"BABES – BOLYAI" UNIVERSITY, CLUJ NAPOCA
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Abstract of the Ph.D. Thesis

DEATH AND DYING – FROM THE TRADITIONAL PARADIGMS TO ADAPTED CONTEMPORARY FORMS

SCIENTIFIC COORDINATOR
Prof.univ.dr. ION CUCEU

PH.D. CANDIDATE:
BEJINARIU CORINA MIHAELA

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ABSTRACT

In our attempt to set certain aspects which are able to outline a “system of death” in Romanian space we analyzed several types of sources, but without being able to claim to have used all the point of views that address the issue of death and dying. Aware of the complexity and difficulty of such an approach we considered appropriate to confine our investigation to those sources that have influenced throughout a particular type of point of view, what we might call “phenomenology of funerary”. In this regard we focused mainly on the funeral ritualistic, meaning by this not only the currently preserved practices in burial customs structure, but also the beliefs, respectively their symbols.

The starting point of the present research is the ritual praxis and our attempt to "recover" through personal research conducted in the villages from Salaj county and from the old and current research concerning the theme mentioned above. To avoid a potential reproach given to ethnographic investigation of "eternal present", we considered appropriate to see other sources that build a "death system", meaning by them religiously inspired funeral components, "vulgarized” tools of proliferation and accessibility, official regulations affecting the area searched and a domain that is increasingly assuming the management of "dying" (medicine). Equally, we tried to relate ourselves to the wider context of research dedicated to death in the Western countries, to observe any similarities, but especially to emphasize the dynamics of the funerary rite in Romanian society.

The general question that we had in view was to refer to what extent we can speak of a "dynamic" ritual behavior associated with death, given the widespread view that 'burial traditions are known lasting aspects known to most cultures "(P. Brown). As a form of mandatory reporting of what we might call the "history of rite" and funeral imaginary, we asked ourselves whether there were exercised influences on the traditional-folkloric "death" what resulted in changing attitudes and representation. Identifying and analyzing some of these influences we tried to see to what extent they have made significant surface changes or have they remained without any echo. One of the advantages of comparing the collective behavior with the religious norms, the official regulations, especially those of the nineteenth century, has been to see the long duration in which are being produced, but also to see the resistance to certain regulations, showing a deep
commitment to what we might call the "unwritten rule" or local-regional traditions.

The present approach will be divided on three main levels of analysis: the institutional framework (with emphasis on the role of traditional family model over death), cultural context (beliefs, practices and symbols associated with them), and individual perspective on dying, death and funeral imaginary.

The premise from which we begun in our analysis was the one established by LV Thomas, saying that "in traditional societies there is a ritualization of the rupture caused by death, by which this event can become obnoxious." This technique of acceptance death was shaped by cultural and psychological practices, symbols, beliefs and imagination. This whole procession is based not necessarily on the fundamentals of Christian dogma (trial and resurrection), but on the "archaic" conviction of death as a transition to another world but the folkloric point of view proved to be the most stable form of opinion over death. In its relation with the religious point of view we have identified a cohabitation relationship, in the sense that traditional behavior has been tolerated in certain aspects, by the religious factor, since it threatens his own ritual, but completing it.

The first chapter was dedicated to the main sources that may contribute to a complex discourse on death and dying. In our approach we referred both to reports concerning foreign travelers that experienced contact with the Romanian cultural model, in previous centuries and pioneering contributions in the folkloristic and ethnographic research of the nineteenth century. Equally, we focused on the most significant anthropological and ethnographic approaches undertaken throughout the twentieth century. To give a more complex image of multiple attitudes toward death, we referred to the contributions of specialists from other fields, most of them belonging to the history of mentalities and representation, but also to the analysts of imaginary.

