, *op.cit.,* p. 611.

Even if this is the case, in general formal equality of opportunity is associated with the development of market economy and the elimination of practices and economic institutions such as monopolies and privileges of guilds or different fiscal restrictions that prevented free functioning of the market. Economic opportunities should be available to all interested parties as political and also administrative functions should be accessible to everyone, regardless of social background, eliminating nepotism, that is favoring relatives of those who distribute benefits, regardless of their qualities as individuals, and precisely in virtue of these personal relations.[3]

In a market economy, the standard of formal equality of opportunity is met if all the informations concerning jobs offered by companies are made public in advance, so that everyone who desires can have a chance to apply, if all applications are accepted and candidates are evaluated according to their merits and positions are awarded to those who are more competent, i.e. are best qualified to meet the performance requirements of the job. From another perspective, that of access to the capital market, it is considered that there is formal equality of opportunity if all bank loans destined for investment activities are granted according to rules such as: all applications are accepted and ranked in order of estimated profits of investment that each applicant intends to do. Also, equality of opportunity requires that all businesses have the same opportunities to borrow money by issuing shares or bonds. In general, the principle of formal equality of opportunities in the market context assumes that, regarding the opportunities for making a profit, each economic agent treats everyone else in an impartial manner. This means that every economic agent has to consider all others as potential business partners and then select those with whom he intends to make a partnership or a deal, or a contract according to whether the interaction promises to bring him more profit, while respecting legal and moral laws. In other words, when a market economy meets the formal criteria of equality of opportunity, each trader chooses his business partners according to the sole criterion of the way their economic relations will promote his interests in the conditions established by law.[4]

The idea of formal equality of opportunity presents a number of difficulties and limitations. Thus, its applicability is limited to the sphere of public life, and does not include that of privacy so a major difficulty comes from the fact that the boundary between public and what is considered to be 'private' is a controversial question. It is obvious that private decisions (choosing one's friends or life partner) are not made according to the principle of equal opportunities and are often based on prejudice. Although this is morally questionable, it is generally admitted that the idea of equal opportunity governs only the part of the individual's life that he shares with all members of society, and not every aspect of his private behavior. Under these conditions, there have been neglected in practice a number of sources of inequality, identified as areas of private life: family, marriage, religion. For example, if due to the principle of formal equality

[3] R. Arneson, *op.cit*.
[4] Loc.cit.

of opportunity employers provide rigorous working conditions and equal pay for men and women, this negatively affects women wishing to become pregnant, because they will not get paid maternity leave.[5]

Another limitation concerns the fact that the principle of formal equality of opportunity often is limited by the borders of political units such as nation states or various associations of states (such as the European Union or Schengen Area), which tend to favor their own citizens at the expense of others. Certain rights and opportunities, such as the right to work, or to free circulation, are reserved for citizens of these states or unions. For example, access to public education can be free of charge for citizens of a state, but may be limited or not free of charge for those who are not citizens. Although in principle nothing prevents the extension of the principle of equality of opportunities to those who are not citizens of a particular state, in practice must be taken into account all sorts of reasons, such as for example the way of financing of the education system, which often limits the applicability of the principle. Another difficulty comes from the fact that the principle of equality of opportunity introduces moral restrictions in making economic decisions within the context of the market. Decisions concerning employment, investments, purchases or sales should not be influenced by religious, racial, sexual or other kind of prejudice that could disadvantage some of the economic agents. If, for example, the owner of a small restaurant preferential employs his family members, his choice is considered a private matter rather than a violation of the principle of equal opportunities. But if on the other hand he refuses to serve some customers, according to racial motives, for example, or to other criteria, real or fanciful (such as length of hair or eye color) then the matter becomes public and is considered a violation of that principle.[6]

The principle of formal equality of opportunity must also face another serious challenge, that comes from the fact that in general it does not take into account the way in which circumstances beyond the control of an individual do have influence on his ability to compete for access to certain resources. For example, when we insist that if they want to gain access to a job or a desirable social position, all candidates must participate to a test of skills in rigorous equal conditions, in order to correctly evaluate their performance, this rule often does not take into account the fact that different socio-economic situations of the candidates had created for some of them conditions to be better prepared for the test, so that in reality there are never strictly equal chances, but some preexisting social inequalities that are reinforced.[7]

Considered in itself, the formal equality of opportunity is not incompatible either with statistical discrimination, where the group specific traits such as gender, age or ethnicity are used to construct a profile of the group based on statistical data that associate with the group's members certain negative characteristics (low efficiency, absenteeism from work, increased criminality rate) or positive traits (conscientiousness, punctuality, resourcefulness and so on) that are used as indicators for future productivity, thus compromising the idea of

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[5] N. Richardt, T. Shanks, *op.cit.,* p. 612.

[6] R. Arneson*, op.cit*.

[7] N. Richardt, T. Shanks, *op.cit.,* p. 612.

equality, that requires claiming that each candidate is to be assessed individually, and not on the basis of some hypothetical traits of the group to which he belongs.[8] It is obvious that the practice of statistical discrimination can result in unpleasant situations for those concerned, but that does not automatically mean that it violates the principle of formal equality of opportunity. This is because, although the principle claims that all candidates are to be evaluated according to a number of relevant criteria, and the social reward must be granted to the one who is most qualified, it would be an excessive requirement to pretend that no expense is to be spared to discover which candidate is more qualified. The selection process may be more costly than the market principles allow. If in the context of the market economy formal equality of opportunity requires each agent to be equally treated as a potential means to obtain profit, then the principles of selection of candidates must comply with the principle of profit maximization, and from this perspective, statistical discrimination does not violate the principle of formal equality of opportunity.[9]

In itself, statistical discrimination is a more serious violation of the principle of formal equality than others, such as those based on fanciful criteria, like eye color because first, if practiced long enough, in addition to the direct consequences, can affect the dignity and self-esteem of the members of certain social group, while the other does not have other than direct consequences, such as losing a job or the refusal of being served in a restaurant, and also it is not systematically practiced, because the criteria are the product of individual imagination, and do not represent a general trend in society.

In the context of competitiveness that is one of the conditions of a market economy, there are mechanisms that operate automatically to penalize those fancy decisions that, violating the principle of equal opportunities, are leading to poor economic performance, so we can expect the market itself to eliminate such practices altogether. If an employer does not like, for instance, Catholics, or women, or Hispanics, even if they posses superior qualifications and prefer not to hire them just to satisfy this whim, he must be ready to cope with an increase of production costs, and if the market is competitive and the selling price can not be raised too much, he have to accept to get lower profits, or even the perspective of bankruptcy. But if on the other hand the discriminatory stereotype is shared by the majority of the population, then it becomes the social norm, and the market will reward employees who have refused to employ Catholic workers, women, or Hispanics, because nobody will want to buy products made by those employers who violate the social norm, so the violation of the principle of equality of opportunity in this case ensures profit maximization.

There are also other situations where the violation of the principle of equality of opportunity may lead to desirable results in terms of economic gain and thence the market will not automatically act to remove them. This category of situations includes statistical discrimination inasmuch as it is based on stereotypes that are caricatural generalizations about group characteristics. Often stereotypes are

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[8] Loc. cit.
[9] R. Arneson, *op.cit*.

wrong, in which case they lead to inefficient decisions and the market automatically removed those agents that made them, but sometimes they can be pretty close to reality, and that leads to the formulation of some effective strategies. For example, an employer who desires punctuality in the workplace may exclude from the list of possible candidates for a job the persons belonging to the African-American ethnic group, which the stereotype claims that manifest absenteeism and lack of conscientiousness. There are, of course different situations, where statistical discrimination has no connection with the real features of the group members, but rather with an imaginary erroneous stereotype.

In some societies, the inclusion of the principle of equal opportunities in legislation prohibits statistical discrimination according to race or gender, no matter how expensive it would be for employers because the society wants the elimination of any procedures that would remind of past forms of discrimination that resulted in what is believed to be lasting psychological effects on the members of discriminated groups.[10]

If it is considered only from the formal perspective, the principle of equal opportunities may remain just an empty form, so it is necessary a substantial approach that takes into account the actual social situation when it comes to the problem of determining the evaluation criteria of qualification and competence, otherwise equality of opportunity will never become a real situation.[11] For example, if in a society where access to privileged positions is reserved for a class of hereditary technocrats, such as priests, it is introduced the principle of formal equality of opportunity, this fact does not automatically mean a real equalization of opportunities. Then, we can imagine a reform allowing to everyone access to the category of priests and then to privileged positions, trough an exam to assess the required competences, but it is obvious that not all have equal qualities necessary to enter into this category, meaning that not all candidates have equal opportunities in this competition. Some of them, belonging to the upper social class, have benefited of the higher education and the proper training for the competition they are about to enter, while those from lower social groups do not have this starting advantage. For this reason, it is likely that only those belonging to the privileged class will be able to fulfill all the requirements of competences examination, and thus to enter the priestly class, although formally everyone has the same chance.[12]

Therefore, even if all individuals are considered eligible candidates for a higher position and their merits are assessed correctly, substantial or real equality of opportunity requires that all individuals have the same opportunities to become qualified to occupy that position through competition. Society should take appropriate measures to ensure those equal opportunities, such as the equalization of educational conditions for everyone by providing scholarships for those deserving individuals who could not afford to pay for the necessary education. If all the necessary measures are taken when necessary, the situation

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[10] Loc.cit.
[11] N. Richardt, T. Shanks, *op.cit.,* p. 612.
[12] R. Arneson, *op.cit.*

will change, and not just those being from the start in a privileged socio-economic situation will meet the criteria of competence required by formal equality of opportunity.

If we talk about the circumstances of acceding to a higher social position, substantial equality of opportunity only exists where all members of society are eligible for entering the competition to occupy the position, if candidates are correctly evaluated according to the criteria of competence, if finally are selected only those deserving and the chance to acquire skills and qualifications are equalized for all. The problem here is that of the criteria by which it can be determined how much society should do to ensure that these requirements are met. In principle, the extent to which society must intervene should result from the comparison between the costs and benefits presupposed by society's efforts to ensure substantive equality of opportunity and the costs and benefits measured in terms of other values, with which this effort to ensure equality will come into conflict. On the other hand, however much society would intervene, for example by providing scholarships to all disadvantaged individuals, the persons belonging to the privileged segment of society can compensate for this by investing even more in their children's education, and so they will create again for them a competitive advantage and will perpetuate the original inequality, making futile society's efforts towards equality.[13]

Another aspect of the issue that raises controversy is that of identifying how substantial equality of opportunity can be enforced, and the way more often pointed at is the so-called "affirmative action". The phrase was first used in the 1961 Executive Order No. 10925 of President John F. Kennedy, stating the obligations of economic agents who are contractors of the State, and who are prohibited "to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship".[14] In turn, President Lyndon Johnson resumed the issue in its Executive Order No. 11246 of 1965, and in 1967 extended its provisions to include affirmative action for the benefit of women, and its application in public schools, considering that "this is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights ... we seek... not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."[15]

Affirmative action was originally conceived as a program which was destined to eliminate and compensate the effects of different types of past discrimination against women and certain minorities in the United States by the means of

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[13] Loc.cit.

[14] Executive Order 10925. Establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, availabe on-line at http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/eo-10925.html

[15] L. Johnson, apud B. Brunner, Affirmative Action History. A History and Timeline of Affirmative Action, available on-line at http://www.infoplease.com/spot/affirmative1.html

preferential allocation of opportunities and resources to these groups once discriminated. The main areas in which the compensatory measures were considered to be necessary were education and employment, where was intended that ethnic minorities (particularly African Americans) and women to enjoy equal opportunities in admission to educational institutions, scholarships, financial aid for education, employment, promotion, salary increases, career development. The main argument in favor of the use of affirmative action is as follows: as long as reality produces inequality, affirmative action is necessary in order to eliminate those artificial gaps created between minorities and majority or between men and women by the existing biased institutions of society. The fact that the law stipulates equality does not automatically mean that gender equality becomes immediately a practical reality. Past discrimination are reflected in the inequality of opportunity, despite the egalitarian legal framework, a fact that allows the perpetuation of past injustices today. Affirmative action was designed from the beginning as a temporary remedy designed to equalize opportunities and to "level the playing field" for all participants, and once achieved this goal, its application should cease.[16]

For example, affirmative action designed to equalize opportunities between women and men in substantial terms in the context of the labor market led to the imposition of rules such as: (1) the proportion of candidates employed by a firm is to be equivalent to the proportion of candidates according to gender, (2) when there is equal competence between women and men, women must be preferred; (3) interdiction of gender segregation of jobs and of publicity about jobs, (4) the increasing of wages in female-dominated work fields.

The theoretical and practical difficulties of resorting to affirmative action are illustrated by Nicole Richardt and Torrey Shanks with three examples of reform in the domain of elite higher education admissions in India, France and the United States.[17]

Indian Institutes of Technology were founded in 1951 and quickly became some of the best professional education institutions in the country, which made the number of candidates to be very large relative to that of places available (approximately 50 candidates for a seat). Admission is made without taking into account the socioeconomic status of applicants, being based on a standardized knowledge test, which gives it an impartial character and guarantees the formal equality of opportunity for all candidates. Despite this, the majority of admitted candidates come from urban middle class, whose members have access to better schools and have the resources necessary to attend preparatory courses for admission exams, which are extremely expensive. In order to provide a real equality of opportunity, in 1973 the state decided that these educational institutions should reserve seats for 22.5 percent of the candidates that come from castes and tribes which were subject to historical discrimination in India. These places were to be filled by candidates from disadvantaged backgrounds who have obtained at least 2/3 of the score achieved by the last candidate who

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[16] B. Brunner, *op.cit.*
[17] N. Richardt, T. Shanks, *op.cit.,* pp. 612-613.

passed the general test or who has successfully completed a preparatory course of one year. Despite the fact that these facilities were provided by lowering admission standards, not all reserved seats were occupied, this situation leading to the idea that the measures taken were not sufficient, requiring other approaches to compensate for the imbalances of wealth and social position affecting the Indian society.[18]

Standards of admission examinations in elite universities in France are also very high, so most candidates who do well in these tests are graduates of highly selective pre-university educational institutions, which rarely admit pupils from lower social classes or immigrants' category. One of the most famous is the Institute of Political Studies (Institut d'études politiques de Paris or Sciences Po), founded in 1872, which enjoys privileged status of the most prestigious educational and research institutions in France, the so called grand établissements, making the admission of candidates to be extremely rigorous. The director of communication of the Institute, Xavier Brunschvicg, stresses that "Sciences Po is prestigious because we are good. We have excellent professors, the best students, the best service to find internships, and more resources."[19]

In 2001, the Institute has begun the implementation of a special admission program, through which a number of seats is reserved for candidates coming from poor suburbs of French cities. The program uses this geographically-based criterion instead of other criteria based on the socio-economic status or ethnicity, because the use of the latter would be inconsistent with the values of the republican ideology that constitutes the essence of the spirit of the French Republic, according to which the state is indivisible and its citizens are equal and share the same civic culture. For example, the French government does not accept the notion of ethnic minority, so there can be no recognition of their rights or the fact that some are or have been discriminated against, and now the time has come to rely on affirmative action to remedy these errors of the past. In these circumstances, the admission system of the Sciences Po provides access to student status of many people from among the first or second generation immigrants from Morocco or Algeria, but as long as their ethnicity is not formally taken into consideration the discrimination between citizens continue to exist, as well as the informal delineation of certain communities in France based on the ethnicity criterion.[20]

In the United States, as we have seen, the affirmative action was deemed necessary since early 1960s and implemented through government agencies. The specifically American characteristic way to understand affirmative action was the establishment of racial quotas of allocating the seats available for admission to universities, which reserves a percentage of seats for members of ethnic

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[18] Cf. K. Murali, The IIT Story: Issues and Concerns, în „Frontline", Vol. 20, Issue 03, February 01-14, 2003, available on-line at

http://www.flonnet.com/fl2003/stories/20030214007506500.htm

[19] M. Conley, Sciences Po: An Elite Institution's Introspection on its Power, Position, and Worth in French Society, available on-line at

http://journalism.nyu.edu/portfolio/conley/sciencespo.html.

