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Medieval History of Byzantium and of Its Neighbours

BYZANCE ET LES SLAVES MÉRIDIONAUX : ALLIANCES DYNASTIQUES MATRIMONIALES (X^e–XV^e SIÈCLES)

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The marriages of those born in the porphyry, as members of the Byzantine imperial house, with the princes and princesses of the Slavic countries of the Balkans, are the best prosopographical reflection of the evolution of the relationships between the Empire of the Romans with their immediate neighborhood in the Balkans. During the second half of the Byzantine millennium (10th–15th centuries), these matrimonial alliances increased, with substantially similar numbers as regards marriages with the Bulgarian and the Serbian dynasties, except that the Byzantino-Bulgarian marriages were earlier chronologically, while the Byzantino-Serbian ones were more numerous towards the end of the Empire, occurring right up until the last emperor Constantine XI, himself the offspring of an imperial marriage with a Serbian princess.

Keywords: Marriage, princely, porphyry, Empire, kingdom, dynasty, matrimonial alliance, Slavs, Bulgarian, Serbian, Byzantium, Constantinople.

Les Slaves apparaissent dans le territoire byzantin à partir du VI^e siècle dans la foulée des invasions barbares tardives dans les Balkans. Avec l'installation des tribus serbes et croates au début du VII^e siècle commencent des relations contractuelles de l'Empire avec ces populations sédentarisées essentiellement dans la province de Dalmatie¹. Dans la deuxième moitié du VIII^e siècle les Bulgares forment avec les tribus slaves dans l'Est des Balkans un premier royaume slave bulgare sur ce qui fut jusqu'alors le territoire de l'empire. Une principauté croate s'affirmait aux X^e–XI^e siècle dans les confins nord-ouest de l'Empire, pour être promue en royaume en 1075. Ce fut le cas à la même époque du royaume serbe de Dioclée², dans la partie méridionale de la Dalmatie, et qui s'étendit à la fin du XI^e

¹ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio II. Commentary*, éd. R.J.H. Jenkins *et alii*, Londres 1962 ; B. Fejčanić, *Долазак Хрвата и Срба на Балканско полуострво. Осврт на нова тумачења* [L'arrivée des Croates et des Serbes dans la péninsule balkanique. Observations sur de nouvelles interprétations], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta (ZRVI)*, XXXV (1996), p. 117–150, avec résumé français p. 151–154.

² Pour les Byzantins des X^e–XI^e siècle la Dioclée est un pays serbe : ἕως μὲν γὰρ Τριβαλιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀρχοτάτων Σερβίας μερῶν ἦρχε Βλαδμηρός, lorsque Skylitzes qualifie en meilleurs termes le prince de Dioclée Jean Vladimir, alors qu'il fut un allié byzantin contre le tsar Samuel de Bulgarie à la fin du IX^e siècle. Il en est de même chez Constantin VII quant au caractère serbe de la Dioclée, ainsi que des autres

siècle à la Rascie pour former au début du XII^e siècle le royaume de Serbie, qui devait se maintenir sous différentes formes jusqu'à la submersion des pays chrétiens des Balkans par les Ottomans au XV^e siècle.

Les Slaves installés dans les Balkans furent progressivement christianisés³, alors que les royaumes bulgares et serbes furent évangélisés et encadrés essentiellement sous les auspices du Patriarcat de Constantinople, fait déterminant dans leur obédience ecclésiastique, ainsi que dans leur appartenance confessionnelle et culturelle. Ayant conquis leur indépendance aux dépens de l'Empire, ces royaumes slaves demeurent ses prolongements sur le plan culturel et confessionnel, l'excroissance balkanique de la civilisation byzantine.

Les alliances matrimoniales sont particulièrement révélatrices des rapports de forces politiques et culturels entre les États médiévaux. En raison de sa continuité institutionnelle avec l'antiquité tardive et du caractère universaliste de son idéologie impériale, le cas de Byzance est encore plus significatif à cet égard. La figure de l'empereur, *basileus*, et de son *génos*, est l'élément essentiel de ce dispositif conceptuel qu'est la doctrine politique byzantine, qui fait de l'Empire des *Romaioi* la matrice de la légitimité exclusive au sein de l'*oikouménè* qui s'étend théoriquement au monde chrétien. Il en ressort que la famille impériale est une institution exclusive jusqu'au XI^e siècle. L'origine de l'épouse du *basileus* n'avait pas de ce fait une incidence significative quant à la légitimité de sa descendance. Le mariage impérial était cautionné par l'Église à partir du V^e siècle, alors que cette pratique ne se généralise dans la population byzantine qu'à partir du IX^e siècle. C'est à partir du XI^e siècle avec Alexis I^{er} Comnène que la vie de la famille impériale se déroule dans le cadre de la cour et du palais impérial, alors que les femmes ne faisaient toujours pas partie du cérémonial de la cour impériale. Une certaine ouverture aux alliances matrimoniales s'opère au XII^e siècle par les mariages avec des filles issues des plus grandes familles de l'aristocratie foncière. À plus forte raison, il n'était pas d'usage que l'épouse de l'empereur soit d'une origine et encore moins d'une confession autre que byzantine, c'est du moins ce que préconise *De Administrando Imperio*. Dans les cas d'exception l'épousée ne pouvait qu'être convertie à la confession orthodoxe. Intégrer la famille impériale impliquait l'adoption de la culture et d'un nom byzantins.

Les liens matrimoniaux des membres de la famille impériale avec ceux des autres pays que Byzance sont essentiellement dus aux circonstances politiques, celles des rapports des forces sur le plan international. Les disparités culturelles et confessionnelles entre Byzantins imbus de leur supériorité de *Romaioi*⁴ et les

principautés maritimes serbes, cf. *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 160 sq., cité par G. Ostrogorsky, *Srpsko poslanstvo Vasiliju II* [Une ambassade serbe auprès de Basile II], in *Византија и Словени* [Byzance et les Slaves], Belgrade 1970, p. 153 n. 21 et 24 [*id.*, *Сербское посольство к императору Василию II, Глас Српске Академије Наука* 193 (1949), p. 15–29]; D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, Oxford 1988, p. 117–118, n. 10.

³ Lj. Maksimović, « Покрштавање Срба и Хрвата » [La conversion des Serbes et des Croates], *ZRVI* 35, 1996, p. 155–173, avec résumé français p. 173–174.

⁴ Theodora Papadopoulou, « The Terms Ῥωμαῖος, Ἕλλην, Γραικός in the Byzantine Texts of the first half of the 13th century », *Byzantina Symmeikta* 24, 1, 2014, p. 157–176.

autres, implicitement ou non assimilés aux barbares, représentaient une barrière difficile à surmonter⁵. Ainsi, des cinq mariages avec les princesses franques, pratiquement tous furent des échecs. Ceci même si les Byzantins avaient une estime plus grande pour les Francs que pour les autres ἔθνη, qui pour eux étaient dépourvus d'honneur, c'est-à-dire qu'on ne pouvait se fier à leurs engagements.

Ainsi, la proposition d'Otton I^{er} de marier son fils et héritier Otton II avec la fille du feu *basileus* Romain II et sœur de Basile II et de Constantin VIII, rencontra à Constantinople un refus catégorique, même si Constantin VII reconnaissait que la dynastie allemande méritait une considération plus grande que les autres. L'ambassadeur d'Otton entendit avec stupéfaction les paroles « il n'est pas de précédent qu'une fille d'empereur née comme lui dans le porphyre soit confondue avec les peuples (sous entendus barbares) ». Lorsque l'ambassadeur Liutprand de Crémone rétorquait en invoquant le précédent de Pierre de Bulgarie (heurté notamment par ce précédent en faveur d'un roi slave), on lui opposa l'argument que la princesse Marie qui lui fut donnée en mariage n'était pas née dans le porphyre.

À la différence de Nicéphore Phocas, son successeur Jean Tzimiscès accède à la requête persistante d'Otton dont le fils Otton reçut en mariage Théophane, une nièce du basileus. Selon les critères byzantins, Otton n'obtint pas le privilège d'avoir pour épouse une princesse légitime qui ne pouvait être que née dans le porphyre du palais impérial⁶.

Les mariages des membres de la maison impériale avec les lignées princières de leur voisinage balkanique ont un intérêt pour autant qu'il s'agisse de pays appartenant à la même confession. D'autant plus que la période concernée par ces liens matrimoniaux correspond à celle des clivages confessionnels, ainsi que de l'affaiblissement irrémédiable de l'Empire, contraint de ce fait à composer avec les pays d'une autre culture, y compris avec les peuples qui furent jadis ses ressortissants.

C'est Vladimir, prince de la Russie de Kiev, qui sera honoré du « précédent » d'épouser Anne, la propre sœur de Basile II (976–1025). Petite fille de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, qui avait en son temps sévèrement condamné tout mariage de princesse byzantine avec un souverain étranger, son mariage avec Vladimir fut néanmoins dicté par des circonstances exceptionnelles. Vladimir, baptisé Basile, avait adopté la foi chrétienne sous la férule byzantine en 989⁷, mais aussi et surtout, il fournit une assistance militaire déterminante au jeune empereur alors que celui-ci se trouvait dans une posture particulièrement difficile au début de son règne.

⁵ Selon Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (913–959), Constantin le Grand aurait fait graver sur l'autel de Sainte-Sophie l'interdiction pour les empereurs romains de lier toute alliance matrimoniale avec le peuple non romain. Constantin VII évoque avec mépris le précédent de Constantin V Copronyme (741–745) qui avait marié son fils Léon IV avec une princesse khazare, donc non seulement barbare, mais aussi païenne, ce qu'il attribue au fait que Constantin V était un empereur iconoclaste, cf. G. Ostrogorsky, « Kijevski knez Vladimir i Vizantija » [Le prince de Kiev Vladimir et Byzance], dans *Византија и Словени*, p. 140–141.

⁶ G. Dagron, « Nés dans la pourpre », *Travaux et mémoires* 12, 1994, p. 105–142 ; V. Stanković, « La porphyrogénèse dans la Byzance des Comnènes », *ZRVI* 45, 2008, p. 99–108.

⁷ D. Obolensky, *Vizantijski komonvelt*, Beograd 1991 [trad. serbe de *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, New York, p. 242.

Les aléas des assauts que l'Empire subissait du côté russe, dont le dernier eut lieu en 1043 sous la forme de l'intervention de la flotte envoyée par le prince Jaroslav contre Constantinople, ne remirent pas en cause l'entrée des princes slaves dans le *genos* impérial. C'est ainsi que le troisième fils de Jaroslav, Vsevolod (1080–1088), aurait épousé la fille de Constantin IX Monomaque (1042–1055)⁸.

LES MARIAGES BYZANTINO-BULGARES

Pierre IV tsar de Bulgarie et Marie-Irène Lecapène

Un premier « précédent » dérogeant à la règle consacrée avait été déjà créé par Roman I^{er} Lecapène (920–944), beau-père de Constantin VII, qui donna sa petite fille Marie, fille de son fils aîné et co-empereur Christophe, au tsar bulgare Pierre (927–969), pratique fustigé par Constantin VII dans *De Administrando Imperio*, même si Pierre était chrétien d'obédience Constantinopolitaine, de même que son titre impérial fut reconnu par Romain I^{er}⁹. Constantin VII relativise néanmoins cette transgression comme accessoire, car cette princesse byzantine « n'était pas la fille d'un empereur légitime et de plein droit » et n'était pas née dans le porphyre comme les membres légitimes de la maison impériale. Célébré le 8 novembre 927 à Constantinople, le mariage entre Pierre et Marie-Irène († 965) est assorti d'un traité de paix par lequel Romain I^{er} reconnaît à Pierre le titre de tsar, alors que le patriarcat de Bulgarie est reconnu comme Église autocéphale¹⁰. L'influence byzantine ne fut jamais aussi importante que lors de ce long règne qui fut par ailleurs essaimé d'importants troubles sociaux et religieux dus à une féodalisation rapide de la société. Alors que Byzance payait toujours un tribut à la Bulgarie depuis le traité de paix de 927, les empereurs Nicéphore Phocas (963–969) et Jean Tzimiskès (969–976) n'eurent pas trop de peine à soumettre le royaume bulgare avec l'aide du prince russe Sviatoslav. Le fils de Pierre, Boris, fut destitué et la Bulgarie réintégra l'Empire byzantin jusqu'à la révolte de frères cometopoules de Macédoine, dont le plus persévérant, Samuel (976–1014), ne fut vaincu que par Basile II (976–1025)¹¹.

Isaac I^{er} Comnène et Cathérine de Bulgarie

Isaac I^{er} Comnène (1057–1059), fondateur de la dynastie Comnène, épouse vers 1025 Cathérine de Bulgarie († 1063), fille de Jean (Ivan) Vladislav (1015–1018), dernier souverain du Premier Empire bulgare. Manuel Comnène (vers 1030–1042/1057) et Marie Comnène (née vers 1034), sont leurs enfants. Plus de vingt

⁸ A. Ducellier, *Byzance et le monde orthodoxe*, Paris 1986, p. 153.

⁹ D. Obolensky, *op. cit.*, p. 142 ; A. Ducellier, *op. cit.*, p. 138, parle d'« une nièce de Romain Lecapène ».

¹⁰ C. Settapani, *Continuité des élites à Byzance durant les siècles obscurs. Les princes caucasiens et l'Empire du V^e au IX^e siècle*, Paris 2006, p. 308, « Les Lekapenoï » ; Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople. « Synopsis Historiôn »*, trad. B. Flusin, annoté J.-C. Cheynet, Paris 2003, p. 179–196 ; J.J. Norwich, *Histoire de Byzance (330–1453)*, Paris 2002.

¹¹ V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bălgarskata dăržava prez Srednite vekove*, I–III, Sofia, 1918–1940.

ans après son oncle Isaac I^{er}, Alexis I^{er} (1081–1118), devient le deuxième empereur de la dynastie des Comnènes¹².

Jean II Asen et Irène Ducas Ange Comnène

La pratique inaugurée au X^e siècle est renouvelée au profit d'un des premiers Assenides. Jean ou Ivan II Asen (1218–1241) épouse Irène¹³, fille de Théodore I^{er} Ducas Ange Comnène, despote d'Épire et empereur à Thessalonique. Michel II Asen (1246–1256), Marie, mère de Jean III Asen¹⁴ et Anne Théodora, sont issus de cette union. Vainqueur de Théodore I^{er} à Klokotnica en 1230, Jean II impose dès lors l'hégémonie bulgare sur une grande partie des Balkans, rétablit le patriarcat de Tarnovo et pérennise la continuité de la dynastie asenide. Koloman I^{er} Asen (1241–1246), succède à son père Jean II, avant d'être relayé par son demi-frère Michel II¹⁵. Véritable restaurateur du royaume bulgare après près de deux siècles de domination byzantine, Jean II Asen établit ce deuxième État bulgare sur le modèle de son lointain précurseur, le tsar Pierre dont l'alliance matrimoniale avait largement contribué à l'influence byzantine en Bulgarie. Après avoir empêché la restauration de l'Empire byzantin par le despotat d'Épire, Jean II noue une alliance avec l'Empire de Nicée, pour s'impliquer dans des jeux d'influences incohérentes, avant que son œuvre ne soit remise en cause par les invasions du khanat tartare qui impose un tribut de soumission à la Bulgarie. Cette domination tartare, les fréquents changements sur le trône¹⁶, qui aboutissent à une fragmentation du royaume, les immixtions de la diplomatie byzantine, et l'expansion prolongée du royaume voisin de Serbie, relègueront la Bulgarie dans une position de régression par rapport à ses voisins des Balkans.

Théodore II Lascaris et Hélène Asen

Alors que l'Empire latin se maintenait à Constantinople essentiellement grâce aux rivalités entre Byzantins et Bulgares, Théodore II Lascaris (fils de Jean III

¹² K. Varzos, Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών [trad. de *The Genealogy of the Komnenoi*], Thessalonique 1984 (« Byzantine text and studies »), p. 43, 46–47 ; Elisabeth Malamut, *Alexis I^{er} Comnène*, Paris 2007, p. 36–37 ; J.-C. Cheynet, *Le Monde byzantin*, II, *L'Empire byzantin (641–1204)*, Paris 2006, p. 180–183 ; Vasilka Tapkova-Zaimova, « J'ai remplacé un royaume par un autre », *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45, 2007, p. 63–72.

¹³ S. Georgieva, « The Byzantine Princesses in Bulgaria », *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 9, 1995, p. 170–175 ; Iv. Bozhilov, V. Gyuzelev, *Histoire de la Bulgarie médiévale, VII^e–XIV^e siècle*, I, Sofia, 1999 ; Angeliki Laiou, Cécile Morisson (éd.), *Le monde byzantin*, III, *L'empire grec et ses voisins (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)*, Paris 2015, chapitre XVIII.

¹⁴ Jean III Asen (1279–1280) est né (vers 1259–1260) de cette union. En 1277–1278, Jean III épouse Irène Paléologue, il meurt en exil en 1303 : J. V. A. Fine Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans*, Ann Arbor, 1987.

¹⁵ Dimitrina Aslanian, *Histoire de la Bulgarie, de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Versailles 2004² (1977¹) ; P. Pavlov, « България и нейните военни съюзници от в Северното Причерноморие (XII–XIV в.) » [Les Bulgares et leurs alliés militaires dans le nord de la Mer Noire (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)], dans *Българите в Северното Причерноморие. Изследвания и материали*, Odessa, 2006, p. 50.

¹⁶ Pas moins de 15 tsars se sont relayés sur le trône de la Bulgarie en moins de quatre-vingt-dix ans, entre 1241 et 1331 : cf. V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bălgarskata dăržava*, II.

Doucas Vatatzès, né en 1222, † 1258), épousa au printemps 1235 Hélène (1224–1254), fille de Jean Asen II (1218–1241), tsar de Bulgarie. L’alliance entre Nicée et la Bulgarie fit suite au mariage qui en résulta par la naissance du futur Jean IV Lascaris (1250–1261, † 1305), empereur de Nicée. Ayant été promise à l’empereur latin de Constantinople, Baudouin II, le mariage d’Hélène avec le fils de l’empereur byzantin marque le revirement de Jean II en faveur d’une alliance anti latine. Alors que l’alliance entre les deux souverains qui ont eu un rôle éminent dans la montée en puissance de leurs pays respectifs ne fut que circonstancielle et suivie de peu d’effets sur le plan politique, l’alliance matrimoniale entre les deux maisons régnantes est le reflet d’une évolution géopolitique et culturelle à long terme. Conjointement au mariage du futur empereur avec la fille du puissant tsar bulgare, l’Église de Bulgarie se vit reconnaître son rang de patriarcat de la part du patriarche œcuménique: ainsi, l’épisode latin de l’Église bulgare survenu après la chute de Constantinople en 1204 prit fin avec le retour de la Bulgarie dans le giron confessionnel et culturel de Byzance¹⁷. Cette influence byzantine ne cessera de se renforcer en Bulgarie; les mariages dynastiques sont cause et conséquence à la fois de ce rayonnement qui semblait se renforcer avec la décroissance de la puissance et la réduction territoriale de l’Empire.

Constantin Tich Asen et Irène Lascaris

Grâce à une politique circonspecte et déterminée à la fois, Théodore II Lascaris peut combattre à la fois les Bulgares, le despote d’Épire et les Turcs en 1255–1256. Afin de ce donner les moyens de ses ambitions de restauration de l’Empire dans les Balkans, il doit ménager ses relations avec le puissant voisin bulgare. En 1257, il donne en mariage sa fille Irène (par sa mère Hélène petite fille de Jean Asen II) au nouveau tsar de Bulgarie Constantin I^{er} Asen (1257–1277)¹⁸, avant de marier son autre fille, Marie, à Nicéphore, fils du despote d’Épire, Michel II (1237–1271). Ce dernier se voit contraint à lui concéder Durazzo, une partie de l’Albanie et la ville de Servia située en Macédoine.

Constantin Tich Asen et Marie Paléologue Cantacuzène

Après la mort d’Irène Lascaris († 1268), Constantin Tich prend pour épouse en 1269 Marie Paléologue Cantacuzène, nièce de Michel VIII Paléologue. Marie était la fille de Jean Cantacuzène et de d’Irène Paléologue, sœur de Michel VIII Paléologue. Co-régnant de son père et prétendant après sa mort, Michel Asen II

¹⁷ *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienne, 2001 [désormais : *PLP*], n^{os} 7304 et 5976 ; G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l’État byzantin*, Paris 1983, p. 460–461.

¹⁸ *PLP*, n^{os} 7304 et 5976 ; S. Georgieva, « The Byzantine Princesses », p. 176–179. « Constantin a pris pour épouse Irène, fille de Théodore II Lascaris et nièce d’Ivan II Asen, ce qui lui confère le même droit au trône des Asen » ; sur l’origine serbe selon Pachymère de Constantin Tich, cf. S. Pirivatrić, « Une hypothèse sur l’origine du tsar de Bulgarie Constantin Asen “Tich” », *ZRVI* 46, 2009, p. 313–331.

(1246–1256) est né de cette union¹⁹. Après la mort de Constantin Tich, Marie épouse l'insurgé Ivailo (1277–1280), reconnu tsar de Bulgarie en 1278²⁰.

Jean Asen III et Irène Paléologue

Jean ou Ivan Asen III (1279–1280) épouse Irène Paléologue en 1277 ou 1278, fille aînée de Michel VIII Paléologue (1261–1282) et sœur d'Andronic II (1282–1328), avant de s'exiler à Byzance et de mourir en exil en 1303. Michel Asen, général byzantin en Macédoine, Andronic Asen gouverneur de Morée (1316–1321), mort après 1350, Isaac Asen († vers 1350), et Marie, femme de Roger de Flor, chef de la compagnie catalane, ainsi que Anne Asen, fiancée de Michel Doukas–Ange, sont issus de cette union²¹. Irène, la fille d'Andronic Asen épousa Jean VI Cantacuzène, empereur byzantin (1347–1354), leur fille Hélène épousa Jean V Paléologue (1341–1391)²².

Théodore Svetoslav et Théodora Paléologue

Otage du temps du règne de son père, Georges II Terter (1322–1323), à la cour impériale de Constantinople, puis auprès du khan Nogai, Théodore Svetoslav (1300–1322) épouse en 1320 Théodora, fille de l'empereur associé Michel IX Paléologue et petite-fille d'Andronic II Paléologue (1282–1328)²³. Cette union de courte durée fut consentie par Byzance conjointement à la reconnaissance en 1307 des conquêtes de Théodore Svetoslav aux dépens des ports de Messembrie et d'Anchialos sur la mer Noire en Thrace. Cette manière de sceller un traité de paix conclu sur des pertes territoriales avec des alliances matrimoniales entre les maisons régnantes bulgares et serbes en cette époque, implique la défensive byzantine par rapport à ses voisins slaves, ainsi que leur implication dans les rivalités au sein de la maison impériale.

Michel III Chichman Asen et Théodora Paléologue

Après avoir répudié Anne, la sœur de Milutin roi de Serbie, Michel III Chichman (1323–1330) prend pour épouse Théodora, veuve de son prédécesseur,

¹⁹ Fils de Constantin Tich et de Marie Paléologue Cantacuzène, Michel III Asen est co-régent de son père de 1275 à 1277 et prétendant au trône 1298–1300 : *PLP*, Fasc. 7, n° 16910, p. 105 ; S. Georgieva, *op. cit.*, p. 180–181, 186 ; A. Laiou, C. Morisson (éds.), *Le monde byzantin*, III, chapitre XVIII.

²⁰ Y. Andreev, I. Lazarov, P. Pavlov, *Кой кой е в средновековна България ?* [Qui est qui dans la Bulgarie médiévale], София 1994¹ (1999²) ; P. Pavlov, « България и нейните военни съюзници от в Северното Причерноморие (XII–XIV в.) » [Les Bulgares et leurs alliés militaires dans le nord de la Mer Noire (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)], dans *Българите в Северното Причерноморие. Изследвания и материали* [Les Bulgares et le nord de la Mer Noire. Recherches et documentation], Odessa, 2006, p. 52–53.

²¹ A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453*, Munich, 1938, n° 44, p. 35 ; G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire*, p. 515, 519–520 ; J.V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, Anne Arbor, 1987 ; *PLP*, n°s 1501 et 21359 ; S. Georgieva, « The Byzantine Princesses », p. 185–186.

²² R. Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa* [L'époque de Jean V Paléologue], Belgrade, 1993.

²³ *PLP*, n° 21379 ; S. Georgieva, *op. cit.*, p. 189–193 ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles de Byzance, 1261–1453*, Paris, 2008.

Théodore Svetoslav Terter (1300–1322), fille du feu empereur associé Michel IX Paléologue (1292–1320) et sœur d'Andronic III (1328–1341). Théodora fut chassée de Bulgarie à son tour après la mort de Michel III lors de la bataille de Velbuzd–Djustendil (1331), au profit de sa rivale Anne et de son fils Jean Stefan. Ce qui donna prétexte à Andronic III pour attaquer la Bulgarie en la privant des villes maritimes Anhial et Messembrie²⁴.

Jean VI Cantacuzène et Irène Asen

Fille d'Andronic Asen²⁵, née vers 1300, Irène épouse en 1318 Jean VI Cantacuzène (1347–1354). Nés en 1325 et 1326, Mathieu, Manuel, ainsi qu'Andronic et les filles Marie, Théodora et Hélène, son issu de cette union. Fils du tsar bulgare Jean Asen III (1279–1280) et d'Irène Paléologue, fille de Michel VIII Paléologue (1261–1282) et sœur d'Andronic II (1282–1328), Andronic Asen était gouverneur byzantin de Morée (1316–1322)²⁶. Irène seconda son époux en de nombreuses reprises en organisant la défense de Démotique et de Constantinople en son absence. Après l'abdication de son époux, ils prirent tous les deux la soutane monastique, sous les noms de Joasaph et Eugénie. Théodora fut mariée à l'émir de Bithynie Orchan (1326–1362), un allié de Jean Cantacuzène; elle ne se laissa pas convenir à l'islam et regagna Constantinople après la mort de son époux. Ayant mené une malheureuse guerre pour la succession impériale, Mathieu fut vaincu en 1356 ou 1357 par les Serbes alliés de Jean VII (1403–1408)²⁷, remis en prisonnier à ce dernier et forcé à renoncer à ses prétentions avant de se faire moine. Manuel Cantacuzène fut le premier despote de Morée (1348–1380), qui fut durant près d'un siècle le dernier prolongement de Byzance en Europe²⁸.

²⁴ G. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 524, 527 ; S. Perentidis, « L'empereur né le jour de Pâques : Michel IX Paléologue et la date de la *Synopsis minor* », dans *Fontes Minores VII*, éd. D. Simon, L. Gesellschaft, Francfort-sur-le-Main, 1986, p. 253–257 ; *PLP*, n° 91377 ; P. Pavlov, « България и нейните военни съюзници от в Северното Причерноморие (XII–XIV в.) » [Les Bulgares et leurs alliés militaires dans le nord de la Mer Noire (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)], dans *Българите в Северното Причерноморие. Изследвания и материали*, Odessa, 2006, p. 50, 54.

²⁵ Andronic Asen, fils de Jean (Ivan) Asen III (1279–1280), neveu d'Andronic II, gouverneur de Morée (1316–1323) et père d'Irène Asanina, épouse de Jean VI Cantacuzène. *Panhypersébastos* en 1352, il a pris part au Synode de Palamos : cf. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum*, II, éd. L. Schopen, Bonn (« Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae »), p. 248–249 ; G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire*, p. 519–520 ; *PLP*, n°s 91369 et 10935.

²⁶ Marié à une aristocrate byzantine de la famille Tarhaniotes, Manuel Asen, stratège de Démotique et gouverneur de Byzie (1342 et 1344), et Jean, gouverneur de Melenkion et de Morrha (1342 et 1343), ainsi qu'Irène et Hélène sont issus de cette union : *PLP*, n°s 1506 et 91373 ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 254, 262.

²⁷ J.V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor, 1994, p. 325–326 ; Sanja Mesanović, *Jovan VII Paleolog* [Jean VII Paléologue], Belgrade, 1996, p. 125.

²⁸ D.M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, Washington D.C., 1968 (« *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* », 11), p. 122–129.

Andronic IV et Marie–Keratsa Chichman

Marie Keratsa²⁹, la fille de Jean Alexandre Chichman (1331–1371) et de Théodora de Valachie³⁰, née en 1348, avait épousé Andronic IV (1376–1379, †1385), proclamé co-empereur en 1355³¹. Conclu entre Jean V Paléologue et Jean Alexandre Schichman à l'occasion d'un traité de paix byzantine-bulgare en 1355, le mariage fut célébré le 17 août de la même année, alors que les jeunes mariés n'avaient que sept ans tous les deux, en vue d'une alliance contre le danger ottoman. Cette alliance n'aura qu'un effet mineur à cet égard³². Jean VII (co-empereur dès 1377, † 1408) est né de cette union vers 1370³³. Après la mort de son époux († 28 juin 1385), Marie se fait moniale sous le nom de Macrina. De même qu'elle avait suivi son époux Andronic IV lors de ces pérégrinations, exil et aveuglement sur l'ordre de son père en 1373, elle accompagna son fils Jean VII lors de son voyage en Italie (1389–1390)³⁴, la dernière mention de son vivant étant de 1402–1403³⁵.

Michel Asen et Marie Irène Paléologue

Michel Asen (1331–1355), fils et co-souverain de Jean (Ivan) Alexandre (1331–1371)³⁶, avait épousé en 1338/39 à Andrinople Marie Irène Paléologue, fille aînée d'Andronic III (1328–1341) et de Jeanne de Savoie et sœur de Jean V (1341–1391)³⁷, avant de se faire tuer lors d'une bataille contre les Turcs en 1355. "Après l'accession au trône de son père Ivan Alexandre en 1331, le jeune prince fut proclamé co-empereur. Il était appelé à succéder à son père sous le nom de Michel IV

²⁹ *PLP*, Fasc. 7, n° 16891 p. 101 ; M. Lalkov, « Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–1371) », dans D. Draganov (éd.), *Rulers of Bulgaria. All the Khans, Tsars, and Statesmen of Bulgaria*, Kibea, 2003² (1997¹).

³⁰ Fille de Basarab I^{er}, le Fondateur de Valachie, voïévode de Valachie (1310–1352) : A. Pippidi, *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains. Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales*, Champion 2006, p. 60 ; « ...qu'il répudia ensuite pour une juive convertie, qui reçut au baptême le même prénom » : P.Ş. Năsturel, « À propos d'un document de Kastamonitou et d'une lettre patriarcale inconnue de 1411 », *Revue des études byzantines* 45, 1982, p. 212.

³¹ S. Mesanović, *Jovan VII Paleolog*, p. 26–28 n. 8, 46.

³² R. Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa* [L'époque de Jean V Paléologue], Belgrade, 1993, p. 264 n. 60–61, p. 373 ; A. Laiou, C. Morisson (éds.), *Le monde byzantin*, III, chapitre XVIII.

³³ La chronologie de « Sa vie peut être divisée en trois périodes. La première (jusqu'en 1385) est liée aux activités de Andronique IV, sa prise en partie aux joutes dynastiques violentes de 1385 à 1403, alors que sa prise de pouvoir se situe à Thessalonique (1403–1408) » : S. Mesanović, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 29, 42 ; *PLP*, Fasc. 9, n° 21480.

³⁴ S. Mesanović, *op. cit.*, p. 64, 70.

³⁵ G. Ostrogorski, *Histoire*, p. 560, 565–569 ; S. Mesanović, *op. cit.*, p. 30–31.

³⁶ P. Angelov, *Bălgaro-srăbskite otnošenija pri caruvaneto na Ivan Aleksandăr (1331–1371) Stefan Dušan (1331–1355)* [Les relations bulgares-serbes aux règnes de Ivan Alexandre (1331–1371) et Stefan Dušan 1331–1355], Sofia, 1982² [1^{er} éd. 1978] ; M.-D. Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris 1983, p. 373 ; P. Pavlov, « България », dans *Българите*, p. 54.

³⁷ *PLP*, Fasc. 1, n°s 1511 et 91851, p. 142–143 ; M.-D. Sturdza, *op. cit.*, p. 373 ; S. Mesanović, *Jovan VII*, p. 27–31 n. 43 ; S. Georgieva, « The Byzantine Princesses », p. 193–194. A. Laiou, C. Morisson (éds.), *Le monde byzantin*, III, chapitre XVIII.

Asen. Un premier fils du tsar fut tué en 1349 lors d'une razzia effectuée par les Turcs³⁸.

LES MARIAGES BYZANTINO-SERBES

Stefan le Premier Couronné et Eudoce Ange

Fortement affaiblie à la fin du XII^e siècle, Byzance est contrainte de composer avec le grand joupán de Serbie, Stefan Nemanja (1165–1196), qui avait conquis d'importantes parties de son territoire au Kosovo et jusqu'en Macédoine. C'est ainsi que l'empereur Isaac II Ange (1185–1195) donne sa nièce Eudoce³⁹ en mariage au fils du grand joupán, Stefan, qui reçoit le titre de sébastocrator, réservé aux plus hauts dignitaires de l'empire, en premier lieu aux frères de l'empereur⁴⁰. Eudoce donnera à Stefan son fils aîné Radoslav qui devait lui succéder sur le trône de Serbie (1228–1233)⁴¹.

Confronté à la guerre civile contre son frère aîné Vukan qui avait le soutien du roi de Hongrie et de la Curie romaine, Stefan le Premier Couronné (1196–1228) se détourne de sa belle famille byzantine en répudiant son épouse⁴² dont le père était devenu l'empereur Alexis III Ange (1195–1203). Affaibli et relégué au rang de puissance de deuxième ordre après la mort de Manuel Comnène, Stefan avait obtenu le soutien du tsar bulgare Kalojan (1197–1207), avant d'obtenir, en 1217, la couronne royale du pape Honorius III (1216–1227). Le soutien de la papauté était devenu indispensable dans les Balkans après la chute de Constantinople et l'exil de l'empire byzantin en Asie Mineure. L'érosion de l'influence byzantine étant antérieure à 1204, cette répudiation d'une princesse impériale illustre bien la

³⁸ « le Tsar Ivan Alexander fut contraint d'effectuer en 1356 le partage de son état entre les fils survivants nés de ses deux unions, c'est-à-dire Ivan Stracimir, tsar de Vidin et Ivan Shishman, tsar de Tarnovo »: M. Moreaux, « Le 2^{ème} Empire bulgare, rival de Byzance (1186 à 1395). Introduction à l'histoire et au monnayage », en ligne sur https://www.academia.edu/30017461/Le_2_eme_empire_bulgare_rival_de_Byzance_1186_a_1395; J. Andreev, « Zar Iwan Alexander (1331–1371) », dans *Bălgarskite khanove i zare VII–XIV vek* [Khans et tsars bulgares, VII^e–XIV^e siècles], Sofia, 1998, p. 199–208.

³⁹ Troisième fille d'Alexis III Ange : cf. M. Lascaris, *Vizantiske princeze u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Princesses byzantines dans la Serbie médiévale], Belgrade, 1926, p. 8; J. Kalić, *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije IV*, Belgrade, 1971, p. 164, n. 194; D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, p. 119–120.

⁴⁰ B. Ferjancić, « Sevastokratori u Vizantiji » [Les sebastokratores à Byzance], *ZRVI XI* (1968), p. 141–192.

⁴¹ G. Ostrogorski, *Histoire*, p. 460; B. Ferjancić dans *Istorijska srpskog naroda* [Histoire des Serbes], I, [désormais : *ISN*], Belgrade, 1981; Prosveta, p. 308.

⁴² Les époux s'accusant respectivement d'adultère, le mariage se solda par un échec, et Stefan profita des difficultés croissantes de son beau-père impérial pour répudier son épouse en 1200 ou en 1201 : M. Lascaris, *op. cit.*, p. 30–32. Alexis V Doucas Murtzouphlos (janvier – fin 1204) épouse Eudoce – leur liaison débute en 1203 : cf. J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris, 1990 (« Byzantina Sorbonensia », 9), p. 444; après avoir fui Constantinople prise par les croisés en 1204, cherchant refuge chez son beau-père Alexis III il fut aveuglé par ce dernier, avant d'être amené à Constantinople où il fut condamné à mort par Baudouin I^{er} et mis à mort.

décadence de la puissance de la fin XII^e et début du XIII^e siècle. Vers 1207–1208, Stefan épouse Anne, petite-fille du doge de Venise Enrico Dandolo (1192–1205), qui lui donnera son troisième fils Uroš I^{er} (1243–1276)⁴³. La chute de cette influence dans le domaine géopolitique ne se répercute pas dans la même proportion que l'influence de l'Empire dans le domaine culturel. Alors que Kaloyan reçoit sa couronne royale du pape et soumet l'Église de Bulgarie à la juridiction de Rome, la Serbie obtiendra la création de son Archevêché en tirant profit de la rivalité des deux États grecs issus des ruines de Byzance. C'est l'empereur Théodore I^{er} Lascaris (1204–1222) qui accorda à Sava, fils de Stefan Nemanja et frère cadet de Stefan le Premier Couronné, le titre d'archevêque, en 1219 à Nicée, au grand dam de l'archevêque d'Achrida, celui du despotat d'Épire⁴⁴.

Stefan Radoslav et Anne Comnène

L'impact de l'influence du despotat, promu au rang d'Empire après la prise de Thessalonique par Théodore Ange en 1224, lorsque l'archevêque d'Achrida le couronna empereur de Byzance, se répercute en Serbie par le mariage du Radoslav (1228–1233), fils de Stefan le Premier Couronné, avec la fille aînée du despote Théodore I^{er} Ange, Anne, célébré en 1219 ou en 1220⁴⁵. Le règne éphémère de Radoslav est placé sous une influence excessive du despotat d'Épire⁴⁶, ce roi signant même ses chartes en grec⁴⁷, alors que la monnaie qu'il frappait comportait une légende en grec. Cette influence fut contrecarrée avec le changement sur le trône de Serbie où Radoslav fut remplacé par son frère Vladislav (1233?–1243). Après le triomphe de Jean Asen II (1218–1241) contre Théodore Ange (1224–1230) à Klokotnica en 1230 et la capture de ce dernier, la Bulgarie devient la première puissance des Balkans. C'est par le mariage de Vladislav (1234–1243) avec Beloslava, fille de Jean II Asen, que l'influence bulgare se répercute de nouveau en Serbie.

Stefan Uroš II Milutin et la fille de Jean I^{er} Ange

Dans son *Histoire des Rhomées*, Nicéphore Gregoras évoque le premier mariage de Milutin avec « la fille de l'archonte de Vlachie », c'est-à-dire de Jean I^{er}

⁴³ Ce mariage fut conclu par l'incidence du doge de Venise Pietro Ziani (1205–1229), cf. B. Ferjancić dans *ISN*, I, p. 299.

⁴⁴ Lj. Maksimović, « Свети Сава и Србија између Епира и Никеје » [Saint Sava et la Serbie entre l'Épire et Nicée], dans *id.*, *Византијски свет и Срби* [Le monde byzantin et les Serbes], Belgrade, 2008, p. 381–394 (en anglais *id.*, « St Sava and Serbia between Epiros and Nicaea », dans *Свети Сава у српској историји и традицији* [Saint Sava dans l'histoire et tradition serbe], Belgrade, 1998, p. 13–26).

⁴⁵ Enfant aînée née du mariage de Théodore Ange avec Marie Petrelife, sa sœur cadette Irène fut mariée avec Jean Asen II : cf. S.K. Kisas, « О времену склапања брака Стефана Радослава са Аном Комнином » [Sur la datation du mariage de Stefan Radoslav avec Anne Comnène], *ZRV* 18, 1978, p. 131–139.

⁴⁶ M.D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957, p. 59–60.

⁴⁷ Στέφανος ῥῆξ ὁ Δούκας, sur une charte délivrée à Raguse en 1234 ; la même formule figure sur la monnaie frappée par Radoslav. Déchu de son trône fin 1233, il se réfugie avec Anne à Raguse où il délivre cette charte, avant de rejoindre Dyrrachion où il se serait séparé de son épouse, pour retourner en Serbie où il se fera moine : cf. B. Ferjancić dans *ISN*, I, p. 308–310, n. 46.

Ange (v. 1268–1289), *sebastocrator* et maître de Thessalie⁴⁸. On dispose de peu d'éléments sur ce deuxième mariage de Milutin, le nom même de cette épouse thessalienne semblant inconnue. Conclu après celui avec une première épouse serbe, il fut dissolu peu de temps après l'accession de Milutin au trône (1282), pour faire place à celui avec la fille du tsar bulgare, Anne Terter⁴⁹. Mariage de raison d'État, s'il en est, l'union avec la fille de Jean Ange est celle d'une alliance militaire de la Serbie du début du règne de Milutin avec la Thessalie byzantine et séparatiste du temps où elle pouvait encore déroger au renouveau de la restauration de l'Empire à partir de Constantinople. Dans la mesure de l'amoindrissement du rôle de la Thessalie au sein du monde byzantin, dans l'affaiblissement de Byzance lors du règne d'Andronic II (1282–1328), ainsi que dans la montée en puissance de la Serbie de Milutin, cette dernière pouvait prétendre à une alliance matrimoniale avec la maison impériale⁵⁰.

Milutin et Simonide Paléologue

À la suite des efforts incessants de Michel VIII (1259–1282)⁵¹ en vue d'une improbable restauration de la puissance byzantine, l'empire des Paléologues se retrouve incapable de repousser les assauts, aussi bien turcs en Asie Mineure que serbes dans les Balkans. Andronic II (1282–1328) consent alors à donner sa fille au roi de Serbie et délègue son logothète Théodore Métochite par cinq fois à la cour du roi de Serbie pour une mission diplomatique qui, au bout de deux années de négociations⁵², devait aboutir au mariage, en 1299, de sa fille mineure Simonide

⁴⁸ Lj. Maksimović, « Georgije Pahimer » [Georges Pachymérès], dans *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, VI, Belgrade, 1968, p. 38–43, n. 80–83 ; S. Ćirković – B. Ferjancić, « Nicifor Grigora » [Nicéphore Grégoras], *ibidem*, p. 168–169, n. 37, 40.

⁴⁹ Mariage qui dura du mois d'août 1284 jusqu'à peu avant 1296. Le mariage antérieur, avec la fille de Jean Ange fut de courte durée (1282–1283), auquel il faut ajouter une brève union avec la fille du roi de Hongrie Elisabeth (1283–1284) : cf. *PLP*, n° 21184 ; Lj. Maksimović, *Да ли је Симонида Палеологина била пета супруга краља Милутина ?* [Est que Simonide était la cinquième épouse du roi Milutin], dans *id.*, *Vizantijski svet u Srbiji* [Le monde byzantin et les Serbes], Beograd 2008, p. 344–349 (en allem., *id.*, « War Simonis Palaiologina die fünfte Gemahlin von König Milutin ? », dans W. Seibt (éd.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit. Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger, Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994*, Vienne, 1996 (« Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 241; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik », 8), p. 115–120.

⁵⁰ Du peu d'informations dont on dispose sur ce mariage éphémère, il faut retenir qu'il eut lieu en 1282–1283, ainsi qu'il fut conclu en fonction de l'alliance de Milutin avec la principauté byzantine de Thessalie contre l'Empire de Constantinople : V. Bastovanović, *L'apogée de la diplomatie serbe. Le roi Milutin (1282–1321) entre Byzance et l'Occident*, Mémoire de maîtrise en « Histoire byzantine », Université Paris I, 1996–1997, inédite, p. 17–19.

⁵¹ Les négociations menées en vue du mariage de la fille de Michel VIII avec Milutin, avant même son accès au trône de Serbie, illustrent ces efforts pour étendre l'influence byzantine en Serbie : cf. S. Ćirković, « Nicéphore Grégoras », dans *Vizantijski izvori*, p. 168–171 ; *id.* dans *ISN*, I, p. 450.

⁵² C'est la sœur d'Andronic II, Eudoce, troisième fille de Michel VIII et veuve de Jean II Grand Commène de Trébizonde († 1297), qui était pressentie pour le roi serbe ; face à son refus d'être mariée à

avec le roi Stefan Milutin (1282–1321). Conséquence de cette entreprise diplomatique, la paix conclue entre les deux souverains en 1299, stipulait la reconnaissance par Andronic des territoires conquis par Milutin, ainsi que de son mariage avec Simonide sous forme de garantie pour la cessation des hostilités de la part de ce dernier. Véritable fondateur de ce que devait devenir l’empire serbo-grec qui sera formé par son petit-fils Dušan, Milutin obtint avec ce mariage assorti d’un traité de paix fort avantageux, la plus importante concession qu’un roi serbe avait pu obtenir jusqu’alors de la part d’un basileus byzantin⁵³. La faiblesse de l’empire et la montée en puissance de la Serbie étaient bien entendu déterminantes dans cet arrangement qui ne devait aboutir qu’à des résultats aléatoires. Lorsque la compagnie catalane dévastait les territoires byzantins au début du XIV^e siècle, Milutin en profita pour se tourner de nouveau contre son beau-père impérial. N’ayant pas rencontré les résultats escomptés, ils renouèrent son alliance avec l’empire jusqu’à l’aider par d’importants détachements militaires contre les Turcs. Son mariage avec une très jeune princesse née dans la pourpre et qui était sa cadette de plus de trente ans ne put être couronné de succès. Sans avoir eu d’enfants avec Milutin⁵⁴, Simonide rejoignit après sa mort la cour de son père. Au-delà des conquêtes aux dépens de Byzance, la plus importante des conséquences de ce rapprochement entre les deux pays fut la byzantinisation de la cour et des institutions en Serbie. C’est à cette époque qu’apparurent les premiers *pronoia*, domaines fonciers en contrepartie d’un service militaire, qui devait se répandre par la suite dans les pays serbes.

Fille unique d’Andronic II (1282–1328), Simonide a passé plus de deux décennies à la cour de Serbie, avant de rentrer à la cour de son père après la mort de son époux. A l’annonce du décès de sa mère, Irène de Montferrat († fin 1316), elle se rend à Constantinople pour ses obsèques en prolongeant son séjour à la cour impériale au point qu’une ambassade est dépêchée par le roi de Serbie afin d’exiger

celui dont le troisième mariage, avec la princesse bulgare Anne, fille du tsar Georges I^{er} Terter (1280–1292), n’avait même pas encore été rompu, ainsi qu’aux menaces et exhortations de Milutin, Andronic se résigna à offrir sa fille Simonide, âgée de six ans seulement. Les deux autres épouses de Milutin étaient Hélène (?), fille de sebastocrates Jean I^{er} Ange (1268–1289), et Élisabeth, la sœur du roi de Hongrie Ladislas IV (1272–1290), avant son accession au trône. Il semble néanmoins désormais établi que Milutin avait eu un premier mariage avec une noble serbe, nommé Jelena (?), mère de Stefan et d’Anne, ce qui porte à quatre le nombre de mariages, légitimes ou non, de ce roi, avant et après son accession au trône : cf. Lj. Maksimović, « Georgije Pahimer », p. 34, 37–43 et n. 72, 79–85. La problématique relative aux multiples mariages de Milutin est loin d’avoir été épuisée, voir *supra*, n. 3. Voir aussi un mémoire universitaire sur cette question : V. Bastovanović, *op. cit.*, p. 14–37.

⁵³ Nicéphore Grégoras déplore les largesses excessives de l’impératrice Irène, Iolande de Montferrat, en faveur de sa fille et de son gendre en Serbie et dont la valeur aurait pu suffire selon lui pour armer cent trirèmes. Elle ne rechignait pas à leur offrir des cadeaux qui avaient un caractère d’insignes impériaux : cf. S. Ćirković dans *ISN*, I, p. 457 ; *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, I, éd. L. Schopen, Bonnæ 1829, pp. 241–242 ; cf. S. Ćirković, « Nicéphore Grégoras », p. 178–179.

⁵⁴ Grégoras évoque l’infertilité de Simonide, suite au handicap acquis du fait de son époux au début de leur vie conjugale alors qu’elle avait 12 ans (Gregoras, 243), ce qui contraria les ambitions de sa mère qui voulait voir sa descendance régner en Serbie, aussi bien qu’à Byzance : cf. S. Ćirković, « Nicéphore Grégoras », p. 177 n. 55 ; id., dans *ISN*, I, p. 463.

son retour sous peine de déclenchement des hostilités. Âgée alors de 22 ans (16 + 6 en 1299 = 22), la jeune reine tente de s'y soustraire en endossant l'habit de moniale ; c'est son demi-frère Constantin Paléologue⁵⁵ qui coupe court à cette tentative en lui déchirant la robe monacale. Alors que deux ans et demi après son décès le roi Milutin fut canonisé par l'Église de Serbie, Simonide fait don à cette occasion d'objets de culte et de voiles tissés d'or pour la dépouille de son feu époux. Elle se serait faite moniale alors dans le monastère de Saint André à Constantinople⁵⁶.

Stefan Uroš III Dečanski et Marie Paléologue

Fils et héritier de Milutin, Stefan Dečanski (1321–1331) épouse en deuxièmes nocés en 1324 Marie Paléologue, la très jeune fille du panhypersébaste Jean, neveu d'Andronic II, et d'Irène, fille de Théodore Métochite⁵⁷. Les enfants nés de cette union étaient en bas âge à la mort du roi, mais le gouverneur d'Épire, le despote Siméon Siniša devint, après la mort de son demi-frère Dušan († 1355), le souverain d'Épire et de Thessalie, territoires qu'il détacha de ce que fut l'empire serbo-grec de Dušan⁵⁸. Conforté dans ses ambitions par ce mariage de sa fille, le fils du despote Constantin Paléologue, Jean, gouverneur de Thessalonique et de sa région, devenu beau-père de Stefan, fit sédition en se rendant en Serbie, dans l'idée de tirer meilleur parti des rivalités intestines à la cour byzantine. Après avoir guerroyé en 1325 contre les territoires byzantins au service du roi de Serbie, Andronic II parvint à l'attirer dans son camp en lui décernant la haute dignité de César, mais Jean mourut subitement peu après alors qu'il se trouvait encore à la cour du roi serbe. En 1326–1327, Andronic II dépêcha une ambassade en Serbie,

⁵⁵ Fils du despote Michel Kurtulas et d'Anne, fille de Michel VIII Paléologue (1259–1282), Constantin [A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen (1259–1453)*, Amsterdam 1962, p. 40] était établi à Serres, où ces faits se seraient produits.

⁵⁶ Ainsi que l'indique la charte d'Andronic II du novembre 1304, «la fille bien aimée de mon empire, la très vénérable reine de Serbie», le monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée était sous la haute protection de Simonide, qui continue à assumer ce ktitorat après son retour à Constantinople (cf. A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, Paris 1955, n^{os} 1, 16, 17, p. 29, 67–71). Simonide vécut encore une dizaine d'années auprès de son père Andronic II, jusqu'à sa mort (le 13 février 1332); jusqu'à au moins 1336, elle exerça sa protection sur le monastère de Prodrome entre 1304 et début 1332, date à laquelle cette charge fut assumée par Jean VI Cantacuzène : cf. *ibidem*, n^o 32, p. 106–108 ; S. Ćirković, « Nicéphore Gégoras », p. 121–122 ; B. Ferjancić, *Vizantijski i srpski Ser u XIV stolecu* [Serres byzantine et serbe au XIV^e siècle], Belgrade, 1994, p. 37–43 ; *PLP*, n^{os} 21398 et 21391.

⁵⁷ M. Lascaris, *Vizantiske princeze*, p. 83–96 ; *PLP*, n^{os} 5972 et 21181 ; cf., pour Nicéphore Grégoras et Jean Cantacuzène, voir S. Ćirković dans *Vizantijski izvori*, p. 195–196, 211 n. 115 ; B. Ferhancić, *ibidem*, p. 314–317. C'est sur la foi d'un document inédit des archives de Vatopédi qui fait mention du roi serbe en tant que beau-fils d'Andronic II, que la date de ce mariage a pu être précisée pour septembre 1324 : cf. M. Živojinović, « O vremenu sklapanja braka Stefana Uroša III (Dečanskog) sa Marijom Paleolog » [Sur la date de la conclusion du mariage entre Stefan Uroš III (Dečanski) et Marie Paléologue], *ZRVI* 38, 1999–2000, p. 327–330.

⁵⁸ R. Mihaljčić dans *ISN*, I, p. 569–570 ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 279, 311 ; A. Fajgelj, « L'ascension et la chute de l'Empire serbe », dans S. Gouguenheim (éd.), *Les Empires médiévaux*, Paris 2019, p. 183–205.

avec Nicéphore Grégoras à sa tête, afin de ramener Irène, la veuve de Constantin Paléologue, à Constantinople⁵⁹.

Siméon Siniša (1359–1370) et Thomasse Orsini Paléologue

Alors que la longue guerre civile entre les deux empereurs, Andronic II et son petit-fils Andronic III avait grandement favorisé l'expansion serbe, celle du grand domestique Jean Cantacuzène contre la régence d'Anne de Savoie et l'empereur mineur Jean V Paléologue⁶⁰ scella la suprématie serbe dans les Balkans aux dépens des territoires byzantins. Avec en toile de fond la désastreuse guerre civile byzantine, Dušan affiche ses prétentions de relève impériale en proclamant un empire serbo-grec par son couronnement impérial à Skoplje, le 16 avril 1346.

Après la mort de Dušan en 1355, le démantèlement de son empire se produit durant le règne de son fils Uroš I^{er} (1359–1371). Le demi-frère de Dušan, Simeon-Siniša Paléologue (1359–1370), s'intitule « empereur et autocrator des Romées et des Serbes » et règne à Trikala sur la Thessalie⁶¹. Né d'une mère Paléologue⁶² et marié en deuxièmes nocces à une princesse Paléologue de par sa mère⁶³, il règne en dynaste byzantin et signe ses chartes en grec. Siméon Siniša eut un fils, Stefan Uroš Doukas, qui régnait à Farsala sur une partie de la Thessalie, ainsi que Marie

⁵⁹ La relation de ce voyage par Grégoras apporte quelques éléments d'information intéressants sur le folklore serbe et la transmission des chants épiques de l'époque : cf. P. Schreiner, « Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Nikephores Gregoras nach Serben (1326/27) », *ZRV* 38, 1999–2000, p. 331–341.

⁶⁰ Portant du temps de Dušan le plus haut titre de despote, Siméon-Siniša était le gouverneur de l'Épire. Après la mort de Dušan (1355), il s'empare de Kostur, adopte le titre de tsar, en affichant ainsi sa prétention de disputer l'héritage de son demi-frère Dušan à Uroš I^{er} : cf. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum*, III, p. 314. Après la mort du despote Nicéphore II (1356–1359), à partir de 1359 Siméon règne sur l'Épire et la Thessalie : S. Ćirković – R. Mihaljević dans *ISN*, I, p. 544, 569 ; *PLP*, n° 21185.

⁶¹ Mai 1366, il s'intitule « autokrator des Romées et des Serbes et de toute l'Albanie, Uroš Paléologue » : cf. A. Soloviev – V. Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara* [Les chartes grecques des souverains serbes], Beograd 1936, p. 102–103. Dans la charte délivrée en 6875 de l'ère du monde (an. 1366–1367) à l'occasion de la fondation du monastère Grand Méteore, son intitulé est « Siméon Uroš Paléologue, autocrator des Rhomées, de la Serbie et de la Romanie » : cf. M. Lascaris, « Deux chartes de Jean Uroš, dernier Némanide (novembre 1372, indiction XI) », *Byzantion* 25–27, 1955–1957, p. 277–323 ; S. Ćirković – B. Ferjancić, « Jovan Kantakuzin », dans *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, VI, Belgrade, 1968, p. 558–559 n. 626. Denise Papachryssanthou, « Une inscription de Syméon Uros », *Travaux et Mémoires* 2, 1967, p. 484, 486.

⁶² Sa mère, Marie Paléologue, fut mariée en deuxièmes nocces à son père, Stefan III Uroš Dečanski (1321–1331), Hélène (Jelača), Jelka et Théodora sont aussi nées de cette union : cf. M.A. Purković, « Byzantinoserbica. (I) De Théodora, fille d'Etienne Detchanski et de Marie Paléologue », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 45, 1, 1952, p. 43–49 ; *PLP*, n°s 21185 et 21182.

⁶³ De son premier mariage avec Thomasse, fille du despote d'Épire Jean II Orsini (1323–1335) et d'Anne Paléologue, fille de Michel IX Paléologue, il eut son successeur Jean Uroš, Stefan Uroš, gouverneur de Pharsalos et Maria Angelina († 1394), épouse de Toma Preljubović, Maître de l'Épire et de Ianina (1366–1384), puis de son successeur Esaù Buondelmonti (1385–1399 et 1400–1403) : cf. B. Ferjancić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* [La Thessalie aux XIII^e – XIV^e siècles], Beograd 1974, p. 241–242 ; I. Djurić, *Le crépuscule de Byzance*, Paris 1996, p. 27 ; D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate*, p. 83–86 ; R. Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa* [L'époque de Jean V Paléologue], Beograd 1993, p. 95–96 ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 203–204, 279, 311.

Paléologue, mariée au César et despote Toma Preljubović († 1384)⁶⁴, puis à Issaie Buondelmonti⁶⁵. C'est avec son fils Jean Uroš Doukas Paléologue (1371–1373)⁶⁶, *kititôr*, avec Saint Athanase le Météorite († 1380), du monastère de Grand Météore (celui de la Transfiguration), s'étant fait moine après son abdication en 1382⁶⁷, que s'éteint († 1423), la lignée némanide après deux siècles de règne.

Djuradj Branković et Irène Cantacuzène Paléologue

Le despote Djuradj Branković (1427–1453)⁶⁸, dernier souverain serbe d'évengure, fut marié avec Irène Paléologue Cantacuzène (vers 1400–1457)⁶⁹. Conclu fin 1414, alors qu'il avait près de 40 ans, Djuradj eut de ce deuxième mariage⁷⁰ la plus grande partie de sa descendance. Todor (v. 1415–1427/8), Grgur

⁶⁴ B. Ferjancić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* [Despotes à Byzance et dans les pays sud-slaves], Belgrade 1960, p. 15 ; P. Mijović, « О иконама с портретима Томе Прелјубовића и Марије Палеологове » [Sur les icônes avec les portraits de Thomas Preljubović et de Marie Paléologue], *Zbornik za likovne umjetnosti Mатице Српске II* (1967), p. 185–194 (avec résumé fr. p. 195) ; D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate*, p. 143 ; S. Mesanović, *Jovan VII Paleolog*, p. 102.

⁶⁵ M. Lascaris, « Deux chartes », p. 277, 293–294 ; D.M. Nicol, *Meteora, the Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*, Londres 1963, p. 97 ; G. Subotić, *Почеци монашког живота и црква манастира Сртења у Метеорима* [Les débuts de la vie monastique et l'église du monastère de Sterenje aux Météores], *Zbornik za likovne umjetnosti Mатице Српске 2*, 1968, p. 136–144 (avec résumé fr. p. 177–181) ; B. Ferjancić, *Tesalija*, p. 241–243, n. 58, p. 259–264.

⁶⁶ R.-J. Loenertz, « Notes sur le règne de Manuel II à Thessalonique, 1381/82–1387 », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 50, 2, 1957, p. 390–396. Οὔρεσις, Γεωργίου Δούκας Παλατολόγος (Γεώργιος, Mönch), *PLP*, n° 20043, 20056, 21179, 21185.

⁶⁷ En 1394, le moine Joasaph se trouve au monastère Vatopédi du Mont-Athos, ou l'ex basileus de Thessalie aurait trouvé refuge après la conquête ottomane de la Thessalie (1393) : cf. N. Beès, « Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die Gründer der Meteorenklöster », *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 3, 1922, p. 377–378.

⁶⁸ « Djuradj, par la grâce de Dieu despote du royaume de Rascie et seigneur d'Albanie », fut couronné despote par Georges Philantropenos, l'envoyé de Jean VIII Paléologue : cf. M. Sprenić dans *ISN*, II, p. 226, n. 15 ; M. Nikolić, « The Byzantine Historiography on the State of Serbian Despots », *ZRVI XLV* (2008), p. 286.

⁶⁹ « Descendante de la branche de Thessalonique de la maison impériale byzantine des Cantacuzène » : cf. *PLP*, n° 10973 et 5970 ; M. Sprenić, « La famille serbe des Branković – considérations généalogiques et héraldiques », *ZRVI XLI* (2004), p. 443 ; *id.*, *Despot Djuradj Branković i njegovo doba* [Le despote Djuradj Branković et son époque], Beograd 1994, p. 63–64. Ayant épousés Djuradj Branković le 26 décembre 1414, « fille de Théodore Cantacuzène, vraisemblablement un fils de Mathieu (despote de Morée 1380–1382) et donc petit-fils de l'Empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène », « Sa sœur Hélène fut mariée à David Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde, une autre sœur, de nom inconnu, était mariée au roi de Géorgie ; ses frères, Andronic, qui était le grand domestique de Byzance, puis Georges et Thomas, les deux derniers auront à passer une grande partie de leur vie en Serbie » : cf. B.I. Bojović, *Chilandar et les pays roumains (XVI^e–XVII^e siècle). Les actes des princes moldo-valaques des Archives de Chilandar (Mont-Athos)*, avec la collaboration de P.Ş. Năsturel, T.J. Iovanović, R. Păun, Paris, 2010, p. 22, n. 35.

⁷⁰ Djuradj aurait été marié en premières noces à la sœur de Jean IV Comnène de Trébizonde et de Marie, épouse de Jean VIII Paléologue. Mara aurait été issue de ce premier mariage, alors qu'Irène, la deuxième épouse de Djuradj était la sœur de l'épouse de David Comnène : cf. I. Djurić, « Евдокија Комнина и њен муж Константин Драгаш » [Eudocia Comnène et son époux Constantin Dragases], *ZRVI* 22, 1983, p. 266 n. 28 ; B. Ferjancić, « Vizantinci u Srbiji prve polovine XV veka », *ZRVI* 21, 1986, p. 181–185, avec bibliographie.

(1416/17–1459), Stefan⁷¹ et Lazar (1456–1458) étaient les fils issus de cette union, ainsi que les filles Mara et Catherine Cantacuzène (1419/20–v. 1492)⁷². Cette descendance de Djuradj et d'Irène eut de nombreuses ramifications dans tout le Sud-Est européen et jusqu'en Italie. En premières noces, Djuradj, aurait été marié avec Hélène⁷³, une princesse de la maison des Grands Comnènes de Trébizonde. Thomas Cantacuzène, le frère d'Irène, fut le plus haut dignitaire de la cour du despote de Serbie, qui régnait entouré de dignitaires grecs⁷⁴. Georges, un autre frère d'Irène dirigeait les travaux de construction de la grande forteresse de Smederevo. Vassal ottoman dans la guerre de succession entre les fils de Bayezid, une guerre civile qui avait sans doute prolongé la vie de Byzance de quelques décennies, Djuradj eut un rôle déterminant puisque sa victoire sur le prétendant Moussa contribua largement à la victoire de Mehmed I^{er} en 1413. Gendre de la maison Cantacuzène et homme de culture byzantine, il eut le malheur quarante ans plus tard de devoir dépêcher un détachement armé pour le siège de Constantinople. Profondément bouleversé par l'annonce de la chute de la ville impériale, il en fit son deuil en restant cloîtré durant des semaines.

Lazar Branković et Hélène Paléologue

Despote de Serbie (1456–1458), Lazar fut marié en 1446 avec Hélène († 1473), fille de Thomas Paléologue⁷⁵, fils de Manuel II, empereur byzantin (1391–1425) et

⁷¹ Aveuglé avec son frère Grgur († 1459) sur l'ordre de sultan Murat II en 1441, despote de Serbie (1458–1459), marié en 1460 avec la fille du seigneur albanais Arianite Comnène (Arnit Spata), Angeline († 1516), Stefan (1421–1476) eut de cette union les fils Jean et Georges, despotes titulaires de Serbie; Georges fut aussi le métropolitain de Timișoara sous son nom monacal de Maxime, ainsi que la fille Mara (D. Dinić-Knezević, « Sremski Brankovići », *Istraživanja* 4, 1975, p. 21–23 ; S. Cirković *ISN*, II, p. 175. Jean, despote titulaire (1496–1508), marié avec Jelena Jakšić, eut de Jelena († 1555) épouse de Pierre IV Rareș, voïévode de Moldavie (1527–1538 et 1541–1546), sa sœur (Milica ?), celle de Néagoé Bassarab VIII (1512–1521), voïévode de Valachie (P.Ș. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*, Rome 1986, p. 151), ainsi que Marie (épouse de Ferdinand de Francopan), Mara (Marie) fut l'épouse de Boniface III marquis de Montferrat (1424–1493).

⁷² Mariée en 1434 à Ulrich II von Cilli (vers 1405–1456), après la mort de son époux, Catherine rejoignit Mara en Turquie pour passer la plus grande partie du reste de sa vie avec sa sœur aînée dans son domaine de Ježovo (Ezaba, Dafni) en Macédoine orientale.

⁷³ Selon Sphrantzès, Mara était la cousine de Jean IV Grand Comnène de Trébizonde (1429–1459), fils d'Alexis IV de Trébizonde et de Théodora Cantacuzène : cf. *Chronicon minus. Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477. In annexe Pseudo-Phrantzès : Macariae Melissenos, Cronica 1258–1481*, éd. V. Grecu, Bucarest, 1966, p. 78–82, ce qui a conduit à l'hypothèse qu'Hélène pouvait être la fille d'Alexis IV (v. 1382–1429) ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 428. Née vers 1418, alors que le mariage de Djuradj avec Irène Cantacuzène était conclu en 1414, Mara est donc issue de ce deuxième mariage de son père : cf. M.St. Popović, *Mara Branković. Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2010 (« Peleus. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns », 45), p. 27–28, 83–85, 4 tables.

⁷⁴ Comme Georges et Démétrios Cantacuzène, homme de lettres de premier plan, ainsi que Michel Arandjelović : cf. M. Spremić – D. Bogdanović dans *ISN*, II, p. 228–229, 338–339. Voir aussi D.M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 392–393.

⁷⁵ M. Nikolić, « The Byzantine Historiography », p. 286 ; J.A. Papadrianos, « Οι ειδήσεις του ιστορικού Κριτοβούλου για τη βυζαντινή πριγκίπισσα Ελένη Παλαιολογίνα–Branković και η αξιοπιστία τους », *Ελληνικά* 21/1 (1968), p. 164–168 ; G.Ch. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and his successors*, Athens, 1995² (1984¹) ; *PLP*, n^{os} 21364, 14354, 21470.

despote de Morée (1430–1460), issue de son mariage avec Catherine Zaccaria⁷⁶. Leur fille, Mara Branković–Paléologina (v. 1447–1498), fut mariée en 1459 à Stefan Tomašević, le dernier despote de Serbie avant la chute de sa capitale, Smederevo, le 10 juin 1459, puis dernier roi Bosnie (1461–1463), leur fille Irène à Jean Castriote (Gjon Kastrioti, fils de Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg)⁷⁷, leur troisième fille, Milica († 1503), fut mariée en 1463 à Léonardo III Tocco, seigneur d'Épire (1448–1449) et comte de Céphalonie (1448–1479)⁷⁸.

Manuel II (1373 co-empereur – 1391–1425)⁷⁹ et Hélène Dejanović Dragasès

Jean VIII (1425–1448) et Constantin XI Dragasès (1449–1453)⁸⁰, les deux derniers empereurs byzantins, étaient nés d'une mère serbe. Leur père, Manuel II Paléologue, avait pour épouse Jelena⁸¹, fille du dynaste serbe Constantin Dejanović-Dragasès⁸². De cette dernière alliance matrimoniale serbe-grecque, conclue le 11 février 1392⁸³, naquirent six fils: Jean, Théodore, Andronic, Constantin, Démétrius et Thomas. Dans la charte du monastère de Kutlumus, le père d'Hélène, Constantin Dragasès,

⁷⁶ Leur fille cadette Zoé-Sophie (vers 1455/1457–1503) épouse en 1472 Ivan III, le grand prince de Moscou : cf. D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 423–424.

⁷⁷ Sa mère Vojsava est issue de la famille des Muzaka, ses frères avaient pour nom Stanisa, Repos, Kostadin, ses sœurs: Jela, Mara, Angelina, Vlajka. Mara épousa Stefan Crnojević et Vlajka fut l'épouse de Stefan Balšić, le maître de la Zéta. Après la mort de Skanderbeg, ses descendants se réfugièrent en Italie, Costantino aurait été l'évêque d'Isernia († 1500), Ferrante aurait succédé à son père, Giorgio († 1540) aurait eu un fils mort sans descendance. Sur Jean Castriot : cf. B. Bojović, « Mont Athos et Jean Castriot et la "Tour albanaise" », *Balkanica* 37, 2006, p. 81–87.

⁷⁸ Charles III Tocco (1463–1518), fut le seul fils issu de ce mariage : cf. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III, éd. A. P. Kazhdan, Oxford, 1991, p. 2090 ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 418–419. La fille Ramondina, issue du deuxième mariage de Leonardo III († 1499), avec la fille de Ferdinand d'Aragon, épousa l'humaniste Federigo Pico della Mirandola.

⁷⁹ S. Mesanović, *Jovan VII*, p. 83–84.

⁸⁰ M. Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus (1404–1453). The Last Emperor of Byzantium*, New York, 2019.

⁸¹ Ainsi que le rapporte Sphrantzès (*Chronicon minus*, éd. V. Grecu, p. 78–80), Constantin Dejanović († 1395) fut marié en deuxième noce avec Eudocie, fille d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde (1349–1390), de courte durée cette union resta sans descendance : cf. I. Djurić, « Евдокија Комнина », p. 259–260 ; *PLP*, n^{os} 5746 et 12062.

⁸² Constantin est fils de Dejan sébastokrator, puis despote, mari de la sœur de Stefan Dušan, Théodora-Eudoxie. De même que son frère aîné, le despote Jean, il portait le nom de Dragaš (Dragases), mais en tant que frère cadet il n'avait pas le titre de despote, il est désigné simplement comme seigneur Constantin (Dragaš) : cf. *Actes de Kutlumus*, éd. P. Lemerle, Paris 1945 (« Archives de l'Athos », 2), n^o 40, p. 147–149 ; G. Ostrogorsky, « Gospodin Konstantin Dragaš » [Le seigneur Constantin Dragases], dans *Византија и Словени*, p. 271–280 (repris dans *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu*, 7, 1963, p. 287–294) ; *PLP*, n^{os} 5746 et 21500. Après la bataille de la Maritza (1371), avec son frère Jean, de concert avec le despote Manuel Comnène, il élargit considérablement son territoire en Macédoine orientale aux dépens de celui des frères Vukašin et Uglješa Mrnjavčević morts au cours de la dite bataille. Avec le roi Marko il meurt du côté ottoman au cours de la bataille de Roviné (1395), gagnée par le prince de Valachie : M. Blagojević dans *ISN*, I, p. 532 ; R. Mihaljić dans *ISN*, II, p. 21–23, 40–41. Faut-il rappeler qu'on rencontre là l'usage byzantin d'accorder aux gendres impériaux ce haut titre de dignitaire de l'empire ?

⁸³ R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, Cité de Vatican, 1947 (« Studi e testi », 131), p. 121.

est désigné comme « le père » (*i.e.* le beau-père) de Manuel II⁸⁴. L'aîné, Jean, devint empereur après que son père Manuel II se fit moine peu de temps avant de mourir en 1425. Le territoire de ce qui restait de Byzance se réduisait à Constantinople avec sa banlieue. Théodore, Constantin et Thomas gouvernaient le despotat de Morée au Péloponnèse. Zoé, fille de Thomas, épouse le prince de Moscou Ivan III en transmission de la légitimité dynastique en Russie. Andronic gouvernait Thessalonique avant qu'il ne soit pris par les Ottomans en 1387. Le mérite essentiel pour la reconquête du Péloponnèse sur les principautés franques, qui aboutit à la prise de Patras en 1430, revient à Constantin⁸⁵, qui devient empereur après la mort de son frère⁸⁶. Le mariage entre Manuel II⁸⁷ et Hélène Dragasès fut donc à l'origine du dernier empereur, mort le 29 mai 1453 l'épée à la main sur les remparts de la ville fondée par Constantin le Grand⁸⁸.

Alors que les derniers vestiges de l'empire byzantin furent rayés de la carte et de la scène de l'Histoire par Mehmed II, une dernière « impératrice » de confession chrétienne usa de son influence auprès des sultans successifs en faveur du monachisme et des couvents orthodoxes, en particulier ceux du Mont-Athos. Fille de Djuradj Branković et épouse de Murad II (1421–1451) en 1436, la sultane ou tsarine Mara (1418–1487), *despina hatun*, fut la mère adoptive de Mehmed II (1451–1481)⁸⁹. Après la mort de Murad II, elle fut demandée en mariage par les ambassadeurs de Constantin XI⁹⁰. Son influence du vivant de son époux⁹¹, mais

⁸⁴ Après la mort de l'higoumène Chariton, Constantin devient le *ktitor* du monastère Kutlumuş au Mont-Athos. C'est ainsi qu'il est désigné dans la charte du patriarche Antoine : *Actes de Kutlumuş*, n° 40, p. 147, 148 ; P. Lemerle – A. Soloviev, « Trois chartes des souverains serbes conservées au monastère de Kutlumuş », *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov* 11, 1939, p. 138.

⁸⁵ Κωνσταντῖνος ΙΑ΄ Δραγάσης Παλαιολόγος (*Konstantin XI Dragaš Paleolog*), né en 1405 à Constantinople, est mort le 29 mai 1453 en défendant la ville fondée par Constantin le Grand en 324. Ce fut le dernier empereur romain après plus d'un millénaire et demi de l'exercice de ce titre.

⁸⁶ S. Runciman, « The Marriages of the Sons of the Emperor Manuel II », *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1, 1981, p. 273–282 ; id., « Manuel II and the See of Moldavia », dans *ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΑ. Essays presented to J. Hussey*, Camberley, 1988, p. 515–520.

⁸⁷ Manuel II Paléologue, empereur (1391–1425), stratège de Thessalonique, 1369–1373, despote, 1355–1373, *PLP*, n° 21513.

⁸⁸ « Un oracle fréquemment cité après la chute de Constantinople affirmait que la cité fondée par Constantin fils d'Hélène tomberait sous Constantin fils d'Hélène (la mère de Constantin Dragasès s'appelait Hélène). On trouve cet oracle rapporté par Isidore de Kiev : Nicolo Barbaro, la *Chronique brève*, n° 52, Scholarios (F. Tinnefeld, *Gennadios Scholarios, La théologie byzantine*, Paris 2001). D'autre part, nombre de textes byzantins de cette époque assimilent Mehmet II à l'Antechrist » : cf. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, « Byzance et la fin du monde. Courants de pensée apocalyptiques sous les Paléologues », dans B. Lellouch – S. Yerasimos (éds.), *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, avril 1996*, Paris, 1999 (« *Varia Turcica* », 33), p. 55–97, n. 30 (cf. *Annexe*).

⁸⁹ *PLP*, n° 17210. V. Boškov, « Mara Branković u turskim dokumentima iz Svete Gore » (Mara Branković dans les documents turcs du Mont Athos), *Hilandarski Zbornik* 5, 1983, p. 189–205.

⁹⁰ Sphrantzès affirme que Mara est apparentée (ἐξαδέλφη) à l'empereur de Trébizonde Jean IV Commène (I. Djurić, « Евдокија Комнина », p. 266 n. 28). Elle aurait décliné l'offre de mariage de Constantin XI arguant qu'elle avait fait vœu de chasteté au retour de la cour du sultan après sa mort :

aussi sur son fils adoptif, ainsi que sur son héritier Bayezid II, fut déterminante dans la protection du Mont–Athos au début de la domination ottomane sur l'ensemble des Balkans, mais tout aussi signifiante en tant qu'intermédiaire de Raguse (Dubrovnik) et même de Venise dans leurs relations diplomatiques avec la Porte ottomane⁹².

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S'étalant sur cinq siècles de leur histoire, les alliances matrimoniales entre la maison impériale byzantine et celles des souverains de leurs coreligionnaires slaves ont quelques dénominateurs communs. Éloignés dans le temps du fait de leur précocité et faisant exception dans leur époque, les premiers mariages entre les maisons régnantes, dont celui avec le prince de la Rus' de Kiev, ainsi que celui avec le tsar Pierre de Bulgarie, sont deux cas de figure préfigurant les mariages intrabalkaniques de la dernière période byzantine.

Entre le début du XIII^e et la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle, sur plus d'un siècle et demi, ce ne sont pas moins de dix alliances matrimoniales qui ont essaimé les relations entre les Byzantins et la Bulgarie, ce qui représente une remarquable fréquence et continuité, surtout par rapport aux époques précédentes. Sur quelque six générations, ces dix alliances matrimoniales présentent une fréquence hautement significative quant à la byzantinisation du deuxième royaume bulgare. Sur une vingtaine de tsars bulgares entre Jean II Asen et Constantin II, pratiquement un sur deux de ces souverains concluait un mariage avec la maison impériale byzantine.

Le fait qu'Irène Comnène soit la seule de ces neuf épouses royales bulgares issues de la maison impériale byzantine à figurer sur la liste des souverains bulgares du *Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie* suscite l'attention pertinente de Saska Georgieva⁹³. Le caractère sommaire de cette liste de souverains ne semble pas de nature à justifier des conclusions convaincantes, y compris sur cette unique mention d'une princesse byzantine, même si elle mérite une attention particulière⁹⁴.

Entre Alexis III Ange (1195–1203) et Constantin IX Dragasès (1449–1453), sur dix-sept empereurs byzantins, auxquels il faut ajouter cinq despotes et empereurs d'Épire-Thessalie, dix-huit avaient conclu une alliance matrimoniale avec les royaumes serbe ou bulgare, ce qui représente une moyenne de plus qu'un sur deux

Sphrantzès, *Chronicon minus*, éd. V. Grecu, p. 78–82 ; J. Papadrianos, « The Marriage – Arrangement between Constantin XI Palaeologus and the Serbian Mara (1451) », *Balkan Studies* 6, 1, 1965, p. 131–138 ; D.M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles*, p. 395–396, 415.

⁹¹ M. Spremić dans *JSN*, II, p. 257 ; S. Mesanović, *Jovan VII Paleolog*, p. 98, n. 267.

⁹² B. Bojović, *Chilandar et les Pays roumains*, p. 23 ; M.St. Popović, *Mara Branković*, p. 139–140.

⁹³ S. Georgieva, « The Byzantine Princesses », p. 201.

⁹⁴ I. Dujev, « Das Synodikon von Boril als Geschichts- und Literaturdenkmal », *Palaeobulgarica* 4, 2, 1980, p. 8–17 ; G. Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien, 865–1459*, Munich, 2000, p. 97–100, 247–252 ; Vasilca Tapkova-Zaimova, « Le modèle byzantin et la structure politico-étatique de la Bulgarie médiévale », *Balkan Studies* 4, 2003, p. 121–129.

mariages dynastiques. À peine une dizaine de ces mariages eurent lieu avec les maisons régnantes d'Europe latine durant cette dernière période de Byzance⁹⁵.

Entre la fin du XII^e et le milieu du XV^e siècle, huit mariages dynastiques ont été conclus avec les membres des maisons régnantes serbes, sur un laps de temps bien plus long de plus de deux siècles et demi. Ainsi que la plupart des mariages avec des princesses étrangères, pour les Byzantins ce sont autant de concessions sous forme d'accommodements diplomatiques avec un adversaire ou un allié non moins redoutable. Ces mariages mettent en relief les rapports de forces sur le plan géopolitique auxquels l'Empire devait faire face durant son long et irrémédiable déclin, notamment à l'issue des efforts de restauration de l'empire dans son étendue universelle, efforts périodiques qui épuisaient ses ressources financières et militaires, économiques et humaines, alors que sa vocation était de plus en plus disproportionnée avec les moyens dont il pouvait disposer. Consentis à contre cœur et souvent en dernier recours, il apparaît que les mariages avec les princes slaves ont néanmoins eu moins d'impacts politiques dans l'immédiat que d'incidences sur un plan culturel et idéologique à l'échelle du moyen et long terme. Ainsi le mariage de Vladimir avec Anne scelle la conversion de la Russie de Kiev au christianisme byzantin, alors que celle du tsar bulgare et du futur roi de Serbie signifie la reconnaissance des royaumes voisins destinés à évoluer dans le giron byzantin.

L'essentiel de ces alliances matrimoniales avec les maisons royales sud-slaves s'étale néanmoins entre le début du XIII^e et le milieu du XV^e siècle. En l'espace de deux siècles du deuxième royaume bulgare, pas moins de dix mariages dynastiques ont constellé les relations diplomatiques entre les maisons régnantes bulgares et byzantines⁹⁶. Jean II Asen, le plus important souverain bulgare de cette période, épouse Irène, fille du despote d'Épire Théodore I^{er} et l'un des deux des plus puissants souverains byzantins qui entreprirent la restauration de l'Empire après 1204. Théodore II Lascaris, son homologue en Asie Mineure, épouse Hélène, fille de Jean II. A son tour, Théodore II donne sa fille Irène en mariage au tsar bulgare Constantin Tich. À défaut d'alliances politiques durables, en l'espace de deux générations à peine, les mariages dynastiques ont scellé une influence déterminante du modèle byzantin sur le deuxième au royaume bulgare. Au début du XIV^e siècle, Constantin épouse la jeune veuve de son devancier Théodore Svetoslav et sœur d'Andronic III. L'empereur prétendant malheureux quant à une reprise dynastique, Jean VI Cantacuzène, avait épousé Irène, fille d'un prince bulgare réfugié à Byzance. Andronic IV, pour sa part, épousa Marie Keratsa, fille du tsar Alexandre Chichman et enfin Michel Asen, fils et co-souverain de Jean Alexandre, épousa Marie Irène, fille des empereurs Andronic III

⁹⁵ 1) Philippe de Souabe et Irène Ange (fille d'Isaac II Ange) ; 2) Théodore I^{er} Lascaris et Marie Courtenoy (en 3^e noce) ; 3) Jean III Ducas Vatatzès et Anne-Constance Hohenstaufen (2^e noce) ; 4) Andronic II et Anne de Hongrie ; 5) Andronic II et Yolande-Irène de Montferrat ; 6) Andronic III et Adélaïde-Irène de Brunswick ; 7) Andronic III et Anne de Savoie ; 8) Marie Paléologue (fille d'Andronic III) et Francesco Gattilusio ; 9) Théodore I^{er} Paléologue (despote de Morée) et Bartolomé, fille de Neri Acciaiuoli ; 10) Constantin XI et Magdalena, fille de Leonardo Tocco.

⁹⁶ S. Georgieva, « Diplomatic Marriages in Medieval Bulgarian Foreign Policy », *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1, 1993, p. 116–126.

et sœur de Jean V. L'irréversible déclin de Byzance, malgré un début de restauration des Paléologues, avait facilité la création de ces alliances matrimoniales que la cour impériale concédait bien plus difficilement dans les périodes antérieures. La réduction de sa puissance et de son territoire entraînait paradoxalement l'extension d'un rayonnement culturel qui devait transcender les limites traditionnelles de son influence aux époques des plus grands fastes de l'Empire. Ce qui ne peut amener qu'à un constat de fait que le potentiel culturel de l'Empire issu d'une continuité avec l'antiquité tardive sur le fond d'une synthèse de civilisation méditerranéenne était bien plus important que ses potentialités en ressources humaines et matérielles.

Le cas de figure serbe est particulièrement révélateur à cet égard. Alors que la puissance byzantine déclinait rapidement après un dernier sursaut d'éclat de Manuel Comnène, le grand joupan serbe répudia son épouse impériale pour prendre en secondes noces la petite-fille du doge de Venise, reflet aussi fidèle que dépouillé du grand tournant dans les rapports de forces dans les Balkans à l'issue de la période des Comnènes. Si l'influence de Byzance est supplantée par un rapport de forces au profit des puissances latines⁹⁷, l'impact de l'aire culturelle byzantine s'affirme à travers l'organisation d'une Église orthodoxe locale⁹⁸. La restauration progressive de Byzance que les faibles États latins ne parviendraient pas à supplanter se manifeste par le mariage du roi serbe avec la fille du despote d'Épire et de la Thessalie. Jugée excessive, l'influence byzantine sur le gendre byzantin occupant le trône serbe est rejetée avec l'éviction du roi Radoslav, remplacé par son frère marié avec une princesse bulgare. À l'issue de ce règne non moins éphémère, l'influence bulgare fut supplantée par un long et fructueux règne du troisième fils de Stefan le Premier Couronné, celui du roi Uroš I^{er} (1243–1276), marié à une princesse franque, Hélène dite d'Anjou (1245–1276), mère de deux des plus illustres rois et dont le cadet eut sans doute le règne le plus déterminant pour le devenir du royaume serbe.

Alors que l'aîné, Dragutin (1276–1282) régnait sur un royaume septentrional avec l'appui de son beau-père, le roi de Hongrie, le cadet Milutin était voué à tirer parti des retombées des guerres civiles de son voisinage byzantin. Une fois de plus exsangue par une entreprise de restauration sans lendemain sous Michel VIII Paléologue, l'époque des deux Androniques fut celle d'une des plus grandes décadences de l'Empire, un déclin que Milutin au cours de son long règne ne pouvait manquer de mettre au profit de ses ambitions. Après trois mariages, dont deux avec des princesses royales, de Hongrie et de Bulgarie, son mariage avec une princesse née dans la pourpre, âgée de six ans seulement, est à l'image du peu de scrupules dont il s'embarrassait dans l'accomplissement de ces opportunités. Les conditions d'une byzantinisation de la Serbie à long terme étaient réunies. Forcée essentiellement sur le modèle byzantin, une cohérence idéologique, corollaire de sa continuité dynastique, assurait à la Serbie une stabilité plus vigoureuse, y compris après la fin de la deux fois centenaire dynastie némanide.

⁹⁷ C'est ainsi que le grand joupan Stefan ne fait plus état de son titre de *sebastocrator* après 1204 : cf. B. Ferjancić, « Sevastokratori u Vizantiji », p. 168–170.

⁹⁸ D. Obolensky, *Vizantijski komonvelt*, p. 288–289.

Alors que la Serbie du XIII^e siècle oscillait encore entre les influences des deux parties de la chrétienté, le royaume à partir de Milutin s'oriente durablement vers le modèle byzantin. Stefan Dušan entreprend l'élargissement territorial à la faveur des guerres intestines à Byzance, pour s'acheminer vers la création d'un empire serbo-grec dont la durée se prolongea à peine au-delà de son règne. Élevé à la cour impériale où il fut envoyé en otage avec son père, Dušan était imbu de culture grecque. Les princes qui se partagèrent l'empire après sa mort furent hellénisés dans la mesure de leur immersion dans un environnement byzantin. Ce fut notamment le cas de son demi-frère Siméon-Siniša dont l'origine serbe ne fut quasiment qu'un lointain souvenir. À plus de huit siècles d'écart, l'aristocratie serbe reproduisait le processus d'assimilation des populations slaves dans les terres ancestrales grecques à partir des VI^e–VII^e siècles.

La Serbie de la première moitié et du milieu du XV^e siècle est le refuge ultime d'une partie des élites byzantines refoulées par la conquête ottomane. Marié à une Cantacuzène, la vie de sa cour se déroulant dans un environnement byzantin, le despote Djuradj Branković fut le dernier gendre byzantin impérial sur le trône serbe⁹⁹. Sa fille, la sultane Mara, fut l'avant dernier protectrice impériale du Mont-Athos, qui obtint grâce à elle un statut institutionnel protégé par la Porte, ainsi que par les princes de Valachie vassaux du sultan.

Le déclin final de Byzance et de son voisinage balkanique avait fait estomper les clivages d'antan entre Grecs et Slaves¹⁰⁰. Manuel II avait épousé la fille d'un des derniers dynastes serbes, les deux derniers empereurs byzantins étaient issus de ce mariage, Constantin XI portait le nom de jeune fille de sa mère comme surnom ou un nom de famille.

Exceptions difficilement concédées dans les périodes antérieures, à partir de la fin XII^e – début XIII^e siècle les mariages princiers entre les maisons régnantes byzantines et celles de leur voisinage slave deviennent incomparablement plus fréquents. À mesure que le déclin de la puissance byzantine ces mariages sont concédés avec d'autant plus d'assentiment. Enfermés dans leur sentiment de suprématie impériale, les Byzantins apprennent à s'intégrer dans une communauté politico-confessionnelle qui assumait leurs notions de hiérarchie des États et du pouvoir souverain. L'érosion de la puissance militaire et politique de l'Empire était ainsi compensée par l'accroissement de son rayonnement culturel auquel les mariages princiers contribuaient par une relation causale en passe à une altérité interactive. Les mariages princiers avec les maisons régnantes bulgare et serbes constituent ces dénominateurs communs qui sont autant de jalons illustrant cette complémentarité en devenir d'une civilisation millénaire dont l'essoufflement du pouvoir de synthèse n'a pu surmonter l'avènement balbutiant de la modernité.

⁹⁹ J.A. Papadrianos, « Τίνας οί δεσμοί συγγενείας τοῦ Γεωργίου Βράνκοβιτς (Branković) πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τῶν Παλαιολόγων ; », *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 33, 1964, p. 140–142.

¹⁰⁰ Sur la perception de la Serbie, de ses richesses en métaux précieux et de ses potentialités militaires, dans l'historiographie byzantine du XV^e siècle, cf. Nikolić, « The Byzantine Historiography », *passim*.

THE SIEGE OF ZEMUN IN 1165
AND A GESTURE OF POWER OF MANUEL I KOMNENOS*

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In memory of Bogdan-Petru Maleon

Nicetas Choniates: ...I will repay you by giving you back the past you have lost...
Baudolino: But maybe my story has no meaning.
Nicetas: There are no stories without a meaning.
And I am one of those men who can find it even where others fail to see it.
Afterwards the story becomes the book of the living,
like a blaring trumpet that raises from the tomb those who have been dust for centuries...
Still it takes time, you have to consider the events, arrange them in order,
find the connections even the least visible ones.
(Umberto Eco, *Baudolino*, Harvest Books, 2002, p. 19)

The struggle for Sirmium and for the city of Zemun during the Byzantine-Hungarian wars received significant attention from two of the most important Byzantine authors of Manuel Komnenos' reign, John Kinnamos and Nicetas Choniates. Nicetas Choniates' version of the events includes a spectacular episode occurred at the beginning of the siege of Zemun. According to Choniates the emperor, mounted on his horse, stroke the city gates with his spear. The paper tries to understand the episode's significance from the chronicler's perspective and to suggest the meaning of the gesture by comparing it with other similar deeds of the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Manuel Komnenos, Byzantine-Hungarian relations, Zemun, siege, gestures of power.

The starting point of the present paper is an episode related to the Hungarian struggle for power at the beginning of the second half of the 12th century. In spring 1165, King Stephen III launched an attack against Byzantine Sirmium defended by Stephen IV a pretender to the crown of St. Stephen who, for a brief period, occupied the throne with the support of Manuel I Komnenos¹. The expedition

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proved to be a success. Stephen III conquered Zemun² by treason while his rival was poisoned by his followers. Furthermore, according to the chronicle of John Kinnamos, Stephen IV's body was left outside the city's gates and was refused a proper burial. Eventually the former king was buried in the Church of St. Martyr Stephen³.

The Byzantine reaction to such events was quick and decisive⁴. Manuel I directed his armies against Zemun in a campaign analyzed by Ferdinand Chalandon, Ferenc Makk and Paul Magdalino⁵. The main byzantine chroniclers John Kinnamos⁶ and Nicetas Choniates offer a detailed account on the causes of the war, on the preparations and on the pursuit of events and both of them exalt the deeds and the bravery of the emperor during the campaign.⁷ Along with such common narrative details there are also differences between the two testimonies and Choniates, for instance, is the only one who mentions an interesting episode occurred at the beginning of the siege.

Choniates opens his relation underlining the contrast between the emperor's expectations and the behavior of his former subjects. According to the historian of Chonai, Manuel I was in hope for a quick surrender of the city once he and his troops appeared at the town's gates. In this point Choniates diverge from Kinnamos' version who states that the Hungarians prepared an attack but retreated hastily in great disorder once they saw the emperor leading his soldiers⁸. Thus, the frightening of the enemy as an imperial attribute is mentioned by Kinnamos but

¹ For Stephen IV's short reign (five months) in the context of Byzantine-Hungarian relations see Ferenc Makk, *The Arpads and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*, Budapest, p. 83–86. For the fights which preceded the siege of Zemun, *ibidem*, p. 89–91.

² For the strategic significance of this city in the 12th century see Jovanka Kalić, "Zemun u XII veku", *Zbornik Radova Vizantologskog Instituta* 13, 1971, p. 27–56.

³ *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis Gestarum*, ed. August Meineke, Bonn, 1886, p. 238–240 for the Hungarian siege of Zemun; cf. John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Komnenos*, transl. by Charles M. Brand, Columbia University Press, New York, 1976, p. 179–80. The poisoning of the Stephen IV was analyzed by Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Nicetas Choniates and Ioannes Kinnamos: the poisoning of Stephen IV of Hungary (13 april 1165)", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101, 2008, 1, p. 21–28.

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis Van Dieten, Berlin–New York, 1975, p. 128; cf. Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio*, I (Libri I–VIII), introduzione Alexander Kazhdan, testo critico e commento di Ricardo Maisano, trad. Anna Pontani, Milano, 1994, p. 305; *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Nicetas Choniates*, translated by Harry J. Magoulias, Detroit, 1984, p. 73.

⁵ Ferdinand Chalandon, *Jean I Comnène et Manuel Ier Comnène*, Paris, 1912, p. 481–85; Ferenc Makk, *The Arpads and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*, Budapest, p. 91–92; Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 80.

⁶ For Kinnamos' version see *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, p. 241.

⁷ For a parallel with the *topos* of warrior-emperor in the narratives related to John II Komnenos' reign see Ioannis Stouraitis, "Narratives of John II Komnenos' wars: comparing Byzantine and modern approaches", in Alessandra Bucossi and Alex Rodriguez Suarez (eds.), *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium. In the Shadow of Father and Son*, London-New York, 2016, p. 22–36.

⁸ *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, p. 241.

seem to be denied by Choniates who only points to the defenders' stubbornness to resist. For the latter, the garrisons and the people of Zemun not only refused to submit but they fortified all the entrances, started to launch javelins, arrows and stones against the Byzantines and, as venomous snakes, they begun to taunt the emperor and his soldiers⁹.

Such behavior is a common place used by Choniates' in his history. For instance, during the siege of Vakhia the besieged insulted the emperor John II Comnenos, his wife and his daughters; during the Egyptian campaign of 1169 the Muslims of Damietta also used insults against the Byzantines while later on the rebels of Nicea used derision against the emperor Andronicus I Komnenos¹⁰. However, the siege of Zemun may be considered as a special case if we take into account the textual strategy used by Choniates. The historian labels the defenders as asps and snakes, true incarnation of evil but also an allusion to the infamous act of poisoning Stephen IV. In Choniates' views there was a causal link between the dishonorable crime, the treachery which enabled the Hungarian to conquer Zemun, and the refuse to surrender at the imperial request. The allusion to Psalm 140 (*Deliver me, O Lord, from Evil Men*) was a literary figure of speech meant to depict the besieged as the incarnation of evil. The act of poisoning was followed by poisoned words directed against the emperor and his troops¹¹.

In contrast with poisoning and treachery, labeled as specific to women behaviour, the Byzantine historian constructed an ideal image of a warrior sovereign, who combines courage, military prowess and masculinity. The central piece of such ideal portrait is in Choniates' text a spectacular gesture made by the *basileus* at the beginning of the siege. According to the chronicler, Manuel I on his horseback launched an individual charge against the city gates striking them at full speed with his spear¹².

The episode seems, indeed, to be very unusual. It looks more like a typical individual attack of a Western knight eager to prove his courage and to gain fame.

⁹ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 133–134; Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 302–304; *O City of Byzantium*, p. 76; as Harry J. Magoulias pointed out, the sentence is an obvious reference to Psalm 140: "They make their tongue sharp as a serpent's, and under their lips is the venom of asps".

¹⁰ For the quoted episodes see Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 23, 163 and 283; Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe*, I, p. 54 and 372; II, p. 142–144.

¹¹ For the use of animals by Choniates as metaphors to depict the enemy see Alexander Kazhdan, Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the eleventh and twelfth Centuries*, London-Paris, 1984, p. 267; the topic was developed by Anthony Littlewood, "Vegetal and Animal Imagery in the History of Niketas Choniates", in M. Grünbart (ed.), *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, Berlin–New York, 2003, p. 223–258. For the use of Psalms by Choniates in the narration of Manuel Komnenos deeds see Alicia Simpson, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, Oxford, 2013, p. 150, 152. The author emphasises that the literary allusions and the comparisons of the emperor with biblical or mythological heroes produce "an ironic effect thus subtly criticizing the emperor".

¹² Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 134: Πρώτος τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ τῆς μιμήσεως ὁμοίῳ διερεθίζων τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον κατὰ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν τὸν ἵππον ἐφήησι καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν τὸ δόρυ ἤλασεν ;cf. Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 133–134. For the translation of the Greek text I am indebted to my colleague Ovidiu Olar.

Attacking individually a well defended city gate without any support from his troops seems more a reckless decision or at least an exaggerated gesture of audacity¹³. The text seems to point towards the first option but even in this case it raises several questions. Do we have to deal with an imagined episode aimed to add a heroic aura to emperor deeds? Or, on the contrary, Choniates simply describes an authentic episode? If the last answer is correct we have to ask what meaning was attached to the spear strike by the performer and how such act was understood by the witnesses. All in all, was the siege of Zemun an exemplary moment, a sort of God's judgment aimed to underscore the virtues and, respectively, the sins of the two camps? There are no easy answers to such questions. It is certain though that in his description of the Byzantine-Hungarian war of 1165, Choniates used a wide range of literary stratagems aimed to underline the emperor's triumph¹⁴. Also, one should keep in mind that, after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Choniates revised his history and, in this respect, Alicia Simpson pointed out that critics directed to Manuel I are to be found precisely in the last version of the chronicle. Thus we have to ask if such *post factum* judgment influenced somehow the account of the siege of Zemun¹⁵.

At first glance the answer seems to be negative. However, Choniates' text is much less apologetic than Kinnamos' version¹⁶. Indeed Choniates' narrative is not focused on emperor's deeds. On the contrary, he insists on several details which cast lights and shadows on the Byzantine-Hungarian war. For instance, it is mentioned an episode about a woman killed by her husband to avoid a rape by Byzantine soldiers; also, there are mentions of a pro-byzantine faction in the city which sent day by day information to the emperor's camp during the siege. Last but not least, Choniates gave a full account of Andronicus Komnenos dexterity in

¹³ Sometimes the Byzantine chronicles underlined the opposition of the Byzantine subjects towards the audacity of some emperors in battles. For instance, John II Komnenos intention to lead an attack against a Pecheneg camp was denied by his counsellors (*Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, p. 8); similarly Manuel's decision to attack Zemun from an assault tower encountered strong opposition from his subjects and eventually the emperor abandoned the idea (*Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, p. 241).

¹⁴ Alicia Simpson, "Niketas Choniates: the Historian", in Alicia Simpson, Stephanos Efthymiadis (eds.), *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, Geneva, 2009, p. 13: "the story narrated by Niketas in his history is complex and multifaceted. It largely consists of stories within stories, revolving in a periphery around the protagonists, some adventurous, erotic or heroic, others comedic, pathetic and abhorrent". See also in the same volume Anthony Kaldellis, "Paradox, Reversal and the Meaning of History", p. 75–99 (especially p. 75) and Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Greek and Biblical exempla in the service of an artful writer", p. 101–119.

¹⁵ Alicia Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*, p. 16–17. There are no less than three versions of Choniates' work: a short version, an appendix written after 1204 which insists on the fourth crusade and its consequences and a revised version written in Nicaea ten years after the loss of Constantinople. For the idealization of Manuel's early reign and the contrast with the subsequent period see Alicia Simpson, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, Oxford, 2013, p. 151.

¹⁶ For the differences between the two Byzantine authors with special focus on Byzantine-Hungarian relations see Alicia Simpson, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, p. 221.

handling the siege machines¹⁷. In opposition, Kinnamos' account is longer, his succession of events slightly different, and, more important, Manuel I is the main actor of the war while his cousin and rival Andronicus is seldom mentioned¹⁸. There are also serious differences between the two chroniclers¹⁹ concerning the prelude of the war. Analyzing the main reason of the conflict i.e. the poisoning of Stephen IV, Stephanos Efthymiadis noticed both the synthetic version of Choniates' text on the issue as well as the ironies directed against the emperor and his protégé²⁰. According to Efthymiadis, Choniates' version is an "intriguing narrative", an *exemplum* with a strong moral purpose.

As I already mentioned there are also divergences related to the description of the siege. Choniates' text is more concise and the emperor's role is emphasized only in respect with the charge against the city's gate. The act seems carved out of a novel of the Round Table. In front of the castle of Grail, both Lancelot and Perceval are tempted to use their weapons in order to enter. Perceval strikes so hard with his sword the gate of the Grail castle, that „the world seems to end” (*Qu'il samble que li siecles fine*)²¹. The sword breaks into two and the knight is admonished by a *prud'homme*, who tells him that the violent gesture attracts the prolongation of the Grail quest by another seven years. In a similar manner, in *La Queste de Saint Graal*, Lancelot tries to use his weapon against the lions which guard the entrance to the Grail castle, but he is admonished by a celestial voice, who chastises his audacity. According to the heavenly messenger, Lancelot placed more confidence in his valor and in his weapons than in almighty God. Thus, the voice implies that the knight's courage was stronger than his faith.²² The conclusion of the aforementioned episodes is quite clear: at the gates of the Grail

¹⁷ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 134. For Andronikos' depiction in Choniates as a perpetual source of trouble but also as a very skillful character see Alicia Simpson, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, p. 160.

¹⁸ *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, p. 246; cf. John Kinnamos, *Deeds*, p. 185.

¹⁹ For the outbreak of the war the differences between Kinnamos and Choniates are insignificant. For instance, Kinnamos indicates the Church where was buried Stephen IV while Choniates mentions the name of the killer and the method of poisoning. The killer poisoned the bandages used by Stephen IV to poultice a wound. For the use of Kinnamos text by Choniates see Vasile Grecu, "Nicetas Choniates a-t-il connu l'histoire de Jean Kinnamos?", *Revue des études byzantines* 7, 1949, p. 194–204. Alicia Simpson, "Niketas Choniates", p. 28. Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Nicetas Choniates and Ioannes Kinnamos", p. 28 considers that both authors used a source which is now lost. But see also Alexander Kazhdan, "Esce raz o Kinname i Nikita Honiate", *Byzantinoslavica* 24, 1963, p. 4–31, who considers that the similarities are limited only to the reign of John II Komnenos.

²⁰ Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Nicetas Choniates and Ioannes Kinnamos", p. 23 and p. 26–27. The author proposes an explanation for Choniates' interest in giving a full account of the poisoning of the Hungarian pretender.

²¹ Gerbert de Montreuil, *La Continuation de Perceval*, édité par Mary Williams, 1.1, Paris, 1922, p. 7, vers 168–173. For the Arthurian episodes in which the hero hits the castle gate, I owe a great deal of gratitude to Cătălina Gîrbea.

²² *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Albert Pauphilet, Paris, 2003, p. 253.

castle the use of weapons is illegitimate.²³ The idea resembles very much a *topos* from the pages of the chronicles of the crusades: a just cause implies trust in God's help rather than in one's own strength.

But this conclusion cannot be applied to the episode whose protagonist is Manuel Komnenos. Not only the weapon is a different one, a spear instead of a sword, but the stake of the episode seems entirely different. In contrast to the mentioned Arthurian deeds, the emperor's strike has nothing illegitimate about it. It seems to be a message addressed by military means to those behind the walls. Choniates seems to suggest that the refuse to open the gates and to surrender was an act of defiance aimed to contest the imperial authority. In such context the spear's strike is a reply, a symbolic gesture which underscores the imperial anger and anticipates the future punishment. In opposition with the aforementioned Arthurian novels, when the use of weapon put an end to a conflict, the spear's strike anticipates the incoming violence.

This kind of message could be found in some other medieval episodes. Narrating the siege of Constantinople by the Bulgarians in the year 813, the chronicle of Theophanes reminds a gesture of the khan Krum, labelled as "the new Sennacherib". Krum marched in front of the walls of Constantinople, from the Gate Blachernae to the Golden Gate, namely from one end to the other of the terrestrial line of fortifications. Such parade was followed by "demonic" sacrifices in front of the city walls and by an unusual demand made by Krum. The Khan asked that his spear will be affix to the Golden Gate by the emperor. Because Leon V refused to obey, Krum was eventually content to retreat into his tent.²⁴ For good reason, the entire episode was interpreted as an attempt to put *basileus* Leon V, who barely took the throne²⁵, in a difficult position, and the demand to affix the spear to the Golden Gate as a symbolic act by which the emperor would have bowed before the power of the Bulgarian khan.²⁶ By comparing the khan with the king of Assyria, Sennacherib, Theophanes seems from the very start to suggest that, despite the disproportion of forces, the assault attempt over the imperial capital was foredoomed to fail. Even if the succession of events differs from the account of

²³ See the analysis made by Cătălina Gîrbea, "Chevalerie, adoubement et conversion dans quelques romans du Graal", in *Chevalerie et christianisme aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Martin Aurell et Cătălina Gîrbea (eds.), Rennes, 2011, p. 179–199.

²⁴ *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883, p. 503; cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, transl. by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex, Oxford, 1997, p. 686.

²⁵ Florin Curta, "Qagan, Khan or King? Power in Early Medieval Bulgaria (seventh to ninth century)", in *Text, Context, History and Archaeology. Studies in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Victor Spinei, București-Brăila, 2009 p. 393: „Krum may have well moved freely in 813 under the very walls of Constantinople (...) in order to make the Byzantine emperor Leo V lose face publicly”.

²⁶ Panos Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria 775–831*, Leiden-Boston, 2012, p. 252: „the *khan* is reported to have requested the emperor to affix his spear to the Golden Gate, no doubt as a symbolic act of submission to Bulgar power”.

Senacherib's attack of Jerusalem in the Old Testament, the Bulgarian siege of 813 ended, indeed, in failure. The Bulgarian khan retreated but only after he had devastated the surroundings of the imperial capital. A comparison with the Byzantine siege of Zemun underlines a couple of notable differences. Krum does not strike the city gate himself, but he asks the emperor to affix his spear. Moreover, the gesture was claimed after the khan's armies paraded in front of the capital's walls, an element missing in the case of the siege of Zemun.

At the opposite extremity of Europe, a similar gesture was made by the future emperor Louis the Pious in the year 801, in front of the walls of Barcelona. According to the poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, at a certain point during the siege, Charlemagne's son threw stoutly his spear against the fortress. The force of the fling was so great, that the spear fastened into the „wall marble”. Frightened by the arm who accomplished such a strike, „the Moors”, who were already willing to surrender because of the casualties and the hunger, decided unanimously to capitulate.²⁷ Far from being, as the Italian historian Aldo Settia considered²⁸, a high-minded gesture of defiance and, at the same time, a confession of weakness in front of a fortress which he had decided to take, Louis' spear strike seems to be the decisive element which turn the balance of war. According to the poet's views, the Prince's military virtues are those which, eventually, subdue the “Moors” headstrongness and compel them to capitulate. The episode of Louis the Pious' spear strike has much in common with Manuel's attitude in front of the gates of Zemun, even if there is also a significant difference. The Franks succeeded in their attempt to convince the Muslims to surrender Barcelona, while the Byzantines were forced to continue their siege²⁹.

Another example could be found from the second half of the 14th century. During the “crusade” of Amadeus of Savoy, one of his knights, Guillelmus de Grandissono, made a *chevauchée* in front of the walls of Anchialos. The text is

²⁷ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Scriptores*, vol. II, Hannover, 1829, p. 476r. *Tum rex ipse pius crispans hastile lacerto, Inque urbem adversam compulit ire celer. Hasta volans media ventis se contulit urbi/Marmore subjecto figitur acta nimis. Hoc signo Mauri turbate corde pavore/Mirantur ferrum, plus iacientis opus./Quid facerem' iam rex aberat, iam pugna tepebat;/Maurorum primos abstulerat gladius/Tandem iam victi nimium belloque fameque./Consilio unanimi reddere castra volunt.*

²⁸ Aldo A. Settia, *Rapine, assedi, battaglie. La guerra nel medioevo*, Roma, 2002, p. 176: “un orgoglioso gesto di sfida che e, nello steso tempo, una confessione di impotenza contro una fortezza decisa ad arrendersi soltanto per fame”. For an analysis of the siege of Barcelona in 801 see Richard L.C. Jones, “Fortifications and Sieges in Western Europe c. 800–1450”, in *Medieval Warfare. A History*, ed. by Maurice Keen, New York and Oxford, p. 167–168.

²⁹ There is also another one: Louis was not mounted when he launched the spear against the walls. The reason is obvious. Such manner of combat was not invented yet. See Jean Flori, “Encore l'usage de la lance. La technique du combat chevaleresque vers l'an 1100”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* XXXI, juillet-septembre 1988, p. 217–219 who points out that Louis technique in using the spear could also be found in the Bayeux tapestry illustrating the battle of Hastings.

very brief but it could be argued that Guillelmus intended to openly defy the defenders who refused to surrender³⁰.

Finally, a mounted sovereign who strikes with his spear the gates of a fortress appears in the pages of the Moldavian chronicle attributed to Grigore Ureche in relation with a Moldavian siege of Lviv in 1509. The text mentions that “[the Moldavians] burning and pillaging the country, began the siege of Lviv, where they battered the city walls, and they were very close to take it. And voivode Bogdan III alone struck with the spear the gate of Lviv, and the sign of his blow can be seen even today. The Poles themselves acknowledge the fact and moreover confess that the story is entirely true”³¹. We ignore how many sources were used by Ureche in the description of the Moldavian expedition in Poland, but the moment which individualize the campaign – the blow at the gate of Lviv, – are not to be found in any Polish or other Moldavian contemporary narrative sources which recounts the episode³². The chronicler’s mention that „The Poles themselves acknowledge the fact and moreover confess that the story is entirely true” suggests a Polish information that however might be an oral one. The episode has many similarities with Manuel I gesture at Zemun the only difference consisting in the epilogue. Bogdan III of Moldavia was forced to retreat while in the Byzantine case the siege was, in the end, successful.

All the aforementioned gestures with all the similarities and differences are a part of a symbolic arsenal attached to the medieval war. Many episodes narrated by the medieval chroniclers seem to suggest that the clash of weapons was doubled by a clash of gestures and words.

Choniates’ history makes no exception. The siege of Zemun is only one of the many episodes aimed to give meaning to the text. Emperors or simple warriors used during the battles words or gestures aimed to strengthen a particular idea, to emphasize a certain significance of the event. Sometimes such acts seem easy to understand. It was the case of the faint attack on the city of Sozopolis in Pamphylia, a stratagem aimed to lure the garrison outside the city walls³³. In other

³⁰ F. Bollati di Saint Pierre, *Illustrazioni della spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI (il Conte Verde)*, Torino, 1900, p. 119: “dominus Guillelmus de Grandissono equitavit cum armis ante castrum Aquille, in quo dominus Anthonius vicecomes de Mediolano captus tenebatur”. For the identification of „Aquille” with Anchialos see Octavian Iliescu, *A stăpânit Dobrotici la gurile Dunării?*, “Pontica”, IV, 1971, p. 371–377.

³¹ Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed. by P. P. Panaitescu, București, 1958, p. 138–139; cf. Nicolae Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei de la zidirea lumii până la 1601 și de la 1709–1711*, ed. C.A. Stoide și I. Lăzărescu, Iași, 1976, p. 149: „și bătând cetatea Liovului câteva dzile, nu o au dobândit, iar multă avere au luat dentr-însa și singur Bogdan vodă au lovit în poartă cu sulița”. The episode is mentioned by Maria Magdalena Székely, “Un gest de putere al lui Bogdan al III-lea și semnificația lui”, in *Putna, Ctitorii ei și lumea lor*, București, 2011, p. 99–106 but the analysis was focused on another gesture of power the sack of Rohatyn and the capture of the city church’s bell.

³² For a full analysis of the episode see Ovidiu Cristea, “Glasul lăncilor: pe marginea unui gest de putere al lui Bogdan al III-lea”, *Analele Putnei* X, 2014, 1, p. 203–214.

³³ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 13; *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 32–34.

cases the besiegers used ignominious means to undermine the moral of the defenders. For instance emperor Andronicus Komnenos took Euphrosina, the mother of the future emperor Isaac II Angelos, as a human shield in order to compel the defenders of Nicaea to surrender³⁴. On other occasion the besiegers were satisfied to point out their superiority. It was the case of an attack of a Norman fleet led by Maione of Bari who launched golden arrows against the palace of Blacherne³⁵.

There were also some situations when an individual duel intended to decide the outcome of a war. Such was the fight between the Byzantine Eustrathios and the Armenian Constantine during the siege of fortress Vakha³⁶. However, for the siege of Zemun the meaning of Manuel's gesture is much difficult to guess. It is striking that the strike in the city gate is ignored by John Kinnamos an author who praised any of the emperor's actions. This omission casts some doubts on the veracity of the event. Moreover, the doubts are strengthened by the fact that Choniates fails to elaborate on the episode and the gesture seem to have no serious consequences for his following narration. It may be simply assumed that it was a sort of challenge used by the emperor following a custom of Western knights. The spear as the weapon *par excellence* of the horsemen was generalized around mid-11th century³⁷ and Manuel Komnenos seemed to have been very founded on it. For instance, Choniates mentions that during a joust between Byzantines and Latins in Antioch³⁸, the emperor and his subjects mastered the spear namely against those who considered themselves masters of such weapon. The joust of Antioch underscored not only that the spear was the favorite weapon of Latin knights but also that, in their turn, the Byzantine used it skillfully. For Choniates, the Byzantine success in the aforementioned joust³⁹ was a solid proof that the Western perceptions of Byzantines as effeminate and unworthy warriors was wrong and that the emperor and his followers were as worthy as the Latins in the use of spear.

In a similar vein may be read the gesture of Manuel I in front of Zemun's gate. It was a challenge made in Western style aimed to put in contrast the courage of the Byzantine commander with the cowardice and lack of virtues of the

³⁴ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 282–283; *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 140–142.

³⁵ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 99; *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 226. For this episode see Ovidiu Cristea, "O „joacă” siciliană: supremație maritimă și prestigiu în Mediterana secolului al XII-lea", in *Vocația Istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, Ovidiu Cristea and Gheorghe Lazăr (eds.), Brăila, 2008, p. 221–235.

³⁶ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 23–25; *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 54–58.

³⁷ Jean Flori, "Encore l'usage de la lance", p. 213–240.

³⁸ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 108: Ὅρων δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῶν Λατίνων ἐκεῖσε στρατιωτικὸν μέγα τῷ δόρατι ἐγκλωμῶμενον καὶ τῷ τούτου ἐνδεξίῳ φυσῶν ἀγκωνίσματι παιδιᾶς ἡμέραν συνθηματίζεται δι' ἀσιδήρων δορατισμῶν; *Grandezza e catastrofe*, p. 246.

³⁹ For the difference between *tornemen*, a group combat and *dzoustra*, an individual combat, (words derived from Old French *torneimen* and *jost*) see *Sports* (authors Apostolos Karpozilos and Anthony Cutler) in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III, New York-Oxford, 1993, p. 1939–1940.

besieged. The latter were depicted as effeminate who refused the combat and took shelter behind the walls. Even worse, in their defense they seem to rely not on weapons but on dirty words and obscene gestures. Choniates' text seems to suggest a reversal of the Western cliché who depicted the Byzantines as feeble and pitiful warriors⁴⁰.

Eventually, Manuel I's gesture is a sort of "monologue" which received no reply from the enemies. It is another argument to reinforce the conclusion that the war of 1165 was directed against a worthless foe who used in his combat poison, treachery, obscene words and gestures as weapons. If we put the episode in the wide context of Manuel I's Hungarian policy the spear strike in the gate of Zemun – eventually a gesture of no consequences – suggests the failure of the emperor's attempts to transform Hungary in a Byzantine satellite⁴¹.

⁴⁰ For other "reversals" see Anthony Kaldellis, "Paradox, Reversal and the Meaning of History", p. 75–99.

⁴¹ Ferenc Makk, *The Arpads and the Comneni*, p. 80–82.

“KING OF ALL THE ARMENIANS”: LEWON I AND THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

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In a letter from 1199 addressed to Innocent III, Lewon I presented himself as *king of all the Armenians*, a title that was copied from the one used by the Armenian catholicos. The union with Rome, established in 1198, was met with opposition in Greater Armenia and the king could not control the Armenian patriarch either, because he resided in Hromkla. Thus, he tried to assume the spiritual authority over all Armenians to avoid any damage done to his ties with Rome and to control the Armenian Church, an action reflected in the use of the title of *king of all the Armenians*.

Keywords: Lewon I, Cilician Armenia, The Armenian Church, King of Armenia, Innocent III.

On the 6th of January 1198, in Tarsus, the Armenian prince Lewon II was crowned king by Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mainz. This moment was recorded by many oriental chroniclers¹, which may indicate upon its importance not only for Armenians, but also for the other peoples from the Levant. The coronation of the new Armenian king was celebrated both in Cilicia and Greater Armenia. Lewon embodied the renaissance of the Armenian monarchy, and some of his contemporaries hoped that one day in the future the kings from Cilicia would extend their authority over the Armenian lands from the east, thus uniting all Armenians under one rule². In 1199, in a letter addressed to Innocent III, Lewon presented himself as “king of all the Armenians”. In the following pages I will argue that this title was an expression of his desire to be perceived as the spiritual, not political leader of all his coreligionists, thus placing himself above the catholicos. In exchange for the crown which he had received, the king had to agree

¹ Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk'*, Venetik, S. Łazar, 1956, p. 208; Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'yun hayoc'*, K.A. Melik' Ohanjanyan (ed.), Erevan, 1961, p. 158; Vahram Rabuni, *Otanavor patmut' iwn Āubeneanc'* (*History of the Rubenian Dynasty*), V. Šahnazaryan, Paris, 1859, p. 212–213; *Annales de Terre-Sainte 1095–1291*, in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, t. II, Reinhold Röhrich and Gaston Reynaud (eds.), Paris, 1884, p. 435; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'Île de Chypre*, René de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1884, p. 54; *Chronique de Terre-Sainte*, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil des chroniques françaises*, Gaston Reynaud (ed.), Genève, 1887, p. 16.

² Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *Xaç'akirnerə ev hayerə* (*The crusaders and the Armenians*), vol. II, Erevan, 2007, p. 200–201.

with the union between the Armenian and the Roman churches. Thus, in order to be sure that his ties with the Holy See would not be endangered in any way, he adopted a title created on the basis of that used by the catholicos and tried to control the Armenian Church, such that the religious policy was in accordance with the secular one.

In 1187, Lewon succeeded his brother, Rupen, as prince of Cilicia³. The latter had two daughters, thus the new Armenian leader had to take care of them and rule in their name, and also had to make sure that they would not be betrothed to foreign princes⁴. According to Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, all of Lewon's actions between 1187–1198 were meant to consolidate his position in Cilicia. Although officially a guardian of the two sisters, he took the power in his hands and tried to govern in a manner which would have legitimated his authority. Lewon extended the borders of his principality and managed to free Cilicia from the Antiochene suzerainty⁵. Moreover, after negotiations, one of Rupen's daughter, Alice, married Raymond, Bohemond III's eldest son, and the male offspring of this union would have inherited the Armenian and the Latin principalities. But this episode reveals the weak position of the Armenian prince: the heir of Cilicia would not have been a member of his family, but rather Rupen's grandson⁶.

In 1189, Lewon received a letter from Clement III, by which the pope asked him to help the crusaders to reconquer Jerusalem⁷. Most likely, this plea for help determined the Armenian prince to meditate upon the idea of asking a royal crown in exchange for his aid towards the new crusade⁸. Frederick I Barbarossa might have carried a crown for Lewon I⁹, but his death put an end, for the time being, to the project of creating an Armenian kingdom. The negotiations were reopened during the last decade of the 12th century and in 1198, Lewon re-established the Armenian monarchy, being crowned in obedience to Rome and the Holy Roman Empire¹⁰. He was anointed¹¹, thus as a king whose authority was approved by God, his legitimacy was consolidated. In a colophon from 1187 he was already named

³ Smbat Sparapet, p. 194; V.A. Hakobyan (ed.), *Manr žamanakagrut 'yunner (Minor Chronicles)*, vol. I, 1951, p. 76; Samuel Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut 'yun (The Chronicle)*, Karen Matewosyan (ed.), Erevan, 2014, p. 228.

⁴ Vahram Rabuni, p. 212–213. In *Chronique d'Amadi* it is written: [...] *morite suo fratello Rubin et non lasso heredi, eccetto una figlia, de la quale Livon dovea esser bailio et esser [custode] de la terra, Chronique d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, publiées par M. René de Mas Latrie, première partie, Paris, 1891, p. 88.

⁵ *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, M.L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), Paris, 1871, p. 321.

⁶ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 164–176.

⁷ Leonce Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, Venise, 1888, p. 162–165.

⁸ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁹ Charles A. Frazee, "Church and State in the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia", *Byzantine Studies*, no. 3, part II, 1976, p. 51; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia", in Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. II, Harry W. Hazard, Robert Lee Wolff (eds.), *The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969, p. 645–646.

¹⁰ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCXIX, p. 778: *Innocentio [...] Leo, per eandem et Romani imperii gratiam rex omnium Armeniorum.*

¹¹ Smbat Sparapet, p. 208; Vahram Rabuni, p. 215.

“king”¹², thus his coronation was perceived as a confirmation of his power and authority in the Cilician lands.

Kirakos Ganjakec‘i noted that in exchange for the crown, Lewon had to operate some religious changes which would have united the Armenian and the Roman churches. The Armenian bishops were reluctant, but Lewon told them that they would deceive the pope by pretending to be willing to meet his demands, while not changing anything¹³. According to Lewon-Ter Petrosyan, Kirakos acknowledged that the union with Rome was political, but tried to hide it, thus this paragraph was meant to legitimate Lewon I’s concessions towards the Holy See¹⁴. It is important to stress that the chronicler did not say anything about any opposition against Lewon’s pro-Latin policy. We know from a letter written by Nerses Lampronac‘i that there was a strong anti-unionist group in Greater Armenia, whose leader was Barseł, bishop of Ani¹⁵. In order to analyse the demands of the Holy See, Lewon should have convened a council attended also by the bishops from the Armenian eastern territories. These ones had to be persuaded to agree with the pope, which required time and would have postponed the royal coronation. He did not want to wait too long, thus he forced the Cilician bishops to accept the union with Rome without having the approval of the Armenian clergy from the East¹⁶. Thus, in 1198 Lewon was in a delicate position: the union with the Holy See was fragile, given the opposition of the bishops from Greater Armenia and the fact that even the ones from Cilicia had to be forced to accept it¹⁷.

Besides these, there was another problem. In 1193, by capturing Bohemond III, Lewon freed Cilicia from the Antiochene suzerainty¹⁸ and through the mediation of Henry of Champagne managed to plan a future union of the Latin and the Armenian principalities: Alice, Ruben III’s daughter, married Raymond, Bohemond III’s eldest son. The male offspring of this union would have inherited both principalities¹⁹. The couple had a son, Raymond-Rupen, whose father died in 1197²⁰. According to the agreement between Lewon and Bohemond, signed in 1194, the child should have become the heir of Antioch. But in 1198, another son

¹² A.S. Mat‘ewosyan, *Hayeren je‘agreri hišatakaraner, E-ŽD dd. (Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts, 5–12 centuries)*, Erevan, 1988, p. 252: *Ըստ խնդրոյ քրիստոսասէր Լեւոնի արքայի Հայոց, որ կոչի Լեւոն Երկրորդ.*

¹³ Kirakos Ganjakec‘i, p. 157.

¹⁴ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 192–193.

¹⁵ *Extraits de Saint Nersés de Lampron*, RHC. Doc. Arm., vol. I, Paris, 1869, p. 593–594; Małaqia Arq. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Costandnupolis, 1912, p. 1512, § 1040.

¹⁶ Bernard Hamilton, “The Armenian Church and the Papacy at the time of the Crusades”, *Eastern Churches Review* X, 1–2, 1978, p. 71; Krikor Maksoudian, *Chosen of God. The Election of the Catholicos of all Armenians*, New York, 1995, p. 49; M. Ormanean, *op. cit.*, p. 1512 § 1040.

¹⁷ Krikor Maksoudian, *op. cit.*, p. 48–49.

¹⁸ In 1193/94, Ruben III was forced to accept Bohemond III’s suzerainty over Cilicia, Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 160–161.

¹⁹ Smbat Sparapet, p. 206–207.

²⁰ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Claude Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant: XI^e–XIV^e siècle*, vol. I, Paris, 2012, p. 96.

of Bohemond III, Bohemond IV, occupied the city, thus threatening Raymond-Rupen's succession to the principality²¹. In this context, Lewon I had only one solution: to ask the pope for help.

In 1199, Lewon sent two letters to the Holy See. In the first one, dated on 23rd of May 1199, he presented himself as *rex omnium Armeniorum* and declared that he longed for the completion of the union between all Armenians, inside and outside his kingdom, and Rome²². The second letter represented an attempt to ask for the pope's support in the struggle for the Antiochene Succession and was dispatched, most likely, in June²³. Before these two, the catholicos Grigor VI Apirat had sent a message to Rome. As *catholicus totius Ecclesiae Armeniorum*, he acknowledged the supremacy of the Holy See and declared that all Armenian archbishops, bishops, and clerics were faithful to the pope²⁴. These three letters are linked to each other and may explain how Lewon created the title of "king of all the Armenians" using the basis of the one used by the catholicos and how did he use it to express his desire to coordinate the policy of the Armenian church with that of the monarchy.

Lewon started a practice of using this title which was continued by his successors. However, it is difficult to explain the reasons of its usage by the Armenian kings of Cilicia because it does not appear in all royal documents. Lewon II and Lewon IV labelled themselves as *roy de toute Hermenie*²⁵ and, respectively, *roy de tous les Armens/ rex omnium armenorum*²⁶, but I did not find examples for the other monarchs. Still, I think we can understand why did Lewon decide to adopt this title. The traditional title of the Armenian monarchs was *t'agavor hayoc* (king of the Armenians)²⁷. Smbat I (891–914) used also the title of *tiezerakal* (universal) and starting with the third decade of the 10th century, it was added another extension, *šahnšah* (king of kings)²⁸. Thus, Lewon could not have adopted this title from the Bagratuni kings. However, as it can be seen from the

²¹ Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 69.

²² *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCXIX, p. 778: *In vestri vero luminis gratia salutaribus monitis reverendissimi patris nostri archiepiscopi Maguntini instructi et informati, omne regnum nobis a Deo commissum amplissimum et spatiosum et omnes Armenios huc illuc in remotis partibus diffusos, ad unitatem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, divina inspirante clementia, revocare cupimus et exoptamus.*

²³ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCLII, p. 809–813.

²⁴ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCXVII, p. 775–776.

²⁵ *L'Armeno-Veneto, Compendio storico e documenti delle relazioni degli armeni coi veneziani. Primo periodo, secoli XIII–XIV*, ed. Lewind Alishan, Venezia, 1893, p. 18–21; Victor Langlois, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie ou cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des roupéniens*, Venise, 1863, XXXI, p. 166–169.

²⁶ *L'Armeno-Veneto*, p. 32–35; 38–38; 40–43; Victor Langlois, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, p. 182–184; 186–190; 193–194, 196–198; Antonio Paz y Melia, *Series de sus principales documentos*, I, *Historica*, Madrid, 1915, p. 342–344.

²⁷ Gagik Danielyan, "The Title t'agavor/takfūr in Medieval Muslims Historiography", in *Cilician Armenia in the Perceptions of Adjacent Political Entities*, Yerevan, 2019, p. 154.

²⁸ Aram Ter-Levondyan, "Halbati araberren arjanagrut'yunə ew bagratuni t'agavorneri titłosnerə" (The Inscription of Halbāt and the titles of the Bagratid kings), *Lraber hasarakan gitut'yunneri*, 1979, 1, 73, p. 75–76.

above-mentioned letters, there was a resemblance between *rex omnium Armenorum* and *catholicus totius Ecclesiae Armeniorum*. According to Azat Bozoyan, between the 5th and 11th centuries, the catholicos’s title *katolikos hayoc’ mecac’* (*Catholicos of Greater Armenia*) mirrored the one of the Arsacid kings, *t’agavor hayoc’ mecac’* (*King of Greater Armenia*). Following the fall of the Bagratid Kingdom of Ani in 1045, the Armenians have migrated to various places (Cappadocia, Cilicia, Northern Syria, Egypt etc.), which determined the catholicos to change their title in order to adapt to the new political reality, namely, to exercise authority over all scattered Armenian communities. Thus, they started to present themselves as *katolikos amenayn hayoc’* (*Catholicos of all Armenians*)²⁹. This meant that Lewon adopted the title of the catholicos³⁰, but what about its usage and significance?

The historians have tried to explain the reasons which determined Lewon to present himself as *king of all the Armenians*. Édouard Dulaurier, the editor of *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens* tom. I, considered that this title was purely nominal and honorific³¹. Małachia Ormanian’s opinion is that by using this title, Lewon wanted to stress that his coronation marked not only the creation of the Cilician kingdom, but the renaissance of the ancient Armenian monarchy. Thus, as the continuator of the Arsacids and the Bagratids, he was the only king of the Armenians, whose authority extended also over Greater Armenia³². H. M. Aršamyan shared Ormanian’s opinion, saying that for Lewon, Cilicia and Isauria³³ were only two provinces of a pan-Armenian kingdom, designed to include Greater Armenia and the territories from Asia Minor which were inhabited by his coreligionists³⁴. Abraham Terian only mentioned this title and said that maybe Lewon I assumed it with the purpose of linking Cilicia with Greater Armenia by stronger ties, despite the different opinions of the clerics from these provinces regarding the union with the Roman Church³⁵. According to Ioanna Rapti, the Armenian king chose to present himself in this way in order to place the secular and the religious authorities on the same level³⁶. Lewon Ter-Petrosyan

²⁹ Azat Bozoyan, “«Katolikos hayoc’» titłosi norovi ənkalumə Bagratunyac’ t’agavorut’yan ankumic’ heto” (A new perception of the title of the Armenian catholicos after the fall of the Bagratid monarchy), *Paštonakan amsagir hayrapetakan at’oroy S. Ėjmtajin*, 53, 10, p. 72–81.

³⁰ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

³¹ *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Doc. Arm.*, tom. I, p. 747.

³² Małachia Arq. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, p. 1549 § 1066. Vahan Ter-Ghevondian, *The Rubenids in Arabic Historiography*, in *Cilician Armenia in the Perceptions of Adjacent Political Entities*, Azat Bozoyan (ed.), Yerevan, 2019, p. 115.

³³ In the *Invocatio of protocol* of a synodal letter from 1213/14, Lewon appeared as *king of Armenia, Cilicia and Isauria*; see Azat Bozoyan, “The Evidence of the Byzantine Sources”, in *Cilician Armenia in the Perceptions of Adjacent Political Entities*, 2019, p. 51.

³⁴ H.M. Aršamyan, “Kilikiayum veravertvac hayoc’ t’agavorut’yan hamazgayin iravasut’yuna” (The nationwide jurisdiction of the rebuilt Armenian kingdom in Cilicia), *Banber Erevani hamalsarani*, 1995, no. 3, p. 58–59.

³⁵ Abraham Terian, “Church-State Relation at the Dawn of Kingship in Cilician Armenia”, in *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, vol. XIII, 2003–2004, p. 15.

³⁶ Ioanna Rapti, “Image et monnaie dans le royaume arménien de Cilicie”, in *Des images dans l’Histoire*, M.-F. Auzépy et J. Cornette (eds.), Saint-Denis, 2008, p. 51.

interpreted Lewon's usage of this title by his need to legitimate his authority. The king had two objectives: regarding the internal affairs of Cilicia, he wanted to be acknowledged as the sole ruler, trying to eliminate the possibility of a challenge to his rule; for the foreign political actors, he wanted to be perceived as the only representative of the Armenians³⁷. For Claude Mutafian, Lewon wanted to use this title to help him unite Cilicia with Antioch. As *king of all the Armenians*, his prestige would have been enhanced and he might have managed to impose his authority over the Antiochenes³⁸.

These hypotheses point to the great number of possibilities regarding Lewon's reason for using this title. In my opinion, the Armenian king could not have claimed political authority over Greater Armenia, given that a big part of this province (Zakarid Armenia) was under the authority of the Georgian kings³⁹. However, the letter from 1199 which was addressed to Innocent III might indicate upon Lewon's desire to be acknowledged as the spiritual leader of all Armenians. In the following pages I will develop the ideas of Ioanna Rapti, Lewon Ter-Petrosyan and Claude Mutafian, arguing that he had solid reasons to control the Armenian Church by placing himself on the same level with, if not above, the catholicos. Also, the meaning of this title might have helped him to secure Innocent III's aid in the war of the Antiochene Succession.

Lewon I had to be sure that his authority would not have been contested, otherwise his whole effort of negotiating for a crown would have been in vain. The problem represented by the opposition of the clergy from Greater Armenia was an old one⁴⁰. Starting with the middle of the 11th century, the Armenian Church had retied its connections with Rome, and soon the leaders of the two churches started to discuss about a possible union between them. The religious negotiations mirrored the foreign policy of the Rubenid princes of Cilicia: their alliances and allegiances were dynamic, being dictated by the evolution of the main political actors from the Levantine territories. Thus, during the 12th century, they collaborated with the Latins, the Byzantines or even the Muslims⁴¹. In this context, it is not surprising that the Armenian Catholicos of Hromkla had also negotiated with the Byzantine patriarchs and emperors. When Lewon came to power in 1187, he had to search for

³⁷ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 196–198.

³⁸ Claude Mutafian, *op. cit.*, p. 425. In 1193, Lewon wanted to occupy Antioch, but failed. The inhabitants of the city, together with their patriarch, rejected his envoys and declared a *commune*, Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades*, Paris, 1940, p. 583–584.

³⁹ In 1124, David IV the Builder captured Ani, Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, Ara Edmond Dostourian (trans.), Lanham, New York and London, 1993, p. 233; Matt'eos Urhayec'i, *Žamanakagrut'yun*, H. Bar'ikyan (trans. and ed.), Erevan, 1973, p. 241. For the Armenian lands controlled by the Zakarid princes, see Claude Mutafian, *op. cit.*, p. 282–324.

⁴⁰ Catholicos Grigor IV Tla, when discussing a possible union with the Byzantine Church, faced the opposition of the some of the Armenian clerics from the East, see Fr. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, t. I, *Depuis les origines des Arméniens jusqu'à la mort de leur dernier roi (l'an 1393)*, Paris, 1900, p. 255–256.

⁴¹ Claude Mutafian, *op. cit.*, p. 66–93.

an ally which could have helped him against his most powerful enemies, the Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm and the Principality of Antioch, which led him to consider a collaboration with Constantinople⁴². In 1196, a council was convened in Tarsus, where it was discussed the possible union with the Byzantine Church. The participants accepted the demands of the emperor and the Greek patriarch, but their decisions were not acknowledged by the Armenian clerics from Greater Armenia, who also elected their own catholicos⁴³. In this context, when Lewon was crowned king, he knew that he had to act in order to enforce the union with Rome also upon the Armenians from the East, because their opposition would have weakened his position not only in front of his nobles, but also on the political stage of the Orient. How could he be the true *king of Armenia* if the most important feature of his foreign policy, namely the union with Rome, was contested by his coreligionists? As is it clear that the position of the catholicos could have been usurped, and given that the location of its see was in Hromkla, outside of the royal jurisdiction, Lewon wanted to be sure that his connections with the Holy See would not have been endangered. In the letter which was sent to Innocent III in 1199, the catholicos assured the pope that all Armenian clerics, whether in Cilicia or in another territories, would remain faithful to the union with Rome⁴⁴. But he did not have any power to do this, so Lewon I came to support Grigor VI Apirat’s authority. As “king of all the Armenians”, he expressed his hope regarding the union of all Armenians with the Holy See: *In vestri vero luminis gratia salutaribus monitis reverendissimi patris nostri archiepiscopi Maguntini instructi et informati, omne regnum nobis a Deo commissum amplissimum et spatiosum et omnes Armenios huc illuc in remotis partibus diffusos, ad unitatem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, divina inspirante clementia, revocare cupimus et exoptamus*⁴⁵. In this way, he assured Innocent that the religious and the secular authorities were to work together to accomplish this mission. Moreover, in my opinion the Armenian king also wanted to stress that given the weak position of the Armenian catholicos, whose seat could have been usurped by other bishops⁴⁶, his authority was safe, thus placing himself in a better position than the patriarch. After all, the archbishop of Mainz crowned him, thus his position was approved by the Holy See. Any other Armenian noble who wished to usurp his power had to receive Rome’s blessing. If the catholicos

⁴² H. Bartikyan, “Nor nyut’er Kilikiayi hajkakan petut’yan ew Byuzandiayi p’oxharaberut’yunneri masin” (New sources on the relations between the Armenian state of Cilicia and Byzantium), *Banber Matenadarani*, 1958, no. 4, p. 285–286.

⁴³ Fr. Tournebize, *op. cit.*, p. 259–266; Małajka Arq. Ormanean, *op. cit.*, p. 1512, § 1040. According to Krikor Maksoudian, the oriental clerics elected Barsel of Ani as their catholicos when they heard about the fate of Gregory V of Cilicia who died while trying to escape from his prison in Kopitar, Krikor Maksoudian, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴⁴ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCXVII, p. 775–776.

⁴⁵ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCXIX, p. 778.

⁴⁶ In 1113, the bishop Davit’ established a catholicosate in Alt’amar, which existed until 1895 and his successors opposed sometimes the decisions of the catholicoi from Northern Syria, Azat Bozoyan, “«Katolikos hayoc’» titlosi norovi ənkalumə Bagratunyac’ t’agavorut’yan ankumic’ heto”, p. 76.

had lost his authority, the king could have fulfilled the mission of bringing all Armenians in union with the Roman Church. In order to consolidate his position, he tried to eliminate the danger represented by the Het'umids. During the 12th century, the position of leader in Cilicia was disputed among the Rubenids and the Het'umids. Thus, as king, Lewon had to be sure that his position would not be challenged by them. He summoned them to Tarsus, in order to marry his niece, Philippa, to Ošin, son of Het'um, the leader of this family. This was a trap, and Het'um was imprisoned. Although Lewon did not manage to conquer the fortress, he weakened the power of his rivals by sending their leader to a monastery⁴⁷.

Lewon I's second letter dispatched to the Holy See in 1199 was an appeal for help in the War of the Antiochene Succession. After capturing Bohemond III in 1193, the Armenian prince managed to strike a deal with him by the mediation of Henry of Champagne. Bohemond's elder son, Raymond, was to marry Lewon's niece, Alice, Ruben III's daughter and the male child which would have resulted from this union was the heir of the Armenian and the Latin principalities. In 1197, Raymond died⁴⁸ and after one year another son of Bohemond III, Count Bohemond IV of Tripoli, occupied Antioch⁴⁹. Lewon's answer appeared only in 1199, when he sent the above-mentioned letter to the Holy See. It is important to say that this one came, most likely, a month after the message which presented him as "king of all the Armenians" and declared its hope for union between all his subject and Rome⁵⁰. In this context, I think that the Armenian king sent these letters one after the other on purpose. The first one had to assure Innocent that the union between the Armenian and the Latin Churches was to be preserved and the king would do anything to accomplish this mission. In this way Lewon wanted to prove his faithfulness towards the pope and to prepare the way for the second letter, by which he asked for his help against Bohemond IV. This attempt to secure Innocent's help could be interpreted in the logic of the War of the Antiochene Succession. Both parts fought for allies, and Lewon used many diplomatic instruments trying to persuade the Roman pontiff to support his cause against the Count of Tripoli⁵¹.

All three letters are united. The first one, sent from Hromkla, acknowledged the primacy of the Holy See and expressed the assurance of the catholicos regarding the acceptance of the union with Rome by all Armenian clerics. The second one, dispatched from Tarsus, came as an addition to the message of the Armenian

⁴⁷ Smbat Sparapet, p. 210–211.

⁴⁸ Lewon Ter-Petrosyan, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Claude Mutafian, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁹ Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 69.

⁵⁰ The first letter was written on 23 May 1199 and Innocent III answered to it on 24 November of the same year. Given that the response for the second letter was dated on 17 December, most likely Lewon dispatched it in June.

⁵¹ I have analysed Lewon's attempts to secure Innocent III's help in order to place his nephew, Raymond-Rupen, on the throne of Antioch in my article "The War of the Antiochene Succession. Lewon I's Game of Diplomacy", RESEE 57, 2019, p. 221–250.

patriarch, expressing Lewon’s desire and hope for the completion of the union and his commitment to this mission. In this way, he carved a positive image of himself, in order to ask for Innocent III’s help in the third letter.

A few years after his coronation, Lewon I had the opportunity to try to convince his coreligionist from Greater Armenia to accept the union with Rome. According to Kirakos Gandjakets’i, Zak’are, one of the most powerful princes in Greater Armenia, wanted to use a portable church in order to celebrate mass, together with his soldiers, while they were campaigning. He asked for an opinion from the *vardapet* Mxit’ar Goš, who told him that it was customary for the ancient Armenian Christian kings to receive communion in the army. When Zak’are asked Mxit’ar to give him the order to take priests and tents, the *vardapet* told him that firstly, he had to receive such a command from the Armenian catholicos and from king Lewon. When the king received a message from Zak’are asking for an answer regarding this matter, Lewon convened a council in Sis, attended by the catholicos Daw’it, *vardapets* and other clerics. The council decided to help Zak’are and sent him eight canons which the clerics from Greater Armenia had to accept. Among them were the pope’s demands which Lewon had to fulfil in order to receive his royal crown⁵².

Cilicia was confronting with an ecclesiastical problem. Lewon had replaced Hovhannes VI from the seat of the catholicosate with Daw’it⁵³, who lived in Cilicia and supported the king in his endeavour of imposing the papal changes in Greater Armenia. Although Kirakos did not date this event, Smbat said that Lewon chose another catholicos in the same year with the conquest of Constantinople, that is 1204⁵⁴. This means that the disputes from Greater Armenia happened only after this date, but before 1211, when the king reconciled with Hovhannes⁵⁵. Although having been deprived of his position, by residing in Hromkla, which was beyond the control of the Cilician court, and having received from Zak’are the same letter as Lewon did, Hovhannes decided to get involved in this matter. In order to gain support against Lewon, Hovhannes sent some gifts and letters to the princes of Greater Armenia. Zak’are convened a meeting attended by many clerics, but not all of them accepted the orders received from Lewon and Daw’it. Thus, a schism appeared in Greater Armenia and Zak’are tried to force the churches to implement these changes, an act which triggered violent clashes between the Christians and the clerics from Greater Armenia. He tried to solve the problem by convening another council, but all was in vain and the schism deepened⁵⁶.

This story reveals some important aspects related to Lewon’s claim to authority over all Armenians. Firstly, that Lewon implemented his plan to bring all

⁵² Kirakos Ganjakec’i, p. 166–171; Kiracos de Gantzac, *Histoire d’Arménie*, trad. par. M. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 83–85.

⁵³ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, p. 168; Kiracos de Gantzac, p. 84.

⁵⁴ Smbat Sparapet, p. 215.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

⁵⁶ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, p. 171–178; Kiracos de Gantzac, p. 85–88.

Armenians in obedience to the Holy See by asking them to operate some changes which represented the demands of the Papacy. As Kirakos said, some clerics, together with Zaka're, decided to obey Lewon. Therefore, the Armenian king enjoyed some degree of authority and approval in Greater Armenia. Secondly, Lewon replaced the catholicos Hovhannes VI with Daw'it, archbishop of Mamistra⁵⁷ without meeting any opposition. Still, this was not something new, regarding that in 1194 Lewon had deposed another catholicos, Gregory, because 'he did not display the same obedience to everyone as previously when he was under a tutor, rather he ruled the patriarchy in a wilful manner'⁵⁸. It seems that the involvement of the king in the ecclesiastical problems of the Armenian Church has become a rule. Thus, when speaking about the designation of a new catholicos in 1269, Grigor Aknertsis said that 'No one could be appointed to this office except by the king'⁵⁹. However, this was not a new practice for Armenians. Matthew of Edessa recorded some events when it appears that the kings who reigned in Greater Armenia from the tenth to the twelfth centuries also had a certain degree of authority over the Armenian Church. For example, king Hovhannes-Senekerim III deposed Petros I Getadarj and placed Dioscorus, superior of the Monastery of Sanahin, on the seat of the catholicosate⁶⁰. Another example is that of Barseł, archbishop of Shirak, who decided, in 1081–1082, to go to Kyurike II, king of Lori, to be consecrated catholicos⁶¹. In this context, the fact that the Cilician kings had power over the catholicosate was not out of common⁶².

There is one more reason which can explain why Lewon used the title of *king of all the Armenians* to control the policy of the Armenian Church. The seat of the

⁵⁷ Smbat Sparapet, p. 215; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, trans. Robert Bedrosian, New Jersey, 2005, p. 100, online at: <http://attalus.org/armenian/cssint.htm> (last accessed on 14.03.2019).

