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The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans
Proceedings of the Session Held at the 12th International Congress
of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)
Editor: OLIVER JENS SCHMITT

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In memoriam

THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF THE BALKANS

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FOREWORD

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans is one of the great upheavals in the history of Southeast Europe. Amazingly, it is rarely seen in context. Research is accordingly fragmented. The Bucharest conference of the *Association internationale d'études du Sud-Est européen* provided the appropriate framework for bundling recent research on this topic. Colleagues from Bosnia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania accepted the invitation. The contributors are grateful that the *Revue des études sud-est européennes* enables the publication of the most important contributions of this panel. The essays address several questions:

1) The question of space: how is the process of conquest to be placed in an European context? How did the Ottomans, as the new masters, structure the conquered space and what significance do Islamic religious foundations, which are the backbone of every Islamic dominated society, have?

2) What insight do actor-centered approaches offer? Structuralist research has long neglected agents and agencies. Now individuals reappear in research. In this vein, the regional nobility is examined, both the Muslim regional elites (uç beys) and the Christian (Orthodox and Catholic) nobility. It becomes clear how the conquest radically transformed an old world, but did not destroy all structures of the Balkan Christian societies: contacts existed across the conflict boundaries, even if these should not be confused with peaceful relationships. The conquest also triggered great waves of refugees and created a political diaspora in Catholic Europe. The role of Hungary has often been overlooked by research often focused on Italy and particularly Venice. Here it is analyzed in detail.

3) The final Ottoman conquest was usually preceded by decades of Ottoman raids. This turmoil affected large parts of the Balkans. The consequences of the deliberate destabilization of the Christian Balkan states on trade and the economy have rarely been examined. The analysis of the Balkan caravan trade reveals how much the Ottoman raids affected the hurted regions in their economic development. The wearing down of the regional population is one of the explanations for the ultimate success of the Ottoman conquest.

Of course, these three approaches do not exhaust the wealth of questions on the topic. In their bundled form, however, they give the reader an impression of ongoing debates. Hopefully they will also give impetus to further research on an era that has profoundly transformed the Balkans.

Oliver Jens Schmitt

THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF THE BALKANS AND ITS HISTORICAL ARENAS: ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REGIONAL AND SUPRAREGIONAL HISTORY

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The article aims at interpreting the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans as a major historical process in a larger spatial context. It discusses the late Medieval Balkans as a space that was interrelated with surrounding political and cultural spaces from the Adriatic to Anatolia and from the Black Sea area to the Aegean basin with a special focus on migration and diaspora groups.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire; Late Medieval Balkans; spatial methods.

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans was not a single event, but a process lasting from the mid-fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries.[1] It is thus one of the

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[1] The general bibliography is not easily summarised due to a lack of an overall survey. Here some of the more important works are listed. Unfairly overlooked due to its appearance shortly before the fall of the Iron Curtain and its language: R.A. Mihneva/H. Matanov, *Ot Galipoli do Lepanto. Balkanite, Evropa i osmanskoto našestvie 1354–1571 g.*, Sofia 1988; a Marxist account but with many important observations that has largely been neglected recently, also for linguistic reasons: E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht. Die Osmanen (1300–1481). Ein Beitrag zur Genesis des türkischen Feudalismus*, Berlin (Ost) [2]1972; too little attention has also been paid to the works of the Leipzig Byzantinist K.-P. Matschke, “Research Problems Concerning the Transitions to Tourkokratia. The Byzantinist Standpoint”, in: F. Adanır/S. Faroqhi (eds.), *The Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden 2002, p. 79–113; K.-P. Matschke, “Der Übergang vom byzantinischen Jahrtausend zur Turkokratie und die Entwicklung der südosteuropäischen Region”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 1, 1999, p. 11–38; still a foundational work of Ottoman studies: H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600*. London 1973; the most recent collection of conference papers: S. Rudić/S. Aslantaş (eds.), *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, Belgrade, 2017; the most recent attempt at a synthesis: M. Kiel, “The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353–1453”, in: K. Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. 1: *Byzantium to Turkey*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 138–191; M. Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, Assen, Maastricht, 1985; idem, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania*, Istanbul 1990; H. Kaleshi, “Das türkische Vordringen auf dem Balkan und die Islamisierung. Faktoren für die Erhaltung der ethnischen und nationalen Existenz des albanischen Volkes”, in: P. Bartl (ed.), *Südosteuropa unter dem Halbmond. Untersuchungen über Geschichte und Kultur der südosteuropäischen Völker während der Türkenzeit*, Munich, 1975, p. 125–138, an important interpretation due its positive assessment of the Ottoman conquest from the national perspective of the Islamised Albanians; H.W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany/NY. 2003; for early Ottoman history, see: I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman,*

great phases of upheaval in European, Mediterranean and Eurasian history. In the context of the history of the Balkans, the profound transformations of this epoch are matched only by the collapse and reshaping of the Roman Empire during the transition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. Regardless of how one assesses the transformation, there is no denying that politically, the Balkan region post-1500 was completely revolutionised compared to the early fourteenth century and that significant demographic, ethnic and cultural shifts were already becoming apparent and would later undergo further intensification in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were also radical changes in property relations, land law and large parts of the economy (trade, the diversion of certain flows of goods such as precious metals). Society too experienced huge upheaval in the form of mass flight, the destruction of further sub-regions (but not the wider region itself), the rise of new elites, migration, particularly from Anatolia, and the beginnings of the Islamisation. It is impossible to make simple or sweeping statements simply due to the conquest's duration: over 150 years, the actors changed, both the Ottoman Empire, which under Bayezid II had little to do with the groups of warriors of an Orhan, and the many regional medium-sized, small and petty dominions.

But changes were also afoot in the world itself, in whose context the Ottoman conquest must be considered. For our topic cannot be examined only as regional history – although the regional historical approach is clearly eminent: research hitherto has always suffered from favouring only the one visual axis. The conquest has only been examined from the perspective of the Ottoman Empire or its subjugated opponents, the Byzantine Empire and the many Balkan dominions; or from the perspective of Crusader studies, or Mediterranean studies with its subdivisions of Venetian, Genovese and Catalan history, or research on the Order of St. John.[2] Furthermore, the conquest of the Balkans is also part of East-Central

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Orkhan et Murad I, Munich, 1967; eadem, *Études ottomano-byzantines*, Istanbul, 2015; R.P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Bloomington, 1983; K. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley, 1995; P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1938, important for the 'Gazi theory'; still stimulating theoretically: S. Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1971; for my own approaches: O.J. Schmitt, "Südosteuropa im Spätmittelalter. Akkulturierung – Integration – Inkorporation?" in: R. Härtel (ed.), *Akkulturation im Mittelalter*, Ostfildern, 2014, p. 81–136; O.J. Schmitt (ed.), *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Interpretations and Research Debates*, Vienna, 2016.

    [2] A selection of the proliferous literature: K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vols. 1–2, Philadelphia, 1976–1979; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580*, Cambridge, 1992; idem, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat*, Oxford, 2012; N. Housley (ed.), *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century. Converging and competing cultures*, London/New York, 2017; idem, *Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade*, London, 2019; B. Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs. Les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au XVe siècle*, Rome, 2013; D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, Cambridge, 1988; E. Orlando, *Venezia e il mare nel Medioevo*, Bologna, 2014; E. Ivetic, *Storia dell'Adriatico*, Bologna, 2019; G. Ortalli/ O.J. Schmitt/E. Orlando (eds.), *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo*, Venice–Vienna, 2008; U. Israel/O.J. Schmitt (eds.), *Venezia e Dalmazia*, Rome, 2013; M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire. Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore, 2009; M. Balard, *Gênes et la*

European history and must therefore be understood especially from the perspective of the kingdom it affected most, the Lands of the Hungarian Crown.[3] But we must also look to Anatolia, the Levant and Iran, firstly, because the Balkans were just one, albeit a very important part of the Ottoman Empire and, secondly, because the Anatolian emirates (especially Karaman, but before it also Aydın, Menteşe, Saruhan and İsfendiyar on the Black Sea), the fifteenth-century White Sheep Turkomans, and around 1500 the growing Safavid Empire were sought-after allies of the Balkan and Southern and Central European states (principally Venice and Hungary), and later the Holy Roman Empire.[4]

This brief survey leads us to the main focus of this essay: the aim is to examine the age of conquest in its spatial dimension: regional history and supraregional history; the Balkans and Anatolia – where relevant to the Balkans – in their broader spatial contexts; but also the question of shifting border regions. The spatial dimension cannot be separated from the actors – and this analysis shall not indulge in simple geodeterminism.

In Ottoman studies, spatial approaches to the age of conquest are characterised by the link between architectural research and the analysis of administrative sources, mainly from a local and small-scale regional perspective.[5] The present

mer/Genova e il mare, Genoa, 2017; G. Pistarino, *I signori del mare*, Genoa, 1992; more recent works on the Catalans in the eastern Mediterranean: D. Duran i Duelt, "Los ducados de Atenas y Neopatra en el comercio regional e internacional durante la dominación catalana (siglo XIV) I. El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candía", *Estudios bizantinos* 6, 2018, p. 111–146; idem, "Los ducados de Atenas y Neopatra en el comercio regional e internacional durante la dominación catalana (siglo XIV) II. El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca", *Estudios bizantinos* 7, 2019, p. 85–118, A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State of Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1522*, Aldershot, 1999; idem, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes an Their Mediterranean World*, Aldershot 1992; Z. Tsirpanles, *Η Ρόδος και οι νότιες Σποράδες στα χρόνια των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών*, Rhodos, 1991; N. Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480–1522)*, Leuven – Paris, 1994; idem, *Les Ottomans et l'Occident (XVᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles)*, Istanbul, 2001.

[3] T. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare*, Leiden – Boston, 2018; J.K. Hoensch, *Sigismund von Luxemburg*, Munich, 1996; idem, *Matthias Corvinus*, Graz 1998; Ch. Gastgeber *et al.* (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit*, Vienna, 2011; M. Jászay, "Contrastes et diplomatie dans les rapports de Mathias Iᵉʳ Corvin et la République de Venise", *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35, 1989, p. 3–39; G. Rászó, "Die Türkenpolitik Matthias' Corvinus", *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32, 1986, p. 3–50; A. Dumitran/ L. Mádly/Al. Simon (eds.), *Extincta est lucerna orbis. John Hunyadi and His Time. In memoriam Zsigmond Jakó*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009; L. Koszta *et al.* (eds.), *Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus*. Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

[4] E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade, Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)*, Vienna, 1983; B. von Palombini, *Bündniswerben abendländischer Mächte um Persien 1453–1600*, Wiesbaden, 1968; A.M. Piemontese, "La représentation de Uzun Hasan sur scène à Rome (2 mars 1473)", *Turcica* 21–23, 1991, p. 191–203; G. Rota, *Under Two Lions. On the Knowledge of Persia in the Republic of Venice (ca. 1450–1797)*, Vienna, 2009; G. Boykov, "Anatolian Emir in Rumelia: İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey's Architectural patronage and Governorship of Filibe (1460s–1470s)" *Bulgarian Historical Review* 2013/1–2, p. 13–47.

[5] For instance, the foundational studies by Machiel Kiels, now available as a Bulgarian volume of his complete works: M. Kijl, *Bălgarija pod osmanska vlast. Săbrani săčinenija*, ed. M. Barămova/

study is concerned with something quite different: it seeks to determine in which spatial framework the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans must be placed. This implies a supraregional approach that extends beyond the Balkans in the narrower sense. A second, related question considers how the conquest's spatial dimension can be conceived on the regional level. Space is understood here as an arena of events, as a place where political, military and transformations take place. Although this means focusing less on the socio-economic and cultural upheavals, the study seeks to understand the interrelationship of several large geopolitical fields, and ultimately the dynamics of frontier regions.

Such an approach renders it impossible to go into fine detail. It must also be noted that a holistic model is not proposed; rather, this examination should function alongside explanatory models pursuing institutional continuity and discontinuity, questions of land and tax law, demography or the (in) significance of Islamic religious war.[6] In close reciprocity with the spatial dimension, greater focus can be placed on political and military aspects than has been the case in the prior socioeconomic analyses or studies in the fields of cultural history or the history of religion.

Regional and supraregional history are closely intertwined in the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans: this is apparent if we consider the two ancient parts of the Byzantine Empire, the west (Dysis) and Asia Minor, or Rumelia and Anadolu, in the Ottoman spatial logic[7]. Until most of the regional states were done away with under Mehmed II, the Ottoman's regional opponents in the Balkans and Asia Minor (especially Karaman, İsfendiyar and the White Sheep Turkomans) first formed ties over the Aegean. Later, such arrangements would extend principally over the Black Sea, Mircea the Elder's Walachia taking on particular importance as it sought to compensate for its exposed position with Pontic alliances from the early fifteenth century onwards.[8]

Entangled regional history must also consider the marriages between the Ottomans and regional ruling dynasties, which became increasingly asymmetrical; what was initially an attempt by Orthodox princes (Byzantium, Bulgaria) to hem in the Ottomans increasingly developed into delivery of Orthodox princesses to the sultanic suzerain's harem. This mirrored the decline of the Orthodox princes, from John VI Kantakouzenos or the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander to the Serbian despot

G. Bojkov/M. Kiprovska, Sofia, 2017; see also the studies by H.W. Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350–1500. The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*, Istanbul, 2008; H.W. Lowry/İ.E. Erünsal, *Notes & Documents on the Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa)*, Istanbul, 2009; H.W. Lowry/İ.E. Erünsal, "The Evrenos Dynastie of Yenice-i Vardar. A Postscript", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 34, 2009, p. 131–208.

[6] Besides the studies by Matschke, see also fn. 1, on the discussion of the research, in O.J. Schmitt, "Introduction", in: Schmitt, *Ottoman Conquest*, p. 7–44; a comprehensive study of the Islamisation: A. Popović/G. Grivaud (eds.), *Les conversions à l'Islam en Asie Mineure et dans les Balkans aux époques seldjoukide et ottomane. Bibliographie raisonnée (1800–2000)*, Athens, 2011; on the institutional history approach, see: H. İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica* 2, 1954, p. 103–129.

[7] B. Geyer/J. Lefort (eds.), *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2003.

[8] T. Gemil, *Românii şi Otomanii în secolele XIV–XVI*, Bucharest, 1991, p. 92 ff.

George Branković.[9] It is important to note however, that also petty regional ruler lords such as Carlo I Tocco gifted (illegitimate) daughters to the harem (in this case to Sultan Musa) in exchange for auxiliary troops for regional battles with Christian opponents. Incidentally, after Musa's death, Tocco gave the same girl as a wife to an Ottoman officer who was an acolyte of Musa's successor Mehmed and, most importantly, the brother of an influential courtier. Petty regional lords used marriages at all levels of power, and Tocco proved to be particularly agile in his manoeuvres.[10]

In this connection, there were also reciprocal interventions in wars of succession; the Ottomans, specifically the regional border commanders/uç beys, were often called upon as auxiliary troops by the Balkan princes. This practice began under John VI and continued for decades. From Walachia to Bosnia, the Ottomans also installed well-disposed princes (in Walachia for instance Vlad in opposition to Mircea the Elder, or Radu Praznaglava, Radu the Handsome). In Bosnia, they also appointed counter-kings (for instance Ikač, Tvrtko II, Radivoj Ostojić)[11]. It is often overlooked however that Serbian, Walachian and Byzantine rulers intervened in internal challenges to the Ottoman throne. A particularly striking example is the alliance the two princes Andronikos (IV) Palaiologos and Savci struck up against their fathers John V and Murad I in 1373. But Manuel II Palaiologos, Mircea the Elder of Walachia, Vuk and Stefan Lazarević and Georg Branković intervened in the Ottoman Civil War of 1403–1413, and in 1410 the Orthodox rulers of Byzantium and Walachia even supported different Ottoman pretenders. In 1416 and again following Mehmed I's death, Byzantium attempted to nominate candidates to the Ottoman throne and to influence Ottoman domestic policy, as did Walachia in 1416, with drastic consequences. There was no shortage of Ottoman princes seeking protection and assistance from their Orthodox neighbours: one need only think of Bayezid I' son Yusuf, who after his father's defeat at Ankara fled to Constantinople and converted to Christianity, adopting the name Demetrios, or Orhan, who lived in Constantinople around 1450 and for whose keep the last Byzantine emperor demanded an enormous apanage from the young Mehmed II. Orhan fought against Mehmed II on 29 May 1453 and died fleeing when the city fell. Several Ottoman pretenders requested and received occasional help from Byzantine, Serbian and Walachian princes during the Civil War of 1402–1413, and the two Mustafas benefited equally from the support of

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[9] M.St. Popović, Mara Branković, Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert, Ruhpolding, 2010.

[10] G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia*, Rome, 1975, vv. 1916–1922; 3079–3083.

[11] O. Cristea, "The Friend of my Friend and the Enemy of my Enemy: Romanian Participation in Ottoman Campaigns", in: G. Kármán/L. Kunčević (eds.), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden/Boston, 2013, p. 253–274; N. Pienaru, "Les Pays Roumains et le Proche-Orient (1420–1429) I", *Revue roumaine d´histoire* 28/3, 1989, p. 189–207, and II. *Revue roumaine d´histoire* 29/1–2, 1990, p. 69–103, here part I, p. 190–200; E.O. Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386–1463)*, Sarajevo, 2019, p. 160–165; 309–310; L. von Thallóczy, "Radivoj, Sohn des Königs Ostoja von Bosnien 1429–1463", in: idem, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter*, München/Leipzig, 1914, p. 79–109.

Orthodox regional rulers. Mustafa, a son of Bayezid I (whose belonging to the dynasty was contested) was supported by Mircea the Elder I. Upon being defeated, he fled to Saloniki in Byzantium, where he was then held in honourable captivity on the island of Lemnos before contesting the Ottoman throne after Mehmed's death in 1421. In this manoeuvre, he was assisted by Byzantium and at times by the Rumelian border commanders and Sipahi; defeated, however, he was executed after his capture en route to Walachia, a principality of immense importance to Ottoman domestic policy. Almost concurrently, the second Mustafa, Murad II's brother, lost his battle for power in 1422 and fled briefly to Constantinople. As a footnote to this Ottoman–Orthodox entanglement, it is worth noting that in 1421, the dying Sultan Mehmed I placed two of his sons in the protection of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II, fearing fratricide.[12]

Ottoman princes turned to west in hope of military support quite early on. For instance, Davud Çelebi, probably a grandson of Savci, the rebel of 1373, resided at the court of Emperor Sigismund, who soon deployed him in Walachia and in Albania soon thereafter. In 1448, he fought with John Hunyadi at Kosovo polje. Bayezid Osman or Calixtus Ottomanus, as Davud a predecessor to Cem Sultan, one of the great figures of the Renaissance, also attained great renown.[13] It is therefore important to emphasise that there were pro-Ottoman groups at all regional courts, but also members of the Ottoman dynasty and uç beys who collaborated with or were used by Christian lords.

It is impossible to provide more than this brief outline of entanglement[14] – but the Balkan–Anatolian political world was not without its grey areas; while fronts existed, they changed often and the political actors did not operate within simple categories like Christian/Muslim, not that they were not profoundly aware of these categories.[15] Despite the close ties between actors, one thing is certain:

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[12] E. Trapp *et al.*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 15 vols. Vienna, 1976–1995, no. 9082 (Jusuf-Demetrios); no. 21133 (Orhan); *Encyclopedia of Islam* (online), C.J. Heywood, Lemma "Mustafa Düzme", and *ibid.*, Lemma "Mustafa Čelebi".

[13] F. Babinger, "Dâwûd Čelebi, ein osmanischer Thronwerber des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Südost-Forschungen* 16, 1957, p. 297–231; idem "Bajezid Osman (Calixtus Ottomanus), ein Vorläufer und Gegenspieler Dschem-Sultans", *La Nouvelle Clio* 3, 1951, p. 349–388; N. Vatin, *Sultan Djem. Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XVe siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines,* Ankara, 1997; idem, "L'affaire Djem (1481–1495)", in: idem, *Les Ottomans et l'Occident (XVe–XVIe siècles)*", Istanbul, 2001, p. 93–103, on Cem, most recently L. Horsch, "Prinz Cem an der Kurie (1489–1495). Ein Beitrag zur Wahrnehmung der Türken im Zeitalter der Renaissance", *Südost-Forschungen* 77, 2018, p. 137–175.

[14] An extensive study is in preparation for *Travaux et mémoires*.

[15] The Ottoman vassal Konstantin Dragaš is said to have shouted to the Orthodox princes of Walachia at Rovine, "I pray to God that he may help the Christians, I want to be the first to die in this battle"; M. Braun, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević von Konstantin dem Philosophen*, s'Gravenhage, 1956, p. 12–13; the Despot of Serbia Stefan Lazarević, prior to 1402 a loyal follower of the Ottomans whose armoured cavalry had decided the battle of Nikopolis in 1396 and who had fought to the end for Bayezid, professed to Venice in 1406 that he wanted to be a "good

ultimately, the regional petty states had disappeared, the Ottoman Empire had conquered the Balkans, but until the late fifteenth century, from the institutions to the elites, in many respects one might observe, albeit somewhat exaggeratedly: *Haemus captus victorem cepit*.[16]

This Balkan–Anatolian conflict area was bound up with three European political spaces, the fundamental constellations of which shall be outlined in the following. All three corresponded to actual conflict zones that largely determined how the European powers reacted towards Ottoman expansion and also explain why Catholic Europe never opted for a coordinated response. While each of the three spaces are dealt with separately, their analysis will demonstrate that they were closely intertwined.

1) Firstly, we can observe an *Adriatic conflict zone* in which Hungary, Venice and Naples jostled for hegemony, especially in the Southern Adriatic and the East Adriatic coast. These powers' mutual distrust dating back to the High Middle Ages (one need only think of the Norman–Venetian antagonism during the late eleventh century) often prevented collective campaigns against the Ottomans – *pars pro toto* examples would be King Sigismund's wars with Venice (1411–1413 and 1418–1420), the Byzantine attempts to mediate between Hungary and Venice under the emperors Manuel II and John VIII, the latter visiting Venice and Ofen/Buda in 1423/24, but also the Venetian–Hungarian contest for Dalmatia

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Christian" once more despite having been an Ottoman vassal; G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV,* vol. 3, Munich/Palermo 1968, no. 1188.

[16] K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht von Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz. Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte zwischen 1402 und 1422*, Weimar, 1981; a comprehensive portrayal o the Balkan–Anatolian entanglement in the Ottoman Civil War is provided by D.J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid. Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413*, Leiden, Boston, 2007; A. Pippidi, "Taking Possession of Wallachia: Facts and Interpretations", in: Schmitt, *Ottoman Conquest*, p. 189–208; L. Pilat/O. Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15th Century*, Leiden, 2018; M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, "Les relations du prince de Valachie Mircea l'Ancien avec les émirs seldjoukides d'Anatolie et leur candidat Musa au trône ottoman", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6/10–11, 1968, p. 113–125; N. Pienaru, "Românii şi tatarii. Relaţiile Ţării Româneşti cu Hoarda de Aur în vremea lui Mircea cel Bătrân", in: O. Cristea (ed.), *Vocaţia istoriei. Prinos profesorului Şerban Papacostea*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 297–330; idem, "Les pays roumains et le Proche Orient (1420–1429)", *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 28, 1989, p. 189–207 and 29, 1990, p. 63–103; idem, "Relaţiile lui Mircea cel Bătrân cu emiratul pontic Candar-oğulları", *Revista istorică* 7/7–8, 1996, p. 483–510; C. Imber, "The Role of Dynastic Politics in the Ottoman Conquest of the Balkan Peninsula", in: G. Dančev *et al.* (eds.), *Turskite zavoevanija i sădbata na balkanskite narodi, otrazeni v istoričeski i literaturni pametnici ot XIV–XV vek. Meždunarodna naučna konferencija, Veliko Tărnovo, 20–22 maj 1987 godina*, Veliko Tărnovo, 1992, p. 113–116; E.A. Zachariadou, "Les Tocco: seigneurs, vassaux, otages, rénégats", *Ankara Üniversitesi Güneydoğu Avrupa çalışmaları uygulama ve araştırma merkezi* 1, 2012, p. 11–22; M. Balivet, "Le personnage du « turcophile » dans les sources byzantines antérieures au concile de Florence (1370)–1430)", in idem, *Byzantins et Ottomans: Relations, interaction, succession*, Istanbul, 1999, p. 31–47; A. Krstić, "'Which Realm Will You Opt For?' – The Serbian Nobility between the Ottomans and the Hungarians in the 15th Century", in: S. Rudić/ S. Aslantaş (eds.), *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, Belgrade, 2017, p. 129–163.

under Matthias Corvinus, during the long Ottoman war of 1463–1479. Regional lords also became embroiled in the Hungarian–Venetian conflict, either as victims of antagonism between the two great powers or as beneficiaries – but the Ottomans always profited from the situation: in 1418–1420, Venice fought not only against King Sigismund, but also in Northern Albania against the regional ruler Balsha III and his heir, the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević. A vassal of Hungary and the Ottomans, Lazarević remained a target for Venice in subsequent years. Consider too the attempt by Bosnian king Tvrtko II to align himself with Venice and, after this policy failed, to turn to Hungary (1424) – and the Ottomans' punishment of their insubordinate vassal.[17]

An equally persistent conflict was that between Venice and Naples in the mid-fifteenth century over control of the Strait of Otranto and Alfons V of Aragon's Neapolitan plans for the Balkans, namely to establish a chain of vassals from Herzegovina, through the Albania of Skanderbeg and the Araniti down to the Despotate of the Morea, thus challenging the *dominium maris* and with it the Republic's lifeblood. Indeed, these manoeuvres posed a greater threat to Venice than Alfons' lofty designs on the imperial Byzantine throne. But another source of conflict was the Italian Pentarchy, the extremely fragile balance of power between Venice, Milan, Florence, the Papal States and Naples established by the Treaty of Lodi (1454) and the Italian League (1455).[18]

The Hungarian – Venetian – Neapolitan Adriatic complex thus had a geopolitical impact on Italian domestic policy, which in many respects reacted to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. The Ottoman threat was both a rhetorical and

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[17] W. von Stromer, "Landmacht gegen Seemacht. Kaiser Sigismunds Kontinentalsperre gegen Venedig 1412–1433", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 22/2, 1995, p. 145–189; F.-R. Erkens, "'…Und will ein grosse Reise do tun'. Überlegungen zur Balkan- und Orientpolitik Sigismunds von Luxemburg", in: J. Helmrath *et al.* (ed.), *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, Munich, 1994, p. 739–762; G. Beckmann, *Der Kampf Kaiser Sigmunds gegen die werdende Weltmacht der Osmanen 1392–1437*, Gotha, 1902; M. Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Republik Venedig um die Vorherrschaft im adriatischen Raum*. Wien 1990; O.J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien 1392– 1479,* Munich, 2001, p. 271–274; E.O. Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386– 1463)*, Sarajevo, 2019, p. 280–281.

[18] N. Rubinstein, "Das politische System Italiens in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts", in: P. Moraw (ed.), *"Bündnissysteme" und "Außenpolitik" im späteren Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1988, p. 105–119; R. Fubini, "Lega italica e 'politica dell'equilibrio' all'avvento di Lorenzo de Medici al potere" *Rivista storica italiana* 105, 1993, p. 373–410; F. Babinger, "Sechs unbekannte aragonische Sendschreiben", in: idem, *Spätmittelalterliche fränkische Briefschaften aus dem großherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul*, Munich, 1963, p. 76–95; C. Marinesco, "Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Skanderbeg" *Mélanges de l'Ecole Roumaine en France,* 1, 1923, p. 1–135; idem, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416–1458)*, Barcelona, 1994 ; A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous. King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458*, Oxford, 1994; M. Jacoviello, "Relazioni politiche tra Venezia e Napoli nelle seconda metà del XV secolo", *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 96, 1981, p. 67–133; M. Jacoviello, *Venezia e Napoli nel Quattrocento*, Napoli, 1992; O.J. Schmitt, "Skanderbegs letzte Jahre – west-östliches Wechselspiel von Diplomatie und Krieg (1464–1468)", *Südost-Forschungen* 63/64, 2004/2005, p. 56–123.

a real-political instrument for pacifying Italian domestic conflict, leading to Lodi and its renewal (1470). The popes were the driving force behind this domestic coordination, albeit not the decisive players. The post-conciliar papacy's Ottoman policy at times revolved around commitment to crusades (especially under Calixtus III and Pius II), but it also attempted to strengthen its own standing as a territorial state in Italy. Crusades were thus a papal means of conducting a domestic policy seeking to stabilize Italy, the pope acting as the peninsula's mediator, a role many states were happy to recognize. Although they had emerged from the shock of 1453 and the fall of Negroponte in 1470, the leagues were more about Italian domestic compromise than decidedly anti-Ottoman manoeuvring. This entanglement of domestic policy and war with the Turks, further complicated by the leadership conflict between the pope and his close acquaintance Emperor Frederick III and the system of imperial diets proliferating throughout Europe, was particularly evident in the Congress of Mantua called by Pius II in 1459.[19] However, Italian domestic diplomacy was rendered more complex by the Ottoman threat, which became a lever of Italian domestic policy. All of the states cultivated their own relations with the Ottoman Empire, not only those with policies directly related to the Balkans (Venice, Naples, and to a lesser extent the Papal States, although their activity in this area was rather crusading than territorial), but also Florence, Milan or Mantua, which were not involved in conflict in the Balkans, but certainly desired Ottoman pressure on their Italian opponents (e.g. Milan versus Venice, but also Naples versus Venice) and moreover had their own trade interests in the Ottoman Empire.[20] Genoa was a special case: in the fourteenth century, the Republic had been in tough competition with Venice in the Levant and fought many wars with the Signoria for control of the straits and the Black Sea trade (most decisively during the Chiogga War of 1378–1381). After 1381 however, the mother city found itself increasingly in crisis, having to accept foreign rule under the French and the Milanese Visconti, and thus its influence in Italy as an independent power was limited. Around 1450, the threat to Ligurian maritime trade was no longer

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[19] A. Calzona / F.P. Fiore / A. Tenenti / C. Vasoli (eds.), *Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova*, Città di Castello, 2003; G.B. Picotti, *La dieta di Mantova e la politica de'Veneziani*, Venice, 1912; C. Märtl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (†1473). Leben und Werk*, Sigmaringen, 1996, p. 100–113; J. Helmrath, "Pius II. und die Türken", in: B. Guthmüller / W. Kühlmann (ed.), *Europa und die Türken*, Tübingen, 2000, p. 79–137.

[20] F. Babinger, "Lorenzo de'Medici e la corte ottomana", *Archivio storico italiano* 121/3, 1963, p. 305–361; idem, "Relazioni visconteo-sforzesche con la Corte Ottoman durante il sec. XV." , in: *La Lombardia e l'Oriente*, Milan, 1963, p. 8–30 ; H.-J. Kissling, *Sultan Bâjezîd's II. Beziehungen zu Markgraf Francesco II. von Gonzaga*, Munich, 1965. The Milanese emissary to Murad II boasted to the Burgundian agent Bertrandon de la Brocquière, "qu'il avoit esté cause de faire perdre Salonique aux Venissiens pour leur faire dommage et la faire gaignier au Turc; de quoy il fist grant dommaige" ; Ch. Schefer, *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de La Broquière, premier écuyer tranchant et conseiller de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1892, p. 142; in 1430, fires were lit in Milan to celebrate the fall of Venetian Saloniki ; E. Basso, "Genova e gli Ottomani nel XV secolo. Gli 'itali Teucri' e il Gran Sultano", in: *L'Europa dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli : 29 maggio 1453*, Spoleto, 2008, p. 375–410, here p. 380.

Venice, but the Aragonian Mediterranean empire. Largely independently of the mother city, the Genoese regional lords in the Aegean (the Maona on Chios, the Alaun lords of Phokaia, the Gattilusi on Lesbos) pursued regional policies against the Ottomans.[21]

By the end of the age of Ottoman conquest, around 1500, the pentarchal system in Italy had collapsed. In 1480, the peninsula had been hit by a direct Ottoman attack. It was not so much coordinated defensive measures as the death of Mehmed II, the domestic wars of succession between Bayezid II and Cem Sultan, and to a much lesser extent Neapolitan counterattacks that put an end to the extremely threatening Ottoman offensive. In the crisis of 1480/81, the fault lines between the Italian territories became all too clear: Venice maintained strict neutrality, having fought the Turks largely on its own, save for initial papal assistance, from 1463 to 1479, suffering severe financial and territorial losses. Moreover, Naples had undermined the Venetian positions in Albania and Herzegovina by cultivating relations with the Ottoman Empire. Towards the end of the century, the Venetian-Neapolitan conflict escalated with the Venetian conquest of Apulian ports (such as Trani, Brindisi, Otranto, which was then lost during crisis of the League of Cambrai in 1509). While the Ottoman threat gave rise to the Italic Leagues, they remained unstable, precarious and weak. The Pentarchy powers feared domestic competition more than they did the Ottomans, who were not the only power threatening to intervene in Italy either – France proved a much great danger, and indeed took the war with Turkey as a pretext to launch an assault in 1494, destroying the system that had been in place since Lodi. As a result, the fragile domestic balance of power lay in tatters, and Italy became the arena for Franco-Habsburg competition. From 1499–1503, Venice, again having to fight alone, suffered a decisive naval defeat at the hands of the Ottomans. From this point on, the Republic would hardly be able to hold out against the Empire without a stronger ally. A new epoch had dawned, in which Venice sought to prevent the constant decline of its position in the Levant via unstable alliances with the Spanish Habsburgs – the political heirs of the Neapolitan Aragonese.[22]

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[21] E. Basso, "De Boucicault à Francesco Sforza. Persistance et changements dans la politique orientale des seigneurs étrangers de Gênes au XVe siècle", in: M. Balard / A. Ducellier (ed.), *Le partage du monde, échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Paris, 1998, p. 63–77; idem, "La Maona di Chio, Genova e l'Impero Ottomano : relazioni commerciali e intrecci diplomatici fra Tardo Medioevo e prima Età moderna", in: S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Relazioni economiche tra Europa e mondo islamico secc. XIII-XVIII*, Varese, 2007, p. 315–324; J. Paviot, "Gênes et les Turcs (1444, 1453). Sa défense contre les accusations d'une entente", in: *La storia dei Genovesi*, vol. 9. Genoa, 1989, p. 129–137 ; G. Pistarino, "Chio dei Genovesi", *Studi Medievali* ser. 3a 10/1, 1969, p. 3–68; A. Mazarakis, *Πρακτικά συνεδρίου Οι Γατελούζοι της Λέσβου*, Athens, 1996); G. Olgiati, "Il commercio dell'allume nei domini dei Gattilusio nel XV secolo", in: Mazarakis, *Οι Γατελούζοι*, p. 373–398 ; Ch. Wright, *The Gattilusio Lordships and the Aegean World 1355–1462*, Leiden–Boston, 2014.
[22] H. Houben (ed.), *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito*, 2 vols., Galatina, 2008, therein E. Orlando, "Venezia e la conquista turca di Otranto (1480-1481): incroci, responsabilità, equivoci

2) A second geopolitical complex whose significance for the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans must not be underestimated emerged in *East-Central Europe*: the interplay between the crowns of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland, for which the large Jagiellonian, Luxemburg and Habsburg dynasties and the emerging Hunyady dynasty were vying. Regional actors like George of Podiebrad in Bohemia also had their designs. As in the case of the entanglement between the triangular conflict in the Adriatic and Italian politics, the East Central European conflict zone was related to a further political macro-region, the Holy Roman Empire. In the fourteenth century, Hungary had become the undisputed great power in Southeastern Europe under Louis the Great, but its zenith around 1365 was soon followed by its direct clash with the Ottoman Empire. In 1395, King Sigismund embarked on a policy of making the Ottoman threat a pan-European affair – it failed in 1396 and led Western Europe, with the exception of Burgundy, to be much more reticent about offering military assistance; the defeats at Nikopolis and the huge ransom the French aristocracy had to pay the Ottomans were not forgotten. Sigismund, King of Hungary from 1387, King of Germany from 1411, King of Bohemia from 1419, and Roman Emperor from 1433, was the first to attempt to create an East-Central European power bloc that would offer protection from the Ottomans. In Southeastern Europe, he pursued an extensive preliminary policy in Bosnia, Serbia and Walachia, and also recognised the importance of Anatolian alliances.[23] But it was already clear then that combining the East-Central European crowns created more conflicts than it solved: one need only think of the Hussite wars, which cost the emperor a lot of energy and prevented him from stronger efforts on the southern frontier – there was already talk of conflict with Venice in the Adriatic.

The issue of the Bohemian crown occupied not only the Luxemburgs, but also the Jagiellonians, the Hunyadi and the Habsburgs. The question of the Hungarian succession following the death of Sigismund in 1437 created a severe crisis resulting in decades of conflict between the Habsburgs and the Hunyadi, which had a decisive impact on the Ottoman advance in the Balkans, especially under Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490). It was no coincidence that Hungarian succession crises and dynastic feuds arose at the same time as Ottoman advances,

negli equilibri europei", p. 177–209; E. Piva, "L'opposizione diplomatica di Venezia alle mire di Sisto IV su Pesaro e ai tentativi di una crociata contro i Turchi 1480-1481", *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.p. 5/1, 1903, p. 49–204; A. Bombaci, "Venezia e l'impresa turca di Otranto" *Rivista Storica Italiana* 66, 1954, p. 159–195; D. Abulafia (ed.), *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–1495*, London, 1995; O.J. Schmitt, "Geschichte Lepantos unter der Venezianerherrschaft 1407–1499", *Südost-Forschungen* 56, 1997, p. 43–103, here p. 70–76; G. Cogo, "La guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi (1499–1503)", *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 18, 1899, p. 5–76, 348–421; 19, 1900, p. 97–138 (source section).
    [23] P. Engel, "Zur Frage der bosnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen im 14.–15. Jahrhundert", *Südost-Forschungen* 56, 1997, p. 27–42; cf. the monumental work by D. Lovrenović*, Na klizištu povijesti (Sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska). 1387–1463*, Zagreb, Sarajevo, 2006 and most recently Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo*.

first in 1382–1387, most disastrously after Sigismund's death in 1437, when Murad II overran Serbia, and around twenty years later, when the entire Serbian Despotate was conquered during the chaos of Matthias Corvinus' first months on the throne (1459). The Habsburg–Hungarian conflict (especially Frederick III's election as Hungarian king by the aristocrats who opposed the Hunyadi and the question of his returning the crown of St. Stephen to the Hunyadi king) impeded the Hungarian response to the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463. Moreover, it prevented any combined Austro-Hungarian effort against the Ottomans for decades. During his own lifetime, Matthias Corvinus had to face criticism that he neglected the southern frontier in favour of his policy of conquest in the Austrian hereditary lands, in Bohemia and Silesia. The king's defence, that only a strong East-Central European power bloc could resist the Ottomans, has been a matter of controversy for centuries– what is certain is that during the fifteenth century, the internal conflicts in East-Central Europe were just as strong as in the Italian domestic power complex; additional issues were the Hungarian–Polish competition in the foothills of the Carpathians (Moldova) and in the Danube and the Dniester estuaries, which dated back to the mid-fourteenth century and were not settled by the Treaty of Lublau (1412).[24]

Not only the Luxemburgs, but also the Jagiellons showed that uniting the crowns alone was not the same thing as developing a unified East-Central European bloc that could withstand the Ottomans – as evidenced by the Polish resistance to the young Hungarian-Polish King Ladislaus's crusades (1443/1444) or the later phase of Jagiellonian rulers on the Hungarian throne (1490–1526), when loyalty throughout the dynasty was in short supply.[25] On the other hand, it was ultimately the unification of East-Central European crowns (Hungarian, Bohemian and Croatian, the latter of more symbolic than practical importance) under a single dynasty – the Habsburgs – that finally hemmed in the Ottoman advance. Successful defence was predicated, and this was the decisive condition for success, on the consolidation of these crowns with the German lands of the Habsburgs and the financial, military, technological and demographic resources of the Holy Roman Empire. The Habsburg managed to pull off what the Jagiellonians, defeated at Mohács in 1526, failed to achieve, repelling the assaults by Süleyman the Magnificent in 1529 and above all in 1532. Recently, 1532 has quite rightly

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[24] See the detailed discussion in Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*; on the Lower Danube, along with the latest study by Pilat/Cristea, *Ottoman Threat*, see also Ş. Papacostea, "The Black Sea in the Political Strategies of Sigismund of Luxemburg", in: Ch. Gastgeber *et al*. (ed.), *Church Union and Crusading in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 279–290; idem, "Gênes, Venise et la croisade de Varna", *Balcania Posnaniensia* 8, 1997, p. 27–37; idem, *Marea Neagră. Puteri maritime – puteri terestre (sec. XIII-XVIII)*, Bucharest, 2006; V. Ciocîltan, "Competiţia pentru controlul Dunării inferioare (1412-1420) II.", *Revista de istorie* 11, 1982, p. 1191–1203.

[25] See the above bibliography in fn. 3 and K. Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1989; on Varna, see esp. C. Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–1445*, Aldershot, Burlington, 2006.

been considered the real turning point in the Ottoman conquest: Süleyman the Magnificent overextended himself before the small fortress of Güns/Kőszeg, an imperial army defeated Ottoman troops south of Vienna, while the exits to the Lower Austrian alpine valleys were covered by heavy cavalry and considerable artillery. The sultan avoided a larger field battle and refrained from a second siege of Vienna.[26] But this was only because the burden of the defence was shouldered not only by the East-Central European crowns, but also by the Empire's much larger demographic, economic and technological forces, whenever it actually chose to muster them.

This now leads us to a debate that runs parallel to that concerning Italian domestic policy and the interplay between the Ottoman question and the political structures of European macro-regions. Like Italy, the Holy Roman Empire had a symbolic head who was expected to coordinate policy but was not granted de facto political leadership – the emperor was to the Empire what the pope was to Italy. The emperor also remained an important figure in Italy in the fifteenth century: key events include the Milanese investiture, the Roman coronation of Frederick the III and his marriage to Eleonore of Portugal, a relation of Alfons V's. It should also be recalled that Hungary pursued its own Italian policy in order to secure its East-Central European position, also via an Aragonese marriage, between Beatrix of Aragon and Matthias Corvinus in 1476.

Just as Italy had its fractured leagues, the Empire had its diets: the Ottoman threat accelerated the rhythm of these congresses, which often resembled European conferences, since they included representatives from Italian states and Burgundy, but also Northern European kingdoms such as Denmark, not to mention the East-Central European states like Hungary or the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Indeed, the diets discussed not only the Ottoman threat, but the many, often entangled, conflicts throughout the empire and on its western (Burgundian) and eastern (Prussian) peripheries.

Hitherto, Ottoman studies and Southeastern European history have largely neglected the diets, probably because they ostensibly produced few immediately tangible results – the 'Turkish diets' of Regensburg, Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt (1454/1455) were already a great disappointment to contemporaries. Later diets too (1469, 1471) only seemed to drag on, and Emperor Frederick III never became a driving force of the war with the Turks. The emperor principally pursued dynastic goals, competing with the Hunyadi for the Hungarian crown, which went a long way to forcing them to expend many of their energies in the west instead of on the southern frontier; in his inner, i.e. his hereditary lands, Frederick III faced Hungarian-backed opposition and even lost Vienna to Matthias

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[26] Pál F., The Unbearable Weight of Empire. The Ottomans in Central Europe – A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566), Budapest, 2015, p. 81; H. Delfiner, "Nikolaus Jurischitz 1490–1543, Soldier Diplomat", East European Quarterly 28/1, 1994, p. 1–47; Ch. Turetschek, Die Türkenpolitik Ferdinands I. von 1529 bis 1532, Vienna, 1968; G. Gerhartl, Die Niederlage der Türken am Steinfeld 1532, Vienna, 1974.

Corvinus between 1485 and 1490. The death of the Hungarian king, who was without a legitimate son and had failed to obtain foreign recognition of his bastard, triggered the collapse of Corvinus' impressive East-Central European power structure and opened the door for the Jagellions, who also proved unable to bring stability to the region's resistance to the Ottomans after 1490 however.[27]

But what the diets did achieve only became clear towards the end of the fifteenth century: resistance to the Ottomans and imperial reform, so often debated in dogged negotiations, had become interlaced core issues of imperial policy.[28] The imperial reform of 1495 would have been impossible without forty years of rising awareness and the development of political consensus in the empire's complex constitutional structure – and the hard-won compromise laid the foundations for the Empire to become the power bloc that finally clipped the wings of the Ottoman conquest in 1529 and 1532, despite the religious tensions of the early Reformation. Much more so than the Italic Leagues, which were unable to repel the French King Charles VIII's Italian campaign of 1494 and had been extremely fragile even prior to that, the ostensibly cumbersome mechanisms of the Holy Roman Empire had created a defence system able to raise large armies via fixed taxes and ensure forefield resistance on the emerging military frontier.

Finances, frontier fortifications, forefield policies in the Balkans – none of this was new, since the Hungarian crown had long attempted such measures, but had always been hampered by limited resources. The cost of building and manning fortresses had overstretched the Hungarian budget. Hungarian armies were inferior to the Ottomans not technologically, but mostly in number. With the resources of the Holy Roman Empire and the East-Central European crowns of Bohemia and (royal) Hungary dynastically tied to the Habsburgs, sufficient critical mass was

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[27] For a recent reassessment of Frederick's policy s. C. Märtl, "Habsburger und Osmanen bis zum Ende der Zeit Maximilians I. († 1519)", in: B. Schneidmüller (ed.), *König Rudolf I. und der Aufstieg des Hauses Habsburg im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 2019, p. 439–458.

[28] H. Weigel / H. Grüneisen, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Fünfte Abteilung. Erste Hälfte 1453–1454*, Göttingen, 1969; J. Helmrath with G. Annas, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Fünfte Abteilung, zweiter Teil. Reichsversammlung zu Frankfurt 1454*, Munich, 2013; G. Annas, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Fünfte Abteilung, dritter Teil. Reichsversammlung zu Wiener Neustadt 1455*, Munich, 2013; H. Wolff / G. Annas, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Abteilung 8 (1468–1471), Hälfte 2 (1471)*, Göttingen, 1999–2001; G. Annas, *Hoftag – Gemeiner Tag – Reichstag. Studien zur strukturellen Entwicklung deutscher Reichsversammlungen des späten Mittelalters (1349–1471)*, 2 vols., Cologne, 2004; J. Helmrath, "Pius II. und die Türken", in: idem, *Wege des Humanismus. Ausgewählte Aufsätze,* Tübingen, 2013, p. 279–342; M. Bacsoka / A.-M. Blank / Th. Woelki (eds.), *Europa, das Reich und die Osmanen. Die Türkenreichstage von 1454/55 nach dem Fall Konstantinopels*, Frankfurt/Main 2014; S. Wefers, *Das Primat der Außenpolitik. Das politische System des Reichs im 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 2013; J. Dücker, "Von Konfrontation und Kooperation. Matthias Corvinus und die Reichstage der Jahre 1479 bis 1481", in: Ch. Gastgeber *et al.* (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit*, Vienna, 2011, 23–32; J. Reissermayer, *Der grosse Christentag zu Regensburg 1471. 2. Teil. Programm zum Jahresberichte über das K. neue Gymnasium zu Regensburg für das Studienjahr 1887/88*, Regensburg, 1888.

achieved.[29] Whereas Corvinus himself pursued an imperial policy, had designs on the German crown, was represented at the diets and also vehemently complained whenever his emissaries were not heard, none of his efforts yielded a political breakthrough in the Empire, and his attempts to court the Habsburg's (intermittent) opponents in the west, Burgundy and the Swiss Confederacy were just as unsuccessful. His (East-) Central European empire was built on shaky grounds.

This admittedly cursory comparison of Hunyadi and Habsburg (East-) Central European policy shows the reason why Ottoman expansion was ultimately repelled: the Empire and its tools of power and finance, which the Habsburgs had built up over four decades of painstaking negotiations and, in 1495, political concessions which Emperor Frederick III had not been prepared to make up to his death in 1493.

3) The third concentrated political space is the *Pontic* region comprising the conflicts on the western shore of the Black Sea and their occasional extension to Anatolia via various alliances. Essentially, this area involved the Hungarian–Polish rivalry touched on above, which centred on hegemony over the West Pontic ports of Chilia and Akkerman between the Danube and the Dniester estuaries. In the first third of the fifteenth century, the situation was further complicated by the two youngest Orthodox principalities in the Southeastern European region, Walachia and Moldavia, which had emerged on the territory abandoned by the Golden Horde on its retreat from the Lower Danube and the Eastern Carpathians around the mid-fourteenth century. Walachia and Moldavia were both formed by secession from the Hungarian crown, which did not mean a complete break however, since the Walachian princes held fiefdoms on Hungarian soil in Transylvania (Omlás/Amlaş and Fogaras/Făgăraş). The Serbian despots of the fifteenth century also held fiefdoms on Hungarian territory, and like them the Walachian and Moldavian princes had one foot in the Hungarian political world and another on the unstable ground of their own principalities, where the Ottomans had installed pretenders since the late fourteenth century. Walachia and Moldavia had a vassal-like relationship with Hungary, and Moldavia had the same obligations to Poland too. Often mentioned in the same breath, the two principalities were by no means a single unit, nor even allies: on the contrary, in an exposed region of world politics, they not only had to assert themselves against the Ottomans, the Hungarians and the Poles, but on the regional level often did battle with each other – including at decisive moments. For instance, in 1462, Stephen the Great of Moldavia turned against the Walachian prince Vlad the Impaler when the latter was fighting for his survival against the sultan. Stephen was acting on behalf of Polish interests; the

[29] Fodor, *Unbearable weight*, p. 51–52, 77; Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, p. 445–462 (Why did Hungary loose?); G. Ágoston, "Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution 1450–1800", *Journal of World History* 25/1, 2014, p. 85–124; G. Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth century,* Budapest, 2009, p. 23–27.

aim was to conquer the Hungarian-controlled harbour of Chilia. The two principalities thus showed solidarity with none of their neighbours.[30]

Hence due to its location alone, Walachia was tied much more closely to the Balkans and the Pontic region, where it pursued its own policies from the early fifteenth century onwards. As early as around 1400, the principality had to contend much more than its Moldavian neighbour with competing pro- and anti-Ottoman factions among the boyars, Walachian troops joining the large Ottoman assaults on Moldavia (for instance under Basarab the Elder in 1476 or Vlad the Monk with a reported 20,000 men in 1484, while Radu the Handsome was defeated while fighting for the Ottomans against his Romanian adversaries in early 1475).[31]

The Hungarian – Polish competition had fewer repercussions for Hungary itself than its conflict with Venice or the Habsburgs – but there was barely any sustained collaboration between the two Catholic kingdoms; we have already seen the Polish assessment of the Jagiellonian crusade of 1443/44. Both Hungary and Poland had tangible economic interests on the Black Sea. They sought to control the trade routes connecting the Danube and Dniester estuaries with their trade cities in their own empires – in Transylvania and further west in the case of Hungary, and Lemberg and Cracow in the case of Poland – trade heavily influenced by the Genoese on the sea and, especially in the Polish economic system, the Armenians on the land.

On the regional level, Walachia and Moldavia, in close intertwinement with the two kingdoms, vied for access to these ports – on which the Ottoman Empire had also set its sights, particularly in the last years of Mehmed I's reign and then under Murad II. Both sultans made several attempts to gain a foothold on the West Pontic coast. These assaults did not abate until Bayezid took Chilia and Akkerman in 1484.[32] For Hungary, access to the Black Sea proved to be not only of economic,

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[30] Şt.S. Gorovei / M.M. Szekely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ştefan cel Mare*, Sf. Mănăstire Putna 2004, p. 42–43; Şt. Andreescu, *Vlad Ţepeş Dracula*, Bucharest, 2015, p. 108; on the two principalities, see Şt.S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei. Probleme controversate*, expanded edition, Iaşi, 2014; M. Coman, *Putere şi teritoriu. Ţara Românească medievală (secolele XIV–XVI)*, Iaşi, 2013.

[31] See the recently published volume: L. Pilat / O. Cristea, *From Pax Mongolica to Pax Ottomanica*, Leiden, 2020; Pilat / Cristea, *Ottoman threat*; Pippidi, "Taking possession"; on Pontic policy, see the bibliography in fn. 24 and esp. Gemil, *Românii şi Otomanii*; Gorovei / Szekely, *Princeps omni laude maior*, p. 116, 152, 216; on the Walachian boyars, see M. Cazacu, "Marche frontalière ou Etat dans l'Etat ? L'Olténie aux XIVᵉ-XVᵉ siècles", in: idem, *Des Balkans à la Russie médiévale et moderne. Hommes, images réalités*, Brăila, 2018, p. 383–423 ; Cristea, "The Friend of my Friend"; L. Câmpeanu, « Basarab Laiotă, domn al Ţării Româneşti. Preliminarii la o monografie », *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie* 32, 2014, p. 145–172.

[32] P.P. Panaitescu, "La route commerciale de Pologne à la Mer Noire au moyen âge", *Revista istorică română* 3, 1933, p. 172–193; E.A. Zachariadou, "Ottoman Diplomacy and the Danube Frontier (1420–1424)", in : eadem, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans*, Aldershot, 2007, part XIV; M. Cazacu, "Les Ottomans sur le Bas-Danube au XVe siècle", *Südost-Forschungen* 41, 1982, p. 27–34; N. Beldiceanu, "La campagne ottomane de 1484. Ses préparatifs militaires et sa chronologie", *Revue des études roumaines* 5–6, 1957/58, p. 67–77; idem, "La conquête des cités

but also geopolitical importance, since they could thus trump two opponents – Venice, with whom King Sigismund waged an extensive trade war with the aim to establish a comprehensive embargo on the Adriatic and the Black Sea, and the Ottomans, repeatedly cultivating ties with the sultan's Anatolian rivals. In 1419, for instance, the Hungarian emissary Gereczi succeeded in persuading Kara Yülük, the ruler of the Turkoman tribal alliance of the White Sheep, and Timur's son, Shah Rukh, to attack Sultan Mehmed I in order to relieve the Danube border. John Hunyadi also took root on the Black Sea, in the important fortress of Chilia, whence the Hungarians were driven out in 1462 by a Moldavia aligned with Poland, as outlined above.[33] With the exception of this manoeuvre, Poland had little influence on the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans however, and it was Stephen the Great who dashed one of Poland's most important campaigns against the Ottomans at Codrii Cosminului in 1497, since it represented a threat to his rule.[34]

In comparison with the Italian and (East-) Central European political nexus, the West Pontic complex is less significant for the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans however; Pontic ports were too far from Poland and Hungary's real centres of power, and after 1450 campaigns in the southern and eastern Carpathian foothills were too dangerous for an undertaking. Indeed, the Ottoman influence in Walachia was already too strong in the first half of the fifteenth century. However, this did not diminish the strategic importance of Walachia; like the Kingdom of Bosnia and the Serbian Despotate, in the first half of the fifteenth century it was part of an extensive Ottoman–Hungarian buffer zone, and, incidentally, the only such territory to retain its sovereignty, avoiding becoming an Ottoman province even at the height of sultanic power.

If these three political spaces are viewed in comparison, it becomes clear that Hungary was of key importance. Not only was the Crown of St. Stephen the Ottoman's main, immediate opponent in the Balkans, but in pursuing interests in

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marchandes de Kilia et de Cetatea Albă par Bayezid II", *Südost-Forschungen* 23, 1964, p. 36–90; O. Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte*, Bucharest, 2004.

[33] W. von Stromer, "Diplomatische Kontakte des Herrschers vom Weißen Hammel, Uthman, genannt Qara Yuluq, mit dem Deutschen König Sigismund im September 1430-März 1431 zu gemeinsamem Vorgehen mit dem Timuriden Schah-Ruch gegen die Türken", *Südost-Forschungen*, 20, 1961, p. 267–272; L. Tardy, "Ungarns antiosmanische Bündnisse mit Staaten des Nahen Ostens und deren Vorgeschichte", *Anatolica* 4, 1971/1972, p. 139–156; L. Tardy, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire: 14th–16th century. Hungarian diplomacy in the East*, Szeged, 1978; G. Ágoston, "Karamania, the Anti-Ottoman Christian diplomacy and the non-existing Hungarian-Karamanid diplomatic relations of 1428", *Acta orientalia Academiae scientiarum hungaricae* 48/3, 1995, p. 267–274; F. Pall, *Românii și Cruciada târzie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, especially p. 186–248 ("Stăpânirea lui Iancu de Hunedoara asupra Chiliei și problema ajutorării Bizanțului"; "Relazioni di Giovanni di Hunedoara con Bisanzio negli anni 1452–1453"; "Byzance à la veille de sa chute et Janco de Hunedoara (Hunyadi)"; M. Cazacu, "La Valachie et la bataille de Kossovo (1448)", *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 9/1, 1971, p. 131–152; M. Cazacu / P.Ș. Năsturel, "Une démonstration navale des Ottomans devant Constantinople et la bataille de Chilia (1448)", in: Dumitran / Mádly / Simon, *Extincta est lucerna orbis*, p. 323–331.

[34] Gorovei / Szekely, *Princeps omni laude maior*, p. 319–340.

the Adriatic, East-Central Europe and in the Black Sea region, it also had to assert itself against strong and tenacious rivals. It is also clear that Hungary, instead of consolidating its efforts in warding off the Ottomans, was distracted by other political spheres, partly Bohemia and the Austrian lands of Frederick III. At times this was a conscious decision by the Hungarian rulers; at others, it was due to external pressure, albeit to a lesser extent. But it is also clear that the actions of all the other powers affected by the Ottoman expansion can only be understood if we examine their immediate political environment. This especially holds for Venice, which was not only a maritime power; during the fifteenth century, it established itself as a northern Italian territorial state and as part of the Italian Pentarchy. A combination of factors – manifold involvement in political spheres, the rising dominance of the Ottomans, the clear failure of anti-Ottoman alliances, be they crusading or purely profane, the resulting need to go it alone, and hence the experience of inevitable defeat – explains why the rival Catholic flanks of Venice and Hungary were increasingly disinclined to fight and preferred to seek ceasefires and treaties with the Ottomans.

As far as Anatolia is concerned, it is important to our discussion in connection with events in the Balkans. The Balkan Orthodox princes and states like Venice and Hungary principally looked to non-Ottoman Anatolian princes as enemies of the Ottomans, as outlined above. Anatolia's entanglement with the Ottoman-conquered Balkans is not restricted to anti-Ottoman alliances however. A more important aspect, since it was more successful and long-term in its impact, was the Ottoman demographic policy of targeted settlement of both nomadic and non-nomadic Anatolian Turks in the Balkans, especially eastern Bulgaria, the southern Macedonian region and Thessaly. The South-Eastern Balkans bore a strong Turkish-Islamic influence due to both organised and spontaneous immigration. This is not to say that there had not been a local Turkish population prior to that, but Turkish-speaking migrants had come predominantly from the Pontic region and been Christianised, as evidenced e.g. in the villages in the Struma region, whose fifteenth-century inhabitants had Turkish names but worshipped in Christian churches – and had no connection to the Muslim Turks from Anatolia in a society structured along confessional lines. The extensive migration from Anatolia reinforced the pre-existing entanglement of the Balkans and Asia Minor – but now the main connection was no longer Byzantine Greeks, but Muslim Turks and Yürüks. Despite the influence the Balkan elites gained within the power structures of the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth century, confirming the impression of a *Byzance après Byzance*, one should not overlook the ethnic Turkification of the Aegean arc and the southwestern Black Sea region with their orientation towards Constantinople.[35]

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[35] N. Manolova-Nikolova – P. Jéléva, "Les localités au courant de Gorna Strouma pendant les 15-17ème siècles (Histoire brève)", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 38/1–2, 2010, p. 16–42; Kiel, "Incorporation", 146–151; A. Kaljonski, *Jurucite*, Sofia, 2007; Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht*,

So far, we have considered two types of spaces, namely spaces of political entanglement and the two flanks of the empires centred on Constantinople/Istanbul, i.e. the Balkans and Anatolia. Our purpose was to illustrate the sheer extent of this entanglement. Let us now consider a further type of space that has received much attention in recent years, although the concept itself is nothing new: the frontier space (uç) as a constantly expanding organism of Ottoman actions at the expense of their opponents.[36] The development of a system of marches goes back to the early days of the Ottoman conquest, when in order to take Thrace, Süleyman emulated the Mongolian tradition of establishing three flanks to drive further advances. Another Mongolian tradition he embraced was taking over, as supreme commander, the middle flank following the course of the Marica, while the right flank advanced into the Tundža region and the left along the Via Egnatia. After taking Edirne (1369), Sultan Murad I appointed Lala Şahin as Beylerbey of Rumelia. In the 1360s, other warrior leaders who had arrived in the Balkans from Anatolia operated with and alongside the Ottomans, figures such as Hacı İlybeyi, Ece bey oder Evrenos. Evrenos belonged to the first generation of frontier commanders to settle in Thrace (Ipsala and Komotini); this period saw the emergence of the dynasty of the conqueror of Skopje, Paşa Yığıt, whose descendent Turahan founded his own dynasty in Thessaly, whence he attacked the Morea and southern Albania, while another son, Ishak, marched from Skopje on Albania, Bosnia and Serbia. The eastern Balkans saw the rise of the Mihaloğlus, with their centre in Pleven in Bulgaria – their radius comprised the lower and mid Danube region, i.e.

189–198 ; N. Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West". The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 2017; M. Kiel, "Anatolia Transplanted? Patterns of demographic, Religious and Ethnic Changes in the District of Tozluk (N.E. Bulgaria) 1479–1873", in: idem, *Turco-Bulgarica. Studies on the history, settlement and historical demography of Ottoman Bulgaria*, Istanbul, 2013, p. 13–42; idem, "The Dobrudja, a bridge and meeting point between the Balkans, Anatolia and the Ukraine. The Ottoman-Turkish Sources for the History and the Historical Demography and Settlement History of the Dobrudja and how they can be used", in: Kiel, *Turco-Bulgarica*, p. 167–186; K. Tomovski *et al.* (eds.), *Etnogeneza na jurucite i nivnoto naseluvanje na Balkanot. Materijali od Trkaleznata masa, održana vo Skopje 17 i 18 noemvri 1983 godina*. Skopje, 1986, therein: V. Dimitriadis, "The Yürüks in Central and Western Macedonia", p. 9–15; E. Grozdanova, "Novi svedenija za jurucite v Bălgarskite i njakoi ot săsednite im zemi prez XV–XVII v.", p. 17–27; A. Stojanovski, "Nekolku prašanja za Jurucite vo Kjustendilskiot sandžak", p. 29–37; M. Petkova, "The Process of Sedentarization of Semi-nomadic Groups of the Yörüks in Parts of 16th Century Ottoman Rumeli: Migration Control or Tax Control?", *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 2/3, 2019, 25–43; for a comprehensive discussion of the Turkish dimension, see the recent study by P. Fodor, "The Formation of Ottoman Turkish Identity (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)", in: P. Fodor / P. Ács (eds.), *Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary*, Berlin, 2017, p. 19–54.

[36] Cf. İnalcık, "Methods"; Evgeni Radoushev, "Ottoman Border Periphery (Serhad) in the Nikopol Vilayet, First Half of the 16th Century", *Études balkaniques* 3–4, 1995, p. 140–160; A. Kayapınar, *Le sancak ottoman de Vidin du XVe à la fin du XVIe siècle*, Istanbul, 2011; N. Antov, "The Ottoman State and Semi-Nomadic Groups along the Ottoman Danubian Serhad (Frontier Zone) in the Late 15th and the First Half of the 16th Centuries: Challenges and Politics", *Hungarian Studies* 27/2, 2013, p. 219–235.

the frontier with Hungary and Walachia. Ottoman court historiography strongly played down the significance of the frontier commanders; it is only in recent years that research has examined the construction programmes under these actors and demonstrated that during the reign of Murad II, they built up genuine regional principalities from which they embarked on independent conquests. But they also cultivated foreign relations with Dubrovnik or Venice and the many Christian petty lords close to their respective marches, from Morea to Bosnia and as far as Walachia. Many cities in the Ottoman Balkans were either founded or architecturally transformed by frontier commander dynasties: Larisa, Trikala, Skopje and Ochrid were heavily influenced by the Turahans, Jannitsa, Serres and Komotini by the Evrenos, and, later, Nikopolis, Pleven and Silistra by the Malkoçoğlus. Their building programmes comprised the classical combination of mosques, Islamic schools, baths, soup kitchens and bridges. Not all frontier commanders established dynasties, but nevertheless left their mark, for instance Mehmed bey Minnetoğlu, whose forefathers had been deported from Anatolia to the Plovdiv regions in the Balkans and whose campaigns as leader of the akıncı included attacks on Serbia and Hungary in 1458. In 1459, he became the first sancakbey of the newly conquered Serbian Despotate and in 1463 governor of the Ottoman part of Bosnia, another recent conquest. He influenced the architecture of Sarajevo, Smederevo and Niš.[37] While comparative research on these regional princes is still in its infancy, it is clear that they represented the driving force behind the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. Their conquests pushed back the frontiers: Thrace, the first uç region of the 1360s, had become one of the core Ottoman territories by the 1390s, with Edirne the empire's centre. Southern Macedonia too was soon one of

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[37] M. Kiel, "Das türkische Thessalien. Etabliertes Geschichtsbild versus osmanische Quellen", in: R. Lauer / P. Schreiner (eds.), *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Göttingen 1996, p. 109–196; idem, *Un héritage non désiré. Le patrimoine architectural islamique ottoman dans L'Europe du Sud-Est*, p. *1370–1912* (Études balkaniques – Cahiers Pierre Belon 12), Paris, 2005, p. 17–82; M. Kiprovska, "The Mihaloğlu Family. Gazi, Warriors and Patrons of Dervish Hospices", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 32, 2008, p. 193–222; eadem, "Shaping the Ottoman Borderland. The Architectural Patronage of Frontier Lords from the Mihaloğlu Family", in: M. Barămova / G. Boykov / I. Părvev (eds.), *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 185–220; G. Boykov, "Reshaping Urban Space in the Ottoman Balkans. A Study on the Architectural Development of Edirne, Plovdiv, and Skopje (14th–15th Centuries)", in: M. Hartmuth (ed.), *Centres and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture. Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage*, Sarajevo, 2011, p. 32–45; idem, "The Borders of the Cities. Revisiting Early Ottoman Urban Morphology in Southeastern Europe", in: Barămova / Boykov / Părvev, *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, p. 243–255; Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350–1500*; Lowry / Erünsal, *Notes & Documents on the Evrenos Dynasty*; I. Mélikoff, Lemma "Ewrenos", Encyclopedia of Islam online Ausgabe; F. Babinger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malkoc-oghlu's", in: idem, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. 1 Munich, 1962, p. 355–377; M. Kiprovska, *The military organization of the akıncıs in Ottoman Rumelia*, Master's dissertation, Bilkent University. Ankara, 2004, available at http://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/ bitstream/handle/11693/17136/ 0008017.pdf? sequence=1&isAllowed=y; G. Boykov, "In search of vanished Ottoman monuments in the Balkans: Minnetoğlu Mehmed Beg's complex in Konuş Hisarı", in: M. Hartmuth / A. Dilsiz (eds.), *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts: Papers on Ottoman Europe presented to Machiel Kiel*, Leiden, 2010, p. 47–67.

the zones of concentrated Ottoman hegemony oriented around the capital. With the conquest of Morea, Thessaly lost its frontier status; the uç region of Skopje shifted towards the centre when Bosnia, Serbia and Skanderbeg's territory were taken between 1459 and 1467, and when the Venetians were forced to withdraw from Shkodra in 1479, the last significant gap in the South Adriatic frontier was plugged. After the conquest of the Balkans south of the Danube and the Save, the frontier regions remained the Danube line (until the Hungarian advance of 1526) and the long frontier zone with the Venetian Adriatic areas, which due to Venice's weakness on land did not require much bolstering until the mid-seventeenth century however. The system of frontier commanders came to an end under Mehmed II – firstly because the sultan would not compete for admiration with great regional figures, and secondly because most of the centres of important border marches (Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly) were now located in the inner reaches of the Empire. This did not apply as strongly to the Danube line, where Vlad the Impaler wrought severe destruction on Ottoman territory in 1462. But with the conquest of the Moldavian Black Sea ports, a new, sustained frontier zone emerged on the edge of the steppe which with collaboration from the Crimean Tatars pushed the Christian states (Hungary, Poland and the two principalities of Moldavia and Walachia back into the interior.[38]

While the frontier thus constantly advanced, one might ask whether all of the former peripheries became internal spaces. The frontier commanders contributed in no small measure to societal change; they usually transformed their enlarged property into religious foundations that attracted and protected peasants and especially nomadic or semi-settled settlers not registered for tax (haymane). But it was not just in the cities that the commanders drove societal change, but also on their estates, along with the remaining local lords, whose timar benefices were much less secure than the property of the new regional dynasties protected in the religious foundations.[39] But not all of the apparently de-peripherised regions came under imperial control; there remained zones which the central administration was able to bring under its command only gradually, if at all. It is no coincidence that these were classical outposts such the highland regions of the western Balkans (Montenegro, northern Albania) or the periphery of the Eurasian step, in Dobruja. Here, internal colonisation by the Ottomans was a much more drawn-out process or, in the western Balkans, never reached the levels witnessed in the eastern part of the peninsula.[40]

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[38] M. Kiel, "Krieg und Frieden an der Unteren Donau. Siedlungsgeschichtliche und demographische Bemerkungen über die Kaza Ziştova – Svištov 1460–1878 anhand osmanischer administrativer Quellen", in: R. Lauer / H.-G. Majer (eds.), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Göttingen, 2014, p. 285–301.

[39] Kiprovska, "Shaping the Ottoman Borderland", p. 208–209.

[40] B. Đurđev, Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku, Sarajevo, 1953.

It is only recently that thorough research has been conducted on the interplay between colonising anti-nomic dervishes who did not strictly observe şeriat and Yürüks in northeastern Bulgaria, who proved equally difficult to integrate. In an initial phase from the late fourteenth century onwards, dervishes and Yürüks conquered this sparsely populated area; in the early sixteenth century, the Empire deported Kızılbaş from eastern Anatolia, who further strengthened the non-conformist religious character of the region. Imperial rule was established only gradually, being consolidated in the few towns in a region that was ethnically Turkish yet religiously and socially headstrong.

While an Ottoman administration covered large swathes of the Balkans in the second half of the fifteenth century, closer inspection reveals various regional and local forms of rule that existed alongside one another, albeit in a process of dissolution: the important regional principalities of the frontier commanders; the few remaining long-established regional dynasties, some of whom had aligned themselves with the Ottomans; remote mountainous zones (for instance the Vlachs of the western Balkans, even if they were subject to the timar system) and on the edge of the steppe; and then the more centralised regions, i.e. those administered as sultanic domains and timar zones. In the case of the latter, a key difference was whether the timariots came from abroad (to Albania from Anatolia; to Bosnia from Anatolia, the southern Balkans or Hungary, i.e. as Islamised Magyars) or were defeated local rulers. Another important factor was the extent to which the system of rotating beneficiaries was actually implemented, that is, whether there was a genuine break with the local power structures; in some cases, the Sipahi were transferred to other regions, while in others they could continue to run their old fiefdoms. A further point to note is that this was anything but a static system. Rather, there was a development towards stronger centralisation that was accompanied by a break with pre-Ottoman power relations.[41]

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[41] K. Moustakas, "Early Evidence on the Introduction of *Timar* in the Balkans and its Use as a Means of Incorporation. The *pronoia* of Laskaris", *Südost-Forschungen* 68, 2009, p. 63–95; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr – Raúl Estangüi Gómez, "Autour du document de 1386 en faveur de Radoslav Sablja (Şabya/Sampias) : du beylicat au sultanat, étape méconnue de l'État ottoman", *Turcica* 45, 2014, p. 159–186; H. Inalcik, "Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au 15e siècle", *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 4, 1952, p. 118–138; F. Duka, "Muzakajt – një lidhëz e fuqishme midis kohëve paraosmane dhe osmane", in: idem, *Shekujt osmane në hapësirën shqiptare*, Tirana, 2009, p. 27–40; N. Beldiceanu, "Timariotes chrétiens en Thessalie (1454/55)", *Südost-Forschungen* 44, 1985, p. 45–81; N. Filipović, "Vlasi i upostava timarskog sistema u Hercegovini I", *Godišnjak Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine 12/Centar za balkanološka istraživanja* 10, 1974, p. 127–221; S. Rudić, "Bosnian Nobility after the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463", in Rudić / Aslantaş, *Establishment*, 103–127; M. Premović, "Settlements and Population of the Present-Day Montenegrin Polimlje in the Second Half of 15th Century", *Belleten* 83, 2019, p. 555–584; G. Boykov, "Karlızâde 'Ali Bey: An Ottoman Dignitary's Pious Endowment and the Emergence of the Town of Karlova in Central Bulgaria", in: C. Kafadar / G.A. Tekin (eds.), *Defterology. Festschrift in honor of Heath Lowry*, Harvard, 2013, p. 247–267.

The Ottoman frontier region must be seen as complementary to its Christian counterpart: both Hungary and, to a lesser extent, Venice tried to halt Ottoman expansion with their own extensive defence of the frontier. Hungary relied on both vassal states from Bosnia to Walachia and the establishment of frontier banats from Slavonia to Temes. Of central importance was the voivodeship of Transylvania, which under John Hunyadi not only repelled Ottoman invasions but also embarked on its own offensive forays into the Ottoman Balkans. Other players of great importance to domestic politics were the banats of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Macsó/Mačva. After the Hungarian retreat from Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia were merged in 1476 and new banats were created in Jajce, Srebrenik and Šabac. As on the Ottoman side of the frontier, the Hungarian areas also saw the development of an aristocratic elite whose importance and power derived from the war: besides Hunyadi, around the mid-fifteenth century these dynasties included the Újlakis (for instance Miklós, Voivode of Transylvania and King of Bosnia), the Tallócis or the Rozgonyis[42]. The protagonists on both sides were well acquainted and had a similar style of combat, and both sides had a culture of the epic – for instance Hunyadi as Sibinjanin Janko in the Serbian heroic epic or the glorification of the Mihaloğlus by the poet Suzi from Prizren.[43] A regional elite defined by fighting on the frontier also emerged in the particularly exposed Venetian Albania, especially in the Shkodra region, where Venice recruited local pronoiars and patricians along with entire village communities and tribes. Marinus Barletius produced a literary monument to this society in his *De scodrensi obsidione*.[44]

This outline is intended to demonstrate that however important the studies on the Ottoman serhad as a fluid frontier region may be, they must be complementary to analysis of the equally fluid – i.e. receding – frontier regions of Hungary and Venice; the military frontier with the Ottomans existed long before the Habsburgs. The backbone of the Hungarian defence of its frontier was formed by a combination of mobile frontier troops led by regional arisotocrats, supported by a (double) line of frontier redoubts and castles with a forefield of vassal lords. And as in the early modern period, the militarised societies on both sides of the frontier had much in common in terms of their organisation, style of combat, habitus, concepts of honour and their self-image in epic poetry.[45]

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[42] Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, p. 11–13.

[43] Kiprovska, "Shaping", p. 196–197, A. Sırrı Levend, *Gazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavât-nâmesi*, Ankara, 2000, reprint of 1956; cf. the discussion by A. Tietze: "overall, it cannot be rated very highly as a work of poetry, even if there is no shortage of formally elegant verses carried by the zest of folk poetry. Nor will the narrative embellished with fairytale elements offer much that is new to the pragmatic historian"; *Oriens* 10/2, 1957, p. 306).

[44] Schmitt, Das venezianische Albanien, p. 476–502; 521–528; St. Zahammer, De obsidione scodrensi / Über die Belagerung von Skutari, Vienna, 2017.

[45] M. Köhbach, "Gellérthegy-Gerz Ilyas Tepesi. Ein Berg und sein Heiliger", *Südost-Forschungen* 37, 1978, p. 130–144 on the excellent example of Gerz Ilyas, who was immortalised as Gjergj Elezi in the Albanian epic. For a reinterpretation of the Hungarian frontier system which was far less systematic than

Finally, let us consider another space: the diaspora. With the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, there emerged for the first time in the region's history what one might call a political diaspora, that is, a political Balkan beyond the Balkans themselves in the form of political refugees who sought to influence their old homeland and gain status in their new environment by pointing to their noble origins and suffering in battle with the Turks.

The advancing frontier region also brought with it constantly shifting zones of devastation. It generally took around eighty years from the first Ottoman attack for a region to be completely conquered. During these eighty years, the affected areas were exposed to relentless plundering by the Ottoman frontier commanders, whose prime aim was abduction. Fear of capture, enslavement and pillaging drove thousands to flee their towns and villages for local sanctuaries: from Serbia over the Danube, where the Hungarian crown awarded Serbian noblemen fiefdoms; from Albania, Herzegovina and Bosnia to the Albanian and Dalmatian coast, where they seldom remained however due to limited resources, and the Venetian parts of Greece; Albanians settled in nearby Corfu, Moreots on the Ionian islands, while Byzantines went to Venetian Crete. Whenever possible, they returned to their homelands once the Ottoman troops had left, both the Herzegovinians who sought protection for their families and cattle in the Ragusan city of Ston, and the Albanian nobles who returned from Corfu. It was certainly not the case, then, that those seeking help immediately turned to Catholic Europe. Recent studies have shown just how close trade relations, but also cultural ties between Crete and late Byzantine Constantinople were. Cretans sought careers in Constantinople, as did men from Monemvasia. Conversely, Byzantium scholars well-disposed to Church union sought shelter in Venetian Crete, where they were protected from harassment by Orthodox zealots. From the Slavic regions of the eastern Balkans, on the other hand, there was gradual migration to the two young principalities of Walachia and Moldavia, which took in at least some of the old courtly and monastic Serbian and Bulgarian elite. In sum, those who fled remained, whenever possible, close to their homelands and those who could return did so.[46]

usually assumed and which followed spatial patterns sometimes overlooked by research s. D. Salihović, *Definition, extent, and administration of the Hungarian frontier toward the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Matthias Corvinus, 1458–1490*, PhD dissertation, Cambridge, 2020.

[46] Th. Ganchou, "La fraterna societas des crétois Nikolaos et Géôrgios Polos (Polo), entre Constantinople et Moncastro: affaires, dévotion et humanisme", *Thesaurismata* 39/40, 2009/10, p. 111–228; idem, "Sujets grecs crétois de la Sérénissime à Constantinople à la veille de 1453 (Iôannès et Nikolaos Polos): une ascension sociale brutalement interrompue", in: G. Ortalli / O.J. Schmitt / E. Orlando (eds.), *Il Commonwealth veneziano*, Venice, 2015, p. 339–390 ; C. Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque aux XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles*, Rome, 1997; eadem, "Les Grecs unionistes réfugiés en Italie et leur influence culturelle", in: M. Balard / A. Ducellier (eds.), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes.,* Paris, 2002, p. 59–73; eadem, "Manuel Calécas et les frères Chryosbergè, grecs et prêcheurs", in: *Les échanges culturels au Moyen Âge. XXXIIᵉ congrès de la SHMES*, Paris, 2002, p. 151–16; Th. Ganchou, "Démètrios Kydonès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397–1401): de nouveaux documents", in: Ch. Maltezou / P. Schreiner (eds.), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-*

Thus, a space emerged in an arc around the Ottoman Balkans, stretching from Crete to Dubrovnik and Dalmatia and further on to Hungary and Walachia, that was sought out by those who did not wish to submit to or compromise with the Ottomans, but intended to continue fighting them (→ cf. the contribution of Aleksandar Krstić and Adrian Magina in this volume). Hungary and Venice incorporated anyone who was fit for action into their armies, but not only to do battle with the Ottomans. Thus, while Serbs fought in the Hungarian army against Ottoman Bosnians, they were also deployed against the Habsburgs; Orthodox Albanians and Greeks served as stradioti (light cavalry) in Venice's campaigns not only against the sultans, but also in the wars of the Italian Renaissance; Albanians and Greeks who fled to Lower Italy, often aristocrats, served in the armies of Spain. The soldiers thus followed the political logic of their new masters (just as the inhabitants of the Balkans who went over to the Ottomans had to march on Anatolia)[47]. Venice, Spain and Hungary accepted highborn refugees into their aristocracy or patriciates; some nobles continued to be prominent figures in the fight against the Ottomans from their new homes: Vuk Grgurević or Dmitar Jakšić fought on the southern Hungarian frontier, and in 1481, a group of young political refugees from the Dukagjin, Kastriota and Crnojević families set out from Italy to regain their dynasties after the death of Mehmed II. Others appointed themselves political and symbolic representatives of the Balkan diaspora at the European courts, for instance Konstantin Araniti in the Papal States.[48]

Some of the political diaspora did indeed attempt to influence events – but they lacked a clearly recognisable figurehead; many of the most gifted Balkan princes had either been killed or had died of natural courses during the war (in the

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greco, Venice, 2002, p. 435–494; G. Saint-Guillain, "La carrière d'un prélat unioniste au milieu du XVᵉ siècle et l'établissement du culte grec à Venise", *Thesaurismata* 39/40, 2009/10, p. 91–110 ; L. Cotovanu, "L'émigration sud-danubienne vers la Valachie et la Moldavie et sa géographie (XVᵉ– XVIIᵉ siècles): la potentialité heuristique d'un sujet peu connu", *Cahiers balkaniques* 42, 2014, online edition; F. Solomon, *Politică şi confesiune la început de ev mediu moldovenesc*, Iaşi, 2004; E. Völkl, *Das rumänische Fürstentum Moldau und die Ostslaven im 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1973; K. Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewußtsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1977.

[47] That many Sipahi did not wish to leave the Balkans during the Ottoman campaigns in Anatolia, such as that fought against Uzun Hasan in 1473, provides considerable insight into the question of Ottomanisation; they were local lords who entered into Ottoman service in order to retain their property, not to follow the sultan eastwards. Just how dangerous the war in the east was is demonstrated by the death of Mihailo Angelović, brother of Grand Vizier Mahmud, in battle with Uzun Hasan; Sigismund alias Ishak Bey Kraloğlu ("King's Son"), son of the Bosnian King Stefan Tomaš, also took part in the campaigns; Rudić, "Bosnian Nobility", p. 109–110, 117; A. Krstić, "Prilog biografiji velikog vojvode Mihaila Anđelovića", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 52, 2015, p. 359–379.

[48] Krstić, "Which realm will you opt for?", p. 148–150; P. Petta, *Stradioti, soldati albanesi in Italia, sec. XV–XIX*, Lecce, 1996; idem, *Despoti d'Epiro, Principi di Macedonia*, Lecce, 1999; F. Babinger, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, Munich, 1960; J. Harris, "Despots, Emperors, and Balkan Identity in Exile", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44/3, 2013, p. 643–661; idem, *Greek Emigrés in the West, 1400–1520*, Camberley, 1995.

fifteenth century, e.g. Emperor Constantine XI, Skanderbeg, and the Walachian princes Mihai, Dan II and Vlad the Impaler who all fell on the battlefield– the Walachian losses on this level were higher, then, than those of the Serbs). The majority, however, had sided with the Ottomans. Many of the non-clerical refugees were minors and their mothers (for instance the Araniti and Kastiota), wives of fallen rulers (the Queen of Bosnia), or regional princes in their autumn years (Thomas Palaiologos); few were in a position to act.

It was a different situation with the clerics however, particularly the Byzantine Unionists: first the Cretan Dominicans, and later two outstanding Renaissance figures, the Greek cardinals Bessarion and Isidore of Kiev. It was not the princes, but these two men who headed the political diaspora: Isidor was not only a man of letters, but did not shy from danger either, neither in Moscow nor in his final months in Constantinople; he knew his head would be a prized trophy for Mehmed II, and in a daring escapade fled in disguise while the sultan was a presented with the severed head of a Greek monk as proof of the cardinal's death in battle.[49] Bessarion on the other hand relentlessly advocated crusades in Italy and the Holy Roman Empire; he was the great speechmaker of the Ottoman wars, whose rousing rhetoric long shaped the occidental image of battle with the Turks.[50] Along with the Greek cardinals, one should not forget those Dalmatian and Albanian scholars who confronted Catholic Europe with their experiences, urging their hosts to defend themselves: one of the most successful books of the European early modern period was the life of Skanderbeg by the Shkodran exile Marinus Barletius, whose integration has a priest in Veneto is now well documented.[51]

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[49] A monograph on Isidor has yet to be written; see the detailed studies by P. Schreiner, "Ein byzantinischer Gelehrter zwischen Ost und West. Zur Biographie des Isidor von Kiew und seinem Besuch in Lviv (1436)", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* ser. 3, 3, 2006, p. 215–228; idem, "Geträumte Topographie. Isidor von Kiew, ein unbekanntes Kloster und die Justinianssäule zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts im Vat.Gr. 1891", *Travaux et Mémoires* 14, 2002, p. 553–560; idem, "Ein seltsames Stemma. Isidor von Kiew, die Leichenrede Kaiser Manuels II. auf seinen Bruder Theodoros und eine moderne Ausgabe", in: I. Vassis *et al.* (ed.), *Lesearten. Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1998, p. 211–225; idem, "Neues zu Leben und Werk des Isidor von Kiew. Kritische Bemerkungen zu zwei Biographien", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 69, 2019, p. 289–301; O.J. Schmitt, "Kaiserrede und Zeitgeschichte im späten Byzanz. Ein Panegyrikos Isidors von Kiew aus dem Jahre 1429", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48, 1998, p. 209–242.

[50] C. Märtl / Ch. Kaiser / Th. Ricklin (eds.), *"Inter Graecos latinissimus, inter Latinos graecissimus". Bessarion zwischen den Kreuzzügen*, Berlin/Boston, 2013, therein: Th. Ricklin, "Bessarions Türke und andere Türken interessierter Kreise. Von der Schwierigkeit, ein Feindbild gelehrt zu plausibilisieren", p. 277–300; P. Kourniakos, *Die Kreuzzugslegation Kardinal Bessarions in Venedig (1463–1464)*, PhD thesis, University of Cologne, 2009; L. Mohler, "Bessarions Instruktion für die Kreuzzugspredigt in Venedig (1463)", *Römische Quartalschrift* 35, 1927, p. 337–349; J. Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II.", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49, 1995, p. 111–207, here p. 116–120.

[51] L. Nadin, Shqipëria e rigjetur: zbulim gjurmësh shqiptare në kulturën dhe artin e Venetos në shek. XVI = Albania ritrovata: recuperi di presenze albanesi nella cultura e nell'arte del cinquecento veneto, Tirana, 2012.

During the fifteenth century, there also emerged the figure of the itinerant religious refugee who, in exchange for humanist teaching, or by pointing to his aristocratic origins, or offering conspiratorial plans, earned his keep at the courts of Europe. From the Holy Roman Empire to Burgundy, France and England, diaspora's clerical circles contained, then, Orthodox Unionists, converted Orthodox and Catholics. Such figures would characterise courtly life in the Mediterranean for the next two hundred years.[52] This heterogeneous diaspora elite were supported by many of their compatriots who had fled to Italy, the Kingdom of Naples, the ports of the Papal States and to Venice, which Bessarion called a "second Byzantium". From the southern Italian Arbëresh to the Burgenland Croats, these minority populations are a reminder of the Balkan exodus triggered by the Ottoman conquest.[53]

But the conquest triggered other migrations too, within the Ottoman Balkans themselves; not only did refugees leave their homelands in droves for the west and north, but there was also mass resettlement in the region, and not only from Anatolia. There is insufficient research on migrations and reconfigurations of settlement structures in the militarily stabilised Balkans under Ottoman rule; here we can only outline the potential for further studies: there was an Ottoman equivalent to the political pensioners at the European courts, namely those dethroned Orthodox princes who were tolerated by the sultans, such as the Despot of the Morea, Demetrios Palaiologos, or those ladies who flocked to the Eževo court of Sultana Mara Branković in Macedonia. Family members could go their separate ways: Thomas Palaiologos went to Rome, Demetrios to Thrace; the last queen of Bosnia, Queen Jelena, daughter of Lazar Branković and Helena Palaiologina, was remembered as the "evil woman" who together with Mara Branković and Katharina, the widow of Ulrich of Cilli, formed a female Serb triumvirate within in the Ottoman Empire that hatched poisonous intrigues. Mara and Katharina, both daughters of the Despot of Serbia Georg Branković, had been married to the west (Cilli) and east (Murad II) and rejoined in their later years. Mara ensured via her will that her sister enjoyed tribute from Dubrovnik.[54] These cases pale into insignificance however compared with the migration of Islamised high nobles to the court of the sultan, where they

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[52] P. Bartl, Der Westbalkan zwischer Spanischer Monarchie und Osmanischen Reich, Wiesbaden, 1974; N. Malcolm, Agents of Empire, London, 2015.