[20] N. Richardt, T. Shanks, *op.cit.,* p. 612.

communities considered to have been discriminated against in the past. The existence of these shares has been criticized, however, on the grounds that they establish the so-called 'reverse discrimination', which led to the emergence of certain legal charges. Thus, in 1978 there was the "Regents of the University of California versus Bakke" process, in which Allan Bakke, a white man who was rejected two years in a row for admission to medical school, accused the California State University for candidates selection practices. He claimed that he was the victim of reverse discrimination, because, in a context of ethnic quotas, the university admitted candidates who obtained worse results than him, but belonged to the African-American minority, for which the educational institution reserved 16 seats out of 100. The Supreme Court decided against Bakke's interest, considering that affirmative action based on ethnic criteria is permitted, and thus allowed the admission program with reserved seats. At the same time, the Court found that although admission criteria must take into account ethnicity, however the quotas system was not constitutional, so the system had to give up this practice.[21] The legality of affirmative action itself continued to be supported by the Supreme Court in other cases involving the principles of admission to educational institutions. For example, in the Gratz versus Bollinger case (2003), the petitioners Jennifer Gratz and Patrick Hamacher accused the University of Michigan, which refused their admission, of the practice of reverse discrimination in candidate selection system. According to this system, those who get admitted are those who obtain at the aptitude test 100 points out of a maximum possible of 150, yet University grants members of underrepresented ethnic groups (African Americans, Hispanics, Native North Americans) a bonus of 20 points, which is not awarded to the members of the majority. The Supreme Court decided that this form of affirmative action is constitutional because ethnicity may be one of the factors to be considered for admission to college, but it has not justified it based on the need to compensate for past injustices, but on the grounds of 'prevailing interest of the state' to promote diversity at all levels of society.[22]

As you can see from these three examples, various societies resort to various forms of affirmative action to establish substantial equality of opportunity, and they have to solve specific problems for each of them. While India uses the method of reserving a certain percent of the available seats for certain minorities, in the United States these rates were found to be unconstitutional. At their turn, the Americans use racial and ethnic criteria as one of the factors taken into account in assessing candidates for admission in universities, while the French state does not allow affirmative action based on the criteria of socio-economic status and ethnicity, because it would undermine its republican values. Instead of that, France, which still lacks a sustained program of affirmative action in higher education field, experiences the implementation of geographically-based criteria.

The main problem that arises here is that of building legitimacy for selection and its results, as emphasized by Xavier Brunschvicg from Science Po: "We

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[21] Cf. Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, available on-line at http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0438_0265_ZS.html
[22] Cf. Gratz v. Bollinger, available on-line at http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/02-516.ZO.html

believe, here, that we are creating the elite of French society. But in order for these elites to be accepted, they have to be legitimate. Reproduction is not legitimate. We need to diversify to be legitimate, to help the égalité des chances (equality of opportunity) along."[23]

Besides this, those who oppose affirmative action also believe that it has many other adverse effects resulting from the fact that: (1) it devalues the achievements of individuals who are selected on the basis of group membership rather than on the basis of qualifications they hold; (2) it devalues the individual achievements of all members of the group that it intends to help, and thus becomes counter-productive; (3) encouraging minorities in the name of past injustices (or past discriminations) means the present wrongfulness of the majority, and if any discrimination is reprehensible in itself, then affirmative action is condemnable too; (4) its application prevents reconciliation between minority and majority; (5) it encourages individuals to identify themselves as being disadvantaged even when they are not, therefore to declare themselves as members of the minority favored by affirmative action just to take advantage of it, (6) it leads to increased inter-ethnic tensions and animosity towards favored groups; (7) it brings benefits to the members of privileged minorities at the expense of the less fortunate among majority; (8) it interferes with the normal functioning of the labour market mechanisms, or its rules according to which if members of a minority prefer a poorly paid job that is a personal choice which should not be influenced, and if they want a higher salary they are free to move towards better paid work; (9) it has a negative effect on the productivity of society as a whole because it reduces the motivation to make every effort to achieve better results, both for advantaged minority members, as well as for those who are members of the majority, in the former case because society rewards them anyway, and in the latter because they are disadvantaged regardless of their efforts.[24]

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[23] M. Conley, *op.cit.*

[24] T. Sowell, Affirmative Action Around the World. An Empirical Study, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004. Cf T. Sowell, Affirmative Action Around the World, essay adapted from the mentioned book, available on-line at

http://www.hoover.org/publications/hoover-digest/article/8108

CHANGING THE CULTURAL PARADIGMS AND THE NEW MEDIA HABITAT

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Abstract: In this text, my endeavor is to scrutinize some facets of the correlation between brand-new communication technologies and the cultural paradigm shift we are witnessing in the last decades. According to McLuhan, culture takes different shapes depending on the communication means prevailing in a given society or a historical context. In the postmodern world, the scale of values is reshaped under the pressure of cultural industries and media systems, while written culture interacts with new forms of expression, synthetically included in the term of media culture. Although audiovisual technologies combine word with image, the differences between book and screen are significant. There are two means of communication with complementary virtues: they generate two cultural models currently in interaction.

Keywords: media system, media habitat, written culture, audiovisual, media culture, screen age.

Introduction: The thinkers of yesterday and the world of today

The problematic of social and economic development is intimately linked to that of cultural patterns that accompany economic models and instill spiritual energy. Cultural factors are particularly important in the development equation, as they are directly or indirectly involved in all the activities and areas characteristic of a society. *The symbolic and intellectual asset is the key resource of development for organizations and societies alike.* This issue has been recently tackled again in the debates of political leaders and experts on the occasion of international meetings held to find solutions to the prolonged economic crisis. The difficulties facing many states these days, including the European Union and the euro zone are related to a particular economic and cultural pattern, which has shown its limitations in the context of globalization. It is characteristic that this crisis takes place at a time when new information and communication technologies are expanding.

In the current context of globalization, theoreticians underline that the development equation brings together a variety of factors, the scientific and technological ones being the most important, obviously without overlooking, among others, the demographic and social factors. It means a new vision on development, with the emphasis on the human factor and the quality of

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education, on research and education; these are the factors that have favored, paradoxically, the less developed societies which were able to adapt, to make the necessary changes and to apply intelligent policies in order to benefit from globalization, to use it for their own development, merging global flows and local resources[1].

The transition from modern industrial civilization to the postindustrial civilization brought about correlative changes in the sphere of scientific and philosophical thought and in the forms of artistic expression. These changes have also envisaged value-frame, the behaviors and lifestyles, and also the relationships among societies, enhancing the links and interdependencies among them up to the current stage of globalization. These added changes have led to a new type of culture, the postmodern culture, which differs from the modern one in several respects. When they examine the differences between these types of cultures, theoreticians grant an instrumental role to the brand-new means of communication and place the significance of these processes into a broader context, covering the cultural paradigm shifts in today's world.

A new cultural and economic model is on a par with the knowledge-based society project, adopted in EU documents, a model that relies on the virtues of new technologies. "Communication networks are the arteries through which the blood of new economies flows - knowledge and information"[2]. Furthermore, overcoming current crisis is put in connection with the gapping up of the digital divide, with the access to world information "highway", a goal for which we must provide the "Internet expansion throughout the European Union, up to a rate of 95% until 2020"[3].

To explain the current changes and their meaning, theoreticians today go back in time and resort to thinkers of yesterday, who by their intuition or theories predicted these changes and foreshadowed what would happen in the world today. In this way, we are called upon to reread the works of authors like Nietzsche, Marx, Freud, Weber, Heidegger, Gramsci, Adorno, Marcuse and ... George Orwell. They all cast a particular light on today's realities and help us reveal their meaning. An ever more frequently cited author for the way he deciphered and explained today's world is Marshall McLuhan, who many deem to be a true prophet who foresaw globalization and theorized, *avant la lettre*, "the global village" where we have arrived only these days, thanks to the computer and the Internet. In this sense, noteworthy is that an American author begins his book with the following statements on the effects of the Internet: "In 1964, when *The Beatles* were launching their invasion on American airwaves, Marshall McLuhan published *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man* and turned from an obscure university professor into a star. *Understanding Media* was essentially a

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[1] Paul Dobrescu, *Viclenia globalizării (The Shrewdness of Globalization)*, Iaşi, Editura Institutul European, 2010, pp. 21-25.

[2] Guy Verhofstadt, *Ieşirea din criză. Cum poate Europa salva lumea* (*Exiting The Crisis: How Europe Can Save The World*), Bucharest, Editura Comunicare .ro, 2012, p. 193.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 194

prophecy and what prophesied was the dissolution of linear mind".[4] Therefore, he voiced the cultural paradigm shift we are experiencing today. He foresaw and described the transition between two different ways of thinking.

Indeed, we need to read and read again McLuhan to have better insight into ourselves and the world we live in. Here are some ideas closely linked to the name of this author. They matter in order to better grasp the education issues in the context of contemporary culture.

Orality, written, audiovisual

Marshall McLuhan is the thinker who shocked the scientific world in the 60s of the last century with the idea that the communication means prevailing in a society brings about a specific structuring of the cultural universe, of the thinking patterns and the lifestyles. Here is a quote that summarizes McLuhan's idea: "You need to remember that the definition of the means [of communication] in my view is broad: it includes any technology that creates extensions of the human body and senses, from clothing to computer. I want to stress once again a basic idea: societies have always been shaped by the nature of the communication means among people rather than the content of communication"[5]. This idea was synthetically presented by the Canadian theoretician in the formula: "the medium is the message".

Therefore, the emergence of a new communication means throughout history reshapes the entire field of knowledge and triggers major changes in the fabric of society, and, implicitly, in the content of the educational process. *There are correlations between predominant means of communication and certain cultural patterns*. We can assert that education and the young people's formation depend more on the nature communication means predominantly used in a society than the intellectual content conveyed through such means. McLuhan distinguished *three types of cultures*, depending on the predominance of communication forms (media): oral cultures, written cultures and cultures dominated by audio-visual forms of communication. In a schematic and conventional way, we may call them pre-modern cultures, modern and postmodern cultures.

The orality-based cultures, specific to tribal, archaic, traditional cultures, the individual was organically integrated into the community of language, of appurtenance and life. In general, these are illiterate societies, in which only a very small elite had access to "high" cultural forms, to learning how to write. Oral communication implies direct interaction, face to face, of the interlocutors, the current use of the same code, which results in the organic solidarity of all individuals, a predominance of community codes of conduct. The individual belonging to traditional societies lived inside the magical world of spoken word, subjugated by the latter's power to create a sound universe replete with

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4 Nicholas Carr (2011), *The Shallows. What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains*, ed. rom., *Superficialii. Efectele internetului asupra creierului uman*, trad. de Dan Crăciun, Bucureşti, Editura Publica, 2012, p. 12.

5 Marshall McLuhan, *Mass media sau mediul invizibil* (*Mass Media: the Invisible Environment*), Bucharest, Editura Nemira, 1999, p. 232.

significances. Orality produces a syncretic culture, a culture of the acoustic space, where the activities, the knowledge, the values and the attitudes are deeply integrated and loosely differentiated. In these types of cultures, the heritage of knowledge and the standards of living were handed down to new generations through orality, through certain established forms of education (in family, practical learning, apprenticeship, community rituals etc.).

In brief, learning the communication codes and social norms, the social transmission of tradition and the formation of specific skills of individuals were provided through certain practices of community life, through what is called "the school of life". These forms secured a primary layer of education, whereas the higher stages of education were restricted by many social barriers a.o. Although these societies had some organized forms for training political, religious and military elites, nonetheless, we cannot speak of a school as a specialized institution.

On the contrary, the written culture, and especially in the modern world, turns the school into a really fundamental institution with formal rules and structures. Now, the access to education becomes a particular and serious issue for the societies under modernization, having with social, political and economic consequences. Written culture leads to a sensory and psychological apparatus altogether reshaped, produces other mental patterns, modes of perception and representation of the world. The use of writing as a prevailing means of communication involves new skills and competences. In the first place, it is about learning how to use an artificial system of signs, for instance the phonetic alphabet, which is a conventional and arbitrary construct. *Reading and writing involve other mental operations than those used in oral communication*. Orality is characterized by continuity, writing by discontinuity. The sequence of letters in the written word and of the clauses in phrases are similar with the discursive and sequential unfolding of logic operations in a syllogism, a mechanism we move through step by step from premises to conclusions, enchaining thus a rational demonstration.

The invention of printing in mid 15th c. and the expansion of written culture in modern times may be related to the prevalence of rationalist concepts, to critical, discursive and reflective thinking, as well as to other concepts and processes specific to modernity: the idea of the autonomy of reason, the idea of the freedom of the individual, as an autonomous subject endowed with natural and universal rights, the process of the autonomization of values and cultural spheres, of segmentation and specialization of economic activities, the separation between production and consumption, the processes of standardization, concentration and centralization, the ascension of individualism on the social and political level[6].

The development of printing, the extension of publications and school are related phenomena. The book (from the first-grade schoolbooks to university handbooks) has become a "repository" of knowledge and a key tool for education. For the modern man, reading has become an indispensable cultural experience,

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[6] *Ibidem,* pp. 230-237.

and school, ultimately, is an organized and institutionalized form of literacy and reading. In this context and under the cross pressure of economic, political and cultural factors, school becomes a fundamental institution of the modern world. Writing and then printing have favored the abstract mental processes and also the social separation and individuation factors. Scientific theories, mathematics or Euclidean geometry could not be formulated in a culture of orality. Modern natural science, Newton's mechanics, with their assumptions of time and space infinity and uniformity, could develop only in the new spiritual framework shaped by the "Gutenberg Galaxy", by the civilization of printing.

Once writing came into use, knowledge and culture in general are objectified and stored into a varied heritage of texts (sacred or profane, literary, scientific, legal, administrative and so on). In these conditions, bringing up a cultivated man implies literacy and learning new specialized codes of written culture (which lays out theoretical thinking, sciences, technologies of various trades, arts, historical knowledge etc.). That is why, now, school as an autonomous specialized institution is not only necessary, but also indispensable, as a strategic factor of modernization. Therefore, we can conclude that, in the history of civilization, the emergence of the school as a specialized educational institution is linked to the appearance and development of writing as a means of communication. *School destiny is organically connected to written culture*, as a specific type of culture different from traditional oral culture, and also to the new type of culture, emerged with the expansion of new media, under the sign of the audio-visual.

New media habitat and the cultural paradigm shift

We can imagine what answers we might get if we applied a questionnaire calling the people on the street [i.e.: non-experts] to tell us: "What is new, really new in today's world?" We can assume that most respondents would indicate new technologies and media (computer, mobile phone, digital technology, Internet, etc.). These very factors have produced the most profound changes in lifestyle and in education. We know today that bringing up children in the context of the information society is decisively influenced by *the new media habitat* and the entire complex called media culture.