⁵⁸ Smbat-Bedrosian, trans. Robert Bedrosian, p. 94; Smbat Sparapet, p. 205: *Բսկ կայտողիկոսն Գրիգորիս յորժամ եղև կայտողիկոս՝ ոչ տանէր զառաջին հնազանդութիւնն ամենեցում, որպէս յորժամ ընդ դաստիարակաւ էր, այլ ինքնիշխանութեամբ տանէր զհայրասպետութիւնն, որպէս տեսեալն էր ի քեռին իւր.*

⁵⁹ Grigor of Akner, "History of the Nation of the Archers", Robert Blake and Richard Frye (trans.), in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XII, no. 3-4, 1949, p. 370–371. In Armenian: *եւ այլ ոչ որ կարէր հոգայ տանց թագաւորին.*

⁶⁰ Matthew of Edessa, p. 61; Matt'eos Urhayec'i, p. 50–52.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

⁶² Krikos Maksoudian studied the history of the election of Armenian catholicoi. During the reign of the Arsacid dynasty, the kings had the most important role. However, given that the patriarchal seat was transmitted hereditary, after the line of St. Gregory the Illuminator died, the monarchs had to consult with the nobles, because they had to name a catholicos from another aristocratic family (Krikor Maksoudian, *op. cit.*, p. 1–11). The Bagratids did not enjoy a strong authority over Greater Armenia, thus in their times, the tradition of the hereditary seat was replaced with a new one, based on election by a council formed up by the king, the nobles and the bishops (Krikor Maksoudian, *op. cit.*, p. 35–39). In 1193, when Lewon involved himself in the election of the catholicos, he did it because the Pahlawuni family, who had controlled the Holy See for more than a century, could not agree over a candidate. This problem suited Lewon's need to have a catholicos which would not have alienated the bishops from Greater Armenia. Thus, after consulting with the clergy from the Armenian lands, he agreed with the candidature of Grigor Pahlawuni (Krikor Maksoudian, *op. cit.*, p. 47–48).

catholicos was in Hromkla, a fortress which Gregory III Pahlavuni had received from Beatrice, Joscelin II’s widow, in c. 1150. Although Thoros II had led a revolt against the Byzantines in 1145–1148, and set up an independent state, the catholicos did not move his seat in Cilicia, because by residing in Hromkla, he enjoyed a great measure of freedom from political pressure⁶³. It is important to stress that the seat of the catholicos remained in Hromkla until the end of the thirteenth century, when the Mamluks conquered the fortress⁶⁴. Thus, the catholicoi of the twelfth and thirteenth century did not move their seat in Cilicia, even though in 1198 Lewon established there the Armenian monarchy. Thus, maybe Lewon wanted to assume the control of the religious affairs in order to be sure that the catholicos from Hromkla, who was living outside his control, would not govern the Church against the pro-Latin policy of the kingdom.

As “king of all the Armenians”, Lewon did not claim a political authority over Greater Armenia, but rather a religious one. By having the power to depose the catholicos, he managed to align the church policy with that of the state, trying to maintain close relations with the Papacy⁶⁵. When he had an argument with Hohvannes VI, he replaced him with Daw’it, moving the seat of the catholicos in Cilicia. Also, when Zaka’are asked for his advice on a religious matter, Lewon seized the opportunity to persuade the clerics of Greater Armenia to accept the papal demands, thus affirming the union with Rome. But his initiative did not have the support of all the Eastern clerics. This was a sign that the union with Rome would be a problem in terms of relations between Cilicia and Greater Armenia.

⁶³ Bernard Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁶⁴ Step’annos Orbelean, *History of the State of Sisakan*, Robert Bedrosian (trans.), Long Branch, 2012–2015, p. 225, online at: <https://archive.org/details/HistoryOfTheStateOfSisakan>, last accessed on: 12.03.2019; Stéphannos Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, M. Brosset (trans.), Saint-Petersbourg, 1864, p. 246–247; Step’annosi Siuneac’ episkoposi, *Patmut’yun tann Sisakan*, Mkrtič’ Ėmin (ed.), Moskva, 1861, p. 324–325.

⁶⁵ Sometimes Lewon angered Innocent III, as for example when he attacked the Templars and seized their holdings in Cilicia, in 1211, see Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta regni hierosolymitani*, Oeniponti, 1893, 851.

The Ottoman Empire and Southeastern Europe

A FORGOTTEN CAPITULATION ('*AHDNAME*): THE COMMERCIAL PRIVILEGES GRANTED BY SULTAN AHMED I TO EMPEROR MATTHIAS IN 1617

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Among the impressive collection of original Turkish documents kept in the The Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna lies a most interesting '*ahdname* (capitulation) obtained during Herman Czernin von Chudenitz's and Cesare Gallo's embassy to Constantinople in 1617. This document, only briefly known so far through a couple of nineteenth-century translations, can be best described as a commercial '*ahdname*, drafted on the model of those granted to the Porte's Western commercial partners, and therefore very different from other known Habsburg '*ahdnames*, which mainly concerned military and border-related affairs. The present article offers a general survey on the Ottoman capitulatory regime, and an analysis on the historical context in which the 1617 '*ahdname* was produced. Appendixes containing the document's transliteration, translation and facsimiles are given at the end.

Keywords: diplomacy, Ottoman-Habsburg relations, trade, '*ahdname*, capitulation, diplomatics.

ORIGINALS AND COPIES

Locating Ottoman originals of '*ahdnames* nowadays is not an easy task since most exist solely as copies or translations.

Ottoman copies of '*ahdnames* granted to the European powers can be found in the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (or *Ecnebi Devletler Defterleri*)¹ registers kept in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Minister's Archives) in Istanbul. For instance, there is a long list of copies of the imperial charters granted to the Polish Kings after 1533 in the register *Lehistan 'ahdnamesi defteri*, 1016–1173 AH/1607–1759.² Various copies of sixteenth-to-eighteenth-century Ottoman–Habsburg '*ahdnames*, issued between 1547 and 1791, are in the register *Nemçelü 'ahd defteri*, 975–1210 AH/1567–1795.³

Many '*ahdnames* found their way into Ottoman official epistolographic anthologies, called *münşe'at*, designed “to provide chancery officials with

¹ “Registers of Foreign States” compiled by the chancery which handled relations with European States (*Divan-i Hümayun Amedi Kalemi*). A list of these registers is found in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, Ankara, 1992, 142–147.

² Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (henceforth BOA), *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (henceforth DED) 55/1, *Lehistan 'ahdnamesi defteri*, 1016–1173 AH/1607–1759.

³ BOA, DED 57/1, *Nemçelü 'ahd defteri* 975–1210 AH/1567–1795.

formularies to guide them in the composition of elegant and formally correct state documents.”⁴ The most famous *münşe’at* was penned by Ahmed Feridun Bey (d. 1583) and dedicated to Sultan Murad III in 1575. Entitled *Mecmu’a-ı Münşe’at al-Selatin* (“Collection of Sultans’ Correspondence”), it included various types of documents issued in the sultans’ name, including *ahdnames*, *fetihnames*, *berats* and *fermans*. Two nineteenth-century editions of this oeuvre are complemented with documents produced after the original date of composition. Most likely, both relied on some eighteenth-century manuscript copies, which would explain the inclusion of *ahdnames* concluded with Poland (1577–1667), England (1601), France (1604), and the Habsburgs (1608, 1615).⁵ Although the context of these nineteenth-century editions and the original do not differ significantly, some shifts in terminology can be detected, for instance, the use of “Christian” (*Hıristiyan*) rather than “infidel” (*kafir*).⁶ There are also manuscripts with a diplomatic specific, compiling only imperial charters (*ahdnames*) granted to European powers. For instance, the manuscript *Mu’ahadat-ı hümayun <mecmuası>. 975–1200 Osmanlı devleti ile Nemçe ve sair devletler arasında ‘akd olunan bazı mu’ahedeler* gathered peace agreements with the Habsburg Empire, Russia and other states dated 975–1200 AH/1567–1796.⁷

What about original *ahdnames*? As we have already said, locating originals is not an easy task.

For instance, as far as we know, from the series of Ottoman–Hungarian peace agreements between 1428 and 1519, only one original document is available, the *ahdname* of 1503, which was published by Tayyib Gökbilgin.⁸ Similarly, no

⁴ R. S. Humphreys, *Islamic History. A Framework for Inquiry*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1991, 41. A *münşi* was the official who wrote drafts of documents for Ottoman chanceries.

⁵ A. Feridun Bey, *Mecmu’a-ı Münşe’at al-Selatin*, I–II, Istanbul, 1264–1265 AH/1848–1849 (2nd edition, in 1274–1275 AH/1858). Ahmed Feridun was a *divan katibi*, *re’is ül-küttab*, and finally *nişancı* in 981 AH/1573. (İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 1971, 455–456). Details in: J. H. Mordtmann – V. L. Ménage, “Feridun Beg,” *Et-2*, II, 901–902; A. Antalffy, “*Münşe’at al-Selatin* al lui Rukhsanzade Ahmed Feridun, Et-Tevkii (pomenit și sub numele de Ahmed Feridun Bei Nişangi), ca izvor pentru istoria românilor,” *Buletinul Comisiei Istorice* XIII, 1, 1934, 4–23.

⁶ V. Panaite, “Comerț și negustori în tratatele osmano-polone. Un studiu de caz: 1607” (“Trade and Merchants in the Ottoman-Polish Treaties. A Case Study: 1607”), *Caietele Laboratorului de Studii Otomane*, Universitatea din București, 2, 1993, 29–48.

⁷ İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi, Muallim Cevdet (henceforth İBK, MC), K. 4. Here are other examples of this kind of manuscript from libraries in Istanbul: the manuscript *Sulhname-i Amca-zade Hüseyin paşa* contains the peace negotiations of Karlowitz (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi/Topkapı Palace Museum Library (henceforth TKSMK), R. 1311); the manuscripts *Suver-i mekatib-i musalaha Nemçe* and *Esnayi musalahada tevariid eden mekatib* also contains the treaty of Passarowitz (Pasarofça) of 1131 AH/1719 (TKSMK, R. 1946, R. 1953); the manuscript *Risale-i mu’ahadat* contains the 1798 treaty with England and the secret treaty with Russia of 27 *Receb* 1213/1 January 1799 (TKSMK, fd. Bağdad 237; Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale/National Historical Central Archives, Bucharest (henceforth ANIC), mf. Turkey, r. 51, fr. 647–663).

⁸ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi/Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (henceforth TKSMA), E. 5861, cf. M.T. Gökbilgin, “Korvin Mathias (Máttyás)’ın Bayezid II.e mektupları tercümeleri ve 1503 Macar-Osman muahedesinin Türkçe metni / La traduction des lettres de Korvin Mathias à Bayezid II et le texte turc du traité hungaro-turc de 1503 (909),” *Belleten*, XXII, 87, 1958, 369–390.

original French '*ahdnames* granted in the second part of the sixteenth century is at our disposal. Yet, there are also some more fortunate examples: almost continuous sequences of such original documents survive to this day for the cases of Poland (1489–1699)⁹ and Venice (1446–1718)¹⁰. More original texts of sixteenth-to-eighteenth-century Ottoman–Habsburg '*ahdnames* are preserved in the Austrian Archives in Vienna, and A.C. Schaendlinger published those of 1559, 1562 and 1565¹¹.

The '*ahdname* granted by Ahmed I to Matthias on evahıı-ı *Cemazi'l-ahir* 1026/ 24 June – 4 July 1617 may rightfully be described as a forgotten one. Having been issued between the many renewals and supplements of the Zsitvatorok treaty, this text does not appear in any treaty collections, Ottoman or European, up to the nineteenth century, when Hammer rediscovered it in the imperial Habsburg archives¹². Although he described it as “the oldest Austrian trade treaty with the Porte” and mentioned that it comprised fifty articles, he did not publish any fragment. Some decades later, Alexander de Miltitz published a partial French edition, from the official German translation¹³, while a full translation, also based on the German text, was included in Testa’s collection¹⁴; and, although Miltitz’s text was cited in Noradounghian’s list of treaties¹⁵ and in Rey’s monograph¹⁶, we have found no other evidence of it being mentioned since these late-nineteenth-century works: Alexander de Groot affirms that Czernin obtained a ratification from Ahmed I in 1617, but does not give any other information¹⁷.

⁹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych/The Archives of Old Documents, Warsaw (henceforth AGAD), Collection Archiwum Korone Warszawskie, dz. Tureckie. Most of these texts are available on microfilm at ANIC, Bucharest, mf. Poland, r. 1. They were published by D. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th – 18th Century). An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*. Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 1999.

¹⁰ Archivio di Stato di Venetia, Miscellanea documenti Turchi (henceforth ASV, MDT). Original '*ahdnames* between 1482–1641 were published by H. Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The '*ahd-names*. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents”, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies Utrecht*, 1/2 (1998).

¹¹ A. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*, Vienna, 1983, doc. 23, 25, 32.

¹² “This beautiful document is the oldest Austrian trade treaty with the Porte, which nobody knew of even at the conclusion of the Sened [Treaty of 1784]” The information appears only in a footnote of the German edition of Johann von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 4, Pesta, 1829, 488, n. f.

¹³ A. de Miltitz, *Manuel des consuls*, tome II, pt. II, livre III, London, 1842, 1413–1421.

¹⁴ I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, vol. 9, Paris, 1898, 29–37.

¹⁵ G. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottomane*, vol. 1, Paris, Leipzig, Neuchatel, 1897, 42 (no. 220).

¹⁶ F. Rey, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris, 1899, 317, n. 2.

¹⁷ A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations. 1610–1630*, Leiden-Istanbul, 1978 (henceforth OEDR), 156.

The original Ottoman *'ahdname* is still preserved in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv of the Austrian National Archives¹⁸.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The golden tughra of Ahmed I stands above the main body of text, which is comprised of 107 lines written in a somewhat simple *divani* script, mostly in black ink, with gold ink reserved for the names of Sultan Ahmed and those of his predecessors (lines 9–10), as well as for a fragment of the oath (line 102). This *'ahdname* does not contain any *invocatio/du'a*, which was most likely cut off at some point, as it often happened when such large documents entered European archives. Nonetheless, the tughra is topped by five lines of *formula devotionis* written in gold ink, though it is not written in the *sülüs* script usually reserved for this segment, but rather in the same simple *divani* used in the rest of the text. This may imply that the document is most likely one of two, if not more original versions of the same *'ahdname*, considering the simpler style of *divani* calligraphy employed in the writing of its main text.

It is known that the Ottoman chancery issued at least two original *'ahdnames*, usually a solemn one which was dispatched to the beneficiary sovereign, and a less imposing one kept by ambassadors in Istanbul as “working copies”. Additional legalized copies were dispatched to or requested by consuls in various ports across the Mediterranean; these are easily distinguishable from the original and “working copies” since they do not contain the sultan’s tughra, having instead a *kadi*’s authentication and seal on its upper right margin¹⁹.

A few examples of double original *'ahdnames* exist to this day, which showcase different calligraphic styles. The 1612 Dutch *'ahdname*, from which the Habsburg document was heavily inspired, is preserved in two original specimens in the Hague, one with a solemn *divani* calligraphy, which also contains an *invocatio/du'a* – probably the same one would be originally found in the Habsburg *'ahdname* – “and another version, plainly written in *naskhi*-script”²⁰. The Polish

¹⁸ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Urkundenreihen (henceforth AT-OeStA/HHStA UR), Türkische Urkunden 6.

¹⁹ See for example the legalized 1597 French *'ahdname* in Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF), Supplément turc 821, described in V. Panaite, “Western Diplomacy, Capitulations and Ottoman Law in the Mediterranean. 16th and 17th Centuries: The Diplomatic Section of the Manuscript Turc 130 from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris”, in S. Kenan (ed.), *Erken Klasik Dönemden XVIII. Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar Osmanlılar ve Avrupa: Seyahat, Karşılaşma ve Etkileşim/ The Ottomans and Europe: Travel, Encounter and Interaction from the Early Classical Period until the End of the 18th Century*, Istanbul 2010, 377–380. A legalized copy of the 1634 Dutch *'ahdname* is in the Leiden University Library: see Groot, *OEDR*, 206; J. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of the Leiden University and other Collections in the Netherlands. Minor Collections*, Leiden-Boston, 2012, 205. A legalized copy of the Venetian 1521 *'ahdname*: ASV, MDT, d. 189 (with the *kadi*’s authentication on top).

²⁰ Groot, *OEDR*, 232.

'ahdname of 1623 survives in two original copies in the Polish state archives (AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur.): t. 304, no. 557 displays a more elaborate style of *divani* calligraphy and has the *formula devotionis* written in *sülüs*, while t. 302, no. 551 is written in a simpler script and which is also employed for the *formula devotionis*²¹, just like our 1617 Habsburg 'ahdname. There are also two originals of the much later 1701 Venetian 'ahdname in the Venetian state archives (ASV, MDT), with two distinct *divani* calligraphy: d. 1610 (simple) and d. 1611 (solemn).

On the other hand, there are some duplicate 'ahdnames which display the same type of calligraphy. Two copies exist of the 1619 Venetian 'ahdname, one written in simple *divani*, kept in the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam²², which resembles the calligraphy of the 1617 Austrian 'ahdname, and one with an even less pretentious script, kept in Venice (ASV, MDT, d. 1236). Likewise, the two original 1595 Venetian 'ahdnames (ASV, MDT, d. 1086 and d. 1087) display the same calligraphic style, though this time both employ a solemn *divani*. These examples suggest that there may be even a third, more imposing original. Three full original documents are known for the 1540 Venetian 'ahdname: ASV, MDT, d. 426 and BnF, Suppl. turc 727 are both written in stylish *divani*, while the third one kept in the Municipal Library of Carpentras, France, is less solemn²³.

This evidence drawn from 'ahdnames given to other European powers around the same time as the 1617 Habsburg 'ahdname may prove that more than one copy was issued by the Ottoman chancery. Then again, another possibility would be simply that the Ottomans did issue just a single, less solemn 'ahdname to the Habsburgs, a sign that they were not considered to stand on the same diplomatic level as other European commercial powers.

HISTORICAL AND DIPLOMATIC CIRCUMSTANCES

By the 1540s, most of the Kingdom of Hungary came under Ottoman rule, while a small part in the north-west remained in Habsburg hands.²⁴ Thus, in 1547, Sultan Suleyman sent capitulations to Ferdinand, then Archduke of Austria and the nominal king of Hungary, which also included his brother, Charles V, the Holy

²¹ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish*, 388; microfilm copies of both documents are available at ANIC, mf. Poland, r. 35, fr. 138–146 (simple), fr. 147–178 (solemn).

²² Facsimile in Schmidt, *Catalogue*, 268.

²³ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian", 448, n. 4; A. Bombaci, "Ancora sul trattato veneto-turco del 2 ottobre 1540", *Rivista degli studi orientali*, vol. 20, 3/4, October 1943, 376.

²⁴ P. Fodor, "Ottoman Policy towards Hungary, 1520-1541", *Acta Orientalia. Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, 55, 2–3, 1991, 271–345; G. Perjés, *The Fall of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Mohács 1526 - Buda 1541*, Boulder, 1989; G. Dávid, P. Fodor (eds.), *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, Budapest, 1994; G. Barta, *La route qui mène à Istanbul 1526-1528*, Budapest, 1994.

Roman Emperor (identified as the “king of Spain” in the Ottoman text)²⁵. This opened the list for the Holy Roman Empire’s *ahdnames*, as after Ferdinand became emperor himself, the documents were granted to those Habsburgs who reigned as emperors and not just kings of Hungary. As such, quite a few capitulations would be granted in the second part of the sixteenth century by Suleyman, Selim II and Murad III to Ferdinand I (again), Maximilian II and Rudolf II, not only because of the outbreaks of war and successions of sultans but also because they were issued for a specific number of years, namely eight, after which they had to be renewed²⁶. A considerable break in this series came of course with the Thirteen Years War (1593–1606), but peaceful relations would be resumed once more at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The two documents (one Latin, one Turkish) issued on 11 November 1606 at Zsitvatorok by representatives of both sides were only temporary agreements, as they needed to be ratified by both sultan and emperor. Since there were substantial differences between the two versions of the agreement, Rudolf II did not ratify Ahmed I’s initial *ahdname* of 1608²⁷, nor his second *ahdname* of 1610²⁸, but only the third one, of 1612, was accepted by the Habsburg emperor²⁹. Keeping in line with the pre-war capitulations, these *ahdnames* would be valid for a specific number of years, which was now increased to twenty. Moreover, the 1610 document would be the first one divided into individual articles, a feature which would also be implemented in future Habsburg *ahdnames*.

No later than 1615, a complete revision of the Zsitvatorok agreements was necessary and so representatives from the two sides gathered once more in Vienna for negotiations. The imperial delegation was headed by Melchior Klesl, bishop of Vienna, and cardinal Ferenc Forgách, bishop of Esztergom³⁰, while the Ottoman delegation consisted of Müteferrika Ahmed Agha (deputy/*kethüda* of Kadizade Ali Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Buda) and Gaspar Graziani, a Dalmatian adventurer who

²⁵ A first draft (*eva’il-i Cemazi’l-evvel* 954/19–28 June 1547) was published in Schaendlinger, *Süleyman*, doc. 7, 14–18, while the final (23 *Şaban* 954/8 October 1547) document is in Feridun, *Münşe’at*, vol. 2, 341–342. See M. Skovajsa, *Habsbursko-Osmanské mierové zmluvy 1498–1615 / Habsburg-Ottoman Peace Treaties* (henceforth *HOMZ*), Bratislava, 2014, 99–100; E.D. Petritsch, “Der Habsburgisch-Osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547”, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 38, 1985, 49–80.

²⁶ Ottoman-Turkish texts, even some original documents, are known for the *ahdnames* of 1559, 1562, 1565, 1568, 1574, 1584 and 1590. See the table in Skovajsa, *HOMZ*, 26–28.

²⁷ Feridun, *Münşe’at*, vol. 2, 313–316 (dated *eva’il-i Receb* 1017/12–21 October 1608). English translation in G. Bayerle, “The Compromise of Zsitvatorok”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, VI, 1980, 24–27.

²⁸ AT-OeStA/HHStA UR Türkische Urkunden 4 (original *ahdname* dated *eva’il-i Safer* 1019/26 April – 5 May 1610).

²⁹ Bayerle, “Zsitvatorok”, 5–53. We could not locate any copy of the 1612 *ahdname*, but it is referred to in article 2 of the subsequent 1615 *ahdname*, with the date of *Rebi’ül-evvel* 1021 (June 1612).

³⁰ The rest of the Habsburg delegation was composed by Johann von Molart, Adolf count of Althan (both were veterans of the Zsitvatorok negotiations), Philip count of Solms, Ladislau Pethe and Pál Apponyi.

acted as interpreter³¹. While an initial agreement (*temessük*) drafted in twelve articles was signed by both parties on 28 July 1615/1 *Cemazi 'l-ahır* 1024³², it nevertheless needed to be ratified by both sovereigns through more solemn documents. Thus, later in September 1615 Ahmed I issued an '*ahdname* composed around the same twelve articles and which would be valid for twenty years, as agreed upon in Vienna³³. Among the new articles which supplemented the Peace of Sztivatorok, two were meant to frame basic commercial relations between the two powers (arts. 9, 10)³⁴.

Matthias issued his ratification of the Vienna treaty later that year, in December 1615³⁵. However, as it happened before with the Zsitvatorok agreements, the emperor's and the sultan's documents diverged considerably in certain points³⁶. Moreover, it seems that the Habsburgs themselves were not satisfied with their ratification, or with its published version at least, as another edition would be issued the next year, along with some new additions.

On 1 May 1616, delegates of the two sides signed a further agreement in Vienna regarding the implementation of articles regarding litigious villages and fortifications. Soon after, on 10 May 1616, Matthias issued another ratification of the previous year's treaty, where the twelve articles were now said to be translated word by word from the sultan's '*ahdname*, and which were followed at the end by

³¹ For these successful negotiations Gratiani would be rewarded with the Duchy of Naxos and later he would obtain the Principality of Moldavia (1619–1620); for a short biography, see C. Luca, "Influssi occidentali sull'atteggiamento politico di alcuni principi dei Paesi Romeni nei secoli XVI e XVII", *Quaderni della Casa Romana di Venezia*, 2, 2002, 110–116. Likewise, Müteferrika Ahmed would be repaid by his appointment as *beylerbeyi* of Kanije. G. Ágoston, "Defending and Administering the Hungarian frontier", in C. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*, London, New York, 2012, 233–234.

³² The Turkish document (dated *eva'il-i Cemazi'l-ahır* 1024/28 June – 7 July 1615) was published along with a German translation by L. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606–1645*, Budapest, 1932, doc. 2, p. 7–14, 213–222.

³³ Feridun, *Münşe'at*, vol. 2, 320–324 (only the year 1024 is given); other copies in *Mu'ahadat mecmu'ası*, vol. 3, 72–77 and İBK, MC, K. 4; Hammer gives the date of 9 *Şaban* 1024/9 September 1615 (J. de Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman, depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, traduit de l'Allemand par J.J. Hellert, vol. 8, Paris, 1837, 225, n. 1); the date of 9 September 1615 is also given by Skovajsa, *HOMZ*, 29 (facsimile of a BOA copy and Turkish text at 279–284).

³⁴ Commercial relations were already established in the sixteenth century, as early as 1547, but frequent wars hindered their implementation. L. Geccsény, "A Memorandum Presented by the Merchants Living in Vienna Regarding East-West Trade (1615)", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 61, 1–2, 2008, 55.

³⁵ It was immediately published in 1615: *Confirmatio et ratificatio itemque extensio conditionum pacis Thoroecien: inter Romanorum Imperatorem Matthiam & Turcarum Imperatorem Achometem primum Sultanum ut illæ Anno 1615*, along with a new published edition of the 1606 Zsitvatorok treaty: *Conditiones pacis inter Romanorum, et turcicum imperatorem, Rudolphum II, et Achometem I, sultanum, ut illæ anno superiori M.DC.VI.*

³⁶ While this is not the place to make a thorough comparison of all twelve articles, an example should be given: whereas article 7 of the Turkish text decreed that Catholics may repair (*merammet edüb*) their churches in the Ottoman Empire, the Latin text stipulated that they may build new churches ("*ecclesias... extruendi facultatem habebunt*").

the new *concordatum*³⁷. The Habsburgs motivated this second ratification on the grounds that the previously published edition of 1615 contained certain “inadvertences” due to scribal and printing errors, and that the Ottoman text also needed to be translated and printed, to avoid the problems that plagued the previous Zsitvatorok ratifications³⁸. Indeed, the new Latin text appears to have been written from the sultan’s point view (“*nostra Porta...*”). With Matthias’ second ratification now published, another confirmation was also necessary from Ahmed I, so Herman Czernin von Chudenitz was appointed as the new ambassador to Constantinople, where he was sent right away together with the interpreter Cesare Gallo. The Imperial envoys were joined by the Ottoman negotiators, Müteferrika Ahmed Agha and Gaspar Graziani, and they reached Constantinople in late August 1616³⁹.

The Imperial envoys’ grand entrance in the Ottoman capital stirred anti-Christian and especially anti-Catholic feelings since their retinue included not only loud musicians but also a flag showing the Crucifix. As conspiracy theories which predicted an imminent Christian take-over ran wild, the Jesuits of Galata were immediately detained, and restrictions were imposed on non-Muslims. Czernin himself was put under house arrest, from where he was only released at the beginning of September⁴⁰. While his main mission was to obtain another ratification from Ahmed I and to settle once and for all the territorial disputes in Hungary and Transylvania, it seems that the imperial ambassador was also tasked with strengthening the commercial relations with the Porte: several months later, Ahmed I issued a document that was not quite a ratification of the Vienna treaty, but rather a full-fledged commercial *‘ahdname*, in the

³⁷ Latin text published in Noradounghian, *Recueil*, vol. 1, 113–120; J. Du Mont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, tome 5, part 2, Amsterdam-The Hague, 1728, 280–282, from where it was translated by Testa, *Recueil*, vol. 9, 22–29. A French translation was already published in 1617: *Confirmation et ratification de la paix conclue entre l’Empereur & le Grand Seigneur des Turcs. Selon les Capitulations arrestees en la Cour Imperiale de Vienne par les Deputez de Matthias à present Empereur d’une part, & Sultan Achmet premier du nom Empereur des Turcs d’autre. Et confirmees par l’un & l’autre Empereur. Traduit du Latin imprimé par commandement de l’Empereur à Vienne d’Austrie l’an 1616*, Paris, Imprimerie de François Iulliot, 1617) An English translation was included in R. Knolles, *The Turkish History, from the Original of that Nation, to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire: with the Lives and Conquests of their Princes and Emperors*, 6th edition, vol. 2, London, 1687, 939–941 (probably from the French printed version, as it offers the same date of March 1616).

³⁸ Katib Çelebi’s chronicle nonetheless mentions only the need to clarify the disputes over villages and fortifications (*palanka*). Katib Çelebi, *Fezleke-i Tarih*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1286/1869, 377–378. Also in M. Na’ima, *Tarih*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1147/1734, 313.

³⁹ Venetian *bailo* Almorò Nani reported on 20 August that he sent his secretary in advance to meet the imperial ambassadors outside Constantinople (*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*. Ed. Horatio F. Brown, vol. 14, London, 1904, doc. 401). A. de Groot affirms that Czernin reached Istanbul on 16 August (Groot, *OEDR*, 155).

⁴⁰ For these events see Knolles, *Turkish History*, vol. 2, 933–934; Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. 8, 226–228; A. Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople*, Paris, 1894, 250; T. Krstić, “Contesting Subjecthood and Sovereignty in Ottoman Galata in the Age of Confessionalization: The Carazo Affair, 1613–1617”, *Oriente Moderno*, 93, 2013, 435.

style of those granted to France, England and the Dutch Republic. And while Czernin was retained some more in Istanbul, Cesare Gallo was sent back to Vienna with the sultan's most recent 'ahdname⁴¹.

Ahmed I died in November 1617; Mustafa I confirmed the peace through his announcement letter sent to Matthias, where he also instructed the emperor that further dealings will be handled by Graziani, Ahmed Pasha of Kanije, and Nakkaş Hasan Pasha of Buda⁴². In their enumeration of past agreements, future treaties would omit this unique grant of commercial privileges, as they would jump from the agreements of Vienna directly to the one agreed at Komárom, in 1618. A century later, a separate commercial treaty would be signed at Passarowitz, which is still widely considered to be the first Ottoman-Habsburg trade agreement, as the 1617 'ahdname lay forgotten⁴³.

LEGAL AND DIPLOMATICS QUESTIONS

From a diplomatic point of view, the text of 1617 is an imperial charter ('ahdname-i hümayun),⁴⁴ a term used in the Ottoman chancery until the nineteenth century for all peace agreements by which the Porte regulated its foreign relations, alliances, international commerce and the status of foreigners.⁴⁵

An 'ahdname was thus a document which confirmed in written form the granting of "protection" (*aman*), and the existence of a "contractual pact" ('ahd, 'akd, 'akd-ı 'ahd, *sulh*) between sultans and an individual, community, or state. Even though 'ahdnames had the form of a unilateral document, their contents implied a "contract and alliance" ('akd ü ittifak) or a "pact and agreement" ('ahd ü misak). Ottoman

⁴¹ Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. 8, 251. For more information on Czernin see B. Spuler, "Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739) 3. Teil", *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, 11, 3/4, 1935, 331. A journal of his 1616–1618 embassy to Constantinople was published shortly after by his secretary A. Wenner, *Ein ganz new Reysebuch von Prag auß biß gen Constantinopel*, Nürnberg, 1622; his second embassy of 1644 was also published, along with his instructions and other correspondence in *Zweite Gesandtschaftreise des grafen Hermann von Chudenic nach Konstantinopel im Jahre 1644*, Neuhaus, 1879.

⁴² AT-OeStA/HHStA UR, Türkische Urkunden 6 (*name-i hümayun* dated *evasıt-ı Zi'l-ka'ade* 1026/10-19 November 1617).

⁴³ Not considering pre-eighteenth century agreements with the Habsburgs as being Capitulations, Pélassié du Rausas considered that "*Les capitulations autrichiennes se composent de trois traités: le premier date du 27 juillet 1718, et il est divisé en vingt articles; le second date du 23 mai 1747, et il est également divisé en vingt articles; le troisième date du 24 février 1784, et il est divisé en huit articles*" (G. Pélassié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations dans l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 2, Paris, 1911, 120).

⁴⁴ On 'ahdname and Capitulations, see V. Panaitie, *Ottoman Law of War and Peace. The Ottoman Empire and Its Tribute-Payers from the North of the Danube*, Second Revised Edition, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, 165–189: Chapter "Ottoman Peace Agreements". On 'ahdname, *berat* and *nişan*, see also S. Papp, "The System of Autonomous Muslim and Christian Communities, Churches, and States in the Ottoman Empire", in G. Karman, L. Kuncević (eds.) *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden – Boston, 2013, 378–380.

⁴⁵ They are improperly defined by modern historians and jurists "peace treaties," "treaties of alliance," "treaties of friendship," "treaties of commerce" or "treaties of vassalage."

'*ahdnames* contained a series of political and trade “conditions” (sing. *şart*; pl. *şartlar*, *şurut*, *şerayt*) or “issues” (*hususlar*). The beginning of articles until the end of the seventeenth century was marked by the conjunction “and” (*ve*) when the ordinal numbers were introduced under the influence of Western chanceries. Notable exceptions were the Ottoman-Habsburg '*ahdnames* which began to have their articles numbered from the first half of the seventeenth century (those of 1610, 1615, 1627)

Since Europeans considered the sultanic '*ahdnames* as treaties, they applied the term capitulations as an equivalent to '*ahdname*. This is well illustrated by the evidence provided by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translations of '*ahdnames* into European languages. Likewise, the Latin term *capitulationes* and its French, German and Italian derivatives were commonly used in translations of '*ahdnames* granted to France, Poland, the Habsburg Empire,⁴⁶ or Russia. When translating Ottoman texts, Europeans organized their contents by articles or chapters (*capitula* in Latin; *capitoli*, *capituli* in Italian; *chapitres*, *articles* in French; *articles* in English).⁴⁷ Since any documents structured by chapters could, in the Western chancery tradition be called capitulations,⁴⁸ the same label was applied to the Ottoman '*ahdnames*.

Taking into consideration the diplomatic form of the original texts and their translation which followed the Ottoman blueprint, the '*ahdnames* concluded with Hungary, Ragusa, Poland, Venice and the Habsburgs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had an unmistakably unilateral character. In some '*ahdnames*, the sultan was the only one to proclaim the results of the negotiations through the formula of “let it be known” (*ma'hum ola ki*) and implemented the “clauses” of the agreement with the formula “the illustrious sign commands” (*nişan-ı şerif-i [...] hükmü oldur ki*). These formulas characterized a document which was unilaterally issued by the sultans.⁴⁹

The Hanafi jurist al-Shaybani (d. 805) stated that peaceful relations between a Muslim sovereign and a non-Muslim one could only be established through a pact (*mu'ahada*), while al-Sarakhsi added that it could also be considered a “mutual peace” (*muwada'a*) because a “mutual truce (*muwada'a*) is a pact (*mu'ahada*).”⁵⁰ The juridical theory remained unchanged during the Ottoman period, and – as Ibrahim al-Halebi (d. 1549) noted – Muslim rulers were even allowed to ransom peace if they had no means to mount an armed opposition.⁵¹

⁴⁶ “Die friedens capitulation,” on the 1606 '*ahdname*, in a German letter of 16 March 1614 (*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*. 1600–1649, Bucureşti, 1880, doc. CCCCLXIV).

⁴⁷ The very term originated from Latin *caput* and *capitulum* (*capitula* in plural), meaning chapter or a paragraph. Therefore, this name was applied to the Ottoman instruments of peace solely due to their division into separate sections

⁴⁸ On capitulations, see also: M. P. Pedani Fabris, *La Dimora della pace. Considerazioni sulle capitolazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa*, Venice, 1996; M. van den Boogert, K. Fleet (eds.), *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*, in *Oriente Moderno*, XXII, 3, 2003; M. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Juridical System: Qadis, Consuls, and Berathis in the 18th Century*, Leiden, 2005.

⁴⁹ Panaite, *Ottoman Law of War and Peace*, 177.

⁵⁰ M. al-Shaybani, *Le Grand livre de la conduite de l'Etat (Kitab as-Siyar al-Kabir)*. Commenté par as-Sarakhsi, traduit par M. Hamidullah, vol. III, Ankara, 1990, 307.

⁵¹ I. al-Halebi, *Mülteka el-Ebhur*, cf. I.M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. V, Paris, 1824, 62.

Until the mid-eighteenth century, the agreements with European powers continued to be considered temporary truces, despite that sometimes they reflected the parity of power between the adversaries or the weakness of the Ottoman Empire.⁵² The '*ahdnames* which confirmed peace with European rulers were concluded for a limited period, either for a specified number of years or until both contracting rulers remained on the throne.⁵³ Although the expected duration of these truces was no more than five years, the '*ahdnames* granted to the Habsburgs from 1547 to 1591 constituted a significant change in this respect, as their duration was extended to eight years. The treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) ushered a series of even longer Ottoman–Habsburg truces, which varied between twenty and twenty-five years, culminating with the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) which provided a peace term of twenty-seven years.⁵⁴

However, throughout the early modern period, the Ottoman chancery most often did not specify the duration of peace in its '*ahdnames*, and thus they remained in force only throughout the reign of the sultan whose imperial signature (*tuğra*) was applied to the document, without committing his successors to respect its conditions. This is the case of '*ahdnames* granted both to tributary states such as Ragusa and Transylvania, as well as to those granted to European powers such as Venice, Poland, France, England and the Dutch Republic. Standing out from other Habsburg '*ahdname-i hümayuns*, the one granted by Ahmed I to Matthias in 1617 also fits in this category.

CAPITULATORY REGIME

The Capitulatory Regime, which refers to the status of foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire, has been the subject of a large number of studies written by both historians and jurists alike and which often give contradictory interpretations⁵⁵.

⁵² Moreover, between the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 and until the Treaty of Paris in 1856, the weakness and military inferiority of the Ottomans changed the parameters of war and peace with European powers. Consequently, they concluded peace treaties which brought almost constant territorial losses (H. Kruse, "The Foundation of International Islamic Jurisprudence (Muhammad al-Shaybani – Hugo Grotius of the Muslims)", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, III, IV, 1995, 232).

⁵³ Among the '*ahdnames* issued for a specified period, we find those granted to Hungary, and Poland (up to 1528) and Spain (1582), which stated the expected duration of truce.

⁵⁴ In a Latin text: *Duret armistitium hocce et exyendatur favente Deo ad viginti septem annos et continuo sequentes a die, qua ejustem subscriptio facta fuerit* (D.A. Sturdza, G. Petrescu, *Acte și documente relative la istoria Renascerii României*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1888, 57–58).

⁵⁵ Here are some titles: Péliissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations*; P. M. Brown, *Foreigners in Turkey. Their Juridical Status*, Princeton, 1914; F. Abelous, *L'évolution de la Turquie dans ses rapports avec les étrangers*, Paris, 1928; A. Rechid, "La condition des étrangers dans la République de Turquie," *Recueil de Cours. Académie de Droit International*, 46, IV, 1933, 169–227; N. Sousa, *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey. Its History, Origin and Nature*, Baltimore, 1933; H.J. Liebesny, "The Development of Western Judicial Privileges," in M. Khadduri, H. J. Liebesny (eds.), *Law in the Middle East*, Washington, 1955, 309–333; H. İnalçık, "İmtiyâzât." in *EI-2*, vol. III, 1971, 1207–1225 (with J. Wansborough).

According to Islamic law, a temporary safe-conduct could protect the life and goods of an infidel who came from the Abode of War to the Abode of Islam. He would thus become a “beneficiary of protection” (in Turkish, *müste'min*). The life and property of an inhabitant of enemy territories (*harbi*) venturing into Muslim lands were completely unprotected by the religious law unless he was given a temporary safe-conduct (*aman*).⁵⁶ In 16th – 17th century Ottoman juridical texts (*kitab as-siyar, fetvas*), the foreigner (*müste'min*) was frequently termed as being a “*harbi* who [comes] from the House of War and enters into the House of Islam with a safe-conduct” (*Zeyd harbi dar-i harbdan amanla dar-i Islama çıkub*).⁵⁷ In comparison with a non-Muslim subject (*zimmi*), the foreigner could only temporarily dwell in Ottoman territories, i.e. less than one year, during which he would not be compelled to pay the poll-tax (*cizye, harac*)⁵⁸.

The legal condition of foreign merchants constituted an important topic of the Ottoman Empire's commercial affairs. The Capitulatory Regime could be defined as a special regime when considering that foreigners enjoyed limited or extensive rights which were established by internal regulations and special treaties. At the same time, historical and legal sources reveal the existence of two other complementary regimes of foreigners: the mutuality regime and the “most favoured nation's” regime. These three regimes are not antagonistic but complementary, as they describe the legal status of foreigners from different points of view.

Up to 1617, the Ottomans and Habsburgs concluded “peace agreements” which contained clauses on foreign policy, borders, envoys, captives and merchants, similar to those concluded with Hungary, Venice, Poland, and later Russia. Commercial aspects were also regulated by clauses included in this kind of agreements⁵⁹. At the same time, “reciprocity” was one of the main features of the treaties concluded between the Ottoman Empire and neighbouring states, the Habsburg Empire included.

⁵⁶ In a distinct chapter dealing with condition of foreigners (*Bab-i ahkam al-müste'min*), Ibrahim al-Halebi stated that “any *harbi* who enters with *aman* into our territories is called *müste'min*” (*Her harbi ki bizim darımıza aman ile dahil ola ana müste'min derler*) (Halebi, *Şerh-i Mülteka el-Ebhur (Mevkufat)*, ed. N. Yılmaz, vol. I, Istanbul, 1993, 336).

⁵⁷ T.X. Bianchi, “Recueil de Fetvas, écrit en turk et en arabe, par Hafiz Mohammed ben Ahmad ben Elcheich Moustafa Elkedousy,” *Journal Asiatique*, IV, 1824, 180–181.

⁵⁸ M. Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations. Shaybani's Siyar*, Baltimore, 1966, 173; V. Panaite, “Străinii în viziune juridică otomană. Veacurile XVI–XVII” / Foreigners in Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries Ottoman View, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII, 1993, 29–38. This *shari'a* rule was not observed in Ottoman practice, as the *ahdnames* decreed that foreign merchants could remain in the Ottoman Empire for an unlimited time without paying the *cizye*: Feridun, *Münşe'at*, vol. 2, 384 (English 1601 *ahdname*); 403 (French 1604 *ahdname*).

⁵⁹ On the evolution of commercial clauses in Ottoman-Polish *ahdnames*, see: V. Panaite, “Trade and Merchants in the 16th Century Ottoman-Polish Treaties,” *RESEE*, XXXII, 3–4, 1994, 259–276; V. Panaite, “The Status of Trade and Merchants in the Ottoman-Polish *Ahdnames* (1607–1699),” *Archiv orientální. Supplementa VIII. Essays on Ottoman Civilization. Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of Comité International d'Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes (CIÉPO) 1996*, Prague, 1998, 275–298; V. Panaite, “Trade and Merchants in the Ottoman-Polish *Ahdnames*. 1489–1699”, in K. Çicek (ed.), *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, vol. II. Economy and Society*, Ankara, 2000, 220–229.

The sultans bestowed “conditional privileges” such as free access and commerce, safety for foreigners and their merchandise, or individual responsibility to foreign merchants, while at the same time stipulating that the Ottomans should also benefit from the same rights in the mentioned states⁶⁰. Conversely, the imperial charters granted to France, England and the Dutch Republic, with whom the Ottoman Empire shared no common border, did not include any mutual stipulations.

The '*ahdname* of 1617 is the first text which separately regulated the commercial issues and the legal condition of merchants from the Habsburg Empire, following the model of '*ahdnames* with commercial privileges granted previously by sultans to France, England and the Dutch Republic. Here it should be mentioned that after one hundred years, in 1718, the Habsburgs received a similar '*ahdname* with commercial privileges, which came to complete the political, territorial and military stipulations of the peace treaty of Passarowitz, concluded after the war of 1716–1718⁶¹.

All those who studied the capitulations noticed the immobility that marks these texts. In this regard, Pélissié du Rausas stated even at the beginning of the 20th century: “*Les capitulations sont aujourd’hui ce qu’elles étaient il y a quatre siècles; elles n’ont été modifiées ni dans leur esprit, ni dans leur texte*”⁶². The uniformity revealed by the content and form of these documents raises the question of the existence of a “pattern of a treaty”, which would have been the basis of the commercial privileges granted by the Ottoman sultans⁶³.

After a first reading, it became obvious that this '*ahdname* was inspired from the 1612 Dutch '*ahdname*⁶⁴, which itself was drafted after the French and English ones. The Habsburg 1617 capitulation retained just two articles from the previous 1615 '*ahdname* and the Vienna treaties, namely articles 9 and 10 regarding commercial relations: they were now added as the first articles, with the important difference that phrases containing mutual engagements were eliminated, to better

⁶⁰ Even in the Habsburg '*ahdname* of 1547 merchants of the two sides gained the freedom to move and trade from one place to another during the eight years of truce (Feridun, *Münşe'at*, vol. 2, 341–342; İnalçık, “İmtiyâzât”, 1215; N. Sousa, *Capitulatory Regime*, 64).

⁶¹ Ivan Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade (1683–1739)*, Boulder, 1995, 163–192. Claudia Römer presented a paper titled “A propos du texte du traité de commerce de Passarowitz et ses copies”, at the international conference dedicated to the Treaty of Passarowitz („Passarowitz 1718 Intérêts des puissances et mouvements nationaux en Europe centrale / Power Interests and National Movements in Central Europe”, Budapest, 27–28 September 2018).

⁶² Pélissié du Rausas, *Capitulations*, vol. 1, 22.

⁶³ A discussion on this topic, in V. Panaite, *Război, pace și comerț în Islam. Țările române și dreptul otoman al popoarelor / War, Peace and Trade in Islam. The Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Law of Nations*, 2nd ed., Iași, 2013, 239–241.

⁶⁴ Gecsényi suggests that the inclusion of the Spanish Netherlands in article 10 of the previous 1615 agreements may be a response to the Dutch Republic’s own capitulation of 1612. L. Gecsényi, “A Memorandum Presented by the Merchants Living in Vienna Regarding East-West Trade (1615)”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, 61, 53–54, 2008, 55.

fit the unilateral character of Western commercial *'ahdnames*. Other than this, the 1617 text reproduces almost word by word the Dutch *'ahdname*, with notable exceptions such as the most-favoured nation's clause, and it even included clauses that may seem as not applicable to Austrian merchants, such as those referring to Algerian corsairs or Austrian consulates in the Mediterranean ports. However, they could have been relevant considering that the charter also provided privileges to Spanish and Flemish merchants.

Modern historians and jurists have insisted especially on the "rights" granted to foreigners, calling them "privileges", "immunities" or "liberties". Instead, we argue that a better approach would be to examine both the rights and the obligations that characterised the status of Western merchants during their stay in the Ottoman Empire, according to the distinct sub-domains in which they were put into practice. Consequently, the main articles on trade and merchants of the 1617 *'ahdname* may be grouped under the following categories: 1. Traffic (free and safe access by land and sea); 2. Commercial navigation and shipwreck; 3. Safety of persons and property (forbidding to enslave merchants and to confiscate their merchandise; piracy; liberation of captives); 4. Residency and consulates (consuls' rights and responsibilities); 5. Commerce and taxes (customs duties, *gümrük*; exemption from other taxes, such as *reft-akçesi*, *kassab-akçesi*; prohibition to tax the ready money carried by merchants); 6. Inheritance (non-interference with the deceased merchants' goods); 7. Juridical privileges (individual responsibility for debts; legal procedure concerning litigations; the necessity of written documents; rejection of the false witnesses).⁶⁵

In theory, the capitulations offered sufficient diplomatic guarantees concerning the protection of European merchants and the freedom of their commerce in the Ottoman Empire. More important was the observance of these rights, privileges and immunities by the Ottoman authorities, especially the local ones. In practice, the stipulations of *'ahdnames* were interpreted by Ottoman officials in a way which could justify their abuse, and which became "part of the normal experience of the little factories in the Levant"⁶⁶. In these circumstances, the ambassadors in Constantinople and consuls of European nations in the Ottoman towns had the mission to persuade local authorities to observe the *'ahdnames'* stipulations.

⁶⁵ On Foreigners, Western Merchants and Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Empire, see: Panaite, *Râzboi, pace și comerț*, 230–262; V. Panaite, "Being a Western Merchant in the Ottoman Mediterranean. The Evidence of a Turkish Manuscript from Bibliothèque Nationale de France", in S. Kenan (ed.), *ISAM Konuşmaları. Osmanlı Düşüncesi Ahlak Hukuk Felsefe-Kelâm/ ISAM Papers. Ottoman Thought, Ethics-Law-Philosophy-Kalam*, Istanbul, 2013, 91–135.

⁶⁶ A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford, 1935, 16.

'Ahdname-i hümayun granted by Ahmed I to Matthias in 1617

– transliteration –

[zıkrü'llahi te'ala a'la ve bi't-takdim ahakk ve elyak ve evla takaddeset esma'ühü
ve tatabe'at na'ma'ühü]⁶⁷

- A. *çun hazret-i melik ü müheymen ü müte'al ve cenab-ı vahibü'l-'ataya ve'n-neval celle 'anu'ş- şebih ve'l-misal tenezzehe minü'n-nazir ve'l-ihtilal kemal-i kudret-i ezeliyye ve vüfur-u mevhibe lemyezeliyyesi*
- B. *mukareneti ve mihr-i sipihr-i nübüvvet ve ahter-i burc-u fütüvvet pişva-yı zümre-i enbiya ve mukteda-yı fırka-ı asfiya habib-i hüda şefi'ü'l-müznibin fi'l-yevmü'l-ceza Muhammed Mustafa sallallahu te'ala*
- C. *'aleyhi ve sellem hazretlerinin mu'cizat-ı kesiratu'l-berekatı mürafakati ile ve ashab-ı güzin ve hulefa-i er-raşidin rızvanu'l-lahu te'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in*
- D. *ve cümle-i evliya-ı hidayet-karin ve cumhur-i asfiya-yı se'adet-rehin kuds'illah esrarühüm ila yevmü'l-din hazretlerinin ervah-ı mukaddeseleri*
- E. *muvafakati ile*

Ahmed Şah bin Mehmed Şah Han el-muzaffer da'ima

1. *ben ki sultan-ı sanadid-i selatin ve esatin-i havakin tac bahş-ı husrevi evrenk-nişin kasr-ı kusuru'l-kayasire kebir-i cumhur-u ekabir kahramanu'l-ma ve't-tin zill'u'llahi te'ala fi'l-arzin el-mütemekkin*
2. *'ala makamu'l-şerife inni ca'il fi'l-arz halife ve eşref-i meda'in ü emsar ve eyemen-i dar ü diyar olan Haremeyin Şerifeyinin hadimi ve Kudüs-ü Mübareğin hami ü hakimi ve daru'l-saltanatu'l-'aliyye ve müfahharu'l-hilafet*
3. *ül-seniyye mahruse-i Kostantiniyye hamıyyet 'an el-afat ve'l-beliye ve mahmiye-i Edirne ve mahruse-i Brusanın ve Rum İli ve Temeşvar ve vilayet-i Bosna ve Budun ve Sigetvar ve Eğri ve Kanija ve Semendire ve Belgrad ve vilayet-i*
4. *Anatoli ve Karamanın ve diyar-ı Arabistanın ve Şam-ı darü's-selamin ve nadire-i 'asır olan mahmiye-i Mısır ve Yemen-i Eymen ve Habeş ve Aden vilayetlerinin ve darü'l-hilafe Bağdad ve Kufe ve Basra ve Lahsa*
5. *ve Suvakin ve Sanan ve Haleb ve Zulkadriyye ve Şehrizul ve Adana ve Tarsus ve Antalya ve Kıbrıs ve Sakız ve Diyarbekir ve Rakka ve Rum ve Çıldır ve eyalet-i 'İmadiye ve 'umuman Kürdistan*
6. *ve Kars ve Erzurum ve Gürcistan ve Demür Kapu ve Tiflis ve Şirvan ve Kefe ve Gözlev ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin ve darü'l-cihad Tunus ve Trablus-u Garb ve Cezayir-i Garb*

⁶⁷ The *invocatio/du'a* is missing, this is the version found on the 1612 Dutch 'ahdname and reproduced in Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian", 266, n. 4 (it is omitted by de Groot). On the other hand, if this document was the least solemn one of two originals, then the *invocatio* might have been a simple *hiive* "He". See Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish*, 389.

7. *vilayetlerinin ve Ezdel [sic! Erdel] ve Boğdan ve Eflak ve sair darü'l-harbden kuvvet-i kahire-i hunzuvane ve satvet-i bahire-i mülükanemiz ile bi 'avnu'l-llahu'l-melikü'l-fettah feth ü teshirat getirilen meda'in*
8. *ü emsar ve memalik ü diyarın ve bi'l-cümle aktar-ı berr-bahrın ve kaba'il ü aşa'irin ve nice kere yüz bin asakir-i nusret-me'asirin padişah ma'adelet-penahı ve şahinşah nusret-destgahı mazhar-i 'inayet*
9. *üs-sermediyyet muhsin-i ayatü'l-milleti'l-muhammediye Sultan Ahmed Han bin Sultan Mehmed Han bin Sultan Murad Han bin Sultan Selim Han bin Sultan Süleyman Han bin sultan Selim Han*
10. *bin Sultan Bayezid Han bin Sultan Mehmed Hanım rahimehümullahü'l-melikü'l-menan 'inan-ı semend-i se'adet-mend-i sahib-kıranı kabza-ı kuvvet ü kudretimize mukarrer ve cümle rub' meskun ve heft iklim bi-tevfik samadani*
11. *zimam-ı iktidarımıza müyesser [sic! musahhar] olmuştur hazret-i hakk celle 'anu'ş-şebih ve'r-reyb kemal-ı fazl bi-hesabı ile melce'-i selatin şera'ifü'l-ensab ve me'va-ı havakin ulu'l-ihsab olan Südde-i seniyye-i*
12. *celalet-medar ve 'Atebe-i 'Aliye-i se'adet-karar lazale melce'l-e'ali ve'l-ahyarımıza⁶⁸ iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'azamu'l-'isevviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihyye muslih-u masalihü't-taife'n-nasraniyye*
13. *sahib-i ezyalü'l-haşmet ve'l-vekar sahib delaili'l-mecd ve'l-iftihar Romanın İmparatoru ve Alamanın ve Macarın ve Çehin ve Dalmanın ve Hırvatın ve İslavının krallı*
14. *ve Beçtanın ulu dukası Matyaş hutimet 'avakıbuhi bi'l-hayr tarafından name-i mahabbet hitam ile kıdvetü'l-ümera'i'l-milleti'l-'isevviye umdetü'l-kübera'i't-ta'ife'n-nasraniyye Herman Çerenin*
15. *ve Cezer Gal nam mu'teber elçileri göndermekle irsal olunan nameleri mutala'a kılındıkda fehvayı meveddet ihtivasında mabeyinde mün'akid olan sulh ü salah ri'ayet ve tarafeyinden 'akd olunan*
16. *'ahd u felah her vecihle himayet ü siyanet olunasin istid'a eyledikleri ecelden istid'a ve iltimasları hayır-i kabul-u hüsrevanımız olmağıla müşarünileyh elçiler Rikab-ı se'adet-destgahıma mektub gönderüb*
17. *ve mabeyinde olan şurut u 'uhud muktezasınca mumaileyh Roma İmparatorunun kendü vilayetlerinde Avuşturiya Ocağında olunduk hükümetlerinde vaki' olan memleketlerin bazerganları*
18. *Memalik-i Mahrusemize karadan ve deryadan varub gelüb ticaret eylemek için sair Atebe-i 'Ulya ve Südde-i Seniyyemiz ile dostluk eden kralların bazerganlarına verildiği üzere müceddeden 'ahdname-i*
19. *hümayunum verilmek babında istid'ayı 'atıfet eyledükleri ecelden vech-i meşruh üzere ricaları hayır-ı kabulda vaki' olub 'adet-i kadime üzere kendü tarafalarından Memalik-i Mahruse iskelelerinde konsolosların*

⁶⁸ In the Dutch 'ahdname of 1612 published by de Groot, *OEDR*, 231-260 (henceforth 1612): *el-ahyar ve'l-abrarimize*.

20. zabti olacak baş konsolosı Asitane-i Se'adetimde olub ve Memalik-i Mahrusemizde olan iskelelerde birer konsolos ta'yin olunmak babında ferman-ı 'alışanımız sadr olub işbu name-i 'adalet 'unvanı
21. 'inayet ü erzanı kılub ferman-ı kaza-cereyanımız bu vecihle sadr oldur ki [I]⁶⁹ serhad hakimlerinden ve ümenadan ellerinde tezkeleri olub ve kangı semtten geçirler ise tezkerlerin gösterüb ol serhaddın
22. beyi⁷⁰ ve emini olan⁷¹ ol tezkerenin üzerine nişan edüb ve-yahud mühürleyüb bu babda bir akçeleri alınmaya⁷² ve eğer mürur u ubur edecek mahal-ı mahuf u muhatara ise yanlarına⁷³ kifayet mikdarı nefer⁷⁴ koşub emn ü selamet
23. üzere geçüre⁷⁵ ve resm-i gümrüklerin⁷⁶ verdüklerinden sonra bir dahi⁷⁷ kimesne rencide etmiyüb istedikleri yere varmağa⁷⁸ kimesne mani' olmya [II] ve Roma İmparatorunun⁷⁹ vilayetlerinde ve Avuşturiya Ocağında olunduk⁸⁰
24. hükümetlerinde ve krallık yerlerinde tüccar ta'ifesi ve İspanya Kralına ve Flandra vilayetine ve sair vilayetine⁸¹ tabi' olan bazerganlar meta' ve nakdine ile emn ü selamet üzere gelüb gideler vech-i meşruh üzere eğer deryadan
25. gemi ile ve eğer karadan⁸² gelmek istediklerinde Roma İmparatorunun bayrağı⁸³ ve ellerinde temessükleri⁸⁴ olmayınca gelmeğe⁸⁵ icazet verilmeye ve müşarünileyh İmparatorun bayrağı ve temessükleri aşırı ahar bayrak ve temessük ile
26. gelürler ise ve eğer bayraksız ve temessüksiz⁸⁶ gelürler ise gemilerin ve meta'ların ve nakdinelere mezkur Roma İmparatoru canibinden olan konsolosarı girift eyeleye⁸⁷ ve satun aldıkları⁸⁸ u bey' eyledükleri meta'dan

⁶⁹ The first two articles correspond with arts. 9 and 10 of the previous 1615 Habsburg 'ahdname published in Feridun, *Münşe'at*, vol. 2, 323 (henceforth 1615); it is missing the reciprocal stipulation found in 1615: *Asitane-i Sa'adetimizden ve ol canibden tüccar ta'ifesi iki canibe bazerganlık için varub gelsünler nihayet serhadd hakimlerinden [...]*.

⁷⁰ 1615: *hakimi* [ve]-yahud emini.

⁷¹ Missing in 1615.

⁷² 1615: *ol tezkereye mühür yahud nişan etsün lakin bu behane ile rençberden akçe alınmasun.*

⁷³ 1615: *ve bir yere güdikde mahuf yerlerden geçirmek için yanlarına [...]*.

⁷⁴ 1615: *adamlar.*

⁷⁵ 1615: *sağ u salim geçirsünler.*

⁷⁶ Missing reciprocal stipulation: *iki canibe resm-i gümrüğü [...]*.

⁷⁷ Missing in 1615.

⁷⁸ 1615: *varmağičün.*

⁷⁹ 1615: *İmparator* (الامپراطور)

⁸⁰ 1615: *Aştuy* [sic! – corrupted Western place names are not uncommon in Feridun] *Ocağından olunların.*

⁸¹ References to the Spanish king, Flanders and other provinces are missing here in 1615, they are mentioned below (see note 22).

⁸² 1615: *nakdine ile Memalik-i Mahruseme gelmek istediklerinde.*

⁸³ 1615: *bayrağı altında.*

⁸⁴ 1615: *temessükâti.*

⁸⁵ 1615: *varılmağa.*

⁸⁶ 1615: *icazet verilmeye eğer bayrak u temessükâtsiz gelürlerse [...]*.

⁸⁷ 1615: *Roma İmparatorunun kapukethudaları ve konsolosları girift edüb bu canibe bildirsünler.*

27. *yüzde üç akçe gümrük vereler ve Roma İmparatorunun konsoloslarına⁸⁹ konsolosluk hakkı yüzde iki akçe vereler⁹⁰ ve zikr olunan bazerganlarından birisi mürd olsa mumaileyhın konsolosları mal u esbabın*
28. *yazub zabt eyleyüb cenab-ı celalet-me'ab tarafından beytü'l-mal eminleri dahl eylemiyeler⁹¹ ve zikr olunan bazerganlar meta'larının bir def'a gümrüklerin bir iskelede verdükden sonra bir dahi gümrük taleb olunmıya⁹²*
29. *ve bazerganları mabeyinde ve sa'ir her kiminle bir da'va u niza'ları olursa hakimü'l-vakt olan kazı⁹³ dört bin akçeden ziyade da'vaların dinlemiyüb Asitane-i Se'adetimde kazı-'askerler⁹⁴ huzurlerinde dinlene*
30. **[III]**⁹⁵ *ve zikr olunan bazerganların kendü harclıklar için getürdükleri altun ve guruslarından resm alınmayub beylerbeyiler ve kazılar ve defterdarlar ve zarbhane eminleri ü nazırları dahl u ta'rruz eylemiyeler*
31. *ve harclık gurusunuzu akçe kat' ederüz deyü rencide eylemiyeler **[IV]** ve derya el vermiyüb vilayetlerine varmağa ve bu canibe gelmeğe mecal olmaduğu zamanda Memalik-i Mahrusemizden olan limanlarda yatub*
32. *kendü hallerinde alış veriş edüb kimesne mani' olmya **[V]** ve ba'zı bazerganlarının dem ü diyet⁹⁶ da'vaları vaki' olmakda konsolosları ayinleri⁹⁷ üzere görüb fasıl edüb kazılardan ve zabitlerden bir ferd dahl*
33. *u ta'arruz eylemiye **[VI]** ve konsolosların⁹⁸ ba'zı kimesneler ile da'vaları vaki' olursa hasb etmiyeler ve evlerin mühürlemiyeler ve zikr olunan konsolos ve tercümanları ile da'vaları olan kimesnelerin hususları Südde-i Se'adetimde*
34. *istima'a oluna ve zikr olunan mevaddın hilafına emr ibraz olunursa istima' olunmayub 'ahdname-i hümayunum mücebince 'amel oluna **[VII]** ve zikr olunan bazerganlardan biri mürd oldukda emval u erzakına⁹⁹*
35. *beytü'l-macılar mal-ı ga'ibdir deyü ve sair vecihle dahl ü ta'arruz etmiyeler ve mumaileyh tarafından gelen bazerganlara verilen ahkam-ı şerife mü'ekked ü müşedded olub ta'ife-i mezbureye fa'ideli ü nef'lü ola ve kassamlar*

⁸⁸ Now 1615 mentions the Spanish king and Flanders: *ve Roma İmparatorına ve Avuştuniya Ocağına tabi' olan tüccar ta'ifesi İspanya kralına ve Flandra vilayetlerine ve sa'ir vilayetlere tabi' tüccar ta'ifesi Roma İmparatorunun bayrağı altında Memalik-i Mahrusemizden gemi nakd u meta'yi ile sağ u salim varub geleler ve bey' eyledükleri yüzde üç akçe verüb ve satun aldıkları [...].*

⁸⁹ 1615: *kapukethudaları ve konsolosları yüzde iki akçe vereler.*

⁹⁰ Additional in 1615: *ve mezkur bazerganlarının maslahatların Roma İmparatorunun kapukethudaları ve konsoloslar göreler.*

⁹¹ 1615: *ve zikr olunan tüccardan biri [murd] oldukda Roma İmparatorunun kapukethudaları ve konsolosları malların yazub girifti etsünler tarafımızdan beytü'l-mal dahl etmiye.*

⁹² 1615: *ve Memalik-i Mahrusemizde bazerganlar bir iskelede gümrük eda etdikden sonra verdikleri meta'adan bir dahi gümrük taleb olunmıya.*

⁹³ 1615: *ol yerin kazıları.*

⁹⁴ 1615: *kazı-'askerlerimiz.*

⁹⁵ Here begin the articles reproduced from 1612 (art. 5).

⁹⁶ 1612: *da'va u husumeti vaki' olub dem ü diyet [...].*

⁹⁷ 1612: *da'vaları olur ise elçileri ve konsolosları ayinleri.*

⁹⁸ 1612: *ve tacirlerinin ahvalı için nasb olunan konsolosların [...].*

⁹⁹ 1612: *biri mürd olsa 'ahdname-i hümayun muhalif emval u erzakına [...].*

36. *ve kazılar tarafından resm-i kismet talep olunmıya [VIII] ve konsolosları istedikleri yasakçıları ve murad edindikleri tercümanları olageldüğü üzere istihdam eyleyeler yeniçerilerden ve gayrıdan istemedükleri kimesneler*
37. *hidmetlerine karışmıyalar [IX] ve sakın oldukları evlerinde kendülerün ve adamlarının keşaf-ı nefis için şıra sıkub hamr eyledüklerinde kimesne mani' olmıya ve yeniçeri kullarımdan ve gayrıdan her kim olursa olsun*
38. *nesne istemiyüb ve cebr ile almayub zulm ü ta'addi eylemiyeler [X] ve bazerganları hakimleri rızalarıyla vilayetlerinden getürdükleri ve alub götürdükleri meta'larından Halebde ve İskenderiyede ve sair yerlerde yüzde*
39. *üç akçe gümrük vereler ziyade vermiyeler ve meta'ları ziyade bahaya tutılmıya ve gemilerine tahmil edüb getürdükleri ve alub götürdükleri gümrük alına gelen meta'larının konsolosluk hakkı mumaileyhinin konsoloslarına*
40. *bi-kusur vereler [XI] ve bey' olunmak için ihrac olunan meta'dan ma'ada çıkarmayub gemilerinde kılan [sic! kalan] İstanbulda ve kangı iskelede olursa ahar iskeleye alub giderüz dedüklerinde*
41. *gümrük talep olunmıya [XII] ve hadis olan reft ve kassabiye ve bac ve yasak kulı alınmayub ve gemileri gitdikde üçyüz akçe selametlik resminden ziyade talep olunmıya [XIII] ve Cezayir-i Garb korsanları bunlara tabi'*
42. *olan limanlara varduklarında ri'ayet olunub barut ve kurşun ve sair alat ve yelken verilüb lakin korsanlar dahi bunlara tabi' olan tüccar gemilerine rast geldüklerinde esir eylemeyüb esbab u meta'ların*
43. *garet etmiyeler bu hususa riza-yı şerifim yokdur [XIV] ve İmperadora tabi' olan vilayetlerün re'ayasından esir olurlar ise itlak olunub malları bi-kusur verile ve korsanlar tecavüz etdüklerinde*
44. *namesiyle i'lam etdükde her kangı beylerbeyi zamanında olursa ol beylerbeyi ma'zul olub garet olunan emval u esbab anlara tazmin etdürile ve esir etdükleri itlak oluna ve eğer ki*
45. *emr-i şerifime imtisal etmezler ise anlar dahi İmperadora tabi' olan hakimlerün vilayetlerine varduklarında kal'alarına ve limanlarına kabul etmiyüb ta'addi eyledüklerinde 'akd olunan 'ahda halel gelmiye ve bu babda olan*
46. *şükr ü şikayet makbul-u hümayunum ola [XV] ve Memalik-i Mahrusemizde olan beylerbeyilere ve beylere ve kazılara ve iskele eminlerine ahkam-ı şerife irsal olunub ferman kaza-cereyanımız bu vecihle sadr oldu ki*
47. *madamki müşarünileyh İmperador ve ana tabi' olan tarafından şerayit-i 'ahd u peyman ri'ayet ve levazim-i sulh u aman kema-yenbeği himayet ü siyanet oluna bu taraftan dahi kendü malları u esbab ve meta'ları ile*
48. *eğer deryadan gelen kalyonları ve sair gemileri ve içlerinde olan adamları ve esbab u meta'larıdır ve eğer karadan gelen adamları ve davarları ve esbab ve meta'larıdır asla bir ferd*
49. *dahl u ta'arruz eylemiyüb kendü hallerinde ve kar ü kisblerinde olalar [XVI] ve ehl-i İslam gemilerinden ihtiyarlarıyla zahire satun alub harbi memleketine alub gitmeyüb kendü vilayetine alub giderlerken ehl-i İslam gemileri*

50. *rast geldüklerinde ahzdan sonra gemiye girift ve gemi içinde olanları esir etmiyeler anın gibi bunlardan esir bulunursa ıtlak olunub esbabı dahi verile [XVII] ve harbi tüccar ta'ifesi*
51. *bunların gemilerine meta' yükletdiklerinde meta' harbinin deyü bir ferd rencide eylemeye [XVIII] ve Memalik-i Mahrusemiye ve ahar vilayetlere gelürken ve giderken rençberliklerinde iken bir tarikile esir olurlar ise ol asıllar halas*
52. *olub Memalik-i Mahrusemize emn ü aman üzere gelüb gideler [XIX] ve deryada furtuna müzayaka verüb mu'avenet lazım olduğu mahalde eğer hassa gemiler halkıdır ve eğer gayrıdır mu'avenet eyleyeler*
53. *ve akçeleriyle zad u zevadeleri tedarikinde kimesne mani' olmya ve dahl ü ta'arruz kılmya¹⁰⁰ [XX] ve zikr olunan vilayetlerin tacirleri ve tercümanları ve sair adamları deryadan ve karadan Memalik-i Mahrusemize*
54. *gelüb bey' ü şıra' eyleyüb 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsum-u 'adiyelerin verdikden sonra gelişde ve gidişde kapudanlarımdan ve deryada yürüyen re'islerden ve gayrıdan ve 'asker halkından kimesne*
55. *mani' olmya ve kazılar dahl u ta'arruz eylemiyeler ve kendülerin ve adamların ve esbab ve davarların kimesne rencide eylemiye [XXI] ve eğer şiddet rüzgar olub gemilerin derya karaya atarsa beyler ve kazılar ve gayrılar*
56. *mu'avenet eyleyüb ve kurtulan esbab ü emval gerü kendülere verilüb beytü'l-macular dahl u ta'arruz eylemiyeler [XXII] ve bazerganlardan biri medyun olsa borcludan taleb olunub ana kefil olmayıcak*
57. *ahar kimesne tutulub taleb olunmya [XXIII] ve eğer biri mürd olub emval u esbabın kime vassiyet eder ise ana verile vassiyetsiz mürd olursa konsolosları ma'rifet ile ol yerluden olan*
58. *yoldaşına verile [XXIV] ve müşarunileyh tabi' olan yerlerin bazerganları ve konsoloları ve tercümanları Memalik-i Mahrusemizde bey' ü şıra ve ticaret ü kefalet hususlarında ve sair umur-u şer'iyye*
59. *oldukda kazıya varub sebt ü sicill etdürüb veya hüccet alalar sonra niza' vaki' olur ise sicill ü sebt nazar olunub mucibi ile 'amel oluna bu ikisinden biri olmyub*
60. *mücerred celb ü ahz için etdikleri da'valar şirret ise 'istima' olunmya madamki kazılardan hüccet olmya ve siccilde bulunmya hilaf-ı şer'-i şerif rencide olunmyalar ve dahi ba'azı kimesnelerinde şetm*
61. *eyledüğüz deyü iftira edüb hile ü hud'a ile mücerred celb ü ahz için etdikleri da'vaları dahi istima' olunmya olvecihle hilaf-ı şer'-i şerif rencide edenler men' oluna [XXV] ve bundan*

¹⁰⁰ It seems that this article was erroneously copied from 1612 (art. 24), which in turn was erroneously copied from the English and French ones (which are identical): S.A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations*, Oxford-New York, 1977, 234 (art. 4), and the bilingual edition of F. Savary de Brèves, *Articles du traicte faict en l'annee mil six cens quatre, entre Henri I le Grand Roy de France, & de Navarre, et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs*, Paris 1615 (art. 23).

62. *biri medyun olsa veya bir vecihle müttehem olub gaybet eylese anın için kefaletsiz kimesne tutulmıya*¹⁰¹ [XXVI] *ve müşarünileyh İmperadora tabi' olub Memalik-i Mahrusemizde mütemekkin olanlar eğer evlü olsun*
63. *ve eğer ergen olsun rençberlik edeler*¹⁰² [XXVII] *ve elçileri hizmetinde olan konsoloslar ve tercümanlar*¹⁰³ *zarar-ı kassabiye ve sair tekalif-i 'örfiyyeden mu'af olalar* [XXVIII] *ve İskenderiyye ve Trablus-u Şam*
64. *ve Cezayir ve Tunus ve Cezayir-i Garb ve Mısır iskelelerine ve gayrılara ta'yin etdikleri konsolosların tebdil edüb yerine ol hizmetin 'uhdesinden gelür adamlar ta'yin edüb gönderdükde kimesne*
65. *mani' olmya* [XXIX] *ve tüccar ta'ifesinin rızaları yoğiken üzerlerine ba'zı meta' birağulub ta'addi olunmya* [XXX] *ve bu ta'ifeden biriyle ba'zı kimesnenin niza'ı olsa kazıya vardukda kendü tercümanı*
66. *hazır bulunmaz ise da'vaların istima' eylemiye eğer bir mühimm maslahat ise dahi tercüman gelince tevakkuf oluna amma anlar dahi ta'allül edüb tercümanımız hazır değildir deyü 'avk etmiyeler* [XXXI] *ve levend kayıkları*
67. *bunları esir edüb ve getürüb Rum İli ve Anadolu'da satarlar ise anın gibi bulduklarında muhkem teftiş olunub her kimin elinde bulunur ise esir müslüman olmuş ise kimden aldığı bildürüb*
68. *ve alan kimesneye andan*¹⁰⁴ *aliverilüb azad olub salverile* [XXXII] *ve Memalik-i Mahrusemizde derya yüzine çıkan gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar deryada İmperadorun ve müşarünileyh tabi' olan hükkamin*
69. *gemilerine bulduklarında birbiriyle dostluk edüb zarar ü ziyan eylemiye ve eğer deryada ve limanlarda madamki rızalarıyla hediye vermiyeler cebren alat u esbab ve emred oğlanların ve gayrı kimesnelerin*
70. *alub ta'addi ü tecavüz eylemiyeler* [XXXIII] *ve kalyonları ve gemileri gider oldukda İstanbulda bir dahi Gelibolıda aranub Boğaza gideler 'ahdname-i hümayunuma muhalif bunlardan gayrı yerde aranub akçeleri alınmya*
71. [XXXIV] *ve Memalik-i Mahrusemizde olan iskelelerde kalyonları ve gemileri meta' yükledüb gümrükleri bi't-tamam verdüklerinden sonra tekrar memnu'atdan ve gayrıdan hafiyeten meta' yükledüb gümrük kaçarmıyalar*
72. *şöyleki aranub olmakule meta' bulunursa miriye girift oluna* [XXXV] *ve Halebden ve sair Memalik-i Mahrusemizden harir ve sair meta' aldıklarında gümrüklerin eda eyledüklerinden sonra gemilerile Kıbrıs*
73. *ve sair iskelelerde geldüklerinde ba'zı meta'ların satmak için çıkarmayub ancak yükleriyle lazım gelüb ahar gemiye tahmil eyledüklerinde veyahud birkaç güne değin mahzene koduklarında meta'nız çıkardınız deyü*

¹⁰¹ Additional in 1612: *ve min ba'd Netherlandaya tabi' esir olursa konsolosları taleb edüb Netherlanda vilayetlerinde etdüğü zahir olundukda alınub Netherlandalulara vereler.*

¹⁰² Additional in 1612: *anlardan harac taleb olunmya.*

¹⁰³ Additional in 1612: *olageldüğü üzere haracdan ve zarar-i [...].*

¹⁰⁴ Additional in 1612: *kimesneye akçesi andan [...].* Again, this rather confusing article seems to have been copied with mistakes from 1612, which in turn was erroneously copied from the English 'ahdname, otherwise very clear here (the corresponding French article is quite different). See Skilliter, Harborne, art. 18 and her commentary on p. 101.

74. *rencide etmeyüb olvecihle akçelerin almıyalar ve 'ahdname-i hümayuna muhalif kazılar'¹⁰⁵ ve sair ehl-i 'örf ta'ifesi rencide eylemiyeler [XXXVI] ve müşarünileyh tabi' olan kalyonlar ve gemiler anda vardukda*
75. *ol tuzdan alub gemilerine safra yerine kodukda kadimden olageldüğü üzere her 'arabasına yetmiş birer akçeden ziyade alınmıyalar ve bu hususa kazılar ve eminler ve ehl-i 'örf taifesi*
76. *rencide eylemiyeler [XXXVII] ve Memalik-i Mahrusemize getirdükleri kurşun ve kalay ve demür ve çelik ve sair hurda meta'a mani' olmıyalar ve 'ahdname-i hümayunumda yazıldığı üzere*
77. *yüzde üç akçe gümrük alınub ziyade taleb olunmıya ve min ba'd ol vecihle rencide olunmıyalar [XXXVIII] ve mezburlara tabi' olan kalyon ve gemilere Dimyat ve İskenderiye ve sair*
78. *iskelelerden ba'zı müslüman rızalarıyla esbab ü meta' tahmil edüb İstanbula ve sair Memalik-i Memalik-i [sic!] Mahrusemize getürmeğe mani' olmıyalar ve ol gemilere tahmil olunmağıla ziyade*
79. *gümrük taleb olunmayub sair müslümanlardan alındığı üzere gümrükleri alına ve kalyonları ve gemileri her hangi iskelede olunursa tamam gümrüklerin 'ahdname mucibince verdüklerinden sonra*
80. *ba'zı 'angarya alıkomıyalar ve 'angarya tekalif eylemiyeler [XXXIX] ve bazerganlarından biri meta'yıla gelüb müslüman olursa konsolosları¹⁰⁶ ma'rifet ile vilayetleri bazerganlarından aldığı*
81. *esbab u nakdiyye alınub konsoloslarına teslim oluna ki sahiblerine göndererler kimesnenin hakkı üzerlerinde kalmıya hakimlerden ve kazılardan kimesne dahl etmiye ve müşarünileyh*
82. *tabi' olan bazerganlarından birine hilaf-ı şer'-i şerif müslüman oldun deyüb mücerred 'ahz u celb için rencide etdirlemiye¹⁰⁷ [XL] ve mezburlara tabi' olan kalyonları¹⁰⁸*
83. *geldüklerinde gümrükde olan mubassırlar cefa'en esbabların değerinden ziyadeye tahmil ederler ise ol-mikdar¹⁰⁹ meta' alına akçe taleb olunmıya [XLI] ve kalyonları ve gemileri*
84. *Asitane-i Se'adetimde ita'at üzere olmyanlar ile cenk için çıkub cenk olub düşman gemileri alurlar ise ol zaman Memalik-i Mahrusemizde her hangi mahall*
85. *ve liman ve iskelelere ihtiyarlarıyla ve-yahud furtına ile varırlar ise kimesne dahl u ta'arruz etmiye ve lazım olan zad u zevadelerin akçeleriyle alduralar*
86. *kimesne mani' olmya [XLII] ve müşarünileyh İmperador vilayetlerinden ve ana tabi' olan yerlerden emn ü aman ile Kudüs-ü Şerif ziyaretine gelüb gidenlere kimesne mani'*

¹⁰⁵ 1612: ve hakimler ve kazılar.

¹⁰⁶ 1612: elçileri ve konsolosları.

¹⁰⁷ 1612 continues with a situation involving interpreters (tercümanlar).

¹⁰⁸ 1612: ve gemileri.

¹⁰⁹ 1612: tahmil ederler ise gümrük ne mikdar olursa ol-mikdar.

87. *olmıya ve Kumame nam kilisede olan keşişler ve gayrılar dahl elemiye lazım olan yerleri ziyaret etdüreler [XLIII] ve kalyonları ve gemileri Memalik-i Mahrusemize*
88. *geldüklerinde hıfz u siyanet olunub emin ü salim girü gideler [XLIV] emval ü esbab yağma olmuş bulunur ise garet olan emval u esbab ve adamlarının*
89. *zuhura gelmesi babında sa'y u ikdam olunub ehl-i fesad her kim olunursa olsun gereği gibi haklarından geline [XLV] ve libasları¹¹⁰ ve me'kulat u meşrubatlarıçün akçeleriyle getürdükleri*
90. *eşyadan gümrük ve bac ve reft ve kassabiyeleri talep olunmıya [XLVI] ve beylerbeyiler ve sancakbeyileri ve kapudanlar kullarım ve kazılar ve nazılar ve eminler ve hassa re'isler ve gönüllü re'isler*
91. *'umuman Memalik-i Mahrusemiz ahalişi işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum mucibince 'amel eyleyüb kat'an hilafına cevaz gösterilmiye şöyleki ferman-ı kazacereyanımıza muhalif ü mugayeret¹¹¹*
92. *üzere olan ta'ife-i tağyadan¹¹² ol-makulelere aman ve zaman verilmiyüb haklarından geline ki sairler mucib 'ibret ola [XLVII] ve müşarünileyh tabi' olan*
93. *tüccar ve sa'ir adamları satun aldıkları meta'yı bey' ü şıra için Trabzon ve Kefe ve sair denizde¹¹³ Memalik-i Mahrusemizde olan iskelelerde¹¹⁴ ve karadan Ten Suyundan*
94. *Azağa ve Moskova ve Rus vilayetlerine alub gidüb ve Memalik-i Mahrusemize ol canibden meta' getürüb bey ü ser [sic! şıra] eyleyüb ticaret etdüklerinde kimesne mani' olmıya*
95. *ve meta'larından 'ahdname-i hümayun mucibince yüzde üç akçe alalar ziyade almıyalar ve rüzgar-ı muhalif olub İstanbula gelecek gemileri Kefe ve-yahud ol caniblerde bir mahalle*
96. *düşdükte ihtiyarlarıyla vardıklarında rızalarıyla bey' etmedin cebren meta'ların çıkardub almıyalar ve ol caniblerde varan kalyon ve gemilerine kimesne mani' olmıya*
97. *ve mahuf u muhatara olan yerlerde hükkam gemilerin ve içinde olan adamların ve meta'ların korudub siyanet eyleye zarar ü ziyan olmıya ve lazım olan*
98. *zad u zevadelerin bulunan yerlerde akçeleriyle almakda mu'avenet eyleyeler ve esbabları tahmil olunmak için gemi ve 'araba tutmak istediklerinde ahardan¹¹⁵*
99. *kimesne mani' olmıya [XLVIII] ve ol canibden İstanbula getürdükleri meta'dan madamki satmak için ahar yerde çıkarmıyalar İstanbula gelince gümrük alınmıya ve bunda geldikde*

¹¹⁰ 1612: ve elçilerinin ve konsoloslarına ve tercümanlarının ve kendü ademlerinin hedaya ve libasları [...].

¹¹¹ 1612: *olub sa'y bi'l-fesad üzere olan.*

¹¹² 1612: *tağyadan olalar.*

¹¹³ 1612: *Karadenizde.*

¹¹⁴ 1612: *Memalik-i Mahrusemizden olan isklelere iledüb.*

¹¹⁵ 1612: *tutmak istediklerinde şöyleki ahardan tutulmuş olmıya.*

100. *çıkardukları meta'dan gümrük alınub emin ü salim ticaret eyleyeler ve Istanbulda meta'larından yüzde üç akçe gümrük alına ziyade alınmıya işbu zikr olunan*
101. *hususularda madamki sadakat u hulusat sabitkadem olalar ben dahi dostluğu kabul ediüb ve 'ahd u yemin ederim ki yerleri ve gökleri halk eden*
102. *hüdayı müte'al celle iclalehü hakkıçün ve ecdad-ı 'azamım ervah-ı şerifeleriçün bu taraftan dahi hilaf-ı 'ahd u misak ve mugayır-ı 'akd u ittifak*
103. *iş olmıya daima bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumun mazmun-u şerifeyi ile 'amel olunub hilafına cevaz gösterilmiye kezalik İmperador dostumuzun eli altında olan*
104. *sulh u salah 'akd olunan cümle vilayeterinde ve serhaddlarında eşkiya ta'ifesinin min ba'd bir vecihle ruhsat verilmiyüb 'akd olunan sulh u salaha muhalif*
105. *vaz' etdirlemeğe riza u cevaz gösterilmiye hilaf-ı 'ahd bir yerde kendü vilayetlerinde ve serhaddların fesad zuhur eder ise edenlerün muhkem hakklarında gelinüb sulh u salah mugayır-i*
106. *taraftayinden fitne ü fesad zuhur etmiyüb iki taraftın re'ayası asude hal olalar ve eşkiya fesad etmeğe cera'et etmiyeler şöyle bileler 'alamet-i şerife*
107. *i'timad kılalar tahriren fi evahır-ı şehri-i Cemazi'l-ahıra sene sitte ve 'aşrin ve elf*

*be-mekam-ı
Kostantiniyye
el-mahruse*

'*Ahdname-i hümayun* granted by Ahmed I to Matthias in 1617

– translation –

[Praising and giving precedence to the Most Exalted God, is the truest, worthiest, and most suitable deed – may his names be sanctified and his blessings uninterrupted!]¹¹⁶

Ahmed Şah, son of Han Mehmed Şah, the ever victorious

Since I who,

with the association of the eternal, perfect omnipotence of God, and of the abundant talent of the eternal God, of his Majesty, the Supreme King, in whom men confide, of His Highness, the Bestower of gifts and presents – may he be exalted above any comparison and example and may he be held free from likeliness and deficiency! – and with the companionship of the miracles full of blessings of his Majesty, the sun of the prophetic heavens and star of the constellation of generosity, leader of the group of prophets and example of the division of the pure ones, God's beloved one, the intercessor for sinners on Doomsday, Muhammad Mustafa [i.e. God's chosen one] – may God be exalted and may he command and salute him! – and with the consent of the distinguished companions and well-guided caliphs – may God be exalted and may he be pleased with them all! - and with that of the sacred spirits of their majesties, the multitude of saints associated with the right way, and the congregation of pure ones, pledges of happiness – may their mysteries be hallowed by God until the Day of Judgement! –,

am the sultan of the chiefs of sultans and of the pillars of khans, the one who distributes crowns to the reigning Chosroes, who diminishes the flaws of Caesars, the greatest of the people's greatest, the hero of water and earth, the shadow of God – may he be exalted! – on earth, the resident of the noble station – “Lo! I am about to place a vicegerent on earth” [Qu'ran 2:30] – the servant of the noble towns and great cities and of the fortunate lands and countries which are the Two Noble Sanctuaries, the protector and ruler of the Holy Jerusalem, and of the abode of the exalted sultanate and of the glorious and grand caliphate, the Well-Guarded Constantinople – may it be protected from disasters and troubles! – and of the Well-Guarded Edirne, of the Well-Protected Bursa, Rumelia, Timişoara, the country of Bosnia, Buda, Szigetvar, Eger, Kanizsa, Smederevo, Belgrade and of the country of Anatolia and Karaman, of the lands of Arabia and Damascus, the abode of peace, of the Well-Protected Egypt which is the rarity of ages, of the fortunate Yemen, of the countries of Abyssinia and Aden, of Baghdad, the abode of the caliphate, of Kufa, Basra, Al-Ahsa, Suakin, Sana'a, Aleppo, Dulkadir, Shahrizor, Adana, Tarsus, Antalya, Cyprus, Chios, Diyarbakir, Raqqa, Rum [i.e. Sivas], Çıldır, of the province of Amadiya and all of Kurdistan, of Kars, Erzurum, Georgia,

¹¹⁶ Missing, reconstructed from Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian”, 266, n. 4.

Demirkapı [i.e. Derbend], Tbilisi, Shirvan, Caffa, Kezlev [i.e. Yevpatoria], of the climates of the Kipchak Steppe, of the countries in the Abode of Holy-War Tunis, Tripoli in the West and Algiers, of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia and of other noble towns and great cities, countries and lands conquered and subjugated from the Abode of War, with the help of God, the King and Conqueror, by our powerful, conquering pride and royal, outstanding might, and of all regions on land and sea, and of all tribes and clans and of so many hundreds of thousands of soldiers marked by glory, padişah of the shelter of justice and şahinşah of the workshop of victory, the eternal manifestation of grace, benefactor of the Muhammadan nations' signs [i.e. verses of the Qu'ran], I am Sultan Ahmed Han, son of Sultan Mehmed Han, son of Sultan Murad Han, son of Sultan Selim Han, son of Sultan Suleyman Han, son of Sultan Selim Han, son of Sultan Bayezid Han, son of Sultan Mehmed Han – may God the bountiful king have mercy upon them! The reins of the horse of happiness of the lord of auspicious conjunction are fixed in our powerful and mighty grasp and all inhabitable quarters and the seven climates [of the Earth] were conquered with divine and godly guidance by the power of our safeguard.

With the countless, perfect grace of God – may he be exalted above any comparison and doubt! –, the pride of the most exalted leaders of the followers of Jesus, chosen one of the illustrious grandees of the Messian Nation, reconciler of the affairs of the nations in the Nazarene community, he who possesses the signs of splendour and pride, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the Emperor of Rome and King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Grand Duke of Vienna, Matthias – may his ends come with good fortune! – has sent from his side to our Exalted Gateway, the centre of majesty, and to our Sublime Step, resolution of happiness, the everlasting asylum of the highest and most virtuous men, which is the refuge of sultans of noble kin, and the shelter of khans of high reputation, with a letter sealed with loving affection, the examples among the leaders of the Messian Nation, buttresses of the grandees of the Nazarene Community, the respected ambassadors named Herman Czernin and Cesare Gallo. When their dispatched letters have been carefully read [it was revealed that] in their contents filled with a sense of affection you have professed your conformation to the peace and amity which is concluded between us and your safeguarding and protection, in every way, of the covenant and prosperity agreed upon by our two sides. Since these petitions and requests have our fortunate and royal acceptance, the aforementioned ambassadors have sent a letter to my Stirrup, the Workshop of Happiness. They kindly petitioned for the giving of a new imperial covenant-letter of mine, like those given to merchants of other kings who are friends of Our Highest Step and Exalted Gateway, so that, according to the conditions and agreements made between us, merchants from the aforementioned Emperor of Rome's own provinces and from the countries situated under the authority of the House of Austria, may arrive and go by land and sea to Our Well-Protected Domains to trade. Since their prayers which were made in the described

manner have received the fortunate acceptance, our illustrious command decreed that, according to the ancient custom, consuls [appointed] from their side to ports in the Well-Protected Domains shall be watched over by a general consul at my Threshold of Felicity, and a single consul shall be appointed in each port of our Well-Protected Domains. This [covenant] letter headed with justice has been graciously granted and our command which is executed like the inevitable edicts of destiny thus decrees:

[I] They¹¹⁷ shall obtain permits from border rulers and stewards and they shall present them, whatever direction they may come from. The governors and stewards of that border shall seal or stamp the permits and they shall not take any money for this. And if they pass or cross dangerous and risky places a sufficient military escort shall be sent their way so they shall pass safely and securely. And after paying the customs tax¹¹⁸ nobody shall further torment them, and nobody shall prevent those who want to continue on their way.

[II] And the merchants coming from the Roman Emperor's provinces, the trading community from the House of Austria's states and other royal places, as well as the merchants who are subjects of the Spanish King, the province of Flanders and of other provinces shall come and go safely and securely with their merchandise and ready money. Those who want to come in the described manner, either by sea with their ships or by land, shall not be given permission unless they do so under the Roman Emperor's flag and with his permits in their hands. And if they come with the flag and permits of others than those of the aforesaid Roman Emperor, or if they come without a flag or permit, their ships, goods and ready money shall be seized by the said Roman Emperor's consuls. And a customs duty of three per cent shall be given for the goods bought and sold. And two per cent shall be given for the consulate fee due to the Roman Emperor's consuls. And if one of the mentioned merchants happens to die, their property and possessions shall be registered and taken by the aforesaid consuls, and from my Majesty's side, the public treasury's stewards shall not interfere. And after the aforementioned merchants pay their customs duty for their merchandise in a port, customs duties shall not be demanded again. And if a litigation or dispute that exceeds four thousand *akçes* takes place between the merchants or with anybody else, it shall not be heard by the local judge, it shall be heard in the presence of the military judges at my Threshold of Felicity.

[III] No taxes shall be taken from the gold and silver coins brought by the mentioned merchants as their own pocket money, and the governors-general, judges, *defterdars*, masters of mint and overseers shall not interfere nor molest them and they shall not torment them by saying that "we shall make *akçes* out of your silver pocket money".

¹¹⁷ It is missing the 1615 reciprocal clause: "The merchant communities of the two sides, of my Threshold of Felicity and of that side [i.e. the Roman Emperor's], when arriving and coming to trade they shall obtain permits [...]".

¹¹⁸ It is missing the 1615 reciprocal clause: "After both sides pay the customs tax".

[IV] When the sea does not help them in reaching their countries and there is no possibility to come to this side, nobody shall prevent them from lying anchor in the ports of our Well-Protected Domains and from buying and selling in their own manner.

[V] When a criminal case or one involving blood money takes place between the merchants, it shall be looked upon and settled by their consuls; not a single one from the judges or officers shall interfere or molest them.

[VI] If a lawsuit takes place between their consuls and anybody else, they shall not be imprisoned, and their houses shall not be sealed up. And the lawsuits of the mentioned consuls or their dragomans with whomever they may be, shall be heard at my Gateway of Felicity. And if a command contrary to these mentioned articles shall be issued, it shall not be carried out, but it shall be proceeded according to my imperial covenant-letter.

[VII] When one of the mentioned merchants happens to die, the Treasury officials shall not interfere with and confiscate his possessions and provisions, saying that “their real owner is missing or is unknown”, or in other ways. The noble orders given to the merchants who come from that part are strong and firm and shall be profitable and advantageous for the said community; and the judges and officials who fix inheritance shares shall not demand the fee for distributing the deceased’s effects to his heirs.

[VIII] Their consuls shall employ the janissary guards that they want and the dragomans that they desire, according to the old custom. None of the unwanted janissaries or others shall meddle in their taking into service.

[IX] Nobody shall prevent them from pressing grape juice and making wine in the houses which are their residence, for themselves and for their men to supply the wants of life. And none of my janissary slaves or others shall want anything and shall not take anything by force and shall not oppress or transgress them.

[X] The merchants shall pay a customs duty of no more than three per cent in Aleppo, Alexandria and other places for the merchandise that they brought, taken and carried away from their provinces with their rulers’ consent, and their merchandise shall not be evaluated at a higher price. They shall pay, with no exceptions, the consulate fee to the consuls of the aforementioned [Emperor] when the merchandise, which is loaded onto their ships and brought [here] or bought and taken [from here], comes into the customs’ hands.

[XI] No taxes shall be taken from the merchandise that is not disembarked to be sold and remains on their ships anchored in Istanbul or in whatever other port when they say that “we are taking it to another port”.¹¹⁹

[XII] The new taxes of *reft*, *kassabiye*, *bac* and *yasak kulu* shall not be taken and no more than three hundred *akçes* shall be demanded for the *selametlik* tax from their ships when leaving.

¹¹⁹ Additional in 1612: “nor may anyone interfere with their going to take goods to another scale”. (art. 14).

[XIII] Algerian corsairs shall be treated with respect when arriving in ports under their submission, and they shall be given gunpowder, lead, other tools and sail, but when they come across merchant ships under their submission they shall not make them captives nor shall they plunder their possessions and merchandise. This matter does not have my noble consent.

[XIV] If there are captives taken from the subjects of countries under the Emperor's submission, they shall be set free and their property returned faultlessly. When the corsairs attack and they [the merchants] shall notify this by letter, the governor-general during whose time this happens shall be dismissed, whichever he may be. Plundered properties and possessions shall be indemnified to them and captives shall be set free. If they [the corsairs] do not conform to my noble command they shall not be accepted again in fortresses and ports when they come to the countries of rulers under the Emperor's submission. Their transgressions shall not bring injury to the concluded covenant and the appreciations and complaints on this subject shall have my imperial acceptance.

[XV] Noble orders were dispatched to the governors-general, beys, judges and port intendants who are in my Well-Protected Domains [and] our command which is executed like the inevitable edicts of destiny thus decreed: as long as from the side of the aforementioned Emperor and of those who are submitted to him the articles of covenant and oath shall be respected and the necessary peace and forgiveness shall be safe and protected, as convened upon, from this side also no one, by no means shall interfere with or molest their properties, possessions and merchandise, whether they come by sea, with their galleons and other ships with their men, possessions and merchandise inside, or whether their men, goods, possessions and merchandise come by land; and they shall conduct business and trade in their own way.

[XVI] When they buy provisions at their own will from the ships of the people of Islam, and they go to their own province without going to enemy countries, the ships of the people of Islam shall not seize the ship nor enslave those found within the ship, when they come across them and after they capture them. Likewise, if captives from among them are found, they shall be set free and their possessions shall also returned.

[XVII] By no means shall they be troubled when the group of enemy merchants load merchandise on their ships, by saying that "it is the enemy's merchandise".

[XVIII] If they are enslaved in any way when they come and go to my Well-Protected Domains and other countries for their trade, they shall be delivered to their places of origin and they shall come and go to my Well-Protected Domains in peace and protection.

[XIX] When storms give them trouble on the seas, the necessary assistance shall be offered by either the people on navy ships or others in that place; and nobody shall prevent them from procuring provisions and supplies with their money, and they shall not be interfered with nor molested.

[XX] After the merchants, interpreters and other men of the mentioned provinces who come by land or sea to our Well-Protected Domains to buy and sell pay, according to custom and law, their habitual taxes, they shall not be prevented in their coming and going by no one amongst the admirals, sea-faring captains and others, as well as from the military folk; and the judges shall not interfere with or molest them; and no one shall trouble them, their men, goods or possessions.

[XXI] If severe winds occur and throw their ships at sea to the land, governors, judges and others shall assist them and return the salvaged possessions and properties, and the public treasury stewards shall not interfere with or molest them.

[XXII] If one of the merchants becomes indebted, the debtor shall be solicited and no one else shall be solicited other than those appointed as guarantors.

[XXIII] If one of them happens to die, his properties and possessions shall be given to whom was appointed heir; if he dies without having an heir, they shall be given to one of his local partners, through the mediation of their consuls.

[XXIV] When the merchants, consuls and interpreters of places subjected to the aforesaid [Emperor] who engage in our Well-Protected Domains in activities such as buying and selling, trading, standing surety and other legal affairs arrive at the judge, they shall be inscribed in the court registers or shall be given title-deeds (*hüccet*). If litigations take place afterwards, the court registers shall be investigated, and it shall be proceeded accordingly. If one of these two [documents] is missing and malicious lawsuits are opened simply for summons and exactions, they shall not be listened to. As long as the title-deed from the judge is missing and it is not found in the registers, contrary to the noble law they shall not be tormented. Moreover, lawsuits opened simply for summons and exactions when someone slanders them, with trickery and deceit, by saying that “we were insulted”, shall also not be listened to. Those kinds of troubles, which are contrary to the Noble Law, shall be prohibited.

[XXV] If one of them becomes indebted or if he is suspected of something and disappears, nobody shall detain those who have not stood as guarantors for him.

[XXVI] Subjects of the aforementioned Emperor who reside in our Well-Protected Domains may conduct trade, regardless if they are married or bachelors.¹²⁰

[XXVII] Consuls and interpreters who are in the service of their ambassadors shall be exempted from the harmful *kassabiye* and other extraordinary taxes.

[XXVIII] Nobody shall prevent the changing of consuls appointed in the ports of Alexandria, Tripoli of Syria, the Archipelago, Tunis, Algiers, Egypt and elsewhere, nor the men who are sent and appointed in their place to discharge them of their service.

¹²⁰ This misses the critical provision that resident merchants, be they married or not, shall be exempted from paying the *harac*. Compare with 1612 (art. 32).

[XXIX] The merchant community may not be oppressed with the bequest of certain merchandise when it does not give its consent.

[XXX] If someone from this community has a litigation with anybody and if his interpreter is not present when arriving at the judge, their lawsuit shall not be listened to. If there is an important affair, it shall be postponed until the interpreter arrives, but it shall not be delayed if they seek any other pretext, by saying that “our interpreter is not ready”.

[XXXI] If the *levend* caiques enslave and bring them to Rumelia or Anatolia for sale, when [slaves] such as these are found, a solid enquiry shall be made to determine from whom were they bought, regardless of in whose hands they may be found or if they became Muslim, and the purchaser shall procure [back his money] from him [whomever he bought the slaves from] and shall manumit them and set them free.

[XXXII] When ships, galleys and navy vessels setting sail on the seas of our Well-Protected Domains meet with the ships of the Emperor and of the rulers under his submission, they shall show signs of mutual friendship and shall not cause damages and injuries; and as long as they do not consent to offer gifts on the seas and in the harbours, they shall not be transgressed and aggressed by forcibly taking from them equipment and possessions, beardless young boys and others.¹²¹

[XXXIII] When their galleons and ships leave, they shall be searched in Istanbul and again in Gallipoli and shall depart towards the Straits. Contrary to my imperial covenant-letter, elsewhere they shall not be searched, and money shall not be taken from them.¹²²

[XXXIV] After they load their ships with merchandise and pay their customs duties in full in the ports of our Well-Protected Domains, they shall be searched again so that they may not run away with prohibited merchandise and other smuggled things. If such merchandise is found, it shall be seized by the treasury.¹²³

[XXXV] After buying silk and other merchandise from Aleppo and elsewhere in our Well-Protected Domains and after paying their customs duties, they shall not be troubled and more money shall not be taken from them when they come with their ships to Cyprus or to other ports to buy some other merchandise and do not unload, but out of necessity they load their cargo on another ship or when say that “we unload our merchandise to store it for a couple of days in the warehouse”; and contrary to the imperial covenant-letter, judges and other secular officials (*ehl-i 'örf ta'ifesi*) shall not trouble them.

¹²¹ 1612 (art. 40) then continues with the most-favoured nation's clause (referring to the French and English privileges), which is not present in the Habsburg '*ahdname*'.

¹²² This differs considerably from 1612 (art. 41), which decree that the ships *may not* be searched again at Gallipoli, after being searched in Istanbul and at the fortress of the Dardanelles, which is likewise stated in France 1604.

¹²³ Again, 1612 (art. 42) is rather different here: “Their ships may not be searched merely for the purpose of summons and confiscations nor may any damage be done in that manner”.

[XXXVI] When galleons and other ships subject to the aforementioned [Emperor] arrive there [in Cyprus], buy salt and place it in the ballast's place of their ships, according to the ancient custom no more than 71 *akçes* for each cartload shall be taken; and judges, intendants and secular officials shall not trouble them for this issue.¹²⁴

[XXXVII] Lead, tin, iron, steel and other metal merchandise shall not be prevented from being brought to our Well-Protected Domains; and according to what is written in my imperial covenant-letter a customs duty of three per cent shall be given, and no more shall be demanded; and henceforth they shall not be troubled in this way.

[XXXVIII] The loading of goods and merchandise with the Muslims' consent in Damietta, Alexandria, or other ports, on the galleons and other ships subject to the aforesaid [rulers] and their bringing to Istanbul and elsewhere in our Well-Protected Domains shall not be prevented. No extra customs duties shall be demanded for the loading on those ships; customs duties shall be taken as if they were taken from other Muslims. And after the galleons and other ships pay their customs duty in full, according to the covenant-letter, in whatever port they may be, they may not be detained for any forced labour and no forced labour may be imposed upon them.

[XXXIX] If one of the merchants coming with his goods becomes Muslim, the goods and ready money which he has received from the merchants of his provinces shall be taken and handed over to their consul so that they shall be sent to their owners with the mediation of their consul; he [who is now a Muslim] may not keep what rightfully belongs to others; and no rulers or judges shall interfere. And, contrary to the Noble Law, none of the merchants subject to the aforementioned [Emperor] may be troubled by saying that "you have become a Muslim", simply for summons and exactions.¹²⁵

[XL] If the superintendents harshly evaluate their goods at a higher value when galleons belonging to the aforesaid [merchants] come to pay the customs duty, an amount of merchandise [equivalent to the customs tax percentage] shall be taken [instead] and money shall not be demanded.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ 1612 (art. 44, regarding salt) is more detailed: "[...] can load salt to the amount they wish at the set price which Muslims pay with their money at Cyprus and the [other] scales in my well-guarded dominions. Nobody may prevent this nor may it be bought for more money than the fixed price. Also at the island of Cyprus they may load salt as ship's ballast. That salt is not like the other salt and is usually sold to every buyer at seventy-one *akçe*/asper per waggon. When the Dutch galleons and ships come and buy of that salt and put it on their ships in its place, as usual of old not more than seventy-one *akçe*/asper per waggon may be taken for it. On this point the cadis, commissioners and other executive officers may not be vexatious".

¹²⁵ 1612 (art. 49) further mentions that "no proceedings may be taken unless the man says in front of a dragoman that he has become a Muslim of his own free will. As long as the dragoman does not arrive, there may be no molestation. A dragoman should be present".

¹²⁶ It seems like this article was not copied properly from 1612 (art. 52), as quite a few words are missing.

[XLI] If their galleons and ships set out to fight with those who are not obedient towards my Threshold of Felicity and if a fight occurs and they take enemy ships and arrive in whatever place, harbour or port in our Well-Protected domains at their own will or driven by a storm, nobody shall interfere and molest them; and nobody shall prevent them from buying provisions and supplies with their own money.

[XLII] Nobody shall prevent those from the aforementioned Emperor's provinces or from places under his submission who come and go in peace and protection to visit the Noble Jerusalem; and the monks and others who are in the church called The Holy Sepulchre shall not interfere with them and they shall visit the necessary places.¹²⁷

[XLIII] When their galleons and ships come to my Well-Protected Domains they shall be guarded and protected, and they shall go back safe and sound.

[XLIV] If properties and possessions are pillaged, great effort and perseverance shall be put into the matter of [finding] their plundered properties, possessions, and men. Whoever the mischief-makers may be, they shall be punished in an exemplary way.

[XLV] Customs duty, as well as the taxes of *bac*, *reft*, and *kassabiye*, shall not be demanded for things such as garments, foods and drinks, which are brought with their money [and for their own use].¹²⁸

[XLVI] The governors-general, governors and admirals, who are my slaves, as well as the overseers and intendants, navy captains and volunteer captains, and all people of my Well-Protected Domains shall proceed according to this imperial covenant-letter of mine; contrary actions shall never be displayed so that in this way neither protection nor time shall be given to those of the rebellious group which act in opposition and disagreement to our command, which is executed like the inevitable edicts of destiny; they shall be punished as a warning to others.

[XLVII] Merchants and other men who are subjects of the aforementioned [Emperor], may pass to and leave Trabzon, Kaffa and other ports of the [Black] Sea, in our Well-Protected Domains, and go by land through the River Don to Azov, Moscow and to the Russian provinces to buy and sell the merchandise which they bought, and may bring to our Well-Protected Domains merchandise from those parts; they may buy and sell and nobody shall prevent their commerce. Three per cent shall be taken for their merchandise, according to the imperial covenant-letter, and no more shall be taken. When their ships coming to Istanbul encounter

¹²⁷ 1612 (art. 54) stated that the (Catholic) monks may not prevent the Dutch from coming to Jerusalem by saying that "you belong to the Lutheran [i.e. Protestant] community". While the Protestant affiliation was cleared from Habsburg pilgrims, this '*ahdname* nevertheless maintained the rather awkward stipulation that the monks may not interfere with them. Conversely, religious privileges regarding Jerusalem granted in 1604 to the other Catholic powers, France and Venice, decreed that both pilgrims and monks at the Holy Sepulchre shall be protected.

¹²⁸ 1612 (art. 56) mentions that these goods belonged to their ambassadors, consuls, interpreters, and servants.

contrary winds, and they divert and willingly arrive in Kaffa or any other place in those parts, their merchandise shall not be unloaded by force and taken, if they do not give their consent; nobody shall prevent the arriving of their galleons and ships in those parts. Rulers situated in dangerous and risky places shall watch over and protect their ships, the men inside them and their merchandise, and they shall not cause damages and injuries, but shall help them in buying the necessary supplies and provisions found on the spot. Nobody shall prevent them when they want to rent ships and wagons to load their possessions, [so that] others [may not rent them].¹²⁹

[XLVIII] As long as the merchandise brought from those parts to Istanbul is not unloaded to be sold in another place, no customs duties shall be taken for it when coming to Istanbul. When they come here, customs duties shall be taken for the unloaded merchandise and they shall trade safely and securely. In Istanbul, a customs duty of three per cent shall be taken from their merchandise and no more shall be taken.

As long as they shall keep their words of loyalty and devotion regarding these mentioned topics, I too shall accept their friendship and I pledge and swear in the name of the Supreme God – may His glory be exalted! – who is the creator of the lands and heavens, and on the noble souls of my exalted forefathers, that from this side also no action shall be made contrary to the covenant and solemn promise, and against the pact and agreement. It shall be proceeded according to the noble contents of this imperial covenant-letter of mine, and [actions] contrary to it shall not be allowed. Likewise, it is at the disposal of our friend, the Emperor, that [according] to the clauses of the agreed-upon peace and amity, henceforth no permission shall be given to the group of brigands [located] in his provinces and borderlands, in no way; consent and permission shall not be given to actions which are in opposition to the agreed-upon peace and amity. If, contrary to the covenant, trouble appears in a place in his own provinces and borderlands, they [the trouble-makers] shall be punished; sedition and mischief against the peace and amity shall not appear between the two sides and the subjects of the two sides shall rest in tranquillity and brigands shall not dare to cause mischief. Thus shall they know and they shall have confidence in the noble sign! Written at the end of the month of *Cemazi'l-ahur*, the year one thousand and twenty-six.

In the seat of
Constantinople
The Well-Guarded

¹²⁹ Again, several words are missing from this article and the previous one (46) when compared with 1612 (arts. 60-63) and may thus lead to slightly different interpretations.

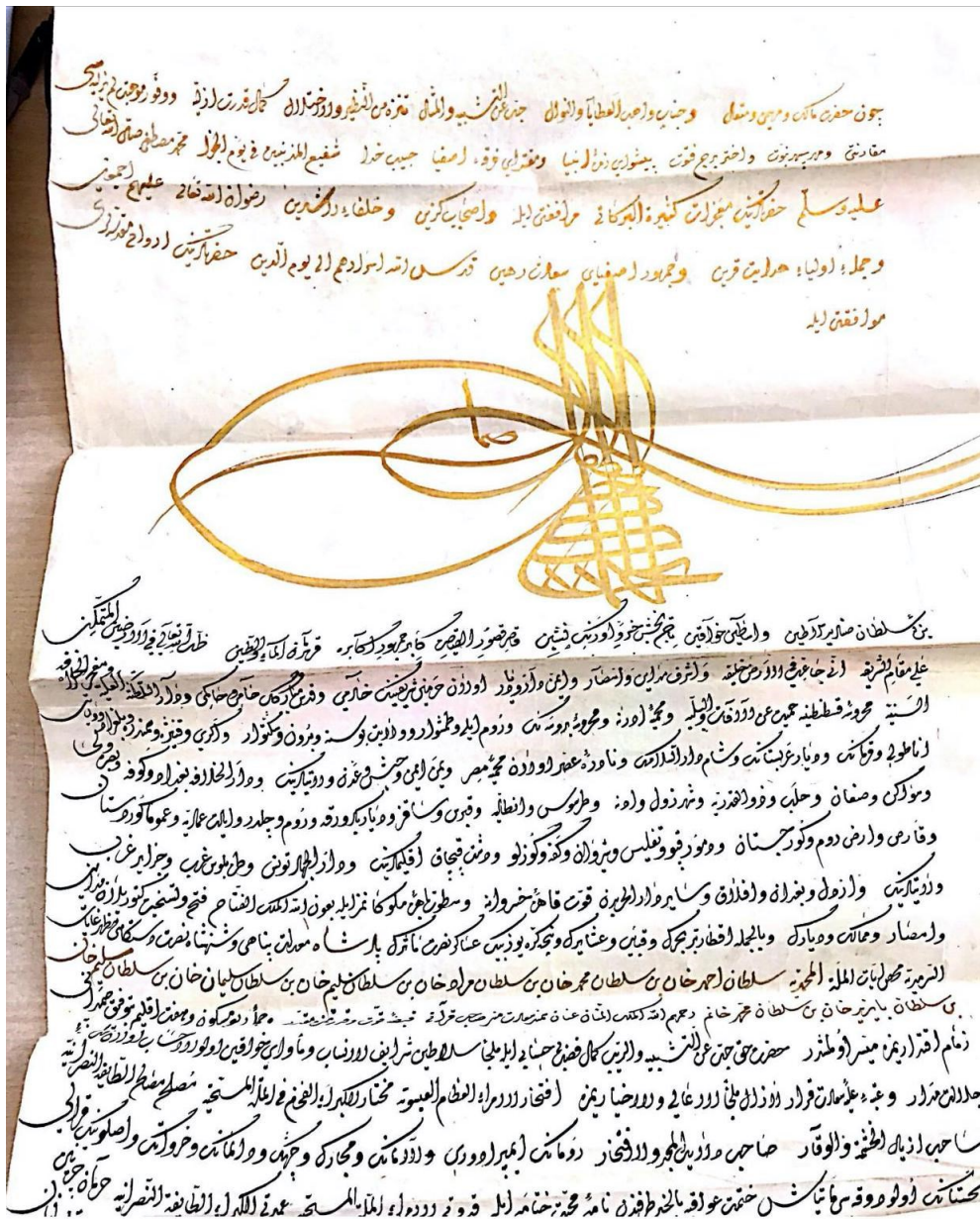


Plate I

formula devotionalis (lines A-E)

tughra

lines 1-14

اذین قوتی و تاج و زلیله و قالیونان و کیمیا و کبر لور و قریح رسا بوی بر من
 دکان عروسه زن و دودزه دستدره قالیونان و کیمیا و کبر لور و قریح رسا بوی بر من
 نوکلک ازلون اولمونه متاع بونوره بیدر کرفه اوله و حلیه و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 و سایر اسکله کار و کارن بعضی متاع علی حقیق (چکه چقاژوبن لرنجی و کلید لرنج کلون لرنج کلکی به تخمین لیلک و کارن و با توجیر کوه و کوهی فخر و ذوقان متاع کیمیا و کبر لور
 ارنج ایتوب اولوب لرنجی ایلد و عهدنامه جانو مخالف قاخا و سایر ارضان عرف طایفسی رنجین لیلد و مشا و لیلد باجم اولوده قالونار و کیمیا و کبر لور و سایر
 اول و طوزه اولون کیمیا صفت بونوره قریحه اول و کیمیا و کبر لور اوزن هر چه که نیش بر لرنجی و ذوقان لیلد و بر خصوص قاخا و ایشار و اید و سایر
 رنجین ایلد و کیمیا و حمرو مزه کتور و کالی قورقون و قادی و حمور و کیمیا و سایر بر عمو متاع اولوب و عهده نامه جانو بونار اولون
 بوز اولوب لرنجی کوه لوب زبان طلب اولوب و من بعد اولوب رنجین اولوب و مزبور تابع اولوده قالونار و کیمیا و سایر و سایر
 اسکله اولده بعضی مساعده رضا ایلد کیمیا و متاع تخمین لور کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 کیمیا طلب اولوب بر مساعده اولده لرون کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 بعضی عقیقه البونور و عقیقه کلهیف لیلد و با ذکا نازده بری متاع کلور مساعده اولور و قالیونان و کیمیا و کبر لور و سایر
 لسیب و فخریه لوبون قوشونار تسلیم اولد که کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 تابع اولوده با ذکا نازده بری خرد فرع شریف مساعده اولور که کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 کیمیا و کارن کیمیا اولوده بصدر جانو اسبابی کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 است: و مساعده اطمین اولور اوزن ایلد کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 و ایامه و کیمیا اختیار اولد و یا خود خود اولد و در اولد کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 کیمیا متاع اولوب و مشا ایلد ایله و ور و اولد کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 اولوب و تمام کیمیا اولوده کیمیا و غیره و غیره ایلد لرنج اولوده بر لرون زیارت لرون لور و قالیونان و کیمیا و کبر لور
 کیمیا و کارن حفظ و عین لوبون لوب و کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 ظهور کیمیا بون مس و اولد لوبون اختیار کیمیا اولور و لوبون کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 دشیامه کیمیا و بیاج و ذوق و قصای لوب طلب اولوب و کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 عمو مکان محمود مزه حمروک و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 اوزن اولوده طایفه طایفه اولده و دمانه و بر طیبین مساعده کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 تاجی روس بر لوبون صاقونه لرون و متاع بیع و شرا لرنجی طریقه و کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
 از لرنج و مسوق و اوردون و ذوقان لوبون کیمیا و سایر مکان محمود مزه حمروک و مساجد و زعفران و کیمیا و کبر لور
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Plate V
Lines 71-94

RECENT FINDINGS REGARDING THE EARLY ARABIC PRINTING IN THE EASTERN OTTOMAN PROVINCES

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The article encloses a preliminary description of a rare copy of an early Arabic printed book authored by the Metropolitan of Aleppo (and two times Patriarch of Antioch) Athanasios Dabbās, *Risāla waḡīza tūḡaḡu kayfiyyat at-tawba wa-l-ʿiṭirāf wa-fī-mā yalzamu l-muʿtarif wa-l-muʿarrif*, i.e., *Brief epistle that explains how repentance and confession are done and what the one who confesses and the confessor have to do*, preserved at Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut. This is the last book printed in the Aleppo press by Dabbās, in 1711. After a preliminary presentation of the information provided about this book by bibliographers since the beginning of the 19th century, the contents and the visual aspects of the book are discussed. The author's comments address the possible sources of the Arabic text, influences on Dabbās's opinions on repentance and confession, and connections to other similar texts that circulated in the Christian communities of the Near East in Ottoman times. This is a glimpse of one of the topics that is comprised in the European Research Council Advanced Grant (ERC AdG 2019) project *TYPARABIC. Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians. Cultural Transfers between Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Near-East in the 18th Century*, which was awarded to the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (as Host Institution) and will be conducted by the author of the present article, Ioana Feodorov (as Principal Investigator).

Keywords: Early Arabic printing, Athanasios Dabbās, *Epistle on Repentance and Confession*, Aleppo press, beginning of the 18th c., Antim the Iberian, circulation of ideas.

The Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy has been awarded this year a European Research Council Advanced Grant (ERC AdG 2019) for the project *TYPARABIC. Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians. Cultural Transfers between Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Near-East in the 18th Century*. In my capacity as Principal Investigator, I shall lead a team of nine Senior and Junior Researchers for five years, 2020–2024. To put it in a nutshell, we plan on researching the beginnings of Arabic printing in Eastern Europe and the Middle East in the first half of the 18th Century, the history of the first printers and print presses that produced books here in the Arabic language and with Arabic types before 1800, and the contribution of East-European printers, princes, and Church hierarchs to the transfer of the printing know-how and technologies to the Ottoman provinces of present-day Syria and Lebanon. Although the main corpus of the project is made of Christian Arabic books, the project will also consider printing in Arabic for the Muslim and the general situation of printing (in Greek, Hebrew, and

Turkish) in the Imperial capital of Istanbul and several major printing centres across the Ottoman realm.

My preoccupations with the location of copies of the Christian Arabic books printed in the Romanian Principalities, in Ottoman Syria and Lebanon, have resulted so far in a book¹ and several studies and articles published at home and abroad.² The interest for this domain, born in the '70s of the last century, at a time when the International Association for South-East European Studies was taking shape in Bucharest³, took a new turn in 2016, when the Romanian Orthodox Church celebrated the Church printers and the ecclesiastic literature that they printed in several languages and scripts. While discussing Antim the Iberian's rich book-printing yield, his Arabic and Greek books became one of the salient topics that were discussed in scientific reunions. Almost five years later, the harvest is quite rich: through a joint effort of researchers from many countries, several copies of rare books printed in Aleppo and Beirut were located and new information keeps surfacing. The efforts that I made to locate the books that were described by bibliographers more than a century ago⁴ and were never seen afterward, nor surveyed by recent scholarship, lead to discoveries worth announcing to the interested researchers of early Arabic printing. I am summarizing henceforth my latest findings, which are set to become topics of in-depth surveys within the wider framework of our TYPARABIC project.⁵

One of the most active agents of change in the early 18th century Patriarchate of Antioch was undoubtedly Athanasios Dabbās. His sojourn in Wallachia starting with 1698 helped him acquire typographic skills and tools, sufficient as to initiate the first Arabic printing work in Ottoman Syria, and in the Near East at large.⁶ He is also known for his compositions and translations from Greek.⁷ In 1711 he wrote

¹ *Tipar pentru creștinii arabi. Antim Ivireanul, Atanasie Dabbās și Silvestru al Antiohiei*, Preamble by HH Dr. Casian Crăciun, Archbishop of Dunărea de Jos, Foreword by Dr. Doru Bădără, Brăila, 2016, 378 p.

² The Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies Printed in 1745 in Iași by Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch, „Scrinium”, 16, 2020, p. 1–19; New data on the early Arabic printing in the Levant and its connections to the Romanian Presses, „Revue des études sud-est européennes”, LVI, 2018, p. 197–233; Beginnings of Arabic printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711). The Romanians' part in Athanasios Dabbās's achievements, „ARAM”, 25, 1–2, 2013 (2016), p. 233–262; Livres arabes chrétiens imprimés par l'aide des Principautés Roumaines au début du XVIII^e siècle. Répertoire commenté, „Chronos. Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand”, 34, 2016, p. 7–49; etc.

³ The International Association for South-East European Studies was founded in April 1963 by a group of scholars (historians, philologists, ethnologists, historians of the art) from several countries of Europe and the Middle East, under the auspices of UNESCO. Romania has held the position of the General Secretary ever since. It has remained active to this day, with its latest International Congress held in Bucharest in September 2019 (with more than 400 speakers).

⁴ Two centuries even, if we consider that the earliest source, Schnurrer's *Bibliographia arabica*, is dated 1811.

⁵ I express my deep gratitude to Geoffrey Roper, who kindly read my text and made useful suggestions to me, and Carsten Walbinger, who provided me with essential information on Ulrich Jasper Seetzen.

⁶ Ioana Feodorov, *Beginnings of Arabic printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711)*..., p. 237 sqq.

⁷ Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^{ème} au XX^{ème} siècle (1516-1724)*, Vol. IV, t. 1, Louvain – Paris, 1979, p. 137–144.

a *Brief Epistle on How to Repent and to Confess* (*Risāla waḡīza tūdaḥu kayfiyyat at-tawba wa-l-'i'tirāf*). Unlike other works of his that seemed to have been prepared for printing, this one was actually printed, seemingly the last one in a rather long series of titles that started in 1706. The same year, and apparently before printing this *Risāla*, Dabbās had printed three other works. Two were his translations from Greek, and they formed one volume of 421 pp.: a) *The Divine Sermons* (*Al-Mawā'iz aš-šarīfa*), a collection of sixty-six homilies by Athanasios IV, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1452–1460), accompanied by a foreword written by Patriarch Chrisantos of Jerusalem, and b) an *Easter Sermon* of St John Chrysostom (*Maqāla li-l-Qiddīs Yūḥannā Famm aḍ-Ḍahab*). The third work was the *Oktoechos* or *Paraklitikon* (*Kitāb al-Baraklitikūn* or *Al-Mu'azzī*), in two volumes that comprise 806 pp. altogether. This was the first printed version of the Arabic *Oktoechos*, which Dabbās had revised, based on the Greek text.⁸ It is no surprise that the costs for its printing were covered by the Patriarch of Antioch, Cyril V Ibn az-Za'īm. Dabbās's composition, the *Risāla waḡīza tūdaḥu kayfiyyat at-tawba wa-l-'i'tirāf*, was obviously considered important enough to be added to this list of books printed in 1711, the last year that the press functioned. For the first three titles, the providers of financial means are known: they were Patriarch Chrisantos of Jerusalem and Patriarch Cyril V of Antioch. Dabbās's work was printed at his own expense, and he seems to have spent all his resources in this, as immediately afterward the press closed down, or at least no book printed after 1711 is known.

Three historians of Oriental book-printing mentioned this book in the 19th century. The first description was published by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811), a German physician and scientist who journeyed through Syria, Palestine and Yemen in 1803–1811.⁹ One of his tasks was to collect Oriental books and manuscripts for the Ducal library in Gotha. These precious copies of the first Arabic books printed in the Ottoman realm are preserved, to this day, at the Gotha Branch of the Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt. Seetzen published in No. 76 of "Intelligenzblatt der Jenaischen Allgem. Literatur-Zeitung", issue of 13 July 1805, a brief descriptive list of his acquisitions: *Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen Von U. J. Seetzen in Haléb 1805* (cols. 641–654). Book titles were printed in Arabic script,

⁸ This *edition princeps* was republished five times (in 1767, 1784, 1816, 1856, and 1866) in the press installed by 'Abdallāh Zāḥer, Dabbās's former disciple, at the St John the Baptist monastery in Šuweyr. See John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Ottoman World of 'Abdallāh Zāḥer. Shuwayr Bindings in the Arcadian Library*, in *The Arcadian Library: Bindings and Provenance*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Willem de Bruijn, Oxford, 2014, p. 222. As here the Aleppo edition is not taken into consideration, the first one is considered that of 1767.

⁹ Seetzen learned Arabic in Syria and Palestine, became familiar with the Arab way of life, and was the first to make a scientific survey of the Dead Sea. He did not return to Germany, and died in Yemen in 1811. See Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, edited and commented by Professor Dr. Fr. Kruse, Berlin, 1854–1859, 4 vols.; Carsten Walbiner, *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen [in Aleppo (1803–1805)]*, in Neil Cooke and Vanessa Daubney (eds.), *Every Traveller Needs a Compass. Travel and Collecting in Egypt and the Near East*, Oxford, 2015, p. 197–204.

with mistakes accountable either to Seetzen's manuscripts or to the press-workers' poor knowledge of this language (if any at all). The catalogue was drawn by Seetzen while he was still residing in Aleppo, where he had arrived in November 1803.¹⁰ The catalogue begins with two books from the Aleppo press production, printed in 1706 (list items 1 and 2): the *Gospels* ([14] + 93 + 253 pp.)¹¹ and the *Book of the Holy and Pure Gospels or the Brightly-Shining Lamp* (566 pp.). These are actually two versions of the Gospels, the second comprising comments excerpted from the Church Fathers (as in a *Lectionarium*)¹². Placed on p. 170–171 and scarcely described, item 4 is a copy of the *Risāla waḡīza tūdahū kayfiyyat at-tawba wa-l- 'i 'tirāf* of Aleppo, printed in 1711. After the Arabic title, the only data provided is that the book has 170 pp. and it is an 8°-format. Seetzen states that he could not find in the book the place and the year of its printing, but he was assured by locals that it was produced in Aleppo. Also, he found that the paper and printing features were similar to those of the first books listed in his catalogue, which comprised the indication "Aleppo".¹³

Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer¹⁴ repeated this information in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* (Halae, 1811), on p. 273–274, under the cat. no. 271. He mentions the identical data provided by U. J. Seetzen and gives the precise reference to his published acquisition list. Schnurrer added a description of the book contents, which he might have composed himself: *Tractatus brevis de recta ratione Pœnitentiæ et Confessionis et quid confessarii et confitentis, nunc prima vice impressus in usum Christianorum* ("Brief treaty on repentance and confession, and what the confessor and the penitent should do, now printed, for the first time, for the Christians' use"). It is possible that Schnurrer did not see the copy of Gotha, but he was, as always, well informed on the sources concerning early printing and book collections that were available in Western Europe at the time.

¹⁰ C. Walbiner, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹¹ A scan of this book (CRV 130) is accessible here: aleph23.biblicad.ro:8991/F/6B8CYHPSAC3DMGPHJCPP54G12RFILHJB69N5C9JEV3GQCSRHXV-17246?func=full-set-set&set_number=014523&set_entry=000001&format=999. A description is available in *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică (Antim the Iberian. The Printing Work)*, coord. Archim. Policarp Chițulescu, ed. D. Bădără, I. M. Croitoru, G. Dumitrescu, and I. Feodorov, Bucharest, 2016, p. 88–96 (with 11 ill.). A scan of this chapter is accessible at: <https://ioanafeodorov.academia.edu/>.

¹² Existing copies of this book are rare. There is none in Romania. The copy in the Gotha Branch of the Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt (shelf-mark Theol. 2 F 58/3) was presented by Carsten Walbiner on p. 24–25 of *The Christians of Bilād al-Shām (Syria): Pioneers of Book-Printing in the Arab World*, in *The Beginning of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. by Klaus Kreiser, Wiesbaden, 2001. Walbiner also commented on its contents in *Melkite (Greek Orthodox) approaches to the Bible at the time of the community's cultural reawakening in the early modern period (17th – early 18th centuries)*, in *Translating the Bible into Arabic: Historical, Text-critical and Literary Aspects*, ed. by Sara Binay and Stefan Leder, Beirut – Würzburg, 2012, p. 55, 58–61. Apparently without any knowledge of the Gotha copy, Seetzen's catalogue or Walbiner's research on this book, Sergey Frantsuzov drew a description of another copy, which he located in 2018 in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of St Petersburg (*Le premier Lectionnaire arabe orthodoxe imprimé, in Istorie și cultură. In honorem academician Andrei Eșanu*, Chișinău, 2018, p. 459–468).

¹³ I am grateful to my colleague Oana Iacubovschi for translating from German this passage of Seetzen's list.

¹⁴ Chr. Fr. von Schnurrer (1742–1822), a theologian, philologist, and Oriental-books bibliographer, was chancellor of the University of Tübingen.

Several decades later, Julius Theodor Zenker records this book at no. 1613 on p. 197 of his *Bibliotheca orientalis: Manuel de bibliographie orientale* (t. I, Leipzig, 1846), giving only the Arabic title and the indication “(impr. à Aleppo)”.

More than a century later, Georg Graf, in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, III, 1949), on p. 129, having recorded two manuscripts of this text, briefly mentions that it was printed: “Gedruckt [Aleppo 1711] (16^o)¹⁵”.

In his *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^{ème} au XX^{ème} siècle (1516-1724)*, when describing the manuscript versions and providing a list of six copies preserved in Lebanon and Syria¹⁶, Joseph Nasrallah mentions that a printed version was made in 1711 in the Aleppo press.¹⁷ His description of Dabbās's work is based on the manuscript copies, not on the printed book, which he seemingly did not see, but read about in Schunrrer's bibliography. He gives the title that he found in some of the manuscripts (not indicated precisely): *Risāla waḡīza tūdaḥu kaiḡiyyat at-tawba wa-l-'i'tirāf wa-ḡī-mā yalzamu l-mu'tarif wa-l-mu'arraf*, i.e., *Brief epistle that explains how repentance and confession are done and what the one who confesses and the confessor have to do*. Nasrallah also mentions a second title, placed by Dabbās in the foreword of his work: *Silk ad-durr an-nazīm fī sirr at-tawba wa-l-'i'tirāf al-qawīm* (*The String of Well-Strung Pearls or the Powerful Mystery of Repentance and Confession*), and gives the structure of this work: foreword, three parts, and a conclusion, whereas the three parts are teachings on repentance in general, confession, and the qualities required of a confessor, respectively. He comments that this work is a compilation of various authors, probably Greek in their majority. In footnote 286 (same page), he evokes a handwritten note on one of the manuscripts (again, not indicated precisely) that this work was “collected and compiled from the *Garden of the Fathers*.”¹⁸

Finally, the Tunisian historian of early Arabic printing Wahid Gdoura, who did not see a copy of this book either, mentioned the title in a list (n. 103, on p. 146) in his work *Le Début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: Évolution de l'Environnement Culturel (1706–1787)*, published in Tunis in 1985. He probably found the title in the above-mentioned work by Nasrallah, one of his preferred sources.

A rare copy of the printed *Risāla waḡīza tūdaḥu kaiḡiyyat at-tawba wa-l-'i'tirāf* is preserved at Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut (shelf-mark 203.133).¹⁹ It is

¹⁵ There is no knowing where he took from the information that this is a 16^o-format.

¹⁶ *Šarfe* 8/74 (1711), *Deyr eš-Šir N.C.* 711 (1758), *Al-Ma'ūnāt* 41 (1797), *Balamand* 177 (1770), and two at the Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate of Damascus, *Patr. Orth. Damas* 1581 (1870) and *Patr. Orth. Damas* 1575, 3; cf. J. Nasrallah, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹⁷ This information is repeated *ibidem*, p. 146.

¹⁸ The anonymous writer of the note may have been referring to the Coptic collection *Apophthegmata Patrum* or *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, whose versions (some in Ethiopic and Greek) were translated and circulated widely all across the Arab East.

¹⁹ I express my thanks to Stefano di Pietrantonio, for drawing my attention to the presence of this book at Bibliothèque Orientale, and to Fr Ronney al-Gemayyel, SJ, for confirming this information to me. The scan of the book and the approval to publish Figs. 1 and 2 hereafter were sent to me by Mrs. Magda Nammour, reference librarian at the Bibliothèque Orientale, to whom all my gratitude goes.

an 8° format of 171 unnumbered pages, later numbered in pencil, possibly by a librarian. Deteriorated by usage and badly eaten by bookworms (the same as the printed text inside), the book cover is made of brown leather over thick cardboard, with a non-figurative pressed-stamp on both front and back covers. The shape of this stamp, a polygonal medallion, was widespread in binding workshops all over the Ottoman East.²⁰ The inside-sheet of the front cover holds a modern rectangular stamp: “Université St.-Joseph, *Al-Maktabat aš-Šarqiyya*, Bibliothèque Orientale”. The book has the shelf-mark 8D3/28. The Bibliothèque Orientale catalogue gives the following description:

رسالة وجيزة توضح كيفية التوبة والاعتراف وفيما يلزم المعترف والمعرف طبعت حديثاً لنفع
المسيحيين - [روميه] : [د.ن.]، 1711. - [171 ص.] ؛ 16 سم

Besides the title, as given above, this description gives the year 1711 (Gregorian calendar), no press mentioned, 171 pages, and 16 cm (dimension?). In its unified catalogue, the Library of the Saint-Joseph University indicates Aleppo as the publication place.

There are eleven text lines per page and, starting with page 2, a catchword is placed on all the verso pages, as in manuscripts. Incidentally, this is a feature found in the Arabic texts of all the books printed by Dabbās, both in Wallachia and in Aleppo.

The first page (Fig. 1), on the left of the front cover inside-sheet, holds an identical title to the one indicated by Nasrallah as present in manuscripts of this work: *Risāla waḡīza tūḡaḡu kaiḡiyyat at-tawba wa-l-ʿi-tirāf wa-ḡi-mā yalzamu l-mu-tarif wa-l-mu-arrif*, i.e., *Brief epistle that explains how repentance and confession are done and what the one who confesses and the confessor have to do*. Next come the words: *ḡubi-at ḡadīḡ^{am} li-manḡaʿi l-maḡḡiyyīn*, “recently printed for the benefit of the Christians”. The title page is richly decorated, with an elaborate vignette on top, above the title, followed by a smaller portion of the same vignette and a Seraphim (I return to the decoration later). Written in pencil, the date 1711 (Ar. ١٧١١) appears, and, to the lower left, the word *rūmiyya*, probably to be read “Rome”²¹. As the title page does not provide any information on the place where the book was printed, the bibliographer might have proposed this city, the main source of Arabic printed books that reached the Near East. Two round ownership-stamps are visible: a small, faded one, and a larger one, belonging to “Université Saint-Joseph”.

Page 2 begins with the Christian *basmala*: *Bi-smi l-ʿĀb wa-l-Ibn wa-r-Rūḡ al-Muḡaddas Allāḡ al-Wāḡid*. This is followed by thirteen lines of lauds addressed to God, ending in the upper part of page 3. The twelve lines that follow, composed in the 3rd person, are occupied by the titles of, and lauds to, the former Patriarch Athanasios

²⁰ Luminița Kövari (Library of the Romanian Academy) indicated to me that this polygonal form was used also quite extensively in Romanian book-binding workshops of the 17th–18th c., in many versions, but this specific center-model is not a familiar one here.

²¹ The reading *rūmiyy* is also an option, if the bibliographer intended to mark the Greek-Orthodox, Byzantine-rite tradition of the book-content, but the position of this word at the end of the title page, after the year (1711), indicates that this was intended to be the presumed city of the press.

Dabbās, ending with the word *'Amīn* in the middle of page 4. Immediately after, a text in the 1st person, seemingly composed by the author of the book, Athanasios Dabbās, reports on the chief reason for writing this work: his awareness of the lack of knowledge of the Christians in his eparchy about repentance and confession. Thus, the author felt compelled to right this wrong and collected in this Epistle, from the “garden of the teachers’ books”, some of its overflowing flowers (*ḡanaytu la-hum min riyād kutub al-mu'allimīn ba'd 'azhār fawā'idi-hi*). The structure of the book is presented afterward (p. 6): it is divided into three parts, with an Introduction and an Ending. The main text divisions are Part One, “On repentance altogether”; Part Two, “On total repentance, which is the secret confession”; Part Three, “On what the confessor needs to do”. The rest of this opening text, i.e., 16 lines on pp. 6-7, contains advice and recommendations to the reader, to study this epistle and observe all its teachings, for the benefit of his soul and God’s forgiveness. The phrase ends in the customary request to the reader: *wa min-ka d-du'ā al-mustaḡāb*, “I call for your prayers.” All through the text, the author will address *al-mu'min*, “the devout”.

From p. 8 to p. 19, the Introduction, *Al-Muqaddima*, “explains who should repent, what are the requirements of repenting, and the advice to proceed to it.”

Part One, “On repentance altogether”, beginning on p. 19, line 4, is divided into four chapters.

1. Ch. 1, “On the definition of repentance”, pp. 19–20.
2. Ch. 2, “What is repentance”, pp. 20–21.
3. Ch. 3, “On the two kinds of repentance” (inner and outer), pp. 21–23.
4. Ch. 4, “On soul-searching (*fahṣ ad-damīr, fahṣ an-naḡs*), which is the reason and sign of repentance”, pp. 23–31.

Part Two, beginning on p. 31, is divided into five chapters.

1. Ch. 1, “On the definition of confession, how to make it, and its requirements”, on pp. 31–40.
2. Ch. 2, “On contrition” (*insihāq*)²², pp. 40–42.
3. Ch. 3, “On determination”, pp. 42–51.
4. Ch. 4, “On the fulfilment of the canons”, pp. 51–58. This chapter is followed, on pp. 59–69, by a *Note (Tanbīh)* discussing the case of the deceased who did not confess his sins before dying.
5. Ch. 5, “On the fruit and the benefits of confessing”, pp. 69–73.

Part Three, beginning on p. 73, has a slightly different title than the one first indicated: “On what the priest who receives the confession needs to do”. This part is made of five chapters too.

1. Ch. 1, “On how he needs to be and behave”, pp. 73–82, starting with “On how he has to be”.
2. Ch. 2, “On what the priest must do and what his task is, to achieve this holy sacrament”, pp. 83–112.

²² *Insihāq* = contrition, penitence, repentance, cf. *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. M. Cowan, 4th ed., 1994, Ithaca, NY, p. 466, s.v. *saḡaqa*.

- 1) Pp. 83–99: To hear confession, the priest must observe certain regulations and possess certain skills (seven sections). These include: to have the approval of his Bishop (here a note is inserted, explaining the hierarchy of priests and Bishops according to Old Testament and New Testament teachings); to be knowledgeable in the divine spirituality (to be able to explain the delicate matters that he may hear during confessions); to be resolute, intelligent, and considerate; to keep the secret of all that was told to him, until he dies; at the time of hearing a confession he must be pure of all mortal sins; not to make any distinction between the rich and the poor who come to confess to him.
- 2) Pp. 99–112: During the confession, the priest must observe certain rules (three sections).
 3. Ch. 3, “On the sins that the confessor needs to know about, to examine them when confessed, and the one who confesses must know about, to search his soul”, pp. 113–166, divided into four sections.
 - 1) “On sins and their roots”.
 - 2) “On sins against the Holy Spirit”.
 - 3) “On sins that breach God’s Ten Commandments.”
 - 4) “On sins that breach the Covenant with God.”

The Ending, *Al-Ḥātima*, on pp. 167–171, begins with the explanation: “This is about what the spiritual and the bodily parents need to teach their children.” The last four lines, typeset in a *cul-de-sac* shape, provide information about the book (Fig. 2): “The year one thousand seven hundred and eleven of the Christian era. To our Lord, eternal glory and everlasting gratitude, Amen.” On the lower third of the page, after the text ends, is printed the smiling head of an angel, with a halo and wings beneath it (an Italian-style *putto*).

Four blank pages follow, one – the inside of the back-cover. A handwritten note at the top of the third blank page, which was covered in large black ink strokes, is completely illegible.

To support his comments and advice, the author cites St John of Damascus (Part One, Ch. 1), passages from the Old Testament (p. 40–42), the episode of David the Prophet and Nathan (p. 55), the *Numbers* (pp. 56–57). He evokes Basil, Peter, and Dionysius, the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, and John Chrysostom (p. 52–53), Solomon the Wise (p. 81), Paul the Apostle, and Malachi the Prophet (p. 85).

To understand the foundations of Dabbās’s theological thinking and spiritual teachings enclosed in this book, his other works and the history of his contacts need to be considered. The first question that comes to mind is why did Dabbās feel the need to address the topics of repentance and confession in a personal composition. The answer to this question can be gleaned by surveying some other actions that he took in his eparchy of Aleppo, especially after returning from his long sojourn in Wallachia.

For instance, Athanasios Dabbās worked together with Elias Faḥr (Ilyās Ibn Faḥr at-Ṭrābulṣī, d. 1758) on a comment regarding the first section of the trilogy *Ekthesis* of Gabriel Severus *The Curing Antidote to the Poison of the [Archbishop of] Philadelphia* (*At-tiryāq aš-šāfi min samm al-Fīlādelḥī*). This book discussed the main points of

contention between the Byzantine-rite Church of Antioch and the Latin Church.²³ According to Louis Cheikho, Dabbās wrote a *Catechism of the Orthodox Faith*.²⁴ This would have been another attempt at improving the knowledge of the Orthodox faith in the Patriarchate of Antioch, at a time when the Latin propaganda, organized by tireless Jesuit missionaries, was most active.

In 1716, more than a decade after his return to Aleppo, where he had resumed his pastoral control of the parish that he agreed to lead after he had temporarily relinquished the Patriarchal See of the Church of Antioch, Dabbās issued a Directive that indicated to the Christians of the Antiochian Church how to lead a righteous life and to behave in Church and at home. Among others, he forbade the Christening of infants later than 40 days since birth, stating that the death of an infant while unbaptized was a mortal sin for the parents.²⁵ The definition of mortal sins is one of the main topics that Dabbās discusses in his *Risāla waḡīza*, in such minute detail that the reader is left with the impression of his awareness of a pervasive ignorance on the part of the common people of his eparchy.

The second important question concerns the possible sources of Dabbās's views on sin, repenting, and confession. I can advance two answers at this time, both connected to his visits to Wallachia.

In 1711, at the time the *Risāla waḡīza* was printed, Dabbās had already translated Dimitrie Cantemir's *The Divan or the Wise Man's Disputation with the World, or the Litigation between Soul and Body* (Romanian title: *Divanul sau gâlceava înțeleptului cu lumea sau giudețul sufletului cu trupul*), whose title he translated into Arabic as *Ṣalāh al-ḥakīm wa-fasād al-‘ālam ad-damīm* (*Salvation of the Sage and Ruin of the Sinful World*).²⁶ The final version of this text, revised by Gabriel Farḥāt²⁷, was seemingly ready in 1705.²⁸ *Book One* and *Book Two* of

²³ See Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique* (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVI^e–XVIII^e s.), Rome, 1994, p. 476; Joseph Nasrallah, Pr. Rachid Haddad, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle (1724-1800)*, vol. IV, t. 2, Louvain – Paris, 1989, p. 115–116.

²⁴ He was contradicted by Joseph Nasrallah, in the absence of a copy of this work. See J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle (1699-1250)*, vol. III, t. 1, Louvain – Paris, 1983, p. 135.

²⁵ Abbott Paul Carali (Būlus Qar'ali) edited two chapters of Dabbās's Directive, *On baptism* (Ch. 3) and *On the deceased* (Ch. 4), in *Manšūrāni li-l-batriyark Aṭanāsīyūs Dabbās wa-l-muṭrān Iḡnāṭīyūs Ḡarbū*, "Al-Maḡalla al-sūriyya", 1, 15 Jan. 1928, Part 3, p. 77, after comments on p. 6–8. See also Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 524.

²⁶ Dabbās translated the Greek version of Cantemir's book, which was prepared in 1697–1698 by the Romanian prince's Greek teacher Jeremiah Cacavelas, with the title: *Kritirion ī dialexis toy sofoy me ton kosmon ī krisis tīs psychīs me to sōma, dia mochtou kai filoponias Iōannou Dīmītriou Kōnstantinou Boeboda*. The Arabic translation is a fairly accurate transfer of the Greek version of Cantemir's text.

²⁷ See *Dimitrie Cantemir, Salvation of the Sage and Ruin of the Sinful World*, Arabic edition. English translation, notes and Indices by Ioana Feodorov, TSEC, vol. VI, Leiden: Brill, 2016, p. 64–70; eadem, *The Arabic Version of Dimitrie Cantemir's Divan: a Supplement to the Editor's Note*, „Revue des études sud-est européennes”, XLVI, 2008, p. 195–212.

²⁸ As I explained in the previously mentioned book (p. 66), the Arabic *Divan* was probably prepared for printing as well, but the financial situation of the press did not allow Dabbās to see this project through.

Cantemir's work are his composition, while *Book Three* is Cantemir's translation, from Latin, of a book authored by Andreas Wissovatus, one of the chief theologians of the Polish Unitarians.

