



LINIUNFA EIROPĀNĀ



GUVERNUL ROMÂNIEI  
MINISTERUL MUNCII, FAMILIEI,  
PROTECȚIEI SOCIALE  
ȘI PERSOANELOR VÂNSINICE  
AMPOSDRU



Fondul Social European  
POS DRU  
2007-2013



Instrumente Structurale  
2007-2013



MINISTERUL  
EDUCAȚIEI  
NAȚIONALE

OI POS DRU



ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ



Laura JIGA ILIESCU

**Structuri**  
**mentalitare carpatice**  
*narațiuni, ritualuri,*  
*ceremonialuri,*  
*habitat la comunitățile locale*



Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române



UNIUNEA EUROPEANĂ



GUVERNUL ROMÂNIEI  
MINISTERUL MUNCII, FAMILIEI,  
PROTECȚIEI SOCIALE  
ȘI PERSOANELOR VÂRSTNICE  
AMPOSDRU



Fondul Social European  
POSDRU  
2007-2013



Instrumente Structurale  
2007-2013



MINISTERUL  
EDUCAȚIEI  
NAȚIONALE

O I P O S D R U



ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

---

Laura JIGA ILIESCU

**STRUCTURI MENTALITARE CARPATICE**  
*NARAȚIUNI, RITUALURI, CEREMONIALURI,*  
*HABITAT LA COMUNITĂȚILE LOCALE*



---

**STRUCTURI MENTALITARE CARPATICE**  
*NARAȚIUNI, RITUALURI, CEREMONIALURI, HABITAT*  
*LA COMUNITĂȚILE LOCALE*

Autor: **Laura JIGA ILIESCU**  
Conducător științific: **Acad. Sabina Cornelia ISPAS**

Lucrare realizată în cadrul proiectului „*Valorificarea identităților culturale în procesele globale*”, cofinanțat din Fondul Social European prin Programul Operațional Sectorial Dezvoltarea Resurselor Umane 2007 – 2013, contractul de finanțare nr. POSDRU/89/1.5/S/59758.

Titlurile și drepturile de proprietate intelectuală și industrială asupra rezultatelor obținute în cadrul stagiului de cercetare postdoctorală aparțin Academiei Române.

*Punctele de vedere exprimate în lucrare aparțin autorului și nu angajează  
Comisia Europeană și Academia Română, beneficiara proiectului.*

---

Exemplar gratuit. Comercializarea în țară și străinătate este interzisă.  
Reproducerea, fie și parțială și pe orice suport, este posibilă numai cu acordul prealabil  
al Academiei Române.

---

ISBN 978-973-167-181-9

Depozit legal: Trim. II 2013

Laura JIGA ILIESCU

**Structuri mentale carpatice**  
*Narațiuni, ritualuri, ceremonialuri,*  
*habitat la comunitățile locale*



Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române

---

Colecția AULA MAGNA



UNIUNEA EUROPEANĂ



GUVERNUL ROMÂNIEI  
MINISTERUL MUNCII, FAMILIEI,  
PROTECȚIEI SOCIALE  
ȘI PERSOANELOR VÂRSTNICE  
AMPOSDRU



Fondul Social European  
POS DRU  
2007-2013



Instrumente Structurale  
2007-2013



MINISTERUL  
EDUCAȚIEI  
NAȚIONALE

O I P O S D R U



ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

### Investește în oameni !

#### FONDUL SOCIAL EUROPEAN

#### Programul Operațional Sectorial pentru Dezvoltarea Resurselor Umane 2007 – 2013

**Axa prioritară 1:** „Educația și formarea profesională în sprijinul creșterii economice și dezvoltării societății bazate pe cunoaștere”

**Domeniul major de intervenție 1.5:** „Programe doctorale și postdoctorale în sprijinul cercetării”

**Titlul proiectului:** „Valorificarea identităților culturale în procesele globale”

**Contract:** POSDRU/89/1.5/S/59758

**Beneficiar:** ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

**Parteneri în proiect:** (I) UNIVERSITATEA POLITEHNICA București, Facultatea de Mecanică și Mecatronica; (II) UNIVERSITATEA din Craiova



#### Obiectivele proiectului și domeniile de cercetare:

- 1. Obiectivul general:** Model-pilot de școală postdoctorală prin implicarea a 92 de cercetători postdoctoranzi, în scopul dezvoltării carierei în cercetare, al îmbunătățirii programelor de cercetare postdoctorală în domeniul umanităților, al impulsivării și consolidării sectorului de cercetare în științele sociumane din România, pentru sprijinirea economiei românești în dobândirea unor avantaje competitive durabile și micșorarea decalajelor între România și celelalte țări membre ale Uniunii Europene.
- 2. Obiectivele specifice:** Elaborarea și implementarea de noi tehnologii-suport pentru derularea proiectului; formarea și perfecționarea cercetătorilor prin programe postdoctorale • Organizarea unor acțiuni de îndrumare a cercetătorilor pe parcursul stagiilor derulate în străinătate • Sprijinirea cercetătorilor în participarea la seminarii și conferințe internaționale • Organizarea unor sesiuni pentru promovarea egalității de șanse și a dezvoltării durabile • Sprijinirea colaborării între universități, institute de cercetare și companii din aria tematică a școlii postdoctorale • Dezvoltarea de activități inovatoare în vederea accentuării importanței programelor de cercetare interdisciplinară; crearea de metodologii proprii cu privire la derularea programelor postdoctorale • Elaborarea unor ghiduri de bune practici cu privire la schimbul de experiență internațional în aria cercetării în științele sociumane prin programe postdoctorale.
- 3. Domeniile cercetării:** filologie - literatură • științe istorice și arheologie • filosofie, teologie, psihologie, pedagogie • arte, arhitectură și audio-vizual • știința informației • sociologia culturii • antropologie • etnografie și folclor