The difficulties facing education today are related to the cultural paradigm shift. The third period of human evolution would be marked by the emergence and expansion of electronic communication means in the last two centuries. Electronic communication means (telegraph, telephone, radio, television, audio and video tapes, computers etc.) give birth to a civilization of the image, overpowered by the audio-visual. Hence, it is about a transition *from written culture which prevailed in the modern era to a new type of culture in which the audio-visual prevails*, a type of culture theoreticians call synthetically media culture. "A new media culture came into being in which images, sound and performance intertwine into the fabric of everyday life, overpowering leisure time, shaping political views and social behaviors and providing materials with that people build up their own identity."[7] Consequently, the concept of media

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[7] Douglas Kellner, *Cultura media* (*Media Culture*) Iaşi, Institutul European, 2001, p. 13

culture expresses the fundamental fact that "mass media colonized culture", social life and spare-time, inner life and everyday environment, and its products "have replaced earlier cultural expressions, the written and spoken word and that we live in a world where media dominate entertainment and culture. Media culture is therefore the prevailing form and *the stage* of culture in contemporary societies".[8]

As the media system (which encompasses the whole kaleidoscope of new technologies and means of communication) is conquering ever broader spaces from the area of social activities, from public and private life, the "book civilization" which dominated the modern world, lapses into a gradual decline. Instead, this "image civilization" dislocates major positions and areas previously held by written culture within the cultural configuration of individuals. Its hegemony becomes ever more visible and children and young people are integrated and partially *formed in the media culture before being integrated into the written culture*, which is the school's dominant culture. They are under an ongoing bombardment, throughout the school years, from primary school to college, by the attractive and accessible offer of media culture, which has a different logic than written culture. It often sends other contents in other forms of expression and generates in an imperceptible and continuous way other ways of thinking and representing the world, other ways of relating to life, career, profession, kin and society.

Under these conditions, the mind of children and young people becomes a field where two cultural paradigms clash: namely *written culture and media culture* (instrumented by the audio-visual system). What they learn in the formal school framework clashes with what they see on TV or what they access on the Internet. Theoreticians describe the outcome of these combinations and interferences as a "cultural mosaic", a "culture amalgam" of great diversity, but without an internal order or a hierarchy of knowledge and values. In this sense, the modern-type school type, in a formal institutional framework, sometimes rigid, is facing a difficult hard-to-define challenge. It is summoned to change both the content conveyed and also the education forms it provides to meet the new requirements of labor market.

Modern world is crossed far and wide by multiple communication networks, different parts of the world are interconnected and covered by the huge "net" of new digital technologies, which have multiplied, in geometric progression, the communication avenues among people and societies. This new technological infrastructure has created a virtually unlimited communication network, "networked society"[9], a data, ideas and images network surrounding the planet as a virtual space. Metaphorically, the new media system can be seen as *the nervous system of information societies*. Mainly the computer and the Internet are regarded as inventions which have produced a gigantic change in human life.

People are anchored today in a huge media habitat, which influences their daily life and also their world vision. A philosophical interpretation of the new

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[8] *Ibidem,* p.48.
[9] Manuel Castells, *La société en réseaux*, Tom I, *L'ère de l'information*, Nouvelle édition, Paris, Fayard, 2001, p. 416.

living environment suggests that we have reached all, children and adults alike, the condition of being "captives" to the virtual reality built by the media. "It is becoming increasingly obvious that, like the people Plato's cave, we live in a world created by media rather than reality itself."[10] The reference the two authors make to "the cave myth" in Plato's writings is not hazardous. Indeed, we live without knowing, immersed in "the world created by the media" in "the cave" of the media system. More than for adults, anchored in real life, this holds true for children and young people who spend long hours fascinated by computer games and live immersed in the virtual world of the Internet, a genuine "world of shadows" and simulacra.

The analogy is not accidental because we are also lured by the shadows endlessly reeling all over the screens. We live in a culture of "the global Screen", a screen that is everywhere: "The screen from anywhere and anytime, from shops and airports, restaurants and bars, subways, cars and airplanes [...]. The establishment of the global screen age is going to bring about a huge cultural shift that affects ever more facets of creation, not to speak of the existence itself ".[11]

We can see, therefore, some aspects of the new environment in which children and young people are brought up today. It is a world that depends and is largely driven by the new technology. The influences of this new media habitat on human mind and sensitivity, and mainly on the process of children formation, are still insufficiently investigated, because, seen on the scale of human history, "the explosion", the spread and effects of new electronic means are recent facts (about half a century). According to McLuhan's theory, when a new means of communication emerges in human life, it "blinds up" its users, changes their perceptive experience and exerts over them an influence of an unconscious nature. In information society, people are immersed, like fish in water, in this new medium of communication and do not "see", do not grasp its effects. Therefore, the world and media culture we have stepped into is an "invisible environment" to us.[12]

The basic idea we have to remember from McLuhan's theory is that *the media influence is stronger than the "content" influence*. The media system exerts two types of influence: influences related to the nature of the new electronic communication means and influences triggered by the contents conveyed by these means. This distinction holds the key to the problem. In a maximalist interpretation, McLuhan's thesis, which caused so much controversy, tells us that the lasting and unconscious influence exerted by environment / form of communication is more important and profound than the influence exerted by the content of communication. Under the pressure of electronic communication means, today's world acquires a new configuration, gradually becoming a kind of "global village".

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[10] Melvin L. DeFleur, Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Teorii ale comunicării de masă*, (*Theories of Mass Communication*), Iaşi, Polirom,.1999, p.258.

[11] Gilles Lipovetsky, Jean Serroy, *Ecranul global. Cultură, mass-media şi cinema în epoca hipermodernă*, (*The Global Screen. Culture, Mass Media and Cinema in Hypermodern Age*), Iaşi, Polirom, 2008, p. 8.

[12] Marshall McLuhan, *op. cit*. p.230.

The new means of communication and the cultural environment they brought about is concurrent with the universe of books, with the cultural environment of modernity. *The book and the screen* are different communication means and produce various spiritual experiences. A symptom is the decreased interest in reading among the younger generations. McLuhan's thesis was confirmed by several studies showing that television and computer modify the regime of mental processes, such as perception, representation, will, memory and thinking. Lately, more and more researchers in various fields, especially those in the field of neuropsychology and cognitive sciences have pinpointed the negative effects of these technologies on the human mind, *whatever the content of the messages they convey.* This last statement must necessarily be remembered in order to understand the significance of alarm signals we receive from educators and people interested in the impact of current media system on the educational process in general.

Contradictory effects of the new communication technologies
Recent studies have shown that, when used in excess, these electronic means cause serious malfunctions in brain functioning, create a special type of dependency, diminish cognitive skills and alter the affective and volitional structure of children. These negative effects are relatively independent of social educational contexts. They are caused by the specific influence of electronic technology on human mind and sensitivity, influence that needs to be closely correlated with the perceptive and representational forms, favored and induced by televised image, projected on a TV screen or a computer monitor, and also with the type of virtual experience that Internet users store up in a lifetime.

Surprisingly, Nichoas Carr demonstrates that the intensive us of Internet changes not only the intellectual abilities and thinking skills, but also the brain structure, in other words, it modifies the soft and the hard alike. The Internet as a *medium* and a data technological communication device influences almost invisibly the development of mental operations and this becomes obvious in the act of reading, as the author avows: "I no longer think the way I used to. I feel it the most whenever I read. Now my focus starts to go crazy after a page or two. I become restless, I lose track, I begin looking for something else to do. I always feel that I drag along my stubborn brain, forcing it to go back to the text. That deep reading that used to come naturally has become an effort."[13]

The televised image, by its fast succession of frames and planes, but also by other specific factors, brings about significant changes in the functioning of human brain. The research in neuro-cognitive sciences shows that, while watching TV, our brain activity "is completely different from that commonly found in people's lives." [14] Televised images penetrate directly into the subconscious without being filtered by higher mental processes. This "neurological abnormality" is present in adults, but its negative effects are much stronger in children, because their brain structures are under construction and

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[13] Nicholas Carr, *op.cit.,* p. 23.
[14] Virgiliu Gheorghe, *Efectele televiziunii asupra minții umane* (*The Effects of TV on Human Mind*), Bucharest, Editura Prodromos, 2006, p. 12.

configuration. Watching to an excess TV programs prevents the formation and configuration of those neural networks essential to process mentally, through language, the external stimuli and information, to think in an abstract, analytical and logical way, to understand significances and to develop creative imagination. To sum up, children brought up in front of the TV screen or a computer monitor show serious deficiencies in terms of their cognitive capacity. Students who become addicted to TV or computer (a dependency comparable to drug addiction) show symptoms of these diseases: inability to concentrate during classes and reading, to understand the meaning of a more complex text, to follow the logical track of an argument or a scientific demonstration, a state of passivity or an uncontrollable restlessness and agitation, coping difficulties, depression, tendencies to isolation. Reading requires a focused attention, a concentration effort and an exercise of creative imagination, so that students can build mental images of the situations and actions described or implied in the text read and also understand their meaning.

However, the children and students too familiar with the TV and the computer, from which they take everything for granted, have difficulty in understanding the meaning of a expose or a text unless they are accompanied by pictures. They expect the meaning of a text to pop up "like magic", as a visual effect, in the form of images, and the learning process should be fun and pleasant, a dramatized performance, just like the virtual experience they experienced in their interaction with the TV or the computer. Therefore, for them reading is boring, as compared to "the show" played by televised images.

Finally, I shall reproduce some excerpts from an article by Mircea Cărtărescu, important Romanian writer, an article having an emblematic title: "The World of Books Is Sinking". *"Yesterday, at a class, I asked my students if they knew the name of any Romanian writer under thirty years of age. As silence was falling, I lowered the stake: Tell me then a writer under forty. Nothing! At least one under fifty! Unbelievable! Philology students, in their last year, did not know at least one name of a Romanian writer under fifty years of age! And I assure you it is not about spoiled brats, but good kids, eager to learn. Only their world no longer resembles our world. The book civilization is sinking before our eyes, like a doomed ship hitting a reef. The television, the computer with their multimedia and virtual possibilities, the iPod and the iPhone have eroded and ruined lately the world of libraries, so hard and painstakingly built by tens of generations, ever since the existence of writing".* [15]

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[15] Mircea Cărtărescu, *„Lumea cărții se scufundă"* (The World of Books Is Sinking), an article in Evenimentul zilei newspaper, 12 March, 2010, at: http://www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/senatul-evz-lumea-cartii-se-scufunda-889235.html#ixzz20LecI2Kh).

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RELIGION AS DUTY AND ITS PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE (II)

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Abstract: As a legacy of the essence of Judaism and Hellenism, Christian doctrine[1] takes the category of "duty" as a central concept of his pragmatic moral oriented towards human salvation and becomes a special virtue. Christian virtue is the result of divine grace working together with spiritual powers of man, while the ancient virtue is a trait or a purely human power. The essence of Christian virtue does not rest, nor reason, nor sense, nor will, but includes soul one's integrity: reason, affectivity and will. Definition of manual states that Christian virtue is continuous and constant activity, the source of divine grace which works with faithful endeavor, which he always fulfills God's will, the only truth that makes man free, and achieves recognition "starry sky" above, and "moral law" within the self. Example of perfect union of wisdom and salvation was St. Justin Martyr and Philosopher.

***Keywords**. True knowledge (ἐπιστήμη, episteme), Christian moral, duty, virtue, human freewill, God's will.*

Among the questions to be put on one religion or another are those concerning their scope and purpose, as each has turned its attention particularly to the underworld and hence the value assigned to the real world as a preparing ground for the future life. Current universe is particularly important for *homo religious*, because its alleged tripartite structure: heaven; real existence; and hell. Existence is considered to have a great importance in itself, due to the interest manifested by the religious people concerning their place in God's kingdom. All current major religions grow striving to cultivate good deeds committing and to perform a high degree of moral freedom as spiritual perfection in order to gain heaven.

The ideal of holiness appears as one of the most beautiful ornaments of the human being, but it was understood differently from person to person and from religion to religion, due to their specific teachings. Fund doctrine of any religion always has an overwhelming influence on the understanding and development of the concept of freedom and salvation.

As a legacy of the essence of Judaism and Hellenism, Christian doctrine took over the category of "duty" as a central concept to its pragmatic morality oriented to the human salvation. Etymologically speaking, the word "duty" is equivalent to

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[1] Citations conforming with: *The Bible*, containing *The Old and the New Testaments*, Revised Standard Edition, Glasgow, Harper Collins Publishers, The British and Foreign Society, 1967.

the notion of *virtue* which comes from the Latin word *virtus, - tis* (from *vir, - i*, meaning "man") and designates a characteristic of the man, namely strength, physical and spiritual strength. The corresponding word in Greek is "arête" and calls the essential characteristic of the god Ares, which explains why the first word *virtue* involves the idea of fighting. In Christianity, the concept of *virtue* also receives an overall understanding and moral par excellence, designating the strength to resist to evil and to practice the good[2].

The classification of virtues had consecrated the glory title of the ancient moralists, who had turned technical terms like "strength", "self-control" and "lack of passion" into philosophical terms as "ataraxia", "temperance", "apatheia", and Plato added "justice", whose harmony is "wisdom" as supreme virtue. Moreover, since the Pre-Socratics the main virtue was called "wisdom", that Socrates defined as the general science of the good, which includes all other virtues, and from which are derived the devotion toward gods, justice toward people and temperance toward himself. Plato split virtues in four classes, *i.e.*, wisdom, manliness, restraint or temperance, and justice, the latter being the crown of all others[3]. A dichotomy of virtues remained from Aristotle, *i.e.*, virtues of reason or dianoethical, and moral virtues or ethical, which are the virtues of the desirous part of the human soul. Cicero preserved Plato's classification in *De Officiis* and Aquinas retained Aristotle's dichotomy in *Summa Theologiae*.

Unlike the moral conception from other world religions, the source of Christian virtue lies not only in the power of the subject, due to the fact that the only Christian endeavor cannot generate virtue, because the virtues spring is in the super-human being, as Paul says, "For God is at work in you, both to will and to work, for His good pleasure "(*Philippians*, 2: 13).

In the *New Testament*, the word "virtue" is used (I *Peter,* 2: 9; II *Peter*, 1: 3; 1: 5; *Philippians*, 4: 8) in the dogmatic sense, *viz.*, perfection or divine consummation, or that of human power. In the moral sense, about "virtue" is spoken in many places, being labeled with synonymous terms, depending on the aspect under which it is regarded as "spiritual wisdom", "life of spirit", "the good", "the divine bliss", "devotion", "follow the commandments of God", "longing for good works", "holiness". But in all cases, the Christian virtue as duty shows a constant feature in connection with fulfilling the law of the Word, namely striving to fulfill the law is followed necessarily by deed for law requirements.

Christian virtue is thus the result of divine grace working together with spiritual powers of man, while ancient virtue or power is a purely human trait. The essence of Christian virtue does not lie nor in intellect, nor in feeling, nor in will, but in the soul in the integrity of its faculties: intellect, emotions and will. Manual definition states that Christian virtue is continuous and constant activity, stemming from divine grace which works with effort believer that it always reaches God's will, the only truth that makes man free. True virtue is "freely

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[2] Achim I.Scriban, *Curs de teologie Morală*, ediţia a II-a, Bucureşti, (*Course of Moral Theology*, second edition, Bucharest),Tipografia Jockerz-Club, Ion C. Văcărescu, 1921, p. 238 ş.u.

[3] Platon, *Cratylos*, 41 1a – 41 4b; *Republica*, (*Republics*), VI, 48 5a-48 7a; *Legi*, (*Laws*), XII, 96 7e-86 9d.

accepted slavery for good, to love others, to the benefit of voluntary ministry for neighbor as God asks us to serve our true good and the good of others"[4].

Thus understood, Christian virtue is not only knowledge of good, nor provision or intent only for good, not only felt pleasure from the good deed that made good, but a constant attitude towards the good, active striving, strong and steadfast compliance of the facts with the rules laid down by Jesus Christ in the nine *Beatitudes* and the three evangelical counsels. Virtuous attitude, as mental, subjective, inner trait, entails necessary external, objective good will to commit. Christian devotee must strive to his death to remain virtuous, because even in that moment his virtue can weaken, can be reduced or lost. St. Paul says: "Therefore let any one who thinks that he stands lest he fall" (I *Corinthians*, 10: 12).