Cantemir's work comprises passages that include the same references as the *Risāla waḡīza*, in connection with the idea of repentance, sin, and confession. Thus, in *Book One*, Chapter 43, the same examples of sinners and repentance are offered.

"He finally liberated himself from your grip, realized the filthy mischief that you did to him, decided to confess his sin truthfully, as the Prophet Nathan explained to him. So the penitent Prophet chanted, saying: 'Have mercy upon me, Lord, by thy great mercy' (*Ps* 51, 1), or when he says: 'I know my faults, and my sins are permanently in my sight' (*Ps* 51, 3)."

Moreover, repentance and confession come up when the translator (or translators, if we count Farḥāt in) add comments concerning the idea of Purgatory.

"O you! Do not imagine that after the ruin of the framework of your body and the separation from your soul, and if you die without repentance, your sins would be forgiven, in a hell where there is no repentance and no acknowledgment of mistakes. [For no imaginary Latin *purgatorium*, or even one hundred of those, would do any good to you, since there is no confession and no repentance in hell.]"

As a whole, this work is devoted to teachings on the way to Salvation and how to acquire a place in Heaven. Naturally, repentance and confession come up in the flow of Cantemir's (and Wissovatus's) discourse. Repentance, and the advice to atone, appear (sometimes in strong words) more than twenty-four times in the *Ṣalāḥ al-ḥakīm*, in *Book One* and *Book Two*, the ones that were composed by Cantemir, not by Wissovatus. In *Book Three*, at least twenty passages refer to repenting and confessing one's sins early in life, and regularly. The wisdom and the tone of Wissovatus's work are also perfectly aligned with the one in Dabbās's *Risāla waḡīza*:

"You who used God's grace for evil deeds, should you also be granted by God time to repent? This rarely happens. Beware not to give the flower of your life to Satan, and present to God the dry stalks. Beware not to fall in the pit of despair with sin, for we have been given a lot of examples of repentance and remorse. Do not rest at all, because the end of your life is unknown. Do not think that you will abandon sin when it will abandon you."

If we were to speculate, we could imagine that, while translating Cantemir's book, Dabbās encountered several passages where the Latins' claims were briefly mentioned, including the ones about the existence of purgatory, which are closely related to the discussion about sin and atonement. This was an incentive for him to address, in his own *Risāla waḡīza*, the contentious issues of repentance, confession, and sin, to enlighten the Arabic-speaking audience of Ottoman Syria, who were also facing the forceful Jesuit propaganda. In any case, a comparison of the two texts, Cantemir's *Ṣalāḥ al-ḥakīm* and Dabbās's *Risāla waḡīza*, bears a great probability of discovering similarities between them, both in content and in form.

Another book, originating in Wallachia, holds a close similarity to Dabbās's *Risāla waḡīza*. It was written by Antim the Iberian, a very important person in several of Dabbās's projects, the first and foremost being printing in Arabic. During his long sojourn in Bucharest, he was in close contact with the brilliant Georgian-born scholar, whose rise to the rank of Bishop he could witness while in Bucharest. In 1705, Antim, then Bishop of Râmnic, printed in his second press, which he had installed there when moving from Bucharest, a book of 50 pages (25 folios, numbered on the recto page as in manuscripts, i.e., 50 pp.) that he had written himself: *Brief Teachings on the Mystery of Repentance (Învățătură pre scurtu pentru taina pocăinții)*. The small book, an 8^o format, is printed in Romanian with Cyrillic script, in black ink, 18 lines per page.²⁹ Its structure is not far from Dabbās's epistle.

Part One, beginning on p. 2, has four divisions.

1. On repentance, in brief, with some useful teachings (p. 2–10).
2. On repentance, what it is, how to achieve it, and how to proceed to its first step (p. 10–22).
3. On confession (p. 22–28).
4. On how to achieve the penance (p. 28–30).

Part Two, beginning on p. 30, has two divisions.

1. How the confessor must be, and how he must hear confession, and how he must set people straight (p. 32–35).
2. What the confessor should ask the one who confesses and how he must begin (p. 35–50).

The book was addressed to clergy and laity alike. Its declared purpose was to contribute to the improvement of the Christians' conduct and to teach priests how to advise the devout, during confession, on how to rectify their bad behaviour. Antim wrote and printed this text in Romanian to grant it a wide circulation. Among Antim's works, this was one of the most appreciated by the Romanian readership.³⁰ Thus, his teachings on repentance, sin, and confession, made available in the vernacular, reached the widest Romanian audience possible.

Since Antim's work was not available in Greek (as far as we know), Dabbās could only have become acquainted with them through their conversations, which must have been frequent, for several years, as they often met at Court and worked together in two of Antim's print presses. Again, they seem to have had a similar outlook on many theological and ritual points, as a comparison of the two texts demonstrates. Here is just one relevant example, out of the many available.

Part Three of the *Risāla waḡīza*, Ch. 1, "On how he needs to be and behave", starts with: "On how he has to be". Here, Dabbās defines the confessor and his required features, from all points of view (p. 73–75).

²⁹ See the description by Archim. Policarp Chițulescu in idem (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, Bucharest, 2016, p. 132–133.

³⁰ One single copy is preserved today, at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.

“Know that the priest charged with hearing confession, which is a great authority over all the kingdoms of the world, its glories, all its nations and realms, needs to be endowed with all holy virtues and have all the spiritual and bodily qualities together. He must be righteous, pious, pure, intelligent, and chaste in his conduct, with a pure mind, to have a humble heart, to be mild-tempered in his interactions, to embody perfection to its utmost extent, in all respects, to have a good reputation, to be agreeable, resourceful, well-spoken, strong-minded, stern in his assertions, to avoid banter, mockery, and idle talk, to be pleasant to talk to, and the best educator possible, in order to tend to his flock. For if he cannot discipline himself, how would he be able to discipline others?”³¹

In Antim’s *Brief Teachings on the Mystery of Repentance*, the definition of the confessor is placed in Part Two³²: “How the confessor must be, and how he must hear confession, and how he must set people straight” (p. 32–35). This is the part that closely resembles the text above.

“The priest who accepts the difficult and challenging task of hearing confession has to be elderly, or at least 40 years of age, honest, devout, leading a good life, well-spoken, a well-doer, he must not be a drunkard, nor a tavern-goer, nor an irritated man, nor someone who utters profanities or swears, and, in brief, he must avoid, as much as possible, to be a source of scandal or a bad example for the common people. Second, he has to be enriched with education and good deeds, and to understand the Holy Books and the Canons of our Church, which will help him rectify the people who confess to him.”

As for the *form* of this book, some remarks can be made at first glance regarding the salient features of the types and typesetting. The Arabic types are identical to those used in the Aleppo press for the second edition of the Gospels, financed by the Cossack hatman Ivan Mazepa.³³ They are completely different from the first set of types used in the books printed in 1706–1707, which had a nicer, more regular shape, and showed a greater resemblance to the Arabic types cast in the press of Antim the Iberian at the Monastery of Snagov. Having surveyed several copies of the books printed in Aleppo, I can safely state that there was a change in the type between 1707 and 1708. As happened in the Romanian presses as well, when a set of type became too worn-out to be used for further printing, it was replaced with a new set of types. This one, the last one made in Dabbās’s press, is considerably less elegant than the one used in his first books of 1706, which still reflected the influence of Antim the Iberian’s printing style.

Also, differences are visible in the typesetting of this book, as compared to earlier ones. This reveals the option of the typesetter for a text version closer to the

³¹ I am grateful to Dr. Charbel Nassif (CEDRAC, Beirut) for kindly reading the passages that I translated from Arabic and suggesting improvements.

³² *Despre taina Pocăinței (On the Mystery of Repentance)*, in Sfântul Antim Ivireanul, *Despre păstorirea credincioșilor*, text selection, introduction and comments by Fr Adrian Agachi, Bucharest, 2016, p. 203.

³³ Besides the copy of the 1708 edition of the Aleppo Gospels preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (CRV 155 A), a copy in the library of the Melkite Catholic Monastery of St John of Šuwayr in Khenchara (Matn region of Lebanon) was recently presented online by the Ambassador of Ukraine to Lebanon, after a visit there. See the presentation at <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/30481953.html>.

pronunciation of the Arabic-speaking readers of Ottoman Syria. E.g., the letter *dāl* is frequently replaced by *dāl* and *īā* has become *tā* (especially in numerals), reflecting a Middle Arabic reading. This occurs not only in frequent words such as *allādī*, but also in verbs: *‘aḍuba* (to be pleasant, agreeable) > *‘aduba* (p. 72), or *haḍaba* (to educate, instruct, correct, set right) > *hadaba* (p. 73). On the other hand, the typesetter of the 1711 book correctly typesets *‘ilā* with *‘alif maqṣūra*, not *yā*, as the one of the 1708 book had done.

Besides the possible ties of the *Risāla waḡīza* with the Romanian Principalities in terms of contents (sources, influences), a definite factor of closeness is its decoration. The book is poorly decorated, with only a few ornaments that complement the text. Several ornamental elements are common to books printed in Wallachia and those of Dabbās’s press in Aleppo. We recognize easily, several times on each page, the complex star that separates lines and paragraphs, which is also present in all the Aleppo books, as well as in those printed in Beirut during Sylvester’s patriarchal tenure.³⁴ The element that forms the vignette on the title page is identical to one of the elements in Antim’s presses, and also one present in books printed in Iași before 1700. The Seraph on the same page is also found in the Aleppo Gospels of 1708 and in two Romanian church-books printed in Iași in 1747.³⁵ Its source could be common, possibly a book printed in Venice or Moschopoli. The Baroque aspect of the Angel on the final page, which is also present in the 1711 *Oktoechos* or *Paraklitikon* of Aleppo³⁶, may suggest the involvement of Abdallah Zāḥir, Dabbās’s disciple in the Aleppo press, who was in favour of the Western-style illustration of the books printed in Italy.

A final note takes us to 1747, a time when Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch had resumed, in Iași (Romanian Principality of Moldavia), the printing work of his predecessor, Athanasios Dabbās. In the above-mentioned list of Seetzen’s acquisitions, a book printed in 1747 is briefly mentioned, with minimal information given: *Kitāb muršid al-ḥāṭī’ fī sirr at-tawba wa-l-‘tirāf*, i.e., *The Sinner’s Guide to the Mystery of Repentance and Confession*. The information provided by Seetzen is that it was a book enclosing VIII pp. (*Introduction*) + 286 pp., in-8⁰, printed in 1747. No press indication is given. Could this be a re-print of Dabbās’s *Risāla waḡīza tūḍaḥu kaiḡiyat at-tawba wa-l-‘tirāf* of 1711, revised by Sylvester? As I have no information on the location of a copy of this book, this path will have to wait.

The information that I presented here encloses the preliminary remarks that I was able to formulate after a cursory analysis of Dabbās’s *Brief epistle that explains how repentance and confession are done*, printed in Aleppo in 1711. I have also provided suggestions for further research. The rest is yet to come.

³⁴ See Ioana Feodorov, “New data on the early Arabic printing in the Levant and its connections to the Romanian Presses”, *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 56, 2018, p. 233, fig. 13.

³⁵ Liturghier (Book of the Divine Liturgies), CRV 255, and Triodion, CRV 262.

³⁶ The copy at the Library of the Romanian Academy has the indicative CRV 161 A.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Orthodoxy and Modern Greek Literature and History

FAITH AND THE CHALLENGES OF WORLDLY POWER. WHAT IS LEFT OF ORTHODOXY?¹

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This paper examines the temptations of “worldly entanglement” that the Orthodox Church has faced throughout its history. As the official religion of the Eastern Roman Empire the Orthodox Church while integrated into the imperial power it remained a distinct institution zealous of its spiritual independence. Even though the Church would eventually assume worldly functions under Ottoman rule, its priority still remained the provision of moral guidance to the faithful through monasticism, education and the example set by martyrdom. The emergence of independent states fragmented the Eastern Church into a series of national churches prone to the divisive ideology of nationalism, an issue that the modern Orthodoxy still struggles with. In considering the question “what is left of Orthodoxy” the paper examines how Orthodoxy can be understood by approaching it as a living tradition of faith and experience, and as a potent force in shaping the human condition.

Keywords: Religion, Christianity, Eastern Roman Empire, Orthodoxy, monasticism, Neomartyrs, nationalism.

For Andrei Pippidi

Religion is a constitutive element of human experience. The theoretical refinements of the philosophy of religion, the reasonable counsels of agnosticism or the secular arrogance of atheism notwithstanding, religion still remains integral to the human condition through the millennia and it has been a source of inspiration that directs human sensitivity to higher things. There is no clearer record of this than the multiple forms of art since the earliest prehistory of all civilizations that invariably express the human sense of the sacred and the divine. It is easy to understand why. Religion and its expression in an infinite variety of faiths and traditions tries to make sense and respond to the human need to understand the metaphysical unknown and to cope with the fear of death. Such primordial needs and feelings have always been present in humanity’s tortuous march through time and have inspired exquisite forms of art in the visual and in the literary domains of human creativity and also most notably in music. However, such needs are not or cannot always be understood by secular-minded scholars, especially those among them whose mindset remains incapable of grasping the elusive world of inner feeling and spiritual inspiration.

¹ Keynote lecture given at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 6–9 September 2019), session *Orthodoxy, from Empire to Church. Social Manifestations and Cultural Forms of Faith*.

In our contemporary intellectual world, which has been shaped by modernity, that is the illusions of secularism and progress, anthropology has done better than the other human sciences in understanding religion, its power and existential significance. I refer of course to the serious twentieth century anthropological tradition expressed most notably by Clifford Geertz, a tradition that goes back to Emile Durkheim and his so perceptive treatment of the “elementary forms” of religious life.²

Historical scholarship has neglected religion for much too long, overtaken by trendy fashions and a masochistic obsession to do things differently and be “progressive”. In the very recent past, however, some branches of historical scholarship, intellectual history most notably, have witnessed a “return of religion”, as it has been called, a return which is producing remarkable results, including the development of the concept of “thick religion”, drawing on ideas suggested by Max Weber and Charles Taylor.³ I find the concept of “thick religion” very fertile and evocative and I would like to explore it in my remarks today in connection with Orthodox Christianity.

Before engaging in this task, I feel I should say a few more words about religion and religious faith as modes of human existence and the complexities that mark their encounters with other constituents of the human condition and the social world around it. Religion is a primordial component of the human condition, responding to deep needs in the human soul and supplying answers to perplexing questions in people’s mind. To transact these difficult and challenging tasks, which as a rule surpass the human ability of comprehension, religion needs intermediaries whose task is primarily to create interpretations that might make things comprehensible, allay fears, provide solace and hope before the unknown and unknowable. Fulfilling these roles, transacting the task of explanation and solace, becomes the source of the influence of religion in society. Its interpreters acquire the role of privileged interlocutors with the divine and are thus identified with sacredness. In human society this means power and it is inevitably intertwined with conflict with other wielders of power. Nothing illustrates this better than the conflict of soothsayer Teiresias with King Oedipus in Sophocles’s greatest play or the endless conflicts of the prophets with kings and other wielders of earthly power in the Bible.

² Clifford Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System”, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays*, New York, 1973, p. 87–103.

³ See in particular, Sudipta Kaviraj, “On thick and thin religion: some critical reflections on secularization theory”, *Religion and the Political Imagination*, ed. by Ira Katznelson and Gareth Stedman Jones, Cambridge, 2010, p. 336–355. I should add as a comment on this highly suggestive essay that the idea of “thick and thin” was introduced by Michael Walzer, *Thick and Thin. Moral Argument at Home and Abroad*, Notre Dame and London, 1994. To be sure Walzer initiated the idea as a way of describing moral arguments. Its expanded use in the analysis of religion attests to its heuristic value and conceptual fertility. On the impoverishment of religion as a component of the construction of modern identity see the perceptive remarks by Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 234–247.

These confrontations eventually set up religion and its “godlike prophet, in whom alone truth is implanted” as Sophocles writes in *Oedipus Rex* (verses 298–299), into systems of power that seek to appear as alternatives to worldly power but in fact remain as deeply embedded in the structures and contradictions of the world as the systems of secular power themselves. This is the big challenge facing religion and its claims to otherworldliness, its claim to appear as an alternative mode of human existence.

The existential significance of religion in the human condition has been a source of power but also an inexhaustible source of inspiration not only for art but also for systematic reflection. The latter has given rise to the great theological traditions that have marked world religions. Thinking about the divine since Hesiod’s *Theogony* has been an integral component of all civilizations. By contrast to ancient paganism and the great religious traditions of Asia, the theologies associated with the main monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam have been marked by exclusiveness, demanding the total dedication of the faithful and ruling out any form of syncretism in faith or ritual. Exclusiveness has been connected with claims of a monopoly of truth and purity of faith precluding other religious options and loyalties for the faithful.

Yet at the same time religious traditions despite the claims of theological rigidities, have been shown by history to have been remarkably malleable, vulnerable to the pressures of other forces in society, especially politics, which have always tried to capitalize on the psychological and moral power of religion to serve their own worldly ends. This in turn leaves religion open to criticism and pertinent evidence, which is endless indeed, supplies ammunition to atheism and other forms of religious skepticism and criticism. All this can be well founded and convincing as historical analysis and even as moral appraisal. The question that is not usually raised in this kind of critical reflection is whether and to what extent the human failures of their ministers and their engagement in the expediencies and conflicts of the world constitute sufficient reasons to question the intrinsic value and persuasiveness of the basic religious teaching itself.

Should persons of good will and a sense of rectitude turn their backs on Christianity because of the Crusades or European colonialism or to Islam because this particular religious tradition has had the tragic fate to be literally hijacked by tyranny and terrorism?

This is the deeper substantive concern implied by the question mark in the second part of my title: is anything left of Orthodoxy as religious faith amidst the challenges and temptations of the world? I think it is a serious question that should concern all scholars of religion. If they are not concerned about this issue, studying religion loses a great deal of its value and interest as an intellectual pursuit and runs the risk to be reduced to some form of historical gossip as in fact does happen with a considerable part of contemporary writing on Orthodoxy.

After these preliminary generalities let us turn to Orthodoxy. What I propose to do is share with you some reflections, tentative and exploratory for the most part, on two levels of analysis. First, we should try to take stock of the question of the temptations of worldly entanglement that have faced Orthodoxy in its history, and their significance for Christian faith. To do this I will recapitulate and reappraise ideas expressed in my writing of the last two decades or so and I beg for your forbearance.

Secondly in considering the question “what is left of Orthodoxy” I would like to test the concept of “thick religion” by looking at Orthodoxy as a living tradition of religious faith and experience and the ways it can be understood to shape the human condition.

It is not hard to perceive the problems and contradictions marking Christianity and Orthodoxy in particular in the two millennia of its history. The community of the faithful, the Church, its founders and their heirs and successors are in the world but do not belong to the world as we hear in the Gospel of John the Evangelist (15, 18 and 17, 6). That is why the world hates them, we hear further on (15, 18–19), and presents them with temptations to which, being human, they often succumb. This is very epigrammatically the history of Christianity and of Orthodoxy. Although human weakness and failure tend to scandalize the faithful, the evidence of worldly entanglements and concomitant failings is not really a reason for an independent observer to subject the basic principles and doctrines of the faith to serious questioning. If humans fail to live up to the standards of belief and morality set by their faith, it is not necessarily the problem of those standards and principles as we know too well from the long march of ideologies and moral systems in human history.

It could be said of course that the most authentic period in the history of Christianity as far as acting out the principles of evangelical truth was the period of the primitive church and the time of persecution by the Roman Emperors during the first three centuries of the Christian era, when martyrdom tested the power of the faith and made possible its triumphant vindication.

Eventually, however, persecution and martyrdom gave way to toleration and the transformation of Christianity into imperial religion: the Johannine characterization “not of the world but in the world” appeared to be taking a historical actuality of great immediacy and even urgency. As an imperial religion in the Eastern Roman Empire, Orthodoxy, by now the Great Church of Christ, found itself confronted by many challenges and temptations but never lost its original Christian character and mission that is a critical attitude toward and distance from the world. The continual existence of the Roman Empire as the wielder of secular power and legitimacy in fact preserved Orthodoxy in the East as the repository of faith and spiritual life. It is true that the Church was integrated into the imperial power structure and many patriarchs and other senior clergymen assumed political roles as servants of the empire but the Church remained a distinct institution zealous of its spiritual independence.

The model of the Orthodox attitude towards the powers-that-be remained until the end of the empire John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, rather than patriarchs like Photius, Nicolaos Mysticos or Antony IV who proved very effective servants of the empire's diplomacy. John Chrysostom's model of resistance and censure of imperial power for doctrinal or moral reasons set the norm in the life of the Church all the way through the iconoclastic controversy to conflicts with the Western Church and down to resistance to submission to the papacy through union of the Churches on the eve of the fall of the empire. It was this attitude along with the model of the denial of the world represented by monasticism that saved the faith and Orthodoxy in the Eastern Roman Empire.⁴

The survival of the empire thus saved Orthodoxy as a religious tradition and spared it the tragic fate of the Western Church, which was transformed into a polity after the disappearance of the Roman empire in the West. That was indeed a challenge for Christian conscience, which was taken up by one of the doctors of the Western Church, Pope Gregory the Great, as part of his struggle to combat the repaganization of Europe after the barbarian invasions.⁵ The completion of the task initiated by Gregory the Great took almost half a millennium to achieve and it was not rounded up until the reign of Gregory VII in the eleventh century.⁶ It is not possible at this point to go into that story, which nevertheless, represents a critical chapter in the history of survival and formation of Western civilization.

I am noting the significance of the story of the Church as Polity in Western Christendom not only in order to illustrate the issue of the recurring challenges of worldly power that the Church has confronted throughout its history but mainly as a caution addressed to Orthodox self-righteousness and complacency in denying to the Western Christian tradition its ecclesiological significance on account precisely of the worldly role the Roman Catholic Church had to assume in the absence of an Orthodox Christian state in the West. Humility and moderation are evangelical lessons to all of us in thinking and judging in questions of religion, a lesson that should not be lost especially on religious zealots. The turn of the Eastern Church and the Orthodox tradition to face challenges not dissimilar in their religious substance from those the Western Church had faced in the fifth and sixth centuries,

⁴ On these complex subjects J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 1986 remains an authoritative source. Likewise, the selections from primary sources on church and state in Ernest Barker, ed. and transl., *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, Oxford, 1961. On the "ambiguities" of the normative order within which the Church had to transact its mission cf. Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropaganisme" byzantin*, Paris, 1996.

⁵ See Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, London, 1987, p. 145–182.

⁶ For an authoritative treatment see Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Political Thought*, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 100–116. See also I. S. Robinson, "Church and Papacy", *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350 – c. 1450*, ed. by H. Burns, Cambridge, 1988, p. 252–305. On the respective mystical claims advanced by Church and state in their struggle for supremacy in the West, Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957, p. 194–206, 207–232 offers a greatly evocative and instructive account.

came up in the fifteenth century with the disappearance of the Eastern Roman Empire.

The fall of Constantinople and the disappearance of the Christian empire reduced the Orthodox Church to a condition of subjection, which was marked by paradoxes and antinomies on many levels. The Church had to learn to coexist with a non-Christian state and to pray for a sovereign who could not be seen as saintly and pious as the Orthodox emperor had been. That ideological adjustment proved relatively easy to make and provided the basis of the coexistence of Orthodoxy with the Ottoman state. Within the context of that coexistence, however, the Church had to assume tasks of a worldly nature in the governance of the Orthodox subjects of the non-Christian sovereign such as the collection of their taxes and the guarantee of their loyalty to the new masters. To carry out these tasks the Church was granted some administrative functions, the so called “privileges”, which remained an object of contention between Church and state at various points in the subsequent history of their relations, especially in the nineteenth century and also an object of historiographical debate as to what they really in fact involved.

The worldly functions of the Church, substantively transformed her into a quasi state within a state as far as the governance of the Christian Orthodox subjects of the Sublime Porte, now restyled as the “Rum millet”, was concerned. The Church, that is the patriarch as his clergy, were seen by the sovereign state as “supervisors of the erroneous religious habits of the infidels”.⁷ In this capacity the Orthodox Church exercised a range of forms of power over the life of its flock, that went far beyond the spiritual domain. It was this state of affairs that exposed the Church to the temptations of the world, temptations made worse under the conditions of despotism. Hence the stories of tyranny, corruption and moral failure, which are recorded in a broad range of sources from works inspired by the traditional Christian outlook such as those of Damaskinos Stouditis in the sixteenth century down to the literature of severe social and religious criticism associated with the Enlightenment.⁸

This was one side of the coin. The reverse in the paradoxical condition of Orthodoxy in the non-Christian empire was the return of martyrdom. Whenever the assurance of the loyalty and submission of the infidel subjects appeared questionable to the masters, the first to pay the price was the leadership of the Church. Eight patriarchs, four of them incumbent on the patriarchal throne were executed between 1639 and 1821 for disloyalty to the empire. Three of them have been canonized as martyrs of the faith. The Greek Revolution in 1821 provoked a wave of reprisals at the expense of the Church, which was held responsible for the

⁷ P. Konortas, *Οθωμανικές θεωρήσεις για το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο*, Athens, 1998, p. 315. On the character of the integration of the Orthodox Church into the Ottoman institutional context Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, “The Great Church in captivity, 1453–1586”, *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. V: *Eastern Christianity*, ed. by Michael Angold, Cambridge, 2006, p. 169–186.

⁸ P.M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution. The Making of Modern Greece*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2013, p. 250–259.

disloyalty of the Christian subjects. Ecclesiastical leadership throughout the Orthodox East was decimated: in Constantinople the Patriarch Gregory V and four senior metropolitans were executed; in Adrianople metropolitan Dorotheos Proios and former Patriarch Cyril VI, both of them proponents of the Enlightenment, were executed; in Crete Metropolitan Gerasimos and ten of twelve members of the insular hierarchy were executed; in Cyprus Archbishop Kyprianos, head of the local autocephalous Church, the three metropolitans and a hecatomb of abbots and other ecclesiastical dignitaries and lay notables were executed; in Tripolitza in the Peloponnese eight bishops of the region were imprisoned as hostages by the local governor, only two surviving the imprisonment; local prelates were martyred at many other places around the Greek peninsula and Asia Minor.⁹

Martyrdom was not limited to the prelates of the Church. The centuries of Ottoman rule over Orthodoxy were the period of Neomartyrs, mostly persons who had converted to Islam for various reasons and upon reconvertng to Orthodoxy were subjected to martyrdom. The Church stressed particularly the phenomenon of Neomartyrs as part of a strategy to stem conversions to Islam which were occurring on a large scale in the Balkans, Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia and elsewhere and posed a serious threat to the integrity of the faith.¹⁰ Not all Neomartyrs were apostates returning to Orthodoxy. Several of them were faithful who remained steadfast in their Christian religious faith in the face of pressure to convert to Islam. As late as 1839 with George of Ioannina and 1867 with George the Cretan from Alikianos, neomartyrdom remained a witness of living faith. Both of them secretly canonized by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, they were widely venerated in the still Ottoman-held provinces of their origin.

Under the paradox of the concurrent assumption of extensive worldly functions and martyrdom, the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman empire had to carry out its pastoral work of caring for its enslaved flock. Its response took two main forms. In the early period after the fall, especially in the course of the sixteenth century, what stands out in ecclesiastical life and activity is a sustained effort of monastic renewal and reconstruction. The sixteenth century was a period of revival of the great monastic centres of the Orthodox world, especially the Holy Mountain of Athos and Meteora and the establishment of a series of new foundations along the whole length of the Greek peninsula from North to South, including the Monasteries of Saint Dionysios at Olympos, Saint Nicanor at Zavorda, Saint Bessarion of Dousiko, the monastic houses on the Agrafa mountain massif, Penteli and Kareas monasteries in Attica and the monasteries along the steep ravine of Lousios river in the mountainous central region of the Peloponnese.

The main function the monasteries were expected to serve was to provide support for the faith but also material sustenance to Christian society to help it

⁹ P.M. Kitromilides, "The Legacy of the French Revolution. Orthodoxy and Nationalism", *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. V.: *Eastern Christianity*, p. 229–232.

¹⁰ Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "The Neomartyr's Message", *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans*, Aldershot, 2007 (Variorum), no. XXI.

survive the consequences of conquest. Further north in Serbia, Bulgaria and Thrace the monastic foundations had been fulfilling this mission since the Ottoman conquest of those regions. So the revival of monasticism could be seen as a strategic move of the Church to sustain the cohesion and material survival of the society of Christian subjects and by these means to sustain the faith from the threat of conversion. In this effort of the Church support from the Romanian princes proved of decisive importance.¹¹

The second component of ecclesiastical strategy was education. The conquest brought total ruin to education in the lands of the former Byzantine empire and for centuries the Orthodox people in Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor were reduced to illiteracy and ignorance. One of the first tasks of the Patriarchate of Constantinople after the conquest was to reestablish the patriarchal academy for the training of higher clergy and teachers. This remained a constant concern of the Church during the following centuries. The patriarchal school was repeatedly reformed and reorganized in order to meet the needs of the Orthodox Church in educated cadres. What is remarkable about these successive reforms of the highest school in the Orthodox community was the openness and willingness of the Church in the course of the eighteenth century to enlist scholars of the Enlightenment in its highest educational institutions and to encourage them to introduce a modernized curriculum in order to better serve the educational needs of the community. At a time that the Inquisition and the *Index librorum prohibitorum* were still in operation in the Western Church, the Orthodox Church, or at least some forward-looking patriarchs and senior prelates were prepared to rely on the services of articulate exponents of the Enlightenment in advancing a pastoral strategy of strengthening education as a defense against conversion to Islam and Western religious propaganda.¹²

It was by these means amidst the tribulations and sorrows of conquest that Orthodoxy, reduced to the condition of the “Church of Christ’s paupers”¹³, fought the struggle of saving the faith and delivering the people of God to the independent national states that eventually emerged in Southeastern Europe in the course of the nineteenth century. The relation of Orthodoxy to the liberation projects of Balkan peoples, a self-evident axiom in earlier national historiography in Southeastern Europe, is now a problematized subject, which I cannot take up at this point. Suffice it to say that the involvement of the Church in various ways in these liberation projects added still one more challenge to the host of temptations facing it as modernity dawned upon the Orthodox world.

¹¹ Cf. the classic account by Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 129–134.

¹² P.M. Kitromilides, *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World. The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Challenges of Modernity*, London and New York, 2019, p. 12–24 and idem, “Orthodoxy and the West. Reformation to Enlightenment”, *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. V: *Eastern Christianity*, p. 202–209.

¹³ Cf. Manuel Gedeon, *Ιστορία των του Χριστού πεινήτων*, ed. by Ph. Iliou, Athens, 2010.

In order to come to the problems of the present I would like to direct our attention to the eventual outcome of the involvement of the Orthodox Church in liberation projects, which meant its breakup into national Churches attached to the new nation states.¹⁴ The nationalization of Orthodox Churches through their subjection to nation-states which used them without any qualms for their own secular and, as a rule, un-Christian ends, constitutes, in my judgment, the most serious challenge to Orthodox faith and conscience in the modern and contemporary age and in concluding this essay I feel I should address a few reflections to it.

About the antinomy of Orthodoxy and nationalism I have written extensively in earlier writings, in which I made my views clear and thus I do not need to repeat them here. What I think is more interesting to reflect upon concerns precisely the question what has been left of Orthodoxy after two centuries of nationalized ecclesiastical life through willing self-subjection to the nation-state, its principles and values.

Nationalism is a secular ideology, the foremost expression of political modernity, whose values are characterized by exclusiveness and partiality, that is exactly the opposite to the ecumenicity of Christian values as taught in the Gospels and the Letters of Saint Paul. How can Orthodox Christianity, therefore, be identified and enthusiastically serve the agenda of such an un-Christian ideology as nationalism? This is a real, if perplexing question, which of course can have convincing historical answers, explaining how the identification came about. Such historical answers and explanations, nevertheless, cannot be reassuring in an ethical sense to the Christian conscience. In witnessing the active involvement of the nationalized Orthodox Churches in the bloody conflict in Macedonia in the first decade of the twentieth century, or in the wars that tore apart Yugoslavia in the last decade of the same century, or in listening to the discourse of leading Orthodox prelates in many Orthodox countries, including Greece and Cyprus, one wonders indeed what is left of Orthodoxy.

After worrying about this question for many years, as some of the readers of these lines may know, I could try to sketch an answer to it on the occasion of this important Congress. Looking at the issue from the vantage point of the twenty first century, my answer is the following: a great deal indeed, perhaps surprisingly so a remarkably living Orthodox witness can be observed in our contemporary world despite the continuing entanglement of the administrative structures ruling over the most populous and powerful ecclesiastical jurisdictions with nationalism and ethnophyletism. Let me clarify: historically from the vantage point of the early twenty first century we can witness among the fifteen jurisdictions or canonical autocephalous Churches that make up the Orthodox communion, two Churches, Constantinople and Albania, which in a truly admirable way have managed to resist and stay clear of the temptation of nationalism. Orthodoxy remains a living faith

¹⁴ P.M. Kitromilides, *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World*, p. 25–59.

and religious experience elsewhere also, amidst and despite the temptations of nationalism and its secular values.¹⁵

Despite the cataclysmic changes of modernity and the pressures of global society, Orthodoxy in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, in the Caucasus, amidst the tragedy in the Middle East, in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the Orthodox diaspora in the Americas, Oceania and increasingly in Western Europe, remains a living religious witness. This is largely due to the pastoral work of the regional Orthodox Churches. It is expressed first and foremost in the participation of the faithful in religious worship, in the organization of the family and social life of the faithful on the basis of the ecclesiastical calendar, an indication that the meaning of life is still to a considerable extent sought and defined by reference to the heritage of Orthodoxy. Nothing illustrates this better than witnessing congregations worshipping in nature, at distant or semi-ruined chapels on islands or in the mountains, celebrating local saints and religious anniversaries and partaking in the service of the blessing of festal bread, wheat, wine and oil and the fruit of the season and sharing these as a community and with strangers who happen to be by. All this seems to suggest that in contemporary Orthodoxy we can locate many substantive elements of a “thick” concept of religion and the practices, not only in terms of ritual but also in terms of morality and social conscience, associated with it.

The place of the faith in the life of persons and communities explains their support for the Church and its work in Orthodox countries. This in turn is the source of influence for the Church in a wide range of domains of social life and of the power it can exercise from time to time beyond ecclesiastical life. This of course can and does invite objections from secular-minded observers and critics but it is recorded here as a fact of life. The position of the Church in Orthodox societies or more accurately in countries with Orthodox majorities in their population can be occasionally controversial but it is a product of a remarkable historical resilience and an indomitable cultural and moral authority and strength.

From the perspective of critical social and political thought this phenomenon of religious resilience needs first of all to be treated with respect and second it should be acknowledged as an ultimately positive factor in social solidarity and respect for persons. Let me conclude by citing a few examples from contemporary Greece. If it hadn't been for the Orthodox Church and the support it can mobilize among the faithful, the humanitarian crisis brought about by the protracted economic crisis and austerity policies of the last ten years, would have been much worse. In fact, the Orthodox Church of Greece through its extensive network of dioceses, parishes and philanthropic establishments handled the humanitarian consequences of the crisis so effectively to the point of in fact resolving this part of the problem. It could thus save the country from a deeper social crisis,

¹⁵ On the miracle of the resurrection of the Orthodox Church in Albania under the leadership of Archbishop Anastasios see Anastasios Yiannoulatos, *In Albania. Cross and Resurrection*, Crestwood, N.Y., 2016.

accompanied by more acute phenomena of social destitution and *anomie*. Through the same mechanisms the Church could also contribute decisively to facing the humanitarian problems caused by the refugee wave that brought to the country more than 80.000 refugees and migrants from the Middle East and Africa in the last ten years.

The refugee crisis was a real test for the Orthodox conscience in Greece. It did provoke occasional embarrassing expressions of bigotry and racism, but it also contributed to awakening the conscience of the Good Samaritan in a Christian country, an awakening which has been indeed salutary for Orthodoxy. I want to close, therefore, by recalling a few words I exchanged a few years ago with one of the very senior and articulate prelates in the Church of Greece, Metropolitan Nicolaos of Phthiotis, who unfortunately passed away only a few weeks before the meeting of our Congress in 2019. When the refugee crisis emerged, he was one of the few outspoken members of the hierarchy of the Church of Greece who appealed for readiness to help and support masses of people of a different religion but in dire distress, arriving in the country. When I mentioned to him my admiration for his position he simply replied: “What else could we do, what kind of Christians would we be otherwise?”. This is how Orthodoxy survives, meets the tests of the times and confronts the temptations of the world.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND ENTERTAINMENT: THE INTOLERABLE LIGHTNESS OF PHANARIOT LITERATURE, 1750–1800¹

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In Greece, the second half of the eighteenth century tends to be seen as the beginning of the Greek Enlightenment which paved the way for Greek national independence. Analysing literary texts produced by members of Phanariot circles between 1750 and 1800, I argue that their purpose is predominantly entertainment rather than enlightenment. Finally I argue that these texts, which have been marginalized as being banal and as using an excessive number of Turkish loanwords, allow us to gain important insights into the thought-world of elite members of the Orthodox *millet* who did not envisage a national revolution against the Ottoman empire.

Keywords: Phanariots; 18th century Greek literature; Greek Enlightenment; literature as entertainment; Turkish loanwords in Greek; Orthodox *millet*.

1. INTRODUCTION: DEFINING TERMS

For my purposes Phanariot literature includes literary texts written in Greek² by men and women belonging to the exclusive group of Phanariot families, or by people who at one time or another held professional posts that were connected with the Phanariots; and, more broadly, literary texts written in Greek in Constantinople or in the Romanian principalities. Many of the authors were attached to institutions, including the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the courts of the Danubian principalities,

¹ This article started life as a keynote lecture given at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies, Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019: *Political, social and religious dynamics in South-East Europe*. The original title began with a choice between two alternatives: “Enlightenment or entertainment?” However, I now acknowledge that these two concepts are not mutually exclusive. I would like to thank Jacques Bouchard, Lia Brad Chisacof, Fatima Eloeva, Paschalis Kitromilides and Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu for reading a draft of my text and supplying me with further secondary material.

² Some Phanariot songs are written in alternating sections of Greek and Turkish (all written in Greek characters). In addition, some songs entirely in Turkish that are preserved in manuscripts written or copied by members of the Greek Orthodox community were probably written by members of that community. The extent of bilingualism among the Greek Orthodox community in Constantinople in the 18th century remains to be studied. Turkish dialectal evidence suggests that some of the writers of Phanariot texts may have been native speakers of Turkish whose families originated from provincial regions such as Cappadocia; another possibility is that members of the Phanariot circles were taught Turkish by Christian native speakers whose Turkish was marked by regional features.

the Ottoman translation and interpreting bureau, and the European embassies in Constantinople.

A definition of literature for my purposes includes any text in verse, any text consisting entirely or largely of dialogue, and any work of fiction work written in prose.

The reason for specifying my *terminus ante quem* as 1800 is the nationalist turn in Greek culture that took place around that time. Nevertheless, a few later texts might have been included in my survey: for instance, *The Abduction of the Turkey-Hen*, the mock-heroic poem by Iakovos Rizos Neroulos (1816), could be said to be one of the last texts of Phanariot literature, perhaps along with one or more of the three comedies that were written around 1820 in Bucharest and were first published by Lia Brad Chisacof.³

2. THE INVENTION OF THE GREEK ENLIGHTENMENT

In the minds of Neohellenists the period I'm concerned with tends to be associated with the so-called Greek Enlightenment. The liberal scholar Konstantinos Dimaras (1904–92) invented the concept of the Greek (or Modern Greek) Enlightenment in 1945,⁴ at a time when Europe was emerging from the Second World War and was about to be split into two opposing ideological blocs – a process that had already started playing out violently in his own country in the form of the Greek civil war. At this critical juncture in Greek and European history, Dimaras' promotion of the term Greek Enlightenment was intended to demonstrate that, well before the Greek Revolution, Greek writers and translators had been making significant efforts to align their nation intellectually with the enlightened nations of western Europe.⁵

³ «Κωμωδία νέα της Βλαχίας», «[Τα αγγούρια του Γενεράλη]» and «Ο χαρακτήρ της Βλαχίας», in Lia Brad Chisacof, *Antologie de literatură greacă din Principatele Române: proză și teatru: secolele XVIII–XIX*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 377–515. They were published in a new edition by Walter Puchner, *Κοινωνικές σάτιρες στο ελληνικό προεπαναστατικό θέατρο (1800–1820)*, Athens, 2014.

⁴ K. Th. Dimaras, «Η Γαλλική Επανάσταση και ο Ελληνικός Διαφωτισμός γύρω στα 1800», *Δημοκρατικά Χρονικά* 1.6 (23 July 1945), 11–12. I owe this reference to Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “Συγκριτικές προσεγγίσεις στον Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό”, in Dimitris Apostolopoulos (ed.), *Νεοελληνική παιδεία και κοινωνία: πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου αφιερωμένου στη μνήμη του Κ. Θ. Δημαρά*, Athens, 1995, p. 567–77 [567–8]. Kitromilides points out that although Dimaras used the term “Greek Enlightenment” in the title, he did not analyse its meaning in the text of his article. Also according to Kitromilides, it was in his *History of Modern Greek Literature* (1948) that Dimaras first developed the concept. In his text Kitromilides carries out an illuminating comparison between Dimaras' *History* and Dumitru Popovici's *La littérature roumaine à l'époque des Lumières* (Sibiu 1945) as major contributions to the study of the Enlightenment in South-East Europe from a non-nationalistic standpoint.

⁵ Manolis Patiniotis rightly adds that Dimaras' effort to present Greece as part of (western) Europe goes back to the 1930s, when he and other members of the Greek “Generation of 1930” were attempting to show that “Greece was tied to Europe not as an external body or as a newcomer, but as an intrinsic constituent of European civilization”: Manolis Patiniotis, “Greece, Europe, and the making of the Enlightenment in the periphery”, in Marja Jalava, Stefan Nygård and Johan Strang (eds), *Decentering European Intellectual Space*, Leiden, 2018, p. 230.

Dimaras was more interested in the history of ideas than in literature as an expression of the culture of a social group, and in the definitive edition of his influential *History of Modern Greek Literature* published posthumously in 2000 (1st edn 1948), out of 120 pages covering the eighteenth century he dedicates fewer than twelve pages to Greek literary texts written in the Ottoman empire, while devoting most of the rest to intellectual history.⁶

The ideologically loaded concept of the Greek Enlightenment has recently been described as “the cornerstone of modern Greek historiography”, since the Greek Enlightenment is perceived as having led to the liberation of the Greeks from the Ottomans. In the words of the same commentator, Dimaras claimed that during the Enlightenment period “Greeks began to discover their natural position among Europe’s peoples after a long period of self-alienation”.⁷

So many Greeks have been taught about the Greek Enlightenment at school and university that it now seems self-evident that the period that began during the eighteenth century⁸ and culminated in 1821 with the Greek Revolution is the period of the Greek Enlightenment. Since Dimaras first promoted the concept of the Greek Enlightenment, it has proved to be so dazzlingly bright that it has outshone most of the literary texts produced by Phanariots and members of their circles in the eighteenth century. It has to be said that many of the Phanariot texts that I have been studying⁹ only existed in manuscript until they were published for the very first time in the last twenty or thirty years. But most of the Phanariot literary output is not central to the Greek Enlightenment movement, nor can it be classified as being specifically opposed to the Enlightenment. It is primarily designed not to argue or to prove or to teach, but to entertain; and when it sets out to inform, it doesn’t necessarily impart information that was intended to be “useful”.

⁶ Κ. Θ. Δημαράς, *Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας*, 9th ed., Athens, 2000.

⁷ Patiniotis, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁸ The fact that the Greeks trod a “long road to Enlightenment”, as Paschalis Kiromilides puts it in the title of ch. 1 of his *Enlightenment and Revolution: the Making of Modern Greece*, Cambridge, MA, 2013, means that it is impossible to determine a date at which the movement began. In two separate essays collected in his volume entitled *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Athens 1977), p. 1, 14 and 27, Dimaras suggests three different possible starting points: (1) 1774 (the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca), (2) “around 1750” and (3) “around 1750 or, more precisely, between 1709 and 1774” – 1709 marking the beginning of Phanariot rule in the Romanian Principalities. Bouchard sees the Modern Greek Enlightenment proper as starting in 1780, with the years 1669–1780 as being the period of the Early Modern Greek Enlightenment («Νεοελληνικός Πρώιμος Διαφωτισμός: ορισμός και περιοδολόγηση», *Κ, Περιοδικό Λογοτεχνίας και Τεχνών*, Athens, no. 11 (July 2006) [*Αφιέρωμα: Κ. Θ. Δημαράς*], p. 35-47; a corrected version of the same text was issued in Montreal in 2007).

⁹ Most of my work on these texts so far has focused on their language, e.g. my glossary of the anonymous translation of ten comedies by Carlo Goldoni and my corrections and additions to the glossaries included in the editions of other published texts. It is noticeable that a very large number of the words of Turkish origin used in Phanariot texts are recorded in dictionaries of Romanian but not in dictionaries of Greek.

3. THE NAME OF THE ROSE: THE GARDEN IN ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ, THE VOSPOROMACHIA, AND KALLINIKOS' MEMOIRS

Φιλοθέου πάρεργα (*Les loisirs de Philothée* as Dimaras and Jacques Bouchard translate the title)¹⁰ was written in Ancient Greek¹¹ by Nikolaos Mavrokordatos between 1716 and 1719. However, as Bouchard points out in the introduction to his edition of the text, Mavrokordatos uses ancient language to talk about the modern world. The word *πάρεργα* in the title of his book – “subordinate or secondary business” according to Liddell and Scott’s *Lexicon of Ancient Greek* – suggests it is a “diversion” from the author’s main work, whether that was ruling a Romanian province or writing serious non-fictional works.¹² Dimaras, who calls *Φιλοθέου πάρεργα* “the first modern Greek attempt to write a novel”, points out that it contains the first Greek references to Bacon, Hobbes, Machiavelli and La Rochefoucauld.¹³ Dimaras also calls *Φιλοθέου πάρεργα* “the prefigurement of the Greek Enlightenment”.¹⁴

In *Φιλοθέου πάρεργα* Dimaras hears “the early voices of the Phanariot world as it comes to the forefront of our history, as it sets out to relay to the Greek East the ‘lights’ of Western civilization... [Here] begins the first act of the work that will give us back our freedom and independence”.¹⁵ This claim, that Mavrokordatos’ book stands at the beginning of a century-long process that culminated in the Greek Revolution, is exaggerated, not only because Mavrokordatos’ book wasn’t published until 1800 – more than eighty years after it was written – but also because most of the Phanariot literature that came after *Φιλοθέου πάρεργα* did not share the same overt commitment to the European Enlightenment.¹⁶

The Genevan theologian Jean Le Clerc planned to translate Mavrokordatos’ book under the title “Οι κηποσοφισταί, ou Conversations ingénieuses de quelques gens d’esprit dans un jardin de Constantinople”:¹⁷ the word κηποσοφισταί [the

¹⁰ C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières* (Geneva: Droz 1969), p. 23, n. 9; Nicolas Mavrocordatos, *Les loisirs de Philothée: texte établi, traduit et commenté par Jacques Bouchard* (Athens and Montreal 1989). As Bouchard points out (*op. cit.*, p. 52, note 19), the French title was first proposed by Fustel de Coulanges in 1861.

¹¹ Bouchard prefers to label Mavrokordatos’ language as *grec littéral* or, in English, “refined Attic Greek” (Jacques Bouchard, “Refined Attic Greek: hallmark of the emerging Phanariot nobility”, in Ruxandra Vidu and Ala Mindicanu (eds), *Proceedings of the ARA Congress* (pdf, Montreal 2016), p. 11–17.

¹² See also Bouchard’s introduction to Mavrocordatos, *Les loisirs de Philothée*, p. 52.

¹³ Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 265, 273.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

¹⁶ It is possible that the meaning of the toponym Phanari ‘lighthouse, lantern’ acted subconsciously on Dimaras, suggesting to him that it was the beacon of Enlightenment.

¹⁷ The title proposed by Le Clerc was first made public by the Anglo-Swiss scholar Annie Barnes, *Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) et la République des lettres*, Geneva, 1938, p. 181 (= her 1935 Oxford DPhil thesis, p. 227). See now Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, vol. IV: *1719–1732 e indici generali*, ed. Maria Grazia and Mario Sina, Florence, 1997, p. 88 and 96.

garden philosophers] was coined, probably by Le Clerc, on the analogy of *Δειπνοσοφισταί* [the dinner philosophers], to indicate that some of the discussions between the fictional characters take place while they are strolling in a garden. But whereas the third-century “Deipnosophists” of Athenaios, in their discussions round a dinner table, make references to specific foods, drinks and recipes, Mavrokordatos (or his narrator Philotheos) refuses to identify the flowers growing in Iakovos’ garden because they have names of Turkish origin. The narrator tells us that Iakovos’ garden is full of flowers of many species and variegated colours that give off intoxicating scents. However, “The kinds, the colours and the names of the flowers were so varied that even an expert would hardly be able to distinguish them. In order to name them precisely, we would need to make use of a whole host of new terms, of recent formation, borrowed from the local Turkish idiom.”¹⁸

Ironically, the verb that Dimaras uses for Philotheos’ strolling, *σειριανάει*,¹⁹ is of Turkish origin. Philotheos and his companions are *flâneurs* in the imperial city of Constantinople and its environs, as are Caspar Ludwig Momarts and Patriarch Kallinikos, the authors of some slightly later Phanariot literary texts, who (unlike Mavrokordatos) very frequently use the verb *σειριανίζω* and the noun *σειριάνι* (‘stroll’ < Turkish *seyran*), as well as the etymologically related noun *σεΐρι* (‘walk, excursion; entertainment, spectacle’ < T *seyir*).²⁰ For Momarts and Kallinikos, curiosity, exploration and observation are a source of enjoyment: they engage in *flânerie* in search of beauty and wonder. They see Constantinople and its environs as the site of beautiful, fascinating and magnificent spectacles, both natural and manmade, which they set out to describe in specific detail.

Both the *Vosporomachia* [Quarrel over the Bosphorus] by Momarts and the verse memoirs of Kallinikos contain descriptions of gardens in and around Constantinople. It is unlikely that these authors had read *Φιλοθέου πάρεργα* (which only existed in manuscript), but it is almost as though they perceive Mavrokordatos’ inability to name the flowers as a challenge, to which they respond by defiantly using Turkish words to name the numerous species of flowers that grow in these gardens. To quote a single couplet among many:

Λαλέδες πολυποίκιλοι, νακίλια, ζουμπούλια,
μουσκιουρουμιά και γιασουμιά με αμπερμπόγια, φούλια.²¹

¹⁸ Mavrokordatos, *Les loisirs de Philothée*, p. 84–5.

¹⁹ Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, 270.

²⁰ Momarts uses the noun *σειριάνι* 87 times and the verb *σειριανίζω* 41 times, and Kallinikos 10 and 30 times respectively. The word *seir* was used in Romanian too, in the sense of ‘view, spectacle’ (though not **seiran*, it seems).

²¹ This passage appears in both the *Βοσπορομαχία*, Lepizig, 1766, p. 88–89, and Kallinikos’ memoirs (*Καλλίνικου Γ’ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Τα κατά και μετά την εξορίαν συμβάντα*, ed. Agamemnon Tselikas, Athens: MIET, 2004, p. 172). We can’t be sure whether Kallinikos copied the passage from the *Vosporomachia* or whether he wrote it himself and inserted it into the manuscript of the *Vosporomachia*. The version of the text I have quoted here is an amalgam of the two very slightly different versions.

Multifarious *lâle* (tulips), *nakıl* (phlox), *zümübül* (hyacinths), *müşkü rumi* (grape hyacinths) and *yasemin* (jasmynes) with *amberbuy* (sweet sultans) and *fulya* (jonquils).

The Turkish names of the flowers contribute to the evocative and indeed exotic effect of this ekphrasis: the authors perhaps consider their use of language to be a work of botanical expertise and artistic virtuosity that emulates the prowess of the gardeners whose handiwork they admire.

The lexical luxuriance of these descriptions is in stark contrast with what even Dimaras calls the “linguistic poverty” of Mavrokordatos’ text.²² This contrast highlights the difference between the “enlightener” (and therefore idealizer) Mavrokordatos, who writes in Ancient Greek and is too squeamish to name the flowers, and the less overtly enlightened Momarts and Kallinikos, who write in contemporary Greek and enthusiastically call a spade a spade. The use of abundant Turkish words for flowers was part of the entertainment: these authors have taken the trouble to learn the names, they relish their sensual sound, and they want to share their enjoyment with their readers.

There is thus a contrast between *Φιλοθέου πάρεργα*, on the one hand, in which the modern setting is filtered and censored through the medium of a pretentious ancient linguistic form, and the sparkling humour and lively colloquial language of later Phanariot literature on the other.

An important group of Phanariot texts consists of satires, most of which are directed against one of two categories of target: either a particular voivode of the Danubian principalities, or a particular group of churchmen. I shall call these “satires on princes” and “clerical satires” respectively.²³ (However, I should add that the most famous and outrageous of the Phanariot satires, known variously as *The Anonymous of 1789* and *True History*, satirizes so many different targets that it is impossible to assign it to either of these two categories.²⁴) The clerical satires were written by certain churchmen in order to ridicule certain other churchmen who insisted that Christians of other denominations who wished to be received into the Orthodox Church needed to be rebaptized; this was the cause of a serious crisis in the Constantinople Church in the 1750s. The satires on princes date from the 1780s. Each of the satires was written by someone who had both personal and ideological reasons for wishing to present the target(s) of his satire in a negative

²² Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, 252.

²³ I owe the term “clerical satire” to Walter Puchner, *Greek Theatre between Antiquity and Independence: a History of Reinvention from the Third Century BC to 1830*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 258.

²⁴ «Ο Ανώνυμος του 1789» was the title Dimaras gave the text in his first edition of the work (in his *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 417–460), whereas the manuscript bears the title «Αληθής ιστορία» (echoing the famous second-century satire *Ἀληθῆ διηγήματα* by Lucian of Samosata), which is the title by which it is usually known today. For an analysis and a French translation of the text see Lia Brad Chisacof, “Un portrait-robot de l’Anonyme de 1789”, *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 11, 1995–6, p. 99–119.

light. The title of the anonymous clerical satire in verse “Comedy of true events in Constantinople in the year 1755”²⁵ explicitly states that it concerns real events that took place in a particular place at a particular time. The authors of most of the Phanariot satirical texts have no desire to idealize; they specify their targets by name, and they often use slang and vulgar expressions that lend vividness to their subversive representations.

4. CRITICAL ASSESSMENTS OF PHANARIOT LITERATURE BY OTHER SCHOLARS

The texts of Phanariot literature have been the victims of prejudice on the part of certain Greek scholars, who have marginalized them because they do not appear to be sufficiently influenced by the Enlightenment and are not related to the Greek national independence movement. The chief stumbling blocks to the critical acceptance of Phanariot texts have been the following:

- The *Vosporomachia* [Quarrel over the Bosphorus], one of the earliest works of a continuous Phanariot literary tradition, was written between 1748 and 1756 by someone who was neither a Greek nor even an Orthodox Christian, but a Levantine Catholic: Caspar Ludwig Momarts (1696–1761), chief dragoman of the Austrian embassy in Constantinople – though he could perhaps be considered to have been an honorary Greek, since he wrote his poem in the Greek language, albeit using Latin characters.²⁶ As a Constantinople-born dragoman, Momarts was a cultural mediator between western Europeans, Orthodox Greeks and Ottoman Muslims.²⁷

²⁵ “Κωμωδία αληθών συμβάντων εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τω αγνε^ω έτει”. Evangelos Skouvaras («Στηλιτευτικά κείμενα του ΙΗ΄ αιώνα (κατά των Αναβαπτιστών)», *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20 (1970)) claims that this and *The Repentant Afxentian* are the work of the teacher Ananias of Antiparos, but Iosif Vivilakis (*Αυξεντιανός μετανοημένος [1752]*, ed. Iosif Vivilakis, Athens, 2010, p. 57–58, 61–71, 281, has argued fairly convincingly that Kallinikos played a major role in their composition, either as the original author whose work was edited by others, or as the editor of a text originally written by Ananias.

²⁶ Albrecht Berger points out that Momarts’ use of the word “Franks” to refer to western Europeans implies that he writes from a Greek viewpoint (“Ο Ευγένιος Βούλγαρις και η Βοσπορομαχία”, in Eleni Angelomati-Tsougaraki (ed.), *Ευγένιος Βούλγαρης. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Κέρκυρα, 1-3 Δεκεμβρίου 2006*, Athens, 2009, p. 420.

²⁷ Although they were Catholics of ultimately western European descent, the dragomans of the European embassies in Istanbul wore a distinctive form of Ottoman dress, whereas the non-native officials with whom they worked normally wore European dress. My spelling of the author’s surname follows the spelling that appears in the entry for his baptism in the register of the parish of Santa Maria Draperis in the Rue de Péra, Constantinople; the name appears in various other sources as Momars (as on the title page of the first edition of the *Vosporomachia*) and Momartz. In his baptismal record, which is written in Italian, his forenames appear as Gasparo Lodovico. I am grateful to Savvas Tsilenis for supplying me with an image of the relevant page from the baptismal register.

- Some of the works of Enlighteners such as Voltaire and Diderot are among the comic masterpieces of world literature. By contrast, the vast majority of the texts that have traditionally been included in the corpus of the Greek Enlightenment are generally of a pedagogical nature and are notable for their earnestness.
- Phanariot literary texts are not intended to be educational or didactic: the deliberate lightness of Phanariot literature²⁸ has proved to be intolerable, both for Greeks of the Enlightenment and independence movements, and for a number of later Greek scholars: the label “fleeting poetry”, suggesting something insubstantial and evanescent, was attached to Phanariot verse by Dimaras.²⁹
- These texts make abundant use of loanwords. Dimaras wrote the following about Phanariot song lyrics: “Their language, a faithful depiction of the language spoken at the time in Phanariot circles, often contains an intolerable proportion of Turkish words”.³⁰ One wonders what proportion of loanwords from Turkish would have been considered “tolerable”.

Prefacing his 1955 anthology of Phanariot poetry, the generally open-minded scholar Leandros Vranousis wrote that the *Vosporomachia* “was in a way the model – in terms of subject-matter, versification and linguistic form – for the arid pedestrianism of the versifiers of Byzantium [i.e. Constantinople]”. He continued:

It is with difficulty that we have selected a few verses that are bearable to the modern reader. Almost all the way through, the text teems with Turkish words, and the long-winded descriptions of the locations and landscapes of the Bosphorus with their ugly-sounding names are difficult for us to follow today.³¹

Elias Voutieridis made a factual and more objective assessment in his *History of Modern Greek Literature* (1927), which however seems to have been the origin of some of Vranousis’ wording:

In the history of modern Greek literature, as it was cultivated by the Phanariots, the *Vosporomachia* occupies a special place, since it acted, for these poets, as a model for the language and for certain poetic techniques. It is the first poem of the Phanariot school, in which the popular language makes its appearance, mixed with ancient forms and words from Ancient Greek, Turkish and Italian.³²

²⁸ In a preface to the clerical satire *The Repentant Afxentian*, Kallinikos stresses that the comedy is intended to be enjoyable rather than didactic: see Vivilakis’ introduction, p. 83, and the section “On enjoyments”, p. 285–286, where the editor states that *The Repentant Afxentian* distances itself from “Byzantine earnestness”.

²⁹ K. Th. Dimaras, «Φεγγαλέα ποίηση», *Ο Εραμιστής* 13, 1976 [1977], p. 49–60.

³⁰ Δημαράς, *Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας* (2000), p. 223.

³¹ L. Vranousis (ed.), *Οι πρόδρομοι* [Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη, 11], Athens, 1955, p. 31.

³² E. Voutieridis, *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας, από των μέσων του 18 αιώνας μέχρι των Νεωτάτων Χρόνων μετ’ εισαγωγής περί της Βυζαντινής Λογοτεχνίας*, vol. 2, Athens, 1927, p. 88–94 (90).

I should add that one of the reasons why Voutieridis was favourably disposed towards the *Vosporomachia* may have been that he wrongly supposed that Momarts, like himself, was of French descent.³³ Voutieridis adds perceptively that the poem shows that Turkish had not only influenced the Greek spoken by the common people, as is commonly supposed, but also penetrated the language of the learned.

Some non-Greek scholars too have evaluated Phanariot literature in positive terms. The German Ottomanist Johann Strauss, for instance, wrote in 1995: “Quant à la riche littérature phanariote du XVIII^e siècle, avec ses auteurs parfois remarquablement féconds, elle est toujours insuffisamment étudiée”.³⁴ These words are almost equally valid today.

In the introduction to her recent edition of the 132 poems that were included in the volume of short stories *The Consequences of Love* (first published in Vienna in 1792), Natalia Deliyannaki writes that the characteristics of Phanariot songs were fully formed by the late 1760s, but more recently she has been able to locate these characteristics a good deal earlier.³⁵ Voutieridis’ suggestion that the *Vosporomachia* served as a model for later Phanariot literature is borne out by Deliyannaki, who talks of a “chain” in the tradition of Phanariot songs: there is a possibility that some songs quoted in the *Vosporomachia* and in Kallinikos’ memoirs were genuine Phanariot songs;³⁶ but it is a certain fact that some material from the *Vosporomachia* was recycled in *The Consequences of Love* (published about half a century later), in which praise of Constantinople is converted into praise of the beloved.³⁷

The abundance of Turkish loanwords, many of which would have been unfamiliar to Greeks living outside Phanariot circles, is an indication not only that the authors of these texts saw Turkish as a prestige language and enjoyed showing off their knowledge of it, but also that they were writing for a rather restricted circle of readers. In most of the texts (what I would call “hard-core” Phanariot texts), there is little evidence of any effort to standardize the vocabulary in order to make them more readily consumable by outsiders.³⁸ But it also shows that members of the Phanariot circles possessed enough confidence in their own culture to see it as self-sufficient. The use of abundant linguistic features borrowed from

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 93. Albrecht Berger suggests plausibly that the origin of Voutieridis’ mistaken belief was the statement by A.-R. Rangabé, *Histoire littéraire de la Grèce modern*, Paris, 1877, vol. 1, p. 73, that Momarts was “un Pérote, français d’origine” (Albrecht Berger, “Die Bosporomachia des Senior Momars”, in Lars M. Hoffman (ed.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 755).

³⁴ Johann Strauss, “Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman: évolution et péripéties d’une situation linguistique”, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 75-76, 1995, p. 221-255 (228).

³⁵ Natalia Deliyannaki (ed.), *Έρωτος αποτελέσματα (1792): τα στιχουργήματα*, Athens, 2018, p. 18, 45.

³⁶ “The songs written or recorded by Momarts and Patriarch Kallinikos perhaps reflect links in this chain”: *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 23.

³⁷ Song 92: see *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁸ There are however many “soft-core” Phanariot song texts, in the sense that they do not contain loanwords from Turkish.

Turkish is an expression of local pride, of group identity, of a sense of belonging to the higher echelons of the Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian community of Constantinople, the Capital (Βασιλεύουσα) of the Mighty Empire of the Ottomans – “higher” from a cultural point of view, which presupposed a knowledge of Turkish and Ancient Greek and the language of the Greek Church, but also of one or more western European languages, especially Italian if not French.³⁹ A Constantinopolitan was a cosmopolitan. As Agamemnon Tselikas expresses it, although Patriarch Kallinikos was born in what is now Greece, he felt that he belonged to Constantinople and that Constantinople was the centre of the world.⁴⁰

5. REALISM AND SENTIMENTALISM

Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu wrote of an “explosion of sentimentalism” towards the end of the Phanariot era, which she described as a “preromantic period”.⁴¹ “Sentimentalism” can be seen as being opposed to the Enlightenment “cult of Reason”.⁴² As Alexandru Duțu put it, “in the psychology of authors and readers sentimentalism occupies the field that has been spared by the wisdom transformed in ethical law. [...] This literature concerns itself with the right to be happy”.⁴³ The pursuit of happiness on earth is indeed an endeavour characteristic of the Enlightenment; but its goal is more likely to be achieved if the pursuit is accompanied by a reasonable dose of entertainment.

Apart from the sentimental trend in Phanariot literature, there is also the satirical drive, which I see as being a kind of realism. But whether sentimental or satirical, most of the Phanariot texts are concerned with the quotidian, with the here and now: neither with hope for a better future on earth (e.g. political independence) nor with hope for an eternal future in heaven. In the clerical satirical comedy *The Repentant Afxentian* (1752), the author doesn’t write allegorically: he uses the real names of living individuals, together with their ties of speech. This is also the case in the comedy *To σαγανάκι της τρέλας* (*The Tempest of Madness*, 1786), which presents a satirical portrait of Nikolaos

³⁹ The dual sense of belonging to the Ottoman empire and to the Greek Orthodox Church is indicated in Konstantinos Mavrokordatos’ self-description on the title page of his book *Ιστορία ιερά, ήτοι Τα Ιουδαϊκά* [*Sacred History, or Judaica*, 1716]: “Grand Logothete of the Great Church of Christ and Secretary to the Mighty Empire of the Ottomans [Κραταία Βασιλεία των Οθωμανών]”.

⁴⁰ Tselikas, in *Καλλίνικου Γ’ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 42.

⁴¹ C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, “‘Eros’ dans la littérature phanariote des Principautés”, *Cahiers roumains d’études littéraires* 3, 1988, p. 32–43 [32]. She sees Eros as ultimately an allusion to ancient Greek myth by way of European Arcadianism and Neoclassicism. It is worth noting here, however, that allusions to ancient myth are rather scarce in Phanariot literature.

⁴² C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Literatura în limba greacă din Principatele Române, 1774–1830*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 194.

⁴³ A. Duțu, “Ethics scherzi and delectation: a chapter in the history of South-East European mentality”, *Balkan Studies* 13.2, 1972, p. 274, 276.

Mavrogenis, voivode of Wallachia.⁴⁴ In such texts we are dealing with direct social criticism. But even when a character is satirized, the criteria by which he is judged are based on the moral doctrines of Christianity rather than on concepts that are particular to the Enlightenment. However, there is surprisingly little specifically religious content in Phanariot literature – even in the clerical satires. Given that in his *History of Modern Greek Literature* Dimaras sees intellectual secularization as being at the heart of the Greek Enlightenment project,⁴⁵ the secular nature of Phanariot literature may be seen as an Enlightenment feature.

If we look beyond satire now, the deposed Patriarch Kallinikos gives us realistic pictures of life in Constantinople and its environs. And even within the fanciful fictional framework of the *Vosporomachia* – the dispute between the sister queens, Europe and Asia, as to which of the shores of the Bosphorus is the more beautiful – Momarts too describes landscapes and locations in realistic detail.

In fact, neither Momarts nor Kallinikos set out to write literature.⁴⁶ The initial motivation for their writing was what I would call verse therapy: for them, the writing of verses was a psychologically therapeutic exercise, both a recreation (a re-creation of the soul or the self) and a διασκέδασις (meaning ‘a scattering, dispersion’ in Ancient Greek) of troubles and cares; the same word in Modern Greek means ‘entertainment’; thus a diversion or *divertissement*, a way of turning one’s attention away from cares.

Momarts wrote the *Vosporomachia* to take his mind off the premature death of his (considerably younger) wife. It was his doctor Ioannis Rizos Manes, also a poet as well as a natural philosopher and inventor, who prescribed that Momarts should summon up the Bosphorus as it had been imprinted on his memory, embark on a tour of its villages in his imagination, and write a detailed description of them in verse.⁴⁷ The *Vosporomachia* is a kind of guide book in which Momarts uses his two mouthpieces, Queen Europe and Queen Asia, to express the love and wonder engendered in him by the natural beauties of the Bosphorus, its villages and its other sights.

After serving as patriarch of Constantinople for a mere six months in 1757, Kallinikos was dethroned and exiled to Mount Sinai by the Sultan, but he returned clandestinely to Constantinople in disguise. There, living incognito and in considerable danger, he consulted his doctor, Manolakis Manos, a friend of Dr Rizos, about a cure for the “melancholy” (his depression, in modern terms) caused by being bereaved of his patriarchate. Manos prescribed three activities: reading, writing and excursions. Kallinikos took up this advice with enthusiasm, and much

⁴⁴ Lia Brad Chisacof (ed.), *Ρήγας. Ανέκδοτα κείμενα*, Athens 2011. The editor, on the basis of evidence examined by expert palaeographers including Agamemnon Tselikas, claims that the author of the *Saganaki* was Rigas Velesinlis. For the dating see *op. cit.*, p. 31 and 35.

⁴⁵ Kitromilides, “Συγκριτικές προσεγγίσεις στον Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό”, p. 568.

⁴⁶ “I certainly didn’t set out to compose a Poem,” writes Momarts in his address to the reader (*Βοσπορομαχία*, 1766, p. 5).

⁴⁷ *Βοσπορομαχία*, 1766, p. 2.

of his writing consists of detailed descriptions of his wanderings around the City and his excursions up the Bosphorus.⁴⁸

In the case of both Momarts and Kallinikos, at least, the entertainment value of their work was primarily intended to be for their own benefit. However, while dedicating the *Vosporomachia* to his friend Dr Rizos, Momarts also expresses the hope that when his two young daughters grow up they will read his poem and learn about the beauties of the world.⁴⁹ Yet despite the deeply personal nature of Momarts' inspiration and motivation, two progressive clerics among the readers of the *Vosporomachia* found it sufficiently entertaining that one of them, Kallinikos himself, transcribed the text into Greek characters and copy-edited it in collaboration with the author, and another, Evgenios Voulgaris, published it in 1766 after Momarts' death.⁵⁰

Both the *Vosporomachia*, then, and the verse memoirs of Kallinikos were *πάρεργα*, and Kallinikos at least was very much a φιλόθεος (devout Christian).⁵¹ In fact, several men who held important positions in the Orthodox Church, such as the future Bishop of Patras, Germanos, the chief cantor Iakovos (known colloquially as Yakoumakis) and the Lampadarios of the Patriarchal church known as Petros the Peloponnesian, are among those who wrote the words and/or the music of Phanariot songs. As the text of *The Consequences of Love* and many manuscripts make clear, almost all Phanariot songs were sung to Byzantine and Ottoman modes, with no apparent influence from western European music.⁵²

6. FREEDOM, TYRANNY AND FASHION

One way of testing the extent of Enlightenment attitudes in Phanariot literature is to examine its use of the concepts of freedom and tyranny.

In his revolutionary poem “Thourios”, inspired by the French Revolution and published in 1797, Rigas Velestinlis used the terms *ελευθερία* (freedom) and *τυραννία* (tyranny) in a political sense, calling upon the subjects of the Sultan to take up arms against tyranny in order to achieve their liberty. But if we look at the

⁴⁸ Cf. Tselikas, in *Καλλίνικου Γ' Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 62–63.

⁴⁹ *Βοσπορομαχία*, 1766, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Dimaras described Voulgaris as “the earliest eminent figure of the Greek Enlightenment” (*Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 15). The first edition of the *Vosporomachia* actually consists of three literary texts, one by each of Momarts, Kallinikos and Voulgaris; see for instance Peter Mackrídge, «Ο Βούλγαρης φαναριώτης στιχουργός; Σκέψεις για τον τσελεμπή Μέμνονα», in Chariton Karanasios (ed.), *Ευγένιος Βούλγαρης. Ο homo universalis του Ελληνισμού*, Athens, 2018, p. 257–259. Voulgaris' own contribution to this volume is his translation of Voltaire's entertaining Enlightenment story, *Memnon*.

⁵¹ See also Bouchard's introduction to Mavrocordatos, *Les loisirs de Philothée*, p. 53.

⁵² In a number of manuscript song collections the tunes are recorded in Byzantine notation, which proved to be a convenient method of committing Ottoman music to paper. I should add that there are indications that a small number of Phanariot songs were sung to European (or European-style) tunes.

numerous uses of *ελευθερία* in Rigas' collection of short stories *The School for Delicate Lovers*,⁵³ published only seven years earlier, we find that there the word is always used in a non-political sense: it denotes a lack of hesitation or inhibition in the behaviour of an individual: speaking frankly and openly towards those who are perceived to be in a socially dominant position (a son or daughter to their parents, an employee to his employer, or a lover to his beloved).⁵⁴ I note here, however, that, according to Dimaras, the Greek Enlightenment aimed at “reaching up to all kinds of freedom”;⁵⁵ from this point of view, the two different senses of the word *ελευθερία* (the private and the public; the freedom of the individual and the liberty of the nation) in Rigas' works can be seen as two steps towards the same goal.

Similarly the word ‘tyranny’ is used in *The School for Delicate Lovers* to refer to the behaviour of a father who is determined to impose his choice of marriage partner on his children, no matter what their own inclinations might be, while in Phanariot songs ‘tyrant’ is often used by a male lover addressing a young woman who resists his advances.⁵⁶

A letter sent by Prince Nikolaos Karatzas of Wallachia to Prince Alexandros Mavrokordatos of Moldavia in 1782 about a nephew who refuses to marry the woman chosen for him by his mother shows that the situations described in Rigas' *School*, as well as in some of the comedies by Molière and Goldoni that were translated by Phanariots,⁵⁷ were closely relevant to the realities of Phanariot culture. These literary texts present clashes between the will of the parents and the wish of their children regarding the choice of marriage partner – clashes which are often caused by the mismatch between the financial interests of the family and the love (or lack of it) between two individuals. The way Karatzas describes the conflict makes it sound like a clash between Enlightenment values such as reason and individual freedom, which he promotes, and the more traditional ideas – the rightful submission of the socially inferior individual to the will of the socially superior, both within the state as a whole and within each family – that are

⁵³ *The School for Delicate Lovers*, published in Vienna in 1790, consists chiefly of translations of six stories from the huge series entitled *Les Contemporaines* by Rétif de La Bretonne. However, Rigas interspersed the stories with Phanariot song texts. Rigas' book provided a model for the anonymous author of the collection *The Consequences of Love* (possibly Athanasios Psalidas), published in the Austrian capital two years later, who interspersed his three original stories with no fewer than 132 songs texts and poems.

⁵⁴ Rigas Velestinlis, *Σχολείον των ντελικάτων εραστών* (Vienna 1790), *passim*.

⁵⁵ Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 25

⁵⁶ Velestinlis, *Σχολείον*, p. 33, 148, 207 (tyranny), 31, 297, 310, 320, 332 (tyrant). The phrase “the barbarous command of your master” (p. 6) is used to refer to the behaviour of a character's employer; since the same word for master (αυθέντης) was also commonly used for the voivode of one of the Danubian principalities, it is just possible to read a political connotation in this phrase as used here.

⁵⁷ The chief edition of the Molière translations is Anna Tabaki, *Ο Μολιέρος στη φαναριώτικη παιδεία: τρεις χειρόγραφες μεταφράσεις* (Athens 1988). The Goldoni translations are published in Anna Gentilini et al., *Dieci commedie di Goldoni tradotte in neogreco (Ms. Bruxelles Bibl. royale 14612)* (Padua: La Garangola, 1988). For more details of these Molière and Goldoni translations see below.

supported by his “brother prince”.⁵⁸ This is similar to the way such clashes are depicted in the literary texts.

Papacostea-Danielopolu sees Eros in Phanariot verses not only in terms of “delectation” but also as serving an “ethical and political function” related to ideas of the French Enlightenment and the French Revolution.⁵⁹ She may be right to claim that *The School* is a “veritable manifesto of Rigas’ democratic convictions” – equality, freedom of thought and the “affirmation of the individual” – all of which were new to South-East Europe at the time. But I think she exaggerates when she claims that the poems about Eros recall, beyond their “pleasing” form, the ethical norms and patriotic programme of a people struggling for its liberty.⁶⁰

Let us now look at some meanings of the word *ελευθερία* (freedom) in other works of Phanariot literature. *Philotheou Parerga* refers several times to the freedom of an individual from slavery and imprisonment, but on one occasion the narrator advises men to allow freedom to their womenfolk instead of shutting them away at home; it is significant that Bouchard translates *ελευθερία* here as “liberté de mouvements”.⁶¹ The *Vosporomachia* contains frequent expressions of a desire for greater social freedom both for men and (perhaps especially) for women: not freedom from slavery or forced labour, but freedom from restrictions of movement, action and speech, freedom from the Morality Police known as the “market gardeners” (the *bostancis*), who used to arrest anyone who in their view was publicly contravening laws and conventions regarding dress and behaviour in public: women not properly veiled, women out of doors at a time when the Sultan has forbidden it, men and women keeping company together.

Such freedom is perceived to be geographically relative: according to Momarts, there is greater freedom up the Bosphorus and on the Princes’ Islands than in the city centre, and greater freedom in the countryside than in the villages;⁶² according to the author of *The Consequences of Love*, there is greater social freedom at Stavrodromi, north of the Galata tower, than there is in areas of the city south of the Golden Horn;⁶³ in *The Tempest of Madness* a maidservant of the prince’s wife, speaking to her mistress, laments the lack of freedom accorded to the women of the princely household even in Bucharest, but observes that the local women don’t have to be veiled when going out in public there, unlike in Constantinople.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ This long and fascinating letter is published in Nicolae Iorga (ed.), *Documente grecești privitoare la istoria Românilor* [Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki (ed.), *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, vol. XIV, part III], Bucharest, 1936, p. 223–229.

⁵⁹ Papacostea-Danielopolu, “Eros’ dans la littérature phanariote des Principautés”, p. 37.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 38–39.

⁶¹ Mavrocordatos, *Les loisirs de Philothée*, p. 150.

⁶² In reality the *bostancis* patrolled areas outside the city of Istanbul as well as within it: public gardens, promenades, meadows, forests, and the shores of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn, the Sea of Marmara, the Black Sea and the Princes’ Islands: Shirine Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Seattle, 2008, p. 127.

⁶³ *Ερωτος αποτελέσματα* (Vienna 1792), p. 34.

⁶⁴ Brad Chisacof (ed.), *Πήγας. Ανέκδοτα κείμενα*, p. 128.

The word *ελευθερία* appears in two of the 132 poems of *The Consequences of Love*, and it is significant that one of these poems celebrates the apparently new-found freedom of young people to choose their own marriage partners.⁶⁵ The cause for celebration was the Church's abolition of the *τράχωμα*, a particularly Constantinopolitan custom that demanded that the bride's father pay an amount of cash to the bridegroom over and above the items that made up the bride's dowry. The *trachoma* made marriage even more of a commercial transaction than it might otherwise have been, and it placed great power in the hands of the bride's father, who could make or break a match by agreeing or refusing to pay the *trachoma*. The *trachoma* was felt to be such a burning issue that the word is used, in tandem with the word *προίκα* or *προίκισμα* (dowry) to translate the word *dote* (dowry) in the Phanariot translations of Molière and Goldoni.⁶⁶

Occasionally *ελευθερία* is used to mean sexual freedom. In one of the princely satires, *Ο Αλεξανδροβόδας ο ασυνείδητος* (*Alexandrovodas the Unscrupulous*), written in 1785, Georgios N. Soutsos (a member of a rival Phanariot family) presents a portrait of the voivode of Moldavia Alexandros Mavrokordatos as a libertine whose idea of the freedom offered by life in "Europe" is the freedom to keep a mistress quite openly while being married.⁶⁷ This is similar to the idea of freedom expressed two years later by Mozart and Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni*, whose proclamation "Viva la libertà", means not only that *tutti quanti* (all and sundry) should feel free to enjoy themselves at his party, but that he himself should be free to seduce any woman present.

"Tyranny" is another keyword in the discourse of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, alongside freedom. We only have to recall Voltaire's wonderfully witty article "Tyrannie" in the French *Encyclopédie* of 1764 (which however begins with the following rather restrained definition: "On appelle tyran le souverain qui ne connaît de lois que son caprice"). The word *τυραννία* appears no fewer than seven times in the verses of *The Consequences of Love*, but always apparently in a metaphorical, non-political sense, referring to the cruel and capricious behaviour of the female object of desire who responds negatively to her admirer's expressions of love:

Το βλέμμα σου το εχθρικόν, τάρζι το ηγεμονικόν...
 "Your hostile glance, your princely manner..." (no. 70)⁶⁸

⁶⁵ The song in *Έρωτος αποτελέσματα*, 1792, p. 155 (Deliyannaki (ed.), *Έρωτος αποτελέσματα*, song no. 107) is addressed to young women, while another song on the same theme (no. 99) is addressed to young men.

⁶⁶ Tabaki, *Ο Μολιέρος στη φαναριώτικη παιδεία*, p. 45; Gentilini et al., *Dieci commedie di Goldoni*, p. 204. The *trachoma* is also mentioned in *The Repentant Afxentian*.

⁶⁷ "I'm not accustomed to being enslaved to one woman alone," he proclaims. "Anyone who has learned to live in Europe wants his freedom": Georgios N. Soutsos, *Αλεξανδροβόδας ο ασυνείδητος*, ed. Dimitris Spathis, Athens, 1995, p. 19. The verb "wants" here is equivalent to both "demands" and "needs".

⁶⁸ The song numbers here refer to Deliyannaki (ed.), *Έρωτος αποτελέσματα* (2018).

Με σχήμα ηγεμονικό, με κοίταγμα τυραννικό
 “with princely mien and tyrannical glance” (no. 112)

Αυτό ορίζει φανερά, με εξουσίαν σταθερά·
 Βέβαια βασιλεύει, αν θέλει, και φονεύει.
 Το τάχτι έχει στην καρδιά και, με ολίγα λακιρδιά,
 Ό,τι αποφασίζει, οπίσω δεν γυρίζει.
 “My light [το φως μου, i.e. my beloved] commands openly, with firm authority. She rules with certainty, and she kills if she wishes. Her throne is in the heart and, whatever verdict she delivers in a few words, she never goes back on it.” (no. 90)

Yet is there perhaps a possibility that such images actually have political connotations that don’t appear at first sight? May the metaphorical tyranny of love be allegorical for the tyranny of political power? By appearing to use political vocabulary (the relationship between subject and sovereign) in a metaphorical way, is the poet *ostensibly* referring to the relationship between lover and beloved, and yet allowing the literal, political sense of ‘tyranny’ to be perceived as well?

In the last poem quoted above the abundant use of Ottoman terms, e.g. τάχτι ‘throne’, might conceivably be read as a clue that the amorous relationship is an allegory for the political, since the beloved and the tyrant appear to exercise the same ruthless yet capricious authority.

The motif of the tyrannical, cruel or indifferent beloved is common in Ottoman poetry, which plays on parallels between love and political power, as well as religious mysticism.⁶⁹ But Phanariot love poems also contain echoes of the western European tradition of Petrarch and Torquato Tasso (and perhaps especially Metastasio, who was especially popular among Greeks in the late eighteenth century), including the depiction of “la bella crudele”, the beautiful beloved who, like a tyrant, is cruel and pitiless, constantly displaying her displeasure and anger towards her lover. In the Italian tradition this was not, as far as I know, used as an allegory for political power.⁷⁰ I believe, then, that the motif of the tyrannical beloved in Phanariot songs is a literary convention rather than a coded attack on the

⁶⁹ For the parallels between love for an individual, love for the sovereign and love for God in Ottoman poetry see Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, Durham, NC, 2005; I note that the word *zalim* ‘tyrant’ is frequently used to refer to the beloved who refuses to reciprocate the poet’s love. I am grateful to Matthias Kappler for recommending this book to me. Kappler (personal communication) mentions other echoes of Ottoman poetry in the Phanariot song lyrics, such as the motifs of the moth and the flame and of the nightingale and the rose-bud. One major difference between Ottoman and Phanariot love poetry is that in Ottoman poetry, while the sex of the beloved is usually unspecified, the object of love usually seems to be a young man, whereas in Phanariot poetry, apart from the frequent instances where the beloved is referred to with the use of neuter phrases (το πουλί μου ‘my bird’, το φως μου ‘my light’), she is described with feminine adjectives.

⁷⁰ See repeated keywords in Phanariot love songs such as αγριώνω, θυμώνω (both meaning ‘to get angry’), εβζάς (‘negative gesture or behaviour’), and βαδές and τσεχρές (both denoting angry, frowning facial expressions).

tyranny of the Sultan. Besides, the noun *τυραννία* was and is commonly used in Greek to mean ‘mental anguish’, while the verb *τυραννῶ* often means ‘to torment’ someone.⁷¹

One of the symptoms of Enlightenment attitudes diagnosed by Dimaras in Greek texts of the eighteenth century is the reference to *fashion*, whether by means of the word μόδα (French *mode*, Italian *moda*) or with the use of Greek paraphrases. But a love of innovation isn’t a sure sign of Enlightenment influence; it is a symptom of a desire to be entertained. Besides, the concept of something being modish or “modern” wasn’t confined to western European culture at the time. The word μόδα itself is absent from the majority of Phanariot literary texts; it is first attested in a private letter written around 1787 by a lady in Constantinople informing the wife of the voivode of Moldavia about the latest fashion in the Ottoman capital;⁷² but Phanariot literary texts frequently use the *Turkish* phrase *yeni cikma* (‘just out’) to refer to items that represent the latest fashion, albeit corresponding to the English adjective ‘fashionable’ rather than to the abstract concept ‘fashion’. This term (written *γενί τσικμά* in Greek) is used in texts originally written in Greek such as the *Vosporomachia* and the memoirs of Patriarch Kallinikos as well as very frequently (seven times) in the anonymous Phanariot translations of comedies by Goldoni, where the original has *alla moda*. Elsewhere Phanariot authors rendering the phrase *alla moda* resort to Greek paraphrases meaning literally ‘new invention’, starting with an early Phanariot translation of Molière⁷³ and continuing in *The Repentant Afxentian* (1750s) and the Goldoni translations.

Despite Dimaras’ stress on the Phanariots’ close relations with French culture,⁷⁴ it is telling that in the two major translation projects of European

⁷¹ It is telling that on two occasions in the *Σχολείον* Rigas uses *τυραννία* to render the French words *supplice* (mental torment) and *irrésolution* (the torment of indecision): *Σχολείον* (1790), p. 33 and 148 respectively. Having said that, I can’t help wondering whether the use of abundant loanwords from Turkish in Voulgaris’ translation of Voltaire’s *Memnon* might have made the Greek reader of the time think that the unjust sufferings of the innocent but hapless hero in ancient Nineveh were not so far removed from the situation in which Greeks found themselves in the Ottoman empire.

⁷² Dimaras locates the first Greek attestation of this word in the satirical story *Ανώνυμος του 1789/Αληθής ιστορία (Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 35). However, Ilia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister («Χρυσά σιρίτια και μπαλωμένα παπούτσια: ο λόγος περί μόδας στον νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό», *Τα Ιστορικά* 32, no. 62 (2015), p. 55-80 [55–56]) locates the earliest use of the word μόδα in a letter written from Constantinople to Bucharest by Mariora Tyaniti (Dr Iakovos Rizos’ sister) published in Iorga (ed.), *Documente grecești*, vol. XIV, part III, p. 250–252, where the editor dates the letter “1787?” Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister also finds the word in Vendotis’ trilingual dictionary of 1790 («Χρυσά σιρίτια και μπαλωμένα παπούτσια», 73). The word μόδα appears in the anonymous and undated Phanariot translation of Goldoni (Gentilini et al., *Dieci commedie di Goldoni*, p. 437), where the (Italian) character says that all fashions come from France. The word is used several times in the earliest Greek newspaper, the *Εφημερίς* (published in Vienna in the 1790s) and three times in Konstantinos Kokkinakis’ translations of four dramas by August von Kotzebue published in Vienna in 1801. Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu (“«La mode vient de Constantinople»: les boyards roumains entre Orient et Occident (XVIII^e siècle)”, *Études Balkaniques-Cahiers Pierre Belon* 16.1, 2009, p. 109–126) uses Mariora’s letter as evidence that modern fashions tended to reach the 18th-century Romanian nobility from (or at least via) the Ottoman capital rather than from the West.

⁷³ Tabaki, *Ο Μολιέρος στη φαναριώτικη παιδεία*, p. 50.

⁷⁴ E.g., Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 13.

theatrical texts into Greek carried out by members of Phanariot circles during the eighteenth century – a set of comedies by Molière and a set of comedies by Goldoni – Molière is translated via Italian.⁷⁵

In contrast to the abundance of loanwords from Turkish, loans from French are very rare in eighteenth-century Greek literature. The only indubitably French loanword that I have found in Phanariot texts is the indeclinable feminine noun *τρες* ‘gold braid’ (< French *tresse*). This word appears in the work of Momarts and Kallinikos. It is also used in a single anonymous Phanariot poem or song in praise of a woman’s hair, which is so golden and is styled in such a way that it gives the illusion of being adorned with various precious ornaments. Yet, aside from this single French loan, the poem teems with Turkish terms.⁷⁶ As a display of linguistic virtuosity, this ekphrasis can be compared to the description of flowers in a garden that I quoted earlier.

Thus literature confirms what historians already know, that in the eighteenth century there was an intense desire for novelty in both Constantinople and the Principalities.⁷⁷ Yet “Enlightenment” surely consists of something beyond the desire to acquire, display and write about the latest commodities.

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that we may have moral or ideological reasons for disapproving of the behaviour of some of the men and women who belonged to Phanariot circles should not prevent us from studying – and enjoying – the literature they produced,

⁷⁵ These Greek translations of eleven Molière comedies, scattered across five manuscripts, have been published in the following editions: Tabaki, *op. cit.*; Gerasimos G. Zoras, «Μια άγνωστη μετάφραση του Μολιέρου στα ελληνικά», *Παρουσία* 7, 1991, p. 61–88; and Konstantinos Minas, *Οκτώ κωμωδίες του Μολιέρου σε ανέκδοτη ελληνική μετάφραση του 18ου αιώνα* (Rhodes 2012; Minas seems to have been unaware of Tabaki’s edition when he published his). The three comedies edited by Tabaki were apparently translated in 1741 by Ioannis Rallis at the behest of the voivode of Wallachia Konstantinos Mavrokordatos (Tabaki, *op. cit.*, p. 33–43). All eleven of the plays seem to have been translated from the same edition of Nicola di Castello’s Italian version, and it seems probable that they were all part of the same series of translations. The other systematic project consists of translations of ten Goldoni comedies, which are all preserved in a single manuscript and have been published in Gentilini et al., *Dieci commedie di Goldoni*.

⁷⁶ The song is published in Dimitris Z. Sofianos, *Η ανέκδοτη φαναριώτικη ποιητική συλλογή του κώδικα 666 Μονής Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (17^{ου} αιώνας)*, Athens, 2011, p. 146–148. Aside from five Turkish terms specifically referring to hair styling and adornments for the head (*μπαγλαμάς* [*bağlama*], *σεργούτσι* [*sorguç*], *τσελέγγι* [*çelenk*], *μπουρμάς* [*burma*] and *τσεκμές* [*çekme*]), the poem contains eleven other nouns and adjectives borrowed from Turkish. It is also significant that the French loan *τρες* is subordinated syntactically to a Turkish loan: “χρυσός τσεκμές με τρες” ‘rolled gold with gold braid’.

⁷⁷ For the Principalities see, for instance, articles by Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu such as “Shawls and sable furs: how to be a boyar under the Phanariot regime (1710–1821)”, in Cornelia Aust et al. (eds), *Dress and Cultural Difference in Early Modern Europe [Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte/European History Yearbook 20]*, Berlin, 2019, p. 137–158. There was more freedom of dress in the Principalities than in Istanbul, where sumptuary regulations were stricter (*op. cit.*; and Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, «Χρυσά σιρίτια και μπαλωμένα παπούτσια», p. 57–60).

for the same reason that our disapproval of Wagner's racial views should not prevent us from studying and enjoying his operas. It is interesting and instructive to investigate how members of a subjugated minority try to make the best of their situation by collaborating with the political authorities imposed on them by the dominant community.

Phanariot writers express the hybrid culture of elite Greeks under the Ottomans just as Leontios Machairas expressed the culture of Orthodox Christians under the Catholic Lusignan kings of medieval Cyprus, and Georgios Chortatsis and Vintzentzos Kornaros expressed the spirit of the Greek-speaking Cretans under Venetian rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would be instructive to use the development of Veneto-Cretan culture as a basis of comparison with the processes by which Phanariot culture combined Greek culture with features of Ottoman Turkish culture and gradually also adopted features of Romanian culture. There are many loanwords from Romanian in the 1745 verse correspondence between Drakos Soutzos and Konstantinos Karatzas,⁷⁸ in the *Garden of Graces* by Kaisarios Dapontes, in *The Tempest of Madness* and in the writings of Alexandros Kalfoglou and Panagiotis Kodrikas. There are also a few but significant examples in the Goldoni translations, including the rendering of his famous title *La Locandiera* as *Η Γκάτζδα* (borrowed from Romanian *gazdă*),⁷⁹ though loanwords from Romanian are strangely absent from the Phanariot songs as well as from the poems of Athanasios Christopoulos, the best known and most highly regarded of the Phanariot poets. Some Phanariot texts were the work of Romanians (including Alecu Văcărescu and his father Ienăchiță),⁸⁰ and many of the manuscripts containing these texts are housed in Romania, including some of the slightly later social comedies that were first published by Lia Brad Chisacof in 2003.

Finally, I would like to emphasize the linguistic and historical value of Phanariot literature. It is the highly enjoyable expression of a fascinating lost world, as seen from the inside. Reading Phanariot literature we hear the voices of eighteenth-century Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians talking about their public and private lives in their own everyday language. In this way we can gain insights into the thought-world of elite members of the Greek Orthodox *millet* who did not hope for, or dream of, an armed revolution against the Ottoman empire that would result in an independent Greek state.

Phanariot literature needs to be studied not only in the context of Greek, Ottoman and Romanian language and social history, but also in the context of

⁷⁸ Published by Phaidon K. Bouboulidis, *Έμμετροι επιστολαί Κωνστ. Δράκου Σούτζου και Κωνστ. Καρατζά*, Athens, 1967.

⁷⁹ The word *γκάτζδα* is already attested in the correspondence just mentioned, in the letter from Drakos Soutzos, who uses it to refer to his landlord (*op. cit.*, p. 224). The word is ultimately of Slav origin, but apparently entered Romanian via Hungarian.

⁸⁰ For Ienăchiță as the author of at least one Greek poem see Lia Brad Chisacof, "Closed-doors performances of dancing poetry in Wallachia at the end of the 18th century", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 45, 2007, p. 207–219.

music and other public and private entertainment in Istanbul and the Danubian principalities: Kallinikos, for instance, gives us some especially fascinating eyewitness accounts of entertainment in the Ottoman capital.

The desire for entertainment in Phanariot society is completely understandable when one considers the precarious circumstances in which its members lived. When Phanariot songs aren't singing of love, they are usually singing of the instability of fortune. People living in that part of the world at the time were constantly threatened by earthquake, fire, plague and war – and, especially in the case of Bucharest, flood. And the more successful and high-profile they became, the more they risked being summarily executed, and their families being deprived of their property: such people were literally gambling with their lives. We can only appreciate Phanariot literature if we see it for what it really is – a form of entertainment that has become an invaluable corpus of historical and linguistic documents – rather than viewing it solely through the distorting lens of the Greek Enlightenment.

NICOLAE MAVROS. THE LIFESTYLE OF A WALLACHIAN BOYAR OF GREEK ORIGIN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Nicolae Mavros (1786–1868), one of the educated high-ranking boyars in Wallachia, was General Inspector of the Danube quarantine (1832–1855) and President of the Archaeological Committee (1864–1868). This study is about Mavros's lifestyle, family, land properties, and public career. Our research focuses mainly on the networks of family and friends in Wallachia, Moldavia, Russia, and Greece. We have found documents concerning Mavros in various funds held by National Historical Archives in Bucharest and Romanian Academy Library, such as the Metropolis of Ungro-Wallachia, the Chancellorship for Foreign Affairs in Wallachia, the Quarantine Committee and the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction. We have also used information from the archives of his sons, Ion Cantacuzino and Ion Ghica.

Keywords: Nicolae Mavros, boyar lifestyle, Danube quarantine, archaeology, Wallachia.

REDISCOVERING A FORGOTTEN WALLACHIAN BOYAR

Nicolae Mavros, General Inspector of the Danube quarantine and one of the most important donors of the Museum of Antiquities, was a remarkable and influential personality from the 1830s to the 1860s. The first attempt of historiographic recovery of Nicolae Mavros was endeavoured by Pompei Gh. Samarian, a pioneer in the history of Romanian medicine.¹ His study from 1934 is based on the archived fund of the physician Ion Cantacuzino, Mavros' grandson. In another work, in 1938, Samarian quotes from Mavros' *Memoirs*, which he assumingly had found in the physician's collection.² We would like to specify that we have not found the documents referred to by Samarian neither in the funds of Cantacuzino family preserved in the National Historical Archives, nor in the archives of Dr. Cantacuzino held by the Romanian Academy Library. Another corpus of documents revealing Mavros consists in the reports of the foreign consuls, published in the collection of Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Almost three decades ago, with a scientific rigor, Professor Andrei Pippidi carried out a wide research regarding the archaeological concerns of Mavros as the collector of

¹ Pompei Gh. Samarian, "Nicolae Mavros (1781–1868)", *Revista științelor medicale*, no. 4, 1934, p. 416–453.

² Idem, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc 1775–1834*, v. II, Bucharest, 1938, p. 202.

antiquities, when he made an inventory of a wide range of historical sources, such as issues of documents, memoirs, newspaper articles, etc.³

However, so far, only few historians have been concerned about his life and work. Why so? The founders of the Modern Romania detached themselves from Mavros because of his pro-Russian feelings. Secondly, few documents issued by him have been preserved. Today, the historian may use letters, wills, lease contracts and other documents related to his family's property in the fund of his son-in-law, Ion C. Cantacuzino, existing at the Historical National Archives in Bucharest.⁴ The National Historical Archives hold documents related to Mavros in other funds as well, such as the Metropolis of Ungro-Wallachia, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine (the Chancellorship for Foreign Affairs in Wallachia), the Quarantine Committee and the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction. In the correspondence fund of one of his other sons-in-law, Ion Ghica, preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy, we consulted 9 letters in French language, all written and sent by Mavros.⁵

FAMILY AND EDUCATION

Mavros family, probably originating from the Aegean islands, immigrated to Odessa in the late eighteenth century, during the colonization of the new Russian territories by Empress Catherine the Great.⁶ Nicolae Mavros' father, Ianache, distinguished himself firstly as merchant in Odessa, then he settled down in the Principalities, where he was raised to the boyar's rank of hetman (hatman).⁷ In the nineteenth century, there was another branch of the family that founded a house of merchants in Odessa, one of the most powerful in this flourishing port of New Russia.⁸

³ See the article of Andrei Pippidi, "Nicolae Mavros. Locul său în viața politică și intelectuală", published in 1992 in *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 32, 1992, p. 107–118, republished in Marian Coman, Ovidiu Cristea, Ovidiu Olar, Radu G. Păun, Andrei Timotin (ed.), *Andrei Pippidi mai puțin cunoscut. Studii adunate de foștii săi elevi cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*, Iași, 2018.

⁴ <http://arhivelnationale.ro/site/download/inventare/Cantacuzino-Ion-C.-1628-1906.-Inv.-1288.PDF>

⁵ Biblioteca Academiei Române [The Romanian Academy Library] = RAL, Correspondence Ion Ghica, S 53 (12)/DLXVIII.

⁶ Alexander Alexeevici Bobrinski, in his work on the Russian nobility, claims that at the late seventeenth century Georges Mavros could have emigrated from Malta to Moldova, where he became Prince. The author has used false information available from the Russian general Dimitri Mavros, Nicolas's son. See, A. Бобринский, *Дворянские роды, внесенные в Общий гербовник*, Saint Petersburg, 1890, v. II, p. 739. Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea română dintre Prut și Nistru*, Bucharest, 1943, v. II, p. 195. A. Bezviconi refers to The Enciclopedia of the Russian Empire, edited by F.A. Brogauz and I.A. Efron, *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Эфрона (ЭСБЕ) – универсальная энциклопедия на русском языке*, Petersburg, 1890–1907, v. XXXV.

⁷ Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris, 1983, p. 338.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 338; Βασίλης Καρδάσης, *Έλληνες ομογενείς στη Νότια Ρωσία, 1775–1861*, Athens, 1998, p. 206.

A descendent of the Biazzi-Mavros family was Jean Psycharis (1854–1929), a famous neo-Hellenist from Sorbonne.⁹

The merchant Ianache married Maria (1750–1840), born in Athens, daughter of the Great postelnic Nicolae Ventura from Wallachia and of a descendent of the Greek family Soutzo¹⁰, who gave him three children: Nicolas (Nicolae), Alexandra (Lexandra) and Michel (Mihalache). Maria, who became a widow around the year 1800, lived with her children in the Mihai-Vodă district in Bucharest, on the right bank of Dâmbovița River.¹¹

Nicolae Mavros, born in 1786¹², distinguished himself as one of the most learned boyars of his generation. The young man spoke the languages of the Ottoman rulers, but also of the Russian governors that had occupied the Principalities between 1806 and 1812. He learnt the French language from Maxime Beaupoil, Marquis de Saint-Aulaire, secretary of Constantin Ipsilanti, Prince of Wallachia between 1802 and 1806.¹³ At the end of the nineteenth century, Émile Picot, former secretary of Prince Charles in his first ruling years, used to speak with great admiration to his Romanian guests in Paris about the linguistic abilities of the Wallachian boyar: “he was the only man that could speak French the way it was spoken in the eighteenth century”.¹⁴ Mavros used his mother tongue, the Greek language, to keep the inventories and the ledgers of Călinești estate. Likewise, his personal deeds and the property deeds of Călinești estate – preserved in the archives of Ion C. Cantacuzino – are written down in Greek language.

FIRST MARRIAGE

The marriage to the daughter of the influent ban Dumitrache Ghica, Pulcheria/ Porfiritsa (1800?–1879), introduced Mavros into the aristocracy. This marriage lasted for about five-six years. In 1817, after five or six years of marriage, Pulcheria Ghica, by means of a complaint sent to Prince of Wallachia Ioan Caragea, asked for the divorce from comis Mavros and the return to her dowry to ban Grigore Ghica, her elder brother, son of the late Dumitrache. In the fund of Metropolis of Wallachia preserved in the National Historical Archives, I found the separation trial file of the Mavros spouses. In August 1817, the Metropolitan, Nectarie, the bishop of Argeș, Iosif, and the bishop of Buzău, Constantie, met at the Metropolitan Seat, on the prince’s request, in order to hear the involved parties and their witnesses. The document, signed by the superior hierarchs of Wallachia, was written in Greek language. The file also

⁹ Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea română dintre Prut și Nistru... op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁰ Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, 408 and 416 (see her tombstone inscription from the Saint Nicolas’ s church in Moara Domnească)

¹¹ Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros... op. cit.*, p. 418.

¹² Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 408 (Mavros tombstone inscription from Călinești (Prahova district).

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 408.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 408–409; see Nicolae Iorga, *O viață de om așa cum a fost*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 131.

contains a late re-transcription of this decision in Greek language, joined by a translation into Romanian language. In her plea, Pulcheria complained of her “insufferable and tyrannical” marriage, preferring “the harshest punishments rather than living together with” her husband. The husband was accused of violent and manipulating behaviour: “since he was rotten to the core and had acquired bad habits from spending too much time with soldiers during the past war, and since he did not possess that much wealth of his own to satisfy all his debauchery, he started squandering her dowry, and, by sweet talk and by cajoling her, he always managed to shut her up whenever this subject came to discussion”.¹⁵ Departing from this statement, we assume that the marriage began around the years 1811–1812, in the final years of the Russian-Ottoman war. If we take this hypothesis into account, Pulcheria Ghica is likely to have been born before the year 1800. Boyar daughters usually got married around the age of 14–15, and boys around 18–20.¹⁶ Summoned before the court, Nicolae Mavros denied any accusation, reiterating his feelings of love for his wife: “he had no argument of defence in his favour other than that he did not take a wife with the purpose to desert her”. However, the facts presented by Pulcheria, and later by her mother, Elena, born Razu, cast an unfavourable light upon Nicolae Mavros: “firstly, from the very heavy insults addressed to her mother and his mother-in-law, to the denigration and beating of the one whom he called his beloved wife, until the savage and cruel behaviour towards the men and women in his service, whom he forced under threats and by repeated beating to testify against her and to declare that she was an adulteress”. His mother-in-law, the only witness of the accusation, who was living with them at their estate, where her son-in-law was the county prefect (ispravnic), fully supported her daughter’s stand. Mavros allegedly insulted her, calling her “bawd” (codoșcă), and one night, she said, she heard some horrifying shrieks from the young couple’s bed chamber. It seems that Ion Codoratos, Grigore Ghica’s secretary, had been severely beaten by the jealous husband, who had expected him to confess about his wife’s relations with one Craioveanu. Mavros, although denying his mother-in-law’s accusations, admitted having hit a slave woman (a gipsy) that night, as it stood in his way. After “being given a few days for reconciliation”, on the second trial date before the court, only the plaintiff was present, Mavros justifying his absence by indisposition due to medical reasons. According to the law, the superior hierarchs gave the spouses the term of six months for reconciliation, declaring themselves “unable of uniting them by force”.¹⁷

¹⁵ Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale [Central National Historical Archives] = CNHA, Metropolis of Wallachia, CCCLXII/2, f. 1, „Λέγει, ὅτι ὁ σὺζυγός της διεφθαρμένος τις ὢν περὶ τὰ ἦθη ἐκτῆς μετὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πολλῆς συμπεριφορᾶς του ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος πολέμου, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐξ ἰδίας διαπάνης νὰ θεραπεύσῃ τὰς ἀσωτίας του, ἄρχισε νὰ καταναλίσκη καὶ τὴν προϊκὰ της καὶ μὲ κολακευτικούς τρόπους νὰ τὴν ἀποκοιμίζη, ὅσάκις τὸν ἐπρόβαλε περὶ τούτου”.

¹⁶ On the marriage law: *Îndreptarea legii, 1652*, Bucharest, 1962, p. 174 (glava 173); M.M. Székely, “Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească”, in *Arhiva Genealogică*, IX, 1–2, 1997, p. 65; Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *În șalvari și cu ișlic. Biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țara Românească a secolului al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 119.

¹⁷ In Greek, „μαστροπὸν ἀποκαλέσας τὴν εὐγενίαντης”

On the completion of that term, On January 8, 1819, Pulcheria sent to the Prince a new complaint, written in the Greek language¹⁸. The same hierarchs reunited on July 1, 1818, to rule on their divorce. The decision is formulated as follows: “As the Church cannot find other means but to advise like a good parent [...], so as to prevent any other unwanted danger and so as to avoid a worse matter than the initial one, we found that not only were they unable to reconcile, but they detested each other even more and became very cold to one another. Therefore, we allow this way of separation of one from the other. This is how we stand, and we leave the matter of the final decision in your hands”.¹⁹ The case of divorce of the Mavros spouses is not singular in that time. Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu shows that, out of the 420 matters of divorce studied for the period between 1750 and 1830, which involved individuals belonging to the broad classes of the boyars and of the merchants, 269 are initiated by women and only 151 by men.²⁰ Two of the reasons commonly claimed by women were “the bad life” and the “man’s bad blood”.²¹

The divorce file of the Mavros spouses does not contain the Prince decree (anaphora), as demanded by the procedure set out since the time of Alexandru Ipsilanti’s rule (1775–1782).²² It is likely that the divorce procedure was not completed in 1819. Samarian notes that until 1826 Pulcheria appears with the name Mavros in the reports of the Prussian consul, Ludwig von Kreuchely.²³ During these years, it seems that Mavros, exiled in Transylvania after the insurrection of 1821, still declared feelings of care and affection for his wife. Pompei Gh. Samarian, in his study on Mavros, refers to the letters addressed by the tax collector to his son, the Frenchman Masson, preserved in the archives of Dr. Ion Cantacuzino. In one of the letters, professor Masson praised the beauty of Pulcheria, consoling his employer with luring words, “I believe that she still loves you” (*je pense qu’elle vous aime encore*).²⁴

Although the decision of divorce does not specify any child, the spouses Mavros had at least two, Helen (deceased in 1870)²⁵ and Dimitrie (1820–1896).²⁶ In our opinion, considering the evolution of the parents’ matrimony, as well as the

¹⁸ CNHA, Metropolis of Wallachia, CCCLXII/2, f. 1.

¹⁹ CNHA, Metropolis of Wallachia, CCLXII/2, f. 2. See the Manuscript no 648 from the Romanian Academy Library, published by Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 423.

²⁰ Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 253 ; Violeta Barbu, “‘Ceea ce Dumnezeu a unit omul să nu despartă’. Studiu asupra divorțului în Țara Românească în perioada 1780-1850”, *Revista istorică*, v. III, no. 11–12, 1992, p. 1148.

²² Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²³ Ludwig von Kreuchely către von Miltitz, 15 februarie 1823, Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor, Rapoarte consulare prusiene din Iași și București 1763–1844*, ed. by Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1897, v. X, p. 242; P. Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros... op. cit.*, p. 422.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 422.

²⁵ Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Familile boierești și Țara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică și biografică*, vol. III, *Familia Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 590.

²⁶ Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique... op. cit.*, p. 338. Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea română dintre Prut și Nistru... op. cit.*, p. 195; Pompei G. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros... op. cit.*, p. 421. He also mentions a third child, Caterina.

alleged correspondence between Mavros and professor Masson, it seems little likely that Dimitrie was born in 1820.

THE FIRST STEPS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Mavros' public life is inseparably connected to Russia. During the Russian-Ottoman wars from 1806–1812, the young man of merely 20 years old was the Turkish interpreter of the Russian generals.²⁷ During Caragea's rule, Mavros was county prefect (ispravnic) in Wallachia, a profitable office, increased his revenues. In May 1819, shortly after Alexander Sutso ascended the throne, Nicolae Mavros was raised to the rank of postelnic, in charge with the foreign affairs.²⁸ At the end of 1820, Mavros, returning from a trip to Paris, thought of editing a newspaper in Wallachia.²⁹ This prospect had the support of the general consul of Russia in Wallachia, Alexandr Pini. At the end of 1819 and the beginning of 1820, the Heterist Nicolaos Skoufos arrived in Bucharest with the same goal, possessing letters of recommendation to Pini from the former Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia, Ignatie, and from count Ioannis Kapodistrias, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.³⁰

During the insurrection of 1821, Mavros – who was a close friend of Pini – took refuge in Transylvania, together with him and with other Russian-supporting boyars, such as Iordache Filipescu and Constantin Samurcaș. They wrote a note to Pini, asking Russia to take Wallachia and Moldavia under its protection. But such a fervent supporter of Russia's rights in the Principalities could not be agreed by the Habsburgs.³¹ In these circumstances, Mavros took refuge in Odessa, the southern bastion of Russia, a shelter for those who fled the Ottoman retaliation. Some of the refugees later travelled to the Western Europe, others returned to the Principalities or took the path to liberated Greece.³² While Mavros was living in Odessa, his

²⁷ Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 409. See the report of Austrian consul Fleischhacke to von Metternich, May, 10th 1819, in Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor 1812–1822, Corespondența diplomatică și rapoartele consulare austriece 1812–1822*, ed. by. Ion Nistor, XX, Cernăuți, 1940, p. 467.

²⁹ Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privind istoria României. Rapoartele consulare prusiene de la Iași și București, 1763–1844*, Bucharest, 1897, X, p. 85 (von Miltitz to Kreuchely, December, 11st 1820); Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

³⁰ See Nestor Camariano, “Από την ιστορία του ελληνικού τύπου. Μια απόπειρα της Φιλικής εταιρείας να εκδώσει εφημερίδα εις τον Βουκουρέστι, Διο άγνωστα έγγραφα”, in *Νέα Ελλάς/Grecia nouă*, May, 6th 1946, no. 78, p. 1–2. Camariano uses information from the reports of the Austrian consul in Bucharest, Fleischhacke, to Metternich, November 23th 1819 and April, 11st 1820 (Hurmuzaki, 1940, v. XX). About Skoufos, see Δέσποινα Κατηφόρη, “Νικόλαος Σκούφος. Σχεδιάσμα βιογραφίας”, in *Μνήμων*, no. 4, 1990, p. 68–73.

³¹ I.C. Filitti, *Opere alese*, ed. by Georgeta Penelea, Bucharest, 1985, p. 94.

³² Anna Tabaki, “Une famille phanariote en Moldavie et en Grèce”, in Florin Marinescu, Georgeta Penelea-Filitti, Anna Tabaki, *Documents gréco-roumains. Le fonds Mourouzi d'Athènes*, Athens-Bucharest, 1991, p. 47.

former wife, Pulcheria, enjoyed all honours at the court of her brother, Prince Grigore Ghica of Wallachia (1822–1826).³³

SECOND MARRIAGE

In 1827, by an action filed to the Chancellorship for Foreign Affairs (Logofeția Pricinilor Streine), Kyr Ioan(nis) Nicolopoulos, the bailiff of Alexandru Ghica, Pulcheria's brother, claiming the capacity of Russian *protégé* ("sudit"), complained of a debt owed by Hetman Nicolae Mavros, which represented part of his former wife's dowry.³⁴ After two years, Nicolopoulos returned with a new action in justice, by which the Hetman was notified that the properties provided by him as security would be brought to the hammer in order to pay his debt, namely Piteasca – Șindrilița estate, with six villages of gypsies from Ilfov county, near Bucharest.³⁵ But the properties claimed by Nicolopoulos no longer belonged to Mavros. On May 11, 1827, Piteasca estate with the two villages, Găneasa and Șindrilița, bought by Mavros in 1815 from Bălașa Petreasca, the wife of Scarlat Petrescu, had been given to his fiancée, Sevastia Soutzo, the grand-daughter of Mihail Soutzo, Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia on more than one time, between 1783 and 1802,³⁶ and the daughter of the Great dragoman Alexander Soutzo, decapitated in Constantinople by order of the sultan in 1807.³⁷ The marriage was completed in Odessa on May 16, 1827 at the Greek church of the Holy Transfiguration.³⁸ The bride, who was more than 27 years old, could consider herself accomplished next to a husband who had excellent prospects. Alexander I of Russia gifted to the orphan girl with the Munji estate (Манжа, Манжи, in the proximity of the Ukrainian settlement Мінняйлівка), situated in the valley of Sărata river from southern Bessarabia, in the Akerman county.³⁹ The property, which is today situated at the border between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, was spreading on the area of more than 4 thousand hectares between Volontirovka village (today, Volintiri) to north-east, and the Crown villages Crown: Copceac (today in the Republic of Moldova), Petropavlivka (Păuleni/Петропавлівка, in Ukraine) and Alexandrovka (Олександрівка, Ukraine).⁴⁰ On the extended pastures of the estate, there was only

³³ Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros...op. cit.*, p. 423.

³⁴ CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1052, f. 46, September, 28th 1827.

³⁵ Idem, v. 1055, March, 14th 1829, p. 22.

³⁶ Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'Or de la Noblesse Phanariote en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Russie et en Turquie, par un Phanariote*, Athens, 1892, p. 104.

³⁷ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, X/1, p.1–2, the Breach of promise of 11 May 1827, legalized by the Department of Justice in Wallachia (Logofeția Dreptății) in August, 29th 1831.

³⁸ Idem, X/2, March, 4th 1835. Marriage certificate was certified by Archimandrite Sergios Vyzantios from the Church of Transfiguration.

³⁹ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/126. According to the Sevastia Soutzo Mavros' will of 11 April 1867 (in Greek), the estate belongs to her daughters.

⁴⁰ Idem, VIII/134, December, 2th 1867, p. 1 (lease contract between Sevastia Mavros and Prince Gregori Gagarin).

one building made of stone, covered with reed, with four rooms and a kitchen. The village had a small house made of earth, serving as pub, covered with reed, and other 33 earth houses for bonded peasants. The inventory of the estate also included 8 wells to water the cattle and the sheep.⁴¹ Between 1841 and 1844, the estate was administrated by Countess Ruxandra Stourdza-Edling (1786–1844), whose family originating from Constantinople had taken refuge in Russia many years before.⁴² The countess, who had settled for good in Bessarabia in 1822, had received as a gift from Empress Elisabeta Alexeievna the Manzâr estate (Монзырь, today Лісне) as a token of appreciation for the years spent as one of her ladies-in-waiting.⁴³ A learned and influential lady at the court of Alexander I, the countess was very close to Ioannis Kapodistrias, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁴⁴ In her last years of life, even though she was living in retreat at her estate from Bessarabia, away from the backstage of the power, the countess showed the same interest in the great personalities of the time. In a letter to Mavros of November 15, 1841, Countess Edling expressed her admiration for Count Pavel Kiseleff, whom she had met shortly before in Odessa.⁴⁵ Kiseleff, as chairman with full powers of the councils of state (divans) of Moldavia and Wallachia between 1829 and 1832, during the Russian military occupation, contributed to the administrative reorganization of the Danube Principalities. Nicolae Mavros distinguished himself as one of his closest collaborators. The property of Countess Edling, measuring over 10 thousand hectares, was very close to the estate owned by Sevastia Soutzo.⁴⁶

Theodor Rodocanachis (1797–1882), the richest merchant from Odessa in those times⁴⁷, mediated until 1858 the relation between Mavros and his tenants. After the countess' death in 1844, the tenancy of Munji estate was taken over by her brother and heir, Alexandru (1791–1854), the son of the first governor of Bessarabia, Scarlat Stourdza. Alexander Stourdza, as vice-president of the Odessa Agricultural Society, introduced on his estates the Merino sheep, and initiated forestation campaigns of Bugeac steppes.⁴⁸ In March 1853, shortly before he died, Stourdza entrusted his businesses to his son-in-law, Prince Eugen Gregorevici Gagarin (1811–1886).⁴⁹ In the following years, Mavros would negotiate the signing of a new tenancy

⁴¹ Idem, IX/25, f.1 (circa 1870).

⁴² *Mémoires de la comtesse Edling, née Stourdza, demoiselle d'honneur de Sa Majesté l'Impératrice Elisabeth Alexeievna*, Moscow 1888, p. 1.

⁴³ Stella Gervas, *A 'Goodwill ambassador' in the post-Napoleonic era. Roxandra Edling-Sturdza on the European scene*, in Glenna Sluga, Carolyn James (ed.), *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, London, 2016, p. 160.

⁴⁴ Stella Gervas, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴⁵ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 5, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Profiluri de ieri și de azi*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 45.

⁴⁷ On Rodocanachi, see Κώστας Γ. Αυγητίδης, *Θεόδωρος Παύλου Ροδοκανάκης. Μεγαλέμπορος, επιχειρηματίας πλοιακτίτης και τραπεζίτης της Οδησσού*, Athens, 2004.

⁴⁸ Ștefan Lupaș, "Despre biblioteca contelui Alexandru Sturdza (cercetare istorico-bibliografică)", in *Tyragetia. Istorie-Muzeologie*, IV, XIX, no. 2, 2010, p. 140; Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Profiluri de ieri și de azi...* *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁹ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 65, March, 21st 1853, Stourdza to Mavros, p.1 (in Greek).

contract both with Stourdza's daughter, Maria Alexandrovna, and with the Jewish merchant Rubinstein. In December 1856, through Rodocanachis, Rubinstein personally wrote to Mavros, offering him a bigger amount than Prince Gagarin, but under the same contract conditions as before.⁵⁰ Eventually, Mavros sealed the deal with the Jews, although his partners from Odessa, Rodocanachi and his son-in-law, Nikolaos Mavrocordatos, had suggested him to go for Gagarin.⁵¹ The tenancy contract was obtained on the account of the merchants from Bender, Itzko Zisoff and Kitis and Peizik Pereman.⁵² The rent was to be paid in two quarterly instalments through the bankers Charles Joachim Ephrussi (1792–1970) from Odesa and Hillel Manoach (1797–1862) from Bucharest.⁵³ In mid-nineteenth century, 53.2% of the merchants from Odessa were Jews, competing with the Greeks and with the Italians both from the economic, and from the demographic points of view.⁵⁴ After the lapse of the ten-year term, in 1867, Mavros renounced the contract with the Jews and retied the older knots with the Stourdza-Gagarin family, through the young Prince Grigori (1840–1921), son of Eugen and of Maria Gagarin.⁵⁵

Mavros had countless land properties in Ilfov, Buzău, Prahova and Teleorman counties in Wallachia, which he gave as dowry to his daughters on occasion of their marriages. Helen, from his first marriage, married the Moldavian writer, Great vornic Alecu Cantacuzino. Maria (1828–1902) and Alexandrina (1830–1926), from his second marriage, became the wives of Ion Cantacuzino and Ion Ghica. The dowry list of Maria Mavros, drafted on April 7, 1842, contains important amounts of money, jewels, as well as Târgul Mizilului estate, together with the settlements Gășteni (Găgeni), Fefeleanca (Fefeleni), Cirișanca (Cireșanu), Bucureasca, Scurteanca and others, located in Saac county (today in Prahova-Buzău counties).⁵⁶ The youngest of the family, Paulina (1833–1912), was married twice, the first time to the Russian diplomat Nicolae Moukhin Akimoff, and, after her divorce, to Ernest Kotzebue, son of Karl von Kotzebue, who had been for many years the general consul of Russia in Wallachia.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Idem, VIII/88, Rubinstein (Odessa) to Mavros (Bucharest), December, 6/18th 1857, p.1 (in French).

⁵¹ Idem, VIII/ 91, Mavrocordatos to Mavros (in Greek), January, 9th 1857, p. 1.

⁵² Idem, VIII/ 97, March, 7/19th 1857, lease agreement, legalized by the Russian Consulate in Bucharest.

⁵³ Idem, VIII/ 108, April/May, 27 /8th 1857, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Lilia Belousova, "Jewish History as Reflected in the Documents of the State Archives of Odessa Region", *Avotaynu. The International Review of Jewish Genealogy*, XXIII, 3, 2007, p. 45; Steven J. Zipperstein, *Odessa*, in <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Odessa>.

⁵⁵ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 134, p. 1.

⁵⁶ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VI/ 9, p. 1–1v.

⁵⁷ Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros...op. cit.*, p. 424–425; Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 409, Mihai Dem. Sturdza, *Familiele boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică și biografică, vol. III. Familia Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 468; *History and Genealogy of Kotzebue Family Completed from General Paul von Kotzebue's Memories followed by Historical Data about Noteworthy Persons Compared and Completed by his Son Rotislav von Kotzebue*, Paris, 1984, p. 300 and 306.

At his death in 1868, Nicolae Mavros owned a house with two buildings, located in Pitar Moș district, on Herăstrău Street (today, Dorobanți Avenue in Bucharest), two estates in Buzău county, Righineasca and Ciomagile, bought from his mother-in-law, and an estate in Teleorman, Tufeni (Olt county), together with the neighbouring villages, which he has left as inheritance to his only son, Dimitrie, born during his first marriage. The latter had been living for many years in Russia.⁵⁸ Dimitri Nicolaevici (Дмитрий Николаевич Маврос) fought under the command of general Alexander Lüders in the repression campaigns of the 1848 revolution from Wallachia and Transylvania and during the Crimean war.⁵⁹ In 1876, Tsar Alexander II confirmed him the title of count (Граф), which he had acquired from Emperor Franz Josef of Austro-Hungary⁶⁰. The family of Dimitri Mavros resettled in Tarnovo, its property situated in the Vilna Governorate (guberniya of Vilnius), today located in the north of Byelorussia.⁶¹

PLACES OF RESIDENCE: MOARA DOMNEASCA AND CALINEȘTI VILLAGES

Further, we are going to debate on two estates, permanent places of residence of the Mavros family between 1830 and 1860. The manor from Moara Domnească village, situated 15 km north-east from Bucharest, is nowadays associated with the Kotzebue family, the descendants of Mavros' daughter, Paulina. Her son, Paul von Kotzebue, married the sculptor Lidia Suhanov, the author of the Monument to the "Heroes of the Air" from Bucharest.⁶² The Mavros manor – now demolished – was located at the border of the village, on the left bank of Pasărea River, in a richly forested area. According to the Geographic Dictionary of 1901 drafted by Lahovary, the area of the estate was of 1,480 hectares.⁶³ In the record book of the Chancellorship of Foreign Affairs, in volume 1059, I found a document which clarifies the circumstances related to the purchase of this estate, neighbouring Găneasa and Șindrilița, villages that Mavros had owned since 1815. On May 30, 1830, the State Councillor Nicolae Mavros, through the General Consulate of Russia, claimed before the Chancellorship of Foreign Affairs the pre-emption right

⁵⁸ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VII/65, f. 3 (Mavros' will of 29 November 1862); VII/69, inventory of Mavros's movable and immovable assets, April, 4th 1868, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Idem, VIII/ 92, 10 ianuarie 1857, Mavros to Mavrocordat (Odessa).

⁶⁰ Gheorghe G. Bezeviconi, *Profiluri de ieri și de azi...op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁶¹ <http://www.lida.info/imeniya-lidskogo-uezda-imenie-tarnovo-tarnovshhizna/>

⁶² Victoria Dragu Dimitriu, *Povestea unei familii din București, Grecenii*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 202–208; Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Familiiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească. Cantacuzinii... op. cit.*, p. 468; Radu Greceanu, "Un general pribeag și opera sa: Rostislav von Kotzebue (1910–1993)", *Arhiva Genealogică*, V (X), no. 3–4, 1998, p. 111–118.

⁶³ G.I. Lahovari, C.I. Brătianu, G. Tocilescu, *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României*, v. IV, Bucharest, 1901, p. 371.

in his capacity as neighbour.⁶⁴ In 1824, Moara Domnească estate was bought by Biv Vel Ban Barbu Văcărescu from Zoița Cantacuzino. Mavros had not exerted any pre-emption right before the Ban, because he probably had priority, as neighbour and relative of the seller.⁶⁵ But the situation was completely different in 1829. In 1827, the estate had become the property of Dumitrache Sorescu, “the bailiff [vătaf] of the Ban’s court, in charge with all his affairs”. He bought Moara Domnească after making many improvement’s, increasing its value, as he had done with other of the Ban’s properties. Out of his care, the state had been enclosed by fences, and provided with a mill, inn and stables.⁶⁶ In Mavros’ opinion, “it is entirely unlikely for a vătaf to have such a possession”,⁶⁷ and, since he “was prevented by his governing duties”, he could not manage to regulate the matter in the legal term of one year and a half, stipulated in order to prescribe the protimis (preference).⁶⁸ If the inquiry had proven “governing in ill faith and with ruse” by Sorescu, the written proof demonstrating the sale (zapis) would have been cancelled, and the estate could have been bought by Mavros directly from its former owner, for half the price, naturally.⁶⁹

Călinești estate was bought by Mavros family in 1846. More precisely, on February 11, 1846, captain Costache Călinescu sold the estate to Hetman’s wife Helen Geraki, settled in Athens, for the considerable amount of 4,800 florins.⁷⁰ Soon after the deal was closed, on April 6, 1846, the new owner issued a propriety deed in favour of Sevastia Mavros upon an essential condition. Her aunt would receive 300 florins each year until she died.⁷¹ Several years later, in 1851, Sevastia Mavros, maintaining the conditions set by her aunt, gifted the estate to her daughter, Maria Cantacuzino.⁷² The purchase of this estate in Prahova area controlled by Cantacuzino family, suggests a premeditated act of Mavros’. Călinești neighbored Măgureni to the north, the estate owned by the father of his son-in-law, Constantine Cantacuzino, and to the east, on the other bank of Prahova, it neighbored Florești, the estate owned by Luxitsa Cantacuzino, the latter’s sister-in-law. Florești will become the property of her son, Gheorghe Grigore Cantacuzino, alias “the Nabab”.

Călinești estate became the family residence and also a burial place. By testament, Mavros decided that he should be deposited in the crypt of the chapel

⁶⁴ CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1059, p. 22.

⁶⁵ On the pre-emption right, see Valentin Al. Georgescu, *Preemțiunea în istoria dreptului românesc*, Bucharest, 1965.

⁶⁶ CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1059, p. 22.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

⁶⁸ Valentin Al. Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁶⁹ CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1059, p. 23.

⁷⁰ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box II/29, p.1 ; Almost 104,000 Euro today, see the historical currency converter, <https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>.

⁷¹ *Idem*, II/57. (6, 519 Euro today)

⁷² CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box II/ 106.

located in the park of the estate, and that the earthly remains of his daughter, Sofia (1832–1838), of his mother, Maria Ventura, and of his mother-in-law, Maria Soutzo, should be brought from Moara Domnească to Călinești.⁷³ This wish has not been granted by the executors. The chapel built next to the manor, which is now a ruin, was built by the Austrian architect Carl Hartel.⁷⁴ In the chapel, at the entrance, to the right, there is the tomb of Nicolae Mavros, and to the left, that of his wife, Maria Soutzo. In the chapel yard, there lie the spouses Ion and Maria Cantacuzino, the owners of the estate, their daughter, Maria, and her husband, Mihail C. Soutzo, and their grandson, Alexandru Romalo, dead at the age of four, the son of Constantza Cantacuzino.

Who was Elena Gheraki, who helped the Mavros family purchase Călinești estate? The mother of Sevastia Suțu, Maria, had two sisters settled in Athens, Helen Geraki and Zoe Rizos Rangavis, the daughters of postelnic Eustachie Lapithi.⁷⁵ Nicolae Mavros, Sevastia Soutzo's husband, was in charge with managing the wealth that the aunts from Athens had in Wallachia. Zoitsa was married to postelnic Ioannis Rizos-Rangavis. Their son, Alexander Rizos Rangavis (1809–1892), became a minister, diplomat and professor of the University of Athens.⁷⁶

The relatives from Romania and from Greece exchanged mail and visited each other regularly. The aunts from Athens annually received from Nicolae Mavros the money from leases, sales of estates and from other rights that they were entitled to. These commissions were earned without interruption even during the war, when relations were difficult, and when mail was no longer operating regularly. In 1854, during the War of Crimea, with great efforts, Mavros succeeded in paying his obligations to his aunt Zoe Rangavis and his cousin “kyr Alecu” (Alexander Rizos-Rangavis), her son.⁷⁷

In 1843, Mavros travelled to Athens to buy Tufeni estate, property of Helen Geraki.⁷⁸ In 1846, Helen Geraki came to Wallachia to buy Călinești estate on behalf of Mavros family. The aunt had travelled to Wallachia before, in the summer of 1839, as her nephew, Alexander Rizos Rangavis (1809–1892), tells us in his *Memoirs*.⁷⁹ They reached Galati by navigating on the Danube on a ship

⁷³ Idem, box VII/65, f. 4.

⁷⁴ Idem, The Documents of the Călinești estate, V/ 8, f. 15; Today the Mavros manor houses a Centre for Persons with Disabilities.

⁷⁵ Idem, X/7, July, 18th 1835, Agreement between the sisters Maria, Zoe and Helen to give to Sevastia, their nephew, a sum of money, inheritance from their mother.

⁷⁶ Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'or. De la noblesse phanariote et des familles princières de Valachie et de Moldavie*, Athens, 1904, p. 104, 132.

⁷⁷ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 70, April, 9th 1854.

⁷⁸ Idem, VII/ 65, f. 3.

⁷⁹ Αλέξανδρος Παγκαβής, *Απομνημονεύματα*, v. I–IV, Atena, 1894–1930; Alexandros Rizos – Rangabe, *Απομνημονεύματα*, ed. by Τάκης Καγιάλης, Athens, 1999, v. I, p. 58. On the life and the political activity of Rangavis, see: Ευθύμιος Σουλογιάννης, *Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Παγκαβής 1809–1892. Η ζωή και το έργο του*, Athens: Arsenidis 1995; Χάιδω Μπαρκούλα, *Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Παγκαβής (1830–1880): Αλυτρωτισμός και Διπλωματία*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Athens, 2008; on

belonging to the Austrian company, spending several days in quarantine in the port. In principle, no person was exempted from these obligations, regardless of their social position and of their personal relation with the high dignitaries of Wallachia.⁸⁰ But, thanks to the personal intervention of cousin Nicolae Mavros, the general inspector of the Danube quarantine, the relatives from Athens enjoyed all the comfort and attention of the staff.⁸¹

Mavros hosted them at his manor from Moara Domnească.⁸² By virtue of the influent dignitary, one of those days, the guest from Greece was invited to a dinner party offered by Alexander Ghica, Prince of Wallachia between 1834 and 1842. From this event, Rangavis recalls a scene which seems to have intrigued him a lot. During dinner, Mavros openly manifested his affection and tenderness for a lady that was seated to the Prince's left. The mystery was elucidated to Rangavis by the *fairest* (ὠραιότατη) Marița Ghica, born Văcărescu, the prince's sister-in-law, and the future wife of Gheorghe Bibescu.⁸³ Said lady was Pulcheria Ghica, Mavros' first wife, the prince's sister, re-married to Vladimir Blaremburg.

After many years, in 1874, Alexander Rangavis travelled once more to Romania, where he was received at Călinești by the numerous family of Mavros-Cantacuzino. Visiting Nicolae Mavros' tomb from the chapel of the manor, Rangavis had the possibility to read the funerary inscription that he had written in good memory of his cousin. The Wallachia of 1874 was so different from that of 1839. The young generation of the family had become a stranger to Greece and to the Greek culture. Maria Cantacuzino's son, of only 10 years of age, the future physician Ion Cantacuzino (1863–1934), would not even hear of his Greek origins. Furthermore, the boy was learning ancient Greek following the Erasmus system, which was different from the modern pronunciation of the language.⁸⁴

In the autumn of 1875, the younger son of the ambassador of Greece in Germany, Alexander Rangavis, married the grand-daughter of Mavros, Eliza (Lisa/Lizica), daughter of Paulina and of the Russian diplomat, Nicolae Mouhin (Μυχιν). In a letter written from Berlin to his grand-mother Sevastia Soutzo in Bucharest, in November 1875, the young Alexander expressed his intention of passing through Bucharest, joined by Lizica, in their way to Athens. He wished to visit his numerous relatives of whom he knew many stories from his father and from his brother Kleon, minister of Greece in the capital city of Romania.⁸⁵ In the

the Phanariot origins, see Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'or. De la noblesse phanariote et des familles princières de Valachie et de Moldavie...op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁸⁰ Georgeta Filitti, "Organizarea carantinelor în epoca regulamentară", in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Hist.*, I, 14, 1969, p. 34.

⁸¹ Alexandros Rizos - Rangabe, *Απομνημονεύματα...* op. cit., vol. II, p. 71.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 73

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p.73.

⁸⁴ Alexandros Rizos – Rangabe, *Απομνημονεύματα...*, vol. IV, p. 128: "Εἰς τῆς ἐξοχῆς ταύτης τὸ ἐκκλησίδιον ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος τοῦ κ. Μαύρου, φέρων τὸ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ πρὸ χρόνων εἶχον συντάξῃ ἐγώ". The tomb inscription was published by Professor Pippidi in 1992, Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

⁸⁵ CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, X/ 19, p. 1, November 5/13th 1875 (Berlin).

first months of 1876, Sevastia Soutzo received news from Athens from the newly-weds to whom she had sent 10 thousand francs as a wedding gift. She was corresponding with her grand-son in Greek and with her grand-daughter in French. In one of her letters, Lisa wrote to her grand-mother with great delight of her new home, but she also confessed that she found it difficult to learn Greek: “Je commence à apprendre le grec que je trouve une langue magnifique, mais bien difficile”.⁸⁶ As shown in a letter written by Eliza’s husband, she had been very close to her Mavros grand-parents, who had shown great love to the girl’s mother, after divorcing the girl’s father and after they both returned to Bucharest.⁸⁷

NICOLAE MAVROS, GENERAL INSPECTOR OF THE DANUBE QUARANTINE

The Russian-Ottoman war of 1826 and Russia’s victory in 1828 reinstated the Principalities under the occupation of Emperor Alexander I. Nicolae Mavros, as chief of Pavel Kiseleff’s chancellery, was member of several committees for reforming the various institutions of the country. In Moldavia, this influential position in Kiseleff’s administration was held by Nicolae Soutzo.⁸⁸ In 1830, together with Alexander Ghica, Ștefan Bălăceanu, Barbu Știrbei and Gheorghe Bibescu, Mavros was in charge with liquidating the debts of the Ephorate of the Charities (Eforia făcătoare de bine), and later, together with the same Bălăceanu, with his brother, Constantine, with Mihalache Ghica and Simeon Marcovici, he was the co-author of a report regarding the abolition of the tax privileges for the boyar’s clientele, called *scutelnici* and *poslušnici*.⁸⁹ Together with Barbu Știrbei, he proposed measures to redistribute the revenues earned by monasteries in the use of the country.⁹⁰ In the autumn of 1831, Kiseleff sent Mavros to Constantinople to negotiate the legal status of the Principalities in accordance with the provisions of the Petersburg Convention, passed on April 14, 1830.⁹¹

One of Kiseleff’s most important reforms consisted in securing the border of the Principalities with the Ottoman Empire, by organizing a so-called sanitary cordon with 9 points of control on the Danube.⁹² In a letter written in 1833 to Alexei

⁸⁶ Idem, X/ 20, Lisa to grand-mother, February, 14th 1876, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Idem, X/ 21, 1, Alexander to grand-mother, March, 16/28th 1876, p. 2.

⁸⁸ Eugen-Tudor Selifos, “Raporturile domnitorului Moldovei Mihail Sturdza cu Rusia”, *Tyragetia*, vol. VIII, nr. 2, 2014, p. 114. On the relationship between Russia and the Danubian Principalities, see, Radu Mârza, “Rusia și Principatele Române în epoca Regulamentelor Organice”, *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 9, I, 2005, p. 83–91.

⁸⁹ Ioan C. Filitti, *Les Principautés Roumaines sous l’occupation russe (1828–1834). Le Règlement Organique. Étude de droit public et d’histoire diplomatique*, Bucharest, 1904, p. 68.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 220.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 220.

⁹² Victor Taki, “Between Polizeistaat and Cordon Sanitaire: Epidemics and Police Reform during the Russian Occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, 1812–1834”, in *Ab Imperio. Studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Space*, 4 (2008), p. 86.

Fiodorici Orlov, the minister of Russia in Constantinople, Pavel Kiseleff specified: “I regard Danube as a border of the Russian Empire”.⁹³ Therefore, the quarantine had rather a political function than a sanitary one.⁹⁴ On accordance with the provisions of the Organic Regulation of Wallachia – the first fundamental law of organization of the country – , “the biggest inspector will be elected by the ruler of this principality together with the General Consul”. Mavros was also inspector general of the quarantine stations organized by the Russians in the city-ports of Moldavia.⁹⁵

In 1832, this office was occupied by Nicolae Mavros, who was 46 years old. The high dignitary attended the official ceremonies, wearing the uniform of the Russian diplomats, and in his correspondence he used the title of “Conseiller d’Etat actuel de S.M. l’Empereur de Russie” (Current State Councillor of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia). He was called “The General”, as the title of State Councillor (статский советник) was equivalent, in the hierarchy of the Russian civil administration, of the highest military rank.⁹⁶

The Danube border of the Principalities was under the close watch of Russia. On April 7, 1842, the General Consulate of Russia interceded with the Quarantine Committee to determine them to open the borders between Wallachia and Serbia, as there had already been several quarantine points between the latter and the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁷ Following this intercessory, the quarantine term was substantially reduced from three days to 24 hours.⁹⁸

Through the Quarantine Committee, the authorities controlled the circulation of persons and of goods on the Danube line.⁹⁹ On August 12, 1832, by a regulation passed by the Quarantine Inspectorate, the British subjects were ordered to present their passport at the quarantine point, and not only their identity cards. The passengers’ names were registered in the registration book, and these lists were later transmitted to the county government.¹⁰⁰ Another regulation concerned the crossing of the Danube by people living in Turkey. In the circular letter sent by the Quarantine Committee to the

⁹³ Ion Filitti, “Corespondența consulilor englezi din Principate”, *Analele Academiei Române*, II, XXXVIII, Istorie (1916), p. 54 (address of 8 June 1833).

⁹⁴ See travel impressions of the French Felix Pigeory and the Scot James Henry Skeene, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, ed. by Daniela Bușă, Bucharest 2009, v. V, p. 576, 597.

⁹⁵ Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, v. I, Bucharest, 1944, p. 82, article 188 the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, and the Organic Regulation of Moldavia, p. 281, article 183.

⁹⁶ Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁹⁷ CNHA, Comitetul Carantinelor, box 1268/1842, Russian Consulate to Quarantine Committee, April, 7th 1842, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Idem, the Council of Quarantine Committee to Diplomatic Agency of Serbia in Bucharest, August, 3rd 1842, p. 10.

⁹⁹ About quarantine organization, see, Constantin Ardeleanu, *Gurile Dunării – O problemă europeană. Comerț și navigație la Dunărea de Jos în surse contemporane (1829-1853)*, Brăila, 2012, p. 75–78; Idem, *The European Commission of the Danube, 1856–1948*, Leiden, 2020, p. 32–44 (chapter I).

¹⁰⁰ CNHA, Comitetul Carantinelor, box 2383/1832, p. 434: the General Inspectorate to the Brăila’s Quarantine, August, 12th 1832.

establishment directors, dated August 31, 1833, based on the order of the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Vornicieii din Lăuntru), no person coming from the Ottoman territories would be allowed to pass into the principality, unless they possessed a travel document or unless they had someone living in the country to vouch for them, a person who would be brought before the director to testify as such.¹⁰¹

Specific regulations are passed for the goods as well. Many merchants complained of the abusive regime that they were subject to.¹⁰² For example, we are presenting the case of Triandafil Paciurea, one of the most important Epirote merchants of Wallachia.¹⁰³ The merchant passed through Zimnicea point from Șiștov tens of tons of sumac, necessary to process the morocco leather, which he was to send to various places from Walachia and from Transylvania. The goods had not been stored in satisfactory conditions. The director of quarantine had been teasing for a long time both him, and the merchant of the quarantine. Paciurea's man, Margaritis, "νέος γραικός τίμιος καὶ γιος καλῶν γονέων" [an honest young Greek coming from a good family], had allegedly been beaten by the quarantine director, being accused of overcharging the products. On July 12, 1839, in a complaint sent to Mavros, Paciurea claimed significant damages.¹⁰⁴ Grigore Zossima, secretary of the Bucharest Quarantine Committee, received the order to travel to Zimnicea in order to acknowledge the issues that the merchant was complaining about, merchant who "left Zimnicea and came to me to make a plaint", as Mavros stated.¹⁰⁵ In the report of September 16, 1839, Zossima acknowledged that the merchant intended to pass much more goods than the warehouse could hold – that had a capacity of 80 chariots per day.¹⁰⁶ Although the goods had been exposed to bad weather, the inspector was unable to hold the director liable. He had not received the order to build other sheds in the quarantine. And the accusation that the director had "all sorts of relations" with persons from Șiștov was unfounded. In conclusion, he found "only omissions, but no violations". Paciurea received the permission to build, in the perimeter of the quarantine, a warehouse to shelter his sumac.¹⁰⁷

The general inspector of quarantine was responsible for the maintenance of the boats patrolling along the river. According to the provisions of the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, one third of the militia forces were deployed to stand guard on the Danube¹⁰⁸, both infantry and cavalry that used armed boats in their assignment. But, because of shortages, out of the 18 boats provided by the Organic

¹⁰¹ Idem, 2636/1833, p. 31. The Circular of the Quarantine Committee to the Directors of quarantine posts (order of the Minister of Interior Affairs, August, 31st 1833).

¹⁰² Georgeta Penelea, "Relațiile economice dintre Țara Românească și Transilvania în epoca regulamentară (1829-1848)", *Studii și materiale de istorie modernă*, v. IV, 1973, p. 11.

¹⁰³ See CNHA, Ioan Stamu fund, box XV/51.

¹⁰⁴ CNHA, Comitetul Carantinelor, box 2031, p. 9: Paciurea to Mavros, July 12th 1839 (in Greek)

¹⁰⁵ Idem, box 2031/1839, Mavros to serdar Grigore Zossima, September, 2nd 1839, p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Idem, box 2031/1839, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, 2031/1839, the Zossima's report to Mavros, September, 16th 1839, p. 48–49.

¹⁰⁸ Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Regulation (article 184), despite Mavros' interventions, only three boats were operational in 1848, which were not even properly equipped. In the autumn of 1848, in his report to the Căimăcâmia (regency) of Wallachia, Mavros asked for 12 gunboats "for the specific protection of the sanitary cordon"¹⁰⁹. In 1851, seven boats are allotted to 7 quarantines.¹¹⁰

Although the Quarantine Committee coordinated its activity following the orders of the head of the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Departamentului Treburilor din Lăuntru) and according to the activity carried out by the army, as the three of them were under the command of the prince, unlikely the latter two, Mavros, as the trusted man of Russia, could not be removed from his position.¹¹¹ Many feared him, so Mavros was kept outside the system of elective positions of the Principality. In the autumn of 1842, Mavros found himself excluded together with other 16 uncomfortable boyars from the list of voters for the election of the Prince ruler.¹¹²

The office of inspector of quarantine was very well paid. Beside the income earned in relation to his job and from administrating the estates, like other public dignitaries, Mavros also dealt with lease-holding the revenues of the State. In 1842, the people's assembly entrusted him with the lease-holding of the customs, which he renounced after a few months in favour of Constantine Cantacuzino (c1790–1877), the future father-in-law of his daughter.¹¹³ Thanks to the privileged position as inspector of quarantine, in 1839, Mavros obtained from Prince Mihail Stourdza the license to export cereals to Moldavia.¹¹⁴ As shown in a letter from 1859 addressed by Mavros to his son-in-law Ion Ghica, his connection in Moldavia had been for many years ago Vasile Bucșănescu.¹¹⁵

THE BATTLE OF HIS SONS-IN-LAW FOR THE THRONE

In September 1848, after the suppression of the revolution, Constantine Cantacuzino was appointed regent (caimacam) of Wallachia. His ambitions of becoming a ruler prince were supported by his son's father-in-law, Nicolae Mavros. But the news of Barbu Știrbei's coming to the throne in the summer of 1849 completely spoilt their plans.¹¹⁶ Mavros ordered the director of quarantine from Brăila,

¹⁰⁹ CNHA, Vornicia din Lăuntru Fund, box 932/1848, report of 27 November 1848, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ Idem, box 932/1848: the Prince's decree of 28 February 1851, p. 16.