[53] B. Imhaus, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia 1300-1510*, Rome, 1997; A. Ducellier / B. Doumerc / B. Imhaus / J. de Miceli, *Les chemins de l'exil. Bouleversements de l'Est européen et migrations vers l'Ouest à la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1992; Lovorka Čoralić, *U gradu Svetoga Marka*, Zagreb, 2001; L. Nadin, *Migrazione e integrazione. Il caso degli albanesi a Venezia (1479–1552)*, Rome, 2008; O. Katsiardi-Hering, "Migrationen von Bevölkerungsgruppen in Südosteuropa vom 15. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Südost-Forschungen* 59/60, 2000/2001, p. 125–148.

[54] Đ. Tošić, "Poslednja bosanska kraljica Mara (Jelena)", *Zbornik za istoriju BiH* 3, 2002, p. 29–60.

entered into active service, the labour migration of the itinerant Sipahi, for which the source material is very sparse, or Vlach settlement in the western Balkans.[55]

This attempt to outline the age of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans in its spatial dimension collates perspectives that may be very well researched in their own right, but have yet to be considered collectively. They demonstrate that while the history of the Ottoman conquest is certainly regional history, that is not its only, nor indeed its primary status. Furthermore, they also illustrate the extent to which the history of the Balkans can only be understood and written as European, Mediterranean and European history.

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[55] H. Reindl, Männer um Bayezid. Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Bayezids II. (1481–1512), Berlin, 1983.

CONQUERED BY SWORD, SUBDUED BY CHARITY?
GEOSPATIAL AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF LAND *WAQF*S IN OTTOMAN BULGARIA

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The article focuses on the study of the landed estates of the Islamic pious endowments (waqfs) in Bulgaria by, on the one hand, building a complete database of the settlements under the control of the waqfs, and on the other by attributing a spatial reference to those villages whose precise locations were identified. Taking non-aggregated microdata from the Ottoman tax registers as a point of departure, the study aims at demonstrating a novelty approach towards the spatial analysis of data extracted from the Ottoman primary sources and at proposing a methodology that can be used in other parts of the Balkans. Focusing on a territory, which roughly constitutes 1/5 of the Balkan peninsula, the study regards Bulgaria as a sample that has the potential to shed light on the significance of the *waqf* institution in administering, revitalizing, repopulating, and maintaining the social order in the Ottoman Balkans. General conclusions about the spatial distributions of the landed possessions, the social stratification of the endowers, and quantitative analysis of the revenues and population under the control of the *waqf*s, presented in the article signal the necessity for more studies that can widen the territorial perspective and demonstrate the pivotal role of the Islamic endowments in establishing firm control over the newly conquered territories in the Balkans.

Keywords: Ottoman Balkans, Bulgaria, *waqf*, settlements, GIS, spatial analysis.

INTRODUCTION

In a seminal paper written more than seven decades ago, the father of modern Ottoman social and economic history Ömer Lütfi Barkan stressed the important role played by Islamic pious foundations (*waqf*/pl. *awqaf*) in colonizing, reviving, and administering the newly conquered territories in the Ottoman Balkans.[1] In Barkan's view, shared by other pioneering scholars after him, the central Ottoman authority facilitated and encouraged the establishment of Muslim charitable foundations in the then Christian Balkans by allotting landed properties to selected trusted individuals, who subsequently transformed their possessions into pious

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[1] Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler. İstilâ Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2, 1942, p. 279–386.

endowments.[2] Normally these were badly ravaged, depopulated territories, which were revitalized thanks to purposefully directed colonization by the Anatolian Muslim population and the forced settlement of war captives. Thus, the Ottoman state secured loyal enclaves and contact zones within the dominantly Christian surrounding territories, which facilitated the introduction and establishment of the Ottoman institutions and ruling order in the region.[3] While historians like Halil İnalcık were inclined to regard the establishment of Ottoman rule in the Balkans as a gradual, multistage process in which gaining of the goodwill of the indigenous people, termed by him "istimâlet", played a major role,[4] others view it as delicate balancing in the application of a "carrot and stick" approach.[5]

The Islamic charity in the Ottoman context and the *waqf* institution related to it have long attracted scholarly attention.[6] Bulgarian historiography on the subject is especially prolific and has produced multiple fine studies, discussing subjects such as the legal status and land ownership of the pious endowments, the various taxes imposed on the population residing in the territories controlled by *waqf*s, and the economic role of these foundations in the urban centers, all of which have triggered further scholarly debates.[7] The general importance of the *waqf*s for the history of Bulgaria in the first centuries after the Ottoman conquest of the country was thus understood early on. Nevertheless, the studies on the Islamic pious endowments in Bulgaria, especially these in possession of landed territories, suffer

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[2] M.T. Gökbilgin, "Les Institutions sociales et culturelles de la colonisation et leur action spirtuelle dans la péninsule balkanique : les zaviyes (les couvents) et les muallimhane (les écoles primaires)", in H.Z. Ülken, ed., *Communication du XVᵉ Congrès international de sociologie, organisé à Istanbul (11–17 septembre 1952) au nom de l'Institut international de sociologie*, Istanbul, 1952, p. 256–260.

[3] H. İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. I: 1300–1600, Cambridge, 1994, p. 120–132.

[4] H. İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, 2, 1954, p. 103–129.

[5] H.W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany, 2003, p. 68; H. W. Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*, Istanbul, 2008. See the recent overview of the major trends, approaches, and terminology related to the Ottoman conquest, in O. J. Schmitt, ed., "Introduction", *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and Research Debates*, Wien, 2016.

[6] Recent overviews of the literature on the theme in western languages and Turkish are provided in A. Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, Albany, 2002; A. Singer, "Serving Up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35:3, 2005, p. 481–500; A. Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, Cambridge; New York, 2008.

[7] V. Mutafčieva, *Le vakif, un aspect de la structure socio-économique de l'Empire ottoman, XVᵉ–XVIIᵉ s.*, Sofia, 1981; V. Mutafčieva, *Osmanska socialno-ikonomičska istorija*, Sofia, 1993; E. Radušev, *Agrarnite institucii v Osmanskata imperija prez XV–XVIII v.*, Sofia, 1995; B. Cvetkova, "Harakterni čerti na osmanskija feodalizăm v bălgarskite zemi", *Istoričeski pregled*, 4–5, 1950, p. 380–392. For a very detailed overview of the literature related to *waqf*s in Bulgaria and the Balkans, see S. Ivanova, "Introduction", in E. Radušev, S. Ivanova, and R. Kovačev, eds., *Inventory of Ottoman Turkish Documents about Waqf Preserved in the Oriental Department at the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library,* Sofia, 2003.

from two significant weaknesses. Firstly, a genuine attempt to collect data for all villages under the control of the *waqf*s was never attempted. Undoubtedly this is not an easy task, and conditions during the Cold War were not very favorable for the scholars in Bulgaria, but as this paper demonstrates the task is certainly not impossible and does not take a lifetime to achieve. In short, in spite of the many merits that the studies on *waqf*s in Bulgaria possess, and their undoubted success in establishing that the *waqf*s were important, they fall short in providing an answer to the question "how important", simply because sufficient quantitative data were never collected. Secondly, as a rule almost all studies on the pious endowments in Ottoman Bulgaria lack a spatial reference to the data analyzed; and those studies that do provide some reference to a space, do so in a tentative manner, which makes their information and often their conclusions very difficult to use.

This paper attempts to compensate for these two historiographic deficiencies by on the one hand building a complete database of the settlements under the control of the *waqf*s, and on the other by attributing a spatial reference to those villages whose precise locations were identified in the study. The spatially referenced database of the study covers only the territories that fall within the modern borders of Bulgaria. There are apparent issues with such a choice for territorial spread for the study, but the lack of usable digital resources forced the author to restrict the study to the confines of Bulgaria. Nonetheless, hopefully this paper, which is merely a preliminary report of ongoing research, demonstrates the validity of the methodological approaches. The study on *waqf* possessions in territories outside Bulgaria will continue, and hopefully national cadasters of Turkey, Greece, Northern Macedonia, and Serbia will make the access to cadastral data much easier in the near future. A digital historical gazetteer of the Ottoman Empire may also become available in coming years, which will make the process of identification of villages much easier and faster.

LANDED POSSESSIONS OF THE *WAQF*S: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This article addresses and seeks to provide answers to several research questions related to the role of the Islamic pious endowments in establishing control over and administering the lands of a considerable part of the eastern Balkans, i.e., the territory of modern Bulgaria. As stated above, the scholarship has long argued that the *waqf*s were a major player that took an active part in the redistribution of arable lands, pastures, and forests in the conquered territories, but a systematic effort to collect and aggregate the rich microdata from the Ottoman tax registers has not to date been made, nor has a spatial contextualization of the quantitative evidence upon which the thesis rests even been attempted. Therefore, the first research question in this paper is to determine what portion of the territory

of Bulgaria was held and controlled by one of the many pious endowments established in the course of the first two centuries of Ottoman rule. Furthermore, by giving a precise spatial reference to the data extracted from the Ottoman primary sources, the paper observes the spread of the landed possessions of the *waqf*s across the territory of Bulgaria and seeks to highlight the spatial patterns in their distribution. Secondly, since it has long been evident that the founders of pious endowments were far from socially homogeneous, the paper focuses on sorting the available data in accordance with the stratified groups of endowers, thus discerning behavioral patterns within the different groups. Particular attention is paid to the *waqf*-turned landed estates of the mighty noble Ottoman-era dynasties of commanders of the frontier raiders (*akıncı*), who not only conquered territories for the Ottoman household but also established a tradition in administering and ruling the semi-autonomous enclaves that lasted until the creation of the modern Bulgarian state. Thirdly, once the actual territorial spread of the *waqf* lands becomes known, the paper turns toward a qualitative analysis of the revenues collected from the territory of Bulgaria in the 1530s and will demonstrate the weight of the revenue share collected by the pious endowments in comparison to the shares of the sultanic domains (*hass-i hümayun*),[8] large prebends (*hass*), and the *timar* system. Answering the question of how much of the total revenues collected from Bulgaria were reserved for the endowments, the paper demonstrates the position of *waqf*s within the administration practices for the territories under Ottoman control. Lastly, the paper focuses on the available population data and examines the proportional distribution of taxpayers, Muslim and Christian alike, within the territories of the four different land regimes, namely the *waqf*s, sultanic domains, large prebends, and the regular *timar*s. A focus on the qualitative share and the spatial distribution of the population residing in lands owned by the pious endowments offers a closer and more precise picture of the role of the *waqf*s as agents of revitalization and resettlement of territories depopulated prior to or during the Ottoman conquest.

SOURCES, METHODOLOGY, AND RESEARCH STRATEGY

For many of the other fundamental themes examined in modern Ottoman studies, a researcher attempting to attain greater analytic depth must inevitably come up against the discouraging lack of organized data suitable for elaborate quantitative or spatial analysis. The present study on the *waqf*s of Bulgaria is no exception: it too lacked any readily usable material and had to turn first to the Ottoman primary sources for collecting and curating usable data. Quite naturally, the sources that have the potential to furnish easily manageable data on the

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[8] The revenues from the sultanic domains or more precisely the imperial demesne were not meant for the rulers' private use, but were reserved for the central treasury. See H. İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 141.

settlements owned by the *waqf*s, their populations and revenues, are the Ottoman tax registers, the so-called *tahrir defterleri*. In the second half of the sixteenth century, their sections dealing with the possessions of the pious endowments were often bound as separate *evkaf defter*s.[9] These sources offer the opportunity for the extraction of non-aggregated data per settlement or even in greater detail per individual household level, and therefore do not suffer from possible manipulations or mistakes effected by the imperial administration in the process of aggregating data.[10] A typical registry record in these taxation documents consists of: (i) information about the endower and often a short history of the creation of the *waqf*; (ii) the name of the settlement owned by the endowment, and information about the three-tier administrative unit to which it belonged (*sancak-kaza-nahiye*); (iii) a list

[9] The bulk of the data used in the paper is extracted from the large synoptic (*icmal*) registers compiled in 1530 that cover most of the territory of the Ottoman state in what must have been an empire-wide attempt to update the taxation information. Many of these registers are published in facsimile and supplied with indexes by the General Directorate of the archives in Turkey. *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 1: Paşa Livâsı Solkol Kazâları: Gümülcina, Yeñice-i Kara-su, Drama, Zihne, Nevrekop, Timur-hisârı, Siroz, Selanik, Sidre-kapsi, Avrat-hisârı, Yeñice-Vardar, Kara-verye, Serfiçe, İştin, Kestorya, Bihilişte, Görice, Florina ve Köstendil Livâsı, Ankara, 2003; *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 1. Paşa (Sofya) ve Vize Livâları ile Sağkol Kazâları: Edirne, Dimetoka, Ferecik, Keşan, Kızıl-ağaç, Zağra-i Eski-hisâr, İpsala, Filibe, Tatar-bâzârı, Samakov, Üsküb, Kalkan-delen, Kırçova, Manastır, Pirlepe ve Köprülü, Ankara, 2001. Further data checks and extractions were done in the following registers: BOA TD 311 (1557); TD 382 (1555–56); TD 470 (1596); TD 521 (1570); TD 542 (1566–69); TD 566 (1596); TD 713 (1579–80) and Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, KuK 61 (1570). I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to Hristo Hristozov (Sofia U.) for his data extraction work conducted under the project "The Fate of the Waqf Properties in Bulgaria during the Transitional Period from Imperial to National Governance", funded by Bulgaria's Science Fund, ДН 10/14–17.12.2016.

[10] These registers exclude the social categories in the Ottoman state, which were not subject to taxation, like the military class (*askeri*) or the religious personnel (*ulema*). Subjects (*reaya*) who rendered specialized services to the state and respectively enjoyed a favorable taxation status as a rule are registered in separate registers. The limitations of the *tahrir* registers have long been pointed in the relevant literature, see for instance H.W. Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations", *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Istanbul, 1992; G. Dávid, "The Age of Unmarried Male Children in the Tahrir Defters (Notes on the Coefficient)", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 31:3, 1977, p. 347–357; G. Dávid, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Neşri Hakkında Notlar", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 13, 1993, p. 45–48; K. Çiçek, "Osmanlı Tahrir Defterlerinin Kullanımında Görülen bazı Problemler ve Metod Arayışları", *Türk Dünayası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 97, 1995, p. 93–111; F. Emecen, "Mufassaldan İcmale", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 16, 1996, p. 37–44; G. Káldy-Nagy, "Quellenwert der Tahrir Defterleri für die osmanische Wirtschaftsgeschichte", in H.G. Majer, ed., *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte: in memoriam Vančo Boškov*, Wiesbaden, 1986; B. Cvetkova, "Osmanskite Tahrir Defterleri kato izvori za istorijata na Bălgarija i balkanskite strani", *Izvestija na dăržavnite arhivi*, 3, 1975, p. 127–157; E. Miljković, "Osmanske popisne knjige defteri kao izvori za istorijsku demografiju – mogućnosti istraživanja, tačnost pokazatelja i metodološke nedoumice", *Teme*, 34:1, 2010, p. 363–373. For a recent overview of tahrir-based literature that puts a strong emphasis on data reliability issues, thus drastically undermining the potential use of the tahrirs, see S. Faroqhi, "Ottoman Population", in S. Faroqhi and K. Fleet, eds., *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 2 – *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power*, 1453–1603, Cambridge, 2012.

of the taxpayers – heads of households, bachelors, and widows – residing in the settlement, divided by confession into Muslims and Christians; (iv) a synopsis of the expected revenues, based on estimated average predictions for various dues and taxes. The task of this paper therefore is to extract reliable micro-level data from these sources and, by attributing a spatial reference to the thus-assembled data, to aggregate them and subject them to further spatial and quantitative analysis. While the data extraction from the sources is a time-consuming but relatively easy process for a qualified Ottomanist, the spatial distribution of data is, on the contrary, an extremely difficult task, due to the lack of any gazetteer of the Ottoman Empire.[11] Therefore, every settlement toponym derived from the Ottoman tax registers which this study uses had to be subjected to a detailed analysis, allowing the identification of its precise location in Bulgaria.[12] The spatial identification of the settlements recorded in the Ottoman registers was done thanks to the usage of multiple historical maps that contain rich toponymic information, predating the systematic obliteration of Turkish toponymy effected in several campaigns by the modern Bulgarian state.[13]

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[11] A general historical gazetteer of the Ottoman Empire is not accessible in any form, but two recent publications on Upper Thrace make a small but certainly pioneering step for the territory of Bulgaria. D. Borisov, *Spravochnik za selišta v Severna Trakiya prez XVI vek. Chast I: kazite Filibe i Tatar Pazară*, Asenovgrad, 2014; D. Borisov, *Spravochnik za selišta v Severna Trakiya prez XVI vek. Chast II: kazite Zagra-i Eski Hisar i Kăzăl Agač*, Vekiko Tărnovo, 2016. The Ottoman settlement toponymy in Macedonia is covered by A. Stojanovski and D. Gjorgiev, *Naselbi i naselenie vo Makedonija – XV i XVI vek*, Skopje, 2001. The Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB) project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences contains data on the Ottoman period, but with regard to the focus of the project the data for the Ottoman period is not entirely systematic. The recently launched Digital TIB has the potential to offer more to the researchers of the Ottoman period.

[12] In spite of these efforts, close to a third of the settlements remained without a spatial reference. Future work that results in a comprehensive historical gazetteer of the Ottoman Empire might reveal the location of those settlements that remained unidentified in this study.

[13] The standard work, indicating many of the changes in macro toponymy in Bulgaria, is P. Koledarov and N. Mičev, *Promenite v imenata i statuta na selištata v Bălgarija: 1878–1972 g.*, Sofija, 1973. It however does not cover the changes effected in the 1980s during the anti-Turkish campaign of the communist government of Bulgaria. The toponymy "glossary" of S. Andreev, *Glossary of Settlement Names and Denominations of Administrative Territorial Units in Bulgarian Lands in 15th–19th Centuries*, Sofia, 2002 does not include any information about the sources, used by the author for extracting the Ottoman toponyms. The lack of possibility of validating the information and numerous wrong identifications makes the usage of this publication very uncertain. The historical maps used in the study are of various scales and qualities. The three main maps are *The Russian 3-verst military map* from 1877–78 (1:126 000); The Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa (1:200 000), result of the 3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary (1869–1887); and the *Erkân-i harbiye-i Umumiye Rumeli şahane haritası* (1:210 000) of the Ottoman army (from h. 1317/1901–02). The information from these maps was supplemented by smaller-scale maps such as the Ottoman map prepared by Mehmed Nusred Paşa. *Filibe Sancağının Harita Umumiyesi*, h.1279/1862, a copy of the map is available in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, BOA, HRT 220. This map is more popular in Heinrich Kiepert's translation. Karte des Sandjak Filibe (Philippopolis) aufgenommen nach Anordnung des dortigen Provinzial-Gouverneurs Mehemmed-Nusret-Pascha, 1876. The Soviet headquarters 1:50,000 map from the 1980s also proved an extremely useful tool. On data collection and the production of this map, see J. Davies and A.J. Kent, *The Red Atlas: How the Soviet Union Secretly Mapped the World*, Chicago; London, 2017. The modern Bulgarian 1:5000 map contains

Every settlement identified by the study as belonging to the landed properties held by one of the pious foundations received accurate XY coordinates, based on the Unified Classification of Administrative-Territorial and Territorial Units (EKATTE), the register number of places provided by the Bulgarian National Statistical Institute (NSI) for the settlements that are extant today, and WGS-84 latitude and longitude coordinates based on satellite imagery for those settlement that are no longer extant.[14] The emerging database of identified *waqf* settlements was imported into ArcGIS Pro and a point layer was created. The metadata extracted from the Ottoman tax registers was attributed to each individual point and thus received a spatial reference. The illustration below (Fig. 1) is a visualization of the spatial spread of the identified settlements owned by pious endowments, represented as objects on a point layer, prepared for further manipulation of its metadata.
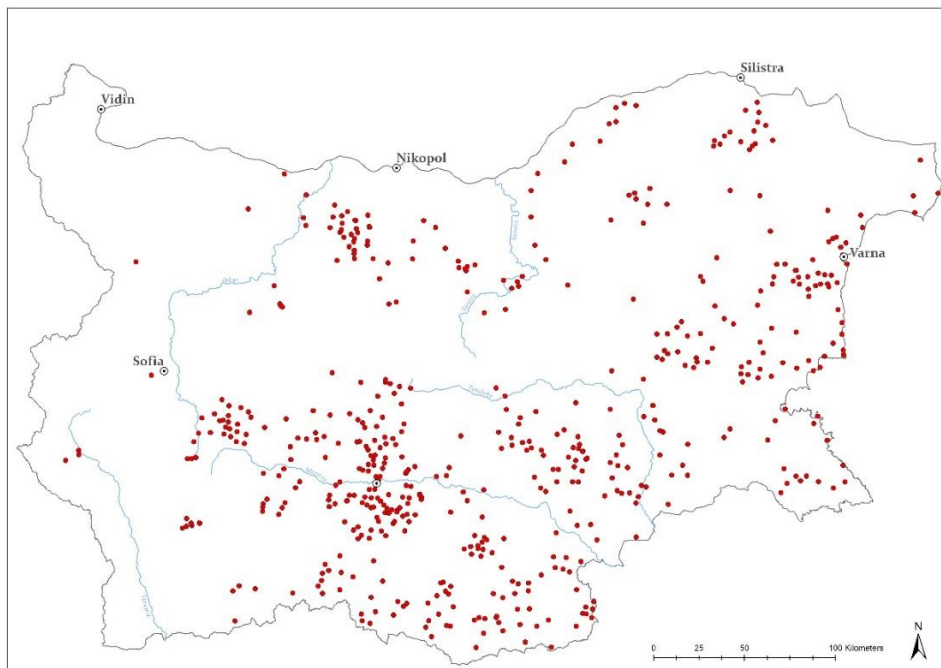
Fig. 1. Database of *Waqf* settlement is Bulgaria – point layer visualization.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

micro toponymy that often helps establishing the location of vanished settlements. This map was made available online by Vedrin Zhelyazkov – www.kade.si (last visited on 15 May 2020).

[14] Precise locations of vanished settlements were established on basis of the geo-referenced detailed historical maps or modern Bulgarian cadastral information, which often indicates the names of vanished villages as local toponyms. Some of the thus identified vanished settlements were checked by field trips in the course of which precise ground control points were taken.

The point data presents the researcher with a good opportunity for observations of the spatial distribution of the *waqf* villages, but does not have the potential to offer much more in terms of research that aims at determining what was the actual amount of land in Bulgaria that was under the control of the endowments. Consequently, in order to build a layer that can provide a firm ground for an analysis of the land surface occupied by the *waqf* possessions, the point data was transferred to polygons using the Spatial Join function in ArcGIS. The polygons used for this data join originate from Bulgaria's Geodesy, Cartography, and Cadaster Agency and reflect the land surface areas of individual villages in accordance with the electronic land registers of the country, launched in 2009. The usage of modern land polygons in the analysis certainly might raise questions about their suitability for studying a far earlier period, because the data for the areas covered by the cadastral polygons is modern by nature. As much as this issue clearly deserves close attention, one can quite confidently state that in spite of the possible discrepancies that can arise from the usage of modern cadastral data, this is, in fact, the only currently available database of village lands in Bulgaria. Moreover, it is very improbable that even in the future scholarship will have access to cadastral data from the Ottoman period. Unlike the neighboring Habsburg Monarchy, which conducted its first cadastral surveys in the eighteenth century and continued to carry out further surveys in the course of the nineteenth century,[15] the Ottoman Empire never even attempted to produce a systematic cadaster of its European and Asian territories.[16] Consequently, there are no available data that can furnish a reconstruction of an Ottoman-era cadaster and accordingly provide

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[15] E. Hofstätter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Landesaufnahmen: ein Überblick der topographischen Aufnahmeverfahren, deren Ursprünge, ihrer Entwicklungen und Organisationsformen der vier österreichischen Landesaufnahmen*, Wien, 1990. Different parts of the cadastral surveys were georeferenced and made available by the MAPIRE project – https://mapire.eu/en/browse/cadastral/ (last visited on 15 May 2020). G. Timár and S. Biszak, "Digitizing and Georeferencing of the Historical Cadastral Maps (1856–60) of Hungary", *5th International Workshop on Digital Approaches in Cartographic Heritage. Vienna, Austria, 22–24 February 2010*, p. 559–564; E. Biszak et al., "Historical Topographic and Cadastral Maps of Europe in Spotlight – Evolution of the MAPIRE Map Portal", *Proceedings 12th ICA Conference Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage, Venice, 26–28 April 2017*, p. 204–208.

[16] The Ottoman government ordered the cadastral survey of some of the large cities of the empire, such as Izmir (1850–56); Thessaloniki (1850–53); Bursa and Ioannina (1856–60). A.Y. Kaya, "Politics of Property Registration: Cadastre of Izmir in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *New Europe College Yearbook*, 2006 2005, p. 149–179; A. Y. Kaya, "Les villes ottomanes sous tension fiscale: les enjeux de l'évaluation cadastrale au XIXᵉ siècles", in F. Bourillon and N. Vivier, eds., *La mesure cadastrale: estimer la valeur du foncier en Europe aux XIXᵉ et XXᵉ siècles*, Rennes, 2012. The cadaster of Bursa expanded in 1858 and covered a small section of the rural surroundings, but this seems to be the only preserved evidence for a rural cadaster. I am grateful to M. Erdem Kabadayı (Koç University and PI of ERC-StG-2015 UrbanOccupationsOETR) for informing me about the existence of such a rural cadastral survey and for sharing digital copies of it. Istanbul's case is studied by P. Pinon and S. Yerasimos, "Relevés après incendie et plans d'assurances: les précurseurs du cadastre stambouliote", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1–2, 1993, p. 112–129.

contemporary polygons of village lands in the Ottoman period. The endowment deeds (*vakfiye*) and also some registers contain information about the extent of village lands by providing narrative delimitations of their borders based on the title deed (*sinurname/hududname*), which at a first glance appear to have considerable potential. However, a closer look at these narrative maps shows that they cannot be used for precise spatial studies, because the total amount of *sinurname*s that are preserved represents an insignificant fraction of all *waqf* villages in Bulgaria. Furthermore, even more importantly, the usage of the little-preserved *sinurname*s gives results with very low precision, because a good portion of the micro toponymy that appears in these documents, such as for instance "Hasan's watermill," "Mehmed's field," or "Yovan's vineyard," cannot be identified today even on the most detailed modern maps.[17]

Fig. 2. Spatial join of *waqf* point data with village land polygons.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

Last but not least, modern village land polygons are not only far superior in precision compared to the Ottoman sources, but also they are likely in most of the cases to present a relatively accurate picture of what the spread of the village land must have historically been. Documentary evidence shows that neighboring villages might have disputed the exact boundaries of their lands and contested the same territory often over centuries, which illustrates convincingly that the area coverage of the village land territory is a very conservative phenomenon that changes only under the pressure of extreme circumstances.[18] Such circumstances

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[17] A. Zlatanov, "Lokalizacija na granicite na Karlovo spored vakfieto na Karlăzade Lala Bey ot 1496 g.", *Proceedings of the Regional Museum of History – Gabrovo*, 4, 2016, p. 27–38; V. Mutafčieva, "Kăm văprosa za statuta na bălgarskoto naselenie v Čepinsko pod osmanska vlast", *Rodopski sbornik*, 1, 1956, p. 115–126. Published the *sinurname* of several villages in the Rhodope Mountains that belonged to the *waqf* founded by Sultan Süleyman I. S. Trako, "Hududnama čiftluka Kizlarage Mustafe iz 1591. godine na kojem je osnovan Mrkonjić-grad", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 31, 1981, p. 179–188; S. Husedžinović, "Les vakoufnamas, sources historiques importantes pour la connaissance de la topographie urbaine de Banjaluka du XVIe au XIXe siècles", in V. Han and M. Adamović, eds., *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XVe–XIXe siècles)*, vol. 3 *La ville dans les Balkans depuis la fin du Moyen Âge jusqu'au debut du XIXe siècle. Recueil d'études*, Belgrade – Paris, 1991.

[18] The lands of the *waqf* village Suşiçe, the town of Karlovo (Central Bulgaria) to be, can serve as a good example. It appears that a dispute with the neighboring village over the exact borders of the lands owned by the *waqf* lasted throughout the Ottoman period and caused several inspections by the

could include a permanent abandonment of a neighboring settlement, which leads to the gradual incorporation of its associated lands by the nearby settlements, or a creation of a new settlement within the boundaries of the village lands, which over time carves out a piece from the territory of the old village.

The so-constructed spatially referenced database was subjected to quantitative and spatial analysis with regards to the research questions, namely what part of the territory of Bulgaria was under the direct control of the pious endowments; who were the individuals who created these *waqf*s by endowing their landed properties; what portion of the revenues collected from the then Ottoman Bulgaria were held by the *waqf*s; and finally how this relates to the number of taxpayers residing on *waqf* lands. Answering these questions on the basis of the analysis of data extracted directly from the Ottoman primary sources offers the opportunity to place the *waqf* institution within the larger framework of the social order established by the Ottomans after the conquest of the Balkans. It tests the dominant idea of the utmost importance of the *waqf*s as one of the key agents of Ottoman rule, and as having facilitated the establishment of the new power in the region. Furthermore, observations concerning the social origin of the endowers is a means not only to try to diversify the currently dominant center-weighted historiographic focus on the almighty sultans, who allegedly directed almost every process in the Ottoman polity, but also to accentuate the importance of the powerful provincial elites, particularly the members of the *akıncı* dynasties and former Balkan aristocratic families, by demonstrating the relative weight that they had in possessing and administering substantial parts of Ottoman Bulgaria.

LANDED POSSESSIONS OF THE ISLAMIC PIOUS ENDOWMENTS: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS

The polygonal data of *waqf* land possessions allow close observations concerning the spatial distribution of the settlements and their lands, but more significantly also offer the opportunity to make precise estimates of total amount of land in control of the endowments. The present study extracted data from the Ottoman tax registers for 927 *waqf* villages settlements (towns, villages, and *mezari'* – uninhabited arable lands) that were in all likelihood located within the territory of present-day Bulgaria, but because of the lack of reference works on

local authorities. Sultanic orders were issued accordingly, but in spite of this, the dispute outlived the empire and it was inherited by the administration of Eastern Rumelia and later by the Bulgarian state. The fact that a dispute between two villages over the demarcation line of the same pasture lands can last for centuries bespeaks the durability of the village land borders in most cases and therefore the usability of modern village land polygons. On the Ottoman documents about the dispute see G. Gălabov, "Tureckie dokumenty po istorii goroda Karlovo (ranee selo Sušica, Plovdivskij okrug, Bolgarija)", in A. S. Tveritinova, ed., *Vostočn'e istočniki po istorii narodov ûgo-vostochnoj i centralnoj Evropy*, Moskva, 1964, p. 162–185; G. Boykov, "Grad Karlovo i karloskijat vakăf", *Istorija*, 26:5, 2018, p. 461–496.

Ottoman toponymy it succeeded in identifying with a reasonable degree of certainty only 622 of them, i.e. 2/3 of the settlements. The spatial analysis could only take into consideration those settlements whose location was identified, and therefore one must bear in mind that the results and the visualizations shown below represent a 75% sample from all settlements in control of the pious foundations.
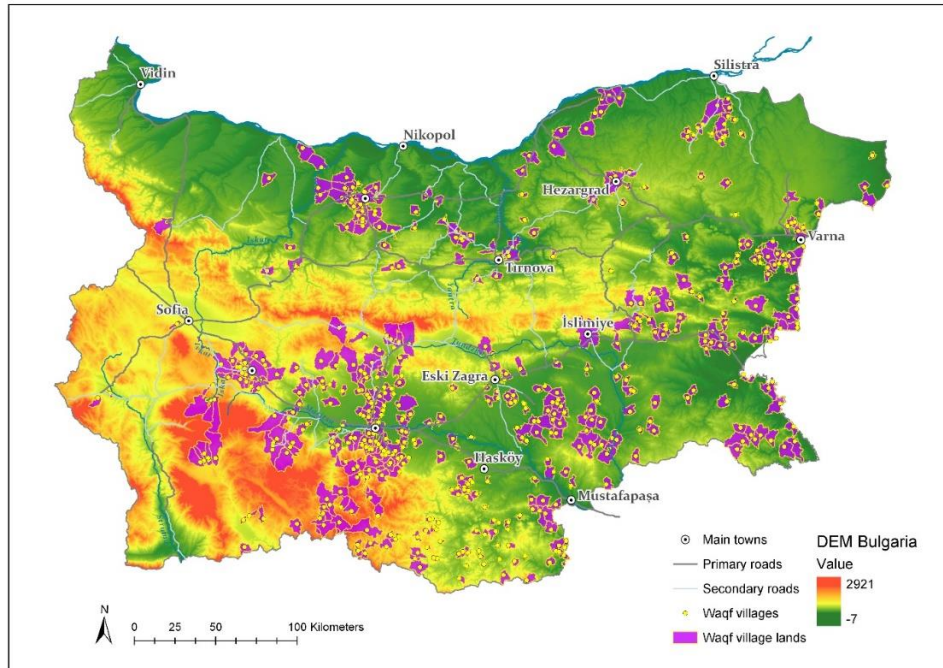
Fig. 3. Surface area coverage of the identified settlements owned by *waqf*s.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

The area of each of the *waqf* village land polygons was calculated and converted to sq. kilometers in ArcGIS. Subsequently these data were aggregated to country level in order to give the total land surface in the hands of the pious foundations. Thus, the results show that the *waqf*s possessed 19,634 km^2 of land, which constitutes roughly 17.69% of the territory of Bulgaria. As much as these figures, taken as they are, convincingly demonstrate that the pious foundations were a substantial factor in Bulgaria's land distribution, they certainly underrepresent the actual share which the *waqf*s occupied in the land market. As mentioned above, the spatial analysis could only use the data of the identified villages, and therefore the estimates do not include the lands of the unidentified villages. Nevertheless, if one would like to reach a relatively realistic assessment about the actual weight of the *waqf*s in Ottoman Bulgaria's system of land ownership, the share of the 1/3 unidentified settlements must be added to these estimates. Thus, presuming that the usage of a simple arithmetic progression must somewhat adequately represent the

part of villages that are missing from the estimates due to the lack of spatial reference, and will therefore compensate for them in the total land coverage estimates, we can reach a more realistic assessment of the actual amount of *waqf* lands. A rough estimate that also includes the unidentified villages shows that, more realistically, Islamic pious endowments were in control of about 29,451 km^2, which comprises more than ¼ of the entire territory of Bulgaria (26.53%).

The fact that *waqf*s controlled such a substantial part of the lands in Bulgaria establishes them as a significant factor in the management of the newly conquered territories. In the course of the first century and half after introducing Ottoman rule and institutions in the region, a quarter of the land was taken out of the state-controlled regime (*miri arazi*) and given in proprietorship to the *waqf*s.[19] The lack of administrative documents from the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century makes it very difficult to trace the chronology of the development of this process, but even a brief look at the map is enough to establish the uneven spatial distribution of the settlements controlled by the *waqf*s. Thus, if using the Balkan range (Stara Planina) as a dividing line that splits Bulgaria into a northern and a southern part, it becomes apparent that a far greater part of the settlements (67%) are located in the south. They are densely concentrated in the low lands of Upper Thrace, but also occupy the higher plain of Ihtiman and go deeper into the Rhodopes, especially in the central and eastern part of the mountain. The disproportionate spatial distributions of the *waqf* settlements becomes even more evident when the territory of the country is divided into its traditional eastern, central, and western parts. Eastern Bulgaria, which includes Dobrudja, the Deliorman, the entire Bulgarian Black Sea coast, eastern parts of Upper Thrace, and northern parts of the Strandja Mountain, had 31% of the villages. The lion's share of the *waqf* settlements (61%) went to Central Bulgaria, which stretches from the Danube in the north, encompassing most of what was the Ottoman *sancak* of Niğbolu, and runs south via the Balkan range to the Rhodopes, including the large *kaza* of Filibe and its smaller neighbors of Tatarpazarı, Eski Zagra, and Hasköy. Western Bulgaria, which covers roughly the Bulgarian part of the *sancak* of Vidin, the region of Sofia, and the valley of the Struma River, hosts an insignificant fraction of the *waqf* villages in Bulgaria, merely 8%. This insignificant presence of *waqf* settlements in the western parts of Bulgaria is to large extent due to the Mihaloğlu family's enclave of 18 villages and the town of Ihtiman, located southeast of Sofia. If this *waqf*-turned large family estate is taken out of the picture there remain only 27 villages in Western Bulgaria, which were part of the landed possessions of the pious endowments. Finally, the hypsographic distribution of the *waqf* settlements also naturally shows an uneven distribution. The large majority of them, 40%, were located in the planare zone (max. altitude of 200 m), with 43% in the coline zone (altitude 200 to 600 m).[20]

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[19] On the land regimes in the Ottoman Empire, see İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History,* p. 103–131.

[20] Settlement elevation extraction was done in ArcGIS using a 30m raster of Digital Elevation Model by the Space Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) of NASA and then results were zonally classified.

Those in the submountain zone (600 to 1000 m) constitute a share of 13% from all settlements owned by the pious endowments, and only 4% lay in the mountain zone of above 1000 m elation.[21]
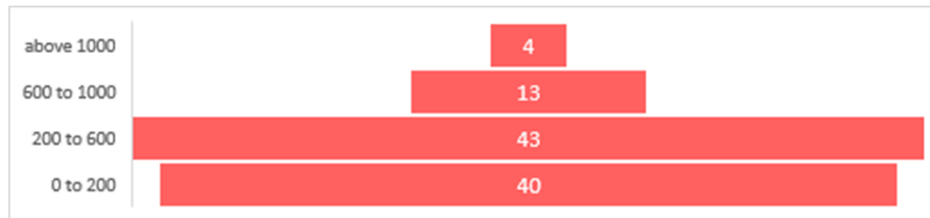
Fig. 4. Distribution of *waqf* settlements by elevation (% from *waqf* settlements)

When the distribution of the *waqf* settlements by elevation is juxtaposed to that of the entire country, the preference of the pious foundations for the ownership of settlements located in lowest zone becomes clear. While 40% of the *waqf* possessions were in the planare zone at an altitude below 200 m, only 27% of the entire country's settlements fell in the same zone.[22]
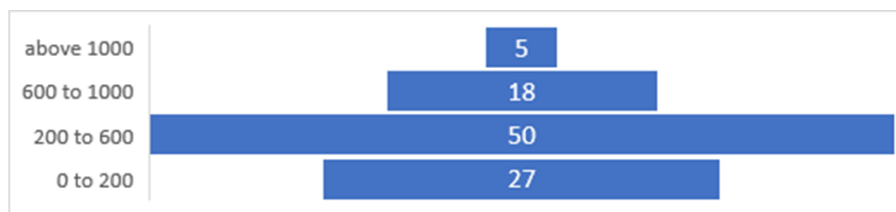
Fig. 5. Distribution of all settlements in Bulgaria by elevation
(% from all settlements)

[21] The highest villages Lilkova, Çurin, and Çuryane, situated in the Central Rhodopes, laid in the subalpine zone at an altitude above 1400 m. Today in drastic economic decline and almost completely abandoned by their residents, many of these high land villages played an important role in the animal husbandry industry of the region during the Ottoman period and had vast pasturelands used by the transhuman *yürük*s. Two dissertations that still await publication focus on the population, economy, and human-caused ecological changes in the same region and highlight the significant input of the pious endowments. H. Hristozov PhD Dissertation, *Okrăžavaštoto prostranstvo i planinskoto naselenie v Ropopite prez XVI–XVII vek*, PhD Dissertation, Sofia University, 2017; D. Borisov PhD Dissertation, *Vakăfskata institucia v Rodopite prez XV–XVII vek*, PhD Dissertation, Plovdiv University, 2008.

[22] I was unable to find any secondary literature on Bulgaria's Ottoman-era settlement distribution by elevation. The only monograph that focuses on the spatial history of Ottoman Bulgaria, in spite of its all other merits, does not offer adequate data on the distribution of the settlements by elevation. C. Georgieva, *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na bălgarite prez XV–XVII vek*, Sofia, 1999.Therefore the estimates on the hypsographic distribution of all Bulgaria's settlements is based on the late-19th–century data, extracted from the Austrian Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa (1:200 000). The database includes 6239 points of towns, villages, large farms (*çiftlik*s), and huts (*koliba/mahalle*) analyzed in ArcGIS and subsequently classified. I would like to thank Hristo Hristozov (Sofia U.) and Alexander Zhabov (CEU) who worked on the map mining of the data.

The uneven distribution of the *waqf* villages, and especially the almost complete lack of such villages in the western parts of the country, calls for caution, and signals possible spatial considerations that the Ottoman rulers might have applied when lands were distributed and later allocated to become the property of pious endowments. It appears that these considerations might be directly linked to the compactness of the pre-existing settlement networks and to the density of local population there. These aspects will be examined in detail below, but with regard to the spatial distribution of the *waqf* settlements it is important here to underline another significant characteristic – the relationship between the contemporary road infrastructure and the location of the *waqf* villages.
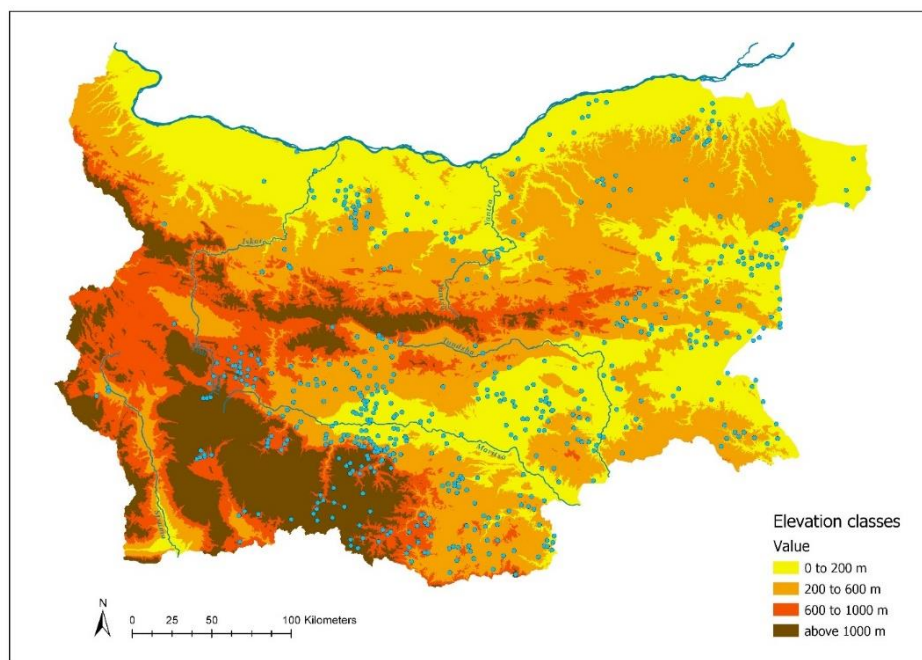
Fig. 6. Distribution of all settlements in Bulgaria by elevation.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

The available data on the functioning historical road infrastructure in Ottoman Europe is extremely scarce and as a rule lacks any precision in spatial terms. Roads are most often drawn, if at all, as approximative lines connecting two spatial points, because whenever historical data was collected it dealt with particular points of interest and offered very little about determining the precise path of the route. Narrative sources, such as various chronicles and travelogues,[23]

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[23] C.J. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Eine Historisch-Geographische Studie*, Prag, 1877; O. Zirojević, "Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije

registers of the Ottoman postal service,[24] and campaign itineraries[25] constitute the bulk of the primary sources utilized by the historians in their studies on movement of people and goods in the Ottoman Empire. Georeferenced historical maps of suitable scale, however, allow the extraction of historical roads in the shape of relatively precise polylines, which have the potential to frame the traditional historical data, for example in terms of times and distances, in a far more elaborate fashion. Studies on the neighboring empires, notably the Habsburg and Russian Empires, have progressed significantly in extracting the road networks from historical maps, but the reconstruction of the historical road infrastructure in the Ottoman empire is still in its infancy.[26] In view of the lack of a readily available database of the historical road infrastructure, this paper utilized data about the primary and the secondary (Hauptstraße and Landstraße) roads as they appear on the Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa.[27]

(1459–1683)", *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije*, 7, 1970, p. 3–196; S. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman, XIVᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles: Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Ankara, 1991; M. Popović, *Von Budapest nach Istanbul: die Via Traiana im Spiegel der Reiseliteratur des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 2010.

[24] C. Heywood, "The Ottoman Menzilhane and Ulak System in Rumeli in the 18th Century", in O. Okyar and H. İnalcık, eds., *Social and eocnmic history of Turkey (1071–1920). Papers presented to the first International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University, Ankara, July 11–13, 1977*, Ankara, 1980; C. Heywood, "Some Turkish Archival Sources for the History of the Menzilhane Network in Rumeli During the Eighteenth Century", *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 4–5, 1976, p. 39–55; C. Heywood, "The Evolution of the Courier Order (*ulaḳ ḥükmi*) in Ottoman Chancery Practice (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)", in J. Zimmermann, C. Herzog, and R. Motika, eds., *Osmanische Welten: Quellen und Fallstudien: Festschrift für Michael Ursinus*, (Bamberg, 2016); S. Altunan, "XVII.Yüzyıl Sonlarında İstanbul-Edirne Arasındaki Menziller ve Bazı Menzilkes Köyler", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 25:39, 2006, p. 75–99; S. Altunan, "XVIII. Yy'da Silistre Eyaletinde Haberleşme Ağı: Rumeli Sağ Kol Menzilleri", *OTAM*, 18, 1992, p. 1–20; Y. Halaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme (Menziller)*, İstanbul, 2014; A. Antonov, "Vremeto e pari. Osmanskata kurierska služba v kraya na XVII i prez XVIII vek", in R. Zaimova and N. Aretov, eds., *Pari, dumi, pamet*, Sofia, 2004.

[25] N. Aykut, "IV. Murad'ın Revan Seferi Menzilnamesi", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 34, 1984, p. 183–246; M. A. Erdoğru, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın 1532 Tarihli Alman Seferi Ruznâmesi", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 29:1, 2014, p. 167–187; M.A. Erdoğru, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın 1538 Tarihli Karaboğdan Seferi Ruznâmesi", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 29:2, 2014, p. 515–524; M. İpçioğlu, "Kanuni Süleyman'ın Estergon (Esztergom) Seferi 1543", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 10:10, 2015, p. 137–159; H. A. Arslantürk and G. Börekçi, *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-ahyâr der-ahbâr-ı sefer-i Sigetvar Sultan Süleyman'ın son seferi*, İstanbul, 2012.

[26] The Imperiia Project, directed by Kelly O'Neill from the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies of Harvard University deserves mention here. See the interactive map available at https://worldmap.harvard.edu/maps/886 (last visited on 15 May 2020).

[27] The digital road network covering Bulgaria was manually map mined by the project ERC-StG-2015 UrbanOccupationsOETR, https://urbanoccupations.ku.edu.tr/ (last visited on 15 May 2020). I express my gratitude to the PI of the project M. Erdem Kabadayı (Koç University) for sharing these data with me.

Even a simple visualization of the primary and secondary roads in Ottoman Bulgaria, along with the polygons of the *waqf* village land such as in Fig. 3 above, demonstrates the evident connection and possibly even interdependence of the two. There is a high concentration of *waqf* villages in practically every major intersection of primary and secondary roads in Bulgaria. This is probably best seen in the region of Filibe (Plovdiv) in Thrace or the region of Plevne (Pleven) in Danubian Bulgaria, which was almost entirely owned by the pious endowment of the Mihaloğlu family. Both regions had been important transportation and communication hubs ever since Late Antiquity, and the high concentration of *waqf* villages there clearly demonstrates the intention of the pious endowments to obtain lands in territories that have an easy access to major communication arteries. The pattern is repeated at other important junctures, such as Eski Zagra (Stara Zagora), İslimiye (Sliven), and Karınabad (Karnobat) in Southern Bulgaria, and Tırnova (Veliko Tărnovo), Hezargrad (Razgrad), and Silistra in Northern Bulgaria, which clearly demonstrates the predisposition of the *waqf*s towards the communication hubs of the region. Running an analysis in the GIS software demonstrates that 30% of the territories of the villages controlled by the pious endowments were crossed by primary or secondary roads, which clearly bespeaks an intentional spatial orientation towards regions that are well connected. Although the fact that close to 1/3 of the *waqf* villages lay directly on the highways of the time is highly instructive, it is also crucially important to learn what proportion of the villages had easy access to the main roads, although not laying directly on them, and therefore saw similar transportation costs for their agricultural production. By readjusting the algorithm in the GIS software to select and count not only the settlements located directly on the roads, but also to include the villages whose lands lay at a maximum distance of 15 km from a primary or secondary road, the picture changes drastically. The spatial analysis shows that 61% of the *waqf* settlements lay in very close proximity (max. 15 km) to a primary road, when secondary roads are also added to the picture it appears that, in sum, 70% of the villages in the possession of a pious endowment had almost direct access to a major communication artery and could therefore easily and at a lower cost transport their production to the local markets, or to the institutions they supported in Edirne, Istanbul, or elsewhere. This is probably best exemplified by the high density of *waqf* villages in Upper Thrace, concentrated on the rice-growing regions, whose production supplied the large charitable complexes in the Ottoman capitals. The only group of settlements that does not seem to be well connected with the major road infrastructure were the villages located in the higher parts of the mountains. These, however, are predominantly less active in agricultural production but mostly occupied with animal husbandry, especially sheep breeding. In this case, easy access to a major road does not seem to have been a necessity, the production of the village not requiring transportation since it can move on its own feet.

THE ENDOWERS AND PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF PIOUS FOUNDATIONS IN OTTOMAN BULGARIA

The data presented above clearly point to the importance of the *waqf*s in establishing the Ottoman political order in Bulgaria. After all, the pious endowments controlled a quarter of the territory of the country and occupied lands that were either in direct connection with or in close proximity to main communication arteries of that time: the *waqf*s therefore were in a good position to administer power. This fact, however, does not tell us much about the social origin of the individuals who established pious foundation by endowing the lands held by them in proprietorship, and whether there were perceptible patterns in this respect. Historiography to date has argued that the Ottoman sultans were naturally the biggest endowers, since they had control over state land and were in a position to change the land regime as pleased, but the studies fall short of demonstrating the real weight of the sultanic endowments in the *waqf* system in the Ottoman realm. Other important groups of individuals who established pious endowments have received inadequate attention in the scholarly literature, a lack of detail which makes the overall picture insufficiently nuanced and often very simplistic.

Taking the territory of Bulgaria as one entity, as problematic as such an approach might be, the currently available and classified data allow a closer look at the distribution of the *waqf* properties within the different strata of Ottoman society. The georeferenced data was classified into seven different categories/classes with regards to the origin of the endower and the subsequent ownership of the settlements and lands: (i) *waqf*s established by the Ottoman rulers themselves (labeled in the classification *Sultan*); (ii) endowments created by the female members of the royal household (labeled *Princess*); (iii) those of high-ranking Ottoman officials, most often grand viziers, but also viziers and provincial governors, such as *beylerbeyi*s and *sancakbeyi*s (labeled *Officials*); (iv) endowments established by the dynasties of frontier raider commanders (*akıncı ucbeyi*s) – these are endowments established predominantly by the male but also by some of the female members of the families (labeled *Akıncı*); (v) mostly smaller *waqf*s created by various local notables, some of whom were descended from Balkan and Anatolian nobility (labeled *Notables*); (vi) endowments established in support of one of the multiple dervish convents in Bulgaria – in this database this mostly reflects the dervish convents of itinerant dervishes who in the course of the sixteenth century were incorporated by the developing Bektashi order (labeled *Zaviye*); (vii) finally, unlike the previous cases, mostly very small pious endowments whose founders do not fall in any of the abovementioned categories (labeled *Other*).

After the data were classified according to the scheme described above, precise information about the area of the lands occupied by the different classes was extracted by the GIS software. As can be seen on the chart below, the analysis

shows that the pious foundations established by the sultans controlled the largest share (39%) of the *waqf* lands in Bulgaria, which seems natural enough.[28]

Examination of the spatial distribution of the sultanic *waqf* settlements and their lands shows that they were dispersed, but predominantly located in Southern Bulgaria. A very few villages were scattered in the northern part of the country without having a discernible connection to one another.
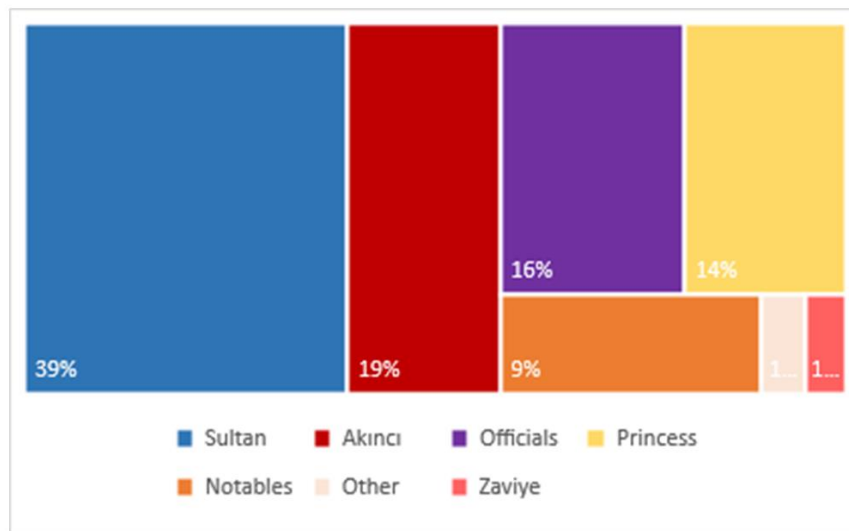
Fig. 7. Quantitative distribution of *waqf* land ownership by classes

Two zones with a high concentration of villages owned by the sultanic endowments can nevertheless clearly be detected. The first was in the eastern part of the country, where these settlements stretched along and occupied almost the entire Black Sea coast extending from Kaliakra Cap in the north to the foothills of Strandja Mountain in the south. The second zone where sultanic *waqf*s were concentrated was in the south-central part of the country in the area around Filibe (Plovdiv) and further south in the Rhodope mountains. From the groups of villages in the Rhodopes, those located in the southeast belonged to the foundation of Murad II[29] and those in the central and western parts of the mountains to the rich endowment established by Süleyman I for the upkeep of his complex in Istanbul.[30] The villages of Süleymaniye, especially the enclave of Çepino region southwest of

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[28] This makes precisely 7704 km^2. However, seen at the scale of the entire country, the land possessions of the sultanic pious endowments occupy a mere 7% of the territory of Bulgaria.

[29] M.T. Gökbilgin, *XV.–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı: vakıflar, mülkler, mukataalar*, İstanbul, 1952, p. 203–210.

[30] G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2005, p. 207–222; K. E. Kürkçüöğlu, *Süleymaniye vakfiyesi*, Ankara, 1962.

Filibe (see map on Fig. 7), have attracted scholarly attention because they are the stage where an alleged forced mass-conversion to Islam took place.[31]

With the exception of eight villages in the Danubian plain, the *waqf* lands of the Ottoman royal women were also located primarily in the southern part of the country. Moreover, their concentration in the highlands clearly shows a focus on areas of intensive sheep breeding such as Strelča and Klisura in Sredna gora (Ott. Karacadağ), the heart of the Central Rhodopes with the highland pastures near Devin (Ott. Dövlen), or the lower eastern part of the mountains near Svilengrad (Ott. Mustafapaşa köprüsü). Occupying 14% of the territory in the control of the *waqf*s, the landed domains of the Ottoman princesses in Bulgaria certainly call for a more detailed analysis and deserve an independent study. The scholarship to date has focused almost exclusively on the prolific architectural patronage of the royal women, but has done very little in terms of studying the territorial and financial might at their disposal, which not only allowed the construction of their edifices, but also assured the availability of enough funding for the upkeep of these buildings, the salaries of the personnel, and the charity institutions.[32] Future studies on the network of royal female endowments, which were often connected to the *waqf*-turned landed estates of their distinguished husbands, normally grand viziers, have the potential to examine in detail and demonstrate the usage of economic resources originating from rural Bulgaria for changing the urbanscape of the imperial capital. The pious endowments of the high-ranking Ottoman officials can also be seen as a cautious attempt at changing the political and religious environment in the provinces. These encompass 16% of all *waqf* lands in Bulgaria, but their concentration in key locations such as Dobrudja and the Deliorman bespeaks a clear intention for possible closer involvement in local affairs. It might be not just coincidental that the endowments of the Çandarlı family of grand viziers[33] and of Şihabeddin Paşa[34] almost completely encircled Filibe, the most

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[31] The debate was triggered by an allegedly historical note included in the nineteenth-century work of S. Zahariev, *Geografsko-istoriko-statističesko opisanie na Tatarpazardžiškata kaza*, Vienna, 1870, 67–68, which describes the forced conversion to Islam, which must explain the presence of a compact Bulgarian-speaking Muslim community in these villages. Incorporated in the "official" narrative of Bulgarian history under Ottoman rule, the authenticity of the narrative has been challenged by a number of specialists: see the overview in A. Zhelyazkova, "The Problem of the Authenticity of Some Domestic Sources on the Islamisation of the Rhodopes, Deeply Rooted in the Bulgarian History", *Etudes balkaniques*, 4, 1990, p. 105–111; A. Zhelyazkova, "Islamization in the Balkans as a Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective", in S. Faroqhi and F. Adanır, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden, 2002. In spite of the questionable authenticity of the narrative, the account of forced mass conversion to Islam of the population of villages in the pious endowment of Süleyman I still has advocates.

[32] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 268–376; L. Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan*, London, 2016; Gökbilgin, *XV.–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 498–502.

[33] İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi*, Ankara, 1974; Borisov, "Vakăfskata institucia v Rodopite prez XV–XVII vek", 188–196.

important town of Upper Thrace, or that these of Rüstem Paşa[35] were in close proximity to Tărnovo, the capital of medieval Bulgaria; but the most illustrative example of changing local dynamics appears to be the case of Hezargrad (Razgrad) in the northeastern part of the country. The very founding of the town in 1533 is associated with the establishment of a pious endowment by the grand vizier Ibrahim Paşa, who arranged with the central administration an exchange of his private estates in other parts of the empire for landed properties in the Deliorman region, which he subsequently endowed to his foundation.[36] The town, centered on the Friday mosque complex of the Ottoman grandee, soon became a seat of a judge (*kaza*) and within several decades grew into a major regional Sunni Islamic urban center.[37] The massive investment in Sunni religious infrastructure done by Ibrahim Paşa along with the support of the central power, which altered the regional administrative division in order to integrate and give more weight to the newly founded town and its surrounding *waqf* villages, bespeaks a coordinated effort. It is difficult to tell whether the act was an independent initiative of the grand vizier or rather an action closely coordinated with the sultan, but nevertheless the establishment of Ibrahim Paşa's pious endowment undoubtedly aimed at creating and promoting a Sunni focal point in the northeastern part of Bulgaria, which was inhabited predominantly by Muslims who had a very vague connection to Islamic orthodoxy.[38] This endowment can be seen as an emblematic case of the influence of the *waqf*s in administering the provincial affairs and distributing power. Created from scratch by the grand vizier, the town Hezargrad quickly became and still

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[34] H. Oruç and K. Orbay, "Filibe'de Şehabeddin Paşa Vakfı 1632–1641 (H. 1041–1051)", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 18, 2010, p. 19–57; G. Boykov, "The Waqf and the Complex of Şihabeddin Paşa in Filibe", in M. Kurtoğlu, ed., *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu, İstanbul-Edirne, 9–10–11 Mayıs 2012*, Ankara, 2012; H. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1954), p. 84–85; E. Zachariadou, "Another Document of Shehab Al-Din Pasha Concerning Mount Athos (1455)", in B. Kellner-Heinkele, ed., *Studia Ottomanica. Festgabe Für György Hazai Zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 217–222.

[35] M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV.–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 518–519; G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 296–330.

[36] The endowment deed (*vakfiye*) was first published by L. Mikov, *Džamijata na Ibrahim paša i "Ibrahim paša" džamija v Razgrad*, Sofia, p. 35–67 and also commented upon in detail by N. Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West": The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 168–72, who seems to not have been aware of Mikov's publication. M.T. Gökbilgin, *XV.–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, p. 504–506.

[37] M. Kiel, "Hrâzgrad-Hezargrad-Razgrad. The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria", *Turcica*, 21–23, 1991, p. 495–569.

[38] Recent overview of the literature and the primary sources in N. Antov, "Demographic and Ethno-Religious Change in 15th and 16th-Century Ottoman Dobrudja (NE Balkans) and the Related Impact of Migrations", *Radovi – Zavod za Hrvatsku Povijest* 51:1, 2019, p. 57–101. Cf. S. Dimitrov, *Istorija na Dobrudža*, vol. 3. Istorija na Dobrudža ot načaloto na XV do kraja na XIX v., Sofia, 1988; N. Antov, "The Ottoman State and Semi-Nomadic Groups Along the Ottoman Danubian Serhad (Frontier Zone) in the Late 15th and the First Half of the 16th Centuries: Challenges and Policies", *Hungarian Studies*, 27:2, 2014, p. 219–235; A. Cebeci, "Silistre Sancağı Vakıfları ve H. 1006 (1597–1598) Tarihli Silistre Livası Vakıf Defteri (No: 561)", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 20, 1988, p. 443–466.

remains the provincial center of the region, thus giving to the then Sunnitizing empire a stronger foothold in the non-Sunni majority of the surrounding territories.
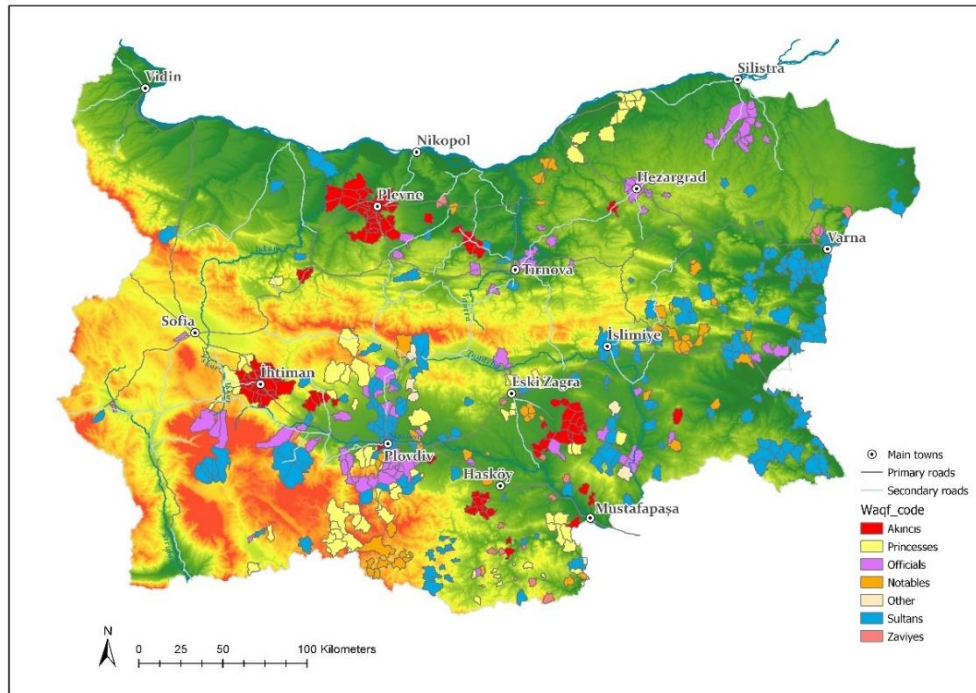
Fig. 8. Spatial distribution of *waqf* land ownership by classes.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

But the clearest example of the influence of *waqf*s in provincial politics might possibly be the pious foundations established by the members of the powerful families of raider commanders. Taken as whole, after the sultans the *akıncı* families were the second-largest land owners in Bulgaria, controlling 19% of all *waqf* lands, which makes an area of 3,639 km^2 or roughly 3.3% of the territory of the country. Unlike the sultanic *waqf*s, the ones established by the raider commanders were spatially very concentrated and reflect the vast landed estates over which the families had established full control that lasted for centuries, up until the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Even from a quick look at the map (Fig. 8), the territories in the control of those illustrious families, labeled by İnalcık "autonomous enclaves," are easily identifiable.[39] By far the largest land owner was the Mihaloğlu family, which

[39] H. İnalcık, "Autonomous Enclaves in Islamic States: Temlîks, Soyurgals, Yurdluk-Ocaklıks, Mâlikâne-Mukâta'as and Awqâf," in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn, eds., *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden, 2006, p. 112–134.

possessed multiple villages in both the northern and southern part of the country.[40] The members of this family were responsible for the creation of the towns of İhtiman and Plevne, which they systematically developed from scratch, establishing their households within them and utilizing the revenues from the surrounding rural areas for the upkeep of the public buildings and charitable institutions patronized by the family.[41] The town of Plevne, which is better studied and therefore presents more information, was a real provincial seat of power, hereditarily administered by the Mihaloğlu family via a highly elaborate hierarchical household structure, centered on their castle-like palace in the town.[42] Taking into consideration the fact that Mihaloğlu family members often served as provincial governors (*sancakbeyi*s) of Niğbolu (Nikopol) makes the presence of their large estate in the province even more prominent and certainly establishes the family as the true masters of the region in the first centuries of Ottoman rule in Bulgaria.

From a spatial perspective, the *waqf*-turned domains of the Mihaloğlus bore some similarities but also important differences. They shared the feature of lying on the main roads and thus being very well connected with the capital and the rest of the country, but also differed significantly in their geographical and ecological settings. The southern estate was situated in and practically occupied the high plain of Ihtiman, which is enclosed by high mountains from all sides. This makes the region particularly suitable for animal husbandry and seasonal pastoralism, and therefore it is unsurprising that the population residing there was mostly composed of the transhuman Anatolian *yürük*s, who are also likely to have provided raiders for the military contingents of the Mihaloğlus. The northern estate of the family, centered on Plevne, was spread out over the lowlands of the Danubian plain and therefore on the contrary was more suited for agriculture. The population there was

[40] On this family, see O. Sabev, "The Legend of Köse Mihal", *Turcica*, 34, 2002, p. 241–252; M. Kiprovska, "Byzantine Renegade and Holy Warrior: Reassessing the Character of Köse Mihal, a Hero of the Byzantino-Ottoman Borderland", S. Kuru and B. Tezcan, eds., *Defterology: Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry/Journal of Turkish Studies*, 40, 2013, p. 245–269.

[41] M. Kiprovska, "Shaping the Ottoman Borderland: The Architectural Patronage of the Frontier Lords from the Mihaloğlu Family", in M. Baramova, G. Boykov, and I. Parvev, eds., *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 185–220; V. Yančev and M. Kiprovska, "Povratni vremena: Ihtimanskijat vakăf na Mihaloglu Mahmud bey ot negovoto săzdavane prez XV do načaloto na XX v.", *Istorija*, 27:6, 2019, p. 559–598.

[42] M. Kiprovska, "Power and Society in Pleven on the Verge of Two Epochs: The Fate of the Mihaloğlu Family and Its Pious Foundations (Vakf) during the Transitional Period from Imperial to National Governance", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1–2, 2017, p. 172–204; M. Kiprovska, "Plunder and Appropriation at the Borderland: Representation, Legitimacy, and Ideological Use of Spolia by Members of the Ottoman Frontier Nobility", in I. Jevtic and S. Yalman, eds., *Spolia Reincarnated - Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*, Istanbul, 2018, p. 51–69; O. Sabev, "Osmanlıların Balkanları Fethi ve İdaresinde Mihaloğulları Ailesi (XIV.–XIX. Yüzyıllar): Mülkler, Vakıflar, Hizmetler", *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi)*, 33, 2013, p. 229–244; A. Kayapınar, "Kuzey Bulgaristan'da Gazi Mihaloğulları Vakıfları (XV.–XVI. Yüzyıl)", *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1:10, 2005, p. 169–181.

made up predominantly of Christian farmers, a good portion of whom were brought from the Western Balkans as war captives and slaves, garnered from the numerous raids of the commanders of the family.

Landed estates comprising several neighboring villages that were brought together and unified into a single *waqf* was not a phenomenon peculiar to the Mihaloğlu family alone. On the contrary, almost without exception other *akıncı* family *waqf*s, such as the ones established by Firuz Bey northwest of Tărnovo, or by Yahya Paşa and his son Bali Bey northeast of Filibe, followed the same pattern.[43] Moreover, the precise spatial identification of the territories of the endowments of other *akıncı* families provides connections that have remained overlooked in the historiography to date. The large estate of the Gümlüoğlu invites further and more elaborate studies on this family, whose members were actively involved in Ottoman politics and served as provincial governors in different Balkan regions.[44] A closer look at the family possessions shows that the estate practically bordered the village Musaça Tekke (mod. Kalugerovo), where once stood the convent of Mümin Baba. The patron dervish was one of the companions of the most influential itinerant *abdal* in Ottoman Rumili in the fifteenth century, Othman Baba, but it is not known who commissioned and built his convent.[45] The proximity of the estates of the Gümlüoğlu family and the strong ties between the itinerant dervishes and the *akıncı bey*s strongly suggests the possibility that a member from this strong local family could have been the actual benefactor of Mümin Baba's convent.

The case of Gümlüoğlu does not seem to have been an exception. On the contrary, it appears that the frontier lords might have intentionally sought to obtain

[43] A. Fotić, "Yahyapaşa-Oğlu Mehmed Pasha's Evkaf in Belgrade", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 54:4, 2001, p. 437–452; P. Fodor, "Wolf on the Border: Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Bey (?–1527). Expansion and Provincial Elite in the European Confines of the Ottoman Empire in the Early Sixteenth Century", in P. Fodor, N. E. Kovács, and B. Péri, eds., *Şerefe. Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, Budapest, 2019, 57–87; C. Römer and N. Vatin, "The Lion hat was Only a Cat: Some Notes on the Last Years and Death of Arslan Pasha, Bey of Semendire and Beylerbeyi of Buda", in P. Fodor, N. E. Kovács, and B. Péri, eds., *Şerefe. Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, Budapest, 2019, 159–182.
[44] Very few studies have engaged with the history of this otherwise very important family, which may have been present in the Bulgarian territories since the earliest Ottoman incursions, if not originating from the very region. M.T. Gökbilgin, *XV.–XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, p. 229–231; A. Pala, "Rumeli'de bir Akıncı Ailesi: Gümlüoğulları ve Vakıfları", *Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergisi*, 43, 2007, p. 137–144. In the early sixteenth century the family members, along with many other prominent Balkan families, sided with Selim I in his struggle for power with his father Bayezid II. H. E. Çıpa, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World*, Bloomington, 2017, p. 93–96. A copy of the *vafiye* of Gümlü bey is kept in Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi in Ankara, D. 734, s. 77, no. 49.
[45] Mümin Baba is mentioned in the *vita* of Othman Baba, see N. Gramatikova, *Neortodoksalniat islyam v bălgarskite zemi: minalo i săvremennost*, Sofia, 2011, p. 445; L. Kayapınar, "Osmanlı Döneminde Bulgaristan Eski Zağra'da Bir Bektaşi Merkezi: Mü'min Baba ve Zaviyesi", *Uluslararası Hacı Bektaş Veli Sempozyumu Bildirileri. Hacı Bektaş Veli: Güneşte Zerresinden, Deryada Katresinden*, Ankara, 2010, 164–196.

landed estates in close proximity to popular sites of the antinomian dervishes. The *waqf* of the Malkoçoğlu family, located a few kilometers south near the town of Hasköy (Haskovo), can furnish another example. The estate of the family was spread around the *zaviye* of Othman Baba, built in the second half of the fifteenth century most probably by the members of the Mihaloğlu family.[46] Six kilometers southeast of Beyköy (mod. Golemanci), the main village of the estate, Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey, son of Murad Bey, the then acting *sancakbeyi* of Çirmen, himself commissioned and built a convent dedicated to another antinomian dervish, a companion and follower of Othman Baba.[47] The tekke of Hasan Baba v. Yağmur was located in the nearby village Bashtino, and the alleged tomb of the patron still remains a popular pilgrimage site where annual festivities are held.

The *waqf* of the Malkoçoğlu family[48] near Haskovo clearly deserves more scholarly attention, because it has the potential to reveal another provincial powerbase, probably used by the family for centuries. Analogies with better-studied families show that the center of the estate, Beyköy, must have served as a residence for the members of the family administering the endowment. A field trip to the village in 2011 discovered a half-ruined public bath (*hamam*), dating possibly from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Cleaning the vegetation around it and conducting a proper study on its architectural features will certainly offer more information, but the presence of a domed stone-built *hamam* in a remote village indicates that a larger complex built by the Malkoçoğlu family may have once stood there. The presence of distinguished members in this rural estate is also attested by a tombstone placed in a garden near the convent of Othman Baba. A very elaborate marble tombstone reading "Mustafa Bey, son of Bali Bey, year H. 995/1587–1588," undoubtedly belonging to a deceased member of the Malkoçoğlu family, indicates that the estate served as the provincial residence and seat of the power of this family until the end of the sixteenth century, but possibly also later.

[46] H. İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilāyetnāmesi", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, 1993, p. 19–36; Z. Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age*, Farnham, Surrey, 2012, p. 72–73, 129–132; M. Kiprovska, "The Mihaloğlu Family: Gazi Warriors and Patrons of Dervish Hospices", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 32, 2008, p. 173–202.

[47] Ö.L. Barkan, "Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", p. 341. Bali Bey commissioned and built at least two more convents for antinomian dervishes in the Balkans, that of Pirzade in Tatar Pazarı, and Bayezid Baba near Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa). G. Boykov, *Tatar Pazardzik: ot osnovavaneto na grada do kraya na XVII vek. Izsledvaniya i dokumenti*, Sofia, 2008, p. 39–40; L. Kayapınar, "Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey Vakfı ve Bayezid Baba Âsitanesi", *Alevelik – Bektaşilik Araştırma Degisi*, 1, 2009, p. 105–115.

[48] On the Malkoçoğlu family, see F. Babinger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malqoc-oghlus", *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, München, 1966, 355–375; B. Zlatar, "O Malkočima", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 26, 1978, p. 105–114. The two pioneering studies focus primarily on the role of the family in the Western Balkans. The importance of Malkoçoğlu for the history of the eastern parts of the peninsula remains understudied.

DISTRIBUTION OF REVENUES IN OTTOMAN BULGARIA
IN THE 1530S AND THE PLACE OF THE *WAQF*S

The large synoptic registers compiled in 1530 allow a relatively easy extraction of revenue data per administrative unit, and facilitate its subsequent quantitative and spatial analysis. The lack of any polygons reflecting the Ottoman administrative division of that time forced the present study to use later administrative units, which were modified in ArcGIS to accommodate the data extracted from the Ottoman tax registers and better reflect the sixteenth-century administrative divisions.[49] Nevertheless, the borders of the administrative units (*kaza*) shown on the map below must not be considered as absolutely precise, but rather as tentative approximations based on modifications of later administrative borders. As such, they can serve as relatively accurate visualizations, but certainly lack the precision of the village land polygons, and therefore an analysis of the land surface area (in sq. km) for individual administrative units has not been carried out in this study. Data concerning the revenues collected from the territory of Bulgaria were distributed into four classes in accordance with their origin: (i) revenues of the sultanic domains (*hass-i hümayun*); (ii) revenues of the large prebends (*hass*) held by the high-ranking officials in the Ottoman provincial and central administration; (iii) revenues collected under the *timar* system that went to the cavalry members (*sipahi*) and various personnel, garrisoning the castles in the Balkans; (iv) revenues received by the pious endowments. A good portion of these revenues was formed by the various tithes paid by the *reaya*, as well as other taxes such as for instance the poll-tax (*cizye*) contributed by non-Muslims, but also by different market and custom dues and various taxes levied on revenue-producing industries such as mining, iron production, irrigation access, etc.

The aggregated data for Bulgaria's territory shows that in the early 1530s the Ottomans collected altogether 28,500,000 *akçe* split among the four categories described above. Breaking this sum into classes shows the wealth distribution in sixteenth-century Ottoman Bulgaria and allows closer observations of the place of the pious endowments. The largest share of the revenues (41%) went to the domains of the Ottoman sultans. Another substantial part (38%) was collected by the *timar* holders and apportioned to hundreds of smaller or larger fiefs, assigned in exchange for service in the imperial military contingents. The large prebends of the high-ranking Ottoman officials, such as the members of the sultan's council (*Divan*) and mostly provincial governors (*sancakbeyi*), occupied an 11% share of

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[49] Polygons used in the study have been created through map mining the historical map published by Hristo Danov, Karta na Bălgarija i priležaštite nej dăržavi, 1:420 000, Plovdiv, 1892, which draws the then administrative division relatively precisely.

the revenues collected from Bulgaria. As demonstrated above, the pious endowments were a major player in the land marked, and controlled ¼ of the land in the country: but the vast landed estates of the *waqf*s, however, did not necessarily mean a similar share in the revenue distribution. Despite being mighty land magnates, the pious endowments appear to have received a far more modest portion of the revenues, merely 10% from the all cash collected from Bulgaria.

This is a striking disbalance between the quantity of land possessions and the actual revenues retrieved by the *waqf*s, which poses the question of whether this reflects the situation in Bulgaria alone, or whether the relative proportions of revenue distributions were also similar at a Balkan-wide scale. A document composed in all likelihood on the basis of the data from the synoptic registers from 1530, can provide a glimpse into the contemporary revenue distribution in Rumili and place the observations on Bulgaria in the wider context. The document is a register of a rare nature, if not indeed unique, and summarizes in a very aggregated fashion various data about the European possessions of the Ottoman Empire that were important to the central administration; this makes it suitable for quick statistical checks just as required here.[50] According to the document, the total revenues from Rumili amounted to 203 million and 245 thousand *akçe*. The lion's share (52%) was collected for the central treasury by the imperial demesnes, 31% distributed among the *timar* holders, 6.2% reserved for high-ranking officials who were in control of large prebends, and finally 10.8% of the revenues from Rumili was assigned to the pious endowments. The figures of revenues shares of the *waqf*s in Bulgaria and in the entire territory of Rumili are so remarkably similar that they raise the question whether the Ottoman central power did not control the process of establishing new pious endowments more closely than has previously been supposed in the scholarly literature. Further studies are needed to determine whether there were changes over time, but the unusual concurrence of the revenue totals' shares might suggest a very closely monitored process of giving away *miri* lands and donating revenues, which was orchestrated by the administration of the Ottoman sultans.

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[50] The document indicates aggregated figures for revenues, individuals on a state payroll, and other important details about provincial affairs, including an inventory of the public buildings. It has no date, but the hasses of some high-ranking officials allow us to place it with a high degree of certainty in the early 1530s. İBK, MC. Evr. 37/7. The balance sheets of the imperial budget, published by Barkan and utilized by İnalcık, were composed earlier and therefore less adequately represent the situation in the 1530s. Ö.L. Barkan, "H. 933–934 (M. 1527–1528) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15:1–4, 1954, p. 251–329; H. İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History,* p. 82. Overview of the aspects of Ottoman budgetary policy in M. Genç and E. Özvar, *Osmanlı maliyesi: kurumlar ve bütçeler*, İstanbul, 2006.
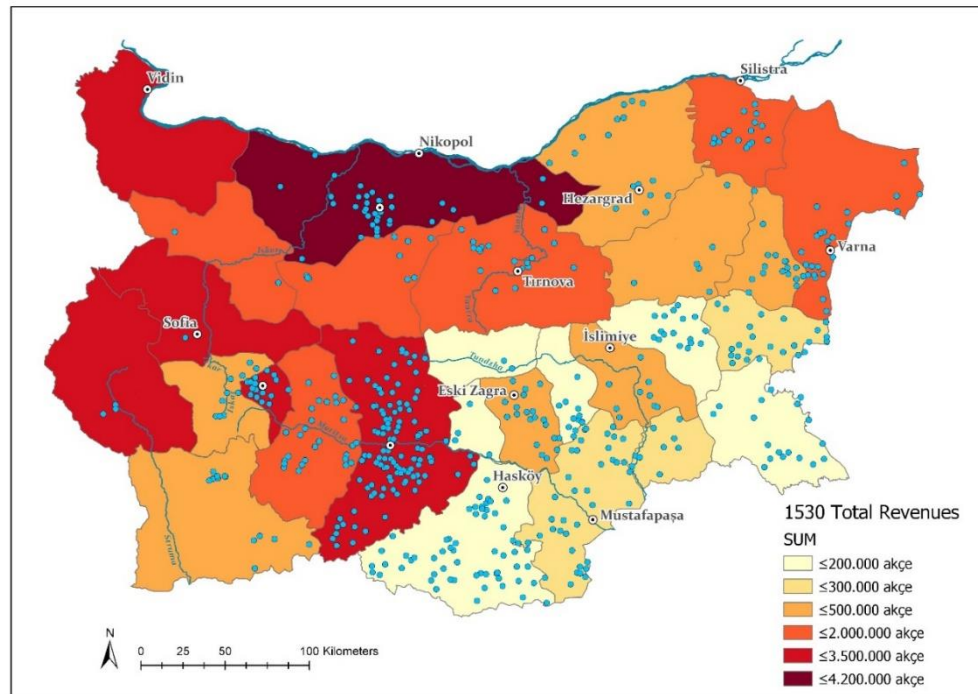
Fig. 9. *Waqf* settlements and spatial distribution of revenues in 1530s Ottoman Bulgaria.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

A spatial approach to the distribution of the revenues in Bulgaria demonstrates that the discrepancy between the amount of land and the actual revenues in the control of the *waqf*s was due to the uneven distribution of the settlements owned by the pious endowments with regard to the relative wealth of the regions. The wealthiest district in 1530s Bulgaria was Niğbolu (Nikopol) on the Danube, which yielded annually above four million *akçe*. Most its revenues, however, were reserved for the sultanic estates and for the *hass*es of the *sancakbeyi*. Except for the notable exception of the Mihaoğlu family enclave in Plevne, there were almost no *waqf* villages there, and consequently the endowments did not profit much from the rich resources available.[51] The district of Sofia and neighboring Köstendil were also very prosperous,[52] but again with the exception of the Mihaloğlus' estate in Ihtiman the presence of *waqf* villages there was insignificant. The revenues from these two *kaza*s were almost exclusively reserved for the Ottoman cavalry members, and judging from the substantial amount of revenues collected, they constituted the backbone of the *timar* system in Bulgaria. The same was also largely true for the northeastern district of Vidin,

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[51] R. Kovačev, *Opis na Nikopolskija sandžak ot 80-te godini na XV v.*, Sofia, 1997.
[52] H. Matanov, *Văznikvane i oblik na Kjustendilski sandžak (XV–XVI vek)*, Sofia, 2000.

where not even a single *waqf* village was ever registered. In the region of Vidin, however, the revenues were split more proportionally between the imperial treasury, the *hass* of the *sancakbeyi*, and the *timar* system.[53] The district from which the *waqf*s collected most revenues, close to 800 thousand *akçe* anually, was clearly Filibe. Located at the heart of Bulgaria, the region stretched across the Thracian plane between the Balkan range in the north and the Rhodopes in the south and had the highest density of *waqf* villages. A more detailed analysis of the structure of the revenues is certainly necessary before definitive conclusions can be drawn, but one might suggest that a significant part of the wealth accumulated by the pious endowments in the district was due to the highly intensive rice cultivation there.[54] A comparison with the district of Hasköy, its southeastern neighbor, whose ecological characteristics favored animal husbandry and where commercial crops like rice were never introduced, convincingly demonstrates the importance and financial weight of the *waqf* properties in the region of Filibe.

At first glance, the spatial distribution of the revenues in sixteenth-century Bulgaria overall appears somewhat odd. The richer regions were concentrated in the western part of the country while the fertile plane of Upper Thrace in the southeast, which would be normally expected to be a prosperous place, seems to have brought far less revenues to the masters of the land there. Yet no matter how rich the land of a region might be, if the territory is not sufficiently inhabited it will not be able to yield substantial revenues for its owner. In spite of this, the high concentration of *waqf* villages specifically in this area is noteworthy as regards the last research question of the present study, namely what was the spatial distribution of the population of Bulgaria, and how population figures related to the nearly thousand settlements under the control of pious endowments.

QUANTITATIVE AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF BULGARIA'S POPULATION IN THE 1530S

The data extracted from the synoptic registers from 1530 demonstrate that a little over one million tax-payers resided in the territory of Bulgaria (approx. 110 994 sq. km), with an average density of 10.2 persons per square kilometer.[55] Classifying the

[53] D. Bojanić-Lukać, *Fragmenti jednog zbirnog i jednog opširnog popisa Vidinskog sandžaka iz druge polovine XV veka*, Beograd, 1973; A. Kayapınar, *Le sancak ottoman de Vidin du XVe à la fin du XVIe siècle*, Istanbul, 2011; R. Kovačev, *Opis na vidinskija sandžak ot părvata četvărt na XVI v. Stopanska i voenno-administrativna struktura*, Sofia, 2016; M. Soyudoğan, "Reassessing the Timar System: The Case Study of Vidin (1455–1693)", PhD Dissertation, Bilkent University, 2012.

[54] N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Riziculture dans l'Empire ottoman (XIVe–XVe siècle)", *Turcica*, 9–10, 1978, 9–28; H. İnalcık, "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükçi-Re'âyâ System in the Ottoman Empire", *Turcica*, 14, 1982, p. 69–141; A. Shopov, 'Cities of Rice: Risiculture and Environmental Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Balkans', *Levant*, 2020, p. 1–15.

[55] For literature and a data overview of Bulgaria's population history, see G. Boykov, "The Human Cost of Warfare: Population Loss During the Ottoman Conquest and the Demographic

population data in accordance with the land regime, as was done above for the revenues data, allows us to see a striking disbalance in the distribution of population between classes on the one hand, and in the proportion of revenues to taxpayers on the other.
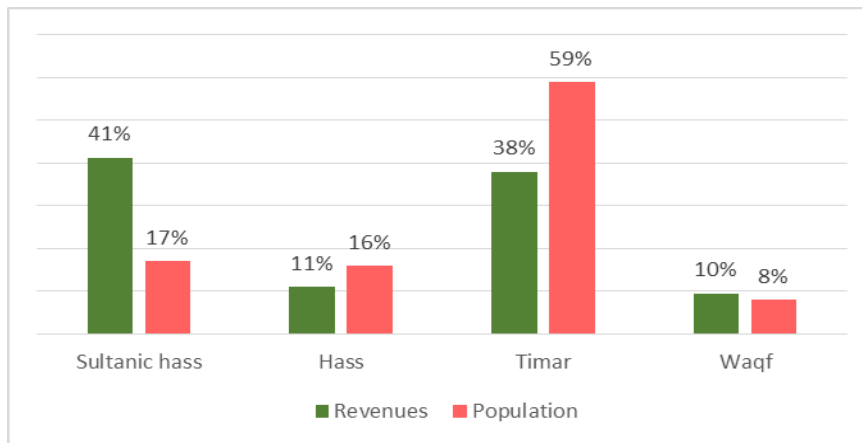
Fig. 10. *Waqf* settlements and spatial distribution revenues in 1530s Ottoman Bulgaria

Figure 10 demonstrates that in spite of the fact that the *timar* system collected only 38% of the revenues from the country, a substantial part of the taxable population (59%) actually resided in lands controlled by *timar* holders. This demonstrates the almost exclusive dependence of the *timar* system on taxpayers' tithes for raising the necessary resources for equipping cavalry members and dispatching them on campaign, and therefore shows that a large segment of the population was attached to the *timar*s. The same correlation was true for the prebends of the high-ranking officials and the *sancakbeyi*s, who were the individuals in charge of leading the *timar* holders to war. The relative share of revenues collected by the *hass* holders was lower than the portion of the taxable population that resided within their domains. If these two are taken together it becomes evident that 75% of the population in 1530s Bulgaria resided within the estates and was contributing their dues and taxes to the *timar* and *hass* holders. The proportions not only change drastically, but completely reverse when the sultan's domains are taken into consideration. The imperial treasury reserved and collected 41% of Bulgaria's revenues, but at the same time only 17% of country's total population resided within the sultanic *hass*es. This fact clearly indicates that the central authority had lower interest in revenues that were based on taxing the population's agricultural production, but rather reserved for itself important sources of revenues, especially those bringing in liquid cash, like the customs or market dues and the poll-tax on the non-Muslim

subjects in the country. This might explain the disproportionate difference between the share of revenues and the taxable population attached to the imperial domains.