The perfect model of the fulfilled Christian duty is Jesus Christ. Apostles, some martyrs and apprentices, as others have tried to make their own life a pattern of Jesus Christ own virtues, but being people only, they could not reach the fullness of perfection, as to consummation, as St. John Chrysostom said, it is required constant learning and continuous practice of virtue, which is gradually gaining up to the ladder that leads to heaven.

Given that a clear and distinct definition of religion is: „*any system of thought and action shared by a group which gives the individual a frame of orientation and an object of devotion*"[5], we can say that Christian doctrine distinguishes virtues considering their object to which they are moving, and their purpose. Thus the Christian virtues are theological virtues - their object and purpose is God immediately - and moral virtues - their object are human relationships with peers, in other words with others, with himself and with society. In turn, the moral virtues are divided into cardinal virtues and derived virtues, as they are considered as sources of other virtues or as coming from others.

The importance of the theological virtues is shown in many passages of the *Bible*, emphasizing that they are given to the Christian devotees through the saints' grace, being primarily indispensable conditions for salvation, but at the same time, by cultivating them, they themselves become completions, and by possessing them, the Christian devotee becomes a full-fledged man to the extent of the stature measure of Christ fullness. The Apostle Paul speaks in many places on the divine theological virtues trinity (*Ephesians*, 4: 13; *Romans*, 5: 1-5), but a sentence has become classical and famous by their express assertion and hierarchy, namely I *Corinthians*, 13: 13 where it is noted: "So faith, hope, love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love". St. Ignatius of Antioch called faith "the beginning" and love "the end" of earthly life.

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[4] Preot Prof. Dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, *Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă*, ediţia a II-a, vol. 2, Bucureşti, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, (*Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*, Second Edition, Volume 2, Bucharest: Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church Publishing House), 1997, p. 208.

[5] Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 7th print., 1958, p. 21.

The three theological virtues were compared and allegorized by events in the *Old Testament* or through the metaphor of the three maidens. So then, faith has been likened to the pillar of fire that led the Hebrew people in the wilderness (pillar of faith); hope to the manna that Jews were looking eye to the sky (manna of hope), and love, to the Ark of the Covenant that led the Hebrew people in the wilderness to the promised land (ark of love). The parable of maidens presents faith like a virgin dressed in green, holding an anchor (the hope anchor with green wise); and love, like a virgin dressed in white, carrying in his hand a heart or a flower (the pure white of love, heart and edelweiss)[6].

From a moral point of view, conscious and free human acts are divided into good and evil deeds, which means that entail a penalty or reward for good deeds - consistency in committing good deeds lead to virtue - and punishment for evil deeds - persevering means committing sin and has as results vice and death as punishment. From a Christian point of view, St. Paul distinguishes three kinds of sanctions corresponding to the courts of judgment concerning the human actions: "But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged by you or by any human court. I do not even judge myself. I am not aware of anything against myself, but I am not thereby acquitted. It is the Lord who judges me "(I *Corinthians*, 4: 3-4). Accordingly, the first forum which penalizes any human action is the perpetrator's own conscience, that may be issue to error in assessing subject's responsibility.

Anybody's own consciousness sanction has an inner nature and it is experienced as emotional satisfaction or joy for committing a good deed, or tumult or excruciating remorse for committing an evil. The value of self-punishment, which can lead to confession to civil forums or to criminal court (as claimed by Plato), depends on devotee's moral conscience, awake or asleep, lax, false or Pharisaical, in which case the penalty does not exist or is of no value.

The second forum of trial and punishment of acts is the neighbor, in the form of social sanction as public opinion. In the case when the social sanction is applied in an organized manner, by religious or secular bodies of law, according to a church or civil law code, the facts are beyond the scope of moral field and become object of religious or secular laws. Finally, the absolute and infallible judgment court is God, the knower of the human heart in its most hidden secret wishes (*John*, 2: 25; *Romans*, 8: 34; 14: 12).

Christian casuistry established conditions under which a violation of divine law can be considered sin *i.e.*, breaking the law should be made with full knowledge, in other words, should the same moral offender be aware of the existence of the moral law and by his act that violates the law, breaking the moral law must be committed by the perpetrator with free will, *i.e.*, the perpetrator shall be decided freely committing the crime, without being constrained by anyone. If one of these conditions is not satisfied, the offense as offense, although contrary to law, cannot be called sin.

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[6] Arhim. Dr. Ioan Zăgrean, *Morala creştină*, Bucureşti, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune Ortodoxă, (*Christian Morality*, Bucharest: Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church Publishing House),1974, pp. 107-134.

Christian moral law breach can be done in deed, in word or in thought, which means that the key is not committing the external sin act which violates the moral law, but the free will or intent to violate the law, even if, due to causes beyond the control of the offender, the offense was not committed outside. Therefore Christ calls transgression of the law just the thought of vengeance (anger against neighbor), bad word or even sinful lust (*Matthew*, 5: 21-36). Christ nuances such as the relationship between intentional state of mind, word and deed in the parable of the two sons: "A man had two sons; and he went to the first and said, 'Son, go and work today in my vineyard!' And he answered, 'I will not'; but afterward he repented and went. And he went to the second and said the same; and he answered 'I go, sir!', but he did not go. Which of the two did the will of the father?" They said, "The first". Jesus said to them, "Truly, I say to you, the tax collectors and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came to you in the way of righteousness, and you did not believe him, but the tax collectors and the harlots did; and even when you saw it, you did not afterward repent and believe him" (*Matthew*, 21: 28-32).

Christian doctrine maintains that the origin of sin is in the free will, with which man was endowed by God through the very act of creation. Only the will to act depends on the human nature, so that the sin – as "bad will" – is not in the human nature, but that is only an accident, namely, the will tilt more toward evil than for good. Therefore, Christian moralists believe that human nature is a lack of good (a lack of good deed) which is also an accident, just as *in actu* is an accident toward *in potentia*[7].

The Greek philosophy iterates in its own and syntagmatic way the path to the hell. So, it was noted the fact that Solon, one of the seven sages of ancient Greece, was saying: "Wealth leads to satiety, and satiety in crime"[8]. Solon's sentence became proverbial literature celery because it has designated crime that destroy cities. Contemporary of Solon, the great Jewish prophet Ezekiel revealed - in the same way - the causes that made the Most High to burn Sodom: "Behold, this was the guilt of your sister Sodom: she and her daughters had pride, surfeit of food, and prosperous ease" (*Ezekiel*, 16: 49). Christ's words are similar, when they refer to the penalty sudden disasters incurred in the history of a fallen humanity: "As it was in the days of Noah, so will it be in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day when Noah entered the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all. Likewise as it was in the days of Lot – they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they built, but on the day when Lot went out from Sodom fire and sulphur rained from heaven and destroyed them all – so will it be on the day when the Son of man is revealed" (*Luke*, 17: 26-30).

But whether the ontological status of sin is of a universal destiny or that sin is only an accident in being, all major religions describe the circumstances of sin

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[7] E. Baudin, *Precis de morale*, Paris, J. de Gigord,1945, pp. 92-93.

[8] Diogenes Laertios, *Despre vieţile şi doctrinele filosofilor*, (Diogenes Laertios, *About the lives and doctrines of philosophers*), trad. de C. I. Balmuş, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, (Bucharest, Academy Publishing House of Rumanian People's Republic), 1963, p. 132.

manifestation, the opportunity to sin. For example, Xenophon, in *Memories of Socrates* recounts the myth of Heracles, who in his travels came to a crossroads where he had to decide whether to move forward on the path of virtue, or if after vicious flesh, following the path of vain pleasures[9]. Similarly, *Genesis* recorded history temptation of Eve, while standing by to the tree of knowledge, in the middle of heaven, etc. An accurate idea emerges, from the examples mentioned, concerning the steps or phases of development of bad act with the clear biblical perfect representation in the essay of the man downfall (*Genesis*, 3: 1-7).

The path to evil is an outside subject circumstances complex favoring the sinful act. In the biblical paradigm, sin is the act of eating from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. To look at the tree in the middle of the garden and talk to the serpent is not a sin. As in the absence of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, woman with snake discussion would have been a philosophical speculation.

On the other hand, without discussion with the serpent, the woman would not be "seen" that "the tree was to be desired to make one wise" (*Genesis*, 3: 6). Temptation is internalized as lust or desire born in the soul, urging man to commit evil directly. Lust or desire causes in mind a certain tension or strain directing attention to the subject matter capable of satisfying the lust, and the consenting will in order to satisfy the lust generates pleasure or hidden delight, that is going to commit sin, in other words, it is an anticipated experience of pleasure, a proxy lust or desire fulfillment, "the woman saw that the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye" (*ibid.*).

It should be noted the Christian development of the accomplished evil casework, by marking the moment when the devotee's conscience and free will agree and accept the secret pleasure: "But I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in his heart "(*Matthew*, 5: 28). From a Christian perspective, so, there is no distinction between thought and deed. It fallows the last phase, namely outer committing sin, because man is spiritually ready to accomplish the act: "she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he also ate"(*Genesis*, 3: 6).

Necessarily, committing evil is followed by punishment.

A particularly thorny issue related to punishment, which generated many controversies in the depths of antiquity to the present, refers to the usefulness of punishment. If it is true that "the labourer deserves his wages" (*Matthew*, 10: 10; *Luke,* 10: 7; I *Timothy*, 5: 18), then *mutatis mutandis*, it is worthy sinner's punishment. However, the purpose of the punishment is not clear. Plato admits that the punishment purifies the sinner and restores the spiritual man in his immaculate condition before the downfall[10]. Plato distinguished from an outside perspective - and only in order to maintain public order - from injustice and sin. In the real world, he explains, there is a difference between sin and injustice, which is not always a sin but, despite appearances, is always involuntary and,

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[9] Xenofon, *Amintiri despre Socrate*, (Xenophon, *Memories on Socrates*) II, 21-24, trad. Grigore Tănăsescu, Bucureşti, Editura Univers, (Bucharest, Univers Publishing House), 1987, pp. 34-37.
[10] Platon; *Republica*, (*Republics*), 444 a-449 a; *Legile*, Cartea a IX-a, (*Laws*, Book IX).

therefore deserve pity and compassion, and needs healing help by an adequate therapy.

As evil, injustice is always fallacy, deformity or disease. Plato is of a merciless severity on those who commit injustice or sin, but also on those who think evil. According to Plato, "in order to train and save the soul"[11], the sinful man must be closed for at least five years in a place of repentance which Plato calls *sophronisterion*. And if that man still is persevering in sin, judges must decide his removal from the social body, as a gangrenous member, without hope of salvation. Plato's doctrine concerning the penalty of sin is found in Christian doctrine: "Make friends quickly with your accuser, while you are going with him to court, lest your accuser hand you over the judge, and the judge to the guard, and you be put in prison; truly, I say to you, you will never get out till you have paid the last penny"(*Matthew*, 5: 25-26). In terms of individual and social eugenics promoted by Plato, Christian doctrine gives as clear and categorical: "If your right eye causes you to sin, pluck it out and throw it away; it is better that you lose one of your members than that your whole body be thrown into hell" (*Matthew*, 5: 29).

Numerous criteria were invented by the Christian casuistry in order to classify the sins, for identification and application of appropriate penalties, as the sin committed. Thus, in accordance with the frequency of committing, a sin is actual or habitual. After the command type that violates the commit sin is a sin of commission and sin of omission. After consciousness that motivates committing sin, sin is committed because of ignorance, weakness or wickedness. With respect to time perpetrator, sins are internal and external, bodily and spiritual, and by complicity. There is an unanimity – in all doctrines, moral, philosophical or religious ones – with the fact that at the level of human consciousness, evil deeds have tragic consequences that alter, pervert and dark consciousness to such an extent that the conscious self may not react and no longer utters its harsh judgment.

In Christian doctrine, the moral goal is to acquire holiness. The state of holiness or Christian perfection is characterized in that it provides the Christian devotee with full inner peace and harmony, with the spirit flooded of love, as image and likeness of his divine model: "it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (*Galatians*, 2: 20). In Christianity, holiness is "the ideal living fragrance by God's law"[12]. If all words are created based on known realities of this world, the holiness has no reference at the human level. Wisdom, power, even love have analogies in people's lives, but holiness is something else, is the most striking manifestation of transcendence, as St. Basil the Great said: "holiness is the essence of His nature"[13]. *Communio sanctorum* reflects the holiness of God:

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[11] Platon, *Legile,* Cartea a IX-a, (*Laws*, Book IX), 854 a-862 e.

[12] Pr. Prof. Ioan G. Coman, *Probleme de filosofie şi literatură patristică*, Bucureşti, Editura Institutului Biblic al Bisericii Ortodoxe Română, (*Problems of philosophy and patristic literature*, Bucharest: Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church Publishing House), 1995, p. 221.

[13] *Apud* Pavel Evdokimov, *Înnoirea spiritului*, (*Spiritual Renewal*), Târgovişte, Editura Pandora, (Pandora Publishing House), 1994, p. 99.

"Thy Light, O Christ, Thy saints' face shining" the Church is singing [14]. Consequently, holiness in the Christian doctrine, is a Christological, ecclesiological and pneumatological unity. Holiness is, at the same time, a miracle in itself because it unites two components of the categorical imperative, namely*: "*Two things fill the soul with admiration and respect ever again and growing as more and more thoughts dwell upon them: *the starry heavens above us, the moral law within us ...* I see before me and I soon tie them with the consciousness of my existence"*[15].

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[14] Pavel Evdochimov, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

[15] Immanuel Kant, *Religia în limitele raţiunii*, (*Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der Vernunft*), trad. de C. V. Butureanu şi C. Rădulescu-Motru, Iaşi, Editura „AGORA", (Iassy, „AGORA" Publishing House), 1992, p. 132.

RELIGION AND MODERNITY. INSTRUMENTS OF IDEOLOGIZING THE RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

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Abstract: This article is trying to analyse the relation between religion and politics in the Romanian society, from the beginning of its modernization. In Western society modernity implies the separation between religion and politics, but in modern Romania the religious discourse becomes the ally of the political one. I analysed this relation between religion and politics in the works of many relevant authors from this point of view: Bishop Melchisedec Ștefănescu, Mihai Eminescu, Nae Ionescu, Nichifor Crainic and Dumitru Stăniloae. In each case I tried to show the connection between the religious discourse and the political one, and also to emphasize how a certain mechanism of converting the religious discourse into ideology is developed through this alliance.

Keywords: ideology, modernity, nationalism, orthodoxy, politics, religion.

Introduction

Modernity is a phenomenon of ancient roots in Western Europe, its origins being historically identifiable starting with centuries 16-17. The serious mutations which occur alongside modernity imply many aspects: philosophical, religious, political, social, artistic etc. In the present study we shall look into the religious and political dimensions of modernity, especially the relation between religion and politics accompaning the modernization of the Romanian area, beginning with the 19th century.

Traditionally, in Christian Europe, the political power and the social hierarchy are conceived through the medium of a religion-based political theology, the monarch and the head of the Church being the two poles of this hierarchy. The social-political order is conceived as a reflection of the divine order. Christianity thus supplies polity with an ideological link which is essential for polity itself. But, with Martin Luther's breach from the Roman Church, the Christian religion is divided, thus presenting two different visions over the world. One problem then imminently imposes itself on society: which of these two visions is polity to be related to? The Catholic one or the Protestant? The problem isn't easily solvable and it would eventually lead to the religious wars which have shaken Europe between centuries 16-18.