¹¹¹ Ion Filitti, *Domniile române sub Regulamentul Organic 1834-1848*, Bucharest, 1916, p. 142.

¹¹² *Însemnările Androneștilor*, ed. by I. Corfuz, Bucharest, 1947, p. 94.

¹¹³ Sergiu Iosipescu, *Constantin Cantacuzino (1790/93 – 7 decembrie 1877), caimacam al Țării Românești*, in v. Mihai Dim. Sturdza (ed. by), *Familiiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească, v. III, Familia Cantacuzino... op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹¹⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria României*, ed. by D.A. Sturdza and C. Robescu-Vartic, v. V, supplement I, Bucharest 1894, p. 647–648 (April, 25th 1838).

¹¹⁵ RAL, Correspondence Ghica, S 53 (7)/DLXVIII: Mavros to Ghica, March, 7/19th 1859.

¹¹⁶ Sergiu Iosipescu, *Constantin Cantacuzino (1790/93 – 7 decembrie 1877), caimacam al Țării Românești... op. cit.*, p. 247.

Ștefan Schina, and Major Grigore Lăcusteanu to stop the Prince, who was arriving from Constantinople, from disembarking. Severely reprimanded by the Prince in a private audience, Mavros, to prove his innocence to him, did not hesitate to scold in public the director of quarantine, as if the order had come from elsewhere.¹¹⁷

In 1853, Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire and occupied the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. On June 10, 1854, two months before replacing the Russian troops with the Austrian ones, Nicolae Mavros, after receiving the salary of inspector for one year, went on vacation to Vienna.¹¹⁸ His office was terminated by the Austrian troops on October 27, 1854.¹¹⁹

In 1856, once with Știrbei's removal from the throne, the princely hopes of the Mavros-Cantacuzino family were revived. In a report to the English Ambassador in Constantinople, Lord Stratford of Radcliffe, the consul from Bucharest, Robert Gilmour Colquhoun, expressed his concerns about the possible appointment as regent (caimacam) of Constantine Cantacuzino, behind whom acted no other than the influential Mavros.¹²⁰ In the years that followed, Mavros changed his direction towards the son of the former caimacam, his son-in-law, Ion C. Cantacuzino.¹²¹ But the ambitions of the Cantacuzino family conflicted with the interests of the other son-in-law, Ion Ghica, the prince of Samos. This is Ghica's story of how he was courted by Mavros. Around the year 1845, Ghica, barely returning from Paris, was determined to candidate for a member of the legislative assembly of Wallachia. His chances were minimal, as he was suspected of having revolutionary ideas. But he received a help that he had not hoped for from the general inspector of quarantine, who pleaded for his cause before the Prince Gheorghe Bibescu. Mavros, delighted by the noble education of the young man and by the fame of Ghica family, conceived a very well thought-out plan. Ghica capitulated after several preparatory visits paid by the governess of Mavros family, Miss Botty, and after the unexpected invitation to the party organized to celebrate the birthday of Mavros' daughter.¹²² The marriage of Ion Ghica to Alexandrina Mavros offered protection to the members of the revolutionary "Frăția"

¹¹⁷ Grigore Lăcusteanu, *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, ed. by Ioan C. Filitti, Bucharest, 2015, p. 212.

¹¹⁸ CHNA, Serviciul Sanitar (Sanitary Service), box 75/1854, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, box 2/1855, p. 60, Ministry of Interior Affaires to Sanitary Committee, November, 10th 1860.

¹²⁰ *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor. Corespondență diplomatică engleză*, Bucharest, 1983, v. VII, June/July, 29 /11th 1856, p. 14.

¹²¹ *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor, Corespondență politică 1855-1859*, Bucharest, v. III, 1963, p. 217 and p. 169; *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor. Corespondență diplomatică engleză*, vol. VI, Colquhoun to Malmesbury, report of 17/29 January 1859, p. 891. Ioan Cantacuzino was one of the three candidates to the Wallachian Throne for the national and unionist Party, Colquhoun to Bulwer, January/February 20th/1st 1859, p. 899.

¹²² Ion Ghica, *Opere*, ed. by Ion Roman, Bucharest: Romanian Academy, Museum of Romanian Literature, 2017, v. III, Ion Ghica to Alexandru G. Golescu Negru, July, 14th 1849, p. 852–853.

(Brotherhood) society. Ghica often met his political friends in Mavros' house.¹²³ At the beginning of 1848, Nicolae Bălcescu, fearing the searches, thought that the best place to hide the Statute of Frăția Society was the basement of the house of almighty Mavros. In 1856, *Bourdon's Algebra*, between the covers of which the precious document had been concealed, disappeared in the fire that consumed Mavros' house situated in Jignița suburb.¹²⁴ In that same year, Mavros' house from Constantinople was also burnt to ground.¹²⁵ In this house located in Arnavutköy neighbourhood, Ion Ghica lived after leaving Wallachia, in the first months of 1848. This property was owned by Sevastia Soutzo, inherited from her mother, the daughter of Postelnic Eustatie Lapithis.¹²⁶

In the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Ghica had the support of the great vizier, Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1880–1858), and of the influential Lord Stratford of Radcliffe. Between 1855 and 1858, Ghica has lived in Samos as Prince (*ηγεμόνας* or *τοποτηρητής*). Beginning with 1832, the island enjoyed its autonomy in relation to the sultan.¹²⁷ Ion Bălăceanu, a close friend of Ghica's, was impressed by the love of the inhabitants for their Prince and Princess. Bălăceanu and the French officers that joined him in this journey were very warmly received at the palace by Sasha Ghica, Mavros' daughter. The guests had such a wonderful time that one of the French officers eloped with the governess of Ghica family, much to the Princess' despair.¹²⁸ After Russia's defeat in the Crimean war and after the signing of the Treaty from Paris, the political emigrants started to return to the country one by one. But Ghica remained in Samos and in Constantinople, initiating an ardent political correspondence with his relatives and friends from the country. Ghica hoped to obtain the office of caimacam or the position of candidate to the throne¹²⁹. In a letter dated February 23, 1858, the father-in-law advised the son-in-law to be prudent and conciliating in the political relations, inserting a paragraph in Greek language in the text written in French language [ή κατάσταση τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ πολιτική απαιτεῖ συμβιβαστικὸν τρόπον καὶ μέσα διαλεκτικά]. In his opinion, Wallachia – after the corrupt regimes of Bibescu and Știrbei, needed competent men, therefore the prince had to seriously consider coming back home. Ghica's

¹²³ On the relationship between Ghica and the revolutionary movement in Wallachia, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Le Protectorat du Czar ou la Roumanie et la Russie. Nouveaux documents sur la situation européenne. Témoin oculaire des événements qui se sont passés en Valachie de 1828 à 1849*, Paris, 1850, p. 35, 37–38; Angela Jianu, *A Circle of Friends: Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840–1859*, Leiden-Boston, 2011; Nicolae Isar, *Din Istoria generației de la 1848. Revoluție, exil, destin istoric*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 180–200.

¹²⁴ Ion Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*, ed by Radu Gărmacea, Bucharest, 2014, p. 404.

¹²⁵ Ion Ghica, *Opere...*, v. III, 2017, p. Ghica to Eugène Poujade, June 1856, Samos, p. 961.

¹²⁶ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box VI/2, f. 1.

¹²⁷ See, Σοφία Ν. Λαΐου (ed. by), *Συνταγματικά κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*, Athens, 2013.

¹²⁸ Ion Bălăceanu, *Memoriile unui pașoptist-model. Amintiri politice și diplomatice 1848–1903*, ed by Georgeta Filitti, Bucharest, 2019, p. 68.

¹²⁹ See the correspondence of Ghica to his cousin Costache Gr. Ghica, *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor, Corespondența politică 1855–1859*, Bucharest, v. III, 1963, 2/14 august 1858, p. 395.

wife was already in Bucharest with their son Dimitrie, who was making progress in learning the Romanian and Greek languages.¹³⁰ In the autumn of 1858, Ghica was returning to Bucharest to be elected deputy in the elective assembly. In a conversation with the English consul, R.G. Colquhoun, Ghica supposedly told him that he intended to renounce the office of governor of Samos Island and that he would not accept to live in the house of his father-in-law, Mavros, who had engaged in supporting Ion Cantacuzino's candidature.¹³¹

The political projects of Mavros' sons-in-law were outlined during the rule of Alexander John Cuza and in the first years of the rule of Charles I. Under Cuza, Ghica was prime-minister and minister on several occasions. Between June 1866 and February 1867, at the beginning of Carol's rule, in the government led by Ion Ghica, Ion Cantacuzino was minister of justice. In this cabinet, we are also encountering a character that is to become famous, namely the young man D.A. Stourdza.¹³² In January 1867, he is to marry Zoe, Ion C. Cantacuzino's daughter, Mavros' grand-daughter.¹³³

THE LAST YEARS: LANDLORD AND CHAIRMAN OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE

One of the destinations most preferred by the Mavros spouses was Vienna, where they relaxed listening to the music of Strauss and feeding the fish in Schönbrunn gardens. In a letter to Ion Ghica dated in 1858, Ion Bălăceanu thus mocked the father-in-law of his friend, who was planning to return to the country after the years spent as an emigrant.¹³⁴ In 1865, in a letter to Nicolae Mavros, his son Dimitrie, located in Riga, refers to the planned journey of his father to Italy.¹³⁵

We might think that, after so many years of public offices and honours, stricken in years and suffering from gout¹³⁶, Mavros would have liked to retreat to

¹³⁰ RAL, Correspondence Ghica S 53 (2) / DCXVIII, Mavros to Ghica, February 23rd 1858 (Bucharest); April 14th/26th 1858, S 53 (4) / DCXVIII.

¹³¹ *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor. Corespondență diplomatică engleză...*, v. VII, p. 801, November 11th/23rd 1858, R.G. Colquhoun to H.L. Bulwer: "He express himself to me, determined to keep himself free from all party, and has even refuse to reside with either his Father-in-Law Monsieur de Mavros (who is most activity engaged in canvassing for the interest of his other son-in-Law, Jean Cantacuzène), or any of his numerous relatives here".

¹³² Ion Mamina, Ion Bulei, *Guverne și guvernanți (1866–1916)*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 14–18, 175–176.

¹³³ Mihai Dim. Stourdza, *Familiiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească...*, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

¹³⁴ *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor...*, v. III, 1963, Bălăceanu to Ghica, 31 martie 1858, Nice, p. 369: "Il va sans dire que vous ne logerez pas chez Monsieur Mavros et que, pendant les trois mois que vous passerez à Bukarest, Mr. Et M-me Mavros ironter goûter les douceurs de la villégiature à Calinești. A moins (ce qui vaudrait encore mieux) qu'ils ne préférassent aller entendre Strauss à Vienne et donner du pain aux poissons rouges de Schoenbrunn"

¹³⁵ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, Dimitri Mavros to his father, Nicolae Mavros, Riga, February, 20th 1865, f. 1v.

¹³⁶ Pompei G. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros...op. cit.*, p. 429.

his manor from Călinești to rest. In only a few years, the geopolitical situation of South-Eastern Europe had radically changed. Russia's defeat in the war of Crimea, in 1856, and the unification of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859 foretold the end of the public career of Nicolae Mavros. But he was not the man to quit. With a spectacular gesture, he emerged once more on the public scene. On January 22, 1862, in a letter addressed to the first Legislative Assembly of the Unified Principalities, Mavros donated to the National Museum his collection of statues, bas-reliefs and fragments of Greek and Roman stones, Etruscan vessels, local ceramics, Egyptian antiquities, coins, medals and ancient and Renaissance pendants, and he donated to the National Library his collection of manuscripts and of rare books, of which some were Arabian-Persian, with the purpose to "instruct the Romanian youth, the hope of the future".¹³⁷ After this generous gesture, Mavros was co-opted in various public actions, aimed at encouraging and developing the artistic flair in the Principalities. For instance, in February 1864, we find him as member of an evaluation commission of paintings exhibited at Saint Sava Museum. The State was to send artists to the European capital cities to copy famous works of art that would enrich the museum's collection. A list of paintings proposed to be bought by the State is also included.¹³⁸ He continued to exert influence especially through his sons-in-law. But his power was limited.

Before 1865, no piece of Mavros' collection had been taken under the custody of the State. The museum did not have areas arranged to exhibit them. Established in 1834, the National Museum was reorganized in 1864. On the donor's proposal, the Minister of Public Instruction, Nicolae Krețulescu, and Prince Alexander John I separated the section of Archaeology and Fine Arts from that of Natural Science and Physics. Thus, in the autumn of 1864, the Museum of Antiquities was established, that would be set up on the ground floor, in the western wing of the new building of the University, facing Academiei Street, where it would operate until 1931.¹³⁹ By the summer of 1865, six exhibition rooms have been arranged. In the first room of the museum, called after the donor's name, there was his portrait and a marble plate reading "To General Nicolae Mavros, the First Donor and Founder of the Museum of Antiquities, 1864".¹⁴⁰

By the princely decree of November 25, 1864, the Archaeological Committee was established, and its chairmanship was given for life to Nicolae Mavros.¹⁴¹ This structure included honorific members, as well as specialists in the field of

¹³⁷ Alexandru Păunescu, Alexandra-Cristina Păunescu, *Din istoria arheologiei românești pe baza unor documente de arhivă*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 28.

¹³⁸ CHNA, Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice fund, box. 126/1864, February, 4th 1864, p. 55–57.

¹³⁹ Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 406; On the Academy Palace see, Nicolae Șt. Noica, *Palatul Universității din București și personalități din lumea constructorilor*, Bucharest, 2014.

¹⁴⁰ CHNA, Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice fund, 163/1865, Museum Curator, Alexandru Russo, to Minister, January, 26th 1865, p. 75; April, 28th 1865, Museum Curator to Minister, p. 274; Grigore Tocilescu, *Catalogul Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 41.

¹⁴¹ Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

archaeology and of preservation of historical monuments, such as Alexandru Odobescu, Augustin Treboniu Laurian, the architect Dan Berindei, the director of the Public Archives, Cezar Bolliac.¹⁴² One of the Committee's duties was to make an inventory of the objects of Mavros' donation and to hand them over to the Museum. Nicolae Mavros personally honoured this duty, in cooperation with the curator of the Museum, Alexandru Russo.¹⁴³ Mavros spent the last years of his life in his manor from Călinești and in his house from Bucharest, located on 4 Doamnei Street. In these places of residence, but also in the yard of his manor from Moara Domnească, until his death, many of the stone objects donated to the Museum had remained non-inventoried and unstored.¹⁴⁴ On April 13/25, 1868, the Museum curator was sent by the Ministry to Călinești and Moara Domnească estates to pick up the large stone objects.¹⁴⁵ August Treboniu Laurian was delegated by the same Ministry to take into the custody of the Museum the collection of more than 4,000 coins and medals that were to be inventoried by a team made of Dimitrie Berindei, Mihail Soutzo and Dimitrie A. Stourdza. The last two were related to the Mavros family.¹⁴⁶

Mavros' interest in archaeology dates at least from the time of Kiseleff's governance. In 1830, Mavros was charged by the Russian general with carrying out archaeological research in the Principalities¹⁴⁷. His office of inspector of the quarantine helped him participate in the archaeological digging from both banks of the Danube. A passionate archaeologist, but a mere amateur, nevertheless, Mavros did not collect the pieces following specific scientific criteria. We do not know the origin of most of the pieces in his collection. The first acquisitions seem to have been made during the Russian military campaign to the south of the Danube in 1826 and in 1827¹⁴⁸. Grigore Tocilescu, relying on the old inventory of the Museum, gives us several clues about the origin of the objects. It is certain that some artefacts were personally brought by Mavros from his journeys to Greece, Egypt and Italy, or were bought by his close relatives, such as his son-in-law, Ion

¹⁴² CHNA, Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice fund, box 127/1864, p. 140, 161; box 163, p. 29.

¹⁴³ Alexandru Russo has been confirmed in office under the Prince's decree of 10 December 1864, f. 181.

¹⁴⁴ Constantin Moisil, "Colecțiile numismatice și arheologice ale lui Nicolae Mavros și soarta lor", *Cronica numismatică și arheologică*, XII, 1936, p. 196 and 202.

¹⁴⁵ RAL, Ghica fund, box IV, p. 103.

¹⁴⁶ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino Archive, box VII, f. 84, March/April, 29th/11th 1868 (it is signed by V.A. Urechia, director of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Cults. Mihail Soutzo, nephew of Sevastia Soutzo, will marry her daughter, Maria).

¹⁴⁷ Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 407. Alexandru Papadopol-Calimach, *Generalul Pavel Kisseleff în Moldova și Țara Românească, 1829-1834 după documente rusești*, Bucharest, 1887, p. 64.

¹⁴⁸ See "Călătorie arheologică de Ernest Desjardins", in *Archiva pentru filologie și istorie* XIX, 1868, p. 371. The French archaeologist had travelled to Wallachia and the Bulgarian lands in the Danube area for five months in 1867. He published his travel impressions in *Revue Archéologique ou Recueil de documents et de Mémoires relatifs à l'Étude des Monuments, à la numismatique et à la Philologie de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1868, p. 254–278.

Ghica. For instance, a fragment of a statuette of goddess Aphrodite bears an inscription written in black ink, saying “Αθῆναι ἐν ἔτη 1842”¹⁴⁹. Ghica reveals that every Tuesday, Mavros used to retreat in his study together with his close collaborators to debate on scientific matters¹⁵⁰. Mavros was a passionate reader and he surrounded himself with plenty of books. By testament, the books were distributed between his son, Dimitri, and his two sons-in-law, Ion C. Cantacuzino and Ion Ghica. They jointly agreed not to inventory the volumes from the library, as they did with the other assets¹⁵¹. Even though we do not know what titles could be found in the general’s library, we can form an idea of his literary interests from the last invoice issued by Danielopolou bookstore from Bucharest, where two purchases are mentioned, Dr. Fabre, *Funérailles et inhumation chez les Anciens et les modernes* and Adolphe Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie, du Jurjure, texte Kabyle et traduction*, Paris 1867¹⁵². The Russian General Dimitri Mavros inherited from his father the passion of collecting things. In 1922, the Russian general’s library from Tarnovo manor, in northern Byelorussia, which contained 9 thousand volumes of rare books¹⁵³, became the property of Rummyantsev Museum, today the Public Library of Russia¹⁵⁴.

In the last years of his life, Mavros dedicated much of his time to farm works. He remained the administrator of the entire wealth, including of the estates that he had donated to his daughters. Based on an addendum to the donation, Mavros stipulated that the spouses Cantacuzino would not take full possession of these properties before his death and the death of his wife¹⁵⁵. Moara Domnească was in the same situation, as it was the residence of Mavros’ sister, Alexandrina. His son-in-law, Ernest Kotzebue, occupied various positions in the diplomatic system of the Russian Empire¹⁵⁶. Between 1848 and 1858, Mavros was personally in charge with the administration of the estates owned by Ion Ghica, Ghergani, Larga and Coucourouzi from Dâmbovița county, during his absence from the country. In a letter to his son-in-law, in April 1858, Mavros was complaining of the general climate of instability and uncertainty of the country, which disturbed the relations the owners and the peasants had had so far. The leaders of the instigators were the “communist reformers” (les réformateurs communistes)¹⁵⁷.

¹⁴⁹ Grigore Tocilescu, *Monumentele epigrafice și sculpturale ale Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, II, Bucharest, 1908, p. 560; Andrei Pippidi, *op.cit.*, p. 412–414.

¹⁵⁰ Ion Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri...op.cit.*, p. 404–405.

¹⁵¹ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box. VII/69, p. 1.

¹⁵² Idem, box VII/68, February, 3rd 1868, p. 1.

¹⁵³ *Каталог заповедной библиотеки графа Дмитрия Николаевича Мавроса*. – Vilnius, 1888.

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.lida.info/imeniya-lidskogo-uezda-imenic-tarnovo-tarnovshhizna>.

¹⁵⁵ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino Archive, box V/ 8, The Documents of Călinești estate, p. 4 (September, 30th 1851).

¹⁵⁶ Rostislav von Kotzebue, *History and Genealogy of the Kotzebue family...op. cit.*, p. 308–309.

¹⁵⁷ RAL, Correspondence Ghica, S 53 (3)/DCXVIII, April, 7th/19th 1858 (Bucharest).

Between 1857 and 1865, Nicolae Mavros has bought several properties consisting in estates, orchards, vineyards and forests, which he joined to Călinești estate. By the donation deed of May 11, 1865, all these properties became the goods of his daughter, Maria Cantacuzino¹⁵⁸. Călinești-Cătina-Căzânești estate extended from the right bank of Prahova River until beyond Provița River, going up through the vineyards and orchards situated uphill until they reached Filipeștii de Pădure. Mavros was personally in charge with the administration of the estate: he hired people to do various farm works, he hired a vintager for Bălțeni and Mihăileanu vineyards, he took tenants to exploit the forests, etc. In a letter certified by Călinești Town Hall, dated January 30, 1866, the Greek administrator Theodoros Georgiou urgently wrote to Mavros in Bucharest about a series of matters concerning the estate, such as the purchase of pots for the lemon trees by the gardener of the boyar's court, the payment of the debt to vintager Dimitrie Apostolu, and the illegal actions committed by ranger Ilie, who had illegally cut an elm that was approximately ten meters tall¹⁵⁹. In 1862, Mavros took charge of drawing the borders of the estate. After setting the new borders, the misunderstandings with the neighbours occurred. Mavros did not falter in going to trial with them for various causes and trespasses¹⁶⁰.

In 1865, his daughter, Maria Cantacuzino, the owner of the estate, empowered her father to deal with the parcelling of the lots that would be distributed to the peasants in accordance with the 1864 rural law¹⁶¹.

In September 1866, Mavros was called by the government to give advice in matters of agriculture. His son-in-law, Ion Ghica, the head of the government, facing a serious crisis of farming products, resorted to his father-in-law with the purpose to join the constituted commission in order to settle these matters. In Mavros' opinion, the government should have centralized from the local authorities all the data concerning the gathered harvests. Thus, sufficient stocks of food would have been created, that would save the population from starvation. These were not new measures. As Mavros said, "it is not long ago that the Principalities were forced to supply the capital city of the Empire"¹⁶².

Nicolae Mavros died in his house of Bucharest on March 23, 1868. The funeral service was held the next day at Sărindar Church¹⁶³. As stated in the beginning, Mavros had two siblings, of whom his sister, Alexandra, survived him one more year. As regards Mihalache, we only know that, between 1810 and 1820, he was in the service of Russia¹⁶⁴. His sister, Alexandra, widow of paharnic

¹⁵⁸ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box V/8, The Documents of Călinești estate, p. 4 v.

¹⁵⁹ Idem, box IV/20, January, 30th 1866, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Idem, box IV/19, Mavros to Vice-Prefect, July, 26th 1865, p. 1.

¹⁶¹ ANIC, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VII/140, 7 aprilie 1865, p. 1.

¹⁶² RAL, Correspondence Ghica, S 53 (9)/DC XVIII, Mavros to Prim-Minister, "Cher fils et ami", September, 20th 1866.

¹⁶³ *Trompeta Carpaților*, no. 519, March, 27th 1868, p. 2473 (Cezar Bolliac).

¹⁶⁴ Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros...op. cit.*, p. 419–420.

Mateiu¹⁶⁵, led a modest life, respecting the Christian teachings, at her manor from Moara Domnească and in her house situated in Gorgani district in Bucharest. She donated money and religious objects to the church from Călinești village and to Pasărea skete from Moara Domnească¹⁶⁶.

CONCLUSIONS

Nicolae Mavros lived for 82 years, in a time of great social and institutional transformations. If, at the beginning of nineteenth century, South-Eastern Europe were under the rule of three empires – Ottoman, Russian, and Habsburg – that were fighting over supremacy, several decades later, the national liberation movements started to show their first results. Greece became an independent state-nation, while Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia were using Russia to break free from the Ottoman Empire. Since the first half of eighteenth century, the Christian-Orthodox subjects of the sultan were looking with hope at the Russian Emperor. The Romanians were no exception. The Russian generals, the commanders of the occupation troops from 1806-1812, 1826–1832, provided jobs and honours to the boyars, as well as the prospect of a new lifestyle. Nicolae Mavros, a Walachian boyar who had built his reputation by his own endeavours, contributed to the building of the Organic Regulation system, as he was the right hand of General Pavel Kiseleff.

For two decades, Mavros was general inspector of the Danube quarantine, some sort of chief of the secret services, who acquired intelligence on everything that was going on in the Balkans. “Friend of the Russians”, “Russian subject and spy”, “Phanariot”, these are some of the names by which he was called by his contemporaries, some being radical revolutionaries who supported the revolution of 1848, others being the opponents to that movement, the so-called “conservatives”¹⁶⁷. Mavros was therefore regarded with fear and suspicion by all boyar groups.

The lifestyle and ways of thinking changed at an astonishing pace from one decade to the next. The oriental suit made room for the western riding coat. The French language replaced the Greek language in schools and in the conversations from the boyar lounges. Mavros was one of the few learned boyars of his generation. He learnt to speak French – taught to him by a French collector, who fled the Jacobins and found refuge in Wallachia –, which he spoke as well as he spoke Romanian and Greek.

The Union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia under the auspice of France have set the country and the nation on another course, different from the aspirations of Mavros’ generation. Supported by his sons-in-law, Mavros continued

¹⁶⁵ CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box VII/39, f. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Idem, box VII/90, f. 22.

¹⁶⁷ Vezi *Aminiriile colonelului Lăcusteanu...op. cit.*, p. 211 and Ion G. Valentinianu, *Biografia oamenilor mari scrisă de un om mic*, Bucharest, 1859, p. 110.

to be publicly active. For many years, Mavros had ardently studied archaeology and spent a fortune on his collection of antiquities. The Archaeological Committee, that he chaired for life, as Great Donor of the National Museum, was in charge not only with capitalizing his collection, but also with protecting and preserving the historical monuments of the country.

The information on Mavros' childhood and youth is scarce. Instead of wealth, he inherited an honourable name, good education and a certain inclination towards the practical side of life. Both of his parents were immigrants, coming from Greece to the Principalities. His father was a high-ranking boyar, a hetman, and his mother was the daughter of a boyar of Epirote origins. The professional qualities and perspectives of the young man drew the attention of the rich and noble family of late ban Dumitrache Ghica. His marriage to Pulcheria Ghica, although it ended badly and without much flattery for the husband, propelled him to the first ranks of the boyar class. County Prefect between 1812 and 1817, Mavros gathered a small fortune from collecting taxes, and thus he was able to buy several estates in Ilfov county. His second marriage was happy and full of satisfactions, resulting in many children and providing him with numerous public distinctions and honours.

L'art arménien en Roumanie

L'ART DES ICÔNES DES ARMÉNIENS DE ROUMANIE*

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The article is devoted to the icon art of Armenians in Romania, who emigrated from Crimea to Moldova in the 14th century. The icons of the Armenian churches of Botoșani, Suceava, Iași, Roman, Târgu Ocna, Focșani and other places were studied. Significant collections of Armenian icons are currently kept in the churches and museums of Botoșani and Suceava, at the Dudian Museum of the Armenian Church of the Holy Archangels and at the residence of the Head of the Armenian Diocese of Romania in Bucharest. The icons of Armenians in Romania are still unknown to scientific circles and need to be studied. This is why, since 2014, we have undertaken their study with the aim of clarifying the following questions: their sources, their bases, their relationship with local Armenian and Romanian cultural traditions, technical and artistic languages, their iconographic, stylistic and figurative particularities.

Keywords : Icon art of Armenians from Romania, 16th–19th c., Moldavia, Botoșani, Bucharest, Armenian and Romanian artistic relationships.

L'art des icônes pratiqué par les Arméniens de la Roumanie est un exemple montrant comment, sans avoir de racines nationales de l'art des icônes, mais profitant des riches traditions nationales du Moyen Âge dans d'autres genres d'art, ainsi que des traditions de l'art des icônes des pays, où des communautés arméniennes ont existé, il a été possible de créer un art original de création des icônes.

À partir du XIV^e siècle, le nombre des Arméniens en Roumanie n'a cessé d'augmenter. Les Arméniens émigraient en Moldavie et, partiellement, en Valachie d'Ukraine (Lvov), de Pologne et de Crimée, où des communautés arméniennes existaient depuis des siècles¹. En premier lieu, les Arméniens se sont installés à Botoșani, où une église arménienne dédiée à la Sainte Vierge a été construite dès

* Cette étude est devenue possible grâce au soutien du Diocèse de l'Église Arménienne de Roumanie (évêque Tathev Hacobian), le Ministère de la Culture de la RA et le Comité d'État pour la science MES de la RA, dans le cadre du projet de recherche № SCS 13–6E440.

¹ Sur les voies d'apparition des Arméniens en Moldavie, leur existence dans cette région et leurs déplacements, voir Claude Mutafian, *La Saga des Arméniens de l'Ararat aux Carpates*, Paris, 2018, 447 p. Sur les Arméniens de Crimée, voir Mikaélyan Vardkès, *Histoire des Arméniens de Crimée*, Erevan-Simféropol, 2004 (en russe).

1350², ensuite à Suceava, Iași, Roman, Trgu Okna, Focșani, ainsi qu'à Galați, Tulcea, Constanța et Brăila. Dans toutes les villes énumérées, les Arméniens ont construit leurs chapelles, leurs églises et leurs monastères. Leur majorité absolue faisait partie de l'Église Apostolique Arménienne. Botoșani, Suceava, Iași, Roman et Focșani sont devenus les plus importants centres arméniens. C'est là que s'est formé un art original arméno-roumain et c'est là que des édifices et des cimetières arméniens se sont conservés jusqu'à présent.

Aux XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles, persécutés à cause de la confession apostolique arménienne de leur Église, un grand nombre d'Arméniens ont émigré en Transylvanie où ils se sont convertis au catholicisme, créé des églises arméniennes catholiques et développé une culture proche de la culture catholique européenne de l'époque, surtout une culture de style baroque.

Les Arméniens restés en Moldavie ont continué et développé les traditions venant de la Crimée, de la Communauté polonaise-lithuanienne (1569–1795) de l'Ukraine et de la Biélorussie, des communautés arméniennes de l'Empire Russe. En même temps, leur art s'est formé aux XIV^e–XVI^e siècles dans le milieu culturel roumain. Dans la culture créée par les Arméniens de Roumanie, l'art des icônes a occupé la place la plus importante et s'est présenté comme le phénomène le plus original (à la différence de l'art de l'Arménie historique où l'art des icônes n'était pas pratiqué).

Les églises arméniennes de la Moldavie ont été principalement construites d'après le type des églises orthodoxes roumaines locales, elles ne sont pas de forme cruciforme à coupole, comme les églises médiévales arméniennes. L'iconostase ménagée à l'intérieur dissimule presque complètement l'abside. Ces iconostases (**ill.1**) sont formes d'icônes de petites dimensions et de diverses formes : rondes, ovales, carrées et rectangulaires. La structure de l'iconostase, les icônes, leur composition et leur système iconographique sont également proches des iconostases des églises roumaines, elles restent fidèles aux traditions post-byzantines.

Outre les icônes de l'iconostase, tous les murs étaient couverts de haut en bas, ou sur deux à trois rangs, d'icônes de plus grandes dimensions, auxquelles justement notre exposé est consacré.

De grandes collections d'icônes sont actuellement conservées dans les églises et les musées de Botoșani et de Suceava, au Musée Doudian de l'église arménienne des Saints Archanges et à la résidence du chef du Diocèse arménien de Roumanie à Bucarest. La collection de la résidence compte des icônes transférées de l'église

² Florin Simion Egner, Viorica Popa, *Istoria comunitatii armenilor din Botoșani* (1045–2012), Botoșani, 2012, 114 p.; Florin Simion Egner, Viorica Popa, *Biserica armeană din Botoșani o existență de peste șapte secole*, Botoșani, 2012, p. 10–12, où toute la littérature concernant Botoșani est citée, y compris les œuvres de Hacob Siruni et de Nicolae Iorga. Voir aussi une information complète sur le Botoșani arménien dans : Florin Simion Egner, Viorica Popa, *Patrimoniul cultural și religios al comunității armene și al parohiei bisericii ortodoxe armene din Botoșani*, Botoșani, 2013, p. 5–51 et surtout : Florin Simion Egner, Viorica Popa, *Din istoria și patrimoniul comunității armene din Botoșani*, Botoșani, 2014, vol.1, p. 9–15, 36–45, 149–152, 504.

arménienne de Roman. Les icônes des Arméniens de Roumanie restent encore inconnues des cercles scientifiques et ont besoin d'être étudiées. C'est pourquoi, nous avons entrepris leur étude dans le but d'éclaircir les questions suivantes : leurs sources, leurs bases, leur relation avec les traditions culturelles arméniennes et roumaines locales, les langages technique et artistique, les particularités iconographiques, stylistiques et figuratives³. Ou doit remarquer que, malheureusement, les icônes se trouvent dans un mauvais état de conservation !

Les icônes conservées remontent principalement aux XVII^e-XIX^e siècles. L'on connaît un exemple unique daté du XVI^e siècle : une icône de 1533 intitulée « Saint Stéphane le Protomartyr et l'Apôtre Jacques » (ill.2). La majeure partie de l'icône est couverte d'inscriptions, de colophons et de notes en langue arménienne, grâce auxquels et par une analyse comparative, on peut également dater les icônes non signées. Les colophons contiennent des renseignements relatifs à l'époque et la date de la déposition de l'icône à l'église, aux dépositaires et aux donateurs des icônes à l'église, aux églises où l'on déposait des icônes. On rencontre aussi des noms de peintres, auteurs des icônes, qui témoignent aussi bien d'artistes roumains et grecs qu'arméniens. Par exemple, nous avons eu la possibilité d'établir que l'auteur de l'icône de 1832 dite « La Mère de Dieu avec Sainte Irène et Sainte Catherine » du Musée Doudian est le diacre Sahak, au pinceau duquel appartient également l'icône de 1822 « Saint Jacques de Nisibis et sa Vie » du même Musée. Cette dernière œuvre est à son tour la copie d'une icône antérieure, exécutée à la limite des XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles, dite « Saint Jacques de Nisibis avec des scènes de sa Vie » du même Musée Doudian (ill.3).

Un autre exemple. Le temps nous a conservé le nom de l'auteur d'une icône de 1782, se trouvant à l'église des Saints Archanges de Bucarest, nommée « La Sainte Vierge à l'Enfant, avec Jean Baptiste et Grégoire l'Illuminateur » (ill.4), c'est le diacre Hacob de Jérusalem⁴ qui, de même que le peintre Sahak, a copié une icône plus ancienne du début du XVIII^e siècle : « La Sainte Vierge avec Jean Baptiste et Jacques », en ayant seulement remplacé le personnage de l'Apôtre Jacques par celui de Grégoire l'Illuminateur.

Ces faits et les nombreux colophons témoignent que les créateurs d'icônes pour les églises arméniennes de Moldavie et de Valachie étaient non seulement des artistes locaux et grecs, mais aussi en grande partie des Arméniens de Roumanie, ayant une haute qualification professionnelle, ou souvent encore, des artistes d'origine arménienne, venus de différents lieux.

Notons tout de suite que la copie ou la répétition d'icônes plus anciennes, ou plutôt « usées, ternies, vieilles » était caractéristique pour l'art arméno-roumain.

³ Voir notre première publication consacrée à ce thème : Seyranush Manukyan, « Srbapatkery řuminahayoc mej », dans *Akademikos Lewon Hakhverdyanı cındyan 90-amyakin nvırvac gitakan nstashrjan. (19 dektemberi, 2014). Nstashrjani nyuier*, Yerevan, 2015, p. 33-45 [« L'icône des Arméniens de Roumanie », dans Session scientifique consacrée au 90^e anniversaire de l'académicien Lévon Hakhverdian (19 décembre 2014). *Documents de la Session*, Erevan, 2015, p. 33-45 avec ill.].

⁴ L'icône de 1805 du même auteur, d'une composition proche, apportée de Roumanie, se trouve actuellement à Saint Etchmiadzine, dans le trésor d'Alec et de Marie Manoukian.

Cela était lié au fait que dans les églises, il devait y avoir un nombre déterminé et obligatoire d'icônes. Ainsi, par exemple, certaines icônes de l'église de la Sainte Trinité de Botoșani (qui est brûlée et n'existe plus à présent) répètent les images des icônes de l'église de la Sainte Mère de Dieu. À présent, elles sont présentées côte à côte à l'église de la Sainte Mère de Dieu.

Les icônes arméniennes de Roumanie de la haute période sont peintes sur des planches, avec la technique classique des icônes byzantines, russes et roumaines : planche, parfois couverte de toile, impression de craie mélangée à de la colle animale ou de poisson, tempera. Parmi ces icônes, peintes selon la technique « classique » de l'art des icônes, il convient de citer l'icône déjà mentionnée « Saint Stéphane le Protomartyr et l'Apôtre Jacques » de 1533 (ill.2), les icônes, « Saint Minas » (ill.5) et « Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur » (ill.6) du Musée Doudian, datant de la limite des XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles, ainsi que certaines autres de la collection de Botoșani. Ces œuvres témoignent d'une tradition post-byzantine.

À partir de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, la majeure partie des icônes est exécutée à l'huile sur toile, bien qu'on continue à peindre sur des planches. La technique de l'huile sur toile pour les images sacrées s'est propagée en Arménie, en Grèce, en Roumanie et dans les régions orientales de la Communauté polono-lithuanienne, y compris l'Ukraine et la Biélorussie, incluses par la suite dans l'Empire Russe, ainsi qu'en Europe Occidentale. Les icônes exécutées selon cette technique se rapprochent des tableaux monumentaux de chevalet.

L'usage de l'or est également à mentionner : il peut être sous forme de feuilles d'or, mais plus souvent d'or fondu comme peinture. L'usage de l'or et son abondance sont souvent liés à l'art local de l'Église Orthodoxe, qui continuait la tradition post-byzantine.

Les icônes arméno-roumaines présentent aussi des particularités qui rapprochent la peinture de l'art de joaillerie. Les icônes les plus importantes (surtout celles qui représentent la Mère de Dieu) étaient recouvertes d'appliques ornementées en argent doré, utilisées pour les couronnes, les nimbes, les manchettes et les revers des manches, les galons, parfois pour les mains et les pieds, divers attributs et parfois pour la selle et le caparaçon des chevaux (ill.7, 5, 11). Elles remplaçaient le cadre et avaient pour but non de protéger la peinture, mais de la rendre somptueuse et de souligner les endroits les plus significatifs. On voit par fois des appliques serties de pierres semi-précieuses de différentes couleurs. L'ornementation des appliques, bien que moins somptueuse, se voit aussi sur les icônes roumaines des XVII^e-XIX^e siècles⁵. Elle a son origine dans les icônes roumaines anciennes⁶, et elle est liée à la tradition post-byzantine.

À première vue, les icônes des Arméniens de Roumanie ressemblent aux icônes roumaines des régions historiques de Moldavie-Bucovina et, partiellement,

⁵ Sorin Sebastian Duicu, *Mărturii de artă și cultură ortodoxă din Arhiepiscopia Tomisului*, Craiova, 2011, p. 19, ill. 1, p. 57, ill. 20, p. 121, ill. 52, p. 143, ill. 63, p. 157, ill.70 ; idem, *Témoignages de l'art et de la culture orthodoxe de l'Evêché de Tulcea. XVII^e-XX^e siècles*, Craiova, 2013, p. 21, ill. 1, p. 67, ill. 19, p. 69, ill. 20, p. 89, ill. 30, p. 121, ill. 46, p. 141, ill. 56, p. 161, ill. 66, p. 163, ill. 67.

⁶ Alexandru Efremov, *Icoane românești*, Bucuresti, 2003, p. 49, ill. 49.

du Royaume de Valachie-Roumanie⁷. Ceci concerne et l'exécution technique, et l'iconographie, et le style, et les personnages. Toutefois, ce n'est qu'à première vue. On remarque aussitôt que des types et des personnages iconographiques répétitifs dominent sur ces icônes. Citons ceux qu'on rencontre le plus souvent :

1. La sainte Vierge à l'Enfant trônant, le plus souvent comme Reine Céleste, en quelques variantes iconographiques : représentée avec les archanges Gabriel et Michel, ou avec les apôtres Thaddée et Bartolomé, fondateurs de l'Église Apostolique Arménienne, ou encore entourée de deux autres saints. Ces saints peuvent être les apôtres Jacques et Jean le Précurseur, tous les deux tenant à la main leurs têtes tranchées. Parfois, ce sont Jean le Précurseur et Grégoire, Illuminateur de l'Arménie, parfois aussi ce sont Grégoire l'Illuminateur et Jacques de Nisibis (**ill.4, 8, 9**).

2. Grégoire l'illuminateur baptisant le roi Tiridate et sa famille. Ou Grégoire l'illuminateur avec des scènes de sa Vie (**ill.6, 10**).

3. Saint Minas, l'un des saints importants de l'Église Arménienne, comme cavalier ou comme saint guerrier, parfois avec des scènes de sa Vie (**ill. 5**).

4. Saint Jacques de Nisibis dans les rochers, recevant de l'Ange une parcelle de l'Arche de Noé. On trouve aussi d'autres iconographies, avec des scènes de Vie (**ill. 11**).

5. Les saintes Hripsimé, Catherine, Barbara, Irène, avec des scènes de leurs Vies (**ill. 12**).

6. Saint Sarkis avec son fils Martiros en selle, peut-être avec des scènes de leurs Vies (**ill. 13**).

Les thèmes et les variantes iconographiques énumérées ne sont caractéristiques que pour les icônes des églises arméniennes de Roumanie et ne se rencontrent pas (sauf les saints communs à tous les chrétiens) sur les icônes roumaines. Ils se distinguent par leur iconographie canonique arménienne formée et caractéristique uniquement pour les icônes arméniennes d'Etchmiadzine, de Jérusalem et des autres colonies et communautés arméniennes des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles⁸ (compare avec **ill.19**). Pour cette iconographie, ce n'est pas seulement le choix de personnages en relation avec l'histoire et l'Église arméniennes qui est important, mais leur représentation particulière, des détails essentiels qui sont des attributs : sceptres, bâtons, vêtements ecclésiastiques arméniens, couronnes royales ou ecclésiastiques (ces dernières sont variées et peuvent être semblables aux variétés orientales ou occidentales), croix spécifiques, calices tenus à la main, épées et couteaux, branches, etc.

Les auteurs des icônes destinées aux églises arméniennes de Roumanie ne se limitent pas au cercle des thèmes et variantes iconographiques susmentionnés. On peut voir dans leurs œuvres des personnages et des sujets caractéristiques de l'art chrétien d'Orient et post-byzantin. Fréquents sont les personnages des archanges

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 23–72, 73–117.

⁸ Manya Łazaryan, *Hay kerparvestə XVII-XVIII darerum*, Yerevan, 1974 (patkernerə aranc hamaralkalman) [*L'art figuratif arménien des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Erevan, 1974 (sans numération des reproductions)].

Michel et Gabriel, de Saint Stéphane le Protomartyr, tenant le modèle de l'église à la main, et de sa Vie (ill. 14), du Christ trônant, souvent accompagné de deux autres saints, de même que de la Sainte Vierge (ill. 15), de Saint Nicolas, également trônant. Parmi le cycle christologique, les peintres arméniens préférèrent représenter l'Annonciation à Marie, la Présentation au Temple, le Baptême, la Résurrection de Lazare, la Cène, la Crucifixion, la Mise au Tombeau : des scènes qu'on rencontre partout à cette époque. Mais la préférence donnée à ces scènes est constante et leur iconographie est dotée de traits et de détails répétitifs, ce qui les distingue dans une certaine mesure des icônes roumaines⁹.

Voyons maintenant les personnages des icônes.

Les tables sacrées des autels des églises arméno-roumaines sont couronnées de représentations solennelles de la Vierge, créées de la fin du XVII^e siècle jusqu'au XIX^e. Marie est représentée avec l'Enfant, assise sur un somptueux trône décoré, de style baroque, en Reine Céleste, portant couronne ou couronnée par les anges (ill. 16). Ce type de la Vierge d'autel est également transmis aux icônes arméno-roumaines de Marie, non destinées aux autels. Il est assez original, reconnaissable et s'est formé en même temps que les personnages des icônes du territoire de la Pologne, de l'Ukraine et de la Biélorussie, faisant partie de la Communauté Polonaise-lithuanienne, et plus tard de l'Empire Russe¹⁰, qui comportaient aussi dans leur iconographie une influence occidentale. Les personnages de la Vierge sont caractérisés par quelques – trois ou quatre – types qui semblent se doubler et ce sont précisément ceux-là qui sont canonisés dans les icônes conservées des Arméniens de Roumanie. On peut dire que ces types ont été choisis parmi les personnages fréquents de la Vierge en Roumanie et en Ukraine (où des communautés et des centres culturels arméniens existaient déjà depuis longtemps) et proposés pour les icônes arméno-roumaines¹¹.

⁹ La différence se voit distinctement dans les villes, comme Suceava par exemple, où l'on peut voir côte à côte et comparer les icônes présentant les mêmes thèmes et personnages et se trouvant dans les églises apostoliques arméniennes et les églises orthodoxes roumaines.

¹⁰ N.I. Komachko, « La peintre ukrainienne », « La peinture biélorusse », dans *Histoire de l'art des icônes. VI^e–XX^e siècles*, Moscou, p. 189–202 (en russe) ; *Au carrefour des roues européennes. Les icônes biélorusses. Livre-Calendar. 2007. Fond de la Russie chrétienne*. Textes : Youri Piskoun, Bergamo, 2006, tabl. 16 (en russe). Cela était parfaitement courante, puisque dès 1364, c'est à Lvov que se trouvait le Diocèse central des Arméniens d'Europe Orientale : de Pologne, Lithuanie, Ukraine, Moldavie et Valachie. Ce territoire était une aire culturelle unifiée pour les communautés arméniennes. Voir Hayr Levond Alishan, *Kamenits*, Venetik, 1895, ej 9 (en arménien) [Père Ghévond Alichan, *Kaménets*, Venise, 1895, p. 9] ; Irina Gayouk, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la culture arménienne en Ukraine*, t. 1, Lvov, 2012, p. 46 ; Hakobyan Tatev vardapet [Archimandrite Tathev Hacobian], « Suchavayi S.Hachkatari vanq̄ȳ » [« Le Monastère Saint Atchkatari de Suceava »], *Banber Matenadarani* 20, 2014, p. 96.

¹¹ Dans ces variantes répétitives des personnages, on voit distinctement, d'une part, les types provenant des icônes moldaves et des types presque arméniens provenant d'Ukraine. Voir Al. Efremov, *op. cit.*, p. 73–117 ; Dmitri Stépovik, « L'icône de la Vierge Hodigitria de l'église arménienne de Lvov dans le contexte des relations artistiques arméno-ukrainiennes au XVII^e siècle », dans *Deuxième Symposium international d'art arménien. Recueil d'exposés*, t. III, Erevan, 1978, p. 370–376, ill. 164–165 (en russe) ; Irina Gayouk, *op. cit.*, p. 356, ill. 506.

Et néanmoins, ces personnages de la Vierge, de même que les personnages du Christ et des autres, peuvent immédiatement être différenciés des personnages roumains¹². Dans les nombreuses icônes arméno-roumaines créées en Moldavie, les visages sont dotés de traits arméniens, ils témoignent que l'œuvre appartient à un artiste arménien ou qu'elle était destinée à une église arménienne. Tels sont en majorité les personnages de saint Minas, de saint Guévork – Georges, de Saint Sarkis et souvent aussi des anges et des autres personnages (ill. 17).

En parlant du style des icônes des Arméniens de Roumanie, on doit souligner qu'elles sont d'un même style, ce qui est lié aux particularités des styles de diverses époques. On trouve des traits stylistiques témoignant de l'influence des l'art orthodoxe ou catholique des XVII^e–XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles. On peut voir des éléments de l'art baroque, propagé dans cette région, dans les draperies des vêtements, les couronnes, les formes somptueuses susmentionnées des trônes. Le clair-obscur provenant de la tradition grecque est utilisé dans le modelé des visages. Dans les personnages du XIX^e siècle, les auteurs des icônes opèrent déjà avec des formes réalistes et ayant plus de volume (ill. 18).

Les schémas iconographiques arméno-roumains formés en Moldavie continuent d'être utilisés en Transylvanie, dans l'art des Arméniens catholiques, en acquérant un nouveau coloris stylistique, conditionné par leur nouvelle orientation religieuse. Les cathédrales des villes anciennement arméniennes de Guerla (Arménopolis) et de Dumbrăveni (Elizavetpolis) sont ornées de portraits de Grégoire l'Illuminateur avec la même iconographie, qui était caractéristique des icônes arméniennes créées en Moldavie, mais toutefois, exécutées en styles baroque et classicisme¹³.

Ainsi, en résumant notre étude de l'art des icônes des Arméniens de Roumanie, nous pouvons conclure ce qui suit : les Arméniens de Roumanie ont continué les traditions de l'art ecclésiastique des communautés arméniennes et des colonies de la Communauté Polonaise-lithuanienne et de l'Empire Russe, en particulier de la Crimée et de Lvov et, orientés par les coutumes et la culture locales roumaines, ils ont créé des icônes aux XVI^e–XIX^e siècles. Celles-ci se distinguent par leur typologie, leurs variantes iconographiques stables et un certain coloris national des personnages. Ces traits sont également en relation avec les centres de culture arménienne de cette période, tels Etchmiadzine, Jérusalem (ill. 19) et Constantinople.

Traduction française par Aïda Tcharkhtchyan

¹² Vivian Dragomir, *Centers of Icon Painting Masters within the Romanian Space. The Specificity of the Painting Materials and Techniques*, Craiova, 2011, p. 337–48.

¹³ Pal Emese, « The Sacral Art of Transylvanian-Armenians », dans *Far Away from Mount Ararat. Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, Joint Exhibition of the Budapest History Museum and the National Szechenyi Library, 5 April to 15 September, 2013, p.78, ill.7.



1. Iconostase. Fin du XVIII^e siècle. Suceava, Église de la Sainte Vierge du Monastère de Saint Atchkatar.



2. Saint Stéphane le Protomartyr et l'Apôtre Saint Jacques. 1553, de Roman. Actuellement à Bucarest, Siège du Diocèse des Arméniens de Roumanie. Photo de Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



3. Saint Jacques de Nisibis avec des scènes de sa Vie. Peintre Sahak. 1882. Saint Jacques de Nisibis avec des scènes de sa Vie. Limite des XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles. Bucarest, Musée Doudian.



4. La Sainte Vierge à l'Enfant, Saint Jean Baptiste et Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur. Peintre Diacre Hacob de Jérusalem. 1782. Bucarest, Église des Saints Archange.



5. Saint Minas. Limite des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles. Appliques en argent ciselé du XIX^e siècle. Bucarest, Musée Doudian.



6. Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur et le roi Tiridate. Limite des XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles.
Bucarest, Musée Doudian.



7. La Sainte Vierge Odigitria en Reine Céleste. XIX^e siècle. Iași, Église de la Sainte Vierge.



8. La Sainte Vierge à l'Enfant, l'Apôtre Saint Jacques et Saint Jean le Précurseur (Jean Baptiste).
1867. Botoșani, Église de la Sainte Vierge.



9. La Sainte Vierge à l'Enfant, les Saints Apôtres Thaddée et Bartolomé. 1820. Suceava, Église de la Sainte Croix. Photo de Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



10. Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur baptisant le roi Tiridate et la famille royale, avec des scènes de sa Vie. 1815. Bucarest, Musée Doudian.



11. Saint Jacques de Metzbine. 1797. Bucarest, Musée Doudian.



12. La Sainte Vierge Hripsimé avec des scènes de sa Vie. 1832.
Botoșani, Église de la Sainte Vierge.



13. Saint Sarkis avec son fils Martiros en selle. 1859. Pitești, Église Saint Jean. Photo de Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



14. Saint Stéphane le Protomartyr avec le modèle de l'église à la main. XIX^e siècle. Botoșani, Église de la Sainte Vierge.



15. Le Christ trônant avec l'Apôtre Jacques et l'Évangéliste Jean. 1899. Botoşani, Église de la Sainte Vierge. Photo de Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



16. La Sainte Vierge à l'Enfant trônant en Reine Céleste. 1830, Roman, Église de la Sainte Vierge.



17. Types de visages des icônes arméno-roumaines: St. Minas, 1846;
St. Guévork, XVIII^e siècle. St. Sarkis, XIX^e siècle.



18. Types de visages de la Sainte Vierge des icônes arméno-roumaines des XVIII^e -XIX^e siècles.



19. La Sainte Vierge à l'Enfant trônant en Reine Céleste avec Saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur et l'Apôtre Saint Jacques, frère du Seigneur. 1751, Jérusalem, Cathédrale du Saint-Sépulcre, autel arménien (proscriptorium). Peintre : Pélerin Martiros de Van.

ALTAR CROSSES IN ROMANIAN-ARMENIAN CHURCH TRADITION¹

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Current paper presents the Armenian altar crosses preserved at the Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Museum of Armenian St. Mary Church in Botosani and Armenian Churches in Romania. These crosses have never studied before and are being published for the first time. Here are discussed problems of attribution, iconography and style of images and scenes decorating the altar crosses. The study of these examples is very important, as it includes a lot of new information to expand our perceptions on the decorations and typology of Armenian altar crosses. Also thanks to this research, we could bring together and make a small revue about the Armenian altar crosses in general.

Keywords: Armenians in Romania, Armenian art, Armenian altar crosses, liturgical objects, ritual objects, silver art, Armenian silversmiths of Constantinople, Armenian silversmiths of Van-Vaspurakan, Constantinople style, Dudian museum, Armenian St. Mary Church in Botosani, Armenian collections in Romania, Art of Armenian communities, Evangelists and Prophets, quatrefoil.

INTRODUCTION

The Altar cross is one of the mandatory components in the decoration of Holy Table in Armenian Church. As a rule it has a foot and a pedestal on which the cross rests (unlike, for example, the Russian church, where the altar cross has no foot and pedestal²). Numerous altar crosses preserved in the Armenian collections of Romania have never been studied before and are unknown in academic circles³.

¹ This study became possible by the support of the Diocese of Armenian Church in Romania, Ministry of Culture of RA and State Committee of Science MES RA, in frame of the research project No. SCS 13-6E440 and Union of Armenians in Romania.

The artworks have never been studied earlier, only in 2012 on the initiative of the leader of Armenian Diocese of Romania Bishop Datev Hakobian and Head of Chair of Armenian Art History and Theory at the Yerevan State University Prof. Levon Chookaszian the study of the collections started.

² М. Быкова, *Серебряные на престольные кресты XVI–XIX веков в собрании Государственного Владимиро-Суздальского музея-заповедника*, Каталог [16th–19th centuries Silver Altar Crosses in the collection of the State Vladimir-Suzdal Museum and Reserve, Catalog], Vladimir, 2015; *Ставрографический сборник II: Крест в православии*, под. ред. С. Гнутовой [Stavrographic compilation II: Cross in Orthodoxy, ed. by S. Gnutova], Moscow, 2003.

³ The attributions of all samples were made by us.

The crosses represent the traditions of both the Armenian Apostolic and the Eastern Orthodox and Western Christian Churches in general.

It is known that the principles of decoration of the Holy Table are directly related to the decoration of the Holy of Holies presented in Exodus of Old Testament (Ex. 37:16–24). So the Cross replaced the rod of Aaron at the Holy of Holies (Hebrews 9:3–5), as an invisible sign of Savior's presence in altar and a giver of eternal life⁴.

Malakia Archbishop Ormanian in his "Ritual Dictionary" writes, that the Altar cross is a great one, which must be placed on the uppermost place in the center of the Holy Table, and in festive days there can be placed more samples. In addition, he evidenced, that in the Armenian Church is also accepted to use crosses with the image of Christ in the form of Latin cross⁵.

In the 8th century, the Catholicos Hovhannes Odznetsi in contrast to the Byzantine church, affirms the rule of consecration and blessing of the cross, a ritual which becomes special only to the Armenian Church⁶. The rule forbids worshiping the not consecrated and not blessed cross⁷. Later the ritual of consecration and blessing of the cross was inserted into the Mashtots – Book of Rituals⁸.

Armenian theologian from the 6th–7th centuries Hovhann Mayragometsi notes, that the tableware of the Holy Table, and therefore the cross, must be made of silver⁹.

However, crosses were made also of other metals, and also of crystals¹⁰. Discovered bronze crosses of Medieval Armenia are basically without images up to the 13th century. They are decorated with few geometric and vegetal ornaments¹¹, similar to Byzantine bronze examples of current period¹².

⁴ Step'anos Av. K'hn. Mandineanc', *Astuacapaštut' iwn Hayastaneanc' ullap'ar' ekelec'woy*, [Stepanos senior Priest Mandinean, Godliness of the Armenian Orthodox Church] Part 1, Vagharshapat, 1872, p. 183–184.

⁵ Malak'ia Ark'. Ormanian, *Cisakan bararan* [Archbishop Malachia Ormanian, Ritual dictionary], Yerevan, 1992, p. 84.

⁶ H. K'yoseyan, A. Łazaryan, *Xaç' „K'ristonea Hayastan" hanragitaran* [H. Kyoseyan, A. Ghazaryan, Cross „Christian Armenian" Ennciclopedia], Yerevan, 2002, p. 423.

⁷ Yohan Imastaser, *Matenagrut' yunk' naxneac' (Yovhannu Imastasiri Awjnec' voy matenagrut' iwnk')* [John the Philosopher, Bibliography of ancestors (Bibliography of John the Philosopher)], Venice, 1833, p. 32.

⁸ A. Sahakyan, "Mijnadaryan patkerapaštut'yan haykakan tarberakə" [The Armenian Version of Medieval Iconoclasm], *Historical-Philological Journal*, No. 2, Yerevan, 1987, p. 156; *Girk' Mec Maštoc' koč'ec' eal* [The Book called Great Mashtots (Rituals)], Constantinople, 1807, p. 104–213.

⁹ Hovhan Mayragomec'i, "Verlucutiwn kat' ofike yekelec'woy ew vor i nma yawrineal kargac'" [Hovhan Mayragometsi, Analysis of the Church and the laws invented for him], "Sion", *Official Magazine of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1967, January–February, No. 1–2, p. 72.

¹⁰ A. Manuč'aryan, "Ašotyan erku xač'eri xorhrdabanutyunnerə" [A. Manucharyan, The Symbols of the Ashotian Two Crosses], *Faculty of Theology – Yearbook 2017*, Yerevan State University publ., Yerevan, 2017, p. 144–151.

¹¹ Hakobyan N, "Mijnadaryan Hayastani gelarvestakan metałə IX–XIII darerum", in „Hayastani hnagitakan hušarjannerə 10" [„Artistic metal of medieval Armenia in 9th–13th centuries" in "Archaeological monuments of Armenia 10", III, Yerevan, 1981, p. 32; *Trasures of Armenian Church*.

What about the illustrated decoration system of the crosses, then we can judge mainly by examples of later periods. From early Christian and medieval times, very few samples have been survived generally, and with pictures just a few ones, which are again made with Byzantine influence¹³.

In the later periods of historical development until the 16th century, there is observed a severe lack of samples, sometimes complete absence due to the loss of statehood and unfavorable political, economic and cultural conditions. The objects begin to appear in large numbers only in the new era, when Armenian jewelers and silversmiths began to occupy a very important place in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴, Persia¹⁵, and other countries thanks to the formed Armenian communities.

The observation of the samples reveals the interruption of the previous tradition of illustrating in the new era. Thenceforth, they appear by imitating the Western system of cross decoration: as a rule in the center is presented the crucified Christ or the brief scene of Crucifixion on one side and on the other side - the image of Mother of God praying or with child. The arms of crosses are often decorated with the images of Evangelists or their symbols, the angels, instruments of Passion of Christ. The “Crown” – the upper arm of the cross was crowned very often after the 17th century. Surely, sometimes there are also meet unique examples not very common with their decoration system.

The characteristic features and exceptions of the altar crosses we will discuss based on the samples preserved in the Armenian collections of Romania. Even these crosses were not always made by Armenian masters, but were adopted by the Armenian Church of Romania.

The artworks are mainly placed in Bucharest, at the Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese, the Museum of the Armenian St. Mary Church in Botosani, as well as in the Armenian churches functioning in Romania. The largest collection of silver artworks presents the Dudian Museum in Bucharest, samples of which were brought here from various Armenian churches of Romania to save from disappearance.

To reveal the overall picture of the crosses of the Armenian Church in Romania, as there are many in number, we will present the samples in groups according to the place of preparation starting from the Armenian centers. Since there are many unique examples, analogues of which are not known yet, we will focus on a few special examples.

Exhibition in the State Museum of the Moscow Kremlin, ed. by N. Hovhannisian, text: I. Mkrtychyan, S. Manukyan, Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 1997 p. 51:

¹² *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, ed. by H. Evance and W. Wixom, New York, 1997, p. 56.

¹³ *Treasures of Armenian Church. Exhibition in the State Museum of the Moscow Kremlin*, Ed. by N. Hovhannisian, text: I. Mkrtychyan, S. Manukyan, Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 1997 p. 50.

¹⁴ On Armenian Silversmiths of Ottoman Empire see: G. Kürkman, *Ottoman Silver Marks*, Istanbul, 1996; G. Kürkman, *Sultan's Jewelers in the Ottoman Palace 1853–1871*, Istanbul, 2019.

¹⁵ On Armenian Silversmiths of Persia see: O. Tokat, *Armenian Master Silversmiths*, Los Angeles, 2005, p. 241–244.

ALTAR CROSSES OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH IN ROMANIA

The samples preserved in the Armenian collections of Romania are not very old. The earliest dated examples refer to the 18th century. Based on stylistic and artistic features we have dated some more items to the same period.

We will start the discussion with the crosses, which were attributed by us to the Armenian masters of Constantinople. Commonly, the largest centers of Armenian silver making in the 17th–19th centuries were Constantinople and the Van-Vaspurakan area (current Turkey). Consequently, a large number of items in the collections of Romania come from these two centers of Armenian silver making.

The oldest dated altar-cross is holding a dedicatory inscription of 1781, and now is presented at the museum of St. Mary Armenian church in Botosani (fig. 1). The cross is decorated with the above mentioned western influences typical for this period. The iconography of Evangelists and Arma Christi have Western origins and became widely in use in Armenian art after the 17th century. On the spread of Western influence played a great role the printed book, as the printing of Armenian books was making mainly with European templates and images¹⁶. The images of the Evangelists in the cross are one of the examples of this process. They repeat the same figures of the title page of Armenian Bible published in 1733 at Antonio Bortoli's printing house in Venice¹⁷. In the case of this cross, unique is the pyramid-shaped pedestal, which we haven't met among the other Armenian treasures of different collections¹⁸.

Along with the Botosani cross we consider also the two altar-crosses (No. 88A & No. 88B) preserved at the Dudian museum in Bucharest, since the compositions of two crosses just repeat the upper mentioned example (fig. 2). Examining the two objects it becomes clear that the pedestals of crosses were changed during a restoration¹⁹. It could be possible, these crosses have had a pedestal of exactly the same type as the Botosani example has, which proves about a separate group of Armenian altar crosses with pyramid-shaped pedestals.

After a many searches of stylistic and pictorial analogies, we found closer details in Constantinople. The style of drapery, plasticity of figures, the depiction of the trees on the pedestal are similar to the examples of this area. The rhombs

¹⁶ K'. Korkotyan, *Hay tpagir girk'ə Kostandnupolsum (1567–1850)*, [Armenian Printed Book in Constantinople (1567–1850)], Yerevan, 1964, p. 9,

¹⁷ *Astuacašunč' Girk'* [Bible Book], Venice: "Antonio Portoli" publ., 1733, p. 1. http://greenstone.flib.sci.am/gsd/collect/armenian/Books/astvacashunch1733_index.html seen 28.04.2020

¹⁸ On the connection point of the pedestal and foot are clearly visible the traces of repairs. Most probably that the foot was changed, as the pedestal and the cross have expressed stylistic commonalities.

¹⁹ In general, the items were heavily damaged during restorations: there were violated some details, cleaned up inscriptions, as a result of which the samples had lost their original appearance, which impedes accurate attribution.

with a dent inside, formed by the technique of carving, which covers the background of the image of St. Mary and Child – is a kind of surface decoration, which was used in Byzantium²⁰ influenced by Sasanian Persia as we think²¹, and later continued in Constantinople. We meet various items with such decoration in Constantinople – for example silver bindings of books, of icons, also belt buckles, one of which in addition is connected with our next cross with its floral decoration (fig. 3).

Even on the pedestal of the altar cross No. 238 (fig. 4) is noticed the hallmark of the city of Vienna, however, it is not possible to attribute this cross to the masters of Vienna. The presented artistic features and, especially the style and technique of installation of the stones²² and the style of enamel are typical for Constantinople and Ottoman Empire in general (fig. 5). As we mentioned above, the floral decoration of the cross is similar to the belt buckle made in Constantinople (fig. 6). The buckle holds the features of so called „Constantinople style“, which was a result as the pro-Western cultural policy of Ottoman State, as well as of global cultural processes occurred after the 17th century. The endings of cross arms with quatrefoils, which is rare in Armenian art, is also in a Western style. Although the quatrefoils has been used in Byzantium both in architectural decor²³ and in applied arts²⁴ much earlier than in the West, it became especially popular in French Gothic art, then entered Italy²⁵ and other European countries. However, crosses with such composition of arms, are known in large numbers just from Italy, starting from the 16th century²⁶. In the 15th–16th centuries there was a tendency in the Ottoman Empire to include Italian elements in architecture²⁷. The Ottoman Empire and different Italian cities had close trade connections²⁸, where

²⁰ Е. Цигаридас, К. Ловерду-Цигарида, *Священная Великая Обитель Ватопед: Византийские иконы и оклады*, пер. с греч. [E. Tsigaridas, Loverdou – K. Tsigarida, *Holy Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Byzantine Icons and Revetments*, transl. from Greek] Moscow, 2016, p. 361, 373; В. Даркевич, *Светское искусство Византии* [V. Darkevich, *Byzantine Secular Art*], Moscow, 1975, p. 86–89.

²¹ К. Тревер, В. Луконин, „Сасанидское серебро. Собрание Государственного Эрмитажа” [C. Trever, V. Luconin, *Sasanian Silver. Collection of State Hermitage*], Moscow, 1987, p. 115, ill. 27, 75, 76.

²² А. Ballian, “Post-Byzantine and other small art works”, in *The Holy and great Monastery of Vadopaidi*, vol. II, Mount Athos, 1998, p. 515.

²³ L. Wasmer, *Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas Östliches Erbe*, München, 2004, p. 78.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181; А. Ванк, *Византийское искусство в собраниях Советского Союза*, [A. Vanck, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR*], Leningrad-Moscow, 1966, ill. 161, 162 ; В. Даркевич, *Светское искусство Византии*, [V. Darkevich, *Byzantine Secular Art*], Moscow, 1975, p. 118–119, 221.

²⁵ М. Martindale, *Gothic Art*, New York, 2003, p.113, 173; *Готика. Архитектура, Скульптура, Живопись*, [Gothic Art. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting], ed. by. R. Toman, Oldenburg, 2000, p. 329, 491 (Transl. from Germ.).

²⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464462?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=altar+cross+italy&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=17> seen 15.04.2020

²⁷ S. Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2005, p. 30–31.

²⁸ S. Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2005, p. 73.

Armenians were occupying a special place²⁹. In addition, there was a large Italian community in Constantinople. From the beginning of the 19th century, Italian architects were invited to work in Constantinople, and there is a version that some of them even taught Armenians³⁰. Therefore, the direct influence of Italian art is not surprising.

There are only few altar crosses known in Armenian art like this sample. One of the crosses is now preserved at the Museum of the St. All Saviors Monastery in New Julfa (Isfahan, Iran), was made in the 16th century according to the dedicatory inscription. The other two from the 18th and 19th centuries are at the Alex and Mary Manoogian Treasury house museum in the Holy See Etchmiadzin in Armenia (No. 129, No. 130). Although the current four crosses are made on the same principle, but they differ in performing styles.

So, judging from the above discussed, and considering the arguments, we intend to attribute the cross to the Armenian masters of Constantinople of the edge of the 18th–19th centuries. What about the pedestal, it was installed during a restoration later.

The next group of crosses we had attributed to the silver art school of Van-Vaspurakan.

The dated cross No. 136 is also exhibited at the Dudian museum. The filigreed and granulated cross was donated to the Armenian St. Mary church of Focsani in 1785 according to the dedicatory inscription. With its type, composition, the ornaments made by the double-thread, with granulating and especially with the features of decoration of the wings, the cross is close to the Van-Vaspurakan examples. Particularly, we can draw parallels to the crosses used in the Ktuts monastery in Van, some of which are now preserved in the Holy See Etchmiadzin (fig. 7). We have attributed to Van-Vaspurakan also the filigreed cross No. 130 of the 19th century (fig. 8). The best masters of filigreed works were from Van-Vaspurakan and Erzurum area, but the masters of Erzurum were using threads thinner, than our cross has. As, the size of the threads and the shape of arm endings are closer to Van's masters, it gives us a basis to make such conclusion. Judging from the dimple on it, the cross was prepared to preserve relics.

It is unique in its type the radiating, two-sided altar cross No. 177 (fig. 9) donated to the St. Mary Church of Focsani and now preserved at the Dudian museum. Despite of being damaged much, the cross is nevertheless deeply impressive.

On the background completely with vegetal ornaments, are placed the images of Crucified Christ in the center and symbols of the four Evangelists on four arms

²⁹ B. Der Matossian, "The Armenian Commercial Houses and Merchants Networks in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire", *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 39, 2007, p. 151 and p. 147–174.

³⁰ P. Girardelli, E. Godoli, "Introduction", in *Italian Architects and Builders in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Design across Borders*, ed. by P. Girardelli and E. Godoli, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017, p. XII.

of the cross. On the both sides, the whole cross and the images are lined with a chain of pine acorns.

On the other side, the center occupies molded picture of Mother of God with the child. At the edges of the wings are placed images of Prophets, which we were able to conclude with the help of iconography of the figure on upper arm of the cross. It is depicted the Prophet Daniel with distinctive crown and harp. It is known, that the Main Prophets of Old Testament are identified with the Evangelists³¹. Besides, the placing of images of the Evangelists and the Prophets on the cross is a variant of the depiction the scene, where the Prophets act as supporting the Evangelists. The depiction of Prophets as support for the Evangelists has been known since the Middle Ages (Ireland cross-stones, glass-windows of Charter, etc.)³². The Prophets are identified with the Evangelists in the following pairs: Matthew with Daniel, Mark with Jeremiah, Luke with Isaiah, and John with Ezekiel. And in the case of our cross, the image of each Prophet is placed exactly on the same wing, on the other side of which is presented the symbol of the appropriate Evangelist (fig 10).

This type of decoration of crosses, we have not met in any Armenian crosses yet. It is a unique example in Armenian crosses which is known till now.

Crosses holding the images of Evangelists and Prophets are found among 19th century Serbian masters, and generally in the decoration of wood-craft crosses (for example the Church of Archangel St. Michael in Jagodina; the apostles are on the horizontal arms, the Prophets – on the verticals)³³.

On the horizontal arms of the same side of our cross are chased five churches – three on the left and two on the right side. Our supposition that here is depicted the Holy Etchmiadzin Cathedral with its five domes is confirmed with the hardly noticeable inscription “Etchmiadz” (fig. 11). Approximately, in the 19th century in the silver art of Van-Vaspurakan area was very common to depict churches or views of cities and write down the name of depicted object. For examples one can find images of churches on belts, cups, cigarette cases, little women bags etc., and this became one of distinctive characteristics of Armenian silversmiths of Van-Vaspurakan³⁴. We tend to think, that in the case of our cross, it is one more tip about the place of its origin, which will become more reliable from the facts given below.

There is no mention about the time of preparation in the dedicatory inscription of the cross. By an interesting coincidence with the approximate dating

³¹ L. Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*, Westport, 1996, p. 205.

³² H. King, “Prophets and Evangelists (Speaking from Stone)”, *Archaeology Ireland* 8, no. 2 (Summer) 1994, p. 9–10.

³³ V. Dautović, “Ризница Старе цркве Светог Арханђела Михаила у Јагодини” (Treasury of the Old Church St. Archangel Michael in Jagodina), in *Symposium Two Centuries of the Old church in Jagodina (November 27–28, 2016. Collection of papers, Jagodina, 2017*, p. 132.

³⁴ On Van-Vaspurakan area silversmithing see: O. Tokat, *Armenian Master Silversmiths*, Los Angeles, 2005.

helps us the altar-cross No. 174 donated to the St. Gevorg Church of Focsani in 1794 and now again preserved in Bucharest (fig. 12).

On one side of the cross of 1794, as in the case of the preceding cross, are placed the symbols of the four Evangelists. The figure, which represents Matthew in this case, the same time depicts Mark on the previous cross (fig. 13). Of course, when looking closely, it becomes clear that is depicted a winged lion, but in the previous cross was used to represent the symbol of Matthew – the Angel. The use of the same details on the two crosses makes it evident, that they are originate from the same place, and maybe also the same master. In general, the individual details of the two crosses, as well as the style of the characters, are very similar, due to which we date the cross No. 177 with the edge of the 18th–19th centuries.

In its turn, the cross No. 174 is unique too. Unlike the accepted design, when on the one side of the cross was depicted Christ, and on the other side Mother of God, Christ is depicted on both sides in this sample – in one case crucified, in the other as Pantocrator or Christ from Apocalypse.

On one side of the wings, there are the symbols of the Evangelists and the name of each Evangelist is written in reverse. On the other side are depicted Apostles Paul, Peter, James, and Philip, again with names written, but this time in right version. We assume that reverse writing was only a result of technical inaccuracy.

What about the scene on the reverse side of the cross, after a long search and checking different hypotheses we came to the conclusion, that the silversmith tried to depict the “Traditio Legis” (fig. 14). Makes us think about this the presence of the apostles Paul and Peter. But maybe the master was confused again, as in the case of the writings of Evangelists’ names, or not well versed in iconography. That’s why he had violated Peter’s place provided by the canon of iconography. The other two apostles were chosen according to his preference, as is allowed by the iconography rules³⁵.

For attribution of the place of preparation of two crosses, as a comparison we also use the examples from the Church of Ktuts island of Van lake, and other silverworks from Van: the cross edges, which also have comparison with frog-shape buckles of Van, placed high above the edges of the cross the molded angles, the shape of foot etc.³⁶ (fig. 15). We conclude that these two crosses are also works of the Van-Vaspurakan master as well. In general, the separate details of the two crosses, the unique decoration, not common thinking of composition, the selection of non-popular scenes for Armenian altar crosses, evidence about the same unknown, but high qualified master. What about the mistakes on the cross No. 174, we think, that it was one of his early works, when the silversmith needed more knowledge and experience.

The next two crosses, No. 137 and No. 138 (fig. 16), completely repeat one another. The crosses are certified both by the dedicatory inscriptions and by the

³⁵ R. Couzin, *The Traditio Legis: Anatomy of an Image*, Oxford, 2015, p. 47.

³⁶ <https://www.aniarc.am/2018/10/26/van-timar-houshamadian/> seen 2.05.2020

name of the master. It is noteworthy that the master had engraved on one of the crosses: “Bilt by” «Ծիխից», and had put his name on the other cross “HARUTIUN – ՅԱՐՈՒՆԻՒՆ” (fig. 17), with the rules of abbreviation. According to donative inscriptions, both the crosses have been presented to the St. Mary Church of Akkerman in 1788 (current Belgorod in Ukraine). Of course, it is not clear how these samples appeared in the Dudian Museum. We suppose they could be brought to Bucharest during the preparations of the great Armenian exhibition in 1930 in Bucharest. The organizer and coordinator of the exhibition Hakob Siruni with the aim of collecting artefacts went around all the localities associated with the Armenian Diocese of Romania, where Armenians lived and had churches³⁷. Later, in an article dedicated to the same exhibition, there is mentioned the idea to create a museum, which came as a result of the collecting process³⁸. Consequently, the items could remain in Bucharest as a museum exhibit.

They could also move here after joining Akkerman to Ukraine, like in the case of Ismail, when after joining to Ukraine some items were brought to Romania, as before this territory was also included in the diocese of Romania³⁹.

Our searches, to find any analog for these crosses, or any information about the master HARUTIUN have not yielded results yet. We are more inclined to think that the crosses were made just in Akkerman.

In the collections of Armenian Diocese of Romania it is also possible to find Greek or so-called „Aton” crosses with a wooden middle part. Such crosses were not used in the Armenian Church and there was no tradition to prepare it in the territory of Armenia. Such crosses are found mainly in the Armenian Churches of the communities in various countries and in their church ritual. This is of course the influence of the given cultural environment.

There are also preserved four Russian altar crosses made in the 19th century mostly in Moscow, which in general are bearing the features of so called “historicism” typical for Russian art of current period⁴⁰.

Between the altar-crosses and the other objects, an important group consists the samples which were made in Romania, but it is not clear who were the masters Armenians or Romanians.

Altar crosses belonged to this group have the shape of typical for crosses used in the Orthodox church: arms with three-leafed endings; slightly longer lower

³⁷ V. Bedros, *Armenian Artistic Heritage in Romania Between Exilic Nostalgia and Cultural Integration*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 125.

³⁸ T’it’akic’, “Puk’reši hay aruesti c’uc’ahandesə”, *Anahit. Handes mtacman yev aruesti* [Correspondent, “The exhibition on Armenian Art in Bucharest”, *Anahit. Journal of philosophy and art*], no. 3, Paris, p. 113.

³⁹ M. Vardanyan, “The Russian Ritual Objects in the Collection of the Armenian Dudian Museum at the Armenian Diocese of Romania in Bucharest”, *Banber hayagitut’yan. Hayagitakan mijazgayin handes* [Journal of Armenian Studies. International Scientific Journal], no. 1(22), Yerevan, 2020, p. 138–152.

⁴⁰ On the Russian Altar crosses in Armenian collections of Romania see *ibid.*

arm compared to the upper three arms; radiated or not, image of Crucified Christ in the center; images of evangelists or their symbols, cherubs, angels on the cross arms; round or sided pedestals cased with not high relief ornaments. About the Armenian masters testify writings included in the artistic compositions of the crosses, first of all the writing INRI in Armenian. All the preserved examples are from the 19th century.

In this case is noteworthy the presence of the altar cross which is now preserved at the Armenian St. Mary Church of Iasi (fig. 18). The cross is a high quality sample. The INRI in Armenian made during the preparation prove about an Armenian master. The Romanian silver hallmark and maker's mark of 19th century are certain evidences of about the Armenian master who had created in current period in Romania, and the deciphering of the mark of silversmith, could give one more name of Armenian artist created in this country.

The same features are noticed in the altar crosses of St. Archangels Church in Bucharest, and in the cross No. 411 from Dudian museum (fig. 19).

The crosses of Suceava and Iasi, although are made by Armenian masters as we think, but they do not carry elements typical of Armenian art. They are made based on the Western influence typical for this period, which is reflected in the arts of Eastern Europe, Ottoman Empire, Russia and other countries after the 17th century. For example, the crosses of Iasi and Suceava completely repeat the 16th and 18th century examples of Dubrovnik (even these are mentioned as Processional crosses, but are very similar to our examples)⁴¹.

The last cross, which is made in late Gothic style we present separately (fig. 20). It is important to mention about this cross, since we have come to the conclusion, that it was made by not Armenian master. Meanwhile in various Armenian collections, there are preserved crosses quite similar to this cross, but made by Armenian masters (at the museums: The Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum of Holy See Echmiadzin⁴², the History Museum of Armenia⁴³, the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia⁴⁴).

The cross has not an accurate catalogue numbering. The foot and pedestal are broken. There is no Armenian inscription on our cross... unlike the Armenian made crosses, despite the composition and stylistic commonalities, our sample presents the type of Crucifixion, which is not common for Armenian Altar crosses' tradition.

Dedicatory inscriptions from 17th and 18th centuries on the reverse side of the same Armenian made crosses help us for approximate dating.

⁴¹ V. Lupis, "Liturgical Objects and Votive Offerings", p. 321, 327. (We couldn't find the date and place of publication of the article) https://www.academia.edu/32454312/Liturgical_objects_and_votive_offerings seen 19.04.2020

⁴² No.195, No. 196, No. 336.

⁴³ <http://treasury.am/hy/%D5%AD%D5%A1%D5%B9-28?query=%D5%AD%D5%A1%D5%B9> seen 7.05.2020

⁴⁴ D. Kouyoumjian, *The Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia. History, Treasures, Mission*, Lebanon-Anthilias, 2015, p. 23.

On the reverse side of Dudian museum cross, in the center is placed the image of Woman of Apocalypse or Madonna, and on the arms Saint women crowned and with their attributes (St. Dorothea of Caesarea, St. Helena, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Barbara⁴⁵). Crosses with images of Holy women made by Armenian masters are not known yet. Crosses with Saint Women, with Gothic architectural element on the foot, symbolizing the Temple at the Holy Sepulcher, and the Late Gothic style⁴⁶ in general are typical for Western art. It is seen for example in Germany in the 15th century, and then the tradition repeated in the 18th century in the artworks of Danzig (Gdansk) silversmiths during the Prussian kingdom⁴⁷.

It is also quite difficult to find scenes with St. Dorothea in Armenian art, in comparison with Western art, and again in German art.

Crosses close to ours with Gothic style and Gothic interpretation of the symbols of Evangelists were making also by the silversmiths of Sibiu in the mid 16th century⁴⁸. Another variation of these Late Gothic style cross is the sample from the Armenian Church of Constanta (fig. 21), which is closer to Sibiu example also with the floral details attached⁴⁹.

We haven't made final conclusion about this cross, but intend to think, that this two examples were made in Transylvania, or were imported from Western European countries.

It is noteworthy the fact, that the symbols of Evangelists in such Gothic style, repeat each other on the other crosses, and other objects regardless of the time and place of preparation. At Victoria and Albert museum there is preserved a German pendant cross of 15th–16th centuries, where the symbols of Evangelists installed on the arms are quite close to our examples, and this is the oldest example we could find.

It is possible, that this style of symbols, became acceptable and preferable, as for masters, as well as for donators. Also the technique of casting allows to repeat the same detail again and again, in the case of existence of the mold.

CONCLUSION

The examples discussed above expand our perceptions on the descriptions and typology of Armenian altar crosses. Summarizing, we can conclude the following:

⁴⁵ We have made the identification of each person according to the accompanying attributes.

⁴⁶ B. Tuchołka-Włodarska, *Goldschmiedekunst vom 14. Bis zum 20 Jahrhundert in den Sammlungen des Nationalmuseums in Gdańsk. Katalog*, Gdańsk, 2005, p. 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33; *Mărturii ale credinței, semne ale mândriei: creații ale meșterilor orfevrieri pentru patricienii orașului Gdańsk din colecțiile Muzeului Național din Gdańsk* (Confessions of faith, symbols of pride: the artworks of goldsmiths for Gdańsk patricians from the collection of the National museum in Gdańsk), ed. by Dr. Fraçkowska A., Gdańsk, 2011, p. 20 (Rom.), 37 (Eng.), 49.

⁴⁸ D. Dâmboiu, *Breasla aurarilor din Sibiu între secolele XV–XVII*, Alba-Iulia, 2008, p. 77, ill. 26b., p. 81.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, ill. 26°, p. 80.

- a) to single out a certain group of 18th century Armenian altar crosses, with pyramid-shape pedestals,
- b) a group of altar crosses, which was illustrated with images of four prophets,
- c) a group of altar crosses with quatrefoils on arm endings influenced by the Italian crosses,
- d) besides the Western influences, there were also continued Byzantine artistic traditions in Constantinople in the new era, which are vivid in the Armenian examples we have presented.

The above discussed shows that the Romanian-Armenian altar crosses overall do not differ from the items used in the Armenian Church rituals and are distinguished, first of all, with their artistic diversity which attests of course the donators' taste. Here in Romania there are collected most of all unique types of Armenian altar crosses, the study of which comes to enrich the knowledge of history of Armenian liturgical objects, art and culture of Armenian communities, the history of Armenian applied arts.

Not departing from its own tradition, but being in an Orthodox country, at the same time the Armenian Church has not avoided the assimilation of some elements of current country's tradition, which is an important example of dialogue of cultures⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ My special gratitude to the president of the Union of Armenians in Romania, Mr. Varujan Vosganian, for covering my travel expenses, giving me the opportunity to present this topic to the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies, Bucharest, September 2–6, 2019. I want to thank Bishop Datev Hakobyan, the head of Armenian Diocese of Romania and Dr. Levon Chookaszina for their idea to organize the study of these amazing collections and their permanent help and encourage. And of course, great thanks to Dr. Seyranush Manukyan for her great willingness and support during the writing of this article.



Fig. 1. Altar cross, 1871, Constantinople?, Museum of St. Mary Church, Botosani



Fig. 2 Altar crosses No. 88A & 88B, 18th century, Constantinople?,
Dudian museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest



Fig. 3. Decoration with carved rhombs



Fig. 4. Altar Cross No. 238, 18th–19th centuries, Constantinople?, Dudian museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest

Belt buckle,
18th century, Constantinople



Detail of the cross No. 238



Detail of a belt buckle, 18th century,
Constantinople (fragments)

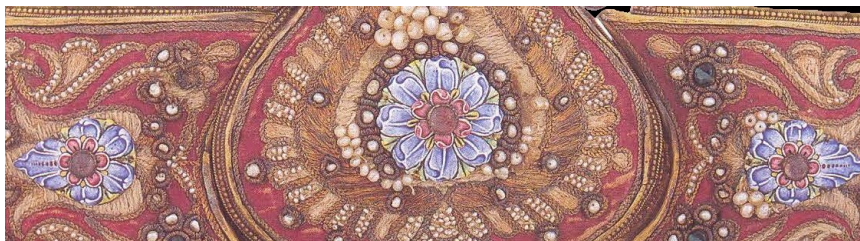


Fig. 5. The installation of the stones and the style of enamel are typical for Constantinople and Ottoman Empire

Detail of a belt buckle, 19th century,
Constantinople



Detail of the belt buckle, 19th century,
Constantinople



Fig. 6. Floral decoration of cross No. 238



Fig. 7. Altar cross No. 136, 1758, Van-Vaspurakan?,
Dudian museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest



Fig. 8. Altar cross No. 130, 1836, Van-Vaspurakan?,
Dudian museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest



Fig. 9. Altar cross No. 177, 18th–19th centuries, Van-Vaspurakan?, Dudian museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest

Evangelist
Matthew



Prophet
Daniel



Evangelist
Mark



Prophet
Jeremiah



Evangelist
Luke



Prophet
Isaiah

Evangelist
John



Prophet
Ezekiel

Fig. 10. Evangelists and Prophets, Altar cross No. 177, 18th-19th centuries, Van-Vaspurakan?,
Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania



Fig. 11. Etchmiadzin Cathedral and writing “Etchmiadz”, Altar cross No. 177, 18th–19th centuries, Van-Vaspurakan?, Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania



Fig. 12. Altar cross No. 174, 1794, Van-Vaspurakan, Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest

Evangelist Mark, Cross No. 177



Evangelist Mathew, Cross No. 174



Fig. 13. The same detail on different crosses

Apostle James

Apostle Paul



Apostle Philip

Apostle Peter

Fig. 14. Depiction of “Traditio Legis”?, Altar cross No. 174, 1794, Van-Vaspurakan, Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania

Altar-cross N 174 (fragment)

Cross, 18th century,
Van-Vaspurakan area (detail)Frog shaped buckle, 18th century,
Van-Vaspurakan area (detail)

Fig. 15. Comparison of the form of arm edge with samples from Van-Vaspurakan.

Fig. 16. Altar crosses No. 137 & No. 138, 19th century, Akkerman?, Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest



Fig. 17. Inscription by the silversmith, Altar crosses No. 137 & No. 138, 19th century, Akkerman?, Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest



Fig. 18. Altar Cross, 19th century, Romania, Armenian St. Mary Church, Iasi



Fig. 19. Altar Crosses, 19th century, Romania, St. Archangels' Church of Armenian Diocese, Bucharest



Fig. 20. Altar cross, 17th–18th centuries?, place of origin unknown, Dudian Museum of Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest



Fig. 21. Altar cross, 17th-18th centuries?, place of origin unknown, Armenian St. Mary Church, Constanta

**EMPIRE'S LEGACY IN THE BALKANS:
ROMANIA AND BULGARIA IN THE 20th CENTURY**

Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress
of South-East European Studies
(Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)

Editors: CRISTINA DIAC and ALEXANDRE KOSTOV

Editors' note

This special section of *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* we have the pleasure to introduce to our readers comprises a revised and expanded version of the papers presented within the panel *Empire's Legacy in the Balkans: Romania and Bulgaria in the 20th Century / L'Héritage des empires dans les Balkans: Roumanie et Bulgarie au XX^e siècle*, panel organized in the framework of the 12th International Congress of the South-East European Studies: *Political, Social and Religious Dynamics in South-Eastern Europe / Dynamiques politiques, sociales et religieuses dans le Sud-Est européen*, that took place in Bucharest, in September 2019.

The panel counted as one of the activities planned in the second year of the joint-research project *Between East and East. Foreign Patterns and Local Solution in the socio-political development of Romania and Bulgaria in the 20th Century*. The project is carried out between 2018 and 2020 by the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism – the Romanian Academy and the Institute of Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in the framework of the programme of international scientific cooperation carried out by the Romanian Academy and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Since the 18th century, the Romanian modernity was closely related to a foreign pattern. During the “Enlightenment Century”, the Romanian elites vacillated between the Ottoman, Russian, and French models of development. Later on, in the second half of the 19th century, the Western pattern prevailed. The whole institutional infrastructure of the Old Kingdom followed the Western, especially French model. After 1918, the Romanian political class put her hopes in France for preserving country's territorial integrity. In interwar period, the French pattern overshadowed any other influence. Because of the Bessarabia issue, the most Eastern Romanian territory disputed with the Soviet Union, but not only because of that, politicians and public opinion strongly rejected everything coming from the East. That's why, after 1945, for the Romanian society, the Soviet pattern was something hard to digest and to come to terms with. The old Russo-phobia, whose roots are to be found in the 19th century, played a central role in the way in which the Romanian society dealt with the Soviet pattern in the first years of the communist regime.

After WWII, Moscow tried to impose a pattern of development everywhere in the Eastern Europe. On the other hand – and this is something scholars dealing with Soviet and Eastern studies concern with – the foreign pattern functioned differently, in different Eastern European countries. Common features can be identified everywhere in the East, but peculiarities also existed during the Cold War period. Secondly, despite the fact that officially the Eastern countries followed the Soviet pattern of development, in reality, a Western influence always existed within the

'communist world'. Traditions and long-lasting experiences co-existed with novelties brought by the end of the WWII.

The project *Between East and East. Foreign Patterns and Local Solution in the Socio-political Development of Romania and Bulgaria in the 20th Century* aims to investigate how the 'local factor' reacted to foreign patterns in a *longue durée* perspective, how the pattern was received, internalized and accommodated, and with what consequences. Political, economic, social, and cultural aspects are considered, domestic and foreign affairs, legislation, institutions, practices.

The panel "Empire's Legacy in the Balkans: Romania and Bulgaria in the 20th Century/ L'Héritage des empires dans les Balkans: Roumanie et Bulgarie au XX^e siècle" reflects the diversity of options that the main topic of our joint-research project offers.

In his article, **Alexandre Kostov**, a corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, deals with a topic of economic history, namely with how the railroads constructed by the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires had been shared between the East European states after 1918. The disappearance of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires and territorial changes produced after the wars of 1912-1918 rose the question of their heritage in the successor states. One of the dimensions of this historical process is the legacy of the two Empires to the railway networks in this region after the Great War. The main purpose of this article is to present the process of construction and sharing of the various railway lines that, after 1918, formed the railway networks of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (R.S.C.S.). This paper covers the initial period of settlement, as well as the subsequent development of the railways in the Balkans and the surrounding area. It focuses on the history of the railways in the Habsburg Empire (from 1867 Austria-Hungary) and, more specifically, on the networks of Austria (Cisleithanie), Hungary (Transleithanie) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (after 1878). Particular attention is paid to three of the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and takes into account provinces and regions such as the Austrian Coast (Küstenland), Batchka, Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina. The paper also deals with the "railroad legacy" of the Ottoman Empire, more specifically with the European Turkey, except the vassal provinces.

Cristina Diac's paper deals with language(s) and politics, and discusses the way in which the ability to speak more than one language influenced the political activity of the communist activists in interwar Romania. The linguistic question within the Communist Party of Romania and, in a broader sense, within the communist movement, could be addressed from two perspectives: how the individuals dealt with the language issue and, on the other hand, how the institutions that, altogether, formed the so-called "communist movement" – the local parties, the Communist International with its central and regional bodies, other structures created and driven by Comintern in different parts of the world –

managed the linguistic diversity. This article concentrates on the first angle and analyses the methods, decisions, and strategies used by individuals to deal with the linguistic issue. The paper is organized in two main parts. The first part explains what languages the first communists spoke and then it discusses the attitude toward the Romanian language of those communists who didn't speak it natively. In line with some recent achievements, this paper argues that the usage of a language might be understood rather as a communication instrument than as a proof of the existence of a different culture

In her article, **Aneta Mihaylova** discusses the works of one of the most acclaimed British travel writers of the twentieth century. In the winter of 1933, eighteen-years-old Patrick Leigh Fermor set out on an adventurous walk across Europe, starting in Holland and ending in Constantinople. Decades later he would tell the story of that journey in his books "A Time of Gifts" and "Between the Woods and the Water" that would immediately grasp the public attention and ultimately make him the most acclaimed British travel writer of the twentieth century. The final volume of his conceived trilogy "The Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos" appeared posthumously in 2013, two years after his death. Fermor's works are distinguished by the vivid descriptions of places and personalities he encountered on the road and also, by his exquisite style. In the course of that journey, Fermor not only crossed the borders of several countries, but also the borders of two former empires - the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian one, the presence of which could still be felt decades after they had ceased their existence. An intelligent and curious observer, Fermor offers interesting examples of this ineffaceable presence. This is most evident in his description of Transylvania, which he considers a part of central Europe and something quite different from the rest of Romania, and also in his description of Bulgaria, where he finds clear traces of the Ottoman legacy, the crossing of the Danube seen as entering into the Orient. The paper presents and analyses those examples of imperial legacies in the Balkans in the 1930s.

Carmen Stratone, a PhD student in studies of cultural diplomacy, starts her analyse from the case of the National Institute for Promoting Romanian Culture Abroad (I.R.R.C.S.). The paper underlines in the beginning I.R.R.C.S.'s lack of real power and influence within the institutional system of communist Romania, situation which was due to the fact that it had never had a real control over the cultural and the propaganda fields. Starting from 1948, I.R.R.C.S., an institute created after V.O.K.S. model (All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with the Foreign Countries), centralized the cultural propaganda actions in Bucharest according to the policies elaborated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but especially taking into account the trends set by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, institution to which it was formally and informally subordinated. Beyond the projects it promoted, most of them oversized and that existed just on paper, in its

initial years I.R.R.C.S. was the voice through which the communist regime carried out an abrupt break with the inter-war traditions, that were Western (mostly French) orientated. During the 50s, I.R.R.C.S. offered the necessary infrastructure for disseminating the pro-soviet propaganda material.

Alexandru Murad Mironov's article discusses the evolution of the pension system in Romania after WWII, in the context of the social security model present in the rest of the socialist countries. Focusing on the Romanian Pension Law of 1966 that was inspired by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the new communist leader who had been imposed only one year earlier as the general secretary of the Communist Party, the article concludes that the social regulation was indeed very modern. It introduced in the history of the Eastern European social security systems an idea which, to these days, continues to rule the debate: what the fair ratio between the principle of solidarity and the principle of contribution should be? However, this reform opened the gate for a revision of the principle of solidarity, that will further deepen the tendency to privilege the financial efficiency, a trend which had a negative impact on the retirees' standard of living, and totally discriminated the peasantry.

Vasile Buga, a specialist in international relations, deals with a topic concerning the foreign affairs within the Soviet Block. His paper analysed the reactions of the Soviet leaders to Romania's proposals for extending the Balkan cooperation made at the beginning of the eight decade of the XXth century. Traditionally considered a strategic zone for both the Tsarist Empire and its successor – the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership received coldly Nicolae Ceaușescu's ideas regarding the Balkan cooperation and labelled them as contradicting the interests of the other communist states. This paper also discusses the Soviet leadership reactions and their attempts to deter Romania's endeavours for strengthening the Balkan cooperation.

It's the authors' ambition that the articles of this special section of the *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* either introduce topics studied less by the scholarship or put a fresh, contemporary and very necessary eye on classic subjects. We can't but hope that these contributions will push the historical scholarship at least one step forward.

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L'HÉRITAGE HABSBOURGEOIS ET OTTOMAN DANS L'EUROPE DU SUD-EST: LES RÉSEAUX DE CHEMINS DE FER

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The disappearance of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires and the territorial changes after the wars of 1912–1918 still raise the question of their legacy in the countries of Southeastern Europe after the end of the First World War. One of the dimensions of this problem relates to the legacy of the two Empires to the rail networks in this region after the Great War. The main purpose of this article is to present the process of building and sharing the various railway lines that form the rail networks of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (RSCS) after 1918. This subject covers the initial period of establishment as well as the subsequent development of railways in the Balkans and surrounding areas. The research deals mainly with the railway history of the Habsburg Empire (from 1867 - Austria-Hungary) and more specifically the networks of Austria (Cisleithanie), Hungary (Transleithanie) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (after 1878). Particular attention is given to the three provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, taking into account provinces and regions such as the Austrian Coast (Küstenland), Batchka, Banat, Transylvania and Bucovina. In addition, the presentation will deal with the Ottoman Empire and more specifically with European Turkey, with the exception of the vassal provinces. The text is divided into three parts which cover the main stages of railway construction and the distribution of the railway networks in the region envisaged between 1830 and 1919/20: a) period 1830–1878; b) period 1878–1912; c) period 1913–1919 / 20.

Keywords: railroad, railway policy, Maurice de Hirsch, Habsburg Empire, The Ottoman Empire, Balkan countries.

L'expérience européenne du XIX^e siècle nous montre que la politique ferroviaire est déterminée par la combinaison de différents facteurs économiques, politiques et stratégiques. On peut distinguer trois éléments dans la politique ferroviaire d'un pays à l'époque de l'introduction de ce nouveau type de transport. Il s'agit du choix : 1) des axes principaux et des lignes secondaires du réseau national, conformément aux besoins de l'économie, mais aussi de la défense nationale; 2) du mode de construction des lignes projetées et 3) du mode d'exploitation du réseau national.

La première ligne de chemin de fer européenne fut ouverte au transport public en 1825 en Angleterre. Jusqu'au début des années 1850, les premières ébauches de réseau ferroviaire se mettent en place dans presque toutes les régions et dans tous les États de l'Europe, sauf dans la partie sud-est du continent. C'est

surtout valable pour la région balkanique proprement dit, qui englobait approximativement les territoires de cinq États nationaux (Bulgarie, Grèce, Monténégro, Roumanie et Serbie) et qui comptait les provinces des Empires habsbourgeois et ottoman, où les premières voies ferrées sont construites à peine durant les années 60 du XIXe siècle.

I. PÉRIODE 1830 – 1878

Empire Habsbourgeois

La première ligne de chemin de fer de l'Empire habsbourgeois, entre Linz et Budweis, est construite en 1832 et exploitée en traction hippomobile. Mais la « vraie » histoire du chemin de fer autrichien commence avec la *Kaiser Ferdinands-Nordbahn*, la première compagnie de locomotives à vapeur. Elle construit des liaisons depuis Vienne vers les autres villes majeures de l'Empire. Parmi celles-ci figurait la première ligne destinée aux locomotives à vapeur en Autriche : la section de la Kaiser Ferdinands-Nordbahn, de Floridsdorf à Deutsch-Wagram, ouverte en 1838. Dans la partie hongroise, la première liaison Pest – Vác est achevée en 1846.

Le but principal de la politique ferroviaire d'un pays pendant la période initiale de déploiement des chemins de fer en Europe est d'établir un réseau national ayant, en règle générale, comme centre la capitale du pays. Il s'agit ensuite de relier cette capitale avec les autres centres économiques en lien avec les autres voies de communication.¹ Le cas de l'Empire habsbourgeois est assez particulier à cet égard. Dès le début de l'époque ferroviaire, on voit émerger une concurrence acharnée entre Autrichiens et Hongrois à propos de l'établissement des grands axes, y compris dans les régions balkaniques.²

Parmi les premiers projets ferroviaires élaborés dans l'Empire autrichien pendant les années 1830–40, quelques plans envisageaient la construction de lignes

¹ S. Ville, *Transport and the Development of the European Economy (1750–1918)*, New York, 1990, p. 127–128.

² Sur l'histoire des chemins de fer dans l'Empire Habsbourgeois voir J. Gorničić Brdovački, *Razvitak željeznica u Hrvatskoj do 1918 godine*. JAZU Grada za gospodarsku povijest Hrvatske, knj. 3. Zagreb, 1952 K. Bachinger, « Das Verkehrswesen », dans A. Brusatti (Hg.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. Bd. 1. Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*. Wien, 1973, p. 278–322 ; Dž. Juzbašić, *Izgradnja željeznica u Bosni i Hercegovini u svjetlu austrougarske politike od okupacije do kraja Kallayeve ere*, Sarajevo, 1974 ; B. Stulli, *Prijedlozi i projekti željezničkih pruga u Hrvatskoj (1825–1863)*, t. 1–2. Zagreb, 1975 ; P. Jordan, “Die Entwicklung des Eisenbahnnetzes auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Jugoslawien (bis 1918)”, dans R. Plaschka, A. Drabek, B. Zaar, (Hgs.) *Eisenbahnbau und Kapitalinteressen in den Beziehungen der Österreichischen mit den südslawischen Ländern*, Wien, 1993, p. 13–30; Kl. Reisinger, Österreichs Eisenbahnwesen als Bindeglied zwischen Zentraleuropa und den Balkanländern, dans H. Heppner (Hg.), *Der Weg führt über Österreich. Zur Geschichte der Verkehrs- und Nachrichtenwesens von und nach Südosteuropa vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Wien – Köln – Weimar, 1996, p. 107–142 ; H. Jacolin, “Dalmatie : l'impossible désenclavement”, *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* (Paris) 45, 2014, p. 145–165.

dans les parties sud-est de l'Empire. Les trois lignes prévues devaient relier Pest au sud avec la mer Adriatique et au sud-est (à Zemun / Semlin) avec la frontière turque. Parmi les projets non réalisés dans les provinces balkaniques, on trouve la ligne Pest – Vukovar – Sisak – Fiume – Rijeka. C'est ainsi qu'en 1846 le comte Szecsenyi présenta un programme de construction où figurait une ligne devant relier Fiume, la ville principale de la Hongrie à la mer Adriatique, à travers des régions balkaniques, mais les événements politiques de 1848–49 ont empêché sa réalisation. À leur tour, les Autrichiens ont déployé des efforts pour accéder à la mer Adriatique. C'est ainsi qu'entre 1842 et 1857 fut construite la ligne Vienne-Trieste, très importante aux yeux des Autrichiens dont le but était de relier non seulement la capitale à ce port important, mais aussi aux possessions italiennes de l'empire – la Lombardie et Venise. Grâce à la ligne Vienne – Trieste, des tronçons sont ouverts aux limites des Balkans, en Slovénie actuelle – Sankt Egidi/ Sent Ilj – Cilli/Celje – Laibach/Ljubljana, ouverts en 1846–1849.³

Par suite de la suppression des frontières douanières entre l'Autriche et la Hongrie en 1850, de nouveaux projets de chemin de fer sont élaborés, au-delà de la Croatie, mais la situation financière de la Monarchie Danubienne ne permet pas leur réalisation pendant les années suivantes. Cependant, un élément de la politique ferroviaire de l'Empire avait changé. À cause de la crise financière, le gouvernement autrichien passa d'un système public à un système privé. Des sociétés, parmi lesquelles les célèbres Südbahn et STEG, ont obtenu des concessions pour la construction de diverses lignes, y compris dans les Balkans. Mais jusqu'à la fin de cette décennie, les seuls chemins de fer à voir le jour apparurent dans les régions avoisinantes - Batchka et Banat. C'est ainsi que la première ligne entre Oravița (Banat) et Baziaș, port danubien à proximité des Portes de Fer, a été ouverte en 1854.⁴ Trois ans plus tard, en novembre 1857 était terminé par la STEG et mise en service de la voie ferrée Szeged–Temesvár/ Timișoara.⁵

Au cours des années 1860–70, l'élargissement du réseau ferré dans les régions balkaniques a eu comme résultat essentiel le développement de l'hinterland du plus grand port de la région, Trieste. Au contraire, la Hongrie souhaitait favoriser le développement du port de Fiume. La politique ferroviaire de l'Autriche dans les provinces balkaniques avait pour but d'assurer à Trieste le monopole du commerce maritime austro-hongrois. Au début des années 1860, deux lignes ont été construites en Croatie, entre Karlovac et Sisak via Zagreb, et entre Vienne et Trieste, afin d'élargir l'hinterland de ce dernier port en attirant vers lui tout le trafic de la Croatie-Slavonie. C'est grâce à cette construction que la première liaison directe entre Zagreb et Ljubljana a vu le jour.

³ Le tronçon Sankt Egidi – Marburg a.d. Drau – Cilli (Sent Ilj -Maribor - Celje) 82,5 km, est ouvert en 1846, tandis que Cilli – Steinbrück – Laibach (Celje – Zidani Most – Ljubljana) 90,6 km, est ouvert en 1849.

⁴ Après 1919, la ligne Baziaș – Bela Crvka – Jasenov – Iam – Oravița était partagée entre la Roumanie et le R.S.C.S.

⁵ En 1920–1922 cette ligne était partagée entre trois pays: Timișoara – Jimbolia – en Roumanie ; Orosłomos-Szeged – en Hongrie et Orosłomos- Banatsko Arandjelovo – Kikinda – St. Hubert – dans le R.S.C.S.

La réponse de Budapest est la construction, projetée dès le Compromis de 1867, de la ligne qui, des bords de la Drave rejoint Fiume, en 1873. Cette ligne était séparée, entre Zagreb et Karlovac, par le tronçon propriété de la Südbahn. Voilà pourquoi le gouvernement hongrois rachète, en 1880, ce tronçon qui lui assure une liberté d'action.

D'un point de vue quantitatif, on peut constater qu'à la fin des années 1870 la Croatie-Slavonie comptait déjà environ 500 km lignes construites, tandis que la Dalmatie n'en comptait que 105 km.

La construction des chemins de fer en Transylvanie démarra après le "Compromis". C'est ainsi qu'une société appartenant au groupe des Rothschild, le premier chemin de fer de Transylvanie, a terminé en décembre 1868, la ligne Arad-Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia/Karlsburg. Une autre compagnie, la Société ferroviaire de l'Est a construit, entre 1868 et 1873, la ligne qui traversait la Transylvanie Nagyvárad-Kolozsvár/Cluj- Marosvásárhely/ Târgu Mureş – Brassó/ Braşov (633 km).

Pendant la période envisagée, en Bucovine, qui était gouvernée par Vienne, était ouvert en 1869 le chemin de fer Czernowitz/Cernăuți /Chernivtsi/ – Suceava, construit par la compagnie Lemberg-Czernowitz-Jassy Eisenbahn.

L'Empire Ottoman

Pendant les années 1830–50, de multiples projets et plans de construction de réseaux ferrés ont été élaborés pour couvrir les parties balkaniques de l'Empire du Sultan. Ces projets ont été pensés par des cercles économiques et politiques à Vienne, Londres et Paris dans l'intention principale de relier la capitale Constantinople aux pays occidentaux, la plupart du temps à travers la principauté de Serbie.

Les premiers projets ferroviaires ottomans proprement dits sont postérieurs à la guerre de Crimée. Il est vrai que leur réalisation a été confiée à des capitalistes étrangers.⁶ Ce n'est qu'en 1860 que fut inaugurée la première ligne en Turquie d'Europe. Il s'agit de la ligne Kustendje/Constanța – Boghas-Kioi/Cernavoda, suivie par la ligne Roustchouk/Ruse – Varna (1866), toutes deux bâties par une société britannique. Ces lignes devaient surtout servir les intérêts du commerce britannique dans les Balkans.⁷

⁶Sur l'histoire des chemins de fer dans l'Empire ottoman, en Bulgarie et en Serbie voir W. Rechberger, "Zur Geschichte der Orientbahnen: Österreichische Eisenbahnpolitik auf dem Balkan", *Österreichische Osthefte* 5, 1960, p. 348–59; 2, 1961, p. 102–112; Jez. Nikolic, *Istorija zeleznica Srbije, Vojvodine, Crne Gore i Kosova*, Beograd, 1980 ; V. Engin, *Rumeli Demiryollari*, Istanbul, 1993; Al. Kostov, "Entre l'influence occidentale et les efforts nationaux : le choix des systèmes et du financement des chemins de fer dans les Balkans (1860–1912)", *Etudes balkaniques* 2, 2001, p. 11–20 ; M. Samardžić, *Roads to Europe. Serbian Politics and the Railway Issue (1878–1881)*, Pisa, 2010.

⁷La ligne Kustendje (Constanța) – Boghas-Keni (Cernavoda) (63,3 km) devait relier le Danube à la mer Noire et permettre aux navires britanniques de débarquer leur marchandise à ces deux ports, pour les transborder, par voie ferrée, jusqu'au Danube, en évitant l'embouchure de ce fleuve dont la navigation n'était pas encore réglée. Mais le port de Kustendje ne pouvait jouer le rôle prévu. Voilà pourquoi, en 1866 la société britannique construisit le deuxième chemin de fer reliant le Danube à la Mer Noire, Roustchouk / Ruse – Varna (224). Malgré cela, pendant les années suivantes le trafic danubien continuait à attirer tout le commerce vers les ports roumains Brăila et Galați.

Il faut attendre la fin des années 1860 pour que la Sublime Porte lance un vaste programme de construction de réseaux en Turquie d'Europe afin de relier le reste du continent. Le gouvernement ottoman entame des négociations avec des entrepreneurs et financiers occidentaux. Finalement, en 1869, une concession est accordée au fameux baron Maurice de Hirsch. Sa compagnie prend l'engagement de construire un réseau d'environ 2500 km. Les lignes connues sous le nom de *Chemins de fer orientaux* s'articulent autour de l'axe principal Constantinople, Andrinople/Edirne, Philippople/Plovdiv, Sofia, Nish, Pristina, Sarajevo qui aboutit à la frontière austro-hongroise, près de la Save. Quatre embranchements se détachent de l'axe: 1) d'Andrinople vers l'Archipel; 2) de Philippople vers Burgas sur la mer Noire; 3) de Pristina vers Salonique; 4) de Nish vers la frontière serbe. En 1872, par suite des changements politiques à Constantinople, les conditions de la concession sont changées et la longueur des lignes est réduite. Sous la pression russe, la Turquie abandonne l'idée d'une liaison avec le réseau austro-hongrois. La révision de la concession prévoit le prolongement de la ligne T. Seymen – Yambol, non pas dans la direction de Burgas, mais vers Chumla sur la ligne Varna – Roustchouk, afin de relier le réseau turc aux réseaux roumain et russe. Après avoir surmonté des difficultés financières, techniques et administratives, la compagnie du baron Hirsch construit, vers 1875, un réseau d'une longueur totale de 1230 km, dont 562 km pour la ligne principale Constantinople – Andrinople – Belovo (village entre Philippople et Sofia). Les quatre autres lignes relient Andrinople au port de Dedeagatch sur la mer Égée, Salonique à Skopje et à Mitrovica, Tirnovo Seymen/ Simoenovgrad à Yambol, ainsi que deux villes en Bosnie, Doberlin et Banja Luka.

II. PÉRIODE 1878–1912

Après la guerre russo-turque et le Congrès de Berlin, la Turquie perd des territoires couverts de lignes ferroviaires en faveur de la Bulgarie libérée, de la Roumanie⁸ et de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Il s'agit des lignes du nord de la Dobroudja, Constanța-Cernavodă, de la Principauté de Bulgarie, de Roumélie orientale et de Bosnie-Herzégovine (voir **Tableau 1**).

Tableau 1
Répartition des chemins de fer en Turquie d'Europe 1877–1878 (en km)

| 1877 | | 1878 | |
|------------------|------|---|-----|
| Turquie d'Europe | 1517 | Turquie d'Europe | 833 |
| | | Principauté de Bulgarie et Roumélie orientale | 534 |
| | | Roumanie | 63 |
| | | Bosnie-Herzégovine (Autriche-Hongrie) | 87 |

⁸ Sur l'histoire des chemins de fer en Roumanie avant 1914, voir T. Popescu, *Proiectul feroviar românesc (1842–1916)*, Bucarest, 2014.

Autriche-Hongrie

En 1878, l'Autriche-Hongrie occupe la Bosnie-Herzégovine et commence immédiatement à bâtir un système de chemins de fer à voie étroite (76 cm), suivi de lignes à voie normale (1,44 m). Dans cette province⁹ occupée et administrée par la Monarchie danubienne (elle est annexée en 1908), se trouvait la ligne Banja Luka-Doberlin qui devait constituer l'amorce de la grande voie internationale Vienne-Salonique. Jusqu'en 1876, la compagnie Hirsch n'avait construit que le tronçon Banja Luka-Bosanski Novi (87km). L'achèvement et l'ouverture complète datent de 1879, avec extension jusqu'à Doberlin comme ligne militaire. Cette ligne a été connectée au réseau austro-hongrois en 1882, par le tronçon Sunja – Doberlin, mais n'a pas été raccordée aux lignes à voie étroite dont la construction commença immédiatement après l'occupation du pays. Au cours des années 1879–91 la transversale de Bosna Brod voit le jour. Elle traverse les deux villes principales de Sarajevo et Mostar pour aboutir au port de Metkovic sur la mer Adriatique, en reliant l'Empire (Slavonie) avec l'Adriatique du Sud.

En ce qui concerne les autres régions balkaniques de l'Empire, il faut noter l'ouverture, en 1891, du tronçon Vinkovci – Sremska Mitrovica (en Slavonie) qui faisait partie de la seule transversale, dans les provinces balkaniques de l'Autriche-Hongrie, orientée ouest-est. Elle relie en ligne directe Zagreb à Belgrade et, via la ligne Vienne-Trieste, à l'Europe centrale. Son importance croît après le percement du tunnel du Simplon en 1906 qui permet la liaison entre Paris et Belgrade via Milan et Zagreb, plus courte de 100 km que la liaison Paris – Belgrade via Vienne et Budapest.

En effet, dans les provinces balkaniques de l'Autriche-Hongrie, les voies ferrées reliées aux réseaux européens étaient orientées nord-sud, ou en direction de l'est, tandis qu'il n'y avait presque rien en direction de l'ouest. Le réseau de Bosnie, qui partait de Bosna Brod pour aboutir à Metkovic puis Gravosa/Gruž (le port de Raguse/Dubrovnik) et Zelenika (bouches de Cattaro), ne pouvait être considéré comme desservant suffisamment l'Adriatique. Quant au réseau dalmate proprement dit, il ne comprenait que la ligne Knin – Spalato/Split avec les embranchements de Perkovic Slivno – Sebenico/Šibenik et Spalato – Sinj, et il n'était relié à aucun autre réseau. Le raccordement avec les chemins de fer croates (ligne Zagreb – Fiume) ne sera réalisé qu'après la Première Guerre mondiale.

Le développement des chemins de fer en Transylvanie pendant la période entre 1878 et la Première Guerre mondiale se caractérise par : 1) l'étatisation des grandes lignes, 2) la construction par des compagnies privées d'un réseau de chemins de fer vicinaux assez vaste, dont une grande partie était exploitée par l'État et 3) établissement des raccordements avec les réseaux roumain.

⁹ En 1878, l'Empire Habsbourgeois a occupé non seulement la Bosnie-Herzégovine, mais aussi le Sandjak (ottoman) de Novi Pazar.

Empire ottoman

Le congrès de Berlin, dominé par les Grandes Puissances occidentales, imposait aux quatre États (Autriche-Hongrie, Serbie, Bulgarie et Turquie) la construction d'une ligne permettant de relier Vienne à Constantinople et à Salonique via Budapest, Belgrade et Nich (qui passa après 1878 à la Serbie). Ainsi a été déterminé le programme d'établissement des premières voies ferrées en Serbie. La surveillance, ainsi que l'exécution de cette décision, ont été confiées à la "Conférence à quatre" qui avait réuni des représentants de ces quatre États. Par suite de la convention entre l'Autriche-Hongrie et la Serbie (1880) et de la "Convention à quatre" conclue en mai 1883, les plus importants tronçons de raccordement dans toute l'histoire des chemins de fer des Balkans voient le jour pendant les années suivantes.

Successivement, en 1884, les chemins de fer de la Hongrie et de la Serbie sont connectés, entre Zymony/Zemun et Belgrade, grâce au premier pont sur le Bas-Danube. En 1888, la ligne Skopje – Zibevece (frontière serbe) est établie en Macédoine ottoman. Longue de 85 km, elle fait jonction avec le réseau serbe (le tronçon Ristovac – Zibevece). Notons que la même année la Serbie se connecte au chemin de fer bulgare (Pirov – Caribrod), après l'achèvement de la ligne Belovo-Sofia. L'ouverture du double axe Europe centrale – Constantinople et Salonique facilite considérablement le commerce entre l'Europe centrale et occidentale, les Balkans et l'Orient.

Au cours de cette période, deux grandes transversales est-ouest sont édifiées dans les provinces ottomanes, de la mer Noire vers l'Adriatique. En 1894 et 1896 s'ouvrent deux voies ferrées très importantes, l'une reliant Salonique à Constantinople via Dédéagatch – Andrinople, et l'autre Salonique à Monastir (Bitola). La société allemande en charge de l'installation de la ligne Salonique – Monastir avait l'intention de prolonger le projet jusqu'à Durazzo ou Valona, afin de relier Constantinople et la mer Égée à l'Adriatique, mais le plan ne s'est pas réalisé.

Outre les projets mentionnés, cette période a été propice à l'éclosion de diverses propositions de développement en Turquie d'Europe, notamment la possibilité d'un raccordement au réseau grec, en partant de la station de Karaferia pour aboutir en Grèce à Kalambaka, et de Salonique à la frontière hellénique via Katerini. Finalement, le gouvernement turc abandonna cette idée, de crainte que les Grecs ne détournent une grande partie du trafic de Salonique vers Le Pirée. Pour cette raison, la Grèce est restée isolée du réseau ottoman et européen jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale.

Les activités des gouvernements à Constantinople, Vienne et Budapest à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle ont eu pour résultat un accroissement de l'emprise des réseaux ferrés dans les parties balkaniques des deux empires. Pour mieux estimer l'évolution du transport ferroviaire, on peut établir une comparaison avec les autres pays balkaniques (**tableaux 2 et 3**).¹⁰

¹⁰ Voir aussi Al. Kostov, "Les Balkans et le réseau ferroviaire européen avant la Première Guerre mondiale", dans M. Merger, A. Carreras, A. Guintini, (eds.) *Les réseaux européens transnationaux XIXe-XXe siècles: quels enjeux?*, Nantes, 1995, p. 48-60.

Tableau 2

Longueur des voies de chemin de fer dans les Balkans 1880–1912 (en km)

| | 1880 | 1900 | 1912 |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| Bulgarie | 534 ^{*)} | 1565 | 1964 |
| Grèce | 9 | 1033 | 1585 |
| Roumanie | 1377 | 3083 | 3607 |
| Serbie | – | 573 | 1226 |
| Turquie d'Europe | 833 | 1647 | 1693 |
| Monténégro | – | – | 43 |
| Croatie-Slavonie | 541 | 1725 | 2259 |
| Bosnie-Herzégovine | 290 | 779 | 1070 |
| Dalmatie | 105 | 125 | 229 |

Note : *) Principauté de Bulgarie et Roumélie orientale

Tableau 3

Les chemins de fer dans les Balkans : Indice du développement

| | 1880 | 1900 | 1912 |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|
| Bulgarie | 9 | 24 | 27 |
| Grèce | 0,2 | 23 | 32 |
| Roumanie | 15 | 31 | 32 |
| Serbie | – | 22 | 27 |
| | 15 | | |
| Turquie d'Europe | 8 | 14 | 14 |
| Monténégro | – | – | 8 |
| Croatie-Slavonie | 22 | 47 | 57 |
| Bosnie-Herzégovine | 11 | 26 | 30 |
| Dalmatie | 12 | 12 | 21 |

Note : Indice du développement = de la longueur des voies ferrées divisée par la somme de la population (en 100 000) et 3 fois la superficie (en 10 000 km²).

L'indice de développement proposé par Paul Bairoch ainsi que des formules plus "traditionnelles" (la longueur divisée par 100 km² ou par 100 000 habitants) autorisent une comparaison uniquement quantitative. Il faut compléter ces résultats par d'autres, spécifiques aux différents pays. C'est ainsi que vers 1912 le pourcentage de lignes à voie normale était le suivant: Serbie 46%; Bosnie 10%; Dalmatie 55%; Croatie 91%. La seule ligne monténégrine était à voie étroite, alors qu'en Turquie d'Europe il n'y avait que des lignes à voie normale. Il faut noter aussi que la Roumanie était le seul pays de la région possédant des lignes à double voie – 237 km en 1912.

En dehors de la dimension quantitative, il faut tenir compte de l'orientation des grandes lignes sud-est européennes. Le réseau balkanique, élaboré pendant la période 1860–1912/14, s'articule sur l'axe principal reliant l'Europe centrale (Vienne et Budapest) à Belgrade – Nich – Sofia, puis Constantinople et ses trois ramifications en direction des trois mers – une vers Zagreb-Fiume, l'autre vers

Salonique, la dernière vers Bucarest – Constanța. Ces grands axes et connexions ferroviaires ont été pensés pour servir surtout l'Europe centrale et occidentale et le nombre réduit de liaisons annexes ne favorisait pas le trafic interrégional. Vers 1912–13, les États balkaniques étaient reliés par six lignes à l'Autriche-Hongrie, dont une seule incluait la Croatie. La situation des provinces balkaniques de l'Autriche-Hongrie était encore plus claire. Le réseau de la Croatie-Slavonie était relié par sept lignes aux autres chemins de fer de Transleithanie et par trois lignes aux chemins de fer de Cisleithanie, tandis qu'il y avait seulement deux liaisons avec le réseau ferré de la Bosnie-Herzégovine.

III. PÉRIODE 1913–1919/1920

Après les Guerres balkaniques, l'Empire ottoman a perdu presque tout le territoire européen. À la suite des traités de Bucarest et de Constantinople, la majeure partie du réseau est redistribuée entre trois pays – Bulgarie, Grèce et Serbie. Cette dernière a reçu en héritage un total de 398 km d'anciennes lignes ottomanes réparties comme suit : Skopje – Zibevece (85 km), (Salonique) – Guevgueli – Skopje – Mitrovica (296 km), et (Salonique) – Kenali/Kremenica – Bitola (17 km). La Bulgarie et la Grèce ont obtenu des morceaux des lignes turcs en partageant les chemins de fer Salonique – Constantinople et Dédéagatch – Andrinople. Après la Première Guerre mondiale il y a eu de nouveau des changements dans ces régions (Macédoine et Thrace).¹¹ La Bulgarie vaincue a perdu des territoires avec des tronçons des anciennes lignes ottomans en faveur de la Grèce (**voir Tableau 4**).

C'est ainsi qu'en 1913, 6 km de la ligne Constantinople – Andrinople – Mustafa Pacha/ Svilengrad sont passés en Bulgarie. Puis, suivant un arrangement de 1915 entre la Bulgarie et l'Empire ottoman, les alliées au sein des Puissances centrales, le tronçon entre la nouvelle frontière bulgare et Kuleli-Burgas (avec Karagatch) 30 km – est entré en Bulgarie. Mais finalement, après la guerre, en 1920–1923, le même tronçon (sans Karagatch) est devenu grec. Pendant la période 1913–1920, les autres lignes en Turquie d'Europe sont partagées entre trois états de la manière suivante :

La ligne Andrinople – Dedeagatch (112 km)

Après la Deuxième Guerre balkanique, le tronçon Kuleli-Burgas/Pythion – Dimotika/Didimotichon – frontière bulgare (33 km) – resta en Turquie et le tronçon de la frontière turque à Dedeagatch (79 km) – en Bulgarie. Plus tard, en 1915, toute la ligne Kuleli Burgas – Dimotika - Dedeagatch – passa en Bulgarie, mais finalement après la Première Guerre mondiale, la ligne Dedeagatch / Alexandroupolis – Ormenion est devenue grecque.

¹¹ Après les traités de paix de 1919–1923.

La ligne Salonique – Dedeagatch (441,4 km) et son embranchement Badoma – Feredjik/Fere (39 km)

Fin 1913 la ligne était partagée en deux : le tronçon Thessaloniki – Oktchilar/Toxote (312,9 km) – en Grece et le reste en Bulgarie. En 1920 toute la ligne est devenue grecque. L'embranchement Badoma – Feredjik/Fere était démonté après 1920.

Tableau 4

Répartition des chemins de fer ottomans Balkans 1912–1919 (en km)

| Août 1912 | | Fin 1913 | | 1919 | |
|------------------|------|------------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| Turquie d'Europe | 1693 | Turquie d'Europe | 446 | Turquie d'Europe | 451 |
| | | Bulgarie | 257 | Bulgarie | 6 |
| | | Grece | 592 | Grece | 838 |
| | | Serbie | 398 | Serbie/R.S.C.S. | 398 |

Après la Première Guerre mondiale, la carte ferroviaire de ces régions est de nouveau recomposée. Suite à la disparition de l'Autriche-Hongrie, les États successeurs peuvent incorporer des morceaux des réseaux d'avant-guerre. C'est le cas du nouveau Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes, dont le territoire est couvert de fragments des anciennes voies ferrées ottomanes et habsbourgeoises. Vers 1919/1920, au réseau de la Serbie (longueur 2015 km) dont les grands axes étaient orientés vers Budapest, Salonique et Constantinople s'ajoutent les sections des anciens réseaux de Cisleithanie (Carinthie, Styrie, Carniole, Littoral autrichien) orientés surtout vers Vienne et Trieste¹², ainsi que des bouts de réseaux de Transleithanie (Croatie, Slavonie, Syrmie, Batchka et Banat) orientés vers Budapest et Fiume et le réseau de Bosnie-Herzégovine. La "contribution" de l'Empire austro-hongrois est énorme. Sur un total de 9142 km, son apport atteint 7073 km¹³ (**voir Tableau 5**).

Tableau 5

Les chemins de fer dans le Royaume des Serbes Croates et Slovènes en 1919

| Anciens réseaux | Km |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Cisleithanie (Autriche) | 1218 |
| Transleithanie (Hongrie) | 4262 |
| Bosnie-Herzégovine | 1593 |
| Serbie | 2015 |
| Autres *) | 54 |
| Total | 9142 |

Note : *) Dans ce chiffre sont inclus les 43 km du Monténégro et les 11 km relevant du territoire bulgare annexé après la guerre

¹² Y compris la Dalmatie.

¹³ Les données sont tirées d'un manuscrit de Mr. Henry Jacolin, auquel je suis redevable de l'information.

Tableau 6

Les chemins de fer en Roumanie (1919)

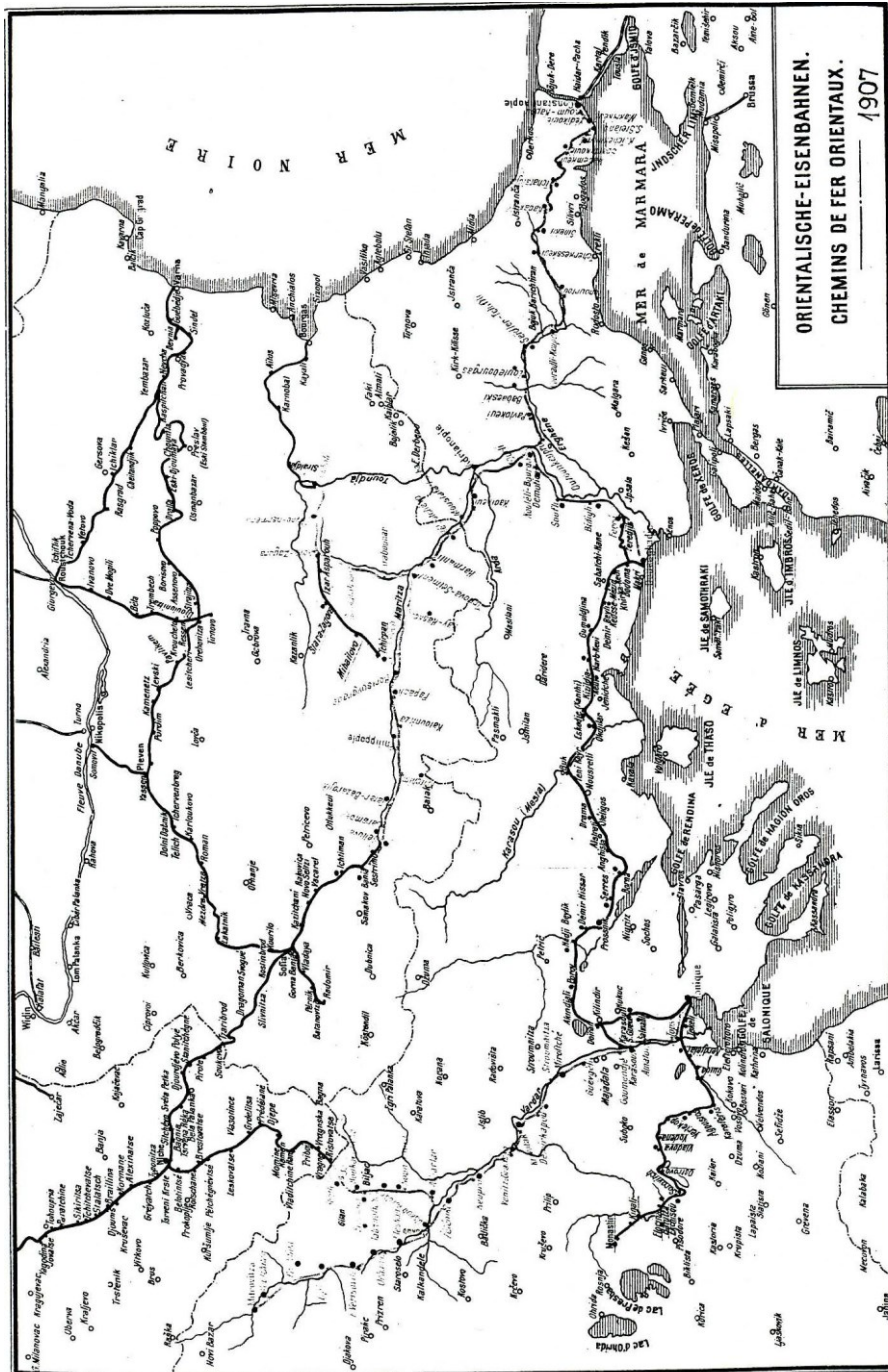
| Anciens réseaux | Km |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Cisleithanie (Autriche) *) | 630 |
| Transleithanie (Hongrie) **) | 5396 |
| Bessarabie (Russie) | 979 |
| Vieux Royaume | 3996 |
| Total | 11001 |

Notes : *) Bucovine, **) Transylvanie et Banat

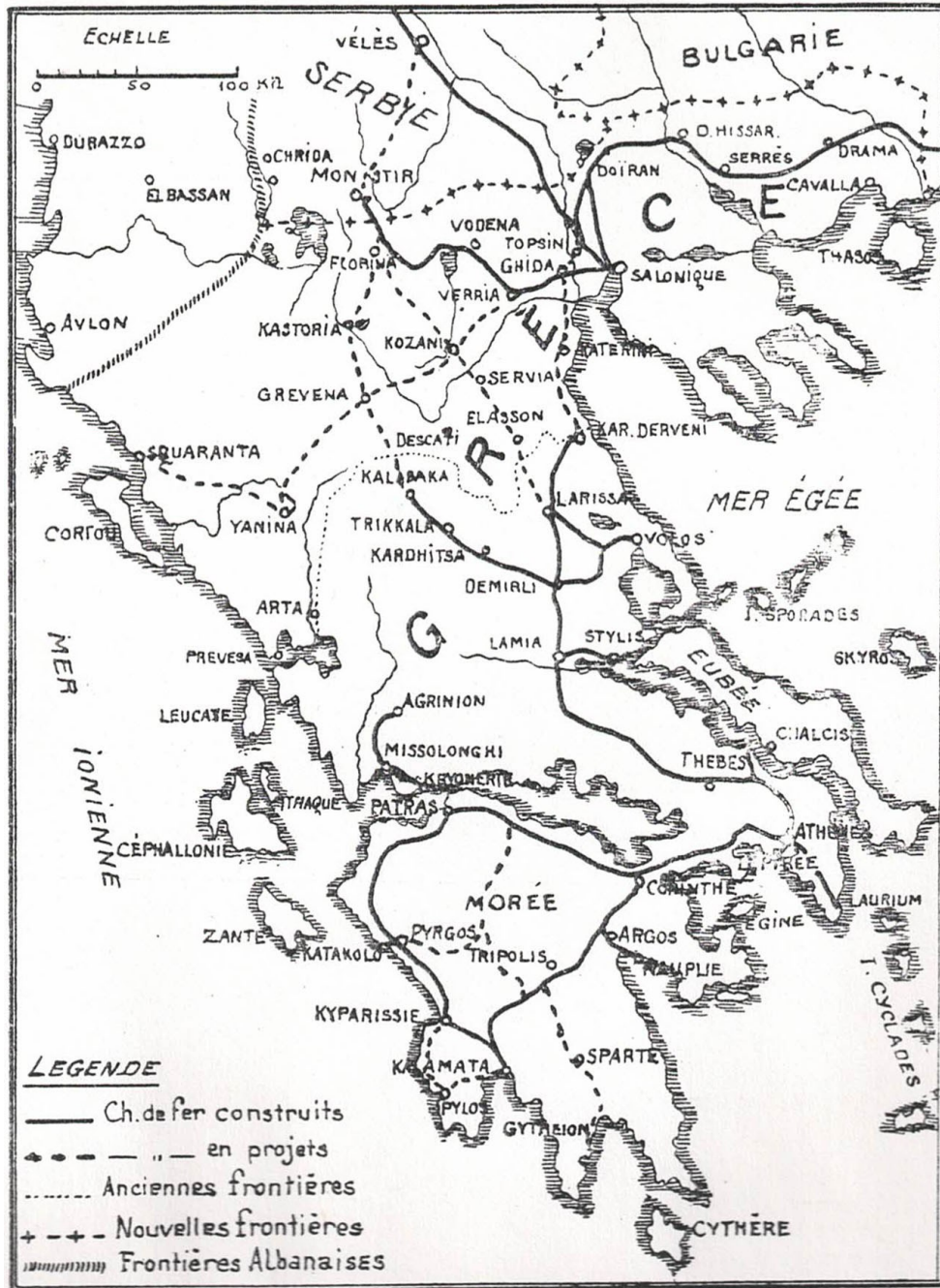
Source : *Ceferiada (1869–1939)*, Bucarest, Imprimeria C.F.R., 1939, p. 25.**EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION**

Notre récit montre la contribution considérable des chemins de fer habsbourgeois et ottomans aux réseaux des États balkaniques après 1918. Après la guerre, les grands ensembles économiques (Empires habsbourgeois et ottoman) ont disparu et les chemins de fer de leurs anciennes régions ont été rattachés surtout aux trois pays de cette partie de l'Europe – la Grèce, la Roumanie et le RSCS. Chaque région disposait de lignes propres qu'il fallait adapter à un nouveau système unitaire au service de l'économie de ces États dans leurs nouvelles territoires/frontières. Dans le cas grec ce processus commença encore en 1914. Des problèmes très sérieux sont apparus en lien avec cette incorporation des chemins de fer habsbourgeois et ottomans, et notamment – établissement de nouvelles connexions, rachat des lignes aux anciens propriétaires, etc. Pendant les deux décennies suivantes, ces délicates questions allaient marquer le développement des chemins de fer de ces trois pays.¹⁴

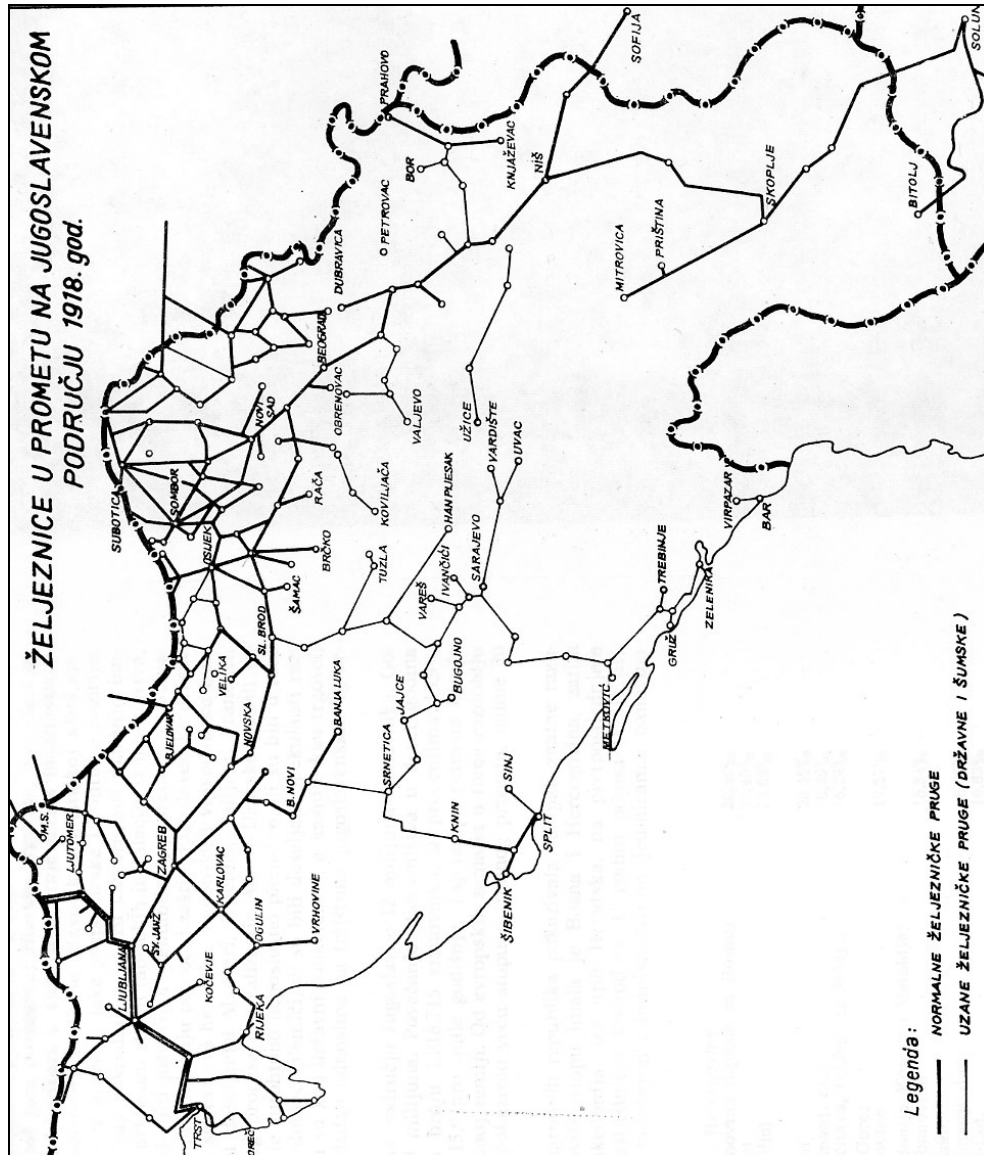
¹⁴ Sur le développement des chemins de fer dans en Grèce, en Roumanie et dans le R.S.C.S./ Yougoslavie entre 1919–1939 voir par ex. S. B. Coronis *Les chemins de fer et la politique ferroviaire de la Grèce*, Athènes, 1924 ; D. Perowitsch, *Entwicklung und Ausbau des jugoslawischen Eisenbahnnetzes*, Köln, 1932; Dr. Arnaoutovitch, *Histoire des chemins de fer yougoslaves (1825–1937)*, Paris, 1937, p. 233–361; V. C. Vorobchievici, *Les Chemins de fer en Roumanie*, Paris, 1931; Al. Kostov, "Die ausländischen Investitionen und das Eisenbahnwesen in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Am Beispiel der 'Bank für Transportwerte' (Basel)", *Etudes balkaniques* 1–2, 1997, p. 84–108.



Carte des chemins de fer en Turquie d'Europe (1907).



Carte des chemins de fer en Grèce (fin 1913).



Carte des chemins de fer dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes (fin 1918).

A LINGUISTIC BABYLON OR COMPETING LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISMS?
THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY COMMUNISTS
IN INTERWAR ROMANIA

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This article deals with language(s) and politics, more specifically, it aims to discuss the way in which the ability to speak more than one language influenced the political activity of the communist activists in interwar Romania. The linguistic question within the Communist Party of Romania and, in a broader sense, within the communist movement, could be addressed from two perspectives: how the individuals dealt with the language issue and, on the other hand, how the institutions that, altogether, formed the so-called “communist movement” – Communist International with its central and regional bodies, the local parties, the other structures created and driven by Comintern in different parts of the world – managed the linguistic diversity. This article concentrates on the first angle and analyses the methods, decisions, and strategies used by individuals to deal with the linguistic issue. The paper is organized in two main parts. In the first one, it is explained what languages the first communists spoke then one discusses the attitude toward the Romanian language of those communists who didn’t speak it natively.

Keywords: bilingualism, multilingualism, ethnolinguistic nationalism, interwar communism, Comintern studies, language and politics.

“When, for instance, comrade Dinu (Boris Stefanov, *my note, C.D.*) writes an article in Romanian, com. Bela (David Fabian, *my note, C.D.*) must proofread it, com. Szasz or someone else must translate it into Hungarian before we can send to our newspapers for publication. Another example: when com. Balthazar (Elek Köblös, *my note, C.D.*), our general secretary, drafts a report, it must be translated from Hungarian into Romanian, the Romanian version must be proofread and edited, because there is no Hungarian comrade able to write in Romanian correctly, with no mistakes. If the general secretary receives a report in Romanian, it must be translated into Hungarian, so as he could understand what it says and symmetrically – his reply must be translated into Romanian. With the Russian language the things work even harder.”¹

¹ Report of the Central Committee (hereinafter C.C.) of the Communist Party of Romania (hereinafter CPoR) to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (hereinafter ECCI), in The National Archives of Romania – Central Unit (hereinafter ANIC, after the Romanian abbreviation), fund the Central Committee (hereinafter C.C.) of the Romanian Communist Party (hereinafter R.C.P.) – Chancellery, file 41/1925, p. 14–15.

This quotation is part of a report sent by the Central Committee (C.C.) of the Communist Party of Romania (CPoR) to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) on 19th October 1925. Among many others, this document finger-points the linguistic problem as one of the reasons for the too many shortcomings and delays in the CPoR's activities, and explains how the things were really functioning in the Romanian "communist" world.

It is common knowledge that in Romania, between the two world wars, the communist ideology seemed appealing mostly to citizens with ethnic origins other than Romanian. The alienness of this new political movement was highlighted often by policy makers and by the force institutions.² Interesting to notice, the historiography in the last two decades of the Romanian communism, when the regime took a clear, nationalist facies, perpetuated exactly the same ideas as the interwar precursors.³ This idea is so widespread even nowadays insomuch that it

² Between the two world wars, high-ranked officers within the Romanian secret services wrote expanded analyses of the communist phenomenon, that referred to its origins, types of manifestation, organization, institutions etc. For their works, the authors used both theoretical literature regarding the subversive movements and information derived from the daily reports drafted by the secret police agents who were dealing with the communist movement in the field. Among these works, we mention Sava Dumitrescu, *Activitatea de războiu a organizației comuniste din România: nouile metode de luptă ale mișcării comuniste revoluționare în stare de războiu* [*The Communism in Romania at War. New methods used by the revolutionary communist movement during the war*], Atelierele Grafice Socec, București, f.a.; Constantin Maimuca, Inspector Regional al Poliției în Basarabia, *Tehnica și tactica comunistă* [*The communist 'modus operandi'*], ediția a II-a revizuită și adăugită, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului Imprimeria Chișinău, 1936 (republished Constantin Maimuca, *Tehnica și tactica comunistă*, Studiu introductiv și note de Corneliu Crăciun, Editura Primus, Oradea, 2011); Nicolae Turcu, *Demascarea comunismului în România* [*Revealing the real face of the Romanian communism*], [Bucharest?], 1941.