The discorrelation between revenue and population share for the pious endowments' possessions resembled that of the sultanic *hass*es, although the discrepancy here was not so drastic. Taken as a whole the *waqf*s controlled a larger share (10%) of the overall country's revenues, but a lesser segment (7%) of the entire taxable population, and therefore their position looks more similar to that of the imperial domains and not to the estates of the high-ranking officials and *timar* holders. The *waqf*s must have managed to bring under their control valuable sources of income which made their share of revenues larger. Without detailed studies on each particular *waqf* it is impossible to state with any certainty what these revenues were, but the fact that some of the endowments, especially those established by the *akıncı* families, retained control and actually collected the *cizye* of the non-Muslims, can indicate a direction for further research.
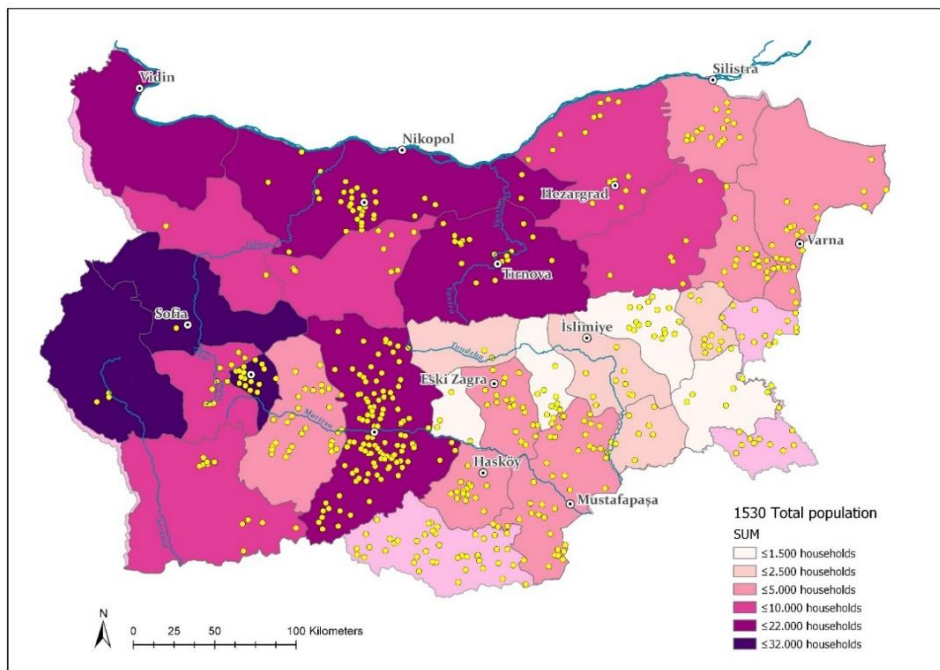
Fig. 11. *Waqf* settlements and spatial distribution of population in 1530s Ottoman Bulgaria.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

The analysis of the spatial distribution of Bulgaria's population also provides important hints as to why the *waqf*s retrieved a larger share of the revenues while a smaller portion of the total population actually resided in the lands under their control. The data extracted from the 1530 register was spatially referenced to the

same polygon units which the study utilized for the illustration of the revenue distribution, thus making the two datasets visually comparable. The largest concentration of population was clearly in the Sofia and Köstendil regions, which almost completely lacked *waqf* villages, but the taxpayers there were distributed across hundreds of *timar*s. Niğbolu, the richest district in terms of revenues, had fewer people in comparison to the western regions and was part of a large stretch of northern Bulgaria that was still highly populated. In southern Bulgaria only the region of Filibe falls in the same category, having close to 15,000 households of taxpayers, or a total population of about 75,000. Along with Tırnovi and Niğbolu the district of Filibe was among the few highly populated districts where there was also a high concentration of *waqf* villages. The larger share (74%) of the settlements that were in the possession of the pious endowments was dispersed across the eastern and southeastern parts of the country, which were in fact very sparsely inhabited. It is unlikely that such a concentration of *waqf* villages in territories with lower populations was coincidental. On the contrary, the spatial patterns of settlement distribution show that the high density of villages owned by the *waqf*s must be due to a systematic and very likely coordinated effort, which highlights the role of the *waqf* system as one of the primary agents used by the Ottomans for establishing their rule in the newly conquered territories in the Balkans.

The crescent-shaped territory which extends from Upper Thrace in the south along the Bulgarian Black Sea coast to the steps of Dobrudja in the north was badly ravaged before and during the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria, and for this reason the entire region was very sparsely populated, some parts of it indeed having been completely voided of population. After establishing full control over the region, the Ottomans, i.e., the sultans and their central administration but also various members of the local nobility and newly arrived elites, had to find suitable means for restoring life to those territories that had been laid waste by centuries of continuous war. Various methods for revitalizing (*şenlendirme*) the newly conquered land were employed by the Ottomans,[56] ranging from forced relocation (*sürgün*) of Anatolian population,[57] the settling of war captives to work as sharecropper slaves,[58] granting

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[56] İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 167–171.

[57] Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler: 1", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11, 1950, p. 524–569; Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler: 2", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13, 1952, p. 56–79; Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler: 3", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15, 1954, p. 209–237.

[58] Ö.L. Barkan, "XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri. I. Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 1, 1939, p. 29–74; H. İnalcık, "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire", *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, London, 1985, p. 25–52; K. Moustakas, "Slave Labour in the Early Ottoman Rural Economy: Regional Variations in the Balkans during the 15th Century", in M. Hadjianastasis, ed., *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, Leiden, 2015, p. 29–43.

deserted villages in freehold to distinguished individuals who later on revitalized them by securing settlers, and offering tax exemptions thus stimulating an influx of population from other regions. The region in question seems to have been particularly attractive to the Muslim sedentary and semi-nomadic populations, who in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth century left Anatolia and settled there *en masse*. Detailed studies on individual cases are necessary in order to bring to light the exact mechanisms for revitalization used by the Ottomans and the roles of the pious foundations in the process, but given the present state of knowledge it can be stated that most of the oldest endowments, established in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century, are concentrated precisely in this region. The *waqf*s, and especially their charitable institutions, must have played a significant role in stimulating migration towards these territories. Moreover, the itinerant dervishes from various antinomian Sufi orders were also a highly influential factor, as demonstrated long ago by the seminal studies of Barkan, who also examined them in close conjunction with the *waqf*s.[59] In spite of the general validity of most of its conclusions, the pioneering study by Barkan lacks a systematic curation of the rich data collected by the author, but more importantly does not provide any spatial reference to the locations examined in the study. Even modern historical research often falls short in this respect, and valuable studies completely ignore the spatial aspect.

Placing on the map the precise locations of the principal dervish convents in Bulgaria and the settlements in control of the pious endowments, one notices the clear connection between the two, which corroborates Barkan's important point that the *waqf*s and the related dervish convents together constituted one of the chief agents used by the Ottomans for the organized colonization of the territories of the Balkans after the conquest. Even a superficial look at the map shows that the dervish convents were built along the main arteries of communication in Ottoman Bulgaria, and that in most cases they were surrounded by dozens of *waqf* villages. Future studies may be able to reveal how the changing social alliances and patron–client networks that implemented the Ottoman ruling strategies on a provincial level were built up over time. For now it suffices to recall the contrasting examples of architectural patronage discussed in this paper: that of the Malkoçoğlu family, who clearly aimed at supporting the non-Sunni antinomian Sufis in the eastern Rhodopes, and that of the grand vizier Ibrahim Paşa, who founded a new town based on the Sunni-affiliated institutions in the predominantly non-Sunni region of

[59] Ö.L. Barkan, "Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler". On the importance of the convent of Kızıl Deli for the incorporation of the region of Dimetoka (Byz. Dydimoteichon) into the Ottoman administrative and ruling system, see R. Yıldırım, "History Beneath Clouds of Legend: Seyyid Ali Sultan and His Place in Early Ottoman History According to Legends, Narratives, and Archival Evidence", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 15:1–2, 2009, p. 21–57; R. Yıldırım, "Dervishes, Waqfs, and Conquest: Notes on Early Ottoman Expansion in Thrace", in P. Ghazaleh, ed., *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World*, Cairo, 2011, p. 23–40; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Seyyid 'Ali Sultan d'après les registres ottomans: l'installation de l'Islam hétérodoxe en Thrace", in E.A. Zachariadou, ed., *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman rule (1380–1699)*, Rethymnon, 1996, p. 45–66.

Deliorman. The pious endowments constituted the core instrument utilized in these two cases, but in many other cases they undoubtedly played the role of an active agent that introduced the alien Ottoman political order in the newly conquered territories.
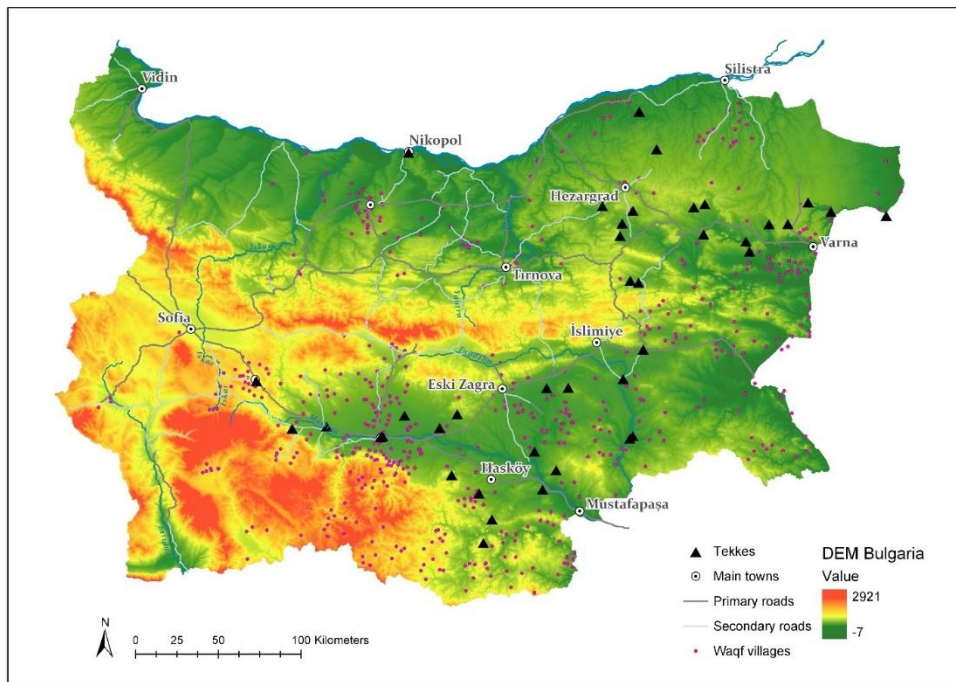
Fig. 12. Principal dervish convents in Bulgaria built prior to 1600, and *waqf* villages.
Created by G. Boykov (2020)

CONCLUSION

This paper focuses on the landed possessions of the Islamic pious endowments located in the territory of modern Bulgaria. It is clear that setting modern national borders as the territorial scope of any study related to the Ottoman Empire is difficult to justify, but the current inaccessibility of digital resources that cover neighboring Turkey, Greece, Northern Macedonia, and Serbia forces the author to restrict the spatial and quantitative analysis to the confines of Bulgaria. Nevertheless, the data and results presented in the paper have the potential to be regarded as a highly representative sample, because the territory of Bulgaria covers roughly 1/5 of the Balkans peninsula, which anyway was never under Ottoman control in its entirety. Furthermore, the Bulgarian sample appears more representative if only the eastern parts of the Balkans are taken into consideration. Thanks to the superior source base, the western parts of the Balkans during the

Ottoman period are far better studied in modern scholarship and therefore better known, but despite this fact if one is interested in studying how the Ottoman institutions and social order were implemented in Europe, the eastern Balkans represent a much more propitious arena for such observations. It was there that the so-called "classical" Ottoman institutions were fully introduced and functioned well for centuries, and it was again only in the Eastern Balkans that the Ottomans succeeded in developing a system that must have been close to the envisaged ideal ruling concept of the Ottoman dynasty. Therefore, a study of the *waqf*s of Bulgaria can have even greater weight and greater representativeness if it is considered to be snapshot of developments in the eastern and central parts of the Balkans.

The methodology chosen by the study required that the data extracted from the Ottoman primary sources be analyzed only after they had received precise spatial references. This was possible thanks to the usage of modern digital tools, such as the GIS software, which allowed a variety of analytic approaches to the thus assembled and spatially referenced database. In a way, then, this study was also an experiment that aimed at highlighting a deficiency found in most of the historical analyses of the Ottoman Balkans to date, which have neglected the role of space as one of the key variables. The results can only be regarded as preliminary, and further detailed case studies are necessary for building a truly realistic picture, but at the same time they seem very encouraging, and the employment of software applications for spatial analysis appears justified. There is little doubt that these digital tools will gain in importance in future research, and will in all probability be part of the standard methods of scholarly analysis before the end of this decade. Nevertheless, in spite of their many merits and almost unlimited capabilities, even the most sophisticated software applications remain mere instruments, which can only do good in the hands of trained historians or other scholars from the humanities and social sciences. Certain expected major digital breakthroughs, such as automatic data extraction or the development of Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) techniques for Ottoman primary sources, will certainly revolutionize the speed of access to the data encoded in them and will open up the field: but it will nevertheless remain for historians to tell the stories which thereby emerge.[60]

The main characters in the story of this paper, the pious endowments established by various individuals, most certainly deserve closer scholarly attention. They were a highly important and perhaps even supreme factor in provincial politics and local affairs in the Ottoman realm. The spatial study focused on the territory of Bulgaria

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[60] Y.S. Can and M.E. Kabadayı, "CNN-Based Page Segmentation and Object Classification for Counting Population in Ottoman Archival Documentation", *Journal of Imaging* 6: 32, 2020, p. 1–17; Y.S. Can and M.E. Kabadayı, "Automatic CNN-Based Arabic Numeral Spotting and Handwritten Digit Recognition by Using Deep Transfer Learning in Ottoman Population Registers", *Applied Sciences* 10: 16, 2020, 5430; Y.S. Can and M.E. Kabadayı, "Computerized Counting of Individuals in Ottoman Population Registers with Deep Learning", in X. Bai, D. Karatzas, and D. Lopresti (eds.), *Document Analysis Systems. Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, Cambridge, 2020, p. 277–290.

shows that about a quarter of the country's territory was under the direct control and administration of the *waqf*s. This fact alone is sufficient to demonstrate the relative weight of the *waqf* institutions for administering territories on behalf of the Ottoman polity. However, the possessions of the endowments were not equally distributed in all parts of the country. On the contrary, the spatial analysis demonstrates that the *waqf* settlements were concentrated primarily in the lower fertile lands of the central and eastern parts of Bulgaria. The almost complete lack of *waqf* villages in the densely populated western part of the country indicates that pious foundations were intentionally established in those regions of the country that were less populous. Many of the villages under the control of the *waqf*s were newly founded settlements, which demonstrates their important role for revitalizing the space that was assigned to the pious endowments. In the 1530s the pious endowments controlled 1/10 of the total revenues collected from the country, but only 7% of the taxpayers resided in the lands they owned. Further temporal slices of population statistics are needed to track the changes in detail, but research to date has demonstrated that Bulgaria's population distribution shifted over time. In the course of the last decade of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, the more densely populated but relatively higher western parts were pushing population out towards the lower eastern regions, until the population density in the country homogenized. Climatic changes must undoubtedly have been a significant push factor in the process, but the fact that the migratory wave was directed towards areas with a high concentration of *waqf* villages suggests that the pious endowments could have played a more significant role than previously believed. Once more, this illustrates the importance of the *waqf* institution for the maintenance of the Ottoman social order in the Balkans, and signals the necessity for more studies that can widen the territorial perspective and bring in more data suitable for quantitative and spatial analysis.

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AGENTS OF CONQUEST:
FRONTIER LORDS' EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS AS ACTORS IN THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF THE BALKANS

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Throughout the period of the Ottoman territorial expansion in the Balkans, military commanders from the families of several frontier lords figured prominently during conquests and emerged as distinct frontier elites and sociopolitical entities in their own right. As hereditary leaders of the vanguard Ottoman forces the frontier lords were in an extremely advantageous position to staff their courts and armies with slaves acquired through conquests in non-Muslim territories. These captives were raised, trained, and acculturated as part of the military-administrative households of the frontier lords, and in turn contributed to conquest, becoming the spearhead of further military expeditions. This essay examines the composition of the extended military household of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, a district governor of Niğbolu, as presented in an Ottoman register from the second decade of the 16th century and argues that his personal retainers became a reservoir for the military and the administration of the marcher district under his governance. It further maintains that the frontier lords' households, which represent a distinct group of power holders outside the sultanic dynasty, emerged as true loci of power that managed manpower along the bordering regions and should be studied in regards not only to their regional authority, but to their place in the Ottoman political establishment as well. By establishing stable patron–client relations with the members of their extended households, the frontier lords found themselves at the apex of a large web of networks entwined within social, military, administrative, political, and cultural life along the borders of the Ottoman state and should be regarded as an indispensable part of the Ottoman socio-political order in the region as a whole.

Keywords: Ottoman conquest, Balkans, frontier elites, household, Mihaloğlu family.

The Ottoman polity, as it appears in studies by some modern Ottomanists, was in essence a household-based political establishment ruled by the dynasty of Osman, whose own household stood at the apex of an extensive network of military, administrative, and elite political households encompassing a wide array of social actors, stretching from the highest Ottoman officials to the smallest fief holders in the provinces.[1] Thanks to the achievements of modern scholarship we

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[1] Metin Kunt has repeatedly emphasized the central role of households in Ottoman society. See M. Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650*, New York, 1983, p. 9–56; idem, "Royal and Other Households," in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*, London – New York, 2012, p. 103–115.

are now more cognizant of the composition of the sultanic palace with its satellite princely and other grandee households.[2] Furthermore, the growing academic interest in other political households in the Ottoman realm has revealed the increasing importance of the pasha and vizier households, epitomized by the powerful Köprülü clan of viziers, as a primary source of the Ottoman ruling elite since the mid seventeenth century, a period which signaled a change in power relations and political authority in internal Ottoman affairs.[3] Furthermore, households outside the Ottoman central government, located in the capital, were the backbone of the entire military elite on a provincial level, as observed in Ottoman Egypt and the district of Jerusalem during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[4]

The alteration in the power balance at a given time was neither a temporal nor a spatial phenomenon. Arguably, it was a rather omnipresent feature of the Ottoman societies throughout the empire's long history, and was tightly intertwined with the changing political, military, economic, and social conditions. The profound changes in these conditions brought about a deep transformation in the political system and opened the way to Ottoman modernity at the turn of the seventeenth century.[5] During the first centuries of the Ottoman state's existence, the transformation of power, control, and political authority was linked primarily to the evolving Ottoman concept of state-building, incarnated in prolonged centralizing, bureaucratizing, and Sunnitising efforts, which reached high points during the reigns of Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) and Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566).[6] A change was certainly evident in the shifting pattern of provincial

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[2] The most authoritative study on the composition of the sultanic household still remains İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara, 1945; see also idem, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi*, Ankara, 1974. Cf. L.P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, 1993; R. Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400–1800*, London, 2008; Th. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*, Leiden, 2001; H. W. Lowry, *Hersekzâde Ahmed Paşa: An Ottoman Statesman's Career & Pious Endowments*, Istanbul, 2011; H. Eroğlu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Şehzadelik Kurumu*, Ankara, 2004; İ. M. Kunt, "A Prince Goes Forth (Perchance to Return)", in B. Tezcan and K. Barbir (eds.), *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*, Madison, Wisconsin, 2007, p. 63–71; M. Kunt, "Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace", in J. Duindam, T. Artan and M. Kunt (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Leiden–Boston, 2011, p. 289–312.

[3] R.A. Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683–1703: A Preliminary Report", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94:4, 1974, p. 438–447; D. Ze'evi and I. Buke, "Banishment, Confiscation, and the Instability of the Ottoman Elite Household", in D. Ze'evi and E. Toledano (eds.), *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East: "Modernities" in the Making*, Berlin, Boston, 2015, p. 16–30.

[4] D. Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*, Albany, 1996; J. Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdaglis*, Cambridge, 2002; eadem, *Tale of Two Factions: A Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen*, Albany, 2003.

[5] M. Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants…*; B. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2010.

[6] C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley, 1995; C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power*, Houndmills–New York, 2002;

appointments after the second half of the sixteenth century, when the ever-growing imperial military-administrative household of *ḳul*s, the sultan's own servitors, became the primary source for staffing most senior appointments in the provinces, hence ousting the local provincial nobility's household members.[7] The new power elites of imperial palace graduates and their households became key loci of power that, through a web of relationships and to a great extent by exercising household patronage, oversaw the manpower in the empire, a change noticeable in the built environment as well.[8] By focusing on members of these power elites and their clientelistic networks, recent scholarship has admittedly increased the general awareness that not all political power in the empire emanated from the sultan, hence shaking the understanding of all-embracing sultanic absolutism in a putative patrimonial empire, and bringing to the fore other socio-political actors who shaped the Ottoman socio-political order in their own right.[9] Nevertheless, the growing corpus of studies on the Ottoman elite households and groups and individuals outside the Ottoman dynasty concentrates, as a rule, on the personal sultanic retinue and palace-bred elites, and hence by extension on the members of the extended Ottoman imperial household.[10] There is still a palpable lack of scholarly interest in the patronage networks of the most distinct group of power holders outside the sultanic dynasty that held sway for the first three centuries of Ottoman history.

B. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire…*. The process of Ottoman Sunnitization has recently been comprehensively studied by T. Krstić, "State and Religion, 'Sunnitization' and 'Confessionalism' in Süleyman's Time", in Pál Fodor (ed.), *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi (1566)*, Leiden, Boston, 2019, p. 65–91; D. Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion", *Turcica* 44, 2012, p. 301–338; T. Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu, (eds.) *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750*, Leiden, 2020.

[7] M. Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants…*; Jane Hathaway, "Households in the Administration of the Ottoman Empire", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 40, 2013, p. 127–149.

[8] G. Işıksel, "Ottoman Power Holders in the Balkans (1353–1580): A Case of Upward and Downward Elite Mobility", in D. Dautović, E. O. Filipović, and N. Isailović (eds.), *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations: Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, Amsterdam, 2019, p. 85–95. More generally: G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2005.

[9] The patrimonial Ottoman empire of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries envisaged by some Ottomanists (and most recently by B. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire…*, 89–90, 192–93) has been questioned by H. Erdem Çıpa. Based on his analysis of the succession struggle of the sultan-to-be Selim I (r. 1512–1520), and most importantly of the prominent role of different military-political fractions, notably the Balkan frontier commanders, the author suggests that not all political power in the Ottoman polity emanated from the sultan and hence it cannot be considered a patrimonial state. H. E. Çıpa, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World*, Bloomington, 2017, p. 62–107.

[10] J. Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem*, Oxford, 2012); eadem, *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem: From African Slave to Power-Broker*, Cambridge, 2018; H. Reindl-Kiel, *Leisure, Pleasure and Duty: The Daily Life of Silahdar Mustafa, Éminence Grise in the Final Years of Murad IV (1635–1640)*, Berlin, 2016. A truly inspiring overview of various types of Ottoman households with a desideratum for their further integration within the broader Mediterranean context and households' network, is presented by Palmira Brummett, "Placing the Ottomans in the Mediterranean World: The Question of Notables and Households", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 36, 2010, p. 77–96.

Throughout this period of territorial expansion, military commanders from the families of several frontier lords figured prominently during conquests as well as in domestic politics, emerging as influential power brokers in times of dynastic struggles. As hereditary leaders of the vanguard Ottoman forces moving across the Ottoman frontiers, the Evrenosoğlu, Mihaloğlu, Paşa Yiğitoğlu, Turahanoğlu, Malkoçoğlu, and other less prominent dynastic clans amassed enormous wealth and accumulated substantial military power, hence emerging as distinct frontier elites and sociopolitical entities in their own right. Thanks to increasing awareness within the scholarship on the formative Ottoman period that these frontier power holders played a prominent role in the early Ottoman conquests, we are now cognizant of their key involvement in the subsequent administration of the border regions brought under their governance, retaining relative autonomy vis-à-vis the central Ottoman administration.[11] Recent research has revealed that these lords possessed large hereditary estates in the areas under their control, which were transformed into ancestral residences and seats of power through vast architectural patronage.[12] It has also, to a great extent, unveiled the frontier lords families' pivotal role in internal Ottoman politics, especially during times of dynastic strife when the Ottoman pretenders relied heavily on the support of the Balkan *beg*s to ascend the throne.[13] Based on the preserved archival records of the raiders' (*akıncı*) troops, traditionally led by members of these distinguished lineages of raider commanders, current studies have given details of the numbers, recruitment patterns, and geographical spread of their soldiery as well.[14]

Yet even though recent scholarship is shedding more light on the frontier lords' families' role in the military invasions both in Europe and Asia, their regional power along the borders, and their involvement in factional politics in times of accession struggles, there is a notable deficiency in current research as

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[11] C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650…*, p. 186–188, 260–265; H. W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany, 2003, p. 45–94; H. W. Lowry, "Early Ottoman Period", in M. Heper and S. Sayarı (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, Abingdon–New York, 2012, p. 5–14; P. Fodor, "Ottoman Warfare, 1300–1453", in K. Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1: *Byzantium to Turkey 1071–1453*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 192–226, esp. p. 204–205.

[12] Recent systematic studies on the Evrenosoğlu family of frontier lords and the territories under their direct control have demonstrated that convincingly. H. W. Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*, Istanbul, 2008; H.W. Lowry and İ. E. Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar: Notes & Documents*, Istanbul, 2010. An increased scholarly interest in the other marcher lords' families in the Balkans, among others by Levent and Ayşe Kayapınar, Orlin Sabev, Çetin Arslan, Mustafa Özer, Ayşegül Kılıç, and myself, is currently underway, but it seems unnecessary to cite all their studies here. A general assessment of the architectural heritage of members of the noble families in the Balkans has most recently been presented by M. Kiel, "The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353–1453", in K. Fleet (ed.), *Byzantium to Turkey 1071–1453…*, p. 138–191.

[13] D. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413*, Leiden–Boston, 2007, p. 135–194; H. E. Çıpa, *The Making of Selim…*, p. 91–107.

[14] A. Kayapınar and E. Erdoğan Özünlü, *Mihaloğulları'na ait 1586 tarihli akıncı defteri*, Ankara, 2015; E. Erdoğan Özünlü and A. Kayapınar, *1472 ve 1560 tarihli akıncı defterleri*, Ankara, 2017.

regards a comprehensive assessment of the patronage networks that they sustained and which undoubtedly constituted the backbone of their high socio-political standing both within and outside the confines of the empire. It is almost unimaginable that these powerful dynasties, whose longevity is comparable to the ruling Ottoman house, did not grow their own courts and large patronage households to uphold their authority throughout their long history.[15] Indeed, one might suggest that it was precisely thanks to the patronage households they raised and to the family networks they created over time that their dynasties were so long-lived, enduring well until the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the lack of specific interest in the extended households of the frontier lords' dynasties, current scholarship on Ottoman households acknowledge the existence, alongside those belonging to other military, administrative, and religious officials, of frontier lords' extended families which, as the studies suggest, must have been largely modeled on that of the sultan – yet the research seems to have contented itself with this bare assertion alone.[16]

Indeed, following the Muslim rulers' tradition, and the Ottoman *gulām* system in particular,[17] of recruiting and training elite slaves (*mamlūk*) for the palace and state service, the frontier lords were in an extremely advantageous position to staff their courts and armies with slaves acquired through conquests in non-Muslim territories (*dār al-ḥarb* / abode of war). The successful raiding expeditions in Europe performed under the leadership of the frontier lords usually brought rich booty,[18] the most valuable part of which was the captured slaves, who also became a primary source for the imperial palace servitors and the Janissary corps after the imposition of the one-fifth tax (*pençik*) enforced on war slaves by the Ottoman ruler.[19] However, these captives also comprised the manpower supply for the

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[15] The Mihaloğlu and Evrenosoğlu families certainly survived the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, when their dynastic possessions remained within the territories of the newly born Balkan nation states. See H. W. Lowry and I. Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar…*; M. Kiprovska, "Power and Society in Pleven on the Verge of Two Epochs: The Fate of the Mihaloğlu Family and Its Pious Foundations (*Vakf*) during the Transitional Period from Imperial to National Governance", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1–2, 2017, p. 172–204; V. Yančev and M. Kiprovska, "Povratni vremena: Ihtimanskijat vakăf na Mihaloglu Mahmud bey ot negovoto săzdavane prez XV do načaloto na XX v.", *Istorija* 27:6, 2019, p. 559–598.

[16] M. Kunt, "Royal and Other Households…"; Hathaway, "Households in the Administration of the Ottoman Empire…", p. 128–129.

[17] H. İnalcık, "Ghulām, IV: Ottoman Empire", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1991, p. 1085–1091.

[18] The disruption of life caused by these military raids across the border is clearly observable even in trade agreements, in which a force majeure clause, envisaging the real threat of Ottoman pillaging incursions, was included and stipulated exemption from contractual liability. These contracts and the evolution of the perception of the Ottoman menace, as well as the alteration in the sequence of military incursions, are discussed in detail in Emir Filipović's paper in this volume.

[19] İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları, I: Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı*, Ankara, 1943. There are reasons to believe that the *pençik* (one-fifth) tax on war captives was imposed to counterbalance the growing power of the Balkan frontier lords during the 1360s

households of the frontier lords themselves: their presence is attested in essentially all spheres of social life in the provinces under their governance. Hence, similar to the Ottoman rulers, the frontier lords evidently used slaves to repopulate desolate rural areas in their domains, so as to cultivate the landed estates.[20] The slaves of the marcher lords (already denoted in the sources as freedmen: *ʿātıḳ, muʿtaḳ, āzāde*) are sporadically mentioned in the tax records from all over the frontier nobility's landed properties, but mostly as town dwellers concentrated in the cities where the warlords established their power bases.[21] Moreover, the frontier lords' own retainers of slave origin, as showcased by the preserved Ottoman tax registers from the fifteenth century, were the majority of the *tīmār*-holding military troops in the border districts (designated in the sources as *taʿalluḳāt, mensūbān, merdümān, gılmānān, nökerān, ḫiẓmetkārān*).[22] As hinted by the sporadic recordings of the offices they held, these must have constituted the elite retinues of the border commanders' followers, who were part of their masters' courtly households. Acquired in the course of the plundering expeditions led by the protagonists of the Ottoman conquest in the Balkans and further north in Europe, these captives were raised, trained, and acculturated as part of the military-administrative household of the frontier lords, and in turn contributed to conquest, becoming the spearhead of further military expeditions. What is more, as part of their master's household and

and 1370s, when they were acting rather independently from the sultan. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant le pençyek et les aqınğı", *Revue des études islamiques* 37, 1969, p. 21–47; C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley, 1995, p. 112–113; V. Demetriades, "Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Devşirme", in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, Rethymnon, 1993, p. 23–31.

[20] It was customary for the frontier lords to settle their war captives in the territories of their large pious foundations (*waqf*s). This was the case with many of the villages associated with the pious foundations of Timurtaş Beg, İshak Beg of Üsküb, and Evrenos Beg. Moreover, it appears that entire villages were created as a result of the resettling of prisoners of war on these noble families' landed estates. Ö.L. Barkan, "XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri. I. Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 1, 1939, p. 29–74. Similarly, members of the Mihaloğlu family also deported settlers from the conquered territories and relocated them on their own private lands. See Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler. İstilâ Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2, 1942, p. 360–361; O. Sabev, "Osmanlıların Balkanları Fethi ve İdaresinde Mihaloğulları Ailesi (XIV.–XIX. Yüzyıllar): Mülkler, Vakıflar, Hizmetler", *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi)* 33, 2013, p. 236; A. Kayapınar, "Kuzey Bulgaristan'da Gazi Mihaloğulları Vakıfları (XV.–XVI. Yüzyıl)", *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1:10, 2005, p. 174. See also Grigor Boykov's contribution to the present volume where he discusses, amongst others, the pious foundations of the frontier lords on the territory of present-day Bulgaria.

[21] H. W. Lowry and I. Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar...*, p. 110, 119; M. Kiprovska, "Shaping the Ottoman Borderland: The Architectural Patronage of the Frontier Lords from the Mihaloğlu Family", in M. Baramova, G. Boykov, and I. Parvev (eds.), *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 108–109.

[22] H. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara, 1954, p. 149–150, 158–159; H. İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara, 1954; H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakoviča: zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine*, Sarajevo, 1964.

therefore entangled in a network of patron–client ties, they also became an indispensable element of the military, administrative, social, political, and cultural life along and across the Ottoman borders, where they grew their own smaller patronage networks of clientelistic ties and thus contributed to the fluidity of social life in the border zone as a whole.[23] Examining the composition of these households and possibly tracing the career paths of the frontier lords' retainers has the potential to raise our awareness of several intertwined problems relevant to the process of military conquest itself, as well as the accompanying practices of cross-border diplomacy,[24] political alliances, kinship ties, and all sorts of other interactions between the border elites and the regional dynasties and their nobility.

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The paramount significance of these questions for the general theme of the Ottoman conquests in Europe notwithstanding, the objective of the present paper is much humbler – it aims to merely present some preliminary findings on the extended military-administrative households of the frontier lords, based exclusively on one particular source, which sheds extra light on its composition and on the basis of which some tentative assumptions could be advanced. In this short essay, I will only sketch some notes based on one specific Ottoman register. By providing several particular examples, I hope to illustrate that these noble families created networks of dependent loyalties and maintained a sizable group of dependent subjects, who were exclusively former Balkan Christians and who subsequently served as agents of Ottoman order in the region.

The source under scrutiny is a register that lists the military retinue of the fief (*dirlik*)-holders (*sancaḳbegi*s, *zaʿīm*s, and timariots) in the Rumelian (European) provinces of the empire sometime in the mid 1520s.[25] The document

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[23] The entanglement of the different political and spatial aspects of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, with a special emphasis on border zones, is addressed in the essay by Oliver Jens Schmitt in the present volume. See also his insightful thoughts on the manifold process of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans in his "Introduction," in O.J. Schmitt (ed.), *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and Research Debates*, Wien, 2016, p. 7–45.

[24] M. Ivanović, "Cyrillic Correspondence Between the Commune of Ragusa and Ottomans from 1396 to 1458", in S. Rudić and S. Aslantaş (eds.), *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, Belgrade 2017, p. 43–63; A. Krstić, "'Which Realm Will You Opt For?' – The Serbian Nobility between the Ottomans and the Hungarians in the 15th Century", in *ibid.*, p. 129–163.

[25] The original register is housed in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, TSMA) under the call no. D. 2204. I am, however, using the digital copy kept in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı – Osmanlı Arşivi, BOA) – TS. MA.d. 2204. The document is dated to the year 926/1520, but it seems to be from a slightly later date. A comparison with the *tevcīh* registers containing the names of the appointed provincial governors from the 1520s (1521/2, 1522, 1526, 1527, and 1527–1531), as well as some of the well-established career paths of some of the frontier begs, strongly suggest that TS. MA.d 2204 was compiled when Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Beg (d. 1527) was holding the post of a district-governor of Vidin in 1523/1524 and possibly slightly thereafter, before going back to his post as a *sancaḳbegi* of Semendire. For the career of Bali Beg, see Pál Fodor, "Wolf on the Border: Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Bey (?–1527).

contains detailed information on nearly all military revenue grants,[26] i.e., *ḫāṣṣe*s, *zeʿāmet*s, and *tīmār*s in the Ottoman Balkan provinces of Ağriboz (Euboea), Silistre (Silistra), Ohri (Ohrid), Vulçitrın (Vučitrn), Gelibolu (Gallipoli), Semendire (Smederevo), Niğbolu (Nikopol), Mora (Morea), Vidin, İskenderye (Shkodër), Yanya (Ioannina), Köstendil (Kyustendil), Çingene, aka. the administrative district of Gypsies around Vize and Kırkkilise (Kırklareli), Avlonya (Vlorë), and İlbasan (Elbasan). The parts that have been preserved present information on the sum of revenues allotted to the *dirlik*-holders and on the military retinue of most district-governors (*sancaḳbegi*), *zaʿīm*s or timariots, listed along with their names and often with their place of origin and specific office or duty.

District (*livā/sancaḳ*)	District governor (*sancaḳbegi*)	Allotted revenue (in *akçe*)	Supported household (*merdümān, ḫizmetkārān, gılmānān*)
Oḫri	Meḥmed Beg	340 000	200
Vılçitrın	ʿAlī Beg veled-i İskender Paşa	230 000	115
Gelibolu	Aḥmed Beg, kapudan	450 000	---
Semendire	Meḥmed Beg bin Yaḥyā Paşa	650 000	782
Silistre	Şücāʿ Beg	400 000	193
Niğbolu	Meḥmed Beg bin ʿAlī Beg	656 000	410
Mora	Süleymān Beg	504 000	254
Vidin	Bālī Beg	301 965	403
İskenderiyye	Aḥmed Beg	475 000	273
Yanya	Luṭfī Beg	503 629	230
Köstendil	Turġut Beg	350 000	167
İzvornik	Aḥmed Beg bin Yaḥyā Paşa	220 000	---
Çingane	İskender Beg bin Yaḥyā Paşa	150 000	102
Avlonya	Aḥmed Beg birader-i ḥażret-i Ayās Paşa	350 000	235
İlbasan	Meḥmed Beg	215 000	---

Ottoman provincial governors in Rumeli and their retainers (mid 1520s).
Source: BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204

Expansion and Provincial Elite in the European Confines of the Ottoman Empire in the Early Sixteenth Century", in P. Fodor, N. E. Kovács, and B. Péri (eds.), *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, Budapest, 2019, p. 57–87, esp. p. 63. On the earliest appointment (*tevcīh*) registers, their dating and contents, see Ö. L. Barkan, "H. 933–934 (M. 1527–1528) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15:1–4, 1953–1954, p. 251–329, esp. p. 303–307; E. Çakar, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Kanun-nâmesine Göre 1522 Yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İdarî Taksimatı", *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 12:1, 2002, p. 261–282; M. T. Gökbilgin, "Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri Başlarında Rumeli Eyaleti, Livaları, Şehir ve Kasabaları", *Belleten* 20, 1956, 247–294; M. Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants...*, esp. p. 104–116.

[26] The defter consists of 201 folia. However, it has no beginning nor an end, hence it is incomplete (as some parts are missing). The register begins with certain *zeʿāmet* (whose name is not readable because the upper part of the folio is torn) in the district of Ağriboz. It is also obvious that the pages are bound erroneously, since f. 2[a] starts by listing *zeʿāmet*s in the Silistre province, but the latter's proper beginning is apparently on f. 56[b], preceded by a recapitulation of the troops in the district of Ağriboz on f. 56[a].

Although at this point it is difficult to identify each of the mentioned district-governors (stemming notably from the fact that they are listed only with their personal names and lack a patronymic), the high amount of palace-fed retinue amongst them is nevertheless apparent. Being former sultanic pages and palace-graduates, a substantial number of the *sancaḳbegi*s clearly belonged to the extended Ottoman household, as evidenced by the governors of Vılçitrın, Gelibolu, Semendire, Vidin, İzvornik, Çingâne, and Avlonya. Relatives of former sultanic pages of Christian descent (İskender Paşa was of Genoese descent;[27] Yahya Paşa – an Albanian;[28] Ayas Paşa – likewise Albanian-born[29]), and raised in the Ottoman palace, they indeed epitomize a change in provincial governance in which the sultan's servitors gradually replaced the traditional local aristocratic families.[30]

Another eye-catching observation that imposes itself from the presented list of governor-generals with their fiefs and servants is that there is tangible discrepancy between the amounts of the allotted revenue and the size of the district-governor's retinue. The most striking difference, for instance, is observable in the cases of Semendire, Niğbolu, and Vidin districts. Although Mehmed Beg from the Mihaloğlu family (the *sancaḳbegi* of Nikopol) was allocated a revenue grant bigger than that of Yahyalı Mehmed Beg in Semendire, he actually sustained a much smaller household, almost half the size of the latter's. Similarly, the district-governor of Vidin, another member of the Yahyalı family, had a revenue grant amounting to half of that allotted to Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, but supported an entourage almost as large as the district-governor of Nikopol. These kinds of discrepancies have already been noted in recent studies. The inconsistencies are accounted for by the military merits, social standing, and, especially in the border districts, the amount of booty collected by the *sancaḳ*-holders.[31] This explanation might well be the case in point as regards our example. Originally an Albanian, and raised as Mehmed II's palace page, Yahya Pasha served successively as governor, governor-general, and vizier under Mehmed II and his successor Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), and also joined the royal family by marrying Bayezid's daughter.[32] From amongst his seven sons, Bali Beg and Mehmed Beg were the most illustrious.[33] Successfully leading vanguard forces into neighboring European soils,

[27] H. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid: Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bayezids II (1481–1512)*, Berlin, 1983, p. 240–261.

[28] H. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid…*, p. 336–345; A. Fotić, "Yahyapaşa-Oğlu Mehmed Pasha's Evkaf in Belgrade," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54:4, 2001, p. 437–452; P. Fodor, "Wolf on the Border…".

[29] V.J. Parry, "Ayas Pasha", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 1, Leiden, 1986, p. 779–780; B. Kütükoğlu, "Ayas Paşa", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, İstanbul, 1991, p. 202–203.

[30] M. Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants…*.

[31] M. Kunt, "Royal and Other Households…", p. 104.

[32] H. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid…*, p. 336–345.

[33] A. Fotić, "Yahyapaşa-Oğlu Mehmed Pasha's Evkaf in Belgrade…"; P. Fodor, "Wolf on the Border…".

they were among the most renowned frontier warriors of their time. Their consecutive appointments to the border districts of Vidin and Semendire put them in control of most of the Danubian border zone (*serḥadd*). The district-governor of Niğbolu, Mehmed Beg, on the other hand, was a descendant of the Mihaloğlu family, whose eponymous founder was the Byzantine renegade Köse Mihal, one of the closest companions of Osman Beg in Bithynia.[34] Successive members of the Mihal family had led the Ottoman vanguard forces since the end of the thirteenth century, hence forming a hereditary family of frontier warriors (*uc begleri*) that was not directly linked to the royal palace and the sultanic household members who started their careers as palace graduates. Judging from the size of the revenue grant and the large military retinue that Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg was able to sustain by the mid 1520s, it becomes apparent that he was amongst the most successful frontier lords of the time, surpassed only by the members of the Yahyalı family both in terms of revenue grant size and amount of retainers. The high standing and foremost position of the Yahyalı family amongst the district-governors and frontier leaders in Rumelia is signified also by the fact that at the time the register was compiled, no less than four of the sons of Yahya Pasha held the posts of district-governors in the Balkans. This paramount standing certainly deserves special attention, but remains outside the analysis of the present paper, since the founder of the family, Yahya Pasha, was indeed a palace graduate and thus might be considered part of the extended royal household.

In what follows, I therefore restrict myself to a closer examination of the military household of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg and several of his relatives, as this particular family represents in full the hereditary Ottoman frontier nobility which founded, raised, and sustained a dynasty of its own outside the Ottoman royal household. Mehmed Beg himself was a son of Mihaloglu ʿAli Beg,[35] one of the most prominent frontier lords at the time of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, who established his permanent power base in the district of Niğbolu centered on Plevne (mod. Pleven),[36] hence founding the Plevne branch of the family. Among ʿAli Beg's sons, Mehmed Beg was the most distinguished, gaining fame in the Ottoman military expeditions against European territories during the first three decades of the sixteenth

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[34] O. Sabev, "The Legend of Köse Mihal", *Turcica* 34, 2002, p. 241–252; M. Kiprovska, "Byzantine Renegade and Holy Warrior: Reassessing the Character of Köse Mihal, a Hero of the Byzantino-Ottoman Borderland", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 40, 2013, p. 245–269 (Special Issue: S. S. Kuru and B. Tezcan (eds.), *Defterology: Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry*, Cambridge, 2013).

[35] O. Zirojević, "Smederevski Sandjakbeg Ali Beg Mihaloglu", *Zbornik Za Istoriju Matitsa Srpska* 3, 1971, p. 9–27; A. S. Levend, *Gazavât-Nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavât-Nâmesi*, Ankara, 2000, p. 187–195.

[36] M. Kiel, "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: The Place of Turkish Architecture in the Process", *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4:2, 1989, p. 108–112; M. Kiel, "Plewna", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, new edition, Leiden, 1995, p. 317–320; A. Kayapınar, "Kuzey Bulgaristan'da Gazi Mihaloğulları Vakıfları…"; O. Sabev, "Osmanlıların Balkanları Fethi ve İdaresinde Mihaloğulları Ailesi…"; M. Kiprovska, "Power and Society in Pleven on the Verge of Two Epochs…".

century and holding several border district governorships. Mehmed Beg participated in all the major military expeditions of Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566): he led the raiders' troops in the campaign against the Safavids in 1514; and he fought at the siege of Belgrade (1521), at the battle of Mohács (1526), as well as during the Hungarian (1529) and the so-called German campaigns (1532) of Süleyman I.[37] He was a district-governor Vidin (1515)[38] of Bosnia (1517?)[39] and Hersek (1520),[40] a governor of two infantry (*piyāde*) recruitment districts in the province of Sultanönü in Anatolia (1520),[41] the birthplace of the dynasty, and most notably the district-governor of Niğbolu, where the Plevne branch of the family had its large domains,[42] a post which he held almost uninterruptedly from the early 1520s.[43]

In the mid 1520s Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg held the governorship of the Danubian border province of Niğbolu with an annual income of 656 000 *akçe*, as attested by the register examined in this essay.[44] Unlike the provincial governors' appointment (*tevcīh*) registers scholars have employed thus far, which disclose information only on the name of the district-governor, the place of his appointment, and allotted revenue in a given year, the register of the fief-holding soldiery in Rumeli from the mid 1520s offers invaluable details on the supported retinue of the listed *dirlik*-holders as well. The register under scrutiny lists no less than 410 people from Niğbolu district-governor Mehmed Beg's retinue.[45] All of his retainers are listed under the heading *gılmānān*. In Ottoman usage, *gulām* (pl. *gılmān*) was a

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[37] M. Nüzhet Paşa, *Ahvâl-i Gazi Mihal*, Der Sa'adet, 1315, p. 78–82; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi. II. cilt: İstanbul'un Fethinden Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın Ölümüne Kadar*, Ankara, 1998[8], p. 262, 471, 573; M.T. Gökbilgin, "Mihaloğulları", in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8, 1960, p. 288; A.S. Levend, *Gazavât-Nâmeler…*, p. 195–196.

[38] BOA, Maliyeden, Müdevver (MAD) 70, f. 1b.

[39] M. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, ed. Nuri Akbayar, vol. 3, Istanbul, 1996, p. 965; V. Biščević, *Bosanski namjesnici Osmankog doba (1463–1878)*, Sarajevo, 2006, p. 82–83; M.T. Gökbilgin, "Mihaloğulları", p. 288.

[40] *91, 164, MAD 540 ve 173 Numaralı Hersek, Bosna ve İzvornik Livâları İcmâl Tahrîr Defterleri (926-939 / 1520–1533)*, Ankara, 2005, p. 43.

[41] The military-administrative province of "Piyādegān-i Sultanönü" was further divided into smaller units, two of which – both with the geographic name Harmankaya – were under the military governance of Mehmed Beg, who inherited the position from his father ʿAli Beg. See H. Doğru, *XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağında Yaya ve Müsellem Teşkilatı*, İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 1990, p. 88, 91; M. Kiprovska, "Byzantine Renegade and Holy Warrior…", p. 257–258.

[42] See also Grigor Boykov's contribution to this volume.

[43] In the appointment registers of the 1520s he is listed as a district-governor of Niğbolu in 1521/22 (TSMA, D. 9772), 1526 (TSMA, D.10057), and 1527 (TSMA, D.5246). Cf. Ö. L. Barkan, "H. 933–934 (M. 1527–1528) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği…", p. 303–307; M. T. Gökbilgin, "Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri Başlarında Rumeli…", p. 247–294; M. Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants…*, p. 104–116. In a *tahrīr* register from 1530 (BOA, TD 370) he still holds the post of Niğbolu *sancakbegi*. *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 2. *Çirmen, Müsellemân-ı Çingâne, Müsellemân-ı Kızılca, Silistre, Kefe, Niğbolu ve Vidin Livâları, Çirmen ve Vize Müsellemleri, Yörük ve Tatar Cemâatleri ile Voynuğan-ı İstabl-ı Âmire ve Kıbtiyân-ı Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili*, Ankara, 2001, p. 512.

[44] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 69[b]: *Livâ-i Niğbolu, der taṣarruf-i Meḥmed Beg bin ʿAlī Beg, ḥāṣıl: 656 000*.

[45] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, ff. 69[b]–70[b]: *yekün-i merdümân-i müşārün-ileyh: 410*.

term used to designate a young slave who went through special training in a respected *ḳapı*, i.e., a household.[46] Engaged in constant warfare on the Ottoman borders, the marcher lords, including those from the house of Mihal, could easily staff their military households with the needed manpower supply, as they were able to accumulate a great many slaves and prisoners of war whom they later trained in various duties in their courts, and hence produced and maintained a sizable elite troop of soldiers and loyal subjects. Plausibly, the process of training these *ḳapı-ḳulları* (household servitors) employed by the frontier lords mirrored the educational and military training that the sultanic slaves went through in the royal Ottoman palace – first in the inner service (*enderūn* section) and then in the outer service (*bīrūn* section) of the palace. Such a hypothesis is substantiated by the data enclosed in the register from the mid 1520s, which contains the names of each of the dependents of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, specifying a particular place of origin for many of his retainers, as well as their occupation or responsibility as employees at the *beg*'s household. Hence, besides the armed retainers (*cebelü*) who rendered military service, one may identify particular regiments that were an integral part of his entourage and palace pages. Although not grouped under specific headings, the additional information for each individual allows us to determine the following detachments:

- commanders of military divisions
  18 *voyvoda* (commanders of a military division)
- cavalry regiment
  8 *çāvuş* (envoys to deliver and carry out orders, court heralds)
- regiment of the life-guards of the *beg*
  1 *silāḥdār* (arms-bearer and personal life-guard of the *beg*)
- household soldiery
  257 *cebelü* (armed retainers)
- regiment of gate-keepers
  1 *ketḫüdā-i bevvābīn* (chief of the gate-keepers guarding the central gate of the *beg*'s palace)
  2 *ser-bevvābīn* (heads of the gate-keepers)
- regiment of scribes
  5 *kātib* (scribes)
- regiment of the *beg*'s kitchen
  1 *ser-ḫabbāzīn* (head of the cooks)
  4 *ḫabbāz* (bakers)
  2 *kilārī* (keeper of the larder)
- regiment of tailors
  1 *ser-ḫayyāṭīn* (chief of the tailors)
  7 *ḫayyāṭ* (tailors)

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[46] H. İnalcık, "Ghulām, IV: Ottoman Empire…".

- regiment of shoemakers
  1 *ser-ḳavafīn* (chief of the shoe makers)
  6 *ḳavaf* (shoe makers)
- regiment in charge of campaign tents
  1 *ser-mehterān-i ḫayme* (chief of the tent-makers)
  21 *mehter* (tent-makers)
- regiment of *beg*'s stables
  1 *emīr-āḫūr* (lord of the stables)
  1 *keth̲üdā-i āḫūr* (chief of the stables)
  5 *ḫarbende* (pack animals' grooms)
- regiment of falconers
  1 *ser-bāzdārān* (chief of raptor breeders)
  9 *bāzdār* (raptor breeders)
- regiment of physicians
  1 *cerrāḥ* (physician)

The composition of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg's palace employees and military entourage implies that the *beg*'s personal retinue and extended household mirrored the structure of the sultanic household and sultanic palace personnel, where we see representatives of the same contingents.[47] In turn, this suggests that the raider commanders had in all probability fashioned their power bases and especially their residential mansions through analogy with the sultanic palaces. The presence of gate-keepers, for instance, clearly points to the physical appearance of the mansion. Obviously it was surrounded by walls, and access to the inner parts was only possible via the guarded gates. This assumption is corroborated by the physical remains of part of the enclosing walls of the Mihaloğlus "castle" in Plevne, the family's most significant power base and residence in the Danubian plain.[48] Remnants of the dwelling still existed at the beginning of the twentieth century and were known until the 1930s as the "*saray*" (palace).[49] It is possible that the abode was built by Mihaloğlu ʿAli Beg at the end of the fifteenth century concurrently with all the other buildings he commissioned, and around which the town of Plevne grew. In the mid seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi recounted that the *saray* was a quadrangular fortification, with a palace of many stories inside the walls, where the

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[47] İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı….*

[48] M. Kiprovska, "Shaping the Ottoman Borderland…", p. 207, 217–218; M. Kiprovska, "Plunder and Appropriation at the Borderland: Representation, Legitimacy, and Ideological Use of *Spolia* by Members of the Ottoman Frontier Nobility", in I. Jevtić and S. Yalman (eds.), *Spolia Reincarnated – Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*, Istanbul, 2018, p. 66–68. The existence of another palace of the family in its Harmankaya domain in Anatolia is also attested in the Ottoman fiscal records of the region. See M. Kiprovska, "Byzantine Renegade and Holy Warrior…", p. 262–263.

[49] Y. Trifonov, *Istoriya na grada Pleven do Osvoboditelnata voyna*, Sofia, 1933, p. 61 (plan of the walled part of the palace), p. 62–63.

Mihaloğulları lived and from where they governed the area.[50] Whether the inner space was strictly partitioned into successive courtyards, like the Topkapı Sarayı in İstanbul, is hard to determine. But what can be firmly ascertained about the Mihaloğlu palace in Plevne in particular, judging again from the retainers of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, is that it clearly integrated different structures, such as the palace kitchens and bakeries, supervised by the head of the cooks (*ser-ḫabbāzīn*), and the associated cellars and depots managed by the keeper of the larder (*kilārī*); the armory, which was managed by the chief sword bearer (*silāḫdār*); the palace stables, overseen by the chief of the stables (*emīr-āḫūr*); certain facilities where the *beg*'s birds of prey were raised and trained (as suggested by the presence of a chief falconer, *ser-bāzdārān*); tailoring ateliers (as suggested by the presence of both tent-makers and tailors – *mehterān*, *ḫayyāṭīn*); a scribes' chamber (as suggested by the presence of several scribes, *kātib*); and in all certainty it also possessed a distinct council hall (*dīvān-ḫāne*) where the councils, summoning the highest military commanders of the *beg*'s military forces (such as *voyvoda*s) and his envoys (*çāvuşe*s), were held and where military decisions and subsequent orders were carefully recorded by the secretaries (*kātib*s). In all probability, it also included dormitories for all palace employees. When Evliya Çelebi described the palace in the second half of the seventeenth century, he only mentioned that it resembled a fortification. Still, one can suppose that behind his wording, "many-storeyed palace,"[51] actually hide all the edifices described above.

The assumption that the Mihaloğlu retainers went through educational and military training in the palace facilities in the city of Plevne is likewise corroborated by further information obtainable from the register under scrutiny. A closer look at the retinue of some *zeʿāmet*-holders (large fief holders) who were offspring of the Mihaloğlu family allows an interesting observation. A substantial part of their retainers were registered as originating from Plevne, implying that they were Plevne palace-graduates. These individuals were part of the extended Mihaloğlu military household, who, in turn, became the backbone of the satellite households of less prominent or simply younger – and therefore still less experienced – military leaders from the family. It suffices to look at the households of two of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg's sons to substantiate this assumption. His son Hızır, who held a *zeʿāmet* in the district of Niğbolu with an income of 70 000 *aḳçe*, sustained an entourage of 100 men. Not less than 57 of them, more than half, came from Plevne.[52] The same is true for the retinue of another son of Mehmed Beg, Ahmed Beg, who held another fief (*zeʿāmet*) in the district of Niğbolu, yielding an income of 25 000 *aḳçe*. Yet again, half of the retinue of Ahmed Beg were from

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[50] Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. 6. Kitap: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*, ed. S. A. Kahraman and Y. Dağlı, Istanbul, 2002, p. 95.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 71ª.

Plevne.[53] And if the proximity of the palace-center of Plevne to the holdings of the two sons of the district-governor of Niğbolu might well have been a leading factor in the formation of their households, another example from the district of Semendire definitely showcases how the offspring of a frontier lords' family formed his household. A case in point is a *tīmār*-holding, indeed a rather large one (15 380 *akçe*), of Maḥmūd bin Meḥmed Beg bin İḫtimānī.[54] Ihtiman, a town to the south-east of Sofia, was the place of residence of another branch of the Mihaloğlu family, whose members are referred to in the sources with the nobility predicate İḫtimānī (marking the place of their seat of power and family domain) to distinguish them from the Plevne family line.[55] The said Mahmud Beg at the time supported a household of 36 people, 12 of whom are recorded as İḫtimānī (from Ihtiman), indicating their place of origin. Apparently, the core of his military household was formed by people from his father's courtly household (represented by the 12 retainers from Ihtiman) who came along with their young master to the place of his new appointment – in this case, a *tīmār* in the province of Semendire.

fief-holding, its holder and allotted revenue	number of supported retainers	origin of the retainers' bulk
zeʿāmet-i be-nām-i Ḫıżır Beg bin Meḥmed Beg bin Miḫāl Beg ḫāṣıl: 70 000 [akçe]	cebelüyān-i mezbūr: 100	Plevne: 57
zeʿāmet-i be-nām-i Aḥmed Beg bin Meḥmed Beg bin ʿAlī Beg ḫāṣıl: 25 000 [akçe]	cebelüyān-i mezbūr: 18	Plevne: 9
tīmār-i Maḥmūd bin Meḥmed Beg bin İḫtimānī ḫāṣıl: 15 380 [akçe]	cebelüyān: 36	İḫtimān: 12

Number and place of origin of some of the Mihaloğlu family members' retinue.
Source: BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204.

The three cases cited above illustrate how the marcher lords' progeny formed their military-administrative households – the backbone of their retinues were graduates of their fathers' courts, later enlarged by their own slave recruits who were further trained into their newly formed households. Moreover, the cited examples also bear striking similarities with how the Ottoman princely household was formed. It was a well-established custom before the seventeenth century for an Ottoman prince (*şehzāde*) to leave the sultanic household and to receive an appointment as

[53] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 72[b].
[54] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 45[a].
[55] For the establishment of the family in Ihtiman and the town's further development see: M. Kiel, "Four Provincial Imarets in the Balkans and the Sources about Them", in N. Ergin, Ch. K. Neumann, and A. Singer (eds.), *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 2007, p. 106–109; O. Sabev, "Osmanlıların Balkanları Fethi ve İdaresinde Mihaloğulları Ailesi …", p. 239–240; M. Kiprovska, "Shaping the Ottoman Borderland…", p. 198–202.

governor in an Anatolian district (*sancaḳ*). Upon leaving for the province, the prince was given some palace servitors from the sultanic household to staff his own household. At his provincial post, the prince's household grew with his own recruits, and upon succession to the throne the successful prince brought his entourage to be reincorporated into the royal household.[56] This practice seems to have been applied in full by the hereditary raider commanders as well, and ought to be accounted as among the principal reasons for the sustainability and longevity of their dynasties.

Apart from how the household was formed, the names of the *beg*'s retinues also provide an opportunity to substantiate the supposition that the marcher lords initially drew household members from slaves acquired as a result of their military expeditions in the Christian territories in the Balkans or Anatolia. For instance, a substantial part of the household attendants of the Niğbolu *sancaḳbegi* Mehmed Beg were specifically recorded with a toponymy-based label, such as Bosna (33), Arnavud (23), Hersek (12), Eflâk (4), Belgrad (2), Macar (1), Rus (1), therefore marking the actual places from where they had been taken and brought to his residential palace in Plevne for training. The same holds for some of his sons' households' entourage, amongst whom certain individuals are likewise listed as Bosna, Eflâk, Arnavud, Hırvat, and Macar, clearly indicating the territories of the military excursions from where the frontier lords levied the bulk of their future retainers and household affiliates.

These recruits, most of them certainly slaves captured during the raids, joined the households of the frontier warriors and, after going through special military and educational training, became either their palace servitors or part of their elite military retine. They are recorded in the register only with a Muslim name, preventing any further observations as to their background prior to joining the Mihaloğlu household. It is plausible, nevertheless, that among their ranks there were also sons of local magnates in regions occupied by the frontier lords; others might have been taken as hostages from the neighboring noble courts; or there might have been some high-profile voluntary converts, former courtiers and retine of the frontier nobility across the border, who switched sides and joined the court of the noble clan of Mehmed Beg.[57]

In spite of the obscurity shrouding the origins of these retainers, it is possible to trace out the military advancement of some. After graduation from the frontier lord's palace, the most distinguished ones were further awarded revenue grants

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[56] M. Kunt, "Royal and Other Households…"

[57] Movement of higher and lesser nobility for military and official service across the border between the neighboring royal and noble courts was not uncommon. On the contrary, such movements from Serbia and Croatia to the north in Banat, Transylvania and in the service of the Hungarian king and nobles were rather frequent, as showcased by the studies of Neven Isailović and Aleksandar Krstić/Adrian Magina in the present volume. Moreover, as exemplified by the career path of the Serbian voivode Miloš Belmužević (Krstić and Magina's text in this volume), who for a short time was an Ottoman *sipāhī*, switching allegiance was not always a permanent decision.

(*tīmār*s) in their master's governing districts[58]. They raised smaller military households of their own, hence becoming an indispensable part of the military and the administrative structure of the respected regions. One can safely identify members of the Mihaloğlu extended household as *tīmār*-holders in the *sancaḳ* of Niğbolu in the mid 1520s. Three timariots are listed as the *sancaḳbegi* Mehmed Beg's associates (*merdüm*), one being explicitly recorded as his scribe (*kātib*).[59] Four more *sipāhī*s can likewise be identified as part of the Mihaloğlu family members' retinue: three men (*merdüm*) of Mustafa Beg and one attendant (*merdüm*) of Hasan Beg's household, the latter two being brothers of the then district-governor Mehmed Beg.[60]

Fief-holdings of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg's household retinue members (*merdüm*):	
tīmār-i Yūnus Çelebi, merdüm-i Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 9 501 [aḳçe]
tīmār-i kātib Caʿfer, merdüm-i Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 9 071 [aḳçe]
tīmār-i Ḳāsım, merdüm-i Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 5 289 [aḳçe]

Fief-holdings of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg's brothers' households retinue members (*merdüm*):	
tīmār-i Alagöz, merdüm-i Muṣṭafā Beg	ḥāṣıl: 10 771 [aḳçe]
tīmār-i Ḫüsrev Dīvāne, merdüm-i Muṣṭafā Beg	ḥāṣıl: 7 708 [aḳçe]
tīmār-i İdrīs voyvoda, merdüm-i Muṣṭafā Beg	ḥāṣıl: 17 000 [aḳçe]
tīmār-i Meḥmed, merdüm-i Ḥasan Beg	ḥāṣıl: 6 250 [aḳçe]

Fief-holders from the Mihaloğlu family household retinue members.
Source: BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204.

The number of *sipāhī*-cavalrymen who were members of the military household of the frontier lord's district-governor, as presented in the register from the mid 1520s, might seem truly negligible as compared to the situation half a century earlier when, for example, the *tīmār*-holders in the province of Üsküp were all bar a few represented by the servants of the marcher lords of Paşa Yiğit clan (most notably İshakoğlu ʿİsa beg) – their *gulām*s or *ḫizmetkār*s.[61] However, the significance of the Mihaloğlu family members' entourage in the Niğbolu district's military forces should not be underestimated. Indeed, when one adds to the substantial retinue of the *sancaḳbegi*, amounting to 410 men, the number of the supported military escort of five more Mihaloğlu family members who held

[58] The most trusted men and distinguished voyvodas from the closest entourage of the *beg* were even allotted by their patron with private properties (*mülk*). Such was the case with several elite soldiers in the district of Plevne, who were granted private lands by Ali Beg and his son Mehmed Beg. Cf. A. Kayapınar, "Kuzey Bulgaristan'da Gazi Mihaloğulları Vakıfları…", p. 174; O. Sabev, "Osmanlıların Balkanları Fethi ve İdaresinde Mihaloğulları Ailesi…", p. 236; V. Turgut, "Vakıf Belgelerinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Dönemi Aileleri: Malkoçoğulları ve Mihallüler", *Yeni Türkiye* 66, 2015, p. 573–583, esp. p. 581–582.
[59] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 75ᵃ, 75ᵇ, 77ᵃ.
[60] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 75ᵇ, 76ᵃ, 76ᵇ.
[61] H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakoviča…*.

*zeˁāmet*s in the province (three of his sons and two of his cousins), and the *tīmār*-holding men affiliated with the dynasty (*merdüm*s of Mehmed Beg and two of his brothers) as well, it becomes clear that the extended Mihaloğlu household and its associates supported no less than 589 retainers, which made up nearly 40% (37.58%) of the whole military strength of the province, consisting of 1 567 soldiers in total.[62] Assuming that a number of the timariots with unspecified or unidentifiable affiliation were also the Mihaloğulları's close associates, these figures could prove to be higher still. Even these numbers, however, are instructive concerning the dominant authority of the warlords from the family in the Danubian frontier district of Niğbolu in the second decade of the sixteenth century.

fief-holder	allotted revenue	number of supported retainers	
zeˁāmet-i be-nām-i Ḫıżır Beg bin Meḥmed Beg bin Miḫāl Beg	ḥāṣıl: 70 000 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 100
zeˁāmet-i be-nām-i Aḥmed Beg bin Meḥmed Beg bin ˁAlī Beg	ḥāṣıl: 25 000 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 18
zeˁāmet-i be-nām-i ˁAlī Beg [bin] Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 25 000 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 10
zeˁāmet-i be-nām-i Seyyidi bin Bālī Beg	ḥāṣıl: 22 598 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 8
zeˁāmet-i be-nām-i Çalış bin Ḫıżır Beg bin Miḫāl – maḥlūl	ḥāṣıl: 26 137 [aḳçe]	---[63]	
tīmār-i Yūnus Çelebi, merdüm-i Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 9 501 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 7
tīmār-i kātib Caˁfer, merdüm-i Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 9 071 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 10
tīmār-i Ḳāsım, merdüm-i Meḥmed Beg	ḥāṣıl: 5 289 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 6
tīmār-i Alagöz, merdüm-i Muṣṭafā Beg	ḥāṣıl: 10 771 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 2
tīmār-i Ḫüsrev Dīvāne, merdüm-i Muṣṭafā Beg	ḥāṣıl: 7 708 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 5
tīmār-i İdrīs voyvoda, merdüm-i Muṣṭafā Beg	ḥāṣıl: 17 000 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 10
tīmār-i Meḥmed, merdüm-i Ḥasan Beg	ḥāṣıl: 6 250 [aḳçe]	cebelüyān-i	mezbūr: 3

Military retine supported by Mihaloğlu family members and their associates.
Source: BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204.

[62] BOA, TS. MA.d. 2204, f. 82ᵃ.

[63] Since the revenue-raising fief was vacant at the time of the registration (*maḥlūl*), there were no retainers listed. Çalış Beg should be regarded as the previous *zeˁāmet* holder, as it is possible that he was either dead at that time or had received another fief-holding somewhere else.

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Taken as a whole, the information from the mid 1520s register offers an insight into the marcher lords' extended households. Even the sketchy examples from the province of Niğbolu and the household of its district-governor presented here reveal that these lords of the marches were rightfully called so not only because they led the Ottoman expansion into Europe in command of numerous troops of raiders, or because they established their lordships (massive landed estates) in the regions under their governance, but also because they sustained a large entourage of personal devotees, who manned their noble courts and were part of the military-administrative organization of their provinces. What is more, the composition and the size of their courtly households reveal striking similarities with the Ottoman imperial and princely households, which hence adds to the proper evaluation of the active role they played in all levels of the Ottoman socio-political establishment. It is noteworthy that the personal retainers maintained by Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, for instance, could be compared in size to the princely households of the time. Süleyman I, for example, when he was a princely governor in 1511, and his son prince Mehmed in 1540, had each approximately 500 men in their households.[64] Likewise, again in comparison with the Ottoman ruler, taking advantage of their leadership in foreign conquests and thereby obtaining substantial numbers of slaves (possibly including also members of the local higher or lesser nobility), the frontier lords were able to staff their households with slave recruits, who were raised, educated, and further socialized in their courts to become their loyal servitors, skillful courtiers, and elite military retainers. The courtly households of the frontier lords formed their elite entourage, whose members were arguably also physically attached to their master, living within the confines of the frontier lords' palatial homes, which, again in parallel to the sultanic palace, combined the family quarters of the *beg*s and the training and lodging facilities for the pages. Furthermore, mirroring the formation of the Ottoman princely households, the frontier lords' palace servitors formed the core of smaller satellite households of other noble families. In turn, the latter were further enlarged by the respective household head with his own slave recruits. Trained in different duties, the most skillful palace graduates of the marcher lords could find their way to the imperial household as well, as testified, for example, by the presence of several associates (*merdüm*) of Balkan raider commanders among the royal retinue of Selim I in 1512.[65] However, the frontier lords' palace graduates were most visible in the provinces they governed, as they became a true reservoir for the military and

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[64] Kunt, "A Prince Goes Forth…", p. 69.

[65] The first salary register (*mevācib defteri*) of Selim's royal retinue of 1512 and the individuals who were members of certain noble households, including the ones of the Balkan frontier lords, is analyzed in detail by H.E. Çıpa, *Yavuz'un Kavgası: I. Selim'in Saltanat Mücadelesi*, Istanbul, 2013, p. 181–211; H.E. Çıpa, "Bir Defterin Anlattıkları: I. Selim döneminin (1512–1520) İlk Mevacib Defteri," in A. Erdoğdu, Z. Atbaş, and A. Çötelioğlu (eds.), *Filiz Çağman'a Armağan*, İstanbul, 2018, p. 207–210.

the administration of the marcher districts, just like the imperial palace graduates became the pool for the military and administrative posts in the imperial center and throughout the provinces of the empire.

The households of the Ottoman frontier magnates emerged as true loci of power that managed manpower along the bordering regions. By establishing stable patron–client relations with the members of their extended households, the frontier lords found themselves at the apex of a large web of networks entwined within social, military, administrative, political, and cultural life along the borders of the Ottoman state. Moreover, it is notable that at their highest level these networks were also supported by a web of kinship relationships within and outside the Ottoman domains, which in turn positioned the household heads as active participants in domestic and foreign affairs at the time. A notable network of this type, not addressed in the present paper but which should undoubtedly not be overlooked, was created through the dynastic marriage politics that the frontier dynasties of warlords followed. The Plevne house of the Mihaloğlus knotted relations with the neighboring elites. Mihaloğlu ʿAli Beg, the founding father of the Danubian (Plevne) line of the prominent dynasty and one of the most celebrated Ottoman frontier lords at the end of the fifteenth century, established putative kinship ties with the Hungarian court when he married king Mathias Corvinus's daughter, whom he allegedly captured in one of his Transylvanian raids.[66] Hasan Beg, the eldest son of ʿAli Beg, who was possibly born to this noble lady, established kinship ties with the powerful neighboring Ottoman frontier household of the Yahyalı family by marrying the daughter of Yahya Pasha himself.[67] Undoubtedly the most distinguished son of ʿAli Beg, Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, whose household was discussed in the present paper, sealed an alliance with the Bosnian noble dynasty of Kosači when he married into the Hersekoğlu family by joining in matrimony the daughter of Ahmed Pasha.[68] Arguably, it was this alliance that secured him the post of district-governor of Hersek for some time. The political pact of union with one of the most influential houses of the Wallachian nobility, however, was the one that marked the career of Mehmed Beg.[69] Bonded to

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[66] M. Nüzhet Paşa, *Ahvâl-i Gazi Mihal…*, p. 61.

[67] BOA, Tapu Tahrir Defteri (TD) 382, p. 733, 743; TD 713, f. 216. Cf. A. Kayapınar, "Kuzey Bulgaristan'da Gazi Mihaloğulları Vakıfları…", p. 175.

[68] В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*, Београд, 1979, p. 216. In a register of benefactions (*inʿāmāt defteri*) from 1507 Mehmed Beg appears as the husband of an unnamed daughter of Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha and the Ottoman princess Hundi Sultan (daughter of Bayezid II). See H. Reindl-Kiel, "Some Notes on Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha, His Family, and His Books", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 40, 2013, 315–326 (Special Issue: S. S. Kuru and B. Tezcan (eds.), *Defterology: Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry*, Cambridge, 2013). In 1511 the wife of Mehmed Beg presented really generous gifts to Bayezid II. İlhan Gök, "Atatürk Kitaplığı M. C. O.71 Numaralı 909–933/1503–1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri (Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme)", Unpublished PhD dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara University, 2014, p. 1217.

[69] The love story between Mihaloğlu ʿAli Beg and the daughter of the Wallachian ban is at the center of Suzi Çelebi's epic poem, dedicated to the heroic deeds of ʿAli Beg. A. S. Levend, *Gazavât-Nâmeler…*.

the boyar family of the Craioveşti (the bans of Oltenia or Craiova) through his father's marriage to a daughter of Neagoe of Strehaia, Mehmed Beg remained closely linked to the Wallachian internal struggles, and his support was vital for the promoting of virtually all Wallachian voivodes in the period 1508–1532.[70]

Revealing further details about the dynastic marriages of the regional dynasties of frontier lords, as well as the members of their courtly households, and the impact they had on the socio-political dynamics along and across the Ottoman borders, would undoubtedly illuminate the history of the Ottoman conquest and subsequent permanent presence in the Balkans, a story of entanglement which is yet to be told. It remains a desiderata for future research to delve into the complicated matter of these families' prosopographic history. Only then will we be able to reconstruct the intricate kinship and clientele ties that formed multiple networks of dependencies and thus shaped the affairs of the bordering regions.

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[70] The kinship ties of the Mihaloğlus to the Craioveşti boyars were supported by documentary evidence published by M. A. Mehmet, "Două documente turceşti despre Neagoe Basarab…", *Studii* 21:5, 1968, 921–930. It was Cristina Feneşan who proposed that the mother of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg, the heroine from Suzi Çelebi's poem, must be a daughter of Neagoe of Strehaia, whom his father ʿAli Beg married and who later adopted the Muslim name Selimşah. See Cristina Feneşan, "Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg et la principauté de Valachie (1508–1532)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 15, 1995, p. 137–155. Feneşan's study is by now the most comprehensive historical overview of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Beg's interference in Wallachian politics, which goes far beyond the establishment of simple kinship relationships. Cf. her recent book, *Convertire la Islam în spaţiul carpato-dunărean: (secolele XV-XIX),* Bucureşti, 2020, p. 243–248. On the wider phenomenon of creation of multiple webs of social connections and group solidarities with marked political dimestions, that informed the actions of "trans-border actors," among whom Mehmed Beg and his kin had a central role, see R. Păun, "Calling for Justice and Protection: Sixteenth–Century Wallachian and Moldavian Tributaries as Petitioners to the Imperial Stirrup", in G. Kármán (ed.), *Tributaries and Peripheries of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden; Boston, 2020, 65–116.

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THE BELMUŽEVIĆ FAMILY. THE FATE OF A NOBLE FAMILY IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE DURING THE TURBULENT PERIOD OF THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST (THE 15th AND FIRST HALF OF THE 16th CENTURIES)

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Voivode Miloš Belmužević was a significant figure in 15th century Serbian history. He was born to a noble family, whose members performed administrative duties in Zeta and northern Serbia during the reign of Despot Đurađ Branković (1427–1456). Shortly before the downfall of the Serbian medieval state, Belmužević supported the pro-Ottoman faction of Michael Angelović. Due to this fact, he fell into disgrace at the court and was deprived of his property in 1458. After the fall of Smederevo (1459) he entered into Ottoman military service and became a *sipahi*. In 1476/7, he held the market place of Jagodina in the Morava valley as a *timar*. He moved to Hungary most probably during the great Hungarian offensives against the Ottomans in northern Serbia in 1480 and 1481, when tens of thousands of Serbs were taken across the Sava and the Danube and resettled in southern Hungary, including Banat. After moving to Hungary, Belmužević fought the Ottomans along the border, but also on other battlefields, as the commander of a large detachment of light cavalry – *hussars*. He was wounded serving King Matthias Corvinus in Silesia in 1488, and he distinguished himself during the wars of King Wladislas II Jagello against Maximilian Habsburg and Jan Albrecht in western and northern Hungary (1490–1491). For his loyal service and military merits, Belmužević was rewarded by King Matthias on several occasions, starting from 1483, with estates in Timiş, Cenad and Bač counties. It is after one of these estates in the vicinity of Timişoara that he was given the noble appellation "of Saswar". In 1496, King Wladislas II confirmed to Miloš Belmužević and his sons Vuk and Marko the earlier donations of Matthias Corvinus. However, the voivode lost both of his sons in the next few years: Marko died under unknown circumstances before 1498, while Vuk was killed in battle against the Ottomans in 1499 or 1500, during an Ottoman incursion into southern Hungary. In this conflict voivode Miloš was also wounded. Later, in order to avenge his son, he ravaged the surroundings of Smederevo. Left without a male heir, Belmužević left his estate to his mother Olivera, his wife Veronica and his underage daughter Milica. King Wladislas II confirmed the will of Belmužević, written in the Serbian language and preserved to the present day, after his death in the autumn of 1500. Veronica, who came from the noble family Arka of Densuş from Hunedoara County, remarried after her husband's death to Stephen Bradacs of Lodormercz, a Hungarian nobleman of Croatian origin. With this marriage, the largest part of Belmužević's property was transferred to Bradacs (the voivode left some possessions to his *familiares*). Becoming of age, Milica Belmužević started a series of legal processes in order to regain estates that were rightfully hers. Milica was married to Nicholas Kendeffy of Râu de Mori. This marriage strengthened Milica's ties with the home region of her mother, the land of Haţeg in Hunedoara County. Her life can be traced

through a series of documents that span a period of six decades, outliving both her husband and son, John Kendeffy.

Keywords: Voivode Miloš Belmužević, Milica Belmužević, Serbian medieval nobility, Christian *sipahis*, hussars, Smederevo sancak, Banat.

The unusual life and prominent role of Voivode Miloš Belmužević in the history of Serbia and South East Europe in the second half of the 15th century have aroused the interest of historians for over a hundred years.[1] A large number of sources of different origins – Serbian, Ragusan, Ottoman, Hungarian and Venetian, including the unique testimony of the voivode himself, who summed up his own life in his will[2] – have made it possible to sketch out his biography. Belmužević began his career in the state of the Serbian despots, after its collapse he became an Ottoman *sipahi*, and he died, according to his own words, "serving the king of Hungary and the Holy Crown". Yet, because of the fragmentary nature of these data, there have been areas of doubt and disagreement among historiographers concerning some of the most important moments in the life of this Serbian nobleman.

It is believed that Miloš Belmužević (Biomužević or Beomužević)[3] came from a noble family whose two prominent members, brothers Đurađ and Vuk, were

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[1] K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, translated and supplemented by J. Radonić, Beograd, 1952, vol. I, p. 376, 381, 407, 413; vol. II, p. 390–391; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Ugarskoj od pada Smedereva do seobe pod Čarnojevićem (1459–1690)*, Zagreb, 1914, p. 7–8, 17, 23–24, 27–29; idem, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini od najstarijih vremena do osnivanja potisko-pomoriške granice (1703)*, Novi Sad, 1929, p. 14, 18, 26, 28, 34, 36, 40–41, 60; Y. Radonitch, *Histoire des Serbes de Hongrie*, Paris, 1919, p. 65–66; D. Popović, "Vojvodina u tursko doba", in idem (ed.), *Vojvodina I. Od najstarijih vremena do Velike seobe*, Novi Sad, 1939, p. 210–212; idem, *Srbi u Vojvodini*, vol. I, Novi Sad, 1957, p. 155–158; J. Kalić (ed.), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. II, Beograd 1982, p. 377–382, 435, 444, 458–460; D. Mrđenović, A. Palavestra, D. Spasić, *Rodoslovne tablice i grbovi srpskih dinastija i vlastele*, Beograd, 1991², p. 218–220; N. Lemajić, "Porodica Belmužević", *Istraživanja* 13, 1990, p. 73–80; idem, *Srpski narodni prvaci, glavari i starešine posle propasti srednjevekovnih država*, Novi Sad, 1999, p. 32–33, 55, 76, 153–155; idem, "O nekim nejasnim pitanjima iz istorije porodice Belmužević", in S. Gavrilović (ed.), *Balkan i Panonija kroz istoriju*, Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 115–123 (these works were reprinted in: N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita na prelomu epoha*, Sremska Mitrovica–Istočno Sarajevo, 2006); A. Krstić, "Novi podaci o vojvodi Milošu Belmuževiću i njegovoj porodici", *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovekovne studije* 1, 2013, p. 161–185; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb în Banatul secolului al XV-lea: Miloš Belmužević", *Analele Banatului, Serie nouă, Arheologie – istorie* 18, 2010, p. 135–142; idem, "Milica Belmužević: l'histoire d'une noble dame du XVIe siècle", *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovekovne studije* 2, 2014, p. 145–162; S. Iaşin, *Familiile nobiliare sârbeşti din Banat în secolele al XV-lea şi al XVI-lea*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, p. 168–173; A. Ivanov, "Ratovanje vojvode Miloša Belmuževića u Šleziji", *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 94, 2016, p. 21–27.

[2] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika iz XVI i XVII veka", *Vjesnik kraljevskoga hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva* 15/2, 1913, p. 93–94 (reprinted in: N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 354, and S. Petrović, "Staranje o duši. Testament Miloša Belmuževića i epski modeli o poslednjoj volji junaka", *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 71/1–4, 2005, p. 21–22).

[3] The surname is recorded in different variants in the sources. For differences in pronunciation cf. A. Loma, "Zagorje Stefana Belmuževića – kuda je Janko bežao sa Kosova", *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije* 23, 1986, p. 18, 20, note 29. For practical reasons, we will use the widely accepted form of the surname – Belmužević.

in the service of Despot Đurađ Branković (1427–1456) in Zeta, in the littoral part of present-day Montenegro. In some recent biographical articles on the Belmuževićs, it is stated that Đurađ Belmužević was in the diplomatic service of Despot Đurađ during the war between Dubrovnik and the Bosnian magnate Duke Radoslav Pavlović over the territory of Konavli (1430–1432).[4] This would be the earliest recorded mention of the activities of Đurađ Belmužević and any of the members of this family in general. During the first Ottoman occupation of the Serbian state (1439–1444) the brothers escaped from Zeta, and stayed with their families in Dubrovnik in 1443. Đurađ travelled from Dubrovnik to Hungary, probably to the despot who was in refuge there, and at the end of the same year the Ragusan authorities provided a ship to transport their wives to Shkoder.[5] After the restoration of the Serbian state, the brothers returned to Zeta. In 1445 they were listed among witnesses present for a verdict given at the despot's voivode in Zeta. In this document Vuk and Đurađ Belmužević are recorded as "Serbian noblemen" unlike several other witnesses, local nobles, who are mentioned as "noblemen of Zeta".[6] The following year, an envoy of Vuk Belmužević withdrew a deposit of funds which his master had previously left in Dubrovnik.[7] A lawsuit from 1450 shows that Vuk Belmužević, together with the Orthodox Metropolitan of Zeta, administered the district of Luštica in the southern part of the Bay of Kotor.[8] Due to their close ties with Dubrovnik, the brothers were granted Ragusan citizenship in 1454.[9] Vuk Belmužević is not given further mention in sources while Đurađ, titled voivode, acquired weapons (maces and crossbow strings) in Dubrovnik at the beginning of March 1455.[10] From May 1455, this nobleman of the Serbian despot is also no longer mentioned in historical sources.[11]

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[4] S. Ćirković, "Vuk Belmužević/Biomužević", in Č. Popov (ed.), *Srpski biografski rečnik (=SBR)*, vol. II, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 391; N. Lemajić, "Đurađ Belmužević/Biomužević", in *SBR*, vol. III, Novi Sad, 2007, p. 617. The authors have not cited a source for their claim. Despot Đurađ Branković supported Dubrovnik and intervened in its favour before Duke Radoslav Pavlović and other political factors in the region, including sending his envoy to Sultan Murad II: M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba*, Beograd, 1994, 149–153, where sources and previous relevant literature are quoted.

[5] Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku (=DAD), *Acta Minoris Consilii*, 9, fol. 161; *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, 8, fol. 223, 259v; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 389–390; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 197–198; idem, "Đurađ Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 617; S. Ćirković, "Vuk Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 391.

[6] A. Soloviev, "Zetska presuda iz 1445. godine", *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke* XXIII 1–2, Beograd 1931, p. 42–43, 45; I. Božić, *Nemirno Pomorje XV veka*, Beograd, 1979, p. 187–188; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 198; idem, "Đurađ Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 617–618; S. Ćirković, "Vuk Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 391.

[7] DAD, *Diversa Notariae*, 30, fol. 58; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 198.

[8] DAD, *Diversa Cancellariae* 62, fol. 25; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 389–390, n. 70; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 198; S. Ćirković, "Vuk Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 391.

[9] DAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, 14, fol. 74v; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 389–390; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 198; idem, "Đurađ Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 618; S. Ćirković, "Vuk Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 391.

[10] DAD, *Acta Minoris Consilii* 13, fol. 258v; A. Veselinović, *Dubrovačko Malo veće o Srbiji (1415–1460)*, Beograd, 1997, p. 599; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 197–198.

[11] On May 6, 1455, the Ragusan authorities rejected some of his requests: DAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, 14, fol. 159v; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 198; idem, "Đurađ Belmužević/Biomužević", p. 618.

As most of the information on the Belmužević family prior to 1455 is connected to Zeta, it is believed that this family originated from that region. Nevertheless, there are some data which connect the Belmužević family with the vicinity of the town of Valjevo in north-western Serbia, where a village named Beomuževič still exists. A contemporary from the 15th century, Konstantin Mihailović of Ostrovica states in his work *The Memory of the Janissary* that John Hunyadi was captured in the region of Zagorje in 1448 while fleeing Kosovo, and that he was brought before Stefan Belmužević, the lord of that area, who delivered him to Despot Đurađ.[12] *Zagorje (Zagor)* was the other name for the Valjevo *nahiye* in some Ottoman *defters* from the end of the 15th to the first decades of the 16th centuries.[13] Genealogical relations between Stefan Belmužević and brothers Vuk and Đurađ Belmužević cannot be determined today. Nevertheless, having in mind that it was a very rare surname, it is almost certain that they were all members of the same noble family. The surname Belmužević could have originated from the words *beli muž* ("white man"), but also from *belmuž*, a kind of shepherd's meal made from cheese and flour.[14]

Based on the fact that his elder son was also called Vuk, Miloš could have been the son of Vuk Belmužević. In Serbian historiography he is mostly considered to be identical to Voivode Miloš, the last commander of Despot Đurađ in Zeta prior to the Ottoman conquest (1452–1456),[15] as well as to the despot's voivode of the same name in Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, who carried out that duty in 1457.[16] We have previously expressed our reservations towards such identifications[17] since

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[12] Konstantin Mihailović iz Ostrovice, *Janičareve uspomene ili turska hronika*, ed. Đ. Živanović, *Spomenik SANU* 107, 1959, p. 31; Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoires of a Jannissary*, trans. B. Stolz, Ann Arbor, 1975, p. 84–85; A. Loma, "Zagorje Stefana Belmuževića", p. 17–18; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, p. 343–344; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 199.