The breaking out of the wars between Catholics and Protestants is one of the

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most important historical events from the beginning of the modern period, followed by a new definition of the relation between politics and religion in modernity. On the occasion of these conflicts, the political agent was forced to intervene as a mediator. But in order for politics to be able to play this important mediative role inside a religious conflict, it must first answer a challenge: how is the political power to be legitimized, other than by the invocation of religious discourse?[1] Thus a series of authors concerned with political and social reflection emerge, and try—as much as possible—to conceive a polity irrespective of the religious dimension. Theories of the social contract develop, which no longer refer to a super-natural force as a means of legitimizing the political power, but affirm that the political power achieves its legitimity from its very subjects. The political domain thus gains autonomy from the religious, by ceasing to be defined in religious terms. The reverse movement also takes place: the withdrawal of religion from the public place, for the sake of pacifying it. Religion then becomes a private issue, which ought to be delimited from matters of public interest. And so the separation between politics and religion is reached, this being one of the definitory elements of political modernity.

I. **Alternative modernities**

If in the West the development of modernity is favoured by the religious rupture provoked by Protestantism and by its political consequences, in Romania modernization is a late and imported phenomenon. It occurs in the 19th century, when the Ottoman power falls into decline, and the influence of Western civilization on the Romanian Principalities starts to grow. The different historical and cultural context of Romanian modernization, compared with the context in which modernity manifests in the West, would in a great measure define the different setting of the two modernities.[2] One of the elements through which Romanian modernity differs from the Western one is precisely the relation of the religious aspect to the political one. If what is peculiar to the manifestation of political modernity in the West is the withdrawal of the religious from the public place and the neutrality of politics towards religion, in our case it is precisely the reverse phenomenon which occurs alongside modernity.[3] Religion does not

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[1] According to Olivier Nay, *Istoria ideilor politice [The history of political ideas]*, translated by V. Savin, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2008, section. „Reforma, războaiele religioase şi introducerea rațiunii în politică (secolele XVI-XVII)" [„The Reformation, religious wars and the introduction of reason in politics"], pp. 225-240;

[2] For more details referring to the peculiarities of South-Eastern Europe's modernity, especially the role played by religion in it, see Dan Dungaciu, „Alternative Modernities in Europe. Modernity, Religion and Secularisation in South-Eastern Europe", The CENSUR 2003 International Conference, organizată de Center for Religious Studies and Resarch at Vilnius and New Religious Research and Information Center, Vilnius, Lithuania, 9-12 aprilie 2003. The conference's text is available on-line at www.censur.org/2003/vil2003_dungaciu.htm, accsessed on October 30th 2012.

[3] Even if Cuza's reform of secularization of monastic properties is similar to the reforms carried out in western states, here religion is not excluded from the public place nor separated from the political. On the contrary, following these reforms, the Orthodox Romanian Church „breaks off" from the Patriarchy in Constantinopole, declares its autocephaly and reorganizes following the model of the national state, by thus contributing to its fortification. This closeness of the Orthodox

withdraw from the public place, for, at least until the instauration of communism, it openly and legitmately manifests inside the public place. So, in modern Romania, religion doesn't become a problem of individual conscience in the strict sense of the word. The modern Romanian state, although formally impartial, manifests a predilection for the dominant religion. This predilection is manifest in the status which the Church enjoys in several consecutive modern Constitutions4, in various legislative measures enacted by the State regarding the cults, in the public functions assigned to high hierarchs of the Orthodox Church or in the manner in which politicians relate to the Church as an institution5. The State's predilection for the Orthodox Church meets a similar answer on the other side, coming from the representatives of the Church who, by the theory of *symbiosis* between the Orthodox Church and the Romanian nation6, provide an important backup to the ideology of the national state.

We can thus take notice of the fact that, unlike to what is happening in the West, the modernization of the Romanian society doesn't lead to a separation of religion from politics, but, on the contrary, the religious discourse contributes both to the edification of the political discourse and to the actual enacting of some practical political measures. It is precisely this alliance between the political and the religious which would create the instruments of politicizing and ideologizing the religious discourse itself. In the following section of this study we shall try to identify the exact manner in which one may decipher certain mechanisms through which the religious discourse is converted into ideological discourse7. We

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Church to the state, owed in some measure to the specific historical context in South-Eastern Europe, can be interpreted both as a way of re-legitimizing the Church within society in the new social context imposed by modernization (see Alexandru Jinga, „Naţionalizări ale ortodoxiei, ortodoxizări ale naţiunii"[„Nationalizations of Orthodoxy, orthodox-izations of nation"], in Melchisedec Ştefănescu, *Despre ortodoxie, naţiune şi alte chestiuni de actualitate[On Orthodoxy, nation and other actuality matters]*, Domino Publishing House, Bucureşti, 2006, pp. 31-32);

4 In Romania's Constitutions, the Orthodox Church holds the status of „dominant Church" (Constitution from 1866, Art. 21; 1923, Art. 22; and 1938, Art. 19) and „Romanian Church" respectively(Constitution from 1923, Art. 23; and 1938, Art. 19);

5 The first minister of Carol the Second's government, after the disintegration of political parties, will be Patriarch Miron Cristea. The state's religious politics in this period follows the direction of the Orthodox Romanian Church's ideology, namely fighting against the Protestant cults and nearing the state to the Orthodox Church. The Church's representatives enjoyed this political context, thinking that the time had come for the Church to play the central role it deserved within Romanian society. The political leaders as well appeal to the Church's institution and to the „ancestral faith", as religious means of legitimizing their power (see Costel Coajă, *Relaţia stat-biserică în perioada 1938-1948. Cazul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române [The relation state-Church in the period 1938-1948. The Romanian Orthodox Church's case]*, chapter „Politica religioasă a statului" [„The state's religious politics"], Princeps Edit Publishing House, Iaşi, 2007, pp. 15-62;

6 For more details on this theory see Iuliana Conovici, *Ortodoxia în România postcomunistă: reconstrucţia unei identităţi publice[orthodoxy in post-communist Romania: reconstructing a public identity]*, vol I, Eikon Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, pp. 304-339;

7 By *ideologic discourse* or *ideology* we mean primarily a type of „interested thought", which employs various representations and beliefs by integrating them in a rational discourse in order to legitimate a type of authority or domination (for more details see Petru Bejan, „Discursul autorităţii şi interpretarea ideologică"[„Authority's discourse and the ideological interpretation"], Ştefan Afloroaei (coord.), *Interpretare & ideologie[Interpretation and ideology]*, Fundaţiei Academice AXIS Publishing House, Iaşi, 2002, pp. 11-31;

shall analyze a series of authors whose thought is relevant for the problematics approached in the present study: Melchisedec Ştefănescu, Mihai Eminescu, Nae Ionescu, Nichifor Crainic and Dumitru Stăniloae.

II. **Nation and faith in the 19th century**

If during the Middle Ages the phrase „Orthodoxy" used to define the Byzantine area, as opposed to „the schismatic West", beginning with Romania's modernization and embracing of the Western model, the dichotomy „Latinity" / "Romanity" *versus* „Orthodoxy" / „Orientalism" enters the scene. This time the opposition between East and West is transfered to a national territory and is nurturing the dispute regarding its own identity. This is how the '48 revolutionaries and the partisans of modernization from the second half of the 19th century become the supporters of the West against the East, one opposition which overcrosses the Romanian culture in the 20th century as well[8]. On the other hand, still in this period of the first modernization, the foundations of a discourse trying to recover the breach between „Latinity" and „Orthodoxy" are lain, a discourse which, during the inter-war period, culminates with the rhetoric of the much dreamed of synthesis between East and West, which the Romanians were meant to fulfill [9]. Through this attempt of repositioning the Orthodox religion against the „Latin" nation, the foundations of the modern alliance between religion and politics are also settled.

Melchisedec Ştefănescu

One of the first representatives of this type of discourse is Bishop Melchisedec Ştefănescu. A typical pesonality of his time, bishop, member of the Holy Council, senator and member of the Academy, Melchidesec Ştefănescu is one of the Church' men who, through the way in which he relates the Orthodox faith to the new national politics, sets the basis of the modern relation between religion and politics. Initially, in opposition with an important part of the Church's representatives, Melchisedec Ştefănescu is a partisan of Cuza's reforms, and this is a reason for which he shortly acts as a Minister of Cults, and is later assigned the function of "non-canonical bishop", with the support of Mihail

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[8] It's about Sextil Puşcariu or P. P. Panaintescu (see Andreea Nanu, „L'évêque Melchisedec Ştefănescu (1822-1892). Une conscience orthodoxe face à la modernité", *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. X, no. 2, 2010, pp. 267-268); Also E. Lovinescu, *Istoria civilizaţiei române modern[The history of Romanian civlization]*, Ştiinţifică Publishing House, Bucureşti, 1972, pp. 67-76;

[9] For instance, Dumitru Stăniloae is one of the important representatives of this type of prophetic hope of the inter-war period: „As a Latin Orthodox people, we may through our Latinity appeal to the Western peoples to develop their ecumenic relations with Eastern Christianity, and make a synthesis between the Orthodox spirituality and the Western nations possible, and we may give to those from the East of realizing this synthesis between their Orthodoxy and the organizer spirit of Western civilization. If our people were to break off from Orthodoxy, it would cease to be *a living bridge between East and West,* and its character of unique synthesis of its spirituality and those of other peoples would also cease[...]" (Dumitru Stăniloae, *Naţiune şi creştinism[Nation and Christianity]*, Elion Publishing House, Bucureşti, 2004, pp. 1-2);

Kogălniceanu, whom he was close to[10]. The line of Melchisedec Ştefănescu's discourse changes after 1864 when, being disappointed by the weak results of the ecclesiastical reforms, he becomes a critic of these, and of the modernization achieved by the Romanian society[11]. This explains his harsh tone, near the end of his life, towards the reforms which he had initially supported: „Through the detestable spoliatory act called *Secularization,* it[the Church, a.n.] became materially and politically poor, slave for some ministers of „the Cults" who, being deprived of any idea about the Church's high purpose in society, and often enemies of Christianity themselves, will take away from the churches even the last remains of material subsistence and independence[12]".

But, as we have mentioned before, Melchisedec Ştefănescu is one of the first men of the Church, who, being aware of the Church's disadvantage faced with the new regime, feels impelled to legitimize it inside the new social and political context.[13] And this happens through the alliance which faith and politics(national politics, to be specific) would form. The bishop is structuring his speech by keeping in mind the polemic between different branches of Christianity, especially the one between the Orthodox and Catholics. A fervent critic of the Catholic missionarism in the East-European area, Melchisedec Ştefănescu sees in these missionary tendencies the substratum of the West's expansive politics: „The Catholic Church, by its absolutist tendencies of conquering the entire world placed itself in the service of the Western political conquerors: Hungarian, Polish, Austrian, who had their eyes set on our contries since always and who haven't lost one single occasion of making themselves their masters[14]".

Therefore, if the substratum of Catholic missionarism is a political one, then the means which Catholics are using consist in the conversion to their own faith. The abandonment of one's own religion and the conversion to Catholicism is thus one first step towards the loss of identity which holds a nation together. For, nation can only be preserved and develop through the cultivation of its own traditions: „Do we want this and must we exist as a nation, the Romanian nation, free and independent in the new Romanian Kingdom, by ourselves, by our physical and moral forces, with our traditions and the best of our customs, inherited from fathers and ancestors, by cultivating it and elevating it; or do we want to give to foreign hands our souls first, then our liberties and the country, so that they may do with it what they think fit? I think not, and again no.[15]".

Within the Romanian space, the most important keeper of traditions is the Church. This is the reason why, in this political-religious fight, the Church must

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[10] M. Ştefănescu is appointed bishop of Lower Danube by the ruler's edict, in 1865. This was contested by the Church's hierarchs because the intervention of the ruler in appointing bishops contravened the Church's tradition (see A. Nanu, *art. cit.*, p. 271);

[11] A. Nanu, *art. cit.*, p. 270;

[12] „Testament" in M. Ştefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 173;

[13] Cf. Al. Jinga, „Naţionalizări ale ortodoxiei, ortodoxizări ale naţiunii"[„Nationalizations of Orthodoxy, orthodoxy-zations of nation"] in M. Ştefănescu, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-32;

[14] Melchisedec Ştefănescu, *Papismul şi starea actuală a Bisericei Orthodoxe în Regatul României*, [*Catholicism and the present state of the Orthodox Church in Romania's Kindgom*], Typography of the Church's Books, Bucureşti, 1883, p. 71;

[15] *Ibidem*, p. 85;

become the principal ally of the nation. „Our defence weapons can't be dragged out from anywhere else except our national sense– *românism*[16] and our religious devotion – *the Romanian Orthodox Church*[17]". This is even more natural if we consider that, as M. Ştefănescu notes, unlike the Catholic Church, which is anti-national, the Orthodox churches are natural allies of nations: „Orthodox nations have *national churches* (a.n.), entirely attached to the respective nations, in the service of which lies the zeal and knowledge of the Church's shepherds from high to low, this is why nations live together with their churches, even while being governed by stronger and greater nations.[18]"

We can thus see how, through his rhetoric, M. Ştefănescu sets to work this alliance between politics and religion, and forges out a terminology which would later make a rich career, especially during the inter-war period. It's about two terms meant to realize the famous symbiosis of politics and religion, nation and faith: *românism* and *national church*.

Mihai Eminescu

These ideas would find an echo within the epoch in Mihai Eminescu as well, one of the most important ideologists of Romanian conservatism and a top promoter of the nationalist ideology. Eminescu as well evaluates the secularization done by Cuza through the mirror of its efficiency for national politics and his xenophobia towards the Greeks and Fanariots: „Just or unjust, good or bad, secularization happened in all countries of the European West, who were faced with a Church much stronger than the Greek one in Constantinopole, and ultimately, a Church which is hierachically unitary, which the oriental Church isn't [...] So, if secularization was accomplished in Catholic countries, even the more so will it be natural and just when faced with ecclesiatical authorities foreign to our people and our state, authorities which represented a nationality both decadent and unlikeable to the peoples of the Peninsula."[19]

In Eminescu, the religious also contributes to shaping the political identity resulted by the union of nation and Orthodoxy: „For the Romanian people, the Orthodox Church of the East took a different form than that of other churches: *it no longer is a religious community only, but also a national one* (a.n.)[20]" Through this vision of the identity between religion and nation, Eminescu's reaction is similar to that of Melchisedec Ştefănescu when he comments upon the Catholics' intention of founding a mitropoly in Bucharest: „By the foundation of Bucharest's mitropoly, the Pope has forced Romanians who care about the confessional unity of their ancestry to begin an adamant fight against the Catholic Church. For it is one of the two: either the new mitropoly was founded because the number of Christians of latin rite has increased—and this is bad; either it was

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[16] The Romanian word *românism* stands for a cultural current which attempts to identify the essence of being Romanian.

[17] *Ibidem*, pp. 72-73;

[18] *Ibidem*, p. 88;

[19] Mihai Eminescu, „Ziarele vorbesc" [„Newspapers talk"], *Timpul[Time]*, 3 mai 1880, în *Opere politice[Political writings],* vol III, *Timpul[Time]*, Iaşi, 1999, p. 265;

[20] M. Eminescu, „Nu ne îndoim" [„We do not doubt"], *Timpul[Time]*, September 6th, 1880, *op.cit*, vol II, p. 330;

founded because they are hoping the number will grow in the future—and this is even worse. Our national interest is that it will be us and only us who will improve within the country we alone defended for centuries, and which we alone prepared for culture; we must then fight all those who are working in the interest of a foreign element"[21] The religious identity of Catholics is thus evaluated through the mirror of the political interests of „the foreign element" which Catholics are representing in Romania.