³ M.C. Stănescu, *Mișcarea muncitorească din România în anii 1921–1924* [*The working-class movement in Romania, 1921–1924*], Bucharest, 1971; idem, *Mișcarea muncitorească din România în anii 1924–1928* [*The working-class movement in Romania, 1924–1928*], Bucharest, 1981. In this latter work, the author stated: "După cum se vede, Biroul Politic din străinătate, ca și militanții care, între 1924–1928 au îndeplinit sarcina de secretari ai C.C. ai P.C.R. în țară, au fost, aproape în exclusivitate, activiști din rândul celor numiți de Comintern. Această politică de cadre, care a afectat activitatea Partidului Comunist din România între congresele al III-lea și al IV-lea, își avea originea în concepția eronată cu privire la semnificația istorică a încheierii procesului de desăvârșire a statului național-unitar român. Unii dintre membrii conducerii superioare a P.C.R. acceptau cu mai multă ușurință directivele pe care Internaționala Comunistă le impunea ori s-a străduit să le impună partidului nostru. Respectiva compoziție a cadrelor a avut ca urmare, între altele, și o anumită izolare a partidului de masele largi ale poporului român, furnizând, în același timp, autorităților represive pretextul de a denigra Partidul Comunist Român, pe care îl prezentau, în mod fals, ca nefiind un produs al solului românesc". M.C. Stănescu, *Mișcarea... 1924–1928*, p. 157. ["As one can see, the Political Bureau from abroad, as well as the militants who, between 1924–1928, had been appointed as members of the Secretariat of the C.C. of the P.C.R. which worked in the country, were almost exclusively among those preferred by Comintern. This cadres' policy, which affected the activity of the CPoR between the 3rd and 4th congresses, originated in the misconception about the historical significance of the end of the process of completion of the Romanian, unified state. Some members of the senior leadership of the R.C.P. too easily accepted the directives that the Communist International imposed or strove to impose on our party. That composition of the cadres resulted, among other things, in a certain isolation of the party from the large masses of the Romanians, while providing the repressive authorities with the pretext to denigrate the R.C.P., which they falsely presented as not a product of the Romanian soil"]. (*my translation, C.D.*). It worth underling that this interpretation

became an axioma, or a truth similar to those revealed by the Holy Bible, which mustn't be demonstrated, nor questioned how it really worked in reality.

Before 1989, scholars who dealt with the subject finger-pointed the “national composition” of the leading bodies of the party and subsequently, the Comintern and the Russians, as responsible for the mistakes made by communists between the two world wars. This interpretation, completely in sync with the foreign and domestic policies promoted by the Romanian state in general did nothing but draw some political disputes from those days on the recent (and not always recent) past.

Starting from the realities disclosed by the report of the C.C. of the CPoR from October 1925, one might rightly wonder how the most prominent leaders of the party managed to understand each other in their day-to-day activity. This question leads us to the problem of languages spoken by the first communists. As we can admit that the majority were native in other languages than Romanian, we should ask which language they were native in? It could be also interesting to explore if the communists in interwar Romania used to be bi- or multilingual, since many of them were born and lived their lives in complex, multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and sometimes even multicultural regions, such as Banat or even Bessarabia.

STATE OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE FIELD

There is a huge amount of knowledge as regards the bilingualism/multilingualism – nowadays⁴ and in a historical context⁵ as well. The recent

persisted even after 1989. In a book first published in 2003 and re-printed in 2011, the same author wrote: “Desigur că vina principală pentru gravele măsuri organizatorice adoptate și mai ales pentru marele număr de teze și indicații greșite incluse în documentele adoptate la Conferința a II-a o poartă organismele comuniste internaționale, ale căror dispoziții erau obligatorii. Dar poate nu este lipsită de semnificație nici *compoziția națională total necorespunzătoare a organelor superioare de partid* (the italics are mine, C.D.) După cum se știe, la Congresul al IV-lea, din 1928, Comitetul Central ales, aflat acum în funcție, era alcătuit din 9 membri proveniți din rândul minorităților conlocuitoare și numai un român. Iar la această conferință, din 19 participanți, 15 erau din rândul naționalităților conlocuitoare și doar 4 români. Era și aceasta o practică, din domeniul cadrelor, a Cominternului”. M.C. Stănescu, *Stânga politică românească în anii crizei (1929–1933)*, Bucharest, 2011, p. 58–59. [“Obviously, the main fault for the serious organisational measures adopted and, in particular, for the large number of theses and instructions included in the documents adopted at the Second Conference lies with the bodies of the Communist International, the provisions of which were binding. But perhaps it is not without significance the totally inappropriate national composition of the party leading bodies. As it is well known, the Central Committee elected at the Fourth Congress, in 1928, now in office, was composed of 9 members from the national minorities and only one member was a Romanian. And at this conference, out of 19 participants, 15 came from the ethnic nationalities and only 4 were Romanians. As a matter of fact, this was the cadre policy promoted by Comintern”]. (*my translation, C.D.*)

⁴ From an impressive amount of publications on this matter, we send to some general, synthetic volumes, such as L. Wei, M. Moyer (eds.), *Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007; P. Auer, L. Wei (eds.), *Handbook of Multilingualism and*

migratory processes, stimulated by globalization, increased the degree of interestingness in the ‘people on the move’ phenomenon, which could be and it is addressed from multiple angles, the linguistic point of view included, because in a world inter-connected now more than ever before in history, the bi- and/or multilingualism is not rare anymore. As expected, the multilingualism field is now ‘ploughed’ mostly by linguists.

On the other hand, the subject addressed by this article belongs to the area of communist studies. As concerns the communist movement between the two world wars for more than 50 years, since the end of the WWII until the mid-90s, the historical scholarship dealt mostly with the way in which the local “sections” of the Communist International (namely the European parties) functioned. With some exceptions,⁶ the research focused mostly on the political aspects.⁷ In the 90s, the fall of the Iron Curtain and “the revolution of archives” that followed the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe allowed developments in two directions: a new, fresh approach as regards the relations between the local parties and the Communist International;⁸ and, on the other hand, a more in-depth analyse of the way in which the Communist International itself functioned – its apparatus, international organizations led by Comintern, etc. The revisionist historiography regarding interwar communism admitted that nor Comintern, neither its sections functioned as precisely as it was previously believed.⁹ Simultaneously, at the beginning of the 2000s, the increasing

Multilingual Communication, Mouton de Gruyter, 2007; M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, A. Creese (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism*, Routledge, 2012.

⁵ There is also an impressive literature on bi/multilingualism from a historical perspective. We mention J. Bloemendal, *Bilingual Europe: Latin and Vernacular Cultures – Examples of Bilingualism and Multilingualism C. 1300–1800*, Brill, 2015; E.M. Tyler, *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800–1250*, Brepols, 2011.

⁶ Especially the scholarship regarding the French Communist Party addressed the topic from social and cultural perspective. See, in this respect, the seminal B. Pudal, *Prendre parti. Pour une sociologie historique du PCF*, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, 1989. As well, the British historians devoted a lot of interest to the history of the Communist Party of Great Britain, seen from multiple perspectives. See G. Andrews, N. Fishman, and K. Morgan, *Opening the Books: Essays on the Cultural History of the British Communist Party*, Palgrave, 1995.

⁷ F. Groversmith, *Class, Culture and Social Change: A New View of the 1930s*, Brighton, 1980; S. Courtois, M. Lazar, *Histoire du Parti communiste française*, Paris, 1995; K.-M. Mallmann, *Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik. Sozialgeschichte einer revolutionären Bewegung. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, Darmstadt, 1996; A. Agosti, *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano. 1921-1991*, Roma-Bari 1999; J. Eaden, and D. Renton, *The Communist Party of Great Britain since 1920*, Basingstok, 2002.

⁸ See, in this respect, the monumental edition compiled by H. Weber, J. Drabkin, B.H. Bayerlein, Al. Galkin, *Deutschland, Russland, Komintern. I. Überblicke, Analysen, Diskussionen. Neue Perspektiven auf die Geschichte der KPD und die Deutsch-Russischen Beziehungen (1918–1943)*, Berlin-Boston, 2014; H. Weber, J. Drabkin, B.H. Bayerlein (Hrsg.), *Deutschland, Russland, Komintern. II. Dokumente (1918–1943). Nach der Archivrevolution: Neuerschlossene Quellen zu der Geschichte der KPD und den deutsch-russischen Beziehungen*, Berlin-Boston, 2015; A. Thorpe, *The British Communist Party and Moscow, 1920–1991*, Manchester, 2000.

⁹ One of the most influential work, representative for this stage, is M. Narinsky and J. Rojahn, *Centre and Periphery: The History of Comintern in the Light of New Documents*, Amsterdam, 1996.

interest for transnational history influenced the scholarship of interwar communism as well, providing new avenues of discussion within a field that has still much to offer.¹⁰ However, even if the new achievements in the field admit that diversity, in many senses, characterized the “world of Cominternians”, including from linguistic point of view¹¹, the discussion doesn’t go further than acknowledging the situation as such. In other words, the fields of linguistic and communist studies still remain detached.

Basically, our article deals with language(s) and politics, more specifically, it aims to discuss the way in which the ability to speak more than one language influenced the political activity of the communist activists in interwar Romania.

When it comes to discuss language as a political instrument, the scholarship regarding the study of nationalism could be helpful, for the reason that scholars dealing with nationalism explore very often the way in which the language was instrumentalized as a political weapon by the national movements of the XIXth century. For our research, a closer look at the way in which multi-ethnic empires surrounding the Romanian Kingdom, especially the Austria-Hungary, managed the language issue¹² could inspire resourceful comparison for our subject.

Whereas the language problem in multi-ethnic empires manifests in relation to certain institution – namely school, army, and politics –, topics related to those institutions drew most of the scholars’ attention. In the last very few years, a new trend appeared in military history and individuated itself as a hybrid field of study: languages at war. The new field put together the efforts of linguists and military historians. The research carried on by the British historian Hillary Footitt and her team offers an example of this new approach. Footitt’s team devoted a lot of attention to languages as constituent part of military conflicts and is studying languages at war since the XIXth century to present day.¹³ Tamara Scheer, an

¹⁰ Brigitte Studer, a Swiss, revisionist historian who had dealt previously with the history of the Communist Party of Switzerland stepped forward, to the transnational approach, with *The Transnational World of the Cominternians*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

¹¹ See, in this respect, the articles and book chapters devoted to the students to the International Lenin School in Moscow, unanimously described as a “linguistic Babylon”. B. Studer, *Un parti sous influence. Le parti communiste suisse, une section du Komintern, 1931–1939*, Lausanne, 1994, p. 234–249; G. Cohen and K. Morgan, “Stalin’s Sausage Machine: British Students at the International Lenin School, 1926–1937”, *Twentieth Century British History*, 13:4, 2002, p. 327–355; B. McLoughlin, “Proletarian Academics or Party Functionaries? Irish Communists at the International Lenin School, Moscow, 1927–1937”, *Saothar (Yearbook of the Irish Labour Society)*, 22, 1997, p. 63–79.

¹² R. Rindler Schjerve (Ed.), *Diglossia and Power. Language Policies and Practice in the 19th Century Habsburg Empire*, Berlin, New York, 2003; P.M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, Cambridge, 2016; T. Kamusella, *Creating Languages in Central Europe During the Last Millennium*, Basingstoke, 2014; idem, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*, Basingstoke, 2009.

¹³ H. Footitt, M. Kelly (eds.), *Languages at War: Policies and Practices of Language Contacts in Conflict*, Basingstoke, 2012; H. Footitt, M. Kelly (eds.), *Languages and the Military: Alliances and Peace Building*, Basingstoke, 2012; M. Kelly, H. Footitt, M. Salama-Carr (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Languages and Conflict*, Basingstoke, 2019.

Austrian military historian carries out research in the same vein, questioning the real effectiveness of the highly praised multilingualism of the Austro-Hungarian Army (*Kaiserlich und Königlich*, abbreviated K.u.K.), and how the uses of the regimental languages influenced the army's combat capacity.¹⁴ Very recently, together with Markian Prokopovych and Carl Bethke, Scheer edited a volume that "aims to concentrate especially on language practices at the local, everyday level".¹⁵ This most recent book investigates the language diversity of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire as a matter of everyday practices.

Jorge Marco and Maria Thomas's very recent article on the language issue during the Spanish Civil War¹⁶ deserves a special attention, due to the fact that it combines the linguistic issue with communist militancy, manifested as the decision to volunteer for the International Brigades. As the authors made clear, this "article highlights the role of translators as 'activists' instead of 'invisible' actors in the Spanish Republican Army. At the same time, it analyses the implications that linguistic policies and language contact had for transnational soldiers in terms of identity. At a grassroots level, we argue that ordinary soldiers' daily experiences of language contact and language exchange contributed to the forging of new linguistic forms which underlined both strong sense of joint purpose and a shared antifascist identity".¹⁷

In our understanding, most of the first communists were among those considered by the very recent historiography on nationalism¹⁸ as "national indifferent", moreover – sincerely committed to the values of internationalism, multilingualism and even multiculturalism. The communists didn't consider themselves as part of a certain "national community". In addition, remembering that everywhere in Western Europe the communist movement appeared as an urban phenomenon and the town, more than the rural side, was a cosmopolitan place of co-existence, multilingualism and even multiculturalism, a sense of tolerance and lack of chauvinism is to expect from the first generation of communists. To some extent, many of the interwar communists honestly believed in these values. Obviously, not all of them. Later on, when these universal values were being promoted as well by the communist ideology, they fell on a fertile soil nurtured before by the supra-national states/empires. With these people, the communist internationalism knocked on a door previously opened by some of the policies carried on by the multi-ethnic/multicultural empires,

¹⁴ T. Scheer, "Habsburg Languages at War: 'The linguistic confusion at the tower of Babel couldn't have been much worse'", in Christophe Declercq & Julian Walker (eds.), *Languages and the First World War* (Volume 1: *Languages and the First World War: Communicating in a Transnational War*), Basingstoke, 2016, p. 62–78.

¹⁵ M. Prokopovych, C. Bethke and T. Scheer, *Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire*, Leiden-Boston, 2019, p. 4.

¹⁶ J. Marco and M. Thomas, "'Mucho malo for fascisti': Languages and Transnational Soldiers in the Spanish Civil War", *War & Society*, 38:2, p. 139–161.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁸ M. Van Ginderachter and F. Jon (eds.), *National indifference and the history of nationalism in modern Europe*, London, 2019.

especially by the Austro-Hungary, and mostly within the Austrian parts of the Dual Monarchy. It might be useful to notice that, together with other reasons, these people's non-nationalistic beliefs explain their marginalization in the Soviet Union during the 30s and in Romania at the end of 50s, when the communist regimes had been abandoning their internationalist features.

The linguistic question within the CPoR and, in a broader sense, within the communist movement, could be addressed from two perspectives: how the individuals dealt with the language issue and, on the other hand, how the institutions that, altogether, formed the so-called "communist movement" – the Communist International with its central and regional bodies, the local parties, other structures created and driven by Comintern in different parts of the world – managed the linguistic diversity. This article concentrates on the first angle and analyses the methods, decisions, and strategies used by individuals for dealing with the linguistic issue.

It will look at the language issue in its dynamic, starting from what languages a person knew in 1920 and what learned up to 1945, considering that this approach is relevant for one's readiness to learn foreign languages.

The archives are not very generous in information regarding the linguistic problem. Still, some reports drafted by the local leaders for the Communist International, as it is the one quoted at the beginning of this article, touch the languages problem. In the rare occasions when it's mentioned, the language issue appears in a negative way, together with other inconveniences, and is meant to explain why the things worked so badly with the communism in Romania. The second reason for bringing the linguistic issue under the attention of the Comintern leaders was for underlying one's incapacities. In this case, the linguistic problems had been used as a weapon against a political enemy. But, most of the documents remain silent regarding the linguistic problem. Neither the CPoR, nor the Communist International intended to open this discussion, so closely related to the so-called "cadre issue". Competent party cadres don't appear from one day to another and the truth is Comintern never took seriously its job to form cadres for the Romanian party.

That's why, in this respect at least, we owe more to the vigilant Romanian police. The questionnaires, standard documents to be found in every personal file opened in interwar period by the force institutions for every person suspected of communist sympathies, comprise a rubric which must had been filled in by the arrested person with the languages he or she could use. The linguistic information provided by this type of documents represent the starting point for our analyse, showing what languages a person knew at the beginning of his or her political career. In addition, it expresses the person's own subjectivity, the languages one admitted to know, not what the police, or other persons, believed that that person knew.

The cadre files compiled by the Communist Party, both in interwar, but more seriously after 1945 and even better since the beginning of 50s, comprise standard questionnaires, similar to those created by the interwar police. These standard

documents, filled in by the same person at two moments in time, could show how someone's linguistic skills evolved throughout the decades.

Last, but not least, there are a few exceptional accounts, written in the 60s and 70s by former members of the Romanian illegal communist movement. These recollections are very valuable because the authors devoted more time to reflect on their own lives and, as a consequence, its expose better the author's inner self.

This paper is organized in two parts. The first one will discuss what languages the first communists spoke (**Table 1**) and why they spoke that languages and not others. Then it'll discuss the attitude toward the Romanian language of those communists who didn't speak it natively.

1. LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE FIRST COMMUNIST. BI- AND MULTILINGUALISM WITHIN THE CPOR

Some conclusions regarding the languages spoken by the first communists can be drawn by analysing the **Table 1**. The analyse took into consideration the following criteria: province of origin, nationality, and profession. And, as it was already mentioned, every time when it was possible, the archival information compiled for this article took into consideration the languages spoken by an individual in the 40s and even at the beginning of 50s, so that to offer a picture regarding individuals' willingness and capacity to learn languages.

The Romanian communist intellectuals born in the Old Kingdom, such as Mihail Macavei and Mihail Cruceanu, spoke French. There were also communist intellectuals who could speak German, for instance Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, who had been a PhD student in Leipzig, Germany, during the 20s and had the opportunity to improve his German. The Jewish intellectuals from the Old Kingdom, such as Marcel Pauker, Al. Dobrogeanu Gherea or David Fabian, spoke also German. The first two studied in German speaking countries – Al. Dobrogeanu Gherea was a student at the Munich Technical University, Marcel Pauker studied at the prestigious ETH, in Zürich. Important to mention, both Al. Dobrogeanu Gherea and Marcel Pauker came from assimilated Jewry. David Fabian was more a self-made intellectual, who hadn't graduated from a university.

The workers from the Old Kingdom, such as Gh. Cristescu, Nicolae Marian, Constantin Palade or Elena Filipovici, didn't speak foreign languages at all. When they learned something, they learned rather French than German. Which is understandable in a country where the French influence was overwhelming. In the same time, the belongingness of the Romanian language, that one the Romanian workers from the Old Kingdom could speak natively, to the big family of Roman languages, same as French, could also explain the preference for it. For a native speaker of Romanian, it was easier to learn French than German, so as for a Yiddish speaker was easier to learn German.

It appears that neither the Hungarian workers from Transylvania or Banat, such as Elek Köblös, László Luca, Kacsö Francisc or Peter Mathais spoke foreign languages. Hungarian and Jewish intellectuals from Transylvania, instead, such as Al. Körösi-Crişan or Moszes Kahane, spoke languages other than their native ones, especially German. One of them were Hungarian Jews, with Hungarian as their mothers' tongue.

The socio-political situation of Transylvania and Banat in the last two decades of Dualism explains partially the above-mentioned situations. In Austria-Hungary, which lasted from 1867 to 1918, Transylvania and Banat fell under Hungarian administration. An ordinary inhabitant of this region, male, could have encountered the official language, which was Hungarian, at the contact with one, two or all three of the vectors used by every state that endeavoured to play language card politically: the school, the army, and the administration.

During the Dualist period, the Hungarian state financed only the schools that taught the disciplines in Hungarian, the education for minorities being left on churches, which financed Romanian, German, and Serbs confessional schools.

After 1868, the permission granted by the Emperor to Hungary to have its own army, part of the "Compromise", was of a tremendous importance for Hungarians. Hence, the Austro-Hungarian Army consisted of three parts: a joint army (K.u.K.), formed by Hungarian and Austrian units, an Austrian Army (Landwehr), and a Hungarian Army – Royal Hungarian Landwehr, commonly known as the Honvéd Army. A man from Transylvania or Banat could have recruited for a regiment of K.u.K. or for the Honvéd Army, by drawing lots.

It is to presume that the Hungarian workers from Transylvania and Banat were persons averagely educated, who had completed their education in Hungarian. Those who had served under arms had many chances to have spent 24 months in a Honvéd regiment.

Searching Hungarian censuses from the Dualist period, recent scholarship¹⁹ concluded that many Transylvanians – Hungarians, Romanians and Germans as well, were in fact monolinguals. In 1880, 92.7% of native Romanians were monolingual and only 79.6% in 1910, probably because of the Magyarization process promoted by Budapest. In 1880, 18.1% of the non-Romanians spoke Romanian, and 21.8% in 1910. In 1880, 77.9% of Hungarians were monolingual of all native Hungarians, and 74.9% in 1910. In the same time, according to censuses, only 5.6% of non-Magyars spoke Hungarian in 1880, and 16.6% – in 1910. The lowest percent of monolinguals came from the German community, with only 40.1% of natives, in 1910. According to the same census, only 5.8% of all non-Germans could speak German.

The situation of monolingualism differed from one Transylvanian region to another, not only from town to country side. The rate of monolingualism was

¹⁹ A. Berecz, *The politics of early language teaching. Hungarian in the primary schools of the late Dual Monarchy*, Pasts, Inc., Budapest, 2013, p. 40–41.

higher in the counties from Szeklerland, where 92.8% of the Hungarians were monolinguals in 1880 and 90.7% in 1910. In other 15 Transylvanian counties, in 1910, only 56.8% of the Magyars were monolingual and 88.9% of native Romanians.

Bearing in mind that every census has limits and the numbers revealed by it need to be questioned, yet we can admit that at least such a data collection gives us a picture, even if not the clearer one.

Coming back to our Hungarian, monolingual communist workers, let's say that three of those chosen for this analyse were from Szeklerland, the region with the highest percent of monolingual Hungarians in entire Transylvania (Köblös, Luka and Kacsö). The other, Peter Mathias, had in fact Slovak origins and was born in Banat, province that is considered as a multicultural one. Mathias' case argues that not all of the inhabitants of a multicultural region were in fact multilinguals.

However, of the total number of communists from Transylvania and Banat had in mind for this analyse, a certain number spoke more than one language.

Gavril Birtaş was born in Baia Mare, in a Romanian, bi-lingual family, who could speak Hungarian and Romanian. Gavril was sent to a public school, where he was taught in Hungarian, and this is the reason why he spoke this language better. Yet, as Birtaş remembered, at home everyone spoke both languages.²⁰ Born in a Jewish-Hungarian family from Odorhei, Szeklerland, Transylvania, but in village inhabited mostly by Romanians, Miklós Goldberger spoke Hungarian as his mother tongue. When he was three years old, he was sent to a Jewish religious school. Living in a village inhabited mostly by Romanians helped him catching this language, too. Moreover, in order to improve it, Goldberger attended the fifth grade at a Romanian school. His mother was an open-minded person, and insisted his son to learn as many languages as he could. Helped by her, and by a rich landlord from their village, in his childhood he learned also some basic German.²¹

It is worth mentioning that between the two wars, communism was followed less by Transylvanians with Romanian origin²², situation which could be explained through both national and social lens. At the end of the Great War, and after the Peace Conference, Romanians accomplished their national state, labelled soon by Lenin and other Bolsheviks as an "imperialistic state". From national point of view, the communism challenged exactly the core of the Romanian state ideology, which soon made the communism unacceptable for most of the citizens with Romanian

²⁰ Gavril Birtaş recollections, in ANIC, Collection no. 60, file 395/2, p. 4.

²¹ Nicolae Goldberger recollection, in ANIC, *ibid.*, file 493, vol. I, f. 4.

²² Between the two world wars, from the total number of communists in Transylvania and Banat, 29% were Romanians (in reality – less than 29%), 40% – Hungarians, and 27% – Jews. The higher numbers of Romanians could be explained by the fact that during the census realized at the beginning of 50s, some people declared themselves Romanians, even if they probably had other origin, and the instrument (the database) registered them as they declared themselves. See <http://www.illegalisti.ro/en/content/advanced-search>, accessed at 23.04.2020.

ethnic origins. The communists' position as regards the national problem overshadowed their positions concerning the social issue. The national problem made them some pariah, who couldn't be trusted not even when they could have been right. In the same time, as during the Dualism the towns used to be inhabited mostly by non-Romanians, and the working-class appeared as an urban phenomenon, it turns out that, in Transylvania, most of the workers weren't Romanians.²³

Communists born in Tsarist Bessarabia spoke Russian and a rudimentary, 'survival' Romanian. Many were Yiddish speaker Jews (Seiva Averbuch/Vanda Nicolski, Mihail Scvorțov, Elvira Gaisinski, Ida Felix, Estera Radoșoveskaia/Stela Moghioroș). The intellectuals, such as Timotei Marin, learned French and German. Communists with a better social background, such as Ipolit Derevici, Timotei Marin's friend, learned French and Italian.

It is to believe that many communists from Bessarabia were in fact bi-lingual, being able to use both Russian and Romanian. But probably we'd be more accurate if we described the linguistic situation in Tsarist Bessarabia as a combination of bilingualism and diglossia, with the Russian language having the higher status (the H-language), and Romanian – the lower (the L-language).

Many recollections, put together, lead to this conclusion. Derevici Ipolit, a psychiatrist born in 1897, in the family of a Moldavian/Romanian Orthodox priest from Pucioasa village, Bălți county, attended first the Romanian primary school in his native village. Being a son of a priest, after graduation he was sent at the theological seminary from Kishinev. The years of theological seminary didn't leave Ipolit Derevici with pleasant memories, on the contrary. In 1970, he remembered he and other Romanian students were humiliated by the Russian teachers: "Some teachers were kind and paid some attention to us, too, the Romanian students, but most of them were clear chauvinists, who called us names such as «Moldavian rams». Still, we had to learn Russian".²⁴

After 1918, Derevici moved to Romania and started studying medicine in Iași. At the beginning, the students from Bessarabia stood together and took care one of each other. In time, some of them, such as Derevici or his friend Timotei Marin, also a Romanian from Bessarabia who were studying Foreign Languages at Iași University, and others, men and women equally, got involved in politics on the communists' side. In March 1921, the Bessarabian students from Bălți county organized a meeting to debate which form of organization suits them best. A covered agent of the secret police infiltrated among them wrote in his report²⁵ that

²³ However, between the two wars, the number of Romanian workers in Transylvania increased and, the number of the communist sympathizers among them increased, as well. According to our own previous research, around 1940, almost 39% of the total number of the communist workers from Transylvania were Romanians, 41% – Hungarians, and almost 17% Jews. See <http://www.ilegalisti.ro/database2eng/All/All/Transilvania/All/All/muncitor/All> (accessed 15.03.2020)

²⁴ Derevici Ipolit recollections, in ANIC, Collection no. 60, file 465, f. 1.

²⁵ Report drafted by a covered agent who had attended the meeting of the Bessarabian students at 1st March 1921, in *ibid.*, Collection no. 53, file D/66, vol. I, pp. 36–37.

the discussions were conducted in both Romanian and Russian. Some students took the floor in Romanian, other colleagues rebutted in Russian, which means that everyone present at that meeting could use both languages. Only that some could use Romanian actively, to express feeling and ideas in it, whereas others could only use it in its passive function, to understand what was said/written in this language.

In January 1922, a big anti-communist trial started in Bucharest, in which 270 communists were being prosecuted. "Dealul Spirii" was the first show-trial organized against the communist movement in interwar Romania. The worst was yet to come. In January 1922, most of the defendants were jailed already, but a few had been set free. After the trial began, thanks to the lawyers and to communists tried in a state of freedom, the public opinion found out about the inhuman conditions the communists were kept in prison. Because of the public scandal put in motion by newspapers, the authorities had to react and general Davidoglu visited the prison, including the room where the communist women were being detained. Important to mention, communists from all country regions, of different nationalities and language skills were being imprisoned those days. Many languages could be heard at Jilava. Paula Kanton, Ion Dik Dicescu's sister, remembered in her memoirs an interesting episode regarding languages. The communist women rushed over Gen. Davidoglu – "we were all talking simultaneously, the Russian girls as well; they were speaking as they could, with their bad Romanian language".²⁶ It worth wondering what Kanton meant by "the Russian girls". She could have referred to both women of Russian origin from Bessarabia and women from Bessarabia, generally speaking, with no clue regarding their ethnicity.

Seiva Averbuch/Vanda Nicolski provides us a third evidence of the bi-/multilingualism of the Bessarabian communists. Seiva/Vanda was born in 1902, in a Jewish family from Telenești, a small town in Orhei county. Her mother tongue was Yiddish, but she could also speak Russian and a rudimentary Romanian, similar to the one spoken by the "Russian girls" from Paula Kanton's story. In the early 20s, young Seiva was caught by the Romanian police and imprisoned for communist activity in Plătărești. She later recalled that it was not until 1922, in Plătărești prison, when she had the opportunity to speak Romanian more often. During the imprisonment, she practiced her Romanian with a comrade named Kanner.²⁷

As concerns the communists born in Cadrilater, the smallest of the Greater Romania provinces, is interesting to notice that many of those of Bulgarian origin spoke Turkish (Boris Ștefanov, Gh. Crosneff, Petre Borilă, Petre Gheorghe). Boris Ștefanov, a future general secretary of the CPoR, was a champion from linguistic point of view: he knew seven languages.

The autodidact workers represent an interesting category, no matter which part of Greater Romania they came from and what their ethnic origin was. Victor Tordai, born in Transylvania, Solomon Schein, born in the Old Kingdom and

²⁶ Paula Kanton memoirs, in *ibid.*, Collection no. 60, file 543, f. 24.

²⁷ Vanda Nicolski recollections, in *ibid.*, file 591, p. 2.

Moise Dubinski, from Bessarabia managed to learn a few foreign languages of their own free will. They were among those intelligent, curious people, who are always ready to learn something new and tries to escape the concentric circles of restrictions and of what “was meant to be”.

Concluding on this subchapter, it turns out that the number of languages a person knew depended on ethnicity, place of birth (province, but also if the person had a urban or a rural background), time of birth (if the person was born before or after 1918), the social background, other, subjective factors.

II. THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE

In late recollections in which they revisited their revolutionary life some communist leaders touched the linguistic issue.

In 1921, when he was 19 years old, Al. Sencovici, a Hungarian worker from Oradea, decided he wants “to see the world”.²⁸ He put all his belongings in a small suitcase and, together with other young Hungarian fellows, engaged in a long trip throughout Romania. The young worker planned to visit as much as possible of his new homeland. From time to time, the workers took temporary jobs in Galați, Brăila, Ploiești, Târgoviște and other places. Because he travelled together with persons who spoke the same language as his, Sencovici faced no problems in this journey. Moreover, the group was lucky enough to run up against Romanians who spoke Hungarian: “One Sunday, crossing the bridge in Ploiești, together with our group, we were talking about some things in Hungarian when a gentleman stopped us and talked to us. There was a Romanian who also spoke Hungarian. He asked us where we are from, what can we do for a living, and told us that he would like us to work for him, at «Creditul Minier». Said and done”.²⁹ Sencovici mixed work and pleasure: during his journey, he earned more money than he could ever imagined.

Eugen Iacobovici, another worker from Transylvania, also came to the Old Kingdom to look for work. He was born in a village near Târgu Mureș, in a very penurious family. Always short of money and in desperate need for work, he travelled to Târgoviște, Galați, Ploiești, to find a job. In 1924, he came to Bucharest. “It was difficult, because I didn’t know Romanian at all”, he said in 1969. “In my village and the environment I lived in up to 1923, I didn’t have any chance to learn Romanian. At the apprentice school, in Târgu Mureș, I learned a few Romanian words, but that was it. In Bucharest, I made no progress in this respect neither, because I worked only with Hungarians. As a matter of fact, my parents spoke Romanian quite well, but I didn’t, partially because I left home early. But the truth is I didn’t learn because I didn’t need to. In my village and after, in

²⁸ Al. Sencovici recollections, in *ibid.*, fund Institute for Historical and Socio-Political Studies XVII – Recollections (hereinafter ISISP, after the Romanian abbreviation), file 72, p. 16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

my natural milieu, we didn't use Romanian at all".³⁰ Yet, Iacobovici learned some Romanian while he worked in Bucharest and remembered the new linguistic acquisition boosted his political life: once he got to speak a better Romanian, he could attend meetings organized by the communist unions. When a union was formed in "Geiser" factory, where he was working, Iacobovici declined the offer to become a member of the leading committee because he still considered himself a new comer, on the other hand because he felt that he didn't speak Romanian good enough so that to do the job correctly.

When they were having these "linguistic encounters", both Sencovici and Iacobovici were young workers, at the beginning of their professional and political life. They came to learn Romanian because of their own will, because they wanted to, because they considered it useful. But there were some non-Romanians who took the hard way to the knowledge of the Romanian language: through police sections, court houses, prisons. They were the first communists.

In 1920, Ipolit Derevici, the medicine student born in Bessarabia already mentioned, was arrested together with his brother, because of their supposed communist sympathies. Derevici brothers were subject to a severe interrogation, conducted by general Ioan Popovici himself. Popovici was the commander of the Romanian troops stationed then in Bessarabia, which means he was the highest ranked officer in the region. Yet, cpt. Mardare, Popovici's adjutant, insisted to set Derevici brothers free on "linguistic grounds": even if they were communists, Mardare would have said, "they are the only students from Bessarabia proficient in Romanian".³¹ This attitude is very representative for the beliefs of the army officers: the best guardians of the nation's "true soul" were convinced that a native Romanian speaker couldn't have been an enemy of the motherland.

Derevici brothers were lucky. Not the same can be said about a Hungarian communist woman, Juliana Koch or Nagy, evoked by Paula Kanton in a late recollection. The Hungarian woman was dying with tuberculosis in Văcărești prison. He didn't speak Romanian at all. Until the arrival of Paula Kanton and of other communist women, Juliana had been left to rot alone in a cell. She couldn't say what she needed, nor the guards made any effort to find out. Remembering those days, Kanton paints a terrible picture. The young woman was coughing to faint and was spitting blood, but all the while, no one in the prison administration did anything to help her: "Her tuberculosis got worse to the extent that she was simply spilling her lungs. She was suffocating when she pulled pieces of lung out of his mouth. He was delirious and shouting communist slogans in Hungarian".³² Paula Kanton tried to comfort her helped by the sign language, because Iulișca knew not a single word in Romanian and Kanton didn't speak Hungarian. The Magyar woman died soon after, in Plătărești prison. After many years, Paula

³⁰ Eugen Iacobovici recollections, in ANIC, Collection no. 60, file 520, p. 10.

³¹ Derevici Ipolit recollections, in *ibid.*, file 465, f. 10.

³² Paula Kanton recollections, in *ibid.*, file 543, p. 12-13.

Kanton read in a book published at Chişinău about the woman's identity. As her behaviour suggested, Iulişca had been a staunch communist, who had fought in Hungary for the Republic of Councils. She and her husband had even been part of a delegation of Magyar communists who met Lenin in Russia.

For communists, the imprisonment periods could be considered as rites of passage, equally for women as for men. At the end of the time served in prison, a communist was not any more the same person who had entered. As regards the linguistic problem, the imprisonment periods functioned like a mixer that alleviates the linguistic discrepancies.

After the first Party Congress, in May 1921, communists from all provinces were arrested and brought to Jilava and Văcăreşti prisons in Bucharest, most of them – to the Jilava fort. Many years after, some of them admitted that being together behind bars helped them know each other, understand each other, learn the language of the other and, in the end, consolidated their group identity.

Victor Tordai was arrested in May 1921, in Cluj, after the First Congress of the Communist Party, along with other Hungarian workers of communist orientation. They were initially interrogated locally then sent to Jilava prison in Bucharest. The first impression – overwhelming – was aggravated by the lack of knowledge of the Romanian language, Tordai recalled: “The dimly lit waiting room, full of shadows, gave the impression of a medieval torture chamber, awakening anxiety and fear. We lined up near the smoky and cold walls, amid shouts and commands uttered in a crude voice. The impression of oppression was deepened by the fact that I did not understand any of those blurry screams, because most of us did not know Romanian. Baga János' and Salamon's rather dubious linguistic knowledge helped us convey the instructions, in the midst of which Baga shouted without any restraint the exhortation «let us not get haircut! ». Hearing Baga's words, I felt that we were not alone, that the solidarity of our comrades awaited us behind the thick walls”.³³

By now, this article displayed the both situations: when one came to understand the necessity of knowing the Romanian language thanks to day-to-day experiences and practices, as it happened to the young workers Al. Sencovici and Eugen Iacobovici. But it also pointed to the limit situations in which could have been a person with communist sympathies who didn't speak Romanian. The imprisonment from 1921–1922, when most of the important communists stood behind bars, put them in front of some hard choices. For example, to decide whether or not it would have been useful to their political activity to know the Romanian language, even at an elementary level. From then onward, learning or not learning Romanian became a political matter. And, in the same time, a necessary precaution in what was expected to become a guerrilla warfare with the Romanian authorities.

³³ Victor Tordai recollections, in *ibid.*, fund ISISP XVII - Recollections, file 62, vol. II, p. 27.

At that time, the CPoR didn't have a leader unanimously accepted or elected legitimately. In theory, Gh. Cristescu was the general secretary of the party. In reality, there were multiple centres of power within a very diffuse and incipient communist movement.

Elek Köblös was one of the most influential leaders imprisoned in Jilava at that time. A Szekler born in Dumbrăvioara, a village close to Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, Köblös was an intelligent person and gifted politician, who knew when to push and when to slow down. He was not a scholar, but a practical leader, who was feeling better in the field rather than at the library. In August 1924, at the Third Congress of the CPoR, he was appointed the general secretary of the CPoR and led the Romanian communist movement until 1928. He was, probably, the most reasonable of all the official leaders the communists in interwar Romania had.

Yet, Köblös had a weak point, revealed from the first lines of this article. Let's put them again here: "If a report arrives in Romanian to the Central Secretariat, in order for the Secretary to understand it and respond, it must be translated into Hungarian and symmetrically, the response of the secretary must be translated from Hungarian in Romanian".³⁴ These weren't just gossip or small talk, but realities brought to the Comintern's attention by an official document.

In order to overcome this shortcoming, at the beginning of his career Köblös enlisted the help of an improvised translator, who was assisting him all the time. Later on, he married her. Köblös and Karolina Kajlic represent rather an exception within the communist world: the couple remained together until Köblös' death, in 1937.

Elek Köblös's inability to learn foreign languages was confirmed by all his close friends who left testimonies – his wife, his collaborators. Karolina Kajlic said that although he had no talent whatsoever, he struggled to learn Romanian and, when the couple was living in the USSR – even Russian.³⁵ Victor Tordai was also one of Elek Köblös' closest collaborators. In his recollections, he spoke of Köblös only at superlative. But as for foreign languages, he fully confirmed Karolina Kajlic's impression: "of an unmatched intelligence and a sharp mind, he had no sense of language and except his mother tongue, he proved unable to learn any other language. Even Romanian he spoke in such a way that only we, who were spending most of the time with him, were being able to understand what he said".³⁶ Nevertheless, as his collaborators remembered, Köblös struggled to overcome his linguistic inability and tried to use Romanian as often as possible.

Coming back to Jilava prison, where Köblös was detained in 1921, probably it was at that time and there when he realised that some knowledge of Romanian

³⁴ Report addressed by the C.C. of the CPoR to the ECCI, in ANIC, fund C.C. of the R.C.P.-Chancellery, file 41/1925, p. 14.

³⁵ Karolina Kajlic recollections about her husband, Elek Köblös, in *ibid.*, Collection no. 60, file 341, p. 13.

³⁶ Victor Tordai recollections, in *ibid.*, fund ISISP XVII – Recollections, file 62, vol. II, p. 68.

language would make the life of the Hungarian communists easier. And decided accordingly.

The detainees' life changed behind bars. All of a sudden, they had a lot of free time. Their leaders decided to turn the bad luck into a learning opportunity and organized courses of Marxism-Leninism, general knowledge, and foreign languages, whatever "foreign" meant.

Experience is the best teacher, it is said. In his first day in prison, Victor Tordai learnt a lesson about communication skills: after the humiliating position he was put in, he decided to learn Romanian. Elek Köblös, the informal leader of the Hungarian communists imprisoned in Jilava, supported enthusiastically the idea, as remembered Mihail Macavei, a Romanian lawyer and a communist sympathizer who was also in Jilava at that time. Macavei, a typical Romanian intellectual, spoke French. In prison, he initiated classes of French language for detainees. Many communists wanted to learn French because the communist literature, Lenin's writings, for instance, were arriving to Romania in this language. "It's very good to know French", Köblös would've said, "but first we need classes of Romanian language for the Hungarian detainees".³⁷ Macavei understood Köblös' decisions to learn Romanian himself and to encourage the others to do the same as a political strategy.

In the end, Mihail Macavei doesn't say if he took Köblös' advice and taught Romanian to Hungarians. Yet, some classes of Romanian had been organized, we know it from Victor Tordai, one of the "students-detainees" who took advantage of the learning opportunities created in prison. Tordai attended the classes of Romanian taught by Rozvany Jenő, also a lawyer, as Macavei, yet a Hungarian one.

We owe Tordai some details as regards the way in which this improvised "school" functioned in prison: "At Jilava there were regular political courses of Marxism-Leninism. We had a lot of time for learning. During the heated discussions, our shortcomings and mistakes came to light, which was in fact a good thing, because all of us could learn from the others' mistakes. At the heart of the political life of the Hungarian-speaking comrades was the apostolic figure of Dr. Rozvány Jenő. I attended his Romanian language school every day, having here the best conditions for practicing and appropriating it. Dr. Rozvany put his school at the service of the cause, because he used all opportunities and possibilities to plant in us the puritanical, communist morality, wherever he saw this necessity, his rich and multilateral culture being shared with those outside the educational circle, in all the circumstances of our daily lives. Beribits and Fabian also offered interesting lectures to us. Thirsty for knowledge, I was present everywhere where something could be learned and I was learning all that was new for me".³⁸ In Tordai's opinion, in 13 months of imprisonment he learned Romanian well.³⁹

³⁷ Mihail Macavei recollections regarding Elek Köblös, in ANIC, Collection no. 60, file 341, p. 37.

³⁸ Victor Tordai recollections, in *ibid.*, fund ISISP XVII - Recollections, file 62, vol. II, p. 30.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The case of the communists in interwar Romania pleads against one of the nationalists' dearest idea namely the idea that states the language is always a marker of the individual or group identity, or a marker of the social status. In line with some recent achievements⁴⁰, this paper argues that the usage of a language might be understood rather as a communication instrument than as a proof of the existence of a different culture.⁴¹

It seems that in interwar Romania, the communists learned to use Romanian as a mean of communication, as an instrument to get in touch with their political group and their followers and to promote their political ideas. Though, it'd be interesting to ask if the usage of the Romanian language as a communication instrument within the small world of the Romanian interwar communism did managed to create a specific political culture, namely a "communist culture". Even if it remains for other article to answer to this question extensively, let's bear in mind Tordai's words regarding "the communist puritanism" as a possible opening for a broader and more complex discussion. Hence, Tordai says something very valuable: through the language, in this case, the Romanian language, Rozvany tried to create a certain ethos. The language was functioning both as an instrument for communication and a method to create new political identities.

Not all the Hungarian communists and, to a bigger extend, communists of ethnic origins other than Romanian, shared Victor Tordai's enthusiasm regarding learning new things, Romanian language included. That they didn't want or couldn't, or maybe both, the fact is that not all of the Hungarian communists followed Tordai's path. After four years since the Jilava events, in 1925, a report written most probable by Elek Köblös said the linguistic problem was persisting, which meant that the "communist world" from Romania was still looking for a *lingua franca*. "In Romania, a country with five different parts", was said in the report, "it's very easy for *Siguranța* to keep a watchful eye on every communist, no matter what his or her ethnicity is. From our point of view, this is a real disaster: we can use a comrade only in that province he was born in, and whose language he can speak".⁴²

The author of the report was right to believe that it'd have been difficult for a monolingual communist, native in other language than Romanian, to pursue illegal political activities throughout entire country. Let's take, for instance, the case of a Hungarian communist who could speak only Hungarian. A Hungarian communist from Romania might have had much more opportunities for political activism than anyone could imagine at a first glance, but not all of them in Romania. He or she could had remained his entire life in Transylvania or Banat, a territory big enough

⁴⁰ P. M. Judson, "The Limits of Nationalist Activism in Imperial Austria: Creating Frontiers in Daily Life", in J. Feichtinger and G.B. Cohen, *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience*, New York, 2014, 61–82.

⁴¹ This paper uses the notion of culture as "a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating", E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Basil Blackwell, 1983, p. 7.

⁴² ANIC, fund C.C. of the R.C.P.-Chancellery Directorate, file 41/1925, p. 15.

so that to assure some space of manoeuvre. Or he or she could've come to Bucharest, where an enormous Hungarian community was living. Abroad, he or she could've gone to a Hungarian speaking region in Czechoslovakia or Austria, or even to the Soviet Union, where numerous Hungarian political emigrants were living. Or to any other European metropolis with a big Hungarian emigration. Hence, it'd have been easier for a Hungarian communist who could speak only Hungarian to live, work, and be politically active in Paris, for instance, than in Craiova or Vaslui.

However, some took their chances, ignored Elek Köblös' suggestions and didn't learn Romanian. In this respect, Luka László/Vasile Luca, one of the most prominent communist leaders in the 50s, provides an example which deserves a closer examination.

In 1920, the Big Four granted Transylvania to Romania, political reality which László Luka couldn't come to terms with easily. As Köblös, he was also a Szekler, born in a village from Trei Scaune/Háromszék county (Covasna county, in present time). It turns out that the language played an important role in Luka's refuse to obey the rules of the new state he was living in. At the beginning of the 20s, he refused the conscription many times, because of two reasons. During the last months of the Great War, in the havoc atmosphere that characterized the dismantlement of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he had volunteered for one of the irregular armies assembled in Transylvania, where he served as a sub-commissioned officer. Hence, he considered shameful to serve in the Romanian army as an ordinary soldier after he had had a higher military rank in another army, even an improvised one. Moreover, he felt that he was going to be humiliated because of his inability to speak Romanian.⁴³ Coming from a nation that had been dominating everything in Transylvania for centuries, Luka László felt that the Romanians won't miss the opportunity of revenge. He even considered leaving to Hungary. In the end, he decided to take advantage of the corruption that dominated the Romanian public administration and tried to solve his military situation in an old, but effective fashion, namely by bribe.

After a spectacular career within the Communist Party after the Second World War, Vasile Luca was arrested at the beginning of 1952. Among different issues regarding his activity as minister of Finances, the inquiry was very much interested in Luca's early years as a professional revolutionary, particularly in his sinuous relationship with the Romanian secret police. During the investigation, Luca insisted that in the 20s he needed a mediator/translator, for every important meeting with the officers of the secret police, because he didn't speak Romanian well.⁴⁴

Looking more carefully into Luca's story about his linguistic (in)capacities, it seems more like a strategy to deceive the opponent. In interwar period, pretending

⁴³ The Archive of the Council for the Study of the Securitate Archive (hereinafter ACNSAS, after the Romanian abbreviation), Criminal Fund, file 148, vol. I, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 69, 92, 94, 95.

that he couldn't speak Romanian, he hoped to fool the police regarding the real danger posed by his deeds. In the 50s, when he was arrested by his own comrades, also interested in his past, Luca probably tried the same strategy, in order to alleviate his guilt: he couldn't have done what Siguranța asked him to do, since he didn't understand what he was being asked to do.

Whether he was exaggerating his inability to speak Romanian in front of the Siguranța and Securitate officers or not, it is certain that Vasile Luca never spoke a good Romanian. He learned it late, and very approximative. And he was not a singular case of Hungarian communists who never got to speak Romanian well. Peter Mathais, a communist from Banat with Slovak origins, native in Hungarian language⁴⁵, advanced within the Party hierarchy at the end of 20s and became a member of the Central Committee of the CPoR. Because of multiple reasons, his enthusiasm lost momentum in the second half of the 30s and during the WWII. He didn't have an important career after 1945 either. Mathais' linguistic inabilities were listed among the reasons because of which he never got a position within the central leading bodies of the party: "the comrade speaks Romanian very badly",⁴⁶ a party functionary wrote in Mathais' cadre file.

Coming back to the interwar period, the decision to not learn Romanian put the communists who couldn't speak Romanian at a higher risk than their comrades who could. The following examples are relevant for this discussion.

Between April-June 1925, a few dozen of the most important leaders of the CPoR were trialled in what is known as "Francmasonă Street Trial". Miklos Goldberger, the multilingual communist from Odorhei, was one of those prosecuted. In the end, he was acquitted, but other Transylvanian communists were convicted to serve different prison terms for more or less the same deeds as Goldberger's. Goldberger wondered where this difference of treatment between him and his comrades came from and concluded that the difference was made by the ability to speak Romanian: whereas Goldberger did spoke Romanian, the rest of the Hungarian co-defendants didn't. He noticed that during the trial, no one listened to the Hungarian defendants' testimonies. When they were pleading their cause, even the judges who were supposed to learn what defendants had to say in their defence could barely suppress a yawn.⁴⁷ Goldberger, instead, spoke in Romanian, which made a good impression to the court and, he believed, brought him the acquittal.

A fugitive from the "Francmasonă Street trial", Luka László was arrested a few month later, in September 1925, and sent to Jilava. There he refused to salute the director of the prison, explaining, in Hungarian, that he can't do that because he

⁴⁵ For Mathais' linguistic abilities, see the Table 1.

⁴⁶ Report regarding Peter Mathais compiled by the Cadre Section of Arad Local Committee of the R.C.P., May 1948, in ANIC, Collection no. 53, file M/74, vol. II, p. 146.

⁴⁷ Nicolae Goldberger recollection, in *ibid.*, Collection no. 60, file 493, vol. I, p. 92.

doesn't speak Romanian. Such an attitude brought him a severe punishment. To protest it, the other detainees declared a hunger strike.⁴⁸

CONCLUSIONS

In its first part, this article explained what languages the first communists spoke and concluded that this matter depended on ethnicity, place of birth (of province, but also if the person had an urban or a rural background), time of birth (if the person was born before or after 1918), the social background and other, subjective factors.

Romanian intellectuals from the Old Kingdom spoke rather French. Intellectual Jews from the Old Kingdom spoke mostly German. Romanian workers in the Kingdom did not know foreign languages at all, nor did the Hungarian workers from Transylvania. Hungarian and Jews intellectuals from the same province knew mostly German. An interesting category is that of the self-taught workers, who learned many languages by their own will. Militant communists born and educated in Bessarabia, during Tsarism, knew Russian and a rudimentary Romanian but learning foreign languages was rather a rare habit. Most of the Bulgarian communists who worked in Romania during the interwar were born in Cadrilater (Boris Ștefanov, Gh. Crosneff, Petre Borilă, Petre Gheorghe). Their particular linguistic feature was that they spoke Turkish.

The second part of this article dealt with the communists' attitude toward the Romanian language, particularly the attitude of those communists who didn't speak it natively. We can conclude that especially the leaders of the CPoR learned to use Romanian as a mean of communication, as an instrument. They had to find a way to understand each other, to interact with the population and with the authorities. Not knowing the language of the majority was not an option for an activist, as long as he or she was supposed to embark on any mission the party send him to, in any part of the country the party needed him. They learned it because their political activities, many of which proved very dangerous, required the ability to speak the authorities' language even at an elementary level.

Romanian language offered the common ground for all these people coming from three former Empires.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 69.

Table 1
Languages spoken by representative communists between the two world wars

| | Date of birth | Place of birth (Empire) | Romanian | Hungarian | German | French | Russian | Turkish | Yiddish/Hebrew | Bulgarian | English, Italian |
|-------------------------|---------------|--|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Elek Küblös | 1887 | Dumbrăvișoara, Mureș county, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungarian part | X (badly) | X (mother tongue) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Foris Istvan (4) | 1892 | Târlungeni, Brașov county, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X | X | X | X | - | - | - | - | - |
| Foris Lotty | 1898 | Bacău, Bucharest, Old Kingdom | X (1931) | X (mother tongue) | X | X | - | - | - | - | - |
| Breiner Bela | 1896 | Oradea, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X | X (mother tongue) | X | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kacsó Ferenc | 1896 | Eg. Mureș, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X | X (mother tongue) | X (speaking) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Berger Aladar | 1894 | Bihar County, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X (badly, 1923) | X (mother tongue) | X | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Goldberger Miklos (Jew) | 1904 | Somes county, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X (in his childhood) | X (mother tongue) | X (in his childhood) | - | X | - | X (at 3 years old) | - | - |
| Mathais Peter (Slovak) | 1892 | Arad, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X (bad, in 1948) | X (Mother tongue) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Birtaş Gavril | 1905 | Bain Mare, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X | X (mother tongue?) | X | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jacobovici Eugen (Jew) | 1902 | Odorhei, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X (1931) | X (mother tongue) | X | - | X (bad) | - | ??? | - | - |
| Al. Crișan | 1896 | Satu Mare, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X (1922) | X (mother tongue) | X | X (bad) | X (bad) (prisoner WWI) | - | - | - | - |
| Al. Moighiores | 1911 | Salonta, Bihar county, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X | X (mother tongue) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|--|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Iosif Rangaheț | 1904 | Olari, Arad county, A-H Empire, Hungarian part | X | X (mother tongue) | X (bad) | - | - | - | - |
| Marin Timotei | 1897 | Orhei, Tsarist Empire | X (mother tongue) | - | X | X | - | - | - |
| Ippolit Derevici | 1897 | Bălji County, Bessarabia, Tsarist Empire | X (mother tongue) | - | X | X | Ukrainian Serbian | - | Indian |
| Pavel Tcacenco | 1892 | Tsarist Empire | X? | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Moise Dubinski (Jew) | 1900 | Hincești, Bessarabia, Tsarist Empire | X | - | X (bad, reading) | X (bad, reading) | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Vanda Nicoliski | 1902 | Orhei, Tsarist Empire | X | - | X (bad) | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Mihail Sevortov (Jew) | 1908 | Gimislia, Cetatea Albă, Tsarist Empire | X | - | X | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Ida Felix | 1908 | Iasi, Old Kingdom | X | - | - | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Elvira Galsinski (Jew) | 1907 | Ukraine, Tsarist Empire | X | - | - | - | - | ??? | - |
| Gh. Ganev | 1899 | Ismail county, Tsarist Empire | X | - | ??? | - | - | - | X (mother tongue) |
| Stela Mughioros | 1908 | Bender, Tsarist Empire | X | - | X | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Moraru Mehinic Asla (Jew) | 1912 | Kisinev, Tsarist Empire | X | - | - | - | - | ??? | - |
| Vasile Sovetov | 1899 | Caragaci, Ismail county, Tsarist Empire | X | - | - | X | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Hala Umanski | 1907 | AKherman County, Tsarist Empire | X | - | - | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Solomon Timbelman Timov (Jew) | 1898 | Rezina, Orhei county, Bessarabia, Tsarist Empire | X | - | X (badly) | X (reading) | - | ??? | X (reading) |
| Boris Stefanov (?) | 1883 | Kotel, Bulgaria | X | - | X | X | - | - | X (mother tongue) |
| Gh. Crosneff | 1896 | Bazargic, Bulgaria | X | - | X | X | - | - | X (mother tongue) |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------|---|-------------------|---|-----------|-------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------|-----|---|-------------------|---|
| Petre Borila | 1906 | Silistra, Bulgaria | X | - | - | - | - | - | - | X | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Petre Gheorghe | 1903 | Calaisra, Bulgaria | X | - | - | - | - | - | - | X | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Marcel Pauker | 1896 | Bucharest, Old Kingdom | X | - | X | ??? | - | - | - | - | ??? | - | - | - |
| Dori Goldstein | 1903 | Iasi, Old Kingdom | X | - | X (bad) | X | - | - | - | X | - | - | - | - |
| Al. Dobrogeanu-Chereza | 1879 | Plonești, Old Kingdom | X | - | X | X | - | - | - | X (badly) | - | - | - | - |
| Gh. Cristescu | 1882 | Ghirimpati, Old Kingdom | X | - | - | X (badly) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ciuhurezu State | 1895 | Mehedinti county, Old Kingdom | X | - | - | X (reading) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mihail Cruceanu | 1887 | Iasi, Old Kingdom | X (mother tongue) | - | X (badly) | X | - | - | - | X (badly) | - | - | - | - |
| Esanu Liuboslav Sabina | 1900 | Iasi, Old Kingdom | X | - | X | - | - | - | - | X (badly), 1930-1931 I.L.S. | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |
| Nicolae Marian | 1887 | Olănești, Vâlcea county, Old Kingdom | X (mother tongue) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Elena Filipovici | 1903 | Bucharest, Old Kingdom | X (mother tongue) | - | X (badly) | X | - | - | - | X | - | - | - | - |
| Giselbert Moscovici | 1889 | Iasi county, Old Kingdom | X | - | X | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Palade Constantin | 1893 | Cobesti, Tutova county, Old Kingdom | X (mother tongue) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lucrețiu Patrașcanu | 1900 | Bacău, Old Kingdom | X (mother tongue) | - | X | X | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sanda Raughet Schein Solomon | 1906 | Bărlad, Old Kingdom | X (mother tongue) | - | X | X | - | - | - | X (badly) | - | - | - | - |
| Heinrich Sternberg | 1895 | București, Old Kingdom | X | - | X | X | - | - | - | X | - | - | X (Yiddish) | - |
| Al. Baican | 1902 | Omceea, Covurlui county, Old Kingdom, Tonleceani, Bukovina, A-H Empire, Austrian part | X | - | X | - | - | - | - | - | ??? | - | - | - |
| | | | X | - | X | X | - | - | - | - | - | - | X (mother tongue) | - |

CROSSING THE BORDERS OF FORMER EMPIRES: PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR AND HIS JOURNEY THROUGH THE BALKANS IN THE 1930S

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In the winter of 1933, eighteen-year-old Patrick Leigh Fermor set out on an adventurous walk across Europe, starting in Holland and ending in Constantinople. Decades later he would tell the story of that journey in his books *A Time of Gifts* and *Between the Woods and the Water* that would immediately grasp the public attention and ultimately make him the most acclaimed British travel writer of the twentieth century. The final volume of his conceived trilogy *The Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos* appeared posthumously in 2012, a year after his death. In the course of that journey, Leigh Fermor not only crossed the borders of several countries, but also the borders of two former empires – the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian one, the presence of which could still be felt decades after they had ceased their existence. An intelligent and curious observer, Fermor offers interesting examples of this inefaceable presence. This is most evident in his description of Transylvania, which he considers a part of central Europe and something quite different from the rest of Romania, and also in his description of Bulgaria, where he finds clear traces of the Ottoman legacy, the crossing of the Danube seen as entering into the Orient. This paper presents and analyzes those examples of imperial legacies in the Balkans in the 1930s.

Keywords: travel writing, borders, empires, Transylvania, Romania, Bulgaria.

A few years ago, in a bookstore in Bucharest I came across *Drum întrerupt: De la Porțile de Fier până la Muntele Athos*¹, the Romanian edition of Patrick Leigh Fermor's book *The Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos*. The book is the last part of a trilogy describing his journey across Europe on foot that he undertook in his youth in the early 1930s. That was my first encounter with the writings of this extraordinary personality, who turned to be one of the most famous British travel writers of the 20th century. Although this third volume is focused mainly on Bulgaria, with a short interlude on his stay in the Romanian capital, it is not translated into Bulgarian and I dare to say it is almost completely unknown to the Bulgarian public. In Romania, earlier in the same year (2016) was published the second volume of the trilogy *Between the Woods and the Water (Între păduri și ape)*², which describes Leigh Fermor's trip through Hungary and Transylvania, a region that made part of Romania at that time.

¹ P.L. Fermor, *Drum întrerupt: De la Porțile de Fier până la Muntele Athos*, Bucharest, 2016.

² P. L. Fermor, *Între păduri și ape. La pas spre Constantinopol: de la Dunarea de Mijloc până la Porțile de Fier*, Bucharest, 2016.

I was intrigued to see how the Balkans, and Bulgaria and Romania in particular, looked like in that period through the eyes of an outsider. What impressed me first while reading Leigh Fermor's story about that trip was his superb style of expression and the abundance of information about the places he had visited along the way. Splendid pictures, wonderful descriptions of people, places, nature, all of them so vivid that one could feel the smells, the sounds, imagine the clothes, the houses. I was surprised to see that there was almost no talking about current politics although the trip was taking place in very interesting times. Leigh Fermor would explain this lack of interest in politics himself in the "Introductory Letter" to his friend Xan Fielding, which opens the second book of the trilogy: "Books about this part of Europe incline to be chiefly, if not exclusively, devoted to politics, and this abundance lessens my guilt about how small a part they play in this one, where they only appear when they impinge directly on the journey".³ In fact, it is clear that what the author was keenly interested in were the people and the history of the places. The story of his daily experiences and impressions of what he saw along the way is coupled with passages (often in the form of lengthy footnotes) about the recent or more distant history of the places he visited. Thus, the whole voyage was in a way like traveling in time, a constant crossing of borders, not only physical, geographical, but also historical borders. I will try to look for the vestiges of former empires as they appear in Patrick Leigh Fermor's story of his long trip across Europe, while focusing on the second and the third volume that deal with Romania and Bulgaria.

Yet, before focusing the attention on Leigh Fermor's glimpse on Europe in the mid-1930s, I consider it necessary to say a few words about the journey and the book that described it, for that will give us a key to understanding how that glimpse was shaped. I will not go into details about the author, although his long and interesting life is itself worth being the plot of a novel or a movie. All the important information about the lifetime of travel and adventure of Sir Patrick Leigh Fermor could be found in his outstanding biography that was published shortly after he passed away in 2011 by the writer Artemis Cooper.⁴ For the purposes of this paper, I will just point to several moments from his biography and the way he came up with the idea of making the trip and writing a book about it that will help understand his attitude towards the places, people and events he describes in the aforementioned books.

Born in London in 1915, from an early age Paddy, as everyone called him, had a marked interest and talent for history and languages. After being expelled from several schools for unruly behavior, at the age of eighteen he considered his life a failure and was overwhelmed by hatred and contempt for everything. That is indeed the moment the idea of the trip came about as something that would give a

³ P.L. Fermor, *Between the Woods and the Water: On Foot to Constantinople: From the Middle Danube to the Iron Gates*, London, 1986, p. 12

⁴ A. Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor. An Adventure*, London, 2013 (first edition 2012).

new meaning to his life. The answer, he wrote, came suddenly one rainy evening. To leave London and travel would solve all problems. On his pound a week allowance he would walk from west to east across Europe, sleeping in barns and hayricks, eating bread and cheese, living like a wandering scholar or pilgrim, keeping company with tramps and vagabonds, peasants and gypsies. His goal would be the city which in 1930 had officially changed its name into Istanbul, but he would never call it anything but Constantinople.⁵

Thus, it is very important to keep in mind that from the very outset he conceived and embarked on the trip with a very romantic vision of Europe in his head. On 9 December 1933 Patrick Leigh Fermor left London on a Dutch steamer for Rotterdam, taking with him drawing blocks, notebooks, pencils and three books. A friend of his landlady provided him with some letters of introduction to friends of hers in Germany that would prove quite valuable in his passage through Europe. The journey took him a bit more than a year and having passed through seven countries, on January 1, 1935, he managed to reach his final destination. Then he decided to go a bit further and visit Greece and Mount Athos.

For young Patrick that trip would turn to be a life-changer and would link him to the Balkans forever. In the following years he lived and traveled much in the Balkans – mainly in Romania and Greece. While being in Athens, he fell in love with Balasa Cantacuzene, a Romanian aristocrat belonging to the princely family of Cantacuzene and for a while he lived with her in the Cantacuzene family house in the village of Băleni, near Gălați. He was fascinated by the people he met in Romania and by the places they visited during their excursions throughout the country. With the outbreak of World War II Leigh Fermor decided to return to England determined to take part in the war. He was one of the few British intelligence officers tasked with organizing the island of Crete's resistance against the Germans. After the war he lived in Greece, where he worked for some time for the British Institute in Athens and travelled a lot with his then girlfriend Joan Ryner, who would later become his wife. In the early 1960s together with Joan they bought a house in Kardamily, in the Southern Peloponnese, and in the following years they would separate their life between Greece and England.

In 1950 Patrick Leigh Fermor published his first book *The Traveler's Tree*, which won him a literary prize and established his career as a travel writer. It was followed by *A Time to Keep Silence* (1957), *Mani. Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (1958) and *Roumeli. Travels in Northern Greece* (1966). But the time for the book about his journey in Europe in the 1930s was not ripe yet. It turned out that the complete story about that journey would see the light of day only more than seven decades after the journey itself.

In 1933 young Patrick departed London with the idea to find himself, to try himself as a writer, convinced that “at least he would have something to write about”.⁶ Along the way he took notes and kept a diary. Unfortunately, the first one

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*

was stolen in Munich, but then he bought a new one in Bratislava, the so called "Green Diary", because of the notebook's green fur cover. Already in the late 1930s, when he lived in Romania with Balasa, Leigh Fermor started to write down his impressions from the journey, but nothing came out. Then the war came, later on other preoccupations seemed to be more pressing and this idea was always set aside. In the early 1960s the American "Holiday" magazine had asked him to write a 2000 words article on the pleasures of walking and he took it as a good opportunity to come back to his great journey across Europe. But the story was getting too lengthy and what finally came out of this was an article about a cave on the Black Sea that was published in the "Holiday" issue of May 1965 and a much longer narrative called "A Youthful Journey" (describing the last part of the trip), that would later become the basis of the third volume.⁷ Then he was commissioned to write a long article about the Danube, which was published by the same magazine in August 1966. As his biographer had noticed, elements in the journey down the Danube point the way forwards his future books on the great walk.⁸ Leigh Fermor never gave up the idea of writing the trip down, but was quite slow. The first volume *A Time of Gifts*, which describes his journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia appeared 1977. Although the reviews were quite enthusiastic, it took him almost ten years to finish the second volume, which appeared in 1986. And he could never finish the third volume, which was published posthumously in 2012 by his family friend and biographer Artemis Cooper and the travel writer Colin Tubron.

As pointed above, the second volume *Between the Woods and the Water* is an account of his trip in Hungary and Transylvania. In this part of the trilogy the relics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are clearly seen. Thanks to the letters of introduction, Leigh Fermor was able to live among Hungarian aristocratic families, a world he would otherwise not be able to penetrate into. As Michael O'Sullivan observed in a recently published intriguing book that follows the traces of all places he had been into while in Hungary and Transylvania, "when standing at the bridge of Esztergom on Easter Day (1 April) 1934, he was completely unaware that he would one day become the chronicler of a form of social life and of a class, which were soon to be extinguished by the vicissitudes of war, the repression which was so often the attendant handmaiden of Communism and in some cases by their own folly".⁹

Although Leigh Fermor also writes about Gypsies, shepherds, peasants, he had met along the way, for the most part he enjoyed comfortable life, spending

⁷ This "Green Diary" had an interesting story itself. In 1939, when he left Romania, the diary remained there with Balasa and in 1965, when he first had the chance to visit her again in Pucioasa, a small town in the foothills of the Carpathians, where she lived at that time, she gave it back to him. When in 1949 her family was evicted from their house in Baleni and were allowed to take a small suitcase each, his diary was one of the objects she put into it. It would become the basis of "Youthful Journey". See: A. Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor. An Adventure*, p. 390–393.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁹ M. O'Sullivan, *Patrick Leigh Fermor. Noble Encounters between Budapest and Transylvania*, Budapest – New York, 2018, p. 1.

each night in wealthy country houses, his hosts being a series of interrelated Hungarian landowners. Besides, he met very interesting people, one of them, for instance, the ex-prime minister of the Kingdom of Hungary count Paul Teleki who was originally from Transylvania. For the young boy, who had insatiable curiosity for history and language the opportunity to spend hours undisturbed in their rich libraries, exploring the history of the countries all around, to talk about history and traditions and to enjoy social life and the company of people of his age was an immense unexpected pleasure. For him it was easy to communicate with these people and with some of them he even established lasting friendships.

It is worth asking why did those people show such readiness to talk to him, to open their homes and their hearts for him? As his biographer has pointed out: “happiness, excitement, youth, good looks, eagerness to please and to open hearts – Paddy had them all”.¹⁰ But she also notes a very important psychological detail, the fact that he was genuinely fascinated by his hosts and wanted to hear everything they could share about their families, their history and their way of life. “The greatest blessing a guest can bring to his host, she wrote, is the right kind of curiosity, and it bubbled out of Paddy like a natural spring”. At this age, everything he came across was worth knowing, plus he considered them true friends whom he loved and cared about. This cheerful, polite young Englishman could easily make an old count from Eastern Europe realize he was part of the living history.¹¹

At the same time, every place he set foot on, Leigh Fermor was always looking for the ancient past. Thus, while in Budapest, he noted “scarce marks of the long sojourn of the Turks: a few Ottoman fragments, the tomb of a dervish on the Hill of Roses, some hammam-cupolas scattered about; later, a mosque here and there in the provinces”. His imagination was constantly at play how things could have looked like at a certain moment of history, or, to put it in his words: “But it was hard, during my explorations, to imagine the skyline – the clustering domes, the minarets and the fluttering crescents – which Charles of Lorraine and his reconquering companions must have gazed at when they laid siege to Buda in 1686”.¹²

Leigh Fermor crossed the frontier into Romania on 27 April 1934, as he wrote, “relieved to hear a romance language after the Magyar”.¹³ In Transylvania he continued his country-house stay. His hosts, mostly friends and relations of the people with whom he had just been staying, were not Romanian, but Hungarian. And it was their point of view on the history of the region that he would hear most often. Actually, it was a few days before he crossed the border into Romania that he became aware of the existent animosities and prejudices between Hungarians and Romanians. The Wenckheim family with whom Leigh Fermor stayed in Doboz

¹⁰ A. Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor. An Adventure...*, p. 44.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69–70.

¹² P.L. Fermor, *Between the Woods and the Water*, p. 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

were alarmed to hear that he was actually planning to walk across Transylvania. They were appalled at his idea to go into Romania, the very mentioning of Romania making them uneasy, and told him Romania was a terrible place, where “they would take him everything he had”, so they gave him a pistol.¹⁴ Indeed, that was not the first and the last time that Hungarian irredentist convictions would raise their head. Although he approached Transylvania as “a place full of stories and superstitions”, Leigh Fermor considered it necessary to go deeper into the history of the Hungarian-Romanian dispute over the region. So, there is a long passage in the book about the contended history of Transylvania, where he would point that for the Hungarian landowner whose families had lived there for centuries, it was like an amputation, a loss they could never get used to.¹⁵

In Kapolnas, where he stayed with count Jenő Teleki, first cousin of count Paul Teleki whom he had met in Budapest, Leigh Fermor had the first opportunity to hear the Romanian point of view on the issue of Transylvania. The wife of the celebrated entomologist was Romanian and this issue occasionally popped up in their conversation. It was through the couple’s exchange of bitter comments that he began to understand how deep the national rivalry ran. As time went by Leigh Fermor would hear more Romanian voices about the handover of Transylvania. These tensions had little impact on the author at the time. His position was based on his feeling of loyalty and friendship, so when he started to write about it, he tried to be diplomatic. “I am the only person I know”, he wrote, “who has feelings of equal warmth for both these embattled claimants”.¹⁶

Young Patrick enjoyed life in Transylvania so much that he spent three months there. As he would later remember, many things had made this part of the journey different from the rest, and although he had “occasional pricks of conscience” about drifting from his original intentions, he never regretted that, for “when I look back it was all worth it because in the following decade this world was completely gone - when I started to climb the Balkan passes south of the Danube I realized how unusual were the regions I had just passed”.¹⁷

The final chapter of *Between the Woods and the Water* bears the telling title “The End of Middle Europe” and includes Leigh Fermor’s preconceptions of Bulgaria as a Balkan country that is quite different from the countries of Central Europe. He had no letters of introduction for Bulgaria, no one he had met over the course of the summer had ever set foot in that country, and they thought he was mad for planning to go there. Bulgaria, as everyone knew, had been under Ottoman rule for longer than any other country in Europe, and was a rough and backward place. “Rather surprisingly, he wrote, I had never met anyone who had been to Bulgaria. If the Hungarians were loth to cross the Carpathians into old Rumania,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75–76.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90–97.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Bulgaria was even further from their minds; and the Rumanians, for all their earlier ties with Constantinople, were just as reluctant. Both countries looked westward to Vienna, Berlin, London and Paris and the benighted regions of the Balkans remained *terra incognita*. All they knew was that Bulgaria had been a province of the Ottoman Empire until sixty years earlier, and that the yoke had not been finally and formally shed until 1911”.¹⁸

So, if the border between Hungary and Romania is almost unnoticeable, when crossing the Danube, the change is abrupt. Leigh Fermor entered Bulgaria on 14 August 1934 and he felt he had crossed a cultural divide: to the north laid a Romanized, western culture that looked towards Paris and Vienna, while on the south bank, were the Balkans, the Orthodox and Ottoman east. He found evidence of that everywhere: “in the domes and minarets and the smoky tang of kebabs cooking on spits, in the jutting wooden houses and the Byzantine allegiance of the churches, in the black cylindrical hats, the flowing habits, the long hair and beard of the priests, and in the Cyrillic alphabet on the shop fronts which gave a fleeting impression of Russia” and therefore he concluded: “It was a grave moment, I realized that everything had changed”.¹⁹

Before crossing the Danube into Bulgaria, Leigh Fermor visited the island of Ada Kaleh, where he first saw Muslims, but it was in Bulgaria where he felt a strong Ottoman presence, both physical, expressed in the architecture – Turkish baths, mosques, fountains, Turkish *tchiftliks*, but also in the mores – a very patriarchal society, no women, but only men, on the streets, in the restaurants and cafes... The first town that he visited in Bulgaria was Lom and it strongly impressed him with its Oriental atmosphere. From there, through Berkovitz, where he bought himself a *kalpak* (a sheepskin cap), Leigh Fermor headed for the Bulgarian capital. He was lucky because on the ship he had met an English girl, who was visiting the wife of the British consul in Sofia and that’s how he spent a few wonderful days with the Tollintons, where he felt at home. He was happy to hear about Bulgaria from his courteous host, to consult his library and to enjoy the beauty of the Vitosha slopes that could be seen from his window. He happened to be in Sofia while the Congress of Balkan Studies was taking place, so he was delighted to hear erudite scholarly man talking about the history of the region. Apart from that, he was not impressed by the life in the Bulgarian capital.

During a short excursion to the Rila Monastery, Leigh Fermor met a group of students and became friends with a beautiful girl Nadejda and she became the reason for him after returning to Sofia to visit Plovdiv and visit her. He was very much surprised by the liberal atmosphere in her house, which ran in contrast to his impressions of the patriarchal traditions of the Bulgarians but he explained that with the half-Greek origin of Nadejda’s grandfather. When walking around

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁹ P.L. Fermor, *The Broken Road. From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos*, London, 2014, p. 3–5.

Plovdiv, Leigh Fermor was captured by the ethnically colorful atmosphere of the city and wrote that the days spent there were some of the happiest in his life.²⁰

Although he was approaching the Bulgarian-Turkish border and his final destination, persuaded by Nadejda he should visit the old Bulgarian capital Veliko Tarnovo and see the beautiful Byzantine churches there, he changed his route. He never regretted that decision, for upon entering the city, he was overwhelmed by its beauty, which is evident by the stunning description from a distance he made it in the book and his “enthusiasm grew into excitement” when he found himself on the main street.²¹ There is an interesting episode in Tarnovo, which is, actually, one of the rare occasions when the author speaks about current politics. While sitting in a restaurant with a certain Gatcho with whom he accidentally became friends, Leigh Fermor witnessed a sudden agitation among the people. They started dancing, singing, drinking “*slivo*” (plum brandy) at the news of the assassination of the Serbian King Alexander I Karadjordjevic by Vlado Chernozemski in Marseille on October 9, 1934. He was kind of startled at seeing this picture. “The Bulgarians roared the national anthem ‘*Shumi Maritza*’ until the veins of their foreheads popped up”, Leigh Fermor wrote in his memoirs.²²

In Tarnovo there was again a change of plans. Instead of going to Varna and then south towards his final destination, he decided to visit Bucharest first. Thus, on 15 October 1934 he left Tarnovo and headed north towards Rustchuk (today Russe). Gatcho was strongly against that because, in his view, the Romanians were “a terrible lot: liars, robbers, thieves, villains, immoral”, which is quite evident by the fact the “they stole Dobrudja, all the land between the Danube Delta and the Black Sea which is pure Bulgarian”.²³ Leigh Fermor took that as yet another manifestation of the mutual hatred between the peoples in the region and explained to his companion that he was not a political observer and wanted to see “the people, what they were - races, language, churches, songs...”, which is again an indication of his attitude towards current politics.²⁴

Rustchuk was a pleasant surprise for Leigh Fermor. All he had heard from other travelers was that it was considered to be “a charmless, ugly place”, nothing pre-Turkish and very little before the 19th century. But he himself saw quite a different picture of the city on the Danube, which due to its location had experienced over the years a favorable mixture of various cultural influences that could still be clearly noticed. Parts of it, in Leigh Fermor’s view, “had a dilapidated Victorian feeling” and probably thanks to the big river, on which it was built, “a slight but distinct alloy of Mitteleuropa tempered its Balkan consistency”. What is

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28–34.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70–71.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 89–92.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

more, he was really happy to see that there was even a bookshop and newsagents with foreign newspapers, mostly German and Austrian.²⁵

With his very entering into Romania, he noticed a difference in the people: “there was something quicker, sharper, more brittle and more vocal – more glib perhaps – in the people all round, something very different to the rough-hewn, slow solidity of the ones I had just left”.²⁶ That was the change from the Slav to the Latin world. Yet, he pointed to an even more important change that was shaped by history and it laid into the fact that direct Ottoman rule stopped at the river. And he draws the conclusion: “the dark extent of the Danube outside, with the twinkling necklace of Rustchuk the other side with the dotted line of frontier down the middle, was a far wider gulf than its actual geographic span”.²⁷ It was thus far the real border of the Ottoman Empire stretched and that actually made the whole difference.

Leigh Fermor crossed the Danube into Romania on 23 October 1934 and the next day he was in Bucharest. He really liked the Romanian capital, which he found quite different from the capital of its southern neighbor he had just visited: “Bucharest is an amazing town, he wrote in his diary, almost like London or Paris, not like Sofia...; lights, cars, everything; lovely town” and he enjoyed spending several wonderful weeks there.²⁸ Because of good luck and former acquaintances, he happened to enter the Romanian elite circles. He lived at the apartment of Graf Rantzau, a diplomat at the German legation, where he met many diplomats and politicians. In Bucharest he frequented fancy places, enjoyed the company of refined people, or, as he put it, “it was a time of entertaining and luncheons... accepting so much kindness and hospitality; being at the heart of the wickedness and delight of Bucharest” and “this particular stratum of Romania was by far the most civilized and sophisticated, and, in a way, the most idiosyncratic society that I had ever encountered”.²⁹ Leigh Fermor speaks at length about the cultural influences that had shaped a society that was a “mixture of late Byzantium and Proustian France” and could not contain his admiration and fascination of one particular feature of the representatives of the Romanian elite, which, in his words, “distinguished them from the rest of pleasure-loving aristocratic Europe”, namely, “their anti-philistinism: a fastidious passion for erudition for its own sake, for literature, painting, music, sculpture and the movement of ideas, that turned their houses into the haunts of Academicians”.³⁰

He left Bucharest by train early on 14 November 1934, reentered Bulgaria and arrived at Varna on the Black Sea late that night. From there he took the road

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Cited in: A. Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor. An Adventure...*, p. 86.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186–187.

heading towards Constantinople. For him Bucharest was a “deviating escapade”, which had left pleasant and lasting memories. Actually, in the parts devoted to his time spent in Romania, Leigh Fermor is constantly making comments and comparisons with Bulgaria, which are for the most part, to the detriment of the latter. In fact, he didn’t like the Bulgarians very much. He disapproved the roughness of their manners and was startled by their nationalism. It is true that the more he travelled in the Balkans, the more he found that every country was suspicious of the morals and intentions of its neighbors and had deeply rooted stereotypes about them. Yet, it was his observation that the nationalism of the Bulgarians exceeded that of the other countries he had passed through, or, to put it in his words: “for one reason or another, the Bulgars have always detested all their neighbors. They have their hate to keep them warm”.³¹ This is how he describes the Bulgarians: “with the exception of Gatcho, whom I liked, and Nadejda, whom I adored: all their obvious qualities, their courage and scrupulous honesty, their frugality, their doggedness and diligence and the passion for literacy – all this was forgotten or discounted, and with it, their hospitality and their odd and beautiful songs... stripped of all this, how heavy, boorish and sometimes bloodthirsty they seemed...”.³² At the same time, the only clear thing that he apparently didn’t like in the Romanians was their “deep-rooted and almost universal anti-Semitism”, a prejudice that, he pointed, was being “even more violent than in Hungary”.³³

Despite the beautiful pictures of places and nature, the excitement of drinking “*slivo*” and eating Bulgarian yoghurt, which was his favorite food there, for the most part he was overwhelmed by grim mood and had some outbursts of depression. Besides, he had unpleasant memories from his stay in Bulgaria, too – his rucksack was stolen, he was asked to pay for a ride in the mountains, which he considered outrageous, his Bulgarian friend Gatcho attacked him with a knife. All that could not but influence the way he wrote about the country and its people in general. The fact that in Bulgaria he didn’t have the letters and acquaintances to provide him an access to the elite circles of the society also played its role in shaping the general picture of the country. Just for the sake of comparison, I shall point to the way Bulgaria of that time appears in the memoirs of another British, the Minister Plenipotentiary Sir Joseph Rendel, who came to Bulgaria on June 1, 1938. Although some of his general observations are quite similar with those of Leigh Fermor, such as the backwardness of the society, the patriarchal traditions, the lack of aristocracy, Sir Rendel writes with much more sympathy about the Bulgarians. “Although Sofia was a small capital and Bulgaria was the last of the Balkan countries to be freed from Turkish rule, he wrote, it was surprising to find out how widely European education and European culture had spread” and continued “life was simple and somewhat primitive” but at the same time the

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 112–113.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

Bulgarians “had an attractive simple sincerity; and, if they lacked some of the graces of life, their lack of sophistication and complete absence of snobbery was a great compensation”.³⁴

The fact that the book is written so beautifully and with such erudition and makes it captivating for the reader and very powerful. But, here comes the question how credible the author is, given the fact that the trilogy was written so long after the journey itself? His biographer Artemis Cooper reflects on his flexible approach to historical fact, speaking of the “selectiveness of his memory” and “the interplay of his memory and imagination” and also pointing to the fact that “alongside this curiosity about the past ran a more imaginative impulse”.³⁵ It has been established that some of the stories were made up (a whole chapter in the second volume “Triple Fugue”), and the author himself recognizes that there are instances where one part of the journey is transposed to another, that sometimes he had mixed up different visits. At the same time we cannot but agree with the journalist Dervla Murphy when she wrote that Leigh Fermor’s writing was so enjoyable that “it doesn’t matter a damn whether he is describing it as he remembers it in 1934 or in 1964 or simply as he fancies it might have been in 1634”.³⁶ And, last but not least, we can cherish Leigh Fermor’s book of his trip to Constantinople as a beautiful travelling in time across the borders of former empires.

³⁴ G. Rendel, *The Sword and the Olive. Recollections of Diplomacy and Foreign Services, 1913–54*, London, 1954, p. 140.

³⁵ A. Cooper, “Patrick Leigh Fermor, Mythmaker”, *History Today*, vol. 62, issue 12, December 2012.

³⁶ Cited by A. Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor. An Adventure*, p. 364.

BETWEEN THE FRENCH LEGACY AND THE SOVIET IMPERIALISM.
THE ROMANIAN CULTURE IN THE 50S AND ITS INSTRUMENT –
THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR PROMOTING ROMANIAN CULTURE ABROAD

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This article aims to provide a double-layered analyze. On the one hand, it will present and discuss the instruments used by the communist decision-makers in charge with the cultural propaganda, focusing the Romanian Institute for the Cultural Relations Abroad (I.R.R.C.S., Romanian abbreviation). In a second layer of analysis, starting from the institutional framework offered by I.R.R.C.S. and from the symbolic capital employed by this institution on the arena of the international cultural relations, this article aims to discuss two different patterns normally used when it comes to assess the efficiency and the effectiveness of the cultural propaganda, and which one suits the Romanian model better. The first method is strictly quantitative, and measures the activities carried on by institution of cultural propaganda, the numbers of it, the type etc. The second, qualitative method, consists of the analyze of the impact and value that activities really brought on the international arena and what the results of that activities were. The motivation for this topic was based on the fact that although it represented a priority for the totalitarian regime, the cultural propaganda is an understudied field of research within the Romanian historiography of the present time.

Keywords: Cultural propaganda, cultural diplomacy, ideology, foreign cultural exchanges, communism.

The Romanian Institute for the Cultural Relations Abroad (I.R.R.C.S.) was a key-institution of the Romanian foreign propaganda. This article will firstly present the punctual activities this institution used to carry on, and the role it played in the field of cultural relations with the other states. The Romanian cultural diplomacy, a component part of the foreign relations, is intercepted in the post-communist historiography, at least for the period of the immediate post-war years, as an “extension of the Romanian domestic policy”¹, so that any action in the field of foreign Romanian cultural representation bears the mark of the same political-strategic motives of ideological reclusion and less of opening and encouragement of foreign contact.

¹ The evaluation belongs to the minister of Foreign Affairs, Simion Bughici, and was made in a discussion regarding the adoption of the Constitution in 1952. E. Denize, C. Măță, *The communist Romania. State and propaganda (1948–1953)*, Târgoviște, 2005, p. 172.

We think that the importance of such preoccupation is high, even more as the topic has not constituted so far a subject for analysis for a special work regarding the two aspects, the Romanian Institute for the Cultural Relations Abroad itself, as an institution created by the communist regime in Romania, after a Soviet model and with certain propagandistic valences and the role this institute played in the legitimation of the communist leadership. Another object of this work are the means used by I.R.R.C.S. in exporting the image of the country to the foreign auditor and in engaging the intellectuals for purposes of foreign cultural mission work.

As for us, we started from the premise that a significant number of archive documents has not yet been turned to advantage. The purpose of this research is to follow the institutional process of I.R.R.C.S., the extent to which the foreign cultural relations were tightly related to the evolution of the domestic and international policy and if they were or not under the sign of getting close to Moscow, in other words, whether the Romanian cultural diplomacy slipped towards a propagandistic discourse with the purpose of achieving certain immediate political purposes or not. Establishing the degree and the type of I.R.R.C.S. decisional independence, approximated by us as inexistent or relative, determines the extent to which the above indicated working hypothesis becomes valid or not.

Beyond filling a vacuum of knowledge in the Romanian historiography, such analysis has a double utility. First of all, we want to accomplish a zoom of the foreign cultural relations by reconsidering an articulated, functional institution, although limited to the political interferences. Secondly, we consider that it answers with conviction in the sensitive issue of the analysis of the performance framework of the artistic activity subjected to ideologization in the communist regime, by definition an undermining and subordination regime of the cultural autonomy.

After taking over the political power by the Romanian Communist Party, Romania entered the process of Sovietisation, a situation similar to the other countries of the Central and Eastern Europe, found under the sphere of the Soviet Union influence. The materialization of Romania's subordination to the Soviet Union manifested not only by what is commonly called the Sovietisation of the entire Romanian society, but also by the apparition of some cultural institutional forms imitating the Soviet ones. The cultural foreign policy in the first stage of the communist regime in Bucharest is characterized by the total obedience to the directions imposed by the Muscovite centre, a fact which inspired some researchers² to sustain that, in the case of Romania, but also of the other satellite states, one may not talk about a strategy of foreign cultural policies not tributary to the ideology and, thus, nor about any instruments supporting and propagating it objectively and directly. In this way, the institutional and human resort articulating Bucharest position in the undertakings of the cultural propaganda during the first post-war years was reduced to that exclusively accepted by the political decisional

² For aspects regarding the control and decisional limitation in the cultural and foreign cultural propaganda field – see C. Vasile, *Politicile culturale comuniste în timpul regimului Gheorghiu-Dej* (The communist cultural policies during Gheorghiu Dej regime), Bucharest, 2011.

factor. The voluntary initiatives were not possible; the ideological canon was strictly followed, and I.R.R.C.S. is the expression of this factual status, but also all the cultural institutions from the studied period. More exactly, in front of the leaders from Bucharest organizing the projections of foreign cultural propaganda, there was a major objective: the creation of key-institutions for the propaganda to serve the regime by the instauration of the monopole over the resources of informing the citizens and, in subsidiary, for the foreign policy, a re-evaluation of the contacts and exchanges with the exterior.

The insecurity of the means of cultural propaganda impregnating the Romanian diplomacy during the first post-war years, was followed, in some of the studied periods, by cultural policies of ideological opening and relaxation. All these rhythms, of profound ideologization followed by an opening to liberal forms of expression, but also the re-evaluation of the foreign relations offers, in fact, the correct diagnosis of the profile of the Romania's representation structures to the exterior, in general, and of I.R.R.C.S. profile, in particular. This thing is magisterially enunciated by the French historian François Furet: "It is not enough that these states be friends of the Soviet Union. It is not even enough for them to be subject to it. They must have the same regime, the same institutions and use the same words in order to mask the same reality. Communism in one country is not capable to export abroad something else but itself".³ For almost half a century, the evolution of these states and of the institutions serving them shall report in an overwhelming percentage to the relations with Moscow. Romania made no exception from this subordination, and I.R.R.C.S. also affiliated to the political requests of that time.

The Soviet model in its Stalinist version, generally accepted as serving also the Romanian state in the period 1948–1958 was also transposed in the field of cultural life, equally subordinated in the institutional and ideological plan to the new regime. The reconfiguration of the Romanian cultural space represented a part of the general process of transformation of the society (collectivization, nationalization, industrialization, first five-year plan), the declared scope of this process being the forced abandonment of a past declared as decadent and the legitimation of future alleged as progressive.⁴ The restructuring of the Romanian Academy, of the educational system, the settlement of creation unions, the rewriting of the Romanian historiography, the abandonment of the traditional cultural currents, shall be elements of subordination and symbols of delimitation from the past.

With small exceptions, the years 1948–1953, the years of tough Stalinism in Romania, the foreign cultural export does not register any notable actions, independent from the political line imprinted to all cultural actions, the techniques of communication in the foreign cultural sector are on the line of a quasi-generalized imitativeness. The next decade witnessed an ideological relaxation at

³ F. Furet, *Trecutul unei iluzii. Eseu despre ideea comunistă în sec. XX* (The passing of an illusion. The idea of communism in the twentieth century), Bucharest, 1996, p. 433 (French edition 1995).

⁴ Mioara Anton, "'Progresiști' versus 'reacționari'. Subordonarea intelectualilor" (Progressitis versus reactionaries. Subordination of intellectuals), in D. Cătănuș (coord.), *Intelectuali români în arhivele comunismului* (The Romanian intellectuals in the archives of communism), Bucharest, 2006, p. 13.

the level of the Romanian foreign policy orientation. On the background of the changes that took place upon Stalin's death and of the events taking place in Hungary in 1956, the cultural product offered abroad becomes less attractive and less open to variation. On the background of the beginning of the international relaxation after 1960, new formulas of foreign representation had to be thought which gave the image of a country assuming its position and value.

In our opinion, at this moment I.R.R.C.S. fails to rise to the importance of the moment opening to it. It is the time when the political regime enunciated new cultural policies, that recognized and eliminated the mistakes or excesses of the past and offered new intellectual resources, but without losing control over them.⁵ The explanations for this maladjustment could be: either I.R.R.C.S. leaders fail to address the *big*, international *culture* and to approach it by the means it expects, or I.R.R.C.S. already failed to present any importance during the first post-war years; its role ended as well as the historical stage ended and the political dissidents lose sight of a relatively important institution.

A particular means for the totalitarian regimes of changing the course of the traditional political-diplomatic relations is to create institutions that support the policy and ideology of a regime in the political, economic and cultural life. Thus, the cultural policy of the Communist Party has, amongst its main objectives, the transformation of the literature and creation in general into a fighting gun which helps the state, and the new functions of the intellectuals are the ideological and political ones, the educational and propaganda ones, but also those of legitimizing the new political regimes.

In the first period taken into consideration by this study, namely the period between 1947–1955, the ideological pressure over the components of the foreign cultural propaganda was the most powerful, aggressive and of such intolerance that went up to the re-evaluation of the forms of foreign diplomacy, so that one takes into consideration the minimization of exposing itself on the international stage and the registration of all cultural initiatives in the Jdanovist cultural orthodoxism. In this period, the action of the Romanian cultural diplomacy highly focused on the countries satellites of Moscow and aimed at the relations among the communist countries in Europe, the cultural effort was excessively minimized and it followed exclusively the ideological line, the promotion of realist-socialist culture and the restriction of foreign exchanges. This thing was provided by I.R.R.C.S. functional Statute, its purpose being that of: “popularizing abroad the cultural, economic and social accomplishments of our regime of popular democracy, the study and populations in R.P.R. of the cultural, economic and social accomplishments of the USSR and of the countries of popular democracy on the road of building socialism”.⁶

⁵ M. Lazăr, “Structuri politice și cultură. Câmpul cultural de la destalinizare la mitul salvării prin cultură”, *Xenopoliana*, VII, 1–2, 1999, p. 171.

⁶ ANIC (The National Archives of Romania – Central Unit, hereinafter ANIC, after the Romanian abbreviation), fund Romanian Institute for the Cultural Relations Abroad (hereinafter fund I.R.R.C.S., after the Romanian abbreviation), structure 1, file no. 5/1949, p. 76.

A period of relative detachment from Moscow pressure followed, a period having an impact also on the promotion of foreign image and on the cultural and diplomatic re-evaluations, by multiplying the contacts and increasing the need of representation in other European countries or from outside of Europe. The changes at the internal level, related to the de-Stalinisation attempts and of reconnection to the traditional Romanian models reflected also in the activity of cultural propaganda sustained by I.R.R.C.S., but a short term process highly related to the directorate of Mihai Ralea, an intellectual figure who imposed a different perspective on I.R.R.C.S. Thus, starting with 1956, the global Congress took place in Romania, dedicated to the anniversary of 2000 years as from poet Ovidiu's birth, with the organization of conferences and sessions of communication in the country and in Italy.⁷ The propaganda activity abroad was carried out under the auspices of some weak signs of liberalization and occidental reorientation occurring on the background of some re-evaluations at the level of I.R.R.C.S. leadership but also following the transformations of political and strategical order which began in the mid-1950s. Together with this Congress dedicated to the Latinity of the Romanian origins, a sign that detachment from the exclusively Soviet influences announced what was called de-Stalinisation and cultural defrost, there were other numerous attempts of getting close to the Occident, namely the discussions regarding the reopening of the French Institute in Bucharest, and of the Romanian School in Rome, the organization of circuits at the National Theatre in France, but also the gradual renunciation to the highly ideologized materials of propaganda and the orientation towards models of propaganda which may find their place in the requirements of the western market. This second stage of historical evolution of the communist regime, starting from 1956, brings a liberalization at the level of the state's cultural policies. The hermetic closure to the exterior was abandoned, allowing the Romanian intellectuals travel abroad or the occidental books have a relatively free circulation in Romania. Moreover, the authorities start being preoccupied by the way our country is culturally perceived abroad. Starting with 1948, I.R.R.C.S., an institute created after V.O.K.S. model (All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries/The General Association for USSR Cultural Relations with the Exterior), centralized the cultural propaganda actions in Bucharest according to the policies elaborated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but especially taking into account the trends set by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to which it was formally and informally subject. The former Institute of Universal Culture (a newly emergent institution, consisting of men of culture, mostly left-wing

⁷ ANIC, fund I.R.R.C.S., structure 1, file no. 101/1957; structure II, Italy, file no. 274/1955-1958, passim. Celebrating the Ovidian bimillenary preoccupied the representatives of the Romanian state at the highest level, so that the Council of Ministers issued a *Decision for celebrating two thousand years from the birth of the poet Publius Ovidiu Naso* whereby a National Committee of R.P.R. was established for the anniversary of poet Ovidius. I.R.R.C.S. was represented in this Committee by the president of that date, Mihai Ralea.

sympathisers, managed by the mathematician Dimitrie Pompeiu) would be taken over and urgently transformed at the end of 1947 into I.R.R.C.S.

Romania's image abroad during the communist regime was provided exclusively by the official propaganda channels strictly controlled by the Romanian Communist Party by its Propaganda and Agitation Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These propaganda channels followed the guidelines drawn by the policy makers and, in a small, almost insignificant measure this was accomplished also by traditional means, sustained by the voluntary undertakings of the men of culture, literary men, artists, or independent cultural propagators.

Starting from this premises, it is necessary to understand the dissemination/receipt means and mechanisms of the Romanian culture abroad and of the institute's role, whose primary task was the cultural relationships abroad. The archive funds, those of the former I.R.R.C.S., the current Romanian Cultural Institute found in the custody of the Romanian National Archives, after their delivery in two stages to I.C.R., the funds, less relevant, is true, in this issue, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs present us the existence of an over appreciated institution, as we would say today. And, in order to offer an explanation for this statement, we must start by specifying the fact that I.R.R.C.S. was called to fill in the gap left by the old institutions of liberal cultural diplomacy, which had been subject during the first part of the 1950's to pressure, de-structuring and, in some cases, to extinction by ending the activity.

The idea of a public or state organization meant to ensure the external cultural dissemination is not of recent date, neither is it strictly political. This type of activity was dealt with mainly by people of culture subsumed most of the time to a state administrative organization I.R.R.C.S. is a new idea by its dimensions and rhetoric. As expected, it undertakes without reserves the role of a pilot institution in the external cultural promotion, a test institution, by that it does not wish originality, but on the contrary, it even declares itself an extension of V.O.K.S. in Romania, an institution created after the Soviet model.

By closing two major cultural institutions in Bucharest, the French Institute, to which we shall return later, and the Italian one and by excessively limiting the relationship with the Western cultural world, it is given a deep message of involvement in the country's cultural life and of limitation of its directions. The first accommodation steps are also marching steps to a new cultural vision: The Eastern direction, even if in the first stage it is still searching only for acceptance and implementation possibilities. The French traditional model of cultural and intellectual influence in the "era when culture is planned, administered and controlled by the State", as Miklos Molnár affirmed, is abandoned in favour of the Soviet state in the context of breaking the relationships with the Occident, of the Cold War and outlining of the policies of the two camps.

France has represented for Romania a land of cultural exchange extremely permeable, due both to the fact that traditionally Romania and France had tight

contacts, and culturally also as a consequence of having concluded a cultural agreement in 1938.

After 1948 and by the establishment of new propaganda institutions abroad, the French socialist traditions were for post-war Romania a catalyser of its new orientation in the field of the external cultural propaganda. Nowhere has there been easier the penetration of left ideas than in France which benefited from a powerful left press and socialist traditions embraced by the men of culture, active, influent politicians. In the inter-war period, The French Institute of High Studies in Romania⁸, established in 1925, functioned in Bucharest. For the period comprised between 1925, the year of its informal establishment, and 1939, the signing moment of the cultural Agreement between France and Romania, the French Institute carried out numerous cultural projects, exchanges of readers and students, although its structure was not very well regulated, the only certain data being that the French University was the buyer of the real estate where this institute was functioning, whose president was Alphonse Dupront. On March 6th 1936, before the signing moment of the cultural Agreement, Dupront sent to Paris a detailed note speaking about the legal status of the Institute, expressing that that issue had remained unsolved for a long time, but was under debate.⁹ Once with signing the *Agreement for the intellectual relationships development between France and Romania* dated on March 31st, 1939, the functioning norms of the French Institute in Bucharest were regulated by a protocol to this agreement providing that this institute, which functions in a real estate belonging to the French state is a centre for education and scientific documentation organizing exchanges of teachers and students, coordinating and leading the French organizations and institutions of cultural cooperation in Romania.

The major changes culture goes through starting with 1947 and continuing with 1948 radically transforms the area of external propaganda too and diverts this area to a drastic reconfiguration. On November 19th, 1948 Romanian unilaterally denounces the Cultural Agreement between Romania and France by a Decree issued by the new Romanian Popular Republic, and the consequence is the forced closing of the main instrument for its application, the French Institute of High Studies from Bucharest. In the exposure of the reasons laying at the basis of the unilateral denunciation of the Agreement, reference was made to the closing of the Romanian School from Fontenay-aux-Roses, and it is specified: "conceived in the spirit of rights of inequalities between the contracting parties, such agreement is characterized by unilaterality to the detriment of the Romanian party deriving from the agreement, adding that at the moment the French government understands to apply such agreement by arresting and expelling our students, raiding and making searches at the Romanian School from Fontenay-aux-Roses, dissolving the

⁸ ANIC, fund Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Fund (hereinafter C.C. of the R.C.P.), Propaganda and Agitation Directorate, file no. 83/1949, pp. 1–14.

⁹ André Godin, *Une passion roumaine. Histoire de l'Institut français de Hautes Etudes en Roumanie (1924–1948)*, Paris, s.a.

Romanian-French friendship Association, forbidding the democratic gazette of the Romanian colony in France and supporting the fascist elements which ran away from Romania in their attacks against the Romanian democrats from France.¹⁰ In a note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the development of the Romanian-French cultural relationships after August 23rd, 1944, it is mentioned that the official cultural relationships with the French state ceased once with the denunciation of the agreement, the cultural actions in France being reduced to those undertaken by the Legation and the France-Roumanie Association.

Prefiguring the words of the mathematician Simion Stoilov, an ambassador at Paris during 1946–1948, who declares that for the edification of the “new Romania, determinant it should be the influence of some French professors, artists and writers belonging to the left parties, such as Aragon, Langevin, Prenant etc”¹¹, the new French cultural actions in Romania shall be taken over, in a great measure by the French left politicians and writers through France-Roumanie Association. France-Roumanie Association was set up in 1948 and was initially perceived as a communist organization, as a note sent to I.R.R.C.S.¹² to the Division of cultural relationships from the Ministry of External Affairs. Subsequently, it is mentioned in the information that efforts had been made in order to increase the association’s sphere of influence in its intention to cover more social categories.

The traditional French-Romanian relationships live their last days of hope around 1947 and the establishment year of I.R.R.C.S. Aligned ever more faithful to the Soviet position by the political leaders in Bucharest, the cultural policies no longer regard France not even as a line of contact between the two ideological camps. Rallied to the imperialist camp, France is thus not perceived anymore as capable to offer cultural collaboration policies acceptable for a government ever more determined to socialism. In a new, russified set, normality becomes a turning of weapons on the cultural field against the Occident. This thing is accomplished not gradually, but suddenly, and for a period of one decade, approximately irreversible. In this context, the need of a newly established institution arises, such as I.R.R.C.S. according to V.O.K.S. Soviet model.

One of the events best illustrating the breaking of the French traditions in the Romanian space is the organization of The Soviet Book Exhibition, opened on October 1st, 1947, after the model of the pre-war French and English exhibition in the same expository place Dalles Hall. This time, a special hall was reserved for the Romanian translations from the Russian language published with Russian Book Printing House, and less and less space is given to the editions of Occidental book.

Once the control over each intellectual product and over each form of intellectual communication and form of publication was established, the first lists of forbidden works appeared and the tendencies of the new policies regarding

¹⁰ *Memo regarding The French Institute of High Study in Romania*, in ANIC, fund I.R.R.C.S., file no. 176/1956, pp. 128–131.

¹¹ A. Godin, *op. cit.* p. 164.

¹² ANIC, fund I.R.R.C.S., structure 2, France, file no. 191, p. 49.

literature in the new regime became obvious. The model laying at the basis of constituting the censorship was that of the Soviet Union, an institution similar to the Soviet one being created, namely the General Division for Press and Printings which had the role of controlling the texts, the translations, controlling the materials coming from the import and those meant for export both for institutions and for natural persons. As from the establishment of the Division for Press and Printings in 1949 until its dissolution on 1977, its attributions evolved and led to the control of all fields of culture, especially literature and literary translations. I.R.R.C.S. shall be subject to the norms imposed by the communist censorship by that the cultural goods offered to the exterior complied with the provisions imposed by this new institution and did not deal with subject undesirable for the regime. These consecrated French authors were kept in the Romanian translations only if their work was social, in other words the titles, not the authors were censored insofar as they served the new ideologies. Literature was accepted only insofar as it served to social purposes and the authors were accepted only if they could serve by their works to the building of the new socialist society: translations were accepted only from the classics of the French literature having social preoccupations: Molière, Balzac, Zola, Victor Hugo¹³, certain volumes from the river novel *People of good will* by Jules Romains or the poet Paul Éluard with his political poems. Despite the propagandistic role played by all this socialist literature, we must not forget that translating this foreign literature were created the means to give a wider access for everyone to this mass artistic production.

Referring to these common considerations which make that French literature be presented to the public only if the authors have communist views or their themes are of social nature, the poet and translator Alexandru A. Philippide¹⁴ and the writer George Călinescu were invited to present their opinion regarding the role of the French left writer at the *Exhibition of French Book* from Bucharest in 1953. Alexandru Phillipide said: "Today's French progressive writers, although driven by the same spirit as their great predecessors, no longer work isolated as they used to, but organized and united. Their force is thus bigger and their action more fruitful. [...] The social content of today's French progressive literature enriched with an element of amplexity. This element is the fight for peace." This always selective penetration of the French works in the communist Romania diminished the impact of French literature in its entirety, the contemporary writers being assessed as existentialist, an artistic current which was abandoned in Romania in favour of a socialist realism of the obsessive decade. This ideological filter served to the other cultural areas in the same way, from the organization of public conferences with social themes, styles in the composition of plastic artists, the organization of Exhibitions on common, current themes.

In December 1951, a Romanian Exhibition of Plastic Arts (*fig. 1*) was organized in Paris, at Allard Galleries, by the Friends of Romanian Art, socialist

¹³ A. Godin, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁴ ANIC, I.R.R.C.S. Fund, structure 2, France, file no. 164/1953, p. 17.

organization related to the Romanian-French Friendship Association that were functioning in France at that time. The exhibition was very well received by an audience composed of those attending the actions of the Friendship Association. The Golden Book of the Exhibition comprises positive appreciations as regards the objects of social inspiration, one of those appreciating with powerful emotions the entire change of the society used to say: "The more you explore the live works of modern art coming from Bucharest, the more you realize the extent to which these wonderful pictures mirror the past and current work of the Romanian workers for freedom and peace. Watching these successful works, I can fully realize how true it is that this huge wave of enthusiasm for building socialism stimulates all young Romanian artists".¹⁵ The author of this note is André Langevin, Vice-President of the Friendship Association, a well-known French socialist, a constant supporter of the Romanian cultural projects in France, son of the well-known anti-fascist militant, Paul Langevin, the initiator of the Langevin-Henry Wallon plan, emblematic for his left humanism in the after liberation of France. The French visitors expressed their impressions in writing only regarding the paintings of realistic socialist inspiration, such as: Andrei Bordy, *The highlighted workwoman*, Șaru Gheorghe, *To the abatis*, Popescu Justina, *Highlighted workwoman at 23 August Plants*, Rind Becca, *Here come the tractors* (fig. 2), Ștefan Szöny, *Clandestine printing plant* (fig. 3), and the sculptor Maximilian Schulman, *The foundry men* (fig. 4). The classic painters, present in this exhibition with paintings of social inspiration, such as Corneliu Baba, Alexandru Ciucurencu, Iosif Iser, do not find themselves among those remarked by the public's appreciations, despite the fact that the recommendations of the Committee that had organized the exhibition had been very clear: "Besides the recent works inspired by the socialist realism, which would have a great success to the French public, there should also be some works of painters such as Luchian and Grigorescu, already known for a long time in France. The co-existence in the same exhibition of these two series of works would allow to draw the attention of a public as large and as various".¹⁶

The implementation of the new cultural strategies involves at this moment new institutions, new personalities, but what is most important, a new approach and presentation themes. That the Western is not ready for this kind of militant art shall be seen in the reports arriving through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the reports drafted at I.R.R.C.S., which offer us the image of their impact on the French artistic and cultural environment. The press reports¹⁷ drafted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs registered several gaps in the editorial activity from France which presented the Popular Romania in few press articles and in a quite niche press, a thing which was completely unfavourable. The only press favourable to Romania was the progressive one, represented by *Démocratie Nouvelle* and *L'Humanité* where the frequency of articles regarding Romania's revolution was

¹⁵ ANIC, fund I.R.R.C.S., structure 2 on countries, France, file no. 154/1947–1953, p. 124.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹⁷ ANIC, fund C.C. of the R.C.P., Propaganda and Agitation Directorate, file no. 13/1964, p. 13.

much lower than that of other popular democratic countries, such as Hungary, Poland or Czechoslovakia, as was registered in an I.R.R.C.S. report.

The forced closure of the French Cultural Institute put an end to a long-lasting cultural relation, as it was that between France and Romania. Built in more than a century, the Romanian-French cultural relations reached their climax during the inter-war period. This tough measure laid at the basis of politics' interference with a liberal sector, such as that of representing the cultural identity of a state by unengaged cultural institutions, and marking the start of a new system of bilateral cultural relationships. Thinking from a different perspective, the propaganda model created in the Stalinist and Leninist period remained the same, adapted to all communist countries, and, with small exceptions, none of them elaborated any strategy leading to refine of the cultural propaganda methods. For this reason, we have similar institutions in all Eastern states, institutions issuing and disseminating the same type of message: that of mass communication and communication for the mass, which no longer makes use of the great culture or address to any great culture.

In a new socio-political circumstance, marked by the contradictory political requirements deeply affected by ideology, it is difficult to conclude which was I.R.R.C.S.'s role and if this institute has ever risen to its role of a propagator of efficient cultural policies. One honest step with regard to the Romanian cultural policies in the period 1947–1960 offers us the image of a cultural glaciation which broke relationships and ended the natural process, of a march of the new meaning in ideological key over the classic reported to immutable values.

The issue of Romanian culture perception in the Western states during the I.R.R.C.S. operation may be regarded from two different angles: Was the effort of being known abroad maculated by the ideological language, immediately distinguishable, used in the cultural promotion or not? Or, the promotion of the Romanian culture, under any of its forms, was the modality whereby a non-democratic regime was nevertheless intercepted, known and cautioned or fined in its efforts of cultural representation.

The cultural propaganda, by its attributions, is called to respond to a necessity of legitimation or representation of the respective state in the environments to which it aspires, as Nicolae Iorga used to see the needs of a country of exporting behaviours for the purpose of connecting to the international relations: "a country does not belong to the place it lies, but to the horizon to which it aspires".

Did the Romanian state, by I.R.R.C.S. succeed in fulfilling these needs or, more exactly, did the Romanian state correctly understand its needs of real representation? Did the Romanian propaganda find the correct message for the exterior, under a visible ideologization, precisely for its avoidance? Did they succeed in recovering the chronical deficit of legitimacy, in the context of breaking the traditional relations abroad, or, on the contrary, the foreign propaganda mechanisms borrowed at the same time with the governing system also used the ideology specific to it making worse the image the new state wanted to build at the end of the war.

These are the questions we try to answer to by analysing the symbolic capital used by I.R.R.C.S. in the arena of the international cultural relations. The evaluation of the cultural propaganda must not be accomplished according to the number of activities, although it has a certain importance, but according to the visibility, impact and value it brings in the international circuit and their quantifiable results.

The settlement in thematic key of these questions moves the accents from an exclusively chronological lay on one that takes into consideration the discovery of the variables which brought changes of optics on the management of the cultural propagandistic segment. It is difficult to evaluate the impact I.R.R.C.S. had over the wake of the international cultural relations; as regards the current moment, we could say that it was null, taking into consideration the fact that the institution as such was totally forgotten, it no longer resonates in the collective memory, many contemporaries not knowing that it was the ancestor of the current Romanian Cultural Institute.¹⁸ Most consulted works are focused on the primacy of the politics as subject and variable of analysis, and the documentation/drafting method combine the thematic approach and the critical analysis of the documents with the chronological one. Insofar as the documentation progresses, one shall also appeal to the biographical method in approaching the influent characters found, either in I.R.R.C.S. management in the studied period, or in the sections of the Central Committee to which this institute was ideologically subordinated.

How could a society so attached to the western cultural values manage to slip so rapidly into a totally different direction, is a question issued most times when the political-diplomatic and also the communist cultural phenomena are studied. The total abandonment of the Western models and the more or less forced embracement of the ideas promoted by the communist leaders were dilemmas of the contemporary historiography when the phenomenon of communizing the Romanian society was studied. This question becomes valid also in the research of the cultural propaganda and the evaluation of the I.R.R.C.S.'s role.

¹⁸ The Romanian Cultural Institute published in 2005 a volume of analysis of the current cultural sector which does not mention I.R.R.C.S. as an institution of international cultural cooperation in the communist period, but it mentions the role of propaganda agent which these institutions played in the mentioned period: *all this institutional flourishing had more to do with propaganda than the arts. Culture was not just a matter of state, it was owned by it. The totalitarian state was the great patron, the almighty manager and administrator of culture. The official culture was exclusively led by a number of highly centralised institutions. The pyramid of control depended entirely on the state budget, which was the monopoly over culture*, in *A short Guide to the Romania Cultural sector today. Mapping opportunities for cultural cooperation*, Ecumest Association, Royal Netherlands Embassy in Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Institute, Bucharest, 2005, p. 10.



Fig. 1. – The *Romanian Exhibition of Plastic Arts Catalogue* (Paris, 1951–1952) in I.R.R.C.S. Inventory, structure 2 on countries, France, file no. 154/1947–1953, f. 39.

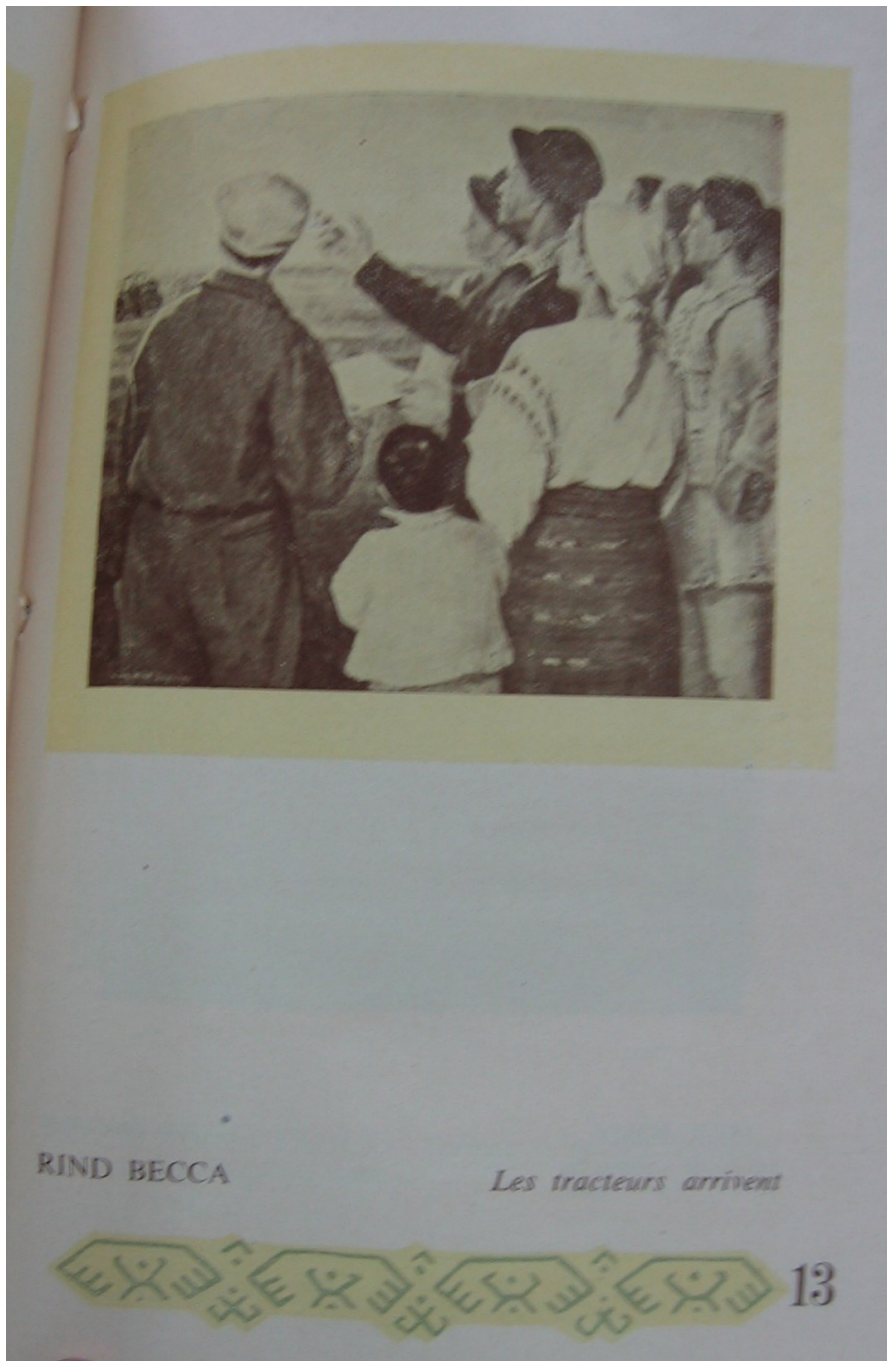


Fig. 2 – Rind Becca's painting *Here come the tractors* in I.R.R.C.S. Fund, structure 2 on countries, France, file no. 154/1947–1953, f. 46

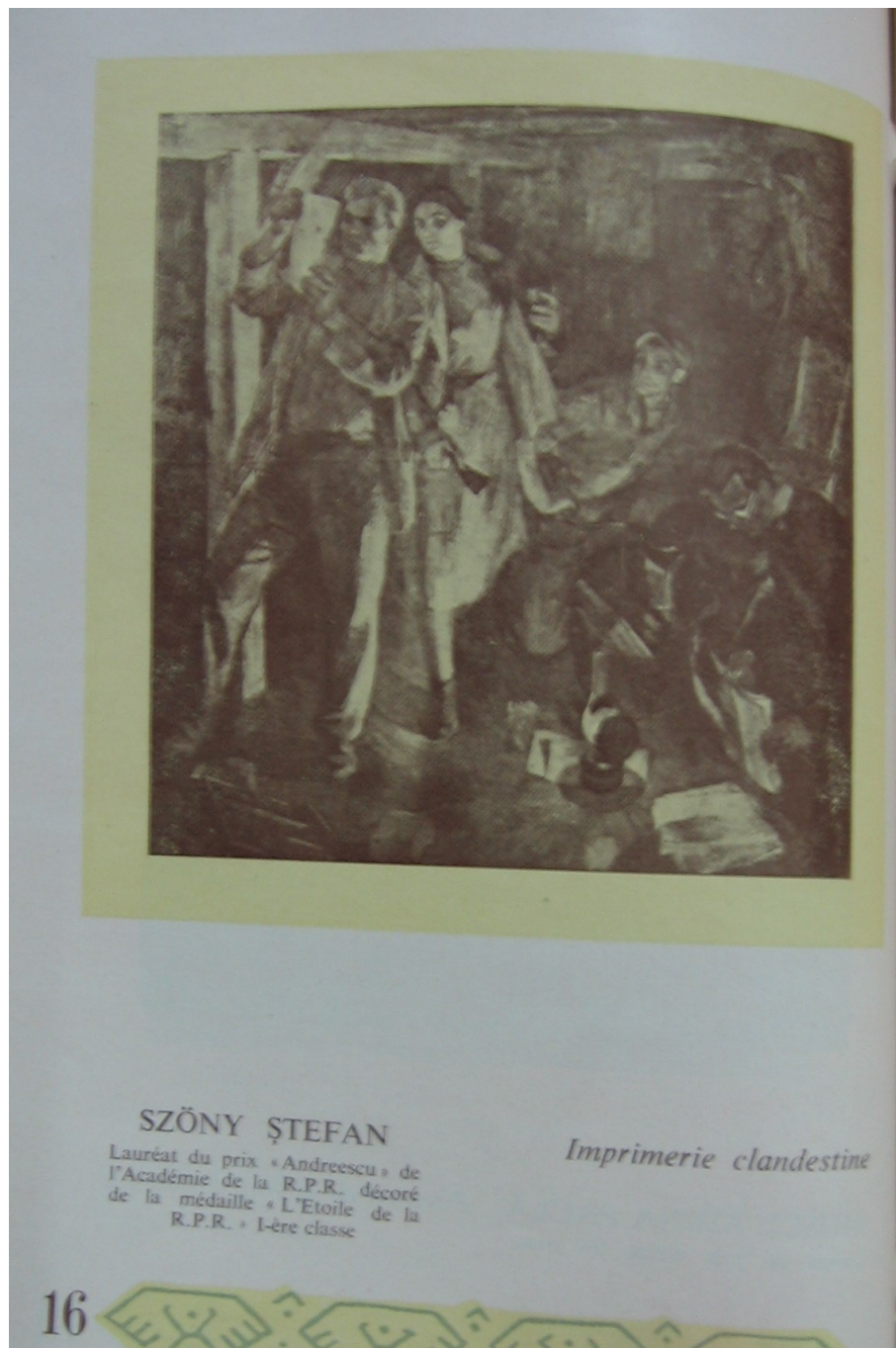


Fig. 3. – Ștefan Szöny's painting *Clandestine printing plant* in I.R.R.C.S.
Fund, structure 2 on countries, France, file no. 154/1947–1953, f. 50

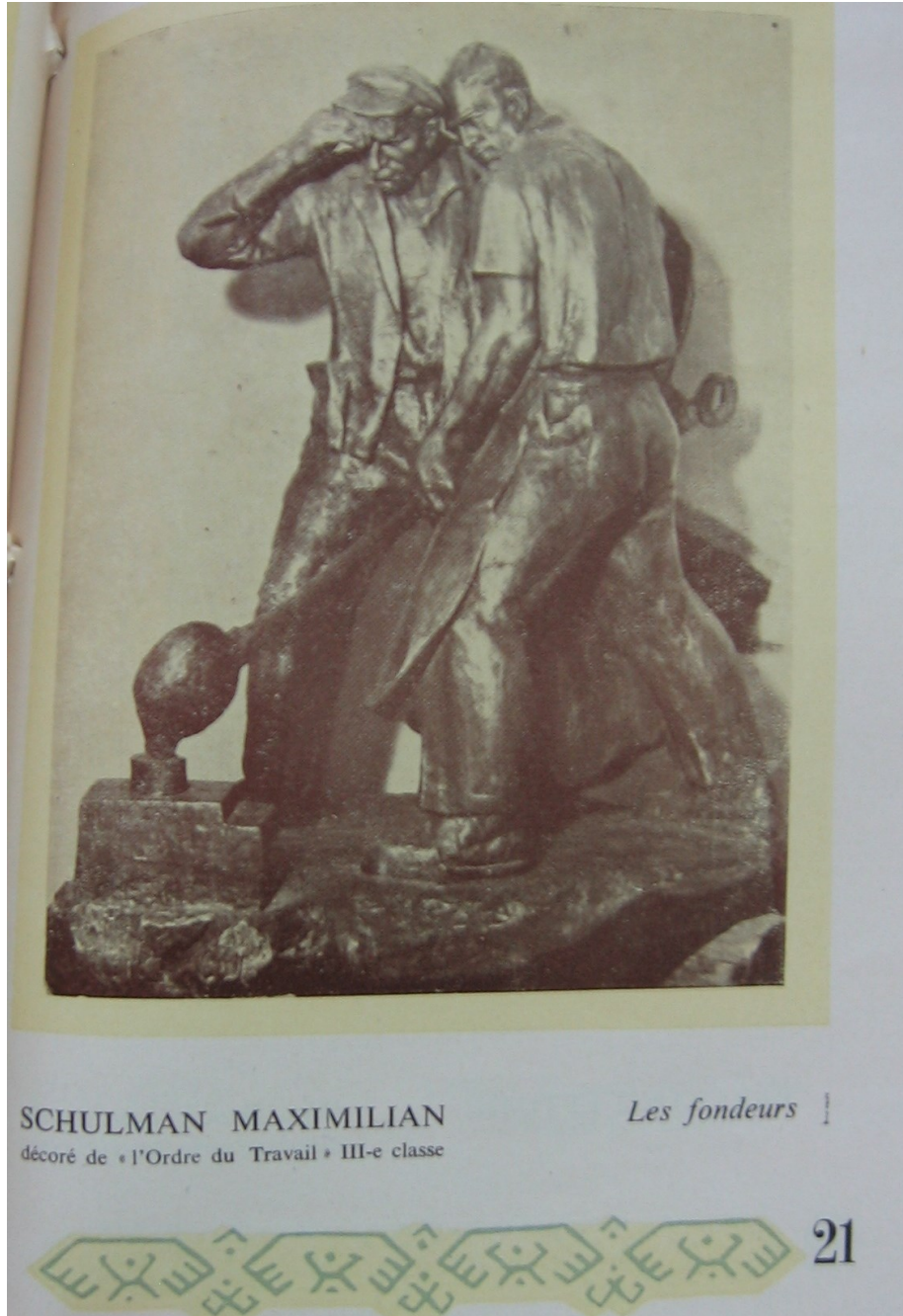


Fig. 4 – Maximilian Schulman's sculpture *The foundry men* in I.R.R.C.S. Fund, structure 2 on countries, France, file no. 154/1947–1953, f. 56.

ELABORATING ON A LIMIT OF THE SOCIALIST MODEL. PENSIONS, RETIREEES, RETIREMENT SYSTEMS IN POST-WAR ROMANIA

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This article aims to discuss the evolution of the pension system in Romania after WWII, in the context of the social security model present in the rest of the socialist countries. Focusing on the Romanian Pension Law of 1966 that was inspired by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the new Communist leader who had been imposed only one year earlier as the general secretary of the Communist Party, one can conclude that the social regulation was indeed very modern. It introduced in the history of the Eastern European social security systems an idea which, to these days, continues to rule the debate: what the fair ratio between the principle of solidarity and the principle of contribution should be? However, this reform opened the gate for a revision of the principle of solidarity, that will further deepen the tendency to privilege the financial efficiency, a trend which had a negative impact on the retirees' standard of living, and totally discriminated the peasantry.

Keywords: Labour History, Pension Systems, Socialism, Balkans, N. Ceaușescu, Romanian Pensions Law of 1966.

As the author of *A History of Public Sector Pensions in the United States* justly observes, “From the Roman Empire to the modern nation state, rulers and parliaments have found it expedient to provide pensions for the workers who carried out their policies and, thus, helped perpetuate their regimes. [...] More than two thousand years ago, the fall of the Roman republic and the rise of the empire were inextricably linked to the payment, or rather the non-payment, of military pensions”.¹ In modern times pensions were more often than not granted for loyalty to the monarch or to the state, for instance to the officers and soldiers in the national armies. Throughout this period, the funds necessary for the payment of the otherwise small number of pensions were provided directly from the state budget.

In the 20th century pension was one of the reformist measures instituted with the grand social policies that became generalised as a consequence of the transformations which occurred at the end of the First World War. The state began

¹ R. L. Clark, L. A. Craig, J. W. Wilson, *A History of Public Sector Pensions in the United States*, Philadelphia, [2003], p. 1 – online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160227061944/http://www.pensionresearchcouncil.org/publications/pdf/0-8122-3714-5-1.pdf> (accessed 01.03.2020).

to interfere between employees and employers, imposing on the latter to preserve the wellbeing of the former by, among other things, granting them funds at the end of their professional career. Nevertheless, during the first half of the 20th century, the vast majority of pensioners were former state employees, for whom the state secured all financial rights.

In Romania, the first legal provisions for the workers' right to a pension are to be found in the Mining Law of 1895, which stipulated that financial contributions were obligatory for both employees and employers. The 1912 Law for the organisation of professions stipulated equal contributions for workers, employers and the state toward "old age insurance".²

The interwar period brought about new legal provisions and generalised the setting-up of specialised institutions (the so-called pension funds) for artists, lawyers, journalists, etc. – in general for urban professionals. However, the largest institution of this type was meant for workers – Casa Muncii C.F.R. (the pension department of the Romanian Railway Company's workers). Casa Muncii C.F.R. constituted a provider of social services for housing, free medical assistance, and education (schools and kindergartens) for railway employees, true according to Fr. Engels's definition. They were exempt from direct financial contributions, the state alimending their pension fund through a special tax of 5% imposed on all C.F.R. fares.

After the Second World War, the communist regime abolished all these sectorial institutions, and in January 1949 formed a single, centralised pension system.

In this paper I will try to discuss the principles of this reform in the context of the evolution of the Romanian pension system, and on the other hand, in the context of the social security model present other socialist countries. Among the documents of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Funds available in the National Archives in Bucharest, there is the well-known File No. 127/1966, which contains the transcripts of the high-level party debates on the restrictive legislation regarding abortions. During this party meeting, the order of the day was topped by the draft of the new pension law, which included a review of the relevant situations in the socialist countries. The rapporteur was the then Deputy Prime-Minister Alexandru Bârlădeanu, one of Nicolae Ceaușescu's close collaborators, whom he would repudiate three years later.

On presenting the draft law, Alexandru Bârlădeanu estimated that "we would be ahead of all the socialist countries".³ The law was indeed very modern, introducing in

² The Law on Jobs, Credit, and Insurance from the 27th of January, 1912 (best known as the Nenișescu Law after Dimitrie Nenișescu, the Conservative Minister for Industry and Commerce from 1910 to 1912) – online at <http://www.monitoruljuridic.ro/act/lege-din-27-ianuarie-1912-pentru-organizarea-meseriilor-creditului-i-asigur-rilor-muncitore-ti-legea-neni-escu-emitent-parlamentul-160213.html> (accessed 15.08.2019).

³ The National Archives of Romania – Central Unit (Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale – hereinafter ANIC, after the Romanian abbreviation), The Fund of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party – Chancellery (hereinafter C.C. of the R.C.P. – Chancellery), file no. 127/1966, p. 18.

the history of the Eastern European social security systems an idea which, to this day, continues to rule the debate – the ratio between the principle of solidarity and that of contribution. I will briefly remind you that the former means the insured employees pay the retirement rights of the current pensioners – a model applied throughout most of Europe and affected by such issues as the aging population, reduced amount of workforce, currency devaluation, etc. The latter principle, the principle of contribution, refers to a kind of personal savings fund, the ensured employee amassing his/her own future pension. The results of this system are still under debate, as there are only few beneficiaries and many more cases of private pension funds bankruptcies.

Eastern European countries were, of course, facing with a number of problems characteristic to backwardness: a workforce which had only recently become urbanised, and therefore had held work contracts – and, consequently, benefited from the social security system – for comparatively little time; and a rural world which was either excluded from this type of legislation, or manifestly discriminated by it. The state spent little on pensions, and to answer N. Ceaușescu's concern that “we must after all consider our current possibilities”, his interlocutors hastened to assure him that the sums of money taken from the pension fund were not exorbitant.

In the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland the situation was fairly similar, the state paying pensions mainly from the employers' contributions⁴. In Hungary, on the other hand, aside from the employer's contribution to the pension fund, the employee also had to contribute 3% of his/her salary.⁵

In Romania, the principle of the employer's sole contribution to the pension fund had been stated as early as December 1948, and legislated through the Social Security Law in January 1949⁶, when the financial contribution of the employee had been eliminated. The share paid by the employers was calculated in percentages, function of the respective field of activity, and was settled from the entire salary fund of the company or institution, according to criteria agreed upon by the government and the unions. If the employer failed to pay the contribution to the pension fund, this breach did not affect the employees' retirement rights, which were guaranteed under the Labour Code.⁷ In theory, the 1966 law preserved this principle.⁸

The draft law introduced, however, a novelty – the supplementary pension, which represented an obvious turn towards the contribution principle. Set at 2% of the monthly salary, after 20 years it gave employees the right to a pension 16% higher than the ordinary one. The sums thus collected were deposited at the National

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112 back, 115 back, 118 and 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁶ M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensilor comentată și adnotată* (The Pension Law with Comments and Notes), Bucharest, p. 25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25–26. See also *Codul Muncii. Legea nr. 3 din 8 iunie 1950 cu modificările până la 24 iulie 1956* (The Code of Labour. The Law of 8th of June, 1950, amended at 24th of July, 1956), [Bucharest,] 1956, p. 45.

⁸ M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensilor comentată și adnotată...*, p. 25.

Bank, being unavailable to the Ministry of Finance, and generated an annual interest fixed by law at 1.5%.⁹ This measure is apparently meant to encourage work and money saving, yet it must be said that the supplementary pension was not optional, but compulsory, marking the passage from solidarity – called “mutuality” at the time¹⁰ – to contribution.

The retirement age was yet another very important issue. Historically speaking, its decrease has always been considered a sign of social progress. In Romania, the evolution of the age of retirement was as follows:

Table 1

Age of retirement in Romania in the first two-thirds of the Twentieth Century.

| Year | Age for women | Age for men |
|------|---------------|------------------|
| 1912 | -- | 65 |
| 1938 | 57 | 60 |
| 1949 | 55 | 60 ¹¹ |
| 1966 | 57 | 62 ¹² |

So, not only did the retirement age not decrease, it actually kept increasing. There were nevertheless social categories which had the right to early retirement, excluding those whose professions supposing difficult working conditions. Firstly, mothers of at least three could retire a year earlier, if they had devoted themselves exclusively to raising their children until the age 10. Mothers of five and more could retire three years earlier.¹³

The explanation for this indulgence resides in the political context of the age, when the state, in addition to the legal ban on abortions, was trying to boost the country's birth rates by improving the conditions offered to women. Even the age of the children cared for by homemaker mothers had been raised from 7 to 10, that is three years above school age, when the state became directly involved in a child's education.

Other socio-professional categories were the beneficiaries of special reductions. Artists, for instance, could retire after 25 years of employment, for men, and after 20 years, for women.¹⁴ In Bulgaria, on the other hand, teachers retired at 55, men, and at 50, women.¹⁵ The 1966 Romanian law made an exception for the teaching personnel, increasing the retirement age to 65 for men and to 60 for women.¹⁶

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 355–363.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

¹¹ ANIC, C.C. of the R.C.P. – Chancellery, file no. 127/1966, p. 102–103.

¹² M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensiiilor comentată și adnotată...*, p. 31–33.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁵ ANIC, C.C. of the R.C.P. – Chancellery, file no. 127/1966, p. 116.

¹⁶ M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensiiilor comentată și adnotată...*, p. 31–32.

In other socialist countries, the legal retirement age was as follows:

Table 2

The age of retirement in other European Socialist Countries

| Country | Age for women | Age for men |
|----------------|---------------|------------------|
| USSR | 55 | 60 |
| Bulgaria | 55 | 60 |
| Czechoslovakia | 57 | 60 |
| Poland | 60 | 65 |
| Hungary | 55 | 60 ¹⁷ |

With 57 for women and 60 for men, Romania was not among those with the lowest age threshold. To give you a term of comparison, in Western countries the retirement age thresholds were even higher:

Table 3

The age of retirement in Western countries

| Country | Age for women | Age for men |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|
| West Germany | 65 | 65 |
| Austria | 55 | 60 |
| Belgium | 60 | 65 |
| Denmark | 62 | 67 |
| France | 60 | 60 |
| Italy | 55 | 60 ¹⁸ |

The 1966 Romanian law stipulated several incentives and interdictions obviously meant to counter a possible labour force crisis. The draft law initially introduced a pension bonus of 2% for continuity at the same workplace. Yet Alexandru Bârlădeanu had proposed, and his proposal had been accepted, that this bonus be raised to 10% to stabilise the workforce.¹⁹ The suspension of the labour contract would, in time, lead to a smaller pension.²⁰

In terms of the compulsory number of working years, Nicolae Ceauşescu's Romania was not radically different from other socialist countries either:

Table 4

Compulsory number of working years in Eastern Europe

| Country | Compulsory number of working years | |
|---------|------------------------------------|---------|
| | For women | For men |
| USSR | 20 | 25 |

¹⁷ ANIC, C.C. of the R.C.P. – Chancellery, file no. 127/1966, p. 112 back, 115 back, 118 back, 120 back, 122.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124, 126, 127 back, 129, 130 back, 132.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11–12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

| | | |
|----------------|----|----|
| Bulgaria | 20 | 25 |
| Czechoslovakia | 25 | 25 |

Table 4 (continued)

| | | |
|----------------|----|------------------|
| Poland | 20 | 25 |
| Hungary | 25 | 25 ²¹ |
| Romania | 20 | 25 ²² |

The minimum pension was set to 500 lei beginning in January 1st, 1967²³, while the net average salary for the same year was 1.107 lei.²⁴ For comparison purposes, in 1966 the average pension in Bulgaria was 56 leva²⁵ to a net average salary of 107 leva.²⁶ In both cases, the ratio between pension and the average income was practically identical.

In the case of the peasants, the draft law in question stated clearly that work in the countryside did not give one the right to a pension²⁷, at a time when the active population working in agriculture represented approximately 55% of the total.²⁸ The situation was not any better in other socialist countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, approximately 40% of the active population, which lived and worked exclusively in rural areas, did not have the right to a pension.²⁹ Bârlădeanu himself actually pointed out that the level of pensions and of other social/welfare rights were significantly higher in urban areas, in proportion to the level of expenditure (rent, maintenance).³⁰ Consequently, in 1970 the average pension received by peasants was more than ten times smaller than that received by workers – 61 lei to 647 lei³¹, while the net average salary was 1,289 lei.³²

CONCLUSIONS

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112 back, 115 back, 118 back, 120, 122.

²² M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensilor comentată și adnotată...*, p. 31–32.

²³ ANIC, C.C. of the R.C.P. – Chancellery, file no. 127/1966, f. 19.

²⁴ Earnings since 1938 – Annual Series: online at <https://insse.ro/cms/en/content/earnings-1938-annual-series-0>. (accessed 25.08.2019).

²⁵ *Статистически годишник на Народна Република България, 1967 (Statistical Yearbook of People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1967)*, Sofia, p. 325.

²⁶ Average Monthly Salary and Average Monthly Insurance Income in Bulgaria: online at <http://trudipravo.bg/index.php/znanie-za-vas/1054-srednomesechna-rabotna-zaplata-i-srednomesechen-osiguritelen-dohod>. (accessed 25.08.2019).

²⁷ M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensilor comentată și adnotată...*, p. 227–228.

²⁸ B. Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice, 1500-2010 (Romania and Europe. The Accumulation of Economic Disparities, 1500-2010)*, Iași, 2010, p. 340.

²⁹ R. J. Myers, *Economic Security in the Soviet Union*, in “Transaction of Society of Actuaries”, Vol. 11, No. 31/1959, p. 730 – online at <https://www.soa.org/globalassets/assets/library/research/transactions-of-society-of-actuaries/1959/january/tsa59v11n3176.pdf>. (accessed 03.04.2020).

³⁰ ANIC, C.C. of the R.C.P. – Chancellery, file no. 127/1966, p. 20.

³¹ *Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1990*, Bucharest, p. 126.

³² Earnings since 1938 – Annual Series...

Far from being an equitable law, 1966 pension legislation integrated Romania into the scheme/model and the evolution of socialist countries, both at a statistical level and in what concerns rights and regulations.

Its modernity had more to do with the political reasons hidden behind it: rewarding the women who had many children, stabilising and encouraging the workforce etc. The fact that the contribution principle, eliminated at the end of the '40s for having capitalistic roots, was reintroduced shows preoccupation with avoiding a possible crisis of the pension system as well as a return to strictly economic calculation in the sphere of social politics.

In fact, the law viewed the right to pension as part of the labour contract, as one of its residual consequences, since its provisions applied even after the effective termination of the employee – employer relationship.³³ This legal definition was also valid in the 1930s.

The 1977 Pension Law would further deepen the tendency to give the system financial efficiency, a trend which had a negative impact on the retirees' standard of living, and totally discriminated the peasantry. The Romanian pension legislation under Nicolae Ceaușescu was intended to partially satisfy the needs of the urban social strata.

³³ M. Niculescu, *Legea Pensilor comentată și adnotată...*, p. 15.

BLOCAGE SOVIÉTIQUE ENVERS LES PROPOSITIONS DE ROUMANIE CONCERNANT L'ÉLARGISSEMENT DES COLLABORATIONS DANS LES BALKANS, LES ANNÉES 70 DU XX^e SIÈCLE

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We present the initiative put forward by the leaders of Romania at the beginning of the 70s of the 20th century, aiming at the development of diverse collaboration between the Balkan states. This area was considered, traditionally, as a region of strategic interest already by the former Tsarist Empire and, subsequently, by the USSR. So the Moscow rulers had at least reluctantly received these proposals, perceived as attempts by N. Ceaușescu to create a political organization in the region opposed to the interests of other countries. The author undertakes an analysis of the Soviet reaction, supported by the Bulgarian leaders in the attempt to discourage the efforts of the PCR with its government in the direction of the change of the Balkans in an area of collaboration and understanding between peoples of the region.

Keywords: Balkans, Brezhnev, Ceaușescu, Jivkov, collaboration, political relationship, Crimea.

La création dans la région des Balkans d'une espace de collaboration et de stabilité s'était constituée comme une des priorités de la politique externe de Roumanie déjà dès l'époque entre les deux grandes guerres. En même temps, avec le développement des relations bilatérales, on préconisait la création d'un espace institutionnel adéquat qui pourrait permettre aux États balkaniques de développer entre eux des relations politiques, économiques, culturelles, en s'abritant en même temps contre les ingérences externes. L'impératif de l'établissement des relations de collaboration entre les États balkaniques était dicté aussi par le besoin d'arrêter le cours dangereux des événements, surtout après l'ascension au pouvoir de Hitler en Allemagne et les tendances révisionnistes en train de s'accentuer en Europe.¹

A la suite des efforts conjugués de la Grèce, Yougoslavie, Roumanie et de Turquie, on a réussi, le 9 février 1934, à Athènes, la signature du Pacte de la constitution de l'Entente Balkanique, organisation défensive de sécurité régionale, concernant à la base le respect de l'indépendance, de la souveraineté et de l'intégrité territoriale, aussi que la fidélité envers les plus importants instruments de la légalité internationale, à l'époque le Pacte de la Ligue des Nations et le Pacte

¹ Pour une analyse plus détaillée, voir P. Bădescu, *România și colaborarea balcanică*, în *România. Supraviețuire și afirmare prin diplomație în anii războiului rece*, vol. 4, Bucarest, 2014, p. 349–373.

Briand-Kellog.² C'est dans ce contexte qu'on doit souligner le rôle important du grand diplomate roumain Nicolae Titulescu.

A la suite de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, on pourrait parler plutôt des évolutions (et non pas d'une évolution) qui ont compris les Etats de l'aire Balkanique, en déterminant une nouvelle configuration des ces Etats, surtout après leur entrée dans des blocs militaires différents : Turquie et Grèce – OTAN, Albanie, Bulgarie et Roumanie – Traité de Varsovie et Yougoslavie en dehors des alliances militaires. Or, la nouvelle conjoncture ne fit qu'entraver pendant plusieurs années toute initiative destinée au renforcement de la collaboration entre les Etats de la zone. C'est à peine qu'en 1957 la Roumanie, après avoir consulté l'URSS, avançait l'idée de la création des zones libres d'armes nucléaires dans les Balkans et le Nord de l'Europe. L'initiative fut suivie par un message du premier ministre roumain Chivu Stoica adressé le 16 septembre 1957 à ses homologues d'Albanie, Bulgarie, Grèce, Yougoslavie et Turquie, avec la proposition d'organiser une Conférence avec la participation des premiers ministres de ces pays qui auraient prendre une décision concernant la stimulation des relations commerciales, culturelles, des contacts interhumaines, y compris dans des problèmes concernant le renforcement de la paix dans les Balkans, la solution par des moyens paisibles de tout différend. On soulignait dans le message que l'entente des pays balkaniques n'a pas la mission de devenir un groupement opposé aux autres Etats situés en dehors de celui-ci.³ Une réponse positive en est arrivée de l'Albanie, de Bulgarie et de l'Yougoslavie, tandis que les premiers ministres de Grèce et de Turquie ont décliné l'invitation.⁴

Ultérieurement, le 21 décembre 1957, le premier ministre roumain lançait l'initiative de la démilitarisation des Balkans : Elle fut reprise dans la Déclaration du Gouvernement roumain de 6 Juin 1959, qui contenait la proposition de conclure un Traité de compréhension et sécurité collective, en visant l'élimination de cette région des forces militaires étrangères dotées d'armes nucléaires, l'engagement des Etats balkaniques de résoudre les litiges par voie paisible, le renoncement à la force dans les relations réciproques. La proposition roumaine visait aussi l'octroi des garanties de sécurité pour les Etats balkaniques de la part des grands Etats possesseurs d'armes nucléaires. Les années '60 l'idée de la création dans les Balkans d'une zone dénucléarisée a été reprise dans le Comité des 18 Etats pour désarmement de Genève et à la Conférence du Comité pour désarmement de l'ONU aussi. C'est dans ce contexte que s'inscrit aussi la proposition de Roumanie de 21 août 1961 concernant l'inscription dans l'ordre du jour de la XV^e session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'ONU d'un point à part : Action sur le plan régional en vue d'améliorer les relations de bon voisinage entre les Etats européens appartenant au systèmes social-politiques différents, finalisée à peine le 21 décembre 1965 par l'adoption en unanimité d'une Résolution dans ce sens-là.⁵

² *Ibidem*, p. 351.

³ *Scînteia* de 17 septembre 1957.

⁴ P. Bădescu, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁵ N. Ecobescu (éd.), *România în sistemul Națiunilor Unite*, Bucarest, 1974, p. 272–273, 288–289.