[13] "Valyeva nām-ı diğer Zagor": Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (=BOA), *Tapu tahrir defterleri* (=TD) no 144, p. 189–266; D. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku, kruševačku i vidinsku oblast*, Beograd, 1974, p. 28, 93, 176. On "Zagorje", which corresponds to the present-day Podgorina region around Valjevo, see: A. Loma, "Zagorje Stefana Belmuževića", p. 18–22; S. Ćirković, "'Crna Gora' i problem srpsko–ugarskog graničnog područja", in S. Branković (ed.), *Valjevo – postanak i uspon gradskog središta*, Valjevo, 1994, p. 59–61.

[14] *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika*, vol. I, Beograd, 1959, p. 446; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 165.

[15] K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. I, p. 376, 381; I. Božić, "Zeta u Despotovini", in *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol II/2, Titograd, 1970, p. 229–230; idem, *Nemirno Pomorje*, p. 191; S. Ćirković, "Srpska vlastela u borbi za obnovu Despotovine", in J. Kalić (ed.), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. II, Beograd, 1982, p. 377; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, p. 412, 463, 724.

[16] Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, vol. I–2, Beograd–Sremski Karlovci, 1934, p. 431–433; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 390; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, p. 724; S. Mišić, "Posedi velikog logoteta Stefana Ratkovića", in idem (ed.), *Moravska Srbija: istorija, književnost, umetnost*, Kruševac, 2007, p. 13, 18. N. Lemajić had reservations regarding this identification (*Srpska elita*, p. 199–200, note 19), and it seems that several other historians were of the same opinion: M. Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni*, vol. I, Beograd, 1955, p. 84, 93; S. Ćirković, "Srpska vlastela", p. 377; D. Kovačević-Kojić, *Srednjovjekovna Srebrenica (XIV–XV vijek)*, Beograd, 2010, p. 125.

[17] A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 166.

the mother of Miloš Belmužević was still alive and active half a century later, in 1503,[18] and also because he had an underage daughter at that same time.[19] This means that Belmužević was still very young in the mid-15th century, and the responsible duties of the despot's voivode in Zeta and Srebrenica at that turbulent time required someone with more military and managerial experience. On the other hand, the fact is that Miloš Belmužević was politically active at the start of 1458. He supported the pro-Ottoman fraction in the regency formed in Smederevo after the sudden death of Despot Lazar Branković (1456–1458), led by Grand Voivode Mihailo Angelović, brother to Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha. After the upheaval in Smederevo and Angelović's fall from power on March 31, 1458, his supporters lost their possessions which were given to members of the winning side.[20] Among those who were deprived of their possessions was also Miloš Belmužević, who lost at least one village in Usora, in the part of eastern Bosnia under the rule of the Serbian despots.[21] This is the first unambiguous information on Miloš Belmužević and his activities.

It is not known what happened to Miloš Belmužević during the turbulent months that followed, nor where he was at the time of the final fall of the Serbian state to Ottoman rule at the end of June 1459 and after. In August 1464, during the Ottoman-Hungarian fighting in Bosnia, the Ragusan authorities granted Voivode Miloš Belmužević permission to settle with his family in the territory of Dubrovnik.[22]

When the constant raids of the *akıncıs* in the areas of southern Hungary began, accompanied by devastation and depopulation, King Matthias Corvinus, as part of the reorganisation of the border defence system, actively began to settle Serbs into his realm and to encourage the Serbian nobility to enter his service. Brothers Stefan and Dmitar Jakšić, the sons or stepsons of Voivode Jakša Breščić, crossed over to the Hungarian side, probably in 1464. In the second half of that year King Matthias gave them the town of Nagylak (Nădlac) with its villages in the

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[18] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Diplomatikai levéltár (=MNL-OL, DL) 26662; C. Feneşan, *Diplomatarium Banaticum*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 2016, p. 228–231. More about which further on.

[19] L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *A Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára 1198–1526. Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára* II, Budapest, 1907, p. 297–298; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 142.

[20] M. Spremić, "Propast srednjovekovne države", in J. Kalić (ed.), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. II, Beograd, 1982, p. 306; B. Ferjančić, "Vizantinci u Srbiji prve polovine XV veka", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 26, 1987, p. 207–211; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, p. 515–517, 520, 523, 528, 532, 537, 762; idem, "Borbe za Smederevo 1458–1459", in idem (ed.), *Pad Srpske despotovine 1459. godine*, Zbornik radova SANU, Beograd, 2011, p. 215–216; idem, "Mihailo Anđelović", in Č. Popov (ed.), *Srpski biografski rečnik*, vol. VI, Novi Sad, 2014, p. 839–840.

[21] F. Rački, "Prilozi za sbirku srbskih i bosanskih listina", *Rad JAZU* 1, 1867, p. 157; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 390–391; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, p. 516–517, 520, 537, 724; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 199–200; S. Mišić, "Posedi velikog logoteta", p. 7, 13; J. Mrgić, *Severna Bosna (13–16. vek)*, Beograd, 2008, p. 126–127; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 165.

[22] DAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, 18, fol. 84; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 390; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 198–199.

valley of the River Mureş. In subsequent years the Jakšić brothers gained numerous estates spread across Transylvania, Banat and Western Srem.[23] At the same time, with King Matthias having achieved success in Bosnia, managing to halt the Ottoman incursions into Srem and Banat, the king's former opponent, Vuk Grgurević also entered his service. Vuk Grgurević, the illegitimate grandson of Despot Đurađ, was included in the line of Hungarian barons and received land in the southern parts of Hungary, King Matthias officially recognising or confirming his title of despot.[24]

Historians believed for a long time that Miloš Belmužević moved to Hungary via Dubrovnik at the same time as Vuk Grgurević and the Jakšić brothers, in 1464.[25] However, his story was somewhat different. He was recorded as holder of a *timar* in the first preserved *mufasal defter* of the Smederevo sancak from 1477, with the *timar* yielding revenues from the market place (*pazar*) of Jagodina in the Morava valley, totalling 8,583 *akçes*.[26] Therefore, Belmužević joined Ottoman military service probably soon after the fall of Smederevo (1459) and became a *sipahi*. His request for refuge in Dubrovnik was probably the result of his temporary vacillation at the time of the tumultuous hostilities in Bosnia in 1464.

There were many Christian *sipahis* in the Ottoman border regions towards Hungary in the second half of the 15th century. During the 1470s, almost one half of all *timar* holders in the Smederevo sancak were Christians. However, the income

[23] L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, p. 258–259, 390; J. Radonić, "Prilozi za istoriju braće Jakšića", *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije* 59, 1923, p. 63–73; S. Borovszky, "A nagylaki uradalom története", *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréból* 18, Budapest, 1900, p. 16–19; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 16, 26–28, 348–349; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 88–89; M. Spremić, "Porodica Jakšić u Banatu", in M. Maticki and V. Jović (eds.), *Banat kroz vekove. Slojevi kultura Banata*, Beograd, 2010, p. 34–40; S. Iaşin, *Familiile nobiliare sârbeşti*, p. 132–135; S. Božanić, M. Kisić, "O prvoj generaciji Jakšića na tlu južne Ugarske – Stefanu i Dmitru u delu 'Rerum Hungaricarum Decades'", *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* XLI–2, 2016, p. 119–129.

[24] V. Fraknói, *Mátyás király levelei*, vol. I, Budapest, 1893, p. 78. For different opinions about the origin of Vuk's despot title cf.: A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 16–17; B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama*, Beograd, 1960, p. 198–199; A. Veselinović, *Država srpskih despota*, Beograd, 2006, p. 93; S. Ćirković, "O despotu Vuku Grgureviću", *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 6, 1971, p. 286–287; idem, "Postvizantijski despoti", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 38, 1999–2000, p. 399–400; D. Dinić-Knežević, "Sremski Brankovići", *Istraživanja* 4, 1975, p. 7–8; K. Mitrović, "Vuk Grgurević između Mehmeda II i Matije Korvina", *Braničevski glasnik* 2, 2004, p. 24–30; M. Spremić, "Srpski despoti u Sremu", in M. Maticki (ed.), *Srem kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Fruške gore i Srema*, Beograd–Beočin, 2007, p. 48.

[25] K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. II, p. 390; S. Ćirković, "Srpska vlastela", p. 377–378, note 14; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, p. 724. Jireček also wrote, probably erroneously, that Belmužević moved to Hungary in 1469 (*Istorija Srba*, vol. I, p. 407, note 95). This statement was later included in the works of some other historians: Y. Radonitch, *Histoire*, p. 65; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 18; D. Popović, "Vojvodina u tursko doba", p. 210. Cf. N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 201, note 25.

[26] BOA, *TD*, no 16, p. 223–224; B. Đurđev, "Hrišćani spahije u severnoj Srbiji u XV veku", *Godišnjak društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 4, 1952, p. 167; E. Miljković, "Hrišćani spahije u Smederevskom sandžaku u drugoj polovini XV veka", in S. Mišić (ed.), *Moravska Srbija: istorija, književnost, umetnost*, Kruševac, 2007, p. 87, 91; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 168; idem, "'Which Realm Will You Opt for?' – Serbian Nobility between the Ottomans and the Hungarians in the 15th Century", in S. Rudić and S. Aslantaş (eds.), *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, Belgrade, 2017, p. 153.

of their *timars* was fairly low, and ranged between 200 and nearly 20.000 *akçes*. Only 10% of the *timars* in the hands of Christians brought an income greater than 10.000 *akçes*.[27] With revenues of 8,583 *akçes*, Miloš Belmužević was one of the most significant Christian *sipahis* in the Smederevo sancak in 1477. This census was conducted immediately after the Ottoman-Hungarian fighting of 1476, when King Matthias captured Šabac in February, and Despot Vuk and Wallachian Voivode Vlad Ţepeş burned and plundered the towns of Srebrenica, Kučlat and Zvornik in eastern Bosnia. In the summer of the same year, the Serbian despot and several other Hungarian commanders, including Dmitar Jakšić, defeated the Smederevo *sancakbeyi* Mihaloğlu Ali-bey at Požežena on the Danube while returning from the *akın* to Banat. After this battle, in the fall of 1476, the Serbian captains and their warriors participated in the Hungarian blockade of Smederevo, which was broken by Sultan Mehmed II in December.[28] The fact that Miloš Belmužević was one of the most prominent *timar* holders in northern Serbia after these clashes means that he dutifully fulfilled his military obligations to the sultan.

However, Voivode Miloš Belmužević did not remain in Ottoman military service long after 1477. The exact circumstances and time of his transition to Hungary cannot be ascertained. In his will, Belmužević mentions that he passed from the "pagans" to the Hungarian *arsag* (ország, state) with guarantees provided by King Matthias and the Estates.[29] He most probably crossed over to Hungary in 1480 or 1481,[30] during the considerable Hungarian campaigns in northern Serbia, followed by leading a large number of the Serbian population across the Sava and the Danube.[31] In the second half of the 15th century the Serbian population in Hungary was constantly increasing, due to the organised and spontaneous migration from Ottoman to Hungarian territory. There could be several reasons for transition from the Ottoman to the Hungarian side. Motives of a religious and ideological

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[27] E. Miljković, "Hrišćani spahije", p. 87; eadem, "The Christian Sipahis in the Serbian Lands in the Second Half of the 15th century", *Beogradski istorijski glasnik* 1, 2010, p. 113.

[28] L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, p. 265–270, 389; Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, Sremski Karlovci, 1927, p. 250–251; V. Fraknói, *Matyás király levelei*, vol. I, p. 356, 359; A. Bonfini, *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, quatuor cum dimidia*, Lipsiae, 1771, p. 593–595, 598; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 20–22; S. Ćirković, "Srednji vek", in S. Filipović (ed.), *Šabac u prošlosti*, vol. I, Šabac, 1970, p. 98–102; O. Zirojević, "Smederevski sandžakbeg Ali-beg Mihaloglu", *Zbornik za istoriju Matice srpske* 3, 1971, p. 17–18; D. Dinić-Knežević, "Sremski Brankovići", p. 10–12; S. Ćirković, "Srpska vlastela", p. 384–385; M. Spremić, "Srpski despoti u Sremu", p. 50–51; T. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526*, Leiden–Boston, 2018, p. 243–260.

[29] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93.

[30] N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 38, 201–202; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 169–170.

[31] V. Fraknói, *Matyás király levelei*, vol. II, p. 65–69, 76–80, 91–92, 158, 185, 190, 196–197, 388–390; Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, p. 253, 296; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. I, p. 412; O. Zirojević, "Smederevski sandžakbeg ", p. 19–20; S. Ćirković, "Srpska vlastela", p. 385–387; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1967, p. 198–199; M. Spremić, "Srpski despoti u Sremu", p. 52; E. Miljković, A. Krstić, *Braničevo u XV veku. Istorijsko-geografska studija*, Požarevac, 2007, p. 40; M. Ivanović, N. Isailović, "The Danube in Serbian-Hungarian relations in the 14th and 15th centuries", *Tibiscum* 5, 2015, p. 386–387; T. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, p. 275–276.

nature (which were, for example, evidenced in the will of Miloš Belmužević)[32] were often merged with practical ones, which implied striving for a better position and social advancement. An individual's decision to move to a Christian country (albeit not an orthodox one) could receive strong impetus in light of the fact that advancement in the Ottoman military service was limited for Christians.[33]

Crossing from the Ottoman to the Hungarian state, Miloš Belmužević faithfully served King Matthias Corvinus and his successor Wladislas II Jagiełło. Like Despot Vuk (who died in 1485) and his cousins and successors Despots Đorđe and Jovan Branković, as well as the Jakšić brothers, Miloš Belmužević distinguished himself fighting at the head of a detachment of light cavalrymen (*hussars*). The Serbs in Hungary represented a substantially militarised social group. Serbian nobles and other warriors served as hussars, then as crew in the river flotilla (*nazadistae*, *šajkaši*), or in the border fortresses, including Belgrade.[34] Some of the Serbian noblemen in Hungary were directly in the king's service, while others appeared as the *familiares* and officials of Serbian aristocrats. Thus, Damjan Belmužević, apparently a relative of Voivode Miloš Belmužević, was castellan to Despots Đorđe and Jovan Branković in Jarak (Arky) in Srem in 1497.[35] In his will of 1500, Voivode Miloš mentions the "servants" (*sluge*, i. e. the *familiares*), to whom he left some of his possessions: Marko Radanović, Stefan Pribenović and a certain Jova.[36]

The Hungarian kings not only engaged the despots and other Serbian warriors in the struggle with the Ottomans, they also sent them to other battlefields. According to contemporary Ragusan writer Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, Despot Đorđe Branković and his brother Jovan rode to war against the Poles in 1491 with 600, the sons of Stefan and Dmitar Jakšić with 300, and Miloš Belmužević with 1000 hussars.[37] A decree from 1498, which defined the military obligations of barons and counties, also mentions the Serbian despot, who was obliged to equip 1000 horsemen for war, Stefan Jakšić of Nagylak (the Younger) and Miloš Belmušević, who was to mobilise all his hussars.[38] In his will, Voivode Miloš

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[32] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93.

[33] A. Krstić, "Which Realm", p. 155–156.

[34] S. Ćirković, "Srpski živalj na novim ognjištima", in J. Kalić (ed.), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. II, p. 436–438; idem, "Počeci šajkaša", in V. Čubrilović (ed.), *Plovidba na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama kroz vekove*, Beograd, 1983, p. 129–137; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 61–70.

[35] MNL-OL, DL 20598; A. Krstić, "Akt sremskih županijskih vlasti o istrazi protiv despota Đorđa i Jovana Brankovića i njihovih familijara (Vrdnik, 22. avgust 1497)", *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovekovne studije* 5, 2017, p. 159, 167–168, 175–176; idem, "Which Realm", p. 156. The surname of the castellan of Jarak was transcribed "Velmožović" in earlier Serbian historiography.

[36] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93; A. Krstić, "Which Realm", p. 155–156.

[37] Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, ed. V. Rezar, Zagreb, 2001, p. 73.

[38] *Corpus juris Hungarici. Magyar törvénytár 1000–1526. évi törvényczikkek*, Budapest, 1899, p. 606, 608; J. Bak, *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. All Complete Monographs*, 4, 2019, p. 928–929, 955–956, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 170; idem, "Which Realm", p. 155.

Belmužević mentions that he was wounded serving King Matthias in Silesia.[39] It was revealed only recently that this statement refers to the Głogów War fought between King Matthias Corvinus and his Silesian vassal, John II of Sagan, Duke of Głogów in Lower Silesia, Poland, in 1488. Due to the participation of the Serbian warriors in this conflict, local people called it "the Serbian war". Despot Đorđe Branković and his detachment also participated in fighting in Silesia in 1489.[40] Belmužević's wartime exploits in the vicinity of Székesfehérvár during the conflict between Wladislas II Jagiełło and Maximilian Habsburg (1490–1491) were well known. He also participated in fighting against the troops of Polish Prince Jan Olbracht at Košice in December 1491.[41]

Initially, Belmužević's position in the new environment was relatively modest. The first possession he was gifted from King Matthias for his military service against the Turks consisted of just one village and one *praedium* (uninhabited land) in the vicinity of Timişoara (1483).[42] However, due to his military abilities, the Voivode quickly rose to the very top of Serbian society in Hungary, becoming very close in rank to the despots from the Branković family and the Jakšićs. The Hungarian monarchs generously rewarded Belmužević for his military merits on several occasions.[43] Before his death, Voivode Miloš boasted 22 properties, three of which were in Bács County (today Bačka in Serbia), two in Cened and 17 in Timiş County (in the territory of present-day Romanian Banat and the Mureş valley).[44] Miloš Belmužević retained the noble title of "Saswar" carried by a property located in the vicinity of Timişoara, which he was given by King Matthias after the Silesian War (1488/1489).[45] King Wladislas II confirmed to Miloš Belmužević and his sons Vuk and Marko previous donations from Matthias Corvinus in 1496.[46] The significant presence of Serbs on former properties of Belmužević in the years and decades that followed his death indicates that he, as

[39] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93.

[40] J. Cureus, *Gentis Silesiae annales*, Witebergae, 1571, p. 339–357; A. Ivanov, "Ratovanje vojvode Miloša Belmuževića u Šleziji", p. 21–27; A. Krstić, "Which Realm", p. 153.

[41] Ludovici Tuberonis *Commentarii*, p. 66, 73; N. Isthuanffy, *Regni Hungarici historia post obitum gloriosissimi Mathiae Corvini regis*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1724, p. 10; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 34; S. Božanić, "Srpski velikaši u političkim previranjima oko izbora Vladislava II za kralja Ugarske", *Istraživanja* 24, 2013, p. 154, 160–161; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 170; idem, "Which Realm", p. 154.

[42] King Matthias donated to *Mylos Belmosewyth* the possession *Maysa* and the *praedium Paznad* in Timiş County on December 21, 1483: MNL-OL, DL 26646; L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, p. 276–277; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 138–139; C. Feneşan, *Diplomatarium Banaticum*, vol. I, p. 180–181.

[43] Miloš Belmužević received donations from King Matthias on at least four different occasions, but only the first charter (from 1483) has been preserved. Others are documented in Belmužević's will and in the confirmation charter of King Wladislas II of 1496: A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93–94; MNL-OL, DL 26655; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 139; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 182–183.

[44] On these properties in detail, see: A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 136–142; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 169, 171, 179, 182–183. See also the map of Belmužević's properties in this article.

[45] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93; MNL-OL, DL 26655, 36849, 20476, 29022, 26662; L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, p. 299; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 140, 142.

[46] MNL-OL, DL 26655; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 139.

well as the Jakšić family and other Serbian noblemen, played an important role in colonising the Serbian refugees from the Ottoman Empire in Banat.[47]

Miloš Belmužević was well integrated into the environment of the Hungarian noblemen and carried out the usual activities of county nobility. For example, in 1496 he was one of two deputy counts of Bač County and presided at the law court of the county.[48] He was married to Veronica, daughter of Ladislaus Arka of Densuş, a nobleman of Romanian origin from Hunedoara (Hunyad) County in Transylvania.[49] This marriage was certainly concluded after Belmužević crossed over to Hungary. Voivode Miloš was not young when he began his service to the Hungarian king instead of the sultan, so it can be assumed that he had previously already been married. The Voivode had three children: sons Vuk and Marko and a daughter Milica, but only she has been confirmed by sources as Veronica's child. Milica was still underage in 1501[50] which means that she was not born before 1489, probably only a couple of years before her father's death. Namely, according to Hungarian legal custom, girls were considered adults when they turned 12 years old.[51] Vuk was presumably named after his grandfather, Despot Đurađ's nobleman Vuk Belmužević. However, the Voivode lost both his sons in the span of just a few years: Marko died in unknown circumstances between 1496 and 1498, while Vuk was murdered during a clash with the Turks. This happened at Easter, most probably in 1499 or 1500, during an intrusion by Ottoman warriors from the Smederevo sancak into the territory of southern Hungary. In this conflict Voivode Miloš was also wounded. In order to avenge his son, Belmužević ravened the surroundings of Smederevo in the summer of 1500 and died several months later.[52]

Left without a male heir, Belmužević obtained permission from King Wladislas II to leave his estate to his mother Olivera,[53] his wife Veronica and his underage daughter Milica. Miloš Belmužević's will, made out on September 8, 1500,[54] contains many details about his family and social relationships, as well as

[47] A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 137.

[48] MNL-OL, DF 250334, DL 20476; N. C. Tóth, R. Horváth, T. Neumann, T. Pálosfalvi, A. W. Kovács, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1458–1526. II. Megyék*, Budapest, 2017, p. 39.

[49] Biblioteca Academiei Române, filiala Cluj-Napoca (=BAC), colecţia Kemény József, mss. KJ 288/D, Appendix diplomatarii Transilvanici, vol. 8, f. 14; A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb", p. 142; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 175–178; A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 146–147. About the Arka family, see also: A. A. Rusu, I. A. Pop, "Familia nobiliară românească Arca din Ţara Haţegului (sfârşitul sec. XV – începutul sec. XVI)", *Acta Musei Napocensis* 21, 1984, p. 211–225.

[50] MNL-OL, DL 32552; L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 297–298.

[51] J. Holub, "Az életkor szerepe a középkori jogunkban és az 'időlátott levelek'" 1–2, *Századok* 55, 1921, p. 32–37, 212–235; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p.166, 178; A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 146–147.

[52] Ludovici Tuberonis *Commentarii*, p. 134–136; M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, vol. III, Venezia, 1880, col. 669–670; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 171–174.

[53] The older Serbian historiography erroneously believed that Olivera was Voivode Miloš's wife, cf: A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Ugarskoj*, p. 27–28; idem, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini*, p. 40–41, 60; D. Popović, "Vojvodina u tursko doba", p. 210; idem, *Srbi u Vojvodini*, p. 156; D. Mrđenović, A. Palavestra, D. Spasić, *Rodoslovne tablice*, p. 218, 220; N. Lemajić, , *Srpska elita*, p. 203–205.

[54] About the problem of dating of Belmužević's will, see: A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 172–174.

the mentality of the Serbian noble environment. It mentions several otherwise unknown Serbian noblemen from Hungary. The presence of some members of the Jakšić family as witnesses to Belmužević's will testifies to the close relations among the two Serbian noble families. Belmužević's will also suggests that his mother assumed the principal role in the family after his death. The Voivode specified that she should prepare the goods to be donated for "the salvation of his soul" (horses; silver; horse equipment).[55] In 1503, Stephen and Marko Jakšić and Olivera Belmužević represented together the interests of her family before the authorities as plaintiffs in a litigation with their neighbours who had plundered the Belmužević's properties in the Mureș valley.[56] This shows that Olivera did indeed take over the leading role in the family after her son's death and had to do so in her old age, since the Voivode's widow, Veronica, remarried a Hungarian nobleman of Croatian origin, Stephen Bradacs of Lodormercz. She gave birth to his daughter before 1504.[57] Although King Wladislas II put the young Milica under his royal protection and confirmed the will of her father in 1501,[58] Veronica brought to her second husband not only her, but also Milica's part of Belmužević's estate as a dowry. This later led to litigation over the estate between mother and daughter, which started in 1519 and lasted seven years.[59] In the same year (1519), Milica is mentioned as being married to Nicolas Kendeffy of Malomviz (Râu de Mori, Hunedoara County), a member of another distinguished noble family of Romanian origin from Transylvania. During a litigation between the relatives of the Kendeffy and the Kenderessi families, representatives of the Alba Chapter and the Transylvanian Voivode were sent to the Kendeffy estates in Râu de Mori and Colț castle (Kolcvár), where they met with the female side of the family, Margaret and Milica, as their husbands were not at home.[60] It is the first mention of Belmužević's daughter as an adult, after almost two decades in which we know nothing of her private life. After a decade and a half of marriage, Milica was registered as a widow. Her husband died sometime between 1532 and 1537.[61] As a married woman and then a widow, she fought hard to keep the family estates together. In 1532 a certain nobleman from present-day Banat, Gaspar Margay, was

[55] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93–94; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 176, 181–182.

[56] MNL-OL, DL 26662; C. Feneşan, *Diplomatarium Banaticum*, vol. I, p. 228–231; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 176.

[57] MNL-OL, DL 29590; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 176–177; A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 147.

[58] MNL-OL, DL 32552; L. Thallóczy, A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, p. 297–298.

[59] Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava (=SNA), Rodu Révay, škat. 90, Doc. ad diversas familias, fasc. IV, no 17; Rodu Révay, škat. 87, Doc. Fam. Kende, fasc. II, no 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 147–150, 153–156.

[60] "... ad possessionem Malomwyz, consequenterque domum et curiam quoque nobilitarem eorundem Ladislai, nec non Nicolai et Michaelis Kendeffy in eadem Malomwyz ac Kolch subtus castrum similiter Kolch vocatum (...) dominarum Margarethe eiusdem Ladislai et Mylycza dicti Nicolai Kendeffy consortum": MNL-OL, DL 30553.

[61] SNA, Rodu Révay, škat. 87, Doc. Fam. Kende, fasc. II, no 16, 19; A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 151, 158–161.

gifted the estates of the disloyal John Bradach of Sasvar, Milica's stepbrother. She opposed this donation since these estates were a part of an inheritance from her mother's side.[62] Almost exactly the same situation was repeated in 1538, when Milica (registered as a widow), in the name of her son John, was involved in disputes with Wolfgang Bethlen over three estates in Hunedoara County.[63]

Sometime in the 1540s, Milica's only son John married Margaret (Mary), daughter of Pavle Bakić, the last Serbian despot in Hungary,[64] and the young couple was blessed with a daughter named Anna. John Kendeffy was loyal to King Ferdinand I Habsburg, for which supporters of Queen Isabella attacked his castle, Colţ, in Hunedoara County and captured his mother, wife and children in 1551. John's family was soon released from captivity but this was not the end of the problems the elderly Belmužević woman faced.[65] Her son died in late 1553 or early 1554 and Milica Belmužević once again became the head of the family. In November 1554, at the request of Margaret Bakić, King Ferdinand confirmed that the assets belonging to her late husband John, retained by his mother Milica (*apud manus generosae dominae Mylyczae genitrix ipsius condam Ioannis Kendeffy*) belonged to her and her daughter Anna (*ex eodem condam Ioanne Kendeffy progenitae*).[66] Soon after (in early 1555), Margaret remarried, to Thomas Oláh, nephew to well-known humanist Nicholas Oláh,[67] but she continued to maintain relations with her mother-in-law. In 1557, although in her old age, Milica fought again with her relatives from the Kendeffy family to preserve the estates of the young granddaughter Anna.[68] Milica most probably lived on the Kendeffy estates in Râu de Mori and at Colţ castle during the last years of her life. At the beginning of 1562, the lady Belmužević was still alive, mentioned in the will of Paul the Literate of Sighet (Sziget, Maramureş County in northern Romania) alongside her granddaughter. Paul left a debt of 25 florins to the old lady because she had taken

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[62] "Domina Mylliche vocata, consors Nicolai Kendeffy (...) publice contradixisset (...) bona et iura ipsa possessionaria neminem alium preterquam ex legitime datione et inscriptione condam genitricem sue ex divisione superinde facta concernere": MNL-OL, F 4 Cista comitatuum, comitatus Hunyadiensis, cista 1-ma, fasc. 7, no. 40. The same document in Serviciul Judeţean al Arhivelor Naţionale Cluj (= SJAN), fond Gál de Hilib, nr. 14, f. 5r.

[63] MNL-OL, F 4 Cista comitatuum, comitatus Hunyadiensis, cista 2-da, fasc. 5, no. 31.

[64] A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 151–152. On Pavle Bakić and his family, see: N. Lemajić, *Bakići: porodica poslednjeg srpskog despota*, Novi Sad, 1995 (= idem, *Srpska elita*, p. 209–336).

[65] A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 420–421; A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 152; C. Feneşan, "Ioan Kendefi, Ioan Glesán şi Nikola Crepović – *fideles* pragmatici în lupta pentru stăpânirea Transilvaniei şi Banatului (mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea)", *Banatica* 26/2, 2016, p. 309–336.

[66] SJAN Sibiu, Episcopia bisericii Evanghelice C.A din Transilvania, colecţia de documente episcopale, nr. 157. See also: A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, p. 420–421.

[67] "Dominam Margaretham Bakyth, egregii quondam domini Ioannis Kendeffy relictam, secundum ritum et legem sancte Romane ac universalis ecclesiae in uxorem despondimus": L. Magina, "'Nuptialia festa agebantur': invitaţia de nuntă, sursă primară pentru istoria socială a Transilvaniei princiare", *Banatica* 28, 2018, p. 560. On the Oláh family, see: Şt. Bezdechi, "Familia lui Nicolae Olahus", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională* 5, 1928–1930, p. 63–85.

[68] A. Magina, "Milica Belmužević", p. 152–153.

care of his beloved daughter for more than two years.[69] Milica was the last member of the family who carried the name of Belmužević. She most likely passed away not long after this last mention. Her granddaughter Anna also died a few years later and the Belmužević estates were alienated for ever,[70] but that is another story.

POSSESSIONS OF MILOŠ BELMUŽEVIĆ
- royal donations
- purchased possessions
- obtained as a pledge
- village
- predium
- monastery

(The maps of Bačka and Banat are not in the same scale)
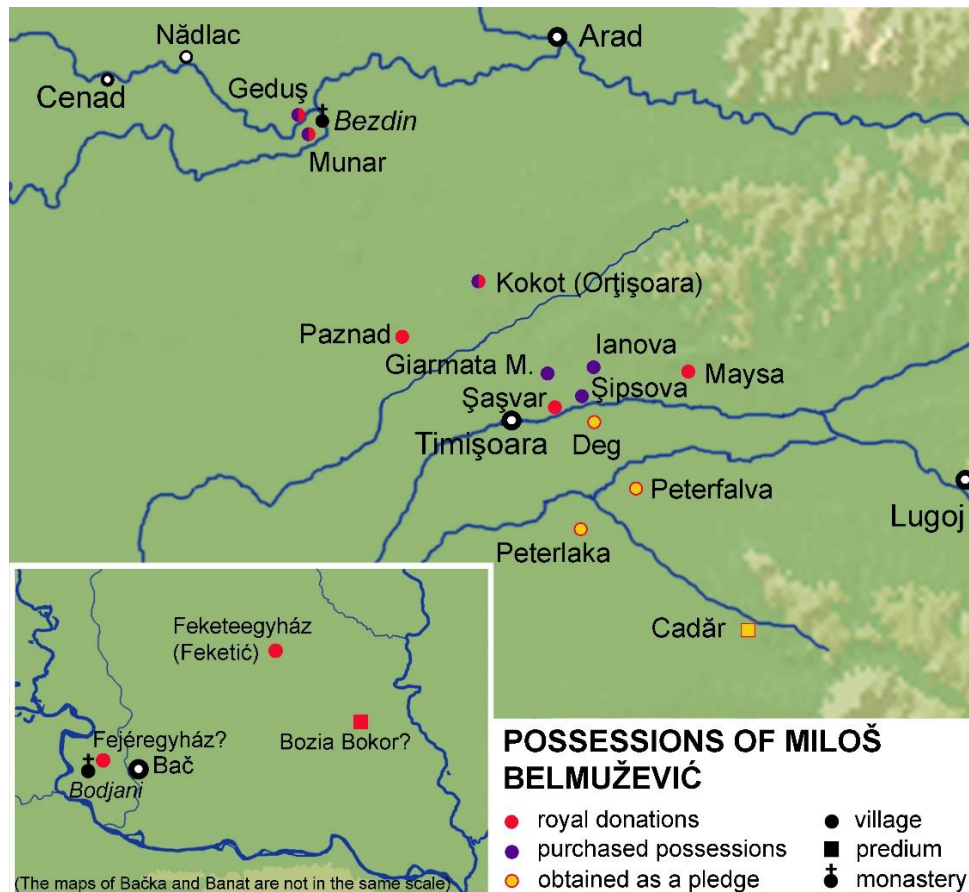
In the second half of the 15th century the Serbian nobility in Hungary still maintained the traditions of the fallen Serbian state and had strong connections

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[69] "Domine Mylcze Belmosowyth, relicte condam Nicolai Kendeffy de Malomwyz, que filiolam meam plusque duobus annis aluit et modo quoque alit debitum 25 florenorum, quos ad emptionem porcorum dederum remitto. Domine Anne Kendeffy, consorti domini Ioannis Kendi, mastecani ex pellibus mardurinis factam lego": SJAN Cluj, fond familial Bálintitt, seria 1: Documente medievale, nr. 29 (February 12, 1562).

[70] "Ioannis Kendi consequenterque pueri Ioannis, filii et puella Anna, filiae suorum ex generosa olim domina Anna, filia egregii condam Ioannis Kendeffy, consorte sua procreatorum": SJAN Cluj, fond familial Bánffy, seria 2, register 1a, no. 4 (1577). Their proprieties were confiscated by Stephen Báthory for disloyalty.

with the Orthodox Church. This can be seen in the last will of Voivode Miloš. For the salvation of his soul Belmužević bequeathed 100 florins to his clergyman, the Athonite monk Timotheos, who was to convey the funds to Mont Athos. He and Deacon Marko, who probably wrote Belmužević's will, were also listed among the witnesses to this document.[71] There are also some indications of the endowments of this nobleman and his family. Tuberon mentions a church dedicated to the Mother of God in the Tisza valley, in the vicinity of Belmužević's home, where the Voivode and his men were celebrating Easter when the Turks attacked them. Based on Tuberon's account, it can be assumed that this church was an endowment of Voivode Miloš.[72] Two Serbian Orthodox monasteries – Bođani in Bačka and Bezdin in the Mureş valley in Romania, known from the 16th century, were erected on Belmužević's lands. It is traditionally considered that the Jakšić brothers were the founders of both monasteries, but it is possible that the original churches were built by Miloš Belmužević. Interestingly, both monasteries are dedicated to the same holiday –The Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos into the Temple.[73]

Miloš Belmužević's high rank in Serbian society in Hungary was also recollected by the Hungarians even a quarter of a century after the Voivode's death. Expecting the crossing of Pavle Bakić from the Ottoman Empire to Hungary at the end of 1525, Paul Tomori, Archbishop of Kalocsa and commander of defence of the southern parts of the kingdom wrote: "If he goes over, he would be a great person as the late Belmužević was, or as the masters Jakšić are now".[74] However, unlike the despots from the Branković family or the Jakšićs, the memory of Miloš Belmužević did not endure among Serbs over subsequent centuries. Thanks to the fact that enough information about his personality and deeds has been preserved in various sources, modern historiography has been able to rediscover him.

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[71] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika", p. 93–94.
[72] Ludovici Tuberonis *Commentarii*, p. 134; A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 171–172, 180–181; R. Grujić, "Duhovni život", in D. Popović (ed.), *Vojvodina I. Od najstarijih vremena do Velike seobe*, Novi Sad, 1939, p. 366, believed that this refers to the former monastery Drenovac between Zrenjanin and Ečka in the Serbian Banat.
[73] A. Krstić, "Novi podaci", p. 179–180, where previous relevant historiographical literature on these monasteries is listed.
[74] V. Fraknói, "Tomori Pál kiadatlan levelei", *Történelmi tár* 1882, p. 88; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, p. 226.

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CROATIAN NOBLE REFUGEES IN LATE 15th AND 16th CENTURY BANAT AND TRANSYLVANIA – PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

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In the late 15th century, the Ottoman pressure on the Kingdom of Croatia within the Hungarian Realm became unbearable and many nobles decided to leave their native land and resettle in another part of the realm, where their status would be recognised and service to the ruler continued. The nobility of southern Croatia sought refuge in various parts of Hungary, among which were Banat and Transylvania. Their arrival to the easternmost part of the state mostly happened before the division between the Habsburgs and the Zápolyas and their loyalty after 1526 was usually dictated by the majority within the community they settled into. In Banatian and Transylvanian sources the Croats are identified by their conspicuous surnames and the epithet *Croatus* (*Horváth*) and, sometimes, by their noble predicates which specified their original main estate. Many of them acquired possessions in their new places of residence, married into local noble families and performed various duties, mostly as commanders of the cavalry or castellans of important fortresses. Even though they adapted to the new environment, it seems that the Croats kept close to each other, which can be observed through their documents, connections and family ties. Putting aside the most famous example of George Martinuzzi, this overview will include the short case studies of Martinuzzi's compatriots – Mark Mišljenović of Kamičac, the Kučićs of Razvađe, the Šušalićs of Lukarić, Nicholas Kolunić, the Benkovićs and Bojničićs of Plavno, and Cosma Petričević of Raduč.

Keywords: nobility, migrations, Croats, Banat, Transylvania, 15th century, 16th century.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of migration of South Slavic noblemen to Banat and Transylvania[1] in the late medieval and early modern period, mainly as the result of Turkish pressure, is a promising topic which remains understudied in both South Slavic, Hungarian and Romanian historiographies, since it has never been systematically researched. While ex-Yugoslav authors mainly focused on the migrant families prior to their resettlement or on the first generation of nobles who came to Banat and Transylvania, Hungarian historians tried to make a more

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[1] The use of these terms (Banat and Transylvania) for the late 15th and 16th century may seem anachronistic, but due to frequent changes in the administrative and political map of southern and eastern part of the Hungarian Realm in that period, I will employ them throughout the text, having in mind primarily the borders from the age of the Principality of Transylvania and Turkish-occupied Banat.

synthetic approach, but it resulted in only a few studies or smaller monographs on certain influential families of South Slavic origin in the easternmost part of the Realm of St. Stephen. Romanian historiography became interested in the topic only recently, primarily dealing with the individuals who held important military or administrative offices on the territory of present-day Romania during the regimes of King Matthias Corvinus, Jagiellonian kings, Zápolya family, George Martinuzzi, Báthory family, Michael the Brave etc.

Taking into account the increased availability of the original documents and literature through a series of digital platforms on the internet, as well as the strengthening of cooperation between the historians and scholarly institutions of the region, future developments should include not only one- or two-author studies, but wider international and interdisciplinary projects that would shed more light on various aspects of the life of South Slavic noble individuals, families and communities in Transylvania and Banat – their family, marital and political networks, their cultural influences and written practices, their religion, their careers and their general position in the Transylvanian and Banatian society from the late 15th century up until the 18th century.

The Turkish advance in the Balkans and South-East Europe was and still is a popular topic of the historiography of our region and beyond.[2] On the other hand, the subject of war-induced migration of people (including both elites and wider population) is becoming increasingly interesting to the scholarly and non-scholarly audience due to present-day tendencies and current political developments which bear a certain degree of similarity to those of the past.[3] However, in depth analysis of the migrations between the parts of South-East Europe are yet to find their systematic researchers. We should bear in mind that, to some extent, this was a reversible process – while some noblemen and groups of people went to the Hungarian Kingdom, the others went to the Ottoman Empire. There were quite a few examples of several iterations of switching sides, although primarily in the early stages after the Ottoman conquest of South Slavic states. On this occasion, however, we will focus only on permanent resettlement of noblemen from Croatia proper to the easternmost part of the Hungarian Realm, namely Banat and Transylvania.

I intend to shed some light on the life and career of the representatives of lesser to middle-ranked nobility, primarily since the cases of magnates have – mostly – already been studied and there is no substantial data on lower strata of

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[2] F. Adanır, S. Faroqhi (eds.), The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2002; H. W. Lowry, The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: the conquest, settlement & infrastructural development of Northern Greece, Istanbul, 2008; D. Nicolle, Cross and Crescent in the Balkans: The Ottoman Conquest of Southeastern Europe (14th–15th Centuries), Barnsley, 2010; O.J. Schmitt (ed.), The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and Research Debates, Wien, 2016; S. Rudić, S. Aslantaş (eds.), State and Society in the Balkans Before and After Establishment of Ottoman Rule, Belgrade, 2017.

[3] D. Eltis (ed.), Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives, Stanford, 2002; N. Fattori, Migration and Community in the Early Modern Mediterranean. The Greeks of Ancona, 1510–1595, Cham, 2019.

Croatian population (especially serfs) who may have followed their noble lords. Data suggests that the only reason for resettlement of the nobles was unsustainability of the southern border, along which their estates were located, under Ottoman advance in the last years of the 15th and first years of the 16th century. By the 1490s, the pressure on the Kingdom of Croatia within the Hungarian Realm became unbearable for the marcher nobility which endured Turkish raids for decades, especially since the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia (1463). Without any significant subsidies from the central government and growing poor due to the lack of resources and depopulation of their possessions, many members of lesser and middle (known as *egregii*)[4] nobility decided to leave their native land, virtually as refugees, and resettle in another part of the Realm, where their status would be recognised and active service to the ruler or a magnate continued.[5]

The nobility of southern Croatia sought refuge in various regions, depending on the office they were given or network/faction they belonged to. It was common for different branches of the same family to resettle in entirely different parts of the Realm. The migration to Banat and Transylvania was just one direction in which the noble Croats went.[6] Their arrival to the easternmost part of the state mostly happened long before the division between the Habsburgs and the Zápolyas and their loyalty after 1526 was usually dictated by the majority within the community they settled into, but there were exceptions to this rule. The other key conclusion, although preliminary, is that, once in the far east of the Realm, most of the Croats made part of the same political network, keeping, at first, their original identification and identity, entering marital ties between themselves and mainly collaborating. In time, they adopted the customs of their new communities and fully blended in the society, some of them becoming Protestant and many of them corresponding in the Hungarian language, which was typical only for the elites of Transylvania.

HISTORIOGRAPHY, STATE OF RESEARCH
AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Before setting out to explore the abundant new data which became available through digitisation, a researcher must review the achievements of previous historians and the methodological framework which was employed. The dominant questions are – which noble families and individuals were most thoroughly studied

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[4] S. Miljan, Plemićko društvo Zagrebačke županije za vladavine Žigmunda Luksemburškoga (1387.–1437.): doctoral dissertation, Zagreb, 2015, p. 23–25.

[5] I. Jurković, "Šesnaestostoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza i moderna sociološka terminologija", *Društvena istraživanja* 14/4–5, 2005, p. 759–782.

[6] There were Croatian noble and non-noble communities in eastern, southern and northern Hungary, in Austrian lands etc. The most famous and the most studied Croatian community is the one in Burgenland (Croat. Gradišće, Hung. Őrvidék) – M. Valentić, *Gradišćanski Hrvati od XVI stoljeća do danas*, Zagreb, 1970; B. Vranješ-Šoljan, *Gradišćanski Hrvati: između tradicije i suvremenosti*, Zagreb, 2005.

and by whom, what was the dominant approach in previous studies, what the old sources and those which have recently emerged offer to historians and, finally, how to improve the research in the future.

All South Slavic historiographies had a similar model of research. Namely, the studies were focused on the most notable individuals from the period of migration and on the first generations in the new environment. Having in mind the sheer number of Croatian noble families and individual migrants to Banat and Transylvania, either through their connections with duke John Corvinus, illegitimate son of King Matthias Corvinus, and his entourage in the 1490s and early 1500s, or by opting for Zápolya in the dynastic strife of the 16th century, it is quite surprising that there is practically no historian who studies this topic. The closest approach was made by Ivan Jurković who defended his PhD thesis *The Fate of the Croatian Noble Families in the Face of Ottoman Advance* in 2004, at Central European University in Budapest. Yet again, in his comprehensive articles on certain families, rich in source material, he did not focus on any of those that went to Transylvania or Banat.[7] Therefore, the Croatian noble migration remains the most understudied and the most promising topic for future research, in comparison with the noble migrants from Serbia or Bosnia. Croatian noble families were more numerous since they represented proper Hungarian nobility, originally belonging to the Hungarian Realm, unlike the Serbs (and presumably Bosnians, who were not confirmed in their titles by Hungarian kings), who had to earn their nobility by their service.[8]

[7] I. Jurković, "Raseljena plemićka obitelj za osmanske ugroze: primjer Berislavića de Werhreka de Mala Mlaka (Dio prvi: Stjepan Berislavić Vrhrički i Malomlački)", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 20, 2002, p. 125–164; idem, "Raseljena plemićka obitelj za osmanske ugroze: primjer Berislavića de Werhreka de Mala Mlaka. (Dio drugi – Nasljednici Stjepana Berislavića tijekom 16. st.)", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 21, 2003, p. 119–181; idem, "Klasifikacija hrvatskih raseljenika za trajanja osmanske ugroze (od 1463. do 1593.)", *Migracijske i etničke teme*, 19/2–3, 2003, p. 147–174; idem, "Socijalni status i prisilni raseljenici podrijetlom iz hrvatskih plemićkih obitelji u zemljama njihovih doseoba za trajanja osmanske ugroze", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 23, 2005, p. 63–85; idem, "Hrvatsko raseljeno plemstvo u korespondenciji Antuna Vrančića", in V. Lakić (ed.), *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću*, Šibenik, 2005, p. 41–50; idem, "Osmanska ugroza, plemeniti raseljenici i hrvatski identitet", *Povijesni prilozi* 31, 2006, p. 39–69; idem, "Ugrinovići od Roga – Raseljena obitelj plemenitog roda Šubića Bribirskih za trajanja osmanske ugroze", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 26, 2008, p. 71–85; idem, "Demográfiai válság az oszmánellenes háborúk idején: Magyar és horvát főurak és a horvát kizelepülők / Demografska kriza u razdoblju protuosmanskih ratova: ugarski i hrvatski velikaši i hrvatski raseljenici", in P. Fodor, D. Šokčević, J. Turkalj, D. Karbić (eds.), *A magyar-horvát együttélés fordulópontjai: intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra / Prekretnice u suživotu Hrvata i Mađara: Ustanove, društvo, gospodarstvo i kultura*, Budapest / Budimpešta, 2015, p. 242–249, 294–301; idem, "Migracije. Raseljenička kriza za osmanske ugroze: 'U bašćini mojoj ne dadu mi priti'", in M. Karbić (ed.), *Vrijeme sazrijevanja, vrijeme razaranja: Hrvatske zemlje u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 2019, p. 99–113.

[8] A. Ivić, *Spomenici Srba u Ugarskoj, Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji tokom XVI i XVII stoleća*, Novi Sad, 1910; idem, *Istorija Srba u Ugarskoj: od pada Smedereva do seobe pod Čarnojevićem (1459–1690)*,

Hungarian historiography was far more interested in the topic in the late 19th and early 20th century, since it was compatible with the endeavour to publish most of the sources and, also, the genealogies and histories of noble families. Putting aside many short articles in specialised journals or brief notes in encyclopaedic volumes on the Hungarian nobility[9], only two monographic accomplishments should be mentioned. The book of József Molnár on the Melić family of Bribir[10] and a group of publications by Emil Petrichevich Horváth on his own family.[11]

Romanian historiography was not particularly interested in South Slavic (especially Croatian) nobility in Banat and Transylvania as the primary subject of its research, maybe because, beside George Martinuzzi, none of the Croatian nobles had a key role in Transylvanian politics and maybe because those nobles were perceived as a part of the Hungarian elite and were eventually fully magyarised.[12] Some valuable data can, however, be traced on the margins of broader studies on Banat and Transylvania in the late medieval and early modern period. Only lately, some Romanian historians have begun to publish their studies focused on South Slavic notable individuals in present-day Romania.[13] Having in mind the fact that most of the new sources are to be found in Romanian and Hungarian archives (some of them in the Hungarian language, as well), the interest of researchers from these countries in this topic is more than valuable.

This brief overview of the state of research shows that it was rather limited, uneven and "capsuled" within national historiographies, both in methodological

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Zagreb, 1914; V. Atanasovski, Pad Hercegovine, Beograd, 1979, p. 162–165. Also see the article "The Belmužević Family – The Fate of a Noble Family in South-East Europe during the Turbulent Period of the Ottoman Conquest (The 15th and the First Half of the 16th Century)" by Aleksandar Krstić and Adrian Magina, in this volume.

[9] Most of these articles were published in the Hungarian journal for heraldry and genealogy *Turul*. Also see: I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai: czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vols. I–XIII, Pest, 1857–1868; B. Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok*, vols. I–XI, Budapest, 1911-1932 *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. – Családtörténet, heraldika, honismeret*, Budapest, 2003 (DVD edition).

[10] J. Molnár, *A Subich-nemzetségből származó Brebiri Melith-család-vázlatos története*, Hajdúnánás, 1939.

[11] E. Petrichevich Horváth, *A Mogorovich nemzetségbeli Petrichevich család története és oklevéltára – A Petrichevich család általános története*, Budapest, 1934; idem, *A Petrichevich-család naplói*, Budapest, 1941; idem, *A Mogorovich nemzetségbeli Petrichevich család története és oklevéltára – A Petrichevich család történetének regesztái*, Pécs, 1942.

[12] About Martinuzzi and historiography on him see recent monographs: A. Papo, G. Nemeth Papo, *Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi: Cardinale, soldato e statista dalmata agli albori del Principato di Transilvania*, Roma, 2017; idem, *Nemăsurata ispită a puterii. Gheorghe Martinuzzi, adevăratul rege al Transilvaniei în secolul al XVI-lea*, Oradea, 2019.

[13] A. Magina, "Un nobil sârb în Banatul secolului al XV-lea: Miloš Belmužević", *Analele Banatului* s.n. 18, 2010, p. 135–142; idem, "Milica Belmužević: l`histoire d`une noble dame du XVIe siècle", *Initial. A Review of Medieval studies* 2, 2014, p. 145–162; idem, "Peter Petrović and Protestantism. Aspects concerning the Patronage of the Reformation during its Early Period", *Initial. A Review of Medieval studies* 3, 2015, p. 139–159; idem, "Acta Jakšićiana. Documents regarding the Jakšić of Nădlac Family in Romanian Archives", *Initial. A Review of Medieval studies* 6, 2018, p. 159–188; F. N. Ardelean, *Organizarea militară în Principatul Transilvaniei (1541-1691)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2019.

approach and the choice of subjects and their presentation. Therefore, we should pose the question of further steps and ideas. First of all, it is essential that historians overcome language barriers and self-centeredness, as well as the diffusion of research and overwhelmingly present ignorance of the results of neighbouring historiographies. Some of these tasks are easier to do than others, but they are all doable, and some problems can be overcome by cooperation through collective authorships and delegation of specific tasks on the basis of expertise.

The typology of sources which were already used by the historians does not significantly differ from the typology of newly available ones. Both groups are mainly charters, reports and other types of documentary material, with much less narrative sources (although some chronical notes and genealogies can be found). But the new material, combined with a new methodological i.e. more synthetic approach, will still allow us to broaden our findings narrowed down to most important topics such as biographies of great personalities, the issue of their possessions or military service, the issue of their leadership in their communities etc. Beyond these, "usual" topics, sources offer a lot of data on political networking, affinities, marital policies, connections with other Croatian (or Slavic) noble families and broader Slavic population, issues of literacy and cultural influences, gradual magyarisation of the Croatian elite, religious affiliation, variety of offices held by the Croatian nobles, clientelism etc.

Having everything above-mentioned in mind, it is quite in place to urge historians from South East Europe to broaden their cooperation and include the research of South Slavic (especially Croatian) noblemen in Banat and Transylvania in their future projects. It would most definitely be a gratifying investment and even an international research project could be carried out in relatively close future. The fact that both Hungarian and Romanian archives for the Middle Ages and (to some extent) for the early modern period are mostly digitised and, therefore, fully and easily available on web portals such as *Hungaricana* (based in Hungary) and *Arhivă Medievală* (based in Romania), will give an impetus and motivation for the research.[14] Although the portal *DIZBI HAZU* (Digital Collection of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, based in Croatia) does not offer the same range of material and features, it also facilitates the process of research.[15] Moreover, *Hungaricana* also offers a substantial material from Croatian archives (up until 1526)[16], available in the form of reproductions from microfilms, which makes the research much easier than before, even for a single historian, who would, however, be overwhelmed by the quantity and diversity of data. Since I found myself in a similar situation, this contribution will give only the preliminary findings on the subject, as indicated in the title.

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[14] Hungaricana (https://hungaricana.hu), Arhivă Medievală (https://arhivamedievala.ro).

[15] Digitalna zbirka Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (https://dizbi.hazu.hr/a).

[16] A valuable new resource for the period 1526–1570 can be found on the Hungarian web portal Adatbázisok Online (https://adatbazisokonline.hu/gyujtemeny/reformacio).

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON THE PROCESS OF ARRIVAL
OF CROATIAN NOBLES TO BANAT AND TRANSYLVANIA

In the preliminary research I conducted during the last years, with the help of the literature and Romanian colleagues, I was able to identify more than a dozen noble families of Croatian origin in Banat and Transylvania, usually bearing the epithet "Horváth" i.e. "Croat". Most of them originally came from southern Croatia (first to be occupied by the Turks). At this point I will mention only the most important ones and those who are very well documented – the Šušalić family of Lukarić or Oprominje, Šubić-Melić of Bribir, Šubić-Ugrinić of Rog, Petričević of Raduč, Kolunić and Perušić of Pset, Kučić of Razvađe, Bojničić and Benković of Plavno, Mišljenović of Kamičac and Uzdolje, Utišenović and Bartaković of Kamičac, Martinušević of Bogočin, Korlatović of Korlat. After their resettlement, most of these families were based in Banat, and the counties of Bihor (Hung. Bihar), Satu Mare (Hung. Szatmár) and Alba (Hung. Fehér), but some had estates or held important offices outside of these regions and counties as well.[17] A few of these noble families, unlike Serbian and Bosnian ones, are still existent, although they are now fully magyarised.

No thorough study of how these particular noble families arrived to the easternmost part of the Hungarian Realm has yet been made. Only a few cases of notable individuals were studied in more details, the most famous one being George Martinuzzi (Croat. Juraj Utišenović Martinušević).[18] Since many nobles came from the relative (and some even from the immediate) vicinity of Martinuzzi's home castle of Kamičac, it was assumed that he was the primary agent of their arrival. The other candidate was John Zápolya (Croat. Ivan od Zapolja), who became the voivode of Transylvania in 1510, sixteen years before he became a pretender to the throne of Hungary. He was one of the principal leaders of the lesser nobility and gentry, a social stratum to which most of the afore-mentioned nobles belonged to.[19] Finally, he was himself a noble from Slavonia and of Slavic origin and most of the Slavs from Slavonia were, in fact, Croats. In 1527 Slavonian nobility opted for Zápolya and Croatian for Ferdinand of Habsburg.[20] But, the emigrants we are discussing here mostly came to the region of Zápolya's influence years before the civil war began. With most of the source material yet to be researched, it is precisely the time of the arrival of the noble Croats to Banat, Transylvania and the eastern counties of Hungary which leads us to re-consider the

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[17] I. Horn, "Magyar végvári tisztek erdélyi karrierlehetőségei a 16. század második felében", in G. Veres, M. Berecz (eds.), *Hagyomás és megújulás - Életpályák és társadalmi mobilitás a végváriak körében*, Eger, 2008, p. 103.

[18] Papo, Nemeth Papo, *Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi...*, passim; T. Oborni, "Fráter György szervitorainak és familiárisainak jegyzéke a Castaldo-kódexben, 1552", *Fons: forráskutatás és történeti segédtudományok* 25, 2018, p. 435–451.

[19] Horn, "Magyar végvári tisztek...", p. 103.

[20] F. Šišić, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. I, Zagreb, 1912, p. 50–55, 71–77.

theories of Martinuzzi's and Zápolya's direct involvement in the launching of the first migration wave from southern Croatia to the far east of the Realm. Both of the above mentioned personalities started their careers in the first years and decades of the 16th century, gradually rising to power.[21] That means they were not established well enough to coordinate migration in the last years of the 15th and early years of the 16th century. Most Croatian nobles were to become the members of their affinity networks (through the institution of *familiaritas*) sometime later, but they were not responsible for their transfer. In fact, they themselves, or their ancestors, made part of the same process of migration, but they rose to greater prominence than their fellow-nobles and compatriots who are the topic of this particular paper.[22]

Although the Hungarian nobility had ranks, since the time of Louis I the Great's reforms in the 1350s, all of the nobles were protected by the king in their status and some of their vested rights.[23] The law by itself was important, but what boosted lesser Croatian nobility's potential for migration was their role in defence of the southern borders of the Realm during the period of Ottoman conquest. From the viewpoint of the central authorities in Buda, the situation in southern Croatia was gradually deteriorating throughout the first half of the 15th century since the area was isolated by Bosnia and Venice and controlled by local magnates whose loyalty to the crown was frequently compromised by either their own interests or pure political reality, since the king and his representatives did not invest enough effort to support the region which was attacked by all the neighbours.[24]

The Ottoman threat proved to be much more important challenge than the others, but the actions of the government were hindered by a long lasting dynastic strife. When Matthias Corvinus was finally secure on his throne, Bosnia had already fallen to the Ottomans (1463). Yet again, it was Corvinus who re-organised the border defence system, making Croatia and parts of Bosnia he conquered from the Turks in late 1463 and 1464 an active frontier aimed at halting the Ottoman advance. In comparison with the earlier period this buffer zone was more functional and it held for several decades.[25] It was not impervious to Turkish *akinci*

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[21] T. Neumann, "Dózsa legyőzője. Szapolyai János erdélyi vajdasága (1510–1526)", *Székelyföld* 18, 2014, p. 93–107; Papo, Nemeth Papo, *Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi...*, p. 21–52.

[22] It is considered that George Martinuzzi himself was brought to Hungary by John Corvinus because George's father Gregory served John and was killed fighting the Turks. Papo, Nemeth Papo, *Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi...*, p. 21–29.

[23] F. Somogyi, L.F. Somogyi, "Ludovici I. Regis, decretum unicum, anno 1351, editum 1986", in S.B. Vardy, G. Grosschmid, L.S. Domonkos (eds.), *Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland*, Boulder – New York, 1986, p. 453–483.

[24] V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. III, Zagreb, 1985, passim; N. Isailović, "Bosnia and Croatia-Dalmatia in the Late Middle Ages. A Historical Perspective", in Dž. Dautović, E.O. Filipović, N. Isailović (eds.), *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations: Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, Leeds, 2019, p. 39–49.

[25] B. Grgin, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska*, Zagreb, 2002, p. 31–33, 115–125, 171–186; D. Salihović, "For a Different Catastrophe: A Fruitful Frontier on the Southern Edges of the Kingdom of Hungary after 1463. An Initial Inquiry", *Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 5, 2017, p. 73–107; idem, "The Process of Bordering at the Late Fifteenth-Century Hungarian-Ottoman

raids which were gradually exhausting the resources and men power of the Hungarian south, but the king and his governors – bans – regained control over the entire region. In such a system, the middle ranked (*egregii*) or lesser nobles from southern Croatia, controlling smaller estates and forts, became marcher lords in direct service of the king and ban, frequently being named as *homines regii* in legal processes and local inquiries.[26] They were the immediate neighbours of advancing Turks and the first line of defence in Matthias' time.[27]

The king's death in 1490 and the ensuing strife over the throne did contribute to the decomposition of the defence system, but it was deteriorating over time, burdened with the lack of resources and people which were the main target of Turkish raids.[28] The decades of warfare were exhausting the royal treasury as well and the system was gradually collapsing. One of the last attempts to rebuild it once again was the appointment of King Matthias' illegitimate son – John Corvinus to the position of duke of Slavonia and ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.[29] His path to this office was paved with nails. Even before his father's death he was targeted by the queen and some circles of nobility, and after 1490 he not only definitely renounced all his claims to the throne, but was also left without the promised title of the king of Bosnia and effective control over Slavonia, although he supported Jagiellonian King Vladislaus II. It was only after 1496 and his marriage to Beatrice, a daughter of the influential Croatian magnate Bernardin Frankapan, that he regained some fortunes and the life-long position of the duke of Slavonia and ban of Croatia-Dalmatia. Through these offices he became the effective commander of the southern frontier.[30] It was the time of the war of Christian states against the Ottomans and John's efforts to secure the border were indisputable and clearly visible.

Although he achieved some success, not only of local significance, John's appointment came too late to turn the tide of the war, which was the consequence of a longer process. Namely, between 1471 and 1473, the Ottomans were already in control of some regions west of the river Neretva.[31] The defeat of the Croatian

Frontier", *History in Flux* 1, 2019, p. 93–120; idem, "Exploiting the Frontier – A Case Study: the Common Endeavour of Matthias Corvinus and Nicholas of Ilok in Late Medieval Bosnia", in Dž. Dautović, E.O. Filipović, N. Isailović (eds.), *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations: Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, Leeds, 2019, p. 97–112.

[26] M. Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*, New York - London, 2000, p. 70–74, 81, 175.

[27] Grgin, *Počeci rasapa...*, p. 115–125, 171–186.

[28] F. Szakály, "The Hungarian-Croatian Border Defense System and Its Collapse" in J.M. Bak, B.K. Király (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*, New York, 1982, p. 141–158.

[29] M. Mesić, "Građa mojih razprava u 'Radu': listine i izprave", *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 5, 1873, p. 109–288; L. Thallóczy, A. Hodinka, *A horvát véghelyek oklevéltára 1490–1527*, Budapest, 1903, passim; F. Šišić, "Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473–1496)", *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 37, 1934, p. 189–344; *ibid.*, *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 38, 1937, p. 1–180.

[30] V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. IV, Zagreb, 1985, p. 191–264.

[31] Atanasovski, *Pad Hercegovine*, p. 64–96, 118–125.

army at the battlefield of Krbava in 1493 had a more significant aftermath than it is usually viewed. It was not only a disastrous defeat but also a prequel to the series of attacks which led to the extension of Turkish authority to the river Cetina and even some areas west of it by 1497.[32] Although some fortresses kept their garrisons loyal to the Jagiellonian king up until the 1520s or, in case of Klis, until 1537, by 1505 those forts became mere islands in the Ottoman sea. The situation became untenable for the marcher nobility – the population was abducted in Turkish raids or fled to the northwest, the economy crumbled under constant pressure and the resources (money, food, men power) for the defence were completely exhausted. The reports from the southern border after 1504 and John Corvinus' death show despair of the remaining defenders of the south. Receiving only small subsidies or tax benefits from the central authorities, the local nobles sought to deliver themselves from the hopeless situation.[33]

John Corvinus, whose primary battlefield during the war with the Ottomans was on the southern borders, who was the governor of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, and whose wife was from a Croatian magnate family, established a network of connections with people who were serving him in the war – as horsemen or castellans. The leaders of auxiliary *vlach* troops also represented a network, but it functioned separately from the one which comprised Croatian nobility.[34] Corvinus was the last hope for the defenders of the isolated, south-western frontier of the Hungarian Realm. When the peace treaty of 1503[35] proved to be of small significance for the actual situation in the field, the network of middle-ranked and lesser nobles which ban John created started to organise the withdrawal from the region affected by the Turks since the official border was now in the immediate vicinity of major fortresses of Knin, Sinj, Klis and Skradin. It was, however, not meant for Corvinus to implement this gradual migration since he died of fever in Krapina 1504. His legacy was formally continued by his young offspring – sons Christopher and Matthew (both died in 1505), and daughter Elisabeth (died in 1508) – but effectively by his wife Beatrice (died in 1510), who kept John's possessions after his death, undoubtedly with support of her influential father Bernardin Frankapan.[36]

The migration did not happen at once – it was a gradual process and not an easy one. The central government certainly did not wish to leave the border with no

[32] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Istanbul), Tapu tahrir defterleri 987.

[33] Gy. Pray, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*, vol. I, Pozsony, 1806, p. 156–158; L. Thallóczy, S. Barabás, *A Frangepán család oklevéltára*, vol. II, Budapest, 1913, p. XLV–XLVI; N.C. Tóth, *Politikatörténeti források Bátori István első helytartóságához (1522–1523)*, Budapest, 2010, p. 44–45; Thallóczy, Hodinka, *A horvát véghelyek oklevéltára...*, p. 16–19.

[34] S. Gunjača, "Tiniensia archaeologica historica topographica II", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/7, 1960, p. 78–84; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata...*, vol. IV, p. 225–257. Many details concerning this period are also brought by Sanudo's diaries.

[35] L. Thallóczy, S. Horváth, *Jajcza (bánság, vár és város) története: 1450–1527*, Budapest, 1915, p. 167–170.

[36] Gy. Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János 1473–1504*, Budapest, 1894; T. Neumann, "Mátyás herceg (Szerény adalék a Hunyadi családfához)", *Turul* 88, 2015, p. 72–73.

defence, depopulated and without nobility to keep up the struggle against the advancing Ottomans. Yet, the signs of the deteriorating situation in the decade between the peace of 1503 and the fall of Sinj in 1513, could not be ignored and they were easily verified. The appointment of a local Croatian noble with courtly career – Mark Mišljenović of Kamičac to the office of ban of Croatia and Dalmatia (which he shared with a notable Hungarian noble Andrew Both of Bajna) was a part of the efforts of the court in Buda to elevate distinguished local fighters and give a new impetus for the gentry defending their estates.[37] These efforts were faltering due to intensified Turkish pressure that created the situation in which smaller forts were demolished, commoners captured or dispersed, all valuables pillaged, crops destroyed and any collection of tribute rendered impossible. This created an atmosphere in which the network made by Corvinus could receive their master's and king's grant to leave the area and assume another office elsewhere, retaining their title and noble status.[38] The first ones to leave were people on higher positions, better connected to Beatrice Frankapan, who became a wealthy landowner in Banat and Transylvania, with the centre in her castles of Hunedoara (Hung. Hunyad) and Lipova (Hung. Lippa). She received support not only of her father, but also of King Vladislaus II who eventually remarried her to his cousin George of Brandenburg-Ansbach in 1509, a year prior to Beatrice's death which was preceded by the deaths of her children with Corvinus.[39] Two facts in support of the theory that John Corvinus and Beatrice Frankapan were the first to coordinate Croatian migration to the eastern part of the Hungarian Realm are that most of the data for the period between the 1490s and 1510s are to be found in the family archive of Hunyadi i.e. Corvinus family, as well as that the Kučić family (very close to Beatrice) was supporting neither Zápolya or Martinuzzi, but, in fact, Ferdinand I of Habsburg since late 1526, although the majority of Croats of the region did not do so.

In 1510 George of Brandenburg-Ansbach was granted Beatrice's heritage of Hunedoara, Lipova and 252 villages by King Vladislaus II who named George her principal heir. Some of the Croats remained in his affinity until the moment he sold out most of his possessions in Hungary in order to acquire some Silesian ones, not only because his career was oriented to German lands, but also because of his continuous feuds with Zápolya.[40] The representatives of the first wave of Croatian noble refugees already established themselves in the new environment, receiving not only offices (usually military, due to their experience in cavalry and as castellans), but some estates too. They became intermediaries for the arrival of the

[37] V. Klaić, "Hrvatsko kraljevstvo u XV. stoljeću i prvoj četvrti XVI. stoljeća (1409–1526.)", *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkog društva* 8, 1905, p. 136, 138.

[38] Jurković, "Šesnaestostoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza...", p. 759–782; idem, "Socijalni status...", p. 63–85.

[39] P. Strčić, "Frankapan, Beatrica", in T. Macan (ed.), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. IV, Zagreb, 1998, p. 399.

[40] W. Huber, "Georg (der Fromme)", in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Band 30, Nordhausen, 2009, p. 472–484.

second wave which mostly, but not exclusively, came prior to the battle of Mohács, possibly in the period before and immediately after the fall the main fortresses of Knin and Skradin (1522), Ostrovica (1523), and Obrovac as well as the counties of Krbava and Lika (1527).[41] It seems that only a small number of nobles from southern Croatia went to the east due to the civil war between the supporters of Ferdinand I and John Zápolya which started in 1527. We can, to some extent, deduce that from the fact that no representative on any major Croatian noble family that rose to some prominence in Banat and Transylvania was among the nobles choosing either Ferdinand I (mainly nobles from Croatia, in Cetin, on 1 January 1527) or Zápolya (mainly nobles from Slavonia, in Dubrava, on 6 January 1527).[42] Interestingly enough, Bernardin Frankapan and his sons were the only magnates originating from Croatia proper who supported Zápolya over the Habsburgs. However, we have no data that they had anything to do with the second wave of Croatian migrants to Banat or Transylvania, nor did Zápolya.[43]

When the new wave of migration began, it were those who were already in the new environment that helped their compatriots, in many cases their relatives too, to acquire land and service in the circles of Zápolya and, by then, already influential George Martinuzzi, the most famous offspring of two lesser noble families (Utišenović and Martinušević) from the district of Oprominje.[44] After he gained substantial power, following John Zápolya's death in 1540, Martinuzzi formed an impressive noble retinue. A list of his retainers at the time of his death comprises many persons bearing Slavic surnames and/or epithet Horváth.[45] After 1551, they were already members of the noble society of their counties and Transylvania as a whole[46] and their position was not (in some cases not substantially, in others not whatsoever) challenged or endangered by Martinuzzi's murder. Most of the Croats held offices for temporary pro-Habsburg governors, then for the new "strongmen" of John Sigismund Zápolya's Eastern Hungarian Kingdom and, ultimately, for the rulers of the Principality of Transylvania. In first

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[41] M. Mesić, "Banovanje Petra Berislavića za kralja Ljudevita II.", *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 3, 1868, p. 1–64; idem, "Hrvati nakon bana Berislavića do muhačke bitke", *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 18, 1872, p. 77–163; *ibid.*, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 22, 1873, p. 55–204; V. Klaić, "Pad Obrovca, Udbine i Jajca. Prilog za hrvatsku povjestnicu godine 1527.–1528.", *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskog arkiva* 7, 1905, p. 53–69; Gunjača, "Tiniensia archaeologica...", p. 88-91; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata...*, vol. IV, p. 293–430.

[42] Šišić, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. I, p. 50-55, 71–77.

[43] P. Strčić, "Frankapan, Bernardin Ozaljski", in T. Macan (ed.), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. IV, Zagreb, 1998, p. 399–401; idem, "Bernardin Frankopan i njegovo doba. Prilog za sintezu povijesti o vrhuncu srednjovjekovnoga razvoja i početka borbe za opstanak Frankopana i hrvatskoga naroda", *Modruški zbornik* 3, 2009, p. 3–27.

[44] A. Sekulić, "Naš pavlin Juraj Utišinović, crkveni poglavar i državnik", in M. Menđušić, D. Marguš (eds.), *Miljevci u prošlosti (s pogledom u budućnost)*, Visovac – Drinovci, 2008, p. 165–169; Papo, Nemeth Papo, *Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi...*, p. 21–30; iidem, *Nemăsurata ispită...*, p. 21–30.

[45] Oborni, "Fráter György...", p. 443–451.

[46] At that time, Banat was conquered by the Turks.

generations, the newly settled Croats had comparative advantages – they were trained soldiers, skilful in marcher combat, experienced castellans. They also knew the Slavonic language in its South Slavic variant, which was, up until the mid-16th century, used even by higher Ottoman administration, but certainly by the Turkish marcher lords and *sanjakbeys*, who were, in large numbers, of South Slavic origin themselves (mainly from Bosnia and Croatia).[47] Finally, they formed one network, at least for a certain period of time, which was the source of loyal retainers of their leader (whether it was Beatrice Frankapan, George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, John Zápolya and his son, Queen Isabella, Martinuzzi, Castaldo, Báthory family, Nádasdy family, or local magnates).[48]

In Latin sources from Hungary, Banat and Transylvania the Croats were identified by their conspicuous Slavic surnames and the epithet Croatus (much more often in Hungarian version – Horváth) and, sometimes, by their noble predicates which specified their original main estate. Yet, most of them acquired new possessions, married into local noble families and performed various duties, mostly as wardens or prefects of important fortresses, county officials or *familiares* of kings, princes, bishops and magnates. Even though they adapted to the new environment rather easily, since their nobility was the first factor of their identity, it seems that the Croats kept close to each other, at least in the first couple of generations, which can be observed through their documents, connections and family ties.[49] Their bond was not only of ethnic and linguistic origin. Almost all of these nobles came from a small region near the Krka river in southern Croatia, which was already pointed out as the home region of Martinuzzi. The magyarisation which was already ongoing in the later decades of the 16th century was a normal process of blending in the customs of the majority of Transylvanian nobility of the same rank. It did not completely disrupt the network, but, eventually, new networks, based on the distribution of possessions and belonging to a faction, emerged as primary. The surnames, noble predicates (some of which slightly changed) and epithet Horváth, however, endured for centuries, even after the process of magyarisation was completed and all noble Croats from Transylvania assumed Hungarian identity.[50]

SELECTED CASE STUDIES

Due to preliminary nature of this paper, in its last section, I will briefly go through several case studies which I deem exemplary in order to show the

[47] N. Isailović, A. Krstić, "Serbian Language and Cyrillic Script as a Means of Diplomatic Literacy in South Eastern Europe in 15th and 16th Centuries", in S. Andea – A.C. Dincă (eds.), *Literacy Experiences concerning Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, p. 185–195.

[48] See the section of this article dedicated to selected case studies.

[49] Jurković, "Osmanska ugroza, plemeniti raseljenici...", p. 39–69; Horn, "Magyar végvári tisztek...", p. 103.

[50] See footnote 11.

possibilities that newly available data offer for future research. For these small "medallions" I selected the families and/or individuals who are well-documented in literature and databases easily accessible to all historians.

Mark (Croat. Marko) Mišljenović of Kamičac (the noble predicate derives from a fort on the Krka river, in the present-day Municipality of Promina) was one of the most important Croatian nobles whose career spanned several decades. He was from the same fort from which Martinuzzi's father Gregory (Croat. Grgur) Utišenović was, but we have no data which would link these two families. His noble predicate was later expended by adding the nearby estate of Uzdolje to it. Mark came to King Matthias' court in the 1470s as a young man. In the late 1480s he already distinguished himself in king's service and gained possessions in Slavonia, in the county of Dubica, along with his brother John who was also a royal courtier.[51] In 1491 he received a portion of the estates of Francis Jakcs of Kusaly (today Coșeiu in the county of Sălaj) for his services and was named King Vladislaus II's *cubicularius*, receiving further possessions in the county of Trenčin (Hung. Trencsén).[52]

In 1496 Mark married Benigna, the daughter of Balázs Magyar and widow of Pál Kinizsi.[53] She gave up her rights and transferred them to her male family members, including her new husband.[54] Some of these possessions were in present-day Romania, in the county of Hunedoara (Hung. Hunyad). However, since many of them were formerly pledged, Mark soon transferred them to the king and Corvinus family.[55] Most of his remaining possessions were located around Herend near Veszprém in Hungary and near Székesfehérvár.[56] In the first years of the 16th century Mark was the castellan of Buda (certainly in 1505)[57] and after the death of John Corvinus in 1504 he was involved in defending southern Croatia from the Ottoman attacks. In 1506 he became one of Croatian bans and captains of Senj, along with Andrew Both of Bajna.[58] It was considered that he would, as a local Croat, enhance the defence, but he died soon afterwards (around 1508). His estate was claimed by his younger brothers Andrew and Matthew, and his widow

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[51] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (=MNL OL) (Budapest), Diplomatikai levéltár (=DL) 26530, 30916, 67881; E. Laszowski, "Prilog historiji hrvatskih porodica Martinuševića, Utješenovića, Mišljenovića i njihovih srodnika", *Vjesnik Kr. državnog arhiva u Zagrebu*, 1937, p. 156.

[52] MNL OL, DL 30923, 46657, 82063.

[53] MNL OL, DL 63247, 63513, 63514; I. Borsa, *A Justh család levéltára 1274-1525*, Budapest, 1991, p. 100–101.

[54] MNL OL, DL 38914, 46332, 46657; Arhivele Naționale ale României (=ANR), Direcția Județeană (=DJ) Cluj, Fond familial Vécsey, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 240.

[55] MNL OL, DL 30934.

[56] MNL OL, DL 39338, 46726, 66360, 66363, 66378, 66640, 69169, 102692.

[57] MNL OL, DL 39335.

[58] V. Klaić, "Kandidacija (commendatio) bana po hrvatskom saboru za vladanja kuće Habsburg (1527–1848.)", *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva* 10, 1908, p. 168.

relinquished it to them.[59] His resettlement to the eastern part of the Hungarian Realm was among the first, but was not permanent.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

The Kučić family of Razvađa Vas (today Razvođe, Municipality of Promina) first appeared in sources in the 15th century. Their main representative in the last quarter of the century was John (Croat. Ivan) Kučić who was granted the possibility to import *vlach* (i.e. nomad) population to his estates by Croatian ban Matthew Geréb of Vingard (Hung. Vingárd) in 1484, because he distinguished himself fighting against the Turks.[60] In the late 1490s he became a part of the network established by Croatian ban John Corvinus for the defence of the southern borders against the Ottomans. During Corvinus' administration, he probably became the castellan of Knin, one of two most important fortresses in southern Croatia and the seat of Croatian ban.[61] The other castellan may have been John's brother George (Croat. Juraj), mentioned in 1485.[62] Knin was under constant attack, but fell to the Ottomans only in 1522.

However, John Kučić seemed to have left his Croatian estates before the death of John Corvinus, moving north under the protection of Corvinus and his wife Beatrice Frankapan. He was first to be found as a castellan of the Vingard castle in 1503.[63] In 1505, along with his son Gaspar (Croat. Gašpar), he came in the possession of the estate Gusu (Hung. Kisludas)[64] and then, 1506–1508, of an iron mine near the castle of Hunedoara and of Vingard castle and market place with surrounding villages in the county of Alba.[65] After the Geréb of Vingard family became extinct, these possessions came into hands of John Corvinus, but after he died, his widow Beatrice Frankapan sold them to John Kučić for 11500 florins which she needed to redeem her numerous pledges (1508).[66] This transfer was sanctioned by King Vladislaus II, but was disputed by other nobles (Bethlen and Somkereki) and neighbouring Saxon communities.[67] Prior to this transaction in 1508, John was Beatrice's castellan of Vingard, as well as of Lipova and Şoimoş

[59] MNL OL, DL 82532, 82570, 89214.

[60] E. Laszowski, "Prilog za povijest Vlaha u Dalmaciji", *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskog arkiva* 16, 1914, p. 318–319.

[61] Thallóczy, Hodinka, *A horvát véghelyek oklevéltára...*, p. 18.

[62] Thallóczy, Barabás, *A Frangepán család...*, vol. II, p. 163.

[63] ANR, DJ Cluj (custodie BCU Cluj), Colecţia Generală, Seria 2 – BCU, Nr. 130.

[64] MNL OL, DL 26487.

[65] MNL OL, DL 32569; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bethlen de Iktár, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 66; I. Izsó, *Szemelvények a középkori montanisztika magyarországi történetének írott forrásaiból*, Rudabánya, 2006, p. 138.

[66] MNL OL, DL 37839.

[67] MNL OL, DL 26508, 26509, 74337; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bethlen de Iktár, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 230; S. Barabás, *A római szent birodalmi gróf széki Teleki család oklevéltára*, vol. II, Budapest, 1895, p. 313, doc. CXCVIII.

near Arad. His deputy was a man named Cosma, maybe another Croatian.[68] All these forts were put under Kučić's protection by Corvinus' widow. After Beatrice Frankapan remarried to count George of Brandenburg-Ansbach in 1509, she was able to regain Lipova and Şoimoş for herself.[69] Yet, she died in 1510 and her widower sold out many of their possessions, and the Kučić family was confirmed as the possessor of several estates in the counties of Alba, Târnava (Hung. Küküllő) and Hunedoara, as well as in Scaunul Mureşului (Hung. Marosszék).[70]

Having the Vingard castle as the core of their possessions their new noble predicate was "Horváth of Vingard". The litigations with local noble families from the Alba county continued even after the estates were confirmed to the Kučićs, which led even to armed conflicts of smaller scale in 1515.[71] In 1512, John Kučić bought two estates in the Arad county from another Croatian noble – John Benković of Plavno, for 400 florins.[72] John Kučić died before 1519 after which his son Gaspar was the only representative of the family.[73] The Vingard castle was in the hands of the same Gaspar Horváth of Vingard in 1526, but he was ousted in 1532 by Zápolya's troops headed by his palatine Michael Keserű (not to be confused with one of the Šušalićs of Cheşereu).[74] Why? His courtly career started in the Jagiellonian time and he used to be *magister dapiferorum* in 1526. After Louis II's death at Mohács he became a staunch supporter of King Ferdinand and from 1527 to 1540 he was addressed as king's *locumtenens* and *magister regalium cubiculariorum*, with fiscal authority in Transylvania.[75] In the same capacity, he also tried to take over the fortress of Făgăraş for the Habsburgs.[76] His name was mentioned with the title of "captain general" in the armistice concluded between Ferdinand's and Zápolya's supporters in 1529.[77] He was donating some of his

[68] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, Seria U III, Nr. 254.

[69] MNL OL, DL 37849.

[70] MNL OL, DL 26510.

[71] MNL OL, DL 26525.

[72] MNL OL, DL 59979, 60003, 60004.

[73] ANR, DJ Cluj (custodie BCU Cluj), Colecția Generală, Seria 2 – BCU, Nr. 130.

[74] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Episcopia Bisericii Evanghelice C.A. din Transilvania, Colecția de documente episcopale, Nr. 70; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Székely de Adămuş, Seria 1 (Registrul 1), Fascicula nr. 1, Nr. 31; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bethlen de Iktár, Seria 1 - Documente medievale, Nr. 165; I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai: czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vol. VI, Pest, 1860, p. 229.

[75] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Episcopia Bisericii Evanghelice C.A. din Transilvania, Colecția de documente episcopale, Nr. 101; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Capitlul evanghelic C.A. Bistriţa, Nr. 1; ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecția de documente Stenner, Seria 2 – Latină, maghiară, germană, Volumul I, Nr. 95; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, Seria U V, Nr. 320; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, Seria U IV, Nr. 343.

[76] ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecția de documente Schnell, Volumul 2, Nr. 077.

[77] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Episcopia Bisericii Evanghelice C.A. din Transilvania, Colecția de documente episcopale, Nr. 124.

estates to his retainers – the Thoroczkay family in 1534, until they received others of the same value by King Ferdinand. Some of them were supposed to be returned to him in 1536 when Anthony Thoroczkay was to receive Iclod (Hung. Nagyiklód).[78] After 1536, I was not able to trace any further data on this family's actions in Transylvania, because Gaspar's activity was, by then, already transferred to other parts of Hungary. The only certain information is that afore-mentioned Anthony Thoroczkay asked, in his testament dated in 1549, to be buried next to his master – Gaspar Horváth of Vingard (who died after 1540) in his foundation – the church in Torna.[79]

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The Šušalić (Šušeljić) family from the village of Lukarić in Oprominje (today Lukar, once again in the municipality of Promina along the left bank of the river Krka) was based in the small fort of Hotiblić, which is even today known by the other name Šušelj, on the slopes of the Promina mountain. Their first known member was Michael (Croat. Mihovil), who was under investigation in 1507 because he left his fortress and took shelter in the town of Skradin, fleeing from the Turkish siege laid on Hotiblić. The officials cleared him of the charges, admitting that he fought bravely until he was forced to retreat.[80] Another Šušalić, Stephen (Croat. Stipan), possibly Michael's brother or son, was the castellan of Morović (in present-day Serbia) in the south-Hungarian county of Vukovo (Hung. Valkó) in 1512 and then Gyula in 1514–1516.[81] It seems that he was the founder of Békés and the Külső-Szolnok line of the family, continued by his descendants Francis (Croat. Franjo) and Peter (Croat. Petar).[82]

After years of scarce mentions, the family is to be found in the broader circle of bishop Martinuzzi's supporters and retainers, in the counties of Békés, Külső-Szolnok and Bihor.[83] In fact, in 1543, Martinuzzi gave a previously pledged and later redeemed portion of the estate Cheşereu (Hung. Érkeserű), belonging to the bishopric of Oradea (Hung. Nagyvárad), to his loyal *familiaris* Peter Horváth Šušalić of

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[78] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Thoroczkay, Seria I - Documente medievale, Nr. 1, 33, 36; Zs. Jakó, A. Valentiny, *A torockószent-györgyi Thorotzkay család levéltára*, Kolozsvár, 1944, p. 27–28.

[79] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Thoroczkay, Seria I – Documente medievale, Nr. 41.

[80] ANR, DJ Bihor (Oradea), Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 1, f. 1; MNL OL, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény (=DF) 279057.

[81] MNL OL, DL 37903; E. Veress, *Gyula város oklevéltára 1313-1800*, Budapest, 1938, p. 63-66, 85, 103.

[82] A. Csipes, *Békés megye élete a XVI. században*, Békéscsaba, 1976, p. 24–25; Gy. Kristó, *Békés megye a honfoglalástól a törökvilág végéig. Nyolcszáz esztendő a források tükrében*, Békéscsaba, 1981, p. 85–86; Gy. Benedek, "Oklevelek Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megye volt hevesi részeinek történetéből 1501-1597", *Zounuk – A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve* 13, 1998, p. 425–427; idem, *Öcsöd nagyközség oklevelei és fontosabb iratai 1297–1738*, Szolnok, 2001, p. 51–52, 83, 86, 90–91, 94–95, doc. 18, 19, 34, 35, 37, 39; idem, *Túrkeve város oklevelei és iratai 1261–1703*, Szolnok, 2004, p. 160, doc. 61.

[83] Oborni, "Fráter György...", p. 445.

Lukarić.[84] Three years later, the bishop helped Peter by issuing him the genealogy of the Sassy family which was litigating with Šušalić over the same estate.[85] Litigation concerning the Cheşereu estate and Barathpyspeky *praedium* went on for years, since it was a joint possession of several noble families. In 1549, Peter Šušalić opposed a settlement between two other co-possessors of the estate and once again received protection by Martinuzzi who personally sentenced that the Sassy family had to enable the restitution of their estates to the Šušalić family.[86] In early 1550s, after Martinuzzi's death, it seems that Peter Šušalić made arrangements with King Ferdinand of Habsburg and his commanders, since the king confirmed his possession of Cheşereu, conferred his royal rights to the estate and issued several decrees in order to implement his decision (1552–1554).[87] He was even protected by Giambattista Castaldo, the organiser of Martinuzzi's murder.