## Cuprins

INTRODUCERE .....	7
EXPRESII ALE RELIGIOZITĂȚII PASTORALE ÎN CARPAȚI.....	17
BISERICA DIN MUNTE. GESTIONARE RITUALĂ A FRONTIERELOR ȘI A TERITORIALITĂȚII MONTANE ÎN CARPAȚII MERIDIONALI .....	25
Doi munți și două târguri de două țări în Carpații Meridionali .....	39
Căsătoria ascunsă, biserica și frontiera .....	64
PREZENȚA MUNTELUI ÎN ORIZONTUL DE CUNOAȘTERE AL COMUNITĂȚILOR LOCALE CARPATICE. IPOSTAZE CONTEMPORANE (MASIVELE CĂPĂȚĂNI, LOTRULUI, LATORIȚA, PARÂNG, RETEZAT). DOCUMENTE ORALE .....	82
BIBLIOGRAFIE .....	152
ADDENDA .....	160
ABSTRACT .....	160
SUMMARY .....	165

## ADDENDA

### **Abstract**

#### **Cultural and religious frames of Carpathian civilization. Narratives, rituals, ceremonies, habitat of local communities**

The human relationship with the space inhabited or known directly, or to which, as a stranger, has a mediated access - through narrative structures or figurative representations – entails a process of mutual shaping.

As any landform or any inhabited geographic area, the topographic dimension of the mountain is doubled by a complex of daily or extraordinary practices (including gestures, rituals, any oral performance, routes, buildings, beliefs, mental imagery, kinship and territoriality, etc.), which, all together, represent individuals' or group's externalization of knowledge and the perception on nature, space and time, motion and immobility, the human body, the society, the seen and the unseen worlds, the sacred, etc. Could it be found - in these expressions and in the rules of their assemblage and interrelations, as well - a specificity of the so-called mountain culture? Moreover, what about a specificity of the Carpathian culture? Which would be the terms to define it, in what contexts do they work and how do they handle them? Even if the research presented here will not respond to such questions, they marked the general goal of our postdoctoral work, meaning identifying and analyzing the process through which the height gets both concrete utilization and spiritual meanings within the context of the cultures and civilizations developed in the Carpathian areas. More precisely: the place, the role and the meanings attached to the vertical dimension by the people and communities which occupy and exploit the mountains for natural, economic and emotional reasons. Which are the parameters for approaching the question of mountainous identity and how do they work within the contemporary context marked by economic and social changes related to tourism and depopulation?

One of the cautions required when investigating the large, profound, untouchable and diffuse levels of the cognitive register of a culture is claimed by the risk of premature synthesis and, consequently, to the beforehand generalizations whose results often create clichés. It is to be noted that I refer to culture not as a static and frozen product, but as a process developed in time and space, which means a fluid and contiguous act of creating, configuring, adapting, losing, renewing, and transmitting a repertoire of data and values.

In order to approach the deep register of knowledge, mentality and perceptions attached to the mountain I followed the indirect path of identifying its transfigurations through formalization of verbal (legends, memories, verbalization of the mental maps of the environment etc) and of gesture languages (including ceremonies and rituals performed in direct connection with the mountain, prescriptions and prohibitions regarding the *use* of the mountain, and even those gestures whose material results consist in artifacts, installations or constructions that mark the environment). In this regard, I had to combine the folkloristic methods with the ethnographical and cognitive-anthropological ones. Yet, the topic is still too large and confused.

I chose to focus on the high altitude, because it corresponds to the inhabitants' definition of the mountains, as expressed by one of them: "you are climbing and climbing and, at a certain moment, you think that you have finished climbing. But, once arrived on top of it, you notice that another hill follows, higher than the former. You keep climbing and suppose, again, that you are close to the end, but another hill appears in front of your eyes, higher than the former. When you have climbed this one, too, finally you can see that there is nothing in front of you to be climbed. Here is the mountain." The spiritual connotation induced to a topographic definition is remarkable and it also marks the second limitation of investigations this book is concerned with, namely the religious component of the mountainous culture, especially its expressions performed under the conditions and within the context of high altitude.

By and large, we may speak about a category of people who seasonally dislocate themselves from the larger group to which they



actually continue to belong to - shepherds, hermits, outcasts (thieves, outlaws, partisans), and, recently, alpinists – and enter to live in an environment that is closed or inaccessible or undesirable for those who spent almost their entire life at the foot of the mountain. Hence, the first ones work as mediators between *domestic* settlement and *wild* height; their marginality is complementary with the one represented by the mountain itself, perceived as a dangerous area located outside the control and the protection of the domestic community, which assign the *central* position as a term of reference.