Sur le fond de l'accalmie installée après la crise tchécoslovaque d'août 1968, la Roumanie a repris avec encore plus de persévérance ses démarches visant au renforcement de la collaboration entre les Etats balkaniques fait qui a attiré l'attention des cercles politiques et scientifique de l'Union Soviétique. Dans une note élaborée le 29 octobre 1970 par les chercheurs de l'Institut d'Économie du Système Mondial Socialiste de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, intitulée "Le rôle et la place de Roumanie dans les relations réciproques des États balkaniques", les auteurs remarquaient le fait que la Roumanie était « le plus actif propagandiste de la collaboration balkanique », en soulignant, en même temps, que l'attention accrue de la Roumanie pour les problèmes balkaniques était « étroitement liée au cours de la politique externe autre que celui de l'Union Soviétique ». Or, vu le fait que, en même temps, plusieurs projets de collaboration de la zone balkanique, ceux de la Roumanie y compris, contenaient, dans l'opinion de ces chercheurs soviétiques, « quelques éléments d'opposition » vis-à-vis de l'URSS, ils considéraient opportun que l'URSS offre un appui politique au développement de la collaboration balkanique, seulement dans la création d'une zone dépourvue de l'arme atomique aux Balkans. On suggérait aussi l'appui à l'élargissement de la collaboration économique et technique-scientifique roumaine-bulgare. Cet appui offrait, à l'Union Soviétique dans l'opinion des auteurs de la note concernant ces propositions, la possibilité d'exercer « une influence indirecte » pour toute la région.⁶ En ce qui concerne la perspective des rapports entre l'URSS et la Roumanie, on recommandait l'élaboration d'un programme complexe de collaboration politique et économique d'une stratégie de coopération et de spécialisation, en attirant l'attention que l'absence du tel programme aurait entravé l'influence de l'Union Soviétique envers la Roumanie « y compris envers sa politique dans la région balkanique ».⁷

Une raison de plus pour la préoccupation des dirigeants soviétiques était le renforcement de la collaboration entre la Roumanie et la Yougoslavie pendant la crise tchécoslovaque d'août 1968. Une étude plus récente y ajoute la rencontre de 30 janvier – 2 février 1969 entre N. Ceaușescu et J.B. Tito, qui pour la part soviétique générât la peur d'un commencement des liaisons plus étroites entre les deux pays. C'était donc une menace pour la position de l'URSS aux Balkans.⁸ On y ajoutait, dans le même sens, le rapprochement Roumanie-Albanie dont les nouvelles relations pouvaient devenir trilatérales vue l'alliance entre l'Albanie et la Chine communiste.⁹ Par la suite, les dirigeants soviétiques ont décidé, pour affaiblir l'influence de Roumanie et de Yougoslavie dans les problèmes balkaniques, d'utiliser Bulgarie pour la collaboration de toute sorte aux Balkans, les aspects militaires y comprises.¹⁰

⁶ AVP RF, Fond 125, op. 58, mp. 81, d. 4, f. 108.

⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 109.

⁸ Ar. A. Ulunian, *Posleprajski 1969-i. Sovetskie diplomatia i razvedka v poiskah soiuznikov i protivnikov na Balkanah i v Evropeiskom Sredizemnomorie*, Moscou, 2016, p. 170.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

¹⁰ Ar. A. Ulunian, *Balkanski "scit sotzializma". Oboronnaia politika Albanii, Bolgarii, Rumânii i Iugoslavii (seredina (à-h gg- 1980 g)*, Moscou, 2013, p. 411.

D'ailleurs, après la crise tchécoslovaque de 1968, ces controverses allaient continuer en formes plus ou moins semblables presque chaque année dans plusieurs reprises. On va les présenter brièvement.

1. À l'occasion de la Conférence du Comité Politique Consultatif du Traité de Varsovie, Moscou, le 20 août 1970. N. Ceaușescu a repris sa proposition pour l'établissement des zones de bon voisinage dans les Balkans, Europe Centrale et d'autres parts du continent. L'inquiétude du Moscou en devenait manifeste. Par la suite la diplomatie bulgare était poussée dans la direction « roumaine ». On devait surveiller les relations de Roumanie avec RSFY et avec la Chine.¹¹

2. La rencontre de septembre 1970 entre N. Ceaușescu et T. Jivkov, ce que le leader roumain considérait comme relations positives dans les Balkans¹², était entendu par Jivkov comme contradictoire et compliquée.

3. Après une tournée (1–24 juin 1971) de N. Ceaușescu en Chine, Corée de Nord, R.D. Vietnam et Mongolie, on avait convoqué, le 2 août 1971, en Crimée, une rencontre des dirigeants des pays socialistes, où la Roumanie n'était pas invitée. On a discuté, parmi autres, les divergences avec N. Ceaușescu.¹³ À ajouter que la place importante occupée par les discussions concernant la Roumanie en visant même un changement au niveau de la direction du PCR. On allait commencer au moins par établir des liaisons avec ceux qui n'étaient pas d'accord avec la politique de N. Ceaușescu et de réaliser une plus étroite liaison de Roumanie au Traité de Varsovie. Bien que rien n'était précisément établi, toute circonstance pouvait devenir un appui pour remplacer le président en fonction.

4. Une nouvelle rencontre roumaine-bulgare au plus haut niveau avait lieu le 7 décembre 1971. N. Ceaușescu a conseillé aux nouvelles relations concrètes de collaboration aux Balkans, la constitution d'une Commission de collaboration économique interbalkanique y comprise ; il envisageait aussi en perspective une rencontre des premiers ministres ou des chefs d'États de Balkans.¹⁴ Sans rejeter l'idée, T. Jivkov a averti que ces actions ne deviennent des manifestations anti-bulgares, en rappelant dans cette direction de telles réunions organisées dernièrement par Yougoslavie.¹⁵

5. Une année plus tard, une nouvelle proposition de Roumanie visa le renforcement de la collaboration entre les pays balkaniques générant des réserves sérieuses à Moscou, qui y voyait l'intention de la création d'une alliance balkanique. À la réunion multilatérale des dirigeants des partis communistes du

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 418.

¹² Archives Nationales de Roumanie (plus bas ANR), Fond du Comité Central du P.C.R. (plus bas C.C. du P.C.R.) - Section des Relations Étrangères, dossier no. 56/1970, p. 77.

¹³ Paralell History Project on NATO and the Warshaw Pact, Brejnievs's Crimea Meeting in the 1970's, édité par J. Baev, août 2003, disponible en ligne à http://budgie3.ethz.ch/php/documents/collection_texts/intro_baev.htm, consulté le 1^{er} août 2019 ; A. A. Ulunian, *Balkanski "scit sotzializma" ...*, p. 457.

¹⁴ ANR, Fond du C.C. du P.C.R. - Section des Relations Étrangères, dossier no. 190/1971, p. 7.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

Traité de Varsovie (à laquelle participait aussi le leader mongole J. Tzédénbal), déroulée le 31 juillet 1972 à Yalta, on a examiné une série d'aspects de situation internationale, parmi lesquelles la problématique européenne. Dans son exposé prononcé avec cette occasion, N. Ceaușescu a dit que, à son avis, les pays socialistes des Balkans doivent actionner en divers domaines entre les pays de la zone, en comptant que les conditions étaient favorables dans ce but.¹⁶ Seul T. Jivkov s'est prononcé en soulignant que « le problème relevé par l'homologue roumain n'est pas seulement celui des pays socialistes des Balkans, mais de tous les pays ». En suivant son opinion, une analyse, même sommaire, mais partie des positions de classe de la situation des Balkans, aurait montré qu'il n'existait pas des conditions pour telle rencontre. Plus concret, il s'est reporté à la « campagne hostile » portée par l'Albanie contre l'Union Soviétique et Bulgarie, en concluant : « La Bulgarie ne peut pas participer à une rencontre général-balkanique qui aurait s'allié contre l'URSS ou d'autre pays socialistes ».¹⁷ Dans ce contexte, T. Jivkov attirait l'attention sur le fait que « les dernières années du côté des Etats Unis et d'autres pays (sans les nommer) on avait entrepris des mesures massives d'influencer les pays balkaniques ».¹⁸

En analysant l'exposé du leader bulgare, on peut constater que la partie concernant les Balkans était déjà élaborée avant le dialogue, la proposition roumaine lui offrant l'occasion de prononcer sa position.

6. La nouvelle rencontre à haut niveau N. Ceaușescu – T. Jivkov de 9–10 août 1972 a contribué de mieux classer les réserves de Bulgarie et de l'URSS envers les initiatives roumaines. Cette fois-ci, le président bulgare a précisé que la partie bulgare s'oppose à toute initiative dans les Balkans qui aurait offert la possibilité d'exprimer des critiques à l'adresse de Bulgarie et de l'URSS, se trouvant à la frontière avec les Balkans. Il a précisé que l'Union Soviétique n'aurait pas resté indifférente envers telle action.¹⁹ Affirmation qui a déterminé le président roumain d'exprimer son étonnement envers telle manière d'aborder les questions, en précisant que personne ne pouvait penser la moindre éventualité de quelque affront d'une conférence balkanique contre l'URSS.²⁰ A souligner qu'une réunion des Etats balkanique avait comme but la discussion sur un programme d'activités économiques, scientifiques, culturelles, sportives etc.²¹

7. En saisissant les réserves manifestées envers ses idées et propositions concernant le renforcement de la collaboration des Etats balkaniques, N. Ceaușescu a senti le besoin – autre voie n'avait pas à choisir – d'expliquer plus largement à Brejnev l'essentiel de ses propositions, en usant dans ce but la rencontre bilatérale de 1^{er} août 1973, en Crimée. Le président roumain a précisé que son pays avait en

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, dossier no. 80/1972, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, dossier no. 87/1972, p. 30.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

vue le développement des relations entre les Etats balkaniques, auquel d'autres Etats pouvaient être invités, premièrement l'Union Soviétique, mais aussi les Etats Unis, vu que les américains avaient des troupes et bases militaires en Grèce et en Turquie.

En reconnaissant que la part soviétique avait eu « en général une position négative envers la perspective de la création d'une société balkanique »²², Léonid Brejnev s'est montré enclin à comprendre plus précisément l'idée suivie par la Roumanie, la conception se trouvant à sa base, en exprimant son étonnement pour l'intention d'attirer les Etats Unis dans cette collaboration. Dans sa réplique, N. Ceaușescu précisait que, dans la situation de la discussion concernant les troupes et les bases militaires de la région, il était logique de consulter les Etats Unis, au moins pour la Grèce et la Turquie²³, en ajoutant que la Roumanie et l'URSS étaient intéressés d'empêcher l'emplacement des armes atomiques sur les territoires de ces pays.

Par la suite, après ce dialogue entre N. Ceaușescu et L. Brejnev plus haut brièvement illustré de 1^{er} août 1973, la proposition roumaine concernant l'élargissement de la collaboration aux Balkans n'est plus revenue pour quelque temps dans les rencontres entre les deux pays.

8. C'était à peine après trois années quand les relations roumaines-soviétiques se trouvaient sur le chemin d'une normalisation que le pouvoir soviétique déclarait son opposition catégorique envers la proposition roumaine concernant l'intensification de la collaboration des Etats balkaniques. Cette fois-ci, l'initiative de la discussion sur ce problème revenait à la part soviétique. À l'occasion de la rencontre en Crimée le 3 août 1976 avec N. Ceaușescu, L. Brejnev déclarait sans ménagement que le « problème d'une alliance balkanique n'a aucune base solide ». ²⁴ Plus que ça, telle union n'était pas justifiée, les Etats de la région appartenant à deux différentes alliances militaires. ²⁵ Pour en conclure, la réponse de N. Ceaușescu a été formulée à la fin : « personne ne veut concevoir le problème d'une union balkanique ; cela serait complètement non réaliste ». ²⁶

9. Une année plus tard, à l'occasion d'une nouvelle rencontre N. Ceaușescu-T. Jivkov, Sofia, 5–8 septembre 1977 on reprenait les discussions sur la situation des Balkans. Plus ou moins, les positions exprimées étaient, d'un côté et de l'autre, semblables aux affirmations de Crimée de 1976. ²⁷

10. La même méfiance soviétique-roumaine continuait à se manifester les années suivantes, comme au rendez-vous de 14 août 1978 entre L. Brejnev et T. Jivkov, qui, parmi autre, avaient parlé à propos du « thème roumain » discuté le

²² *Ibidem*, dossier no. 141/1973, p. 33.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, dossier no. 108/1976, p. 34.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, dossier no. 154/1977, p. 14, 15, 21.

7 août par L. Brejnev et N. Ceaușescu. À la fin, L. Brejnev demandait à T. Jivkov de parler de nouveau avec N. Ceaușescu.²⁸

11. De retour à Sofia, T. Jivkov citait dans la Séance du Bureau Politique de PCB de 16 août 1978 les paroles de L. Brejnev à propos de N. Ceaușescu, qui disait-il, avait un comportement de plus en plus mauvais.²⁹ Par la suite, il avait demandé à T. Jivkov de reprendre son dialogue avec N. Ceaușescu.³⁰ Cette demande était encore plus pressante dans la perspective immédiate de la visite en Roumanie du président du C.C. du P.C. Chinois, Hua Guofeng, programmée pour 16–21 août 1978.³¹ L. Brejnev a apprécié les efforts bulgares dans la direction du découragement de tels plans, en soulignant la nécessité de contrecarrer toute idée visant la création d'un groupement séparé des États balkaniques avec des propres « intérêts différents ». ³² La situation politique du moment vue du point de vue soviétique et bulgare avait été exprimée par T. Jivkov et consignée dans le Protocole de la séance plus haut mentionnée : les autorités bulgares devaient intensifier la publication des matériaux dévoilant le cours chauvin, antisoviétique et anticomuniste et des actions hostiles de la Chine, sans parler dans les publications bulgares de Roumanie et Yougoslavie³³ où allait se poursuivre la visite officielle du président chinois. T. Jivkov a souligné aussi le fait que la ligne que la Bulgarie était en train de promouvoir aux Balkans « était en accord avec celle des pays socialistes, premièrement avec la celle de l'URSS dans la région », en attirant l'attention sur la situation « extrêmement compliquée de la région, où se manifestaient très actif les américains, OTAN et notamment les chinois », dont les actions étaient dirigées contre l'URSS et la Bulgarie.³⁴ T. Jivkov a considéré important d'assurer que la Bulgarie « ne va pas admettre la création aux Balkans d'une alliance régionale dirigée contre l'Union Soviétique et Bulgarie ».³⁵

12. En octobre 1978, A.A. Gromyko avec une délégation soviétique de PCUS avaient à Bucarest des discussions avec la délégation de PCR sous la direction de Paul Niculescu-Mizil. Premièrement A. A. Gromyko a exprimé le désaccord de l'URSS envers la proposition roumaine de faire créer un « groupement isolé d'États des Balkans ». ³⁶ En répondant, le chef de la délégation du P.C.R. a déclaré l'étonnement envers le point de vue soviétique face à l'attention accordée par Roumanie à la collaboration entre les pays balkaniques au but de transformer les Balkans dans une zone de paix et bon voisinage etc. (v. plus haut).

²⁸ Ar. A. Ulunian, *Balkanskii scit...*, p. 747.

²⁹ Archive Centrale de l'État (CDA), fond 1, op. 66, dossier 1373, p. 11.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

³⁶ ANR, Fond du C.C. du P.C.R. – Section des Relations Étrangères, dossier no. 180/1978, p. 15.

Le ministre soviétique des Affaires Extérieures a précisé vers la fin du dialogue que l'US n'avait pas d'objections à faire contre la collaboration des Etats balkaniques dans domaines divers d'intérêt commun. « Ce qui nous inquiète et pas seulement nous est que, sous le drapeau d'une collaboration ou de l'autre, ne soient effectivement d'autres plans ».³⁷

13. À l'occasion de la réception, octobre 1978, de la délégation du PCUS, N. Ceaușescu a expliqué que, par sa proposition, la Roumanie ne pensait pas à quelque bloc aux Balkans, mais au renforcement de la collaboration économique, scientifique, culturelle et dans d'autres domaines entre les pays balkaniques, pour « ouvrir la voie d'éloigner les bases OTAN des Balkans ».³⁸

En suivant notre opinion, les explications claires offertes par les deux côtés en octobre 1978 ont eu le rôle d'éliminer de l'agenda la dispute sur un problème autour duquel la partie soviétique avait forgé presque sept années toute sorte de scénarios sans une base réelle. La situation pour une fois éclaircie, les contacts roumains-soviétiques, la problématique balkanique a continué d'être abordée dans les discussions roumaines-bulgares, mais cette fois-ci sans des accents polémiques.

Les documents montrent le fait que cette question n'est plus revenue dans les discussions roumaines-soviétiques dans les années suivantes. Les réserves manifestées par les dirigeants soviétiques envers l'initiative de Roumanie, soupçonnée d'avoir essayé de créer un Pacte balkanique dirigé contre l'URSS, étaient complètement injustifiables, en démontrant l'état de méfiance envers le président du P.C.R et de Roumanie de l'époque. Or, cette situation n'a fait que décourager une action notable et avec une perspective suivant un développement régional, en utilisant la collaboration entre les Etats balkaniques pour plusieurs domaines : transports, énergie, protection du milieu ambiant etc. C'est à peine dans nos jours, dans un contexte international complètement changé, qu'on commence à réaliser sur le plan régional quelques morceaux de tels besoins.

³⁷ *Ibidem.*

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 84.

**IN SEARCH OF A USEFUL PAST:
HISTORY AS A RESOURCE FOR THE PRESENT**

Bulgarian contributions to the Conference organised
at the Institute for South-East European Studies
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Presentation

In the period from 2017 to 2019, a joint project was implemented between the Institute for Historical Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Southeast European Studies at the Romanian Academy on the topic “In Search of a Useful Past: History as a Resource for the Present”. The purpose of the project was to analyze and interpret examples of public uses of history with focus on the instrumentalization of the knowledge about the past and the role of historians in the public sphere. The papers in this thematic unit were prepared by the Bulgarian participants in the symposium on the project held in Bucharest in September 2018. Chronologically, the individual topics cover events and processes from the 20th century (the two world wars and the communist regime) with a view of their reflection in the historiography, memory, culture and politics of the post-Cold War era. The place of history in contemporary media and its role in recent nation and state building processes are also explored. Geographically, the authors present above all case studies from Bulgaria, but there are also two comparative studies in a Bulgarian-Romanian and wider Balkan-Asian context. Their conclusions demonstrate the great importance of history in the modern world, the varied manifestations of the memory of the past, and the risks of the public uses of history that increase the responsibility of professional historians. We hope that the proposed research results could be useful both for future comparative studies in the region of Southeast Europe and in the public sphere, nationally or internationally.

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THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN BULGARIA

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The text sheds light on different aspects of remembrance of the First World War in Bulgaria. Various sources of historical past present the perception of this major event a hundred years later in Bulgaria. The account casts a glance on diverse materials related to the topic as for example well-known historical researches, new sources, governmental initiatives in celebrating the centenary, official narratives and less known sides of the Great War. The report doesn't mean to exhaust the matter, it just represents the existing spirits and the perception of this major event among the Bulgarians. The exposé shows the domination of the narrative of bravery, military victories, belligerent enthusiasm, bitterness at the unjust Treaty of Neuilly. Still, a new story line appears, connected to less common topics such as the social trauma, the story of women, the sanitary care etc.

Keywords: First World War, Bulgaria, remembrance, centenary.

While the outbreak of the First World War is thought to be a watershed in the Western European History, for Bulgaria the global conflict of 1914–1918 makes up a natural continuation of the wars Bulgaria waged two years earlier for fulfilment of her San-Stefano dream. Bulgaria had engaged in war still in 1912, after signing a military alliance with surrounding Balkan countries (Serbia, Greece and Montenegro) against the Ottoman Empire, aiming to integrate Bulgarians left beyond the Fatherland's boundary. After the rapid successes of the united Christian forces it did not take a long time a breakup in their contractual relations to come about, which ultimately led to the Second Balkan War (1913). Bulgaria suffered a crushing defeat in it, by losing old and new territories alike for the benefit of all her neighbours. For Bulgarians the Second Balkan War ended up with what was called 'the First National Catastrophe'. The Question of Revision became high on the agenda and foreordained which side Bulgaria would take in the subsequent global conflict. Bulgaria entered the First World War in 1915 having joined the Central Powers, as she felt reassured by their warranties for implementing her national unification plan. This way Bulgaria's involvement in the First World War turned into a natural continuation of her struggling to achieve her national goals envisaged since the Balkan wars and the remembrance of her participation in the war got imbued with something bigger left in the collective memory (otherwise well-established in the official history) under the name 'the Wars for national unification

of 1912–1918’. This viewpoint has been unanimously supported both by the contemporaries and the researchers of the Bulgarian military conflicts. In itself however the account of the First World War and the Bulgarian involvement in it is quite nebulous.

The absence of a well-shaped image of the First World War is also owned to the proper nature of the paradoxical alliances Bulgaria had joined¹. Not long after having fought against its paramount enemy – the Ottoman Empire, Sofia stood side by side with her until yesterday adversary. On the other hand, Bulgaria’s opposing Russia was conceived of something unnatural and even scandalous by not a modest portion of the once Bulgarian public, nevertheless Bulgarian Army defeated the Russians at the Dobrudja Front without any reluctance and discouragement amid the officers and common soldiers alike².

The sad end of the First World War for Bulgaria was termed as ‘the Second National Catastrophe’³ which threw the population into distress and despair. The big breakdown commenced to be reflected upon by the contemporaries in their writings already in the interwar period. In that period the primary question to tackle was about guilt⁴ and namely to whom Bulgarian loss was to be ascribed. The ‘first prize’ was awarded beyond any doubt to the Monarch, but the blame was also being put on the government of the Prime Minister Vasil Radoslavov, as well as on the Military, the Germans, the Entente and so on. Everyone however had been reproducing the narrative of the National Unification as the main goal – a manner to legitimise and characterise as righteous the choice taken in favour of the Central Powers. After some time lapse when the war was assessed to be ‘imperialistic’ and an ‘expansionist’ one (in the late 40s through the 70s), the viewpoint on national unification as the final goal has been monopolising the history research once again (since the 80’s henceforth)⁵. The image of the First World War is being

¹ Bernard Lory, “Une guerre invisible? La mémoire de la Première guerre mondiale en Bulgarie”, *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, vol. 228, 4, 2007, p. 34–49.

² The commander of the cavalry general Ivan Kolev addressed his soldiers before the attack: “Horsemen, honest to God, I’m grateful to Russia for having freed us. But what are looking for those Cossacks in our Dobrudja? We will beat them and push them away like any enemy opposed to Bulgaria’s unity!”

³ See the debate about the term “catastrophe” in Благовест Нягулов, “Война, понятия и памет: Добруджа между „втората национална катастрофа“ на България и „великото обединение“ на Румъния“, *Добруджа в края на Първата световна война*, Добрич, 2019, p. 32–46.

⁴ That line of reasoning also dominates Western-European scholarship perhaps echoing article 231 of Versailles Treaty blaming Germany entirely for the war: “The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies”. See more: Jay Winter, Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History. Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*. Cambridge, 2005, p. 34–40.

⁵ A detailed account on the Bulgarian historiography of the First World War one can see in Мартин Вълков, “Между национално обединение и завоевателна война: военнополитическите цели на България през Първата световна война като историографски проблем“, *Анамнеза*, год. XIII, 1 (2018), p. 1–47. The paper is quite original because it challenges the conventional historiographical approach about the

impregnated through a kind of emotional and fuzzy recollections of bravery, military victories, belligerent enthusiasm, bitterness at the unjust Treaty of Neuilly, which could be subsumed under the title of a once well-known book: “Defeated but non Beaten”⁶.

A likewise narrative is being replicated in the Bulgarian history schoolbooks where the dominant tread are the stories about the heroism Bulgarian soldier demonstrated and the pure and righteous goals for bringing the national unity into life.

What’s going on today, 100 years later and how do we reflect on the Jubilee of that Global conflict? How is deemed to be the Great War and Bulgaria’s involvement in it on the institutional level and amid the general audience?

In the summer of 2014, a National Committee was established for commemorating the centenary of the First World War and Bulgaria’s involvement in it under the emblematic auspices of the Bulgarian Minister of Defence⁷. At their very first meeting, the former minister Angel Naydenov pointed out that Bulgarian Army continued to be unbeaten and Bulgaria kept being the only Balkan country whose capital city had not been captured by a foreign army in the modern wars of 19th and 20th century; Bulgarian militaries had not allowed neither a single Bulgarian flag to be captured. That patriotic oratory also predestines the primary strands of financing by the Committee: the basic accents are put on the renovation and restoration of the military memorials in Bulgaria, on rituals for paying tribute to the fallen in the First World War, as well as on initiatives of military-patriotic associations and civil organisations. There were also foreseen conferences on military history to take place, collective volumes and albums to be published, special exhibitions to be inaugurated⁸. Albeit the commemorations remain in the background after Government’s downfall (august 2014), they still keep going on a corporate and associative level, as well as locally. Activities were renewed after the three nationalistic parties joined the current government (after May 2017).

In the past four years in Bulgaria took place several conferences dedicated to the First Word War⁹. Interestingly, scholarly communications remain focused on

Bulgarian participation in the First World War and argues that, apart from Macedonia, Bulgaria’s drive to the west was not due to irredentism but was motivated largely by strategic and geopolitical considerations and a general aspiration for Bulgarian dominance in the Central Balkans. Available online: http://www.anamnesis.info/sites/default/files/Martin_Valkov_statiya_Anamneza_kn_1_2018.pdf

⁶ Стефан Тошев, *Победени, без да бъдем бити*. София 2018.

⁷ <https://armymedia.bg/archives/6190>; <https://armymedia.bg/archives/14781> (retrieved April 23, 2020)

⁸ <https://offnews.bg/politika/pravitelstvoto-dava-360-hil-lv-za-chestvane-na-100-godini-ot-parvata-669378.html>; <https://www.24chasa.bg/novini/article/6978351> (retrieved April 23, 2020).

⁹ The most important scientific venue was the state-backed international conference in 2016 “WWI and Bulgaria“ in which more than 100 participants took part, 28 being from 9 countries other than Bulgaria (<https://www.novinite.bg/articles/123849/100-godishnata-ot-Parvata-svetovna-vojna-shte-se-otbeleji-s-nauchna-konferenciya-v-Sofiya-Blagoevgrad-Tutrakan-i-Dobrich>); next to it were “First World War on the Balkans and Bulgaria’s participation in it in 1917“ (6th–8th December 2017, Kyustendil); “First World War and Bulgaria’s exit from it (1918)“ (15th–16th September 2018, at Doyran); “First World War on the Balkans, the

the scope of military history emphasizing the unquestionable heroic displays of the Bulgarian Army, as well as reminding the biographies of distinguished Bulgarian generals and commanders-in-chief. The national unification story-telling is being reproduced once again¹⁰.

Still recently some collective volumes with memoirs and scholarly research, dedicated to Bulgaria's participation in the First World War were prepared and published¹¹. They timidly start dealing with a different story on the First World War, and new areas connected with Bulgarian memory in the Great War were outlined. Some of the communications however differed from the political and military context. As scholars witnessed: "Everyone had something to say about it. Here is a clear sign of great historical events, moments in history about which people continue to speak."¹² That alternative account is a conspicuous proof for other painful and less agreeable pages from the Bulgarian's past during the war.

Apart from the glorious narrative of the Bulgarian victories we can follow also the harmful and distressing everyday life of the soldiers on the frontline. According to the articles, based on the wartime writings of soldiers (such as diaries, notebooks, novels etc.) the account of the common man gives a new perspective of the war according to the self-experience. Following the personal lines in their correspondence one can witness the shortages on the front, the emotional-psychological deprivation of the warriors, the lack of solidarity, faith and compassion, the deficiency of good military leadership and war discipline¹³. Still, the Bulgarian man, unaccustomed to talk of his personal emotions, doesn't reveal everything in his letters. Remembrances however document the alcoholism at the front lines as a mean to run away from the non-sense and boredom of the trench warfare¹⁴. Some rather delicate topics, like posttraumatic stress, loss of mind, etc.,

breakthrough at Dobro Pole and 1918 events" (18th–19th September, Pernik); "Bulgaria in the Great War 1918." (20th–21st September 2018, Plevan).

¹⁰ By opening the Plevan conference, the local museum principal Volodya Popov stated: "100 years divide us from those epic events that made Bulgarian soldier's exploits a legend. Today we can hardly transform ourselves in that self-sacrifice of the Bulgarian soldier at Doyran but that victory is mostly a historical consequence from the symbiosis in the time of the precious idea for national unity, which reigns over the self-consciousness of the Bulgarian society 100 years before. The task of our generation today is to reconstruct and retell the historical truth to modern-day Bulgarian audience": <https://dariknews.bg/regioni/pleven/otkriha-nacionalnata-nauchna-konferenciia-byulgariia-v-goliamata-vojna-videosnimki-2121257> (retrieved April 23, 2020)

¹¹ Първата световна война век по-късно, Сборник. София 2016; Документален сборник "Българите и Голямата война". София, 2016; Bulgaria in Първата световна война, 1917-1918 г. Сборник със студии и статии. София 2017.

¹² Winter, Prost, *The Great War in History*, p. 6.

¹³ See more in Snezhana Dimitrova, "Ma guerre n'est pas la vôtre...": la Grande guerre et ses vécus immédiats dans les lettres, journaux, mémoire (1915–1918) des participants", in *Grande guerre 1914–1918. 80 ans d'historiographie et de représentations*, Montpellier, 2002, p.281-319; Snezhana Dimitrova, "Der Mensch im Krieg Krisen der modernen Identität im Angesicht des Todes, Bulgarien 1915–1918", in *Schreiben im Krieg – Schreiben vom Krieg. Feldpost im Zeitalter der Weltkriege*, Essen, 2011, p. 165–177.

¹⁴ Централен държавен архив (ЦДА), ф. 1558 к, оп. 1, а.е. 7, л. 42–159 – Memoirs of the

weren't tackled at all. Untouched remains the topic on the soldiers – war invalids and their life in peace time after the end of the war.

An important topic is also the fate of the prisoners of war. While the question about the Bulgarian ones has been a subject of various memoirs and researches during the decades, it is barely nowadays when the matter of the foreign POW's had attracted the attention of the researchers¹⁵. According to them in Bulgaria there was a difference in treating the prisoners of the neighbouring countries and those of the Great powers.

A serious problem, which stayed unknown, was the question of the Bulgarian authority's misdeeds in the occupied territories¹⁶. In his research Martin Vulkov proves that there were murders, committed by orders of the Bulgarian High Command and he argues that they were part of a deliberate policy to purge the country of all "elements", considered "unreliable", dangerous or hostile to the Bulgarian occupation authorities, with Serbian intelligentsia as a category being a special target of repression. It is true that those writings have been sharply criticized on special forums and the results of the research were more likely to stay in the shadows. There are also papers regarding the violence against the civil population in Dobroudja, both from Bulgarian and from Romanian side. The texts prove that the way of apprehending history of the region is still very different in the neighboring countries. Interpretations of conflict and violence remain refracted especially through the lens of the national bias and even emotions of anger¹⁷.

Another important field of research which has not been still clearly investigated is the women's appearance and their behavior in wartime, their strength and empowerment to acquire influence in war society. Their men being at the front, many women no matter of their social origin became active in volunteering,

military doctor Ludvig Stribny about his life in war and peace time. When Ludwig Stribny was transferred to the front line as a military doctor, his new commander's first words by giving him a canteen over, were: "Drink up, little doctor, don't be afraid. This is the only comfort and amusement we have here." Stribny's very first impression was that almost everyone drank and no one slept.

¹⁵ See more in Георги Пеев, "Русские военнопленные в Болгарии во время Первой мировой войны", *Первая мировая война и исторические судьбы народов России* – Академия ВЕГУ – Уфа 2014; Guergui Peev, "Les prisonniers de guerre français en Bulgarie (1915–1918)", in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, no. 254, Prisonniers de la Grande Guerre: victims ou instruments au service des États belligerents, II (Avril – Juin 2014), p. 55–70; Rumen Cholakov, *Prisoners of War in Bulgaria during the First World War*, Dissertation, Faculty of History, Cambridge University, 2012; Snezhana Dimitrova, "Bulgarian Prisoners of War and Prisoners of War in Bulgaria (1915–1918): Law, Practices and Everyday Life", in *First World War Centenary. Symposium Papers Book*, Izmir, 2015, p. 443–463.

¹⁶ Up to now it was only Martin Vulkov who drew the attention on it: Мартин Вълков, "Заповед за унищожението на известни категории интелегентни лица от 1915 г.", *Анамнеза*, 11, 1 (2016), p. 1–27. Available online: http://www.anamnesis.info/sites/default/files/Valkov_M_statiya_Anamneza_kn_1_2016.pdf

¹⁷ See more in Blagovest Njagulov, "Violences contre les civils de la Dobroudja, 1916–1918: Historiographie et mémoire en Bulgarie et en Roumanie", *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 1–2, 2015, p. 18–32; idem, "La Grande Guerre et les victimes civiles en Dobroudja. Histoire et mémoire en Bulgarie et en Roumanie", *La Grande Guerre dans les Balkans. Regards croisés, perspectives comparés*, Sofia, 2018, p. 25–35.

solving problems, demonstrating, petitioning, in other words became a vibrant voice of their milieu¹⁸.

We can say that in future papers Bulgarian scholars could stress more upon social, emotional, psychical, gender matters regarding the nation's participation in the First World War. It is true that in 1915 Bulgarians entered the new military clash with lack of enthusiasm, worried and pensive, facing the prospect for new suffering. For the commoners the objectives of the war remained unclear – for being a European war, which obligations will our army have after defeating Serbs – will it be dismissed or sent who knows where? The situation in the Army was not clear-cut, too. There were problems with settling down the chief quarters of the Bulgarian Army. In the course of time both civil population and soldiers began starving. The poor equipment of the Army and the lack of quality food discouraged soldiers from fulfilling their duties. The misuses of the Bulgarian military forces were followed by the new administration clerks who made also object of debate among the Bulgarian society.¹⁹ There were also problems with the conduct of the town-hall and administration employees in the old territories, who treated 'indecently' the families of those who fought for Bulgaria – a fact becomes known to the soldiers battling at the front lines. Evidence about the latent animosity between 'citizenry' and 'peasantry' that was flaring up threateningly during the war is particularly illustrative²⁰.

100 years later, we witness a gathering of reconciliation and a demonstration of solidarity and human wisdom in Western Europe regarding the major events of 1914–1918²¹. It is relieving to see a similar process here too when we behold the commemoration of the fall of the Tutrakan fortress, beginning of September 2016. It is an important episode from the military operations between Bulgaria and Romania in 1916 when the Bulgarian army took the mentioned fortress. A hundred

¹⁸ On this see Жоржета Назърска, "Самарянските през Първата световна война (1915–1918) в спомените на Соня Краева – Кикименова", in *България в Първата световна война*, p. 183-193; Snezhana Dimitrova, "Hunger, Diseases, and Bulgarian Women's Revolts (1916-1918)", in *Der Erste Weltkrieg auf dem Balkan – Geschichtliches Ereignis, Erfahrung und Erinnerung*, München, 2018, p. 116–161.

¹⁹ ЦДА, ф. 1067К, оп. 3, п. 432, 499–511 – memoirs of N. Stoyanov. About the clerks he is almost uncompromising in his esteem: „There were justly criticized, unfortunately, the indecent deeds of the *declassified criminal* (italics mine, A.S.) types of administration clerks sent in free Macedonia.”

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 503 – In his memoirs N. Stoyanov tells that when he went as an insurer-assessor in North-Western Bulgaria in 1918, he was met by an adversary group of villagers who said: “What are looking for those burghers, they are the real reason for the war, we peasants are dying on the front lines, while they are strolling along. We'll give them a good hiding.”

²¹ It is important to mention the text of the commemorative plaque laid by the German Chancellor Ms. Angela Merkel and the French President Mr. Emmanuel Macron in 2018 in the forest of Compiègne where the armistice ending the Great War was signed. It read: „On the centenary of the November 11, 1918 armistice, Mr Emmanuel Macron, president of the French Republic, and Mrs Angela Merkel, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, here reaffirmed the value of Franco-German reconciliation in the service of Europe and peace.”: <https://www.france24.com/en/20181110-live-french-president-macron-german-chancellor-merkel-armistice-commemoration> (retrieved April 24, 2020).

years later the town became the center of festivities and a historical recreation was made. Among the ‘actors’ one can see Bulgarians as also Romanians staying side by side meaning to keep the historical memory and to remember the important events of our shared past²².

On November 27, 2019, following the initiative of the city-council of Neuilly-sur-Seine and the Bulgarian embassy in Paris, at Neuilly there was a commemorative ceremony marking the signing of the Peace treaty with Bulgaria. Among the high-ranking guests were the mayor of the town, the prefect of the region, diplomatic representatives of Bulgaria, USA, Great Britain, Romania and Greece. The director of the Institute for Historical Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences prof. Daniel Vatchkov was also present and gave a short speech concerning the Neuilly Peace Treaty and his impact upon Bulgaria. This Bulgarian appearance was followed by a contradictory reaction of the fellow-citizens on Facebook which marks the still dominating emotional perceptions of the event²³.

Another occurrence was related to the centenary of the First World War in Sofia. It was the activity of restauration of an important war memorial commemorating the Bulgarian participation in several military conflicts. In 1934 a memorial was erected in Sofia and was unveiled by the Bulgarian tsar Boris III as a “Monument of the perished of the First and Sixth Sofia regiments in the wars of 1885, 1912–1913 and 1915–1918”. It represented three memorial plaques bearing the names of more than 3000 perished during the wars. In the center of the complex, a giant lion was erected, whose right paw laid on the map of San Stefano Bulgaria. The memorial was removed during the socialist period (end of 70s) when a new monument, commemorating the 1300 anniversary of Bulgaria was erected. After the fall of communism the idea of reconstructing the old monument attracted more and more supporters. In 2017, after the socialist monument was destroyed, the lion of the old monument was returned at its old place. In 2018 a competition was announced for the recovery of the other part of the memorial²⁴. But as the centenary began to fade, so the idea of the restauration became more and more dematerializing.

There has been also a significant exhibition commemorating the centenary of the First World War and the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine, organized by the Archives State Agency of Bulgaria. It has been opened on November 22, 2018 under the name “Victory and ... Defeat. Greatness and ... Disgrace” and was funded by the National committee for commemorating 100 years from the Great War and the

²² Gueorgui Peev, “Une guerre (presque) oubliée. Mémoires de guerre en Bulgarie au temps du Centenaire”, Paris – Sorbonne – Observatoire du Centenaire, p. 6: https://www.pantheon-sorbonne.fr/fileadmin/IGPS/observatoire-du-centenaire/Peev2_-_Bulgarie.pdf (retrieved April 23, 2020).

²³ <https://www.facebook.com/302085629803871/photos/ms.c.eJw9yMENwDAMAsCNkMcMPsvFlVVc8~rYPUYyLiGn~;qi6w1p3xBXIPyhWJugfWO4YjQP22wROg~~~.bps.a.2901486856530389/2901487009863707/?type=3&theater> (retrieved April 24, 2020).

²⁴ <http://www.ploshtadslaveikov.com/lavat-ot-vojnishkiya-memorial-na-myastoto-na-pametnika-pred-ndk/>; <https://btvnovinite.bg/bulgaria/lavat-ot-vojnishkiya-memorial-beshe-postaven-pred-ndk-snimki.html> (retrieved April 23, 2020)

Bulgarian participation in it. The display presented an interesting set of records related to the life of the common soldier on the front and other topics such as the role of women, sanitary care etc.²⁵ As the president of the National Archives prof. Mihail Gruev stated: “We have tried to look at the First World War from another perspective – not only through the ‘general’s’ narrative of war, but from the trenches, through the eyes of the common soldier. To recount the whole dramatism of these people, torn from their milieu and sent to burdensome conditions – in heat and frost, under the rain of bullets, and all this lasted for 4 years”²⁶.

A virtual group called ‘Bulgaria and the First World War’ gives a tribune to many people interested in the Bulgarian participation in the Great War and sharing interesting facts, personal memories, photos or stories about their relative’s involvement in it. The group counts 7837 members up to now and according to the moderators it has been created in order to “unveil the curtain of oblivion and to show respect and homage to our ancestors, paying their tribute in this supreme endeavour of our people for national unification.”²⁷

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The centenary of the First World War did not manage to involve Bulgarian scholars and society to make a wider reading of the events from a century ago and their impact on Bulgaria’s subsequent historical development. The motif of bravery proven by the Bulgarian army have been strengthened, the glorious victories of the Bulgarian soldier and the injustice imposed by the subsequent peace treaties. The lament for the lost territories reinforced the dream about fulfilling the national ideal. The delicate moments in the war involvement have been avoided or just cursorily mentioned: the State’s unpreparedness, the problems faced with our allies, outrages against the civil population, lack of commanding virtues in several high-ranking officers, objective allotment of the overall responsibility for the breakdown, etc. In this respect the Bulgarian historiography does not make up any exception in the Balkan area, where the Heroic continues to suffocate in embryo most attempts to make a cool and objective reading of facts and events. The new wave of nationalism also aids the status quo of the dominating narrative. In this sense till a ‘common history textbook’ on the First World War to be compiled, there is a long and sturdy way to walk through.

Anyway, hundred years later some new lines in the Bulgarian remembrance of the First World War showed up. Each one of the signalled directions could go deeper and be investigated in greater detail and this way a more colourful, more humane and more truthful account of Bulgaria’s participation in the Great War could be achieved.

²⁵ „Победа и ... погром. Величие и ... падение”. 100 години от края на Първата световна война (1914-1918) и от Ньойския мирен договор (1919), София, Държавна агенция „Архиви“, 2018.

²⁶ <http://www.kultura.bg/article/147-malkiyat-chovek-v-golyamata-voyna> (retrieved April 24, 2020)

²⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/417638691696955/> (retrieved April 24, 2020)

WORLD WAR II REVISITED: NEW APPROACHES
AND INTERPRETATIONS IN THE NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES
OF BULGARIA AND ROMANIA AFTER 1989

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Among all other things, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe gave rise to significant changes in the historiography and the memory of the past in general. Topics that have long been carefully covered by ideological silence were brought up to public attention, historical events and whole historical periods became subject of revision and reassessment. The spirit of the “miraculous” 1989 unleashed passionate public interest in the national history of the recent past, as if vocalizing the “silenced” issues and correcting the distorted picture of the past would clear the path for a new future. In this new situation of openness and ideological freedom, the historians were also to face many challenges. Unveiling the dark past implied the difficult task of handling with nationally sensitive issues. The history of the Second World War, which is a turning point in the history of Europe, is full of such delicate and controversial issues. And if in Western Europe the process of talking about the difficult issues related to that period had started in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, in Eastern Europe that would take place only after the fall of communism. This paper attempts to make a comparative study of the post-communist historiography on the Second World War in Bulgaria and Romania, two countries that shared the common fate of German satellites during the war and then of Soviet satellites in its aftermath, which determined the historical interpretation of the period.

Keywords: historiography, Second World War, Bulgaria, Romania, Holocaust.

Among all other things, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe gave rise to significant changes in the historiography and the memory of the past in general. Topics that have long been carefully covered by ideological silence were brought up to public attention, historical events and whole historical periods became subject of revision and reassessment. The spirit of the “miraculous” 1989, which Sorin Antohi aptly characterizes as a “heavy mix of elation, surprise, determination and hope”¹ also unleashed a sudden passionate public interest in the national history, as if vocalizing the “silenced” issues and correcting the distorted picture of the past was of crucial importance for clearing the path for a new future, to put it in other words, one had to square the accounts with the past in order to

¹ S. Antohi, “Narratives Unbound: A Brief Introduction to Post-Communist Historical Studies”, in *Narratives Unbound. Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, ed. by S. Antohi, B. Trencsenyi and P. Apor, Budapest, 2007, p. XI.

start anew. Public interest was directed mainly to the recent past, but it also spread out to the period preceding the advent of the communists to power. A great number of books that were hitherto forbidden were published, memoirs of people inconvenient to the former regime saw the light of day, as well as interviews and documentaries, the media being very active in the process of “revealing the whole truth” about the past.

For the historians, the opening of archives and the freedom of interpretation of the historical facts was a great opportunity, but also a great challenge. Would they be able to live up to the expectations and respond to the pressing public demand? Seldom does history seem so urgently relevant or important as in moments of sudden political transition from one state form to another. At the same time, it has been asserted that exactly during political transitions historians can never be sure that their voices will be heard, because what they say is not always what people want to hear². After 1989 the community of historians in Eastern Europe had to undergo a swift transformation. Not only were historians to face institutional changes, but they had to adapt very quickly and catch up with developments in history writing that had taken place in western historiography, from which they were isolated for a long time. Besides, scholars from different academic fields, like sociologists, literary historians, specialists in cultural history, anthropologists, took an interest in history, and seemed more successive in that adaptation. Last but not least, unveiling the dark past implied the difficult task of handling with nationally sensitive issues.

The history of WWII is full of such delicate and controversial issues. Needless to say, it was a turning point in the history of Europe, where the seeds of the division of the continent that would last for almost half a century were sown. The end of the Cold War also brought to changes in the memory of WWII in a broader European perspective. After 1989 two parallel processes took place in Europe: the establishment of the Holocaust as a main event during the whole world war, going from West to East, and the enforcement of the view of the similarity between the two totalitarian regimes – the National-Socialist and the Bolshevik, going in the opposite direction³. At the same time, dealing with the history of WWII has turned to be a very tough matter, not only in Europe, but also in East Asia, as Daniel Chirot argues. In a recent article, where he tries to find out why the memories of the war remain so troubled in so many countries, he comes to the conclusion that the unwillingness to recognize the dark side of one's own history is, after all, the rule rather than the exception⁴. As Otto Luthar points out, “much like

² R. Evans, “Introduction. Redesigning the Past: History in Political Transitions”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 (1), 2003, p. 5–12.

³ П. Димитрова, “Память о Второй мировой войне: между прошлым и настоящим”, *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1–2, 2015, p. 203–211.

⁴ D. Chirot, “Why World War II memories remain so troubled in Europe and East Asia?”, in *Remembrance, History, and Justice. Coming to Terms with Traumatic Pasts in Democratic Societies*, ed. by V. Tismaneanu and B. Jacob, Budapest, 2015, p. 45–68.

the war, occupation, collaboration and resistance constituted a process that marked a vast part of Europe, the current (changes in) commemorative practices, too, are a all-European phenomenon". In his view, this also refers to the discussions on victims and perpetrators, which over the past decade "have not only been the common denominator of the political debates in Eastern, Central and Southeastern Europe, but have underlined the culture of remembering throughout the continent"⁵. Yet, if in Western Europe the process of talking about some of the most sensitive issues related to that period, such as the Holocaust, had started in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, in Eastern Europe that would take place only after the fall of communism. This paper is an attempt for a comparative study of the post-communist historiography on WWII in two Eastern European countries, Bulgaria and Romania, which shared the common fate of being German satellites during the war. I will try to find out where the issues related to WWII stand in the revised picture of the national past of the two countries and to outline the new approaches in the interpretation of these issues.

ON A NEW TRACK: SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHIES OF BULGARIA AND ROMANIA AFTER 1989

After 1989, historians in all countries of Eastern Europe were encouraged to liberate history from real or presumed communist distortions and fabrications and to make reevaluation of different moments and personalities of the past. Thus, historical revisionism came as a response to the growing public pressure to revise and rewrite the national history. Yet, for a number of reasons, the actual change in the national historiographies proved to be very difficult. We can agree with the observation valid for all the countries in the region undergoing post-communist transition that among the researchers of the past could be distinguished two major groups: "traditionalists" and "innovators", the differentiation being rather conventional, for not encompassing all the variety of particular cases and because of the inevitable overflow of researchers from one group into the other⁶. Under the new circumstances, each of these groups was fighting to prove its version of history was the right one. The established version of the national past was very persistent and the attempts at deconstructing the national myths were often met with hostility from fellow historians, as well as from the general public. Ulf Brunnbauer notes that the focusing of the historiography on the respective national history and the resistance to the deconstruction of national myths is found in one

⁵ O. Luthar, "Introduction. "Red Devil and the Evil Spirit", in *Of Red Dragons and Evil Spirits. Post-Communist Historiography Between Democratization and New Politics of History*, ed. by O. Luthar, Budapest, 2017, p. 7.

⁶ Бл. Нягулов, "Националната история в съвременен европейски контекст", in *Историческата наука в България: състояние и перспективи*, съст. А. Запрянова, Бл. Нягулов, Ил. Марчева, София, 2006, p. 151–152.

form or another in all post-socialist countries, although, he adds, the national perspective did not remain completely unchallenged⁷.

The national historiographies of Bulgaria and Romania followed this general trend. In the initial period of post-communist transition, they vacillated between continuity and change, between myths and de-mystification. Methodological innovation in the field was also very difficult and slow. Like in the entire post-communist Eastern Europe, the mainstream of historians in them kept to a positivist, political history focused on events. In her paper on the development of Bulgarian historiography in the early 1990s, Maria Todorova writes that not much has been done in terms of the introduction of new themes and especially of new modes of writing. In her view, Bulgarian historiography has remained outside the main trends of the historical profession and did not even try to confront the great debates. At the same time, she points to the fact that after 1989 “a surprisingly sophisticated postmodernist discourse broke out in the press, represented chiefly by scholars of philosophy, literary criticism, linguistics”⁸. For the Romanian case, Bogdan Murgescu has made similar observation as regards the development of historiography in the 1990s: “methodological backwardness, combined with a heavy centered Romanian approach”⁹. In his book “To be a historian in 2000” (*A fi istoric in anul 2000*) Murgescu offers a good synthesis of the variety of challenges historians had to face in the first post-communist decade. He points to the fact that the intensification of the external contacts did not mean automatically a renewal of the field¹⁰.

Yet, he also notes some positive trends, the predominance of political history starting to give way to new topics, forbidden until then, primarily from contemporary history, such as communist repression and resistance, the participation in the anti-Soviet war, the legionary movement, etc., as well as the introduction of new fields of study as, for instance, the history of mentalities and the history of ideas and the imaginary¹¹. In her study on the new tendencies in Romanian history writing after 1989, Smaranda Vultur points to the fact that the extension of historical research to previously ignored or avoided topics because of censorship had resulted in the “pendulum principle”, i.e. a clear predominance of certain topics that focus public attention. She also makes the observation that while in the immediate aftermath of 1989 positions were radical and the tendency towards polemics among the people in the field was strong, the farther we get from the year 1989, the lesser this

⁷ See U. Brunnbauer, “Introduction. (Re) Writing History in Southeast Europe”, in *(Re) Writing History. Historiography in Southeast Europe After Socialism*, ed. by U. Brunnbauer, Münster, 2004, p. 12–15.

⁸ M. Todorova, “Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Bulgaria”, *The American Historical Review*, volume 97, issue 4, October 1992, p. 1105–1117.

⁹ B. Murgescu, “The Romanian Historiography in the 1990”, *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 35–36.

¹⁰ Idem, *A fi istoric in anul 2000*, București, 2000, p. 30.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42–45.

“appetite for polemics”, while, at the same time, with the appearance of new topics and a new generation of historians one could observe moving away from the neo-positivist empiricism at the methodological level, and from the national centralist model as far as the construction of historical explanation is concerned. Yet, regardless of the methodological and thematic innovation, she notes “a disproportion between certain encouraging trends and the overshadowing mainstream”¹².

Similar general trends are observed also with regards to the Bulgarian case. In their attempt to identify the novelties in Bulgarian post-communist historiography, Daniela Koleva and Ivan Elenkov come to the conclusion that a reassessment of ideas, events and personalities, which has countered hitherto dominant ideologically biased evaluations has taken place. They note that although in terms of methodology the changes were rather slow, some new tendencies are already visible. New topics have emerged – on the one hand, topics that had previously been silenced, and on the other, new directions of interest often resulting from contact with Western research, such as women's history, history of the minorities, religion¹³.

WWII REVISITED: BULGARIAN AND ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In the course of decades the history of WWII was viewed in the light of the ensuing ideological confrontation of the Great Powers in the newly established world order. The communist regimes in Eastern Europe used the war as a strong instrument of their own legitimization. For Romania and Bulgaria, who were Hitler's satellites, the period of WWII was a sore moment in their national history, filled with traumatic issues that were rather not touched upon. Indeed, every nation has difficulties in acknowledging the embarrassing and less glorious moments in its history, which Marc Ferro describes as the “silences of history”¹⁴. Yet, soon after 1989 in both Romania and Bulgaria exactly the WWII period would become the focus of public attention and the reason for heated debates with two intertwined issues related to it, namely, the personality of the wartime leaders, respectively Marshal Ion Antonescu and King Boris III, and the topic of the Holocaust.

Communist historiography attributed to Ion Antonescu the image of a fascist/military-fascist dictator who was responsible for all the evils experienced by Romania during the war. At the same time, it kept silence on the issue of the tragic fate of Romanian Jews during that period. Initially used as a propaganda tool against political enemies, the saga of the extermination of Romanian Jews

¹² S. Vultur, “New topics, new tendencies and new generations of historians in Romanian historiography”, in *(Re)writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe After Socialism*, p. 261–276.

¹³ D. Koleva, I. Elenkov, “Did “the Change” Happen? Post-socialist Historiography in Bulgaria,” in *(Re)writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe After Socialism*, p. 99–113.

¹⁴ M. Ferro, *L'histoire sous surveillance*, Paris, 1985, p. 52.

disappeared from the pages of the newspapers and the history textbooks shortly after the end of the war. Despite the anti-fascist rhetoric of the official propaganda, the tragic history of the Jewish population in the years of the war was distorted or simply ignored.

Similar was the case of Bulgarian communist historiography with regard to King Boris III and the wartime regime. After the end of the war, the thesis of “monarcho-fascist” dictatorship was imposed, and the monarchy was ascribed the historical responsibility for all the negatives in the political development of the country and for the yet another failure in the national politics. The established cult of the king was replaced by oblivion, and his political behavior was subjected to one-sided interpretation and distortion. Similar to the case of Romania, for a very short period of time the tragic fate of the Jews had been the focus of public attention with the aim to highlight the fascist nature of the regime and the responsibility of the Bulgarian monarch. Then, the topic remained in the background. This silence was briefly broken by the book of Benjamin Arditi, published in Tel Aviv in 1952 and dedicated to the role of King Boris III in the expulsion of the Jews from Bulgaria, in which the author tried to clear his image by presenting him as a “savior” of the Bulgarian Jews, while putting the blame for what happened in “new lands” on the “sadist Belev” and Germany.¹⁵ In the 1960s, the issue of the fate of the Jews during WWII regained international relevance, and the topic of rescuing Bulgarian Jews became tempting for the authorities in Bulgaria, which included it in their propaganda arsenal. Since the second half of the 1960s, and especially in the 1970s and 1980s, was established the thesis of Bulgaria as the sole savior of its Jews, while emphasizing the paramount role of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of Todor Zhivkov himself in the rescue. The question of the fate of the Macedonian and Aegean Jews was conveniently detached from that of the Jews in Bulgaria proper, silenced or belittled. They were regarded as non-Bulgarian, i.e. like foreign Jews¹⁶.

In Romania, the nationalism of the early 1970s and Ceausescu's intention to distance his country from Soviet influence had given rise to a change in the interpretation of the past, which also opened up the possibility of a change in the attitude towards some historical figures. In this context, the mid-1970s marked the beginning of a partial rehabilitation of Marshal Antonescu, who gradually started to acquire the image of a patriot and a fighter for national unity. Antonescu's rehabilitation was also motivated by Romania's desire to clean up its wartime dossier and to present itself to the world with its humane treatment of Romania's Jewish population. Ion Antonescu was presented as a “savior” of the Romanian Jews, who opposed Hitler and refused to send them to Nazi detention camps. As a rule, atrocities committed on Romanian territory or in Romanian-administered

¹⁵ Б. Ардити, *Ролята на цар Борис III при изселването на евреите от България*, Тел Авив, 1952.

¹⁶ See *VII състав на Народния съд. Едно забравено документално свидетелство за антисемитизма в България през 1941–1944 г.*, съст. В. Тодоров, Н. Поппетров, София, 2013, с. 12–13.

lands were either ignored or minimized, while at the same time close attention was paid to the anti-Semitic policy of Horthy's Hungary as a counterpoint to Antonescu's alleged "humanitarianism"¹⁷. Over the next decade, a significant contribution to the cleansing of the image of Ion Antonescu was made by the Romanian emigrant in Italy and former member of the Iron Guard, Iosif Constantin Dragan, who published in 1986 an extensive collection of documents that completely exculpated and glorified the Romanian wartime leader¹⁸.

Meanwhile, the established image of the "monarch-führer" continued to exist in the Bulgarian historiography, although in the 1980s was noted increasing scholarly interest in the personality of King Boris III and two biographical books about him were published almost at the same time in the west. They were the work of Bulgarian emigrants in their attempt to give a complete picture of the life and politics of the Bulgarian ruler and to put an end to the one-sidedness in the assessment of his historical role¹⁹.

In both countries the end of communism marked the beginning of a new reading of the past and an increased public interest in topics and personalities, whose historical evaluation had been in the grip of the established ideological canon for decades. It was King Boris III and Marshal Ion Antonescu who enjoyed the greatest public interest and, at the same time, were subject of sharp dispute and controversial evaluation. Very often, the assessment of their personality and political role was highly politicized and based on conjunctural considerations. As Tony Judt had aptly pointed, "the mismemory of communism is also contributing, in its turn, to a mismemory of anticommunism"²⁰.

The efforts to rehabilitate the Romanian wartime leader, which had started in the previous decades, continued further. In the early 1990s, a cult of Antonescu began to establish itself in Romania. Now, to his image of a patriot and fighter for the Romanian national ideal was added that of "the first martyr of communism". Antonescu's apologists drew attention to the 1946 trial in which he was convicted as a war criminal and shot on June 1, 1946. They presented it as a "political process", pointing out its alleged procedural shortcomings and calling into question its legal bases. Raising the discussion of the Antonescu trial aimed to divert attention from the real allegations leveled against him and to portray him as a great patriot and anti-communist victim of the communist rule who was unfairly sentenced to death²¹. As one Romanian memory researcher has pointed out, "since

¹⁷ A. Cioflâncă, "A 'grammar of exculpation' in communist historiography: Distortion of the history of the Holocaust under Ceausescu", *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, 2004/2, p. 29–46.

¹⁸ I. Drăgan, *Antonescu. Mareșalul României și războaiele de reîntregire*, Milan, 1986.

¹⁹ P. Dimitroff, *Boris III of Bulgaria: Toiler, Citizen, King, 1894–1943*, Lewes, 1986; St. Groueff, *Crown of Thorns: The Reign of King Boris III of Bulgaria, 1918–1943*, Lanham, 1987.

²⁰ T. Judt, "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe", in *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath*, ed. by I. Deák, J. Gross, and T. Judt, Princeton, 2000, p. 309–310.

²¹ M. Ciucă, *Procesul mareșalului Antonescu. Documente*, vol. 1, București, 1995.

1989 the memory of the tragic fate of Romanian Jews in the war years was completely marginalized, it turns out to be very easy to put aside such painful problems and instead focus public attention on Ion Antonescu as a victim of early communist terror and as a patriot placed in an impossible position to maneuver between Soviet and German ambitions in the war”²².

After 1989 in Bulgaria, too, the public interest in the personality of the country's wartime leader King Boris III was extremely strong. Immediately after the changes, the two biographical books about Boris III published abroad in the late 1980s, were translated into Bulgarian and particularly the mentioned book of Stefan Groueff “Crown of Thorns” that was written with great sympathy for the king, enjoyed great popularity. In the following years, more attempts were made to present a broader picture of the personality and politics of the Bulgarian monarch²³. In many articles in the press and memoirs of people close to the monarch, the other extreme was reached, his personality being almost mythologized. Although not to the extent that it was done with regards to the Romanian leader Ion Antonescu, in Bulgaria attempts were also made to portray King Boris III as a martyr, who had laid down his life for the Bulgarian national cause and as a victim of the communist regime. In this connection, the vandal act of the communists with the tainted memory of the king was referred to – the exhumation of his mortal remains from the Rila Monastery in 1946 and five years later, the blasting of the chapel in the park of the Vrana Palace where they were laid. At the same time, in the continuing speculations about the causes of the untimely death of Boris III in August 1943, increasingly more voices were heard in support of the version that the king was poisoned by the Russians. For the sake of comparison, it is also interesting to note the fact that the image of both leaders was politically instrumentalized, but while in Bulgaria the personality of King Boris III was used by supporters of the return of the monarchy, in Romania Antonescu became a banner of the nationalists against the pro-monarchist tendencies in the society²⁴.

Gradually, the question of their role in determining the fate of the Jewish population in the territories administered by them during the WWII became crucial in the historical assessment of both Ion Antonescu and King Boris III. It is worth noting that the debates among Romanian historians with regards to Antonescu were extremely polarized and the estimates ranged from that of a true patriot and fighter for the Romanian national ideal to a fascist dictator, who deliberately exterminated

²² M. Bucur, “Edifices of the Past. War Memorials and Heroes in Twentieth Century Romania”, in *Balkan Identities. Nation and Memory*, edited by M. Todorova, New York, 2004, p. 178.

²³ А. Леверсон, *Щрихи към портрета на цар Борис III. Щаб в сянка*, Кн.1–2, Пловдив, 1992; Д. Даскалов, *Цар Борис – познатият и непознатият*, София, 2001; Н. Недев, *Цар Борис III. Биография*, София, 1997; *Ibid*, *Цар Борис III. Дворецът и тайният кабинет*, София, 2013.

²⁴ И. Димитров, “Царят умря – да живее царят!”, in И. Димитров, *Между Мюнхен и Потсдам. Българската политика през Втората световна война. Исторически очерци*, София, 1998, с. 151–155; N. Djuvara, “Dosarul apărării, dosrul acuzării”, *Dilema*, anul IV, nr 165, 8–14 martie 1996, p. 6.

a huge portion of the country's Jewish population²⁵. In Bulgaria, the debates with regards to King Boris III were not that heated, but his historical assessment was also seen through the lens of his responsibility for the fate of the Bulgarian Jews during the war²⁶.

The issue of the historical responsibility for the Jewish victims had become the subject of fierce public debate and different historical interpretations. The prevailing attitude in Romanian society was a blatant denial of any Romanian complicity in the destruction of the Jews or even claims that the Holocaust had not affected Romanian Jewry at all²⁷. Bulgarian society was also captivated by negativism and preferred to believe that "Bulgaria is the only country in the world that has saved all of its Jews" and to deny the blame for the 11,363 Jews from Vardar Macedonia and Western Thrace who ended up in the fascist death camps in Poland. The major argument in support of that thesis was the assertion that Bulgaria had actually only "temporarily administered" those territories and it was the Germans who were to blame for the deportations²⁸. Two parallel narratives developed in Bulgaria: one about the "saved" and the other, about the "unsaved"/"sacrificed" Jews, which cannot find their place in a common history.

In Romania the topic of the Holocaust turned into the most controversial of all the topics that resurfaced after 1989 due to the contributions of specialists in emigration²⁹. One of the most immediate responses to the general disbelief in the Romanian Holocaust was the publication of extensive collections of primary sources, covering a wide range of issues³⁰, as well as survivors' testimonies and

²⁵ Among the supporters of the first thesis were: Gh. Buzatu, *Mareşalul Antonescu în faţa istoriei*, 2 vol., Iaşi, 1990; L. Watts, *Romanian Cassandra: Ion Antonescu and the Struggle for Reform, 1916–1941*, Boulder, 1993, and of the opposite: R. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania. The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–44*, Chicago, 2000; D. Deletant, *Hitler's Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–1944*, New York, 2006.

²⁶ See, for example: Н. Барух, *Откупът. Цар Борис и съдбата на българските евреи*. София, 1991; С. Ардити, *Човекът, който изигра Хитлер. Цар Борис III – гонител или приятел на българските евреи*. Русе, 2008; М. Бар-Зоар, *Извън хватката на Хитлер: героичното спасяване на българските евреи*, София, 2011.

²⁷ See: M. Shafir, *Între negare şi trivialisare prin comparaţie. Negarea Holocaustului în ţările postcomuniste din Europa Centrala şi de Est*, Iaşi, 2002.

²⁸ See Л. Деянова, "Посткомунистическият негационизъм", in Л. Деянова, *Очертания на мълчанието: Историческа социология на колективната памет*, София, 2009, с. 161–165.

²⁹ C. Petrescu and D. Petrescu, "Mastering vs. Coming to Terms with the Past: A Critical Analysis of Post-Communist Romanian Historiography", in *Narratives Unbound. Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, ed. by S. Antohi, B. Trencsényi and P. Apor, Budapest, 2007, p. 347–351. See also: V. Eskenasy, "The Holocaust and Romanian Historiography: Communist and Neo-Communist Revisionism," in *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*, ed. by R. Braham, New York, 1994, p. 173–236.

³⁰ To mention but a few: Arhivele Nationale ale României, *Stenogramele sedintelor Consiliului de Miniştri: Guvernarea Ion Antonescu*, 11 vols, Bucureşti, 1997–2008; *Antonescu-Hitler: Corespondenţa şi întâlirile inedite*, eds. V. Arimia, I. Ardeleanu, St. Lache, Bucharest, 1991; *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, ed. L. Benjamin, vol. I: *Legislaţia antievreiască*, Bucureşti, 1993; vol. 2: *Problema evreiască în stenogramele Consiliului de Miniştri*, Bucureşti, 1996; *Holocaust în România. Soarta evreilor din Basarabia, Bucovina şi Transnistria 1941–1942. Documente*, ed. A. Şiperco,

memoirs, which give a more personal perspective to the events³¹. In spite of the relatively large number of collections of documents, though, the Holocaust and its perceptions continued to be subjects of controversy, contestation, and confrontation. Some authors have pointed to the fact that no much progress can be noticed in the historiography on that issue as compared to the immediate past and “the Romanian Holocaust has mostly been the object of neglect and distortion”, while the work of both Romanian and Western scholars, was “still limited in the range of their questions and the methodology of their answers”³². Constantin Iordachi, in his turn, made the observation that the complex and controversial problem of the deportation and extermination of Jews and Gypsies from Romania has generated heated debates among the historians from completely opposite standpoints, but the disputes on this issue have remained isolated from the processes taking place in Europe. In an attempt to find the place of the Romanian debate in the general debate on the Holocaust, he notes the evolution of the Romanian historiography on the Holocaust: from the functionalist paradigm that places accent on the external factor and the political situation in the explanation of the Jewish extermination to a combination between the intentionalist approach which puts an emphasis on the internal factor and the functionalist perspective³³.

Gradually, things have started to change, following the changes in the entire region of Eastern Europe. Dan Stone has pointed to some significant changes in the historiographical explanations on a broader scale, due to the fact that “since the end of the Cold War, the “discovery” of Eastern Europe at the heart of the genocidal process is reshaping our understanding of the Holocaust”. In his view “the return of ideology” that had begun displacing the “functionalist” or “structuralist” dominance of the 1980s remains strong, but it is being supplemented by very detailed regional and local studies, by analyses of different experiences of ghettoization in different places, and by a focus on the widespread plunder and corruption that accompanied the killing process. He makes the observation that historians have broadened the discussion on the Holocaust, situating it into a

București, 2005; *La Shoah en Roumanie. Les Juifs sous le régime d'Antonescu 1940–1944. Documents diplomatique français inédits*, ed. C. Iancu, Montpellier, 2007; *Al III-lea Reich și Holocaustul din România, 1940–1944. Documente din arhivele germane*, eds. D. Deletant and O. Trașcă, Bucharest, 2007.

³¹ See, for example: *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1945: Documente și mărturii*, ed. J. Alexandru, București, 1991; *Tragedia romilor deportați în Transnistria, 1942–1945*, eds. R. Ioanid, M. Kelso, L. Cioabă, Iași, 2009; M. Sebastian, *Jurnal, 1935–1944*, București, 1996; E. Dorian, *Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană 1937–1944*, București, 1996.

³² I. Livezeanu, “The Romanian Holocaust: Family Quarrels”, *East European Politics and Societies* 16, no. 3, 2004, p. 934 and 941. See also V. Eskenasy, “The Holocaust and Romanian Historiography: Communist and Neo-Communist Revisionism,” in *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*, ed. by R. Braham, New York, 1994, p. 173–236.

³³ C. Iordachi, “Problema Holocaustului în România și Transnistria – Dezbateri istoriografice”, in *Problema Holocaustului. Perspective istorice și comparative*, ed. by C. Iordachi and V. Achim, Bucharest, 2004, p. 23–77.

transnational or world-historical context of imperialism and colonialism³⁴. Other scholars point to the fact that at the beginning of the third millennium, research on the history of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in East-Central Europe has registered noticeable progress. The academic freedom and better access to archives has opened new perspectives on the Holocaust that have challenged historians to reconsider their research agenda and their understanding of the field, while the new approaches to East-Central Europe as *the site* of genocide have enabled historians to further overcome the classical cleavage between “intentionalist” versus “functionalist” historiographical interpretations and to come up with new, more sophisticated and nuanced interpretative frameworks³⁵.

In Romania, the controversies surrounding the anti-Jewish policies of the Antonescu regime have led to a wave of critical research. The historians of the Romanian Holocaust have begun to engage seriously with some of the wider debates in the Holocaust studies and to offer sophisticated analyses of the way it happened in Romania. More recent histories have emphasized the extent to which Romanians were important and independent actors in the Holocaust and reveal the value of the multi-causal explanations of the phenomena.³⁶ A review of the recent Romanian research on the Holocaust makes the general observation that whereas in the first decade of the 21st century, research on the Holocaust in Romania was focused on conducting what in German is so appropriately called *Grundlagenforschung* (research on the basics) of *who did what when how*, in the following decade, “this research field is gaining nuance, depth, and its own distinctive character”³⁷.

In Bulgaria the topic of the Holocaust has entered the public debate in the beginning of the 1990s in relation to the 50th anniversary of the events of March 1943, when the issue of the “unsaved” Jews from Macedonia and Thrace was brought to the fore. In the following decade there was much controversy related to the status of the “new territories” and the responsibility for the deportations. At the same time some serious historiographical work was done on the antisemitic policies and legislation, the role of different actors in the rescue, particularly the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and bourgeois politicians, such as Dimitar Peshev³⁸.

³⁴ D. Stone, “Beyond the ‘Auschwitz syndrome’: Holocaust historiography after the Cold War”, *Patterns of Prejudice* 44, 5, 2010, p. 454–468.

³⁵ M. Cattaruzza, C. Iordachi, “Introduction. Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in East-Central Europe: New Research Trends and Perspectives”, *East Central Europe*, 39 (2012) 1, p. 1–12.

³⁶ R. Clark, “New models, new questions: historiographical approaches to the Romanian Holocaust, *European Review of History*”, *Revue européenne d’histoire*, vol. 19, N 2, April, 2012, p. 303–320.

³⁷ G. Fisher, “New Research on the Holocaust in Romania (Rezension)”, *Sehepunkte* 18, 2018, no. 3 [15.03.2018], URL: <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2018/03/30622.html>. Accessed on: 30.03.2020.

³⁸ To mention but a few: Вл. Пауновски, Й. Илел, *Евреите в България между унищожението и спасението*, София, 2000; П. Неделева, *Антиеврейското законодателство в България през Втората световна война*, София, 2015; Р. Аврамов, “Спасение” и падение: микроикономика на държавния антисемитизъм в България 1940–1944 г., София, 2012; Е. Троева, “Принудителният труд през Втората световна война”, in А. Лулева, Е. Троева, П. Петров. *Принудителният труд в България (1941–1962)*.

Much attention was paid to the “new territories” and the elucidation of issues, on which silence was laid for a long time³⁹. The research was facilitated by the publication of collections of documents related to these issues, of which particular mentioning deserves the major collection of archival documents on the deportation of the Jews from Western Macedonia and Thrace⁴⁰. In her thorough review of the Bulgarian and foreign research in the foreword to this volume, Nadya Danova points out the tendency toward a more realistic and critical approach and the positive role of international exchange for its developing⁴¹. However, regardless of these positive tendencies, Stefan Troebst has noted that in Bulgaria “the topos for the “salvation” of Bulgarian Jews during WWII is still complex, confused, extreme and causing a lot of clashes” and he sees in that an example of how in Europe “communism”, “Holocaust” and “democracy” are topics that remain alive, interconnected and having influence on each other⁴².

The flourishing cult of Antonescu provoked the indignation mainly of Jews residing in the USA, who insisted that there was a clear evidence of Antonescu's direct role in the deportations and massacres of Jews in the new territories and pointed to the state organized participation of Romania in the anti-Jewish genocide and the legality of the systematic murder. From the US officially came signals that a veneration of a war criminal could not be tolerated and that could affect bilateral relations and the prospects of Romania's NATO membership. Thus, under external pressure and out of foreign policy considerations, in March 2002, the Romanian government adopted Emergency Ordinance No. 31, which banned the cult of

Спомени на свидетели. София, 2012; *Гласове в защита на гражданското общество. Протоколи на Светия Синод на Българската православна църква по еврейския въпрос (1940–1944)*, съст. А. Танева, В. Гезенко, София, 2002; Д. Пешев, *Спомени*, съст. Н. Поппетров, София, 2004.

³⁹ *Българското управление във Вардарска Македония (1941–1944)*, съст. А. Гребенаров, Н. Николова. Архивите говорят. Т. 63. София, 2012; *Националното обединение на България, 1940–44 г. Сборник доклади от Национална научна конференция, Благоевград, 14–15 април 2011*, съст. Т. Митев, А. Гребенаров, София, 2012; Д. Йончев, *България и Беломорието (октомври 1940 – 9 септември 1944 г.)*, София, 1993; Г. Даскалов, *Драмското въстание 1941*, София, 1992; *Ibid.*, *Участта на българите в Егейска Македония 1936–1946: Полит. и воен. история*, София, 1999; Ив. Хаджийски, *Съдбата на еврейското население от Беломорска Тракия, Вардарска Македония и Югозападна България през 1941–1944 година*, Дупница, 2004.

⁴⁰ *Обречени и спасени: България в антисемитската програма на Третия райх. Изследвания и документи*, съст. В. Тошкова и др., София, 2007; *VII състав на Народния съд: едно забравено документално свидетелство за антисемитизма в България през 1941–1944 г.*, съст. и предг. В. Тодоров, Н. Поппетров, София, 2013; *Българското управление във Вардарска Македония (1941–1944)*, съст.: А. Гребенаров, Н. Николова. Архивите говорят. Т. 63. София, 2012; *Депортирането на евреите от Вардарска Македония, Беломорска Тракия и Пирот (март 1943 г.)*. Документи от българските архиви, съст. Н. Данова и Р. Аврамов, София, 2013.

⁴¹ Н. Данова, “Дългата сянка на миналото. Депортацията на евреите от Западна Тракия, Вардарска Македония и Пирот: състояние на проучването на проблема”, in *Депортирането на евреите от Вардарска Македония, Беломорска Тракия и Пирот*, p. 36–74.

⁴² Щ. Трьобст, “Спасение, депортиране или Холокост? Полемиките преди и след 1989 г. относно съдбата на българските евреи по време на Втората световна война”, in *История, митология, политика*, съст. Д. Колева, К. Грозев, София, 2010, p. 511.

Antonescu and the denial of the Holocaust⁴³. The following year, Romanian President Ion Iliescu set up an International Commission for the Holocaust in Romania, which in November 2004 issued a final report stating unequivocally that: “Of all the allies of Nazi Germany, Romania bears responsibility for the deaths of more Jews than any country other than Germany itself.”⁴⁴ The recognition by the Romanian president of the findings of the report was considered an official recognition of the guilt of the Romanian state for the deaths of between 280,000 and 380,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews and 11,000 Roma during WWII.

In her paper on the application of the new EU memory policies on WWII on the Bulgarian case, Daniela Koleva points to the fact that while in the other EU member states the principle of conditionality has been used for the establishment of a consensual narrative of the recent past, this has not been the case of Bulgaria. In her view, this situation might look advantageous, giving chance for free and open discussions of the recent past, but it actually prevents broad debate. The result of that is “an air of quasi-reconciliationism based on avoidance, without the confession, apology, and forgiveness needed for a real reconciliation” and what is lacking are “the moral and normative conditions necessary for a sustained public and professional debate”⁴⁵.

Yet, an external factor also influenced the determination of the historical responsibility of the Bulgarian King Boris III, although in this case it does not refer to the official assumption of responsibility for participation in the Holocaust. That was the decision of the Arbitration Commission of the Israeli National Fund of July 16, 2000 to dismantle the plaque erected by the Bulgarian community in Israel in memory of King Boris III in the Forest of Bulgaria near Jerusalem, that was taken after a persistent protest by the few surviving Jews from Macedonia and Thrace and their heirs, who claimed that King Boris III was one of the main culprits for sending them to the death camps in Poland. The decision provoked violent reactions in the media and in the Bulgarian Parliament, many people perceiving it as a blow to national self-esteem, and those who supported it were accused of betraying the national interests⁴⁶.

In conclusion, the ideological freedom and openness of archives in Eastern Europe after 1989 have opened the possibility for a new reading of the history of WWII in Romania and Bulgaria, which are at the focus of this study. The publication of a vast array of documents related to the period: documents on diplomatic history from national and foreign archives, on the activity of particular

⁴³ *Monitorul Oficial*, nr. 214, 28 martie 2002.

⁴⁴ E. Wiesel, T. Friling, R. Ioanid, M. Ionescu, and L. Benjamin, *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania*, Iași, 2005.

⁴⁵ D. Koleva, “On the (In)convertibility of National Memory into European Legitimacy: The Bulgarian Case”, in *Of Red Dragons and Evil Spirits*, p. 21.

⁴⁶ J. Benatov, “Debating the fate of Bulgarian Jews during World War II”, in *Bringing the Dark Past to Light. The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, ed. by J.-P. Himka, J. Michlic, Lincoln, 2013, p. 120–125.

institutions, diaries and memoirs of politicians, diplomats, public figures, etc., throw light not only on the motives lying behind a certain political decision, but also on the political climate and the society in general and open new perspectives for the interpretation of certain events. The unproportionally high interest to the issue of the Holocaust in both countries is easy to explain and it is in line with a general European trend, the question of responsibility and victimization being major reference points in the remembrance of WWII. At the same time, what is noted in both countries, the focus on the major political actors leaves behind the marked research on the societies and the public attitudes towards the ideology of National-Socialism during the war. In Romania the research on WWII is considerably more numerous and variegated, as compared to Bulgaria. Another noticeable difference is that while in Romania there were attempts for an overall study of the history of the country during the period, the most representative being that of Dinu Giurescu⁴⁷, in Bulgaria such an overall assessment is still lacking.

⁴⁷ D. Giurescu, *Romania in the Second World War (1939-1945)*, New York, 2000.

LE MYTHE DE LA PROTECTION DU TRAVAIL À L'ÉPOQUE COMMUNISTE COMME SOURCE DE LA NOSTALGIE DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ BULGARE CONTEMPORAINE

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Thirty years after the fall of communist rule in Europe, it is still widely believed in Bulgarian society that the regime had its good points. Nearly half of the population cites public security as a major positive, most notably in the area of crime and labor protection. In fact, the secret statistics of that time show a very different picture. For example, the number of homicides varies between 180 and 260 per year, which is 2–2.5 more than today, and the deaths from work-related accidents were between 500–550 or 6–7 times more than the current ones. Declassified documents show that, in order to carry out the production plan, gross violations of labor law and labor safety regulations happened all the time, which were often at the root of many industrial accidents and serious occupational accidents. But due to the fact, that this information was deeply covered by the population, it was unaware of the scale of the problem and, as a result of continued propaganda, a large part of it shares the understanding that communist rule was a time of public security.

Keywords: Myth, Labor Protection, Nostalgia, Communist Era, Bulgaria.

La façon par laquelle les sociétés des pays ex-communistes comprennent leur passé récent occupe une place fondamentale dans le grand problème concernant les usages de l'histoire dans l'époque contemporaine. L'étude de ce thème peut répondre aux nombreuses questions liées à la base d'apparition d'une nostalgie assez présente dans la population envers le communisme et d'expliquer comment ces sentiments de sympathies peuvent être utilisés pour des objectifs politiques.

Plus de 25 ans après la chute de communisme en Bulgarie les sondages sociologiques montrent que la société bulgare continue de considérer le système communiste comme une organisation sociale qui a certains bons côtés et avantages. Le critère par lequel le communisme reçoit la plus haute appréciation – c'est la sécurité sociale. Plus de 50% des gens enquêtés se prononcent que le communisme se caractérise par le système de la sécurité – dans le domaine de travail, dans la lutte contre la criminalité, etc.¹

¹ En 2014 est fait un détaillé sondage sociologique par l'agence Alpha research sur l'attitude de la société bulgare envers le communisme et la période de la transition : *Преходът: митове и памет. 25 години по-късно* (La Transition: mythes et mémoire. 25 ans plus tard) https://alpharesearch.bg/userfiles/file/Prehod_press_release__091114.pdf

La plupart des gens comprend l'époque communiste comme un temps de la sécurité. Cette attitude est répandue parmi les différentes générations, même parmi les personnes qui n'ont jamais vécu et connu le système totalitaire communiste. C.à.d. que cette image du régime communiste se construit et se transmet par les récits familiaux des grands parents vers leurs petits-enfants.

La base essentielle de la construction de cette notion est que la criminalité auparavant était très basse, que les gens n'étaient pas menacés d'être attaqués, que les vols, les viols et les meurtres étaient inexistantes et ou au moins minimales. Du point de vue social la thèse est que tout le monde avait de travail et son travail était bien protégé par le système. Dans ce cadre se créent des idées qu'à l'époque communiste existaient des règles strictes qui étaient bien respectées par l'administration.

En réalité la situation véritable au sujet de la sécurité – personnelle et sociale est tout à fait différente de ce que maintenant la société se souvient. Qu'est-ce qu'ils montrent les documents qui étaient secrets sous le régime communiste sur la criminalité et la protection du travail?

Les statistiques montrent un nombre des meurtres assez grand. Les années 60 ils varient entre 210 et 230 par année, les années 70 et 80 – entre 170 – 220 qui est deux fois plus grand qu'au moment actuel². D'après la statistique des dernières années de 2010 à 2017 le nombre des meurtres est entre 81 et 128³.

Encore plus choquante est l'information sur les victimes des accidents de travail dans l'industrie qui ont fini avec des cas de mort. Pendant les années 70 et 80 le nombre se lève entre 480–550 par an⁴. En comparaison avec la situation actuelle (87–98 accidents mortelles dans l'industrie) la différence est énorme⁵.

En étudiant les accidents et les catastrophes industrielles de l'époque communiste les historiens découvrent un manque presque total de la protection du travail. Les documents présentent une violation permanente de la législation de travail.

Les données sur les accidents graves, les catastrophes industrielles prouvent que la plupart sont dues au non-respect des règles de l'organisation du procès de production et de la discipline de travail.

La violation des règles est expliquée par la priorité totale de l'exécution du plan de production de chaque entreprise industrielle. Pour accomplir leur tâche dans le délai prévu les dirigeants forcent les travaux. Parfois les ouvriers sont obligés de travailler beaucoup plus de 8 heures par jour, parfois sans repos à la fin de la semaine et toutes ces conditions augmentent le risque des accidents graves. La mauvaise organisation du procès de travail, le manque des moyens individuels de protection et les problèmes avec les machines et les technologies qui ne sont pas

² Централен Държавен Архив (ci-après ЦДА), ф. 362, оп. 19, а.е. 7, л. 6; оп. 26, а.е. 54, л. 41; оп. 27, а.е. 4, л. 120.

³ <https://www.nssi.bg/aboutbg/st/statistic/303-tzpb/sgtz>

⁴ Даниел Вачков, *Аварии и катастрофи. Хроника на социалистическата индустриализация*, София, 2018, с. 214.

⁵ <https://www.noi.bg/aboutbg/st/statistic/304-tzpb/infotz>

bien assurées sont souvent les causes principales pour les accidents. Au début de l'industrialisation forcée – les années 50 – on créait et mettait en marche des grands complexes industriels qui commencent son activité sans que toutes les exigences pour la sécurité de travail soient assurées. Plus tard – les années 70 et 80 les problèmes sont provoqués par l'amortissement et le vieillissement rapide des machines et des technologies.

D'un autre côté le grand nombre des catastrophes industrielles est dû aux mesures inefficaces dans la lutte contre les accidents industriels.

Au premier plan c'est l'indulgence totale pour les dirigeants vis à vis aux accidents quand ils sont commis au moment de l'exécution forcée du plan quinquennal. Les gens responsables pour les accidents à la fin ne sont pas punis d'une façon adéquate s'ils suivaient les décisions pour l'accomplissement du plan de la production qui est l'élément le plus important dans la politique économique de l'Etat et du Parti communiste⁶.

Aussi les mesures ne sont pas du tout efficaces à cause du manque total d'une campagne publique contre les accidents. Cette politique est liée à l'attitude du régime envers les accidents. D'abord ils sont considérés du point de vue idéologique comme un problème de l'organisation économique correspondant au système du capitalisme. D'après la théorie marxiste les accidents sont en général des résultats de l'exploitation des ouvriers⁷. Par des raisons idéologiques le régime ne veut pas avouer le grand nombre des accidents graves qui va montrer à la société les nombreux problèmes de la politique économique et sociale du Parti communiste. En réalité la société est tenue à l'écart de ce problème et pour cela les mesures préventives sont bloquées. Cette politique de cacher les problèmes de l'industrie qui provoque des accidents et des catastrophes est bien présentée dans deux cas des effets sociaux très grands.

L'une est la plus grande catastrophe industrielle dans l'histoire bulgare. Le 1-er mai 1966 le mur du barrage qui représente un dépôt énorme des déchets d'une mine se trouvant près de village Zgorigrad, aux environs de la ville de Vratza s'ébranle et dans quelques minutes le village est totalement inondé. 115 personnes sont mortes et des dizaines des maisons sont détruites. Le nombre des victimes pouvait être beaucoup plus grand si la plupart de la population du village n'avait pas participé à ce moment au défilé pour la fête de travail – le 1 mai. La catastrophe de Zgorigrad montre tous les vices de l'organisation économique du système communiste. En commençant par l'endroit où on a choisi de construire le barrage – juste au-dessus du village, en passant par le fait que depuis trois ans le dépôt était plein et il fallait arrêter son exploitation, malgré ça la mine continuait de l'utiliser et en terminant par le manque total d'un système d'alarme qui dans un cas

⁶ Вачков, *op. cit.*

⁷ Cette conception est largement présentée dans les œuvres fondamentales de K. Marx et F. Engels. Karl Marx, *Capital. Critique of Political Economy*, I, London, 1887; Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, New York, 1887.

d'urgence pourrait prévenir la population de la menace⁸. Cette tragédie est un exemple classique comment les pouvoirs communistes négligeaient les problèmes de la sécurité.

L'autre cas exemplaire est la catastrophe de Tchernobyl en avril 1986. Malgré qu'il ne s'agît pas d'un incident proprement lié avec l'industrie bulgare les autorités en Bulgarie, suivant la position officielle du régime à Moscou, longtemps niait l'existence du problème. De cette façon la société bulgare n'était pas prévenue de prendre des mesures élémentaires pour se protéger de la radiation. Les effets de ce silence sont déplorables – des centaines des gens ont développé des maladies causées a la radiation. Et au même temps quand la propagande d'Etat déclarait publiquement qu'aucun danger n'existe pas, en secret la nomenklatura du parti communiste est tenue au courant et même elle était assurée avec des aliments propres et des eaux minérales⁹.

Comment on peut expliquer l'existence de ce mythe de la sécurité de travail de l'époque communiste ; cette contradiction entre les faits bien présents dans les documents officiels et la mémoire d'une génération qui a connu le communisme et qui continue d'alimenter ce mythe.

Premièrement, le manque total de l'information. Jamais à l'époque communiste la société ne connaissait les dimensions réelles du problème. Non seulement les accidents n'étaient pas présentés publiquement, mais les commentaires sur eux pouvaient provoquer de grandes ennuies aux gens qui se permettaient de dire quelque choses lié à la politique économique et sociale du parti communiste. Au contraire, les accidents apparaissaient parfois comme un élément fondamental dans des nombreux films faisant la propagande du régime. Dans ce genre de film les accidents montraient la volonté des ouvriers communistes de surmonter les difficultés dans la construction de la vie heureuse communiste. Dans l'art communiste les accidents sont utilisés pour montrer les forces spirituelles et physiques de l'homme nouveau, constructeur de la société juste¹⁰. En réalité les documents montrent que dans les accidents et les catastrophes industrielles n'existent rien d'héroïque. Tout est provoqué par des violations de discipline de travail, mauvaise éducation technique, des machines et outils bien usés et dangereux. Mais la situation véritable est bien cachée et pour la société reste une image durable, créée par la propagande.

Ce manque total de l'information sur les problèmes industriels et criminels du temps communiste contraste profondément avec la situation actuelle quand tous les moyens de l'information présentent largement les crimes et les accidents graves. Tout ça donne l'impression que maintenant leur nombre est beaucoup plus

⁸ ЦДА, ф. 1Б, оп. 6, а.е. 6498, л. 18–90.

⁹ Sur la politique de l'éclipse informatique au sujet de la catastrophe de Tchernobyl et les fausses nouvelles présentées dans la société bulgare sont consacrées plusieurs études, mais il mentionner spécialement un recueil des données statistiques et des articles ou les thèses sont très bien argumentées – voir Мария Минкова, Ангел Г. Антонов (съст.), *Чернобил година 13-та*, София, 1999.

¹⁰ Ивайло Знеполски, *Българският комунизъм. Социокulturни черти и властова траектория*, София, 2008, с. 206–207.

grand qu'auparavant. De plus, le sentiment de l'insécurité qui existe maintenant dans les pays ex-communistes nourrit tout le temps le mythe de la sécurité sociale du communisme. Les jeunes générations écoutent les récits de leurs grands-parents pour l'époque quand n'existait pas de chômage et de criminalité.

Evidemment le rôle de tous ces mythes est fondamental pour l'existence et le développement de la nostalgie envers le communisme. La vieille génération a plusieurs motifs d'être nostalgique – commençons par les motifs naturels – la jeunesse passée, des bons souvenirs pour le temps quand ils étaient jeunes et forts, sains et jolis et finissons avec les actuels problèmes financiers et sociaux des pensionnaires. Leur présent misérable crée la base pour l'idéalisation de leur passé communiste. Par exemple beaucoup des gens qui étaient à l'époque très critiques envers le communisme maintenant se souviennent de lui avec nostalgie.

Bien sûr, il y a un nombre des gens qui étaient liés avec le système communiste et jouissaient de plusieurs privilèges et maintenant regrettent les positions sociales et professionnelles perdues.

Dans ce cas quels sont les intérêts des certains milieux politiques et économiques de garder les mythes communistes ? Très souvent le pouvoir est prêt de présenter sa politique limitant les libertés comme des mesures nécessaires pour garantir la sécurité sociale. Voilà pourquoi pas mal des acteurs de la vie politique, et non seulement les partis actuels qui sont liés avec l'ancien parti communiste, utilisent périodiquement ces mythes devant un large public. Ce comportement est très caractéristique pour les populistes qui attaquent les droits individuels et propagent des menaces presque toujours imaginaires pour légitimer une intervention active de l'Etat dans les relations économiques et sociales.

Comment démonter les mythes communistes et lutter contre la nostalgie envers le communisme qui dans sa base est antidémocratique et dirigée contre la société civile ?

Les efforts de la science historique ne sont pas suffisants. Très souvent ses œuvres entrent en conflit sérieux avec la mémoire de la société. Cette décalage entre les images créées par la propagande communiste et les faits réels bien cachés dans les documents étant secrets jusqu'à la chute de communisme reste incompréhensible pour le large public.

Les historiens doivent être plus actifs dans leur activité de présenter les résultats de leurs recherches d'une façon plus adéquate et plus facile à comprendre.

Dans ce procès le rôle des journalistes est aussi très important. Comme des facteurs qui influencent fortement l'opinion publique ils doivent être mieux préparés dans le domaine de l'histoire du communisme.

Un sérieux problème qui permet l'existence et le développement des différents mythes sur le communisme est l'éducation de cette période dans l'école bulgare. La façon par laquelle est incorporée l'histoire de communisme dans la longue histoire bulgare ne donne aux élèves la possibilité de connaître plus profondément le système totalitaire communiste.

Dans ce sens les derniers deux années des changements sérieux ont commencé dans le système de l'éducation. Leur but est de présenter mieux aux élèves l'époque communiste.

Mais le facteur essentiel contre la nostalgie reste l'amélioration du niveau de vie, augmentation des revenus des toutes les catégories de la population et de prouver que les principes libéraux donnent des meilleures possibilités de développement.

A la fin il faut affirmer aussi un trait intéressant concernant la nostalgie envers le communisme. Dans un sondage sociologique on a posé la question - de quelles libertés vous êtes prêts de vous priver au nom de rendre votre vie plus sûre, 39% déclarent qu'ils ne veulent se priver d'aucune liberté, 30% ne donnent pas de réponse et 31% disent qu'ils sont prêts à renoncer à certaines libertés comme le voyage libre à l'étranger, de participer à des élections libres, liberté de la parole, la garantie de la propriété privée et d'autres¹¹. Ça vaut dire que malgré que la société contemporaine apprécie la sécurité de l'époque communiste, maintenant elle est habituée avec les libertés et ne veut pas que la sécurité se construise par les méthodes communistes.

En conclusion on peut dire que malgré la nostalgie bien présente dans la société bulgare elle reste comme une façon de montrer la déception de la situation actuelle, mais ne se comprend pas comme une alternative véritable pour le développement du pays.

¹¹ https://alpharesearch.bg/userfiles/file/Prehod_press_release__091114.pdf

MÉDIAS ET HISTOIRE EN BULGARIE CONTEMPORAINE

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Against the background of changes in the media and historical science during the transition to democracy and market economy after the end of the communist regime, the author offers his vision for the presence of history in the media in contemporary Bulgaria. The paper presents some observations and examples on the subject without exhausting it. The media play an important role in the dissemination of historical knowledge and are the terrain for the most significant discussions on current and controversial aspects of Bulgarian history, such as the periods of Ottoman rule and communist regime. The national discourse on the past dominates in the mass media, while critical reflections on national history remain in the background. The explanations are sought in the context of the nation state and in the heritage and present state of historical science. The paper discusses in more detail the case of history on television. As the most representative public tribune of Bulgarian historians nowadays stands out the TV show *History.BG* broadcast on Bulgarian National Television – Channel 1. The notions of national history offered by many other such TV shows over the last few years are as varied as historical knowledge of the past. The author also draws attention to the problems of the public importance of history and the role of public history, as well to the relationship between history and journalism as similar disciplines that contribute to a better management of the present and foreseeing the future.

Keywords: Media, History, Historians, Journalists, Bulgaria.

*« Ceux qui ne disent que la vérité
ne méritent pas d'être entendus. »*

INTRODUCTION

La citation ci-dessus est prise du roman fameux de Jonas Jonasson *Le centenaire qui est sorti par la fenêtre et qui a disparu*¹. L'écrivain suédois dédie le livre à son grand-père, qui aimait raconter des histoires, et lorsque les enfants lui demandaient, les yeux écarquillés: « *Eh bien, grand-père, est-ce vrai?* », il leur répondait de cette façon. La longue vie du personnage principal dans le roman,

¹ Jonas Jonasson, *Hundraåringen som klev ut genom fönstret och försvann*, Piratförlaget, 2009. La citation est prise de Йонас Йонасон, *Стогодишният старец, който скочи през прозореца и изчезна*, София, 2013, с. 5.

Allan Karlsson, est impliquée par l'auteur d'une manière absurde dans le grand récit de l'histoire mondiale en XXe siècle. Ce personnage se distingue en outre par son énorme capacité à déformer la vérité au besoin. Le mélange entre réalité et imaginaire, qui est évoqué dans la phrase citée, pourrait être une devise ironique pour le sujet de la place de l'histoire dans les médias, ce qui est particulièrement approprié lorsqu'il s'agit de médias jaunes ou de quelques promoteurs de l'histoire nationale.

Les historiens de profession prétendent qu'ils sont les vraies « maîtres » de la connaissance historique. Cependant, habituellement les premières réponses aux questions de l'histoire d'une importance publique ne se trouvent pas immédiatement dans les publications scientifiques, mais dans les médias, et lorsqu'on les aborde sur le terrain médiatique ce sont les journalistes, les hommes publics, ou les amateurs de l'histoire qui sont assez souvent en avance sur les historiens. En plus, compte tenu la dose inhérente de subjectivité dans le métier des historiens, eux-mêmes sont loin d'être une communauté unie en ce qui concerne les interprétations des faits historiques. En pratique, il n'est pas rare que les médias et les journalistes se détachent comme les « maîtres » de l'histoire. C'est d'autant plus valable pour notre époque dominée par les moyens de communication numérique, lorsque les rapports entre l'histoire et les hommes deviennent de plus en plus immédiats.

Ce texte présente quelques observations personnelles et des exemples non exhaustifs concernant la place de l'histoire dans les médias en Bulgarie en mettant l'accent sur la période depuis la fin du régime communiste à nos jours. En outre mes observations de longue date principalement sur la presse et la télévision, comme source pour cet aperçu générale du sujet j'utilise l'information sur Internet.

LES MÉDIAS EN TRANSFORMATION DYNAMIQUE

Considérant la formation de l'opinion publique, les médias sont qualifiés parfois de « quatrième pouvoir », par allusion aux trois pouvoirs constitutionnels. Après la fin du régime communiste en Bulgarie comme dans d'autres pays ex-socialistes,² les médias ont connu un développement dynamique et controversé. La transition vers la gouvernance démocratique et vers l'économie de marché entraîne la démonopolisation et la décentralisation du paysage médiatique, l'émergence de maisons d'édition, de publications périodiques et d'agences de presse privées, la chute de tous les tabous, la grande liberté de la presse et le pluralisme des opinions dans les médias. La dernière décennie du XXe siècle est également marquée par la large diffusion de nouvelles techniques et nouveaux outils de communication (l'ordinateur, le téléphone portable, la télévision par satellite et par câble) qui commencent à combler les différences existantes entre les médias imprimés et les médias audiovisuels. D'autre part, alors que d'importants fonds liés au régime communiste sont transférés dans quelques médias

² Voir : Les médias en Europe centrale et orientale après 1989. Monde diplomatique / Медиите в Централна и Източна Европа след 1989 г. София, 2009.

influent, d'autres médias sont fermés en raison de manque de financement; la commercialisation du marché des médias offre souvent une production de faible qualité et la diffusion du journalisme jaune et de la presse à scandale ou à sensation; l'ouverture de la profession des journalistes aux non-professionnels et la liberté d'expression incontrôlée sont accompagnées de la contamination de l'espace d'information par le langage de la rue; les fonctions de manipulation des médias sont utilisées à la fois pour influencer la société et pour rivaliser les uns avec les autres; les journalistes sont parfois victimes d'agressions physiques ou de poursuites judiciaires pour leurs publications et leurs enquêtes³.

L'évolution de la presse en Bulgarie est passée rapidement d'une forte partisanerie suite à la transition révolutionnaire, par son émancipation et son indépendance après la déception de la société des partis politiques, jusqu'aux liens proches des médias avec les grands groupes économiques et financiers, et jusqu'à la dépendance croissante du pouvoir politique. La presse est un instrument puissant par lequel les gouvernements ou les groupes économiques contrôlent la société. Les publications civiles et indépendantes restent en périphérie de la scène publique. Alors qu'au début de la transition démocratique les idées du libéralisme dominent idéologiquement la plupart des médias, la dévaluation de ces idées vers l'anti-libéralisme et la xénophobie modérée s'impose graduellement. Ce changement répond aux frustrations de la société face au chaos, aux crises économiques et politiques, et à la criminalisation de la transition, qui suscitent la nostalgie sociale du passé récent et les attentes pour un État fort et un sauveur de la nation. La grande dépendance de la conjoncture politique et le populisme se distinguent comme des caractéristiques de nombreux médias en Bulgarie⁴.

Le progrès accéléré du réseau informatique mondial Internet surtout au cours des premières décennies du 21^e siècle élargit la numérisation des médias traditionnels et crée beaucoup de sites Web d'information (comme celui de l'encyclopédie universelle *Wikipédia*, créé en 2001) et les médias sociaux (*Facebook*, ouverte en 2004, est la plus connue). Mélangeant interaction, technologie et création de contenu l'Internet s'impose comme le moyen d'information et de communication le plus largement disponible, y compris dans le domaine de la connaissance du passé.

La réglementation des activités de radio et de télévision en Bulgarie s'effectue sur la base de la Loi sur la radio et la télévision (1998) par le Conseil des médias électroniques. En vertu de la loi, en tant qu'un organe spécialisé et indépendant, le Conseil « *est guidé par l'intérêt public en protégeant la liberté et le pluralisme de la parole et de l'information, et l'indépendance des fournisseurs de services de médias* »⁵.

³ Блажо Николов, « Медиите в България (1989–1995) », *Българско медиазнание* 1996, [Vol. I, Sofia], Balkan Media, p. 29–40; Росен Милев, « Шрихи към историята на медиите и комуникациите в България. За нов поглед към българската медиаистория », *ibid.*, p. 55–90 (78–88 sur la période de 1989 à 1995).

⁴ Георги Д. Стойчев, « Преходът и съдбата на посткомунистическия печат в България », *Българско медиазнание* 1996, [Vol. I, Sofia], Balkan Media, p. 239–245.

⁵ Закон за радиото и телевизията. – < <https://www.lex.bg/laws/ldoc/2134447616> >.

Quant aux périodiques imprimés, leur marché se rétrécit progressivement en faveur des médias électroniques. L'analyse préparée par une entreprise étrangère en 2008, c'est-à-dire peu de temps après l'adhésion du pays à l'Union européenne, donnent les caractéristiques suivantes aux quotidiens nationaux: Le journal au plus gros tirage – *Труд* (Travail) est un mélange entre un journal jaune et un journal sérieux, démontrant en apparence une indépendance politique il est impliqué dans des campagnes politiques et son rédacteur en chef est proche du plus riche Bulgare, l'homme d'affaires Vasil Bojkov⁶. Le deuxième quotidien par son tirage – *24 часа / 24 tchasa* (24 Heures) louvoie également dans la politique et publie des textes en faveur des politiciens et des hommes d'affaires ; *Дневник* (Journal) est considéré comme le journal le plus sérieux et le plus crédible, il est modéré et non agressif, publié par des hommes d'affaires bulgares, en association avec un groupe d'édition allemand et c'est le seul média imprimé à publier des articles critiques contre les intérêts russes en Bulgarie, etc.⁷.

La liberté de la presse en Bulgarie se détériore selon les classements mondiaux (*World Press Freedom Index*), publiés par l'ONG "Reporters sans frontières" et basés sur l'évaluation de 180 pays. Si en 2003, le pays se classe 34ème, en 2018 il est à peine 111ème, un classement qui reste en 2020, ce qui signifie la dernière place dans l'Union Européenne. Les rapports de l'organisation font ressortir que la corruption et l'influence entre les médias, les politiciens et les oligarques sont une pratique répandue en Bulgarie. L'exemple le plus célèbre en est l'entrepreneur, magnat des médias et homme politique Delyan Peevski. Il est élu en 2013 par l'Assemblée nationale en tant que président de l'Agence nationale pour la sécurité nationale, mais après de fortes protestations civiles, cette décision était annulée. Le jeune oligarque est propriétaire de la Nouvelle groupe bulgare qui comprend six journaux et contrôle près de 80% de la diffusion de la presse en Bulgarie⁸.

L'HISTOIRE ET LA TRANSITION

Comme dans le cas des médias, l'état de la science historique dans les pays ex-socialistes, et en particulier en Bulgarie, depuis 1989 est une conséquence des grands changements dans les États et les sociétés pendant la transition vers la démocratie et l'économie de marché. Dans le même temps, la science est influencée par les débats dans l'historiographie mondiale provoqués par les renouvellements et la transdisciplinarité de l'École des Annales et plus tard par

⁶ En 2020 Vasil Bojkov fait l'objet d'une enquête par le parquet en tant que chef d'un groupe criminel organisé.

⁷ « Справка анализ за българските вестници », *E-vestnik.bg*, 25.01.2008, <<https://e-vestnik.bg/tag/24-chasa/page/2/>>.

⁸ « България по медийна свобода при Турция, Русия и Беларус », *Kamunal* 25.04.2018, <https://www.capital.bg/vestnikut/daily/sviat/2018/04/25/3169013_bulgariia_po_mediina_svoboda_-_pri_turciia_rusiia_i/>; „Защо в България положението е толкова лошо?“, *DW.com*, 21.04.2020, <<https://www.dw.com/bg/защо-в-българия-положението-е-толкова-лошо/a-53195076>>.

l'émergence de la Nouvelle histoire penchée sur l'histoire des mentalités et des idées comme alternatives à l'histoire politique et au positivisme traditionnel. D'autres défis devant l'histoire en tant que savoir scientifique sont l'application de la théorie postmoderne qui conteste les possibilités des historiens d'atteindre la « vérité », ainsi que la thèse de la « fin de l'histoire » comme un processus socio-politique qui est venu avec le consensus sur démocratie libérale formé après la fin de la Guerre froide. Les débats font parler d'une crise de la science historique.

La préservation des institutions et des historiens qui y travaillent, ainsi que de certaines tendances dans les recherches historiques qui étaient créées pendant les dernières deux décennies du socialisme, expliquent pourquoi la tradition domine la rénovation de la science historique en Bulgarie. L'adaptation des institutions et des historiens aux nouvelles conditions pendant les années de transition comprend: la réforme des institutions scientifiques et d'enseignement existantes qui conduit à leur autonomie, ainsi que la création de nouvelles établissements privées; les efforts de résoudre les problèmes de financement après la réduction considérable des subventions publiques pour la science et l'enseignement; les changements des paradigmes professionnels des historiens par le rejet du marxisme en tant que philosophie et méthodologie de l'histoire, et par l'orientation des recherches vers de nouveaux sujets et vers une méthodologie interdisciplinaire, ainsi que par l'inclusion dans le discours historiographique mondiale; l'établissement de nouvelles identités professionnelles; l'obligation des historiens de faire face aux défis de la part des historiens de l'étranger, des chercheurs provenant des autres sciences humaines et sociales ou des amateurs qui offrent différentes interprétations de l'histoire nationale, etc.⁹.

Les histoires nationales dans les pays membres de l'Union Européen sont encore loin d'être compatibles avec une histoire commune des nations en Europe. Le modèle dominant de l'État national continue à exiger des historiographies à agir comme un instrument de mobilisation de l'identité nationale, de l'unité, de la continuité, de la victimisation ou de la grandeur des nations propres. Les mêmes accents sont mis dans la mémoire nationale, imposée par l'État, et aussi dans les mémoires des groupes.

L'HISTOIRE MÉDIATIQUE : VUE GÉNÉRALE ET QUELQUES EXEMPLES

En raison du manque de périodiques spécialisés pour la vulgarisation de l'histoire, en Bulgarie ce rôle est joué par d'autres médias. On y trouve également les discussions les plus importantes sur les aspects actuels et controversés de l'histoire bulgare, tels que les périodes de la domination ottomane et du régime communiste. Le discours national sur l'histoire domine les médias de masse. L'inclusion de

⁹ Voir: Антоанета Запрянова, Благовест Нягулов, Илияна Марчева, « Историографията между приемственост и промяна: А. За текущата история на историческата наука в България. Б. Анкетно проучване "Историци за историята», *Исторически преглед* 2005, № 1–2, с. 3–97; Антоанета Запрянова, Благовест Нягулов, Илияна Марчева (съст.) *Историческата наука в България – състояние и перспективи*, София, 2006.

l'histoire bulgare dans les contextes comparatifs, régionaux et mondial, ainsi que les réflexions critiques sur l'histoire nationale demeurent en arrière-plan. Les opinions révisionnistes sont exprimées par quelques historiens qui trouvent leurs places dans l'hebdomadaire *Култура (Culture)* jusqu'à son suspension en 2018, et dans les médias alternatifs d'intellectuels comme *Margianalia* (une plateforme de droits de l'homme)¹⁰ ou *Либерален преглед (Revue libéral)*¹¹.

Le processus de désidéologisation de la science depuis 1989, compris comme un rejet de l'idéologie communiste, prend souvent la forme d'une « nationalisation » accélérée de la connaissance historique. D'autre part, dans le contexte du pluralisme démocratique le nationalisme ne détient pas un monopole, tout en étant critiqué du point de vue du libéralisme ou de la théorie postmoderne.

Les attitudes de la plupart des historiens qui étudient, enseignent et vulgarisent l'histoire nationale sont plutôt conservatrices. On partage souvent la vision téléologique de la nation en tant qu'un projet nécessaire, utile et progressiste de l'histoire. « *Un historien qui fait des recherches sur l'histoire de la Bulgarie ne peut être qu'un patriote* » – ce sont les paroles d'un enseignant à l'université prononcées devant la Télévision nationale bulgare. En ce qui concerne les « leaders » de la profession (dans la mesure où ils existent car le travail de l'historien est hautement individualisé), ils sont formés en tant que professionnels pendant l'époque du socialisme tardif, lorsque les communistes au pouvoir ont maîtrisé et légitimé progressivement l'idéologie nationale. Les historiens eux-mêmes ont embrassé alors cette transformation comme un « retour » aux racines de l'historiographie nationale, compte tenu les discontinuités imposées pendant les premiers décennies du régime communiste, et en plus comme une « évansion » de l'idéologie marxiste. La situation de la science historique en Bulgarie après la fin du régime est caractérisée par certains analystes externes plutôt comme une « *continuité dans le changement* »¹². Il importe aussi que l'histoire est rarement une profession libre, car la rémunération du travail de la plupart des historiens continue à dépendre principalement des subventions de l'État pour les universités et l'Académie bulgare des sciences.

L'État national et la majorité de la société attendent d'entendre exactement les discours nationaux sur l'histoire. Ces attentes sont engendrées par la position périphérique et de frontière de l'État bulgare dans le contexte géopolitique régionale, par l'histoire traumatique de la nation et les relations de conflits avec les États voisins dans le passé, par les complexes d'infériorité ou de satellite à l'égard des grandes puissances et par les échecs et les drames sociales au cours de la transition depuis 1989. Les historiens sont recherchés en tant qu'experts par les médias principalement à l'occasion des anniversaires historiques qui poussent

¹⁰ *Marginalia*, <<https://www.marginalia.bg/>>.

¹¹ *Либерален преглед*, <<http://www.librev.com/>>.

¹² Wolfgang Höpken, « 'Kontinuität im Wandel': Historiographie in Bulgarien seit der Wende », dans *Klio ohne Fesseln? Historiographie im östlichen Europa nach dem Zusammenbruch des Kommunismus – Österreichische Osthefte*, Jahrgang 44, Wien 2002, Heft 1/2, p. 487–498.

inévitables les discours médiatiques à l'embellissement, à l'héroïsation ou à la victimisation de la nation.

En outre, le grand public préfère souvent la fiction, la légende ou le mythe à la « vraie » histoire parce que les premiers sont plus inspirants que la dernière. Les dichotomies entre le « blanc » et le « noir » sont plus attrayantes pour le public que les nuances « grises » d'une connaissance sophistiquée. Les récits historiques dans lesquelles le « bien » et la « grandeur » sont identifiés par « nous », tandis que le « mal » et la « déchéance » sont inhérents à « eux » semblent encore plus fascinants. Ce sont précisément ces récits qui servent le mieux aux propagandes nationales surtout au temps de guerres ou de crises.

Il faudrait également prendre en considération les facteurs politiques. La crise de l'intégration européenne au cours des dernières années et les nouveaux défis à l'extérieure et à l'intérieure de l'Europe (la crise économique et financière, les guerres dans le Proche Orient, le terrorisme, les migrations) poussent l'historiographie et la mémoire collective vers une récupération de l'histoire nationale avec ses partialités et mythologies. La participation de trois (maintenant déjà deux) partis nationalistes (la coalition des *Patriotes unis*) à la coalition au pouvoir en Bulgarie actuelle a le même impact.

Finalement, quand on parle de la place de l'histoire dans les médias il faut tenir compte des mécanismes du marché et des politiques médiatiques.

Si on recherche des articles et des interviews consacrés à l'histoire bulgare dans les médias de masse (par exemple le journal quotidien *24 часа / 24 Heures*), deux noms d'historiens se distinguent: celui du défunt Bojidar Dimitrov (1945–2018, directeur du Musée national d'histoire de 1994 à 1998 et de 2011 à 2017)¹³ et celui de Gheorghi Markov (académicien de l'Académie bulgare des sciences et directeur de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Académie entre 1993 et 2011).¹⁴ Ils se ressemblent par leurs activités publiques et médiatiques infatigables tout en s'intégrant tous les deux dans les interprétations nationales de l'histoire bulgare. En même temps, il y a des différences significatives entre ces deux historiens publics. Gheorghi Markov, qui est fier de son ascendance de militaire et qui s'intéresse beaucoup à l'histoire militaire bulgare, partage des vues sur l'histoire de la Bulgarie qui sont fondées sur un nationalisme authentique accompagné parfois d'accents xénophobes et datant de l'époque jusqu'à la Seconde Guerre mondiale. À son tour, Bojidar Dimitrov ou le « play-boy de la culture bulgare » (selon l'expression d'un ex-politicien – Alexander Yordanov) était devenu scandaleusement célèbre pour ses commentaires

¹³ Voir la vision critique de Стефан Дечев, « За историята на Божидар Димитров, бождардимитровската история и още нещо », *Marginalia* 15.08.2018, <<https://www.marginalia.bg/aktsent/stefan-dechev-za-istoriyata-na-bozhidar-dimitrov-bozhidardimitriovskata-istoriya-i-oshte-neshto/>>; idem, « За историята на Божидар Димитров, бождардимитровската история и още нещо, част 2 », *Marginalia* 28.08.2018, <<https://www.marginalia.bg/aktsent/28947>>.

¹⁴ Voir: Георги Марков – историкът изследовател и популяризатор, София, 2018; Историята – професия и съдба. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на член-кореспондент д.ист.н. Георги Марков, София, 2008.

mégalo-manes sur l'histoire bulgare, pour son langage de rue et pour ses activités controversées et même parfois illégales à l'égard du patrimoine historique et culturel. Si Gheorghî Markov n'a pas des ambitions politiques en dépit qu'il s'identifie avec l'idéologie de l'un des partis nationalistes au pouvoir actuellement (VMRO-BND), Bojidar Dimitrov démontrait constamment ses liens avec les hommes politiques, tout en atteignant le poste de ministre sans portefeuille responsable des Bulgares à l'étranger entre 2009 et 2011.

En fait, Bojidar Dimitrov incarnait ce qu'Ivan Ilchev (recteur de l'Université de Sofia de 2007 à 2015 et membre correspondant de l'Académie bulgare des sciences) a appelé dans un article la « *chalga* historique »¹⁵. Le terme « *chalga* » vient de la musique de danse pop folk de Bulgarie qui a des motifs orientaux et il est utilisé souvent au sens péjoratif par rapport à d'autres phénomènes. Ce sont en fait toutes les présentations de l'histoire bulgare à travers des sensations et des assertions non confirmées par les faits historiques dont l'objectif est de satisfaire les goûts de la masse et d'influencer la population peu instruite, ainsi que les lecteurs et les téléspectateurs « patriotiques », qui ont besoin de plus de stabilité. Malgré le caractère spéculatif de l'activité publique et "patriotique" de Bojidar Dimitrov, après sa mort en juillet 2018 sur les pages de la plupart des médias il était qualifié en tant qu'un « grand historien » et « éveilleur moderne ». Selon l'historien alternatif Stefan Dechev (professeur associé à l'Université du sud-ouest à Blagoevgrad), le phénomène « Bojidar Dimitrov » est rendu possible par le fait que la Bulgarie, et en particulier les médias bulgares sont encore « trop loin » du « savoir historique critique » dans les pays développés de l'Occident, en raison du consentement tacite de la plupart des historiens et à cause du soutien des hommes d'affaires, des politiciens et de l'église¹⁶.

Outre dans les interviews avec des historiens ou dans leurs articles de presse, l'histoire bulgare est également présente dans les articles des journalistes qui se sont spécialisés dans la problématique historique et culturelle. À la différence des textes des historiens qui se concentrent principalement sur le grand récit de l'histoire nationale et sont publiés dans les quotidiens, ceux des journalistes-historiens ont le plus souvent pour sujets des aspects intéressants, curieux et méconnus de la vie quotidienne, sociale ou personnelle dans le passé. Ces textes divertissants sur l'histoire trouvent une place parfois certains tabloïdes (ou la presse *people*, à sensation), dans des hebdomadaires comme *168 часа* (168 Heures)¹⁷ et dans des éditions pour les personnes âgées comme l'hebdomadaire *Клуб 100* (Club 100). Le passé récent ou le temps du socialisme, qui coïncide avec le temps de la jeunesse des personnes âgées en Bulgarie post-socialiste, est naturellement une période historique privilégiée, qui est souvent interprété nostalgiquement dans les dernières périodiques.

¹⁵ Иван Илчев, « Историческа чалга и патриотизъм », *Сега* 04.12.2017, <<http://epicenter.bg/article/Prof--Ivan-Ilchev--Istoricheska-chalga-i-patriotizam-/142165/11/0>>.

¹⁶ Стефан Дечев, « Защо го имаше феноменът «проф. Божидар Димитров», *Marginalia* 19.10.2018, <<https://www.marginalia.bg/aktsent/stefan-dechev-zashto-go-imashe-fenomenat-prof-bozhidar-dimitrov/>>.

¹⁷ <<https://www.168chasa.bg/>>.

Tout comme certains historiens se transforment parfois en journalistes, les journalistes deviennent de temps en temps des historiens au sens plein du terme. En tant qu'auteurs de monographies historiques les journalistes-historiens se concentrent généralement sur quelques moments et événements névralgiques de l'histoire nationale, mais parfois ils les reconstruisent de manière sélective et leurs conclusions sont influencées par une motivation idéologique. En outre, leur plume est habituellement plus acérée que celui de la plupart des historiens professionnels. À cet égard, il serait intéressant d'analyser les publications historiques du journaliste d'investigation Hristo Hristov, qui étudie et vulgarise du point de l'anti-communisme le sujet du service secret de renseignement et de contre-espionnage du régime communiste (*Държавна сигурност / Sécurité d'État*) et de ses activités répressives¹⁸; le livre du célèbre journaliste Ivo Indjev sur la « fraude de San Stefano »¹⁹, dont l'objectif est de démasquer la politique impériale russe dans les Balkans, tout en décrivant la guerre russo-turque de 1877–1878 comme une « guerre d'asservissement » et non pas comme une « guerre de libération » pour les Bulgares²⁰; ou bien le livre de la journaliste de la gauche Velislava Dâreva sur le plus grand attentat dans l'histoire bulgare – celui dans l'église *Sainte-Nédélia* de Sofia, organisé par le parti communiste en 1925, ce qui était pour l'auteur ni plus ni moins l'occasion de blâmer le terreur du « pouvoir fasciste » qui a provoqué l'attentat.²¹ À travers l'objectif de certains journalistes l'histoire pourrait être encore une fois un instrument soit pour nier les anciens mythes, soit pour en créer de nouveaux.

ÉTUDE DE CAS : L'HISTOIRE À LA TÉLÉVISION

Média de masse audiovisuel pour information, divertissement et publicité, la télévision acquiert une audience énorme au cours de la seconde moitié du 20^e siècle. Et malgré la diffusion de l'Internet, ce média électronique conserve aujourd'hui son importance et son influence dans la société. Selon un analyste français, les téléspectateurs aiment les émissions historiques et la télévision a des affinités particulières avec l'histoire. D'un part, l'histoire peut faire rêver le public et favoriser son évasion hors du monde où l'on vit, tout en restant lié à la réalité.

¹⁸ Voir son site web *Държавна сигурност.com*: <<https://desebg.com/>>, ainsi que son autre site web dédié aux « victimes du communisme » *Памет / Mémoire (1944–1989)*: <<http://pametbg.com/index.php/bg/>>.

¹⁹ Le traité préliminaire de San Stefano (3 mars 1878), imposé par l'Empire russe à l'Empire ottoman après la guerre de 1877–1878, prévoit la création de la principauté de Bulgarie. Le projet pour cette Grande Bulgarie ne fut pas réalisé à cause de la révision du traité par le traité de Berlin, signé par les grandes puissances et l'Empire ottoman le 13 juillet 1878. La date de la signature du premier traité est célébrée comme fête nationale de la Bulgarie contemporaine.

²⁰ Иво Инджев, *Измамата „Сан Стефано“*. Руско-турската поробителна война, София, 2018.

²¹ Велислава Дърева, *Атенатът 1925. Денят, в който се отвориха портите адови*, София 2019. La thèse communiste sur le caractère « fasciste » du gouvernement bulgare en 1923–1925 est rejetée il y a longtemps par les historiens professionnels.

D'autre part, la télévision fait des reconstitutions imagées et se faisant instrument du temps retrouvé, elle compense la liaison avec l'éphémère et le transitoire²².

Les effets de la symbiose entre la télévision et l'histoire dépendent dans une large mesure de la capacité des animateurs de vulgariser le savoir historique. En parlant du cas bulgare, nous devons aller au passé récent de la période du socialisme tardif pour mentionner le nom du célèbre historien et professeur à l'Université de Sofia Nikolaï Genchev (1931–2000). Le professeur en histoire de la Renaissance bulgare et plus tard fondateur du nouveau parcours universitaire « Études culturelles » était une personnalité insoumise, charismatique et contradictoire, qui détruit les dogmes. Orateur captivant, il est devenu le plus populaire en raison des conférences sur l'histoire bulgare, qu'il a données dans le Premier programme de la Télévision bulgare en 1981. À cette époque le Parti communiste au pouvoir met en œuvre le méga projet « patriotique » pour la commémoration du 1300^e anniversaire de l'État bulgare et dans ce cadre une série de conférences TV « 1300 ans Bulgarie » était lancée. Cependant, les conférences de Genchev sont interrompues lorsqu'il atteint le thème de la Révolution d'Octobre (bolchevique) en Russie de 1917. Au plus fort du régime communiste l'historien déclare que cette Révolution marque le « début d'une expérience sociale à grande échelle qui est trop tôt pour juger », et que pour cette raison il n'est pas compétent de parler du passé après cet événement historique. Renvoyé et puni par le pouvoir communiste, lors de la transition vers la démocratie depuis 1989 Nikolaï Genchev essaie sans succès d'imposer son projet politique pour des changements conformes aux « intérêts nationaux bulgares »²³.

Si on parle du présent, la tribune publique la plus représentative des historiens bulgares est sans aucun doute l'émission TV *История.BG (Histoire.BG)*²⁴. C'est une initiative de la Télévision nationale bulgare – Canal 1, lancée en 2012–2013 et selon son annonce l'émission est « consacrée aux événements et aux personnalités marquantes de l'histoire de la Bulgarie ». Diffusée directement tous les lundis pendant une heure en prime-time (à partir de 21 h), *Histoire.BG* fonctionne sous la forme d'une discussion avec la participation de quelques (4 ou 5) experts historiens ou d'autres, en présence d'un public d'élèves de la secondaire et d'étudiants des universités. Les animateurs sont principalement des journalistes de la télévision: Goran Blagoev, docteur en histoire, Andrei Zahariev, docteur en philosophie et Gheorghi Anghelov, philologue et traducteur. Les différents sujets sont souvent sélectionnés compte tenu les célébrations de fêtes nationales et les anniversaires

²² Jean Caseneuve, « L'histoire à la télévision », *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier 1983, p. 139-141, <<https://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/96099ac883df32e27b867a36116ba59a.pdf>>.

²³ « 85 години от рождението на Николай Генчев », *История.BG*, 31.10.2016, <<https://www.bnt.bg/bg/a/istoriya-bg-85-godini-ot-rozhdenieto-na-prof-nikolaj-genchev-31-10-2016>>; „Николай Николов Генчев“, *OMDA / Wonderland Bulgaria*, <<http://www.omda.bg/public/bulg/news/personal/genchev.htm>>.

²⁴ Voir: Българска национална телевизия: История.BG, <<https://www.bnt.bg/bg/a/istoriya-bg#>>; История.бг, <https://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/История.бг>.

historiques de la Bulgarie. Le public dans le studio peut poser des questions directement aux experts et les téléspectateurs – par le Web. En outre, des courts documentaires sur les événements et les personnalités historiques sont présentés par le son et l'image au cours des éditions. Plus de 200 participants, principalement des historiens par profession, ont participé à l'émission depuis son début, certains d'entre eux plusieurs fois. Les participants les plus fréquents sont des enseignants dans les facultés d'histoire des universités de Sofia et de Veliko Târnovo, ainsi que des chercheurs de l'Institut d'études historiques de l'Académie bulgare des sciences. Les innovations dans le concept de l'émission après son cinquième anniversaire sont les animateurs invités – certains historiens professionnels, ainsi que la création du Club « Histoire.BG » qui organise des compétitions entre des équipes d'élèves de la secondaire sur leurs connaissances de l'histoire bulgare.

L'examen détaillé de l'histoire nationale et en particulier de certains aspects historiques de discussion ne retarde pas l'apparition de réactions publiques de désaccords avec quelques interprétations des participants. Ces réactions viennent d'horizons différents. Ainsi, le radio-journaliste Petâr Volghin, connu pour ses positions de gauche, anti-libérales et russophiles, accuse *Histoire.BG* de manquer de pluralisme dans le débat et définit ses animateurs comme russophobes et anti-communistes²⁵. Les milieux politiques de gauche réagissent très vivement avec des arguments similaires contre une édition en 2018, consacrée à l'histoire du camp de concentration de Belene, qui a fonctionné de 1949 à 1989, et dominée par le négativisme unanime de tous les participants à l'égard du régime communiste²⁶. La lettre de protestation des dirigeants du Parti socialiste bulgare, héritier de l'ancien Parti communiste et en opposition à l'époque, qui est envoyée à cette occasion au Conseil des médias électroniques et au directeur général de la télévision, affirme qu'*Histoire.BG* « démontre une fois de plus un manque d'objectivité, une approche tendancieuse et une distorsion des événements pendant la période de 1944 à 1989 »²⁷. Selon la décision du Conseil des médias électroniques après cette protestation l'émission historique ne viole pas le pluralisme ; *Histoire.BG* n'est pas une émission politique par son caractère et donc elle n'est pas soumise à l'exigences de la Loi sur la radio et la télévision pour une présence obligatoire d'opposants lorsqu'on discute une thèse particulière dans des émissions actuelles²⁸.

Contrairement aux critiques de gauche, d'autres accents dans les attitudes publiques à l'égard d'*Histoire.BG* sont entièrement du point de vue du nationalisme. Lors de l'édition en 2019, qui est consacrée au 100e anniversaire du

²⁵ Петър Волгин, « БНТ в соросоиден сос », *Свободно слово*, 06.05.2019, <<https://svobodnoslovo.eu/петър-волгин-бнт-в-соросоиден-сос/>>.

²⁶ Voir <<https://www.bnt.bg/bg/a/lagert-v-belene-1949-1989-22012018>>.

²⁷ « БСП скочи на БНТ: *История.BG* е тенденциозна и изопачава събитията в периода от 1944 до 1989 г. ! », *Епицентър* 04.02.2018, <<http://epicenter.bg/article/BSP-skochi-na-BNT--Predavaneto--Istoriya-bg--izopachava-sabitiyata-v-perioda-v-perioda-1944-1989-g-/146563/2/0>>.

²⁸ Павлета Давидова, „СЕМ няма да глобява « История.БГ »,, *Дума*, № 27, 08.02.2018, <<https://duma.bg/sem-nyama-da-globyava-istoriyabg-n160470>>.

traité de Neuilly,²⁹ quelques participants contestent les perceptions traditionnelles du traité et de ses conséquences comme un « diktat » et comme une « catastrophe » pour la Bulgarie. À cette occasion, le député à l'Assemblée nationale Krasimir Bogdanov (élu au nom du parti nationaliste VMRO-BND, qui fait partie de la majorité au pouvoir dans le pays) envoie une lettre de protestation au Conseil des médias électroniques et au directeur général de la télévision³⁰. De cette façon, les efforts de certains historiens d'analyser rationnellement un moment traumatisant de l'histoire bulgare dans le contexte de l'époque et dans une perspective comparative se heurtent directement à la résistance des « défenseurs » de l'identité nationale, qui ont besoin de la mythologie historique.

Les critiques des historiens révisionnistes de la construction historique bulgare diffèrent de ceux déjà mentionnés. En 2017, à l'occasion du cinquième anniversaire d'*Histoire.BG*, mais pas seulement, le site web *Marginalia* lance une discussion sur les médias et l'histoire. En fait, il n'y pas vraiment de discussion entre des opposants car les trois articles publiés dans le site expriment des positions critiques sur la place de l'histoire bulgare dans les médias et sur l'historiographie en Bulgarie dans son ensemble. Cette fois-ci les critiques sont faites des points de vue de la déconstruction du positivisme traditionnel à l'égard de l'histoire nationale et de sa démythologisation compte tenu surtout les mythes du nationalisme. Voici quelques exemples avec des citations:

Stefan Dechev fait usage de la participation de Plamen Mitev (professeur et ancien doyen de la Faculté d'histoire de l'Université de Sofia) à une émission de la télévision pour critiquer avec véhémence les « déficits » de l'historiographie en Bulgarie, à savoir, selon lui : la « pauvreté théorique » de l'historiographie et son « provincialisme profond » par rapport à l'historiographie mondiale, son « nationalisme unidimensionnel » et son « récit historique usé », l'ignorance des faits et l'usage des « demi-vérités et des mensonges ». L'auteur fait même un appel aux médias pour qu'ils n'invitent pas des « experts en histoire » qui pensent qu'« il n'y a pas de mythes » dans l'histoire bulgare ou qu'« il n'y a pas des secrets pour l'historiographie bulgare ». À son avis, la tâche de l'historien contemporain est de présenter « une image équilibrée » du passé et d'enseigner à la société la pluralité des points de vue, de déterrer les voix inexprimées et de susciter l'attitude critique et la cohabitation entre les différents groupes humaines³¹.

La position de l'historien Dimitâr Atanasov (professeur au lycée et chercheur à l'Institut d'ethnologie et de folklore) à l'égard d'*Histoire. BG* est intransigeant. Il

²⁹ C'est un traité traumatisant dans l'histoire bulgare, conclu entre la Bulgarie et les vainqueurs de la Première Guerre mondiale, qui sanctionne la position du pays en tant que pays vaincu et puni. Pour l'émission voir <<https://www.bnt.bg/bg/a/100-godini-ot-noyskiya-dogovor-18112019>>.

³⁰ « Красимир Богданов писа до СЕМ за «История.БГ» и темата за Ньойския договор », *GlasPress.rs*, 22.11.2019, <<https://www.glaspress.rs/красимир-богданов-писа-до-сем-за-исг/>>.

³¹ Стефан Дечев, « Неудовлетворителното говорене за история в медиите », *Marginalia*, 31.10.2017,

<<https://www.marginalia.bg/avtorski-rubriki/sled-istoricheskiya-septemvri-za-publichnite-funktsii-na-istoriyata/>>.

fait ressortir que sur la scène de l'émission, on répète toujours un récit historique déjà stabilisé dans la conscience des historiens, qui combine l'idée d'un mouvement progressif des sociétés par la force du conflit de classe et qui est forgé par un nationalisme radical créé par l'équipe autour de Lyudmila Jivkova (la fille du leader communiste Todor Jivkov) pendant les années 1970–1980.³² L'historien fait des suggestions afin de ne plus reproduire le statu quo imposé par le socialisme tardif, à savoir: la participation à l'émission *Histoire.BG* des « invités adéquats », parmi lesquels les nationalistes n'ont pas de place; positionner l'émission par rapport à un groupe de spectateurs intelligents; exposer des idées révisionnistes à l'égard de l'histoire nationale; au lieu de la domination des historiens, l'émission doit sortir du studio et chercher à obtenir plus de commentaires de la part des téléspectateurs; révéler les différentes perspectives sur les sujets historiques et provoquer des réflexions critiques; séparer la portée thématique du grand récit de l'histoire bulgare et de la recherche de la seule « vérité » et introduire de nouveaux thèmes comme ce de la mémoire³³.

Le discours de Keta Mircheva (docteur en histoire et historien indépendant) est plus calme. À son avis *Histoire.BG* reste attachée à l'histoire nationale, principalement dans ses dimensions politiques, avec une certaine affinité pour la période de l'histoire moderne de 1879 à 1944 ; l'émission favorise les personnalités et les événements, tout en honorant les anniversaires historiques, mais évite de traiter les processus et la « longue durée », et refuse de se concentrer sur la microhistoire³⁴.

Les réactions à l'émission historique présente la grande diversité des attentes sociales et politiques concernant les connaissances de l'histoire nationale. Le monopole d'une seule « vérité » sur le passé est depuis longtemps impossible, mais la société n'est pas particulièrement prête à accepter la présence de nombreuses « vérités ». La prise de conscience de cette réalité devrait inciter à davantage des discussions entre les historiens professionnels, ainsi qu'à leur ouverture plus large à la société. Les critiques radicales qui sont en dehors du contexte de l'État-nation, ainsi que la négligence de l'opposant, ne font que bloquer les changements nécessaires.

L'émission présentée de la Télévision nationale bulgare et surtout sa forme de discussion est un progrès par rapport à l'émission précédente *Памет българска* (*Mémoire bulgare*), animée par Bojidar Dimitrov de 2003 à 2011 et diffusée à la même télévision³⁵. L'émission actuelle reçoit la plus grande attention de la part du public. Bien que d'autres émissions sur l'histoire bulgare ont été également diffusées sur d'autres chaînes TV avant l'avènement d'*Histoire.BG*, c'est son

³² En tant que responsable de la politique culturelle, la fille du dictateur communiste était le promoteur principal de la « nationalisation » de la culture et de l'histoire bulgare à cette époque.

³³ Димитър Атанасов, « Историята в ВГ, видяна през примера на *История.ВГ* », *Marginalia* 15.11.2017, <<https://www.marginalia.bg/analizi/istoriyata-v-bg-vidyana-prez-primera-na-istoriya-bg/>>.

³⁴ Кета Мирчева, « Пет години « История.ВГ » – А сега накъде? », *Marginalia* 08.11.2017, <<http://www.marginalia.bg/aktsent/pet-godini-istoriya-bg-a-sega-nakade/>>.

³⁵ Българска национална телевизия: Памет.ВГ / Mémoire.ВГ (архив), <<https://www.bnt.bg/bg/a/pamet-bg/>>. L'émission *Памет.ВГ* est le successeur de *Памет българска* de B. Dimitrov et elle diffuse en 2013–2014 une série de documentaires sur le thème « Les commandants oubliés de la Guerre Balkanique ».

succès qui a probablement influencé la propagation de ce type d'émissions. Il semble que les champions à cet égard sont les télévisions liées aux partis politiques et surtout à ceux de tendances nationalistes, assez souvent vantés comme « patriotique ». Et ce n'est pas un hasard car la reconstruction sélective du passé de la nation est une condition préalable pour chaque mobilisation nationale. L'histoire apporte d'importantes contributions à l'accomplissement de toutes les fonctions d'une idéologie nationaliste, à savoir: définir les limites conceptuelles de la nation; renforcer le sentiment de fierté nationale; stimuler la compassion pour les souffrances injustes de la nation qui justifie une compensation; légitimer les aspirations nationales actuelles à travers des références aux racines dans le passé; inspirer la nation pour son avenir brillant³⁶.

La télévision privée *SKAT TB / SKAT TV* (son propriétaire, Valery Simeonov, est le chef du parti nationaliste *Национален фронт за спасение на България / Front national du salut de la Bulgarie*, créé en 2011) diffuse depuis 1999 l'émission *Час по България (Une heure sur la Bulgarie)*,³⁷ qui est annoncée comme une « émission patriotique et de vulgarisation scientifique sur l'histoire et la culture ». Son animateur depuis 2003 est Plamen Pavlov (professeur en histoire médiévale à l'Université de Veliko Târnovo), qui a remplacé Bojidar Dimitrov. Depuis 2010 la même télévision diffuse une autre émission – *Прокудени от бащин дом (Chassés de la maison paternelle)*³⁸, dont l'animateur est Stoyan Raytchevski, ex-politicien, publiciste, auteur de livres d'histoire et d'ethnologie. Il s'occupe de l'histoire des « Bulgares réfugiés des terres historiques bulgares, expulsés de Thrace, de Macédoine, des Confins occidentaux, de Dobroudja du Nord, d'Asie Mineure, avec sang, feu et cruauté, et trouvés leurs salut dans la Bulgarie actuelle ». Le fond dans les studios de ces deux émissions présente la carte de la « Grande Bulgarie » ou des « terres historiques bulgares » (*българското землище*), qui couvrent des territoires importants au-delà des frontières de la Bulgarie actuelle. Les interprétations de l'histoire bulgare dans le large spectre de l'idéologie nationaliste sont également présentes sur les chaînes TV des autres partis politiques, à savoir sur la première télévision d'un parti en Bulgarie – *Alfa TV*, détenue par le parti *Атака (Attaque)*, ainsi que sur *България 24 (Bulgarie 24)*, une chaîne TV à caractère informatif et de commentaire qui est proche du parti *ВМРО-БНД / VMRO – Mouvement national bulgare*.

« L'émission sur les choses qui nous rendent Bulgares. » C'est le slogan publicitaire de l'émission *Операция История / Opération Histoire*, diffusée depuis 2018 par la télévision privée *Bulgaria ON AIR*. Diplômé de l'Académie du Ministère de l'Intérieur et ex-politicien, l'animateur Rossen Petrov partage ses forts sentiments patriotiques avec les téléspectateurs, ainsi que son intérêt particulier pour l'histoire militaire, comme en témoignent le titre et le slogan de son

³⁶ John Coakley, « Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History », *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10, Winter 2004, № 4, p. 531–560.

³⁷ SKAT: *Час по България*, <<http://www.skat.bg/preda.php?predID=8>>.

³⁸ SKAT: *Прокудени от бащин дом*, <<http://www.skat.bg/preda.php?predID=40>>.

émission³⁹. La rubrique d'émission TV *Историята оживява* (*L'histoire s'anime*) était diffusé de 1916 à 1918 par la télévision privée *BIT* (*Bulgarian International Television*, fondée à Chicago, mais déjà en faillite). Ses animateurs Ivan Kântchev et Mario Michev sont membres du jeune équipe (la plupart non historiens) de l'Association *Българска история* (*Histoire bulgare*), qui maintient un site web du même nom, et dont la mission est de « travailler pour rafraîchir la mémoire historique, pour renforcer la fierté nationale et pour faire revivre des personnalités et des épisodes oubliés du passé récent et lointain. »⁴⁰.

Chronologiquement la dernière chaîne de télévision de parti – *БСТБ* (*BSTV – Télévision libre bulgare*), créée au début de 2019 par le Parti socialiste bulgare (le plus grand parti d'opposition actuellement), a également sa propre émission TV sur l'histoire. Intitulée assez prétentieusement *За историята свободно* (*Parler librement de l'histoire*)⁴¹, elle a l'ambition de « suivre le credo de la vérité » en « rappelant des faits, des personnalités et des événements de l'histoire lointaine et récente de la Bulgarie, qui sont souvent négligés dans le curriculum des écoles et contournés par la corporation des historiens pour des raisons conjoncturelles ». L'animateur principal Iskra Baeva (professeur en histoire contemporaine à l'Université de Sofia, qui est politiquement affiliée au Parti socialiste) invite principalement certains historiens, enseignants de l'université à y participer. En fait, dans l'esprit d'une télévision de parti, la « liberté » déclarée du discours sur l'histoire comprend la réhabilitation de thèmes et de personnalités du passé du mouvement communiste et de la période du socialisme en Bulgarie.

Si j'essaie de résumer, malgré les critiques de partialité que j'ai mentionné ci-dessus, l'émission *Histoire.BG* de la Télévision nationale bulgare se profile par la représentation relativement plus ample des participants, des interprétations et des discussions, y compris en ce qui concerne l'impact de certains préjugés personnels et politiques sur les discours. Les émissions diffusées par d'autres chaînes de télévision privé ou de partis politiques ont un éventail plus restreint de participants, préfèrent le dialogue plutôt que les discussions plus vastes, et démontrent une plus grande sélectivité de la part des animateurs à l'égard des participants, des sujets et des interprétations. L'image de l'histoire nationale à la télévision est variée, tout comme la diversité de la connaissance historique du passé.

EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

Ces dernières années, le gouvernement bulgare exige de plus en plus une « importance publique » des recherches comme condition préalable au financement de la science par l'État. C'est une exigence certainement raisonnable. Cependant, la

³⁹ Bulgaria ON AIR: *Операция История*, <<https://www.bgonair.bg/c/177-operatsiya-istoriya>>.

⁴⁰ *Българска история*, <<https://bulgarianhistory.org/>>.

⁴¹ БСТБ: *За историята свободно*, <<https://bstv.bg/shows/za-istoriata-svobodno-s-prof-iskra-baeva>>.

définition du terme « importance publique » dans le domaine des études historiques et des autres sciences humaines et sociales en générale ne pourrait pas être soumise à des critères qui seraient acceptées unanimement. Bien que le but de l'histoire comme une discipline scientifique soit d'établir par ses méthodes la vérité sur le passé, habituellement, au niveau politique et sociale la nécessité d'étudier le passé et d'utiliser l'histoire dans les États-nations se fondent sur les « intérêts nationaux ». Compte tenu les divergences politiques, les compréhensions de ces « intérêts » sont parfois radicalement opposées, par exemple, par rapport du concept de la nation ou de l'orientation géopolitique du pays, etc. D'autre part, les processus d'intégration européenne et de la globalisation nécessitent indubitablement des changements dans les interprétations traditionnelles des histoires nationales qui étaient définies principalement sur un plan ethno-national dans les pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale.

La situation actuelle dans le monde augmente l'importance des rôles publics des historiens. C'est l'histoire publique, dont l'objectif est de rendre l'histoire plus accessible au grand public, qui pourrait introduire mieux la science dans le monde des États-nations, de l'intégration et de la globalisation. Cette sous-discipline de l'histoire, qui fait référence à une grande variété d'activités professionnelles et académiques, y compris aux médias, appelle les historiens à s'interroger sur leur place dans la société⁴².

L'histoire et le journalisme sont deux disciplines interdépendantes et largement similaires. Les journaux sont depuis longtemps considérés comme une source importante pour les historiens, et les journalistes ont l'ambition d'être les historiens du temps présent. Tous les deux déclarent qu'ils cherchent les faits et la vérité. Si les journalistes se tournent vers les problèmes du présent, les historiens sont dans une large mesure des journalistes d'investigation qui sont tourné vers le passé. Cependant, il n'y pas des périmètres réservés. Les deux disciplines sont nécessaires et utiles pour gérer le présent et pour prévoir l'avenir. Les relations entre eux sont un sujet de recherches et de comparaison afin d'aboutir à une approche qui s'appuiera sur les forces des deux traditions⁴³. À l'époque des fausses nouvelles et de la post-vérité dans les médias, la responsabilité professionnelle des historiens n'est pas moindre que celle des journalistes. Le degré de réussite de ces deux professions dépend non seulement de la formation et de l'expérience, mais aussi du moral professionnel de ceux qui les exercent.

⁴² Wikipédia: Histoire publique, <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Histoire_publicue>.

⁴³ Voir « Les journalistes sont-ils les historiens du temps présent ? », Colloque *Calenda*, publié le jeudi 05 mars 2015, <<https://calenda.org/320511>>; Shuang Wen, « Two Sides of the Story: How historians and Journalists can work Together », *Perspectives on History*, 1 October 2015, <<https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/october-2015/two-sides-of-the-story-how-historians-and-journalists-can-work-together>>; Adam Hochschild. Journalists and historians can learn from each other. – *Nieman Reports*, Spring 2002, March 15, 2002, <<https://niemanreports.org/articles/journalists-and-historians-can-learn-from-each-other/>>, etc.

LEGITIMISING NEW NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH THE MONUMENTS: THE CASE OF MACEDONIA AND POST-SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

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This paper analyzes the formation of national identity and political state legitimation through the evocations of monumental art in urban environment. The research focuses on an ostensibly unusual combination: a comparison of the Republic of Macedonia and the five former Soviet republics in Central Asia. The goal has been to outline the thematic forms and methods by which the political elite can influence public awareness, in order to legitimize its vision of a new national identity. Formulation of similar elements and trends will contribute to outlining more clearly the model of national legitimation in newly independent post-communist states. Thus defined, the theme is too complex and that is why the object of analysis has been restricted to the monumental architectural artefacts erected in most symbolic places of the capital cities, which synthesizes the historical messages addressed to the nation and the world.

Keywords: National identity, monuments, historical memory, national myths, Timur, Manas, “Skopje 2014”, Macedonia, Central Asia.

The end of the Cold War between the East and the West, which has been influenced symbolically by the fall of the Berlin Wall, triggered out geopolitical changes on the widest possible scale after World War II. Such a change was the disintegration of the multinational federations USSR and Tito’s Yugoslavia, which were *de jure* a similar communist model of federal state. With the collapse of communism, post-communist societies scrambled to find meaning to their new independence¹. The creation of European nation-states has generally been assumed to be intrinsic to modernization in order to be irreversible. The dramatic breakdown processes in the Western Balkans have prompted out the popular quote of Zbigniew Brzezinski that Nationalism was the last refuge of Communism.

Irrespective of the specific profile of each new independent state in the Balkans and in Central Asia, they were products of analogical processes, which accompanied the breakdown of federations of the communist type and their

¹ Sally N. Cummings, “Inscapes, landscapes and greyscapes: the politics of signification in Central Asia”, in: *Symbolism and Power in Central Asia. Politics of the Spectacular*, ed. by Sally N. Cummings, New York, 2010, p. 1–11.

replacement with national states. If concrete national specificities set aside, one can find many elements in common and sociocultural processes that have been running in parallel, which makes formulation of a model possible. It is not accidental that these countries serve as laboratories to the historians and social anthropologists for studying the characteristics of nationalism at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. In many aspects, they seem to repeat belatedly the National Romanticism of the 19th century Europe.