Even five years later, when the Zápolyas regained the upper hand, Queen Isabella, the mother of King John Sigismund, confirmed Ferdinand's donation to the sons of Peter Šušalić – Michael and George and his daughter Helen (Croat. Jelena).[88] Once again the name Michael appears within the family, suggesting that the Šušalićs from Bihor were, in fact, direct successors of Michael Šušalić from 1507. From at least 1556, the guardian of the underage descendants of Peter Šušalić was another Croatian noble from the region surrounding the river Krka – Nicholas (Croat. Nikola) Ugrinić Šubić of Rog, a member of a lateral branch of the famous Šubić lineage. In 1556, Peter Petrović, King John Sigismund's envoy, ensured Nicholas' control over the *praedium* Barathpyspeky and the estate of Buduslău (also in the Bihor county).[89] Two years later, Šubić was opposing any changes in the structure of the estates as a tutor of the young Šušalićs, along with Sofia Edenffy (their mother, wife of late Peter Šušalić) and Michael Zombory.[90]

The same year, 1558, Michael Šušalić was no longer under tutelage and he started representing himself.[91] In 1562, the trial between the Šušalić and the Sassy family was renewed and the agreement was finally reached only in 1570.[92] Sofia Edenffy, Michael's and George's mother, issued her testament in 1575 and at the same time a small chronicle of the family, written in Hungarian, was made by an

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[84] ANR, DJ Bihor, Fond Capitlul Episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea, Seria 1 – Instrumenta litteralia, Subseria 1.1-Acte, Fascicula 47, Nr. w; Zs. Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, vol. II, Budapest, 1990, p. 640, doc. 4777.

[85] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 - Familia Fráter, Nr. 12, f. 1.

[86] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 - Familia Fráter, Nr. 1, f. 6; *ibid.*, Nr. 7 f. 3.

[87] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 - Familia Fráter, Nr. 5, f. 1; *ibid.*, Nr. 7, f. 4; *ibid.*, Nr. 12, f. 2; *ibid.*, Nr. 19, f. 1.

[88] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 - Familia Fráter, Nr. 1, f. 9.

[89] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 1, f. 7, 9, 11.

[90] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 4, f. 4–5.

[91] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 4, f. 5.

[92] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecţia de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 1, f. 2, 15; *ibid.*, Nr. 3, f. 2.

unknown author from within the family.[93] The document, which is still to be thoroughly investigated, may trace the links between the Bihor county and Békés/Külső-Szolnok counties Šušalićs. It seems that the family renewed two other old feuds over some buildings in Cheșereu in 1578 but they were resolved peacefully.[94] In 1583 two noblemen from the Satu Mare county leased a part of an estate called Resighea to Michael Šušalić.[95] Six years later, Michael loaned 25 florins to the same noblemen.[96] He got married to Petronella Sulyok from an influential family of the Satu Mare and Bihor counties and was involved in legal process concerning the division of Ladislas Zólyomy's (Petronella's grandfather) possessions.[97] From 1585 to 1589, Michael acted as a vice-count and noble judge of the Bihor county, presiding over many processes and administering justice.[98]

Sigismund, the son of Nicholas Šušalić, as well as Melchior Šušalić were mentioned around Cluj and in the present-day Mureș county (namely in Târnaveni) in the 1580s and 1590s, but it is not certain in which way they were connected with the main line from the Bihor county.[99] They may have descended from John Lukarić (Šušalić) who was the castellan or vice-castellan of Vác in 1542, following the death of another Croat and Zápolya's supporter, Stephen Brodarić, the bishop of Vác, and was later mentioned with his brother Simon in the Târnava and Alba counties.[100]

Michael, from the main line based in Bihor, died around 1590, when a debt was collected from his possessions.[101] According to Hungarian genealogies, he had a son Peter who, in his turn, had only two daughters – Helen and Sophia, ending the male line of this branch of the family. Peter was still the lord of Cheșereu and he was often mentioned along with Peter Melić of Bribir.[102] In 1628, the estates of

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[93] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 4, f. 7; ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de documente, Seria 2 (Inventar nr. 99), Nr. 24, f. 3–4.

[94] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 15, f. 17; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bethlen de Iktár, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 273.

[95] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 3, f. 4.

[96] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 10, f. 4.

[97] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Vécsey, Seria 2 – Documente fasciculate, Nr. 9, f. 59, 62–64; I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai: czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vol. X, Pest, 1863, p. 403, 406.

[98] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Kornis, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 189; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bánffy, Seria 3 – Evidențe vechi de arhivă și acte fasciculate, Subseria 2 – Acte fasciculate, Nr. 69, f. 69; ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 3 – Familia Fráter, Nr. 10, f. 3; ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de fonduri familiale, Seria 1 – Familia Ugray-Bölönyi, Nr. 7, f. 201–202.

[99] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Kornis, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 180; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Gál de Hilib, Nr. 3; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Wass, Seria 2 – Documente fasciculate, Fascicula 65, Nr. 1, 8; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond fideicomisionar Jósika, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 354.

[100] Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori convent…*, vol. II, p. 670, 696–697, 716, 758, doc. 4894, 4989, 4990, 5069, 5227; Gy. Szarka, *A váci püspökség gazdálkodása a török hódítás korában, 1526–1686*, Vác, 2008, p. 66.

[101] ANR, DJ Bihor, Colecția de documente, Seria 2 (Inventar nr. 99), Nr. 13, f. 25.

[102] I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai: czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vol. V, Pest, 1859, p. 160; K. Géresi, *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi-család oklevéltára*, vol. IV, Budapest, 1887, p. 90–91; M. Détshy, "A pocsaji Rákóczi-udvarház", *Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve* 3, 1982, p. 97.

Šušalić went over to their cousins by the female line, the Fráter family, which was authorised by Gábor Bethlen.[103] The extant archive of the Šušalićs of Bihor is preserved within the archive of the Fráter family.

<div align="center">*</div>

Nicholas Kolunić, the captain of Senj (1496) and *magister agazonum* (master of the horses) of Jagiellonian kings (1502)[104], a descendant of a family whose roots were from eastern Croatia (today a part of the Bosnian municipality of Bosanski Petrovac), had numerous possessions in the Hunedoara county and in the regions south of Karansebeş and Reşiţa (Vălişoara, Prilipeţ, Gârlişte etc.) but it is not certain whether he primarily lived there or at the court. After his death around 1503, his widow Ursula exchanged most of these estates with George of Marga and sold others.[105]

<div align="center">*</div>

Another Croat, Nicholas Benković of Plavno, was still on his possessions in southern Croatia, north of Knin, in the last years of the 15th century, defending his castle on the border with the Turks[106], but became the captain of Hunedoara by 1506.[107] He previously came to Gyula with John Corvinus along with some other Croats (a branch of the Šušalić family, Peter Sadobrić of Skradin, Peter Grdešić of Ripač, Andrew Dudić, some of whom held the office of castellan of Gyula).[108] Another document from 1507 informs us that the captaincy of Hunedoara was given to him by Beatrice Frankapan, the widow of John Corvinus, who also gave Nicholas and his brother George estates near Gyula and in the Zărand (Hung. Zaránd) county in exchange for service to her and her progeny in the first generation. This decision was met by protests of some nobles who, supposedly, protected the rights of Beatrice's daughter Elisabeth (died in 1508). We do not have data on the decisions which were made in the ensuing legal process, but it

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[103] I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai: czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vol. II, Pest, 1858, p. 251–260; K. Benda, Gy. Kenéz, "Barbiano generális jelentése a Bocskai-szabadságharc első hónapjairól", *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1969-1970, 1971, p. 163.

[104] M. Magdić, "Petnaest izprava, koje se čuvaju u arkivu senjskoga kaptola", *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 3, 1901, p. 54–55; V. Klaić, "Županija Pset (Pesenta) i pleme Kolunić (Prilog za historiju diaspore hrvatskih plemena)", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 15, 1928, p. 11.

[105] ANR, DJ Cluj, Colecția personală Kemény József, Seria 2 – BCU, Nr. 140; F. Pesty, *A szörényi bánság és Szörény vármegye története*, vol. III, Budapest, 1878, p. 149–151, 378–388.

[106] Thallóczy, Hodinka, *A horvát véghelyek oklevéltára...*, p. 16.

[107] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, Seria U V, Nr. 58; MNL OL, DL 30970; MNL OL, DF 245954.

[108] MNL OL, DF 232224; Kristó, *Békés megye…*, p. 85–86; L. Blazovich, *Városok az Alföldön a 14–16. században*, Szeged, 2002, p. 188.

seems that the Benkovićs kept the formerly granted estates.[109] The estates given to the Benković family were Kávás, Fajdas, Somos and Hégenháza, which were (at least Fajdas), after the ending of Nicholas' bloodline, passed to another Croatian from the same region – Francis Tivković of Petrovo polje who was also linked to the famous Melić (alternatively: Milić) family of Bribir.[110] Another Benković of Plavno, John, was in the circle of Martinuzzi's *familiares* and he sold his possessions in the Arad county to the Kučić family of Razvađe, as was already mentioned.[111]

<div align="center">*</div>

George Bojničić of Plavno and Knin was the vice-treasurer of John Zapolya's widow, Queen Isabella in the 1540s. There are many documents which testify that he collected money for the payment of tribute to the Ottoman sultan in 1543. He issued all of these documents in Gilău (Hung. Gyalu), near Cluj.[112] He is also found as a witness in a document issued by Martinuzzi in 1545, and was on the list of his *familiares* in 1552.[113] The other members of this family include Catherine (Croat. Katarina) Bojničić, the wife and since the 1550s widow of Michael Losonci-Bánffy, a member of an old Transylvanian noble family with estates in the Dăbâca (Hung. Doboka), Solnoc Interior (Hung. Belső-Szolnok) and Cluj (Hung. Kolozs) counties. Michael's and Catherine's estates were inherited by their daughter Euphrosina.[114] In 1569 the sources mention the same Catherine Bojničić in Târgu Mureş (Hung. Marosvásárhely), as the widow of Leonard Erdély.[115] Matthew, John and Gregory Bojničić, however, had most of their estates in the Zemplín (Hung. Zemplén) county in present-day Slovakia from the 1560s to 1580s.[116]

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[109] MNL OL, DL 37806, 37812, 37826, 37827; Veress, *Gyula város*..., p. 44–46.

[110] I. Bojničić, "Kraljevske darovnice, odnoseće se na Hrvatsku. Iz kraljevskih registraturnih knjiga Libri regii", *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskog arkiva* 7, 1905, p. 263.

[111] MNL OL, DL 59979, 60003, 60004; Oborni, "Fráter György... ", p. 440, 448.

[112] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu, Colecţia de documente medievale, Seria U IV, Nr. 419, 421, 829; ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecţia de documente Schnell, Volumul 3, Nr. 130.

[113] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Vécsey, Seria 2 – Documente fasciculate, Nr. 7, f. 28; Oborni, "Fráter György... ", p. 443, 447.

[114] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bánffy ANR, Seria 2 – Instrumente contemporane de evidenţă şi documente după instrumente contemporane de evidenţă, Subseria 2 – Documente ordonate după registrul 2, Fascicula II, Nr. 17; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bánffy ANR, Seria 2 – Instrumente contemporane de evidenţă şi documente după instrumente contemporane de evidenţă, Subseria 1b - Documente ordonate după Registrul 1b, Fascicula nr. 66, Nr. 29.

[115] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Suky, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 286.

[116] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Sennyey, Seria 3 – Comitatul Zemplén, Acte fasciculate, Fascicula nr. 2a, Nr. 8; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Sennyey, Seria 3 – Comitatul Zemplén, Acte fasciculate, Fascicula nr. 7a, Nr. 1, 2, 11.

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The last case study for this occasion would be the one of the Petričević family of Raduč. The Petričevićs were members of a wider clan called Mogorović from the Croatian county of Lika. The village of Raduč is situated in the present-day municipality of Lovinac, south of Gospić. One branch, headed by Nicholas, son of John, came to Transylvania before 1543, possibly through connections with the Zápolyas and Martinuzzi, and settled in Buneşti (Hung. Széplak). However, the most important member and the true establisher of family's fortunes was Cosma Horváth Petričević, whose career was at its height in the last quarter of the 16th century. He belonged to the Báthory circle and it seems that his family left Catholicism.[117] He had estates near the Székely Land – around Komlod, Milaş, Sânmărtinu de Câmpie, Şopteriu etc.[118]

Stephen Báthory named Cosma "provisor" of the Alba county by 1575.[119] By 1578 he also became the prefect of Făgăraş with several additional duties, including the role of the intermediary between the Székelys, Saxon communities and Transylvanian ruler, and of the collector of tithe.[120] It is interesting to note that a certain Michael Horváth (Croat) was the castellan of Făgăraş back in 1509 and 1510, yet his exact origin currently remains unknown.[121] Cosma's colleague was Michael Rácz (i.e. the Serb), the royal judge of several Székely seats and prefect of Várhegy (Rom. Chinari), with whom he also traded.[122] The vice-provisor of Făgăraş was Nicholas, *literatus* of Besenyő, who received donations from Cosma in the Turda (Hung. Torda) county (1583). The donation of the estate Csanád led to a lawsuit of other proprietors, which lasted for years.[123]

There are many extant documents by which Cosma was appointed to administer borderline issues with Wallachia, control the roads and prohibit clandestine travelling or settle grievances of the citizens of Braşov and religious communities in Mediaş concerning tithes and taxes.[124] He also acted as a judge in

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[117] I. Horn, *A hatalom pillérei: A politikai elit az Erdélyi Fejedelemség megszilárdulásának korszakában (1556–1588)*: doctoral dissertation, Budapest, 2012, p. 121–122, 179, 228, 264–265, 295, 358; eadem, "Magyar végvári tisztek...", p. 103–104, 110.

[118] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Jósika de Vlaha, Seria Documente medievale, Nr. 20; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond fideicomisionar Jósika, Seria 3 – Acte familii, Nr. 791, f. 1; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Haller, Seria 2, Nr. 60, f. 4.

[119] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Jósika de Vlaha, Seria Documente medievale, Nr. 22.

[120] ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecţia de documente Schnell, Volumul 2, Nr. 191.

[121] ANR, DJ Sibiu, Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu, Colecţia de documente medievale, Seria U V, Nr. 125, 1903.

[122] ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecţia Documente privilegiale, Nr. 557; ANR, DJ Cluj, Colecţia Documente cu peceţi atârnate, Seria 1 ANR, Fond Banffy, Nr. 1, 25.

[123] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Haller, Seria 2, Nr. 5, f. 1, 8, 11; *ibid.*, Nr. 69, f. 28–31.

[124] ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecţia Documente privilegiale, Nr. 1, 557, 565, 571, 572, 597; ANR, DJ Braşov, Fond Primăria oraşului Braşov, Colecţia de documente Fronius, Volumul I, Nr. 336; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Episcopia Bisericii Evanghelice C.A. din Transilvania, Colecţia de documente episcopale, Nr. 239; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Colecţia de documente ale parohiilor evanghelice

local litigations over property issues.[125] Cosma was keeping correspondence with Anna (Croat. Ana) Melić of Bribir, a Croatian noblewoman married first to Bernard Bánffy and then to Francis Mikola of Someşeni, exchanging advices about the household, which suggest that they had a close relationship.[126] Petričević died between 1592 and 1600. His sons Francis and Stephen and daughters Clara and Judith continued the family line which prospered in the decades and centuries that followed.[127] A member of the family – Emil Petričević Horváth wrote a series of monographs about his kindred in the 1930s and 1940s which are now somewhat outdated.[128]

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At this time, I prefer not to focus on the Melić of Bribir family, a branch of the Šubić kindred, since there is vast data on its activity, as well as some secondary works by József Molnár and Pál Lukcsics.[129] Their estates were concentrated in the north-east, in the counties of Szabolcs, Ugocsa and Satu Mare, and later also in Zemplín and elsewhere. It is known that they were closely connected with other Croatian nobles such as the Šušalić family, Francis Tivković of Petrovo polje[130] etc.

There were, of course, other Croats who came to the easternmost parts of the Hungarian Kingdom through their service to John Corvinus and his widow, Zápolyas or Martinuzzi, but we do not have enough space to address all of their cases.

C.A. Sătești Preluarea 1, Seria 1 – Acte Parohia Bistrița, Nr. 8; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Fond Capitlul evanghelic C.A. Sibiu, Seria 1 – Acte cu instrumente contemporane de evidență, Nr. 2, 177, 261; ANR, DJ Sibiu, Fond Parohia evanghelică C.A. Mediaş, Seria 1 – Registre, Registru de documente privind jurisdicția ecleziastică a sașilor transilvăneni, Nr. 2, f. 99–100.

[125] ANR, DJ Cluj, Colecția Documente cu peceți atârnate, Seria 1 ANR, Colecția Generală, Nr. 1, 128.

[126] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond fideicomisionar Jósika, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 152. The Melić and Petričević family were connected through marriage since the first half of the 16th century.

[127] ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Béldi, Seria 1 – Documente medievale, Nr. 199; ANR, DJ Cluj, Fond familial Bánffy ANR, Seria 2 – Instrumente contemporane de evidență și documente după instrumente contemporane de evidență, Subseria 1a – Documente ordonate după registrul 1a, Nr. 17, p. 18–22; Horn, *A hatalom pillérei*..., p. 360.

[128] See footnote 11.

[129] J. Molnár, *A Subich-nemzetségből*..., passim; I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai: czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vol. VII, Pest, 1860, p. 411–412; P. Lukcsics, "A Briberi Melith-család genealogiája", *Turul* 3–4, 1934, p. 97–98; N. Kallay, "Zlatne bule Andrije II. i Bele IV. Šubićima Bribirskim", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 44/1, 2012, p. 209–222; I. Fazekas, "Katholische Adelige jenseits der Theiß. Ein Beitrag zur ungarischen Adelsgeschichte zwischen 1550 und 1640", in K. Keller, P. Maťa, M. Scheutz (eds.), *Adel und Religion in der Frühneuzeitlichen Habsburgermonarchie*, Wien, 2017, p. 48–49.

[130] A. Jakovljević, N. Isailović, *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja (1528.–1604.)*, Šibenik, 2019, p. 135–136.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The preliminary findings I presented clearly demonstrate that an extensive further research, which should most definitely include a team of historians from ex-Yugoslavia, Romania and Hungary or even from a wider region of South East Europe, would be a worthwhile effort.

The case studies show that I had to consult either old encyclopaedic literature or directly historical sources (charters, letters, notes etc.) which points to the lack of significant studies of migration of Croatian nobility to eastern Hungary, Banat and Transylvania during the period of the Ottoman threat and subsequent conquest. My modest knowledge or Romanian and Hungarian historiography and, moreover, less than basic knowledge of Romanian and Hungarian languages might have prevented me from tracing all the available literature. Yet again, intensive collaboration and exchange of information with my colleagues from both Romania and Hungary strengthen my opinion that the statement I made earlier is not essentially wrong. Even before much needed synthetic approach, a team of historians should start working on detailed case studies of notable Croatian families and individuals whose activity can be followed in a longer period and through a variety of source material.

The examples I selected are representative because they are demonstrating the possibilities of research. Both similarities and differences in careers, life paths and fate of the nobility can be observed from the given short case studies. In a more general sense, I believe that it is now established that the migrations were the result of the gradual collapse of the southern Hungarian border (which is why I call the migrants "noble refugees") and that they were happening in phases. The first phase, linked with the actions of John Corvinus and his wife/widow Beatrice Frankapan, deserves a thorough study because it laid the foundation of the Croatian noble community in Banat and Transylvania. The second task of historians should be to analyse interconnections between Croatian nobility in the new environment (keyword: identity), ultimate establishment of affinity networks with key political players of the region (keyword: service) and marital ties with the members of local – non-Croatian, and mainly Hungarian – nobility (keyword: adaption).

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FORCE MAJEURE, ACT OF GOD OR NATURAL DISASTER? OTTOMAN MILITARY THREAT AS A CAUSE FOR EXEMPTION FROM CONTRACTUAL LIABILITY DURING THE CONQUEST OF THE BALKANS

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By the late fourteenth century unpredictable Ottoman raids on the territories of Albania, Serbia and Bosnia became a regular occurrence and precautions were usually taken in order to avert or limit potential damage of any kind. This was often expressed in written contracts in which the Ottoman threat, "fear of the Turks", or even news about their imminent arrival were used as justification to look for shelter where people and goods could be safe until the danger passed. In certain cases, these unavoidable and inevitable incidences essentially released the interested parties from contractual liability and obligation. This paper examines such instances in which Ottoman military threat was presented as a "higher force", a punishment from God and even as something resembling a "natural disaster", essentially serving as an effective exemption clause which excluded coverage for the caused damage.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Albania, Serbia, Bosnia, Ragusa (Dubrovnik), caravan trade, contractual liability.

On the 15th June 1520 Pope Leo X recounted and condemned the theses of Martin Luther and his followers in a rather famous bull commonly known by its incipit as *Exsurge Domine*. Threatening to excommunicate Luther as a heretic, the pontiff completely rejected his teachings as errors, declaring them to be either "heretical, false, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, seductive of simple minds" and in general opposed to Apostolic doctrines. Among the various accusations in this lengthy list, under number 34 the Pope denounced his claim that "to fight against the Turks is to resist God as he punishes our sins through them".[1]

Leaving aside the fact that this was, as claimed, "a peripheral theological point" at the time, and that in his works Luther discussed divine judgements in general rather than wars against the Ottoman Turks in particular,[2] this proposition nevertheless merits interest in our attempt to understand contemporary attitudes to

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[1] "34. Præliari adversus Turcas, est repugnare DEO visitanti iniquitates nostras per illos." (15 June 1520), L. Cherubini, *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, vol. I, Luxembourg, 1742, p. 611.

[2] H.J. Hillerbrand, "Martin Luther and the Bull *Exsurge Domine*", *Theological Studies* 30, 1969, p. 111.

advancing Ottoman armies. It confirms that Luther, at least in his early writings and sermons, viewed the Turks as God's judgement and that he thought fighting against them was equivalent to defying this judgement. Therefore, he initially assumed a position of non-resistance to the Turks since he believed them to be one of the methods used by God as punishment for the sins and moral corruption of Christendom, meaning that for him Turkish attacks were almost equivalent to floods, fires, plagues and famines, all of which were sent by God to test the faith and resolution of his people.[3]

Luther did change his position later on, not least because he was influenced by the rapid territorial expansion of the Ottomans and their siege of Vienna in 1529,[4] but his earlier sentiments were nevertheless quite representative of the prevailing belief in Christian vulnerability and defencelessness which arose from a failure to provide an adequate response to Ottoman military successes. Nowhere was this conviction more clearly expressed than during the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, which lasted from the middle of the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which left a deep impact on the history of the whole region, profoundly influencing its subsequent development.[5] During my research of the rich contacts and interactions between Ottoman soldiers and local populations in the Balkans of this time, I have found and identified a series of fascinating late medieval sources that echo Luther's early opinions on the Turks, giving a unique insight into how contemporaries perceived the Ottoman conquerors and how violence-induced change caused by Ottoman expansion affected the usual patterns of trade and migration. In fact, the documents clearly demonstrate how the very presence of the Ottoman army influenced commercial transactions and shaped legal practices that determined them, significantly impacting regional exchange and economy.

These texts, which are mostly kept today in the Dubrovnik State Archives, present the military threat of the Ottoman Turks as a "higher force", a sort of a "natural disaster", or even as punishment from God. By the late 1380s and early 1390s Ottoman raids on the territories of Albania, Serbia and Bosnia became a regular, although an unpredictable occurrence which could not be controlled or prevented. Therefore, any potential manifestation of this danger was deemed very serious and precautions were usually taken in order to avert or limit damage of any kind. This was often expressed in written contracts whereby Ottoman threat, "fear of the Turks", or even news about their imminent arrival were used as justification to look for shelter where people and goods

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[3] K.M. Setton, "Lutheranism and the Turkish peril", *Balkan Studies* 3, 1962, p. 141–142.

[4] A. S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics*, Leiden and Boston, 2007, p. 74–79; G.W. Forell, "Luther and the War against the Turks", *Church History* 14, 1945, p. 256–271.

[5] As of yet there is no one comprehensive volume that would cover this issue in its entirety, but for a detailed overview of the key questions see: O.J. Schmitt, "The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Interpretations and Research Debates", in O.J. Schmitt (ed.), *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Interpretations and Research Debates*, Vienna, 2015, p. 7–44.

could be safe until the danger passed.[6] In certain cases this unavoidable and inevitable occurrence essentially released the interested parties from contractual liability and obligation, meaning that many agreements settled upon in a time of immediate Ottoman danger contained an exemption clause which excluded coverage for damage caused by the Ottomans as an event which was beyond any practical control. In this way, Ottoman military threat was considered to be an overwhelming and irresistible "higher force" which interrupted the expected course of events, caused damage to property and loss of life, ultimately preventing one or both parties from fulfilling their contractual responsibilities.

The aim of this work is to shed more light on this clause and show that its recurrent inclusion in written contracts was not a mere excuse to terminate an agreement, but a realistic reflection of a tangible, constant and latent danger which interfered with the usual trading practices in the Adriatic hinterland, influencing negatively the economy of the region. By causing fear and insecurity with their low-intensity warfare in the border areas and large-scale raiding incursions deep behind the frontier, which particularly affected mobile merchants, the Ottomans steadily paved the way for their final conquest of the Balkans.

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Perhaps the most obvious and best-known instance of the described exemption clause is to be found in a fifteenth-century Cyrillic charter, now kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences in Zagreb. The document in question is in fact a trade agreement concluded in February 1449 between the Bosnian King Stefan Tomaš, who reigned from 1443 to 1461, and a certain Count Nicholas, the Vicar of Senj. The contract stipulated that both parties would invest 10,000 ducats each into a joint-stock company which was supposed to last for five years. In that time Nicholas could use the money to trade on all sides, establishing shops in Bosnia and Dalmatia, from which the king could then purchase commodities necessary for his household. The profits, as well as losses from the venture, were to be split in half, and the contract closes with a rather curious provision which declares that if Nicholas was to suffer some damages in the king's state, this would be reimbursed at the expense of the king – with the "exclusion of Turkish force".[7]

The short and blunt concluding statement implied that the king of Bosnia did not want to be held responsible for losses caused by the activities of an Ottoman army in his kingdom and one may justifiably pose the question why was "Turkish

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[6] For the development of the "fear of the Turks" motif: H.J. Kissling, "Türkefurcht und Türkenhoffnung im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte eines 'Komplexes'", *Südost-Forschungen* 23, 1964, p. 1–18; J. Kalić, "'Strah turski' posle Kosova", in *Sveti knez Lazar: spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici Kosovskog boja 1389-1989*, Beograd, 1989, p. 185–191.

[7] "A što bi ga koja škoda našla u našem' rusagu – da je na naš' razlog', izam' turske sile" (3 February 1449), Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, ćir. I – 5. See also: N. Isailović and A. Fostikov, "Ugovor kralja Stefana Tomaša i kneza Nikole Trogiranina o zajedničkog trgovini (Vranduk, 1449, februar 3)", *Građa o prošlosti Bosne* 8, 2015, p. 73–93.

force", to borrow the phrase, cited as a reason or, indeed, as an excuse to release the king from contractual liability. But the answer is fundamentally quite simple: the ruler of Bosnia was powerless to prevent or constrain Turkish attacks, and because of this, he could not be held accountable or bear the blame for something that clearly exceeded his control.

This case is a classic example of Ottoman military threat being considered and treated as something that we could define or label today as *force majeure*, *act of God* or *natural disaster*. Namely, these are all well-known legal terms used to denote events, usually external ones, such as an irresistible intervening power that cannot be anticipated or controlled, or an unpreventable occurrence caused by the forces of nature. Such events are usually not foreseeable; they are unexpected and cannot be prevented or avoided, sometimes not even with the exercise of due diligence, precaution or foresight. Most of the time, these are natural and unavoidable catastrophes that interrupt the expected course of events; therefore, they regularly appear as a common insurance clause in contracts whereby they excuse or limit the contractual liability with which the event had interfered. In commercial agreements this can also be applied to actions undertaken by third parties that neither contracted party can control, ultimately preventing them from performing their obligations. So, it can be said that the main hallmarks of such events are: externality, unpredictability, and irresistibility.[8]

While going through the registers of the Dubrovnik State Archives, I came across a whole series of contracts showing all three of these characteristics to be cumulatively and demonstrably present in Ottoman military activities in Albania, Serbia and Bosnia during the late fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. The used sources mostly, although not exclusively, come from the *Diversa Cancellariae* archival collection that consists of the miscellaneous notes and contracts recorded in the State chancery of medieval Ragusa.[9] The overwhelming majority of these documents are in fact written agreements between Ragusan merchants and various, predominantly Vlach entrepreneurs from the immediate Adriatic hinterland who engaged in the business of transporting goods from the coast to the continental interior.[10]

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[8] E. McKendrick (ed.), *Force Majeure and Frustration of Contract*, Abingdon, 2013.

[9] Sources regarding information about medieval Bosnia from this archival collection have recently been gathered and published by E. Kurtović, *Arhivska građa za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne. Ispisi iz knjiga kancelarije Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku 1341–1526*, vols. 1–3, Sarajevo, 2019.

[10] On the medieval caravan trade between Ragusa and its hinterland, see: M. Dinić, "Dubrovačka srednjevekovna karavanska trgovina", *Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis* 3, 1937, p. 119–146. The issue of Vlachs in the medieval Balkans is quite a complex one with many works of varying quality written about the topic. A good starting point from the perspective of medieval Ragusan sources is: D. Kovačević, "Srednjovjekovni katuni po dubrovačkim izvorima", in *Simpozijum o srednjovjekovnom katunu*, Sarajevo, 1963, p. 121–141, as it also tries to explain the early meaning of the term *katun* which was used to denote a basic administrative and organizational unit of Vlach communal life in medieval pastoral societies. For a brief discussion of the different ways in which Vlachs engaged in trade activities during the late Middle Ages, see: Eadem, "Učešće vlaha u trgovinskoj razmjeni tokom XIV i XV vijeka", *Radovi Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* 73/22, 1983, p. 79–84.

According to the sheer multitude of such contracts preserved in the Dubrovnik Archives, these men were usually responsible for all kinds of things regarding the safe transport of merchandise. They had to answer for any cargo that had been badly attached to the caravan or if the goods were spoiled upon immersion into water during the crossing of rivers. They were also bound to protect the whole consignment from theft, fire, or poor oversight, and obliged to compensate any sustained damage to its owners.[11] From the late 1380s, however, such contracts began including various clauses as a response to the increased military activity of the Ottoman army in their vicinity, and these provisions obviously implied that both parties wanted to additionllay ensure themselves from any potential risk of being attacked. The individuals transporting the goods particularly did not want to be held responsible for any harm and loss of property incurred at the hands of the Ottoman Turks.[12] In certain circumstances the impending threat of the Ottoman military was so great that it was used as justification to terminate the contract completely or even to liberate one or both parties from fulfilling their contractual requirements. Therefore, these clauses usually appear in times of intensified Ottoman activity on and beyond their frontiers, during frequent and far-reaching raids that left strong traces in other sources as well.

One of the earliest preserved documents of this kind is dated to January 1388 when a group of men drew up a contract detailing how they were supposed to go by barge to the River Drin in Lezhë, in present-day Albania, and ship some wooden planks to Ragusa on behalf of a certain shield-maker called Francesco. The deal explicitly specified that in the case a Turkish, or any other enemy army obstructed the commander of the barge and the sailors from loading the wood, they were then not obliged or expected to carry out their commitment.[13] This is a prime example of a contract being potentially terminated on account of an assumed Ottoman military threat.

In the summer of the same year, at a time of increased Ottoman presence in Albania as well as on the borders of Serbia and Bosnia,[14] another comparable contract was concluded, on this occasion between a certain Hrebeljan Perutinić

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[11] M. Dinić, "Dubrovačka srednjevekovna karavanska trgovina", 138–139.

[12] *Ibid*, 140.

[13] "Radauan Jechsich et Helya Boglinouich et Milos Priboeuich et Pribil Grubaceuich faciunt manifestum, quod ipsi ad melius se tenendo se obligant ire cum quadam barcha [...] ad flumen Lessi et inde conducere ligna de calpone in proximo viagio nitida et pulcra et squadrata cum illa longitudine et grossicie, de quibus fecerunt duas mensuras, scilicet ipsi ex una parte et magister Franciscus pavesarius, cui se obligant ex alia parte [...] et dicta ligna tot quot portare poterint cum barcha promiserunt dare et assignare dicto magistro Francisco pavessario omnibus suis sumptibus, laboribus et expensis descaricanda in terram ad portum Ragusii. Et ex adverso magister Franciscus se obligat dictis patrono et marinariis soluere eisdem pro qualibet trabe predictarum ad dictam mensuram grossos XV, cum fuerint descaricata et acceptata a dicto magistro Francisco. Verumtamen si dicti patronus et marinarii impedimento Turchorum aut malarum gentium non possint caricare, non teneantur in tali causa ad predictam obligationem [...]" (6 January 1388), L. Thallóczy, K. Jireček and M. Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, vol. 2, Vindobonae, 1918, p. 99–100.

[14] S. W. Reinert, "From Niš to Kosovo polje. Reflections on Murad I's Final Years", in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, Rethymnon, 1993, p. 169–211; E. O. Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386–1463)*, Sarajevo, 2019, p. 93–101.

who agreed to transport twenty loads of textiles and other merchandise from Ragusa to the market town of Prijepolje on the behalf of Bogoje Marojević. The arrangement stated that if Hrebeljan was not able to carry the said loads to the aforementioned place, due to the appearance of the "fear of the Turks" – *timor Turchorum*, or in the case of their arrival, he was required to stay with the goods and take them to a location specified by Bogoje. If he failed to do as was agreed, Hrebeljan was supposed to pay Bogoje the proper value of each lost load and all the damages that ensued from the loss.[15]

Similarly, two years later, in 1390, a couple of men promised a Ragusan merchant that they would take his seven loads of textiles and carry them to Prijepolje. The contract explicitly indicated that should they hear "news of the Turks" along their way, the kind of which prevented them from securely continuing their voyage, they were expected to take the textiles to a safe place in the Ragusan district. In that event, they were also to be paid fully as they would have been had they managed to arrive to their final destination.[16] Consequently, the mere "news" of a prospective Ottoman military threat was grounds enough to absolve one party from completely fulfilling their obligation. As a matter of fact, Ottoman attacks were relatively big, important and serious events meaning that any information about the movement and routes of Ottoman soldiers was, more often than not, genuine and reliable as it spread quickly among the distressed local

[15] "Crebeian Peruthinich facit manifestum quod ipse se obligat Bogoe Maroeuich de portando ipsi Bogoe sagmas viginti pannorum et mercimoniorum usque in Pripolle. Cum hoc pacto, quod ipse Crebeian non debeat deferere dictas somas usque ad dictum locum et si causa ceteri quod superueniret timor Turchorum vel aduentus ipsorum, quod ipse Crebeian teneatur et debeat sociare dictas sagmas usque ad illum locum quem ei nominauint et dixerit dictus Bogoe et ipsas sogmas ut premittitur usque ad ipsum locum nominatum per ipsum Bogoe nunquam deferere. Quia si non fecerit et dictas sogmas non sociauint et ipsi Bogoe non hobediuint ipse Crebeian teneatur et debeat soluere ipsi Bogoe vallorem dictarum sagmarum verum de hiis que perderentur ac etiam omne dampnum quod ex talii perditione sagmarum ipsi Bogoe superueniret [...]" (4 July 1388), Dubrovnik State Archives (hereafter: DSA), *Diversa Cancellariae* (hereafter: *Div. Canc.*), vol. 27, fol. 135r. For more information on the caravan trade routes from Ragusa to Prijepolje in the late Middle Ages, see: R. Ćuk, "Karavanske stanice u Polimlju u srednjem veku", *Mileševski zapisi* 2, 1996, p. 7–24.

[16] "Micey Clapcich Drobgnach et Bosidar Bogosalich Drobgnach, faciunt manifestum quod ipsi se obligant et promictunt Radoslauo Zuetchouich, presenti et acceptanti, conducere salmas septem pannorum in Prepogle saluas. Et dictus Radoslauus promictit et se obligat dare et soluere dictis Miceo et Bosidari yperperos sex pro singula salma. His pactis et condictionibus expensis inter dictas partes, videlicet, quod si in camino dicti Miceus et Bosidar auderent noua Turchorum propter quod non possent secure sequi viagium suum usque in Prepoglie teneantur predicti reducere retro dictas salmas usque ad locum securum in districtum Ragusii, et sit reducendo debeant habere integrum suam naulum predictum sicuti haberent si pertingerentur usque in Prepoglie. Si vero derobatores viarum predarentur dictas salmas et equi essent salui, tunc dicti Miceus et Bosidar teneantur reficere dicto Dobroslauo totum illud quod esset ablatum a dictis predonibus. Si vero dicti predones violenta manu dictas salmas simul et equos predictorum Micey et Bosidar ita quod totum simul perderetur tunc non teneantur dicti Miceus et Bossidar aliquod reficere ipsi Radoslauo." (13 August 1390), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 29, fols. 126r–126v. On the role of the Drobnjak Vlachs in the transport of goods from Ragusa to Prijepolje, see: M. Malović-Đukić, "Drobnjaci u karavanskoj trgovini Polimlja u srednjem veku", *Mileševski zapisi* 2, 1996, p. 25–33.

population. Actually, the very reference of such danger in a contract can be considered as an announcement of a forthcoming assault, the details of which only become apparent in other sources from later times.

And as the Ottoman military pressure on the usual trade routes increased with the subjugation of the Lazarević and Branković families after the battle of Kosovo in 1389 and the conquest of Skopje in late 1391, as well as with repeated Ottoman attacks on the Kingdom of Bosnia throughout the last decade of the fourteenth century, the caravan leaders and their commercial partners from Ragusa were required to take further precautions in their mutual dealings. Commercial agreements from this period logically included provisions on what to do and how to behave in times of such danger. So even if the persons who transported goods were reluctant to accept any responsibility for damages and losses in the case of an Ottoman attack, some of them did agree to remain with the caravan and take it to a safe place, but with all the necessary precautions taken. Hence, Jurien, son of Klapac from the Drobnjaci *katun*, who appears frequently in agreements of this kind, concluded a contract with a group of Ragusan merchants in June 1392, promising to carry their cloths and other kinds of merchandise to the lands of lord Vuk Branković. He agreed to do so safely and legally, always being advised to the best of his abilities to evade damages and dangers that might occur to the cargo. And if in the case of the "fear of the Turks", or some other armies, it proved to be expedient for the rescue of the merchandise to flee or relocate it to a secure site, Jurien was allowed to escape the situation, but not without the cargo. In fact, he was unambiguously ordered: where he would flee with "his head and person", he would have to carry and protect the merchandise.[17]

Because 1392 was a year of intensive fighting between the Ottoman and Hungarian armies on the territory of Serbia,[18] a number of similar contracts have survived from this period. Namely, the same Jurien Klapčić, a little over a month after he had concluded the first agreement, struck up a new deal to take the cargo

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[17] "Jurien Clapçich Drobgnach facit manifestum quod ipse se obligat et promittit Iuanis Marcouich, Radoslauo Bratosalich et Vitcho Medoeuich merchatoribus pro treginta sex salmis pannorum et merchanciarum pro quibus conduxerunt et nauliçauerunt dictum Jurien quod ipsas eis debeat conducere et portare usque ad contratam domini Volchi Branchouich, videlicet, quod ipse Jurien fideliter et legaliter conducet dictas salmas sempre eundo auisati quam melius poterit a dampnis et periculis que euenire possent dictis salmis et mercanciis. Et si causa essent quod timore Turchorum vel aliarum gencium essent expediens pro saluamento merchanciarum predictarum aufugere vel ipsas reconducere ad locum securum, ipse Jurien illas aufuget et reconducet toto suo posse et non aufuget sine mercanciis predictis cum equis vel aliter illas post se dimittendo, scilicet, ubi aufuget caput et personam similiter aufuget et saluabit mercancias. Et si ipse Jurien facerent aliter et ob hoc dampnum aliquod occurret dictis mercanciis dictus Jurien promixit et se obligauit dictis merchatoribus soluere et reficere omne dampnum quod reciperent in dictis suis merchanciis preterea ipse Jurien promixit et se obligauit dictis mercatoribus quod si per gentes ipso Jurien fieret aliquam furtum vel dampnum in dictis salmis et mercanciis ipse Jurien integre soluet et reficiet eisdem mercatoribus furtum illud et dapnum vel ea que eis deficerent in defectum et culpam gentis ipsius Jurien [...]" (4 June 1392), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 30, fols. 110v–111r.

[18] V. Trpković, "Tursko-ugarski sukobi do 1402", *Istoriski glasnik* 1–2, 1959, p. 93–121; P. Engel, "A török-magyar háborúk első évei 1389–1392", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 111, 1998, p. 561–577.

belonging to a Ragusan merchant and his associates, all in all 48 loads of goods, and move it to the village of a certain Pribil Kučinić who was a vassal of lord Vuk Branković. The contract stipulated that if any of Jurien's men would commit a theft or if some things would be stolen or damaged, Jurien was supposed to completely compensate all the losses his men caused. Furthermore, in the case some news about the armies of the Turks or Hungarians would appear while they were travelling with the said loads, and it happened to be appropriate to flee and save themselves for the security and safekeeping of the merchandise, Jurien was obliged, at the request of the said merchants, to return the whole consignment to Ragusa or elsewhere where it could be safe. In fact, where he was to save his head and his animals, he was also ordered to save the merchandise and not to leave it behind.[19]

In October of the same year a group of Vlachs likewise promised to travel to the village of Pribil Kučinić with the goods and at the request of a Ragusan merchant called Nikša de Zamagno. They were supposed to carry the cargo across Bosnia, to protect it and defend it from any persons with all their might, not leaving it in any kind of danger or exposed to potential robbery, not even in the case of the Turks or others. In fact, they agreed to defend and save both Nikša and his goods with all their might, under the pain of having to recompense both damage and interest. It was also stipulated that at Nikša's request they were to carry the merchandise along other safer ways as well.[20] Just two days later another contract was concluded that was almost a carbon copy of the previous one, albeit with different individuals involved. Here the men who transported the goods also promised to defend the merchant and his goods in all situations, even in the

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[19] "Jurien filius Clapeçi Drobgnach facit manifestum quod ipse se obligat et promittit ser Theodoro de Mlaschagna et eius sociis Ragusiensis per quos fuit nauliçatus, videlicet, quod ipse fideliter et legaliter portabit quadraginta octo salmas eorum mercanciarum cum albergis pro precio quo inter se conuenerunt usque in villam Pribilli Cuchnich, hominis domini Volchi, et quod per gentes ipsius Jurien non fiet aliquod furtum et si fieret furtum vel dampnum ipse Jurien illis integre reficieret illud furtum et dampnum factum per gentes suas. Item quod si eundo cum dictis salmis occurreret aliquod nouum de gentibus Turchorum vel Ungarorum unde esset oportunum fugere et se saluare ab illis pro securamento et saluamento mercanciarum ipse Jurien reportabit dictas mercancias Ragusium vel alio ad locum securum ubi placuerit dictis mercatoribus et ubi saluabit caput suum et animalia ibi saluabit mercancias et ipsas post se non relinquet. Quod si non faceret et ob id dicti mercatores reciperent aliquod dampnum ipse Jurien promixit illud dampnum dictis mercatoribus integre reficere. Renuntiando. Et si causa occurreret reportandi dictas mercancias quod dicti mercatores teneantur ipsi soluere per racionem." (9 July 1392), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 30, fol. 124v.

[20] "Ninoe Nichsich, Bogdan eius filius, Budiuoy Goyachouich, Bogdan Jurinouich, Stoycho et Vochxa Vlatchouich, faciunt manifestum quod ipsi promittunt et se obligant ire in presenti viago ad petitione ser Nichxe de Zamagno per viam de Bossina usque a Pribil Cuchgnich cum mercimonio ipsius Nichxe. Et ipsum mercimonium conduceris, saluare et deffendere a quibuscumque personis toto suo posse et non recedere ab ipsi mercimonio et dicto Nichxa in aliquibus periculis vel robariis tam occaxione Turchorum quam aliter, scilicet, toto eorum posse cum eorum brigata deffendent et saluabunt tam ipsum Nichxam quam eius mercimonium sub pena eis damnum et interesse. Et si etiam placeret ipsi ser Nichxe ire cum dictis mercimoniis per aliam turiorem viam quod predicti teneantur ire et conducere ut supra." (15 October 1392), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 30, fol. 151v.

"occasion of the Turks or others".[21] These two documents actually show that in certain specific circumstances the merchants wanted additional insurance and requested a kind of an armed escort for themselves and for their merchandise as well. We can only suppose that this service came at a greater cost as, unfortunately, the price paid is not stated in the text of the concluded contract.

For the year 1393 we have a further two contracts concluded by the aforementioned Jurien. In the first one he agreed to transport goods for Theodore de Prodanello, a prominent Ragusan nobleman, and his associates. The job was a big one; 135 loads of textiles, meaning 135 horses in the caravan. The second contract was almost as big, and it stipulated that he would take a hundred loads of cloth and other kinds of merchandise, for two other esteemed Ragusan businessmen: Andrew de Binzola and Simon de Bona. Both caravans were supposed to travel from Ragusa to the River Lim and the village of Pribil Kučinić, and in both cases Jurien promised not to abandon the travelling merchants and their fellows in the event of "some rumours of the Turks or other evil armies". Additionally, he pledged to escort them to Ragusa at the petition of the said merchants if any such doubts were to occur during their trip.[22]

Ottoman soldiers continued to undertake relentless raiding campaigns throughout the border regions of the Balkans for several years after their success at Nicopolis in 1396. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the consequences of these attacks left significant traces in the source material from that time.[23] In January of 1397 a certain Herak Milošević took it upon himself to transport 43 loads of textiles and other goods for a group of Ragusan merchants to a place called Glavica, promising he would safeguard the cargo from any theft or damage, and saying he would repay

[21] "Vladoe Milatouich, Bayach Petanich, Bogdan Nadichnich} faciunt manifestum quod ipsi promittunt et se obligant ser Nichole de Pozza et societati ire in presenti viago ad petitione Codelin Daboeuich per viam de Bossina usque a Pribil Cuchgnich cum mercimonio ipsorum Nichole et societatis. Et dicti Codelin et ipsi mercimonium conducere et conducenti facere, saluare et deffendere a quibuscumquam personis toto suo posse et non recedere ab ipso mercimonio et dicto Codelin in aliquibus periculis vel robariis tam occaxione Turchorum quam aliter, scilicet, toto suo posse cum eorum brigata deffendent et saluabunt tam ipsum Codelin quam predictum mercimonium sub pena omnis damnum et interesse. Et si etiam placeret ipsi Codelin ire cum dictis mercimoniis per aliam turiorem viam quod predicti teneantur ire et conducere ut supra." (17 October 1392), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 30, fol. 152r.

[22] "Jurin Clapsich Drupinach facit manifestum quod ipse conuenit et promisit ser Theodoro de Prodanello et sociis de conducendo a Ragusii ad Lim ad Pribil Chuchnich, hominem domini Volch, salmam centum treginta quinque pannorum ad saluamentum. Et quod non debeat defere ipsum ser Theodorum et socios propter aliquam dubium Turchorum vel aliarum gentium malefactorum quod teneatur reuerti Ragusii si aliquuam dubium occurerent in itinere ad petitionem dictorum mercatorum." (29 April 1393), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 30, fol. 21r. "Jurien Clapsich Drupinach facit manifestum quod ipse conuenit et promisit ser Andrea Do. de Binzola et ser Simoni de Bona et aliis mercatoribus de conducendo a Ragusio ad Lim ad Pribil Cuchnich, hominem domini Volch, somam centum pannorum et mercadendie ad saluamentum. Et quod non debeat defere Lauro de Cotruli et socios mercatores propter aliquod dubium Turchorum vel aliarum gentium malefactores et quod teneatur reuerti Ragusium si aliquam dubium occurreret in itinere ad petitionem ipsorum mercatorum." (12 December 1393), *ibid.* fol. 88v.

[23] V. Langmantel (ed.), *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, Tübingen, 1885, p. 7–8. See also: E. O. Filipović, "The Ottoman-Serbian Attack on Bosnia in 1398", in: Aşkin Koyuncu (ed.), *Uluslararası Balkan Tarihi ve Kültürü Sempozyumu – Bildiriler*, cilt 1, Çanakkale, 2017, p. 119–125.

all losses apart from those incurred at the hands of other soldiers. And if he was to sense some news about a Turkish or some other army, at the appeal of the merchants he was supposed to take their merchandise to a secure location. For that he was to be paid according to the agreed rate. Also, he was to remain with the cargo, not abandoning it until he brought it to Glavica or to a different safe place.[24] Likewise, in August of the same year, a couple of Vlachs arranged to organize a caravan which would transport twenty loads of goods for two Ragusan merchants to Likodra in western Serbia. They were supposed to reimburse all thefts or damages inflicted on the cargo along their way, but in the case of the appearance of a strong Turkish army or some other enemies, due to which they could not pass along their way, the said Vlachs were supposed to return the loads to Ragusa or to some other place, whereby they would be paid for this redirected transport according to the agreed tariff.[25] In November of 1398 Radoje Stanković, a Vlach from the Maleševci *katun*, promised a society of Ragusan merchants that he would take their goods to Ustikolina in eastern Bosnia. And if he heard some bad news about the Turks or other enemies that he could not resist, he was supposed to return the merchants and their goods to a place that they chose. If some of his associates happened to commit a theft, he was ordered to pay it back.[26]

[24] "Cherach Millosseuich, Vlachus de Mallisseç, facit manifestum quod ipse conuenit cum Giucho Dobroeuich, Stiepcho Maroeuich et Giucho Raynaldi de Stanbicis, pro se et eorum sociis garauani ituris cum conuenientibus, portare de Ragusio usque ad Glauiça omnibus expensis portature dicti Cherach quadraginta tres salmas panorum et aliarum mercanciarum dictorum Giuchi et Stiepchi et eorum sociorum quas ipsi Cherach dare voluerint ad portandum pro yperperis VII pro qualibet salma soluenda dicto Cherach pro dictis mercatores. Promittens ipse Chercah et se obligans dictis mercatoribus predictas salmas custodire ab omni furto et dampno quod per eius gentes fieri possim in illis. Et si furtum vel dampnum fieret in illis eidem reficere et soluere dictum saluo quantum per forciam aliorum gentium. Et si noua aliqua sentirentur de aliquo exercitu Turchorum vel aliarum gentium ipsas salmas ad omnem requisicionem dictorum mercatorum portare ad locum securum ubi fuerit requisitis per racionem dicti nauli sceu portature et cum persona sua ipsas ballas sociatur et ab illis nonquam recedere donec illas portauerit ad dictum locum Glauiça vel ad locum securum." (17 January 1397), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 32, fol. 14v.

[25] "Rado Stanchouich Vlachus, Pribien Pocrauçich eius socius} faciunt manifestum quod ipsi conuenerunt cum Vaxilio Paulouich et Domcho Tripetich, presentibus et conuenientibus pro se et eorum sociis garauani presentis portare eis de Ragusio usque in Lichoder, super equis ipsorum Vlachorum et omnibus eorum expensis, salmas viginti pannorum et aliarum mercium dictorum mercatorum quas eis dabunt ad portabunt ad rationem yperperorum IIIIor÷ pro qualibet dictarum salmarum. Pro parte solutionis cuius portature dicti Vlachi fuerunt confessi recepisse a dictis mercatoribus medietatem dicti nauli illis soluendi et alteram medietatem debent habere cum posuerint dictas salmas ad saluamentum ad dictum locum. Cum pacto quod si aliquod furtum vel dampnum fieret dictis mercatoribus in dictis eorum ballis quod predicti Vlachi teneatur integre reficere et emendare ipsis mercatoribus dictum dampnum. Et si causa esset quod superueniret fortium gentium Turchorum vel aliorum inimicorum propter quod non possent tuti transire quod dicti Vlachi teneantur reconducere dictas ballas Ragusium vel ad alium locum tutum ad omnem requisicionem ipsorum mercatorum et debeant habere solutionem propter dictam reconducere per racionem et non possint nec debeant deferere cum eorum personis dictas salmas donec illas posuerint in loco tuto. Et si illas defererent et dampnum eueniret ipsis mercatoribus quod ipsi vlachi teneant dictis mercatoribus dictum dampnum reficere ad meliustenendum." (22 August 1397), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 32, fol. 77r.

[26] "Radoy Stanchouich de Maleseuize conuenit et promisit Maroe de Lebro, Brathoslauo Predoeuich et Radoslauo Volotich, cum eorum societate conducere salmas quinquaginta statim pannorum et mercimonii de Ragusio usque in Usticholigne. Promittens ipse Radoy et se obligans cum eorum societate

Apparently, the Ottoman threat also influenced business transactions that did not involve transport of goods from one place to the other. Namely, in February 1397 a certain Dobriey Tvrtković from Konavli near Ragusa received a hawk from Živko Mikojević, promising to take care of it, train and tame it, until the end of next August. If he lost the bird, or if the bird died of his own fault, Dobriey was obliged to pay Živko as much as the hawk was worth or give him one good mare in exchange. In the case that Dobriey had to return the hawk before the stated term because of the "fear of the Turks" – *timor Turchorum*, or some other army, he was to be paid for his work according to the established tariff and according to the time he had the hawk.[27] Here the unpredictable and irresistible force of the Ottoman army was used as a legal reason and valid excuse for an early termination of an agreed contract, whereby one party was released from contract liability in the case of a potential attack.

Since the first decade of the fifteenth century was marked by civil war in the Ottoman Empire the traders and their partners had a brief respite from Ottoman raiding activities and the described clause does not appear in contracts during this interval. Moreover, it seems that the Ragusans managed to achieve some kind of settlement with the Ottomans regarding the safety of their merchants.[28] Things, however, began to change in 1413 when the fighting between the remaining Ottoman princes escalated on the territories of Serbia and Bulgaria. In June of that

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fideliter toto suo posse conducere ipsos mercatores et mercimoniam ad saluamentum. Et si sentirent aliqua mala noua Turchorum et inimicorum quibus non possent resistere quod ipse reducet toto suo posse ipsos mercatores ad saluamentum prout jure ipsos fuiert deliberatum pro meliori et quod si aliquo de eius comitiua comicteretur furtum vel damnum ab ipsis mercatoribus inferrent quod ipse Radoy soluet et satisfacient in ipso itinere. Pro quibus suprascripti Maroe, Brathoslauo et Radoslauo dare et soluere promisit dicto Radoy yperperos quinque pro qualibet salma. Et sit fuerunt contenti et promiserunt obligando se ut supra una pars alteri et tanquam de obseruando predicta." (30 November 1398), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 32, fol. 203v.

[27] "Dobriey Tuertchouich de Chanali facit manifestum quod ipse habuit et recepit a Giucho Michoeuich, presente et dante ipso Dobriey unam accipitrem ipsius Giuchi ad tenendum et custodiendum et mutandum usque per totum mensem augusti proxime. Promittens illa fideliter tenere, custodire et mutare usque ad dictum terminum et in fine termini dare et consignare illum mutatum. Et si defectu vel culpa dictam accipitrem perderetur vel moriretur obligauit solutorum dicto Giucho quantum valet vel ei dare I alia equa bonam placente ipsi Giucho. Et si causa timor Turchorum vel aliarum gentium ipse Dobriey reportaret dictam acipitrem dicto Giucho ante terminum predictum quod teneatur illam recipere et ipsi soluere pro eius labore per rationem temporis que ipsam tenuiter. Et dictus Giuchus debet soluere dicto Dobriey pro eius labore tenendi et mutandi dictam accipitrem per menis augusti perperos tres pro parte solutionis eius mute. Dictus Dobriey fuit confessus recepisse perperum unum. Renuntiando. Cum pacto quod si accipitre moriretur tamen mutum quod teneatur restituere dictum perperum receptum. Item fuit confessus recepisse a Vochsa Ratchouich presente et dante unam aliam accipitrem ipsius Vochse mutatam ad tenendum et mutandum pactis et condicionibus suprascriptis et pro parte dicte mute fuit confessus recepisse perperum I ut supra." (13 February 1397), *Div. Canc.* vol. 32, fol. 118r.

[28] On the early relations between Ragusa and the Ottoman Empire, see: I. Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Beograd, 1952, p. 1–22; M. Ivanović, "Cyrillic correspondence between the Commune of Ragusa and Ottomans from 1396 to 1458", in *Srđan Rudić and Selim Aslantaş (eds.), State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, Belgrade, 2017, p. 43–53.

year Klapac Stanković, a rather prominent figure from the Maleševci *katun* of Vlachs, promised a certain Radoš Ljubojević that he would transfer his goods to the Church of St. Peter on the River Lim with forty horses. In the case Klapac failed to appear in Ragusa with his horses at the stated time, Radoš was allowed to find other horses at Klapac's expense. This clause would be valid, quite expectedly, only unless Klapac was prevented from arriving in time by news about the Turks or other armed forces, due to which it would not have been safe to travel. In that case he was not bound to come. All he had to do was let Radoš know about this in time.[29] Here we have an obvious example of someone possibly being prevented from fulfilling their contractual obligation, whereby they incurred no penalties in the event that the said deterrence came at the hands of Ottoman Turks.

In the next decade there is a curious lack of records such as these. We can speculate as to why that was so, especially since Ottoman military activities did not subside in this period, but one possibility might be that both the traders and the Vlachs from the hinterland began taking greater care and refrained from travelling or trading in times of overt danger. Indeed, in certain extreme cases the Ragusan government strictly prohibited its merchants from going to those areas that were gripped by war.[30] This, however, did not mean that the clause completely died out, as there are still a few available examples from the 1420s and 1430s that shed some light on this practice.

In the spring of 1424 there was a heavy Ottoman attack on the Kingdom of Bosnia, intended to punish the independent activities of the Bosnian ruler who was an Ottoman vassal.[31] The repercussions of these raids were felt until summer as can be seen from the fact that a potential renewed attack against Bosnia is mentioned in a couple of contracts concluded in July that year. In the first of them, a company of Ragusan merchants were assured by Bogeta Nenković that their goods would be carried safe and sound on a caravan consisting of 34 horses, to Vrabač in Bosnia, or, if the merchants wished so, as far as Konjic, with the usual promise that their cargo would be well taken care of. If some damage happened to the goods on the account of Bogeta's fault or mistake, or indeed, of his associates, he was supposed to pay. If thieves and robbers attacked the caravan, Bogeta and his companions were to cautiously defend and remove the merchants from this situation, along with their

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[29] "Clapaç Stancouich promisit et se solemniter obligauit Radosio Gluboeuich hinc ad dies decem proximos venire ad ciuitatem Ragusii cum equis quadraginta et cum ipsis recto tramite portare mercantias dicti Radosii et eius socii usque Ecclesiam sancti Petri in Limo. Et hoc ideo quia dictus Radossius promisit dare dicto Clapaç perperos quinque et grossos tres pro singulo equo. Et in causa quo non veniret ad terminum suprascriptum cum dictis equis ad ciuitatem Ragusii ad portandum dictas mercancias quod tunc ipse Radossius possit reperire alios equos sumptibus dicti Clapaç saluo quod si interim sentirentur aliqua noua Turchorum vel aliarum gentium armorum propter quas iter non esset tutum quia tunc non teneatur venire, scilicet, solum indicare dicta noua dicto Radosio. Et si aliquod furtum committerent illi de societate dicti Clapaç in mercanciis quod dictus Clapaç teneatur illud furtum emendare." (5 June 1413), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 39, fol. 264v.

[30] A. Veselinović, "Zabrane i prekidi trgovine u Srbiji u doba Despotovine", *Istorijski glasnik* 1–2, 1983, p. 25–42.

[31] Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386-1463)*, p. 279–281.

goods. At the very end of this lengthy contract, it was additionally stipulated that in the case some Turks entered Bosnia or if some other news would follow in the meantime, preventing the merchants to take up the journey or causing them to have second thoughts about their trip, then Bogeta would not be paid for the horses he brought to Ragusa.[32] In this instance the merchants ensured themselves from having to pay for the horses that they could, in certain circumstances, not be able to use.

Just three days after this contract was concluded in Ragusa, Klapac Stanković and Dubravac Milićević drew up a similar deal. They promised to take a caravan of goods to Prijepolje, keeping it safe and inviolable at all times from any risks and dangers, including those that might arise from the local Slavic lords and certain special persons, with one exception being the Turks.[33] This means that the two men were quite ready to cover all damages and expenses the caravan could incur during their trip, apart from those inflicted by the Ottoman Turks. Consequently, this is one more case in which imminent military threat of the Ottomans was used as a pretext to liberate one contracted party from completely fulfilling their obligation.

[32] "Bogheta Nenchouich Vlachus super se et super omnia sua bona obligando promisit ser Federicho Raphaelis de Goze, Dobrie Veselchouich, Nixa Vochoeuich et Voynaç Vochoeuich, mercatoribus Ragusii, presentibus et stipulantibus, dare et conducere Ragusium ipsis mercatoribus usque ad diem vigesimam presentis mensis equos triginta quatuor, bonos et sufficientes pro salmis portandis et personas sufficientes pro ipsis equis et salmis. Et ipsos equos habet onere in Ragusio ex salmis mercanciarum ipsorum mercatorum et aliorum suorum sociorum quas sibi dare voluerit et ipsas salmas mercanciarum bene ordinatas et cum equis predictis et personas opportunis portare usque Vrabaç saluas et illesas, et si dictus mercatoribus placuerint etiam usque Cogniç et de ipsis salmis tam die quam nocte bona solicite et dilligenter curam habere. Et si causa culpa vel deffectu ipsius Boghete et sociorum suorum vel ex eo quod male ligate et ordinate essent ipse salme et equi debiles in aliquo damnificarerunt vel perderunt quod ipso causa dictus Bogheta ad emendam et solucionem eius de quo damnificate esset siue perditum foret vel acceptum ex eis teneatur et obligatus sit. Et si casu aliquo per predones et robatores fieret inuasio et insultum contra eos mercatores et salmas predictas quod dictus Bogheta et socii sui cum ipsis mercatoribus esse et stare sedulo teneatur et debeat ad euicionem et deffensam ipsorum mercatorum et salmarum predictarum. Pro solucione quarum salmarum si portate fuiter usque Vrabaç promiserunt ipsi mercatores prenominati eidem dare et soluere yperperos tres et dimidium ad rationem cuiuslibet salme, et si eas portaret usque Cogniç eidem dare et soluere teneatur ad rationem yperperorum quatuor pro qualibet salma. Cum hac condictione quod si conductis dictis equis Ragusium ipsi mercatores omnes ipsos equos supra promissos non vellent quod pro omni equo quem dimiserunt ex ipsis sibi soluere debeant yperperos duos. Et si ipse non conduceret dictos equos XXXIIII° quod pro omni equo ommisso conducere teneatur solucione ipsis mercatoribus yperperos quatuor. Cum hoc etiam pacto, quod si causa aliquo Turchi intrarent Bosnam vel alia nouitas sequretur isto interim adeo quod impedaretur inter et dubitarent ipsi mercatores de itinere eo causa dicto Boghete pro equis conductis nichil soluere teneatur. Que omnia vicissim attendere adimplere et obseruare promiserunt partes predicte." (12 July 1424), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 42, fol. 295v.

[33] "Clapaç Stancouich et Dubrauaç Milichieuich} promiserunt super se et omnia ipsorum bona ad meliustenentem portare et conducere omnibus ipsorum expensis triginta salmas pannorum siue aliarum mercanciarum usque ad quadraginta quot erunt necessarie Grubacio Cranienouich et Milecte Pribetich et aliis mercatoribus euntibus cum presenti carouano saluas et illesas ab omnibus risiciis et periculis tam dominorum quam spetialium personarum excepto a Turchis in Pripoglo. Et dicti Grubatius et Milecta promiserunt pro se ipsis et pro aliis mercatoribus pro quibus promiserat de rati habitatione dare et soluere dictis Clapaç et Dubrauaç pro quolibet salma condutta ad dictum locum yperperos quinque cum dimidio." (15 July 1424), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 42, fol. 296v.

The years that followed constituted a period of intensive strengthening and consolidation of Ottoman authority over the territories of Serbia and Bosnia, meaning that the majority of traditional trade routes eventually came under Ottoman control. Furthermore, after a period of gradual accommodation and adaptation all interested parties became acquainted with the new conditions and terms of commercial exchange meaning that there was less need to include such exemption clauses in contracts. Even so, this did not mean that Ottoman military operations completely stopped and there are still several recorded occasions when contractual partners sought to avoid incurring possible damages by resorting to the described insurance provision. For example, in the year 1435 a certain Vlach Drobnjak by the name of Gradisav Kovačević promised a Ragusan wool-worker that he would transport for him the value of a hundred gold ducats in textiles to Sjenica and other lands of the Vlachs. In the text Gradisav promised to stay with the wool-worker and his goods, saying that he would protect him, his merchandise and animals from any damage, except from losses that would arise from the violence inflicted by the forces and soldiers of the Turks, or of two other well-known Bosnian nobles – Voivode Radosav Pavlović and Voivode Stjepan Vukčić.[34] Also, in December of the same year, Miroslav Novaković swore that he was going to safely conduct a caravan of goods belonging to Cvjetko Vlakanović and his associates to Komarane. He stated that he would save the merchandise from any danger of theft, fire, water, robbery or threat of any other soldiers, excluding the risk of Turkish violence which, "God forbid", was seen as grounds enough to absolve the said Miroslav from responsibility for the transported loads.[35]

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[34] "Gradissauus Chouazeuich, Vlachus Dropgnach, super se et bona sua promisit et se obligauit Dobrassino Braicouich lanario presenti et stipulanti eundem Dobrassinum cum mercanciis ipsius proprii Dobrassini, videlicet, pannorum ad valutam centum ducatorum aurii, ad saluamentum ab hinc conducere in Senizam et alias partes et contratas Vlacorum ubi melius videbitur, in quibus finire possit dictas suas mercancias, et abinde huc eum reducere ad saluamentum, cum animalibus et mercanciis suis quas emerit et conducere voluerit. Cui Dobrassino tam eundo quam stando et reduendo cum dictis suis mercanciis ut prefertur si damnum vel impedimentum illum fieret teneatur ipse Gradisauus, eum et res et mercancias et animalia eius franchas liberare et sine damno conservare. Eo tamen saluo et excepto quod a violentia quia fieret sibi per potenciam et exercitu Teucrorum, voiuode Radossaui et voiuode Stipani [...]" (26 July 1435) DSA, *Diversa Notariae* vol. 20, fol. 50r.

[35] "Mirossauus Nouachouich, frater Vlatchi, se solemniter obligando et per aptay renuntiando promisit Cuietcho Vlacanouich et sociis carauani, venire die mercuri proxime futuri cum bonis et sufficientis equis vel equabus Ragusium et ibidem leuare et caricare salmas decem et nouem pannorum dictorum Cuietchi et sociorum et eas una cum Clapaz Stanchouich aut eius filio Vlatcho, conducere ad saluamentum usque in Comarane, villam domini dispoti Sclauonie, precio iperperos decem cum dimidio pro qualibet et singula salma. Pro parte quorum denarios ex nunc dictus Mirossauus confessus fuit recepisse a dicto Cuietcho grossum unum, residuum habere debet cum conduxerit ut supra dictas salmas recipere in se dictus Mirossauus omne periculum furti, ignis, aque, rapine er alterius gentis periculi, saluo quam periculo violentis Turchorum, quod Deus auertat, quo causa interuenientis ad nichilum teneatur idem Mirossauus pro dictis salmis. Cum pacto quod non veniente dicto Mirossauo et attendentis ut supra ad vecturam dictarum pannorum, quod dictus Cuietchus et socii possint accipere alios vecturales expensis, damno et interesse dicti Mirossaui, et etiam cum pacto quod si prohiberetur pro dominum Ragusii de conducendo dictas salmas, quod presens pactum sit nullius valoris et teneatur Mirossauo Nouachouich restituet dicti yperperis ut supra receptis pro parte. Et declaratum quod dicti Cuietchus et socii non possint

The final example we will concentrate our attention on comes from 1464, almost a year after the Ottomans managed to conquer the Bosnian Kingdom and in a period of intensive conflict against the Hungarians. The contract was composed in the office of the Ragusan notary public and concerned a loan of 17 gold ducats that Milorad Radovinović, also known as De Buchia, borrowed from Radoslav Radonjić, who was also known as Messita. Two men were named as guarantors for the debtor and pledged that they would settle the debt to the creditor by paying three ducats annually until the loan was completely recompensed. They also declared that they would not be bound to pay the money in the case and for the duration of war, attacks and the violence of the Turks, or the plague.[36]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The recurring presence of the described insurance clause in contemporary business arrangements necessarily implies that Ottoman attacks, which resulted with damage and loss of property, were a realistic, as well as a relatively common and frequent occurrence. Otherwise the contracted parties would not have gone through the trouble of mentioning them in their agreements at all. As it stands, the tangible, constant and latent danger the Ottomans posed throughout their conquest of the Balkans had to be taken into account and considered prior to the commencement of many commercial transactions. One can only speculate as to how many times the merchants ended up on the receiving end of such assaults before it became almost routine to include this provision in their contracts. And the written examples presented in this work concern only those instances when people had no other choice or were actually brave enough to take the risk of completely losing their merchandise, investment and profit to the Ottoman Turks. It can be assumed that a greater deal of traders did not want to gamble or jeopardize their

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caricare et ponere supra singula salma ultra pannos sex. Et teneatur et debeat ire et se reducere cum carauano quo voluerant mercatores ipsorum pannorum et non declinquere ipsos mercatores." (8 December 1435), DSA, *Div. Canc.* vol. 49, fol. 183v.

[36] "Pauchus Dabisiuouich de Tribigne et Milich Radouinouich super ipsos et omnia eorum bona se constituerunt plegios et principales pro Milorad Radouinouich dicto De Buchia, debitore Radossaui Radognich dicti Messita de ducatos auri sedecim pro carta Notarie publicatam manu ser Bartholomei de Sfondratis de Cremona, notarii comunis Ragusii in 1461, die XXIII januarii et de pluri de ducato uno mutato per dictum Radossauum dicto Milorad ultra debitum carte, de soluendo dictos ducatos decem septem in hunc modum et ad hos terminos, videlicet, ducatos tres quolibet anno usque ad completa solutionem dictorum ducatorum XVII. Declarando quod si esset guerra aut impetus et vis Turcorum aut pestis quod durante guerra impetu et vi Turchorum aut peste, predicti plegii non teneantur ad soluendum, scilicet, remota guerra vel Turcorum aut peste teneatur ad solutionem predictam. Hoc etiam expresso et declarato quod si predicti plegii non attenderent ad solutionem predictum quolibet anno ut dictum est quod dictus Radossauus possit exigere a dictis plegiis totum illud quod restaret ad soluendum de suprascriptis ducatis XVII. Et quod dictus Radossauus illud quod recipiet teneatur subscribere sub carta aut sub presenti pacto." (4 March 1464), DSA, *Diversa Notaraie* vol. 47, fol. 152v.

saleable assets in this way, and that they avoided such situations altogether. The majority were probably forced to shift their business activities to other areas which were perhaps less profitable or commercially viable, meaning that the Ottoman military caused a significant disturbance in the previously existing trading networks and patterns.

But from the Ottoman perspective, there was an obvious rationale to all of this. Apart from the treasure attained through pillage and plunder, their raiding activities in the cross-border fault lines also served to highlight the contrast between the lands ruled by the Ottomans and those that were not. Namely, the Ottomans only attacked merchants in the proverbial *Dar al-Harb* or the "domain of war", as opposed to their treatment in the *Dar al-Islam* on the other side. In territories under Ottoman jurisdiction the situation was completely reversed from the presented examples, and as the Ragusans themselves testified on many occasions, their merchants were well protected there.

Thus it can be said that the instigation of fear and insecurity with low-intensity warfare was just another tool in the Ottoman arsenal, an integral segment of their methodical, pragmatic and practical approach to the conquest of the Balkans, as well as an effective and persuasive bargaining chip that could pressure the local population to ultimately accept their rule, steadily paving the way for complete Ottoman domination of the whole region.

That is also why Ottoman military threat gradually stopped appearing as an excuse from contractual liability in Ragusa, becoming virtually extinct by the 1430s, especially after Sultan Murad II issued a charter to the commune of Ragusa in December 1430, stating that nobody was allowed to harm them in any way, and that their merchants could: "travel freely along the whole land of my lordship, trading legally where ever they go in the western and eastern sides, by land and by sea, in Serbia, in Albania, in Bosnia, and in those lands, and towns, and counties of my lordship that are in my lordship's charter".[37]

By that time the Ottomans had managed to subdue any existing resistance and establish their authority over most of the local Slavic and Albanian lords, meaning that the aforementioned demonstration of military power was no longer necessary. But it can be said that before then, their relentless disruptive activities were seen by contemporaries as something that was entirely beyond any control; an act of a higher force that could not be prevented, resisted or stalled, and that in its essence fully resembled the characteristics of inevitable natural disasters – hurricanes, earthquakes, fires, or floods.

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[37] (6 December 1430), Ć. Truhelka, "Tursko-slovjenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive", *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 23, 1911, p. 5–6; Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, knj. I/2, Beograd – Sremski Karlovci, 1934, p. 229–231.

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**Papers Presented
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Studies**
(Bucharest, 2-6 September 2019)

ARMENIAN GOSPEL OF SURXAT' (CRIMEA)
AT THE ARMENIAN CATHOLIC PARISH OF GHEORGHENI[1]

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The Armenian Catholic parish of Gheorgheni holds a collection of Armenian manuscripts and old printed books as evidence of the Armenian community, having more than 300 years of history. I had the opportunity to study this library during my research trip to Romania in May–June 2017[2]. The importance of each manuscript in this collection is beyond doubt, however, first I directed my attention to this Gospel (new inv. no. 85, old inv. no. 245) for two reasons: it is the most valuable sample from the artistic point of view and also is the earliest dated manuscript of the collection. There is no information when and how this Gospel appeared in this collection. Only the first folio of the principal colophon has been preserved (fol. 287v, ill. 5): it provides information about the date and place of writing of the Gospel: it was copied in 1354 in Surxat' (Crimea).

Keywords: Armenian Gospel, Gheorgheni, manuscript, codicology, paleography, iconography, style, Crimea, Title page, portrait of evangelist, miniature, colophon, medieval art.

The Gospel of Gheorgheni has not been studied before by either Frédéric Macler or Sylvie Agémian[3]. There are some publications reproducing several illustrated

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[2] At that time some manuscripts from this collection were moved to the National Museum of Bucharest for the permanent exhibition. Among them was a manuscript Gospel which this paper studies. After the exhibition the manuscripts have been moved back to Gheorgheni. I am grateful to Ms. Laura-Alexandra Dragomir (former curator at the National History Museum of Romania, Bucharest) for her assistance to my research.
[3] Fr. Macler provided a brief catalog of Armenian manuscripts in Transylvania, including the collection of the parish of Gheorgheni (see Fr. Macler, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Transylvanie. Manuscrits arméniens de Transylvanie*, Paris, 1935, p. 69–73) and S. Agémian published a monograph related to five illustrated Armenian manuscripts from the 14th century, currently in Romanian collections (see S. Ajemian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés dans les collections de Roumanie*, Bucarest, 1982, p. 17–27).

pages of the manuscript and indicating only the place and date of its creation from the viewpoint of the migration of Armenians from Crimea to Transylvania[4].

Since this paper is the first scholarly study of the Gospel, it is necessary to provide the codicological, paleographic, iconographic and stylistic analysis of the manuscript.

Physical Description: The state of the Gospel is hardly satisfactory. Many folios were moved and placed in incorrect parts of the manuscript. So, I began my work by comparing the text with images and placing the removed folios in their original places and then gave a foliation.

Material: paper, folios: 287, collation: I–XXV×12 (I2, II9, III14, XII11, XXV11), size 23.7×16.7 cm. The text is in cursive *bolorgir* with black ink written in two columns, 21 lines per page.

Illumination: Portraits of evangelists Matthew (fol. 1v, ill. 1), Mark (fol. 80v, ill. 2) and John with his disciple Prochorus (fol. 220v, ill. 4), Title pages of the Gospels of Mark (fol. 81r, ill. 2), Luke (fol. 133r, ill. 3) and John (fol. 221r, ill. 4). The initial letters of each new chapter or paragraph are written in red ink, sometimes decorated with floral and geometric ornaments or in the form of birds and animals. There are some marginal illustrations representing floral or geometrical ornaments (fols. 12r, 86r, 101v, 149v, 193r, 202r, 217r, 273r), the temple of Jerusalem (fol. 104r), and a bird (fol. 242r).

Binding: Brown leather covers over wooden boards. There are no stamps on the leather covers, the crosses, rounded metal studs and clasps are missing, so with some reservation I agree with the dating to the 17th century[5]. There is no cloth doublure.

Content

Gospel of Matthew (fols.1v–80r)
Gospel of Mark (fols. 80r–132v)
Gospel of Luke (fols. 133r–219v)
Gospel of John (fols. 219v–287v, VIII: 1–11, fols. 286v–287v).

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[4] "Bibliák a Székelyföldön (XIV–XVII század), Kiállítás a Csíki Székely Múseumban", November 2000 – Október 2001, ed. Muckenhaupt E., Csíkszereda, 2000, p. 14–15; A. Puskás, *Az Erdélyi Örmények Nyomában*, Gyergyószentmiklós, 2006, p. 31, ill. 59; Study of Armenian manuscripts in Romania, in "New Life" Journal of Armenian community of Bucharest, May-June, gen. ed. M. Stepan-Cazazian, 2017, p. 28–30; Cl. Mutafian, *La Saga des Armeniens de l'Ararat aux Carpates*, Paris, 2018, p. 54 ; idem, "La Roumanie et les manuscrits arméniens", in *Series Byzantina: Studies of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, red. Waldemar Deluga, vol. XVI *Art of the Armenian Diaspora. Proceedings of the Third Conference*, Warsaw, 2018, p. 23, fig 14.

[5] "Bibliák a Székelyföldön (XIV–XVII század) …", p. 15.

There are missing pages at the beginning, middle, and at the end of the Gospel. The Letter of Eusebius of Caesarea to Carpian is missing along with Ten canons of concordance which usually are divided into Six or Eight decorated *khorans* in the Armenian Gospels of 14th century. Only the last part of the 10th canon with the names of Luke and John has been preserved, and the table of concordance is empty (fol. 1r). The Title page and certain readings of the Gospel of Matthew are missing (I: 1–22, III: 11 – IV: 21). A part of the last Chapter of the Gospel of Mark is also missing (XVI: 6–20) along with the portrait of the evangelist Luke and his Gospel's preface.

Principal Colophon

287v – *"This joyful testament of the Lord was written, which is the hope and pride of Christians, and is the door and the way of kingdom, which is Christ Himself, in the Armenian year of 803 (1354 AD), in the town of Surxat. This was copied for the faithful and pious old man, who is a penitent and summoner of the church ///, whose parents have called him Gohartaŝ, as a memory of his soul and all of the kin. I ask and beseech those who come across this by reading or hearing, with the messages that I have received from Christ, remember ///* [Գրեցաւ աւետաւոր կտակս տերունական, որ է յոյս և պարծանք քրիստոնէից, և դուռն և ճանապարհ արքայութեան, որ է նոյն ինքն Քրիստոս, ի թուաբերութեանս հայոց ՊԳ. ի քաղաքս Սուրխաթ: Արդ` ստացաւ զսա հաւատարիմ և բարեպաշտ ծերունին, որ է ապաշխարող և հրաւիրակ եկեղեցւոյ ///, որոյ անուն կոչի ի ծնողացն Գոհարտաշ, յիշատակ հոգւոյ իւրոյ և ամէն զարմից: Աղաչեմ և պաղատանաւք խնդրեմ, որք հանդիպիք սմա կարդալով կամ լսելով, ի Քրիստոսառաք պատգամացս, յիշեցէք առաւ///].

Later Colophons

1v – *"In memory of /// and father Manu///"* [Յիշատակ է///ին և հորն Մանու///].
287v – *"I, priest Mkrtič, have had a love for this Gospel for a long time, and finding it, I checked it, which was written by Step'anui Gunererec'anc' from Cilicia, who is a gifted and accomplished artist"* [Ես` Մկրտիչ երէց, յոյժ փափագմամբ եւ սիրով ի վաղուց հետէ կայի ի սեր այսմ աւրինակի, եւ գտեալ` ստուգեցի զսա, որ էր գրած Ստեփանուի Գունէրերեցւանց ի Կիլիկեայ, որ լի է եւ կատարեալ արուեստիւ].

The main colophon provides not only the date and place of writing the Gospel, but also indicates that the Gospel was copied for the faithful and pious old man Gohartaŝ[6] who was a penitent and a summoner of the church.

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[6] This name is known as the male name from the inscription on the tombstone (1333 A.D.), discovered in the village of Ulgyur (Vayot' – Ĵor district of Armenia). It was a tombstone of the brother of the well-known Armenian artist Momik, see A. Kalantaryan, G. Sargsyan, H. Melkonyan, Newly

In the colophon, written later and added on the lower edge of the same page, it is written that priest Mkrtič who had the desire to have this Gospel, found it and checked the Gospel. The name Mkrtič was a common Armenian name, and it was also a widespread name in the Crimean-Armenian environment in the middle of the 14th century as indicated in colophons[7]. The careful reading of their contents and comparison of the religious title assigned to the above-mentioned Mkrtič with the indicated names of relatives suggests that he was the same as the owner of the Gospel, copied in 1347 by the scribe Nater in Surxat' (Matenadaran, Ms. 7742). Mkrtič was the priest of the Holy Cross church of Surxat', and also the patron and the owner of the Gospel (fols. 250r–v, 251r)[8].

The Question of Prototype

In this colophon of the Gospel of Gheorgheni, Mkrtič points out that the Gospel was written on the example of the Gospel of Step'anos Gunererec'anc' (the same as Guyneric'anc', Guyneric'anc', Goynereric'anc') of Cilicia. The latter was a famous scribe who was active in Cilicia and in Cyprus in the second half of the 13th and early 14th centuries[9]. Step'anos was a disciple of the famous Armenian intellectual – Geworg of Skewŕa, and he copied manuscripts for members of the Cilician royal court[10]. E. g. a Miscellany copied between 1310–12 in Famagusta for *tikin* (lady) Alic – the daughter of Het'um of Lambron, sister of the queen Keŕan (Cluj, Ms. 15, fols. 404v–405r)[11].

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discovered memorials related to Momik, in "Armenian Art" Cultural Review [Ա. Քալանթարյան, Գ. Սարգսյան, Հ. Մելքոնյան, *Մոմիկյան նորահայտ հիշատակներ, Հայ արվեստ մշակույթային հանդես*], Yerevan, 2005, no. 3, p. 30.

[7] *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts – 14th century*, Part II *(1326–50)*, compiled by L. Khachikyan, A. Matevosyan, A. Ghazarosyan [*Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, ԺԴ. դար, Մասն Բ, 1326–50*, կազմողներ՝ Լ. Խաչիկյան, Ա. Մաթևոսյան, Ա. Ղազարոսյան], Yerevan, 2020, p. 408, 450–451, 463, 484–485; L. Khachikyan, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts – 14th Century* [Լ. Խաչիկյան, *ԺԴ. դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարանններ*], Yerevan, 1950, p. 421, 468.

[8] *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts …*, Part II, p. 450–1. This colophon contains the names of his parents (father – Sargis, mother – Maro), wife – Kirakkan and two sons – Hamazasp and Grigor (f. 250r–v), see *ibid*.

[9] *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts – 14th century*, Part I *(1301–25)*, compiled by L. Khachikyan, A. Matevosyan, A. Ghazarosyan [*Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, ԺԴ. դար, Մասն Ա, 1301–25*, կազմողներ՝ Լ. Խաչիկյան, Ա. Մաթևոսյան, Ա. Ղազարոսյան], Yerevan, 2018, p. 125, 188–90, 274. More detailed on the creative heritage of Step'anos Guynereric'anc' see N. bishop Tsovakan, *Step'anos Goynereric'anc' (1250?–1315?)*, Sion, Armenian Religious, Literary and Philological Review [Ն. եպս. Ծովական, *Ստեփանոս Գոյներերիցանց (1250?–1315?)*, Սիոն, Հայ ամսագիր կրօնական, գրական, բանասիրական], Jerusalem, publ. house St. James, 1964, XXXVIII (5), p. 133–137; N. archbishop Tsovakan, *Armenian Scribes (9–17th centuries)* [Ն. արքեպս. Ծովական, *Հայ գրիչներ – Թ. – ԺԷ. դար*], Jerusalem, publ. house St. James, 1992, p. 93–111; Kh. Harutyunyan, *The Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts* [Խ. Հարությունյան, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարանններ*], Yerevan, 2019, p. 165–7.

[10] N. bishop Tsovakan, *Step'anos Goynereric'anc' (1250?–1315?) …*, p. 133, 136.

[11] S. Ajemian, *op. cit.*, p. 19–20.

It should be noted that in the colophons of some manuscripts copied in various scriptoriums, one can find references that the manuscript was copied using the example of Step'anos Guyneric'anc': e.g. a Gospel copied in Jerusalem in 1321 by scribe Step'an Erkayn, or a Miscellany, the Gospel part of which was copied in Jerusalem in 1358 by scribe Tērawag (Aleppo, Ms. 54)[12]. The comparison between the Gospel of Gheorgheni and the Gospel of Step'anos Guynereric'anc' copied in 1307 AD (Matenadaran, Ms. 7691) does not suggest that the Crimean Gospel of Gheorgheni was copied from this Cilician manuscript[13]. Typical characteristics which would prove a direct connection between these two manuscripts are absent. I mean, the structure of the headings of the chapters, Gospel prefaces and the orthography are different. E.g. the text of the prefaces of the Gospels of Mark and John in the Cilician Gospel (fols. 132r, 342v) is wider than in the prefaces of the Crimean Gospel (fols. 80r, 220r). The structure of colophons of the two manuscripts is also different: in the Cilician Gospel it starts with the prayer dedicated to the owner of the manuscript (fols. 447r–448v), then is the main colophon with data of the creation of the manuscript, while as it can be seen above, the colophon of the Crimean Gospel is different. Of course, the comparison with only one Gospel of Step'anos is not sufficient for a final conclusion. However, it is also possible that the Gospel of Gheorgheni was copied from a Gospel, which in turn had the Gospel of Step'anos as a prototype. Also, it should not be forgotten that Step'anos Guynereric'anc' was a well-known scribe and it is possible that his name was mentioned even for prestige, especially considering that it was written later by the owner of the manuscript, who had no relation with the writing of the manuscript.

In the margin of the last page (fol. 287v, along with the colophon) of the Gospel of Gheorgheni there is an intriguing inscription: *"The Syriac church took this good heritage from the Gospel by the words of a certain Papias disciple Hovhannes (John), who later on spoke as a heretic and became despicable. As Eusebius' book LXXXXVI says: "A prophet does not come out of Galilee"* (John VII: 52, by the author) [*Ձայս յիշատակ բարի ընկալուալ եկեղեցի յատրուրց Անետարանէ բանիւ Պապիասայ ումեմն Յովհաննու աշակերտի, որ եւ յետոյ հերձուած խաւսեցաւ և խոտեցաւ։ Եւսեբիէ ասացեալ ՂՉ համարն է, որ ասէ "Մարգարէ ի Գալիլէէ ոչ յառնէ"* (3ովհ. Է:52)].

This inscription does not exist in the Gospel of Step'anos Guyneric'anc' (Matenadaran, Ms. 7691) and in some other Crimean Gospels of 14th century with which some iconographic similarities will see later, but it can be found in the end of the Gospel of the Miscellany of Aleppo (Ms. 54, p. 442): *"The Syriac church took this good heritage from the Gospel by the words of a certain Papias disciple*

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[12] *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts …*, Part I, p. 431; L. Khachikyan, *op. cit.*, p. 168–169, 437; L. Sargsyan, "Armenian Scribe and Miniaturist Avag Tsaghkogh (14th century)", in *New Europe College Publication Series of Black Sea Link Program, Yearbook 2014–2015*, edited by I. Vainovski-Mihai, Bucharest, 2018, p. 175.

[13] Art historian E. Korkhmazyan claims that the Gospel of Step'anos has appeared in Crimea, but the author does not indicate a single manuscript for which the Gospel of Step'anos could have been used as a prototype, see Э. Корхмазян, *Армянская миниатюра Крыма (XIV–XVII вв.)*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 24.