Chapter II focused on the analysis of the visions of the body in funerary contexts, with special regard to the sequence of traditional funeral ritualistic. Identifying natural death as the foundation of traditional structure, folk and ritual and imagery as main instruments of "softening" death, the first question referred to was that of the attitudes towards the crisis (death) and to the deceased. We would be tempted to generalize the idea of familiarity with the deceased person as a basic feature of this pattern, but even if this attitude is present sometimes, we are unable to explain all the security formulas and practices of survivors and community as a whole. In this context, it seems more plausible the idea of multiple attitudes based on feelings of fear, respect but also familiarity with the deceased person.

In our attempt to find the element or the pattern which is able to define the traditional attitude toward death, we identified a paradigm which we might call such as domestic death,
(inside the house) taken from the Bulgarian researcher V. Vaseva. Thereby we were able to configure the symbolic sphere on which this model was built, so the spatial proximity between living and dead, in the agonizing phase, but also post-death, established practices related to the place of death, its sense (direction) thereof, but also a sense of all the elements (entourage, community, household objects) which are characteristic to the familiar space / community. “Death situation” causes another significance of territoriality, a certain way of managing hot places, meaning the daily space, especially during the phase of liminality. Thus, there are places of dying (bed, floor or threshold), but also places of death / dead (“best room” or the "room where nobody lives is, the coffin, the cemetery) which become temporary significant (during the funerals becomes "deceased’s room"). Limits of the living space are valued as crossing areas and from this point of view the door and threshold are elements involved in a number of practices with multiple facets, from marking onset journey, to protecting the remaining and facilitating the separation benefits (illustrated by the need to forget the deceased). But the limits mentioned above, set by the "opening" that characterize them, can help the "alienation" of the beneficial attributes for the family life, as such, they become a central point in the practices designed to preserve the "luck of the house."

Death was never a "normal" situation or treated in a common manner, establishing an "inverted order," she complains efficient behavior, and in this category we grouped four major types of behavior: return, overthrow, break and absolution (not in the religious sense, but as a dissolution of links) ritual. Of course, they all have a consistent meaning and relatively they are easy to decrypt, referring to that "order reversed" already mentioned; in this sense is adding value by reversing the significance of these acts in everyday behavior, based on a direct correspondence between symbols and background in which is performing.

But the main question remains about the future of the model of death inside the house, considering the fundamental change. The historical perspective has given us sufficient reasons for the change in the length but also to the "resistance" of ritual behavior and emphasized the dynamics of the Romanian society in the early twenty-first century and the competition of the secular factor and medical technology show a different pace for change.

In traditional-folkloric death, the funerary space is not limited to the private (house-household), it also covers the Community, since individual existence is punctuated by three major parts: home, church, cemetery. We emphasized in our approach the issue of the "last house" through an analysis of cemetery based on sepulchral criteria that have a certain configuration of location. Investigating the cemeteries from 20 villages from Salaj county allowed us to see the main patterns that have worked or are still in use and comparing to earlier
centuries laws (especially from Transylvania) has facilitated our understanding of change, based on the need to protect the livings.

As a sporadic form we identified burial on private property (determined solely by morphological criteria of the terrain, usually associated with diffuse type of villages), coexistence in some cases for Community Cemetery.

The multietnic structure of Salaj communities allowed us to detect significant valuation criteria of confession, visible in the option for separate cemeteries, for the main denominations. Here, the organization of sepulchral perimeters has encountered serious resistance from the secular power in the second half of the nineteenth century (in Transylvania, although this type of cemetery is not entirely lacking. Certainly, such a phenomenon does not belong only to the "traditions, folklore, but also to that of religious barriers, which rarely have been transgressed by the argument of Community membership.