Equally, when he speaks about the Greek-Catholics from Transilvania, Eminescu relates to them by leaving aside differences of doctrine, for the sake of an imagined „Romanian Church" which unites the entire people: „The resemblance within the church's community between a Greek-catholic Romanian and a Greek-Oriental one is greater than that between the latter and a Muscovite, a Greek or a Bulgarian. This sounds like a paradox, but it is far from being one. Despite the four points[doctrinaire differences], it is the same spirit of national-religious community which rules for Greek-Catholic Romanians, as well as Greek-Oriental ones. This is not even about a universal Church, which would comprise the entire brotherhood of mankind; it is not even about a Church consisting of a group of peoples, but about one single Romanian Church, founded in this world for Romanians and for none else from now on."[22]

The important differences of doctrine between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics are left aside by Eminescu, in the name of a national spirit's community. To him, the fact that the Transylvanian Greek-Catholics were fighting for the political rights of the Romanians from the Empire was more important than the fact that they belonged to a different faith than their Orthodox conationals. Here we are still far from the moment when Nae Ionescu would deny the „Romanian" nationality to the Greek-Catholics from Transylvania, precisely because they were alliens to Orthodoxy's spirit, which, according to Nae Ionescu, was the essential element of being a Romanian.[23].

The different perspective of the two authors doesn't come from their differences of doctrine, but rather from the different historical context in which they are placed. Eminescu wrote in a time when Transylvania did not yet belong to Romania, plus the national movement of the supporters of the Transylvanian School, whom had had the chance of "being awaken" precisely thanks to the foundation of the Greek-Catholic religion within the Empire, was significant for the poet. So nationalism gets priority over religion. This is also valid for Nae Ionescu, only that, this time, the historical context is no longer the same. Transylvania now belongs to Great Romania and, even more, the Romanian State has just signed the concordat with Vatican, which is assigning the Greek-Catholics a jurisdiction is direct dependence on Rome. Therefore, from the

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[21] M. Eminescu, „Înfiinţarea unei mitropolii" [„A mitropoly's foundation"], *Timpul[Time]*, May 20th 1883, *op.cit.*, vol. III, p. 274;

[22] M. Eminescu, „Într-unul din numerele trecute" [„In one of the previous numbers"], *Timpul[Time]*, September 10th , 1880, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 332;

[23] „one can be <<a good Romanian>> without necessarily being <<Romanian>>, this quality<<of good Romanian>> being somewhat exterior to Romanism and only pointing at an attitude, let's say, friendly, amical, affirmative towards the Romanian reality." (Nae Ionescu, *Îndreptar ortodox[Orthodox Handbook]*, Criterion Publishing, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 92);

national unity's point of view, the Greek-Catholics are now „the schismatics". This is why they can no longer be called „Romanians".

III. **20th century: the autochthonous revanche**

As we can notice, the 19th century was already shaping the lines of a doctrine of the convergence of nation and faith, through a reconfiguration of the political discourse and, mostly, of the religious one. In the 20th century, especially during the inter-war period, a traditionalist and autochthonous current is born, which would initiate a radical criticism of modernity's impact on the Romanian society. The Western institutional import of the Forty-Eithers had led to building an appearance of a democratic civilization, which completely unmatched the traditions and spiritual customs of the Romanians. The major effect of this modernization was perceived as predominantly negative: the proliferation of politicking, venality and imposture [24]. On the other hand, the inter-war generation, after the accomplishment of the Great Unity, went in search of their own ideal society. The challenge of this ideal was to try to define a genuine path which Romanians would follow among Europe's nations, without appealing to exterior loans. And one of the essential elements in this redefinition is the religious identity. Many important intellectuals, either people of the Church or those who merely affirmed to an Orthodox orientation, like Dumitru Stăniloae, Nichifor Crainic sau Nae Ionescu, would be the first rank exponents of this direction. All three intellectuals are figures of the first rank in the public place of the inter-war period and, by the way they relate religion to the political, are significant for the manner in which modernity is perceived and reinterpreted within the Romanian space.

Nae Ionescu

A Philosophy professor, paper director and mentor of the young generation, despite being a critic of the Western civilization, Nae Ionescu is also a critic of rationalism, as the philosophical current which underlies the edification of this civilization. He alternatively chooses a method he terms as organic, beginning from which he builds a new perspective over civilization and, implicitly, over the political[25]. In his book concerning the evolution of the European conscience[26], professor Alexandru Duțu thinks that „Nae Ionescu's<<organic>> is not the ethnic substratum, but the relation established in people's daily existence. Therefore, the organic doesnt oppose the European spirit, but only the individualistic spirit. It is true that the ethnic intervenes in the exposition and deviates the centre of gravity towards the autochtonous tradition in order to find

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[24] See for instance Constantin Rădulescu-Motru's work, *Cultura română și politicianismul[Romanian culture and politicking]*, Scrisul Românesc Publishing House, Craiova, 1995;

[25] For a larger perspective over Nae Ionescu's relation to modernity, see Gelu Sabău, „Antimodernismul lui Nae Ionescu" [„Nae Ionescu's antimodernism"], *Idei în dialog[Ideas in dialogue]*, year IV, no. 11, november, 2007;

[26] Alexandru Duțu, *Ideea de Europa și evoluția conștiinței europene [The Europe idea and the evolution of contemporary conscience]*, ALL Publishing House, București, 1999;

an answer to the secularization which was deforming human personality[27]".

Al. Duțu's observations regarding Nae Ionescu's ideas are only partly true. In fact, the organic, which is opposed to individualism, is opposed to the European spirit as well, because this Western spirit is itself the result of the rationalism and individualism which Nae Ionescu is criticizing. And there are, indeed, in Nae Ionescu's articles, passages of virulent criticism towards the Western civilization, which should cancel the historical experience it had gained along with modernity[28]. Then, the occurence of the ethnic in Nae Ionescu's discourse is a substantial one, and it is based precisely on the identity which the Romanian philosopher ackowledges between ethnicity and faith: „The Orthodox Church— more precisely those who militate in its favour—tends to identify *the Romanian ancestry with orthodoxy*. In this matter we sit beside them[29]". At the heart of this identity between nation and faith lies the perspective from which Nae Ionescu is approaching the two phenomena: to him both these are spiritual phenomena[30], historically conditioned, which makes them natural phenomena[31]. This naturalist conception which Nae Ionescu has concerning nation and faith leads him to affirming that the two elements are essential and indispensable for the definition of the Romanian identity: „the denomination, a historical reality, is an integrant part of the other historical reality, the nation, thus follows that in defining the notion of <<Romanian>> there enters Orthodoxy as a mark, as an essential component[32]".

This is where Nae Ionescu separates from Iosif Frollo in their famous dispute concerning the Greek-Catholics. His interlocutor thinks that „the national life of an individual is a natural right, while his religious life isn't so[33]". Therefore, for Frollo, ethnicity is linked with the natural dimension, while faith is rather

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[27] *Ibidem*, p. 177;

[28] Here is just one of the passages relevant for the naeionescian type of rhetoric towards the West: „We conclude that, spiritually, the West is today in great slough, and that, given the necessity of overcoming the Renaissance, it seeks for points of contact with the East, returning– like the prodigal son from the Gospel – to the true garden of the soul. Should we cross another 300 years then? It would be non-sense. Everything prompts us to turn history upside down, picking it from the other side, we would thus cease to be left behind, going in front of the West, which would thus have to follow us" (Nae Ionescu, *Între ziaristică și filosofie[Between journalism and philosophy]*, Timpul Publishing House, Iași, 1996, p. 274); Also, for the criticism of rationalism in philosophy, politics or art, see Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor[Winds'Rose]: 1926-1933*, Cultural national Publishing House, București, 1937, p. 24;

[29] Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor[Winds'Rose]*, p. 53;

[30] „This collective reality[nation], is, according to its nature, a spiritual unity, and, according to its organic structure, it is a community of love. (Formally – more specifically: phenomenologically, structurally – there is a stricking resemblance between nation and the Christian Church." (Nae Ionescu, *Îndreptar ortodox[Orthodox Handbook]*, p. 92);

[31] „Wishing to be Romanian doesn't mean actually being a Romanian. Being a Romanian is a natural state, a way of existential balance from which, by the course of life itself, certain forms follow." (Nae Ionescu, *Îndreptar ortodox[Orthodox Handbook]*, p. 90); „the religious life of an individual, his participation of the Teaching is historically determined. From which I necessarily draw the conclusion that the adhesion to faith is a natural phenomenon." (*Ibidem*, p. 102); „This means that spiritual life forms are not diffused, nor are they imposed, but are naturally born." (*Idem*);

[32] Nae Ionescu, *Îndreptar ortodox[Orthodox Handbook]*, p. 93;

[33] *Ibidem*, p 101;

connected to the will. This is the reason why a Romanian can at the same time be a Catholic or Greek-Catholic, without ceasing to be a Romanian. Instead, for Nae Ionescu, the Greek-Catholics can't truly be „Romanians", but only „good" Romanians, in the sense that romanity doesnt essentially belong to them. The hybrid character of this „unity" is „completely improper for our race's spiritual structure[34]", because Romanians are essentially defined by Orthodoxy. As we have seen above, for Nae Ionescu, the religious breach from Orthodoxy of the Greek-Catholics produces a „schism" on the side of their national affiliation.

This way, through the naturalization of faith, Nae Ionescu's discourse contributes, on one hand, to ideologizing religion and, on the other hand, to the edification of a nationalist ideology. But, although nurturing the ideology of the modern state, Nae Ionescu is a critic of its relation to the Orthodox Church. This fact is made evident by his intervention in the problem of Protestant missionarism: „To ask the modern, scientific, democratic and egalitarian state for support against the dissolvent offensive of Protestant-like sects is inappropriate, to say the least. One and the others are good brothers, they speak the same language, are one and the same thing. Then? Our Church is the victim of a serious illusion. From the fact that our last Constitution consented to acknowledge a *state* religion in the Orthodox appearance of Christianity, the people of the Church consider themselves entitled to think that the state has thus identified itself with the high interests of the Church. [...] No. The actual state is no longer the Church's natural ally, because it has ceased to be a Christian state.[35]"

So, given that the Romanian state is religiously impartial, it has no reason to intervene in favour of the Orthodox Church and against Protestant missionarism. The problem is posed in the same manner by Nae Ionescu when he discusses the signing of the controversial Concordat with the Vatican: „We must undertand once and for all that the state cannot identify with one part of its population's point of view, even if this part represents the majority of its inhabitants, possessing all kinds of historical or other rights. So the protest of the Orthodox clergy is inappropriate. The Orthodox clergy cannot point at what the Romanian State is to do in its national relations, in its purely political acts.[36]"

Therefore, Nae Ionescu is a critic of the relation between the secular Romanian State and an Orthodox Church asking for its help. But his criticism doesn't come from the perspective of modernity pleading for a separation between the State and the Church, a separation which would end this „hybrid comradery[37]" by which the Church had turned into „constabulary appendix[38]" of the state, but comes instead from the perspective of a theocracy: „Let then the new state build the Church that we need. If it can. If not, complaints and incriminations are worthless[39]".

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[34] Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor[Winds' Rose*, p. 53;
[35] *Ibidem*, p. 6;
[36] *Ibidem*, pp. 53-54;
[37] *Ibidem*, p. 6;
[38] *Ibidem*, p. 30;
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 6;

Nichifor Crainic

Known in his epoch mostly as the director of the *Gandirea (Thought)* journal and the promoter of the cultural current inspired by the journal's name: *gândirismul* („think-ism"), a professor of the Faculties of Theology from ChiȘinău and Bucharest, a Member of the Romanian Academy and Minister of the Propaganda during the antonescian rule, Nichifor Crainic is a prominent character of the public scene of inter-war Romania. Similar to other important intellectuals during that epoch, who were trying to shape a new project for Romania, Nichifor Crainic comes to settle its frames in what he termes as the *ethnocratic state*. According to him, the ethnocratic state is merely an attempt of „romanizing Romania", meaning an attempt to impose „the ethnicity's domination in culture, the state life and the social life[40]". But which are the reasons which make this attempt of „romanizing Romania" necessary?

Along with modernization and the intromission of Western institution in 19th century Romania, the Romanian society came to be dominated by a foreign spirit, that of democratic individualism. Also, a significant part of its economic or symbolic resources were detained by foreign ethnicities, especially Jews. This is the reason why the ethnocratic programme stipulates the elimination of foreign influence, by the insertion of that *numerus clausus*, which was later inforced by the legionary and antonescian governments[41]. The religious dimension of the ethnocratic project enters the scene when the problem of defining *românism* (the essence of being Romanian) is posed. Here, the polemic between Nichifor Crainic and the philosopher Constantin Rădulescu-Motru is relevant.

Falling entirely into the epoch's effervescence C. Rădulescu-Motru as well tries to trace the marks of a new path for Romania, a path he identifies with a new spirituality, which he suggestively terms as *românism*[42]. Nichifor Crainic is unhappy first with the fact that Motru is adapting the meaning of *spirituality* according to each historical period[43], by thus abandoning the authentic sense of this term, which is Christian. N. Crainic compares this desire Motru has of adapting to the epoch's spirit with the attempts of other contemporary philosophers, who do nothing but to secularize a Christian terminology[44].

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[40] Nichifor Crainic, *Ortodoxie și etnocrație[Orthodoxy and ethnocracy]*, Albatros Publishing House, București, p. 107.

[41] After the coming into power of Antonescu and the Legionary Movement and with the instauration of the National Legionary State, measures of epuration of te Jews from the state's institutions will be adopted. For more details about the politics and society of the respective period, see Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930-1950[History's traps. The Romanian intllectual elite between 1930-1950]*, Humanitas Publishing House, București, 2011, pp. 158-205;

[42] C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Românismul. Catehismul unei noi spiritualități[Romanism. The catechism of a new spirituality]*, Științifică Publishing House, București, 1992;

[43] „We understand spirituality in a broader sense in order to approach it to the history of human culture. To us, spirituality is a complex of ideas and feelings, especially a complex of symbolic interpretations, by which an epoch's society justifies its belief in a perfect and eternal order, which gives sense to the life on Earth." (*Ibidem*, pp. 16-17);

[44] „Auguste Comte, the mystic denying himself, yet in love still with the masterpiece of Christian spirituality, *De imitatione Christi*, used to replace inside the text the word *Christ* with

Similarly Rădulescu-Motru as well „lets himself be driven away by such procedures when he is secularizing the meaning of the word spirituality[45]".

Another discrepancy between the two intellectuals is the different point of view regarding the relation between faith and ethnicity. C. Rădulescu-Motru tends to separate the two domains, even if „within Romanian people's conscience, the Orthodox Church's spirituality is confounded with the spirituality of the Romanian nation[46]". The separation between the two must take place because their nature is different, so their symbiosis could harm both the faith and the national project: „Orthodoxy cannot go any further in the service of a national spirituality without losing its character of a religious Christian spirituality, and Românism cannot go on any further by leaning on Orthodoxy, unless it pays the price of abdicating from its role of a promoter of progress within Romania's economical and political order[47]". Then, faith stands for the past and tradition, whereas the new spirituality stands for innovation and the future: „Orthodoxy may be discerned by examining traditions, but it cannot be modernized according to the epoch's spirit. [...] Românism, on the contrary, is the spirituality which gives us the means of going along with these times, of modernization[48]".

This is the point of an irrevocable separation of the two authors in their attempt of defining romanism. Because, from Nichifor Crainic's point of view one can no longer talk of national identity if the Orthodox dimension is excluded. The Romanian's peculiarity consists in the fact that they, unlike other peoples, had not been christianized, but were already Christian in the moment of their emergence: „There is no Romanian paganism prior to Romanian Christianity. We were not baptized like the Slavs, Bulgarians, Hungarians or Germans, we were born Christians[49]". In other words, in the case of Romanians, ethnicity precedes religion. This is the reason why, just as it was for Nae Ionescu, for N. Crainic Orthodoxy as well is the essential constituent of being a Romanian. But, unlike Nae Ionescu, Nichifor Crainic doesn't naturalize faith, and doesn't come to tracing a unilateral identity between faith and ethnicity.