The implementation of a comparative approach on both Central Asian Republics and Balkan state Macedonia that seem completely different regions is justified for the following reasons:

1. *Similar sociopolitical environment*: Within the framework of the communist mega states, the various federal structures were set on the periphery and depended on the center in every respect. The same matter was approved for national interrelations as the different states were subject to the dominant nation, namely Serbian in Yugoslavia and Russian in the Soviet Union. Hence, after the onset of independence the complex of national subordination provokes manifestations of national megalomania. It seems justified to speak of a post-colonial syndrome here. For example, academics and politicians in Eastern Europe were used and still use discourses about colonialism to address the Soviet past.
2. *Ethnic dispersion*: Presence of at least two large rival ethnic communities fighting for power and protection of their rights. This presumes the necessity of new unifying historical symbols ready to shape out the awareness of a united nation of a civil type loyal to its state and elite. The national symbols evoke emotional attachment to the nation and crystallize the identity, as well as help people to feel connected to something outside of their own immediate family and local community. Memory entrepreneurs tend to mobilize their energies to promote the version of the past that they strongly believe in, and they get engaged in various political and social activities to gain support for their cause.
3. *Creation of a positive image on national, regional and global scale*. The key goal of the new states is a quick and equivalent international emancipation, which would make up for the historical delay and would put on equal footing the countries with short state traditions and the old-world democracies. This can explain preoccupation with history and quest for presumably ancient roots. The general principle is, "As older the state and the nation are, the more respect they merit". Currently, cultural memory is skillfully used as a tool for building national identity. The concept of common heritage and multiple identities are used by the ruling elites as a tool for boosting ethno-nationalism.

In the context of this discourse, it is worth to focus on some factors that illustrate a comparative nature of theoretical approach, adopted within the current research:

Historical memory and the monuments: Historical memory is multi-discourse. By definition, it is a network of shared individual and collective memories of events and processes passed on between the generations, which, in aggregate, form a generalized national memory and generate a feeling of belonging to a national community. That type of memory comprises selected episodes from the past, arranged in a manner rendering priority to some concrete facts, events and personages and eliminating others. Along these lines, it differs strongly from academic history, which studies authenticity of facts and polyvalence of historical ties. Practically, the amalgam of political and historical usages of memory reflects upon the national self-awareness.

The monument in its property of a material object of collective memory influences public awareness directly and deeply. Along with this, it is able to convey some explicit messages and cultivate certain values at individual and collective level. That is why the monuments infused with political symbolism carry the mission of instilling an idea of a united, strong, independent, and prospering nation. Yael Zerubavel notes there are historical periods and events which are central to the concrete collective memory. The master commemorative narrative is dedicated to these topics and is culturally shaped by national political elite and serves their special interests².

Characteristically, monumental art serves the elite and fulfils successfully another important social function: legitimation of the role of its consigner (a political party or a concrete personality) as a historically significant and unifying symbol. Once created, the monuments start a life of their own, changing occasionally the conception of their creators. Sally Cummings successfully focuses on the social role of historical monuments, highlighting the way in which the elite legitimize themselves through the historical past: "Conceived as 'documents of stone'³, monuments assume the life of living beings, that, unable to speak, are nonetheless influenced and allow the rulers to choose how to define themselves and their past. At the same time, because monuments are not equivalent to dead bodies, they can more readily assume both a political and moral meaning"⁴. The national monuments highlight the monumentality as a key feature of national symbolism. It can be viewed both as a set of ideas and as a template for action. Moreover, the monuments and memorials are used to remember the past, but are meant for the future and are intended to be effective in the actual present. So, historical monuments become an integral part of the so-called visual culture of day-to-day lives.

Undoubtedly, we must know that public monuments are an official form of national state ideology. When the features of this ideology are changed, inevitably

² Yael Zerubavel, "Transforming myths, contested narratives: The reshaping of mnemonic traditions in Israeli culture", in: *National Myths: Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents*, ed. by Gérard Bouchard, London and New York, 2013, p. 173–190.

³ Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory 1870–1990*, Berkeley, CA, 2002.

⁴ Sally N. Cummings, "Living Lenin: elites, official ideology and monuments in the Kyrgyz Republic, Nationality Papers", *The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 41, July 2013, p. 607.

that could have led to a conflict with public awareness and could become inopportune which gives rise to the question whether it is advisable to knock them down. Another question is how society would appreciate it if symbolic artefacts would be destroyed, because of 'history rewriting'. Sally Cummings pointed that while the state ideology is closely related to the public memory, it is also distinct from it. While public memory relates generally to the recollection and interpretation of the past, ideology is broader. At this aspect state ideology more broadly become integral to the world of interests, contingencies and leadership skills⁵.

Political symbolism and legitimation of the national myths through monumental art: The purpose is to retell the past in a glamorous, mythical and heroic manner, in order to underline the inseparable bond between historical rulers and their contemporary political inheritors. That is why, thanks to their impressive impact, the monuments play a primary role in the arsenal of national myth-making symbols. It is an extremely dangerous tendency when the professional historians embrace the mythologization of populism and begin to promote that populism in favor of a political cause – regardless of its national or social characteristics⁶. In the modern world national myths are a matter of politics and state propaganda. They could be politically motivated and could serve many social and political purposes. For scholars such as Eric Hobsbawm, nations are in large part fabrications, and commitment to the deceits of national history involves a sort of false consciousness through which some groups dominate others⁷. False or deceptive historical myths appear to subject (some portion of) the citizens to a power beyond any democratic principle of legitimation, whether consent or rational public contestation or critique. Some social actors from national elites will recognize the power of myths to legitimate sociopolitical arrangements, barring the possibility of critique, powerful groups may freely use myths to service their own domination. We cannot ignore the thesis of Benedict Anderson: National myths are not lies and fabrications; they are inspiring narratives, stemming from human imagination, in which we tell ourselves who we are or want to be⁸.

Legitimation of national identity is a dynamic and complicated process, comprising various forms, means and methods for enforcing a national ideological model. In the concrete instance, we speak of immense efforts, spiritual and material, supposed to cast away the dependencies of the past and actually to instigate a new image of the community.

The 'history shortage' syndrome is compensated for by appropriation of external historical memory (the case of Macedonia and Uzbekistan), or by mythical narratives. Positive images of the past have always been an important element in creating a vision of the nation.

⁵ Sally Cummings, *op. cit.*, p. 607.

⁶ Ивайло Знеполски, "Посткомунистически употреби на паметта", *Култура*, № 44, 10. 11. 2000; <http://newspaper.kultura.bg/bg/article/view/4746>

⁷ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 12.

⁸ Бенедикт Андерсън, *Въобразените общности. Размишления върху произхода и разпространението на национализма*, София, 1998, с.7.

Several thematic images legitimize the national idea in imitation of the monumental rules of well-known European prototypes:

- A. The founder of the state and nation. He is a historical hero who sets an example for worship and imitation. The myth making process is obligatory in presenting his charismatic image. Skopje illustrates this convincingly. A much-favored approach in the arrangement of memorial complexes in Central Asia is putting the monuments of historical and contemporary leaders close to each other. The purpose is to transfer the authority of ancestors onto the present-day politicians.
- B. Motherland. A romantic image intended to stir deeply the patriotic feelings and to impress on the citizens that they are part of the new Motherland, of the family of a new nation.
- C. Megalomaniac futuristic monumental architectural complexes, which lay emphasis on the world importance and brilliant future of the state. A favored technique is the cosmic emanation of the compositions⁹.

Another one expression of the new political symbolism is dethroning of the former heroes (Marx, Lenin). There has been a trend to make their pedestals home of the hero figures of the new national pantheon: rulers, warriors, intellectuals. Thus, without much ado and only by replacement of historical personages, the monuments fulfill their function of inspiring and bringing up of a new social and national messages.

EXAMPLES OF ETHNICALLY COLORED MONUMENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In 1991, under the pressure of the disintegration processes in the Soviet Union, the transformation of the federation into a national state had practically no alternative, owing to the economic and moral degradation. The five Central Asia republics were unprepared for such cardinal changes. Thorough their history, Central Asian states have experienced changes which challenged the basis of their societies and lifestyle. When the Soviet Union disintegrated, nation building assumed an entirely different dynamic. The most significant one is the revolution in Russia (1917) and consequently incorporation of the Central Asian region in Soviet Union. The second important challenge is the gaining of national independence in 1991 and the creation of five national states. As the French political scientist Olivier Roy pointed out, in some of them the independence came too unexpected and even unwanted, because of the lack of any express striving for restoration of the lost state¹⁰. Unlike the former Baltic Republics where ethnic

⁹ A brilliant example is the tower Astana-Bajterek in the capital of Kazakhstan Astana (now Nur-Sultan). The 97-meter-long colossus is erected on the central square. It is an impressive symbol of the new statehood and nation.

¹⁰ Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*, London & New York, 2000.

Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians struggled for independence, the Central Asian republics were in effect expelled from the Soviet Union. National sovereignty came more or less unexpectedly. Central Asian republics were created, according to the logic of Soviet ethnofederalism. The task is to ensure a certain level of cultural self-rule for one or more nationalities in them because they wanted to ever function as independent political systems. The national delimitations of the 1920s and 30s, imposed by the Soviet regime, brutally cut across the ethnic, language and religious diversity of the Central Asian peoples. The presumed democratization of the 1980s did not result in any unity in Central Asia and both ethnic and religious tensions have only intensified. Subsequently, the Soviet and the post-Soviet governments have tried to approve the idea of a harmonious present, in which all ethnic and religious minorities share a common purpose of free cohabitation. This ideological attempt to subdue the diversity of Central Asia, and to transform it into a cultural diachronic unity, has resulted in the creation of a repository of state-defined cultural memory and religious practices. Currently, cultural memory is skillfully used as a tool for building national identity¹¹. Modern nations, however, were neither the result of mobilization by local elites and intelligentsia nor the expression of the nationalist sentiments by the masses. In the case of nationalities of the Central Asian's republics, the national consciousness that typically underpins the nation was nurtured afterwards, following the creation of the political structures and territorial units. Following the unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union, the former republican Communist leaders who fashioned themselves into nationalists began cobbling together the new nations¹². Thus, the main difficulty in nation-building process is to make a new nation unity among peoples without any traditional nationalist heritage and no history of independent governance. Contemporary Central Asia is a multi-faceted cultural ecumene.

THE MYTH MAKING POWER OF MANAS EPIC

The legendary narratives of the national origin are most often employed (such as the Epic of Manas in Kyrgyz case). The mythical forefather Manas is remembered as true ancestors who represent the pride of the present Kyrgyz nation. The Manas epic takes up a specific position in Central Asian commemoration culture as the quintessence of Kyrgyz culture and now it came to represent an ancient nation in its struggle for independence. Attempts to harness this mythical ancestor for political purposes date back to the Soviet period and continue until today that make Manas an attractive tool for nation building process. Nienke van der Heide describes how the history of the Manas epic has been used by political elites in Kyrgyzstan since 1930's to the present when the articulation with the mythical image of Manas has begun. By

¹¹ Elena G. Paskaleva, "Memory and commemoration in Central Asia", *The Newsletter. Encouraging knowledge and enhancing the study of Asia*, 2016, № 74., Leiden University, p. 29–31.

¹² Mariya Y. Omelicheva, *Nationalism and Identity Construction in Central Asia: Dimensions, Dynamics, and Directions*, London, New York, 2015, p. XIV.

the 1930s, strengthened by Maxim Gorki's appeal to view folklore as the expression of the deepest moral aspirations of the masses, a number of Kyrgyz writers and scholars had managed to publish Manas verses. The Manas epic in written form was connected to the effort of bringing literacy to the nomads. At the same time, the Soviet regime portrayed itself as rescuer of folk art, in the same way it had rescued the people from the yoke of their feudal lords and Muslim clerics¹³. At the same time the Soviet state had incorporated the Manas epic in its cultural activities "under the flag of internationalism", but severely restricted the forms in which Manas could be commemorated¹⁴.

The epic Manas like a part of traditional oral Kyrgys historical narratives has been incorporated as an integral part of the Soviet nationalities policy aiming at the creation of a structure that was "nationalist in form, socialist in content". Ethnicity began to play a special role in these processes at the national periphery of the huge empire, dominated by Moscow. After appropriate processing it was included in the ideological arsenal of the Soviet state. Ethnic culture and tradition, which had to be preserved because of political expediency, were auxiliary raw 'material' exposed to active construction.

However, during those 70 years Soviet power, the Manas myth has delved deep into the Kyrgyz national consciousness. During the two civil uprisings in Kyrgyzstan in 2005 and 2010 the freedom-loving nomadic spirit became a tool of resistance to the very government that had championed its political significance¹⁵.

In fact, the Central Asia republics share a common historical past and presently the different national historiographies confront ideologically each other in an attempt to divide it. The short time frameworks of the national state tradition provoke the so-called 'spatial nationalism', which characteristically compiles external civilization narratives with the argument that they had taken place in a concrete geographical spot.

TIMUR (TAMERLANE) – THE FATHER OF THE UZBEK NATION

The official public landscape of Tashkent constitutes a strategic medium in the reconstitution of contemporary Uzbek national identity. In this regard, Tashkent resembles numerous capital cities across Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. However, unlike in more democratized societies, the reinscription of Tashkent's public landscape has remained almost exclusively the provenance of ruling political elites¹⁶.

¹³ Nienke Van Der Heide, "Remembering Manas: connected to the past, connected in the present", *The Newsletter. Encouraging knowledge and enhancing the study of Asia*, 2016, № 74, p. 38–39; idem, "The Manas epic and society in Kyrgyzstan", *Rozenberg series*, vol. 3, Bremen, May 2015, p. 67–68.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Nienke Van Der Heide, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ James Bell, "Redefining National Identity in Uzbekistan: Symbolic Tensions in Tashkent's Official Public Landscape", *Ecumene* 6, no. 2, 1999, p. 183–213.

In 1991, the Uzbek government dismantled the Marx bust, renamed the area Amir Timur Square, and constructed a large statue of the conqueror in its place. In 1992, year after the declaration of independence of Uzbek republic, the huge figure Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was removed from the central square in Tashkent - the capital of newly independent Uzbekistan. The dismantling of the former central monument had been ordered by the highest authorities. According to the new political task, statues of Vladimir Lenin and Karl Marx in central squares across the country were replaced with sculptures of the famous 14th century conqueror Amir Timur and the 15th century Turkic court poet Mir 'Ali-Shir Nava'I – two eminent figures with tenuous historical links to modern conceptions of Uzbek identity and language. Undoubtedly, authorities have a continued interest in erecting and maintaining monuments in the public sphere. However, the political licensing of historical heroes as emblems of certain ethnic groups is itself a pattern that was introduced by Soviet scholarship and state planning¹⁷.

The central role in a new national landscape plays the museum of Amir Timur and Timurids' in Tashkent was opened on 18 October 1996 to celebrate Timur's 660th anniversary. The great memorial complex is situated in close proximity to the governmental quarters and this obvious connection must emphasize the inextricable linkage between political leaders of ancient and contemporary Uzbekistan. According to official state ideology Tamerlane was a great ruler, military and political leader, the originator of the Timurid dynasty and the founder of an enormous Eurasian empire, which stretched from the Mediterranean to the Great Wall of China and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Seeking wide international recognition and trying to boost the sense of belonging within the newly independent state, Timur was branded as the father of the Uzbek nation. Contemporary Uzbek ideology propagated the national historical predecessor as an example of authentic Uzbek values and high morality. Thus, the political elite suggest that historical glories will help the nation to achieve high goals; the legacy of the great ancestors will guide the nation. In modern Uzbekistan, the Timurid heritage is seen as a representation of humanistic achievements and state policy is re-enacted through the collective memory of Tamerlane¹⁸.

MACEDONIA: THE NATIONALIST CHALLENGE IN CONTEMPORARY ART LANDSCAPE

The disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 was a result of a series of political upheavals and conflicts. However, in addition to tension between republics there was the problem that Yugoslavia, like the Soviet Union, was a single-party state. According to Brad Blitz the relationship between communism and nationalism in

¹⁷ Timur Dadabaev, "Power, Social Life, and Public Memory in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan", *Inner Asia* 12, 2010 p. 25–48; Sally Cummings, "Inscapes, Landscapes and Greyscapes: The Politics of Signification in Central Asia", *Europe-Asia Studies* 7, 2009, p. 1083–1093.

¹⁸ Elena Paskaleva, "Commemorating Tamerlane. Ideological and iconographical approaches at the Timurid Museum", *The Newsletter. Encouraging knowledge and enhancing the study of Asia* 2016, № 74, p. 40–41.

Yugoslavia played a central role in Yugoslavia's demise¹⁹. This one is among the main reasons why Yugoslavia, unlike other multinational post-socialist states, descended into war. It is important to recall that in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ethnic tension was institutionalized and played out within the state apparatus both during and after the communist period. After Tito's death in 1980, Serbian communists challenged the constitution and sought to re-establish Serbia's hegemony over the federal state²⁰. Unlike other former Yugoslav republics, Macedonia succeeded to avoid bloody nationalist conflict and emerged peacefully on the political map of Europe after the independence referendum on 8 September 1991. But there were many factors that contributed to the destabilization of the political situation in Macedonia. The complexity of the historical, religious, linguistic, and ethnic composition of the people of Macedonia is extraordinary, even by Balkan standards. Moreover, as soon as the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence, the Greek government began an intense campaign to prevent the Republic from gaining international recognition under the name "Macedonia". Greek point of view is argued that because the ancient Macedonians were Greeks, the name Macedonia "was, is, and always will be Greek"²¹. In the next over nearly two decades the Macedonian government and political elite are involved in foreign-policy-heavy debate cycle concerning not only the name of the state but the historical legitimacy and the national identity. During this period an incredible variety of alternative names were proposed for Macedonia. Greece and Macedonia have been locked into a dispute over the name that dates back to the beginning of Macedonian independence. Officially the Greek government refused to accept any name for the Republic which included the word "Macedonia" in any form whether "as a noun or as an adjectival modifier." The termination of this bilateral conflict over a name is crucial for accelerating Macedonia's integration with both the EU and NATO. Undoubtedly, Macedonia has been forced to accept several compromise names: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)²² and North Macedonia (2019).²³ According to Matthew Nimets, who patiently led the negotiations on behalf of the United Nations for over two decades, Prespa agreement concluded on June 17 2018 has resolved decades-long name dispute with Greece and becomes historical success²⁴. But dispute over the name became possible after Skopje's decision to abandon the policy of appropriation of Greek historical heritage, in particular that of the ancient Macedonian dynasty.

¹⁹ Brad K. Blitz, *War and change in the Balkans: Nationalism, conflicts and cooperation*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

²¹ Loring M. Danforth, "Nationalism and Pluralism in the Heart of the Balkans: The Republic of Macedonia", *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine*, June, 1994; <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/nationalism-and-pluralism-heart-balkans-republic-macedonia>

²² Under this name the country became a member of the United Nations in April 1993.

²³ Due to the 'Prespa Agreement' signed between Greece and Macedonia on 12 June 2018, through which FYROM has been recognised under the name „North Macedonia”.

²⁴ „I don't like to give up': veteran UN envoy reveals how two decades of quiet diplomacy gave birth to North Macedonia", *UN News*, 28 February 2019, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/02/1033732>

Macedonians, on the other hand, are committed to affirming their existence as a unique people with a unique history, culture, and identity, and to gaining recognition of this fact internationally. In asserting what they sometimes refer to as their ‘ethnospecificity’ Macedonians insist they are not Serbs, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, or Greeks. Unfortunately the domestic situation in the Republic of Macedonia is equally troubled by problems associated with the existence of national minorities. According the last census situation in the Republic of Macedonia (2002), 66.49% are Macedonian and 25.12% are Albanian. Significant ethnic groups are Turkish (3.55%), Romani (1.90%) as Serbian (1.22%)²⁵. It was obvious at first glance that according Macedonian statistic data Bulgarian ethnic population is not persist on the territory of the state. The government in Skopje denies the existence of Bulgarian population. Since 18 years (2001) Bulgaria grants citizenship to Macedonians who prove Bulgarian ethnicity. The procedure requires providing their family name and birth certificate and filling in complex paperwork but the declaration of Bulgarian origin is the most important document. According appropriate Bulgarian’s institutions two-thirds of Macedonia’s population of two million could be eligible for citizenship²⁶.

Goran Janev, a social anthropologist from the University of Skopje, has underline that Macedonia has become a country in which ethno-politics determine the social and physical boundaries between members of different ethnic groups. As the author underline, unfortunately, one of the most immediate effects the project “Skopje 2014” has provoked is the further division of Macedonian citizens along ethnic lines, since those who are not members of the titular nation – namely Albanians, Turks, Roma, Serbs, Vlachs and others – have been left out of this grandiose nationalist narrative²⁷.

THE PROJECT “SKOPJE 2014” – THE SHAM-TRIUMPH OF IMAGINED IDENTITY

Nikola Gruevski, the Prime Minister of Macedonia (2006–2016) made nation-building process a priority when he came to power in 2006. It has even been suggested that “Skopje 2014” has been Gruevski’s “pet project” intended to fashion a proud ancient history linked to the foundations of Western civilization. In fact, this political project is nation-building one and tries to impose a new revisionist narrative of the Macedonian history. Thus, Skopje undergoes one of Europe’s biggest urban and art upheavals. This project is financed by the Government of Macedonia headed by Nikola Gruevski and VMRO-DPMNE party with the

²⁵ „Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in Macedonia 2002”, <http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/knigaX.pdf>

²⁶ According to unofficial data, this is between 100 and 150 000 people; <https://news.bnt.bg/bg/a/vestnik-vecher-vse-poveche-makedontsi-trsyat-blgarski-pasport>

²⁷ Goran Janev, „Skopje 2014: Instrumentalizing Heritage for Unexpected Results”, *Cultures of History Forum*, 12 April 2015; <https://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/debates/macedonia/skopje-2014-instrumentalizing-heritage-for-unexpected-results/>

purpose of giving the capital Skopje a more classical appeal. The project has two main aims: to draw in more tourists and to try to reclaim aspects of the country's history from neighbouring Greece, appealing to the patriotism of many ethnic Macedonians. It has cost somewhere between €200–€500 millions (depending on who you talk to) and has resulted in a completely new-look city centre. The project, officially announced in 2010, consists mainly of the construction of colleges, museums and government buildings, as well as the erection of monuments depicting historical figures from the region of Macedonia. The plan seeks to transform the city center of Skopje into a rich concentrate, with a wide range of interventions and numerous new buildings: a triumphal arch, fountains, memorials, new Macedonian Orthodox church, museums, footbridges, a new theater, the national archives, government offices, etc. The central part of Skopje 2014 is the Sculpture Project with over 50 sculptures, all of them to be placed within a 1.5 km radius in the city center, of which centrally located is a 22 meters-high monument of Alexander the Great (so-called “Warrior on Horseback”). The Macedonian art historian Jasna Koteska offers an interesting interpretation of the project: “The artistic tendencies of the project are based on the 19th century self-centered megalomania and the return to pre-modern glorification of styles... Skopje 2014 is not here to serve the multiplicity of codes, but one great Code: an old-fashioned pride and dignity of a bourgeois capital of a superstate ... Skopje 2014 project commemorates different historical artifacts precisely because that was the 19th century bourgeois premise of the eclecticism in architecture – a city as a world in miniature.”²⁸ In fact this political project is nation-building one and tries to impose a new revisionist narrative of the Macedonian history, promoting Macedonian identity, with unbroken continuity from the antiquity over the middle ages to the modern times²⁹.

Undoubtedly, the project is visible, but it could give rise to controversial estimates. In September 2017 the Minister of Culture of Macedonia Robert Alagijozovski said: “We have to stop the “Skopje 2014” project immediately, because every day, as if out of a Pandora’s box, kitsch monuments, sculptures, columns... pop up that are absolutely unnecessary and costly.” He also emphasized: “We will detoxify the Macedonian spirit right away from the pseudo ideology of this project, which makes our country hostage to an evil oath of a dangerous magician.”³⁰

But the implementation of the project was accompanied by sharp criticism directed at its artistic design, as well as at its historical credibility since the very beginning. The critical comments were coming from domestic and foreign issues. “This is a crime against public space, culture, urbanism and art – against the city and the citizen”, said Miroslav Grcev, professor of urban design at the Saints Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje. (He is the creator of the current Macedonian

²⁸ Jasna Koteska, “Troubles with History: Skopje 2014”, *Art Margins*, 12/29/2011; <https://artmargins.com/troubles-with-history-skopje-2014/>

²⁹ G. Janev, “Skopje 2014: erasing memories, building history”, in: M. Couroucli, & T. Marinov (eds.), *Balkan heritages: Negotiating history and culture*, Taylor & Francis, 2017, p. 111–130.

³⁰ “Македонија слага крај на историческия кич в Скопие”, *Стандарт* 18. 09. 2017; https://www.standartnews.com/svyat/makedoniya_slaga_kray_na_istoricheskiya_kich_v_skopie-362296.html

flag)³¹. According to BBC correspondent in Skopje Macedonia's government is trying to make a name for itself and stirring up its citizens in the process. Skopje is using the time-honored tactic of eye-catching architecture – but in a much more radical way than other European cities which have gone down that road³². The Guardian newspaper quoted the opinion of another one citizen, linked with tourist business: “It’s very kitsch, but it’s bringing in visitors”.³³

In 2017 the Zoran Zaev’s cabinet together with the City Council of Skopje undertook the removal of some of the objects from the “Skopje 2014” project (for example, the kitschy ships along the Vardar River were removed). Skopje International Airport, renamed in 2006 after Alexander the Great by the VMRO-DPMNE-led government, was dropped from this name in a move to improve relations with Greece. In February 2018, the authorities and institutions of the country announced the halt of the project and the setup of a Commission for envisaging the removal of its controversial monuments and statues. The future of the “Skopje 2014” project is uncertain. Currently, there is a moratorium on the city center, which was adopted by the Center Municipality on December 27th, 2017. The moratorium prohibits any new construction sites or erection of monuments, and should remain in force until the revision of the urbanistic plan, together with 30 other urbanistic plans. The experts, foreign and domestic, and citizens as well, have been proposing options and alternatives to the “Skopje 2014” project since the initial days of its implementation. Now, there are a few specific options being considered. One of the options of which Macedonia can look for a solution is the example of the Bulgarian metropolis of Sofia, where there has been a Museum of Socialist Art³⁴.

The ethnocentric character of this megaproject is also a topic for critical comments. In their works, the foreign authors point on this fact and highlight the authority’s striving to overlap ethnic tension through the myth of common ancient Macedonian origin. Gruevski’s project in creating a sense of Macedonian-ness has conspicuously overlooked large swaths of the population. In the rest of “Skopje 2014”, too, with the exception of Mother Teresa’s monument, there are very few structures acknowledging the country’s Albanian heritage. According to Valerie Hopkis, the question of how Albanians fit into Macedonia is a fraught one: the country only narrowly averted a civil war in 2001 when ethnic Albanians took up arms to demand additional rights, including the use of Albanian as a national language.³⁵

³¹ Guy De Launey, “The makeover that’s divided a nation”, BBC News, Macedonia, 30 August 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28951171>

³² Ibidem.

³³ Kit Gillet, “How Skopje became Europe’s new capital of kitsch”, The Guardian, 11 April 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/apr/11/skopje-macedonia-architecture-2014-project-building>

³⁴ Bojan Blazevski, “The (un)certain future of the ‘Skopje 2014’ megalomaniac project”, *In-Depth*, Skopje, 15. 01. 2019, <https://kosovotwopointzero.com/en/the-uncertain-future-of-the-skopje-2014-megalomaniac-project/>

³⁵ Valerie Hopkis, “An aesthetic overhaul of Macedonia’s capital was supposed to inspire a stronger national identity. It inspired a national protest movement instead”, *Foreign Policy*, 19/2016,

Bulgaria was the first country to recognize Macedonia in 1991, although it still considers Macedonian to be a dialect of Bulgarian and so called Macedonian history is a part from authentically 13-centuries historical and cultural heritage. Bulgaria and Macedonia resolved the so-called language dispute in 1999, when Bulgaria recognized the right of Macedonia to use its “own” language (but Macedonian language has not been mentioned). In return Macedonia confirmed that it would not interfere in Bulgaria’s domestic affairs. Another requirement to Macedonian state is not to continue to steal episodes of Bulgaria’s medieval and more recent history as well as well as the appropriation of significant Bulgarian historical figures such as Tsar Samuil, Gotse Delchev, the Miladinovi brothers and others. Despite historical and cultural disputes, Bulgaria has been a strong supporter of the EU integration of the Western Balkans, including its neighbor North Macedonia last years. In light of mainstream trends was established a Bulgaria – North Macedonia joint commission on historical and educational issues. This entity was established under Article 12 of the Treaty of friendship between Bulgaria and Northern Macedonia, signed on August 1, 2017 in Skopje. The main goal is to reach consensus on key aspects of shared history and educational issues, as well as to jointly celebrate the following personalities of the two countries’ shared history: St. St. Cyril and Methodius, St. Clement, St. Naum and King Samuil. Unfortunately, significant progress has not been made in the work of the commission and the latest results are less encouraging. It also emerged that an agreement was reached to suspend the meetings until May 2020 because of the upcoming elections in North Macedonia.

CONCLUSION

The monumentality art is a special kind of art because its social function is the making of intergenerational connections. Thus, the monuments are not just a material object, but their goals are to achieve intergenerational solidarity within the nation. So, monumental art plays a threefold role and compulsory is to reflect the historical truth. Political elites use commemorative functions of monuments to represent their dominant worldviews. Consequently, monuments represent selective historical narratives focusing only on events and identities that are comfortable for political elites. Often, political elites erect monuments to promote selective historical narratives that focus on convenient events and individuals. In this respect, they have to present selective historical narratives. Moreover, monuments become essential for the articulation of the national politics of memory and identity through which local politics set political agendas and legitimate political power. But today’s monument has been tomorrow’s ruin. We have already seen so many neglected and destroyed monuments from the socialist past. That is why the future will be the most credible judge of large-scale monumental projects in Skopje and the capitals of the Central Asian republics.

Comptes rendus

Wilfried FIEDLER, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Balkansprachen (Morphosyntaktisch-typologischer Vergleich des Albanischen mit den anderen Balkansprachen)*, Prishtina, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës (Seksioni i Gjuhësisë dhe i Letërsisë, Libri 60), 2018, 826 p.

La préface de Rexhep Ismajli souligne l'importance du livre et est complétée par une bibliographie, rédigée en 2013, des études de W. Fiedler.

La grammaire comparée des langues balkaniques est le dernier ouvrage fondamental du regretté savant allemand qui nous a quittés en septembre 2019¹. Dans son introduction, l'auteur montre qu'il a conçu le livre en deux volumes. Dans ce premier volume, il examine le système verbal ; dans le deuxième volume, il allait traiter du système nominal. Il analyse l'histoire complexe du concept d'union linguistique balkanique, en soulignant ses limites. Selon Fiedler, le terme *Südosteuropalinguistik* serait plus approprié. La zone fait l'objet de recherches car « der Balkan lediglich eine Verdichtung der überall vorhandenen, wenn auch nicht in allen Regionen so dicht verlaufenden Isoglossen interferenzbedingter Gemeinsamkeiten innerhalb der Sprache Europas und des angrenzenden Raums bietet ». La matière est traitée sous l'angle du contact linguistique qui permet la diffusion de caractéristiques qui deviennent communes sur une zone plus ou moins large. La combinaison de la synchronie avec la diachronie donne la possibilité de suivre la manière dont certains traits franchissent ou non les frontières entre les idiomes et les périodes qui ont favorisés les échanges. Le livre est conçu comme une présentation de la typologie des aires linguistiques dans l'Europe du Sud-est, la comparaison ne considérant pas la langue standard, mais les parlers. L'auteur vise à suivre la manière dont, au contact de deux idiomes, une caractéristique déterminante se manifeste d'une façon similaire et comment elle passe ensuite en plusieurs langues. L'histoire des Balkans a favorisé non seulement le bilinguisme mais aussi le multilinguisme. W. Fiedler étudie l'albanais parlé en Albanie, en Macédoine, en Serbie, au Monténégro et en Grèce, en Bulgarie, en Bessarabie et en Ukraine (les références à l'albanais parlé en Italie sont rares), le bulgare et le macédonien (souvent appelé bulgare-macédonien), le bulgare au Banat, le serbe méridional, le grec, avec les variantes de Chypre et du sud de l'Italie, le roumain avec ses quatre dialectes (rarement, cependant, le dialecte istro-roumain est mentionné). Parmi les facteurs qui ont contribué à une certaine uniformité d'expression linguistique figurait le substratum ; l'auteur préfère remplacer ce terme usuel par *Balkanindogermanisch*, désignation qui fait référence aux relations antérieures à l'antiquité classique entre l'albanais et le grec, alors, comme aujourd'hui, voisins l'un de l'autre. Ensuite, il y a la proximité entre le grec, le latin et la langue qui précède l'albanais. La ligne Jireček a seulement l'importance de séparer les langues écrites, mais pas les langues parlées. Le roumain ancien (*Urrumänisch*) s'est formé au nord de cette ligne, cristallisé sur un vaste territoire de mélange romain et slave, tandis que les prédécesseurs des Albanais étaient au sud et au nord de cette ligne. L'arrivée de la dernière vague slave aux VI^e et VII^e siècles traversant le Danube, jusqu'au Péloponnèse et à Byzance, n'a réussi à couvrir ni le territoire actuel albanais ni le territoire grec.

¹ Ce volume imposant s'ajoute à ses livres essentiels pour comprendre la structure de la langue albanaise par rapport aux autres langues balkaniques : *Die Pluralbildung im Albanischen*, Prishtinë, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, 2007 ; *Das albanische Verbalsystem in der Sprache des Gjon Buzuku (1555)*, Prishtinë, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, 2004 ; *Albanische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1987, en collaboration avec Oda Buchholz. Avec Oda Buchholz et Gerda Uhlisch, respectivement avec Ardian Klosi, Fiedler a élaboré les dictionnaires albanais-allemand et allemand-albanais, avec un inventaire particulièrement riche et des équivalences qui viennent en aide à tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux études balkaniques.

Les catégories fonctionnelles et sémantiques de base avec lesquelles il opère sont liées au temps, au mode et à l'aspect. Pour la description des interférences, les éléments que les langues de la région conservent ensemble sont peut-être plus importants que les innovations (p. 21). Fiedler attire l'attention sur l'ordre dans lequel il introduit dans la discussion les éléments suivants : temps (chapitre 2, dans lequel il traite également les oppositions d'aspect), mode (chapitre 3²), les particules (chapitre 6, dans lequel il prend en compte l'ordre des mots de la négation et des particules interrogatives), diathèse (*genus verbi*, chapitre 7).

L'admiratif, défini comme une « dimension » du système verbal balkanique et le futur, qui a des fonctions à la fois temporelles et modales, développant un inventaire important de formes et auquel est liée l'apparition du présomptif, ont des chapitres séparés (5 et, respectivement, 4). Le chapitre 8 traite de l'émergence de nouvelles formes à valeur infinitive et discute du problème du maintien de l'infinitif dans certaines aires (comme le daco-roumain) et de sa perte totale dans d'autres, reprenant la question de la concurrence avec le subjonctif. Dans le chapitre 2, l'aoriste est décrit comme ayant un statut spécial qui met en évidence la relation entre le système temporel et le système aspectuel. Les différences et similitudes entre la catégorie du temps et celle de l'aspect sont également visibles dans le cas des formes du futur.

Le point de départ de la présentation est l'albanais. Un examen de toutes les descriptions précédentes de l'union linguistique des Balkans, malgré toutes ses réserves sur le concept, permet à Fiedler de constater et de considérer l'albanais comme représentatif de tout l'espace ; les caractéristiques propres aux Balkans semblent être plus fréquentes en albanais et avoir un degré de grammaticalisation plus élevé (p. 59, 62). Cela ne signifie pas que l'albanais est la langue source, mais que dans cette langue il y a une concentration de presque toutes les marques généralement considérées comme balkaniques. C'est pourquoi l'albanais est la langue de départ de la description de Fiedler, qui étudie la formation des zones caractérisées par la présence ou l'absence des traits discutés, ainsi que leur degré de grammaticalisation.

W. Fiedler souligne que, situé au nord du Danube, le roumain a moins de caractéristiques grammaticales communes avec les autres langues de l'Europe du Sud-est. Dans le système verbal, certaines caractéristiques le rapprochent, pourtant, de l'albanais et ne peuvent pas être attribuées au contact. On peut, par exemple, suivre l'apparition de constructions formées au participe, ayant la valeur de l'infinitif, qui caractérisent les deux langues. Ces constructions sont relativement récentes, mais pourraient s'expliquer par des anciennes tendances similaires. Assez souvent, le syntagme *südllich vom Dakorumänisch* apparaît (voir par exemple p. 30) qui indique un espace avec des traits caractéristiques auquel le daco-roumain ne participe pas, contrairement aux dialectes roumains au sud du Danube ; le système verbal du dialecte aroumain se situe entre celui du le néo-grec et celui de l'albanais, avec la préservation et le renforcement de la situation héritée du latin. Les langues du sud du Danube (albanais, grec) préservent l'aoriste (qui a une forme synthétique), le daco-roumain est le seul qui préserve du latin le plus que parfait synthétique (passé du subjonctif à l'indicatif)³.

² Je voudrais souligner que même en roumain l'impératif peut avoir une valeur narrative. L'impératif narratif est mentionné pour le bulgare et l'albanais (p. 175 avec bibliographie). En ce qui concerne la construction du subjonctif, il faut montrer que la particule *să* ne peut manquer en roumain que dans la forme affirmative, et *të* en albanais seulement dans la forme négative avec *mos*, ce qui rend peu probable de parler de parallèle (p. 202). Il convient également d'ajouter que le subjonctif roumain, en particulier la forme sans particule, correspond en tant que valeur à l'optatif albanais (p. 229 et suiv.).

³ Pour l'histoire du verbe roumain (le parfait simple avec ses valeurs caractéristiques dans le sous-dialecte d'Oltenie, la préservation de l'infinitif, le rôle et les valeurs du supin, l'apparition des constructions à valeur infinitive, l'ordre inversé du passé composé, du type *văzut-ai !*, qui exprime la surprise (Gr. Brâncuș, *Morfologia verbului*, Universitatea din București, 1976, p. 62), sans atteindre la richesse du système des formes de l'albanais et des certaines langues slaves du sud), convient de voir aussi Gr. Brâncuș, « Despre valoarea aoristului în albaneză cu raportare la română », *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* XI, 1960, 1, p. 61–72 ; idem, « O concordanță gramaticală româno-albaneză: modul supin », *Limbă și literatură* 13, 1967, p. 99–105 (version albanaise dans *Buletin shkencor*, Shkodra, 1967) ; Constantin Frâncu, *Gramatica limbii române vechi (1521–1780)*, Iași, Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2009, p. 295–338 ; Dana Zamfir, *Morfologia verbului în dacoromâna veche (secolele al XVI-lea – al XVII-lea)*, București, Editura Academiei, t. I, 2005, t. II, 2007.

Le livre de Wilfried Fiedler est l'œuvre de l'un des plus informés spécialistes de l'espace linguistique du Sud-est de l'Europe. Connaissant toutes les langues parlées dans la région, maîtrisant leurs variantes dialectales, connaissant la longue histoire de leurs contacts, il a réussi à mener une recherche systématique et approfondie, nuancée et riche en faits, explications et suggestions qui restera une source continue et un modèle pour ceux qui étudient la région. Le livre est en même temps une contribution particulièrement précieuse à la linguistique générale et à la théorie de la langue.

Cătălina Vătășescu

Balkan Area. Altaic Studies. General Linguistics. In memoriam Albina H. Girfanova (1957–2018), ed. M.V. Domsileckaya, L.N. Donina, A.N. Levičkin, E. Lefe, A.A. Novik, A.V. Pavlova; N.L. Sukhachev (éditeur responsable), Saint-Petersburg, Nestor-Istoria, 2019, 722 p. [Russian Academy of Sciences. Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (the Kunstkamera)]

La présentation avec laquelle Al. Novik ouvre le volume mentionne la richesse des préoccupations d'Albina Girfanova : albanologie et balkanologie, turcologie et études altaïques, linguistique, ethnologie, folklore et histoire. Albina Girfanova a fait part des projets communs de notre Institut et de l'Institut de Linguistique de Saint Petersburg et a publié avec Nicolay Sukhachev d'importantes recherches comparatives sur l'influence turque et des langues turciques sur les langues du Sud-est européen¹. La riche bibliographie qui complète l'article émouvant signé par Emil Lefe et Nicolay Sukhachev sur l'œuvre d'Albina Girfanova met en lumière, d'ailleurs, ses relations scientifiques étroites et fructueuses avec les institutions de profil en Roumanie et dans les Balkans. La première partie du volume contient aussi des souvenirs des collègues et de ceux qui la connaissaient, liés à ses multiples intérêts scientifiques (V.A. Bondarî, A.V. Žugra, Iu. V. Efimenko, Natalia V. Lavallar et Philippe Lavallar).

Le volume a quatre sections. La section concernant la balkanologie et l'albanologie a le plus de contributions, que nous présentons dans l'ordre du volume : Natalia G. Golant et A.A. Novik publient, avec 29 photos de bonne qualité, les résultats de quelques enquêtes de terrain qu'ils ont réalisées ces dernières années concernant les termes du costume traditionnel (conservé jusqu'à aujourd'hui) dans la langue des Roumains de Timoc (tant en Serbie qu'en Bulgarie), désignés dans le titre avec un terme hybride « valaques paysans » (*Vlach-Caran*)². Afin d'établir les couches étymologiques, les auteurs font des comparaisons avec la terminologie générale roumaine et avec celle albanaise (en utilisant les travaux de Zamfira Mihail et Andromaqi Gjergji)³.

¹ A.H. Girfanova, N.L. Suhačev, « Тюркские заимствования в лексико-тематической группе «Названия одежды» (Предварительные данные Словаря «тюркизмы в языках юго-восточной Европы») », RESEE, XLVIII, 2010, p. 25–69; A.H. Girfanova, N.L. Sukhachev, Iu. A. Lopašov, « Цветообозначения тюркского происхождения в языках Юго-Восточной Европы (хроматические тона) », dans *Identitate, etnicitate, limbă în Sud-estul Europei, Actele Colocviului organizat de Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene din București și Institutul de Studii Lingvistice din Sankt Petersburg, 29 septembrie, 2010, București*, București, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2011, p. 81–95.

² Les Roumains des régions montagneuses de la région du Timoc sont appelés avec un terme ancien traditionnel *ungureni* « Roumains venant de Hongrie » (et ils parlent un patois proche de celui du Banat) ; ceux de la plaine sont appelés *țărani* « paysans », ils parlent le patois de l'Oltenie voisine et forment le sujet du présent article.

³ Il convient de noter, en relation avec l'étymologie inconnue du drom. *cioareci*, l'hypothèse avancée par Albina Girfanova, N. Sukhachev et Iu. Lopašov (les auteurs du dictionnaire manuscrit des éléments turcs et turciques dans les langues balkaniques) et mentionnée par les auteurs, que ar. *čioáric* « chaussette » pourrait être un prêt turc ; les auteurs du dictionnaire, à leur tour, prennent une suggestion du dictionnaire de Tache Papahagi du dialecte aroumain, qui en fait n'explique pas le mot aroumain comme un prêt, mais se réfère, tout simplement, au drom. *cioarceci* « pantalon » et au tc. *tcharyq* « sorte de chaussure légère ».

Bardhyl Demiraj publie une étude de 1951 laissée dans le manuscrit, que Shaban Demiraj a écrit sur le poète italo-albanais Jul Variboba. L'étude a conservé son importance en ce qu'elle comprend les principes de transcription du poème *Gjella e Shën Mëris Virgjër* (La vie de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie) et une description détaillée de celui-ci.

Avni Xhelili et Olena Zoto donnent l'histoire du russe dans l'enseignement supérieur albanais.

Monica Genesin et Donato Martucci font une analyse ethnographique et linguistique du rôle des femmes dans le *Kanun de Skanderbeg*. L'étude fait partie d'une série que les deux spécialistes réalisent suite à la publication de la traduction italienne (par Martucci et Genc Lefe) de ce recueil de droit coutumier albanais. Dans cet article, Martucci donne un bref historique de la collecte et de l'étude des coutumes juridiques albanaises, une présentation de la structure du code, y compris la présentation d'éléments liés à la parenté et à l'héritage et à la condition des femmes. Monica Genesin se concentre notamment sur le lexique du domaine du rôle de la femme, avec des explications sémantiques et étymologiques.

Marina V. Domosileckaya, qui suit depuis quelque temps la classification botanique populaire, propose une nouvelle étude sur les termes botaniques dans les langues balkaniques. Cette fois, elle soumet à une analyse onomasiologique les termes faisant référence à « Troène commun » (*Ligustrum vulgare*), étudie la motivation des noms et établit une série d'isoglosses.

Maxim L. Kisilier étudie la relation entre norme et dialecte, en tenant compte de la manière dont les néologismes grecs, entrés dans le dialecte tsakonien, qui est également en contact avec l'albanais, sont adaptés.

Flora Koleci et Giuseppina Turano mettent en discussion une série de constructions à l'infinitif dans les parlers tosquens, guègues et italo-albanais. Il s'agit de constructions au participe (en tosqen *për të + part* ; en guègue *me + part*.) Il y a de différentes possibilités de combinaison (limitées en tosqen, nombreuses en guègue, où elles correspondent aux valeurs de l'infinitif dans les autres langues). Dans la langue des Albanais en Italie, à l'origine du sud de l'Albanie, seules quelques constructions figées sont conservées, mais les écrits anciens prouvent l'existence de l'infinitif comme dans le guègue actuel.

Emilia Conforti présente l'activité de traducteur de Leonardo de Martino, écrivain italo-albanais du XIX^e siècle.

Emil Lefe examine le lexique albanais dans les premiers dictionnaires bilingues russe – albanais et albanais – russe. Son étude est l'occasion de fournir des données sur l'histoire du développement de la lexicologie albanaise, ainsi que sur l'histoire de l'apprentissage de la langue russe en Albanie. Il convient de noter en particulier les observations sur l'inventaire des mots dans les dictionnaires albanais-russe et russo-albanais, publiés en 1951 et 1954, par rapport à l'inventaire des termes du Dictionnaire explicatif publié en 1954 et des autres dictionnaires bilingues publiés à l'époque.

Genc Lefe contribue au développement d'un sujet important, celui de la délimitation de la couche des emprunts de bonne heure à l'italien des emprunts faits au latin⁴. Il suppose l'existence d'une couche intermédiaire romane sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique, source antérieure à l'ancienne influence italienne.

Mihaela Marin fait quelques observations sur les mots du substratum roumain dans les traductions du Nouveau Testament des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles par rapport aux traductions contemporaines.

Joachim Matzinger attire l'attention sur un domaine de recherche important qui n'a pas encore été systématiquement analysé, à savoir l'histoire de la macronymie en Albanie. Les résultats de cette recherche seront importants tant pour l'histoire de la langue que pour l'histoire des territoires habités par les Albanais et leurs relations avec les voisins.

⁴ Parmi les mots à l'étymologie incertaine, attribués par certains auteurs à la langue italienne, figure l'alb. *netull*, auquel il est comparé, comme on le sait, rom. *mătură* « balai ». G. Lefe est enclin à accepter qu'à l'origine du mot albanais et de celui roumain se trouve sl. **метъла*, une solution étymologique avec une longue tradition. Cependant, les problèmes soulevés par l'histoire de la finale en roumain et albanais ne doivent pas être ignorés (voir les observations de G. Mihăilă, dans *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* XXIV, 1973, 1, p. 55–67 qui restent valables).

Zamfira Mihail traite de la terminologie minière en Europe du Sud-est, établissant des couches et des interférences d'influences linguistiques, des isoglosses et des différenciations régionales.

Iulia Mărgărit suit avec de nombreux exemples les réflexes des emprunts au turc dans les parlers daco-roumains.

Nexhip Mërkuri a une initiative intéressante, celle d'élaborer pour la région de Himara un atlas des ethnonymes, des noms des habitants d'après le nom de la région d'où ils viennent, où ils vivent. Il propose un riche matériel linguistique collecté en 2015 sur le terrain et fait des comparaisons avec les régions voisines.

Idriz Metani étudie une série d'unités phraséologiques albanaises construites avec des mots d'origine orientale.

Nicolae Saramandu et Manuela Nevaci ont suivi la distribution des termes d'origine grecque dans les sous-dialectes du daco-roumain, sur la base des deux premiers volumes de l'Atlas synthèse du roumain que N. Saramandu coordonne pour rassembler dans un ensemble unitaire les données des Atlas par régions. Toutes les couches d'emprunts grecs sont recherchées, à commencer par celles du grec ancien, qui sont entrées en latin. L'étude considère la comparaison avec l'albanais.

Dans une autre étude dans ce volume, A. Novik présente une collection familiale de bijoux traditionnels du nord de l'Albanie ; les enquêtes de terrain ont été menées entre 2009 et 2018. L'étude comprend 17 photos de bijoux en argent pour femmes et hommes.

Aristotel Spiro discute du nombre de cas en albanais.

A.V. Harlamova fait une série de remarques préliminaires, à la suite d'une enquête de 2018 sur les parlers aroumains dans le sud de l'Albanie. Elle passe en revue les localités avec des locuteurs de l'aroumain et suit, par générations, la manière dont le dialecte est connu. La description est intéressante car elle est le résultat d'une enquête très récente. Il est regrettable, cependant, que le premier volume de l'Atlas du dialecte aroumain de Nicolae Saramandu, qui contient des descriptions détaillées des localités à population aroumaine, soit absent de la bibliographie.

A.B. Černyak propose une nouvelle étymologie pour l'adjectif roum. *mare* « grand » : lat. *male* adv. « mauvais », car, en vieux roumain, il avait également le sens « très » (la même évolution sémantique se retrouve en roumain pour l'adj. *rău* « mauvais, méchant », qui peut être utilisé avec le sens « très »).

Shpëtim Çuçka traite de l'actualité de l'œuvre de Pouchkine de nos jours.

Cătălina Vătăşescu fait quelques remarques sur certaines paires de termes conservés en roumain et en albanais du latin et sur certains synonymes empruntés tôt au slave.

Dans la section des recherches sur les Altaïens les contributions sont signées par A.S. Avrutina, A.A. Burykin, V.G. Guzev, K.A. Žukov, T.A. Pan.

La troisième section, celle de linguistique générale, comprend les travaux de N.L. Vasiliev (sur les noms propres), M.V. Zelikov (sur les particularités ethnolinguistiques de la zone asturienne et galicienne), Maria Korolkova, Michal Vašiček et Darja Vašičkova (les noms d'agent dans le lexique des artisans), L.E. Naydić et A.V. Pavlova (sur les attributs prédicatifs en allemand et russe), Maria Osiac (les noms singularia tantum et pluralia tantum en russe et roumain), T.G. Skrebcova (le dictionnaire idéographique de R. Hallig et W. von Wartburg).

Dans la dernière section, *Varia*, apparaissent des études littéraires, d'histoire culturelle, de linguistique, de sociologie, d'anthroponymie signées par I.V. Gerasimov, A.V. Groševa, S. Demidova, O.V. Diykova, S.V. Ivanov, A.N. Levičkin, Elvira Lumi, H.D. Svetozarova, M.A. Suloeva, A.I. Falileev. À la fin de la section, le collaborateur de notre revue, S.A. Frantsuzov, traite des erreurs de lecture dans les livres arabes chrétiens imprimés à Alep ou dans les Pays Roumains, au début du XVIII^e siècle.

Marqué par la richesse des préoccupations scientifiques d'Albina Girfanova, ce volume rassemble des contributions intéressantes et importantes pour toute une série de disciplines complémentaires.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

David BERTAINA, Sandra Toenies KEATING, Mark N. SWANSON, Alexander TREIGER (eds.), *Heirs of the Apostles. Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, Leiden / Boston, Brill, 2019 (Arabic Christianity: Texts and Studies, 1), XVII + 527 p.

There is perhaps no better way to honor the lifetime achievements of an accomplished scholar of Arabic and Syriac Christianity, such as Prof. Sidney H. Griffith, than by showing how much his research and teaching influenced both his own and the younger generations of scholars. The present book, *Heirs of the Apostles*, does just that: it is a captivating collection of studies offered with heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Griffith for his 80th birthday by his former students, colleagues, and friends. The twenty chapters of the volume are divided into four thematic clusters which coincide with some of the major research areas to which Griffith has made numerous significant contributions over the last decades.

Part I is entitled “Arabic Language, Bible, and Qur’ān” and is a tribute to Griffith’s seminal work on the Arabic Bible. The first and last chapters of Part I address the relationship between Arabic Christian literature and the Qur’ān. David Bertaina (Ch. 1, p. 3–21) analyses the inter-religious dialogues and debates about Christian and Qur’ānic monotheism between Elias of Nisibis (975–1046) and the Muslim vizier Abū al-Qāsim al-Maghribī (981–1027). These debates took place in the 1020’s and form the basis of Elias’ *Kitāb al-Majālis*. One important finding is that Elias’ successful defense of Christian monotheism is partially based on the Qur’ān and on al-Maghribī’s own commentary, suggesting that Christian intellectuals were well aware and could even engage with Qur’ānic exegesis. In a similar vein, Clare Wilde argues in Chapter 5 (p. 93–111) that Christian Arabic theological treatises can significantly enhance our understanding of the Qur’ān: whether the Christian use (through quotation, commentary, etc.) of the Muslim holy book aims at proving the validity of Christianity, or at polemicizing against Judaism and indeed Islam, it shows at any rate that Qur’ānic Studies can benefit from engaging with these early Christian Arabic texts.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 discuss various Arabic translations of the Bible: Elie Dannaoui (Ch. 2, p. 22–36) studies the role of Rūm Orthodox Christians in the printing of the New Testament during the Ottoman period. In particular, Dannaoui focuses on the translation projects of Meletius Karma (d. 1635), Athanasius Dabbās (1647–1724) and Ya‘qūb Šarrūf (1839–1912) with a two-fold aim: to establish the context and the methods used in each case, and to highlight the commonalities between these different projects. Among other things, Dannaoui rightly draws attention to the tensions between Protestant and Roman Catholic interests and the needs of the Arab Orthodox communities living in the Levant. In Chapter 3 (p. 37–55), Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala offers a close reading of the manuscript Vatican Arab. 13, one of the oldest preserved Arabic translations of the Gospels (ninth century). Using one pericope from the Gospel of Matthew (Matth 11:20–30, edited in the appendix, p. 52–54) as a case-study, Monferrer-Sala analyses the strategy of the Arabic translator under various aspects: literal/free translations, additions, omissions, lexical preferences, etc. The author’s conclusion is that the translator used a Greek *Vorlage* as his base text, but that he also used a Syriac version for comparison.

Ronny Vollandt’s chapter (Ch. 4, p. 56–92) discusses at length a remarkable scholarly project from Ayyūbid Egypt: the Christian Arabic revision of Saadiah Gaon’s Judeo-Arabic translation of the Pentateuch (the *Tafsīr*). This ‘revised edition’ took into account a wide array of other sources (e.g. Samaritan, Karaite, Melkite and East Syriac Bible translations and commentaries in Arabic) and was prepared in 1242 CE by a Copt, with the help of a Jewish scholar from Cairo. This edition of the *Pentateuch* contains a rather complex ‘critical apparatus’ and an important *Preface*. First, Vollandt sketches the intellectual context of Egypt in this period, which witnessed a flourishing of Jewish and Copto-Arabic letters and Biblical scholarship. Vollandt points to the role of the Maimonides and al-‘Assāl families, but also to that of individuals such as Ibn al-Rāhib and Ibn Kātib Qaysar. The main part of the chapter is the edition and English translation of the Arabic *Preface* mentioned above (p. 64–77), followed by a detailed commentary on selected aspects of the text. Notably, Vollandt makes a strong case for identifying the Coptic editor with al-As‘ad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn al-‘Assāl (d. ca. 1253/9), who is otherwise known as the author of an edition of the Arabic Gospels

which follows similar editorial principles as the Pentateuch. The name of al-As'ad's Jewish collaborator is Abū al-Majd al-Isrā'īlī, a member of the Babylonian congregation in Cairo, also known from documents in the Genizah (p. 79). The chapter thus throws light not only on the history of the Arabic Bible, but also on the hitherto neglected dimensions of Jewish-Christian intellectual collaboration under Muslim rule.

Part 2 ("Arabic Christian Responses to Islam and Muslim Interpretations of Christianity") treats some of the central points of debate between Christianity and Islam: the doctrine of the Trinity, Incarnation, the Cross, the Church, and the rationality of the Christian faith as such. Here again, Griffith's studies on Theodore Abū Qurrah and other early Christian Arabic theologians have proved to be fundamental. In a substantial chapter (Ch. 6, p. 115–156), Cornelia Horn investigates the *Arabic Apocryphal Gospel of John* (= AAGJ) and its apocalyptic section as an important source for Christian ecclesiology under Islam. According to Horn's reading of AAGJ, the author of the apocalyptic sections is concerned with the preservation and cohesion of the Christian community as it faced inner and outer threats after the advent of Islam. These concerns play out not only in the realm of theology (Christ, the cross, the Church), but also on a very concrete level: the value of martyrdom, the correct conduct among clergy and laity, Christian family life. Horn's detailed discussion of this understudied apocryphal text opens up new perspectives for the field of East Christian apocalypticism, which is still very much dominated by research on Pseudo-Methodius.¹

Sandra Toenies Keating (Ch. 7, p. 157–178) shows how one of the earliest Christian Arabic theologians and apologists, the Syro-Orthodox Abū Rā'īṭa al-Takrītī (d. 830), turned to Greek philosophy in order to demonstrate the rationality of the Christian doctrine of God. Keating's in-depth analysis of Abū Rā'īṭa's *Risāla* proves that – in the context of the dawning Graeco-Arabic 'translation movement' – Abū Rā'īṭa introduced important Aristotelian concepts in the debate on God's unity (*tawḥīd*). However, Keating's claim that some works of Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Plotinus and Proclus had already been translated into Arabic in the mid-eighth century (p. 159) is certainly an overstatement.² In an insightful contribution, Thomas Ricks (Ch. 8, p. 179–193) compares the arguments for Christ's Incarnation put forward by the most important Christian theologians of the Early Islamic period, the Chalcedonian (Melkite) Theodore Abū Qurrah, the East Syriac ('Nestorian') 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, and, again, Abū Rā'īṭa. Shawqī Talia (Ch. 9, p. 194–213) reviews the Islamic views of the cross as a symbol of Christianity. As one would expect, the overwhelming majority of sources take a negative stance, beginning with Q 4:157 and ending with a series of *aḥādīth* which view the cross as an 'idol' (*wathan*). On the other hand, Talia also lists some Arabic poems, e.g. of Abū Nuwās, which display a certain fascination with the symbol of the cross (p. 206–208). In the last chapter of this section (Ch. 10, p. 214–227) David Thomas paints a sobering picture of early Muslim and Christian attempts at interreligious dialogue on the subject of the Trinity. Reviewing some of the milestones of polemical literature from 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī and Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq (early ninth century) to Elias of Nisibis and al-Maghribī (eleventh century, see above), Thomas concludes that, for various reasons, the two sides never managed to overcome some embedded misconceptions about the opponent's position, or were not really interested in doing so.

Part 3 ("Arabic Christianity in the Medieval Islamic World") begins with Johannes Pahlitzsch's chapter on the role of the Holy Land in Byzantine hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Ch. 11, p. 231–255). The interest of Byzantine monks to travel to Palestine was driven not only by the wish to visit the holy places, but also by the desire to 'live in the wilderness' as the founders of Palestinian monasticism had done. Moreover, the ascetic experience was a catalyst to develop similar ascetic models in the Byzantine Empire. In this sense, Pahlitzsch brings the examples of the Byzantine saints Lazar of

¹ In her brief review of Syriac and Arabic apocalyptic texts, Horn also mentions an *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Matthew* (p. 118), but this seems to be a lapse, as *Pseudo-Methodius* is apparently meant.

² Cf. Cristina D'Ancona, "Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2019 Edition), ed. E. N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/arabic-islamic-greek/> (last visited 5/6/2020). Especially for Plotinus and Proclus, there is no evidence of any Arabic translations before the period of al-Kindī (9th century).

Galesion, Christodoulos, and Meletius the Younger, who all founded important monasteries after returning from the Holy Land. There are however also negative examples, such as the case of Neophytus the Recluse, whose failure to find living examples of ascetic piety in Palestine led him to return to Cyprus where he founded his own community. For Pahlitzsch, this and other sources are an indication that despite the increased interest in the Holy Land, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it had become clear that “the future of Orthodox monasticism lay in Byzantium” (p. 250).

The comparative study of Andrew Platt and Nathan Gibson (Ch. 12, p. 256–283) highlights the difficulties of having overlapping Muslim and non-Muslim legal systems in the early ‘Abbāsīd period. Platt and Gibson show how two ninth-century authors, the East Syriac patriarch Timothy I (d. 823) and the Muslim author al-Jāhīz (d. 868/9), responded to the delicate juridical problems their communities were facing. Mark Swanson (Ch. 13, p. 284–309) discusses an anecdote from the collection of philosophical sayings *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, attributed to Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, which presents the meeting of Alexander the Great with a “hermit prince”. Swanson focuses on the Copto-Arabic reception and elaboration of this story, briefly in Mubaššir ibn Fātik’s eleventh-century *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (p. 289), and in more detail in a late-medieval Arabic sermon attributed to Shenoute (p. 290–302).³ The ambiguous religious affiliation of one of the most famous Arabic poets of all times, Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ṭā’ī (d. 845) is the subject of Jennifer Tobkin’s contribution (Ch. 14, p. 310–332). Tobkin engages with Louis Cheikho’s (1859–1927) claim that Abū Tammām was a Christian who (superficially) converted to Islam, and she dismantles some of Cheikho’s arguments, e.g. the assumption that the name Ḥabīb is distinctly Christian (see Appendix, p. 328–331). In Ch. 15 (p. 333–346) Alexander Treiger draws attention to a hitherto neglected polemical work of Paul of Antioch (twelfth-thirteenth centuries) against a Muslim sheikh, whom Treiger plausibly identifies with a certain Abū Surūr al-Tinnīsī, a known correspondent of Paul. This *Response to a Muslim Sheikh* treats three theological questions which, as Treiger correctly observes, reflect standard Islamic theology only partially, and rather represent Abū Surūr’s personal standpoint: the inseparability of good and evil, the figurative nature of Christ’s miracles, and predestination. For each of these views, Treiger discusses their possible Islamic sources and Paul’s refutation of them.

The last section of the volume, Part 4, presents a series of new findings in the field of Christian Arabic manuscript studies. Stephen J. Davis (Ch. 16, p. 349–394) offers a fascinating insight into the on-going work of cataloguing the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts at the monastery of the Syrians (Deir al-Suryān) in Wādī al-Natrūn. Davis describes in detail seven Arabic manuscripts containing works by Evagrius Ponticus. One particularly exciting find is the rediscovery of the lost Arabic translation of Evagrius’ most important work, the *Kephalaia Gnostica* (= *KG*). This work is only partially preserved in Greek and is extant in two different Syriac translations (S1 and S2) and an Armenian version. While Georg Graf had already noted the existence of an Arabic translation, the whereabouts of the only Arabic codex mentioned by Graf remain unknown.⁴ Fortunately, among the ascetic manuscripts of Deir al-Suryān, Davis has now identified two other codices (mss. 177 and 184) which contain Evagrius’ *KG* in Arabic. Although according to Davis this translation apparently follows the ‘expurgated’ Syriac translation S1, a critical edition of this newly discovered version remains an urgent desideratum.

Barbara Roggema’s chapter (Ch. 17, p. 395–414) focuses on what was arguably the most popular Christian Arabic collection of “Questions and Answers”, the *Erotapokriseis* attributed to Basil and Gregory, preserved in over 60 manuscripts (listed in a useful appendix, p. 408–412). As Roggema points out, this collection has remained unstudied by modern scholars, even though many

³ On Mubaššir ibn Fātik’s *Mukhtār* and its relationship to the Alexander traditions, see also Emily Cottrell, “Al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik and the *α* Version of the *Alexander Romance*”, in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, eds. Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson, Ian Netton, Groningen, 2012, p. 233–253 (not mentioned by Swanson).

⁴ Georg Graf, followed by Davis (p. 361), also mention a fragment of the Arabic *KG* in the loose folios of ms. Mingana, ar. chr. 212. However, these folios actually contain the *Chapters on Love* of Maximus Confessor (CPG 7693) and not the work of Evagrius.

questions and answers shed light on the social history of Christians and their interaction with Jews and Muslims (called *ḥunafāʾ*, p. 402) in the Middle East. In a short contribution, Harald Suermann (Ch. 18, p. 415–425) presents the contents of the Arabic ms. Gotha 2882 and proposes a reassessment regarding an anonymous polemical treatise (fol. 16–24v), hastily characterized by Georg Graf as being “in the style of Abū Rāʾiṭa and Ibn Zurʿa” (p. 417). A palimpsest manuscript containing a unique Greek-Arabic bilingual version of the Pauline epistles is studied by Jack Tannous in Ch. 19 (p. 426–445). On the basis of several key passages, Tannous shows that the Arabic part generally does not follow the Greek text, but that of the Syriac Peshitta (but cf. p. 432–433). This finding has important ramifications for the history of the Arabic Bible and of the multilingual communities which produced such manuscripts. The last chapter (Ch. 20, p. 446–494) contains Jason Zaborowski’s diplomatic edition and translation of the *Visions of Anba Shenouda*, based on a manuscript from Los Angeles (St Shenouda the Archimandrite Society, ms. 116). The text in this manuscript is longer than the one published by Adolf Grohmann in 1914;⁵ thus Zaborowski’s edition makes available for the first time the hitherto unknown ending of the *Visions* in Arabic.

The volume closes with a complete and up-to-date bibliography of Sidney Griffith’s publications, which amount to an impressive (but not surprising) total of 196 titles. In light of Fr. Sidney Griffith’s extraordinary contributions to the field of Christian Arabic Studies, it is very fitting that the *Festschrift* in his honor also inaugurates a new academic series edited by Alexander Treiger, *Arabic Christianity: Texts and Studies* (2019-), one of the very few that are dedicated exclusively to Arabic Christianity.

Adrian Pirtea

Paul MAGDALINO, Andrei TIMOTIN (eds.), *Savoirs prédictifs et techniques divinatoires de l’Antiquité tardive à Byzance*, Seyssel, La Pomme d’or, 2018, 510 p.

Knowledge about the future has captivated human imagination throughout the ages. People have translated this fascination into a variety of means and techniques employed for predictive purposes. Perhaps the first to come to mind and surely the one garnering most of the academic interest is astrology. However, much is still to be explored regarding the ways in which the desire for predictive knowledge was manifested and fulfilled in Late Antiquity and was later transmitted in Byzantium. The volume edited by Paul Magdalino and Andrei Timotin significantly advances the knowledge on this subject by lifting the veil on an impressive number of such techniques of divination and on their interpretation. Both editors have an extensive expertise in this field of research.¹

The volume springs from the international conference *Theories of Divination in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*, which was held on November 17–18, 2017 at the University of Bucharest, organized in the framework of the eponymous research project funded by the Romanian National Council for Scientific Research.² It gathers 16 contributions, 10 in French and 6 in English, organized in five thematic sections. As introduced in the book description, these are: divination as an object of philosophical reflection in Late Antiquity; the appropriation and reinterpretation of oracles by both pagans and Christians at the end of Antiquity; the Byzantine attitude to divination; the place of astrology

⁵ A. Grohmann, “Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute’s von Atripe”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 68, 1914, p. 1–46.

¹ P. Magdalino, *L’orthodoxie des astrologues. La science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VII^e–XIV^e siècle)*, Paris, Lethielleux, 2006, (Réalités byzantines, 12); A. Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance. Étude sur l’hagiographie méso-byzantine (IX–XI siècles)*, Paris, Centre d’études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2010 (Dossiers byzantins, 10).

² CNCS-UEFISCDI, PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0712, *Theories of divination in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium (2nd–7th centuries)*; project director A. Timotin (2017–2019).

among the divinatory techniques of the Roman and Byzantine worlds; and dream interpretation in Late Antiquity and its Byzantine sequel. The volume takes a sweeping view of divination, both in terms of the variation in divinatory theories and practices and the temporal framework covered, which spans from Antiquity to late Byzantium. The editors' expertise on the topic of divination is showcased in the *Introduction* (p. 11–24), where they make a convincing case for the novelty and significance of the subject explored, placing the volume in the broader line of research on the reception of late antique knowledge in Byzantium, and briefly introduce each contribution.

The volume opens with a section dedicated to divination as an object of philosophical reflection in Late Antiquity. In the first contribution (p. 27–38), Luc Brisson offers a useful and well-structured overview of the relation between divination and philosophy. Next, Andrei-Tudor Man (p. 39–69) identifies and analyzes the Stoic influences of Chrysippus in Cicero's *De divinatione*, shedding more light on the former's theory of divination and consequently on the ancient Stoic doctrine on divination. Man discusses two Stoic definitions of divination found in Cicero's works and makes a distinction between technical divination, in which a sign is used to predict an event, and non-technical or natural divination, consisting of spontaneous previsions of the future, such as prophecies, dreams, and oracles. The chapter by Andrei Timotin (p. 71–97) investigates Iamblichus' treatment and defense of divination in the second part of *De mysteriis*. Timotin details Iamblichus' fourfold classification of divination and discusses extensively his refutation of Porphyry's four points of criticism against divination. In addition to the minute explanations of Iamblichus' understanding and defense of divination, Timotin's contribution also lies in the discussion of Iamblichus' legacy in the Byzantine world, in line with the larger aim of the volume to map the diffusion of divinatory techniques and theories in Byzantium. In the final paper of this section (p. 99–124), Marilena Vlad enquires into Damascius' understanding of divination as the act of looking for the first principle.

Aude Busine opens the second section, dedicated to the status of oracles at the end of Antiquity, with a concise chapter on the Christian use of pagan oracles (p. 127–135). Basing her analysis on an oracular text from the Theosophy of Tübingen, Busine illustrates how Christians have employed certain Apollonian prophecies to spread the Christian faith, thereby legitimizing the abandonment and destruction of pagan temples. Next, Francesco Massa's chapter (p. 137–157) focuses on the Christian discourse surrounding oracles in the fourth century. Massa argues that during this time the opposition to oracles was grounded not only in their narrative recasting as sites of demoniac deceit, but also in the political role they were attributed in the persecution of Christians. Analyzing several works by Lactantius and Eusebius of Caesarea, Massa shows that oracles were connected to anti-Christian imperial policy during the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. The third and final paper of this section (p. 159–182) inquires into the fate of oracular texts in Late Antiquity. Taking as case study the Theosophy of Tübingen, like the first contribution in this section, Lucia Tissi argues that oracular passages from the Theosophy had their meaning altered through the addition of Christianized commentaries, in order to suit the Christian narrative.

The third section engages fully with the transmission of late antique conceptualizations of divination into the Byzantine world. It opens with a contribution by Paul Magdalino (p. 185–202), who discusses the religious basis of the distinction drawn in Byzantium between prophecy and divination, or what John Chrysostom would categorize as "good" prophecy (inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit) and "bad" prophecy (inspired by the devil). Magdalino persuasively shows that a more careful scrutiny of this distinction reveals a large grey area, in which neither the origins, nor the inspiration of foreknowledge can be used to neatly ascribe it to either category. In the next contribution (p. 203–234), Jean-Cyril Jouette sheds light on the practice of necromancy in the middle Byzantine period. The chapter touches on aspects related to individual motivations for resorting to necromancy, the inner workings of the practice (formulas, objects, steps) and its gradual redefinition as a devil's tool and association with sorcery under Christian influence. Finally, Florin Filimon (p. 235–301, with 3 appendices) presents in commendable detail the case of a geomantic (and bibliomantic) text extant under the title *Prediction method by means of the Holy Gospel and the Psalter* in a number of manuscripts ranging from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, some of which attribute it to Leo the Wise. Filimon makes an inventory of 16 codices transmitting variants of

the text, analyzes and contextualizes it, and offers a transcription (with facing English translation) based on the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript *Pluteus* 86.14 (ff. 28v–30r). To enrich Filimon's literary evidence of *apertio libri*, especially the late-Byzantine examples, one may include an additional instance from the *Life* of Gregory Palamas (*BHG* 718) in which the holy man opens the Apostle to consult God's will regarding his ordination to the priesthood.³

The fourth section of the volume is dedicated to astrology. In the first chapter (p. 305–319), Béatrice Bakhouché touches upon the status and particularities of astrology in Antiquity. She discusses the association of astrology to Stoic philosophy and its religious undertones, as a means by which people could enter in contact with divinity through the intercession of an astrologer. Next, Victor Gysembergh (p. 321–337) presents the case of several predictions attributed to Eudoxus of Cnidus, arguing against the outright dismissal of such attributions as false. While Gysembergh does not make a definitive case in support of Eudoxus' authorship of these predictions, he addresses the possible implications such a conclusion could have had on the spread and interest in astrology in the Hellenophone world. In the third and last chapter of the section (p. 339–365), Adrian Pirtea focuses on the astrological concept of „eclipse dragon”, which was believed to be the cause of eclipses, discussing its origins and transmission in Byzantium through the influence of Arab-Persian astrology. Pirtea analyzes an anonymous Byzantine text titled *Fundamentals of the Chaldean Art*, in which he traces the influence of Sasanian astrology by means of an Arabic or Persian text.

The final section of the volume gathers three contributions on oneiromancy, one of the most popular forms of divination. Elsa Simonetti (p. 369–399) explores Plutarch's philosophical justification for dreams as carriers of divine messages. She draws a distinction between dreams that arise from the irrational soul, common to all people, which are less accurate, and dreams that arise from the intellect or *daimōn*, achieved only by the virtuous or sages, which have a higher accuracy. Next, Steven Oberhelman (p. 401–433) scrutinizes the seven extant Byzantine dreambooks. After discussing their variations in terms of format, length, intended audience, and structure, Oberhelman presents and exemplifies several methodological principles of interpreting dreams (association with traditional cultural material, puns and wordplay, literal associations, and metaphors). The final part of the paper discusses the function of dreambooks, pointing to their role in catering to socially, economically and politically rooted anxieties about the future. In the last chapter of the section and the volume (p. 435–446), Francesco Monticini briefly discusses the two Byzantine commentaries on Synesios' *On Dreams*, both dating to the Palaiologan era. Monticini explores possible explanations for the temporal proximity between the two commentaries and advances as main explanatory factor the unsettling context of the Palaiologan period. Through its blend of nostalgia for a mythicized past and anxiety about an uncertain future, this period gave rise to a renewed interest in divination, especially on the basis of dreams, which Monticini explains as an attempt to overcome the angst of that time. The last pages of the volume consist of a general bibliography (p. 447–501) and an index with useful entries on concepts and proper names (p. 502–510).

The volume is a valuable research tool for students of (Late) Antiquity and Byzantium with an interest in the inner workings of and theorization about divination. Given the diversity of the contributions in terms of focus and temporal framework covered, the reader would have benefitted from a note on contributors, with brief descriptions of their research interests. Moreover, cross-referencing would have increased the coherence of the volume, especially in the case of chapters that employed the same source material (e.g. the Theosophy of Tübingen). The interested reader will find in this volume a comprehensive overview of divination, which displays not only the great diversity of the practice, but also the definition and redefinition it underwent from (Late) Antiquity to Byzantium.

Mihail Mitrea

³ D. Tsames, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἀγιολογικὰ ἔργα. Α΄. Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι*, Thessalonica, 1985, p. 453–454 (ch. 25); N. Russell, *Gregory Palamas. The Hesychast Controversy and the Debate with Islam. Documents relating to Gregory Palamas*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2020 (Translated Texts for Byzantinists, 8), p. 78.

Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Bizantinística, n° 35, mayo de 2020.

Le *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Bizantinística* nous propose un sujet de réflexion en directe liaison avec l'actualité et avec le but même d'apporter des éléments d'appui à la compréhension des crises de notre époque. Il s'agit d'un recueil de cinq études sur la peste à Byzance précédé d'une introduction signée par Juan Signes Codoñer, qui explique l'intention et l'urgence de cette publication. Dans le contexte de l'épidémie de Covid-19, la question que le citoyen se pose est la relation entre les faits et la narration des faits. L'appréhension des conséquences économiques de l'épidémie actuelle justifie un rappel historique.

L'article de Geoffrey Greatrex (*Procopius and the Plague in 2020*) brosse le tableau des études sur la peste de Justinien, en commençant par nous rappeler le fameux passage des *Guerres* de Justinien par Procope de Césarée. L'impression de ressemblance avec ce que nous vivons est très forte. Mais pendant les deux dernières décennies la byzantinologie s'est divisée en deux positions fortement opposées : celle qui lit dans la grande peste des VI^e-VII^e siècles la cause de la chute de l'Empire romain (Kyle Harper, *The Fall of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire*, 2017) et celle qui nie tout rôle à cette épidémie dans les changements historique de l'époque, qui se suffisent des causes économiques et sociales indépendantes de la peste (J. Haldon, L. Mordechai, M. Eisenberg, T.P. Newfield, A. Izdebski, J.E. Kay, H. Poinari). L'analyse de Greatrex met en cause les deux perspectives en indiquant les points faibles. La vérité est au milieu, mais cela nous laisse sur notre faim de savoir ce que la peste fait à la société.

Qu'apprenons-nous de l'histoire qui puisse nous aider à comprendre notre époque ? C'est l'interrogation directe de l'article de Dionysios Stathakopoulos, (*Not Learning from the Plague*). Très peu de chose de la peste de Justinien car l'idée de contagion était inconnue et donc il n'y avait pas les mesures de confinement dictées par les autorités. Il y avait en revanche un vrai sentiment de détresse, à cause du nombre des morts. C'est le cas de Constantinople.

Lee Mordechai s'est fait connaître par la mise en cause de la théorie que la peste de Justinien fut la cause de la chute de l'Empire romain. Dans cet article (*The economic effects of the Justinianic Plague?*) il résume fort utilement ses recherches minutieuses sur de nouvelles catégories de données, comme les séries extensives d'inscriptions en Syrie, la production des papyri et la circulation des monnaies dans les régions d'Antioche et de Beyrouth aux environs des vagues de peste et constate qu'on ne trouve pas les fluctuations envisagés dans une société atteinte par une baisse démographique et une crise économique subséquente. La conclusion qui s'impose est que le chiffre des morts a été moins important qu'estimé. En tout cas, les conséquences économiques sont négligeables. La recherche sur l'exploitation de la terre s'appuie sur l'analyse de la quantité de pollen accumulée dans les sédiments des lacs pour estimer le peuplement d'une région. Cette recherche avait notamment fait découvrir la mortalité significative due à la peste noire en Occident. Rien de similaire dans les Balkans du VI^e siècle. Il reste à observer que pour la région balkanique l'infiltration des populations slaves au VI^e-VII^e siècles avait remédié le dépeuplement des Balkans. Même si on modère les conclusions de L. M., le fait reste que les sources littéraires ont produit une image agrandie et trop émotionnelle de l'impact de la peste.

Raúl Estangüi Gómez (*L'impact de la maladie dans un monde en crise. Le cas de Byzance au temps de la peste noire*) tend à renverser les causalités. Une société affaiblie par des crises sociales, culturelles et identitaires peut facilement voir dans un événement extérieur la cause de son malheur. Il est ainsi difficile à retenir une causalité directe entre les vagues de peste noire à partir de 1347 et le déclin de la société et de l'Etat byzantin, et R.E.G. tend à penser que les causes plus générales, les changements de statut de la paysannerie et les guerres endémiques observables depuis le XIII^e siècle suffisent à expliquer le déclin des compagnes byzantines et la crise économique à la veille de la conquête ottomane. La peste noire n'en est pas nécessairement un acteur historique dans cette partie de l'Europe.

Marie-Hélène Congourdeau (*Chrétiens de Byzance au défi de la Peste noire*) apporte une possible réponse au dilemme entre les défenseuses des conséquences fortes de la peste et les pourfendeurs de cette opinion classique. Les sources littéraires transmettent les émotions des auteurs,

auxquelles les historiens prêtent trop facilement l'oreille. Or, M.-H. C. indique que les principaux témoins de la peste noire ont eu à souffrir dans leur famille de la peste (Jean Cantacuzène a perdu un fils et Demetrios Kydones plusieurs proches parents). Ainsi, ils nous offrent une réflexion plus intense sur la signification religieuse de la peste. En cette matière, à nouveau se distinguent deux perspectives, celle des théologiens, comme Anastase le Sinaïte, qui admettent que Dieu dirige le monde par des lois naturelles, de sorte que les aléas de la nature ne sont pas directement imputables à la divinité, et celle des théologiens plus sensible à l'idée de prédestination et donc de pédagogie divine. Que des théologiens contemporains de la chute de Byzance sont favorables à la seconde opinion et s'appliquent en même temps à compter les années jusqu'à la fin du monde ne nous étonne pas.

Ces études sur l'éventuel impact de la nature sur la société humaine, nous révèlent que le mal naturel ne surpasse pas en impacte le mal que l'homme se fait lui-même. Pédagogie de Dieu ou aléas naturels, les pestes médiévales n'ont pas la vocation de détourner les sociétés de leur achèvement dans l'histoire, vers le bien ou vers le mal.

Petre Guran

Бојана КРСМАНОВИЋ, „Е, е, шта је то?“ *Евнуси у војном врху византијског царства (780–1025)*, Београд, Службени гласник, 2018, 520 p.

The main focus of Bojana Krsmanović's book is, as stated in the title, explaining the role played by eunuchs in the military leadership of the Byzantine Empire between 780 and 1025. The reasoning behind her tackling this particular time period of Byzantine history is the repeated occurrence of eunuchs in leading military positions, which is something that was relatively rare before and after that timespan of 245 years.

The author, who is the current deputy director at the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, establishes from the opening pages that she does not intend to provide a complete analysis of the institution of eunuchs and their various roles. To that end, she provides a quick overview of the vast literature on the subject, which includes Charis Messis's recent treatise, *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire* (2014), pointing out that they would be most fit to satisfy the more general curiosity of her potential readers. Instead, the author wants to discuss the purpose and meaning of eunuchs in military positions: as she puts it, the questions she asks are “how and why would one become a eunuch?” and “why would a male child or adult want to become a eunuch at all?”. Although these two questions appear to coincide with those that her curious readers would ask, it is quite clear that the real dilemma is how eunuchs were considered to be fit to take part in a manly activity such as war.

It is worth sparing a few words on the quote in the title: the phrase “Αἱ εἶ, τὶ ταῦτα;” (which can be found in the English version of the book's title, but not in the original Serbian, where it is simply translated) stems from an episode described by the historian George Pachymeres (1242–1310). According to him, a Byzantine embassy was sent to the court of Stefan Uroš I to negotiate the minutiae of the wedding between the Serbian king's younger son Milutin and Ana, the daughter of Michael VIII Palaeologus. Noticing the presence of eunuchs in the retinue, Stefan Uroš I asked the Byzantine representatives “what are they supposed to be?” and, upon finding out that eunuchs were sent on such missions as per Imperial order, exclaimed the titular phrase, namely “eh, eh, what is that?”, adding that Serbs had no such habits.

The author uses this episode, which takes place around 1270 (well over two centuries after the end of the period covered in the book, at a time when eunuchs had long since stopped being considered for military positions) as a witty *captatio benevolentiae* that introduces the central question of her research: why did eunuchs have any roles in the military leadership at any given point? In her own words, Uroš's question could just as well be “what are they *not* supposed to be?” –

why castrate them at all, if they are still going to be a part of an army led by the *barbatoi*, “the bearded ones”?

The book is constructed as a contextualization of the various cases of eunuchs being named in high military ranks. As a result, the four main parts bear titles that would not be unfitting in a traditional military history of Byzantium between 780 and 1025: “In the Shadow of Constantine V (780–820)”, “The Collapse and Restoration of the Command System (820–867)”, “The Empire Recovers Its Military Power (867–963) and “The Era of Soldier Emperors (963–1025)”. The book’s structure is such that the reader will be left without any doubt as to the degree to which the fortunes of eunuchs were intertwined with the fortunes of their lieges at the time. As the author puts it, they should not have been in the army, but carved their path into those higher ranks exactly *because* they were loyal representatives of their emperors and empresses – the earliest example is that of empress Irene, who was forced to employ eunuchs to compensate for her lack of male imperial authority during her regency and reign.

The author identifies two paradoxes in her study: on the one hand, why were eunuchs accepted as military (co-)commanders even though they had never risen through the ranks as common soldiers and, on the other hand, why didn’t the *barbatoi* resent them and attempt to overturn their sudden authority? The answer to the first is, per her extensive historical analysis (which, naturally, refers both to historical sources of the time and modern studies), that they were first and foremost palace eunuchs – like their Oriental counterparts – but that they were named in such positions by their rulers, who could bypass military hierarchy to suit their own political purpose to supervise military activities by means of such placeholders. The second paradox is explained in a similar fashion, particularly in the case of the two military commanders who acceded to the throne, Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes: eunuchs were part of their households and, therefore, of unquestionable loyalty. The author also highlights the fact that these eunuchs did have some knowledge of the art of warfare and that some of them were even celebrated for their military prowess, their bravery and even their physical strength. That being said, the rise of the military aristocracy eventually led to the decline of military eunuchs: in fact, after Constantine VIII’s promotion of a eunuch as *domestikos ton Scholon* in 1025, their importance decreased gradually, up to the rise of the Komnenoi, which would mark the return to the old status quo, where warfare was exclusively an activity of the *barbatoi*.

Finally, it should be noted that the book not only includes a ten-page summary of the book in English, but also a translation of the table of contents. It is perhaps somewhat confusing that the translation should be placed several hundreds of pages after its original, but it may be pointed out in the editor’s defence that it immediately precedes the summary, making it far more useful for readers who have very poor knowledge of Serbian. The summary itself is quite detailed, making this book accessible to a considerable number of readers. While it would be an immense disservice to the author’s extensive research and discourse to limit oneself just to these ten pages, they are no less precious in that the answers to the titular question will reach a wider audience.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art, vol. I: *Processes of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology*, 210 pp; vol. II: *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, 630 p.; vol. III: *Imagining the Past. The Reception of the Middle Ages in Serbian Art from the 18th to the 21st Century*, ed. Ljubomir MAKSIMOVIĆ, Jelena TRIVAN, Danica POPOVIĆ, Dragan VOJVODIĆ (eds.), Belgrade, P.E. Službeni glasnik, 2016, 254 p.

Published on the occasion of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, which took place in Belgrade between August 22 and August 27, 2016, this three-volume work leaves a rather strong impression on its reader. All three books are in a slightly wider A4 format, which give it the appearance of an art exhibition catalogue. That is hardly coincidental, as pointed out by the editor-in-

chief, Ljubomir Maksimović, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and president of the organizing committee of the Congress: the original intention had been to have this book be supported by exhibitions that would visually and materially support this collection of papers.

Those exhibitions sadly never took place, which conversely worked to the authors' advantage: the books were constructed in such a manner that they would be perfectly functional even outside of the original context of the International Congress of Byzantine Studies. This work contains over one thousand pages of richly illustrated and equally richly documented articles signed by Serbian scholars specialized in the relations between medieval Serbia and their Byzantine neighbours, covering an extremely wide range, from archaeology to politics and from manuscript illuminations to architecture.

The first volume, edited by Vesna Bikić from the Archaeological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, is dedicated to describing the material cultural heritage based on the archaeological record and against the background ideology, military and ecclesiastical organisation, and economic activity. According to the authors, the reception of Byzantine models and pattern strongly depended on the dynamics of Byzantine-Serbian political relations throughout the Middle Ages (described by Srđan Pirivatrić, the current director of the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, in the opening chapter of this volume) and, while they played an important role, did not act as an impediment to stylistic influences from other areas, such as Central Europe and, later, the Islamic tradition of Asia Minor.

As for the second volume, which was edited by Dragan Vojvodić from the Institute of Art History at the University of Belgrade and Danica Popović from the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, it is telling that it is more voluminous as the other two put together. The authors of the chapters took it upon themselves to offer a detailed panorama of the history of Serbian art between from its beginnings in the 9th century until the First Great Serbian Migration in 1690. Over the course of over thirty chapters, the reader is given access to a very richly illustrated panorama of all aspects of art in medieval Serbia, from architecture to paintings and illuminations. Both experts and less specialized readers will be equally pleased by the sheer amount of content within this second volume: each of the six main sections covers a certain period from the history of medieval Serbia and its relationship with Byzantium and the post-Byzantine world. To the layman, the first chapter of each section will be most helpful, as it provides an overview of the historical context of Byzantine-Serbian relations throughout the Middle Ages, as well as the evolution of the Serbian state and church, which helps one better understand the dynamics postulated by the authors throughout this volume.

The third volume, edited by Lidija Merenik (the chairman of the Art History department of the University of Belgrade), Vladimir Simić and Igor Borozan (both associate professors at the same department) acts as a lengthy epilogue to this political and artistic relationship: the authors strive to show the rich legacy of medieval Serbian art in the modern era. Far from being just a discussion of the evolution of religious paintings and architecture from the 18th century to the current day, this volume also gives much-deserved attention to secular art, also covering the matter of medieval inspiration in contemporary, postmodern paintings. This final part of this triptych (as it were) provides a real sense of perspective to any reader, who will indeed have a good understanding of the degree to which Byzantium was and still is intertwined with Serbian art.

That this three-volume publication only exists in 500 copies is almost regrettable, seeing how the authors endeavoured to provide such an abundant resource for the widest academic public. The book is entirely in English, which not only means that it was a welcome read for Byzantinists visiting Belgrade in 2016, but also that any future reader who would be fortunate enough to find this book in a library would have access to what was far more than the voluminous companion to an ill-fated exhibition project – this is, in fact, an outstanding introduction in the subject matter.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Małgorzata SKOWRONEK, *Palaea Historica. The Second Slavic Translation. Commentary and Text*, transl. Y. Loske, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016 (Series Ceranea, 3), 204 p.

This book is a part of the *Series Ceranea*, published through the efforts of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe (also known as the *Ceraneum*), established in 2011 by the Senate of University of Łódź. As stated by the series' editors, particular emphasis is placed on the history of Byzantium and the *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Of the three volumes published in 2016 (and the total of five published until 2019), the present book is the only one written in English (and not in Polish), making it immediately accessible to a very wide academic public.

The author, who is an assistant professor in the Department of Slavic Philology at the University of Łódź, has dedicated an important part of her research to the history of biblical narrations in Old Slavic literature and intended, in fact, to publish a larger monograph on the Slavic version of the *Palaea Historica*. The very felicitous result of her work on the subject was the independent publication of this edition of the source text.

The so-called *Palaea Historica*, originally written in Byzantium at the end of the 9th century, is composed of a selection of narratives from the first books of the Old Testament, with supplementary details being added from other sources (most notably apocrypha), while also containing poetical fragments from the Book of Psalms and the works of Byzantine hymnographers. The title per se was applied in academia in order to distinguish it from the *Palaea Interpretata* (which contains polemical elements) and the *Palaea Chronographica* (which owed more to the chronographic style and content). Past definitions of the *Palaea Historica* as a biblical paraphrase or compendium has proven to be unfair to its actual contents, which is why it attracted relatively little attention in the past. The endeavour was not made easier by the fact that the name *Palaea* (short for ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, "The Old Testament") was usually added later to the manuscripts and, either way, did not have a terminological status, instead covering a rather broad palette of texts only tied together by their connection to the Old Testament.

One consequence of this relative lack of interest in this Byzantine text was that the diversity of the Slavic translations was underestimated. The text was very popular in the *Slavia Orthodoxa*, also benefitting from a Romanian translation in the 17th century, edited by Mihai Moraru and Alexandra Moraru in 2001, and it was generally assumed that there was one main Slavic translation (dated around the 10th–11th century) that formed the basis for the text's circulation in South Slavic and East Slavic cultures. The editor shares, however, the opinion that there was a *second* Slavic translation, which circulated among the Southern Slavs, which prompted M. N. Speranskiy to pose the thesis that it was written in the 15th or 16th century, in order to provide access to an otherwise lost text. J. Reinhart, however, suggested that it was created in the middle of the 14th century, in a Serbian language milieu, based on the stronger argument that its oldest copies are from that time. There is also a third translation, conserved in only one 16th-century copy, which is currently in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow: the editor was, however, unable to consult it for the sake of comparison.

The third chapter of the book refers to the copies used by the editor to create this edition, along with their textological notes. The reader is given a very convincing overview of the linguistic traits of the Slavonic language used in the manuscripts of the second translation of the *Palaea Historica* and, as a result, the editor is able to confirm (to a reasonable extent) Reinhart's theory that the translation was composed in the Serbian cultural milieu, and that it may be assumed that those copies with evident Middle Bulgarian features were copied from the Serbian originals, probably travelling towards the north east, with one manuscript – SB III22 from the Library of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church – supposedly having been written in Wallachia (per Ion-Radu Mircea's suggestion, as quoted by the editor herself). That being said, this theory only stands as long as the oldest copy is the Raškan Vindob. slav. 158: the author admits that if older Middle Bulgarian copies are found, then the trajectory of the second translation should be reconsidered. Finally, it is worth

pointing out that the editor also includes a helpful comparative table with the chapter titles from the eight manuscripts used in establishing the text of this edition.

Further praise must be given for the two indexes that accompany the Slavic text: the first, dedicated to the citations and references, provides an immensely helpful overview of the Biblical and theological passages that the *Palaea Historica* cites or alludes to. To this end, the editor has the items of this first index refer to the footnote numbers in the critical apparatus. This *modus operandi* changes slightly in the second index, which contains the proper names from the Slavic text and simply refers to the page numbers. The proper names are ordered in the alphabetical order of their English transcription, but the reader will certainly be most pleased that the editor included their various Slavic transcriptions between parentheses.

The last few pages of the present book contain rather high-quality photographs of certain pages from the manuscripts used in developing this edition. Whether they can be used by palaeographers varies from case to case, with the photographs on pages 202 and 203, each representing two folios from Ms Rum. 42 and Ms BAR slav. 358, being placed horizontally, which leaves the greater part of the page completely empty (which was not the case for the photographs on pages 192-193, placed sideways). That is not to say that they are completely illegible: on the contrary, the quality of the images is such that even just magnifying them would make them fine research material.

To conclude, this edition is of immense use to anyone interested in studying the rich tradition of the *Palaea Historica*, as it provides a rigorously established text for the second translation. As a result, the present book joins A. V. Vassiliev's 1893 edition of the Greek original and A. N. Popov's 1881 edition of the first Slavic translation as an unavoidable cornerstone for all future philologists who want to gain a better understanding of the circulation of this very popular text in the *Slavia Orthodoxa*. As the only English-language book in the *Series Ceranea*, the present book is nothing if not excellent promotion for the activities of the Polish *Ceraneum*.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Александър НИКОЛОВ, Васил ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Елена КОСТОВА, Пенка ДАНОВА, Симеон ХИНКОВСКИ, *Дубровнишки документи за историята на България и българите през XIII–XV век*. Том I (1230–1403 г.), София, Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 2017, 303 p.; Том II (1407–1505 г.), София, Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 2018, 448 p.

These two volumes are the result of the research project led by Vasil Gyuzelev, member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, whose aim was to provide a complete and updated overview of the oldest documents concerning medieval Bulgaria in the Archive of the Republic of Ragusa in Dubrovnik. This project, titled “Dubrovnik and Bulgaria in the 13th – 15th centuries”, also involved four other medievalists, namely Alexander Nikolov, Simeon Hinkovski (both of the Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”), Penka Danova (from the Institute of Balkan Studies and Centre of Thracology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), and Elena Kostova (from the Institute for Historical Research in Bulgaria) who undertook their research between 2016 and 2017. Following their overview of the material at the Archives State Agency, the Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the archive of the Institute for Historical Research in Bulgaria, the five medievalists spent the springs of 2016 (for the first volume) and 2017 (for the second) at the Archive in Dubrovnik, consulting the documents *per se*. The introductory note at the beginning of the first volume provides a fine account of the manner in which the project members divided the overwhelming number of sources based on their categories, whereas the one at the beginning of the second volume.

Both volumes have the same structure: following the aforementioned notes, the editors provide an overview of the previous Bulgarian studies on the Ragusan documents from the time spans covered by each volume. These studies also act as the rationale behind their own undertaking, seeing

how Bulgarian historiographers lacked access to a complete text corpus, which would otherwise have been a more solid basis for their research.

The key feature of these two books is, beyond any doubt, the wealth of historical texts it provides. Each text is neatly transcribed by the editors, with a facing-page translation in modern Bulgarian and with mentions made of existing editions (where available, of course, seeing how quite a few of them had not been edited before). The first volume contains 55 documents, most of which can be found in the Ragusan Archive: the very first of them is the so-called Dubrovnik Charter of 1230, by which Tsar Ivan Asen II gave the Ragusan merchants the right to trade freely in his country, which is currently stored in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The authors also annexed a further six documents that attest the relationship between medieval Bulgaria and Dubrovnik: the earliest of them, edited and translated by Vasil Zlatarski since 1920, is from the year 994.

The second volume contains no less than 115 documents dated between 1407 and 1505, most of which can be found in the Archive in Dubrovnik. Additionally, the editors saw fit to include another nine letters (dated between 1454 and 1481), which were written mostly by members of the Ragusan political and commercial elite and described the events taking place in the Balkans at the time. Although these nine did not stem from the Archive in Dubrovnik and had, in fact, been previously edited and published, the editors believed it necessary to republish them in order to draw the attention of Bulgarian historiographers to them.

Aside from the transcriptions, both volumes also offer facsimiles of selected documents. These images, which are all printed on gloss paper, are of quite impressive quality, allowing readers who are more versed in palaeography to compare the transcriptions with the original and to draw their own conclusions on the writing style and the traits of each document. The only possible regret one may have is that the selection is limited to less than half of the documents presented throughout the books, although considering the editors' fruitful efforts to transcribe them, one should consider them more as a welcome bonus.

What is immediately obvious from even the most cursory of glances at the two volumes is the editors' painstaking efforts to provide two invaluable tools to future Bulgarian medievalists, seeing how they offer direct access both to the original Slavonic, Latin and Italian texts and a modern Bulgarian translation. The editors' option to provide accurate transcriptions of the documents will doubtlessly please even researchers from abroad, who will not be completely hindered by their lesser proficiency in the modern Bulgarian language.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Azat BOZOYAN (ed.), *Cilician Armenia in the Perceptions of Adjacent Political Entities*, trans. A. Martirosyan, Yerevan, 'Gitutyun' Publishing House of the NAS RA, 2019, 282 p.

Located at the crossroad of Byzantine, Arabic and, from 1098, Latin cultures, Cilicia was a hybrid state, mixing foreign and Armenian influences. Therefore, its history can be studied by specialists working in the field of the Crusades, the Byzantine Empire, the Arabic world, or the Mongols. From Lewond Ališan, with his books *Léon le Magnifique* and *Sissouan ou l'Arménie-Cilicie*, to Claude Mutaſian, who published his work *L'Arménie du Levant* in 2012, the history of Armenian Cilicia had been analysed in many publications, focusing on various aspects of political, social, cultural and economic history. However, there has not been a united effort of a group of researchers to show how the Armenian state was perceived by its neighbours, and that is the main aim of the present book.

This work represents the result of the research project *Cilician Armenia in the Perception of the Adjacent Political Entities (12th–13th cent.)*, and the group of researchers consists of Azat Bozoyan, Rustam Shukurov, Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan and Gagik Danielyan. The book is divided into three sections: *The Evidence of the Byzantine Sources* (Azat Bozoyan), *The Cilician Armenia State in*

Near Eastern Sources (Rustam Shukurov, Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan and Gagik Danielyan), and *The Caliph of the Armenians* (Gagik Danielyan). The volume is disproportionate, given that 4 out of 5 articles study the perception of Cilician Armenia in the Muslim world (Sejukid and Arabic). The editor of the volume declared that given the short term of the project (2 years), the authors did not have enough time speak about the Latin and the Mongol worlds. Although the explanation is understandable, the readers might feel the need to compare the perceptions of the Byzantines or the Arabs with those of the Latins or the Mongols.

Azat Bozoyan studies the perception of Cilician Armenians in the Byzantine sources by analysing separately the literature and the imperial and patriarchal official documents. While for medieval historians like Anne Komnene or John Kinnamos the Armenians were perceived as heretics, who wanted to free themselves from the Byzantine authority, the emperors were interested to form an alliance with the princes and kings from Cilicia. The political negotiations were accompanied by the religious ones, which had never been solved. Although the alliance was never formed, these discussions represented a continuation of the Byzantine tradition of drawing the Armenians into the imperial sphere of influence. Given the scarcity of official documents issued in Cilicia or Hromkla, where was located the seat of the catholicos, by analysing the imperial and the patriarchal acts, Azat Bozoyan managed to reconstruct the complex process of political and religious negotiations between the emperors and the Armenian princes and kings.

The purpose of Rustam Shukurov's article *The Image of Cilician Armenia in Anatolian Muslims Sources* is to present the level of knowledge of the Seljuk historians regarding Cilician Armenia. The Muslim historians from Anatolia recorded, mainly, the events which happened during the reigns of Lewon I and Het'um I, which can be explained by the connections established by the Armenian kings and the sultans of Rûm in the first half of the 13th century. Shukurov's merit is represented by the presentation of the main events related to Cilician Armenia which are recorded in the works of historians from Muslim Anatolia, some of the sources being unpublished. Another important feature of his article is represented by the explanation of the phrases which were used to designate the monarchs and the nobles. Lewon I's reign was so powerful, that the Seljuk authors used his Arabic name, *lifûn* or *lifîyûn*, to designate the Armenian kings or rulers. For the nobles, the Muslim writers used the word *paron*, which point to the dynamic aspect of the cultures in the Orient: *paron* was borrowed from the Franks and through Cilicia penetrated into the Sultanate of Rûm. Shukurov dedicated a short presentation to the gifts and tributes which the Armenian kings sent to the Seljuk rulers. The information is useful, but maybe it would have been more fruitful if the author had analysed this policy of gift offering as soft power, comparing it with similar acts undertaken by the Byzantine Empire or the Abbasid Caliphate which were recorded in the Seljuk chronicles.

The perception of Cilician Armenia in the works of the Arab authors is analysed by Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan in his article *The Rubenids in Arabic Historiography*. The author divided the sources into two categories: Syriac and Arabic historiography. The Syriac historians designated the rulers of Cilicia as "sons of Ruben", thus presenting Ruben I as the founder of the ruling dynasty. In the Arab works, the Rubenid princes as named by using the formula "Ibn Levon" which is related to Levon I (1129/30–1137). Usually, Lewon II was regarded by the Latin and Armenian sources as the most important ruler of Cilicia, given that he restored the Armenian monarchy, but Ter-Ghevondyan shows us that for the Arab historians, Lewon I had a greater impact on the neighbouring Muslims countries. Beginning with Het'um I, who ascended on the throne in 1226, the Armenian kings and their country are designated in the Arab works as „king of Armenians“, „Armenian country“ or „the country of Sis“, thus discerning between the two dynasties who succeeded to the governance of the kingdom. This shows that although the Armenian chronicles presented the Het'umids as the continuators of the Rubenids, the Arab authors considered that 1226 marked a new age in the history of Cilician Armenia.

The last two articles of the volume are signed by Gagik Danielyan. In the first one, entitled, *The Title T'agavor/Takfûr in Medieval Muslim Historiography* the author argued that *takfûr* represented the translation of the Armenian title *t'agavor* into the Arabic, Turkish and Persian

languages. Initially used only for the Armenian kings of Cilicia, after the fall of the kingdom (1375), it started also to designate the emperors of Constantinople or Trapezunt and some Christian princes from Asia Minor and Thrace. The usage of this title may indicate how the Muslim chroniclers adopted an Armenian word to describe the rulers of Cilicia, while in the Latin or the Greek histories the Armenian kings were designated by Latin or Greek words. It is important to say that this process was reflected too in the Armenian chroniclers, where the emirs were designated using the Arab word, “amir”. Danielyan stressed that the usage of *takfūr* was conditioned by political factors. While some Muslims authors used *takfūr* for the Armenian kings because they did not want to legitimate their authority by presenting them as *malik*, the historians from Iran chose to call them *sultans*, which points to the close relations between Cilician Armenia and the Ilkhanate of Persia.

In the last article, *The Caliph of the Armenians*, Gagik Danielyan presented how the Arab chroniclers perceived the Armenian catholicos. As *batrik-al arman* (patriarch of the Armenians), *kagijus*, *kagilus* (catholicos) or even *halifat al-arman*, the catholicos were actively involved in the foreign policy of the Cilician princes, but also suffered as the Mamluks started to attack more and more the Armenian kingdom. Danielyan presented the history of the catholicos from Hromkla, although by the title of this work, the reader might have expected a comparison between the Armenian and the Muslim spiritual leaders, as it was reflected in the Arab works.

The volume helps the English-speaking scholars to gain a better understanding of the dynamic relations between Cilicia and its neighbours. However, the translation from Armenian to English is ungainly, and sometimes it seems unable to express the full meaning of the Armenian phrases.

David Linus Neagu

Αναστασία ΚΟΝΤΟΓΙΑΝΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (ed.), *Πόλεις και εξουσία στο Βυζάντιο κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων (1261–1453)* [*Cities and Power in Byzantium during the Palaeologan Era (1261–1453)*], Athens, Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Κέντρο Έρευνας του Μεσαιωνικού και Νέου Ελληνισμού, 2018, 272 p.

The volume, published by the Center for the Study of Medieval and New Hellenism of the Academy of Athens, contains eight studies in Greek, English and French about various aspects of the cities in late Byzantine times. As stated by the editor (Anastasia Kontogiannopoulou) in the *Introduction* the subject for this volume was suggested by a research program of the Centre, “The cities in Byzantium, 13–15th centuries. Administration – Economy – Society”.

Eleni Sarandi (Ελένη Σαράντη) discusses in her study “The Identities of Constantinople in the *Byzantios* of Theodore Metochites and the Historical Messages”, a text belonging to the so called “*laudes Constantinopolitanae*”. Metochites’ *Βυζάντιος* is one of the longest such texts, written in the first decade of the fourteenth century, and it is representative for byzantine political ideas in the first decades after the recovery of the capital in 1261. The author identifies the sources of Metochites’ text in two rhetoric works of Aelius Aristeides (*Panathenaios* and the *Praise of Rome*), identifying common themes (such as the universal nature of the empire) and even common wording. Many of the qualities of Ancient Athens are attributed to Constantinople. However, as in the Aristeides’ *Praise of Rome* very few references are made to the city’s past. A notable exception is the special mention of Constantine the Great, the founder of the city. The ecumenical nature of the empire’s capital is even more evident from the religious point of view. The Patriarch of Constantinople is an example of the ecumenical dimension of the capital city. In Metochites’ work Constantinople is compared with Babylon, Alexandria and Rome and the Byzantine capital emerges in every case superior. (The theme of comparison between Constantinople and Rome will be also used about a century later in a famous text by Manuel Chrysoloras). The main idea is the religious superiority of the New Rome over the old one.

The study of Paris Gounaridis addresses from the ideological point of view one of the main political events in fourteenth century Byzantium: “A Doubtful Civil War: The Conflict of the Two

Andronikoi”. The narrative sources are conflicting in explaining and interpreting the events. The supporters of Andronikos III, a group of young aristocrats, emerged initially as opponents of the traditional policies of Andronikos II. Their intentions were to reform the Byzantine state and especially to strengthen the imperial authority. After their victory, reaching the political power, the same groups become part of the establishment and continued the traditional imperial policy. It is interesting how the ideas of the two antagonistic groups are reflected in the works of two Byzantine historians, Nicephoros Gregoras and John Cantacuzenus. Cantacuzenus, writing after another civil conflict and after being himself in the imperial position reflects the traditional Byzantine political ideology.

Sophia Mergiali-Sahas (Σοφία Μεργιαλή-Σαχά) examines in her contribution “The Collective Portrait of the Constantinopolitan Intellectual in the Palaeologan Era (1261–1453)”. Interesting is the discussion of the meaning of the term *intellectual* in the context of the Byzantine world, as well as the topic of self-consciousness of the intellectuals as a distinctive group. The background of the intellectual was very diverse socially and professionally. The author even draws up as basis for her research a list of 217 Constantinopolitan intellectuals present in the cultural life during the last two centuries of Byzantium. They belonged mainly to the middle class and the low-class aristocracy, many of them being, as the author points out, professional-intellectuals.

The focus changes to the second urban center of the Byzantine Empire with the study of Tonia Kiousopoulou, “The *βουλευτήριο* of Thessaloniki”. The existence of a *βουλευτήριο* as a distinct public building in Thessaloniki was first presumed by Orest Tafrali in his 1913 book *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle*. The starting point was a remark made in a rhetorical discourse attributed by Tafrali to Manuel II Palaeologus in the Greek manuscript 3041 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, ff. 47–51. In the manuscript the above mentioned text has the title *Συμβουλευτικός πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλονικεῖς, ἡνίκα πολιορκοῦντο* (*Advisory [speech] to the Thessalonians when they were besieged*) but no indication of author’s name. The work was published in 1956 by Vasileios Laourdas and attributed to Manuel II. In Tafrali’s opinion, the *βουλευτήριο* was an actual building for the senators of the city. Tonia Kiousopoulou argues that the above mentioned text should be interpreted in a figurative sense, an archaizing term, rather than an exact and contemporary reference. But this is for the author the starting point in the research of public places connected to the political life of Thessaloniki. One of the observations made by the author is that the aristocracy and the middle class had each their own places of political action in the urban space. However, any mention of the public buildings in the sources has to be corroborated by the archaeological evidence. The fact is not very easy because Byzantine texts such as the chronicles of the capture of city by the Ottomans or the praises of Thessalonika provide only general description of the urban space.

Of particular interest is the study of Anastasia Kontogiannopoulou “Between Constantinople and Thessaloniki: Administrative and Social Organization in Serres (1261–1383)”. The provincial city of Serres had an important position during the Late Byzantine period. Important documentation about the administration and the society of Serres is provided by the archives of the Monastery of Saint John Prodromos located on the Menoikion Mountain. Until the Serbian occupation (1345) the administration of the city belonged to members of the upper and middle class. The governors belonged to great aristocratic families settled in the city. The administrative model was preserved by the Serbian rulers. An advisory body, the *senate* functioned in Serres during the Serbian rule. The political instability of the 14th century made the situation difficult for the middle class and by the time of the Ottoman conquest of the city, the local council was dominated by the upper class citizens. The study is completed by a “Table of Administrative, Economic and Church Officials in Serres” (p. 148–158).

Other two important urban centers in Late Byzantine era are the subject of Raul Estanguí Gomez contribution to the volume, “Adrianople and Didymoteichon in 13th–14th Centuries. The Last Seats of the Great Land Aristocracy of Byzantium”. The two cities, by their geographical position played always an important part in supplying food for Constantinople. In the beginning of the 14th century, when the empire lost most of its territories in Asia Minor, the importance of the remaining European territories increased. Families of great land-owners from Asia Minor settled in Adrianople

and Didymoteichon, acquiring land areas in the Evros Valley. Illustrative is the case of Kantakouzenos family, whose lands were situated around the fortification of Pytheion, in the outskirts of Didymoteichon. This city had mainly an agricultural character, with very few merchants and businessmen, but, instead was preferred by the great aristocracy. Controlling Didymoteichon proved essential for the victory of John Kantakouzenos in the second civil war.

“Arta and Ioannina: two rival cities with a parallel route” by Brendan Osswald explore the history of the two cities from 13th to the 15th century. The information on Arta and Ioannina before the fourth crusade is scarce. After the foundation of the Despotate of Epirus the two cities became more relevant. Arta was the capital city of the new state and Ioannina was the main city of its northern area. The author follows the historical development of the two cities, the changes in their political status. From municipal autonomy the two urban centers became almost city-states under the authority of Symeon Uroš Palaeologos (proclaimed emperor in Trikkala in 1359). The author explores the social and power structures: the sovereign, the archons and the council, the *καστρινοί* (inhabitants of the walled city), the people and the assembly.

Aspasia Louvi-Kizi focuses on the buildings of an important urban center of Peloponnesus during the Palaeologian era: “Mystras: Monuments and Historical Conjuncture”. The author observes that the study of the Byzantine cities began quite late, in many cases when many of the monuments were already destroyed. The case of Mystras, might be different, and systematic archaeological research could elucidate many of the features of the Byzantine city, even if the site was inhabited until mid-twentieth century. After the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Franks, in 1207, William (Guillaume) of Villehardouin built a double-walled fortress on a high hill to control the region. The fortress was surrendered to the Byzantines in 1262. According to the author, this event marks the beginnings of the development of the city on the flank of the hill. The city was built on the slopes of the hill not after organized planning but in various neighborhoods separated by empty rocky spaces. Every neighborhood had both small and large houses. This is proof that the archons of Mystras had their dwellings in every neighborhood, and not only in the upper city. There was also an extensive area of palaces, where were located the main administrative buildings of the Despotate of the Morea. The city had two defensive walls, provided with towers, and also two distinct areas, the upper city and the lower city. A series of photographs of the site of Mystras and architectural sketches of buildings (p. 265–272) complete the study.

The new volume provides the researchers of the urban life in Late Byzantine times with a wide range of subjects, in-depth analysis of sources as well as new directions of research in this field.

Mihai Țipău

Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Korčula sous la domination de Venise au XV^e siècle. Pouvoir, économie et vie quotidienne dans une île dalmate au Moyen Âge tardif*, Paris, Collège de France, 2019, 128 p.

In a time when the access to the sources becomes easier, either online or in archives, works like the ones conducted by Oliver Jens Schmitt (and continued by his students) are of uncontested significance when it comes to the analysis of the documents, perspectives of interpretations and methodologies. The present volume gathers three conferences given to the *Collège de France* in 2010 focussing on three aspects of the life on the island of Kurčola, in the Adriatic, during the first century of the Venetian administration: the people, the lands and the sea. Since 1420 when the island became part of the Venetian *Stato da Mar* its ties and connections with Venice were shaped by the desire and interests of *Serenissima*. Notwithstanding as the present volume deeply exemplifies, the Venetian administrative, politic and economical systems have been applied in a particular form in the insular hinterland of Kurčola.

Similar to the other possessions of *Stato da Mar*, the development of Korčula after the settlement of the Venetian administration mixed together the local traditions and customs, the cultural

heritage (Slavo-Croatian, Balkanic and Italian) and, of course, the new institutions of the governing power. The research of such a particular region, detached from Dalmatia or the Balkans as the traditional historiography would have implied, is, as the author suggests more than recommended for a better understanding of the specifics of the life style in a remote province of a maritime state. The most important argument for this research is represented by the enormous amount of un-explored documents kept in the archives of Dalmatia. Except of Dubrovnik already very popular for the researchers the other archives of Dalmatia open „the richest documentary fond from the Eastern Mediterranean” (p. 11), so rich that „one can re-count all the salad ate by a goat during five centuries” (p. 11). Even if it might look easily exaggerated, in fact these archives allows the researchers to encounter different types of sources (registers for taxes, ships charges, of sold goods, of bought goods, processes, testaments, and many other) essential for understanding the levels of penetration of the Venetian administration, and furthermore, to a better understanding of the Venetian way of ruling over an over-sea state. Accordingly, the author proposes a micro-history perspective based on these sources, not to change or to eliminate the previous researches, but to weave together the „great history” with the „normality”, „trivial” and „modesty” of the daily life style (p.11). In order to reach this goal, the author chooses to analyze the transformation of the insular society and economy once the administrative tools of Venice settled in Korčula. With the *first conference* the author aims to answer the question of the real degree of the Venetian rule over the island. In order to analyze how the people and the power (*Les hommes et le pouvoir*) coexisted Oliver Jens Schmitt presents shortly the Venetian institutions and the political and constitutional frame of the island, underlining the fact that Venice applied here the already experimented pattern of inclusion from Terra Ferma (Venetian possession from North-Eastern Italy). Even if Venice named its own governors and officials to rule the island, Korčula, like the other cities of Venetian Dalmatia, the people of the island kept their own local constitutions (*statuta*) which had to be respected and taken in consideration by the men of Venice. This combination of rules and laws had consequences of great significance for the particularities of the 15th century history of the entire Dalmatia. The reactions of the locals, exemplified by the author with the case of *Dragačić, Franuša and the governor*, reflect the Venetian ideology based on peace and justice (guaranteed by the local right and traditional structures of power) and the struggle of the local elites to appear more equal in the eyes of Venice. The conflicts between the *patricians* and the *populares* are keys of understanding the Venetian rule: even if a Venetian official formally administrated the island (chosen by the *Maggior Consiglio* in Venice), the personal connection of the inhabitants of island with the central authorities assured the feeling of appurtenance and higher protection inside the state. The research of such examples of individuals aware of their rights fighting against the local elites reveals different levels of cohabitation and interactions among social strata. Nevertheless, it was an effective way in which Venice won the support of the *populares* and played the role of mediator, fact that assured *Serenissima* with the permanent connection with its provinces, or at least this was the state before the increasing Ottoman incursions beginning with 1470.

In a space where the official sent by the metropolis to govern it doesn't know the local dialect (*čacav* in this case) nor all the customs or juridical practices, and the subjects are divided by wealth degrees and needs, Venice chose an open administrative process in which all the subjects could at least present their petitions, requests or complaints. Accordingly, during the peace period Venice ruled over the island of Korčula as simply an administrative authority and as mediator for the local conflicts between different social levels. The Ottoman presence on the neighbouring shores (after 1470) did nothing else but to increase the conscience of a ruling power that equilibrated the social tensions, offered military protection, economic infrastructure and the comfort of a Christian (Catholic) administration.

The *second conference* brings some new insights on the rural hinterland of the islands, its agriculture, animals and resources. The lands (*La terre*) of 15th century Korčula create also the space where the Adriatic world combines with the Balkan one offering glimpses over the mentalities of the peasants and shepherds that roam the rural space. Again, it is the large number of sources that opens toward the understanding of the juridical status of the insular village, the idea of property,

exploitation of the resources and the protection in front of the human and natural catastrophes. Divided between the city port of Korčula and the rural hinterland, the island had its life shaped by economy and demography of the villages and local resources. The lands were divided among the lands of the count, public lands, particular lands and those of the church and were worked on a contractual base by free peasant which had their own gardens or vineyards. Poor in grains, like the rest of Dalmatia, Korčula cultivated olives, figs, almonds, barley, and vineyards. Interesting aspects of the rural life are discussed by the author in the matter of sheep-breeding. Part of the Balkan world Korčula had its own shepherds and herds. However, on the island the shepherding life was a sedentary one, where shepherds were hired by the herd owner and the herds were controlled by rural guards. However, the reduced surface of the island provoked some conflicts between the peasants and the shepherds in search for fields/pastures to be worked. Under the Venetian rule Korčula kept its rural world as nucleus of the economic and social life of the island and its peasants and shepherds free. Venice also did not help the elites to increase the juridical dependency of the peasants making them the most loyal subjects. Consequently, the author states that the Venetian administrative perspective encouraged the development of a frontier agriculture, as an outpost of the Balkan space, where the Mediterranean structure survived within the Venetian Empire (p. 64–65).

The *third conference* focuses, as expected, on the relations of *curzolani* with the sea and the changes stimulated by the Venetian administration. If before 1420 Korčula was in the shadow of Dubrovnik, situated not far from the island, after this moment its maritime role increased in importance since it became the first Venetian port of the Adriatic. The relationship with the sea was inevitably reserved to those involved either in commercial activities or in the navigation along the Eastern Adriatic coast. When Venice settled its administration and made clear its commercial interests Korčula had only to extend its already functioning tools. Becoming part of a great maritime Empire, Korčula added to its commercial traditional routes (with the Balkans and Italian shores) the role of host for the Venetian larger ships, for repairing their damages and supplying military needs if necessary.

Nevertheless, its location at the entry in the Venetian Gulf gave Korčula the leverage of becoming a space of cultural interaction. It happened not only because higher numbers of people stopped in its port for commercial and military reasons, but also for those who traveled toward the sacred places of the Catholic world (Rome, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, Monte Sant' Angelo etc). Additionally, its location in the proximity of Dubrovnik was a constant reason for conflict over the maritime space and its frontiers. The daily encounters reflected up to some extent the bigger tensions between Venice, Dubrovnik, Herzegovina and the Kingdom of Naples, as the author observes.

The commercial life of the island was however not so important if considered by itself since the resources of the sea were limited to fish, salted fish and salt. Here again the author stresses over the role of the new sources coming out from the archives. Exemplifying with the *contrallitere* (the permits for the export) Oliver Jens Schmitt questions the limits of the Venetian drastic monopoly over the local salt production. This type of documents reveals not only the fact that Korčula, like the other cities of Dalmatia, managed to sell its goods in other places beside Venice, but that made possible the survival of its previous commercial networks in Eastern Italy and inner Balkans. What is left outside by these documents is revealed, again by the processes files judging the cases of smuggle. In spite of the Venetian rules and control significant quantities of salt left the Venetian lands toward Bosnian space, from where the island received in exchange grain or other cereals. The creativity of the locals in supplying what was missing from the subsistence products appears from documents and is not left aside by the author of the book. He also stressed over the relevance of these documents together with the commercial registers and the *contralittere* in describing the daily life of an island placed in the middle of *mare nostrum*. Rather a small transit port, Korčula received within the Venetian administration the tools and the necessary protection for its development and generally peaceful life.

The conclusions proposed by Oliver Jens Schmitt resume the fact that Korčula is another case study relevant for understanding the functioning of the Venetian *Stato da Mar*. Without being forced to radically change, Korčula adapts its traditional lifestyle and its laws to the demands of *Serenissima* and quickly learn that in some cases a superior authority, even if situated across the sea can be of use

in solving long lasting local conflicts. The *curzolan* case is in many ways similar to cases of Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split and many other Venetian possessions of *Stato da Mar*. This approach proposed by the author, even if can attract critics for the traditional historians or of those inclined toward a nationalistic perspective, opens new ways of deciphering the life of the small people. In time, with more and more documents leaving the archives this type of research would probably change some of the already approved historical statements, but mostly will bring up some new voices of the past.

Dana Caciur

Κοινωνίες της υπαίθρου στην ελληνοβενετική Ανατολή (13^{ος} –18^{ος} αι.)/ Società rurali nell'Oriente Greco-veneziano (sec. XIII–XVIII), edited by Kostas E. LAMBRINOS, Athens, Academy of Athens, 2018, 299 p.

This volume edited by Kostas E. Lambrinos, Director of Research at the Centre for Medieval and Modern Hellenism, Academy of Athens, explores the rural area of Crete, Cyprus, Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Peloponnese during the Venetian occupation. The 11 chapters (9 in Greek and 2 in Italian) offer a variety of topics on the economic and social life in the Venetian colonies of Levant. As K. Lambrinos points out in the introductory study, historiography focused mainly on urban life, although most of the population at that time lived in the rural environment. The Venetian sources provide a rich pool of information regarding the life of villagers: cartographic, topographic, cadastral studies, reports of the local authorities to the metropolis, etc. The volume proposes new research topics: the institution of the Castellan (the leader of the fortress that controlled the bordering region), the socio-professional structure of the rural population, the relationship between foreigners and natives, the policy of the Venetians towards the villagers, women's status, the village institutions, the authorities' corruption and abuses, the social and economic role of the bishop, the villagers' way of thinking, their attitude towards the authorities, etc. All these issues are dealt with both in terms of the relation between the power and the inhabitants from the rural area, and particularly from the inhabitants' point of view, which is less common in the historical approach. Thus, the anonymous and silent voices of the past, which are often ignored by historians, become the main actors of the book.

Charalambos Gasparis' study debates on the relation between foreigners and the native inhabitants of the villages of Crete in the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries. The author captures the semantic difference between the concepts of *forensis* (a foreigner coming from elsewhere, but having the same characteristics as the locals, such as ethnicity, language, etc.) and *alienus* (absolute foreigner). The study discusses the issue of integrating foreigners into the traditional environment of the villages in terms of several generations. In the opinion of Angel Nicolau-Konnari, the Venetians, the new conquerors of Cyprus at the end of the fifteenth century, preserved the Byzantine laws and economic system during the Lusignan dynasty, as well as the institution of the peasants' economic dependence (serfdom). Knowing the old practices was even one of the duties of any Venetian official. But the relation of economic dependence of the peasantry generated an ambivalent situation. However, maintaining serfdom for economic reasons was incompatible with Christian ethics. Marianna Kolyvã analyzes the administrative organization of the rural communities, the relations of the locals with the Venetians, the presence of the military and of the refugees on the island of Zakynthos at the end of the fifteenth century. In completing this study Despina Er. Vlasi studies the mountain communities of the Erissos peninsula in the north of the island of Cephalonia. The following four studies investigate social and institutional aspects of the island of Crete. Kostas E. Lambrinos deals with the relationship between the Venetian authorities and the inhabitants of the island of Crete in the years preceding the Ottoman occupation (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). Kostas G. Tsiknakis debates on the activity of Giacomo Foscarini, who was sent in 1574 to Crete to carry out a thorough reform of the colonial administration as the *Provveditore* (governor), *Sindico e Inquisitore* of Crete. He improved the local economy and took measures against the abuses and the

unlimited power of local noblemen and great land owners in the last decades of the sixteenth century, pursuing the fiscal reform and the military service. Another chapter of the volume deals with the status of women in rural Crete. Anastasia Papadia-Lala, relying on Ottavio Bon's reports in the early 1600s, presents 14 cases of inheritance of several widowed or unmarried women, of modest origins, who were managing and benefiting their own estate all by themselves. The institution of the arbitral tribunals is the subject of another study, signed by Aspasia Papadaki. Certain cases of civil nature are regulated by notaries and village courts. The last two studies concern the administrative organization, the economic and social life in the Peloponnese. Alexis Malliaris deals with the villages of Calavrita in the last years of the Venetian domination, and Angeliki Panopoulou analyzes the life of salt-mine workers.

Ștefan Petrescu

Maria Ana MUSICESCU, *Tradition et innovation dans l'art du Sud-Est européen du XV^e au XIX^e siècle*, édition par Oana Iacubovschi, Istros, Brăila, 2019 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 5), 279 p.

Aptly titled and structured after two of Maria Ana Musicescu's main focuses, this anthology presents her broad scope of interests relevant to the history of art in the Romanian Principalities: applicable methodological and theoretical approaches of her time in Southeast European art and history studies; literature reviews and their potential suggestions for local research; religious donor portraits seen against the "novelty", French-style „portraits d'apparat"; regional evolutions in mural painting and liturgical embroidery. All, under the over-arching, ever-present theme of the relationship between Byzantine culture and the pre-modern cultures in Southeast Europe, of which Musicescu had a more flexible and nuanced view than many of her contemporaries. Painstakingly assembled, updated, and contextualized in an insightful introduction by the editor Oana Iacubovschi, the 13 studies published by Maria Ana Musicescu between 1964 and 1979 profile one of the founding voices in medieval Romanian art history as it is today, a voice strongly connected to the international conversations of the time in Southeast European medieval art history. Complete with an updated photographic illustration (which the author herself would have welcomed, appreciative as she was of the good quality of the images in Klaus Wessel's 1973 *Kunst und Geschichte in Südosteuropa*), this anthology constitutes a valuable opportunity to revisit some of the fundamental texts of Romanian art historiography with a critical eye.

There is obviously no point in judging Musicescu's factual and bibliographical information, her theoretical system, and her methodologies from today's standpoint. Aside from this being a historian's perpetual tribulation (further research invalidating one's hypotheses), by and large, many of her intuitions have found their development in ulterior art historical research. We now take a comparative approach to Eastern Europe as a Janus of continuity and change at all horizontal and vertical levels, and across them; we do donor studies in the context of identity and social studies; we trace workshops and artists, prints, manuscripts, and books in order to outgrow the grand narratives on "heritage" and "influences"; we have largely overcome the aesthetic paradigm in talking about art, in favor of treating art and artifacts alike as Pierre Francastel's „acts of culture", so dear to her. Her system merits a look from within, and in the context of its own historical milieu.

The reader could have used a chronological biography of Musicescu, though her readings and writings place her well enough in her context. At a time when Iorga's 1935 "Byzantium after Byzantium" was being carried further by Obolensky's "Byzantine Commonwealth" and Corina Nicolescu's investigation of the Byzantine heritage in Romanian art (both published in 1971), Musicescu urges her colleagues to take the next step and consider a broader, European comparative approach. Her own methodology is at times undermined by debatable or vague terms. While „national" stands for lack of a better term to describe regional cultural identities, one cannot help but wonder how this „national"

quality would be defined for a pre-nation world. Likewise, “popular art” is never defined, and its distinction from “peasant” art further confounds the issue, since it makes it even less clear if it is art made by, used by, or commissioned by certain social groups that she is referring to – or how it played the important role the author ascribes to it in the modulation of Byzantine tradition against regional backgrounds and foreign influences.

Nonetheless, Musicescu’s methodology does announce such modern approaches as overcoming the unidirectional paradigm in center vs. periphery studies, overcoming the stylistic judgment and the „masterpiece” paradigm (especially in her study on donor portraits), and investigating what “Byzantine” and “post-Byzantine” mean in terms of visual culture, as well as how utterly impossible it is to clearly separate them in one neat narrative true for all of Southeast Europe.

Musicescu’s nuanced assessment of what is Byzantine in Moldavian culture under Stephen the Great (a memory of imperial models, rather than an adoption) speaks volumes, especially in the context of an intense contemporary production of historical and art historical studies dedicated to the great Moldavian voivode. So do her keen observations of the interplay between post-Byzantine tradition and Enlightenment elements in the culture of the Romanian Principalities under the Phanariots. Conversely, her glossing over the potential implications of Charles Duclos’ use of the term “Sarmatian grace” to describe Peter the Great during his visit at the Court of Louis XV in 1717 is an opportunity missed in her study on Dimitrie Cantemir’s portraits. Though Răzvan Theodorescu’s study on Sarmatian portraits of the Polish elite adapted by Basil Lupu and the Movilă family was still a few years away at the time, the significance of the term for Eastern European portraiture and identity was not unknown. The implications of its usage on an occasion in which clashed two fundamentally different, but contemporary, understandings regarding the accessibility and functions of the portrait (the French and the Russian) could have been a more fruitful endeavor than opposing Cantemir’s portraits with the donor portraits in Wallachia, with which they have nothing in common, as Musicescu concludes herself.

The “tradition vs. innovation” paradigm is the ground on which the author proves, sometimes synchronously, both her modern intuitions, and her attachment to the taxonomic methods prevalent in the art historiography of her time. The analysis of donor portraits in Southeast Europe might have been better served by a framework of social mutations, functions, and symbolism (from selection of people represented, to selection of composition models, to selection of intercessors – or lack thereof), than by a strict six-point classification of genres (p. 89) that overlap, bleed into each other, and are impossible to affix to a geographical area without taking into account its neighbors. From Ravenna to 18th – century Oltenia, donor portraits may (at least partially) answer the same needs, but they do not do so in the same societies. While 14th c. Serbian and 17th c. Wallachian donor portraits might both be described as „aulic”, in the three centuries between them the very context for defining this „aulic” quality has changed, and they can hardly be lumped together in the name of emulating some unmentioned Byzantine models. Likewise, a four-step synthetic description of the evolution of medieval art in Southeast Europe (p. 35) says less about the perpetuation of tradition than, for example, the circulation of artists, painters’ manuals, *vitas*, or liturgical books across borders.

Maria Ana Musicescu’s writings on embroidery, her best-known contributions to medieval Romanian art historiography, can be found here both as a first synthetic narrative of the genre, before it was developed in the two books she authored and co-authored on the subject in 1969 and 1985, respectively; and as the contribution that picked up where her two books left off: the art of the Phanariots in the 18th century. The article dedicated to it brings welcome nuances that initiate the overcoming of the “decadence” trope in ulterior research. Its ambitious overviews and slight shortcomings notwithstanding, this collection leaves its reader with a feeling best expressed by the author herself, in writing about K. Wessel’s *Kunst und Geschichte in Südosteuropa*: „Ce livre est riche en suggestions et c’est une des ses grandes qualités.” (p. 81)

Ștefania Dumbravă

Noel MALCOLM, *Useful Enemies. Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019, 487 p.

Coming after *Agents of Empire* (2015), the new book of Noel Malcolm *Useful Enemies. Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought* (2019) feels like the second volume of a trilogy. The first has been woven around a few episodes connected through intertwined biographies of the late 16th century in the Balkans. A panorama now unfolds in the new book of reactions to Islam and the Ottoman Empire through the testimonials of the Muslim slaves in Europe, Christian captives in Muslim lands, Moriscos in Spain, converts to Islam, as well as missionaries in Ottoman territories. The main stream running through this landscape is the influence of this West-East encounter on the Western political thought during the three centuries from the fall of Constantinople to the Enlightenment debates which nurtured the French Revolution. This required a rich universe of new and old sources, including newly uncovered manuscripts or forgotten editions: Malcolm did not leave any stone unturned. Furthermore, he crosses this vast array of sources with his own systematic order.

The author starts with the historical turning point at 1453 when some Western leaders realized that only uniting around a common strategy the stroke to their threatened fatherland, Europe could be averted. A quotation from a Ragusan diplomat shows that, as early as 1431, residents at the borders of the continent had seized the significance of *nostra Europa*. At the same time, the humanist scholars attributed to the Turks a Scythian or a Trojan ancestry. When the future was concerned, the Christians weighted the bloody experiment of the past Crusades; even Pius II, in spite of multiple diets where he preached this solution, openly promoted at his last Council, wrote that appeasing letter to Mehmed II revealed by a whistle-blower. The diffusion through no less than 94 manuscript copies of this leak illustrates the popularity it enjoyed then. The hope of an expected conversion of the sultan's subjects or of those Muslims living within Christian societies was a leap forward from the inflexible framework of Islam of the first translations of the Koran into Latin. Popular writings about the end of the world, like the many variants of the prophecies of Pseudo-Methodius or Gioacchino da Fiore, stressed the threat of the Islamic peoples to assail the Christian world.

The following chapter deals with the rivalry between Habsburgs and Ottomans, focusing upon some 16th century propaganda tracts obsessively promoting the idea of the Ottoman ambition for universal empire. This laid the grounds for the deep-felt message launched for the defence of Europe by agents, mainly Spanish, working for the imperial brothers Charles V and Ferdinand I: for instance, bell-ringers like Andrés Laguna or Juan Luis Vivès spread the alarm when Christian armies engaged in mutual conflicts instead of fighting a crusading war. As I also showed in my own book *Visions of the Ottoman Empire*, the rise of Protestantism further undermined the grounds for a joint resistance to the Ottomans, as in some parts of the Holy Roman Empire the threat to freedom from Rome came to be perceived as stronger than the Ottoman threat. This comparison varied wildly across space and time, with authors such as Luther radically changing their views: after earlier mild views of the Ottomans compared to the Catholic domination, he came to see the Sultan as the Devil incarnate after the siege of Vienna. As part of the Protestant-Catholic polemics, the latter denounced the former as similar to Muslims. Samuel Rainolds, an English theologian converted to Catholicism, thus denounced 'Calvinoturcism', and claimed to identify in his own country the worst features of the Ottoman society. Matthew Sutcliffe swiftly replied on behalf of the Church of England that Catholics resembled so much to Muslims that they deserved to be called 'Turcopapists'. Such pamphlets were not exceptional in their time and contributed to make cooperation with the Ottomans acceptable for both sides: on the Protestant side, William of Orange and Elizabeth 1st both opened political or commercial negotiations.

The book then proceeds to explain the alliances with the Infidel' on the Catholic side by describing the interests and goals which brought about the relationship between France and the Sublime Porte. It is good to see Ursu's book on the Oriental policy of François I cited one century after its publishing. Since 1535 a French envoy to Constantinople: we owe to the holders of this office a precious series of sources. Through his ambassador Savary de Brèves, Henry IV prepared to stir

revolts in Spain and Naples with the Turkish fleet's help, as it comes up from a secret report in Peiresc's collection of Carpentras investigated by Malcolm. Even from a province yet under the Sultan's protection Jacob Heraclides, the prince of Moldavia, wrote to both sides: to the king of France in 1564, and to Protestant leaders offering to shelter Protestant exiles. It is true that this was an unusual character, a humanist adventurer styling himself a Greco-Roman sovereign and heir to the Byzantine despots. A range of authors, as outstanding as Montaigne and Jean Bodin, sympathized with the French politics of association with the Ottomans against neighbouring Spanish and Austrian forces. An exception was the Calvinist La Noue whose personal experience of the civil war between Protestants and Catholics convinced him of the duty to fight only the Ottomans.

By mid-16th century the authors the book follows increasingly seem rather more concerned with factual information on the Ottoman Empire than with calls to arms. Be they French, Italian or Dutch, their evaluation of the realities they saw by themselves or learnt from trustworthy travellers shows a change of attitude towards Ottomans. Former captives Menavino and Bassano accounts, as well as comments of Postel, Jacques Gassot and Jean Chesneau, joined by Pierre Belon and Busbecq were far more positive than previous narratives. But the change was not universal and, before its becoming more marked, this moderate party had to confront the medieval tradition, the emergence of national policies largely based on state reason and the renewed political gaming of great powers which intensified in the seventeenth century. Paradigms of tyranny and despotism of the sultan's regime will thus still dominate for a while.

Machiavelli comes next. He has not been silent on the subject of the Ottoman state, but the views dispersed into his writings do not convey a single image. In the unavoidable confrontation with the 'Turks', whose religion satisfied him more than Catholicism, Machiavelli did not hide his admiration for the Ottoman legal order and military discipline, which he compared against the Romans. The superiority of the Ottoman administrative structure is clearly stressed in the famous comparison he made with feudal France. Two political theorists consciously inspired by Machiavelli and widely read in the 1580s, René de Lucinge and Giovanni Botero, both employed in the diplomatic service of the Duke of Savoy, therefore connected with France, asked themselves how long will last the Ottoman government. Especially the former is regarded as a most important historian of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire, a crucial formula which was to be revived by Cantemir and Montesquieu.

On Campanella alone, there is a remarkable chapter depicting the utopist's interest for Islam. Such inspiration shows in the description of the ideal society he dreamed of, which was a form of millenarism. The conspiracy forged by Campanella against the Spanish rule hoped to welcome an intervention of the Ottoman fleet on the shore of Calabria. Nevertheless, in another product of his strange mind, he imagined turning the Turkish force he was calling in into a secessionist rebellion against the sultan. He also advised the king of Spain to suppress from his schools' curriculum Hebrew and ancient Greek, planting instead of them Arabic, because this language would be basic at the training of the soldiers sent to fight the Turks. Although he persevered in endorsing war against them, he also estimated some features of the Ottoman system worth to be borrowed.

Defining the Ottoman autocratic system has been attempted from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, when two terms were already available: tyranny, inherited from Aristotle, and despotism, proposed by Aquinas. More or less synonyms, they conveyed the disapproval towards any statecraft where government is the master and subjects the slaves. The precise meaning of slavery varies from the status of administrators and executors to the general condition of non-Muslim population in the conquered countries of South-Eastern Europe, but Malcolm, after Koebner and Valensi, has regulated this matter. The reader is now led back to the years 1520–1530: Vivès, with a sampling of writers mobilized for the Habsburg cause, had protested against the opinion that under the Ottoman rule life would be easier than on the other side. Later on, a meticulous analysis explains us what was in Bodin's mind as he characterized the sultan's rule and its difference from the lordly monarchy which he supported. Malcolm also comments the reactions of Venice in front of the Turks after Lepanto and the loss of Cyprus. Thanks to the reports sent by the bailos, the Venetians had accurate information about what happened in Istanbul, but in their vision of the Empire can be noticed

an increased hostility. It is not surprising that they made use of the notion of despotism, which reappears in 1582 under the pen of Giacomo Soranzo. The same perception is springing from L'Ottomano, a significant book by Giacomo's nephew, Lazaro, whose impact on the topic should have been recorded here. Lucinge and Botero collected evidence for the strength of the Ottoman state, however they declared its abolition not only desirable, but possible.

Before returning to the subject of despotism, Malcolm passes to the core of his research by raising the issues of the Ottoman strengths and weaknesses, the justifications of warfare, and the balance between rejection and tolerance of the Islam in the Western public opinion. A new chapter reviews well-known accounts of the Ottoman methods which guaranteed military success, while other descriptions of the Empire insisted on the internal weaknesses which might undermine its force. Among the main thinkers of the seventeenth century who were engaged in this long-running line of speculations are Francis Bacon, Grotius and Hobbes. Leibniz himself envisaged nothing less than a partition of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, offering to France the biggest share. Hopeful miscalculations of the Ottoman agony followed, building other scenarios, no more realistic, of an anti-Ottoman war and the peace following it. A book on them, compiled by the Romanian T.G. Djuvara at the time of the Balkan wars, does not deserve to be forgotten, but recent studies could be added, among which Andrei Timotin, "Nicolas Arnou (1629–1692), lecteur du *Praesagium Mehemetanorum* de Bartholomaeus Georgievits", RESEE, 52, 2014, p. 123–143. A surprise is E. Pasztor's article, published in 1951, but forgotten since, about the 'Christian Republic' imagined by the Papal nonce to Poland for the future of territories to be delivered from the Turks with the help of Persia and Muscovy.

Difficult as it is to summarize this assessment of the role played by Ottomans in European politics, it is even harder to follow the noteworthy interpretations of Islam in the Western intellectual world of the same epoch. The theological thinkers were prepared to consider it an invented religion, characterized by violence and focused on the holy war. This interpretation did not change until the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, conceptualizing Islam as founded for military purposes was in apparent contradiction with its generally observed tolerance towards Christianity and Judaism. To this divergence developed in time between the Koran doctrine and the policies of the rulers the Western observers were not blind, but they saw it as irrepressible. The most significant proponent of this view, Henry Blount referred to Islam as 'an other kind of civility, different of ours, but no less pretending'. As he put it, in 1634, the Turks were 'the only modern people'. Even more radical in his positive views on their governance and religion was Francis Osborne, whose relation to Machiavellian tradition could be seen when he put forward the words 'reason of state'. Almost everything he praised in the Turkish patterns of life contrasted with what he attacked in the institutional structure of society and Church in the West. This kind of comparison had already been a method of criticizing the Catholic doctrine and hierarchy. Among the examples provided here we recognize the work of Vaclav Budovec, a Bohemian Protestant who, rich in personal observations, associated in the same condemnation Catholics and Muslims. The judgement on Islamic values has turned increasingly fairer, while, following the Tridentine Council, Catholicism, despite concerned with reforms, became the target of more trenchant criticism.

The scholarly exploration of Islam furnished an opportunity to rationalizing theology. Exercises in this direction emerged from Christianity's direct encounter with a whole range of other worlds' faiths that were discovered in distant lands around 1700. The close connection of religion with the Ottoman governance is amply shown in 1722 by Cantemir, in his treatise on Islam, completely ignored because published in Russia. An exceptional, therefore isolated, place is granted by Malcolm to Hobbes and his circle of friends: a subtle analysis is devoted to the writings in which they looked at the Ottoman state and society. Meanwhile, a torrent of literary works invaded the Parisian market, whose authors fancied themselves as satirical Oriental visitors to France: Turks or Arabians and, of course, the 'Persian' Usbek. In this literature, irony is distributed equally across Christianity and Islam, sometimes opening the door for fashionable atheism.

The thorough analysis on despotism makes the author review the analyses of the political and legal regime of the Ottoman Empire as it was known in the seventeenth century. Already called

tyrannical or despotic, it received then the label 'absolute', less striking perhaps, but continuing to signify lawless and arbitrary power. As it will be preserved in the European historiography, the term got used in political controversies, either for its international aspect, or in internal affairs. An absolute monarch was portrayed as a sultan, this being the case of the French king, when the accusation came from England and the Dutch Provinces, or within France, during the Fronde, from the Parliamentary lawyers.

The ultimate meeting point of these different streams seems to be, at least in Malcolm's work, the general political theory of Montesquieu. *De l'esprit des lois* stressed the inseparable relation between the Ottoman state and Islam. 'Despotism', said Montesquieu, can hardly coexist with the Christian religion (the notable exception being Russia), but finds its best environment within the Islamic one, in Asia and Africa: it is obviously a misfortune for human nature when a religion is founded by a conqueror, whose destructive spirit lasts along centuries. While this had in fact been the cornerstone of older Western conceptions on the Ottoman state, Montesquieu observed that Islam was not singular in this approach, as religion as a form of domination had also been present in Mexico, Russia and China. Therefore, he embarked upon extensive speculations on the causes which laid the grounds for despotism. Malcolm analyzes samples of the controversies provoked by Montesquieu: Turgot and N.A. Boulanger brought criticisms or supplementary evidence, while other authors, among whom Voltaire himself, rejected that description of the Ottoman society. What Malcolm calls 'the new paradigm' when it was a mid-sixteenth century attitude favourable to the Ottoman law and government, was actually the same older view, enabled by the fading of various constraints in time and the development of Europe's self-criticism, which allowed it to gradually acquire authority. This evolution was not caused by changes in the functioning of the Ottoman Empire, but in the culture of Western societies. Instead of being manuals of statecraft for rulers, the writings on the Ottoman life have become more independent of political projects and the result of their eagerness to extend or redress knowledge helped the liberation from prejudices and the modernization of Western culture. Sceptics might still exist: the final pages of this book make justice of Edward Said's overblown argument.

After studying the intricate variety of the passionate views on the Ottoman Empire over three centuries, Noel Malcolm settles the results of this archaeological process in this book. We are in front of a patchwork, fairly similar to a Persian rug, where the beautiful design is matched by the golden decorations and the interlaced colours.

Andrei Pippidi

Ovidiu-Victor OLAR, *La boutique de Théophile : Les relations du patriarche de Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1570-1638) avec la Réforme*, Paris, EHESS, 2019 (Autour de Byzance, 6), 396 p.