Beyond the issue of burial location determined by the criterion of proximity to the living, we followed the internal organization of the graves, essential to the rationable symbolic need, this type of organization is also found in the construction of the life after death imaginary based on the idea of recomposing the marital relations in the spirit of a perfect social counterparts between "here" and "beyond." This is known even if the cemeteries are of other denomination than Orthodox (or Greek Catholic, this being the only place where they are together, in communities where some of the parishioners have returned to Greek Catholicism), although in some cases the criterion relied on the chronology of deaths, the actual situation shows the same proximity of the couple, based on the practice of lifetime job retention. The most significant changes are found in the burial marks, where urban influences are noticeable both in terms of materials used and specific forms. In this context, is not negligible the proliferation of funeral picture made on ceramic substrate, which expresses the need for removal from the anonymity of a funeral sign marked only biographical of the deceased. Here we can detect a certain tendency to individualize death by setting in the collective memory the maximum element of individual identity (face). Funeral image has important comforting facets, moving the focus from the grave as a place of decay, to recall a function of social destiny. Funeral marks receptivity to urban innovations and rural areas reflects the fact that death becomes a matter that can be managed economically, even if these loans mean "a transfer of abundance desire in the village cemetery.

For the purposes of identifying the dynamic nature of funeral rite we started by analyzing a sequence of rituals that were pressured by the secular power, backed also by the religious interventions. Therefore we refer to the sequence of the "last kiss of the deceased", which according to historical and ethnographic sources was highly valued as the last expression of the emotional ties with the deceased, the last form of honoring, but also as a form of separation
through forgiveness. The current situation in the villages from Salaj show a genuine dissolution of the practice, to which are recognized more than one contextual performances (children) or contingent. We asked ourselves to what extent the waiver of this sequence describes an increased sense of fear of the corpse, but, although the fear of the deceased seems to be the default practice for preparing the dead body, our conclusion is that this fear is aiming at the "power" of the deceased and not necessarily at the proximity of a body became inert. Ritual practices, fear of the dead means not only fear of impurity, since it is solved through prohibition, or of annihilation of the objects in contact with "polluting source, but is rather a fear generated by an uncertain state, condition of extreme liminality (until burial is in acute form) when the deceased is still in the house. What makes him more ominous is his entering into a new "state" which is irreversible, when he is not moving, not communicating, not feeling. "Kissing the deceased" implies some familiarity in interacting with a corpse, and considering the fact that it was a broad action (not just family members) make us believe that the overlap between disease and death, their report of direct causality would contribute largely at diluting the practice.

Moreover, the issue of understanding the familiarity in interaction with a dead body has been discussed at the beginning of chapter IV and in connection with another set of practices that have characterized, in some areas, funeral ritualistic, the vigil games where including the body is engaged. Although such attitudes may now appear to be at least irreverent (which is why they were intense repudiated particularly by religious power), they fall into the same familiar behavior, based on the idea that the deceased continues to remain in the livings relations as individual, family and community member and not an object to be "discard". The playful nature of this behavior is based on a particular way of perceiving death, specific to traditional-folkloric model, so death does not make a rupture in relation to life, it is a part of life, the natural order of things and playing in such a context becomes a form of affirmation of the group continuity and community.

In the same chapter, the issue of fears raised by death led us to another area, that of "abnormality", determining us to see also the exceptional posthumous situations fate of bodies. The need to secure the living seems to be amplified by the type of death (suicide, accident), but also by the status and "quality" of the individuals (those who held evil power during the life or what have transgressed moral Community behavior, are susceptible to posthumous demonization). But equally, non-fulfillment of these rituals, not just the funeral, may generate restless dead, whose dissatisfaction may materialize in vindictive behavior, turned on the living. What sets the abnormality of these cases is the extension of liminality, the intermediate condition that state the individual lies between two worlds, being placed out of order, dead-alive is "death affecting life. Undoubtedly the church tried numerous interventions to decline superstition, but
their presence still in the twentieth century indicates that their effective investment are unmatched by other solutions (the religious). Moreover, in the church’s attempts to control such phenomena falls introducing a class to explain the position of imperishable bodies, so religious norms include rules relating to those who have been cursed in life. Claiming the existence of evil and its evil representations, the church moves the center of gravity from practices to destroy the unputrified corpse to the idea of releasing the devil’s powers through prayers solution, preceded by changing the burial place and subsequent verification of the status of the body.