Nichifor Crainic admits that there are wrong manners of relating ethnicity to the religious and insists that Orthodoxy, which is universal, doesn't contradict the particular way in which different nations relate to faith: „It is true that within the Church of Christ there are not <<Greeks or Jews>> because all the world's peoples find a place in its cosmic spiritual organism. But does this universality in spirit destroy the peculiarity of the natural forms life embraces in its infinite variety? If we admit that the spiritual universality of Orthodoxy is claiming an uniformization within the natural domain of beings, we should be thinking that God, who created a world of variety [...], would go against His own creation[50]". So, the peculiarity of nations relating to the universality of faith is legitimated by the

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Humanity, and the word *God* with *Great Being*. Thus also masonery replaces the word *God* with that of *Great Architect.*" (N. Crainic, *op.cit.*, p. 100);

[45] *Ibidem*, p. 100;
[46] C. Rădulescu-Motru, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-95;
[47] *Ibidem*, p. 95;
[48] *Idem*;
[49] N. Crainic, *op.cit.*, p. 116;
[50] *Ibidem*, p. 50;

very peculiarities of creatures who are all the work of the same Creator. Crainic traces the relation between religion and nation in Orthodoxy through what he calls *the law of intensity and expansion in history*: „the tendency of intensity is defined by the process of developing of the ethnic individuality and by the attraction of our ancestry's different fragments one towards another, in order to form the national unity. The tendency of expansion is the affirmation of the religious personality of our people in their will of breathing within the large ecumenicity of Orthodoxy. By virtue of intensity, the Orthodox peoples differ from each other through their ethnic individualities; by virtue of expansion, they harmonize through their religious personalities on the superior level of ecumenical spirituality[51]". Therefore, ethnicity represents the natural factor, which tends to close in and settle a nation's identity, by thus offering a criterion for the differentiation of nations, whereas religion is the open factor which integrates a nation within an ecumenical concert, by virtue of community of faith. Just as in Christ the two distinct natures, human and divine, are joint without being confused, it is the same for Orthodoxy, which „ distinguishes the natural units of life [in order to] unite them on the spiritual ecumenical level[52]". Throughout history, the relation between nation and faith is a divine-human type of relation: „In our people's history, Orthodoxy and Romanism are given together, in a theandrical union,[53]".

As we can notice, the natural and the spiritual are two distinct domains for Nichifor Crainic, which relate to each other, according to the model of Christic Incarnation. This is the reason why the ethnic factor isn't critical for the religious identity, and conversions are always possible, regardless of the ethnicity. This is precisely why N. Crainic is the supporter of the Jew's conversion to Christianity and considers the interdiction of it to be something deeply anti-christian: „To interdict the baptism of Jews or to contest it is fundamentally an anti-christian gesture. Jesus Christ was born, crucified and resurrected for the salvation of all the world's peoples, for the salvation of the entire mankind. There is no race which would be incompatible with the divine grace of Christian baptism[54]". Therefore, as we can see, in N. Crainic we don't find a definition of the religious identity through the mirror of ethnicity, nor the ideologization of religion by the naturalization of faith. Although, we may still talk about ideologization in his case as well, only that it be not determined by the ethnic factor, but by the significant weight of antisemitism in his discourse.

Unlike M. Eminescu's antisemitism, which is social and economically-based, or Nae Ionescu's, which is metaphysically and religiously-based, N. Crainic's antisemitism is a profoundly religious one[55]. N. Crainic identifies the roots of rabbinic religion and those of the talmudic interpreations to the Old Testament at

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[51] *Ibidem*, p. 120;
[52] *Ibidem*, pp. 120-121;
[53] *Ibidem*, p. 125;
[54] *Ibidem*, p. 146;
[55] N. Crainic condemns for instance the hitlerist antisemitism because of it having racial roots, and considers the hitlerist ideology to be a false result of the interference of politics and religion (According to the essay„Race and religion", in *Puncte cardinale în haos[Cardinals in chaos]*, Albatros Publishing House, Bucureşti, 1998, pp. 101-119);

the heart of the Jew's hatred towards Christ: „Since the mosaic religion had ceased to have a goal [after Christ's Incarnation], the rabbies had to provide a caricatural interpretation of the Messianic prophecies, by denying Jesus Christ and making up a hope for another Messiah, not meant for all peoples, but being the exclussive property of Jews. This diabolic misinterpretation of the Old Testament has given us today's talmudic religion[56]". In this atavistic hatred of the Jews towards Christianity we can discern the reasons for their fight against Europe's Christian civilization, which began to pay off in modern period only, by the dissemination of the liberal and individualistic spirit, of the Masonry or the socialist atheism.

Starting from doctor Nicolae Paulescu's theory of *christian nationalism*, Nichifor Crainic places *modern ideologies* — be it liberal, democratic or communist — in antithesis with nationalism clothed in Christian garment. For Paulescu, human communities, just like for all other living beings, are based on instincts. A being's instinct is nothing but the manifestation of divinity's voice in that being[57], and vice is but the perversion of the respective instinct by means of voluptuousness which, instead of remaining a means for the instinct gets transformed into its goal[58]. If in the case of living beings, the basic instincts are those of self-defence, feeding and reproduction, society is fundamentally settled on two instincts: family instinct– fashioned by the father's tendency towards domination and the son's tendency of submission– and the proprietary instinct. On the account of these instincts each community functions, beginning with family and ending with the tribe or the nation. Nationalism is the larger form of family or tribal communion, and this is why what lies at its basis is „a natural love instinct, rooted in the human being. Before receiving the conscious brightness of an ethnic spirituality, it appears embodied in a strong biologic reality[59]". So, the biologic reality of nationalism is given by the natural instinct underlying it, while the spiritual dimension is given by the fact that these instincts, unperverted, are but voices of divinity. Thus the concept of *Christian nationalism* is developed, which is nothing else than the transfiguration of biologic nationalism „from natural social love to supernatural social love, settled in religious faith[60]". Therefore, „Christianity ennobles and sanctifies nationalism[61]".

Only that, just as for individuals there are perversions of the instincts, there are also perversions in communities. The perversion of the proprietary instinct is „represented by the three political systems which have brought anarchy to the modern world: liberalism, socialism and bolshevism[62]", as these are abusing property either by excess or by deficiency, and the perversion of the domination instinct, „the spring of which is the Luciferic pride [objectifies] as combat, luxury, fashion, power abuse, despotism, demagogy, and most importantly as the

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[56] N. Crainic, *Ortodoxie şi etnocraţie[Orthodoxy and ethnocracy]*, p. 140;
[57] *Ibidem*, p. 130;
[58] *Ibidem*, p. 131;
[59] *Ibidem*, p. 132;
[60] *Ibidem*, p. 136;
[61] *Idem*;
[62] *Ibidem*, p. 133;

tendency towards universal domination which is peculiar to Judaism. [63] ” Therefore, almost the entire political modernity is seen by N. Crainic through the mirror of the perversion of these social instincts, a perversion which springs from the Jew's thirst for revenge against the Christian civilization. From Crainic's point of view the war crossing Europe in that epoch is not a social or ideological one, but a religious one: it is „Talmud's war against the Gospel of Jesus Christ[64]”. This is the key by which Crainic interprets the civil war in Spain or the conviction of the Orthodox believers in the Soviet Union by the atheist communists.

But the conflict isn't just a European one, it is also crossing our society as well. It can be found at the level of the Romanian society in the rupture between the westernized ruling class and the inferior social classes, which preserve traditional forms of solidarity. This is the reason why the rulers, alienated from the people, are exploiting it to their own interest. „The imoral individualism from above is caused by the influence of ideologies alien to the Christian spirit. As it has dechristianized, our ruling class has grown more individualistic, more selfish, and more eager of exploiting those from below. It no longer lives within the spiritual solidarity of our people[65]”.

The conflict in the Romanian society can be shortly exposed through a series of dichotomies: rulers *versus* people, the state *versus* the ancestry, democracy *versus* nationalism, modernism *versus* Christianity etc. These fissures show the cause of Romanian society's deficiency. In order to fix these deficiencies the foreign influences must be eliminated and the nationalist spirit must be cultivated, the national unity must be cultivated against the democratic, Christian solidarity, against individualist morals and the ethnocratic state, against the democratic state. And the fight against exterior influences, either liberal, masonic or socialist cannot be sustained but through the consolidation of local Christianity: „the affirmation of the Christian idea in today's political fight is a necessity both for our ancestry's life and for the life of our national state. Given that the adversaries of nationalism are the demo-masonry and marxism, both these currents standing for the atheist ideology and the violent action of dechristianizing the peoples, working by the talmudic hatred's negative spirit, the fight against these monsters imposes on its own the affirmation of the Christian idea[66]”.

In conclusion, the Romanian state's politics must be a Christian politics: „Nationalism, as a militant force for ethnic solidarity, naturally integrates within the Church, by adhesion to its life ideal. This adhesion forces it to bring a Christian mentality in politics. And a Christian mentality transfered in political action means: *Christ's law, the state's law!*[67]”

Christ's law, the state's law is actually the first principle by which *The*

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[63] *Ibidem*, p. 134;
[64] *Ibidem*, p. 143;
[65] *Ibidem*, p. 149;
[66] *Ibidem*, p. 148;
[67] *Ibidem*, p. 151;

ethnocratic state's programme[68] begins with, a programme which N. Crainic wanted to impose on the National Christian Party, founded by himself together with Octavian Goga Și A. C. Cuza[69]. Or, by the enunciation of this principle in his project, Nichifor Crainic does nothing but to equate religious law with political law. Thus, although primarily Crainic distinguishes between the natural domain and the supernatural, between the domain of politics and that of the spirit, through his attempt of applying a religious ideal to a state's legislation we can notice that the *Gândirea's* mentor does actually identify the two domains he had initially separated. In this case we can no longer speak of the distinct unity of the two domains by the Christic model of Incarnation, but of their merging into a single law. Therefore, although N. Crainic was aware of the irreducible difference between the two, by following his desire of eliminating the Western influences—seen as Judaic antichristian influences—from the Romanian society, he came to politicizing religion, to turning it into ideology by confusion of the two laws.

Dumitru Stăniloae

Regarded by many as the greatest Romanian theologian of the 20th century, a priest and a professor, Dumitru Stăniloae is another important intellectual who is concerned with the relation between nation and faith. In a collection of studies and articles posthumously published, under the suggestive name *Nation and Chritianity*, Stăniloae has a series of encomiastic articles on Nichifor Crainic's political ideas and ethnocratic project. For Stăniloae, Nichifor Crainic is „a champion of Christian nationalism[70]", being one of the few „notable political thinkers we ever had[71]", and the project of the ethnocratic state is „the most realist and generous political system[72]". To the question concerning Orthodoxy's role within the ethnocratic state, Stăniloae agrees with Crainic's perspective according to which „ethnocracy derives from the essentially Orthodox Romanian solidarity[73]".

Stăniloae is obviously concerned with the type of connection existing between Orthodoxy and romanism. At the time of the polemic between Nae Ionescu and Iosif Frollo, the editor of *The Romanian Telegraph* steps in by taking the Romanian philosopher's side and accusing his interlocutor of „a inborn vice of the Catholic thought[74]" which, through the theory of syllogism which it exposes, and which is credible for naive people, only proves itself „villain[75]". Stăniloae doesn't agree with I. Frollo's distinction between the „essential" aspects of identity, which in the case of ethnicity he considers to be the place of birth and

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[68] See „Programul statului etnocratic" [„Programme of the ethnocratic state"] in N. Crainic, *Ortodoxie și etnocrație[Orthodoxy and ethnocracy]*, p. 145;

[69] According to Z. Ornea, *Anii treizeci. Extrema dreaptă românească[The thirties'. Romanian extreme right]*, Romanian Cultural Foudation Publishing House, București, 1995, p. 256;

[70] Dumitru Stăniloae, *Națiune și creștinism[Nation and Christianity]*, Elion Publishing House, București, 2004, p. 33;

[71] *Ibidem*, p. 35;

[72] *Idem*;

[73] *Ibidem*, p. 63;

[74] *Ibidem*, p. 15;

[75] *Idem*;

the spoken language, and the „integrant" aspects, among which religion is included. Similarly to Nae Ionescu, he thinks that religion too is an essential aspect of the ethnic identity, for „the essential note of a people's soul will not be exterior and different from his way of thinking, feeling, living the divine, the customs etc.[76]" Stăniloae doesn't grasp that the difference between the two perspectives is not given by the way in which each of them argues, but by the premises from which they start, for, as we have seen, for I. Frollo faith is a matter of will, whereas for Nae Ionescu it is assimilated to a natural phenomenon.

Without tracing a univocal identity between religion and ethnicity, Stăniloae still thinks that the two dimensions complete each other in a necessary way. In an article published in 1934, D. Stăniloae tries to determine this relation by elaborating a theology of the nation[77]. From this perspective, nations are divine archetypes, which pre-exist in God before creation: „At the base of every national type, an eternal divine model is acting, which that nation is meant to realize itself as completely as it can[78]". This is the reason why the national attribute is an essential one for each individual, in the absence of which the individual's humanity itself could no longer exist: „Humanity exists only in national form, is nationally colored, nationally defined, just as it only exists individually determined. One cannot extract the individual or national characteristics of an individual, in order to leave there pure humanity. This would mean destroying humanity itself[79]".

Beside this ontological perspective over nation, Stăniloae thinks that because of the community spirit pervading it, Orthodoxy is superior to both Catholicism, the organization of which is centrist and abstract, and Protestantism, which considers the individual as detached from the community it lives with. Community life is thus the reason why authentic nationalism comes to be fulfilled within Orthodoxy: „Christianity didn't come to oppose the most natural tendencies of communion, the most profound materializations of these tendencies, it did not come to suppress nature, to make it look for different, less natural ways of communion, but to intensify, to elevate, to perfect the natural forms of human relationships[80]".

Also, D. Stăniloae means to emphasize the importance of the religious factor for the new nationalism, which is *religious nationalism*. Unlike 19th century nationalism, animated only by „freedom as the suprem national ideal[81]", 20th century nationalism comprehends the religious and metaphysical dimension of each nation: „Today's nationalism speaks of God, as a builder of the nation one is part of, and a supporter in developing the type of spirituality he gifted it with[82]".

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[76] *Ibidem*, p. 16;

[77] See D. Stăniloae, „Scurtă interpretare teologică a naţiunii" [„A short theological interpretation of the nation"] in Costion Nicolescu, *Teologul în cetate. Părintele Stăniloae şi aria politicii[Theologist inside the city. Father Staniloae and the area of politics]*, Christiana Publishing House, Bucureşti, 2003, pp. 97-101;

[78] *Ibidem*, p. 99;

[79] *Ibidem*, p. 100;

[80] D. Stăniloae, *Naţiune şi creştinism[Nation and Christianity],* p. 118;

[81] *Ibidem*, p. 45;

[82] *Idem*;

So, the religious dimension is essential for contemporary nationalism. This is the reason why the Church must adhere to this type of political movement, and „priesthood has a duty to defend the Christian nationalist movement with all its forces, by fighting the materialistic, atheistic and internationalist ideas of the Left[83]". In the modern tendency, which transforms and reduces politics to an immanent and technicized profession, Stăniloae sees a break from tradition. This is why, the new nationalism's tendency of reinstating „the religious element and myth in politics[84]" is perceived as an attempt of reconciliation with tradition. And, from all the political movements active in that period, Stăniloae considers the Legionary Movement to be the one to carry through this noble assignment: „This is why the Legion so admirably succeedes today in saving us from disintegration and to elevate us to the inspiring state of a nation: because it operates with the religious element [85]".