À l'arrière-plan de sa naissance, rappelons qu'avant ce livre il y a eu une thèse de doctorat, de celles que Paul Odorico disperse heureusement. Celle-ci osait accorder les aspects politiques et culturels d'une jointure centrale de l'histoire européenne qui, de surcroît, fut vivement disputée. Le sujet traité par une recherche à laquelle Ovidiu Olar s'attache depuis une dizaine d'années rassemble des épreuves de force autour d'un destin prodigieux, car, fût-il ou non un saint (comme on le vénère à Alexandrie, mais pas ailleurs), Cyrille Loukaris se dresse à la croisée de chemins entre la tradition religieuse byzantine, le monde catholique et les Réformes. Le retentissement du personnage est dû à ce que « sa vie tourmentée », comme disait Émile Legrand, ait gardé une fidélité inébranlable à ses devoirs confessionnaux et ethniques, tandis que, de Constantinople à Rome ou à Genève, se déroulaient les combats pour réaliser l'unité de la foi. De sorte que, selon Nicolas Iorga, Loukaris demeure « une des plus grandes figures de l'histoire universelle ». Les interprétations de ses biographes ont suivi jusqu'à présent les mêmes lignes de fracture. Mais une autre difficulté que, désormais, on ne pourra plus considérer insurmontable a été la dispersion des sources à travers

l'Europe, sinon plus loin. Non seulement la liste des archives et des bibliothèques consultées va d'Athènes et de Leyde à Moscou, mais le nombre de documents invoqués et remis en ordre comprend une considérable quantité d'inédits. Dès l'introduction qui expose l'état des sources, Ovidiu Olar nous avertit que son travail a recueilli surtout des lettres écrites par Cyrille ou qui lui furent adressées et bien d'autres le concernant ; pas de sermons accessibles, sauf les pièces déjà publiées, et deux autres nouvelles : l'homélie du Caire et la harangue prononcée en Pologne devant des magnats orthodoxes. La bibliographie de 25 pages qui clôt le volume ne dédaigne pas même d'obscures brochures d'érudits locaux et son extrême utilité c'est de faire apparaître les éditions du XVII^e siècle, y compris en retrouvant des exemplaires négligés. Il faudrait sans doute poursuivre le travail mené avec une telle énergie par Olar, mais le progrès ainsi achevé est étonnant.

Cela revient à peu près à 400 pages : il y a d'abord une reprise de la biographie du patriarche, pour éprouver ce qui avait été déjà accompli, parce que ce contrôle corrige et enrichit davantage le parcours entre 1570 et 1638, depuis l'origine crétoise à l'exécution de Cyrille au bout de son cinquième pontificat. Une seconde part de l'ouvrage présente les visions de la postérité allant jusqu'en 1735, car Loukaris deviendra bientôt moins important que sa légende. Comme toujours en pareil cas, la disparition du grand homme dont il ne restait que des portraits partisans a rendu plus faciles les tâches de ceux qui lui en voulaient de son indépendance habile à se dérober et de ceux qui le concevaient comme un martyr. Des mythes qui se sont ainsi déployés, celui issu des rancunes inassouvies à l'intérieur de l'élite ecclésiastique orthodoxe s'est affaibli avec le temps, la plus militante théologie catholique, après l'avoir damné comme hérétique, ne s'en soucie plus, tandis que la reconnaissance que lui ont vouée les centres protestants de partout n'a pas changé.

Pour rebâtir les expériences intellectuelles de Loukaris, l'ouvrage commence par ses premiers maîtres : Maxime Margounios, humaniste de Venise, et Mélélios Pigas dont il allait prendre la succession au patriarcat d'Alexandrie. Ensuite, il est question de l'Union de Brest, par laquelle l'Eglise orthodoxe perdait une province, la Ruthénie, où Cyrille a entrepris de 1594 à 1598, comme délégué de Pigas et exarque de la Grande Eglise, une activité de résistance à la pression catholique. Sa seconde mission en Pologne, en 1600, aboutit à une appréciation différente de la situation, dont témoigne sa lettre du 24 janvier suivant, adressée à l'archevêque de Lvov, Solikowski. Ce savant prélat polonais auquel il communiquait ses réflexions sur des points communs de l'Eglise d'Orient et l'Eglise d'Occident, s'était depuis longtemps efforcé de répandre le catholicisme en Moldavie, pays voisin et orthodoxe, où le prince Jérémie Movilă et son frère, le métropolite Georges, sentaient qu'ils avaient à gagner à être bien vus à Rome, ainsi qu'en Pologne qui les protégeait toujours. La position gardée par Loukaris au sujet de la cohabitation avec les catholiques dans ses sermons tenus à Jassy en 1601 ne s'écarte pas encore de la barrière traditionnelle. Ce n'est qu'en 1608 qu'il va déclarer son humble soumission au pape dans une autre lettre fameuse, dont on peut supposer qu'il l'ait écrite pour sa compétition avec le patriarche de Constantinople, auquel il voulait enlever le siège. Or, ce Néophyte II avait déjà prêté serment de fidélité au pape et regardait les Espagnols en libérateurs. En 1614-1615, un éloignement sera offert à Cyrille à Bucarest et Jassy, où il va condamner les « papolâtres » parce que dans ces centres il trouvait de nombreux Grecs attirés vers le catholicisme à travers leur éducation latine. Cette accusation fait ressortir une réalité culturelle qui commençait à se manifester – un progrès dans le développement de l'idée romaine dans les pays roumains auquel a contribué l'humanisme provenant d'une Constantinople ouverte vers l'Occident. Pour Cyrille il ne sera plus question de renouveler ce rapprochement de Rome, sauf en 1625-1627, mais ce sera par des pourparlers secrets à propos de l'Union des Eglises qui devaient tromper un agent catholique.

À partir de 1612, tournant causé par la première accession de Cyrille au patriarcat de Constantinople son adhésion réelle avait basculé du côté des Etats protestants. Ceux-là, ennemis de la Pologne et des Habsbourg, eussent dû se rallier à la Russie ou même aux Ottomans. Cet enchevêtrement d'intrigues est maîtrisé par l'auteur grâce aux documents qu'il est parvenu à réunir. Il ne perd pas de vue cependant certaines brèves rencontres qui auront signifié un nouvel acquis pour Cyrille : en 1618 le dialogue avec De Dominis, le rêveur d'une religion universelle et pacifiée mené par son idéalisme de son archevêché de Spalato au refuge en Angleterre et à la mort comme hérétique à Rome, puis, en 1620, en Valachie, l'entrevue avec Pierre Movila, futur auteur d'une Confession Orthodoxe recommandée plus tard afin de réparer les dommages causés par Loukaris.

Cependant, le chapitre le plus riche en nouveaux renseignements est celui qui suit, sur les rapports du patriarche avec divers théologiens protestants, genevois, allemands ou hollandais, lesquels ont préparé la mission d'Antoine Léger à Constantinople. A partir de 1628 et jusqu'en 1636, celui-ci transmet, par les rapports régulièrement envoyés à Genève, les observations les plus importantes sur la politique religieuse du patriarcat, que ce soit tant que Cyrille siégeait ou lorsque des rivaux usurpaient son throne. La collaboration de Loukaris avec les protestants était un moyen de contrecarrer l'influence de Rome et de renouveler l'Eglise orthodoxe, en purifiant sa doctrine : la traduction du Nouveau Testament en grec vulgaire, les Confessions de foi de 1629 et de 1631, l'établissement de la première imprimerie en grec dans l'Empire ottoman ont été les grands faits autour desquels se sont déroulées les discussions au sujet de l'impact de la Réforme en pays orthodoxe. Sauf qu'il serait aussi utile d'examiner les différences entre les langages que Cyrille a tenu pour les Grecs et pour les protestants.

Or, ceci était le résultat variable de la situation du patriarcat de Constantinople, institution fragile asservie à la Porte dans un système politique qui subissait les pressions de la France, de l'Empire, de l'Angleterre, de Venise et des Pays-Bas. D'un côté, les protestants subissent des défaites sur les champs de bataille et, plus encore, ils sont harcelés par l'Inquisition à l'intérieur des Etats catholiques. Loukaris, conseillé par l'ambassadeur des Pays-Bas auprès de la Porte, conçoit un projet pour défendre ces minorités du danger d'encerclement. Ainsi, en 1630, il entame l'organisation d'un refuge placé en Moldavie, sous la protection ottomane : ajoutons aux ressources de la contrée, le fait que le prince était alors Moise Movilă, d'une famille dont la bonne volonté pour Cyrille semblait assurée. Pourtant, cet abri ne parviendra pas à fonctionner. Avec le même insuccès, un refuge pour les huguenots contraints à s'exiler avait besoin de l'autorisation des Turcs en Chypre.

D'autre part, Loukaris conservait un parti-pris contre la Pologne qui ne cessait pas de servir avec ferveur la Contre-Réforme. Le patriarche incita une autre conspiration protestante d'une envergure révolutionnaire par sa dimension internationale : l'Empire ottoman eût attaqué la Pologne en même temps que la Russie, tandis que les Etats du Nord et la Transylvanie eussent formé une seconde offensive. De cette terrible coalition on n'entend plus rien en 1633.

Lorsque la publication d'œuvres de Cyrille fait face à diverses difficultés et, après sa mort tragique, son souvenir sera vilipendé, on doit pénétrer dans un autre monde caléidoscopique, celui des éditions forgées et controversées, à l'intérieur de chaque camp, tout au long de la polémique sur la Transsubstantiation. De la sorte on passe de la Vallicelliana (pour les manuscrits d'Allatius), aux documents exhibés par Jean Aymon, compilateur sans scrupules, ou aux témoignages recueillis par Thomas Smith pour sa première biographie de Cyrille. De Port-Royal à Oxford on n'exigeait que la paix entre chrétiens, mais à condition qu'elle fût légitimée par la plus antique tradition. Des épisodes de cette controverse ecclésiastique et érudite sont éclairés par Olar ce qui nous permet d'envisager la part qu'y ont prise trois savants remarquables, en relation avec les principautés roumaines : Paissios Ligaridis, Nicolas Milescu et Jérémie Cacavela, auxquels on a demandé leur témoignage à l'égard de la doctrine orthodoxe. La contribution de Thomas Smith est dûment mentionnée, mais il eût fallu relever davantage l'importance du théologien anglican comme auteur de la première biographie de Loukaris écrite en Occident. Les sources réunies par Smith (Olar les connaît bien) ne se bornent pas à ce seul sujet, autour duquel l'érudite anglais a concentré une vaste correspondance concernant l'Orthodoxie et l'Empire Ottoman, dont il avait aussi une expérience personnelle. Les pages consacrées aux synodes de 1642 (Iassy) et de 1672 (Jérusalem), au dialogue entre Constantinople et Bucarest en 1690, ainsi qu'aux protagonistes du débat entre détracteurs et juges sévères ou modérés de Loukaris (Syrigos, Dosithée, Pierre Movila) achèvent le tableau de courants intellectuels, de préoccupations politiques et de valeurs morales qui ont longtemps agité la Grande Eglise.

Le lecteur de cette thèse où éclate la joie de l'érudition devra convenir que les recherches d'Ovidiu Olar apportent à l'histoire des idées dans le Sud-Est et bien au-delà une contribution exceptionnelle.

Andrei Pippidi

Alexandru ELIAN, *Doi umaniști greci în Italia: Mihail Sofianos și Teodor Rentios* [*Two Greek Humanists in Italy: Michael Sophianos and Theodoros Rentios*], evocation by Acad. Emilian Popescu, edited by Fr. Vasile V. Muntean, Bucharest, Editura Omonia, 2019, 216 p.

The book is the much awaited unpublished PhD dissertation, sustained in 1938 at the University of Bucharest, of one of the important Romanian Byzantine scholars and Hellenists of the twentieth century.

Alexandru Elian (1910–1998) was influential for his students, not only by means of his published studies, models of erudition, but first and foremost by his didactical activity in the field of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies and Greek paleography.

The doctoral thesis of Elian was prepared with Demostene Russo, and it is from his professor that he emulated the critical approach, the taste for perfectionism and also the hesitation to publish anything that was considered unfinished and was not checked over and over again. An edition of Elian's thesis, projected as part of the publications of the Institute for Balkan Studies in Bucharest wasn't published at the time.

The initiative to publish manuscript of the thesis was that of one of his followers in the field of Byzantine studies, the late Professor Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, who prepared the computer version of the text. Finally, the edition was supervised by another of Elian's students, also a Byzantine scholar, Father Vasile V. Muntean, who had published in the past another volume of historical studies of Elian (*Bizanțul, Biserica și cultura românească*, Iași, 2003), as well as another volume in honor of his professor.

The book opens with an *Evocation* of the personality of Alexandru Elian by Professor Emilian Popescu, member of the Romanian Academy, an explanatory introduction to the edition by Father Vasile V. Muntean, as well as a publisher's (Elena Lazăr) *Note* and a short biographical note about the author (by Dorina N. Rusu, member of the Romanian Academy).

As Fr. Vasile V. Muntean points out, since 1938, two biographies of the two scholars were published by Anna Meschini, *Teodoro Rendios*, Padua, 1978 and *Michele Sofianos*, Padua, 1981. According to Fr. Muntean the 1981 biography fails to provide the details given by Elian about the Sophianos' emendations to the works of Aeschylus.

Elian's text begins with the *Author's Foreword* (p. 19–22), followed by an *Introduction* (p. 23–34).

According to the author, the subject of the book is the life and activity of two Greek humanists, Michael Sophianos and Theodoros Rentios. Both scholars were born in Chios and lived in Italy, where they developed didactical and scientific activities, mainly in the field of classical studies. The book focuses on the role of the Greeks in the history of the Italian humanism in mid-sixteenth century, discussing subjects of cultural history, classical philology and literary history. The main dimension of the activity of Greek scholars such as Sophianos and Rentios in Renaissance and Post-Renaissance Italy was the didactical one.

During the second half of the sixteenth century there was a decline in the Greek studies in Italy. In this respect Padua where both Sophianos and Rentios lived was an exception. A circle of classical scholars developed in the city around Gian-Vincenzo Pinelli. Michael Sophianos was Pinelli's Greek teacher and Theodoros Rentios was in the group of scholars.

The first part of the book (p. 35–143) presents the life and works of Michael Sophianos (Chios, around 1515 – Ferrara, 1565). Elian explores the sources about other people named Sophianos, both earlier and contemporary with Michael. Probably born in Chios, Sophianos spent some time in Constantinople hence the surname Βυζάντιος he uses in some sources. He finally settled in Italy, where he lives in Venice, Pisa and Padua, and latter in Turin.

The author presents the various aspects of Sophianos' activity as a manuscript writer, as teacher, as epigraphist and epigram writer. In the field of epigraphy, fashionable in Italy at the time, Sophianos not only copied inscriptions, but he brought back from Chios actual epigraphic monuments.

One of the main sources about Sophianos' life and work is his correspondence. From the eleven letters preserved eight are addressed to the Italian scholar Pietro Vettori from Florence, a distinguished Hellenist. There are also letters addressed to Sophianos.

In 1564 Sophianos went to Turin at the request of Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, for a diplomatic assignment. A volume in memory of Sophianos ("Tumulus Sophiani") was prepared by his friends after 1565, with poems in Greek and Latin, preserved in the manuscript Ambrosianus N. 156 sup. (555).

Among Sophianos' works, the author discusses in detail the edition of Aeschylus' works (Venice, 1552), the Latin translation of the *Περὶ ψυχῆς* (*De anima*) treatise of Aristotle, completed in 1562 and published in 1565 and the edition of *Περὶ συντάξεως ὀνομάτων* (*De constructione verborum*) of Apollonius Dyscolus of Alexandria, prepared with Nicaise van Ellebode (Ellebaudt). Elian also mentions a text erroneously attributed to Sophianos in a letter from 1653, addressed to Leon Allatius (most likely Sophianos was only the owner of the manuscript).

The manuscripts of Sophianos were bought by the Ambrosian Library from his successors in 1606. There are 81 Greek manuscripts of Michael Sophianos and 15 manuscripts of Manuel Sophianos.

The second part of the book presents the life and works of Theodoros Rentios, also spelled Rendios, Rhendios or Rentios (p. 145–198). Rentios (first half of the sixteenth century, Chios – 1580, Rome), was a disciple of Michael Sophianos. He moved to Padua and was part of the circle of scholars around Gian-Vincenzo Pinelli. He copied Greek manuscripts; the sources mention 11 codices in the library of Lodovico Sarego. He was also a teacher; one of his pupils was Constantinos Patrikios. In 1567 Rentios became professor of Greek language and literature at the University of Turin, a position he keeps until 1579, when he moves to Rome. In Rome he teaches at the Greek College of Saint Athanasius.

Rentios wrote epigrams, a paraphrase of the *Poetics* (*Περὶ ποιητικῆς*) of Aristotle and a paraphrase of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, and a short treatise *De ridiculis* replacing the second book of the *Poetics* of Aristotle. Rentios used in his paraphrase the commentaries of Vincenzo Maggi (Madius) of Brescia, published in Venice in 1550.

Fourteenth letters of Rentios are known, written while he was either in Turin or Rome. The recipients are Guglielmo Sirloto, librarian at the Vatican, Angelo Giustiniani (from the well-known family of Chios), Gian-Vincenzo Pinelli and Paolo Aicardo from Padua, Henri Estienne, a French scholar and publisher and Matthaios Dervaris.

Alexandru Elian's closing arguments present Sophianos and Rentios as typical representatives for the new didactical aspect of the Greek humanism in Italy in mid-sixteenth century. Both of them were mainly professors, and shared many characteristics with most learned Greeks settled in Italy. They were also copyists of manuscripts, poets and they studied philosophy, translating and commenting on Aristotle's works. They are emissaries of the Hellenic culture in the Western world. The author defines his book as an explanation to a chapter of the yet unwritten history of the Hellenism in Italy. This view is shared by its editor who in his introduction considers Elian's thesis "a remarkable contribution to the history of Hellenism in Italy".

The list of annexes (p. 201), a selective *Index* of personal names (compiled by the editor, p. 203–206), and detailed *Contents* (in line with the theoretical recommendations of Elian's mentor Demostene Russo) complete the edition.

As for the annexes themselves, a valuable part of Elian's thesis, they are missing from and they couldn't be located by the editors. In his foreword the author thanked Kleovoulos Tsourkas (from the Greek Embassy in Bucharest) for providing the Greek typographical fonts. No doubt that the Greek fonts were needed mainly for the Greek texts of the annexes, which perhaps were intended to be printed separately by Greek-speaking typographers. It is possible that such technical difficulties were the reason for the book not to be published back then in 1938.

Fortunately the list of nine annexes provides the reader detailed information about the texts prepared by Elian as an addition to his book. These were editions of works and letters of Sophianos

and Rentios from various manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, Biblioteca Academica di Savigniano, Vatican Library and British Museum (now British Library).

The book is a necessary restitution of a well-documented study of the work of two Greek scholars migrating from Chios to Italy in mid-sixteenth century. The study is based on extensive research of the manuscripts preserved mainly in Italian libraries. Although written in 1938, the book remains exemplary for the study of the sources and the extensive use of the then available secondary bibliography.

Mihai Țipău

Viorel PANAITE, *Ottoman Law of War and Peace. The Ottoman Empire and Its Tribute-Payers from the North of the Danube*, Second Revised Edition, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, XXIII + 470 p.

The complex history of the Ottoman empire and its comprising ethnic, religious and political entities have always stirred the interest of researchers and the general public alike, with quite a few studies being dedicated in recent years to the empire's tributary polities¹. Therefore, the republishing of a pioneering work which arguably laid the foundation for today's scholarship is more than welcomed.

This is a long-awaited second revised edition of the work first published in 2000 (East European Monographs, no. DLXII, Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York). Although it was highly appreciated and cited by numerous scholars, the quality of its editing process did not do justice to the author's effort. Now, almost twenty years after its initial publication, Viorel Panaite's landmark study received a well-deserved overhaul at Brill. This was even more necessary as the Romanian version, *Pace, război și comerț în Islam* (Bucharest, All, 1997), also received a substantial update seven years ago (along with a revised title, *Război, pace și comerț în Islam*, Iași, Polirom, 2013). Of course, the second edition of *Ottoman Law of War and Peace* was not overhauled simply from a technical point of view, but the study was also brought up to date with quotations from works which appeared since its first edition back in 2000, among which the author himself has brought new contributions to the field.

Panaite's main contention is that beginning with the reign of Suleyman the Lawgiver (1520-1566), there can be no doubt that Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania became an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, as tributary entities. Controversial as this idea may have seemed in the 1990s, especially among the more traditionalist Romanian historiography, today it is a consensus in the academic community.

The book's fourteen chapters are divided into five parts. As Panaite explains that the Ottoman law of war and peace consists of an Islamic tradition and an Ottoman element, the book is structured around a pattern of general Islamic theory followed by its application in practice by the Ottomans. Throughout this work, comparisons are made with other Central and South-East European political entities that came into contact with the Ottomans in one way or another, thus giving a much clearer picture of the North-Danubian principalities' place within the large, imperial construct.

The book's first part is comprised of a single, introductory chapter, in which readers are familiarised with the primary sources used in the study of Ottoman "international" law and the place of the empire's tributaries within it. The author justly argues that although Ottoman sources are essential for the study of Romanian history, many scholarly works continue to ignore them, leading thus, intentionally or not, to a distorted image of the past².

¹ A volume that showcases these developments: Gábor Kármán, Lovro Kunčević (eds.), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden-Boston, 2013.

² For a recent, positive exception, see Michał Wasiucionek, *The Ottomans and Eastern Europe: Borders and Political Patronage in the Early Modern World*, London-New York, 2019.

The second part (Chapters 2-3), imaginatively entitled “*The Danube as a Gazi River*”, consists of a general survey of the Islamic concept of Holy War (*cihad*) and its application by the Ottomans, with a special focus on the lands North of the Danube. The river itself, Panaite argues, was perceived as a natural boundary between the Abode of Islam and the Abode of War in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and evoked “images of holy war, the prospect of the spoils of war, and the promise of martyrdom” to the *gazis*, thus facilitating the Ottomans’ implementation of an offensive *cihad*.

Following the now established pattern of beginning with an analysis of theoretical formulations in Islamic jurisprudence and then observing their practical use by the Ottomans, the book’s third part (Chapters 4-6) tackles the very concepts of war and peace. Chapter five presents a historical survey of the Ottoman conquest of South-Eastern Europe, touching upon the submission of various political entities ranging from the Cycladic Islands to the Khanate of Crimea. For the author, the question is not whether the sultans conquered the areas North of the Danube or not, but rather when this happened. For the case of Wallachia, while some examples of the voivodes’ submission to the Porte were encountered as early as 1395, with other important steps taken in 1417 and 1462, a definitive establishment of Ottoman suzerainty occurred in the 1520s, after Radu of Afumați and a group of boyars personally bowed to Suleyman I in Constantinople. A similar situation is found in Moldavia: after some endeavours to impose Ottoman control in the second half of the fifteenth century (most notably in 1480-1481, when one of the few known *ahdnames* was issued), this was eventually established in 1538, in the outcome of Suleyman’s capture of the capital Suceava. As for Transylvania, the steps towards Ottoman suzerainty are more clear: John Zápolya became a tributary king of Hungary in 1528 and later, after his son’s claim was contested by the Habsburgs, the Ottomans invaded and established a full-blown *beylerbeylik* centered around Buda, with Transylvania becoming a separate autonomous principality, submitted to the sultan.

Chapter six continues the previous topics of conquest and submission and examines the terminology used by the sources in describing such events. Especially significant are the terms used by sources of various languages to describe the act of prostration (Rum. “*inchinare*”), a defining gesture of submission. A considerable part of this chapter is dedicated to the historical memory of submission, as it was portrayed by different sources, opening the way for Part four’s discussion over ‘Covenants and Customs’ (Chapters 7-10).

Thus, Chapter seven turns to the analysis of peace agreements, especially on the Ottoman *ahdnames*, with a thorough discussion over their nature and historical use. The author underlines the temporal character of these agreements, arguing that an *ahdname* could not establish a long-term relationship between the Porte and its tributaries (Chapter 8). This is especially important considering that in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a series of Romanian authors began to advocate the Principalities’ independence based on the Ottomans’ supposed violation of these “ancient treaties” (Chapter 9). When written pacts do not seem able to define the intricate relations between the Porte and its North-Danubian tributaries, the book’s author stresses that customary practice played a most important role, as it was often invoked as a source of law (Chapter 10).

The fifth part (Chapters 11-14) delves into the actual political relation between the principalities and the Ottoman empire. A first stopover examines the Porte’s view over its non-Muslim tributary princes, in their role of tribute-payers and governors of autonomous communities within the Empire. An important section is dedicated to the obligations that these princes had to fulfil to benefit from the sultan’s protection. Chapter 13 then turns to the status of the principalities’ subjects, which Panaite observes as changing also in the reign of Suleyman, when Wallachians, Moldavians, and Transylvanians began to be assimilated to the other *zimmis* of the Empire. The final Chapter 14 brings together all of the main observations from the previous sections to paint a picture of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania as “Tributary-Protected Principalities” of the Ottoman Empire, as Panaite maintains that terms such as “vassalage and suzerainty” are anachronistic and may lead to erroneous interpretations.

After the Conclusions offer a natural wrap-up of the whole exposition, the book is completed with a Glossary of Ottoman-Turkish Terms, a Table of Correspondence between Ottoman sultans and

tributary princes, which is more than helpful in following the author's analysis, as well as a Bibliography and an Index of proper names. Facsimiles of documents, illustrations and maps dot the work now and then, offering welcoming visual companions to the 400 pages-long text.

Viorel Panaite has produced a more than necessary revision of *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace* which offers a thorough and up-to-date analysis on the North-Danubian tributaries of the Ottoman empire. Building his arguments on a wide-ranging corpus of primary sources, from where he analyses the principles of Islamic law and their usage in Ottoman context, the author gives convincing answers to questions over Wallachia's, Moldavia's and Transylvania's status within the Ottoman empire. The problematic being not if these principalities were part of the empire but rather in what way, Panaite's work is essential to the understanding of late-medieval and early-modern South-East Europe.

Radu Dîpratu

Hasan ÇOLAK, Elif BAYRAKTAR-TELLAN, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution. A Study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berats*, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 2019 (*Ecclesiastica Ottomanica* 1), 390 p.

The book is the first publication of a new series, *Ecclesiastica Ottomanica*, edited by Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, and supervised by an international Advisory Board. The aim of this new series is to publish studies about the Churches and the Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire, with new approaches, from a cross-disciplinary perspective.

Both authors wrote well documented PhD dissertations on the subject of the complex relationship between the Ottoman central administration and the Orthodox Church. Their intention was not only to provide a critical edition of an important category of sources (the *berats* for the appointment of Orthodox patriarchs), but also to discuss all the topics involved in a comprehensive *Introduction*.

In the *Preface* (p. 11–13), the authors state that the book aims to contextualize the status of the Orthodox Church (i. e. the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria) *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman central administration in the changing realities of the 18th century. The main sources for this approach are the *berats* issued for the Orthodox patriarchs. According to the authors, a *berat* is an order issued by the sultan (the most official type of document in the Ottoman bureaucracy), enabling its recipient to hold an office.

Knowing that the title of the book might seem controversial, in the same *Preface*, the authors give an explanation to the choice they made, by underlining that “[The Orthodox Church] should not be studied as a segregated institution”, but “by the basis of the level and nature of its interaction with the Ottoman state as well as with the other sectors in the Ottoman society of the time, it should also be regarded as an Ottoman institution”. While understanding this idea from the social point of view, one should note, however, that the main dimension of the Orthodox Church, in its own perception, was the spiritual, not the social one. It could be argued that any Orthodox patriarch perceived himself mainly as a spiritual leader, in the spirit of the ancient tradition of the Church, and only secondarily (if at all) as an Ottoman office holder. The Church-State relationship was also complex already in Byzantium and in other areas, and also in more recent times. In this matter the Ottoman Empire makes no exception. From the point of view of the Ottoman administrative system, the title of the book might seem defensible, and the authors do their best to prove their point, with in-depth knowledge of the sources and based on an extensive secondary bibliography.

The value of the *berats* as historical sources is underlined by the elements of change and continuity in the various stipulations of the documents. This makes them a first-hand testimony of the changing role of the Orthodox patriarchs in Ottoman society and the changes in the society itself.

The *Editorial Note* explains the contents and the methodology of the edition. The book encloses *berats* for the Orthodox patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, dating from 1477 to 1768. Following scientific criteria in selecting the material, the authors publish only the *berats* surviving in the original Ottoman form or in copies from the official registers (*defters*). The *berats* are

published in Ottoman Turkish, in Latin transliteration, and also translated into English. For the previously unpublished documents, a facsimile of the original Ottoman text is provided. It should be noted that in most cases the authors chose to translate the term “Rum” as “Orthodox”.

The *Introduction* (p. 19–60), a historical study in its own right, deals with all the questions which arose from the study of the *berats* issued by the Sultans for the leaders of the Orthodox Churches of the Empire. The authors give special emphasis to the previous bibliography of the question, criticizing especially the older theory of the *millet* system. Developed from the mid-19th century onwards and favored both by ecclesiastical historians and Ottomanists up until the last decades of the 20th century, the *millet system* view of the Ottoman history is no longer accepted by mainstream historical writing.

Beside the *berats*, the introductory study makes use of a wide range of sources, Ottoman, Greek, and Western. The study explores the following topics: “Berats and the ideology of the Orthodox Church”, “Berats and the functioning of the Orthodox Church (paleographical and diplomatic characteristics)”, “Mechanism for the acquisition of the Patriarchal berats”, “Agents in the acquisition of the Patriarchal berats”, “Berats and the transformation of the Orthodox Church”, “The Orthodox Church in the early modern period: historical sketch”, “Changes in the patriarchal berats in the eighteenth century”.

Very interesting are the observations on the evolution in time of the terminology used in the patriarchal *berats*. Especially in the 18th century, pejorative terms used in previous centuries were gradually replaced by neutral ones and the patriarchs were referred to in documents in more respectful terms, similar with those used for foreign Christian rulers and Phanariot office holders. Many of the changes in the text of the patriarchal *berats* and in the position of the Ottoman administration towards the Orthodox community can be attributed to the increasing role of the Phanariot elite in the Ottoman society from the early 18th century onwards.

More changes in the content of *berats* are noticed after 1741 and especially after 1763. During this period, the five major metropolitans of the Synod, the metropolitans of Heraclea, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Nicaea and Chalcedon, residing in Constantinople, became responsible for the election of patriarchs and for their actions. In 1766 the Patriarchate of Peć, and the following year the Archbishopric of Ohrid were placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. For these reasons the authors choose as chronological limit for their edition of *berats* the year 1768.

A list of “Patriarchal berats published so far (1477–1768)” (p. 61–62), and the “List of documents” (p. 63–64) published in the present volume follow the *Introduction*. In total, 31 patriarchal *berats* are published in transliteration (p. 65–192) and translated into English (p. 193–322). Previously unpublished *berats* are also provided, in facsimiles of the Ottoman text (p. 323–373).

The oldest *berat* is dated 1477 (issued for Maximos III, although his name is not mentioned in the text), and the most recent is that issued for Meletios II of Constantinople, dating from 1768. There are two documents of the 15th century, two of the 16th, one of the 17th, and the rest of the 18th century. Twenty *berats* are issued for patriarchs of Constantinople, five for patriarchs of Antioch, three for patriarchs of Jerusalem, and three for patriarchs of Alexandria.

The text of the *berats* provides important information for the history of the Orthodox Church, and many details in them are discussed at length in the introductory study. The edition will be the starting point for further research on various topics.

One should note the relatively small number of such documents preserved in original or in contemporary copies, for a period of almost three centuries, even if the *berats* were renewed periodically. Among the texts published in the volume, of particular interest is the above-mentioned *berat* of 1477, issued by Mehmed II, with Moldavia (“Boğdan”) among the metropolitan Sees, but omitting Wallachia. Latter texts mention both Wallachia and Moldavia (“Eflak ve Boğdan”). It also should be noted that in the *berat* for Jeremias I of Constantinople (1525), Wallachia and Moldavia are mentioned among the provinces outside the Empire, like Chios, Crete, and Russia (“Rus”), or recently annexed, such as Rhodes. Of particular interest are the *berats* for personalities such as Makarios III of Antioch (1649), famous for his travels described by his son Paul of Aleppo, Chrysanthos (Notaras) of Jerusalem (1707), Athanasius III (Dabbas) of Antioch (1720), and Sylvestros of Antioch (1724 and 1730). There is also a series of *berats* for most of the patriarchs of Constantinople during the 18th century (until 1768). Also of interest is the *berat*

issued for Matthaïos of Alexandria (1746), at the intervention of Paisios II of Constantinople. It is well known that the enthronization of Matthaïos took place in September 1746 in Bucharest, by request of Paisios, during the reign of prince Constantine Mavrokordatos (whilst Neophytos of Crete was metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia). The patriarchal *ekdosis* of Paisios requesting the enthronization is dated August 18th, five days after the issuing date of the *berat*. This example shows the importance of such documents even from a chronological point of view.

A useful *Glossary* of Ottoman terms (p. 375–378), a rich *Bibliography* (p. 379–384), and an *Index* of names and matters (p. 385–89) complete the book's critical apparatus.

The present edition of the patriarchal *berats*, most of them previously unpublished, is a valuable source for historians and offers a new perspective for the history of the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman society in early modern times.

Mihai Țipău

Антология литературы православных арабов. Т. 1: История, coordinating editor Konstantin A. Panchenko, St Tikhon University Press, Moscow, 2020, 416 p., illust.

A team of scholars dedicated to the research of Middle Eastern Christianity has prepared this first volume of an *Anthology of Arabic Orthodox Literature*, which encloses Russian versions of famous works written by Arab Orthodox authors in the 10th to the 18th centuries. Well-known in both Eastern and Western scientific circles for their diligent work in promoting the knowledge on the Christian Arabic culture in itself and in connection with Russia, the contributors to this collection have already published extensively, both at home and abroad, each on the particular topics that she/he masters. They are also, in their majority, authors of entries for the exceptional *Pravoslavnaia Enciklopedia*, the series of volumes (57 as of today) that also include comments on many topics regarding the Arabic-speaking Christians.¹

The master-plan of the *Anthology* was developed by Prof. Dr. Konstantin A. Panchenko, whose latest monograph, *Bližnevostočnoe pravoslavie pod osmanskim vladychestvom. Pervye tri stoletija, 1516–1831 (The Middle Eastern Greek Orthodox Community under the Ottoman Domination. The First Three Centuries, 1516–1831)*, Moscow, 2012, was translated in the USA: *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans 1516–1831*, English translation by Brittany Pheiffer Noble and Samuel Noble, Foreword by HH John X, Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Jordanville, New York, Holy Trinity Monastery, 2016.² Beside the conception of the volume and the text selection, K.A. Panchenko also authored the Foreword (p. 5–8) and two introductory texts: *The Orthodox Arabs: Brief Historical Overview* (p. 8–18) and *The Melkite Historical Literature* (p. 19–44). In doing so, he revealed the twofold domains of his competences: the history of the Orthodox Arabic-speaking Christians and that of Christian Arabic literature.

K. Panchenko starts by paying tribute to the forefathers of the Russian research of Arab Christianity: “The beginning of an active study of the literature of Orthodox Arabs, not only in Russian science, but also at world level, is connected with the names of the leading Arabists of the late 19th and first half of the 20th century: V. R. Rosen, A. A. Vasiliev, and I. Yu. Krachkovsky” (p. 6). He explains that the selected historical texts belong to authors of the Orthodox Arabic-speaking community, “who were called Melkites in the Middle Ages.”³ Panchenko also mentions here the

¹ K.A. Panchenko a. o., *Antiohijskaja Pravoslavnaia Cerkov'*, PE 2, 2001, p. 501–529; M. V. Gratsiansky a. o., *Konstantinopol'skaja Pravoslavnaia Cerkov'*, PE 37, 2015, p. 193–299; K. A. Panchenko, S. A. Moiseeva, *Mel'kitskaja katoličeskaja Cerkov'*, PE 44, 2016, p. 642–656, etc.

² See Ioana Feodorov, *Les chrétiens orthodoxes arabes à l'époque ottomane: vue depuis Moscou*, RESEE 57 2019, p. 331–347.

³ In a broad sense, the indication “Melkite” is commonly used in specialized scholarship to also indicate the Melkite Greek-Catholics, who separated from the traditional Church of Antioch in 1724,

modern model (“incentive” and “inspiration”, as he puts it) for all possible collections of Christian Arabic literature: *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700–1700. An Anthology of Sources*, edited by Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, Northern Illinois University Press, Illinois, DeKalb, 2014.⁴ It does not come as a surprise that Fr Alexander Treiger⁵ joined his Moscow colleagues and contributed to the Russian *Anthology* as well.

The idea behind the selection of the authors – and their works – is formulated by Panchenko thus: “It was decided to include in the opening volume of the *Anthology* texts related to the history of the Arab Orthodox community. Among them were comprised not only historical works created in their midst, but also texts reflecting their self-perception in the face of changing historical realities, the organization of Church life, and their relations with other communities (p. 7).”

Based on chronological criteria, the Moscow anthology is divided into Part One, *The Middle Ages* (p. 45–174), Part Two, *The Melkite Proto-Renaissance* (p. 175–223), and Part Three, *The Melkite Renaissance and the 18th Century* (p. 224–369). Most of the texts were translated from published Arabic editions, with just a few translated directly from manuscript copies. The contributors had access to Christian Arabic manuscripts preserved at the Monastery of Balamand (Lebanon), the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, but most importantly to those of RGADA⁶ in Moscow and the Institute of Oriental Studies (IOM) in St Petersburg. Several of the texts included here come from some of the most precious manuscripts of this Institute: Mss. 1220, 1230, and 1227. The author of each fragment, and his work, are briefly presented to begin with, while historical and philological comments, placed in footnotes, accompany the Russian version. The *Anthology* does not include the Arabic texts as well.

The *Bibliography* (p. 370–387) is organized in both thematic and chronological sections, with special chapters devoted to sources on the most important authors considered. The book is completed by *Indices*: of *Personal Names* (p. 388–400), of *Geographical Names* (p. 401–410), and of *Ethnic and Religious Communities* (p. 411–413). The final pages enclose brief presentations of the contributors. The book has beautiful illustrations: maps of the Near East, photos of Eastern churches, folios of St Petersburg manuscripts, including the Arabic Psalter of 1648 that was exquisitely illuminated by Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, and Patriarch Makarios III’s well-known colour portrait from the *Titjuljarnik* of Moscow.

Part One begins with the *History of the Fire put to the Catholic Church of Our Lady Maryam in the City of Damascus*, which is enclosed in Ms. B 1220, dated 1642, preserved at the IOM (p. 45–54). The following text is a section of the famous *Chronicle* of Patriarch Eutichios of Alexandria, also known as Sa’id Ibn al-Bitriq (p. 54–74). The third text is a chapter of the *Universal Chronicle* of Agapios of Manbiḡ, the 10th century Syrian author of a famed world history (p. 74–100). The other texts included here are excerpted from the works of Yaḥya of Antioch’s *Chronicle* (p. 101–150), Hieromonk Michael’s *Introduction to the Life of John of Damascus*, i.e., the passage where he reports on the Fall of Antioch in 1084, which he personally witnessed (p. 151–161), and Ibn as-Suqa’i’s *Continuation of the Book on the Demise of Eminent People* (p. 162–174).

Part Two includes four texts: *On the Origin of the Word “Melkite”* (p. 175–183), possibly by an anonymous Palestinian monk, *The Miracle of Joachim, Patriarch of Alexandria*, also anonymous (p. 183–205), the report on the Tsardom of Muscovy excerpted from the *Travel Poem (Qasida)* of ‘Īsā, Bishop of Ḥāmā, who accompanied Patriarch Yuwākīm Ibn Ḍaw’, in 1584–1587, to Constantinople, to L’viv in Poland, then to Northern Moldavia and Moscow (p. 205–211), and Metropolitan Anastasios Ibn Muḡalla’s *Reply to the Pope of Rome* (p. 212–223).

Dedicated to the 17th and 18th century Arab Orthodox chroniclers, Part Three begins with the *Acts of the Synod of Ba’albak of 1628*, an important Church reunion where new rules for electing the

soon after the demise of Athanasios Dabbās, Patriarch of Antioch and All the East (Constantin Brâncoveanu’s guest in Bucharest in 1698–1704).

⁴ An *Anthology* to which I contributed Chapter 12, *Paul of Aleppo*, on p. 252–275.

⁵ Associate Professor at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada.

⁶ Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Russian State Archive of the Early Acts).

Patriarch were established, and regulations were formulated in order to correct the bad habits and immorality of the people (p. 224–235). The *Pilgrimage to the Lord's Mount Sinai in 1635–1636* reveals the captivating memories of an anonymous priest of Damascus who visited one of the holiest places of Christianity (p. 235–256). The Patriarch of Antioch Makarios III Ibn az-Za'im (1647–1672) is present in the *Anthology* with two fragments, one from his *History of the Patriarchs of Antioch* (p. 256–279), the other, a descriptive list of their names (p. 279–289). Follows a fragment from the *Travel Journal* of Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, Makarios III's son, which encloses the last folios, 303r–311r, of Ms. 6016 in Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris). They refer to Patriarch Makarios's return to Damascus and the situations that he had to deal with once back. Paul's other major work, *The Description of Georgia*, presumably written originally in Greek, is also included, edited from a Russian version preserved at RGADA (p. 316–332). Finally, two fragments were selected from the works of the famous Arab Orthodox historian Miḥā'il Brayk (d. 1782) *The Full Truth on the History of the Patriarchs of Antioch* (p. 333–348) and the *History of Damascus*, the years 1767–1781 (p. 348–367).

This is a very carefully prepared book, revealing a painstaking work that took several years, with comments based on up-to-date expert literature from the East and the West. Very few improvements seem to be advisable, such as the names of the inhabitants of the Romanian Principalities: probably *Flāḥ*, not *Ulāḥ*, in note 3 on p. 207 (as the letter ف, *fā'*, can easily be taken for و, *wāw*, when missing the dot above, which often happens in Middle Arabic texts). On the same page, in note 5, قره بغضان should be read *Qara Buḡḡdān*, not *Qura Buḡḡdān*, as *Qara* is the Arabicized form of the Ottoman Turkish word *Kara*, “black”, used in this expression to indicate the connection with the voivode Radu Negru, the “Black Prince” of Wallachia.⁷

Coordinated by K. A. Panchenko, who is responsible for most of the historical comments, the contributors – Fr Alexander Treiger, Sofia A. Moiseeva, Yulia I. Petrova, Rufat I. Kasumov, Timur K. Koraev, and Mikhail V. Gratsiansky – are all specialists of the Arabic language and literature and researchers of literary texts connected to the Orthodox Arab communities of the Near East. The coordinating editor acknowledges that the audience targeted by this series is the Russian readership interested in the Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians of the Middle East. Thus, he announces that the second volume of the *Anthology* will be devoted to their theology, “which until now remains unknown to the Russian readers” (p. 7). The Russian-speaking audience should be looking forward to the next volume of this exceptional series. Non-Russian-speaking readers should be hoping for an English version of this praiseworthy volume. For, as Konstantin Panchenko asserts in his Foreword when recalling the present-day drama of the Eastern Christians (p. 18), “it is especially important to preserve the cultural heritage of the Orthodox Arabs and bring knowledge about it to a wide range of people.”

Ioana Feodorov

The Ottoman Press (1908–1923), by Erol A. F. BAYKAL, Series *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage*, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi and Boḡaç Ergene, vol. 67, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2019, 387 p., illus.

Having obtained in 2013 a doctoral degree in Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Cambridge under the supervision of Kate Fleet, Erol Baykal prepared his thesis for publishing in 2019, in the book reviewed here. A speaker of several Oriental languages (Turkish, Arabic, Qumuq, Persian, and Hebrew), beside his knowledge of Latin, Dutch, English, French, and German, he has

⁷ Both names are mentioned several times in Makarios III Ibn az-Za'im's *Chronicle of Wallachia*, a chapter of his *Maḡmū' laḡīf* (“Pleasant collection”). See Ioana Feodorov, “La Chronique de Valachie (1292–1664). Tawārīḥ wa aḡbār muḡtaṣira ‘an ‘afandiyyat al-‘Aflāḥ. Texte arabe du Patriarche Macaire Za'im”, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joséph* 52, 1995 (1991–1992), p. 3–71 (especially p. 24–39, the edited Arabic text).

surveyed documentary materials in the National Archives in Turkey (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi – Istanbul, Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, and Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt – Ankara) as well as in Western Europe (Bundesarchiv – Berlin, Nationaal Archief – The Hague, National Archives – London), and he is also a software expert. His scholarly interests, as revealed by papers presented at conferences and his published articles, span from the Balkan Wars (“Istanbul and the Balkan Wars 1912–1913”, “Cholera Epidemics in Istanbul During the Balkan Wars: Sources, Methodology and Preliminary Conclusions”) to the Ottoman press (“The Dutch-Ottoman Press Crisis, 1900–1903”, “The Ottoman Press and the Dutch East Indies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century”).

When hearing about “the Ottoman press”, anyone familiar with the topic automatically recalls İbrahim Müteferrika, the Transylvanian-born Hungarian who was taken prisoner by the Ottoman army and embraced Islam in Istanbul. He is undoubtedly the best-known printer of Arabic-script books in the Ottoman world when it comes to early printing. This comes from the fairly good opportunities for documenting his activities both at the Ottoman Court and in his printing press¹, and from the numerous copies of his printed books that are preserved in public libraries and collections. He is also famous for printing the first maps in the Ottoman realm.² After painstaking interventions of a diplomatic and political nature at the Ottoman Court, he succeeded in obtaining the right to print scientific books (mathematics, medicine, grammar) for the laypeople, in Arabic type, in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, while observing a ban on printing any sort of religious texts and theological works. Müteferrika’s work opened the path for other press projects and led, almost two centuries later, to the developments presented by Erol Baykal in this book.

Baykal’s book is devoted to the press, i.e., the publication of newspapers, taking as the earliest reference in time the year 1831, when the first state-sponsored Ottoman newspaper was printed in Istanbul, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, all-Turkish (indicated later, on p. 187, as featuring an “Istanbul-centric reporting”). He also had a “French sibling”, *Le Moniteur Ottoman*. In Chapter I, *The Emergence and Growth of the Ottoman Press, 1831–1908* (p. 13–42), Baykal describes the situation of the first printing endeavours in the Ottoman capital, at the turn of the 16th century, by privately-owned Jewish, Armenian, and Greek presses. He also mentions İbrahim Müteferrika once, on p. 15, as “having become almost synonymous with the printing press in Turkish historiography”. Established in 1727 (nearly 300 years after Gutenberg first started printing), Müteferrika’s press, *Dar al-Tiba‘a al-‘Amira*, is acknowledged here as the first Ottoman State Printing House.

Baykal draws a link between the need for newsletters and the absence of a postal network in the Ottoman realm, before 1840, other than the *menzil* system, inaccessible to private people. Sultan Mahmud II’s political goals are outlined here, as favourable circumstances for the onset of the Ottoman press. A benefit of this chapter is the comparative survey of Turkish press-ventures with the Greek and French newspapers founded across the Empire during his rule. The *Tanzimat* period and its makers are evoked starting with p. 31, with their joint efforts to set up modern institutions, such as the Translations Office (*Tercüme Odası*), and innovative intellectual groups like the “Tanzimat literature” movement (*Tanzimat Edebiyatı*). The year 1864, when the first Press Law was issued, is reached in this same chapter, which ends with comments on Abdülhamid II’s rule (1876–1909), a time when the press, acknowledged as a power in society, was faced with a tightened government control.

The year 1908, the starting point of the period considered in the major part of this book, is the year that the Young Turk Revolution occurred and the Ottoman Constitution was reinstated, an event that had visible benefits for the people’s freedoms – and evidently for the freedom of the press. Consequently, as

¹ One of the earliest authors to have surveyed such sources is Henri Omont, *Documents sur l’imprimerie à Constantinople au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1895. A recent English version is comprised in C. M. Murphy survey *Ottoman Imperial Documents Relating to the History of Books and Printing*, in *The Book in the Islamic World*, ed. G. N. Attiyeh, p. 283–292. See also Orlin Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Brighton, MA, 2018.

² An image of the naval chart of the Black Sea (1724 or 1725) and the descriptions of 21 titles printed by Müteferrika are available online from Gerlach Books & Gerlach Press (Germany).

Baykal notes, in the Turkish Republic, the 24th of July (date of Abdülhamid II's capitulation) is the National Journalists' and Press Day. In Chapter 2, *The 1908 Press Boom* (p. 43–71), a survey of the applications to publish newspapers submitted in 1908–1909 in cities all across the Empire makes the author estimate 556 papers founded at the time, some with continuity even after the new Press Law of 1909. In the second part of the chapter explanations are suggested for this boom, mostly connected to the political turmoil of the 1908 elections and the end of the Sultan's support to the press.

Chapter 3, *Legislating the Press* (p. 72–115), is dedicated to the history of the Press Laws since 1864. For the period after 1908, where the main focus of this book lies, the need to regulate a press that enjoyed absolute freedom for the first time is explained by comparing it with the wake of the 1864 Press Law. Censorship, restrictions, and political tensions triggered by an “unruly press” (p. 78) are indicated as consequences of the publishers' newly-gained freedom. Nevertheless, the codification of the publishers' liberties by the 1909 Press Law was done based on an official policy that remained supportive of the press (p. 111).

Chapter 4, *Censoring the Press* (p. 116–147), is devoted to the consequences of the 1909 Press Law for newspaper publishers in Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara in the following two decades. Here, the author considers the implications, for the Turkish press, of the political situation in the country after the Sèvres Treaty, the rise of the National Movement, and the actions of the Greek government of Eleftherios Venizelos. Events are followed up in the pages of *Peyam-ı Sabah*, a powerful ally of the British and the Allied Commissioner, and, as a consequence, an opponent to Mustafa Kemal's organizing of the nationalist resistance in Anatolia. While after 1908 the Turkish press witnessed a degree of freedom like never before, when the Empire entered the World War in August 1914 pre-printing examinations and censorship were reintroduced, as a protective measure, applied in other belligerent countries as well.

Connections between finance and press are discussed in-depth in Chapter 5, *Financing the Press* (p. 148–184). Costs for machinery, wages, and materials are all considered, with some additional notes on the probable average circulation of certain newspapers. A special place is granted to discussing the paper sources, the essential material used by printers. The topics of blackmail by journalists and bribes offered to them are also addressed in this chapter, alongside pre-paid advertisements and secret funds that subsidized papers during the World War.

Chapter 6, *Reading the Press* (p. 185–216), is dedicated to the interesting topic of the readership of the Turkish press in the first decades of the 20th century. The author goes far back in time to show that “for their own time, the newspapers of the seventeenth century were ‘mass-media’” (p. 185). The process of popularization, which started with the first papers printed in Izmir in the 1820s, is gradually presented in p. 186–189. The need for an increased audience led to a “veritable visual revolution” in 1912–1914, with newspapers adopting quite abruptly a more modern, Westernized look, remarked by a Dutch report (in 1917) as an attempt to “mimic the appearance of major European newspapers” (p. 191).

The final section, *Conclusion: Controlling the Press* (p. 217–223), recalls the main themes of the book: the power that the press gradually gained in the Ottoman realm, the urge to control this power, the bumpy relationship of publishers with the authorities (local or foreign) and with their readership as well. Undoubtedly, one of the qualities of Baykal's comments is that they cover all major Turkish cities where the press flourished, including Ankara.

The book is accompanied by several exceptional *Appendices: Permit Applications and Publications Index* (p. 225–322), starting with the year 1908, which includes applications for newspapers in several languages; *Ottoman Press Laws* (p. 305–321), i.e., the 1864 and 1909 Laws, in Latin transcription of the Turkish text (unfortunately, no English translation is provided); *Quantifying Censorship* (p. 322–327), which ingeniously records the “white gaps” that show censored words on the front pages of the issues, from November 1918 until June 1923 (nearly four years), of three newspapers: *İkdam*, *Peyam-ı Sabah*, and *Vakit*; finally, the appendix on *Pricing* (p. 328–338) comprises charts that reveal the evolution of prices for several newspapers, from 1861 to 1928. The *Bibliography* (p. 339–380) includes a long list of newspapers surveyed while researching the topics addressed. The book ends in a comprehensive *Index* (p. 381–387). A large number of in-text

illustrations, mostly caricatures of a political nature, support the author's comments. The overall aspect of the text is neat, with so few typesetting blunders that they need not be mentioned.

Considering the wider span of the research published here, which actually begins with the 1820s, a subtitle would have been useful, to let the readers know that the author's comments are much more comprehensive, in fact, than the fifteen years, 1908–1923, indicated in the title.

An enjoyable and inciting read, Erol Baykal's book deserves to take its place in the list of essential sources for the study of the Ottoman press. Not only will the reader feel rewarded when reaching its end, but rewarded, I think, should feel the author himself, who surprisingly declares in his Preface: "In our neck of the woods [the Netherlands, I presume], there is little glory to be gained from a subject that is considered as obscure as Ottoman history. Truth be told, I expect to gain no reward from this publication at all." I believe that his readership will prove him wrong.

Ioana Feodorov

Eugen PAVEL (coord.), *Școala Ardeleană*, vol. I: *Scieri istorice*, vol. II: *Scieri lingvistice. Scieri literare*, vol. III: *Scieri literare. Scieri teologice și religioase. Scieri filosofice*, vol. IV: *Scieri didactice și instructive. Repere critice. Glosar. Indice de autori, traducători și opere antologate*, București, Editura Fundației Naționale pentru Știință și Artă, 2018, 1400 p. + 1706 p. + 1712 p + 1581 p.

These four volumes are a part of the Romanian Academy's famed *Fundamental Works (Opere fundamentale)* collection, which emulates the French *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*. Romanian readers will already be familiar with their physical format and the great quality of their paper. This particular edition, which was published on the occasion of the centenary of the Great Union of Romania in 1918, was helmed by Eugen Pavel, the current director of the Romanian Academy's Institute of Linguistics and Literary History "Sextil Pușcariu" in Cluj-Napoca, who had previously edited (alongside one of the numerous collaborators on this four-volume work, Gheorghe Chivu, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy) another volume in the same collection, namely the one containing the works of Ion Budai-Deleanu (2011). Much praise should also be given to the entire team who worked on this edition: the texts were transcribed by Maria Aldea, Ioana Anghel, Alexandra Baneu, Doru George Burlacu, Liliana Burlacu, Adrian Chircu, Gheorghe Chivu, Elena Comșulea, Paula Cotoi, Vasilica Eugenia Cristea, Maria Frânc, Alin Mihai Gherman, Ovidiu Ghitta, Doina Grecu, Ladislau Gyémánt, Bogdan Harhătă, Andreea Mârza, Mircea Minică, Greta-Monica Miron, Mira Mocan, Dora Pavel, Crina Pop, Laura Stanciu, Otilia Urs, Oana Uță-Bărbulescu, Aristina Valea, Marta Vremir and Eugen Pavel himself.

Taking this context into account, it is not difficult to see why he undertook this daunting endeavour: the so-called Transylvanian School (*Școala Ardeleană*) was the *alma mater* (in a figurative sense) of Ion Budai-Deleanu and countless other writers and scholars from the 18th and early 19th centuries, as well as the central cultural movement of the Enlightenment within the Romanian community of Transylvania. These writers ventured into extremely diverse domains, which the editors painstakingly attempted to represent throughout the four volumes, not one of which has less than a thousand pages.

The first volume of the anthology opens with a consistent preface by Eugen Simion, former president of the Romanian Academy (1998–2006), current president of the Philology and Literature Section of the Romanian Academy and coordinator of the entire collection, which serves as an excellent introduction into the subject matter. The remainder of the book is entirely dedicated to the historical writings of the representatives of the Transylvanian School, the first of which is the *Supplex Libellus* penned by Inocențiu Micu-Klein in 1743, which ultimately earned him his exile one year later. The readers will be delighted to know that the editors provide them both with the original text, written in Latin, and the Romanian translation. While they are not presented *a fronte*, the presence of both versions will nevertheless

be salutary in every situation: such will be the case of Toma Costin's Hungarian commentary on Schwärtner Márton's observations concerning the Romanian population in his statistics of Hungary. We owe the translations of such texts to Alexandra Baneu, Vasilica Eugenia Cristea, Ladislau Gyémánt, Bogdan Harhătă, Andreea Mârza, Mira Mocan, Oana Uță-Bărbulescu and Marta Vremir.

The second volume is divided in two great categories: the first half contains linguistic treatises of various natures. A considerable number of them are concerned with the orthography of Romanian, which was, of course, one of the most important discussion points for the linguists of the time. That being said, one may also find pure grammatical treatises (the earliest of which is Samuil Micu and Gheorghe Șincai's *Elementa linguae Daco-Romanae sive Valachicae* from 1780) or even multilingual dictionaries – some going in both directions, such as Budai-Deleanu's Romanian-German/German-Romanian dictionary, others being trilingual, which reflected the practical needs of Transylvanian readers. The second half of this volume includes translations from foreign writers, not least of which is Samuil Micu's translation of Lucian of Samosata's *A True Story*, but there can be no doubt that, among the various original works, it is the famous *Occisio Gregorii in Moldavia vodae tragedice expressa* (which is the very first Romanian play) and Ion Budai-Deleanu's epic in verse, *Țiganiada*, that will immediately draw the reader's attention.

The third volume is divided into three sections: the first of them contains the remainder of the literary writings selected by the editors. These include the verses written by Vasile Aaron on diverse subjects such as the name day of Ioan Bob (Bishop of Făgăraș and Primate of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church at the time) or the myth of Pyramus and Thisbe, based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Vasile Popp, on the other hand, dedicated a Latin elegy to the merits of medicine three years after penning another elegy about the Three Estates of Transylvania (made famous by the *Unio Trium Nationum*, the pact signed in 1438 by the Hungarians, the Saxons and the Székelys in response to the Transylvanian peasant revolt). Aside from the creations of the authors themselves, the editors included several translations, such as Petru Maior's Romanian version of Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*. The theological and religious works notably consist in translations from the Bible (of which the editors obviously only provide fragments), sermons, catechisms and other punctual treatises. Finally, the philosophical works are exclusively Samuil Micu's adaptations of Friedrich Christian Baumeister's treatises on ethics, politics, metaphysics, logics and physics.

The fourth and final volume contains the didactical works written or translated by the representatives of the Transylvanian School. The areas covered are fascinating in their diversity: the authors cover areas as diverse as anthropology, arithmetic, apiculture, medicine, pedagogy, pomiculture and viticulture, to name a few. One treatise teaches its reader how to make sugar or to cultivate hemp, but even more of them are dedicated to cultivating the spirits of their beneficiaries, be it in terms of familiarizing them with moral precepts or simply by dispelling superstitions. Aside from the riches contained in the 42 didactical texts, this volume also undertakes the task of including some of the more representative opinions from literary critics on the Transylvanian School, from Atanasie Marian Marienescu's study on the life and works of Petru Maior (1883) to Constantin Stroe's discussion of Samuil Micu's work on ethics (2017). The most recent of them (namely from the 21st century) were written by Ioan Chindriș (2001), Cristian Barta (2003), Laura Stanciu (2003), Larisa Matei (2004), Daniel Dumitran (2005), Nicolae Manolescu (2007), Victor Neumann (2008), Ana-Maria Roman-Negoi (2008), Ion Pop (2010), Cornel Sigmirean (2011), Eugen Simion (2011), Maria Berényi (2011), Eugen Pavel (2012), Gheorghe Chivu (2012 and 2016), Pârvu Boerescu (2014), Alin Mihai Gherman (2015), Ioan-Aurel Pop (2015) and, as mentioned earlier, Constantin Stroe (2017).

These studies, spanning over 134 years, occupy just shy of a third of the final volume and will surely be as much of a treasure to scholars as the original texts themselves. There is also a rather substantial glossary (compiled by Gheorghe Chivu, Ioana Anghel, Elena Comșulea, Doina Grecu and Bogdan Harhătă), which will aid modern readers in their understanding of the now archaic language. Finally, the authors rightfully saw fit to include an index of authors, translators and works included in the anthology.

The sheer multitude of works contained within these four volumes is such that the reader might even feel overwhelmed by it and focus exclusively on the works that interest him and on the

critical texts discussing them. That being said, it needs to be underlined that even when faced with the 175 works selected by the editors, it would be unwise to limit oneself to such an extent. On the contrary, one will find that not reading the preface would be a disadvantage in some cases, seeing how Eugen Simion alludes to certain works that were not selected or commented throughout the remaining 6500 pages: such is the case of Inocențiu Micu-Klein's *Illustrium poetarum flores*, an anthology of Latin poetry which he composed during his stay in Rome (1744–1768).

This is not to be understood as criticism towards the editors – far from it – but as a word of praise for the exquisite quality of the entire edition, from its first page to the last. As a result, a researcher who would maintain a form of tunnel vision while investigating only one of the authors or works contained within the thousands of pages of these books would actually be causing himself an immense disservice, as he would no doubt be missing out on precious nuggets of information. In other words, it must be said that this entry in the now lengthy series of *Opere fundamentale* deserves every ounce of admiration for the abundance it managed to contain between the covers of its volumes.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Elena SIUPIUR, *Die deutschen Universitäten und die Bildung der Intelligenz in Rumänien und den Ländern Südosteuropas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I” – Editura Istros, Brăila, 2019, 320 p. (“Bibliothèque de l’Institut d’Études Sud-Est Européennes”, 6).

Elena Siupiur has been growing up in our Institute of South-East European Studies where she assiduously worked on the relations between Romanians and Bulgarians, as well as on the spreading of education within these nations during the 19th century. This time, our colleague produced with this book of hers an extremely broad and inspiring range of information which can be called a true mirror of how, together, the Romanians and their Balkan neighbours rushed to learn from Germany the Western guide-lines for social, political and cultural thought. Forty years ago, it was a urgent priority to collect documents in order to expose the gradual renewal of education in the Romanian lands since the early Enlightenment and a small team was formed then, offering to seek the progress from religious scholars to the urban intellectual. Such an inquiry extended over the 17th–19th centuries was conceived to include problems of prosopography about an increasing number of historical cases: therefore, the main questions to be answered were, for every person, social origin, social position, political commitment (as far as it was known), intellectual formation and profession. Our leader, Vlad Georgescu, intended to use for this topic some digitalization, as it began then to be proudly adopted into Romania. In the end, only Siupiur persevered and she even enlarged her own field as soon as a few German stipends allowed an investigation abroad, the results of which are reunited in the present volume. Successive studies are based on archives where, alongside Romanian students, in the registers of German universities were enclosed more than two thousands Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians. It had been, in the Europe transformed by the Vienna Congress, a first opening to the expectations to acquire Western-minded notions of education which had been forbidden till then. The opportunity was soon seized to enlist in the “Matrikelbücher” various young men from besides the Danube and the Carpathian borders: either from Moldavia and Wallachia, or from Transylvania where Saxons and Hungarians were mingled with Romanians. The ethnic identification is ambiguous sometimes, if we search it according to modern criteria. Before the institutionalization of national states, only the birthplace is indicated, if not merely a Slavic or Greek name which may induce to attribute a national status. Another situation occurs when, after being confronted to the German education, some people, even from the West, instead of coming back home, were carried by personal interest to settle in Wallachia or Moldavia, founding families whose descendants subsisted till nowadays as physicians or journalists.

The statistical presentation provides the heart of this book. There is here a mountainous mass of details. Though the information often concerns the existence of rather unknown persons, for

instance, Lutheran country ministers from Transylvania, it brings a collective image of what was intensely experienced even at that level. When a biography is attached to the name, we can attempt to suggest a possible influence exchanged among school-colleagues. Evidence which emerges from this collection of data is the influx of aspirants to reliable positions that were attainable through the German diploma. Consequently, one can recognize the same schema throughout the new states of South-Eastern Europe where the need existed to form professional elites. A look at the officials who, having their aptitudes certified in Germany, were employed at home in highly responsible functions finds, as expected, a courage and endurance trained in their youth. The way to efficiency in the reorganization of justice in Romania was similarly opened.

The registration of students supplied not only the length of time spent by each man in the respective college, but also a statement about any former stage in a different university (in Germany, Austria, France, or even at Athens). Further additions regarded the father's social position and also the home channel through which news might pass from the Faculty administration. The recurrence of the same family name indicates a cultural milieu around that kin. As it would be impossible to examine here everything that these lists help us to perceive, let me stop at some relevant pages on Romanians or people connected with Romania, because they call additions to what is already explained by Siupiur.

A guided tour through the six universities starts with Bonn (between 1824 and 1879). As soon as 1825 we find a Bessarabian Greek, Constantin Skinas, who learned Law and finished his life as minister of Greece to Vienna. He is the ancestor of a family, renamed Schina, that survived till late in Romania with among others a high magistrate. Several Moldavian members of the Ghyka (Ghica) family – Vasile, Alexandru, Nicolae, Grigore – came at Bonn to study Philosophy and Law. The same inclination is manifested by other Moldavian boyars of the same age: two of them, personalities of the first order in Romania's politics and culture, were relatives, but confronted as party leaders. The Liberal D.A. Sturdza was four times prime minister and a great benefactor of the Romanian Academy, while Petre P. Carp, the authoritarian chief of the Conservatives, obstinately defended the German strategy. In 1861, at Law lessons, Carp could have met as a colleague the young prince Hohenzollern who will later reign on Romania as King Charles the I-st.

Göttingen was frequented mostly by Transylvanian nobles from the important Magyar families Teleky, Bethlen and Wesseleny. Almost alone among them, a Moldavian boyar, Lascar Rosetti (1816–1884) studied Philosophy at Heidelberg and Law here, where he won the doctorate. What makes him conspicuous is the dignified integrity with which he refused the ministerial dignities he was offered during his career, though he constantly tried to ameliorate the social condition of his country. His writings expressed, each of them, his commitment to political reform in 1848 as well as in the movement for the Union of Principalities.

The other university that enjoyed the preference of Transylvanians was Leipzig, where the Saxon bourgeoisie sent, since 1840, Lutherans anxious to learn theology and medicine to assist their flock. The medical endeavour attracted also Romanians who knew how necessitous were their quickly developing towns. Theology classes taught Greek, which was useful for everybody interested by philosophy and social sciences. Jews from Romania become to arrive to Leipzig, in no small number, the first being Adolphe Stern (1848-1931), a lawyer whose action for the rights of his people increased his reputation. In the same scope acted Markus Brocziner, a Jew from Jassy who came to learn Philosophy and, later, will be praised for having fought in the Independence War. Law and Philosophy at Leipzig were also available to an Orthodox clergyman from Bucovina, Partenie Clinceni, who will be metropolitan of the Lower Danube in 1886-1902, then of Moldavia till his controversial resignation in 1909.

The cultural centre of Heidelberg has been well ahead in introducing the intellectuals of South-Eastern Europe to the Western mental world. To open the row of Bulgarians, the enlightener Peter Beron, author of the first spelling-book in his language, already had the medicine doctorate at Munich before turning to *Staatswissenschaft* at Heidelberg in 1847–1850. Later, he lived in Craiova, and a nephew of his, Vasil, a medicine doctor too, but from Vienna, devoted himself to create the grammar

school of the Bulgarian community at Bolgrad (in Bessarabia). Another eager mind of the same kind, born in Odessa, Spyridon Palausov, after collecting diplomas in *Staatswirtschaft* from Bonn, Heidelberg and Munich, assumed the task to write on medieval Balkan history. In such cases, the acquaintance with Romania, established through kinship networks, acted as a guide besides borders for the development of government, institutions and economics. It is at Heidelberg that Constantin Casso (1837–1862) came from Bessarabia as soon as, after the end of the Crimean War, the South of his natal province returned to Moldavia, then he was free to travel abroad for studying Law. The situation of the Greek-Romanian intercourse was of course different. A Phanariot like Demetrios Mavrocordatos would have found in Wallachia many high-ranking relatives, but, at the conclusion of his medicine studies at Heidelberg, Munich and Würzburg, he went back to Athens. In families like Dossios (C.N., G.N., N.C.), or Provelengios (C. and G.) the first generation was coming from Macedonia and the last, being born in Romania, remained here to use their curriculum which included Heidelberg among other universities like Paris, Munich or Leipzig. In a few cases they left a tombstone or a portrait.

The variety of Romanian students at Heidelberg makes difficult to sketch a pattern. The name of Gheorghe Cuciurean can scarcely be omitted from this account: he shared his time to study medicine and surgery between Munich and Heidelberg, and, as chief physician at Iași, he published in 1842 a *Description of the main hospitals of Germany, England and France*. About Eugeniu Predescu, whose studies of Law at Heidelberg continued at Munich, where he got the doctorate in 1835, it can be added that he became a magistrate at Bucharest, with literary and historical interests. Heidelberg and Berlin for George Demeter Ioanide are the spot where we find in 1859–60 this bookseller and editor who made known old Wallachian manuscripts. Iancu Racoviță spent three years to study Law in Heidelberg, but this Wallachian gentleman is recorded only because, at Berlin, in 1863, he killed in a duel Ferdinand Lassalle, one of the founders of German socialism. Apart from this curious episode, other peculiarities among the Heidelberg Romanian collection of Law students deserve more attention. In 1865, the two Cereșeanu brothers were country squires from Vălenii de Munte: it is significant that the conversion to a model of Western Law which moulded the attitude of a new generation went as far as wealthy landowners from a provincial town. On the highest level there is Gheorghe Cantacuzino (1844–1898), whose performance as Liberal minister, prepared in Germany, but also on the other side, in France, succeeded to organize the Finance administration.

As the book proceeds, the Romanians who seized the earliest chance to enrich their learning in the capital of the Bavarian kingdom were the Golescu brothers, entrusted to the diligent care of a tutor, a Hellenist scholar. The elder two will move in 1827 to Geneva to share the house of Rodolphe Toepffer, writer, artist and educational master who projected on them his values. At the universities of Munich and Leipzig we meet Alexandru Cantacuzino (1813–1884) as student in Law. Later, he also joined the two younger Golescus at the friendly boarding school of Geneva. Relevant indications on his personality are his activity in support of Prince Alexandru I. Cuza and especially the nostalgic novel he wrote about country life in Moldavia. Mentioned as „Braily Georg aus Bukarest”, a student in Philosophy at Munich in 1832–1833, must have been Gheorghe Brăiloiu (1816–1850). Belonging to the same group, Ludwig Steege (born in Bucharest in 1813) went to Paris to get a medicine doctorate. A very different area of activity was assigned to him when he successfully managed some diplomatic missions and he was called to be a Finance minister (1864, 1867). A Greek family of Moldavia, Giani, is steadily studying medicine since 1836, but in the following generation they will be lawyers and Liberal ministers. Emanuel “von Kostin”, from Bucovina, published his thesis in medicine in 1838 and became physician at Bârlad (in the same Moldavian town Emil Bruckner will open a pharmacy after having studied at Munich: he will be the forebear of an offspring of eminent physicians). Pharmacy was chosen as the field to study by Alexandru I. Samurçaș (1845–1899), yet he shifted to Law in Brussels. Having been at Munich to learn Philosophy, before going to Paris in 1837 for Law studies, Constantin Mourousis (1816–1866) acted in 1848 and 1866 as a factor of political agitations in Moldavia; his Phanariot genealogy and his connections with Russian secret policy were at the origin of this role in times of crisis.)

Finally, we reach Berlin, where the names we gleaned reveal an irregular ethnic composition. We find among them two future Hungarian prime ministers, Kalmán Tisza and Dezső Bánffy, whose

education was presumed to benefit from Philosophy; they are included there as Transylvanian aristocrats. Dozens of students continued to flow from Transylvania as theologians. The tradition of Greek guests of the same university was no less maintained, but they are now recruited from provinces of their own national state for the education of Orthodox clergy. A Phanariot prince, Aristide Karadja, having come from Athens to study Law at Berlin, went later to live on his estate in Moldavia and his splendid collection of exotic butterflies can be admired in the Bucharest museum of National Sciences.

The first Romanian scholar to appear is Kogălniceanu in 1837–1840: he had been sent to accompany and tutor the sons of Prince Mihail Sturdza of Moldavia. Soon will follow Ioan Zalomit (Philosophy and Law in 1841–1846), later appointed rector of the Bucharest university, Alexandru Orăscu (Philosophy and Architecture, 1841–1843), the builder of that university, and Alexandru Teriachiu (Law 1846–1847, Philosophy 1851) who will join two Liberal governments. The greatest cultural figures are still to come: the philosopher Maiorescu in 1858, the historian Xenopol in 1867 and the poet Eminescu in 1873. The Berlin list, by its growing number of Romanians and their social origin, deeper into the bourgeoisie, conforms to the evolution of the national (soon independent) state.

The dialogue which certainly will follow with Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian experts should review the strengths and weaknesses in Siupiur's analysis of the material she has accumulated. The details added to some informations can be easily multiplied. What has been said here wanted only to show how thankful we must be for this impressive work.

Andrei Pippidi

Αννα ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ ΨΑΡΟΥΔΑ, *Εγγυήσεις «Δίκαιης Δίκης» και δικαιώματα του κατηγορουμένου στην «Ποινική Δικονομία» του 1834. Επισκόπηση της ποινικής νομολογίας του Αρείου Πάγου των ετών 1835–1855* (Guarantees of “Fair Trial” and rights of the accused in the “Criminal Procedure” of 1834. Overview of the Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of 1835–1855), Athens, Academy of Athens, 2019, 383 p.

This book is written by a legal science specialist who was also involved in political life. Anna Benaki-Psarouda, president of Athens Academy, has been for several decades a professor of criminal law at the University of Athens, and between 2004 and 2007, she has occupied the position of president of the Greek Parliament. The book published by the Athens Academy Publishing House, at the Research Center for the History of Greek Law, addresses issues related to the codification of criminal law between 1834 and 1855 in the first two decades after the formation of the Greek nation-state. The author particularly debates on the drafting of the criminal code and of the criminal procedure code, and on transposing the new laws in the practice of the High Court (Areios Pagos). Particular attention is paid to the rights of the defendant. The first chapter of the book presents the main architects of the modern legal system of Greece. In this process of institutional construction, the catalytic role of Bavarian officials in the early years of King Otton's reign cannot be ignored. Beside the lawyers of Bavarian origin, there are also the Greek lawyers, who are actually the first law professors in the newly established University of Athens. All Greek law practitioners of that time were trained at universities from Western Europe, especially in France and Germany. This explains why the sources of Greek criminal law are of German and French origin. The codes - criminal and criminal procedure -, adopted in 1834, have been valid in Greece for more than a century, until 1951. The author emphasizes that today's Greek laws on criminal matters are based on procedures and principles borrowed from the first codes.

The book is structured in three parts. The first part sets out the historical background of drafting the first criminal codes in Greece, beginning with 1821. Several provisions of the Constitutions, drafted in 1822 and 1827, during the independence war, proclaimed additional guarantees and rights for the accused. The decree of 1829, given by Ioannis Kapodistrias, is a

reference point in the configuration of criminal law in Greece. The second part of the book analyzes the principles of law upon which the criminal codes were drafted and upon which the Supreme Court gave its subsequent judgments. These provisions adapted the provisions of the Bavarian and French codes to the legal realities of Greece. In the last part of the book, the author publishes the provisions of criminal law and several judgments of the Supreme Court, as well as a table with all the legal and regulatory acts issued between 1834 and 1855. After 1830, the entire legal and regulatory system of Ottoman origin of liberated Greece was replaced with institutions borrowed from the West. The book praises the work of several famous Greek lawyers of that time, who made a colossal effort to translate and adapt the Western law codes. Jurist Georg Ludwig von Maurer, a member of the regency, translated the 1813 Bavarian code, drafted by Anselm von Feuerbach. Constantinos Schinas (1801–1857), having studied law in Berlin and Paris, assisted Maurer in this activity, translating the entire 1808 French code. Another pioneer of the Greek legal system was Christodoulos Klonaris, the first president of the Supreme Court between 1835 and 1849. The Criminal Codes set out a series of principles that have never been found in the Byzantine and Ottoman traditions before. For example, all punishments are instituted under the law, and the judicial power makes judgments only in compliance with the law. The principle of retroactivity and of the more favourable law is stated. Any court decision was motivated, and the judge appreciated the evidence in the file according to his own conviction. Only in cases of religious offense could the judicial motivation be lacking, thus protecting the judge from committing a heresy.

By publishing the legal texts, particularly the judgments given by the High Court, the author presents the reader with a rich case law. Out of the 368 pages, the annexes with documents represent 248. In the first part of the annexes are published 12 constitutional texts and laws on criminal matters, drafted between 1822 and 1827. They are followed by fragments of the Criminal Code (*Poiniki Dikononomia*, 1834) and 89 decisions of the High Court. Images with sources are inserted, such as the title pages of court decision collections, etc. We believe that this book provides the history of south-east European law with a valuable work tool.

Ștefan Petrescu

Béla BORSI-KALMAN, *Au berceau de la nation roumaine moderne / Dans le miroir hongrois. Essais pour servir à l'histoire des rapports hungaro-roumains aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Paris, Éditions des Archives contemporaines, 2018, 284 p.

Ce livre reprend et renouvelle des ouvrages précédents de l'auteur, dont l'activité littéraire et la carrière diplomatique n'ont fait qu'encadrer sa passion d'historien. L'objet de cette vocation a toujours été ce qu'il appelle « la question transylvaine », qui hante éternellement les relations roumano-hongroises. Né au Maramureș, attaché culturel à l'ambassade de Hongrie à Bucarest avant de remplir la même fonction à Paris, c'est donc un acteur et observateur averti de l'actualité, tout en étudiant les origines d'un long conflit. La dizaine d'études qui suivent l'introduction due à Matei Cazacu sont une refonte de deux autres recueils autour du même thème. Le premier, *Hungarian Exiles and the Romanian National Movement, 1849–1867*, paru en 1991 dans la série Social Science Monographs de Boulder, Colorado, présentait les résultats d'une heureuse recherche d'archives, commentés avec une riche érudition. Dans le volume suivant, *Liaisons risquées. Hongrois et Roumains aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Editions Jelenkor, Pécs, 1999), on retrouve ces travaux auxquels on a ajouté une étude sur la suite des négociations entre l'émigration hongroise et la Roumanie, où elle trouvait un nouveau pouvoir politique et une opinion publique forgée par la presse. En supplément, quelques essais sur la question incessamment reprise en Roumanie et des réflexions sincères sur les bévues du côté hongrois ont abouti à l'expression d'une réticence envers l'Union européenne et à des pages autobiographiques. Ayant traversé tous ces aperçus sur divers épisodes du XIX^e siècle, le lecteur arrivé à la troisième édition de l'ouvrage ne trouvera de nouveau qu'une

malencontreuse présentation des mémorialistes roumains de l'Entre-deux-guerres. Pourtant, on doit souligner une dimension, la reconstitution minutieuse des efforts, de part et d'autre, de chercher une conciliation et de faire avancer l'efficacité du développement moderne de la région.

On n'a point prêté suffisamment d'attention aux documents du lourd dossier qui nous est rendu par B. Borsi-Kalman. Il n'est pas possible de résumer ici les rapports fidèlement dressés au jour le jour par Arthur Seherthoss au général Klapka, qui lui avait confié une mission délicate auprès du prince Cuza en août 1864, mais leur intérêt ne doit pas être négligé. Il s'agissait du sort des fusils français envoyés par la Sardaigne de Cavour pour servir aux Hongrois et aux Serbes contre l'Autriche et déposés en attendant à Galați. Sur l'attitude de Cuza à ce sujet, telle qu'elle était perçue par les diplomates occidentaux accrédités à Bucarest, on devrait voir aussi les rapports du consul John Green en décembre 1860 (*Documente externe privitoare la domnia lui Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Corespondență diplomatică engleză*, I, 1859–1862, București, 2001, p. 113–165). Celui-ci, quoiqu'il recevait beaucoup de dénonciations de la part des ennemis de Cuza, ignorait la présence de l'envoyé de Klapka dans les Principautés-Unies. C'est par l'intermédiaire du consul italien Strambio que Seherthoss gardait le contact avec le gouvernement de Turin. Pour le financement et le recrutement de volontaires en Moldavie en vue du nouveau mouvement révolutionnaire qui eût dû éclater en mars 1865, Seherthoss n'a pas eu le succès escompté. Son entretien avec Cuza lui a permis de se rendre compte de quelle manière le prince envisageait l'avenir et il a noté ces déclarations mémorables : « j'ai une profonde sympathie pour les Polonais, pour les Hongrois, mais j'ai aussi des *devoirs* qui me sont imposés et je ne puis pas permettre que l'on vienne dans notre pays pour *se jouer* de moi... En cinq à six ans je pourrai être un tout autre auxiliaire qu'aujourd'hui ». Comme ce programme ne coïncidait pas avec celui des plus ardents conspirateurs, Cuza fit expulser Seherthoss. D'autres documents concernent la continuation des essais d'établir un accord, avec leurs forces et leurs faiblesses : l'intelligentsia roumaine de Transylvanie s'y opposa à cause des souvenirs de 1848–1849 et la position politique des Hongrois se renforça après 1867 sous la Double Monarchie. Alexandre Papiu-Ilarian est encore un témoin de la conscience nationale telle qu'elle s'affirmait chez les transylvains accueillis dans l'Etat roumain après la guerre de Crimée. Un autre épisode étudié dans ce volume c'est la stratégie de Bismarck envers les revendications nationales dans l'espace qui séparait la Prusse de la Russie.

Lorsque l'auteur se croit obligé de juger les tournants de l'histoire contemporaine, il laisse intervenir l'expérience personnelle de ses proches pour constater le préjudice porté par l'époque de 1940 à 1945: il reconnaît très justement « les fautes irréparables » commises après l'entrée triomphale de Horthy en Transylvanie. Cependant, les pages où il voudrait analyser les mémoires de certains hommes politiques roumains, il se rend lui-même coupable d'erreurs fâcheuses, marquées au sceau du préjugé. Supposer une origine bulgare aux Brătianu et de là à imaginer que, dans son enfance, Georges fût capable de parler le hongrois avec sa nourrice, ce sont des racontars ridicules. Dans les fragments du récit d'Argetoianu que l'on fait surgir ici nous retrouvons la méchanceté et la vulgarité qui défendent de les considérer comme témoignage, sinon sur le caractère du personnage.

Alors, quelle conclusion ? La persistance avec laquelle Borsi-Kalman revient depuis trente ans au même sujet prouve à quel point le maîtrisent des stéréotypes dont il s'applique à analyser et définir les sources. Mais il suffit de lire les précieux documents qu'il a explorés pour inspirer le respect.

Andrei Pippidi

Constantin IORDACHI, *Liberalism, Constitutional Nationalism, and Minorities. The Making of Romanian Citizenship, c. 1750–1918*; Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2019 (Balkan Studies Library, 25), 682 p.

Ce printemps, le Ministère roumain de l'Économie a lancé un appel à candidatures pour deux postes d'attachés économiques de la Roumanie à l'étranger. Dans le règlement publié dans le *Moniteur officiel*, on a demandé aux candidats de fournir une déclaration sur l'honneur qui atteste de

leur « nationalité et citoyenneté roumaine ». Ce requis surprenant représentait une transgression de la Constitution du pays, qui condamne la discrimination sur critères de nationalité. Signalée par les médias, cette anomalie a été corrigée immédiatement. Cet épisode inopiné montre l'actualité du sujet abordé par Constantin Iordachi dans son dernier livre, *Liberalism, Constitutional Nationalism, and Minorities. The Making of Romanian Citizenship, c. 1750–1918*.

La construction d'une identité nationale est indissolublement liée au concept de citoyenneté. Preuve en sont les deux recensements de la population (1899, 1912) organisés pendant le Vieux Royaume roumain. Les rubriques de ces recensements renvoyaient seulement à la citoyenneté et à la religion des personnes interrogées, sans prendre en compte la nationalité ou la langue maternelle. Avec cette démarche, les autorités roumaines ont visé à distinguer nettement les Roumains et les étrangers. À cette dernière catégorie appartenaient les individus ayant la citoyenneté d'autres États (y compris les ethniques roumains), à côté des apatrides (dont la plupart sont Juifs).

Dans le Vieux Royaume roumain, la citoyenneté roumaine n'était pas à la portée de tous. Il fallait des années, voire des décennies pour franchir toutes les barrières législatives. Seuls les Roumains de naissance ou de par la loi pouvaient bénéficier des droits politiques et acquérir des propriétés rurales. Sauf quelques cas exceptionnels, les étrangers n'avaient pas accès aux fonctions publiques. La citoyenneté roumaine était accordée par la loi, exclusivement au demandeur – d'où les anomalies juridiques. L'exemple le plus éloquent est celui des enfants d'un citoyen naturalisé. Certains pouvaient devenir citoyens roumains, mais d'autres étaient toujours considérés comme des étrangers. Tout dépendait du moment de leur naissance : avant ou après l'obtention de la naturalisation par leur père. Dans le discours du gouvernement, cette législation restrictive s'expliquait par la crainte d'une éventuelle invasion des étrangers. En sus de cet argument politique, la naturalisation durant le Vieux Royaume a été un processus de sélection élitiste. Au début du siècle dernier, le nombre de citoyens roumains augmentait en moyenne de quelques centaines de personnes chaque année.

Dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres, la vie politique a été marquée par des définitions radicales de l'identité nationale, selon une distinction entre les Roumains « de par le sang », et ceux « de par les papiers ». Avant d'entamer l'analyse de ces vifs débats au sujet de l'identité nationale roumaine, Iordachi a compris que sa démarche est conditionnée par une bonne maîtrise de la question de la citoyenneté au XIX^e siècle. Par conséquent, il propose une approche interdisciplinaire d'un sujet mineur dans l'historiographie roumaine : la question de l'obtention de la citoyenneté roumaine à l'époque moderne. L'enjeu de sa recherche est de comprendre dans quelle mesure l'union des Principautés roumaines en 1859 et l'annexion de Dobroudja (1878) ont représenté un modèle politique et institutionnel pour le processus d'intégration qui s'est déroulé dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres. Constantin Iordachi décrit la doctrine de la citoyenneté roumaine, élaborée à la moitié du XIX^e siècle, comme une combinaison entre le libéralisme et le nationalisme constitutionnel. À travers « nationalisme constitutionnel », Iordachi comprend le cadre légal institué par la Constitution de 1866, qui privilégiait les intérêts économiques et politiques des ethniques roumains, au détriment des allogènes. La législation roumaine a forgé une nouvelle catégorie de résidents, celle des sujets roumains. Grâce à cette distinction entre citoyens et sujets, l'État se munissait d'un instrument efficace pour imposer des obligations aux résidents permanents, tout en leur interdisant l'accès aux droits citoyens.

L'ouvrage met la focale sur les origines de l'institution de la citoyenneté en Roumanie, à une époque que l'historien décrit comme « le long XIX^e siècle ». Plus précisément, il s'agit d'un processus historique qui commence avec l'abolition du servage en Moldavie (1746) et en Valachie (1749) et qui finit par la formation de la Grande Roumanie (1918) et l'adoption de la Loi sur la citoyenneté roumaine (1924). L'introduction de la législation moderne sur la citoyenneté a représenté un moment charnière dans le processus d'« occidentalisation » des Principautés roumaines. Avec l'établissement de l'État national roumain en 1859, à travers l'union entre la Moldavie et la Valachie, la doctrine de la citoyenneté a connu des changements significatifs. Le Code civil roumain de 1865 et la Constitution de 1866 réglementent plusieurs aspects de la citoyenneté : elle ne désigne plus seulement l'appartenance à l'État, mais elle institue un lien direct entre la citoyenneté et l'exercice de certains droits civils et des activités économiques. La fin de la Grande Guerre a entraîné une libéralisation sans précédent de l'accès à la

citoyenneté roumaine. Des réformes profondes et une nouvelle constitution libérale (1923) ont transformé la Roumanie en une démocratie parlementaire moderne. Selon Iordachi, la transition du règne des Phanariotes à un État national moderne fut un succès. En peu de temps, l'élite politique roumaine a réussi à réunir certaines provinces historiques dans un État national, fondé sur un système législatif et administratif moderne. Ce qui explique en partie ce succès est le transfert des modèles occidentaux, libéraux, de la citoyenneté et leur adaptation aux conditions locales.

Dans ce volume, Constantin Iordachi démontre que les notions de citoyenneté et d'identité nationale pendant le Vieux Royaume roumain ne doivent pas être réduites à l'interprétation de la législation roumaine de la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle, au statut des Juifs dans le Vieux Royaume et de la population de Dobroudja, après l'annexion de cette province par l'État roumain. La citoyenneté ne doit pas être interprétée exclusivement comme un statut juridique, formel et statique. Cette notion n'est pas qu'un instrument de l'identité étatique. Iordachi discute deux autres composantes majeures de la législation sur la citoyenneté roumaine : la citoyenneté comme participation politique et la citoyenneté comme égalité civique. Telle que décrite par l'historien, elle constitue une interface de l'interaction entre l'État et le citoyen, et un reflet de l'ordre politique. D'où le choix de l'auteur de faire une histoire détaillée de l'institution de la citoyenneté, qui s'accompagne d'un examen des enjeux d'ethnicité, de genre et de nationalisme.

En conclusion, c'est un ouvrage captivant, riche et stimulant à la fois, qu'il faudrait traduire dès maintenant en roumain. Le seul défi qui se pose aux historiens roumains est de réaliser une étude prosopographique des demandeurs de citoyenneté roumaine entre 1866 et 1918.

Daniel Cain

Alberto BASCIANI, *L'Illusione della Modernità. Il Sud-Est dell'Europa tra le due guerre mondiali*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2016, 489 p.

The bibliography of works on the region of South-Eastern Europe is considerable and already has its own evolution and history over the more than 100 years since the scholars began to be interested in this subject. That is why the volume reviewed here, signed by Alberto Basciani, is an audacious enterprise. Basciani's book, however, is a work of synthesis, comparative and multidisciplinary, aspects that distinguish it. Moreover, the interwar period of South-Eastern Europe was often seen as one without historical identity. Still, Basciani's approach goes against this trend, exposing a convincing and sound analysis.

From the outset, the author rigorously delineates the reference area to South-Eastern Europe, an expression he contextually prefers, without rejecting yet the Balkans term (p. 10), including in this area five states, Yugoslavia/Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Greece. Also, from the beginning is interesting the structure of the book. After introduction (p. 9–30), the first chapter follows, "Multiple Legacy of Conflict", (p. 35–102), the second chapter, "The 1920s, the Age of Confrontations", (p. 103–268), the third chapter, "The 1930s. South-Eastern Europe between economic emergence and the crises of democracy" (p. 269–470), the volume being concluded by a short epilogue. Though organized chronologically throughout the events of the two decades of the interwar period, the author highlights and addresses separately the general problem of the southeast European region. For example, in the first chapter the author approaches the issues immediately after WWI, under titles such as "Agitations, Riots, Military Occupations" (p. 46–63), "Post-War War" (p. 63–82), "The Minority Issue" (p. 83–102). Likewise, the chapter two, concerning the 1920s, is opened by two sections "South Eastern Europe at the peace proof" and "New Societies" (p. 103–151), followed by a chronological exposition of events separately in the five countries. And chapter three opens with general sections, "The Great Crises and Their Effects", "Balkans of the Balkan Peoples" and "German Predominance" (p. 269–340), followed by the chronology of events by country.

Challenging in volume are the parts in which the author brings all five southeast European countries into the same comparative framework and under the umbrella of the same subject. Basciani can thus shed light on significant differences such as the role of social violence and the paramilitary networks that have fuelled it, highly active immediately after WWI in countries such as Bulgaria or Yugoslavia, but less present in other countries, such as Romania (p. 46–82). In the same framework, important similarities can also be unleashed, like the common economic backwardness of all southeast European countries, which Basciani try to explain by appealing to works of John Maynard Keynes, by two factors, low economic activity and productivity, and the disorganisation of transport networks, in general, the disorganised economic exchange system (p. 103ff). The attempts to impose agrarian regimes in southeast European countries, predominantly rural and caught between the eastern threat of the Bolshevik revolution and the inadequacy of western capitalist regimes, are also important. The role of Bulgarian leader Alexandr Stamboliiski and the establishment of Green International in Prague are put finely by the author, in opposition to the aggression of Red International led by the USSR (p. 118ff).

For the 1930s Basciani delineates too, common problems, such as the Great Depression. Notable is the reaction of the southeast European countries to the effects of the crisis, namely the series of regular meetings at government level in the early 1930s, in an attempt to coordinate their economic policies. Basciani notes that without having had the assistance of western countries this series of events represents a reflex of the older idea of the Balkan federation. This culminates in early 1934 with the signing of a treaty of the Balkan Entente/*intesa balcanica*, between the four foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Romania, which did not, however, turn into a more complex act of a constitutional nature, mainly due to disputes over national minorities. The last meeting of the Pact, in February 1939, marked the division of the Balkan states facing the outbreak of WW II.

In the 1930s, there was, on the one hand, a common current of good intentions at least for Balkan regional cooperation. On the other hand, however, Basciani sheds light in a consistent section on the Germany influence (p. 317–341). This involvement was initiated, Basciani stresses, as early as the late 1920s, and amplified during the Great Depression, thus dating back to before Hitler coming to power. For example, at the November 1930 conference in Warsaw attended by eight Central and southeast European states, a conference organized as an effect of the League of Nations Conference of February – March 1930 on global price regulation, Germany's foreign minister intervened to ensure preferential prices for cereals exported by Hungary and Romania, which was successful. The influence is accentuated after Hitler came to power culminating in the beginning of WW II, with southeast European countries targeted as a source of raw materials. Although Germany's involvement is the only one dealt with in a separate volume section, Basciani does not ignore the influences of other European powers, such as France and the United Kingdom, the latter, especially in terms of the context of the formation of the Balkan Entente.

Although written without reference to the bibliographies in the national languages corresponding to the five southeast European countries, a fact reproached by other reviewers, but assumed by the author (p. 30), Alberto Basciani's volume makes one important contribution to historical bibliography of the region. In this respect, it is first of all the consistent space that the author allocates to the comparative approach on issues common to the five cases. More than half of the volume is occupied by this type of analysis, the rest being dedicated to the separate approach of each southeast European country. Also, worth remembering is the combination of the analysis of strictly political events with economic, social and cultural data. The picture of the interwar period thus acquires a consistency and identity rarely found in the bibliography of the topic. Moreover, although the volume title, *L'illusione della modernità*, suggests certain pessimism on the part of the author, this complex, multidisciplinary approach dispels the initial impression. Rather, it is the local, Balkan meaning of a concept of modernity placed in different, compelling and sometimes violent contexts.

Stelu Șerban

Aggela KASTRINAKIS, *Η λογοτεχνία στη δεκαετία 1940–1950*, Athens, Ελληνικά Ακαδημαϊκά Ηλεκτρονικά Συγγράματα και Βοηθήματα, www. Kallipos.gr., 2015, 229 p.

The monograph of professor Kastriakis is an important source of information and interpretation for the literature written in Greece between 1940 and 1950. Kastriakis' perspective is sociological and devoid of complexes as to how should one ideally consider literature and thus her contribution gives a larger idea of the Greek society during a critical period. The fifth decade of the 20th cent. which is the object of her book saw in Greece the developments of the WW2 (a first front in Albania against Italian fascism and a German occupation as a result of the former's failure) and its dramatic local aftermath, a civil war.

If we were to pick a quintessential image of Greek society in the afore mentioned period several facts are to be underlined. During Greece's occupation by the Nazi because of poor material conditions the public started to pay more attention to the inner artistic production. The problems of the individual were forgotten in favour of society.

There seem to have been a whole array of notable attitudes by the writers. As soon as 1942 the hope for a good end was present. Angelos Sikelianos, a well-known poet wrote: *The swallows of death have heralded a new spring in Greece, from your grave a huge birth... A little more and you get born again in a new 1821*. Immediately after he wrote an essay called *Prologos* in which he attacked all ideologies. Margarita Lymberakis, an important novelist, was in favour of complete artistic freedom. The artist was no servant of any reality, he/she created new worlds.

All in all in a paradoxical way the Greek left wing art was nearer to pure art while the rightists were more in favour of an engaged art.

Kastriakis' interesting point is that on the eve of Greece's liberation from under the German occupation the quest of a radical change triggered the use of the literary symbol of travel actually of a new departure, curiously enough not that of escape. In fact soon after the liberation Petros Haris, a leading figure in literary criticism witnessed incredible squashes at the passport services.

In June 1948 the Writers' Union split under the leadership of Constantinos Tsatsos, a philosopher and politician, president of the Greek Republic in the '70ies. The departing called themselves The Greek Society of Writers and were the leftists.

A new female identity was in the making as opposed to the old one, static and discreet. The two major symbols of these two stances were the tree and the travel. George Valetas in his anthologies of 1947 and 1949 promoted women writers, even young ones which was not the case with Dimaras' famous *History of Greek literature*. Men wrote mostly patriotic, historical literature while women went for an individual kind of writing. Some feminine authors had the illusion that the gender issue had been solved. The official left wing was carrying a double standard policy as to the ladies, on the one hand they re-evaluated while on the other apparently they depreciated them.

The period after the WW2 brought along an explosion of editions, unfairly in our opinion satirized by the essay-writer I.M. Panagiotopoulos. It was the reaction to liberty doubled by an attempt to keep up with what was going on in the world (many translations were implied).

Some literary texts seem to have changed after WW2. Such was the case of Stratis Myrivilis' *Life in the Tomb*, a classic of Greek literature dedicated to WW1 from which Kastriakis quotes a telling fragment. While in the 1930 edition the sense of honour (filotimo) was rather ridiculed as a form of selfishness which could trigger fanaticism in the 1946 edition the same notion seemed to be "part of the alchemy of the spirit".

When it comes to the relations of the Greek culture with the rest of the world Kastriakis delineates a few significant things. Federico Garcia Lorca was a meeting point for many poets such as Nikos Gatsos, Odysseas Elytis, Nikos Kavvadias, Tasos Pappas, Takis Varvitsiotis and even Iannis Ritsos, i.e. irrespective of their affiliations. There was a new-born interest in America. Greek culture did not display much interest in existentialism as such. The trend was seen rather as a Parisian psychosis, nevertheless the works of J.-P. Sartre and A. Camus were translated and had some kind of impact on a few writers.

The censorship during the occupation was rather loose. Some details of the writers' becoming were nevertheless ignored. Thus the poet and essay writer Takis Papatzonis is quoted with an anti-Italian attitude notwithstanding his pre-war rather amicable stance as to the Italians (see his *Τα Μολδοβλαχικά του μύθου*).

K. Th. Dimaras is mentioned cursorily a few times as, of course his contributions are not literature proper. His *History of Greek Literature* issued in 1947–48 should have been allowed some interest and space in the economy of this book as it was telling for a pro-Western statement of the conservative part of the Greek society, purposely leaving aside in our opinion details which could be significant for Greece's Oriental past.

Not much if any reference is to be read in this book to what happened elsewhere, especially in the Balkan area, after the war. To be fair, comparison, to paraphrase a famous quip, is not always significant and we must be thankful to Kastrinakis' contribution, a solidly researched local monograph (it originates in lectures given to her students of the University of Crete) is commendable from a Romanian and Balkan perspective.

The "coincidences" or similar phenomena of the Romanian and Greek literatures (the upsurge of feminine literature around WW2, monumental histories of national literature) are to be further explored starting from the perusal of this book.

Were we to stick to the "wholistic" image of the South-East European area, the whereabouts of the Greek culture and society roughly speaking one century after its existence as a nation state are most significant for continuities (as was i.e. the impact of external interventions) and notable discontinuities. It also offers the image which could be seen in virtual terms as what could have been if, of the free development of a society as opposed to its less lucky Balkan neighbours.

Lia Brad Chisacof

Thede KAHL, Ioana NECHITI, *The Boyash in Hungary. A Comparative Study among the Argeleni and Munceni Communities*, Vienna, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2019, 235 p. with a video stick.

The volume is the first issue of the collection *Vanishing Languages and Cultural Heritage (VLACH)* that the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press has recently launched. Thede Kahl coordinates this collection and the acronym VLACH echoes his previous researches among the Latinophone languages and cultures in Southeast Europe. With an un-standardized book format, small, but beautifully enriched with photos, tape transcriptions, and, at the end, with a video stick capturing fragments of the fieldwork, the volume subtly hints the fate of these languages.

The empirical material that the volume based on stems from the field trips the authors made between 2010 and 2013, in two villages from southern Hungary, Gilfánva and Alsószentmárton, from the vicinity of Pécs town, a place where the authors conducted few interviews, too. In both villages a Romanian-speaking population of Boyash compactly lives since 1970s, replacing the native population who moved on in the urban areas. The Boyash population, known also as Rudari and Kopanari in southeast Europe (in Bulgaria, Romania, and former Yugoslavia), has challenged the researchers interests ever since the beginning of 20th century, after 1990 the bibliography expanding. The authors revisit this bibliography in the book. Originally, a Romani speaking population who lived in two historical Romania's regions, Transylvania, in the south, and Wallachia, in the north, they gradually lost in 18th century their mother tongue, that was replaced by the local Romanian vernaculars. Due to the change of the social and economic contexts in the 19th century the Boyash commenced to migrate on a wide area that now covers an arch from western Ukraine to Greece. The authors rightly highlight these turn points and frame it in a sound and up to dated bibliography (p. 10–11; 17–19). Nevertheless, the fact that has them particularly attracted in the cases of Gilfánva and Alsószentmárton was the endeavour of the Boyash people to transform their mother tongue, which is

still a Romanian vernacular, in a formalized language, that to be taught and used into the local schools and institutions (p. 21; 125–131). Though, the authors seem not to be thrilled by this idea, as they do not express any standpoint to working out a public policy in regard to the Boyash language. On the contrary, they outline the different vernacular the people in the two villages speak, Transylvanian/*Argelean*, in Alsószentmárton, and Wallachian/*Muncean*, in Gilfánva, as well as their isolation (45 km each – other distance, p. 25). Thus, with the exception of several places in the book, the Kahl and Nechiti's investigation of the Boyash language focus on the linguistic aspects, as grammar, vocabulary, phonology.

This linguistic approach gives the structure of the book. Thus, after the introductory sections it follows one thick corpus of Boyash vernacular with the transcripts from the field recordings (p. 43–107). Topics as origin and history, customs and rituals, fairy tales, linguistic identity, language standardization, and everyday life appear through these field excerpts. The authors minutely work this part, being careful to accurately express the people utterance. They use a standardized system for special sounds, a technique otherwise widely spread amongst the linguists. The vernacular texts are translated in English via Romanian. Thus, these texts address to the specialists in Romance languages and to the common readers as well.

The second half of the book (p. 111–210) has the title *Culture, language, identity*, but the great part of the chapter deals with the comparative grammar (p. 142 ff.). In the rest of the chapter the authors tackle the role that the vernacular plays in enhancing Boyash identity and the chances to transform the vernacular in a formalized language. There are presented some attempts given in the frame of the Ghandi Roma School from Pécs to distribute in the schools the handbooks in the Boyash vernacular, the attempts that proved to be failures. In Gilfánva for instance, the people waver to accept this sort of textbooks because there are written in the *Argelean* vernacular of the Alsószentmárton, which in their view, it is groundlessly considered the most prestigious Boyash vernacular (p. 131). Still, the authors do not go so far in a topic that otherwise is hectic in Southeast Europe not only in regard the Boyash, but also amongst other minorities as Aroumanians or Csangos, for instance.

The small and charming book of Kahl and Nechiti aims to retrieve one discrete language, that of Boyash, whose people never believed worth to be in the light of the academic researches. Like a handful of such minorities from Southeast Europe, they have quietly lived for centuries in this region and only the curiosity of the scholars and field researchers brought them into attention. The Kahl and Nechiti book falls in this category, as their main interest is the linguistic aspects of the Boyash vernacular, and on a lesser extent the strong core of Boyash identity.

Stelu Șerban

MAXIMILIAN DEMETER PEYFUSS
(1944–2019)

Spécialiste de l'histoire des Balkans, en particulier de celle des Roumains et des Albanais, Max Demeter Peyfuss a contribué de manière essentielle à travers ses deux livres, *Die Aromunische Frage. Ihre Entwicklung von den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest und die Haltung Österreich-Ungarn*, Vienne, 1974 et *Die Druckerei von Moschopolis, 1731–1769. Buchdruck und Heiligenverehrung im Erzbistum Achrida*, Vienne, 1989, à la connaissance des débuts de l'histoire aroumaine moderne. Le premier livre a bénéficié de la traduction en roumain de N.Ş. Tanaşoca, publié à Bucarest en 1994 dans une collection coordonnée par Şerban Papacostea, qui a également signé la préface.

Max. D. Peyfuss a été membre de l'Institut pour l'histoire de l'Europe de l'Est à l'Université de Vienne de 1971 à 2003. En 1992, il est devenu professeur d'histoire de l'Europe du Sud-est, en donnant un cours d'introduction à l'histoire des Balkans. Bibliophile, Peyfuss possédait l'une des meilleures bibliothèques d'histoire, très riche en livres rares sur l'Europe de l'Est et du Sud-est.

Historien, polyglotte et écrivain, Maximilian Demeter Peyfuss était non seulement un distingué et éminent connaisseur de l'histoire des Roumains, mais aussi un traducteur également doué de la littérature roumaine, dont il aimait les poètes Petre Stoica et Anatol Baconsky.

Ayant comme aïeul un banquier aroumain de Moscopole, Demeter Theodor Tirka, sur l'activité duquel il a publié une étude en 2010 dans la revue de notre institut, Peyfuss se sentait lié à la branche aroumaine de ses ancêtres. Ses visites annuelles, en particulier dans le sud de l'Albanie, ont enrichi ses connaissances d'historien avec les observations d'un ethnographe et d'un sociologue. La conférence qu'il a donnée à l'Institut des Études Sud-est Européennes en 1991 sur ses voyages chez les Aroumains d'Albanie, dans une session coordonnée par Şerban Tanaşoca concernant « La romanité balkanique », était précisément une combinaison de connaissances de l'historien et d'observations attentives de l'ethnologue cherchant à discerner les éléments qui définissent l'identité aroumaine.

Il était membre honoraire de l'Institut des Études Sud-est Européennes, membre du Comité consultatif de RESEE, Doctor Honoris Causa de l'Université de l'Ouest de Timişoara.

La perte que subissent les études sur la romanité balkanique est immense. L'expérience et les connaissances de Max Demeter Peyfuss avaient encore un long chemin à parcourir.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

MIHAI DIM. STOURDZA
(1934–2020)

Un faire-part diffusé avant la fin d'avril vient de nous avertir que nous ne reverrons plus à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine le vieux monsieur auquel on était heureux de témoigner notre estime lors de ses passages par Bucarest. De Paris, où il s'était réfugié dès 1963, il revenait pour la publication d'encore un volume de son *Encyclopédie historique, généalogique et biographique des familles de boyards de Moldavie et de Valachie*. Le quatrième tome comprend le travail pour les noms commençant par D et E, parce que ce vaste ouvrage, partant de ses recherches personnelles et conçu pour paraître à Bucarest, en roumain, est publié seulement depuis 2004. L'auteur était déjà bien connu en 1983, quand il avait fait paraître à Paris une autre œuvre de minutieuse érudition, *Les grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople, Dictionnaire historique et généalogique*. Le manuscrit roumain qu'il laisse inachevé avait été précédé par des recherches étendues sur un monde sud-est européen dont l'unité culturelle n'était encore qu'ébréchée au XVIIIe siècle.

M.D. Stourdza en était lui-même un représentant légitime, du côté de sa mère par les Phanariotes Mano et Caradja, tandis que son arrière-grand-père Mihai Sturdza avait régné en Moldavie (1834–1849). Avec un tel passé derrière lui, il devait être attiré par la généalogie, mais, avant de s'y adonner librement, il a dû en subir les conséquences sous le régime communiste de Roumanie, de sorte qu'il fut arrêté à dix-huit ans et emprisonné de 1952 à 1954. Quand ses mésaventures eurent pris fin, il parvint en France pour acquérir une formation à Sciences Po qui l'a dirigé vers le Quai d'Orsay. Y étant établi au service des Affaires culturelles, ce qui lui a valu d'accompagner De Gaulle à Bucarest pour sa visite en 1968, il a continué sa carrière dans le journalisme diplomatique à Munich (1986–1995) auprès de *Free Europe*.

L'accès enfin ouvert aux archives et aux bibliothèques de l'étranger se reflète dans sa collaboration aux *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* et à *Südost-Forschungen*, où on lui a publié plusieurs articles. Le Dictionnaire de 1983 accumulait une grande quantité d'informations dont la plupart étaient ignorées ou demeurées inaccessibles. L'histoire de Byzance et celle de l'Empire Ottoman étaient ainsi parcourues à travers les dynasties d'empereurs et de sultans ou de vizirs afin de descendre jusqu'aux drogmans et aux marchands. Une telle collection s'est avéré le point de départ de nombreux chercheurs tentés de suivre ce chemin. Pour les grandes familles moldaves et valaques – sujet qui n'avait été exploré que par O.G. Lecca et Ștefan Grecianu –, Stourdza apporte un savoir insurpassable, tant pour le tracé des lignées et l'illustration foisonnante d'anciennes cartes ou de vieux

portraits que pour le choix d'extraits de chroniques et de documents. Les aïeux des XV^e et XVI^e siècles sont présents, puis, à mesure que les sources le concèdent, la multitude de noms et de dates biographiques envahit la suite. On a recouru aussi aux contributions d'autres historiens chevronnés. L'expérience personnelle du principal auteur, accrue par l'héritage de souvenirs de famille, a ajouté un intérêt considérable à la partie concernant les temps modernes. Deux autres livres parus, le premier en 2006, le second dix ans après, traitent de cette basse époque. *Românii între frica de Rusia și dragostea de Franța* reconnaît, dans le contexte politique international du XIX^e siècle, la mentalité de la classe dirigeante roumaine, *Aristocrații români în lumea lui Proust* évoque le milieu intellectuel de la famille Bibesco, et ses contacts avec la littérature française : Marthe, lorsque Anna de Noailles était déjà parue, ainsi qu'Antoine, homme de théâtre et diplomate.

Pour conclure, celui qui s'en va nous sera davantage proche par ce qu'il nous a laissé et dont les chapitres déjà rédigés devraient être rendus tels quels à l'avenir. Mais y aura-t-il quelqu'un capable de s'en charger ?

Andrei Pippidi

VIE SCIENTIFIQUE
DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES
2019

**Le XII^e Congrès international d'études sud-est européennes
Bucarest, 2-6 septembre 2019**

Entre le 2 et 6 septembre 2019 a eu lieu à Bucarest le XII^e Congrès international d'études sud-est européennes, *Dynamiques politiques, sociales et religieuses dans le Sud-Est européen*, organisé par l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes sous l'égide de l'Académie Roumaine, de l'Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen (AIESEE) et de l'UNESCO. Le Congrès a réuni plus de 400 spécialistes de plus de 30 pays dans 35 sessions, dont la plupart ont eu lieu à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Bucarest. Un certain nombre de sessions ont été organisées à la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode et aux Archives Nationales de Roumanie.

Ce Congrès – le troisième qui a lieu à Bucarest, après ceux organisés en 1974 et en 1999 – a montré l'intérêt que les études sud-est européennes continuent de susciter au niveau international, a confirmé et consolidé le rôle privilégié que la Roumanie a, depuis la fondation de l'AIESEE en 1963, dans le développement de ce domaine d'études, dans la promotion de la connaissance mutuelle et de la collaboration académique dans l'espace sud-est européen.

L'ouverture du Congrès a eu lieu dans l'Aula Magna de la Faculté de Droit lundi, le 2 septembre, à 11h. Alexandre Kostov (Président de l'AIESEE), Mircea Dumitru (Recteur de l'Université de Bucarest), Răzvan Theodorescu (Secrétaire général de l'AIESEE) et Andrei Timotin (Directeur de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes et président du Comité d'organisation du congrès) ont présenté des discours inauguraux. Les discours ont été publiés dans *Academica XXIX*, 347, nr. 9, septembre 2019.

Les travaux du Congrès se sont déployés dans des sessions parallèles, avec des thématiques à caractère interdisciplinaire qui s'étendent, en accord avec la tradition scientifique de notre Institut, de l'Antiquité à l'époque contemporaine. Certaines thématiques, telles la linguistique balkanique, l'héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est européen, les relations du Sud-Est européen avec le Proche Orient, l'époque phanariote, la formation des États modernes dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe ou les minorités religieuses de la région correspondent à des domaines de recherche traditionnels de l'Institut, illustrés également dans les congrès précédents de l'AIESEE. Le programme du congrès contient aussi des thèmes de recherche nouveaux, qui permettent une meilleure connexion de ce domaine d'études aux directions nouvelles pratiquées dans d'autres aires de recherche. De tels thèmes sont, par exemple, l'histoire sociale de la dévotion, la circulation des apocryphes bibliques, la cartographie, les relations du Sud-Est européen avec le monde caucasien, les réseaux d'intellectuels et de commerçants, la migration, l'histoire sociale de la Grande Guerre, la digitalisation des archives. La présence de ces thèmes dans le programme contribue, sans aucun doute, au renouvellement des études sud-est européennes et à leur meilleure intégration dans le circuit scientifique international actuel.

Les plus importantes sessions du congrès ont été ouvertes par des conférences inaugurales (*keynote lectures*) soutenues par des spécialistes réputés :

Religious Dynamics between the Pontos Euxinos and the Aegean Sea in Antiquity / Dynamiques religieuses entre le Pont-Euxin et la mer Egée dans l'Antiquité (Convenors: Vasilica Lungu, Adrian Robu), *Keynote lecture*: François de Polignac (EPHE, Paris), *Divinités des passages : étude comparée des détroits de la Mer Noire et de la Méditerranée*.

Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe / La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à Byzance et dans le Sud-Est européen (Convenors: Ivan Biliarsky, Andrei

Timotin), *Keynote lecture*: Paul Magdalino (University of St Andrews), *The religious rhetoric of Byzantine political prophecy*.

South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean / Le Sud-Est Européen et la Méditerranée orientale (Convenor: Ioana Feodorov), *Keynote lecture*: Bernard Heyberger (EHESS, Paris), *Pour une histoire connectée des chrétiens orientaux (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*.

The Byzantine Heritage in South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages / L'héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe (Convenors: Srdjan Pirivatrić, Andrei Timotin, Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveau), *Keynote lecture*: Srdjan Pirivatrić (Institute of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade), *The Byzantine Emperor and the Byzantine Heritage in South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. Remarks on certain aspects of the imperial policy*.

The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Structural Change and Continuity / La conquête ottomane des Balkans: changement structurel et continuité (Convenor: Oliver J. Schmitt), *Keynote lecture*: Oliver J. Schmitt (Académie autrichienne des sciences), *The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans – theoretical models of interpretations*.

Networks in South-Eastern Europe: Politics, Trade, Culture (14th–17th Centuries) / Réseaux dans le Sud-Est européen: politique, commerce, culture (XIV^e–XVII^e siècles) (Convenor: Ovidiu Cristea), *Keynote lecture*: Andrei Pippidi (Institut d'études sud-est européennes/Académie roumaine), *Intellectual Networks in Pre-modern South-Eastern Europe*.

Orthodoxy, from Empire to Church. Social Manifestations and Cultural Forms of Faith / L'Orthodoxie, de l'empire à l'Eglise. Expressions sociales et formes culturelles de la foi (Convenor: Petre Guran), *Keynote lecture*: Paschalis Kitromilides (National and Kapodistrian University in Athens), *Faith and the challenges of worldly power: what is left of Orthodoxy?*

Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe. Variation and Transmission from Antiquity to Modern Times / Les apocryphes bibliques dans le Sud-Est européen. Variation et transmission de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne (Convenors: Anissava Miltenova, Emanuela Timotin), *Keynote lecture*: Michael E. Stone (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Edda Vardanyan, *Pulling Beards and Injuring Knees: Jacob and the Angel*.

The Printing Press in and for South-East Europe / L'imprimerie dans et pour le Sud-Est de l'Europe (Convenor: Archim. Policarp Chitulescu), *Keynote lecture*: Archim. Policarp Chitulescu (Bibliothèque du Saint Synode), *Livres imprimés en Europe aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles avec la contribution des Pays Roumains*.

Merchants in the Balkans: Family and Geographical Solidarities, Networks and Commercial Techniques / Les marchands dans les Balkans: solidarités familiales et géographiques, réseaux et techniques commerciales (Convenors: Cristian Luca, Salvatore Bottari), *Keynote lecture*: Maria Christina Chatziioannou (Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Atena), *Merchant Capitalism, Overland and Maritime Trade (18th–19th centuries)*.

The Afterlife of the Byzantine monuments in Post-Byzantine Times / La fortune des monuments byzantins à l'époque post-byzantine (Convenor: Elena Boeck), *Keynote lecture*: Elena Boeck (DePaul University, Chicago), *Anomaly, Antiquity, Allegory: Justinian's Bronze Horseman*.

Written Culture of the Peripheries from Middle Ages to Modern Times / La culture écrite des périphéries du Moyen-Âge à l'époque moderne (Convenor: Paolo Odorico), *Keynote lecture*: Paolo Odorico (EHESS), *Commonwealth athonite ? Une question de périphéries*.

The Phanariot Literature / La littérature phanariote (Convenors: Lia Brad Chisacof, Jacques Bouchard), *Keynote lecture*: Peter Mackridge (University of Oxford), *Enlightenment or entertainment? The intolerable lightness of Phanariot literature, 1750–1800*.

The Formation of South-East European Nations / La formation des nations sud-est européennes (Convenors: Jolanta Sujecka, Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev, Bogdan Murgescu), *Keynote lecture*: Jolanta Sujecka (University of Warsaw), *Markers of Identity in the Slavia Orthodoxa Realm: Dositej Obradović and His Identity Construction Between Influence of Europe, and the Balkans*.

The Migration. Human and Political Condition in South-Eastern Europe / La migration. Condition humaine et politique dans le Sud-Est européen (Convenor: Elena Siupiur, Konstantin Nikiforov), *Keynote lecture*: Elena Siupiur (Institut d'études sud-est européennes), *La migration. Condition humaine et politique dans le Sud-Est européen*.

New Perspectives on Balkan Linguistics / Nouvelles perspectives sur la linguistique balkanique (Convenors: Cătălina Vătăşescu, Vasilka Alexova, Mariyana Tsihranska-Kostova), *Keynote lecture*: Victor A. Friedman (University of Chicago) & Catherine Rudin, *Double Determination in Balkan Slavic and Albanian*.

Exit from the Great War: South-East European Societies from 1918 to 1923 / Sortir de la Grande Guerre : les sociétés sud-est européennes de 1918 à 1923 (Convenors: Florin Ţurcanu, Vojislav Pavlović, Daniel Vatchkov), *Keynote lecture*: Vojislav Pavlović (Institute of Balkan Studies, Belgrade), *The Quest for Peace in the Balkans 1918–1923*.

The Balkans in the Age of New Imperialism and beyond / Les Balkans dans l'Âge du nouvel impérialisme et au-delà (Convenor: Vojislav Pavlović), *Keynote lecture*: Florin Ţurcanu (Université de Bucarest / Institut d'études sud-est européennes), *Nicolae Iorga, l'impérialisme au début du XX^e siècle*.

Empires' Legacy in the Balkans: Romania and Bulgaria in the XXth Century / L'héritage des empires dans les Balkans: Roumanie et Bulgarie au XX^e siècle (Convenors: Alexandre Kostov, Cristina Diac), *Keynote lecture*: Alexandre Kostov (Académie bulgare des sciences), *L'héritage habsbourgeois et ottoman dans les Balkans : le cas des chemins de fer*.

Les thèmes des autres sessions du congrès ont été les suivants: *The Black Sea and Its Straits: a Permanency of South-East European History / La Mer Noire et ses détroits : une permanence historique sud-est européenne* (Convenors: Sergiu Iosipescu, Ionel Căndea), *Devotion and Pious Donations to the Holy Places within the Ottoman Empire / Dévotion et donations pieuses aux Lieux Saints de l'Empire Ottoman* (Convenor: Radu G. Păun), *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-East Europe / Les traductions de la littérature patristique dans le Sud-Est européen* (Convenors: Zamfira Mihail, Lora Taseva), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean through the Eyes of Western Travelers / L'Empire Ottoman, les Balkans et la Méditerranée orientale au miroir des voyageurs occidentaux* (Convenor: Viorel Panaite), *The Imagery of Eastern Christianity and Islam According to Western Travel Descriptions during the Second Half of the 16th Century / L'image de la chrétienté orientale et de l'islam selon les récits de voyage occidentaux dans la seconde moitié du 16^e siècle* (Convenors: Ionuţ-Alexandru Tudorie, Bogdan Tătaru-Cazaban), *Czar, Kaiser and Sultan : New Approaches to the Age of Revolution in the Lower Danube and the Black Sea Area / Entre Tsar, Kaiser et Sultan : nouvelles approches de l'âge de la Révolution au Bas-Danube et dans la région de la Mer Noire* (Convenor: Konrad Petrovsky), *On Rivers and Seas: Hydropolitical Conflict and Maritime Cooperation in South-East Europe / Sur les fleuves et sur les mers : conflit hydropolitique et coopération maritime dans le Sud-Est européen* (Convenor: Constantin Ardeleanu, Stelu Şerban); *From Ani to Romania: History, Tradition and Iconography / D'Ani en Roumanie: histoire, tradition et iconographie* (Convenors: Karen Khachatryan, Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalayan); *Religious Minorities in South-Eastern Europe / Les minorités religieuses dans le Sud-Est européen* (Convenors: Cristina Codarcea, Aleksandra Twardowska), *The Border in the Balkans: Opening and Closing the Territories / La frontière dans les Balkans : ouverture et fermeture des territoires* (Convenor: Guy Burgel), *Doctrines, Movements and Totalitarian Regimes in South-Eastern Europe in the 20th Century / Doctrines, mouvements et régimes totalitaires dans le Sud-Est européen au XX^e siècle* (Convenors: Mioara Anton, Georgi Engelhardt), *The European Union and the South-East European States / L'Union Européenne et les États sud-est européens* (Convenors: Francesco Guida, Daniel Cain), *Conserving the Cultural and Artistic Heritage in South-Eastern Europe / La sauvegarde de l'héritage culturel et artistique dans le Sud-Est européen* (Convenors: Sabina Ispas, Tereza Sinigalia), *Perspectives on the Digitization of Documents in the South-East European Archives / Perspectives sur la numérisation des documents des archives sud-est européennes* (Convenor: Şerban Marin).

Pendant le congrès ont été organisées des expositions, des tables rondes et des présentations de livres. Parmi les expositions associées au congrès se rangent *Romania and South-Eastern Europe. Historical witnesses from the collections of the National History Museum of Romania*, au Musée National d'Histoire (vernissage le 4 septembre, à 13h; curateur: Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu), *Floating Spaces. Maps of the Danube Region 1650–1800*, à la Bibliothèque Nationale (vernissage le 2 septembre, à 19h; curateur: Rudolf Gräf); *Manuscripts byzantins dans les collections de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine*, à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine (vernissage le 4 septembre, à 18h; curateur: Gabriela Dumitrescu).

Dans la salle « Ion Heliade Rădulescu » de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine a eu lieu le 4 septembre, à partir du 18h, une table ronde autour du livre *Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu. Portrait of a ruler and retrospective of an era (1654–1688)*, 2 vol. (Bucarest, DAR Publishing, 2018–2019), où ont pris la parole Paschalis Kitromilides, Andrei Pippidi, Paolo Odorico, Cristian Anița et Claudiu Turcitu. À la Faculté de Droit a eu lieu le 3 septembre, à partir du 16h45, une table ronde autour du livre d'Andrei Pippidi, *Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe* (Hurst 2012), où ont pris la parole Andrei Pippidi, Oliver J. Schmitt, Ovidiu Cristea, Radu G. Păun et Robert Born.

Une série de livres récents ont fait l'objet de présentations, organisées à la Faculté de Droit et à la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, auxquelles ont pris la parole leurs auteurs et leurs invités : présentation de la nouvelle collection « Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes » (Brăila, Istros), éditée par l'Institut d'études sud-est européennes et dirigée par Andrei Pippidi et Andrei Timotin (7 vol., 2018–2019) ; Paul Magdalino, Andrei Timotin (ed.), *Savoirs prédictifs et techniques divinatoires de l'Antiquité tardive à Byzance* (La Pomme d'or, 2019) ; Emil Condurachi, *Pars Orientis. Studii de istoria culturii europene* (Bucarest, Éditions de l'Académie, 2019), présenté par Răzvan Theodorescu ; Ovidiu-Victor Olar, *La boutique de Théophile. Les relations du patriarche de Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1570–1638) avec la Réforme*, Paris, 2019, présentée par Paolo Odorico et Andrei Pippidi ; L. Sels, J. Fuchsbauer, V. Tomelleri and I. de Vos (eds.), *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle: Slavonic and Multilingual Traditions*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2018, présenté par Jürgen Fuchsbauer.

Une exposition de livres a été organisée pendant le congrès à la Faculté de Droit. Les Académies des sciences et leurs instituts de plus de dix pays, ainsi que des maisons d'éditions internationales et nationales ont exposé et vendu leurs livres.

Les participants au congrès ont pris part également à des événements musicaux, comme le Festival international « George Enescu » ou les événements organisés à l'Université Nationale de Musique de Bucarest par Nicolae Gheorghită.

Après le congrès ont été organisées pour les participants au congrès des excursions aux monastères de Bucovine (Humor, Voroneț, Moldovița, Sucevița, Dragomirna, Sf. Ioan cel Nou de la Suceava) et Olténie (Cozia, Govora, Bistrița, Hurez, Polovragi, Surpatele). À cette fin ont été préparées et publiées, sous l'égide de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, deux brochures : Oana Iacubovschi, *Monasteries of Bucovina* (14 p.) et Ștefania Dumbravă, *Monasteries of Oltenia* (14 p.).

La cérémonie de clôture du congrès a eu lieu vendredi, le 6 septembre, à 18h, dans l'Aula Magna de la Faculté de Droit. Les discours de clôture ont été présentés par Alexandre Kostov (réélu président de l'AIÉSEE pour un second mandat), Răzvan Theodorescu et Andrei Timotin (élu secrétaire général adjoint de l'AIÉSEE). Răzvan Theodorescu a présenté les décisions prises lors de la réunion du Bureau de l'AIÉSEE et a annoncé que le prochain congrès de l'AIÉSEE aura lieu dans la République de Macédoine en 2024.

I. PROGRAMMES DE RECHERCHE

- 1) Mărturii românești peste hotare (Témoignages roumains à l'étranger)
- 2) Etnicitate și practici socio-economice în Balcani (Ethnicité et pratiques socio-économiques dans les Balkans)
- 3) Cultură tradițională, istorie socială și istoria limbilor în Sud-Estul Europei (Culture traditionnelle, histoire sociale et histoire des langues du Sud-Est de l'Europe)
- 4) Bibliografia critică a *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* și a *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* (Bibliographie critique de la *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* et de la *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*).
- 5) Reintegrare europeană și modernizare în Sud-Estul Europei (secolele XVI–XX) (Réintégration européenne et modernisation dans le Sud-Est européen, XVI^e–XX^e siècles)
- 6) Politică și cultură în Europa de Sud-Est (secolele XIX–XX) (Politique et culture dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, XIX^e–XX^e siècles)

- 7) Surse istorice, memorie și imaginar (cultural, politic, identitar) (Sources historiques, mémoire et imaginaire culturel, politique et identitaire)
- 8) Instituții, religie și colonizare în Antichitatea greacă (Institutions, religion et colonisation dans l'Antiquité grecque)
- 9) Călători din Orient în Țările române și Rusia. Paul din Alep (Les voyageurs orientaux dans les Pays Roumains et la Russie. Paul d'Alep)
- 10) Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes

II. LIVRES PARUS

- *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XV^e au XVII^e siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand*, sous la direction de Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni et alii, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2019, 88 p. + 70 illustrations (avec la collaboration de Oana Iacubovschi et de Zamfira Mihail pour la transcription des inscriptions grecques et slaves du catalogue).
- *Dinamici sociale și transferuri culturale în Sud-Estul european (secolele al XVI-lea – al XIX-lea)*, editor Andrei Timotin, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2019, 366 p.
- Iorga, Nicolae, *Jurnalul ultimilor ani 1938–1940*, îngrijire de text, note și introducere de Andrei Pippidi, București, Humanitas, 2019, 368 p.
- Mihail, Zamfira, *Rezistența prin cultură în Basarabia (Secolul XIX)*, I. Scrieri parenetice (Documenta Basarabiae, 5), București – Brăila, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros, 2019, 282 p.
- Musicescu, Maria Ana, *Tradition et innovation dans l'art du Sud-Est européen du XV^e au XIX^e siècle*, édition par Oana Iacubovschi, Brăila, Istros, 2019, 279 p. (BIESEE 5)
- *Omagiul Profesorului Grigore Brâncuș. La 90 de ani*, editori Gh. Chivu, Cătălina Vătășescu, București, Editura Universității din București, 600 p.
- Panaite, Viorel, *Ottoman Law of War and Peace. The Ottoman Empire and Its Tribute Payers from the North of the Danube*, Second Revised Edition, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, XXIII + 470 p.
- *Savoirs prédictifs et techniques divinatoires de l'Antiquité tardive à Byzance*, éditeurs Paul Magdalino et Andrei Timotin, Seyssel, La Pomme d'or, 2019, 510 p.
- Siupiur, Elena, *Die deutschen Universitäten und die Bildung der Intelligenz in Rumänien und den Ländern Südosteuropas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Brăila, Istros, 2019, 320 p. (BIESEE 6)
- *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie. Bilan historiographique*, édition par Andrei Timotin, Brăila, Istros, 2019, 310 p. (BIESEE 7)

III. ÉTUDES ET ARTICLES PARUS DANS DES RECUEILS ET REVUES SCIENTIFIQUES

- Virginia Blinda, *Quelques considérations sur les peines associées à l'univers des livres dans les Principautés Danubiennes et dans l'Empire Ottoman (milieu du XIX^e siècle)*, in *RESEE*, LVII, 2019, p. 117–126
- Lia Brad Chisacof, *Limba greacă – depozitar cultural și element vehicular în spațiul românesc*, in Andrei Timotin (ed.), *Dinamici sociale și transferuri culturale în Sud-Estul European*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2019, p. 289–298
- Lia Brad Chisacof, *Teorii fals întemeietoare despre greci și români*, in Gh. Chivu, Cătălina Vătășescu (eds.), *Omagiul Profesorului Grigore Brâncuș*, București, Editura Universității București, 2019, p. 121–129
- Lia Brad Chisacof, *The Part Played by the Institute for South-East European Studies in the Romanian Modern Greek Studies*, in Andrei Timotin (éd.), *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie. Bilan historiographique*, Brăila, Istros, 2019, p. 165–173

- Lia Brad Chisacof, *Un singur cuvânt sau două etimoane*, in Darina Mladenova, Bilyana Mihaylova, Elaterina Tarpomanova (eds), *Bulgarian and Romanian: Balkan Brands of Slavic and Romance. Contributions in Honour of Professor Dr. Vasilka Aleksova's Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Sofia, Faculty of Slavic Studies, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2018 (2019), p. 252–257
- Daniel Cain, *Caliacra*, in Bogdan Murgescu, Andrei Florin Sora (coords), *România Mare votează: alegerile parlamentare din 1919 „la firul ierbii”*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2019, p. 236–245
- Daniel Cain, Florin Țurcanu, *Turtucaia (Tutrakan) 1916. Repères mémoriels et historiographiques en Roumanie et en Bulgarie dans l'entre-deux guerres*, in Andrei Timotin (éd.), *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie. Bilan historiographique*, Brăila, Istros, 2019, p. 289–299
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- Radu Dipratu, *Amending the Ottoman Capitulations: Venetian ‘imperial signs’ (nişan-ı hümayun) in the Seventeenth Century*, Conférence à l’Institut de Recherche de l’Université de Bucarest (ICUB), 31 janvier 2019
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- Ioana Feodorov, *Greek Sources in the Miscellanies of Makarios III Ibn al-Za’im, Patriarch of Antioch (1647–1672)*, Conférence IOTA, *Pan-Orthodox Unity and Conciliarity*, Iași, 9–12 janv. 2019
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- Stelu Șerban, *Etnicitatea în teren. Cazul românofonilor din Bulgaria*, Table ronde *Faptul etnografic neprevăzut: despre serendipitate în cercetarea antropologică*, Ploiești, 31 mai 2019
- Tudor Teoteoi, *Originea și semnificația unei formule retorice din cărțile de blestem datând din veacurile XVII–XIX*, Session de communications, Pitești, 3–4 oct. 2019
- Tudor Teoteoi, *Mitropolia Severinului și tradiția ei ulterioară*, Session de communications *Cetatea medievală a Severinului – important centru militar, comercial și spiritual al Țării Românești*, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, 20 nov. 2019
- Andrei Timotin, *The Neoplatonic Background of a Text on Prophecy Attributed to John Chrysostom*, Colloque international *Ancient Revelation: Divination, Prophecy and Epiphany*, Durham, 25–27 juin 2019
- Andrei Timotin, *Rugăciunea în Antichitatea Târzie. Neoplatonismul și creștinismul în dialog*, Conférence à la Société roumaine d'études classiques, Bucarest, 12 déc. 2019
- Florin Țurcanu, *L'architecte de la Grande Roumanie: Ion I.C. Brătianu à la Conférence de la Paix de Paris*, Colloque international *La naissance de la Grande Roumanie dans son contexte national et international*, Strasbourg, janv. 2019
- Florin Țurcanu, *Serbophilie et francophilie dans la Roumanie des années 1914-1916 – le cas de l'historien Nicolae Iorga*, Colloque international *Les relations franco-serbes en matière de diplomatie et de présentation médiatique: l'expérience historique et les défis contemporains*, Belgrade, juin 2019

V. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ORGANISÉES PAR L'INSTITUT: CONGRÈS, COLLOQUES, SESSIONS DE COMMUNICATIONS

L'ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l'Académie Roumaine et l'Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européennes (AIESEE), le XII^e Congrès International d'Études du Sud-Est Européennes : *Dynamiques politiques, sociales et religieuses dans le Sud-Est européen* (Bucarest, 2–6 septembre 2019). Les communications présentées au congrès par les membres de l'ISSEE sont les suivantes :

- Virginia Blînda, *La migration des livres dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe (milieu du XIX^e siècle)*, session *La migration. Condition humaine et politique dans les Sud-Est européen / The Migration. Human and Political Condition in South-Eastern Europe*.
- Lia Brad Chisacof, *Looking again at the Phanariot Literature*, session *La littérature phanariote / Phanariot Literature*.
- Daniel Cain, *Citizenship, Ethnicity and Political Rights in Greater Romania. The Dobruja case (1919)*, session *Sortir de la Grande Guerre: les sociétés sud-est européennes de 1918 à 1923 / Exit from the Great War: South-East European Societies from 1918 to 1923*.
- Cristina Codarcea, *Les communautés catholiques en Albanie au XVII^e siècle, entre survie et épanouissement. Stratégies missionnaires dans la réorganisation religieuse des enclaves*

- catholiques dans l'Empire ottoman*, session *Les minorités religieuses dans le Sud-Est européen / Religious Minorities in South-Eastern Europe*.
- Radu Dipratu, *A Costly Affair: Western Travelers to Ottoman Jerusalem in the Early Seventeenth Century*, session *L'Empire Ottoman, les Balkans et la Méditerranée orientale au miroir des voyageurs occidentaux / The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean through the Eyes of Western Travelers*.
 - Radu Dipratu, *The 'imperial signs' (nişan-ı hümayun) and the Ottoman-Venetian Peace-making Process in the 17th Century*, session *Le Sud-Est Européen et la Méditerranée orientale / South-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean*.
 - Ioana Feodorov, *Was Peter Movila's Confession of the Orthodox Faith a Source for the Teachings on the Orthodox Faith in the 1752 Beirut Psalter?*, session *Le Sud-Est Européen et la Méditerranée orientale / South-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean*.
 - Petre Guran, *Unity of Faith and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy: the Gordian Knot of the Orthodox Idea*, session *L'Orthodoxie, de l'empire à l'Église. Expressions sociales et formes culturelles de la foi / Orthodoxy, from Empire to Church. Social Manifestations and Cultural Forms of Faith*.
 - Petre Guran, *The Legend of Roman and Vlahata, Saint Sava of Serbia and Orthodox Historical Consciousness in the XIIIth century*, session *L'héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe au Moyen Âge / The Byzantine Heritage in Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*.
 - Mihail-George Hâncu, *For Whom the Saint Fights: Military Saints as Allies in Battle*, session *L'héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe au Moyen Âge / The Byzantine Heritage in Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*.
 - Oana Iacobovschi, *Portraits of Saints represented as Icons. Their Place and Function in the Decoration of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Churches*, session *L'héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe au Moyen Âge / The Byzantine Heritage in Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*.
 - Vasilica Lungu, *L'archéologie au service de l'étude de la religion grecque. Les autels et les foyers sacrificiels dans les nécropoles grecques ouest pontiques*, session *Dynamiques religieuses entre le Pont-Euxin et la mer Egée dans l'Antiquité / Religious Dynamics between the Pontos Euxeinos and the Aegean Sea in Antiquity*.
 - Zamfira Mihail, *Les écrits d'Ephrem le Syrien en slavon (XIV^e – XVIII^e s.). Versions renouvelées*, session *Les traductions de la littérature patristique dans le Sud-Est européen / Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe*.
 - Simona Nicolae, *L'Empire des hommes agonise; vive l'Empire des Cieux! Politique et religion dans les écrits de Manuel Paléologue*, session *La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à Byzance et dans le Sud-Est européen / Religious Rhetoric of Power in South-Eastern Europe*.
 - Viorel Panaite, *Western Merchants, Trade and Consuls in the Ottoman Mediterranean at late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. The Evidence of Western Travelers' Accounts*, session *L'Empire Ottoman, les Balkans et la Méditerranée orientale au miroir des voyageurs occidentaux / The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean through the Eyes of Western Travelers*.
 - Ștefan Petrescu, *Justifying Violence: Aromanian Issue and Political Crimes in Romania (1904–1907)*, session *La formation des nations sud-est européennes / The Formation of South-East European Nations*.
 - Andrei Pippidi (keynote lecture), *Intellectual Networks in Pre-modern South-Eastern Europe*, session *Réseaux dans le Sud-Est européen: politique, commerce, culture (XIV^e-XVII^e siècles) / Networks in South-Eastern Europe: Politics, Trade, Culture (14th-17th Centuries)*.
 - Adrian Robu, *Communautés culturelles et transferts religieux entre l'Egée et le Pont-Euxin: l'exemple des colonies mégariennes*, session *Dynamiques religieuses entre le Pont-Euxin et la mer Egée dans l'Antiquité / Religious Dynamics between the Pontos Euxeinos and the Aegean Sea in Antiquity*.
 - Elena Siupiur (keynote lecture), *La migration. Condition humaine et politique dans le Sud-Est européen*, session *La migration. Condition humaine et politique dans le Sud-Est européen / The Migration. Human and Political Condition in South-Eastern Europe*.

- Stelu Șerban, “Using” the Danube. Levees on the Romanian and Bulgarian banks in the interwar period, session *Sur les fleuves et sur les mers: conflit hydropolitique et coopération maritime dans le Sud-Est européen / On Rivers and Seas: Hydropolitical Conflict and Maritime Cooperation in South-East Europe*.
- Tudor Teoteoi, *Les qualités du souverain orthodoxe vues à travers l’Histoire de Jean VI Cantacuzène et les Chroniques slavo-roumaines*, session *La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à Byzance et dans le Sud-Est européen / Religious Rhetoric of Power in South-Eastern Europe*.
- Andrei Timotin, *La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à l’époque méso-byzantine: quelques réflexions*, session *La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à Byzance et dans le Sud-Est européen / Religious Rhetoric of Power in South-Eastern Europe*.
- Mihai Țipău, *Byzance et les Grecs dans le récit de voyage de Paul d’Alep*, session *Le Sud-Est Européen et la Méditerranée orientale / South-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean*.
- Florin Țurcanu (keynote lecture), *Nicolae Iorga, l’impérialisme au début du XX^e siècle et « le droit à la vie des petits États »*, session *Les Balkans dans l’Âge du nouvel impérialisme et au-delà / The Balkans in the Age of New Imperialism and beyond*.
- Florin Țurcanu, *Expérience du rapatriement et témoignage sur la captivité: la sortie de guerre des prisonniers roumains en Bulgarie (1918–1919)*, session *Sortir de la Grande Guerre: les sociétés sud-est européennes de 1918 à 1923 / Exit from the Great War: South-East European Societies from 1918 to 1923*.
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *Un livre important dans le développement des études concernant l’union linguistique balkanique: Th. Capidan, Limbă și cultură (Bucarest, 1943)*, session *Nouvelles perspectives sur la linguistique balkanique / New Perspectives in Balkan Linguistics*.

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l’Institut des Études Balkaniques de Sofia et l’Institut d’Histoire „Nicolae Iorga” de Bucarest, le colloque international *Le Sud-Est européen à travers les siècles: histoire sociale, contacts linguistiques et culturels* (Sofia, 19–20 juin 2019). À ce colloque trois membres de l’ISSEE ont présenté des communications :

- Lia Brad Chisacof, *Reactions to the creation of the Balkan National States*
- Cristina Codarcea, *Religion tribale et culture matérielle dans la reconstruction d’une identité catholique*
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *Termes pour « fiançailles » et « mariage » en roumain, albanais et les langues romanes*.

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l’Institut d’Études Historiques de l’Académie Bulgare de Sciences, le colloque international *History and Politics in Southeast Europe* (Sofia, 26 nov. 2019). À ce colloque trois membres de l’ISSEE ont présenté des communications :

- Virginia Blinda, „À cache-cache”: *censeurs et censurés dans le Sud-Est européen (seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle)*
- Daniel Cain, *The challenge of an anniversary: Romania and the Great War – a century later*
- Ștefan Petrescu, *The Use of History in Shaping the Present: Phanariots and Aromanians in the writings of Nicolae Iorga*.

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec le Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (Södertörn University, Stockholm), le colloque international *State, Roma Population and Forms of Social Resistance and Integration in South-East Europe* (Stockholm, 15 mai 2019). À ce colloque notre collègue Ștefan Dorondel a présenté la conférence inaugurale (keynote lecture) *State Formation, Ethnic Minorities and Control of Natural Resources*.

La Société Roumaine d’Études Byzantines, qui a son siège dans l’ISSEE, a continué d’organiser sa série de conférences mensuelles, dont la plupart ont eu lieu à l’ISSEE :

- Oana Damian, *Despre arheologia epocii bizantine la Dunărea de Jos*, le 22 janvier.
- Octavian-Adrian Negoită, *Stălpii islamului: practicile religioase musulmane în jurnalele de călătorie occidentale din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea*, le 20 février.
- Mihai Țipău, *Istoriografia postbizantină. O reevaluare*, le 19 mars (la conférence a eu lieu à la Faculté d’Histoire).
- Anca Elisabeta Tatay, *Despre fondul de cartea românească veche și modernă din Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, le 2 avril (la conférence a eu lieu à la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode).
- Iustina Barbu, *Imaginea evreului în Bizanțul secolelor IX-XI*, le 11 juin.
- Pablo Ubierna (Université de Buenos Aires), *Les rapports entre tradition scripturaire et littérature apocalyptique dans le monde syriaque au VI^e siècle*, le 29 oct.
- Simona Nicolae, *Manuel Paleologul între istorie și literatură. Bilanțul cercetării scrierilor moral-politice*, le 26 nov.
- Mihail Mitrea, *In margine codicum: critică textuală și reacții de lectură în manuscrise bizantine*, le 12 déc.

La série des conférences bimensuelles de l’ISSEE a continué en 2019 :

- Lia Brad Chisacof, *Modernism în diplomație? Antoine Bibescu*, le 5 février.
- Cristina Cojocaru, *Pictori itineranți în Valahia secolului al XVIII-lea*, le 26 février.
- Viorel Panaite, Radu Dipratu, *O ‘ahdname uitată: privilegiile comerciale date de Ahmed I lui Matthias II în 1617*, le 12 mars.
- Cristina Codarcea, *Strategii și viziune misionară în Bulgaria secolului al XIX-lea. Câteva considerații pe marginea unui document inedit din Arhiva istorică de la Sofia privitor la episcopia de Nicopole*, le 26 mars.
- Ștefan Gorovei, *Istorie culturală și genealogii familiale la răscrucea veacurilor XVIII și XIX*, le 9 avril.
- Dana Caciur, *Morlacii din Dalmația: o perspectivă generală asupra unei populații „marginale” (sec. XV–XVI)*, le 16 avril.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Nicolae Mavros, un boier valah din prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Strategii matrimoniale, proprietăți și slujbe*, le 7 mai.
- Mihai Țipău, *Originalul german al „Istoriei universale” traduse de Vlad Botulescu de Mălăiești*, le 4 juin.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Icoanele melkite la 50 de ani de la prima expoziție îngrijită de Virgil Cândea (Beirut, mai-iunie 1969)*, le 18 juin.
- Daniel Cain, *Realități și constrângeri legislative: români și ‘neromâni’ în vremea Marelui Război*, le 15 oct.
- Marian Ciucă, *Retorică și propagandă în slujba unei dinastii în spe. Mavrocordații și „Historia Valachorum”*, le 5 nov.
- Adrian Tertecel, *Înalta Poartă și spațiul românesc în anul 1628. Câteva documente otomane*, le 12 nov.
- Oana Uță Bărbulescu, *Școala Ardeleană – problemele editării și raportul dintre normă și practică în scrierile lingvistice*, le 10 déc.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Despre Liturghierul arab tipărit de Patriarhul Silvestru al Antiohiei la Iași în 1745*, le 17 déc.

Virginia Blînda

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