Hovhannes (John), who later on spoke as a heretic and became despicable. This is said in Eusebius' 86 chapter, after the words: look into it, and you will find that "A prophet does not come out of Galilee" (John VII: 52)" [Զայս յիշատակ բանի ընկալաւ եկեղեցի յասորւոց Աւետարանէ բանիւ Պապիասայ՝ ումեմն Յովհաննու աշակերտի, որ եւ յետոյ հերձուած խաւսեցաւ եւ խոտեցաւ: Եւսեբիէ կարգ բանին յութսուն ու վեց համարն զկնի այնմ բանի, որ ասէ քննեա եւ տես, զի *"Մարգարէ ի Գալիլէէ ոչ յառնէ*]^[14].

Papias (c. 60–163 A.D.) was the bishop of Hierapolis, and although Eusebius criticized him, he was never recognized as a heretic[15]. A careful study of the existing contents of both Gospels did not produce any deviation from the canonical text of the Gospel. However, we should not forget that some pages of the Gospels of Gheorgheni and Aleppo[16] are missing, including the canons of concordance of the four Gospels. Perhaps the missing pages could help to find an answer to this intriguing quotation. It is also possible that this supplement has no direct connection with the text of both Gospels and was just a result of automatic copying from a common prototype.

Study of Paleography

The study of paleography of the manuscript indicates that all four Gospels were written by the same scribe. The letters such as *Բ, Ս, Թ, Չ, Ճ* represent the same paleographic features (see table I). The ornamental letters are in graphic style usually outlined with red ink by the scribe (see table II, A I–III) and only the letter *Ե* on the fol. 139v is a later addition by someone else. These ornaments are repeated in the manuscripts illustrated in Crimea in the same period (1351 AD, Caffa, Dudian, Ms. 1, see table II, B I-III, 1346 AD, Surxat', Cluj, Ms. 13, see table II, C II). And these examples in turn follow the decorated letters of the Cilician manuscripts from the first half of the 14th c. (e.g. Cluj, Ms. 11, table II, C I)[17]. To summarize, one can say that in the 14th century there were particular patterns of ornamented letters (simpler forms) that were copied in a certain group of manuscripts of various scriptoriums in Cilicia and in Crimea.

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[14] The current location of this manuscript is unknown. As a visiting scholar I had the opportunity to study the digital copy of this manuscript at Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (Collegeville, USA, March–April, 2017).

[15] J. Quasten, *Patrology: The Beginnings of Patristic Literature*, V. 1, Christian Classics, INC., Westminster, Maryland, 1986, p. 82–84, http://textualcriticism.scienceontheweb.net/FATHERS/Papias.html#s03.

[16] In the Gospel part of the Miscellany of Aleppo (Ms. 54) the Letter of Eusebius to Carpian, Ten canons of concordance are missing along with some passages: Matt. I: 7–VI: 28, VII: 13–XVI:26. The VIII: 1–11 chapter of the Gospel of John as in the Gospel of Gheorgheni here also is in the end of the Gospel of John (p. 440–2).

[17] A few examples are given in table II, the similarities of ornamented letters in the above-mentioned manuscripts are numerous.

Table I

C	I – Ծ	II – Թ, Ք	III – Զ	IV – Ձ
A Gospel of Matthew				
B Gospel of Mark				
C Gospel of Luke				
D Gospel of John				

Table II

	I	II	III
A			
B			
C			

System of Illumination

In addition to textual importance, the value of this manuscript is also in its illustrations. Along with illustrated canons of concordance, each Gospel had a portrait of an evangelist and a decorated Title page. As I mentioned, some of these illustrated pages are missing. However, the state of the Gospel suggests that this system of illumination is the one known to us from manuscripts copied and illustrated basically in two Armenian settlements of the Crimea: in Caffa and in Surxat'. Scholars such as E. Korchmasjan, H. and H. Buschhausen have studied the miniature art of manuscripts illustrated in the scriptoriums of Caffa and Surxat'. A comprehensive study on the Armenian miniature art of Crimea shows two periods of flourishing: the 14th and the 17th centuries[18]. The Gospel of Gheorgheni complements our knowledge about the 14th century Armenian manuscript art heritage of Crimea. The system of illustration of this Gospel corresponds to that of many Gospels illustrated in the scriptoriums of both cities from the 30s to the 50s. Therefore, I will try to attribute the manuscript to a certain group, studying its iconography and style.

Study of Iconography and Style

The evangelists Matthew and Mark are depicted sitting on chairs in a three-quarter view and in a gesture of writing their Gospels. Matthew wears a blue tunic under a mauve mantle (the colors have faded). His cloture is partly covered with white drapery. Evangelist Mark wears a light green tunic with yellow drapes and a red mantle. Both evangelists have yellow halos. They hold open Gospels, and on the white sheet the first letters of each text of the Gospels are visible: Matthew, accordingly, "[Գ]ԻՐՔ" (The book, I:1) and Mark, "ՄԿԸ[ԲԱՆԷ]" ("The beginning" I:1). The architectural environment in which the evangelists are depicted is represented by domes on three columns on the right side and the interior of the church on the left. The left and right sides are connected to each other by red curtains.

The evangelist John is portrayed with Prochorus, who is kneeling in front of him. John is depicted in a frontal view, his head is turned, and a sign of his inspiration – the hand of God appears from a segment of the sky. The evangelist wears a blue tunic and a mauve mantle, and a yellow halo shines above his head. His left hand is raised to heaven, and his right hand is to Prochorus, who writes the Gospel. The latter wears a green tunic with yellow drapery. His halo is red in contrast to the evangelists. It seems that in this way the miniaturist tried to emphasize the dominant holiness of the evangelists, presenting their halos in yellow. It should be noted that red halos are not as often found in Armenian miniature art as gold or yellow, but sometimes appear in the portraits of the evangelists, apostles or other saints. The environment of the scene is represented

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[18] E. Korchmasian, H. and H. Buschhausen, *Armenische Buchmalerei und Baukunst der Krim*, Yerevan, 2009, p. 45.

through the rocks on the left, and on the right side is the interior of the church with a dome on three columns. The landscape is complemented by a tree behind the dome.

Portraits of the evangelists on a blue background, yellow halos instead of gold are typical for the miniature art of Crimea, and perhaps the reason was the lack of royal and princely sponsorship[19].

The Title pages of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John are decorated with headpieces, ornaments in margins, and initials. Two lions, symbolizing the evangelist Mark, are depicted in his Gospel's headpiece. The initials *" Բ"* and *"Ի"* of the incipit pages of the Gospels of Luke and John, represent the symbols of evangelists – an ox and an eagle. The margins are decorated with floral and geometric ornaments, and at the top, they have a cross (Gospels of Luke and John). The color of Title pages is limited to red. The use of two different techniques between colorful portraits of the evangelists and outlined Title pages, according to art historian S. Ajemian, was typical for Armenian miniature art of Crimea in the 14th century[20].

The comparison of the iconography of the Gospel of Gheorgheni with manuscripts copied in Crimea reveals some iconographic similarities. In particular, they are striking in comparison with the six Gospels copied in Surxat' and in Caffa between 1351 and 1353. There are:

1. Gospel copied in 1351 by priest Mkrtič (Matenadaran, Ms. 7750),
2. Gospel copied in Caffa in 1352 by scribe Karapet (Matenadaran, Ms. 7337),
3. Gospel copied in 1352 in Surxat' by scribe Step'anos (Matenadaran, Ms. 7598),
4. Gospel copied in 1351 in Caffa by scribe Karapet (Dudian, Ms. 1),
5. Gospel copied in 1353 in Surxat' (Matenadaran, Ms. 7927),
6. A Gospel, the colophon of which has not been preserved (Matenadaran, Ms. 10598).

According to art historian E. Korkhmazian, five of these manuscripts were illustrated by the same unknown miniaturist, and Dudian's example is similar to them[21]. A careful study of these manuscripts suggests that only three of them are the work of the same miniaturist (Matenadaran, Mss. 7337, 7750 and 7598), the other three (Matenadaran, Mss. 10598, 7927, Dudian, Ms. 1) represent the same system of illumination and iconography but the stylistic analysis does not allow to attribute them to the same miniaturist[22].

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[19] Э. Корхмазян, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[20] S. Ajemian, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[21] Э. Корхмазян, *op. cit.*, p. 31–33; E. Korchmasian, H. and H. Buschhausen, *op. cit.*, Tafel 47–51, abb. 183–202; K. Matevosyan, L. Sargsyan, "Illuminated Manuscripts in the Primacy of the Armenian Diocese in Romania", in *Armenian Treasures in Romania*, edited by Armenian Archidiocese in Romania, Bucharest, 2020, p. 196.

[22] K. Matevosyan, L. Sargsyan, *op. cit.*, p. 196–197.

Between the Gospel of Gheorgheni and the above-mentioned Gospels there are some iconographic relations: in particular, the poses and gestures of the evangelists, the architectural environment – the dome, columns, interior, curtains, represent similar iconographic approaches (ill. 6, ill 7, ill. 8). Sometimes the iconography is repeated in certain details, such as the depictions of the black sandals of the evangelists, or their gestures (see table III).

Table III

Gheorgheni Ms. 85 fol. 1v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7598, fol. 12v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7337, fol. 13v
Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 80v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7598, fol. 82v	Matenadaran, Ms. 10598, fol. 85v
Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 80v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7750, fol. 9v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7750, fol. 81v

Table III (continued)

Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 220v	Matenadaran, Ms. 10598, fol. 215v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7337, fol. 258v
Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 220v	Matenadaran, Ms. 7750, fol. 208v	Dudian, Ms. 1, fol. 217v

In contrast to iconography, the comparative study of style suggests that the miniaturist of the Gospel of Gheorgheni is different from the above-mentioned six Gospels' miniaturists. This miniaturist was not as high-level as the miniaturists of the above-mentioned manuscripts. The contours of lines, colors and the modeling of light in images are relatively simple. The style of this artist is characterized by the depiction of the characters with a dark skin color, and more linear drapery of clothes.

Conclusion

The Armenian Gospel of the Armenian-Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni, copied in Surxat' in 1354, is the oldest manuscript in the collection of the library. It is an evidence of the existence of the Armenian community on the Crimean Peninsula, and then in Gheorgheni. The textual structure and system of illumination of the Gospel did not introduce any novelty into the Armenian Gospel tradition of that time. But it complements our knowledge of a series of more than 80 Armenian illustrated manuscripts created in Crimea in the mid-14th century. The study of the paleography, style and iconography of the Gospel are not sufficient for

determining the identity of the scribe and the artist (perhaps the same person). Considering the slightly poor quality of the illustrations from an artistic point of view, it is possible that this Gospel was illustrated by a disciple of a skilled master.

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Abbreviations

Aleppo – Library of Holy Forty Martyrs Armenian Cathedral, Aleppo
Cluj – National Archives of Cluj-Napoca, Fund of Gherla, Cluj-Napoca
Dudian – Library of the Dudian Museum of the Armenian Diocese of Romania, Bucharest
Gheorgheni – Library of the Armenian Catholic Parish, Gheorgheni
Matenadaran – Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan

Table of Transliteration from Armenian

Ա ա – A a	Լ լ – L l	Շ շ – Š š	Ւ ւ – W w
Բ բ – B b	Խ խ – X x	Ո ն – O o	Փ փ – P' p'
Գ q – G g	Ծ ծ – C c	Չ չ – Č č	Ք ք – K' k'
Դ դ – D d	Կ կ – K k	Պ պ – P p	Օ o – Ō ō
Ե ե – E e	Հ h – H h	Ջ ջ – J j	Ֆ ֆ – F f
Զ q – Z z	Ձ ձ – Ĵ ĵ	Ռ ռ – Ṙ ṙ	Ու ու – U u
Է է – Ē ē	Ղ ղ – Ł ł	Ս ս – S s	+ն – ew
Ը ը – Ə ə	Ճ ճ – Č č	Վ վ – V v	
Թ թ – T' t'	Մ մ – M m	Տ տ – T t	
Ժ ժ – Ž ž	Յ յ – Y y	Ր ր – R r	
Ի ի – I i	Ն ն – N n	Ց g – C' c'	

List of Reproductions

Illustration 1. Evangelist Matthew, Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 1v. Personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan. Photographer Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

Illustration 2. Evangelist Mark and the Title page of the Gospel of Mark, Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fols. 80v–81r. Personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan. Photographer Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

Illustration 3. Title page of the Gospel of Luke, Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 133r. Personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan. Photographer Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

Illustration 4. Evangelist John and Prochorus, Title page of the Gospel of John, Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fols. 220v–221r. Personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan. Photographer Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

Illustration 5. Colophon, Gheorgheni, Ms. 85, fol. 287v. Personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan. Photographer Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

Illustration 6. Evangelist Matthew, Matenadaran, Ms. 7750, fol. 9v. Reproduced by kind permission of Matenadaran.

Illustration 7. Evangelist Mark, Matenadaran, Ms. 7598, fol. 82v. Reproduced by kind permission of Matenadaran.

Illustration 8. Evangelist John and Prochorus, Matenadaran, Ms. 7750, fol. 208v. Reproduced by kind permission of Matenadaran.

Illustration 1

Illustration 2

Illustration 3

Illustration 4

Illustration 5

Illustration 6

Illustration 7

Illustration 8

LA FORTUNE DES ÉCRITS DU MARCHAND ÉCRIVAIN GIOVANNI SERCAMBI : EXTRAITS ET CONCLUSIONS BALKANIQUES

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The article studies the distribution of the manuscript *Chronicles*, self-written by Giovanni Sercambi from Luca, Italy, and its subsequent printing. Special emphasis is placed on five chapters of this urban chronicle. They describe the crusade of Nicopolis (1396) in accordance with the oral account of Giglio Sercambi, who was not only the chronicler's uncle but also an eyewitness to the events. Danova furthermore deals with the illustrations to these chapters and more precisely with the images of both bombard and flags in the Turkish camp. On the flags there were a profile of a talking black head on a white background and black scorpion on a yellow background. Assumptions are made about the sources of these images and their symbolic meaning.

Keywords: Italian medieval chronicles, Giovanni Sercambi, sources on Balkan history, Battle of Nicopolis (1396), vexillology.

Dans son étude classique sur les œuvres des marchands écrivains florentins de l'époque de l'Humanisme, Christian Beck réserve un chapitre aux nouvelles de Giovanni Sercambi, marchand de la ville de Lucques en Italie centrale[1]. Le chercheur français se concentre sur ce narrateur précisément parce que «Sercambi est le moins connu des conteurs du début du Quattrocento»[2]. L'affirmation est tout à fait juste et elle rend compte de cette *damnatio memoriae* qui, selon les paroles de Fabrizio Mari[3], pèse pendant des siècles sur les deux ouvrages principaux de Giovanni Sercambi – le recueil de nouvelles *Novelliero* et *Les chroniques* contenant l'histoire de sa ville natale Lucques. Et si les nouvelles ont beaucoup bénéficié de l'attention des historiens de la littérature, *Les chroniques* demeurent de nos jours encore peu interrogées comme une source historique. Or elles comprennent cinq chapitres relatant la croisade et la bataille de Nikopol de 1396 qui ont récemment attiré l'attention d'Andrei Pippidi[4]. Ils éclairent l'utilisation d'armes à feu lors du siège

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[1] C. Bec, *Les marchands écrivains. Affaires et Humanisme à Florence, 1375–1434*. Paris – La Haye, 1967, p. 175–200.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[3] F. Mari, « Sercambi, Giovanni », dans *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, t. 92, Roma, 2018, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-sercambi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/, (12. 06. 2020).

[4] A. Pippidi, « O versiune italiană a bătăliei de la Nicopol », *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie* 35, 2017, p. 17–24.

de la ville danubienne. Par conséquent, je vais aborder ici le problème du sort des *Chroniques,* longtemps restées éloignées de l'intérêt des chercheurs. Leur oubli est également la raison de la faible connaissance des textes et des illustrations en rapport avec la croisade qui a pris fin à proximité de Nikopol et que je vais considérer ci-dessous.

Giovanni Sercambi, né en 1345[5] dans la ville de Lucques dans la famille de l'épicier Iacopo, vit à une époque mouvementée. Dans sa jeunesse, il connaît la domination étrangère sur sa ville natale, au cours de laquelle Pise et ses dirigeants drainent la prospérité de Lucques au moyen de lourds impôts (1342–1369). Il accueille avec enthousiasme l'émancipation de la ville et participe activement aux différentes institutions du pouvoir exécutif et législatif. Sa contribution à l'établissement des institutions républicaines de la ville-commune (1369–1400) est incontestable. Les événements qui l'amènent à l'avant-scène de l'histoire de Lucques sont en rapport avec le coup d'Etat de mai 1400 et l'établissement du pouvoir de Paolo Guinigi (1400–1430), «le tyran» qui a réalisé le passage de la commune à la seigneurie, et que Sercambi soutient sans réserve durant la première décennie de son gouvernement. Sans aucun doute, ces trois étapes clairement distinctes de l'histoire de Lucques, dont Sercambi est un témoin et bien souvent un acteur, sont l'une des raisons pour lesquelles il entreprend la tâche ambitieuse d'écrire *Les chroniques.*

Comme tout citoyen de la petite république de Lucques, G. Sercambi associe la participation au gouvernement urbain et la pratique d'un métier. Tout comme son père, son oncle Giglio et son frère Bartolomeo, le futur chroniqueur et nouvelliste est épicier. La famille de Giovanni Sercambi est aisée et bien vue dans la société sans être très riche. Giovanni s'efforce d'assurer son confort matériel – tâche qu'il accomplit avec succès en particulier dans les années 1370. Un exemple en est le rachat du fonds de commerce du magasin familial hérité par son oncle Giglio et un autre parent associé d'une part et par G. Sercambi d'autre part (le 13 mars 1370)[6]. Deux ans plus tard, il rachète des lettres de change des dettes de ce même oncle, et plus tard encore, il hypothèque sa part d'une propriété familiale pour garantir le remboursement du prêt. Je détaille les rapports de Giovanni Sercambi avec son oncle Giglio car c'est notamment ce dernier qui est la source principale et unique des informations sur la bataille de Nikopol dont il va être question plus loin. Malgré les cas où le neveu fait pression sur son oncle pour qu'il rembourse les

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[5] Dans la littérature scientifique co-existent trois années de naissance – 1345, 1347 et 1348. Je retiens la première comme la mieux argumentée dans l'ouvrage de S. Nelli, M. Trapani, « Giovanni Sercambi: documenti e fatti della vita familiare », dans *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo. Catalogo della mostra*. Lucca, 1991, p. 33–100, en particulier pour l'année de naissance p. 44. Cette même monographie collective contient l'étude de C. Meek, « Il tempo di Giovanni Sercambi », p. 1-30, dans laquelle sont décrites l'histoire économique et politique de Lucques, ainsi que la situation internationale à l'époque de notre auteur. Une riche documentation publiée ici pour la première fois constitue la base des études de G. Tori, « Profilo di una carriera politica », *ibid.*, p. 101–134; M. Brogi, « Giovanni Sercambi e la Signoria di Paolo », *ibid.*, p. 135–190; M. Paoli, « I Codici », *ibid.*, p. 191–240.

[6] S. Nelli, M. Trapani, « Giovanni Sercambi: documenti ... », p. 43.

prêts, les deux hommes sont impliqués dans des transactions immobilières mutuellement avantageuses dans la province (1374). Il n'est pas clair d'après les documents d'archives de Lucques à quel moment l'oncle, dont les dettes font boule de neige, quitte Lucques définitivement pour s'installer à Paris. Apparemment, il connait une remarquable réussite économique dans la capitale française, puisqu'après sa mort (1404) il lègue à ses neveux Giovanni et Bartolomeo un «palais parisien» et deux maisons dans le périmètre intra-muros de la ville de Lucques.

Si dans les années 1370 les affaires et les initiatives commerciales de Sercambi prospèrent, ce dont témoigne également le fait que sa femme Pina se procure une esclave tatare comme domestique[7], durant les années 1380 et au début des années 1390 ses entreprises sont moins sûres. Son épouse et lui sont contraints de payer des échéances de crédits, de vendre des biens en provinces, etc. La famille se stabilise financièrement au début du XVe siècle lorsque Giovanni Sercambi devient le fournisseur attitré de produits d'apothicaire, de papeterie, de la cire, etc. pour la cour princière de Paolo Guinigi[8]. Malgré les caprices du destin, à la fin de sa vie (1424) Giovanni Sercambi laisse à son épouse et ses deux neveux fils de Bartolomeo un patrimoine remarquable qui va bientôt fondre[9].

Les chercheurs ont jugé de manière équivoque la carrière politique de Giovanni Sercambi principalement en raison de son ralliement à l'influent parti de la famille Guinigi au début des années 1390 et de l'aide qu'il apporte à l'implantation de leur pouvoir à Lucques[10]. Son activité politique a indubitablement beaucoup contribué à la compilation de ses *Chroniques*. Elles contiennent une série de descriptions de batailles, sièges, armement, tactiques militaires, approvisionnement de troupes, etc. L'intérêt que le marchand de Lucques porte à l'histoire militaire est en grande partie fonction de sa propre expérience militaire acquise lorsqu'il servait sa ville natale[11].

Les Chroniques nous sont parvenues dans leur version originale. Leurs deux volumes sont conservés aux Archives d'État de Lucques sous la cote № 107. Aujourd'hui, ils sont bien étudiés et les chercheurs s'accordent sur le fait qu'il

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[8] La nature de ses marchandises est attestée par un document intéressant publié par S. Bongi, « Prefazione », dans *Le Croniche di Giovanni Sercambi Lucchese, pubblicate sui manoscritti originali*, t. I. Lucca, 1892, p. XIII.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. XV–XVI.

[10] Sercambi est vu comme un traître aux idéaux républicains, surtout au XIXe s. lorsque les processus de l'unification de l'Italie sont en cours. Une opinion plus modérée prédomine à présent selon laquelle « la tyrannie » de Guinigi est considérée comme moins décisive dans la vie politique de la petite Lucques. L'atténuation des passions politiques entraîne la reconsidération de la gouvernance urbaine de Guinigi en mettant en valeur le patrimoine culturel et historique légué par sa cour renaissance. Voir M. Brogi, « Giovanni Sercambi e la Signoria di Paolo », dans *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo*, p. 135–190; C. Altavista, *Lucca e Paolo Guinigi (1400–1430) : la costruzione di una corte rinascimentale. Città, architettura, arte.* Pisa, 2005.

[11] En 1377 Sercambi est l'un des trois agents chargés des tâches d'inspection des forteresses de la république lucquoise et de règlement des soldes des châtelains et des mercenaires. En 1409–1410 il est élu *condottiere* responsable des salaires des troupes mercenaires et du contrôle des fortins et de leurs commandants. Voir. G. Tori, « Profilo … », p. 103, 109; F. Mari, « Sercambi, Giovanni ».

s'agit d'un manuscrit autographe[12]. Cette observation concerne l'ensemble du livre, c'est-à-dire le texte et les 540 illustrations accompagnant le premier volume et représentant des vignettes colorées à l'aquarelle[13]. Après le décès de Giovanni Sercambi (1424), *Les chroniques* se retrouvent chez Paolo Guinigi. Selon la liste d'inventaire des biens de ce dernier (1431), après l'exil du tyran de la ville et trois siècles durant, les deux volumes sont conservés dans un placard du Palais public, c'est-à-dire à la bibliothèque publique de Lucques. A juger d'après les notices des deux volumes, ils sont passés entre les mains d'un nombre restreint d'hommes cultivés, essentiellement des bibliothécaires de la ville. Quelques copies partielles du second volume ont été exécutées mais, de manière générale, l'ouvrage de Sercambi connaît une diffusion assez faible, aussi bien dans sa patrie l'Italie qu'à l'étranger[14].

Le cas de Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750) qui cherche en vain à accéder aux *Chroniques* est intéressant. Les autorités de Lucques lui interdisent l'accès à la bibliothèque, car ce grand collectionneur de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Italie est originaire de Modène – ville adversaire de Lucques. Par conséquent, Muratori ne réussit à publier qu'un court extrait des *Chroniques* issu d'une copie tardive conservée à la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne de Milan[15].

Le XIXe siècle s'est également révélé ingrat envers l'ouvrage historique de Sercambi. Girolamo Tommasi (1779–1846), archiviste de Lucques et chargé par Pietro Vieusseux d'éditer *Les chroniques,* n'achève pas la tâche qui lui a été confiée. La mort interrompt ses recherches. Néanmoins, il publie une brève histoire de sa ville natale et se sert des écrits de Sercambi pour sa compilation[16].

Ce n'est qu'en 1892 que *Les chroniques* sont imprimées grâce à Salvatore Bongi (1825–1899), directeur des archives de Lucques de longue date[17]. Jusqu'à présent, cette édition n'a été surpassée ni en précision, critique, fiabilité ou conformité à l'original[18]. Une partie importante des évaluations de l'archiviste lucquois, exprimées dans l'avant-propos au premier volume des *Chroniques* déjà évoqué, restent d'actualité à ce jour. Elles constituent une contribution notable à l'étude de la vie et de l'œuvre de Sercambi, de ses manuscrits et des documents d'archives de Lucques reflétant divers aspects de la vie urbaine, son économie et

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[12] Voir la description des deux volumes dans : M. Paoli, « I codici … », p. 206–206, 214–205.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 206–214.

[15] Cette histoire est décrite en détails par S. Bongi, « Prefazione », p. XXXIII–XXXIX. Cf. également L.A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, t. XVIII. Milano, 1828, coll. 793–898.

[16] G. Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca dall'anno MIV all'anno MDCC, compilata su documenti contemporanei da [...], archivista degli atti di governo; continuato sino all'anno 1799*, dans *Archivio storico italiano ossia raccolta di opere e documenti finora inediti o divenuti rarissimi riguardanti la storia d'Italia*, t. X. Firenze, 1847, p. 1–240.

[17] *Le croniche di Giovanni Sercambi lucchese pubblicate sui manoscritti originali*, I–III, a cura di Salvatore Bongi. Lucca, 1892. Par la suite, cet ouvrage est cité en abrégé – *Croniche*.

[18] La nouvelle édition du premier tome uniquement due à Giorgio Tori souffre d'un défaut majeur – le langage de Sercambi est modernisé dans le but de le rendre accessible à un public plus large. Voir G. Tori, *Le Chroniche di Giovanni Sercambi. Edizione dal volgare all'italiano a cura di [...]*, 1. Lucca, 2015, n. v.

ses événements culturels[19]. Une seule objection peut être soulevée à l'égard de cette édition des *Chroniques*. Elle ne concerne pas le travail-même de Bongi mais est inhérente aux moyens techniques disponibles au XIXe siècle. Il s'agit du rendu des illustrations du premier volume. Les vignettes de couleur sont confiées au peintre Angelo Ardinghi (1850–1897) qui les reproduit vraisemblablement par xylographie en diminuant leurs dimensions d'un tiers par rapport à l'original. Leur impression en couleur ne voit le jour qu'en 1978[20].

Le moment où Giovanni Sercambi commence à écrire l'histoire de sa ville natale est inconnu. Le brouillon n'est pas conservé. L'intention initiale de l'auteur est de décrire l'histoire de sa ville natale de 1164 à 1400. Il y distingue trois sous-périodes. La première comprend l'adhésion de Lucques au parti des Guelfes de 1164 à 1313[21] (chapitres 1–117). La deuxième est marquée par le ralliement du gouvernent aux Gibelins et « la captivité de Babylone », c'est-à-dire le règne de Pise jusqu'en 1369, époque à laquelle Sercambi était déjà adulte et aux débuts de sa carrière politique (ch. 118–172). On peut exprimer la prudente hypothèse que c'est à ce moment que le marchand lucquois commence à prendre des notes sur l'histoire de la ville qu'il observe de ses propres yeux et à laquelle il participe, ou bien se renseigne sur certains événements qui se passent dans le monde par les récits d'autres personnes originaires de Lucques et dispersées dans des villes italiennes, en France, en Bourgogne et en Angleterre. La troisième tranche temporelle va de 1369 au 6 avril 1400 et correspond à la République libre de Lucques (ch. 173–700). Cette dernière période de la première partie des *Chroniques* est la plus détaillée. Celle-ci, ainsi que la seconde partie consacrée au gouvernement de Guinigi, représentent une « histoire de son temps » et sont, à juste titre, hautement prisées par les chercheurs.

Giovanni Sercambi écrit ses annales de Lucques pour lui-même et non pour un gouverneur, par exemple le susmentionné Paolo Guinigi. Dans ses *Chroniques*, à la différence de Matteo et Filippo Villani ou d'autres auteurs italiens, Giovanni ne s'attend pas à ce qu'un membre de sa famille poursuive son œuvre. La mise en page luxueuse des deux volumes manuscrits, ainsi que celle d'un autre livre

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[19] Dans le troisième volume des *Chroniques* est publié comme annexe un autre ouvrage de Sercambi. C'est son manifeste politique – « Nota ai Guinigi », dans *Chroniche*, III, p. 397–407.

[20] O. Banti, M.L. Testi Cristiani, *Giovanni Sercambi. Le illustrazioni delle Croniche nel codice lucchese*, coi commenti storico e artistico di [...], t. I–II. Genova, 1978, avec la précision que le premier volume contient un commentaire historique et artistique, et le second les reproductions des images en couleur des *Chroniques* portant la numérotation 1–517. Je me suis servie de cette édition et je suis sa numérotation. Une hypothèse prudente a été avancée quant à l'identification de l'auteur des vignettes de cette édition qui ne sont pas considérées comme étant de Sercambi (*Ibid.*, I, p. 63). A ce jour, cette opinion ne se voit pas confirmée par une argumentation bien documentée.

[21] Le récit commence au moment où des chanceliers et des porte-paroles de Frédéric Ier Barberousse entreprennent une campagne contre Rome – événement que Sercambi situe en 1164. En ce qui concerne les sources utilisées pour la partie des *Chroniques* qui précède la vie active de Sercambi, voir S. Bongi, « Prefazione », p. XIX–XXII.

préparé par lui – les commentaires au *Paradis* de Dante[22], étayent la proposition que Sercambi aspirait non seulement à une aisance matérielle et une belle carrière politique, mais également à l'escalade de la hiérarchie sociale par le prestige des beaux livres de sa bibliothèque privée. Il est en effet bien connu que durant la période de l'Humanisme, la bibliophilie et la possession de manuscrits luxueux et illustrés étaient très hautement prisées des autorités, des amis politiques, des marchands et même ses voisins qui considéraient la présence de tels objets dans la maison du proche comme signe du haut statut de leur possesseur.

Deux raisons principales sont généralement mises en avant pour expliquer leur faible diffusion jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle. La première concerne les idées politiques de Sercambi et son activité au service de Paolo Guinigi qui ont contribué à l'abolition des institutions républicaines de sa ville natale. La seconde est également de nature politique mais elle a un cadre historique plus large : les gouverneurs de Lucques des siècles postérieurs ne montrent pas d'intérêt particulier pour le passé de leur pays. Ils se gardaient d'agacer leurs puissants voisins avec les souvenirs de l'ampleur territoriale de l'ancien État de Lucques que décrit Sercambi, car ils avaient déjà tiré bénéfice de certaines de ses régions[23]. À ces arguments de nature historique et politique, il est opportun d'en ajouter un autre. C'est l'absence de destinataire haut placé des *Chroniques* qui a nui à leur propagation et à leur gloire. Et cela fait aussi partie des jeux maléfiques de Fortuna avec l'héritage littéraire de Sercambi.

Aux informations sur l'histoire et l'actualité de Lucques, l'écrivain-marchand intègre un certain nombre d'interpolations sur des événements de l'histoire mondiale – certains bien étudiés[24] contrairement à d'autres. Parmi ces derniers, nous pouvons évoquer la description de la croisade avortée qui s'est terminée par la bataille de Nikopol. Ce n'est qu'en 2017 qu'Andrei Pippidi a prêté attention à ce renseignement[25]. L'événement est inclus dans nombre de chroniques d'auteurs contemporains et postérieurs. Il a fait à plusieurs reprises l'objet de reconstruction par des chercheurs[26] qui ne connaissent pas *Les chroniques* de Sercambi. C'est une pierre angulaire de l'historiographie bulgare[27].

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[22] Il ne s'agit pas d'un ouvrage original mais de la refonte du commentaire éponyme de Jacopo della Lana. Voir M. Paoli, « I codici », p. 196 et la littérature, p. 206.

[23] C. Meek, « Il tempo di Giovanni Sercambi », p. 14–16.

[24] C'est le cas du fameux marchand et banquier de Lucques Dino Rapondi (1350–1416) qui avait beaucoup contribué à la libération en 1397 du futur duc de Bourgogne Jean Ier sans Peur (1404–1419), otage des Turcs, et que Sercambi accuse de trahison et de l'assassinat de Louis d'Orléans, le frère du roi français Charles VI (1407). Selon Sercambi ce meurtre et la participation de Rapondi à cet acte sont la cause du sort tragique des marchands de Lucques à Bruges. Voir L. Galoppini, « Lucchesi e uomini di comunità a Bruges nel tardo Medioevo », dans *«Mercatura e arte». Uomini d'affari toscani in Europa e nel Mediterraneo tardo medievale*, a cura di L. Tanzini, S. Tognetti. Roma, 2011, p. 50–51.

[25] Voir note 4.

[26] Pour un aperçu de la littérature écrite en alphabet latin, voir : E.C. Antoche, « Les expéditions de Nicopolis (1396) et de Varna (1444): une comparaison », *Analele Universităţii «Dunărea de Jos» din Galaţi. Seria Istorie*, 3, 2004, p. 47–51 ; V. Gjuzelev, « La bataille de

L'histoire de la croisade de Nikopol est racontée dans cinq chapitres des *Chroniques* (390–394)[28]. Le récit des affaires de Lucques est brusquement interrompu après un texte relatant l'armistice franco-anglaise de 30 ans en 1395 pendant la guerre de Cent Ans (1337–1453) dans le bref chapitre précédent. L'armistice est conclu grâce au mariage dynastique entre le roi anglais Richard II et Isabelle, fille du roi de France Charles VI le Fol. L'inclusion de cet événement dans le récit du marchand écrivain n'est pas fortuite, car les affaires de France sont d'une importance vitale pour le destin de Lucques. Il est important pour le milieu dirigeant de la ville italienne d'obtenir le soutien des cours française et bourguignonne dans leur lutte contre les appétits territoriaux de leurs voisins florentins. Par conséquent, aussi bien l'armistice que l'issue de la croisade auront un impact sur l'avenir de Lucques.

Le chapitre 389 est une sorte de prélude à la présentation beaucoup plus détaillée des événements relatifs à la croisade cruciale pour le Sud-Est européen de 1396. C'est notamment l'armistice qui a permis aux chevaliers français, allemands et anglais d'une part et, des Hongrois et des Valaques d'autre part, de se soulever ensemble pour combattre les Turcs, comme le suggère le titre du chapitre 390 (*CCCLXXXX. Chome si mossero Franceschi, Inghilesi, Tedeschi e Ungari per andare adosso a' Turchi*). Sercambi ne manque pas de mentionner qu'il écrira plus sur les affaires de la France que sur celle des autres pays participant à la croisade car c'est la France qui est d'une importance particulière pour l'histoire de Lucques[29]. Il s'ensuit que l'interprétation des événements sera trop proche de ce que nous savons déjà des sources françaises (mémoires de Boucicaut, chroniques du clerc de Saint-Denis, Jean Froissart, etc.), c'est-à-dire que les Français seront présentés comme martyrs de la vraie foi, tandis que les Hongrois et les Valaques le seront comme traîtres.

Nicopolis de 1396 à la lumière des dernières recherches », *Études balkaniques*, 1, 2003, p. 147–151 ; H. Kaçar, J. Dumolyn, « The Battle of Nicopolis, Burgundian Catastrophe and Ottoman Fait Divers », *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 91, 2013, p. 907, sans que ce soit exhaustif bien évidemment.

[27] A l'aube des recherches sur l'histoire des Bulgares, K.J. Jireček considère cette bataille comme une transition vers la soummission définitive du Second royaume bulgare ; voir K. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague, 1876, p. 354–356. Les sources et les études sur ce problème étant nombreuses, je renvoie à l'aperçu historiographique relativement exhaustif d'A. Dospevski, *Битката при Никопол, 25. IX. 1396* [*La bataille de Nicopolis, 25. IX. 1396*], http://ald-bg.narod.ru/materiali/Battle/nicopol/14_nikopol.htm, p. 61–63. Il est opportun d'y ajouter V. Angelov, *Извори за българската история XXXII. Гръцки извори за българската история XII. Сведения за българската история в съчиненията на Дука, Лаоник Халкокондил и Критовул. // Fontes historiae bulgaricae XXXII. Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae, XII. Scripta Ducae, Laonici Chalcocondylae et Critobuli ad historiam Bulgariae pertinentia*, Serdicae, 2015.

[28] *Croniche*, I, p. 321–328.

[29] Sercambi ne fait pas de distinction entre la chevalerie française et la chevalerie bourguignonne et tous leurs représentants sont étiquetés comme Français. Et ceci à juste titre. Aux moments des accès de folie de Charles VI, c'est le duc de Bourgogne Philippe II le Hardi qui préside le Conseil du roi de France. En suivant la même logique, l'auteur écrit Allemands en sous-entendant tous les sujets de l'empereur germanique (Tchèques, Polonais, etc.). A propos de la participation anglaise, voir C.L. Tipton, « The English at Nicopolis », *Speculum* 37, 4, 1962, p. 528–540.

Giovanni Sercambi a puisé ses informations sur la croisade de Nikopol dans les histoires de son oncle Giglio, qu'il appelle ici *maître* (maestro Giglio Ser Cambii di Luccha). Apparemment, Giglio est déjà installé en France à ce moment-là[30] et il participe à la croisade en tant que responsable de l'approvisionnement des troupes du fait que, tout comme son neveu, il était épicier. Il n'est pas inconcevable qu'il ait fourni aux chevaliers du vin, du bois ou d'autres matériaux, qu'il ait participé à la construction du camp des Croisés et à l'assemblage de l'équipement de combat pendant le siège de Nikopol. En tout cas, il avait un rôle dans l'intendance et non dans les forces de combat. Ceci explique le titre de *maître* employé dans les pages des *Chroniques*.

On peut imaginer que Giovanni Sercambi avait noté d'après le récit oral de son oncle la participation de ce dernier à ces événements mémorables : la marche des Chevaliers, le siège et la bataille de Nikopol[31].

L'hypothèse repose sur l'étrange titre de «comte œcuménique» dont le futur duc de Bourgogne Jean Ier, dit «Jean sans Peur», est paré. L'erreur se produit en raison de la confusion entre l'expression en italien *conte d'Universo* (rendu oralement par le maître Giglio comme *conte de Neverso*) et l'énoncé français *comte de Nevers* correspondant au titre de Jean Ier à cette époque[32].

Dans le même chapitre 390, Giovanni Sercambi fait part de la composition numérique des Croisés – environ 5 000 Français bien équipés, plus de 3 000 Allemands et plus d'un millier d'Anglais, soit un total de plus de 9 000 de guerriers au départ de leur point de rassemblement à Dijon. Il précise que parmi les Français environ un millier étaient des nobles, c'est-à-dire des chevaliers et des écuyers d'honneur. Plus loin le chroniqueur souligne que l'armée croisée comptait 10 000 personnes (chapitre 393). Les chiffres donnés pour le nombre des Français et des nobles en leur sein concordent parfaitement avec les estimations des historiens militaires de nos jours qui ne connaissent pas ou ne se servent pas de la chronique de Sercambi[33]. Cela montre que maître Giglio était très bien informé sur les questions liées aux participants occidentaux à la croisade.

Le chapitre suivant *CCCXXXXI. Chome le genti christiane combacteono e chome lo re d'Ungaria si mosse da Buda*[34] donne très peu de renseignements sur le

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[30] A. Poloni, « L'economia lucchese nella seconda metà del Trecento », dans *Spazi economici e circuiti commerciali nel Mediterraneo del Trecento*, a cura di Fugliuolo, B., Petralia, G., Sicumbro, P.F. Amalfi, 2017, p. 134–139. Le nom de Giglio Sercambi revient souvent dans le second volume de la chronique à cause des problèmes relatifs à son héritage.

[31] Bongi exprime une autre opinion, à savoir que les renseignements seraient puisés dans les écrits, mais elle n'est pas argumentée par la documentation. Cf. *Croniche*, I, p. 456.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[33] D. Nicolle, Nicopolis *1396. The Last Cruisade*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 19 sq., 37 ; P. Zattoni, « La preparazione di una crociata. La campagna di Nicopoli (1396) », dans idem, *Le ultime Crociate. L'Europa in crisi di fronte al pericolo turco (1369–1364)*, Rimini, 2009, p. 12.

[34] *Croniche*, I, p. 324–325. Le titre est inexact. Si on suit la chronologie des événements qui y sont rendus, il vaudrait mieux intitulé le chapitre « Comment le roi hongrois est parti de Buda et comment les Chrétiens ont combattu ». Fidèle à son principe de présenter les événements du point de vue français, Sercambi honore les questions en rapport avec les Français et les affaires françaises en les plaçant en

déroulement de la croisade avant l'arrivée et l'installation des armées près de Nikopol. Sercambi se limite à mentionner qu'elles ont voyagé douze jours le long du cours d'un fleuve appelé Danube et que les Croisés «ont gagné» des terres et des gens, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont conquis des territoires, capturé de nombreux autochtones, et que d'autres se sont ralliés à eux. Il n'est pas question dans le récit des prises d'Orşova, de Vidin et d'Orjahovo. En revanche, l'arrivée de l'armée des Croisés à Nikopol, l'emplacement de la forteresse et le relief de la localité sont détaillés. On n'a pas omis de noter le nombre important de « païens » parmi les habitants de la ville.

Une attention particulière est également prêtée à l'installation du camp dans lequel les Croisés séjournent. Les chevaliers « préparèrent leurs chevaux et leurs armements en donnant l'ordre d'attaquer la dite forteresse de Nikopol avec des trébuchets, magnonneaux et bombardes dont un nombre important fut apporté »[35]. Les « trébuchets, magnonneaux et bombardes » ici énumérés sont des machines de siège. C'est le clerc de Saint-Denis qui nous renseigne sur les engins d'artillerie et il souligne que, lors du siège de Nikopol, les machines de jet ou les outils d'assaut n'étaient pas suffisants pour la prise de la forteresse[36]. Il ne précise pas quelles étaient ces machines à lancer des projectiles comme l'a fait le traducteur en français, c'est-à-dire des balistes, des catapultes, etc. C'est notamment Giovanni Sercambi qui détaille la nature des pièces d'artillerie employées. Les trabucchi/ trébuchets qu'il mentionne sont des machines classiques au Moyen âge pour lancer des projectiles et représentent une version améliorée des catapultes antiques[37]. Ils pouvaient être assemblés sur le champ de bataille et, dans des cas plus rares, sur des plates-formes mobiles. Leur portée habituelle était de 150-200 m et le poids du projectile – jusqu'à 600 kg[38]. Les susdits magnonneaux étaient de taille plus petite et d'une moindre portée du tir. Ils pouvaient également différer par leurs dimensions (à commencer par celles de l'arbalète classique transportée à l'épaule pour atteindre des constructions de 3–4 m). Le principe de leur fonctionnement est celui de la fronde[39]. La mention des bombardes est d'un intérêt particulier car en italien c'est le nom générique pour toutes sortes de canon à l'aube des armes à feu[40].

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premier lieu. L'erreur peut également être due au fait que les titres écrits en rouge ont été intégrés longtemps après la compilation du texte principal des *Chroniques* – *cf. infra.*

[35] *Croniche*, I, p. 326 : « […] raconciando ciascuno il suo cavallo e armadure, ordinando di combactere la dicta fortezza di Nicopoli con <u>trabucchi, mangani e bombarde</u> ». Le souligné ici et par la suite est à moi – P. D.

[36] *Cronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422, t. 2. Paris, 1840, p. 494–496 : « Hujus igitur ambitum spaciosum in parte maxima obsidione cingentes, cum ipsis non suppeterent <u>jaculatorie machine vel obsidionalia instrumenta</u> ». La traduction en français dans la même édition est trop libre Cf. *ibid.*, p. 495–497 : « Comme ils n'avaient pas une quantité suffisante de <u>balistes, catapultes ou autres machines de siège</u> ».

[37] Trabucco, trabocco (it.); trebuchet (fr. et angl.); trabuchellus, trabuchus (lat.). Sur les différentes appellations de cette machine de siège, voir P.E. Chevedden, « The Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet: A Study in Cultural Diffusion », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54, 2000, p. 90–92, 98–102.

[38] Les plus grosses structures uniquement pouvaient projeter des poids atteignant jusqu'à 800 kg.

[39] S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, t. IX, Torino, 1975, p. 649.

[40] S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario...*, t. II, Torino, 1971, p. 300. Pour la propagation des bombardes dans les villes italiennes dans le dernier quart du XIVe s. Voir G. Conte, « Le armi nel Castellamare di Palermo », *Mediaeval Sophia*, 17, 2015, p. 126 et n. 14.

Or, c'est notamment une arme à feu qu'on aperçoit au centre de la composition de la vignette № 267 au-dessous du chapitre suivant : *CCCLXXXXII. Chome li christiani combacteono col Turchio nomato Baizecto uno castello nomato Nicopoli*. Une petite bouche à feu y est représentée au moment où un soldat procède à l'allumage de sa mèche, ce qui révèle qu'il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une arme à feu. Un exemplaire similaire des premières armes à feu est décrit dans l'inventaire de 1395 de la citadelle de Villa Basilica, habitat et forteresse de la République de Lucques[41]. Giovanni Sercambi, qui était expérimenté dans le domaine militaire, avait certainement déjà vu des armes à feu similaires. Savoir si, lors du siège de Nikopol, une bouche à feu identique a été utilisée est une autre question, puisque le dessin de la vignette n° 267 reflète la vision de Giovanni d'après l'histoire racontée par son oncle Giglio. Néanmoins, le marchand écrivain était au courant de l'existence de bombardes pendant le siège.

Un autre engin à projectiles – le trébuchet – est représenté à gauche de la bombarde. Ces armes sont peintes sur fond de soldats armés de glaives et de lances, et de deux tentes symbolisant le camp des Croisés. Dans une dépression devant et derrière la bombarde, on peut voir des gens portant des arbalètes dirigées vers la forteresse de Nikopol, dont les défenseurs sont également armés d'arbalètes[42].

Les chrétiens mentionnés dans le titre du chapitre sont les fantassins et les artilleurs engagés sur le champ de bataille lors du siège de Nikopol. Ils prennent part avec d'autres à l'excavation du large tunnel mentionné dans d'autres sources également, mais qui n'atteignit toutefois pas l'enceinte de la ville en raison de l'arrivée de l'armée de Bayazid Ier. Le creusement du tunnel (une tranchée selon Sercambi)[43] est le tout dernier recours pour prendre une forteresse à cette époque. C'est en accord avec les recommandations des traités militaires du Moyen âge tardif[44]. Par conséquent, les machines à projectiles et les armes utilisées lors du siège n'ont pas été suffisantes pour la prise du contrôle de Nikopol. Ainsi, les troupes assiégeantes composées de gens ignobles se retirent en direction du fleuve et cèdent la place à l'armée croisée des Français, Allemands et Anglais, comme l'affirme l'auteur dans le chapitre suivant.

[41] Voir G. Ciampoltrini, C. Spataro, « Un castello e la sua fine. I saggi 2006 nella rocca di Villa Basilica e i materiali dai livelli d'abbandono », dans *La rocca di Villa Basilica: archeologia e storia. Atti del Convegno di Villa Basilica, 30 novembre 2008*, Lucca, 2009, p. 34 : « bombardam unam fulcitum cippo, manichus et panchata; palloctas XXVIIII de ferro pro bombardis; taschettam unam in qua sunt libre IV et unce X pulveris pro bombardis; cugnolum unum de ferro pro bombardis; pugiglum unum de ferro pro bombardis ad incalcandum pulverem in bombardam; mantachottum seu follettum unum pro bombarda ».

[42] Les questions de la forteresse de Nikopol représentée sur l'illustration № 267 et des drapeaux et leur symbolique seront soulevées plus bas.

[43] *Croniche*, I, p. 326 : « […] alla fine, vedendo che quella avere non poteano, ordinonno quella cavare. E facto alcuni giorni la chava sentirono che i Turchi discendeano per soccorrere la dicta terra e 'l passo ».

[44] P. Danova, « Une curieuse liste de livres grecs du Sérail (1687) », dans *Limbă şi cultură în Sud-Estul Europei. Actele Colocviului româno-bulgar, Bucureşti, 5 iunie 2018 / Langue et culture dans le Sud-Est européen. Actes du Colloque roumano-bulgare Bucarest, le 5 juin 2018*, Brăila, 2020, p. 104–105, 109.

Au moment de la bataille mémorable du 25 septembre, Giglio Sercambi n'était pas sur le champ de bataille. Il se trouvait dans le camp près du Danube où, à l'arrivée de l'armée de Bayazid, les roturiers des troupes chrétiennes se retranchent. Il était à proximité immédiate de la flotte des chevaliers de Rhodes, des Vénitiens, des Génois et des Byzantins. Ici aussi le témoin direct n'a pas manqué de mettre l'accent sur l'approvisionnement et le matériel militaire, comme noté par son neveu: «il y avaient sur le Danube de nombreux navires chrétiens, petits et grands avec des provisions alimentaires et des armes, des archers avec des arbalètes et des outils, de sorte qu'ils pouvaient venir à l'aide s'il le fallait»[45].

La description de l'armement de la cavalerie croisée dans les chapitres *CCCLXXXXIII. Chome i christiani funno alla bactagla col Turchio* et *CCCLXXXXIV. Chome i Christiani funno morti da' Turchi e come lo re d'Ungaria si fuggìo per aqua* ne mérite pas de commentaires étendus. Giglio Sercambi n'a pas participé au combat et il ne pouvait pas suivre son évolution de la rive danubienne où il attendait. Il a pris ses renseignements sur le déroulement de la bataille dans les récits d'autrui, ce qui explique la présence de quelques fausses informations comme celle que le premier affrontement entre les Croisés et l'armée turque aurait été entre les infanteries. Y sont inexactement indiqués à la fois l'effectif de l'armée ottomane et le nombre des ennemis de la chrétienté tués par les croisés. Ils sont largement surestimés. De même, on peut survoler les réflexions de l'auteur à propos de la « responsabilité de la défaite » qu'il attribue à la lâcheté du roi hongrois et à la traîtrise des Valaques de Mircea l'Ancien. C'est la vision occidentale traditionnelle de la cause de l'échec de la croisade. Or, comme nous nous en souvenons, Sercambi souligne dès le début de l'histoire qu'il présentera les événements du point de vue français.

Seule la mention du sauvetage de notre témoin et d'autres participants à la croisade présente de l'intérêt car elle est également le fruit d'impressions personnelles :

> Et le susmentionné maître Giglio Sercambi avec plusieurs autres qui ne participèrent pas à la bataille traversèrent le Danube et se dirigèrent vers Buda pour se sauver. A plusieurs reprises ils furent volés et d'autres tués par les Hongrois et les Valaques, et durent ainsi abandonner des outils, des bagages, de l'argenterie, des chevaux, en grande quantité et de grande valeur. Et donc ces Hongrois et Valaques furent la cause de l'énorme perte subie par la chrétienté toute entière[46].

Les écrits de Sercambi complètent les informations de la chronique de Froissart sur le sort de ces participants à la croisade qui trouvent leur salut dans la

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[45] *Croniche*, I, p. 327 : « si dicie che in sul fiume Danubio avea moltissimi navigli di christiani, piccoli e grandi, con fornimenti di vivere e armadure, balestrieri e arnesi, affine che, se il bizogno occorresse, si potesse com quelli ricoverare ».

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 328 : « E il dicto maestro Giglio Sercambi, con molti che non erano alla bactagla, passando il fiume Danubio, venendo verso Buda per campare, funno più volte da dicti Ungari e Valachi rubati e molti morti, rimanendo arnesi, valigi, argentiere, cavalli, in grandissima quantità e di gran valsuta. E così quelli Ungari e Valacchi sono stati cagione che tanto danno abbia ricevuto tucta christianità ».

fuite en terres valaques après avoir traversé le Danube. Les gardes des portes des enceintes urbaines valaques laissaient volontiers les fugitifs entrer dans la ville et leur offraient le gîte pour une nuit. Lorsque le lendemain les nobles (chevaliers et écuyers) décidaient de repartir, on confisquait tous leurs biens et on les laissait poursuivre leur route avec seulement une robe courte sur le dos. On leur donnait une somme d'argent suffisante pour une ration alimentaire d'un jour. La situation des serviteurs était encore pire. On les laissait partir nus et s'ils protestaient, ils étaient fouettés[47]. Le tableau ainsi décrit d'après les souvenir de Giglio Sercambi n'est pas si dramatique pour lui-même. Il franchit vraisemblablement le fleuve avec l'intendance de l'armée. Les Valaques et les Hongrois les dévalisaient et nombreux furent ceux qui perdirent la vie. Si la rapine des biens concernait tout le monde ou seulement les morts n'est pas clair. Le texte ne permet pas non plus de savoir si Giglio Sercambi a également été victime de violence physique ou s'il a simplement subi des dommages matériels. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'oncle épicier arrive sain et sauf à Paris comme le démontre la suite de l'histoire.

Sercambi écrit que son oncle et ses compagnons d'infortune s'étaient fait dépouiller par les « susdits Hongrois et Valaques ». Le sort de ce groupe important de fugitifs, qui a franchi le Danube, n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'étude chez nous. Il peut donc être utile de remarquer que les « susdits Hongrois et Valaques » n'étaient pas des gens des armées de Mircea l'Ancien ou bien de Sigismond de Luxembourg. La politique de pillage des nobles, des serviteurs et autres fugitifs de l'armée des Croisés après leur retraite au nord du Danube n'est pas dictée par les souverains mentionnés de Hongrie et de Valachie. Lors de l'évasion par le Danube, le roi hongrois a navigué en direction de Dubrovnik d'où il n'a pas réussi à retourner à Buda avant la fin de 1396. Mircea l'Ancien n'était plus voïvode valaque. Le pays était alors gouverné par Vlad Ier l'Usurpateur et il faut donc attribuer cette politique de pillage à cette marionnette ottomane et à d'autres chefs régionaux.

Fruit des impressions personnelles de Giglio Sercambi, la dernière information est en rapport avec la note sur un Paris plongé dans le deuil du fait des pertes importantes dans les rangs de la haute aristocratie. Elle est tout à fait en accord avec la description détaillée de Froissart[48], ainsi qu'avec les écrits du marchand florentin Buonaccorso Pitti dans ses *Souvenirs*[49]. Après cette note, Giovanni Sercambi prie Dieu d'avoir pitié des âmes des martyrs pour la vraie foi ayant trouvé la mort à Nikopol et il revient vers les événements de sa ville natale.

Le texte des *Chroniques* de Giovanni Sercambi est inconnu en Bulgarie. Ce n'est pas le cas de l'ill. 267 sur laquelle est représenté Nikopol. Elle est publiée à deux reprises. La première fois par Latchezar Toshev dans son article « Une miniature (in)connue. La chronique de Giovanni Sercambi de la ville de Lucques

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[47] J. Froissart, *Les chroniques de Sire* […] *qui traitent les merveilleuses emprises, nobles aventures et faits d'armes advenus en son temps en France*, *Angleterre*, *Bretagne*, *Bourgogne*, *Ecosse*, *Espagne*, *Portugal et ès autres*, partie 3, Paris, 1852, p. 271.

[48] *Ibid.,* p. 272–278.

[49] B. Pitti, *Ricordi,* a cura di V. Vestri, Firenze, 2015, p. 49–50.

en Italie soulève des questions »[50]. L'auteur est frappé par l'exactitude de la représentation du site où s'élève la forteresse de Nikopol – une haute colline avec une route passant en contre-bas. Il ne manque pas de noter que la scène principale est représentée sur la colline opposée – là où « l'armée croisée attaque avec des pierrières et des canons primitifs ». Les deux drapeaux qui s'élèvent au-dessus de la forteresse attirent également son attention. Selon Toshev, sur l'un des drapeaux figure une tête à turban avec l'inscription *Baizeeto*, c'est-à-dire Bayazid, et sur l'autre il aperçoit un aigle bicéphale interprété comme le signe héraldique de la maison royale bulgare. Mis à part les notes sur l'emplacement de la forteresse de Nikopol, le reste de l'interprétation mérite une sérieuse remise en question.

La même illustration apparaît une deuxième fois dans le chapitre « Le siège de Nikopol » du livre d'Antoine Dospejski *La bataille de Nikopol de 1396*, publié en 2017 sur son site *Matériaux d'histoire. 14*[51]. Elle y est dépourvue de tout commentaire exceptée la légende de l'illustration où on lit : §Le siège de Nikopol – miniature de la chronique de Giovanni Sercambi ».

Il convient de préciser que les illustrations de la *Chronique* ne sont pas des miniatures. Ce sont des dessins colorés à l'aquarelle qui illustrent des textes de l'ouvrage. L'emplacement de la forteresse est décrit dans le chapitre 392 – « on dit que la forteresse était située sur une haute colline dont un côté est lavé par le Danube ; l'autre est si raide qu'on ne peut pas y marcher, et le troisième, du côté des Turcs, abrite la forteresse. Du côté de la Hongrie, là où était situé le camp des Chrétiens, la route était étroite et difficile à monter »[52].

S'ensuit le chapitre 394 intitulé *Come li christiani combacteono col Turchio nomato Baizecto uno chastello nomato Nicopoli*. Comme déjà indiqué, Sercambi ajustait d'abord le texte principal en prévoyant de la place libre pour les illustrations et le titre des chapitres. Puis, il insérait les images, et mettait les titres en cinabre à la fin. L'espace réservée au titre du chapitre 392 ainsi qu'ailleurs n'était pas suffisant et, par conséquent, le nom souligné du sultan Bayazid déborde en haut dans la marge en contournant le drapeau à la hampe la plus longue sur lequel est représentée une tête de Maure de profil. Le nom de *Baizecto*, c'est-à-dire Bayazid, n'est donc pas une inscription sur le drapeau mais fait partie du titre du chapitre. De même, aucun turban ne peut être aperçu dans l'espace entre la tête de Maure et le nom. Ce n'est pas non plus un aigle bicéphale mais un scorpion qui est représenté sur le deuxième drapeau. De leur côté, les amateurs vexillologues d'internet s'appuient

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[50] L. Toshev, « Една незабелязана миниатюра. Хрониката на Джовани Серкамби от гр. Лука в Италия поставя въпроси » [Une miniature (in)connue. La chronique de Giovanni Sercambi de la ville de Lucques en Italie soulève des questions], *в. Лечител* 48, 28 ноември 2013, https://www.lechitel.bg/newspaper.php?s=5&b=412, (26. 06. 2020).

[51] A. Dospeyski, *Битката*, p. 37.

[52] *Croniche*, I, p. 326 : « … vi si dicie che tale fortezza è sopra uno elto monte, lo quale dall'uno del lato corre il Danubio, dall'altro è dirapinato in forma che andare non vi si può ; dall'altra verso i Turchi è la fortezza, e dalla parte d'Ungheria quine erano accampati i christiani, e la via era strecta e difficile al salire ».

sur ce document pour identifier la figure noire de scorpion sur fond blanc comme le drapeau de la ville de Nikopol[53]. Toutes ces affirmations sont incorrectes.

Giovanni Sercambi s'intéressait à l'héraldique. C'est évident d'après les nombreuses armoiries représentées dans ses chroniques. C'est également ce qui ressort ici des drapeaux peints dans le camp chrétien. En haut et à gauche de la même illustration, on voit une bannière bleue avec deux fleurs de lys jaunes, celle du bas étant partiellement cachée par la tente du camp chrétien représentée juste devant. Il s'agit de toute évidence du blason de la dynastie des Valois qui gouverne la France à cette époque. A droite, on remarque le symbole des croisades (l'étendard de saint Georges) – une croix rouge sur fond blanc.

Revenons maintenant aux drapeaux à tête de Maure et de scorpion. Des figurations identiques sont également visibles sur les illustrations № 268 et 269 qui dépeignent le commencement et la fin de la bataille de Nikopol le 25 septembre 1396. Les deux images illustrent le combat entre les deux armées – celle des Croisés dans la moitié gauche et celle des Ottomans du côté droit. On voit clairement la tête de Maure de profil et le scorpion représentés sur tous les drapeaux ottomans, ainsi que sur les boucliers des soldats. Dans certains cas, des restes d'aquarelle jaune sont visibles sur les parois des boucliers (№ 269). Apparemment, la tête de Maure et le scorpion incarnent les Turcs infidèles. D'une part, dans l'héraldique italienne, la tête négroïde représentée de profil symbolise souvent les infidèles – *pagani*, *mori* capturés par les Croisés. D'autre part, elle peut être mise en rapport avec les armoiries dites « parlantes », c'est-à-dire être le blason d'une famille ou d'une ville dont le nom ou une partie du nom portent les mots *Pagani* (païens, infidèles), *Mori* (Maures, c'est-à-dire « Nègres »), etc.[54]. La tête noire (maure ou négroïde) en question en est le symbole « parlant ». Dès la première mention de Nikopol qui apparaît quelques lignes au-dessus de l'illustration 267, Sercambi note que la ville était habitée par une nombreuse population païenne[55]. Le mot « païens » se retrouve plus loin dans le contexte de la bataille de Nikopol[56] à laquelle se rapportent les illustrations № 268 et 269. Si on examine de près la tête de Maure rendue de profil, deux des drapeaux et l'un des boucliers de l'image № 268, on aperçoit que les lèvres remuent. C'est un signe certain qu'il s'agit de symbole « parlant » prononçant le mot *pagani*. C'est l'explication de la tête noire du profil visible sur le drapeau ondulant au-dessus de la muraille de Nikopol, ainsi que sur les boucliers et les drapeaux des guerriers ottomans des deux illustrations suivantes. Ce symbole se retrouve dans quelques exemples de la peinture italienne du XVe siècle. C'est le cas

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[53] Flag of Nicopolis, https://www.reddit.com/r/vexillology/comments/g9l1i1/flag_of_nicopolis_bulgaria_today_nikopol_at_the/, (26. 06. 2020).

[54] Напр. в герба на община Morazzone (Varese) от 2008 г. е включена негърска глава в профил.

[55] *Croniche*, I, p. 325 : « […] I dicti christiani furono giunti a una fortezza di numero di molte genti pagane, nomata Nicopoli […] ».

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 327 : « […] funno di primo colpo, de' pagani e Turchi morti […] », "E di vero la victoria era de' christiani se altre brigate pagane non fussono al campo venute ».

de la fresque d'un maître anonyme représentant la Crucifixion (1471) dans l'église de la fraternité de Saint-Bernardine à Clusone (la province de Bergamo)[57]. Un groupe de cavaliers est peint à droite de l'un des deux larrons. L'un de ces cavaliers porte un drapeau ondulant sur lequel est représentée de profil une tête de Maure sur champ blanc. En bas, toujours à droite, un soldat du groupe des spectateurs rassemblés pour observer la scène tient un bouclier jaune sur lequel est représentée une tête négroïde « parlante » analogue à celles que nous voyons sur les drapeaux et les boucliers des illustrations des *Chroniques*. En haut à gauche se trouve un groupe de cavaliers avec des étendards dont l'un porte l'inscription S. P. Q. R. (*Senatus populusque romanus*) alors qu'un autre présente un scorpion noir sur champ jaune.

La signification symbolique du scorpion se révèle similaire à celle de la tête noire bien que la première contienne une certaine dose d'historicité. Il est notoire que la figuration du scorpion apparaît sur les boucliers et les étendards des légions romaines. La couleur de l'animal y était probablement bleu foncé alors que celle du fond était jaune[58]. Dans les tableaux italiens des XVe et XVIe s. figurant le Chemin de croix, les Passions du Christ et la Crucifixion, le soldat romain montant la garde devant le Christ crucifié et les deux larrons est souvent représenté avec un bouclier jaune paré d'un scorpion noir ou bien tenant une bannière des mêmes couleurs et avec la même image. C'est le cas du tableau *Crocifissione di Gesù* (1440–1445) de Giovanni Broccati où la figure du scorpion sur fond jaune est représentée sept fois – sur le drapeau, le bouclier et le caparaçon revêtant le cheval. Cet exemple est utilisé pour démontrer la transformation symbolique. Le scorpion a perdu son sens historique initial d'emblème des prétoriens pour devenir le symbole des ennemis du Christ[59]. Tels sont les soldats escortant le Sauveur sur le chemin du Calvaire, ainsi que les gardes du Christ crucifié et des deux larrons – impies et antagonistes du Christ. Il en va de même pour les habitants de la forteresse de Nikopol et les guerriers de Bayazid qui massacrent les chrétiens martyrisés.

En conclusion, nous pouvons dire que l'impression tardive des *Chroniques* (1892) et de ses illustrations colorées (1978) venant de la plume de Giovanni Sercambi,

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[57] Clusone, Oratorio dei Disciplini, Crocifissione. Sur la datation et le peintre, voir M. Zanchi, *Il Theatrum mortis in nome della vita eterna*, Genova, 2005, p. 99.

[58] S. Mattesini. *Le legioni romane. L'armamento in mille anni di storia*, Roma, 2006, p. 191.

[59] Voir G. Capriotti, *Lo scorpione sul petto: Iconografia antiebraica tra XV e XVI secolo alla periferia dello Stato Pontificio*, Roma, 2015, qui fait un aperçu de nombreuses images de scorpions sur un fond jaune et défend la thèse que c'est l'emblème de l'antisémitisme. L'argument principal de l'auteur est la couleur jaune considérée comme humiliante car c'est la couleur des Juifs et des prostitués. Cette interprétation semble exagérée. Il suffit de comparer la scène de la Crucifixion de Bernardino Luini (1480–1532) dans l'église *San Giorgio al Palazzo* à Milan et réalisée en 1516 avec la scène analogue quant à sa composition dans l'église *Santa Maria degli angeli* à Lugano (1529). Un drapeau jaune pend à droite du Christ crucifié dans les deux cas. La différence apparaît dans le fait que sur le drapeau de l'église milanaise il y a un scorpion alors que la même place dans l'église de Lugano est occupée par l'inscription S.P.Q.R. Cette dernière fournit un argument catégorique que le Christ est crucifié selon la volonté des autorités romaines et que les porteurs du symbole-scorpion sur les tableaux des maîtres italiens ne sont autres que les serviteurs païens de Pilate du Pont.

marchand-écrivain lucquois, sont l'une des raisons de la faible popularité de l'œuvre de cet auteur italien pendant quatre siècles. La méconnaissance de ce travail en deux volumes, ainsi que celle de *Novelliero*, n'est qu'une des facettes de la frivolité de Fortune et des tours maléfiques que ce personnage illustre des nouvelles italiennes assigne aux travaux de son créateur.

Parmi ces malices, on compte la méconnaissance d'un épisode intéressant des *Chroniques* relatif à un événement de l'histoire du monde – la bataille de Nikopol le 25 septembre 1396. Dans cinq des chapitres du premier volume de son ouvrage historique, Giovanni Sercambi dépeint en paroles et en images le siège de la forteresse de Nikopol (du 10 au 25 septembre), sa bataille mémorable et le sort de ceux qui en ont réchappé en franchissant le Danube et en faisant retraite à travers le territoire valaque vers Buda et Paris.

Les données sur l'utilisation des lance-projectiles et en particulier la mention des bombardes, les plus anciennes armes à feu, sont d'un grand intérêt. Ces témoignages sont d'un très haut degré de fiabilité car ils sont la transcription du récit oral d'un participant au siège de Nikopol et du désarroi de la retraite à travers le Danube. Il s'agit de Giglio Sercambi, oncle de l'auteur et intendant de l'armée croisée. Étant donné la grande expérience des affaires militaires que Giovanni Sercambi avait acquise lorsqu'il servait sa ville natale de Lucques, il est peu probable qu'il se trompe quant à la nature des machines de siège utilisées à Nikopol. Le canon visible sur la vignette en couleur illustrant le siège de la forteresse n'est peut-être pas la copie exacte de ceux présents sur le champ de bataille, mais reflète plutôt la représentation interne qu'a Giovanni de ce type d'armes à feu, armes qu'il avait certainement vues lors de ses inspections des forteresses de son pays (par ex. Villa Basilica). Il procède de même lorsqu'il représente les drapeaux ottomans agités au-dessus de la muraille de Nikopol ou bien les symboles des boucliers et des étendards des soldats turcs ayant participé à la fameuse bataille. Il transforme la tête de Maure de profil et le scorpion (parfois sur un fond jaune) en symboles héraldiques parlants pour désigner les infidèles et les païens.

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GREEK SUBJECTS OF VENICE IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN MARITIME BUSINESS: SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY CASE STUDIES

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Studies on the maritime activities of Greeks in the sixteenth century, published in the last decades, have renewed research interest in this field, leading to the revision of the views of earlier researchers who describe Greek merchant shipping in the sixteenth century as an economic activity supported by a few boats, with which Greeks served local fishing and transporting activities, fearful of venturing beyond the safety of the coasts. Thanks to new bibliography it is documented the more active presence of subjects of Venice and foreigners in the maritime life of the State. The present study is part of a personal research project by the undersigned, aimed at compiling a typology of the participation of Greek subjects of Venice in maritime trade. As I see it, prerequisite for achieving this goal is the existence of a series of specific case studies. Some of these are proposed, in general outline, in this paper, referring to the years after the third Venetian-Ottoman war.

Keywords: Venetian maritime state – Shipping history – Maritime History – sixteenth century – Greek subjects of Venice – Shipowners – Eastern Mediterranean.

Studies on the maritime activities of Greeks in the sixteenth century, published in the last decades, have renewed research interest in this field, leading to the revision of the views of earlier researchers who describe Greek merchant shipping in the Sixteenth century as an economic activity supported by a few boats, with which Greeks served local fishing and transporting activities, fearful of venturing beyond the safety of the coasts.[1] Thanks to new bibliography it is documented the more active presence of subjects of Venice and foreigners in the maritime life of the State, for a number of reasons associated with the crisis Venice was experiencing at an economic and political level, and with the increased competition Venetians were facing in the eastern Mediterranean.[2] Due to these

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[1] G. Leontaritis, *Elliniki Emporiki Naftilia (1453–1850)*, (in Greek), Athens 1981, p. 37 ff.

[2] From the affined bibliography see inter alia in G.D. Pagratis, "Greek Commercial Shipping (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries). Literature Review and Research Perspectives", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12/2, 2002, p. 411–433; idem, "Sources for the Maritime History of Greece (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)", in G. Harlaftis & C. Vassallo (eds.), *New Directions in Mediterranean Maritime History, Research in Maritime History* 28, St. John's, Newfoundland 2004, p. 125–146; M. Fusaro, "Coping with transition: Greek merchants and shipowners between Venice and England in the late sixteenth century", in I. Baghdiantz McCabe, G. Harlaftis & I. Pepelasis Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, New York 2005, p. 103. See also in M. Greene, "Trading identities: The Sixteenth Century Greek Moment", in A. Husain & K.E. Fleming

circumstances, from the mid-16th century many Greeks, Turks, renegade Christians, Armenians, Ragusans and Jews gradually began to find their position in the markets of the Dominant City (*Dominante*), somehow taking their revenge – as noted characteristically by Traian Stoianovich – for the two-century-old commercial hegemony of Venice and Genoa in the economies of the Levant.[3]

The present study is part of a personal research project by the undersigned, aimed at compiling a typology of the participation of Greek subjects of Venice in maritime trade. As I see it, prerequisite for achieving this goal is the existence of a series of specific case studies. Some of these are proposed, in general outline, in this paper, referring to the years after the third Venetian-Ottoman war.

In this time period, between 1540 and up to the war in Cyprus, Venetian merchant shipping as regards its capacity and number of ships not only was stabilized but has been further developed. But as argued by Jean Claude Hocquet, this development was largely based on artificial media and especially on grants in return for building of new ships, with which the Venetians sought to stimulate the decadent shipbuilding industry of their city, allowing to new ship-owners to pay off their debts through the transport of salt in Venice.[4]

Precisely in this period are identified the first serious cracks in the Venetian commercial building, phenomenon strictly connected with the gradual removing of Venetian nobles from the direct exercise of maritime trade. This development has led to increasing pressure for imports of foodstuffs to Venice and then to the relaxation of protective measures such as those restricting trade of the non-privileged entrepreneurs and the foreigners.[5]

The main cargo carried by these non-privileged entrepreneurs, with the permission of the State, were cereals. In seasons characterized by repeated famine and bans of exports of cereals from the Ottoman Empire, Greeks took the opportunity to assume an important role in the transport of cereals from productive zones of the eastern Mediterranean to the Italian ports. This trend is confirmed by the intensification of commercial transactions between Greek subjects of the Sultan and those of the Doge in Venice and its possessions, where, since the mid-16th century, the first of them were founding consulates in order to serve their activities.[6]

(eds.), *A Faithful Sea. The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200–1700*, Oxford 2007, p. 121–148; eadem, *Catholic Corsaires and Greek Merchants: A History of the Mediterranean in the Age of Piracy*, Princeton 2010; G.D. Pagratis, *Koinonia kai Oikonomia sto venetiko Kratos tis Thalassas: oi Naftiliakes Epiheirisseis sthn Kerkyra (1496–1538)*, Athens 2013; idem, "The Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Venice during the 16th century: the case of the Verghis family", in G. Christ & F. Morche (eds.), *Cultures of Empire. Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400–1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel*, Leiden 2020, p. 209–218.

[3] T. Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *The Journal of Economic History* 20/2, 1960, p. 240.

[4] See in J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro* dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia", *Archivio Veneto* 108, 1977, p. 43–81; idem, *Il sale e la fortuna di Venezia*, Rome 1990, p. 439–468.

[5] See for instance in F.C. Lane, "La marina mercantile della Repubblica di Venezia", in idem, *Le navi di Venezia fra i secoli XIII e XVI*, Torino 1983, p. 24–44.

[6] See in M. Oikonomou, *O thesmos tou proxenou ton Ellinon emporon kata tin periodo tis Tourkokratias. To emporio tou Arhipelagous kai to elliniko proxeneio tis Venetias,* (in Greek), PhD thesis,

In 1558, it is documented that Greeks were 16 of 59 captains of large Venetian ships with a capacity between 300 and 720 tonnes. Some others were also co-owners or owners of large Venetian ships, having exploited largely state grants for their construction, the possibilities to register as Venetian ships, ships built outside Venice given periodically by the Venetian state, or the functions of the free market. From the list of the 59 captains who served in large Venetian vessels and the 45 ship-owners, we have selected five cases on the basis of adequate information provided and the relatively representative nature regarding the places of origin and the type of vessels.[7]

One of these cases is that of Zuanne dalla Vrana. Born in 1500, dalla Vrana was one of the most famous and well-travelled Venetian captains at the time. He commanded large Venetian vessels such as the *Alberta*, with a capacity of 450 tons, owned by grains merchant Antonio Alberti, and the *Giustignana* with a capacity of 600 tons; indeed, one of the journeys of the last one is known to us in every detail thanks to the logbook kept by Vrana himself.[8]

His employment by the owners of the *Alberta* had been steady since 1548, the year that the ship was built in a privately-owned shipyard in Venice, until at least 1561. During that time, he made at least five journeys to Cyprus and one to Ibiza, where the ship loaded salt for the Venetian state.

It appears that dalla Vrana started working for the owners of the *Giustignana* from 1563. Yet, the trajectory of his journeys remained the same, as records show his 11 more trips from Venice to Cyprus to load salt.[9] There is no other information about him, largely due to the fact that he was not registered with the Greek Confraternity in Venice, although other persons with the same surname are registered there, one of whom may be his son.[10]

Georgios Moschovits (*Moscovicchio*) appears on records during the same time period with Vranas and with comparable frequency. Despite the Slavic surname, he stated that he was from Corfu. He journeyed on three of the largest vessels of the age, the *Alboro Doro*, with a capacity of 450 tons, the galleon *Briconi* with a capacity of 300 tons and the *Capella* with a capacity of 240 tons. The journeys of

University of Athens, 1–3 vols, Athens 1990; G. D. Pagratis, "To Consulaton ton Mytilinaion stin Kerkyra (1548–1549)", *Eoa kai Esperia* 4, 2000, p. 22–45; C. Papakosta, "Oi emporikoi proxenoi sta Ionia Nisia: anagki kai skopimotita", in D. Sklavenitis & T. Sklavenitis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Panionian Conference (Lefkada, 26–30 May 2002)*, II, Athens 2004, p. 577–593.

    [7] Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr di Venezia (BMCCV), Donà dalle Rose, cod. 217, f. 16r–39r. The vessels that were Greek, on the basis of their owners' names, were the *Curcumela* of Andreas Kourkoumelis, around 480 tonnes, and the *Vergì* or the *Santa Maria de Cassoppo* of Matthaios Verghis, of around 540 tons.

    [8] BMCCV, cod. Cicogna 1596 (olim 2377) / XVIII, Viaggio a Cipro della nave Giustiniana, 14 ff.

    [9] On Vranas' maritime activities see in J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro* dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia…", p. 56–81.

    [10] A. Pardos, "Alfavitikos katalogos ton proton melon tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias (1498-1530)-B΄ Gynaikes", *Thisaurismata* 17, 1980, p. 179; F. Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona (1533–1562)*, Athens 1976, p. 269.

these vessels covered the whole of the Mediterranean, from Spain to the Middle East ports. All these ships carried soldiers from Venice to Cyprus and imported to Venice grains and other agricultural products and raw materials from the Levant such as acorns from the eastern Mediterranean, salt from Cyprus and Ibiza, etc.[11]

There is no other personal information about him, only his own statement that he was born in 1510.

Markos Defaranas (or di Eriedi) from Zakynthos, in contrast with the above, is a man of the sea whose life has been recorded, not only because his seafaring career but also because of his literary production. He came from a family of seafarers who held many roles on large Venetian ships. He was born in 1503, according to his own statement, and served as captain and chief mate in 7 large Venetian ships as well as in Venetian merchant galleys. From 1532 to 1549 he travelled to Venice almost every year, for work. In 1539–40 he was chief mate on the ship *Luna*, journeying between Venice, Crete and Famagusta.[12] He was adequately trained to fulfil the demands of this job, as he spoke fluent Greek and Italian, and had an elementary knowledge of Latin, while he was also equally knowledgeable in business communication, keeping accounting ledgers and logbooks. Until 1540 his permanent residence was in Zakynthos. In the end of fourth decade of the 16th century he moved to Venice with his wife and son. His last journey that is documented in the records was in 1559 as captain of the ship *Tamisera* to Ibiza, where the ship loaded salt for the Venetian state.[13] After 1560 he chose to stop travelling and preferred the administrative work at the Greek Confraternity of Venice as well as his own literary interests.[14]

Defaranas also served as captain on the vessels owned by the Kourkoumelis brothers, one of which, the *Bragadina ditta Curcumella*, with a capacity of 480 tons, is included in the list with the largest Venetian vessels of the year 1558. The central figures in this story are the brothers Andreas and Alexandros Kourkoumelis, sons of Anastasis Kourkoumelis, whose family came from Nafplion. Andreas was among the most powerful Greek merchants in Venice, with a large turnover and a considerable number of vessels that he co-owned either with Venetians or with his brother Alexandros. It is said that he had shares in 13 large vessels, galleons and *schirazzi*.[15]

Andreas lived in Venice probably from the second decade of the 16th century and so started dealing with administrative issues of the Greek Confraternity. In 1549 he was married in the church of *San Giorgio dei Greci* in Venice, and had three children. He maintained close ties with the Venetian authorities and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.[16]

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[11] BMCCV, Donà dalle Rose, cod. 217, f. 17r–18r.

[12] Stefanos Kaklamanis, "Markos Defaranas (1503–1575)", *Thisaurismata* 21, 1991, p. 274.

[13] J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro*…", p. 67.

[14] Kaklamanis, "Markos Defaranas (1503–1575)…", p. 253.

[15] Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona…*, p. 122–124.

[16] *Ibid.*

His second brother, Alexandros, initially worked at the ducal chancellery in Candia, but soon abandoned the security of this office and the "noble penury", to work with his brother in commercial activities based in Candia (today Herakleion). He participated actively in the third Venetian-Ottoman War, providing financial contribution and serving as captain of a galley in the Venetian fleet.

The Kourkoumelis brothers carried all kinds of products from Venice to the eastern and western Mediterranean, as well as further, to Flanders and England, without their active participation in any of the journeys.

Their main method of ensuring a working capital for these vessels followed the beaten track at the time; that is, the creation of a company for the duration of the journey or of a series of journeys, with the participation of a number of people providing funds or labour, or both. It seems that these funds and the profits invested were linked with the ownership of agricultural land and properties in Crete and in Venice. Andreas Kourkoumelis had received state land in Lasithi in return for his services in the war of 1537. The link with the state was also traced to the ownership of vessels: one of his ships, the *Curcumella*, had been built with state subsidy, while some of the grain transports had also been state orders.[17]

The two brothers' cooperation in the family corporation that had operated informally came to an end in the late 1550s. The death of Andreas was the final blow to a company that had already a large burden of debts. Alexandros became a monk with the name Athanasios, perhaps to evade the demands of his debtors.[18]

One other important Greek man of the sea is Matthaios Verghis from Corfu. Thanks to the notarial archives of Corfu and Venice, we have been able to reconstruct a picture of his adventurous life and business career, since traces of his commercial and maritime activities span a remarkably long period of some sixty years. Until 1540, Matthaios made numerous voyages between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean, as skipper of Corfiot ships of small or medium capacity, and as captain of large Venetian vessels transporting goods on behalf of the State. Specifically, in 1511, 1512 and 1518, in his capacity as captain, he travelled from Venice to Constantinople.[19] In 1518 the Venetian authorities ordered two galleys to accompany the ship under Verghis's command as far as Cape Malias, for fear of pirates, as it was transporting "rich merchandise",[20] while in 1522 they used a ship of his[21] to carry the Venetian commercial consul Bernardo to Damascus.[22] In the

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] ASVe (General State Archives of Venice), Notarile, Atti, vol. 8099 (Notary Vettor Maffei), f. 467r.

[20] G. Ploumidis, *Oi Venetokratoumenes ellinikes hores metaxi tou defterou kai tou tritou tourkovenetikou polemou (1503–1537)*, (in Greek), Ioannina 1974, p. 118-119. ASVe, Senato Mar, vol. 19, f. 81v.

[21] In all probability this is the ship of which Verghis is mentioned as co-owner, with Vikentios Palouris, in the two years 1522–1523. F. Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona…*, p. 138.

same year, Verghis made the voyage Candia-Cyprus-Venice[23] and the following year (1524) he sailed from Alexandria to Cyprus and thence to Venice.[24]

With the eight ships of which he was either part or full owner,[25] and with other chartered vessels, as well as in the capacity of sleeping partner,[26] Verghis participated frequently and concurrently in numerous joint ventures of maritime trade, the so-called *syntrophies.*[27] These companies bought agricultural products and raw materials in various Venetian and Ottoman harbours, where they then sold manufactured goods, such as glassware, textiles and so on.

Much of Verghis's wealth, and probably the first source of its accumulation, almost certainly resulted from his utilization of subventions from the Venetian State, in order to import grain to the city; he was active in this field from 1524.[28] To ensure the success of his business affairs, he had correspondents in Venetian and Ottoman ports, and had cultivated appropriate relations in the Ottoman bureaucracy. By these means he was able to influence local authorities to grant licenses for the export of cereals, violating the occasional bans on the export of grain, issued by the Sublime Porte.[29]

Probably around the time of the end of the third Ottoman-Venetian War in 1540, Verghis decided to settle in Venice, from where he monitored his affairs, having set up a network of agents, based largely on the strength of family ties. From Venice he was able to utilize effectively opportunities such as State grants to build large ships. Thus, he secured the sum of 15,000 Venetian ducats, to build his ship the *Vergì* or the *Santa Maria di Cassoppo*, of capacity of 540 tons. In order to pay off his debt to the Venetian government, in the period 1560-1569 his ship made nine trips to Cyprus and one to Spain's Ibiza, loaded with salt.[30]

As was a common method of capital formation in this period, Verghis channeled part of his money stock into the rental of public incomes. In 1541, through this system of tax farming, he undertook the collection of the tax called *gabella,* in Parga.[31] In 1553, he took over the management of the Marcella feudatory in Corfu, jointly with his brother Alexander.[32]

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[23] ASVe, Senato Mar, vol. 20, φ. 2r.

[24] G. Ploumidis, *Oi Venetokratoumenes ellinikes hores…*, p. 119.

[25] F. Mavroidi, *Aspetti della Società veneziana del'500. La Confraternita di S. Nicolò dei Greci*, Ravenna, 1989, p. 50–51.

[26] Investor of capital in maritime trading companies, without participating in the voyages.

[27] See in G.D. Pagratis, "Trade and Shipping in Corfu (1496–1538)", *International Journal of Maritime History* 16/2, 2004, p. 173–177.

[28] GSA (General State Archives of Corfu), Notaries, vol. S 146 (Notary Petros Spongos), f. 37r.

[29] Mavroidi, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona…*, p. 63. ASVe, Notarile, Atti, vol. 8112 (Notary Vettor Maffei), f. 218v.

[30] J. Claude-Hocquet, "Il libro *Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro…*", p. 68–73.

[31] GSA, Notaries, vol. S147 (Notary Petros Spongos), f. 434r–v. This tax was imposed on vessels entering or leaving the port of Parga. A. Xirouhakis, *I Venetokratoumeni Anatoli, Kriti kai Eptanissos*, Athens 1934, p. 212 note 3.

[32] ASVe, Notarile, Atti, vol. 5586 (Notary Giovanni Frigolin), f. 69v–70r. On Mattaios Verghis see in G.D. Pagratis, "The Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Venice during the 16th century: the case of the

Some thoughts in lieu of conclusions can be drawn from the above. There are two categories of seafarers who are connected to the large-scale Venetian maritime trade: the captains and the businessmen.

The captains gained the trust of Venetian noblemen when it came to their vessels and their commodities of great monetary value, thanks to their considerable experience at sea. None of the captains mentioned above became a significant merchant in Venice. There are dozens of other cases of seafarers – Greeks, Slavs as well as Venetians of lower social provenance – who replaced the Venetian noblemen as managers of their merchant vessels in the mid-16th century.

As regards businessmen, from the above descriptions of the Kourkoumelis and the Verghis business activities the following evidence has emerged:

- the family nature of their enterprises, at least with regard to its "executives", a somewhat informal form of business collaboration of the various members of the family,
- the formation of a network of collaborators from Greek subjects of the Sublime Porte, which facilitated their access to the main markets of the Ottoman Empire,
- the focus on the export from Venice of manufactured goods, such as glassware, and the import to Venice of comestibles and raw materials from the whole of the Mediterranean region,
- the exploitation for all these developments of the crises in the Venetian economy and of the incentives which, at various times, the Serenissima offered subjects and foreigners who would import goods of which the Venetian market had need,
- the adoption of established practices of accumulating and investing capital (leasing of feudatories, tax farming, shipbuilding), as well as the introduction of new business practices, especially after 1540, and the utilization of incentives that Venetian State offered subjects and foreigners (subsidies to build new ships in return for transportations to import salt, permits to import grain, etc.), and, finally,
- the participation in the Brotherhood of Greeks in Venice, which constituted, among other things, a policy communication tool with both the Venice authorities and the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Thus, to the degree that the example of all these persons, which we propose here in their general outline, is in some way representative, it could contribute to widening the information base on entrepreneurial activities of the subjects of the *Serenissima*, describing their developmental course in the fields of the economy and the society. Nonetheless, it is clear that more corresponding examples, built on

the wealth of archival material, are required, which will allow us to arrive with greater confidence at a typology, distinguishing the normal from the unusual and penetrating into their subtlest shades.

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OTTOMAN RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE 18th AND 19th CENTURIES AND THE ROMANIAN PROVINCES. FROM COSMOPOLITANISM TO NATIONALISM

ROXANA COMAN
(Bucharest Municipality Museum)

What do Kastoria, Siatista, Thessaloniki, Gjirokastra, Ohrid, Sozopol, Nessebar, Plovdiv, Bucharest, Ploieşti, Istanbul, and so on, have in common? Apart from being cities in different Balkan countries, they share a common Ottoman influence, especially when it comes to architecture. In Greece the manors are called archontika, αρχοντικα, and considered to be representative for the Macedonian architectural style, in Romania, they are simply called merchant homes and sometimes considered Oriental in style, in Bulgaria they are seen as Bulgarian architectural heritage.