I circumscribed more precisely the general discussions, by proposing to reflect dominantly on the highland shepherds, who, due to very pragmatic reasons linked to the **summer** period they spend on the pastureland, manifest their religiosity in the (quasi)absence of the priest, in the (quasi)absence of the religious consecrated edifices, hence in the (quasi)absence of the parish community's control. Yet, they are perceived as being more faithful than others, even if their faith is somehow characterized as being *wild*, meaning out (but not in contradiction with) of the general rules (in this regard, the analyses of two oral narratives of Romanian folklore revealed interesting transfigurations of the above idea). They also enter into paradigmatic relation with the hermit, relation sustained by the real contacts with these godlike and solitary inhabitants of the mountains. They have to adapt the rituals performed within the community of reference settled at the foot of the mountain or they have to develop new scenarios; they also have to observe their own and specific rituals, prescriptions and restrictions. Speaking in terms of Christianity, at least at a first glance, this form of religiosity was assigned with canonic/non-canonic, faith/superstition/magic ambiguity. Ecclesiastic and ethnologic authorities played an important role in the process of constructing gpthis stereotypical image of the shepherd

In the mean time, in order to clear the real and the imaginary contour of the Mountain, I applied the technique of adjusting the distance towards the mountains - to *see*, to *represent* and to *touch* them - and I took into consideration the very topographic contexts of the concrete subjects of investigation. Geographically, I limited the investigations to a subgroup of

the Southerner Carpathians: peaks which surround Latorita river, in Căpățâni and Parâng massifs and part of Fagaras massif included in Lovistea county, on the south side, which correspond to Cindrel, Sebeș massifs, on the north side. The study included in this book is dedicated to ritualized meetings of people, especially shepherds, as performed strictly on the mountain high plateaus until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I focused on two such fairs, called *of the two lands/valleys* or *nedee*, which took place on the Nedeu peak and, respectively, on St. Elijah's Face peak, both of them being important junction points of the roads and of **cutwaters**, as well. Analyzing variants of the interesting legend which explains the movement down of these fairs as a consequence of the rape of an unmarried girl by a supernatural being or by a human one, I put in relation the notion of the *stranger* with questions as exogamy/endogamy and marriage, territoriality, frontier and religious edifices located here, as they are contextualized by the above mentioned fairs, which were active on the heights during pre-modern times and which were moved down and turned into festivals in our modern times.

It is to underline the fact that, considering the territory of Romania, the Carpathian chain is located in the very middle of the country. The situation was different in the past; for centuries (starting with the medieval times up to the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) these mountains were also administrative and political borders. As about the mountains I focused on, until 1918 they were sometimes included in the fluctuant line between Walachia and Transylvania (in different historical times, the border was moved from one side to the other of the Meridional Carpathians; but generally it was placed *on* the high plateaus). This is why the concept of frontier, with its real, mental, symbolic connotations, with its dynamic and with the practiced attached to it (including its crossing!), got an important role in the entire endeavor developed in this book. At least until the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mountainous area I focused on was much more inhabited on its vertical dimension than afterwards (and than today, as well).

The second part of this book consists in a corpus of oral culture documents recorded during fieldworks conducted in 2011 and 2012, in Că-

pășanii, Parâng and Retezat Mountains, Romania. The goal was to offer an access to the process whereby the mountain, as external spatial reality is doubled by a mental spatial configuration. In other words, how topographic coordinates become physical landmarks. The topics I appreciated as being fundamental to discuss about with people which inhabit these places, were: the mental map and the mountain imaginary; territory, frontier, movement; meetings and encounters with real and supernatural beings, encounters with animals; daily life, knowledge, and religious gestures performed at the sheepfolds or at other harbors of the mountains. Obviously, many other relevant topics remained outside the corpus and, in consequence, non-exploited yet, but I hope this situation will not last for a long time. In the meantime, I also tried to create a complementary dialog between the two parts of the volume, to offer the support of the documents to the hypothesis and conclusions drawn in the first part.

This book puts forward a result of a two-year research, which is far from being finished; on the contrary, it represents the beginning of a time devoted to mountaineous topics and works.

## Summary

INTRODUCTION .....	7
EXPRESSIONS OF PASTORAL RELIGIOZITY IN THE CARPATHIANS.....	17
THE CHURCH FROM THE MOUNTIAIN. RITUAL REGULATION OF THE FRONTIERS AND OF THE TERRITORIALITY IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS .....	25
Two mounts and two fairs of the two lands .....	39
The hidden marriage, the church and the borders.....	64
THE PRESENCE OF THE MOUNTAIN IN THE COGNIGANCE HORIZON OF CARPATHIAN LOCAL COMMUNITIES (CĂPĂȚĂNI, LOTRULUI, LATORIȚA, PARÂNG, RETEZAT MASSIFS). CONTEMPORARY HYPOSTASIS. ORAL CULTURE DOCUMENTS .....	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	152