The contexts explaining unusual situations and remedies has allowed us to exemplify how the general opinion over death inter-relate, causing some changes. Furthermore, parallel operation generates ambivalent valorization and the posthumous fate of the bodies is an illustrative example in this respect, as if immortality means terror in some cases, in others it may designate, under the same sign of exceptionality, the most significant privilege of holiness. Of course, it is reserved for the chosen one, who had a brave destiny under the sign of martyrdom or of an impeccable morality, but in such a context becomes an imperishable body with the highest symbolic factor token, endowed with the potential to convert it into an "object" of worship.

In the same context we addressed a question that is increasingly present in Romanian society, influenced by the rise of medical discourse and the development of medical techniques. Trying to develop the theme regarding the visions of the body in contexts associated with dying, not dead, we referred to a segment which is strictly controlled by medical power, but develops important aspects of the valorization of the body. If the need of preserving the completeness of posthumous body was only in the case of "abnormality" of the traditional-folkloric death, now it becomes a question which may be related to any destiny, while the beneficial use of medicine to an individual body parts being in brain death is stated. Adopting the brain death criterion allowed one of the newest ways to "exploit" the body considered corpse: harvesting organs for transplantation, to save and extend life. Although deeply humanitarian in its essence, the technique has sparked unrest and strife, coming from the religious factor or from a field located at the confluence of science with ethics: bioethics. We questioned the manner in which this technique is presented and perceived in the Romanian space, seeking into media, the talks on the subject of media information. Although the usefulness and humanitarian value of the process is not undermined, rational and emotional disputes coagulates around how to express this Agreement. The concern of the Legislature to introduce the alleged agreement, justified by the idea of facilitating agreement procedure by eliminating the need for an agreement, reflected only by the media, has sparked many disputes among readers. The major problem is the "collectivization" of the body, its transformation into the corpse res Communitatis. But the question that worries the most is the moment of determining death, a question which has
triggered many anguish in the nineteenth century, when the Transylvanian law speaks about cases of "found dead". "Apparent Death" preserves another form of potential anguishing, became even more formidable given that the usefulness of the dead body seems to prevail over personhood.

Serious arguments against the rejection of the practice itself (not just the type of agreement) are advanced in terms of religious tradition, but also folkloric, the sense of supporting the idea of "dignity" of the body and respect due to him. Moreover, the Orthodox Church's position over the presumed agreement, is one of conviction, citing the argument of the cancellation of the self-abnegation and brotherly love" on which is based explicitly the consent. Criticism transpires including through psychology, based on the idea that such agreement conflicts with the Christian model and the idea of a person suffers identity ownership.

The whole discussion around this subject can be framed into a broader context: the one of the confrontation between a traditional view of death and one that needs reformulation. In Chapter V we discussed the issue of "reformulation" about how it is perceived today, in the urban society traditional funerary rite. A first image was shaped by surveying urban subjects on the question of death or whether hospital dying and in this respect we are able to see the family privileged role toward situations of incurable patients, a factor which doubles the medical decisions regarding the behavior and treatment. The problem of hospital death, seen in modern western environments as the source of denial death attitude (specific to the second half of the twentieth century), the Romanian area presents peculiarities of Romanian medical system failures, weak development of palliative medicine (specialized personnel in the care of the dying and settlements with such functionality), and the difficulty of financial support for institutional care.

In the context of discussion on some specific urban attitudes toward death, our analysis over mourning showed us another strong valorization of traditional practices, especially of their symbolic value. Unlike Western societies, where we can speak about the "indecency" of mourning and its "banned" character (for the purposes of public display, which is seen as a form of weakness which is not allowed, would affect efficiency and dynamism of those around them, key features for a society based on the principle of competition between individuals) in traditional mourning from Romanian society, remains an important cultural form of pain management, but also a mechanism based on social recognition of the crisis, which prevents a slip to disease (through repression states). The present study allowed us to recognize the superiority of rural management of death in the sense that the peasant understands his death as a natural order of life, but based on strong local networks of solidarity built during his life.