The manors still preserved in one form or another throughout the Balkans, have been mostly built in the 18th, 19th centuries and beginning of the 20th centuries. The majority of the owners were merchants or members of the local economic and political elite. Whether we call them Balkan or Ottoman architectural heritage, these houses have witnessed an interesting process – their meaning and symbolism have shifted from representatives of local identity (especially in the cases of Bulgaria and Greece) to national, and, to some extent, Ottoman. Their affiliations to various architectural styles depict what was going on in the Balkans at a certain point. For example, some archontika in Kastoria follow the stylistic traits of Art Nouveau and even Art Deco.

Regardless if we label them as examples of vernacular or Ottoman architecture, these houses were built with various materials that reflect the commercial ties between the various Balkan regions and between the peninsula and the rest of Europe. Painted by local painters, decorated with panels of either precious or local type of wood, with ceramic tiles from Vienna, with Murano windowpanes, the manors were, in some cases, built by people trying to escape from Ottoman persecution in remote places, but still managing to procure the needed and desired materials. Having this in mind, one question arises. Could we speak of the architectural unity as a fashion trend initiated and then, spread across the Balkans as a mark of social class? Also, why would people opposing the Ottoman regime choose to construct their homes using Ottoman elements?

Another issue to be taken into consideration are the ways of implementing certain elements of Ottoman culture. For instance, the style of the manors built by

the Ottomans, adopted by non-Muslim people, had also various symbolic and religious meanings associated with the spatial distribution and the decorative motifs employed. How much the owners were aware of the associated meaning? To what extent can the Romanian Principalities be included in this architectural unity of the Balkans?

The subject of the Ottoman influence in residential architecture or Ottoman heritage in the Romanian principalities has not retained the attention of Romanian researchers as clothing, customs, cuisine, or commercial activities have. This is in part due to the issue of not having as many examples left standing as Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Turkey, or Bosnia have. I would also add that the manors still preserved today are a mixture of architectural elements and styles and considered examples of Romanian old architecture.

Carmen Popescu's study[1] only has in mind the Orientalization of Ottoman architecture in modern Europe, Romania included, by appropriating and integrating Ottoman architectural elements in the national architectural styles that were created in the Balkans at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. In addition, art historian Carmen Popescu is only concerned with the symbolical implications of constructing the Oriental discourse specifically in the second half of the 19th century and does not approach the subject of the remaining examples of Ottoman heritage. Tchavdar Marinov's extensive study on the continuous shifts of meaning regarding the presence of Ottoman heritage[2] in the Romanian principalities uses Carmen Popescu's research as a point of reference, and adds that there is an Ottoman component in 18th century Wallachian and Moldavian architecture without going into too much detail. Both Maurice Cerasi and Machiel Kiel[3] draw the border of Ottoman architectural influence in the Balkans south of the Danube, naming only the province of Dobrudja as part of the common architectural heritage. There are Romanian researchers who have spoken about the "Oriental" elements in old Romanian architecture, with some references to Istanbul as the source, but only limiting their scope to a somewhat superficial gaze.[4]

As I have already mentioned, Romania was left with only a few known examples of houses with an Ottoman component: a few houses in the former

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[1] C. Popescu, "pour le Balkanique, atteindre le rêve occidental passe par le phantasme oriental" : "Le paradoxe de l'orientalisme balkanique: entre géopolitique et quêtes identitaires. Lecture à travers le cas roumain", in Nabila Oulebsir et Mercedes Volait (dir.), *L'Orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs*, Paris, Picard, 2009, accessed on February 3, 2017 http:// inha.revues.org/4910.

[2] T. Marinov, "The 'Balkan House': Interpretations and Symbolic Appropriations of the Ottoman-Era Vernacular Architecture in the Balkans", in Roumen Daskalov, Tchavdar Marinov, Diana Mishkova, and Alexander Vezenkov (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans.* Vol. 4*: Concepts, Approaches, and (Self-)Representations*, Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2017, p. 440–593.

[3] M. Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans: a legacy in stone,* Variorum, Great Britain, 1990.

[4] C. Popa, "Elemente de morfologie otomană în arta monumentală din Ţara Românească", *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, 1992, nᵒ 2; M. Ispir, "Case de tîrgoveţi bucureştene şi arhitectura "de loisir" în pragul secolului al XIX-lea", *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor, seria Monumente Istorice*, 1980, nᵒ 2.

Armenian district of Bucharest (most notably Melik house), Hagi Prodan's house in Ploieşti, Manuc's inn, the Bellu manor in Urlaţi, Brancoveanu-Mavrocordat manor in Tătărani, Nicolau manor in Brazi, and so on. Moreover, these examples are the ones that have been studied so far, because a full and comprehensive study of the full extent of Ottoman-Turkish style houses present in the two Romanian countries has never been undertaken in a systematic manner. In addition, many are actually a combination of traditional vernacular architecture with various Ottoman/ Balkan influences and later added Western elements. Some were inventoried and declared architectural monuments, protected by the specific legislation and restored. Others were westernized and some were opened for visitation as public museums: Melik house, the Bellu manor in Urlaţi, and Hagi Prodan house are the most known examples.

As Michal Wasiucionek[5] has already stated, Ottoman influence in residential and ecclesiastic architecture in the Danubian Principalities can be dated as far as the 16th and 17th centuries, before the Phanariot regime. Moreover, there is this notion of contested heritage, Ottoman culture being the target of a systematic rejection discourse during the transitional period towards modernization. Moreover, there is also a continuous play between being and not being Ottoman that can be observed in other cultural sectors: art, literature, art collections, and so on. Some of the manors that have survived to this day are an eclectic mix of vernacular Romanian, Ottoman and Western architecture. This in turn, means that some of the Oriental elements were kept and mixed with the new influences (Golescu, Bellu, Cantacuzino manors). In addition, when looking at the Neo Romanian style created at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th we can observe that Romania follows the path of other Balkan countries by integrating a series of Ottoman/Oriental elements into a style that is supposedly traditional, specific, and inspired by local and true Romanian heritage.

Merchant homes or Ottoman houses?

Maurice Cerasi ows the creation of the typical Ottoman-Turkish house during the 18th century to the development of the middle and upper class townspeople in the urban economical and lifestyle framework.[6] This, in turn, meant that members of the Slavic, Macedonian, Greek, Armenian, and so on, have adopted a similar lifestyle that also included building their houses following the same Zeitgeist.

The names of the cities mentioned in the introduction now belong to different countries that have appropriated or denied the Ottoman past, but were Ottoman cities where people of various ethnic and religious background used to inhabit or

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[5] M. Wasiucionek, *Silks and Stones. Fountains, Painted Kaftans, and Ottomans in Early Modern Danubian Principalities,* http://luxfass.nec.ro/publications/working-papers.

[6] M. Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman house types: A comparative study in interaction with neighboring countries", *Muqarnas*, no. 15 /1998, p. 116.

transit, part of an extensive commercial network. The urban elite, in which merchants witnessed along the 17th and 18th centuries a significant growth in both numbers and importance, is one of the key factors in understanding the syncretic process that led to the creation of Ottoman-Turkish house. This type of house not only has numerous variations that were dependent on various factors, they also demand an interdisciplinary approach. The Ottoman-Turkish house can contribute to a better understanding of the commercial networks and the types of products and their respective place of origin that were traded across the Balkans and how they impacted the daily life and lifestyle choices to a certain extent.

Maurice Cerasi not only delineates the different the areas and the variety of architectural forms ascribed to each of those areas, but also asks an important question: 'How much of architectural history's distinction between 'cultured' and 'vernacular' architecture is valid?'.[7] This question is significant in the case of the Romanian countries since, as I mentioned before, the remainder of the 18th century and beginning of 19th century architecture, has a vernacular dominant. Moreover, Cerasi considers that, with the exception of the houses built and used in the Danube Delta, and Dobrogea I would add, the river is the northern limit of the map for the Ottoman-Turkish house type. Therefore, the main question to be asked is – since there are various Ottoman elements that were present in 18th century architecture (and not only) in the Romanian countries, could we speak of a liminality of the Romanian house type in the Ottoman world as it was discussed by John Plemmenos ?[8]

The previous research into the subject of the Ottoman architecture influence in the Romanian countries has adopted the misconception that the Ottoman Empire was a monolithic, homogenous construction, and that the culture it produced was unitary all across its provinces. While there are many and diverse elements that are common among the urban and local members of the elite (and sometimes even in the rural communities) that can speak of an adherence to a certain cultural framework and lifestyle, there are, also, many differences. For instance, the Ottoman influence is stronger and noticeable in clothing, cuisine, administration, customs, etc. In the subject of architecture, since we cannot speak of a replicated model of the Ottoman-Turkish house across the empire, there are these elements that somewhat constitute a permanence: the sachnasi, the çıkma bow windows, tile roofing, shallow trilobed arches, a certain spatial distribution, stylized floral motifs either painted on wood panels or made with white plaster, and so on.

In the matter of concepts, terms, and methodologies that can be employed in analyzing Ottoman architecture, Machiel Kiel emphasizes that Ottoman architecture is not a monolith, as previous research has been seduced into concluding, having many local variations and still being relatively unknown.

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[7] *Ibidem.*

[8] J. Plemmenos, "Music as a Marker of Liminality in 18th-Century Balkans: Re-Evaluating Phanariot Musical Activity in the Romanian Principalities", in *300 de ani de românire (1713–2013)*, editors Nicolae Gheorghiță, Costin Moisil, Daniel Suceava, Bucharest, 2013, p. 15.

> "The role of the Balkans has undeniably been a great one, as much of what was genuine Ottoman was born and matured there. The emergence of the various independent Balkan states of modern times has had catastrophical consequences for the works of Ottoman art as it resulted in the wholesale destruction of monuments of architecture'[9]

The research published by Machiel Kiel and his photographic archive can show the extent and the various types of Ottoman architecture found in the Balkans, while outlining the ugly side of westernization and nationalism: the demolished heritage. Where Romania is concerned, most of the residential architecture was either demolished or rebuilt and rebranded in 19th century neoclassical or eclectic style. The houses that have retained most of the Ottoman features have done so by either being declared monuments of old architecture or being passed down in the family and nationalized by the Communist Party.

Stating that Ottoman architecture includes Seljuk, Byzantine and Slavic components, but processed and integrated in a style that became Ottoman, Machiel Kiel concludes that the variants observed in Rumelian Ottoman architecture is mostly due to the ethnic background of the owner and his/her taste in Ottoman art. Another significant aspect that needs to be taken into accont is the Islamic Ayyubid contribution to Ottoman architecture, and the extent of the Ottoman-Turkish house phenomenon is not limited to the European part of the empire. I wholeheartedly concur that, for a better grasp on the subject of civil architecture of the Balkans, information on the owner, the builder, and the motive for its construction are more than necessary. Therefore, one of the premises for studying and discussing civil architecture in the Balkans and in the two Romanian countries is one that deals with the merchant house as products of an acculturation process.[10] Moreover, this type of architecture and its influence go well beyond the merchant class.

"The eighteenth century gave full expression to the mercantile expression that allowed the exchange and consumption of all kinds of goods for all social classes. Its ideology centered on the enforcement of a very specific way of life, tendentially hedonistic for the rich, and even the moderately poor."[11] The many ethnic groups present in the Ottoman cities were active participants in this type of material culture: Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Serbians, Turkish, Romanians, etc. shared in this Ottoman way of life, thereby giving the impression of a unity across the Balkans, across the empire. The cities I have mentioned in the abstract participate in one way or another in this way of life, mostly because goods and people moved between them creating networks, exchanging ideas and sharing a common way of life. What is truly interesting to observe is that it's not only about a simple rapport between metropolis, i.e. Istanbul, and the rest of the empire, but a

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[9] M. Kiel, *op. cit.*, p. 1–2.

[10] R. Coman, "Acculturation through migration in the Romanian countries: Ottoman products and social change", *Journal of Ottoman Heritage Studies (OMAD)*, 6/16, November 2019, Turkey, p. 487–495.

[11] M. Cerasi, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

phenomenon created as a result of the trade networks and the links between various cities and different merchants travelling within the empire and in Central Europe.

Some authors speak of the existence of an Ottoman merchant class that was significantly influenced by the contact with Western markets and products.[12] To some extent, we can observe that European demand for cotton cloth gave a boost to weaving in cities such as Edirne, Salonica and Shkoder as well as a number of smaller Balkan towns such as Verria, Elassona and Trnovo (in Thessaly), and to the east at Ankara, Bursa, Tokat, Antakya, Diyarbekir, going as far as Aleppo, and Baghdad, especially in the beginning of the 18th century. Because, by the end of the century, the Ottoman Empire was mainly exporting raw materials.

Founding and developing various craft associations, somewhat similar to the European equivalent of guilds, that continued to use traditional methods of crafting and to work side by side in the same streets, had a major contribution to the creation of the Ottoman-Turkish house and to urban development. The Ottoman authorities encouraged this type of settlements because it was easier to collect taxes or requisition supplies when needed. Moreover, it led to a certain cohesion among the merchants and producers and to a dialogue that went beyond the professional and commercial relationship.

Halil Inalchik and Donald Qataert state that 'the social life of craftsmen wove together multiple identities: association with other craftsmen working in the same market-place, membership in a militia, religious fraternity or parish, residence in a particular quarter along with relatives of the same ethnic background.[13] In Rumelia merchants were acting as intermediaries for village products sold in towns, regional fairs, and distant ports or markets which specialized in international trade. Due to the prosperous commerce and the exchanges between the various regions of the empire, there was an increase in housing demands.

During my field researches in Greece, especially in the province of Western Macedonia, I learned of the existence of the stone masons' guild, Ζουπανιώτες μάστορες, Zupani masters, named after the village of Zupani, the former name of Pentalofos, situated in the Voio Mountains. The number of builder's villages that sent out craftsmen all over the Balkans to build houses for the growing and wealthier commercial class, and political one as well. These Zupani masters are said to have worked all over the Balkans, in Istanbul, Bucharest, Yassy, Aleppo, Damascus, etc. The same master builder equals a similarity in style, structure, elements and an active contribution the creation of the Ottoman-Turkish house. There are also documents that attest to the presence of local builders and craftsmen that sometimes worked alongside the travelling teams or created their own. To my mind, a research aimed at identifying and following the routes of these master builders, their ethnic background and dynamic from a transnational point of view would contribute to a great extent to the study of civil Balkan architecture.

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[12] Ed. H. İnalcık, D. Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1997, p. 698–704.

[13] *Ibid.*

Repeating the question of whether there is such a thing as „Ottoman architecture", Artan Tulay states that an Ottoman identity generated its final shape during the Mimar Sinan's age, and suggests that this type of identity was replicated within the members of the administration and, further on, in the provinces.[14] This hypothesis can be valid in the case of Balkan architecture up to a certain point. According to Artan Tülay, this is a phenomenon largely overlooked by historians and architectural studies, while emphasizing an interesting aspect that of a distorted perception about the 17th and 18th centuries Ottoman Empire, viewed as period of decay and breakdown, also noted by Surayia Faroqhi and to which I concur. Artan Tülay reiterates the important artistic achievements of the so-called Tulip Age and Ottoman Baroque and I agree that the use of Ottoman Baroque is a misnomer. The appearance of local provincial elites that replaced the imperial patronage with one less imbued with absolutism.

Many researchers have reached the conclusion that the chosen structure for most of these houses, a fort-like cubicle, in some regions surrounded by a stone wall high enclosure, can be seen as a sign of the instability and insecurity in a peninsula marked by wars, foreign invasion, bands of outlaws[15]. That well may be the case, but we cannot rule out previous influences from local architecture or stylistic choices, or a question of privacy. Moreover, the cubic structure is that of Küle type of housing, the tower houses of the Balkans. The connection between these Küle type and those light timbered structures that have been preferred in the 18th century is not the scope of this article. However, it is important to note that Küle and the light timbered structure houses tend to coexist and to be used alternatively.

Manos Biris in his *Neoclassical Achitecture in Greece* states that the houses from Macedonia to Thrace and Peloponese have a common origin in the Byzantine house (sic!), but they share forms and elements that can be found throughout the entire Balkan region. Professor Biris names among the definitive traits of these houses: a two or three-story structure, with stone ground floor and upper timber and brick floor, sachnasia, hayat type of balcony, built in an L or U shape, with a fortress-like character. The windows were larger on the upper stories, where family sitting rooms and reception rooms were and balconies were oriented towards the garden. [16] Most of the literature written about the residential architecture in Greece built in the 18th and in the beginning of the 19th stands on the hypotheses that the origin point of this house is the Byzantine Empire in order to make for a more believable Greek National Style. The paradigm began to shift with works as the ones published by Charalambos Bouras that even owes the spread of the Ottoman house to the activity of merchants.

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[14] A. Tülay, "Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History", in Dana Arnold, Elvan A. Ergut and Belgin T. Özkaya (eds.), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, London; New York, NY, Routledge, 2006, p. 85.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] M. Biris, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece,* Melissa Publishing House, 2004, p. 48.

To answer the question asked at the beginning of the present study section, these type of houses are mostly discussed as merchant house, but taking into account the social role of the owner, I can safely state that it went beyond the commercial class and it was also used by local political and/or military elite. There are numerous examples of monasteries including Ottoman elements in their architecture seen in Greece, Bosnia, Romania, and so on.

The main focus for a study of Ottoman influence in Romanian architecture: the capital cities

Aside from the obvious example of Dobrudja, that is also used by Maurice Cerasi, as a Romanian region within the range of the Ottoman house, Tchavdar Marinov is among the few scholars that has confirmed the existence of Ottoman influence in 17th and 18th centuries architecture present in Wallachia and Moldavia.[17] Mentioning the 19th centuries tendency to eliminate the Ottoman influence, and offering as example only the Melik house (apparently built by a boyar) and Manuc Inn (that borrows the caranvanserai type of architecture), Tchavdar's approach toward the definitive integration of the Romanian countries in the core area of the Ottoman house is fragmentary. If we are to take for granted the album made by J. Rey with views from the city of Yassy[18], in some of the views at the outskirts of the city, the houses have a certain resemblance to the ones of Sozopol. Additionally, there are documented ties (commercial and cultural) with Sliven (see Anton Pann whose house was recently reopened for public visits).

A somewhat interesting case is that of the Hagi Prodan house in Ploieşti, that has been declared a monument since the beginning of the 20th century, and over used as an example of a middle class merchant house, opened for public visitation with an array of objects that were actually part of Nicolae Simache Oriental collection. In Hagi Prodan House we have a sort of a reenactment based on educated guess and a somewhat romanticized view of Ploieşti society at the beginning of the 19th century. This can only lead to expanding the area of the Balkan influence in the Romanian countries to include most of the cities that have an active and attested merchant activity. Another issue to be taken into account is that this type of architecture also spread among members of the local political aristocracy, the boyars, mostly during the Phanariot period, and is the better known example to use local building traditions.

In a short study, Constantin Rezachevici[19] mentions the use of Ottoman architecture in Bucharest during the Phanariot regime, especially the sachansi/

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[17] T. Marinov, *The 'Balkan House'*, p. 456–457.

[18] Album de douze vues de la ville de Jassi, executées par J. Rey et dediée à son Altesse le Prince Régnant de la Moldavie par P. Müller, lithographe, 1845.

[19] C. Rezachevici, *Bucureştii Evului Mediu până la 1821*, in *Bucureşti 1459–2009. 550 de ani de la prima atestare documentară*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 46–47.

hayat. This builds upon Franz Sulzer's account of Bucharest in the 18th century.[20] Nicolae Stoicescu,[21] focused mostly on the period before 1700, states that only 19 civil monuments remained standing in 1961 in Bucharest, 6 of which were merchant homes. Their numbers today are more or less known.

When it comes to how the Balkan cities and villages, there is the common misconception that they had no urban coherence or planning whatsoever and that the house owners built their home and shops with a significant disregard for their neighbours or street and city configuration. Of course, there are 18th century documents that attest to complaints regarding houses that were built and obscured the neighbour's view, or they were too close or violated some administrative rule. But there are, at least in the second half of the 18th century, various edicts issued by the Phanariot rulers concerning certain urban codes to be followed by anyone who would build a house.

Since it was the capital city, Bucharest had, according to Ştefan Ionescu, an obvious urban character, with boyar and merchant houses built around the Princely Court with hayat and sachansia, and small merchant homes and craftsmen beyond.[22] The Kuçuk-Kainarca peace treaty with its economic implications had important consequences for the urban development of Bucharest, with merchants moving in from South of the Danube river, foreign legations and consulates opening in Bucharest and Yassy, and merchants building their homes towards the city limits to avoid paying rent for the land they built upon. Therefore, it was no surprise that there is an affluence of Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Bulgarian, Aromanian, Albanian, Jew, German, French, and even Venetian merchants and craftsmen setting shop in Bucharest or Yassy and even settling in various parts of the cities and creating whole districts. Add natural disasters, epidemics, and wars and you get a continuous changing of the urban layout and houses being rebuilt and remodeled. However, the prosperous commercial ties with the Balkans and Central Europe and the presence in Bucharest of two major permanent fairs, and multiple ones that were organized seasonally, led to an increase in population, not only in numbers, but, also, in ethnic background. What is important to note is that foreigners coming in from the south were not always allowed to settle and own houses, as we can see in the time of Alexandru Moruzzi, towards the end of the 18th century.[23]

There is a significant urban turn in the second half of the 18th century, merchants and craftsmen move from the Mogoşoaia street, that was directly linked with the commercial road for Braşov, to the city outskirts, making room for various

[20] F. Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist der Walachey, Moldau und Bessarabiens. Im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeinen dacischen Geschichte mit kritischer Freyheit entworfen*, vol. I–III, Vienna, 1781.

[21] N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al monumentelor feudale din Bucureşti*, Bucharest, 1961.

[22] Ş. Ionescu, *Bucureştii în vremea fanarioţilor*, Cluj, 1974, p. 5–6.

[23] V.A. Urechia, *Istoria româniloru cursu făcutu la Facultatea de Litere din Bucuresci,* vol. V *(1174–1786)*, Bucharest, 1891, p. 258–259.

boyar residences. Moreover, the homes that had Ottoman elements belonged to the wealthy merchants, and also to some of the boyars and were mostly found in the area surrounding the Princely court. Following the Ottoman administrative organization for merchants and craftsmen into ruset or isnaf, in the main cities of the Romanian countries there are documents attesting their existence from the end of the 17th century, a practice generalized in the second half of the 18th century. At the end of the 18th century there are 51 guilds attested and documented.[24] Additionally, some crafts were introduced in the Romanian countries as a consequence of the demand for certain products that were far too expensive because they were imported from the faraway regions of the Ottoman Empire (e.g. the Aleppo, Damascus).

Previous research has shown the number of merchants present in the Romanian countries, their ethnic background, and also some of their correspondence.[25] There has been a focus in Romanian historiography on the commerce of Bucharest and Yassy, as their role of capital cities had a significant impact on the number of merchants present as well as the number of fairs and shops. As a consequence, the 18th century merchant houses and boyar courts with a evident Ottoman component that were the subject of a few studies and books so far, are located in the two capital cities, with the fortunate exception of Hagi Prodan house in Ploieşti and Bellu Manor in Urlaţi, both in the administrative unit of Prahova, that had two major commercial roads connecting Bucharest with Braşov.

In this present study I will discuss a few lesser-known examples, while focusing on the types of sources that can be used in their analysis. There are historians that have mentioned the presence of certain Ottoman elements in their description of Bucharest from the Phanariot period. For instance, Ştefan Ionescu states that in 18th century Bucharest house with two stories, made from stone with a cross shaped plan were built. According to the historian, they had fortified enclosures, towers guarded by mercenary Albanians, and the main building was surrounded by smaller ones for other domestic uses (kitchens, staff quarters, barns, cellars, etc).[26]

18th century sources such as plans, foreign traveler's accounts, and descriptions in first person literature or engravings made by travelling artist sustain the existence of gardens on the properties of the boyars and wealthy merchants from Wallachia and Moldavia. On the issue of structure, Ionescu describes a vast reception hall in the main house, where the boyar and his family lived, from which one could enter the private apartments. The boyar's apartment included the

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[24] Ş. Ionescu, *Bucureştii în vremea fanarioţilor*, p. 47.

[25] G. Lazăr, *Catastife de negustori din Ţara Românească (secolele XVIII–XIX)*, Iaşi, 2016; V. Duiculescu, *Bresle, negustori şi meseriaşi în Ţara Românească (1830–1848)*, Bucharest, 1973; N. Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri şi negustori olteni şi munteni către casa de negoţ sibiiană Hagi Pop, publicate cu note genealogice asupra mai multor familii*, Bucharest, 1906; L. Cotovanu, "Gestionari epiroţi ai cămărilor domneşti. Cazul negustorilor Igumenos de la Ioannina şi al familiei lor extinse (sf. sec. XVI – înc. sec. XVIII)", in A. Timotin (ed.), *Dinamici sociale şi transferuri culturale în Sud-Estul european (sec. XVI–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2019, p. 147–197, etc.

[26] Ş. Ionescu, *Bucureştii în vremea fanarioţilor*, p. 69–70.

bedroom, a room for his secretary, rooms for servants such as the ones responsible with making coffee and preparing the hookah.[27]

This description concurs to a certain point to descriptions used in sale documents. In august 1776. Radu Văcărescu sold his house for 5000 thalers, a sum that was considerably large, and the property included:

> "the garden with all its surrounding buildings, with the stable, the barn, the lower house, the small house, with a good gate, with a courtyard well, with the courtyard towards the fence, with the upper houses, all with beds, with sofas covered with embroided bedspreads, with doors for all the rooms, with glass windows for all the houses, with locks for all doors. The cellars with sofas, and beds, and doors; also, a small house behind the garden with the surrounding terrain and well." [n. tr.][28]

This type of structure is consistent with the findings of Ugur Tanyeli[29] that emphasize a structure divided in spaces with various functionalities: kenif (the toilet), hammam (the bathouse), matbah (kitchen – situated outside the living quarters), kilar (pantry), and ahur (stable). According to Tanyeli, the kitchen in the Ottoman world became a more consistent presence in households mostly in the 18th century. In the matter of interior structure, sources mention the presence and importance of the raised platforms (sedir), that featured sofas (minder), garnished with pillows (yastik). These elements are always associated with members of either the middle class (merchants and some workers in the local administration), or members of the aristocracy and wealthy merchants.

Ștefan Ionescu mentions the presence of sofas, and window curtains in bright colours, with oriental carpets that depicted the sultan or other pasha's (a statement that is not backed by any other form of evidence), hookahs, pipes, daggers and pistols. Ionescu also adds that the beds were not in use for sleeping arrangements, but sofas were, and they were covered with oriental bedspreads also used for eating.[30] This is of course an academic opinion, but, as so many other historians before and after him, do not go into the much-needed detail nor provide too much sources to argue these opinions. As we can observe from Radu Văcărescu's description of his house, the word bed is used, but the understanding and a clear delineation between the term bed and the term sofa has not yet been made.

I have mentioned before the attempts made to inventory the 18th and 19th century merchant houses still in existence in the second half of the 20th century Bucharest. The one published by Nicolae Stoicescu mentions only these examples: the parochial house of Răzvan church (sic!), the one on Mircea Vodă street at no 51, another one on Șerban Vodă no 33, followed by the one on Popa Rusu no 21

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[27] *Ibid.*

[28] SANIC, Fond Achiziţii Noi, d. CXXVIII, f.21.

[29] U. Tanyeli, "Norms of Domestic Comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises sixteenth to eighteenth centuries", in *The illuminated table, the prosperous house : food and shelter in Ottoman material culture*, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi & Christoph K. Neumann. Würzburg, 2003, p. 305–319.

[30] Ș. Ionescu, *Bucureştii în vremea fanarioţilor*, p. 69–70.

(which is actually a metoh), the last two being the houses on Orzari no 63 and
Călăraşi Avenue no 97.[31] Although not all these house were built by merchants,
they do have certain elements in common: a structure with a cellar and the rooms
used for sleeping, eating and receiving guest placed above it, a front porch called
cerdac (a word with Turkish roots) or *prispă*, the presence of a projected balcony,
small and slightly arched windows, and especially the presence of trilobed arches
on the *cerdac* section of the houses. What is important to note is that not all these
elements can be found in all of the houses built by merchants or boyars, they can
vary depending on the taste or financial possibilities of the owner as it's possible to
observe from the fig. no 1, 2, and 3. We can observe from the house plans a structure
centered around a main hall or hallway, sometimes built upon the vernacular type
of house typical to peasant houses (fig. no 2), the presence of a hayat type of
structure often named in Romanian *geamlâc* (a sort of window covered *cerdac*)
placed in the upper level in the case of Colintineanu house (fig. 3).

According to Nicolae Stoicescu, a two storied structure is consistent to a
wealthier owner, giving the example of the parochial house of Răzvan church
(although the parochial house is the priest living quarters) said to have been built
and inhabited by merchants. The 1961 structure had four rooms centered around a
reception hall, a staircase to access the upper floor, the main room featuring a
recessed apse in the style of a sachnasi or hayat. [32] Mentioning the question asked
by Cerasi on the relation between the Ottoman house and vernacular architecture, a
conclusion on how merchant houses in Bucharest looked like based on Stoicescu's
selection would take into account the significant vernacular dominant, a reworking
of peasant architecture in an urban setting. Since not much is known about the
owners of the builders of these houses, some questions remain unanswered.

Literary sources have been used by historians in an attempt to reconstruct the
history of old residential architecture of Bucharest. Travel literature written by
foreign envoys or travelers in the Romanian countries is the most known example.
Another example is the novel *Ciocoii vechi şi noi (The old and new upstarts)* by
Nicolae Filimon for his evocative description of the houses built on the Podul
Mogoşoaiei (Mogoşoaia Bridge) by the grand boyar Dimitrie Ghica in the 18th
century rented by the Phanariot ruler, Ioan Caragea. Altough a text written some 30
years after the events in question, it has been quoted without questioning its
subjectivity and distance in time. In Filimon' s description the palace architecture
was vague and difficult to determine, but it featured a Turkish (not Ottoman)
balcony in the shape of a kiosk, furnished with sofas and crates with red velvet
tapestry, used by Caragea for his coffee and tobacco ritual.[33] Filimon goes on to
mostly focus on the court structure, naming the people in the administration,
including the ones that had living quarters inside the palace, describing clothes and

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[31] N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 75–80.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] N. Filimon, *Ciocoii vechi şi noui. Sau ce naşte din pisică şoareci mănâncă*, Bucharest, 1910,
p. 31–32.

customs, and especially court protocol. Mentioning the importance of the garden, and outlining the idea of a gated and heavily guarded structure, the writer gives the right amount of Ottoman feeling accentuated by the presence of Arabian and Misir (Egyptian) horses. Corroborating this particular description with other types of sources can validate some of the information, although the photographs made by Ludwig Angerer in 1856 and Franz Duschek in 1874 show a phanariot cubic type of structure under a Neo-classical façade. In Angerer's panorama, some of the other annexes and smaller houses are visible, while the new structures built on remnants of Ghica palace attest to the alterations made in the 19th century.
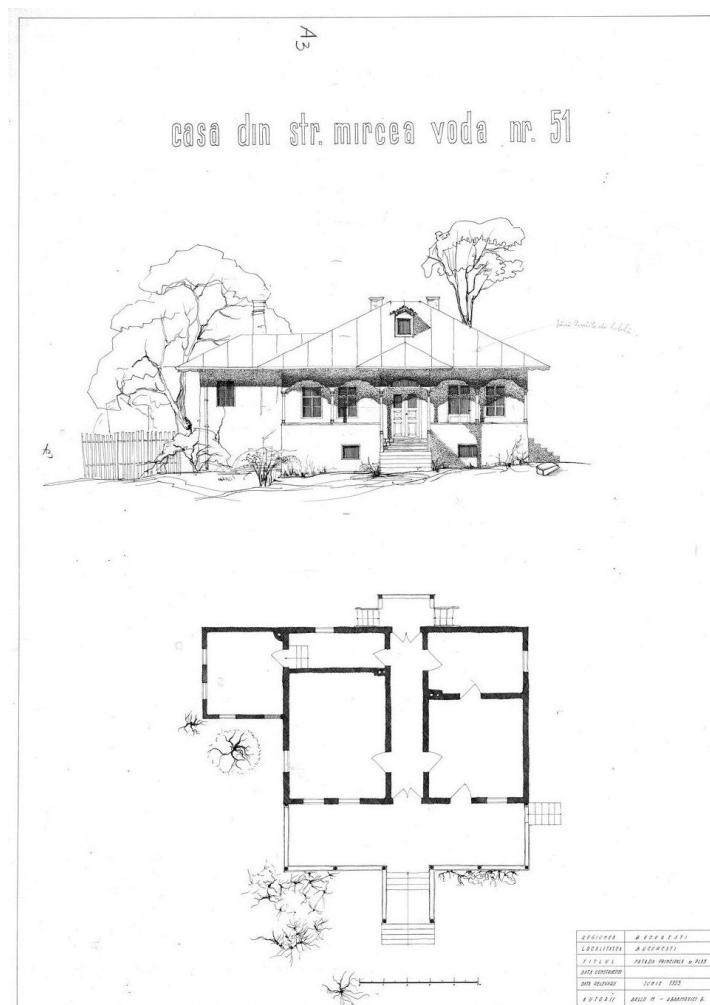
Fig. 1. House from Mircea Vodă Street nº 51; image source: University of Architecture and Urbanism 'Ion Mincu' Bucharest, Department of History and Theory of Architecture and Heritage Conservation, Surveys Archive, Rv.475.03 Façade, Plan for the ground floor.
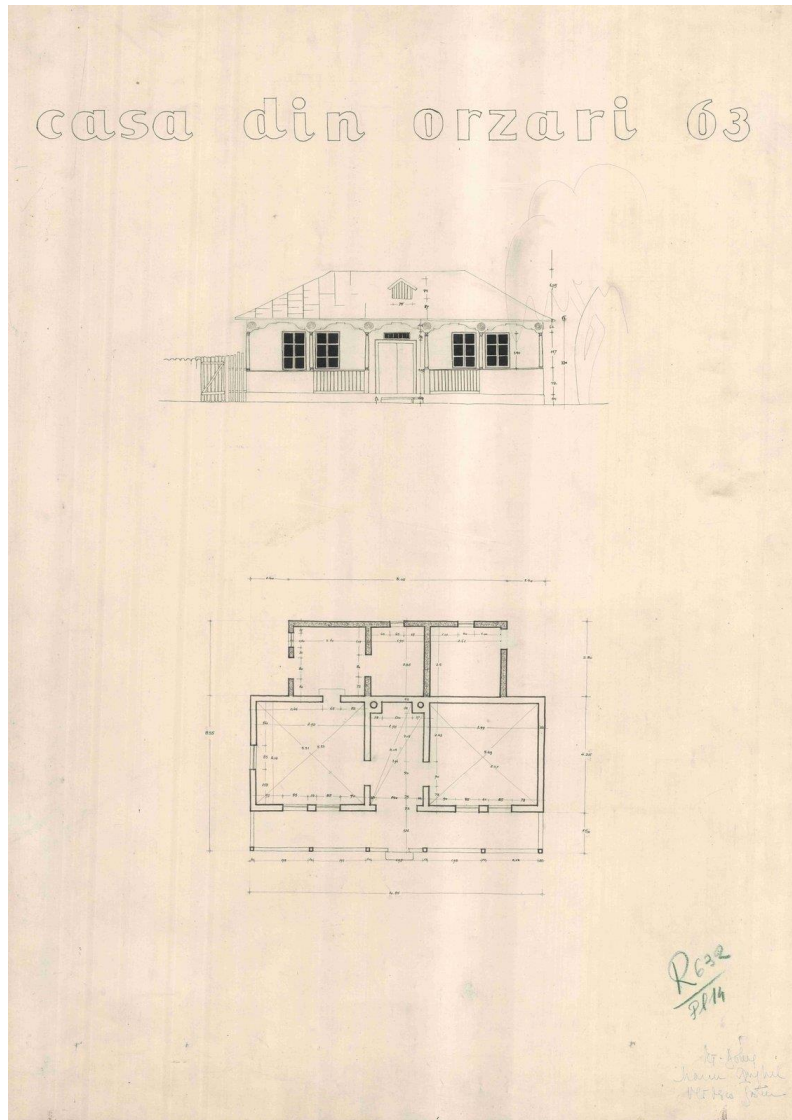
Fig. 2. House from Orzari Street nº 63; image source: University of Architecture and Urbanism
'Ion Mincu' Bucharest, Department of History and Theory of Architecture and Heritage
Conservation, Surveys Archive, Planşa Rv.470.16, Main facade, Plan for the ground floor.
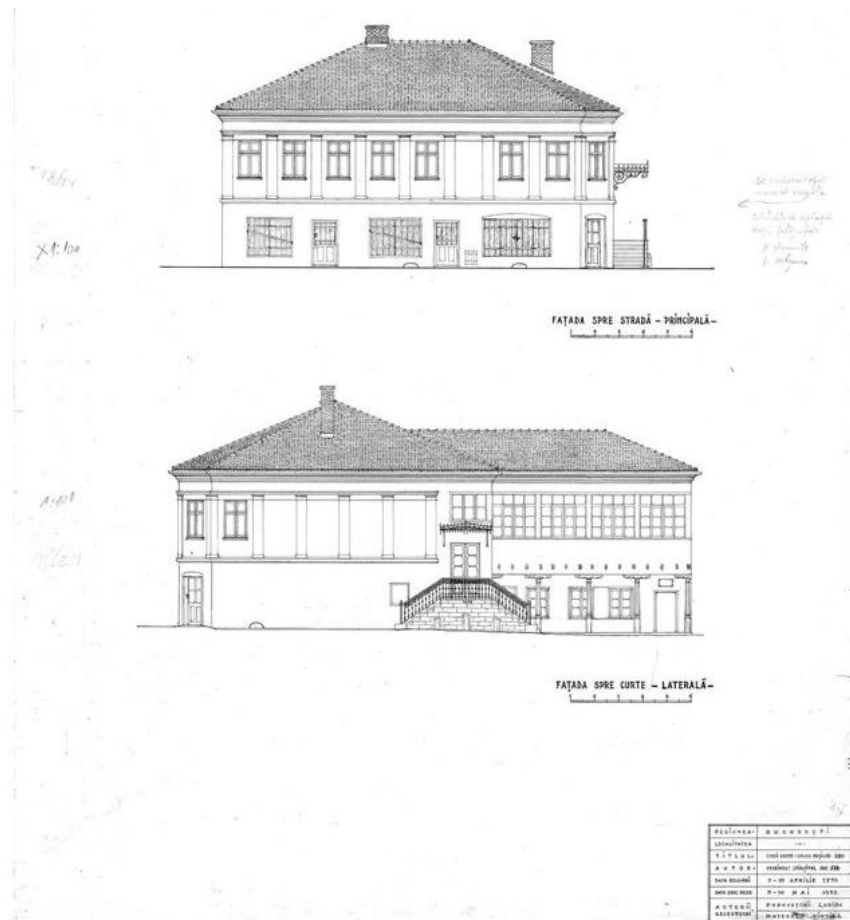
Fig. 3. Colintineanu House, cca 1825, view from Moşilor Avenue; image source: Ed. Anca Brătuleanu, *Documente de arhitectură*, *Serie Nouă,* vol. 1, Editura Universitară „Ion Mincu", Bucureşti, 2014.

A similar situation of a divided and reshaped boyar court can be found in the case of the Creţulescu-Lahovari house on the Vigilenţei Street no 3.[34] Working on it as a member of the Laboratorul de Memorie Urbană, I could see the layers of construction material and meaning that were assigned to the structure, its itinerary from an open cerdac structure (often called foişor or foişor de priveală in some sources), covered after by a 19th century façade and adding some adjoining rooms on the first and second floor, changing hands from one family to another, and at the same time exhibiting kinship dynamic and marital conventions in the 18th and 19th centuries Bucharest.

[34] Historical chart of the house can be accessed using at the https://memorieurbana.ro/2020/03/07/cretulescu-lahovary-fi/

Since many of the Balkan type house in Bucharest were either demolished or reworked into a more western style and modern shape, any analysis into their existence must make use of an array of sources starting with city plans, and continuing with every available visual documents. 19th century photographers Carol Popp de Szathmary or Ludwig Angerer, have documented the urban layout of Bucharest with a set of panoramas. A very interesting example of a Balkan house owned by a Greek origin family, the Hristopol house, can be seen in one of Carol Popp de Szathmary panoramas (fig. no 4). The Hristopol House features the *geamlâc* and the trilobed arches, with a small tower on the right, with a wooden staircase. The *geamlâc* was a somewhat popular structure found in houses that could be seen both in the city center and the periphery. A photography taken by Alfons Ebner from the Bucharest Municipality Museum Photography Collection of a house on Moşilor Avenue nº 88 features a *geamlâc* present in the inner courtyard. Therefore, we can conclude that the orientation of the projected balcony or apse is consistent with other Balkan examples, and it may build upon the idea of privacy as it was outlined in Ottoman society.
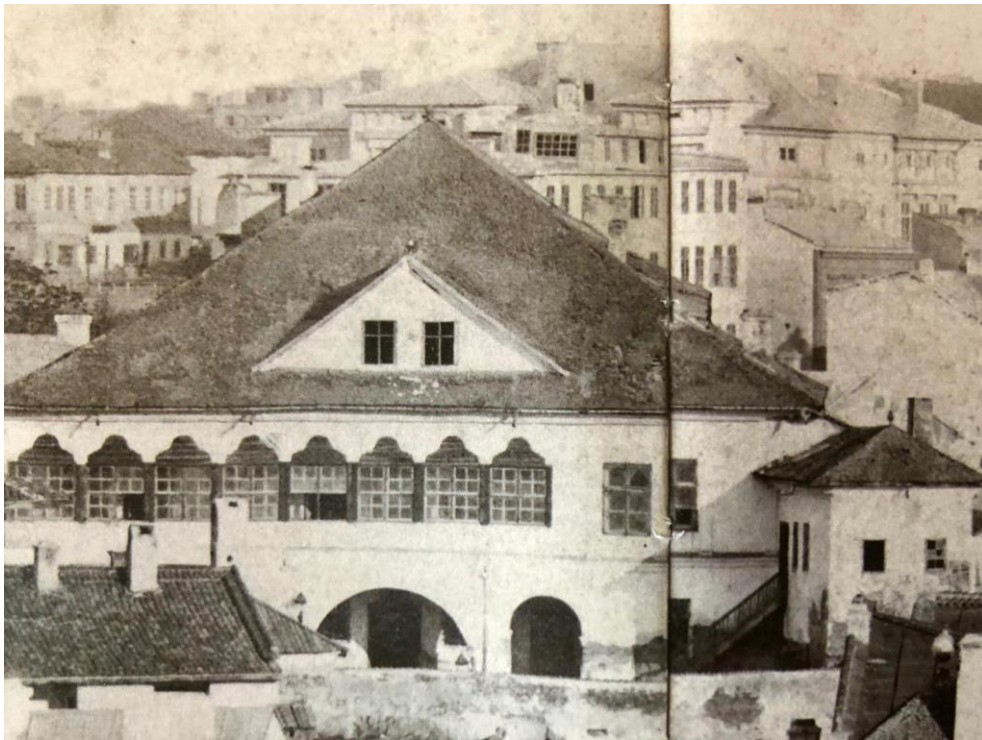
Fig. 4. Hristopol House, fragment from a Carol Popp de Szathmary Dealul Spirii panorama; image source: Biblioteca Academiei Române, Cabinetul de Stampe şi fotografii.

Written documents describing Bucharest houses can only go so far, as well as plans or maps. In terms of visual sources, aside from mid-19th and 20th century photography, there are the ever so quoted engravings made by foreign artist travellers who reached the Romanian countries at one point or another. I have mentioned before the album made by J. Rey (fig. no 5) about Iași, published in 1845 and dedicated to Mihail Sturdza, and the subjectivity of the engravings depicting the city of Yassy. The general atmosphere conveyed by the album is one that of a visualization of the written accounts of foreign travellers: the mixture of Oriental with a superficial Western layer, many churches and shabby looking houses on the outskirts of the city. The *vue* in fig. 5 really drew my attention since in the right corner there is a particular structure: a house with a projected balcony, supported with wooden beams, that has so many Bulgarian, Greek, Turkish, Bosnian counterparts. Since these drawings date back to the end of the first half of the 19th century, one would expect a few more of them, but what is interesting to note about this particular album is that the city's architecture is a hotchpotch of Western, Byzantine, and vernacular. While it may well have a grain of reality to it, it does not eliminate the subjectivity of this type of product. Another aspect to be taken into account is that this Balkan type of houses is represented on the outskirts of the city, in a context where the term of *mahala* begins to be considered pejorative and associated with the slum part of a city.

Fig. 5. View of the city of Yassy; image source: Album de douze vues de la ville de Jassi, executées par J. Rey et dediée À son Altesse le Prince Régnant de la Moldavie par P. Müller, lithographe, 1845.

The same type of gaze hasn't, of course, eluded Bucharest. When it comes to the Oriental/Phanariot aspect of Bucharest, the two most quoted images by historians are the ones made by two French artists: Michel Doussault and Dieudonné Auguste Lancelot (figs. 6 and 7). As engravings, they were reproduced over and over again for the Western public as an authentic view of Bucharest. While the presence of projected balconies is attested in multiple sources, there are no other sources so far to corroborate on the type of balconies from fig. 7. Moreover, they rather come at odds with the panoramas I mentioned earlier, although there isn't a significant distance in time between them. Fig. 8 is a panorama made by Ludwig Angerer in 1856 from Spirii Hill, thereby proving itself a more reliable document that the previous engraving that excel at being generic. Another aspect that needs to be outlined and taken into account is that both Bucharest and Yassy regarding Phanariot type of houses is that they begin to undergo certain alterations, specifically, a change in their facades to make them look more European. An eloquent example is the so-called merchant house Voina in Bucharest on Şerban-Vodă, no. 33.

Fig. 6. Maison turque a Bucarest, after a drawing made by Lancelot; image source:
Bucharest Municipality Museum collection of Prints and Engraving.

Fig. 7. Street in Bucharest, after a drawing made by M. Doussault, image source:
Bucharest Municipality Museum collection of Prints and Engraving.

Fig. 8. View from Dealul Spirii, Ludwig Angerer; image source: Bucharest Municipality Museum
collection of Photography.

These houses often changed hands since they were included in dowries or inheritances, or simply sold to cover other expenses as is the case with the houses sold in 1825 by Velica, wife of Hagi Tudorache Gabrovalău, hints to a Bulgarian descent, to Hristea Emanuil Papazoglu, a southerner from the Hapsburg regions that may well have a name that hints to an Aromanian descent. The sum was a hefty one, 5650 guldens, determined by the central position (the Old Court area).[35]

Working under the assumption of a liminality of Ottoman influence in the civil architecture of the Romanian countries, I would surmise that the data is still insufficient to be able to answer it with certainty. The undeniable fact is that this type of architecture is present and backed by different forms of sources, while the extent can cover merchants, boyars and some ecclesiastic architecture. The forms of this influence are diverse, something that is congruent with other Balkan provinces. Moreover, there are questions that can only be answered with a more in-depth analysis and a case-by-case investigation such as: who were the master builders, what is the origin of the building materials, what do these houses add to the known connections between the Romanian countries and the other Balkan countries, with what regional style can we compare these houses to, do ethnically diverse owners equal a diversity in architectural forms, and so on. I intend to answer these questions in the research already initiated regarding 18th century architecture in Bucharest.

Ottoman architecture – a participant in the creation of a National style

The allure of the Ottoman-Turkish house for research is given by its exotic feeling, but recently by its symbolical approaches and interpretations. Reading Tchavdar Marinov study I had an Evrika reaction because, finally, not only there is a study that speaks about the breadth of the phenomenon, but also how it was perceived, judged and written about. While you may take the Ottoman out of the Balkans, you cannot take the Nationalism out of it, and the way certain aspects of Ottoman culture were either systematically rejected, others were appropriated in a national discourse. Romania falls in both these categories, having an evident ambivalent and ambiguous attitude to what was part of Ottoman material culture. Therefore, it comes as no surprise to witness the use of some Oriental motifs and elements in an architectural style that was meant to convey the essence of Romanian identity: the Neo Romanian style.

Carmen Popescu makes a good point when concluding that oriental elements present in National architecture are to be read as layers of perception: 'd' un cote, l'appel à une esthétique orientalisante, induite par la mode qu'impose l'Europe occidentale et, de l'autre, l'emploi d'éléments orientaux, assimilés et présentés comme partie constituante de l'héritage national.'[36] However, there are many nuances to this statements determined by the de-Orientalisation of the Oriental

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[35] Ed. F. Georgescu, *Documente privind istoria oraşului Bucureşti*, Bucharest, 1960, p. 235–236.
[36] C. Popescu, "Le paradoxe de l'orientalisme balkanique…", p. 2.

elements associated with a Western filtered perception of what the Orient was, and a nationalization of those elements by white-washing the Ottoman out of them and just labelling them as completely traditional and authentic. Another aspect that stands out in Carmen Popescu study is that Western imports can only be ascribed to the 19th century, a premise that has already proven its fallacies. In my doctoral thesis I have dealt with the use of Oriental and Ottoman elements in the creation and conception of Romania national pavilions at the Universal Exhibitions in Paris, and outlined with the use of multiple sources that an analysis of the discourse about the Orient is not a straightforward delineation between East and West, there are many areas where they overlap and converse. In addition, I agreed with the uses of Maria Todorova concept of balkanism and added the one coined by Milica Bakić-Hayden of nesting orientalism. And these instances are valid in the case of a Nationalization of Oriental and Ottoman architectural elements.[37]

Although the two architects Ion Mincu (1852–1912) and Ion Socolescu (1856–1924), seen as the fathers of a Neo Romanian style, attempt to elaborate a theory of the Romanian national style in the pages of the revue *Analele Arhitecturei şi ale artelor cu care se leagă* (Annales of Architecture and the arts to which they are connected: 1890–1893), we cannot speak of the Neo Romanian style as an cohesive and unitary on among the works of the architects that have claimed it: Ion and Toma T. Socolescu, Ion Mincu, Cristofi Cerchez, Nicolae Ghika-Budeşti, Petre Antonescu, Paul Smărăndescu, and so on. Another important distinction to make is that, while it reclaimed itself as being a revisitation of the Brâncoveanu style, some creations signed by Mincu and Socolescu have a rather Moorish feeling to them. For example, the house built for historian George Ionescu-Gion bearing Ion Socolescu's signature speaks to an exoticised view of what was Oriental (fig. 9).

While there are researchers who consider Ion Mincu's point of origin for the formulation of the Neo Romanian style to be the restauration work on the Stavropoleos Monastery in Bucharest, the project for the Bufetul dela Şosea (The Roadside restaurant) in 1889 (figs. 10 and 11) and the houses Lahovary and Robescu are the concrete articulation of what he viewed as Romanian in terms of National architecture. The common elements between these early projects are: the use of polychrome ceramic, of trilobed arches, projected balconies (fig. no 10), and the presence of the *cerdac* structure. In Mincu's own words the polychrome ceramic "is present in the nature of the Romanian people, and for that and for durability reasons, I have appealed to faïence. I hope that ceramic alludes to a Romanian atmosphere". [n.tr.][38] Indeed, the variety of ceramic pottery in Romania is significant, but alas, with the exception of recipients displayed on wooden shelves called *blidar*, it isn't so specific to exterior wall decoration as Mincu suggested. To my mind, the feeling conveyed by the use of polychrome ceramic in

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[37] R. Coman, *Orientul şi spaţiul românesc: între model cultural şi reprezentare (1856–1881)*, PhD thesis, University of Bucharest, Faculty of History, 2015.

[38] N. Petraşcu, *Ioan Mincu*, Bucharest, 1928, p. 10.

exterior decoration in the Neo Romanian style projects is that similar to the use of ceramic tiles in Ottoman and Middle Eastern architecture.

As I mentioned in the abstract of this study, the Ottoman house has been nationally appropriated in cases such as Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, as the most obvious examples. Romania has seen a discourse that alternated between accepting its Ottoman heritage and rejecting it as way to impose the necessary delineation for a national construct. Therefore, the 18th century Balkan house that were built in the cities of both the Romanian countries have either been called merchant houses, either recognized for their Oriental legacy, or integrated within the taxonomy of Romanian vernacular architecture.
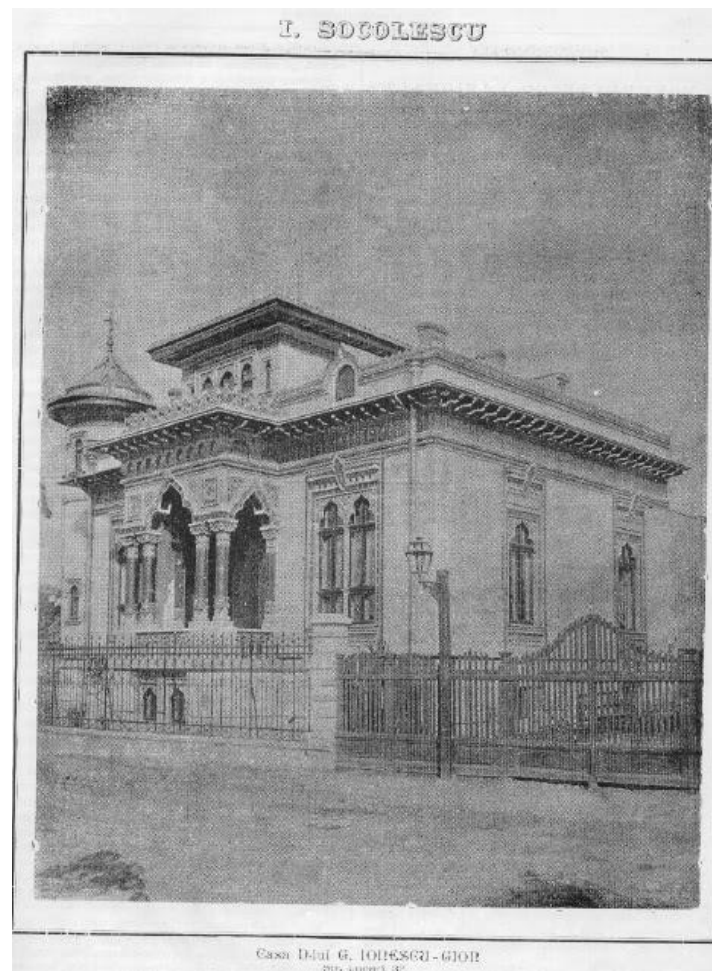
Fig. 9. Gheorghe Ionescu-Gion house;
image source: Arhitectura, nº 1, 1941, p. 60.

Fig. 10. Bufetul de la Șosea (1889–1892), lateral view; image source :
http://monumenteistoricedinromania.blogspot.com.

Fig. 11. Bufetul de la Șosea (1889–1892); image source: University of Architecture and Urbanism
'Ion Mincu' Bucharest, Department of History and Theory of Architecture and Heritage
Conservation, Surveys Archive, Rv.364.03 Perspective.

Having owed the existence of Ottoman identity in Balkan architecture, Artan Tülay adds that omnipresent public buildings as «Ottoman», at least in Turkey residential architecture comes to be contraposed to this as «Turkish»[39] outlining that residential architecture was also a component in the articulation of national style, similar to the other Balkan states. Artan Tülay suggests that there are two diametrically opposed attitudes toward 17th and 18th centuries Ottoman and architecture: it is either neglected due to a so called 'decline' of the empire, or it is rejected by the national discourses in the emerging Balkan states.[40] To this I would add a third dimension, the national appropriation and integration of Ottoman elements in the creation of a national style, a process that does not elude Turkey. Architectural historian Doğan Kuban not only advocates but ethnicizes, Turkifys Ottoman vernacular architecture, by imposing the name of Turkish house and establishing its origins in Anatolia.

Following the same vein, architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem considers that:

"The Ottoman house existed for a time as the result of a refined domestic culture suspended between Europe and Asia. It crossed frontiers and enlarged its scope in company with a powerful and culturally healthy nation. … After the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, housing in the old Ottoman land manifested a variety of interpretations of the Turkish vernacular type, as a part of their Ottoman heritage. The tendencies in these new countries was to accept, to absorb and even to identify themselves with this heritage".[41]

Sedad Hakkı Eldem not only the most well-known architect of modern Turkey, as well as a recognized exponent of modernism, but also part of an influential family as Osman Hamdi Bey's nephew, and has studied extensively the phenomenon of Ottoman residential architecture. Sedad considered the rediscovery of traditional architecture has a key role to play in the configuration of a national identity in Turkey.[42] To that extent, he began to document the existing examples, to use definitive elements in his own creations, and most importantly, to maintain an active correspondence with architects from the former provinces, including Romania. According to Serena Acciai, Sedad Eldem although aware of the transnational character of the Ottoman house, chooses to use the term Turkish as not to provoke negative reactions to what would allude to the imperial past, to replace the cosmopolitan with a more modern identity and to reduce and replace the work of Western architects that were westernizing the face of Istanbul.[43] I would also add

[39] A. Tülay, "Questions of Ottoman Identity…", p. 86.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[41] S. H. Eldhem, *Türk Evi: Osmanli Dönemi - Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, Istanbul, vol. I, 1984, p. 21.
[42] S. Acciai, "The Ottoman-Turkish House According to Architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem A Refined Domestic Culture Suspended Between Europe and Asia", *ABE Journal (Architecture Beyond Europe)*, no 11, 2017, accessed on 20/10/2018: https://journals.openedition.org/abe/3676
[43] *Ibid.*

that this type of approach regarding the Ottoman house also owes a great deal to his uncle's legacy of articulating a national identity.

A generation elder that Sedadd Eldem, Paul Smărăndescu (1881–1945), an architect that mostly employed the Neo Romanian style in tandem with an Art Deco aesthetic in his projects, with elements of the Ottoman heritage reinterpreted in a modern manner. His own house built in 1914 on Lutheran Street in Bucharest (later demolished), was an important example by merging early nineteenth-century bow windows with a gazebo-like structure. This element becomes an innovative interpretation of the *sacnasiu* present in 18th and beginning of the 19th century examples of house built in Bucharest. The vegetal decorative motifs added to the façade recall both the Brâncoveanu style, a style that has included Ottoman elements in its configuration, and emanates a Mediterranean feeling while having a tower-like structure with the middle window featuring a trilobed arch. This interpretation of a projected balcony can be seen in works signed by Petre Antonescu, such as the palace for Bucharest City Hall, and some early projects for apartment buildings, making it quite a successful element and an adaptation that witnessed its origin removed and renamed into an element of vernacular architecture. Moreover, a notable presence among the Neo Romanian style adepts are architects of Aromanian descent: Arghir Culina, Gheorghe Simotta, Cristofi Cerchez that made Ottoman elements part of their projects. The project that comes closest to what residential architecture looked in 18th century Wallachia is the house built by Cristofi Cerchez for Eliza and Sofia Candiano-Popescu in 1932.

In lieu of a conclusion, I would state that the subject of the Ottoman architecture and influence in the Balkans has been researched in a fragmentary manner, many times contaminated by a nationalistic discourse, which has a complexity determined by many factors, in search for methods and concepts that would facilitate a better understanding. Some questions can be answered after a case-by-case inquiry, others may wield no answer whatsoever. In the text of this study and the literature concerning the subject there is also a need for a clarification and delineation between terms such as sachnasi, hayat, sachnasi, or geamlâc, because they are used alternatively without differentiation, if there is one. But one thing is certain, the subject of the Ottoman house is a multifaceted one, which will require interdisciplinary and transnational approach.

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LA MIGRATION DES LIVRES DANS LE SUD-EST DE L'EUROPE (MILIEU DU XIXe SIÈCLE)

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Our paper explores some aspects of the dissemination of printed books in Southeast Europe, using as framework the existing legislative context. To this end, our research performs a general analysis of the book regime in the Romanian Principalities (especially in Wallachia), the printing of books for Southeast European communities in the North Danube territories, and the regulations on book circulation in the Ottoman Empire (mid-century nineteenth century and in the decades that followed). Mobility of the print in Southeast Europe led to the emergence and evolution of some cultural, political and legal practices, and they all contributed to the impact that access to knowledge had on these communities.

Keywords: Books; Romanian Principalities; Southeast European communities; Mid of the 19th Century.

INTRODUCTION

Au fil des siècles, la migration[1] du livre imprimé a suivi en général les parcours constitués par l'organisation et le fonctionnement des différents centres typographiques. Ce phénomène fut inévitablement associé à la circulation des individus, soit en tant que créateurs directs du livre (imprimeurs et autres artisans), soit en tant qu'auteurs, éditeurs, distributeurs (colporteurs, libraires, commerçants). La circulation du livre n'aurait pu exister et résister comme phénomène culturel en l'absence d'un univers satellitaire qui, à son tour, a éveillé des passions, des curiosités, des ambitions et la conviction que le monde pouvait être changé par l'accès au savoir.

La mobilité des gens et des idées a engendré de nouvelles relations – sociales, économiques, politiques, culturelles – dont la source se retrouve le plus souvent dans un paradigme identitaire créé par la distance et la séparation (l'exil). Pour certaines communautés des Balkans, l'impossibilité de développer leurs projets sur leurs propres territoires a conduit à l'apparition de formes adaptatives d'actualisation

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[1] Il convient de préciser que nous utiliserons les termes de *migration, mobilité* ou *circulation* selon une perspective historique concernant des réalités culturelles des communautés des Balkans spécifiques de la moitié du XIXe siècle. Au centre de ces formes de déplacement se trouve le livre laïc (produit ou importé) qui circulait sur le territoire des Principautés roumaines et dans l'Empire ottoman.

de l'absence par l'intermédiaire de l'action[2]. La circulation du livre laïque dans l'espace sud-est européen au milieu du XIXe siècle révèle la manière dont la mobilité du savoir implique, le plus souvent, l'action à distance.

Notre recherche parcourra trois registres d'analyse : le régime de la circulation du livre dans les Principautés roumaines ; la production de livres pour d'autres communautés sud-est européennes dans les territoires roumains ; les réglementations de la circulation du livre dans l'Empire ottoman au milieu du XIXe siècle et pendant la période suivante. Nous suivrons donc le contexte législatif et géopolitique où le livre laïque a circulé dans l'espace sud-est européen, sans renvoyer à des typologies explicites de lectures ou de lecteurs tombant sous le coup de ces réglementations.

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En Europe, la migration du livre imprimé a été conditionnée par un certain nombre de facteurs dont les progrès de l'imprimerie, l'alphabétisation, les régimes politiques en place, les législations en vigueur, etc.

Dans l'espace sud-est européen, la circulation du livre au milieu du XIXe siècle reflète, d'une part, les conditionnements ci-dessus et, d'autre part, l'intention des élites de faire de l'imprimé un instrument de leur action politique.

Dans les **Principautés danubiennes**, plusieurs interventions législatives ont reconfiguré[3] le parcours que pouvait suivre le livre imprimé, autochtone ou d'importation[4]. Notre propos est de compléter une série d'études antérieures sur le contrôle du livre dans les Principautés roumaines à partir de 1832 (pour la Valachie) et de 1833 (pour la Moldavie). Qu'un livre vînt de l'étranger ou qu'il fût produit au pays, sa circulation fut soumise à des réglementations très strictes. Celles-ci se diversifièrent vers le milieu du XIXe siècle, tant dans les Principautés que dans l'Empire ottoman, en raison de l'accroissement de la production de livres laïques, de l'intensification des mouvements de libération nationale, et de la diffusion d'idées nuisibles à la stabilité des régimes politiques en place.

Dans les Principautés roumaines, ces dispositions touchaient à la mobilité du livre par rapport non seulement aux lecteurs roumains, mais aussi aux membres de toutes les communautés ethniques auxquelles les livres étaient destinés.

Une source de documents manuscrits des Archives nationales de Bucarest, que nous avons récemment réanalysée, nous a permis d'affiner notre image de la circulation du livre. L'examen des manuscrits contenus dans deux dossiers appartenant au fonds du ministère de l'Intérieur (datés de 1852 et 1853[5]) a

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[2] Pour une vision plus large des champs de recherches portant sur le phénomène migratoire, voir Constance De Gourcy, « L'institution de l'absence en Méditerranée », *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 144, nov. 2018, http://journals.openedition.org/remmm/11649.

[3] À partir des années 1830, quand furent adoptées les premières réglementations officielles de la circulation dans les Principautés du livre imprimé.

[4] C'est ce qui se passe aussi dans l'Empire ottoman, après l'introduction des Tanzimat (voir les législations portant sur l'imprimé, 1857 et suiv.)

[5] Fonds du ministère de l'Intérieur (MI : Diviziunea Rural-Comunală, 1840–1868), dossiers n°s 43/1852 et 31/1853.

complété les informations que nous avions déjà recueillies dans les documents du
Cabinet des manuscrits de l'Académie roumaine de Bucarest. Il s'agit de la
correspondance entre différents fonctionnaires de l'État impliqués dans la chaîne
décisionnelle de la circulation du livre au milieu du XIXe siècle en Valachie.
L'analyse de ces documents nous a permis d'identifier un acte législatif (*poruncă*,
« ordonnance ») émis au commencement de l'année 1852 et auquel nous n'avions
trouvé que des renvois indirects, tant dans les manuscrits des Archives que dans
ceux de l'Académie. Son identification a été d'autant plus ardue que nous n'avons
pas encore réussi à consulter le numéro du *Bulletin officiel* où avait été publié le 25
janvier 1852. En revanche, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* publie, le 16 février 1852, le texte
au sujet des nouvelles règles de la censure en Valachie[6], qui « en raison de leur
importance, méritent d'être connues du public [transylvain] ».

  Ce document était envoyé à tous les préfets et à toutes les administrations[7]
impliquées dans le mécanisme de surveillance de la circulation du livre, dans le but
d'empêcher l'entrée dans le pays, « à l'insu et sans la permission des autorités »
d'imprimés au contenu « nuisible et scandaleux »[8]. Pour centraliser les formes de
contrôle, il était décidé que la vérification des paquets de livres se ferait au siège du
département (ministère) de l'Intérieur, après qu'auraient été remplies des formalités
qui obligeaient le chef des gardes-frontières de confirmer l'existence des livres
(*avec accusé de réception*) et de les expédier à Bucarest, en colis scellé et plombé.
L'ordonnance évoque en termes catégoriques la responsabilité des fonctionnaires,
passibles de sanctions en cas de négligence dans l'exercice de leur fonction, ainsi
que de tous ceux qui auraient osé introduire dans le pays « par des moyens illégaux
et de manière clandestine » des livres interdits. Le cas échéant, les étrangers étaient
expulsés et les autochtones subissaient les rigueurs de la loi. Il convient de remarquer
que la sanction de ce délit, tant pour les fonctionnaires de l'État que pour les
particuliers, était en 1852 « la même que pour le délit de contrebande d'armes et de
poudre noire ». Le fait d'assimiler la peine pour mise en circulation de livres au
contenu jugé dangereux à celle pour infraction au régime des armes et munitions
nous semble particulièrement révélateur pour la période en question. Précisons que
c'est pour la première fois que nous retrouvons une pareille mention dans les
réglementations des Principautés ; elle donne une idée de la magnitude du danger
que représentait la mobilité du savoir parmi les vulnérabilités de la sûreté nationale.

  Pour éviter de pareilles situations, le document encourageait la communication
entre gardes-frontières et douaniers, employés des administrations locales (préfets
et sous-préfets) et fonctionnaires de l'administration centrale (département de
l'Intérieur, Secrétariat de l'État).

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  [6] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, n° 14/1852, p. 55, http://documente.bcucluj.ro/periodice.html.
  [7] Nous avons retrouvé la correspondance du département (ministère) de l'Intérieur avec le
département des Affaires militaires (f° 45), avec le département du Trésor de la Principauté de Valachie (f^os
25, 39), avec le Comité des quarantaines de la Principauté de Valachie (f° 6), et même avec le consulat
britannique (f°s 3 à 7), etc. (MI 43/1852, Archives nationales de Bucarest – ANR).
  [8] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, n° 14/1852, p. 55.

La correspondance officielle au sujet de la circulation du livre provenant de l'étranger[9] invoque souvent l'article 8 des Règles de la censure (1849), dont on rappelle qu'elles ont été portées à la connaissance « de l'honorable Département, ainsi que de toutes les administrations compétentes »[10] :

« Les coffres, colis, sacs ou paquets de livres et d'ouvrages à destination de la capitale ou d'autres localités ne pourront entrer dans le pays que munis des cachets de la douane ; une fois remplies les formalités de transit, ils seront expédiés directement à la douane centrale de Bucarest, d'où ils seront remis au Secrétariat et soumis à la censure… »[11]

Le langage utilisé dans cette correspondance donne lieu à une lecture du système procédural de la censure : les résolutions, notes, rapports rappellent sans cesse les documents qui accompagnent chaque activité des fonctionnaires (« [les livres] sont remis, accompagnés de ce rapport, à l'honorable Département, lequel en disposera selon les règles prescrites par la loi »)[12].

D'après les dossiers étudiés, il s'agissait de livres imprimés dans différentes langues (français, anglais, allemand, grec, roumain) qui entraient dans le pays par les douanes de la Principauté de Valachie. Parfois, l'emballage des livres est tout aussi important que les livres mêmes, voire l'emporte sur ceux-ci aux yeux du propriétaire[13].

On rencontre des situations où les livres d'importation arrivaient avec difficulté à leurs destinataires pour des raisons que nous pouvons essayer de reconstituer lorsqu'elles ne sont pas décrites explicitement. Il s'agit de la quantité des livres qui entraient dans le pays, de la diversité des langues dans lesquelles ils étaient imprimés, des dimensions réduites de l'appareil chargé d'en vérifier le contenu, des procédures imposant un certain trajet depuis la douane et jusqu'à la mise en possession des propriétaires, de l'absence de catalogues qui, selon les autorités, devaient accompagner les paquets de livres, d'interruptions dans la communication entre les différentes institutions, etc.

Pour ce qui est des catalogues de livres, la correspondance étudiée en évoque très souvent la consultation par les autorités[14] comme partie obligatoire de la procédure ; ces listes, sur la base desquelles les livres étaient vérifiés, devaient être attachées aux rapports.

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[9] MI/43/1852/ANR, f°s 24, 25, 41. Voir aussi Ms. roum. 3871/Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine – BAR, f°s 329, 350.

[10] MI 43/1852, ANR, f° 24.

[11] Article 8 des Règles de la censure, *ibid*.

[12] *Ibid.*, f° 19.

[13] Voir l'importance d'une sacoche de cuir utilisée comme emballage pour dix-sept livres imprimés dans plusieurs langues, qui traînaient depuis environ huit mois dans les dépôts de quelque administration ; exaspéré, leur destinataire entreprend de reconstituer leur parcours afin de les récupérer (MI/31/1853/ANR, f° 19[r-v]).

[14] Voir la correspondance entre le département de l'Intérieur, le Secrétariat de l'État, les Préfectures ou les particuliers: MI 43/1852, MI/31/1853 (ANR), Ms. roum. 3871 (BAR).

Un coup d'œil jeté sur les noms des destinataires ou sur les langues dans lesquelles étaient rédigés les livres montre que ces derniers s'adressaient tant à des lecteurs roumains qu'à des membres de communautés parlant d'autres langues.

Si les Pays roumains avaient le droit d'imprimer, d'importer ou d'exporter des livres en respectant certaines dispositions légales, il n'en allait pas de même pour les communautés ethniques sud-est européennes vivant sous la domination directe de l'Empire ottoman. Cela explique la mise en œuvre de stratégies de substitution, comme l'impression des livres dans d'autres zones, y compris au nord du Danube. D'ailleurs, le territoire des Principautés constituait au milieu du XIXe siècle une plaque tournante de l'impression de livres destinés à une partie de ces communautés.

La vigilance des autorités ottomanes à l'égard des communautés musulmanes et celle de la Patriarchie de Constantinople à l'égard des communautés orthodoxes firent qu'une partie de la production de livre se développe au dehors de l'Empire ottoman.

L'un des aspects les plus intéressants de la Renaissance nationale **bulgare** fut, au début du XIXe siècle, l'apparition du livre imprimé. Le premier livre en bulgare moderne fut imprimé par souscription en 1806 à Râmnic – il s'agit d'un recueil (*Nedelnik*[15] ou *Kiriakodromion*) écrit par Sophrone de Vratsa[16]. Sur le territoire bulgare, les activités entrepreneuriales dans le domaine de l'impression, de l'édition ou du commerce direct des livres (librairie) ne purent se développer avant 1878. C'est pourquoi le territoire roumain devient l'un des centres de la diaspora bulgare – c'est là que fut imprimé le premier abécédaire bulgare (Braşov, 1834), que fut rédigé le premier projet de Constitution bulgare (Bucarest, 1848) ou que furent jetées les bases de l'Académie bulgare (Brăila, 1868). C'est toujours là que fonctionnèrent, avant la guerre de 1877–1878, quelque 40 écoles en bulgare, dont celles de Bucarest, Galaţi, Giurgiu, Alexandria, Ploieşti, Bolgrad, etc. C'est toujours en Roumanie que furent imprimés avant 1878 70% des livres bulgares et quelque 80% des manuels en bulgare[17]. Au milieu du XIXe siècle, plusieurs villes roumaines (Bucarest, Brăila, Bolgrad) deviennent pour l'émigration bulgare des centres typographiques de référence, où de nombreux intellectuels[18] pourront développer leurs projets culturels. Ces initiatives viennent compléter les *cibles* de la société bulgare, à savoir la mise en place d'un système d'instruction moderne et laïque, et l'émancipation sous toutes ses formes (culturelle, politique, religieuse).

Jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle, les livres bulgares parus en Bulgarie par souscription s'inscrivent, du point de vue thématique, dans quatre grandes catégories : livres religieux, livres d'école[19], livres didactiques (en général) et belles-lettres[20]. Le nombre total des livres publiés entre 1806 et 1856 fut de 358,

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[15] Nedka Kapralova, « La souscription littéraire en Bulgarie (1806-1856) », in *RESEE*, L, 2012, p. 44.

[16] Ou *Sofronii Vratchanski* (Kotel, 1739 – Bucarest, 1813).

[17] Elena Siupiur, *Intelectuali, elite, clase politice moderne în Sud-Estul european. Secolul XIX*, Bucarest, 2004, p. 154.

[18] Éditeurs, auteurs de manuels, imprimeurs, littérateurs, traducteurs.

[19] Sur l'ensemble des livres publiés par souscription entre 1806 et 1856, 35%, à savoir 27 titres étaient des livres d'école (voir Nedka Kapralova, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

dont 116 (32,4%)[21] appartenaient au domaine religieux, ce qui confirme le rythme lent de la laïcisation de la vie culturelle.

Ainsi, la période comprise entre l'impression du premier livre bulgare (1806) et la guerre de Crimée (1856) est marquée, dans le domaine de la vie spirituelle, de progrès lents et difficiles[22].

La migration du livre bulgare dans les territoires roumains est liée à la mobilité sociale[23] et intellectuelle des membres[24] de cette diaspora, dans des domaines ayant trait à la création des écoles bulgares, aux imprimeries, aux cabinets de lecture, aux publications périodiques bulgares ou à l'instruction. Avant 1850, les seules institutions de culture (notamment dans l'espace urbain !) sont l'école et l'église[25]. Avant 1878 il n'existait dans ces territoires ni lycées ni universités, ce qui explique la formation à l'étranger de structures professionnelles variées – juristes, médecins, compositeurs, peintres, philologues, historiens, etc.[26]

La mobilité de l'émigration bulgare[27] dans différents espaces d'Europe au milieu du XIXe siècle se superpose, le plus souvent, à la production et à la diffusion de livres destinés aux communautés bulgares.

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[21] Sur ce total, le nombre des livres parus par souscription fut de 78, dont 29 (37%) étaient des livres religieux, *ibid*. Elena Siupiur est d'avis que pendant les années 1806–1878 on imprima dans l'espace roumain quelque 300 livres en bulgare et une centaine d'auteurs bulgares dans des centres typographiques comme Bucarest, Brăila, Bolgrad, Brașov, Giurgiu, Ploieşti, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Galaţi. Au milieu du XIXe siècle (1852–1878) paraissent sur le territoire roumain 54 publications périodiques bulgares. Cette évaluation s'inscrit dans une statistique plus ample, qui recense 98 périodiques bulgares parus entre 1844 et 1878. Belgrade, Novi Sad, Vienne, Prague, Leipzig, Moscou, Istanbul, Smyrne, Roussé, Andrinople, Thessalonique furent les centres typographiques où parurent les autres 44 périodiques bulgares (voir Elena Siupiur, *Intelectuali, elite...*, p. 170–171, notes 5 et 6). Selon le même auteur, 57 revues et journaux bulgares parurent en Roumanie (eadem, « Intelectualii bulgari sau de emigraţie în România în secolul al XIX-lea », in Alexandru Duţu (coord.), *Intelectuali din Balcani în România (Sec. XVII–XIX)*, Bucarest, 1984, p. 158).

[22] Nedka Kapralova, *op. cit.*, p. 43–44.

[23] Certains auteurs ont identifié quatre vagues de l'émigration bulgare : la première est placée à la fin du XVIIIe siècle ; la deuxième, pendant la guerre russo-turque (1806–1812) ; la troisième, pendant la période 1828–1830 ; la quatrième, pendant la guerre de Crimée (1854–1856). Elena Siupiur, *Intelectuali, elite...*, p. 168, note 4.

[24] Il convient de préciser que les ressorts de cette mobilité sont dictés par des intérêts directs ou par les idéaux des groupes sociaux : alors que la population qui entreprend des activités économiques vient dans les territoires roumains directement de Bulgarie (à quelques exceptions près), les intellectuels viennent non seulement de Bulgarie, mais aussi d'autres espaces géographiques (Russie, Autriche, Serbie, Grèce, Allemagne, Tchéquie, Slovaquie, Istanbul), *ibid.*, p. 168–169. La géographie de la mobilité semble dessiner des itinéraires extrêmement intéressants pour ce dernier groupe social (rappelant ceux suivis par les Grecs avant 1830) : à mesure que l'on approche du moment 1878, les intellectuels bulgares (activement impliqués dans le soutien du mouvement de libération nationale) se rapprochent de leur propre espace ethnique.

[25] Ce système institutionnel primaire (l'école et l'église) s'appuya financièrement sur les contributions bénévoles des communautés urbaines (Elena Siupiur, *Intelectuali, elite…*, p. 166).

[26] Les fils des riches marchands ou les boursiers font leurs études à Istanbul, dans des collèges français ou à l'école militaire de médecine ; d'autres suivent des institutions d'enseignement de Vienne, Kiev, Saint-Pétersbourg, Paris, Munich, Zagreb, etc. (*ibid.*).

[27] Au XIXe siècle, l'émigration intellectuelle bulgare de Roumanie provenait de trois sources : de la Bulgarie (les intellectuels formés dans les écoles bulgares ou grecques, qui choisiront de mener leurs activités sur les territoires roumains) ; de différents centres culturels européens (Moscou, Kiev, etc., avec

Après 1878, la Bulgarie devient, à son tour, un espace de l'hospitalité pour les communautés albanaises, encore dépourvues d'un territoire national.

À partir de 1897, Sofia fut un centre important du mouvement littéraire albanais[28]. Kristo Luarasi et Kosta Jani Trebicka y jettent les bases d'une imprimerie utilisant des caractères apportés de Bucarest.

On peut donc parler plutôt d'une *mobilité du savoir* à mesure que le processus de formation des élites sud-est européennes a lieu dans des espaces géographiques autres que les espaces ethniques. Vue sous cet angle, la *migration du livre* est étroitement liée à ce que nous avons appelé la *mobilité du savoir* au milieu du XIXe siècle.

L'impression du **livre albanais** va de pair avec la formation d'une intelligentsia laïque, à mesure que les mouvements nationaux des Balkans deviennent plus forts.

Jusqu'au début du XIXe siècle, les livres albanais imprimés[29] qui circulaient dans l'Empire ottoman étaient de type confessionnel et réduits quantitativement. Le passage du livre religieux au livre laïque (national) se produit graduellement tout au long du XIXe siècle, jusqu'aux environs de 1878[30].

Un rôle important dans la production et la diffusion du livre albanais revint, d'une part, aux groupes de la diaspora et, d'autre part, aux missionnaires protestants ou à des gouvernements étrangers (par exemple, à celui de l'Autriche-Hongrie).

La circulation du livre albanais au sein des communautés placées sous la juridiction de l'Empire ottoman a rencontré bien des obstacles liés, entre autres, à l'absence d'une langue unifiée, à la diversité des alphabets utilisés, à l'analphabétisme[31], à la division territoriale, sociale, ethnique, culturelle et religieuse.

Dans l'évolution de l'imprimé albanais, les trois premiers quarts du XIXe siècle sont une période de transition des livres religieux aux livres *nationaux*.

Les Principautés roumaines constituèrent un important centre culturel de l'émigration albanaise[32], permettant à Naum Vequilhardji d'imprimer[33] deux

leurs séminaires ; Vienne, Paris, Berlin, Wurtzbourg, Munich, Prague, Zagreb, etc., avec leurs lycées, leurs facultés de médecine, de lettres, de droit, etc. ; Istanbul, avec son école militaire de médecine, ses écoles grecques, ses collèges français, etc.) ; enfin, de la Roumanie (une partie des intellectuels bulgares étaient nés ici ou avaient fait leurs études, en totalité ou en partie, dans des écoles roumaines). *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[28] Nathalie Clayer, « Le goût du fruit défendu ou de la lecture de l'albanais dans l'Empire ottoman finissant », extrait de la *REMMM*, 87-88, 1999, p. 234, https://journals.openedition.org/remmm/305?file=1.

[29] Le premier livre imprimé en albanais fut, en 1555, le *Missel* de Gjon Buzuku. Nathalie Clayer distingue trois grandes étapes dans l'évolution du livre albanais imprimé : 1555-début du XIXe siècle ; les trois premiers quarts du XIXe siècle ; la période 1878–1908, *ibid.,* p. 227.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[31] Selon Nathalie Clayer, dans les années 1920, le taux d'analphabétisme dans la moitié nord de l'Albanie dépassait 90% et atteignait dans le nord-est 97 à 98% (Selenica, 1928). *Ibid.*, p. 248, note 22.

[32] Il n'existe pas de renseignements sur l'activité des intellectuels albanais dans les Principautés avant 1821. Cătălina Vătășescu, « Activitatea intelectuală și culturală a albanezilor din România (1844–1912) », dans Alexandru Duțu (coord.), *op. cit.,* p. 163, note 2.

[33] D'ailleurs, l'impression des livres fut l'un des objectifs de l'activité des Albanais en Roumanie ; leur but était de promouvoir la langue nationale et de la faire inclure dans la modernité européenne. Au milieu du XIXe siècle, la tradition faisait que le grec était la langue de culture des communautés albanaises, l'albanais n'étant utilisé que dans le milieu familial. C'est pourquoi, avec l'appui financier des Albanais de

abécédaires en 1844 et 1845[34]. Ceux-ci furent diffusés dans le sud de l'Albanie dans les régions de Korçë, Permet et Berat. Un pareil instrument fut perçu comme une *source miraculeuse* ouvrant et garantissant l'accès au savoir. Au milieu du XIXe siècle, l'endroit où les abécédaires de Vequilhardji étaient gardés dans la maison de n'importe quel Albanais du sud de l'Albanie était considéré comme *un endroit béni de Dieu*. Certains lui attribuaient une dimension sacrée pouvant servir de lien interconfessionnel : *les Évangiles et le Coran de l'albanisme*[35].

Ultérieurement, la littérature didactique (abécédaires, livres de lecture) fut imprimée dans différents autres centres du sud-est de l'Europe. Vers la fin du XIXe siècle, la typologie de l'imprimé en albanais se diversifie : à côté des livres didactiques, on voit paraître des recueils de poésie, des pièces de théâtre, des livres d'histoire, des traductions de livres occidentaux ou des périodiques (annuaires, revues, journaux)[36].

Il existait parmi les musulmans (et sans doute parmi les orthodoxes aussi) cette idée qu'apprendre à lire et à écrire en albanais n'aidait guère la jeune génération, parce que « avec le grec, tu peux devenir secrétaire chez un commerçant, un sarraf, etc., avec le turc, tu peux exercer toutes les charges de fonctionnaires de l'État, mais avec l'albanais tu ne peux rien faire »[37].

L'une des personnalités les plus marquantes du mouvement albanais de renaissance nationale, l'intellectuel polyglotte Pasho Vasa Shkodrani, alias Wassa Pacha, fut l'auteur de plusieurs ouvrages en français. Il occupa en même temps une dignité importante dans l'administration ottomane, représentant la Porte en tant que gouverneur du nord du Liban (1883–1892)[38].

La production et la circulation dans le sud-est européen des **livres en grec** s'inscrit à son tour dans l'analyse de notre champ de recherche.

La présence au nord du Danube d'une importante communauté d'intellectuels grecs à partir de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle a été due en grande partie au fonctionnement à Bucarest et à Iaşi des Académies princières qui promouvaient un enseignement en langue grecque, encouragé par les princes phanariotes de l'époque[39]. Les Académies princières des Pays roumains devinrent des foyers de

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Roumanie, on ouvrit des écoles où l'enseignement se faisait en grec. D'autres Albanais envoyaient leurs enfants dans les écoles roumaines ouvertes pour les Aroumains de la péninsule des Balkans. *Ibid*., p. 172.

[34] Pour Cătălina Vătăşescu, la période 1846-1881 correspond à un hiatus dans l'activité des Albanais de Roumanie. Les tentatives pour constituer des sociétés culturelles albanaises sur le territoire roumain sont reprises autour de l'année 1881. *Ibid*., p. 164, 174.

[35] Voir Nathalie Clayer, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[36] Selon les statistiques portant sur l'imprimé destiné aux Albanais, il est estimé que pendant les quarante ans ayant précédé la révolution des Jeunes-Turcs (1908) furent publiés quelque 200 livres et brochures religieux ou laïques et presque 60 périodiques (au total, 1400 numéros environ). Ces chiffres concernent l'activité typographique sur le territoire de l'Empire ottoman. *Ibid.*

[37] P. Pepo, 1962, p. 179, apud *ibid.*, p. 243, note 18.

[38] Alain Vuillemin, « Les littératures d'expression française dans les pays du sud-est de l'Europe (XVIIIe–XXIe siècles) », *Fabula. Les colloques*, *La conquête de la langue*, § 6, http://www.fabula.org/colloques/document1978.php.

[39] Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, « Formaţia intelectualilor greci din ţările române (1750–1830) », dans Alexandru Duţu (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 72.

formation intellectuelle pour l'ensemble de l'espace sud-est européen et comptèrent parmi les plus importants centres d'enseignement en langue grecque.

La mobilité sociale de ceux qui allaient former l'élite intellectuelle grecque est étroitement liée à l'accès au savoir que pouvaient offrir les différents centres culturels de l'époque par l'intermédiaire de l'éducation et implicitement des lectures. En ce qui la concerne, l'intelligentsia grecque des Principautés roumaines était en partie formée d'abord dans les écoles des territoires grecs occupés (Melenikos, Zagora, Cydonia, Chios, etc.), puis dans des institutions de Constantinople, Chalcis, Smyrne, ou d'Italie, d'Allemagne et, plus tard, de France[40]. Une fois les études terminées, certains de ces Grecs arrivaient dans les Principautés, attirés par les perspectives d'une belle carrière. D'autres étaient formés dans les Principautés mêmes et choisissaient une profession didactique ou dans le domaine des lettres, sous la direction de mentors jouissant d'un grand capital de confiance dans la vie publique et culturelle de l'époque.