Conclusions

As we can see, beginning with the second half of the 19th century, when modernization starts to make its effects manifest within the Romanian area, the religious discourse, not only does it not part with the political discourse, following the Western model, but, on the contrary, it decisively contributes to the edification of the political discourse, especially of the nationalist ideology. This tendency towards evaluating the religious influence by medium of the political effect was present for a while, as we have seen, in some pioneers of this type of discourse, like Bishop Melchidesec Ştefănescu. Also, for Mihai Eminescu, a nationalist and conservatory ideologist, nation gets priority over religion, when it comes to religious identity.

Moving on to the inter-war period, the moment when the internal reactions to the critical discourse towards the precarious modernization which the Romanian society had accomplished until then, become radical, the religious discourse takes on a more political dimension. Or, this closeness between the political and the religious eventually leads to an inversion of their roles, so that politics receives a religious dimension, and religion gains an ideological one. We've seen how in Nae Ionescu's case this ideologization of the religious discourse occurs by tracing a similarity between religion and the natural phenomena. Nichifor Crainic distinguishes between faith and the natural domain, but he atributes an anti-Christian atavism to the rabbinic religion, this being a reason why he identifies any modern ideology with the victory of the Judaic influence in the world. For this reason, any modern influence within the Romanian society, which comes against the traditional society which N. Crainic assimilates to the Christian world, is the result of a Judaic influence. The Romanian's only way of opposing the destructuring influence of Jews is given by the symbiotic alliance between nationalism and Christianity. This way N. Crainic comes to indentifying the law of the state with the religious law, and ultimately, to identifying religion and politics.

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[83] *Idem*;
[84] *Ibidem*, p. 130;
[85] *Ibidem*, p. 120;

Dumitru Stăniloae, although an admirer of N. Crainic's thought, doesn't assume the latter's antisemitic diatribes. He doesn't liken faith to a natural phenomenon, as does Nae Ionescu, although he does take the professor's side in the dispute with Iosif Frollo. D. Stăniloae aims at creating a theology of the nation, through which he indentifies a special affinity between Orthodoxy and the idea of nation, an affinity which presumably doesn't exist in Catholicism or Protestantism. He considers that 20th century's nationalism is politically superior to the former century's nationalism, precisely for including the religious element in its discourse. And among the political movements on inter-war Romania's public scene, D. Stăniloae finds, as do his predecessors and not surprisingly, a special affinity between this type or religious nationalism and the Legionary Movement.

We can thus see how the alliance between religion and politics which occurs alongside Romania's modernization is ultimately employed in criticizing that very modernity the product of which it is. For, although a product of the modern epoch, this discourse includes a profoundly anti-modern dimension. On the other hand, certain instruments insinuate into this type of discourse, which tend to ideologize the religious discourse, transforming it into political discourse. The purpose of this study was that of exposing the construction of these mechanisms which may utlimately employ the religious discourse in order to transform it into an extreme ideology.

DOSTOEVSKY'S *DOUBLE* AND *UNDERGROUND* WORLD (I)

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Abstract: *The paper starts with the finding that the idea of double, perhaps the most important of Dostoevsky's work, is that who turns the writer into a real artist. Lev Shestov claims that* Dostoevsky's work is divided into two major periods that have almost nothing in common. *In this study, the author brings strong arguments that contradict the view expressed by Russian philosopher. The final analysis is focused on the underground, a concept which describes the ontological ambivalence of Dostoevsky's heroes.*

Keywords: *the idea of double, a philosophy of fantastic, self, the conscience, underground.*

1. *The Double* – an unsuccessful novel

In a *Writer's Diary* of the year 1877, more than three decades since its publication, Dostoevsky remembers with nostalgia what it meant to him publishing his first novel, *Poor Folk* (1845). Despite some criticisms that have been made, it was received with enthusiasm, including by demanding literary critic Vissarion Belinsky. With everyone thought that was born a new Gogol, perhaps a writer more profound than the author of *Dead Souls*.

In contrast, the second novel, waited with great impatience by everyone, not only disappointed the readers, but even the author, who at first had declared himself enthusiastic about the writing evolution. Generally, after the appearance of the novel, the Russian writer was quite harsh in his appreciations to the *The Double: A Petersburg Poem*, which he described as an unsuccessful novel, although the idea that has the basis of him was profound and original. It says that the mature Dostoevsky does not bind him nothing about his second novel, apart from remembering this years when he was young and full of a boundless poetic moose. Essentially, *The Double* would remain in its creator consciousness a failed work.

And still, throughout the elaboration of the novel, Dostoevsky is convinced and confesses to his brother his conviction that he works on the best of his books, expecting the same recognition by the others. „*Golyadkin* is ten times higher than *Poor Folk*. Our people say that after the *Dead souls* never appeared in Russia anything like it, which is a brilliant work, and all such sorts of things! With what hope everybody looks me! Indeed, I succeeded *Golyadkin* could not be better. You you'll love it! You'll enjoy more than *Dead Souls*, I'm sure!"[1]

All these exclamation points submitted in the letter to his brother express

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one thing: Dostoevsky's belief that the *Double* will be the best Russian novel written before. Golyadkin, the central character of the *Double*, is configuring in the writer's mind as a true revelation, he will have the necessary strength to dethrone Chichikov, gogolian character who held supremacy among the preferences of young people of that time. Even if is not everything unique in his face, the way in which the author described the evolution of his mind, his strange and destructive boldness to conceive as non-identical with itself, capable to project himself out and to objectively recreate himself supposed to provoke a revolution in Russian literature of the nineteenth century. The interweaving of the subjective and objective aspects made by Golyadkin's duplication, here's the stakes with which is invested this novel by Dostoevsky; therefore, the double is not a simple alter-ego, another side of the same I, but it is actually another being, a copy linked with invisible threads to the original.

The idea of double, perhaps the most important of Dostoevsky's work, is that who turns the writer into a real artist. What his contemporaries do not understand is that his first novel, *Poor Folk*, is not a truly authentic poetic way; if he had continued on the same line opened by his first book, his style had slipped to a realism specific to journalism, and maybe he will become a chronicler of human suffering, a social prophet, but not a great artist. But Dostoevsky did not want to repeat the Gogol's mistake. In fact, the second novel is his first attempt to evade the time, to his epoch and thus to overcome this early stage of compassionate description of oppressed people. The predilection/obsession to describe the humanitarian/progressive ideals that transpire in his first novel is a sure way to artistic sterility. Dostoevsky quickly realized this and has oriented his artistic vision in another direction.

With this second novel was to be founded a real philosophy of fantastic, philosophy that will generate all the later great novels. The *Double* is a starting point because it is indestructible related with the origin of an idea which would concern the writer a lifetime. Far from being detached from its creator and especially from the later masterpieces, which established him as a creator of tragedies, it is rather a precursor of their, playing a predictive role, for opening to what what was to come. This novel contains an unsuspected depth; the writer knew it and for this reason he did not hesitate to call *Golyadkin*, in another letter to his brother, Michael, as "chef-d'oeuvre of mine"[2]. However, as I said, the little novel subtitled "*A Petersburg Poem*" was received very coldly.

And still, what are strange when we stray attention to the reproaches addressed to the Double is the divergent positions of which comes the criticism.

The members of the "humanitarian" direction, those who, according to the Lev Shestov phrase, have been an ideal to consider as a brother even the most lorn of fate, the last of the people for that is human and should be considered a human being – it is mainly about those grouped around the literary critic mentioned above Vissarion Belinsky, a group to who has joined Dostoevsky himself in his youth – saw in this novel an unsuccessful attempt of a young writer, otherwise quite talented, but whose talent has played tricks. What we have

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 562.

said from the very beginning is the aversion that members of Belinsky's group felt it to fantastic side, gloomy, sometimes metaphysics/speculative both of this novel and the next short story, *The Landlady*.

To dedicate to depicting the simple man's life, whether peasant or humble clerk, of brotherhood among men, there was supposed to be the supreme goal of the artist and Dostoevsky's tendency is to deviate from this ideal. He rather seems inclined to analyze the absurd phenomena, hallucinations, loss of measure and contact with reality, and Belinsky reproaches his excessive style which is just a sign of a measureless desire to captivate readers, to fascinate without aim them to reveal the truth. Therefore, the separation of the literary critic of his younger fellow appears as a difference of vision, is the result of different ways of conceiving the artwork.

2. Lev Shestov

But strangely, even those who felt attracted by the dark side of Dostoevsky's novels, mocking without restraint the Russian humanitarian current, did not gave much interest to the *Double*. In few words that Shestov grant to this Dostoevsky's creation, it is regarded as a dull continuation of the debut novel which, failing to leave the common pattern, goes on the same line of repression the excesses and pacification of the people/elimination of conflicts. Dostoevsky's art continues here to fulfill a function of modeling and flattens the differences between people. Shestov further argues that the universe of Golyadkin is entirely different from the man of underground and any attempt to approach them is doomed to fail.

Dostoevsky's work, he says, is divided into two major periods that have almost nothing in common, the first extending from the year of literary debut to the year in which the Russian write published The House of the Dead and the other comprising "large" creations and which opens with Notes from Underground. Thus, in the first phase of creation, Fyodor Mikhailovich manifests as an fervent disciple of Gogol, all his published creations are nothing but replicas of famous stories of Gogol: *The Overcoat*, *Diary of a madman*, *The Nose* etc. and the novel Dead souls or training exercises of a style that will erupt once with Notes from Underground. Shestov make even a full of exigency sentence: "The reader would not have probably lost much, if the first novels of Dostoevsky would not have seen the light of day". „But the writer, adds Shestov, need them, because he practiced so in the use of dark tones of some sinister and oppressive paintings"[3].

We conclude therefore that the appearance of the Double should not be regarded as an event in itself for us, the readers, we can safely dispense by this novel, but it has a special meaning only for the novice author who needed to burn in itself this naive, but necessary stage of his writer's career. And yet, following the arguments of Shestov, we can ask the question: what we lose and what we gain reading and rereading this book?

It is not enough the observation that the *Double* would continue Dostoevsky's efforts to describe the life of "poor folk", of man struck by fate which

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[3] Lev Şestov, *Filosofia tragediei*, Editura Univers, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 169.

were broken up their wings. In the role assumed by the writer to emphasize with characters of small people has occurred a fissure; the relationship with this new character, so strange, is less pathetic and more mysterious than he left to see at first glance and maybe that sense of artistic failure that has caused this novel comes from the failure that exists between author and character created by him.

It seems that always Golyadkin denies Dostoevsky, thereby avoiding the precision with which he wants to describe, to capture his emotions, his inner movements. It was the first time that happens to Dostoevsky as a character created by him to resist in a way so decided, but will not be far from the last; later, Ippolit Terentyev will also distance and refuse any constraint coming from the author; might say that the only concession that Ippolit seems willing to do is the famous *Confession*, which no doubt represents the center of the novel *The Idiot*, a novel also considered unsuccessful.

Author's special care of capture in his own light and force him to discover the soul to the readers, Golyadkin opposes a cold stubbornness derived from the idea that generated it; he seems surrounded by a mystery because the idea of double is a mystery. And we can only be astonished that Shestov, who held obstinately to reveal the tragedy of Dostoevsky's work, does not see that Golyadkin is the first character of this work which bear, in a rather confusing unclear, indeed, the unmistakable signs the underground.

Consequently, despite Shestov's affirmations, we can say that Golyadkin actually opens underground.

3. *The Underground*
Usually this term is used without trying to be given a rigorous definition.

Perhaps because of the fact that once we arrive in the threshold we sink deeper and deeper into a nebula, we feel that the ground on which we walk is like quicksand, it was avoided a conceptualization of the of Dostoevsky's artistic world. Moreover, it would be irremediably incomplete. While it is obvious that underground escapes any strict definition, however, we can try, despite the huge risks involved in this attempt, to find a common element, something that brings together diverse manifestations of it and which gives unity to the whole work of Dostoevsky.

By the **underground** we understand that particular way of being of some of the Dostoevsky's heroes to deny the rational evidence, depersonalized to find it behind another world which integrate them more deeply, more intimately. Their attention is always focused behind the surfaces, of reality, and hence their constant tendency to hide, not stand directly in front of the light, but to immerses more and more like they willingly bury, and all these are pursued only with one purpose: access to another reality, more appropriate the way of being human.

And this profound reality is self, **the conscience**, in whose name they ultimately sacrifice everything. At the horizon of rationality stays the consciousness which means that beyond turned inward and, unlike rationality, it never calls for prudence, not even stops the soul moose, but rather pushes to excess, forces him to always tend, unceasingly, towards a immaterial beyond. Thus, human consciousness is more important than reason, because it cannot be

fenced, cannot be limited in the any way.

Underground is a theory of *hybris*, it aimed directly the problem of limit, representing a major interrogation regarding human freedom.

Underground man manifests an undefined refusal to be fixed, with predilection for moving forms, for life understood as a permanent search, relentless. In this regard, the central thesis appears to be that: "man is a frivolous and incongruous creature, and perhaps, like a chess player, loves the process of the game, not the end of it. And who knows (there is no saying with certainty), perhaps the only goal on earth to which mankind is striving lies in this incessant process of attaining, in other words, in life itself, and not in the thing to be attained, which must always be expressed as a formula, as positive as twice two makes four, and such positiveness is not life, gentlemen, but is the beginning of death"[4].

Dostoevsky's heroes admit that man has the ability to overcome all that surrounds him, that he did not should become an obedient subject of the outside world.

Rationality, whose characteristic is to express succinctly in mathematical formulas type, tends to be subjected, rigid and bow to evidence, while the man who follows his own conscience cannot restrain the impulse of the tongue in front of edifices built by reason, however perfect they may seem.

Underground human way of being does not give him the permission to passively accept, without an opposition, what the reason dictates, whether it is the only way that leads to prosperity. His heart feels the need to oppose even to what might make him happy, if so would be forced to abandon his freedom.

Persisted in living under the dominating influence of reason, man wakes stranger of self, broken from the humanity out of which should be part and so it does become just a small wheel in a vast machinery which captured him completely. People live by ignoring their lives, they overlook everything that is most important and abandons of self forgetfulness, concerns about comfort and good living. They are deprived of humanity and enslaved without even knowing it, by this monstrous mechanism.

Despite what is commonly believed, **the underground is marked by a profound humanism**; it is nowhere near not a denial of humanity, but rather should be assimilated to an attempt to rediscover the depths of the human being, of human condition in general.

It is an art of living inside the humanity, a way to lead your life according to your own nature and not according to the conventions established by an impersonal majority. Hence the difficulty of this endeavor that requires exterior to comply to the requirements of interior, and on which seems to hover continually the consciousness of fail. Consciousness of the protest, refusing docility - this is a major experience of the underground, plus the need for authenticity and the truth that is ultimately obtained to the detriment of strict logic.

The *Double* is a crucial component of the long route which the underground

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[4] Dostoevsky, *Notes from the underground*, p. 52.

hero has made. It also fulfills the role of lead the way, the origin of an idea that will pass through many metamorphoses, so that would later become unrecognizable. This book is a proof that Dostoevsky has established very early that would be his artistic destiny, as an obscure feeling of ancient literary *amor fati.*

Throughout this short novel are looming some of the major themes of Dostoevsky's creation: the idea of double and the strange relations attraction - rejection between them, ambivalence life - dreams, the mask etc. which shows the extent to which the author had from the very beginning awareness of his own style.

Nothing more thrilling than this artistic consciousness manifested from the beginning and which inextricably links creations separated in time - this is sometimes more than a quarter of a century – and separated only by his writerly talent that has evolved greatly in all these years. But the vision remained unchanged.

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