We have also studied death as reflected in the media, given its vocation for sensational
and everything that is out of "normal", especially for citizens who face death late and rarely in its reality. Our attention has been also channeled specifically on materials related to new EU rules on burials, "reports" on the actual funerary rite in urban environments, which, in addition to the subjectivity of the author, allowed us to lead to a real debate between traditionalists vs. anti-traditionalists (we could say the reformers) in endless disputes regarding the necessity of conservation / changing funerary rite. The problem is discussed in the context of EU regulations imposed on funerals, which should be reflected also in the Romanian legislation. In connection with this matter we studied how the media informed and discussed future implications for the Romanian society on this commercial dimension of death, primarily by increasing the cost issues, not necessarily the effect on traditions inserted in the Romanian society, particularly as regards funeral service pumps. The opinions are very different, form criticizing the aggressive intervention over the national identity element, to a general adhesion to the way in which good people treat their deceased.

Somewhere between these two extreme positions lies those who think that compromise is required between the new regulations and traditions, to avoid literally takeover imposed from outside and foreign elements for Romanian specificity. We analyzed the impact of measures on the cost of funerals, following specific forms that this aspect has developed in the Romanian society, in the case of the credit system (death rates), as responses to the precarious economic situation of the population.

The second part of our approach (Chapters VI-VIII) is dedicated to an extensive analysis of the imaginary of world through identifying the many sources that have set up this imaginary. We have referred here to the manner in which this posthumously imaginary was seen in different cultural traditions and at what I.P.Culianu called the "travels into world beyond." Regarding the Christian posthumous imaginary we compared both the patristic tradition and the Church Fathers efforts to an imaginary structure with an important religious and moral conditioning and a homiletic literature, which experienced a spectacular development mainly in the eighteenth century. Cultivating optimism based on the primacy of eschatological resurrection in relation to the episode of the Doomsday, the rhetoric funeral march, a good time, backed the idea of salvation through baptism. The individualization process of death will make a report of personal conduct during life and the "quality" of posthumous destiny of the soul. Iconographic sources show that this process is seen, as an artistic representation, by dragging the center of interest from the biblical episode of the Resurrection, with a clear collective dominant image to the trial presided by God.

In the Transylvanian space, dogmatic manuals developed in Greek Catholic environment are concerned over the life after death imaginary, focusing on the necessity of "existence" of
purgatory, an approach advocated by everyday experience, which shows differences between the categories of sinners who advertise different "treatments". As an intermediate state, purgatory provides an explanation to the usefulness of alms, charities, for the beneficiary (to save him) and for those who make them (the accumulation of good deeds).

Funeral predication of the nineteenth century presents several sensitive modifications in the message based on increased emotional-affective relations that link the deceased to his family and community. Overall, death becomes a pretext for teaching positive life and the world beyond a mean of psychological and emotional support to survivors.

Moving to another level to shape the imaginary of the world beyond we considered appropriate to see other categories of sources, accepted as a product of ecclesiastical literature, as translated in a language accessible to fundamental ideas of religious discourse: apocalyptic apocrypha. Analysis of these texts was motivated by an intense movement that they enjoyed in Romanian rural areas, but also that the manner of writing, clearly demonstrates a systematic effort to divide infernal spaces according to the different categories of punishments. Their influence will be felt including in the iconographic representation, the most spectacular theme that has received multiple drafting, being the "work of hell", especially in the present wooden churches.

If the Christian view of life after death addresses existential and religious issues of death, secular imaginary treats the material, cultural dimension. The overall conclusion that emerges from the analysis of folk productions which develops posthumously imaginary images, but also the present structure of ritual funeral practices, is that the world beyond, in its popular, differs from what is circulated through the instruments of Religious view. The world beyond is fundamentally structured by reference to this world, relying mainly on the paradigm of marital recomposing and family relationships in the life after death (beliefs related to a cult of ancestors). Between the two worlds it is a certain social homology, established by continuous relationship (strongly affirmed by the cemeteries organization, according to the criterion of kinship, especially the couple's relationship, but also by dressing the deceased in its wedding clothes). The continuity between the two areas, organizational similarities are sustainable in terms of funerary inventory components, beyond the necessary elements for the afterlife journey (a beat, money), there are objects with symbolic investment which refer to the idea of resumption of occupation during life, even some flaws (as needle to sew, prayer book, the cigarettes or a drink bottle).

But not only ritual practices are likely to reveal certain contents of posthumous imaginary, funeral poetic provides important evidence supporting the construction of a "world beyond" similar in social organization, but with attributes based on a symbolic inversion of specific living
world. Posthumously imaginary folklore has a different structure, due to the way it is built: integration into the world of ancestors is based on the observance and moral conditioning.

Recoverable from the components of religious rhetoric over death, from texts designed to make more accessible the church teachings, but also from ritual praxis, the faith in the Heaven customs seem to have the broadest coverage in the sources. That faith has entered into the liturgical texts and became a clear expression of valuating an individual posthumous destiny by moral criteria. Sedimentation of that faith in the beliefs and ritual practices seems to be under the influence of one of the most popular hagiographical legends ("Life and miracles of St. Basil the New"), which enjoyed popularity due, according to literature, its judicial way, the final part that has an important role in redeeming the first stage of eschatological selection. The enormous influence exerted by this belief on traditional folkloric model can be found also in the present days, many of our interlocutors talking about heaven’s bridge, about personal strategies to overcome this last major obstacle.

Our approach would be incomplete without an analysis that is based on almsgiving institution, whatever their form is, acts of donation are based on the idea that any given alms in this world is designed for the deceased in the other world and meet his needs. Almsgiving presents a multiple function: it marks individual separation from the community, prepares the soul to finish safely a difficult travel, ensures full integration into the world beyond and passing into the ancestor’s world. Almsgiving process is confirmed by its extraordinary longevity, currently valued, even in urban societies, seen as voluntary donation acts (the church has an undeniable role in this regard).

Since in our approach we analyzed the sources that set an imaginary of religious inspiration, we tried to see the manner in which the imaginary (binary or a tripartite structure based on religion) was assimilated to the common sense. In carrying out an inventory of beliefs about heaven and hell (or purgatory), as main parts of the world beyond of religious inspiration, we took into consideration both the existing information in the research of the last two centuries, and the ones we captured in our research field. Under the influence of apocalyptic Apocrypha, common sense beliefs suggest the image of hell as a place of non-relations, non-communication, people there are in total isolation, even excluding the interaction among the damned. To set a more complete picture of popular representations concerning heaven and hell, we also focused on a source specific to Transylvanian area, situated at the confluence of religious point of view on death and of the folkloric view. We refer to lyrics or songs creations with a relatively standard structure, belonging to rural societies. The repertory of our research has some specific features to those from the manuscript, being relatively more "folkloric" even if the ideas descend from religious areas. The repertory does not show details about the posthumous imaginary, but is
focused exclusively on the personal history of the deceased, requesting forgiveness (nominating each family member, but also incorporating their community as a whole, are highly valued and gives them a major emotional potential).

To propose an analysis rooted not only in the past, we considered appropriate to present some of the current construction of posthumous imaginary of religious inspiration, found in our field research. Upholding the rural traditionalism, our interlocutor’s perception on sin and atonement is still crucial. Coming from the former Greek Catholic society, even now declaring themselves Orthodox, our interlocutors talk about the existence of purgatory, the intermediate area of sin and place of the great intercessors. This mixture of different religious views show that for the common sense, religious differences are not incongruous, and the idea of an intermediate place, with a fixed duration, seems to have some appreciation, making it more bearable the perspective of posthumous residence. Interestingly, when making direct reference to the person interviewed, some hope transpires in a "mercy" of God, grafted on the recognition of a "guilt" common, deeply human and therefore, not damned. The views expressed backtrack the direct correlation between their behavior and the quality of posthumous residence profile, focusing on differential treatment depending on the seriousness of sin.

One of the questions we tried to find the answer in chapter VII, was the one about the current prospects of the world beyond, the usefulness and necessity of faith in life after death and the manner in which individuals in urban areas still relate to this belief. We found it extremely useful to attempt an extension of our approach in urban society, in order to capture any changes in attitude, perception and representation to a problem that seems very obsolete in a world where material accumulation, consumption and, especially, aspiring to eternal youth are the main goals. Using the survey, we undertook a qualitative analysis of representations of funeral imaginary, questioning subjects from urban areas. The first issue, beyond the assertion of the majority faith in "the world beyond", was one concerning the existence of certain reasons and bases to support this belief. Based on the responses, a preliminary conclusion concerns the same issue we analyzed it in behaviors (processes) to dead body: fear, fear of death.

The analysis showed that a first form of "taming" the fear of death is denying the awareness of this feeling. One say that it is enough to believe that there is something "beyond", without asking yourself what is that “beyond”, being a matter much too complicated. Others believe that fear of death can not be controlled only by accepting the normality of death and searches, meditation on death issues are stages of this process to "include" death in life. Regarding the translation of this fear (cause), the majority opinion indicates a dramatic view of separation of the loved ones, a phenomenon reported by a number of applied research, in the western media.
Regarding the contents associated to the life after death, survey responses are dependent on the religious perspective, with different nuances, or seek an immaterial world, in full harmony with the divine and the opposite of this world, in terms of needs. Equally, there is a world without constraints, the unconditioned "absolute freedom", a "meeting with the infinite being." A definition of death as a transition to something else was implied and confirmed by respondents who share this opinion, seeing death as a separation of the soul from the body, at the expense of the total extinction of being in death. Some respondents did even the distinction between biological death, understood as "continuous degradation of matter, of the spiritual dimension of death, seen as" a passage to another life. "There are views that credit spiritualism or psychic experiences as a means of knowledge of what is located "beyond" no missing references to the type of NDE experiences, events associated with clinical death, but some subjects are expressing serious doubts on the veracity of this kind of experiences.

To achieve a more complex analysis we proceeded to apply a scale measuring attitudes toward death, taken from the research of psychology of western media (Death Multidimensional Attitudes Scale). Structured on five factors (Acceptance, Fear, Death as a transition, avoidance, liberating death) the scale used allowed us to investigate the perception and representation of "their" own dead, 23 statements were made to the first person.

In Chapter VIII we analyzed the NDE phenomena (near death experience) trying to understand to what extent they can be "accepted" as current forms of polling the life after death. Our analysis was based mainly on the many debates around these phenomena coagulated in Western literature, because their reliability and scientific validation are still open issues and reasons for disagreement between different fields (medicine, transpersonal psychology, religion, etc). There are few approaches of the subject in the Romanian society and their unsystematic nature (the media being more interested in the subject) have forced us to confine ourselves to, in fact, a highly fertile Western literature.

Another important segment questioned further was the intended forms of communication with the dead. In this context, we analyzed the dreams about death, discovered by us in the field research. We considered it appropriate to investigate the apparitions of the dead because of their common phenomena, but also because of the importance given in Western literature to after death communication phenomena, in assistance and counseling the mourners. Our motivation in analyzing dream productions is that the communication with the dead, confirms unbreakable links between the two worlds. From domestic dream, motivated by the interest of the deceased in the destiny of the living (illustrated by the formula "he came to see what we are doing"). Their appearance is associated to different needs of the deceased, which is followed by alms or charity. We managed to detect in our analysis the character of premonitory dreams of death,
predictability being one of the constantly needs manifested in the reality of death, especially in the common sense. One of the most interesting categories proved to be the appearances describing a form of "cohabitation" in the case of a widow, in this context, dreams acquire real facets of psychological support for the partner alive, confessed by our interlocutors as beneficial, in particular during the moments that called for making important decisions. After analyzing these cultural products, three categories were shown by death dreams: the intercessors dream, prognosis and domestic dream. Their role remains both important as forms of communication with world beyond and psychological value to the arguments of the life after death.
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