Avant 1830, le modèle intellectuel grec dans les Principautés se cristallise autour de la typologie de l'intellectuel militant[41] qui, préoccupé par la modernisation de l'enseignement (contenu, méthodes), par l'orientation des lectures de la jeune génération (Roumains, Grecs) et par l'intégration de celle-ci à la vie administrative, essaie de l'influencer en obtenant un statut social et professionnel d'élite.

L'activité typographique menée par la communauté grecque sur le territoire des Principautés danubiennes pendant la période 1830–1860 s'inscrit dans ce que Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu appelait une « fin d'époque »[42]. Le nombre des livres et des périodiques imprimés pendant ces trente ans n'est guère impressionnant (150 livres et 26 périodiques[43]), mais reflète une circulation restreinte : ces imprimés, produits par les membres de la communauté grecque pour répondre aux besoins de celle-ci, ont trait à la vie des colonies de Roumanie[44].

Dans l'**Empire ottoman**, la circulation du livre au milieu du XIXe siècle fut réglementée par une série d'interventions législatives visant le contrôle direct de l'imprimé produit sur le territoire de l'Empire ou importé.

Ainsi, pour pouvoir ouvrir une imprimerie à Constantinople, il fallait une autorisation délivrée par le ministère de la Police. Toute requête était soumise au préalable à un examen de la part du Conseil de l'instruction publique et du ministère de la Police, lesquels communiquaient leurs rapports d'évaluation au Grand-Vizir.

Les demandes d'autorisations pour créer des ateliers typographiques (imprimeries, lithographies) dans les provinces suivaient un parcours très semblable, étant transmises aux autorités centrales par les gouverneurs. Avant de pouvoir circuler, tout livre et toute brochure devaient être soumis à un contrôle préalable : un exemplaire était remis aux autorités compétentes, qui délivraient l'autorisation d'imprimer.

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[40] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[41] L'expression appartient à Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, *ibid.*, p. 112.

[42] Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Comunităţile greceşti din România în secolul al XIX-lea*, Bucarest, 1996, p. 123.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

Les étrangers qui voulaient ouvrir des imprimeries ou faire imprimer des livres ou des brochures avaient pour partenaire institutionnel le ministère des Affaires étrangères. Aucune imprimerie ne pouvait fonctionner, aucun livre ne pouvait paraître sans l'autorisation de cet organisme.

Toute publication[45] nuisible devait être saisie par la police ; l'imprimerie devait être fermée et les coupables devaient être punis conformément au Code pénal (délits ou contraventions)[46].

Le contenu proprement dit des imprimés (livres, brochures, écrits) fit l'objet de préoccupations spéciales de la part des autorités ottomanes pendant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. En 1876 fut publiée une *Notification officielle pour empêcher la publication ou l'introduction dans l'Empire de livres, brochures ou écrits nuisibles*, qui complétait les réglementations de la circulation et de la production de livres dans la capitale et les provinces de l'Empire. Les attributions de contrôle, reconfirmées pour certaines institutions, étaient étendues à d'autres, afin de mieux surveiller le contenu d'un nombre croissant de livres produits ou entrés dans l'Empire. À côté du Conseil de l'instruction publique, la Direction de la presse et la Douane contribuèrent à renforcer le mécanisme de contrôle.

Ainsi, les manuscrits des livres qui allaient être imprimés à Constantinople étaient présentés au ministère de l'Instruction publique, qui délivrait un permis provisoire pour l'impression. Une fois l'ouvrage imprimé, deux exemplaires étaient présentés au même ministère, qui vérifiait la conformité du manuscrit avec la version imprimée. L'un des exemplaires était retenu et l'autre, revêtu du cachet du Conseil de l'instruction publique, était restitué au solliciteur avec le permis de publication.

En tête de chaque imprimé devaient être inscrits : l'indication du sujet (religieux, scientifique), les noms de l'auteur ou du traducteur, le nom de l'éditeur, le nom de l'imprimerie et la date d'impression[47].

Une fois arrivées dans la capitale, les publications venant des provinces ou de l'étranger étaient soumises à un autre type de procédure. Tout d'abord, elles étaient retenues à la douane. Ensuite, elles suivaient des trajets différents, selon les langues dans lesquelles elles étaient écrites : la vérification du contenu des publications en turc, arabe ou persan était du ressort du Conseil de l'instruction publique ; la Douane et la Direction de la presse s'occupaient de celles en langues étrangères.

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[45] Voir *Règlement concernant les imprimeries*, 1857, art. 1–9. En plus, les étrangers qui voulaient publier des journaux dans l'Empire ne pouvaient le faire qu'en les faisant imprimer dans des imprimeries autorisées par le ministère des Affaires étrangères (art. 6). Grégoire Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane, ou Recueil des lois, règlements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire Ottomans*, IIIe partie, Constantinople, 1874, p. 318–319, www.gallica.bnf.fr.

[46] Le Code pénal ottoman (28 Zülhicce 1274) distinguait entre crimes, délits et contraventions. Les délits étaient des actes punis de peines correctionnelles – l'emprisonnement (excédant une semaine), l'exil à temps (de trois mois à trois ans), la révocation d'un emploi public, l'amende. Les contraventions étaient des actes punis de peines de police – l'emprisonnement (de vingt-quatre heures à une semaine), l'amende (jusqu'à cent piastres au plus). *Ibid.*, IIe partie, 1874, p. 212–213, p. 218.

[47] *Notification...*, *ibid.*, V[e] partie, 1877, p. 237.

La libre circulation du livre (et la validité de son contenu) était confirmée par l'apposition d'un cachet portant « autorisé » sur chaque exemplaire contrôlé[48].

Quant aux publications introduites dans les provinces de l'Empire, elles étaient vérifiées par les autorités locales et accompagnées ensuite d'un document (déclaration) mentionnant le sujet, le nom de l'auteur, le propriétaire, l'importateur, le nombre des volumes et la décision de la douane (laissez-passer ou saisie)[49].

Bientôt on revint sur cette disposition, en distinguant entre les livres imprimés à l'étranger et ceux imprimés dans l'Empire, mais qui circulaient d'une province à l'autre[50]. Cette dernière catégorie avait été assimilée par la censure « au livre introduit dans les provinces de l'Empire ». En vertu de l'arrêté viziriel du 5 mars 1876, les imprimés (livres, brochures) produits sur le territoire de l'Empire devaient être censurés par le ministère de l'Instruction publique, tandis que ceux d'importation devaient l'être par la Douane.

CONCLUSION

Au milieu du XIXe siècle, la production et la circulation du livre dans les espaces sud-est européens ont créé de nouveaux réseaux de communication sociale et intellectuelle. Pour les communautés sous domination ottomane, l'imprimé fut utilisé d'une part comme instrument d'alphabétisation (abécédaires, livres d'écoles, livres de lecture) et, d'autre part, comme ressource de l'action politique (écrits politiques, programmes révolutionnaires, appels, etc.).

Chez certaines communautés des Balkans faisant partie de l'Empire ottoman, l'impossibilité d'imprimer des livres dans leurs propres langues et territoires nationaux conduit à un processus de migration des élites, disposées à assumer leur absence en la suppléant, dans d'autres espaces géographiques, par des activités culturelles, politiques ou économiques menées au nom des communautés en question[51]. Prend ainsi naissance un rapport en apparence ambivalent, mais non irréconciliable, entre la présence et l'absence de ces représentants dans leurs propres communautés ou territoires. La distance est suppléée par un engagement actif dans l'impression de livres ou de journaux destinés aux Bulgares, Albanais, Grecs, etc., à condition de respecter les réglementations en vigueur.

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[48] La Direction de la presse validait les écrits politiques, et le ministère de l'Instruction publique le reste des publications. *Ibid.*

[49] *Notification...*, *ibid.*, p. 238.

[50] *Décret Viziriel ordonnant que les livres imprimés dans l'Empire, avec l'autorisation du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, ne seront pas censurés dans les douanes,* 8 Sefer 1293 (5 mars 1876), *ibid.*

[51] Certains s'intègrent totalement à la culture du pays d'adoption. C'est le cas de professeurs grecs fixés à Bucarest, qui non seulement y enseignent dans les écoles roumaines, mais finissent par écrire des livres en roumain et à prendre une part active à la vie publique du pays au milieu du XIXe siècle et pendant la période suivante. À la fin de leur carrière, une partie d'entre eux retournent en Grèce où, poussés par une nostalgie toute naturelle, ils continuent d'écrire pour des journaux bucarestois. Voir Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Comunitățile grecești...*, p. 18.

Il ne faut d'autre part oublier que tous les phénomènes culturels associés à l'univers du livre ont lieu dans un contexte géopolitique et idéologique qui impose une stricte surveillance du contenu et de la circulation des imprimés (livres, brochures, journaux, écrits émanant des autorités). Dans les Principautés roumaines et dans l'Empire ottoman, l'adoption de lois sur le contrôle des imprimés ou de l'activité typographique, la diversification des procédures de vérification et l'augmentation du nombre (toujours insuffisant) des fonctionnaires impliqués dans ce processus sont autant d'indices de l'intensification, au milieu du XIXe siècle, de la circulation des livres et des individus dans le sud-est de l'Europe.

Il s'agit, en conclusion, de deux phénomènes – la circulation du livre et le contrôle de l'imprimé – qui, loin de se tempérer l'un l'autre, se stimulent réciproquement par la recherche assidue de solutions d'adaptation qui transcendent les époques historiques.

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TERMES CONCERNANT LA PROPRIÉTÉ
DANS LE *KANUN I LEKË DUKAGJINIT*

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The inventory of words relating to property and heritage, possession, right of ownership and inheritance in the Albanian customary legal norms included in the so-called *Kanun i Lekë Dukagjinit* is rich and stable. Most of the words are ancient (autochthonous or borrowed from Latin, but also from Greek and Italian) and correspond to definite realities. There are even terms which do not go beyond the limits of the Gheg dialect. With a few exceptions, these are the words in the common vocabulary that gain legal meanings. Fixed and sometimes rhymed synonymic formulas and series facilitate oral transmission from generation to generation.

Keywords: Albanian customary law, property vocabulary.

Connu sous le nom de *Kanun*, le code des coutumes albanaises se réfère à la propriété de la famille, à celle du village ou du hameau, de la fratrie ou de la tribu – souvent appelées par un terme emprunté au latin, *flamur* « drapeau », ou au turc *bajrak*. Ce code réglemente les droits de propriété de la famille en entier et de ses membres, hommes et femmes. Les aspects de la propriété et de la richesse, ainsi que leur transmission, se retrouvent non seulement dans la quatrième partie qui leur est consacrée, mais aussi dans presque toutes les autres parties. La forme actuelle de ce code de normes juridiques traditionnelles a été réalisée à la fin du XIXe siècle par le prélat franciscain Shtjefën Gjeçovi et a été publié en 1933, après sa mort, par des moines de cet Ordre. Gjeçovi a recueilli ces règles populaires de coexistence et d'organisation dans la zone de montagne du nord autour de Shkodra et à Mirdita. On n'est pas assez renseigné sur le questionnaire, sur la méthode de collecte, sur les informateurs, sur leurs propres interventions. En 1912–1913, Gjeçovi lui-même publia à Shkodra fragments en plusieurs numéros de *Hylli i dritës* et demanda aux prêtres des villages d'y ajouter plus d'informations. On peut donc supposer qu'ils étaient aussi ses principaux informateurs lors des enquêtes. On ne sait pas si le nom *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* était celui sous lequel il circulait vraiment. Un *Kanun i Skanderbeut* circulait aussi dans la zone centrale de l'Albanie et d'autres variantes dans les régions du sud[1].

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[1] Voir, pour l'histoire des enquêtes qui ont abouti à la publication des variantes régionales, A. Vaccaro, « Cultura albanese e tradizione giuridica. Considerazioni sulle consuetudini attraverso la storiografia e il racconto odeporico tra Ottocento e Novecento », *Palaver*, 10, 2021, 1, p. 175–308.

L'une des présentations les plus utiles des problèmes soulevés par l'utilisation du nom *kanun* se trouve dans l'étude de Val. Al. Georgescu. Il faut observer que *ligj* « lois », emprunt fait au latin, n'apparaît jamais dans le texte du code. Val. Georgescu donne une analyse comparative du contenu des chapitres du code et trace des lignes de recherche. Son travail conserve toute son importance[2].

La bibliographie ces dernières années s'est beaucoup enrichie, pourtant les études sur les mots spécifiques aux différents domaines compris dans le *Kanun* font encore défaut. Dans ce qui suit, nous essayons de donner un aperçu de la terminologie liée à la propriété. Une présentation très utile des conditions économiques des terres habitées par les Albanais dans l'Empire Ottoman et des leurs autonomies, ainsi que des dispositions contenues dans les chapitres sur la propriété donne Syrja Pupovci dans son étude introductive à l'édition anastatique du *Kanun*[3].

PROPRIÉTÉ ET PATRIMOINE

On rencontre pour la première fois le mot *prone* « propriété » (tosque *pronë*), associé au mot *pasuní* « avoir, fortune, richesse » (tosque *pasurí*), dans le titre du troisième article du livre qui ouvre cette collection de coutumes juridiques et qui concerne la place de l'église dans la communauté villageoise et dans la paroisse : *Pronet e pasunit e kishës* « les propriétés et les avoirs (les biens) de l'église ». Cette association de mots est assez fréquente dans le texte. De même, le quatrième livre, qui porte le titre *Shpi, gjâ e prone*[4], contient un chapitre (le douzième) intitulé à son tour *Pronet* « les propriétés ».

Il s'agit d'un emprunt fait au gr. *πρόνοια*[5]. Il faut noter que le dérivé *pronar* « propriétaire » n'existe pas. Le mot courant est *i zoti* « le maître ».

Le nom *pasuní* f. « avoir » est fondé sur la forme guègue de l'adjectif (*i*) *pasun*, provenant à son tour du participe *pasun* « eu » du verbe *kam* « avoir » (tosque (*i*) *pasur*, *pasurí*)[6].

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[2] Val. Al. Georgescu, « Alte albanische Rechtsgewohnheiten », *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, I, 1963, 1–2, p. 69–102. Voir aussi P.H. Stahl, « La regione tribale albanese (19 secolo–inizi del 20 secolo) », *Incontri meridionali* (Messina), 1989, 2, p. 33–80.

[3] *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit. Përmbledhur dhe kodifikuar nga Shtjefën Gjeçovi. Me biografi dhe parathënje të Surya Pupovcit*, Prishtina, 1972, p. V–CX, surtout p. XCV–CV. Voir aussi Selami Pulaha, *Pronësia feudale në tokat shqiptare, shek. XV–XVI*, Tirana, 1988.

[4] En l'absence du contexte il est difficile de préciser s'il s'agit de la forme du singulier ou du pluriel : « maison, fortune, propriété », ou « maison, biens, propriétés ». Nous reviendrons également sur la sémantique spécifique du mot *gjâ*.

[5] Le mot grec, ayant les sens « provisio, pensio, annua », est entré en slave aussi (*pronija* 'provisio') et en italien (*pronie* « possessioni »), selon G. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 354 ; voir aussi K. Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe*, Tirana, 2017, p. 1191, qui mentionne que le terme apparaît dans les textes anciens du nord guègue. En roumain, *pronie* a seulement le sens religieux de « providence » ; la variante *pronă* est vieillie et rare (Academia Română, *Dicționarul limbii române*, s.v.).

[6] Sur l'histoire controversée des formes supplétives *pata*, *pasur* du paradigme du verbe *kam*, d'origine indo-européenne, voir Eq. Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, VI, Tirana, 2002,

Le mot *gjâ* (tosque *gjë*) « chose ; quelque chose[7] », au singulier, est d'un emploi fréquent et systématique dans le lexique du patrimoine avec le sens « les biens »[8]: *Kû t'a gjêjë **gjân** e vet i zoti e mêrr* « Où il trouve sa chose (son bien à lui) le propriétaire/le maître est en droit de la prendre » (§812) ; *Gjithkush âsht i zoti i pasunís së vet, e aj i cili don me lânë **gjânë** e vet per kishë, âsht i lirë e nuk mund t'a ndalë kush* « Chacun est le maître de sa fortune et celui qui veut léguer <u>sa chose à lui</u> à l'église est libre et personne ne peut l'arrêter » (§107); « *Kushrinija … jânë në detyrë me rritë e me mkambë djalin e vorfën, me i a ruejtë **gjânë** e tokët* « les parents ont le devoir d'élever en le remettant le garçon orphelin et de conserver ses biens [= <u>sa chose</u>] et ses terres (§ 94) ; *Po s'pat kushrîj të ngjatë plângu i shuem, vllaznija a fisi … kan tager mbi **gjâ**, prone e pasuni të këtij plangu* « Si une famille restée sans descendants n'a pas des proches parents, la fratrie ou la tribu ont le droit sur les biens [= <u>la chose</u>], les propriétés et les avoirs de cette famille » (§97) ; *Me mbetë plangu në bija, kushrini mâ i ngjati … mêrr sundimin mbí **gjâ**, pasuni e prone* « Si seules les filles restent dans une famille (un foyer), c'est aux parents les plus proches … que revient la maîtrise sur les biens [<u>la chose</u>], les avoirs et la propriété (§98). Il faut mentionner que les mots *gjâ, pasuni e prone* forment une série presque figée.

Le syntagme *gjâja e gjallë* (= la chose vivante) désigne le bétail : *Gjâja e gjallë* est le titre du onzième chapitre, qui fait partie du quatrième livre dans le titre duquel le mot apparaît seul, sans adjectif : *Shpi, gja e prone* « maison, biens et propriété ». Pourtant, assez souvent, il est possible que le mot *gjâ* seul, sans adjectif, indique le bétail et non pas toute la fortune de quelqu'un ; c'est le contexte qui en précise le sens : *Barí thirret ai qi i prîn <u>tufës</u>-**gjâs** në kullosë* « Berger est celui qui conduit le troupeau du bétail au pâturage » (§143). L'idée de fortune semble associée surtout avec la possession des animaux.

L'étymologie en est controversée, mais toutes les solutions proposées rangent ce mot parmi ceux du fonds autochtone[9].

Un autre mot important dans le système du patrimoine est *plang*. Le douzième chapitre, intitulé *pronet* « les propriétés », comprend l'article 54 qui définit ce que sont les propriétés. Dans cet article il y a la précision suivante : ***Plangu** i shpís ká oborr e kopshtë, ká vêshtë e arë, ká livadh e xâna, ká udhë e*

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p. 155 ; B. Demiraj, *Albanische Etymologien*, Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA, 1997, p. 313 ; K. Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 1113 (avec bibliographie).

[7] Dans les propositions négatives *gjë* a le sens « rien ».

[8] Roum. *lucru* (*Lucrul străin nu ține de cald* « une chose qui est à autrui ne nous est pas de profit », Fr. Damé, *Nouveau dictionnaire roumain-français*, Bucarest, 1894, s.v.), fr. *chose* peuvent être utilisés avec la valeur « objet appartenant à quelqu'un », mais il ne s'agit pas d'un terme général pour le sens « fortune de quelqu'un », comme dans le texte du *Kanun*.

[9] Voir B. Demiraj, *Albanische Etymologien*, s.v. *gjër*. Selon Eq. Çabej, *Studime etimologjike*, IV, Tirana, 1996, p. 326, il serait, probablement, le résultat de la substantivation d'un pronom indéfini hérité ; selon l'avis de Vl. Orel, *Albanian Etymological Dicationary*, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 1998, p. 134, à l'origine du mot se trouverait le participe du verbe i.-e. **es*- 'être' ; K. Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 596, prend comme sens de base « bétail » et suppose un lien avec *gjah* « chasse ».

shteg, ká kufíj si në mal, si në vrri, si në fushë « La fortune de la maison se compose de cour et jardin, vignoble et champ, prairie et buisson, route et chemin, elle a des bords à la fois dans la montagne et dans le pâturage d'hiver, et dans la plaine » (§ 214). De cette énumération détaillée résulte que *plang* couvre la sphère des biens immobiles. *Baba edhé në mos pasët djelm, nuk mundet me u lânë bijave as tokë, as **plâng**, as shpí* « Le père, même s'il n'a pas de fils, ne peut pas léguer la terre, la richesse ou la maison aux filles » (§108) ; il est difficile d'établir exactement le sens, mais il est à présumer qu'il s'agit des biens immobiles, à part la terre ; *Grueja shqyptare farë trashigimit s'ka te prindja, as më **plang**, as në shpí* « La femme albanaise ne reçoit rien de l'héritage de ses parents, ni de la propriété, ni de la maison » (article 20). *Prej **plangut** të vet nuk mund t'a luej kush kend* « Personne ne peut faire sortir quelqu'un de sa propriété » (§358) ; un terme équivalent plus approprié serait *domaine*, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit de tracer le canal d'irrigation parmi les terres des propriétaires.

Le plus important est le fait que *plang*/*plâng* définit la famille même en tant que possesseur des biens, des avoirs et qui a le droit de les léguer et de les recevoir en héritage. Deux paragraphes présentent les deux lignes de parenté, en opérant la distinction entre les descendants du père, qui ont le droit d'héritage, et les descendants de la mère, qui n'ont pas ce droit : *„Nip trungu" a „mesë trungu" thirret aj varg mashkujsh a fêmnash, qi rrjedhin prej **plangut** të babës* «„Petit-fils de la souche" ou „petite-fille de la souche" sont ceux qui forment la file de mâles et de femmes issus de la famille du père » (§702), *Nip a mesë bijash thirret aj varg mashkujsh a fêmnash, qi rrjedhin prej bijave të martueme* « Petit-fils ou petite-fille des filles forment la file de mâles ou de femmes issus des filles mariées » (§703) ; la différence est que seul le premier énoncé contient le mot *plang* qui désigne la famille qui possède des biens et dont les membres mâles ont le droit de les léguer et de les recevoir en héritage. Le sens de « famille » qui conserve son droit de propriété et d'héritage est présent aussi dans les dispositions relatives aux devoirs des parents de la mariée envers les parents de leur gendre, à sa mort, les premières années du mariage : si leur fille donne naissance à des enfants, ceux-ci restent après la mort du gendre dans la famille/foyer de ses parents. Dans ce cas, les parents de la mariée n'ont pas de dette envers la famille des parents de leur gendre, qui ont payé la dot, puisque leur fille a fourni à ses beaux-parents des héritiers : *… miku s'i ka farë detyret prindës së dhandrrit, per arsye qi bija i a … lau me fmí qi i a la në **plang*** « ils n'ont pas de dette envers les parents du gendre parce que la fille leurs a donné des enfants qu'elle a laissés dans le foyer » (§56).

Une famille qui n'a pas de descendants mâles est considérée éteinte (***plâng i shuem***, §96). Les familles héritières sont désignées par le syntagme *shpijat plangçore* (§218), avec l'adjectif dérivé de *plang*.

La combinaison rimée *lang*[10] *e **plang*** exprime d'une manière approximative la totalité des avoirs : *… me lânë gjâ per kishë ... a lang e **plang*** « léguer quelque

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[10] *Lang* (tosque *lëng*) « jus, sève, liquide », fig. « avoirs, biens » pourrait provenir du verbe *lag* « mouiller, tremper » (Çabej, *Studime etimologjike*, V, Tirana, 204, p. 227). Mann, *An Hisotrical Albanian-*

chose à l'église … soit toute sorte de biens » (§105) ; *Po shiti tokën me lang e me plang, vendi i tbânës âsht i tij e mje qi të qindrojë shpija e tij nuk mund t'i pushtojë kush* « Si [quelqu'un] vend le terrain avec tout ce qui s'y trouve, le lieu où se trouve sa maison est à lui et personne ne peut l'occuper tant que la maison existe » (§222).

Il faut souligner que *plang* est utilisé même pour indiquer non seulement le territoire appartenant à un propriétaire, mais toute zone autour ou le long des aménagements des eaux : *Vija ka rrjedhë edhe e ká bâ vendin âmë ; âma e bân vendin plang ; prá aty do të rrîjë, do të hecë e do të pûnojë* « Le canal a coulé et en a transformé l'endroit en lit; le lit de l'eau a fait sa place (l'eau a fait sien le lieu); par la suite, il s'y assoira, marchera et travaillera » (§357) ; *Nji ví ká xânë plang kush e din tash sá faqe nierit ; s'ká prandej as plak as kanû, qi mund t'a thajë me ví të re* « un canal s'est installé (= a occupé un domaine) on ne sait combien de générations auparavant ; il n'y a pas de jugement ou de loi qui puisse le couper avec un nouveau canal » ; la route ancienne du canal porte le nom *ví plangçore* (§374).

Le mot est synonyme de *truall* « terrain pour construire la maison » : *Plangu a trolli i shpís bân 500 grosh* « Le domaine ou le terrain de la maison vaut 500 grosh » (§484, 1).

Le verbe dérivé *plangsohet* semble s'être formé en consolidant les sens du nom *plang* relevant de la sphère de la parenté et de l'héritage : *Kumbarija e konorës e ndalon krushqín nder robët e shpís së kumbarve e të shpís së dhandrrit e, qi të plangsohet kumbarija e kunorës nder dý vllazní e të pershîjë edhe zjarmet e tyne, kjo pûnë shkon me kumbarí të Pagzimit* « Le parrainage de mariage empêche les alliances entre membres de la maison des parrains et ceux de la maison du gendre et comment la parenté donnée par le parrainage de baptême est établie entre deux fratries en embrassant toutes leurs foyers, se fait aussi avec la parenté donnée par le parrainage de mariage » (§708).

L'étymologie du nom *plang* n'est pas sure, mais le terme semble ancien et apparaît dans le premier texte albanais, de Gj. Buzuku[11].

Dans le système de la propriété une place importante a la propriété commune d'un village qui porte le nom *kujri*. Le titre de l'article 50 porte le titre *Kujrija shkon per tym* = la propriété commune est distribuée à chaque foyer (la maison est indiquée par la fumée qu'elle émane). *Kujrija âsht vendi qi e ká perbashknisht nji katund a nji flamur per kullosë, per landë, per drû, per gjojë e per tjera nevojë* « la propriété commune [les communaux] est le lieu qu'un village ou un groupe de

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English Dictionary, Londres – New York – Toronto, 1948, p. 236, enregistre l'expression *lang e plang* « bag and baggage » puisée aux Codes pénal et civil des années trente du siècle passé parus à Shkodra, dont la langue est, selon lui, une forme standardisée du nord du guègue.

[11] Voir S.E. Mann, *An Historical Albanian-English Dictionary*, p. 390. Vl. Orel, *Albanian Etymological Dictionary*, p. 332 considère qu'à la base du mot albanais serait une forme romaine reconstruite, **planticus* (< lat. *plantō* « planter »). Selon K. Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 1160 (avec bibliographie), qui fait la précision que le mot existe seulement dans le dialecte guègue, il viendrait du lat. *plānum* « plaine », élargi du suffixe *-g* (dont il ne précise pas la fonction). Sur les valeurs de ce formant autochtone voir M. Camaj, *Albanische Wortbildung*, p. 113–115, qui range *plang* parmi les noms des lieux construits avec le suffixe *-k/-g*. Le mot ayant, à son avis, le sens « terrain sur lequel on a construit une maison », serait apparenté au lat. *planus*.

villages possèdent ensemble pour le pâturage, le bois de construction ou de chauffage, pour la chasse ou pour tout autre besoin » (§232) ; *Kujrija nuk dahet ; por, sá shpí a tyme të jenë në katund kan tager në kujrí të katundit, e sá tyme të jenë në flamur, kan tager në kujrí të flamurit* « La propriété commune ne se partage pas ; combien de maisons ou de fumées sont dans le village ont droit à la propriété commune du village et combiens de fumées sont dans la région ont droit dans la propriété commune de la région » (§233).

Selon N. Jokl il s'agirait d'un nom collectif formé avec le suffixe *-í* d'un nom qui n'est pas conservé et qui a été emprunté au latin : *coheres* « cohéritier »[12].

Un autre mot spécifique pour le système albanais de propriété est *pashtrak* « lieu de pâturage » (dans les limites d'un groupe de village formant une région à soi), « taxe » (perçue pour le droit de pâturage sur le terrain portant ce nom ; droit d'herbage) : ***Pashtrak*** *thirret vendi i kullosës mbrenda kufinit të njij flamuri, në të cillin nuk mund të hîjë me kullotë tufa e njij flamurit tjeter* « *Pashtrak* est le pâturage à l'intérieur d'une région (bannière)[13], dans laquelle les troupeaux d'une autre région ne pouvait pas entrer » (§281). Il est d'origine latine provenant d'un dérivé supposé conservé seulement en albanais (**pasturaticum*)[14].

La participation à l'exploitation de la propriété commune est décrite à l'aide des expressions formées autour du mot ***pjesë*** 'partie' : *ka pjesë* (… *Kisha ka pjesë në mal, në vrrî, nd'ujë e në mullî të kujrís* « l'église a part dans la montagne, dans le pâturage d'hiver, à l'arrosage, au moulin du communal » (§2,2) ; *Të gjitha tymet kan pjesë në kujrí* « Toutes les maisons ont part dans la propriété commune » (§215)) ; *i bëhet pjesë* « on lui fait part » (*Kishës duhet bâ pjesë në gjobë të famullis* « À l'église on fait part des amendes [perçues au profit] de la paroisse (§2,3)) ; *tagër në pjesë të gjobës së katundit* « droit à une part de l'amande perçue par le village » (§26,2) ; *hyn në pjesë të trashigimit* « entrer dans le partage de la succession » (§91).

Alb. *pjesë* est un emprunt fait au latin[15].

Emprunt au latin (*socius*) est aussi *shok* « associé », mot qui peut désigner, entre autres, tous ceux qui utilisent un canal d'irrigation ou un moulin. Si l'entretien du canal d'irrigation affecte l'un des associés (*shokët*), l'association (*shoqnija*) trouvera un moyen de le dédommager (§365, 366).

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[12] N. Jokl, « Albanologische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Balkanlateins », *Vox Romanica*, 6, 1941–1942, p. 218–225. Du point de vue du sens, l'étymologie proposée par Jokl est fort plausible et a été acceptée par C. Tagliavini, H. Mihăescu, A. Landi (pour la bibliographie voir C. Vătășescu, *Vocabularul de origine latină din limba albaneză în comparaţie cu româna*, Buarest, 1997, p. 359) Le point faible de l'étymologie est que le terme n'a été conservé qu'en albanais et non pas dans les langues romanes. K. Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 828, met le mot en relation avec *korije* 'bosquet, petite forêt'. Ce dernier, caractéristique pour le dialecte tosque, est emprunté au bulgare. Le fait que le mot circulait au commencement uniquement en tosque rend cette étymologie aussi incertaine.

[13] Les villages albanais dans les montagnes du nord étaient organisés d'une manière militaire. Ils étaient unis sous l'autorité d'une famille qui portait le drapeau (*flamuri*) aussi bien en temps de paix qu'en temps de guerre.

[14] Le nom est dérivé de *pastūra* 'pâturage' (Eq. Çabej, *Studime*, p. 154).

[15] L'étymon supposé **pettia* s'est conservé aussi en dalmate, italien, provençal, français, espagnol, portugais, sarde et roumain (avec un autre sens) (voir, pour la bibliographie, C. Vătășescu, *Vocabularul*, p. 232, Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 1158).

POSSESSION D'UNE PROPRIÉTÉ ; DROIT DE PROPRIÉTÉ

Le mot unique pour désigner le droit de possession est *táger* (tosque *tágër*) : *Kisha ka **tager** pasunijet si per gjâ, si per tokë e shpija* « L'église a le droit de posséder tant du bétail que des maisons et des terres (§ 2/1). Il faut retenir la construction *tager pasunijet* « droit à la propriété, à la possession » (= droit à la fortune, aux avoirs). Deux articles (41 et 42) portent les titres: ***tagri** i të dalunit farë* « le droit de celui qui n'a pas des descendants mâles » (concernant le droit de léguer des biens à l'église, mais pas à ses filles[16]) et ***tagri** i kushrinís* « le droit des parents » (ce dernier établit ce qu'il est permis aux parents du défunt sans descendants mâles afin d'accomplir sa dernière volonté) ; *tager me ble e me shitë* « droit d'acheter et de vendre » (§ 2/4). *Tager* est utilisé aussi dans la partie du *Kanun* qui comprend les dispositions relatives à la réparation des dommages créés par le vol : ***Tagri** i të zot't të gjâsë së vjedhun* « le droit du maître de la chose volée » (titre de l'article 117).

Le mot apparaît aussi lié à l'héritage, à la succession : ***Tagri** i trashigimit në Kanû* « le droit de succession dans le *Kanun* » (article 36) ; *Detyra e kushrîjve e **tagri** i bijave* « Le devoir des proches et le droit des filles » (article 37). *Tagri i parbinis (i djalit të parë)* « droit de primogéniture (le droit du premier-né) » (§63, a).

Son origine n'est pas sûre. Selon K. Topalli il s'agirait d'un emprunt fait au turc[17]. Il est nécessaire de savoir si le mot fait aussi partie du vocabulaire de la propriété et de l'héritage en turc ou s'il s'agit d'une évolution de la langue albanaise. Il est intéressant de constater la présence du dérivé *tagruer* « celui qui a le droit » dans un syntagme fixe et rimé avec le dérivé *plangçuer* de *plang*, terme ancien avec une sémantique riche dans le domaine de la propriété, comme nous l'avons vu. *Plangçuer-tagruer* qualifie un héritage (*trashigim*) comme inaliénable. Cette qualité définit le droit d'un héritage, qu'il soit matériel ou institutionnel. Dans l'exemple qui suit il s'agit de l'héritage d'une fonction dirigeante qu'on ne peut pas donner en dehors de la tribu : *Nuk mund t'i epet kuej jashta vllaznijet, tuj kênë trashigim plangçuer-tagruer* (§1137).

Il faut observer l'emploi constant du syntagme *gjâ e vet* « sa chose (son bien) à lui » qui insiste sur l'appartenance d'une chose à quelqu'un.

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[16] La possibilité de léguer des biens à l'église : *Gjithkush âsht i zoti i pasunís së vet, e aj i cili don me lânë gjânë e vet per kishë, âsht i lirë e nuk mund t'a ndalë kush* « Chacun est maître de sa fortune et celui qui veut léguer à l'église sa chose à lui est libre et personne ne peut l'arrêter » (§107) ; en ce qui concerne les filles, le *Kanun* prévoit : *Baba, per të gjallë të vet, **ka tager** me u falë bijavet të holla, rraqe, çakla; permbas deket të t'et **s'ka tager** bija me lypë të falmet e të folmet e t'et* « Pendant sa vie, le père a le droit de donner aux filles de l'argent, des vêtements, de petites choses ; après la mort de son père, la fille n'a pas le droit de demander les choses que son père lui avait promises verbalement » (§109).

[17] K. Topalli, *Fjalor*, s.v., avec bibliographie : tc. *doğrú* «droit, sans erreur » (la traduction en albanais du mot turc : drejt, pa gabim). M. Camaj, *Albanische Wortbildung. Die Bildungsweise der älteren Nomina*, Wiesbaden, 1966, p. 132, mentionné par Topalli, part du sens second du mot, de « taxe », et considère qu'il s'agit d'un dérivé doublement préfixé d'un terme ancien, **gar* « âne » : *t-agër < a-*gar* ; *agër* « âne » est attesté rarement dans les premiers textes albanais. Camaj ne donne pas d'explication sur l'évolution sémantique. Il faut préciser que le sens « taxe » est absent du *Kanun*.

Hije « ombre » est utilisé dans le *Kanun* avec une signification spéciale que les dictionnaires n'enregistrent pas, de même que tous ceux qui se sont intéressés à son étymologie. Le premier article du *Kanun* porte le titre *Hija e kishës* « L'ombre de l'église ». Le premier paragraphe, *kuptimi i hijes së kishës* « le sens de l'ombre de l'église », explique que l'*ombre* comprend les alentours de l'église, jusqu'aux confins, le terrain sur lequel est construite avec la demeure du prêtre (*per hije kishet xêhet rrethi mje kû mrrîn kufini i tokës, në të cillne âsht ndertue kisha, bâna (qela) e famullitarit*). Il ne s'agit pas, donc, du sens figuré « protection de l'église », mais d'un sens propre. De même, il y a *hija e mullinit* « l'ombre du moulin » : *porsa të largohet prej hijes së mullinit* « il s'est à peine éloigné du moulin » (§395)[18]. Le mot est d'origine indo-européenne[19].

La propriété est intangible (*e paprekshme*), personne ne peut s'emparer d'elle (*s'mundet kush me vû dorë më'to* = personne ne peut mettre la main sur elle) (§ 6,1).

Les frères d'une famille peuvent se séparer en traçant des confins. La paire synonymique *me gur e kufî* (= avec pierres et confins, §86) résume la procédure assistée des vieillards du village qui conduit à la séparation. Le mot *kufî* est un emprunt ancien à l'italien. La terre des aïeux (*toka e të parve*) est divisée par la corde (*me tërkuza*) et la corde (*tërkuza*) devient unité de mesure (§66, 2, 4). Une série de paragraphes traitent de la manière dont les terres nouvelles sont ouvertes dans la propriété commune (§223, 224, 225)[20].

L'HÉRITAGE

Selon G. Meyer, repris par Vl. Orel et K. Topalli, *trashegoj* « hériter » serait emprunté au latin (*trānsiguere* « parvenir à un accord, conclure un accord ») ; le mot apparaît dans les textes anciens[21].

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[18] Dans le *Kanun* de Skanderbeg, que nous avons consulté dans la traduction en italien due à Genc Lafe, apparaît souvent *l'ombra della casa* (D. Martucci, G. Lafe, *Il Kanun di Skanderbeg. Con la traduzione integrale del Kanuni i Skanderbegut di Frano Illia*, Iuridica historica. Collana dei Quaderni Lupiensi di Storia e Diritto, diretta da Francesca Lamberti, 5, 2017 ; voir, par exemple, la *Préface* de D. Martucci, p. 66, n. 206, qui cite en traduction un fragment du texte du *Kanun* de Skanderbeg : « Ogni casa ha anche la sua ombra. L'ombra della casa include il terreno circostante, la casa, il case con il solo pianterreno, le capanne per il bestiame… »). Martucci et Lafe ne s'intéressent pas à cet emploi du mot, mais seulement à l'énumération des éléments constitutifs d'une propriété familiale.

[19] Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 634, avec une riche bibliographie.

[20] Les coutumes concernant la séparation des frères d'une famille, les manières d'établir les confins, l'ouverture des nouveaux terrains ont des correspondants intéressants dans le droit coutumier roumain. Ces actions ont un vocabulaire qui présente des parallèles instructives entre l'albanais et le roumain. Il s'agit d'une direction de travail qui pourrait donner des résultats utiles. Pour le roumain, voir N. Iorga, *Anciens documents de droit roumain. Avec une préface contenant l'histoire du droit coutumier roumain*, I, Paris-Bucarest, 1930.

[21] En fait, G. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 435, donne l'étymologie avec réserves. Orel, *Albanian Etymological Dictionary*, p. 462 et Topalli, *Fjalor*, p. 1485, n'ont pas de doute. Les langues romanes n'ont pas conservé le mot.

Voici quelques remarques en guise de conclusion :

Le vocabulaire de la propriété est assez riche et bien fixé. Il y a des séries synonymiques qui reviennent et des syntagmes rimés, à leur tour répétitifs, explicables par le caractère oral de la transmission.

La majorité des mots sont anciens. Il est vrai qu'on n'est pas toujours sûr des étymologies : la plupart sont très probablement empruntés au latin (*kujri*, *pashtrak*, *pjesë*, *plang*, *shok*, *trashëgoj* ; *kufi* est emprunté tôt à l'italien) ; de l'indo-européen proviennent *pasuni* (dérivé de *pasun*), *gjâ*, *hije* ; *prone* est emprunté au grec médiéval, *tager* au turc.

Il serait utile de continuer cette investigation des mots. L'analyse du domaine de la propriété doit comprendre aussi les mots concernant les dommages matériels, les dégradations et les vols. Une approche comparative des langues du Sud-Est de l'Europe donnerait des résultats très utiles pour l'étude de l'histoire du droit coutumier.

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UN TARDO RIFERIMENTO ALL'ALLEANZA DINASTICA
TRA I PALEOLOGHI E I MALATESTA

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Our discovery of the privilege of Andreas Palaiologos for Malatesta de' Malatesti allows us not only to add new information to the last years of the Byzantine despot's biography and to identify the beneficiary of these diplomas but also to discover the continuation of a dynastical alliance, that, until now, was considered by most historians to have ended after the wedding of Zoe with Ivan III of Moscow. Most of all, this document tends to confirm the thesis of Jonathan Harris according to which Andreas Palaiologos continues to follow the politics of crusade of his father, Thomas.

Keywords: Privilege; Palaiologos; Malatesta; dynastical alliance; crusade.

In un articolo pubblicato quasi due secoli fa a Roma, più precisamente nell'anno 1822, si poteva leggere per la prima volta a proposito dell'esistenza, nell'Archivio di Stato di Viterbo, di un documento, un privilegio accordato da Andrea Paleologo a un certo *Malatesta de Malatestis civis Viterbensis*, datato il 19 febbraio del 1500 e rilasciato a Roma, durante il celebre pontificato di Alessandro VI[1].

Dello stesso atto si è parlato un secolo dopo nello studio pubblicato da Adriano Colocci nel 1918, nel quale quest'ultimo affermava: „Un altro contatto dei Paleologhi con Viterbo, l'abbiamo nella nomina del viterbese Malatesta dei Malatesti a cavaliere aurato e nobile bizantino, fatta da Andrea Paleologo, pretendente all'impero, con sua crisobolla del 19 febbraio del 1500"[2].

Io ho avuto l'occasione di consultare questo documento durante una visita all'archivio citato – seguendo le indicazioni del Professore Ștefan S. Gorovei, al quale trasmetto ancora una volta i miei ringraziamenti – che aveva come scopo la ricerca di un altro atto, L'Albero Genealogico dei Paleologhi realizzato da Angelo di Sciacca, frate francescano, *historiografo*, un documento originale con informazioni false, che doveva decelare un'eventuale unione dinastica tra i Paleologi e i Movilești della Moldavia e che ho già pubblicato nel 2015[3].

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[1] St. Camilli, "Su i documenti relativi all' origine della famiglia de' Paleologi esistenti in Viterbo", *Giornale Arcadico di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, XIV, 1822, p. 108.

[2] A. Colocci, "L'origine viterbese dei Paleologhi", *Rivista Araldica. Rivista del Collegio Araldico* XVI, 1918, 11, p. 403.

[3] A.F. Dumitrașcu, "I Movilești e i Paleologi secondo un albero genealogico scoperto a Viterbo", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 53, 2015, p. 111-130.

Il privilegio di Andrea Paleologo del 19 febbraio 1500 è rimasto inedito fino ad ora ed è stato inserito dagli storici esclusivamente nel tema della leggenda dell'origine viterbese dei Paleologhi, tralasciando molte questioni, che vanno oltre questo argomento, irrisolte: qual è il contesto storico nel quale l'autoproclamato *despotes Romanorum ac Sacri Constantinopolitani Imperii legittimus heres et successor* rilascia un atto del genere, chi era codesto Malatesta de' Malatesti, cittadino di Viterbo, e sopratutto qual è il significato storico di questa azione? Questo fatto mi permette di prendere questa iniziativa.

Veniamo al contenuto della fonte: si tratta di una pergamena originale, con sigillo appeso, una volta interamente rosso, avendo un testo in latino poco leggibile nel suo centro e che porta, al fondo della pagina, l'autografo in greco, nei colori imperiali, dell'emittente del documento:

† Ανδρέας εν Χρίστω ο Θεώ Ευσεβής Δεσπότης Ρώμης Παλαιόλογος και Διάδοχος της Αυτοκρατορίας των Ρώμαιων. Lo stesso è stato redatto nella dimora di Andrea Paleologo a Roma nel 19 febbraio del 1500, avendo rappresentato nella parte centrale, l'emblema, „di cui godono solo alcuni dei nobili bizantini", concessa, *nunc et in perpetuum*, a Malatesta de' Malatesti, con, nella parte superiore, una corona d'oro, nella parte centrale, lo stemma dei Paleologhi, l'aquila bicipite d'oro su sfondo rosso, mentre nella parte inferiore, la vecchia insegna del beneficiario Malatesta, d'oro e d'azzurro con un leone dell'uno nell'altro, simbolo tipico per la fazione guelfa della penisola italica[4].

Come osservava anche il primo storico che si è riferito al documento che stiamo studiando, si tratta di un conferimento dell'ordine „di cavaliere dello spron d'oro"[5], o „milizia aurata", un ordine cavalleresco che era conferito dal papa a coloro che si erano distinti per diffondere il messaggio della Chiesa o a coloro che avevano contribuito alla gloria della stessa istituzione con le armi o con gli scritti[6], a Malatesta de' Malatesti e ai suoi successori.

Lontano dal dimostrare che la dinastia dei Paleologhi traeva le proprie origini dalla città di Viterbo, questo atto è stato probabilmente portato qui da Roma proprio dai appassionati di questa leggenda in un periodo successivo all'anno 1737, momento nel quale Feliciano Bussi finalizzava la seconda parte dell'opera *Istoria della Città di Viterbo*, havendo come titolo *Parte Seconda nella quale si comprendono gli uomini illustri di detta città*, rimasta ancora inedita, e dove, nell'elenco dei documenti dei Paleologhi che avevano avuto legami con questo centro urbano, il diploma qui studiato non è accennato[7].

Adesso occupiamoci dell'identificazione delle personalità implicate. Il primo personaggio menzionato nel documento non mette molti problemi: si tratta di

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[4] Goffr. Di Crollalanza, *Gli Emblemi dei Guelfi e Ghibellini*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1878, p. 42.

[5] St. Camilli, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[6] G.C. Bascapé, *Gli ordini cavallereschi in Italia. Storia e Diritto*, Milano, Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1972, p. 319–326.

[7] Archivio di Stato di Viterbo, II CIV 20, ff. 301–310.

Andrea Paleologo, figlio del despota della Morea, Tommaso, a sua volta fratello dell'ultimo imperatore bizantino, Costantino XI[8]. Andrea si era trasferito a Roma già nel 1465 ed era stato messo sotto la protezione del cardinale greco Bessarione, che aveva anche lui la sua dimora nella capitale spirituale dei cristiani di rito cattolico e che aveva come compito la distribuzione della pensione accordata dai papi a questi rifugiati illustri[9].

La carriera di questo membro della dinastia dei Paleologhi, così sottovalutato dalla maggior parte degli storici che si sono occupati della sua biografia, essendo accusato di condotte immorali che Gli hanno causato una vita di povertà[10], è stata recentemente riabilitata da Jonathan P. Harris. Egli ha dimostrato che la sua vita priva di mezzi finanziari è stata piuttosto generata dalla riduzione progressiva della pensione a lui destinata dai pontefici e, sopratutto, che Andrea non è stato altro che un continuatore della politica fallimentare seguita dai membri della dinastia bizantina esiliati nella penisola italica. In questa maniera, sia il cedimento di alcuni suoi diritti su alcune regioni del vecchio Impero Bizantino a favore di qualche re o signore dell'Europa Occidentale, sia la sua deludente spedizione contro l'Impero Ottomano del 1481, dovrebbero essere interpretate sopratutto in questa chiave, cioè quella della crociata e del tentativo disperato di ricuperare i vecchi territori persi del Despotato della Morea, piuttosto che come un semplice metodo di guadagnare benefici materiali[11].

La fonte che presento qui, oltre che ad aggiungere un dettaglio alla parte meno conosciuta della vita di Andrea Paleologo, cioè gli ultimi suoi anni, in un certo senso confermerà la suddetta tesi. Per il momento, concentriamoci su questo dettaglio: il documento chiarifica due questioni, il fatto che, nel 1500, egli continuava a considerarsi il legittimo successore degli imperatori bizantini, comportamento che iniziò a seguire già dagli anni '80 dello stesso secolo[12], e il fatto che, effettivamente, negli ultimi suoi anni, operava piuttosto all'interno del cerimoniale papale di Roma dove, per esempio, ha avuto un ruolo importante nell'accoglienza dell'ambasciatore lituano nel 11 marzo del 1501[13].

Una missione molto più difficile è l'identificazione di questo Malatesta de' Malatesti, che nel 1500 era cittadino della città di Viterbo. L'ipotesi più verosimile che mi viene in mente è quella secondo la quale trattasi di Malatesta de' Malatesti, denominato anche „Il Gueriero", del ramo dei conti di Sogliano,

[8] Averkios Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453*, München, 1938.

[9] Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii. 1401–1477*, ed. Vasile Grecu, Bucureşti, 1966, p. 555.

[10] W. Miller, *Latins in Levant*, Londra, 1908, p. 454; St. Runciman, *Căderea Constantinopolului. 1453*, Bucureşti, 2011, p. 251–253; K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and The Levant (1204–1571)*, II, Philadelphia, 1958, p. 462; D.M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 114–116.

[11] J.P. Harris, "A Worthless Prince? Andreas Palaeologus in Rome 1464–1502", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 61, 1995, p. 537–554.

[12] Idem, "Despots, Emperors and Balkan Identity in exile", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44, 2013, 3, p. 650.

[13] Idem, "A Worthless Prince?", p. 553.

essendo il fratello del celebre Ramberto Malatesta di Sogliano, detto anche „Il Novello"[14]. Perchè avanzo quest'ipotesi? Percorriamo brevemente la biografia di questo personaggio nel periodo storico che ci interessa: Malatesta de' Malatesti, che, in alcuni atti, si firmava proprio in questo modo[15], era stato destinato da suo padre, Carlo, ad una vita ecclesiastica, diventando parte della corte del cardinale di S. Giorgio al Velabro, Raffaele Sansoni Riario della Rovere, vita che abbandona dopo la morte del genitore paterno, cominciando una lotta contro suo fratello Ramberto per la sua eredità[16]. Dal 1495 in poi prova ad agire da Cesena, alleandosi con la casata nobiliare guelfa dei Tiberti, diventando addirittura il capo di questa fazione, esperienza che si ritrova nel suo stemma. Purtroppo le sue avventure cavalleresche non ottengono i risultati sperati, dovendo fuggire da questa città dopo esser stato scomunicato dal papa Alessandro VI nel 1498, dopo il massacro provocato nei danni dei ghibellini[17]. Tuttavia, più tardi, questi riesce a farsi rimarcare nell'esercito di Cesare Borgia, conosciuto anche come il duca Valentino, nel suo tentativo di conquistare l'attuale regione dell'Emilia-Romagna, prendendo parte a questa campagna militare già nel mese novembre del 1499, fatto che consente a Malatesta de' Malatesti, „Il Gueriero", di entrare di nuovo nelle grazie del papa. Egli riesce anche a rientrare a Cesena, per un breve periodo, il 23 dicembre. Se solo nel mese di luglio del 1500 la città viene pacificata, diventando definitivamente parte dei territori del duca Valentino il 2 agosto, certo è che ritroviamo il personaggio qui studiato, nell'estate e nell'autunno dello stesso anno, nell'esercito di Cesare Borgia, che assediava Rimini, in qualità di *armorum ductor*[18].

Di conseguenza, se ho chiarificato il fatto che Malatesta de' Malatesti di Sogliano all'inizio del 1500 si era schierato dalla parte della fazione papale, mi rimane da svelare come egli avrebbe potuto diventare cittadino di Viterbo. Ho già menzionato che, all'inizio della sua carriera egli aveva un stretto legame con Raffaele Sansoni Riario della Rovere, il cardinale di S. Giorgio al Velabro degli anni 1477–1480, nella corte del quale avrebbe potuto avere l'occasione di conoscere Andrea Paleologo. D'altra parte, Raffaele Riario è stato amministratore apostolico della città di Viterbo nel periodo 1498–1506[19]. În conclusione, è molto probabile che l'ottenimento della qualità di cittadino di Viterbo da parte di Malatesta de' Malatesti sia stato il risultato del mantenimento delle sue relazioni con questo alto prelato.

Adesso veniamo al contesto storico nel quale è stato emesso il diploma „di cavaliere dello speron d'oro". Questa sezione deve prendere in considerazione, in primo luogo, l'associazione delle due casate nobiliari dei Paleologhi e dei

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[14] Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie Celebri di Italia. Malatesta di Rimini,* Torino, 1853, Tavola XX.

[15] Raffaella Castagnola, "Appendice documentaria su Ramberto Malatesta", in A. Antonioli, *Ramberto Malatesta. Monografia e catalogo della mostra su Ramberto Malatesta, principe e astrologo*, Cesena, 2014, p. 288–289.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 45–51.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 62–71.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 85–89.

[19] Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, III, Roma, 1793, p. 210–214.

Malatesta, e, in secondo luogo, il momento storico nel quale il documento è stato concesso.

Perciò, l'esistenza di relazioni politiche tra queste due case è una mera coincidenza? In uno studio di circa vent'anni fa, lo storico Silvia Ronchey già sottoliniava l'esistenza di un'alleanza dinastica tra i Paleologhi e i Malatesta nel quindicesimo secolo. Questa aveva come premessa il matrimonio di Teodoro II Paleolologo, despota della Morea, con Cleope/Cleopa Malatesta all'inizio del secolo citato, come nucleo le relazioni di parentela tra i Gonzaga, Malatesta e Paleologhi e come punto culminante la spedizione del 1462 di Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, il signore di Rimini e Fano, cugino di Cleopa, lanciata in conseguenza della dichiarazione della crociata del papa Pio II a Mantova nel 1459. Se la sua campagna militare, anche se è arrivata ad assediare Mistrà, non ha raggiunto gli obiettivi prefissati[20], la stessa decreta la fine dei tentativi dei Paleologhi di restaurare la cristianità nell'Europa Orientale per mezzo di questi latini. La dinastia bizantina troverà come alternativa l'affidamento ai cristiani orientali, per mezzo del matrimonio di Zoe, figlia di Tommaso Paleologo e sorella di Andrea, con il Gran Principe di Mosca Ivan III del 1472[21].

Per ciò che riguarda il momento storico nel quale è stato emesso il documento qui studiato, tenendo conto del fatto che Andrea Paleologo operava nella corte papale di Alessandro VI e che, con questa pergamena, conferiva un ordine dello Stato Pontificio, risulta chiaro che il legame tra il successore degli imperatori bizantini e Malatesta de' Malatesti rifletteva certi aspetti della relazione di quest'ultimo con il papa. Allora quale può essere la chiave interpretativa del legame tra questi tre personaggi nel mese di febbraio dell'anno 1500? Per scoprirla, secondo me, bisogna tener conto delle azioni di Alessandro VI in questo momento storico. Se abbiamo visto che egli era implicato, tramite suo figlio, nella conquista della penisola italica centrale, d'altra parte, rispondendo alle insistenze dei veneziani dopo la loro sconfitta a Lepanto causata dagli ottomani, già nell'autunno del 1499, richiese la presenza a Roma dei re e dei principi europei nel mese di marzo dell'anno seguente per tenere un congresso nel quale dichiarare la crociata. Sappiamo che quest'iniziativa ha avuto come effetto un'alleanza tra il Regno d'Ungheria e la Repubblica di Venezia sancita appena nel 30 maggio del 1501, che è stata in ogni modo caduca[22]. Ma ciò che è fondamentale per il nostro tema è che il papa aveva ripetuto la sua sollecitazione alla crociata, dell'ottobre 1499, all'inizio del mese di febbraio del 1500[23].

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[20] Silvia Ronchey, "Malatesta/Paleologhi. Un' alleanza dinastica per rifondare Bisanzio nel Quindicesimo secolo", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93, 2000, 2, p. 521–525, 532–543. Per altri approfondimenti sulle unioni dinastiche dei despoti della Morea con le principesse occidentali vedi Denis A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée, Histoire politique*, London, 1975, p. 119–284 e Angeliki Tzavara, Thierry Ganchou, "La Principissa Paleologina à propos des ΒΑΣΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΙ de Morée (fin XIVe – début XVe siècle)", *EΩA KAI EΣΠEPIA* 4, 1999–2000, p. 67–86.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 557–567.

[22] K.M. Setton, *op. cit.*, p. 508–534.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 524.

Quindi, come possiamo interpretare l'intersezione dei destini di Andrea Paleologo, Alessandro VI e Malatesta de' Malatesti se non considerando che, molto probabilmente, „Il Gueriero" aveva risposto alla chiamata del papa, possibilmente per rientrare nelle sue grazie, e quindi nello spirito della crociata? In conclusione, secondo me, il nostro diploma, consiste in un chiaro tardo riferimento, forse l'ultimo fino a nuove ricerche, all'alleanza dinastica esistente tra le due casate nobiliari Paleologo e Malatesta, che ha avuto come fine la restaurazione della prima nel Despotato della Morea. Certamente, sappiamo che quest iniziativa è stata fallimentare come tutti gli altri tentativi di Andrea, „Il Gueriero" non partecipando alla crociata, mentre l'applicabilità del diploma è scaduta o nel 1502, con la morte del successore degli imperatori bizantini, o nel 1503, quando Malatesta tradì la fazione di Cesare Borgia[24].

APPENDICE

1500, 19 febbraio

Andreas Paleologus, dei gratia despotes Romanorum ac Sacri Constantinopolitani Imperii legittimus heres et successor ad perpetuam rei memoriam omnimo Iuris utriusque rectorii Malateste de Malatestis Civi Viterbensi Salvum et prosperos ad nota successus attendenti preclaram et insignem tui animi virtutem singularemque tuam in utroque iure scienciam et preclara facinora. Necnon tuam erga nos et Costantinopolium Imperium sinceram devotionem et cum semper et maxime proximis temporibus erga nos fidem et in rebus omnibus quas pro nobis gessisti, curam maximam, operam et diligentiam cognovimus et cum quotidie et ma[gis] ac magis preteriti nobis quod gratum sit facias et umili laborii parcas ut honori atque utilitati nostre rem commodam facere possis et cum mores optimos et virtutes precipias memorii nostra mente recolimus, que res in mediocri laude digne esse indentur, virtutis namque nonque premium laus esse peribetur, non immerito eiusdem inducimur, ut tibi nos ad omnem gratiam liberales exibeamus et te omni quovis honore ac digne decoremus cum presertim nihil gratius esse possit quam te videre inter ceteros homines conspicuum. Testum prefatum nobilem virum divum Malatestam, motu proprio nostro et a nemine requisiti, ensem a more solito accingentes et aurata calcaria pedibus applicantes, necnon galeam ut moris est capiti trio imponentes imputiarum harum tenore litterarum militari seu equestri dignitate insignimus, militer armate militie de auratum facimus atque creamus volentes ut deinceps uti valeas omnibus et singulis privilegiis, immunitatibus et exemptionibus quibus ceteri milites seu equites de aurate militie potitur et gaudent in super ob ingentem, quo erga te affective amore, te tuosque filios et filias natos et nascituros et descendentes legitimos et naturales, nobiles constituimus, decernimus et creamus ac in perpetuum nobilitamus nobilitatisque titulo insignimur, quod nos omnes predictos iuxta qualitatem humane conditiones nobiles et tamque de nobili

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[24] Raffaella Castagnola, *op. cit.*, p. 98–99.

genere militum procreatos dicimus et nominamus ac ab universis singulis cuiuscumque dignitatis existant pro certibus sic nobilibus haberi dici nominamus et reputari volumus, hoc imperiali statuentes edicto et expresse ac eadem imperiali auctoritatem decernimus, quod tu et descendentes tuum ut supra et presertim masculum sexus unacumque locorum et terrarum tam in iuditio quam extra in rebus temporalibus quam in spiritualibus ecclesiasticis et prophanus, omnibus et singulis exerciitis, actibus ediis, honoribus, dignitatibus, officiis, iuribus, libertatibus, insignibus, privilegiis, gratiis et indultis gaudere uti et potuere possitis et debeatis quibus ceteri Sacri Constantinopolitani nobiles gaudere firmanter et potenter quomodolibet de consuetudine vel de iure et insuper arma et insigna que hactenus detulistis, videlicet scutum aureum […] tenori et […] in scuto de aurato etc leonis videlicet ad dimidia parte inferius in scuto aureo de aurata retinentem in manibus et prioribus pedibus, clavam herculeam ad instat crouci coloris quasi viridis innovanda et melioranda duximus, et melioramus et innovamus presentium per tenorem ut nunc et in perpetuum arma tua predicta ponamur et immediate inferiori parte scuti ut consuevisti, in alia vera medietate superiori, sit campus rubeus in quo sit me metas superior aquile auree cum duobus capitibus et de super dictis capitibus una corona pro quolibet capite aurea, cum alis extensis, prout melius in presentibus per picturam dignosci potest, insignis mere nobilitatis et illa pro viro arbitrio deferre et gestare possitis et valeas contradictione et impedimento cessantibus quibuscumque auctoritate nostra cesarea donamur et largimur per presentes, teque simili motu proprio et animo deliberato et ex certa scientia ac imperiali pietatis plenitudine, palatii nostri et imperialis consistorii comitens facimus, creamus, erigimus, nobilitamus, attri[buamus] imperiali auctoritate gratiosius insignimus, decernentes et statuentes quod tu exime in futurum omnibus privilegiis, iuribus, immunitatibus, honoribus, consuetudinibus […] futuri debeas et gaudere quibus ceteri Sacri et imperialis consistorii ac palatii nostri comites de iure vel consuetudine potuintur et guadent […] possis et valeas ubilibet terrarum facere et creare. Notarios publicos seu tabelliones et iudices ordinarios ac universis personis quo fidedigne […] idonee sint. Notariatus seu tabellionatus ac iudicatus ordinarii officium dare et concedere […] eorum quemlibet auctoritate imperiali de predictis per pecunia et calamare […] est investire, dummodo ad praticam et executionem eiusdem offici habiles et idoneos in memoris super quo coscientiam tuam oneramus dummodo tamen ab ipsis notariis […] seu tabellionibus et iudicibus ordinaris per te ut premittitis creandis et fiendis et eorum quolibet […] et nomine Sacri Imperii et pro ipso Imperio debitum fidelitatis recipias […] iuramentum in hunc modum videlicet quod erunt nobis et Sacro Constantinopolitano Imperio […] et omnibus successoribus nostris legitime intrantibus semper fideles sed bonum nostrum et omnibus successoribus nostris legitime intrantibus semper fideles […] vel tractatu ubicumque periculum nostrum vel status nostri tractaverint sed bonum nostrum et salutem nostram fideliter defendant et promonebunt et dampna nostra […] prohibebant et avortent. Preterea instrumenta tam publica quam privata, ulterias voluntates, testamenta, codicillos quocumque iudiciorum acta et omnibus et singula […] et ex debita rectorum officiorum fienda dediderunt vel scribent a auctoritate iure et fideliter a

divini machinatione falcitate et dolo sanatis scribent, legent, facient […] attendendo [?] pecavant inveratam vel passiones aliquis aut facinores scriptatas vero quas debebunt in publicam formam redigere et in mere abramis mundis […] fideliter conscribent, legent et facient causasque hostilitatibus et miserabilium personarum. Necnon pontes et stratas publicas pro iuribus […] et dictum testum donec publicata fuerunt sub secreto fideliter retinebunt et omnia aliqua et singula recte et iuste facient que ad dicta officia quomodolibet de iure […] notarii publici seu tabelliones et iudices ordinarii per te ut premittitur fiendi et creandi possint ubilibet terrarum facere, conscribere et publicare contractus, instrumenta, […] testamenta seu ulterias voluntates, decreta et auctoritates interponere quibuscumque contractibus illas vel illa requirentibus et omnia alia et singula facere, publicare et exercere, que ad officium publicum notarii […] tabellionis et iudicis ordinarii pertinere et spectare noscuntur. Item eidem imperiali auctoritate ex certa scientia et motu proprio tibi concedimus et largimur quod possis et valeas filiorum familias cuiuslibet […] in infancia constitutos emancipare et a patria pietate liberare, parentibus tamen eorum volentibus vel absentibus et hoc fieri possit per procuram specialem, tam ex parte parentium quam ex parte liberorum et […] quibuscumque etiam infantium tei adolescentum et quibuscumque decretum et auctoritatem nostram interponere possis. Item eadem imperiali autoritate ex certa nostra sciencia tibi concedimus et largimur ut possis et valeas naturales et bastardos, spurios incestuosos et natus copulative vel distinctive et quoscumque ex damnato et illicito coitu procreatos, vinentibus vel etiam mortuis eorum parentibus Illustrum tamen principem comitem, baronemque filiis dumtaxat exceptis et eos ad omnia iura legitima restituere et reducere omnemque geniture maculam penitus dolore, ipsos restituendo ad omnia et singula iura successoribus ab […] legitima acta ac si essent de legitimo matrimonio procreati, dummodo legitimationes huismodi per te fiende et promittitur non preiudicent filiis legitimis et legitimis heredibus. Cum ipsi legitimandi cum legitimis equis parentibus […] succedant parentibus et agnatis. Non obstantibus in premissis aliquibus legibus et constitutionibus etiam si tales sunt que deberent exprimere et de eis fieri mentio specialis quibus omnibus obstantibus vel obstare volentibus in hoc casu dumtaxat ex nostra sciencia et de imperatoria plenitudine pietatis, plenitudine totaliter derogamus per presentes derogatum esse decernimus. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem, robur et testimonium presentes fient iussimus, nostrique maioris sigilli appensioni muniri, quas nostra quoque manu rubeis litteris grecis ut moris nostri est subscripsimus. Datum Rome in domibus nostre solite residentie. Anno Salutis Millesimo quingentesimo indictione tercia die vero decimanona mensis februarii, pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patri et domini nostri domini Alexandri divina providentia pape Sexti anno octavo.

† Ανδρέας εν Χρίστω ο Θεώ Ευσεβής Δεσπότης Ρώμης Παλαιόλογος και Διάδοχος της Αυτοκρατορίας των Ρώμαιων

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The Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy (ISEES) hosts, starting July 1st, 2021, an **ERC Advanced Grant**, labelled as Grant Agreement no. 883219 — **TYPARABIC** — ERC-2019-ADG H2020, which is conducted by **Dr Habil. Ioana Feodorov** and will take five years to be completed. The project is titled *Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians. Cultural Transfers between Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Near-East in the 18th Century*. This is one of the 185 projects financed by the ERC under the Horizon 2020 Program and the first ERC Advanced Grant won by a Romanian research body. In the Social Sciences and Humanities section of the Horizon 2020 program, 500 proposals were submitted and only 48 projects were selected.

Its initiator and Principal Investigator, Dr Habil. Ioana Feodorov, has been leading the Arabic-studies projects of the Institute for more than a decade. The main objective of the TYPARABIC project is to examine the circumstances and outcomes of printing in Arabic with Arabic type in the 18th century Greater Syria (Syria, Lebanon, and the Holy Land), for Byzantine-rite and Catholic Arabic-speaking Christians. It addresses the connections between Eastern Europe and the Arab Christians of the Ottoman Empire, and the social progress brought by the print culture. Arabic-speaking Christians in present-day Syria and Lebanon strove to have Arabic books for the clergy and the laity irrespective of their confession: Greek-Orthodox, Greek-Catholic or Maronite. The Church of Antioch and All the East, whose birth goes back to the introduction of Christianity to Syria, claims an Apostolic foundation alongside the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople,

and Rome. Although subjected to Ottoman authority in different political forms, Romanians of the Trans-Danubian Principalities and Arab Christians of Greater Syria were in a similar situation in the 17th-18th centuries in several ways. Since the 16th century, Christians of the Patriarchate of Antioch, the only Church where Arabic has been used continuously for centuries as the official language, had aspired to replace the Church languages, Syriac and Greek, with the vernacular one, as a conscious acknowledgement of their Arab cultural orientation. At the same time, Romanians were striving to achieve the transition from Church Slavonic to the Romanian vernacular, a target that was gradually reached by printing the essential liturgical books in Romanian.

The TYPARABIC project focuses on the transfer of printing technology from Moldavia and Wallachia (the Romanian Principalities) to the Ottoman provinces for the benefit of the Arab Christians. Second, it aims to yield a systematic, detailed inventory of the Arabic books printed in 1701–1800 in the Romanian Principalities and Greater Syria. Several other objectives are included: circumstances of the opening of Arabic presses in Ottoman-ruled provinces; the Antiochian Christians' ties to Moldavia, Wallachia, and Ukraine; the Western European printers' support to Catholic Arabs; the role of printing in preserving Christian traditions and sanctioning the usage of Arabic in the Church; the contribution of printing to the Arab Renaissance of the 1820s (*Nahḍa*).

Printing in Arabic for the Christians, with Arabic type, beyond the borders of Western Europe, progressed in four steps. First, books were printed in Wallachia, which comprised Arabic and Greek liturgical texts: a *Book of the Divine Liturgies* (*Al-Qondāq al-falāḥī*), in Snagov, 1701, and a *Book of Hours* (*Kitāb al-Sā'āt*), in Bucharest, 1702. They were the joint work of the hierarch, scholar, engraver and printer Antim the Iberian (Rom. *Ivireanul*, 1650–1716), and Athanasius Dabbās, who served as metropolitan of Aleppo between his terms as a Patriarch of Antioch (1684–1694, 1720–1724). The second step materialized in 1705, when Dabbās founded in Aleppo the first printing press with Arabic type in the Ottoman Empire, with tools and knowhow that he transferred from Bucharest. Here he printed, between 1705 and 1711, and with financial support from Bucharest and Kyiv, eleven books, including, in 1706, the *Psalter* and the *Gospels*, and in 1707, the *Book of the Chosen Pearls* (*Kitāb al-durr al-muntaḫab*), comprising 34 homilies by St John Chrysostom. The third step took place forty years later, when Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch (1724–1766) printed five Arabic books at Iași, in Moldavia. In the fourth step, in 1750, one of Patriarch Sylvester's disciples, the deacon Yusuf Mark, who had overseen the production of Arabic type in Bucharest, founded the first print press in Beirut, most likely with the type made in Bucharest. Here he printed a *Psalter*, a new edition of the Aleppo one of 1706, a *Book of Hours* (1751), a second edition of the *Psalter* in 1753, and, presumably, the same year, a *Book of the Divine Liturgies*. The first Arabic church books printed with the Romanians' contribution were used as a basis for further editions for a whole century: *e.g.*, the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* of 1701 (Snagov) was last reprinted

in 1900 in Beirut. An in-depth study of books printed in Beirut could yield a more abundant output.

Presses to be surveyed are as follows: in Moldavia and Wallachia, Snagov (1701), Bucharest (1702), and Iași (1743–1747); in Greater Syria, Aleppo (1705–1711), Deyr el-Shuweyr (1734–1800), and Beirut (1750–1753). Other presses will also be considered: Qozhaya (Lebanon), where a Book of Psalms was printed in 1610 in Syriac and Arabic (with Syriac type), and Istanbul, where a Turkish-language press worked after 1727 with Arabic type. The corpus under study encloses 45 books so far, with probable additions, allowed by studying the large book-depositories of Europe and the Levant. These books will be surveyed in terms of their content (Greek and Syriac sources, Arabic versions and their authors, variations, printing programmes) and their form (formatting, iconography, ornaments, artistic influences). The Project focuses on philological and codicological themes, addressing print culture, Christian Arabic literature and cultural transfers between Eastern Europe and the Arabic-speaking Christians on the Eastern Mediterranean coasts.

The Core Team includes four researchers attached to the ISSEE, two other Romanian members, and seven researchers from other countries: France, Lebanon, Turkey, Ukraine, and the USA. The names of the Core Team members are well-known to the scientific community in Europe and beyond: Yulia Petrova, Vera Tchentsova, Charbel Nassif, Aurélien Girard, Samuel Noble, and Hasan Çolak. The five scientific reunions (conferences and workshops) that will be convened by the PI will also bring together in Bucharest colleagues from Russia, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, Italy, Georgia, Lebanon, etc.

Ioana Feodorov
PI, ERC Advanced Grant TYPARABIC

Research project **State, Communities and Nature of the Lower Danube Islands: An Environmental History Approach (1830-2020)**

The project is funded by UEFISCDI through PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-1238 and hosted by the 'Francisc I. Rainer' Institute of Anthropology, Romanian Academy.

Team members: **Ștefan Dorondel**, project director ('Francisc I. Rainer' Institute of Anthropology and Institute for South-East European Studies), Stelu Șerban (Institute for South-East European Studies), Gabriela Toroimac (Faculty of Geography, University of Bucharest), Marina Vîrghileanu (Faculty of Geography, University of Bucharest), Daniel Cain (Institute for South-East European Studies), Alexandra Ion ('Francisc I. Rainer' Institute of Anthropology).

Project link: https://danislandsproject.wordpress.com/

Islands are vital elements for rivers ecosystem as they are playing important hydro-morphological and ecological functions. Islands contribute to water self-purification and retention of sediments and nutrients, they provide important habitats for birds, animals, insects and of a wide variety of vegetation and endemic species. Fluvial islands are also vital for tracing the state borders along rivers as their hydro-morphological dynamics (including island formation and displacement over time) imprints them a "nomadic character": their movement means the movement of borders as well with all its politico-diplomatic implications. Despite their apparent "social vacuity", investigating islands from social sciences perspective can bring important contributions to social and environmental history field and also to the understanding of local ecologies.

This project aims at investigating the importance of Danubian islands for local riparian communities and for the riparian states (Romania, Bulgaria and Ukraine). We particularly look at the role played by the Danubian islands in the modern and contemporary history of the relationships between Romania, Bulgaria and Ukraine. For different reasons, as we will document within the project, these islands are interfering with human's affairs. We thus consider the hydro-morphological dynamics of islands to illuminate the regional entangled history of the three riparian countries. The research extends on a period of almost two hundred years. Since 1830, when the Danubian islands appear for the first time in documents as a major issue in setting the border between Walachia and the Ottoman Empire, lately Romania – Bulgaria border until nowadays when a new alluvial island emerging from the Danube ruined an EU investment in the newly built port of Rast (Romania) islands constantly have intervened in riparian countries politics and economy.

By telling the intricate history of these ecosystems and human societies, we will introduce a novel approach for Southeast European historiography and social anthropology – environmental history. Furthermore, we will engage with a multispecies perspective, by looking at the ways in which social realities are shaped in their interaction with natural beings and processes – bacteria and viruses, animals and forests, soil and rivers hydrodynamics.

The Institute for South-East European Studies will bring through research activity of Stelu Șerban and Daniel Cain the expertise on the history of intricate relationship between Bulgarian and Ukrainian states and riparian population and Danubian islands. The Institute for South-East European Studies will also co-organize the international conference scheduled for 2023.

Ștefan Dorondel,
Project Director

Research project **A Review of the Diplomatic Relations between Islam and Christianity: The Ottoman Capitulations to France and England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**

Project code: PN-III-P1-1.1-PD-2019, directed by **Dr Radu Dipratu**, Senior researcher in the Institute for South-East European Studies.

This project is funded by the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research through the Executive Unit for Financing Higher Education, Research, Development, and Innovation (UEFISCDI). It is a postdoctoral research project, designed to help young researchers who defended their PhD Thesis no more than 4 years prior to the application. Having a duration of 24 months, Radu Dipratu's project is hosted by the Institute for South-East European Studies between September 2020 and August 2022. The project aims to shed more light on the capitulations granted by the Ottoman Empire to France and England in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The capitulations (*'ahdname*) where the fundamental documents through which the Ottoman Empire framed its relations with foreign states and communities from the 14th century until 1923. Peace, trade, and religious matters were all settled through these documents. While thorough analyses of Ottoman *'ahdname*s have been published for those granted to some European states, notably Venice and Poland-Lithuania, the *'ahdname*s issued to France and England, two of the most important political and commercial players in the early modern Mediterranean, have not benefited up to now from such systematic scholarly work.

Despite the fact that in recent years scholars have shown a renewed interest for the so-called "capitulatory regime", they have yet to determine some key issues such as the precise chronology of the English *'ahdname*s, the apparent absence of French *'ahdname*s between 1604–1673, or the complex implications of the Anglo-French diplomatic and commercial disputes in the Eastern Mediterranean in the early 1600s. By turning to original Ottoman-Turkish documents preserved in Paris, London and Istanbul, this project aims to clarify these issues and, more crucially, to offer some critical editions of *'ahdname*s granted to France and England which, despite the fairly rich scholarship, have yet to be produced and historians often rely on unsatisfactory, centuries-old translations. The topmost objective of the project is to offer a broad analysis of Muslim-Christian diplomatic interactions in the early modern era, imperative to understanding both contemporaneous interactions, as well as later developments in the international arena.

Radu Dipratu
Project Director

Le cinquième programme de recherches scientifiques franco-roumain dans le cadre de la mission archéologique « Orgamè », 2021–2025

Depuis 2010, quatre programmes franco-roumains de recherches pluridisciplinaires se sont succédés sous la houlette d'**Alexandre Baralis** et **Vasilica Lungu** pour étudier la zone lagunaire entre Orgamè et Istros où se situent les plus anciennes fondations grecques disposées à proximité de l'embouchure du fleuve homonyme (Danube). Les principales institutions engagées dans cette coopération – le Musée du Louvre, le centre Camille Jullian (UMR 7299, CNRS-Université d'Aix-Marseille), l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes (Académie roumaine) et l'Institut de Recherches Eco-Muséales de Tulcea –, ont soutenu une remarquable collaboration marquée par le croisement d'études provenant de chercheurs et de spécialistes issus d'un vaste champ disciplinaire, par leur participation conjointe aux travaux de terrain ou à ceux menés dans les laboratoires de recherches, aboutissant à la valorisation des résultats acquis dans des colloques internationaux ou leur publication. Cette coopération a accompagné la formation de jeunes chercheurs, aboutissant notamment à la réalisation de trois thèses doctorales et de plusieurs mémoires de master. La participation de nombreux collaborateurs provenant de divers centres de recherches européens, soient-ils académiques, culturels ou universitaires (par exemple, l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul, le laboratoire ArAr (Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée de Lyon), l'Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de Bucarest, l'Institut National du Patrimoine de Bucarest, le Musée Municipal de Bucarest, l'Institut national d'Archéologie de Sofia, les Universités de Paris-Nanterre, Vancouver ou de Bucarest, etc.) a permis de former un nouveau réseau scientifique consacré au Pont-Euxin.

Grâce à un financement de l'Agence nationale de la recherche française alloué dans le cadre du programme « Pont-Euxin » (ANR-09-RPDOC-021-01), la mission archéologique franco-roumaine « Orgamè, nécropole et territoire » a entrepris ses premiers travaux sur le territoire proche d'Orgamè avant d'entendre ses recherches aux autres sites du nord de la Dobroudja, parmi lesquels ceux de Caraburun-Acic Suat, Baia, Călugăra, Panduru, Zimbru, etc. (Fig. 1), dont certains sont venus enrichir la carte archéologique régionale. Les quatre premiers programmes de recherche se sont concentrés sur la zone lagunaire istro-pontique, et plus particulièrement sur la question de la colonisation grecque dans ce secteur. La mise en œuvre de prospections systématiques et de fouilles archéologiques, d'études géomorphologiques et palynologiques, de prospections géomagnétiques, d'analyses paléozoologiques et macrobiologiques, d'analyses géochimiques auxquelles se sont ajoutées études architecturales et céramologiques, témoigne de la constitution d'un des pôles de recherche parmi les plus actifs dans le domaine de l'histoire et de l'archéologie istro-pontique.

Le dernier programme signé en décembre 2020 pour une période de cinq ans (2021–2025) entre le Musée du Louvre, l'ISSEE et l'ICEM, s'inscrit dans la continuité des précédents et dans un contexte global marqué par un véritable essor des recherches menées en mer Noire. Il vise à apporter un soutien scientifique, technique, documentaire, organisationnel et financier aux efforts des équipes partenaires pour valoriser les résultats des recherches scientifiques développées jusqu'à présent à Orgamè et dans le territoire situé au nord d'Istros. A cette fin, une nouvelle étape est franchie cette année par la mise en place d'une nouvelle collection éditoriale co-dirigée par les trois institutions concernées et par l'établissement de nouveaux partenariats scientifiques avec d'autres institutions de recherches, à la fois nationales et internationales. Dans le cadre de ce dernier programme, un tout nouveau partenariat a été signé avec l'Institut National de Recherche et de Développement pour la Géologie et Géo-écologie Marine (GeoEcoMar), qui permettra de développer à la fois les recherches géomorphologiques et les prospections géophysiques maritimes et terrestres, avec le soutien du Projet National de Recherche « NUCLEU, PN 19-20-02-02 ».

Ce bref survol des activités réalisées dans le cadre des programmes franco-roumains aux cours de leurs dix premières années d'activité ne prend pas en compte ici les multiples recherches que les membres des équipes partenaires ont consacrées à ce secteur du Pont-Euxin. Grâce à leur dynamisme, et au soutien des organismes scientifiques français et roumains, le Ve programme franco-roumain envisage la publication sous format monographique de chantiers archéologiques ou d'études collectives, ainsi que l'organisation de réunions scientifiques.
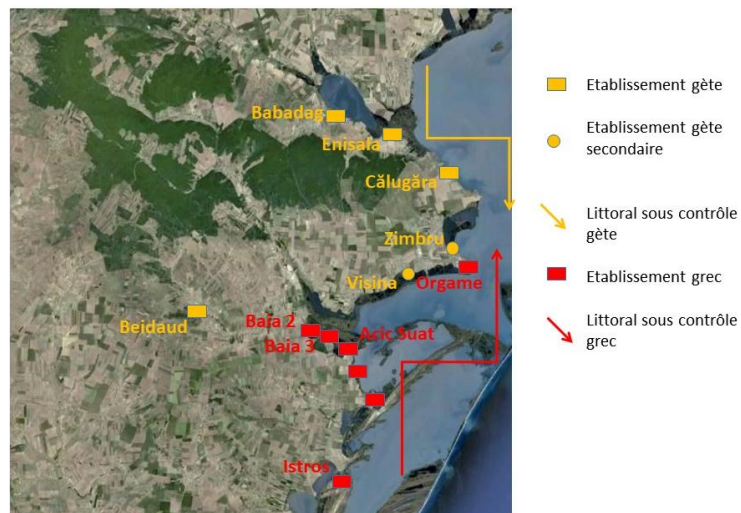

Fig. 1. Les établissements grecs et indigènes étudiés dans le cadre de la mission archéologique franco-roumaine « Orgamé », 2010–2020

Vasilica Lungu
Co-directeur du projet

Ivan BILIARSKY, *Vestigia semper adora. Power, Faith and Institutions in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine World,* ed. Ovidiu Cristea, București-Brăila, Istros, 2020, 372 p.

Dire et redire ce que lui doit la connaissance des fondements historiques et juridiques du Sud-Est médiéval, il le faut puisqu'il s'agit d'un auteur dont l'oeuvre imposante, telle qu'elle étend le territoire de ses recherches aussi loin que l'Ethiopie, demeure concentrée sur ce qu'on appella naguère « La vie posthume de Byzance ». Or, les études d'Ivan Biliarsky, réunies dans le volume que l'amitié de ses collègues roumains vient de publier, concernent surtout son pays natal, la Bulgarie, et l'Empire ottoman, l'héritage byzantin que tous les deux ont conservé au cours des âges, aussi bien que les issues vers les mers Noire et Adriatique à travers lesquelles l'espace balkanique se rattachait à Gênes et Venise. D'une page à l'autre, la fermeté du raisonnement et la clarté de l'exposé s'appliquent aux Grecs, Bulgares et Serbes pour mettre en évidence leur identité spirituelle et culturelle. Les questions que Biliarsky entend résoudre, qu'ils soient des problèmes d'ensemble ou signalés par un épisode significatif, exigent de renouveler l'analyse des sources théologiques et juridico-canoniques.

Ainsi, par exemple, on examine certaines lois des plus anciennes, modèles religieux du pouvoir et du droit en terre africaine chrétienne ou dans la tradition slave de Byzance, tandis qu'ailleurs l'attention s'arrête à des manuscrits inédits de Chilandar ou du Vatican. Quatre épîtres envoyées par la Chancellerie du Saint Siège en 1274 et en 1291 sont ici reproduites avec une extrême minutie : elles témoignent des relations ecclésiastiques de la Bulgarie avec Rome et du rôle personnel de Nicolas IV. Rangés selon un ordre chronologique, les articles qui composent ce recueil permettent de suivre le cheminement de l'intérêt de l'auteur pendant une vingtaine d'années.

A l'été du concile de Lyon, l'équilibre entre les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident, envisagé comme perfectible dans les deux camps, n'était pas plus avancé qu'auparavant, car la situation des États balkaniques allait bientôt dépendre de l'affrontement entre Naples et Constantinople. On doit accepter les conclusions de Biliarsky sur la juridiction de l'archevêché d'Ochrid disputé par Byzance aux autorités bulgares et serbes, ainsi que sur la position de Trnovo envers l'Union, qui ne serait devenue hostile qu'en 1276. Un autre travail est consacré au culte de l'empereur sanctifié, Constantin, inséparable de la vénération de la Vierge comme protectrice de la Cité impériale ; sur la même base s'est organisée la valeur de sanctuaire du Mont Athos, conçu pendant la Turcocratie en tant que défenseur de l'Orthodoxie. Un sujet semblable est fourni par sainte Petka (Parascève), dont les reliques amenées à Trnovo en 1231 ont eu, pour cette ville bulgare, siège des pouvoirs d'État et d'Église, une importance aussi grande que celle la Vierge à Constantinople. Cette popularité s'était déjà diffusée, déterminant la fréquente présence de son image dans l'art balkanique : pour la première fois, elle apparaît en Moldavie en 1541 dans la peinture murale d'Arbore. A la cour princière moldave, à Jassy, son église la plus ancienne lui a été dédiée en 1610 et la translation de ses reliques allait suivre en 1641. Depuis, les honneurs qu'on lui rend en ont fait un culte national. Se représenter exactement la structure et les dimensions d'une pareille construction de la foi est le but visé par Biliarsky lorsqu'il décrit l'idéologie du « Kebra Nagast », le livre de sagesse de la dynastie éthiopienne qui en retrace l'origine à Salomon. L'impact de cette tradition légendaire s'est perpétué à travers un long Moyen Age et la stratégie de saint Louis espérait se rapprocher du « royaume du Prêtre Jean ». On se retrouve ensuite en Bulgarie pour en évaluer l'héritage romain et constantinopolitain : parmi les aspects que l'auteur a saisis à plusieurs reprises il signale la représentation de saint Constantin comme veilleur sur la Romanité chrétienne et symbole immanquable dans l'art orthodoxe du Sud-Est. L'exemple de Pătrăuți, cité pour démontrer l'influence du Second Empire bulgare en Moldavie, peut seulement être perçu comme encore une preuve de cette théologie de la Victoire dont fut imbu le règne d'Etienne le Grand. Quant à la Bulgarie, il vaut mieux se reporter aux pages qui reprennent ici un thème que Biliarsky avait traité précédemment ailleurs afin

d'étudier la signification du culte du tzar Pierre associé à celui de saint Jean de Ryla, encore deux voies vers la sacralisation de l'Etat bulgare entre le Xe siècle et le XIVe.

On ne ressort des limites habituelles de ce régime théocratique et patriarcal que pour de remarquables considérations sur l'onction royale et le couronnement, car, cette fois, l'horizon s'élargit tellement qu'on arrive aux Hittites et au Peuple d'Israël. Il s'agira du sacre des rois de France pour un millénaire à partir de Hugues Capet, avec une belle bibliographie des sources. Malgré la continuité du rituel, des nuances reflètent des mutations selon le rythme des mutations qui font évoluer le statut *royal* en Europe de l'Ouest vers l'absolutisme. Le dernier exemple choisi est celui du Brandebourg quand le prince-électeur devient roi, changement légitimé par un document dont l'auteur, Alexandre Dohna, représente l'une des grandes familles de la Prusse Orientale qui ont servi les Hohenzollern. Tout au long de ces variations on parvient à suivre un approfondissement des analogies avec les rites du baptême et du mariage.

Pour revenir au Sud-Est, qu'on n'abandonnera plus avant la fin du volume, Biliarsky s'est orienté vers les titres des offices du Second Empire bulgare, égrenés pour un facile examen philologique, au bout duquel il conclut que la Bulgarie médiévale fut un Etat byzantin hors de Byzance. A la cour et dans l'administration centrale, le nom dont on nommait ces personnages importants était emprunté du grec, à peine slavisé. La route prise par de telles institutions ne s'est pas arrêtée au Danube : elles se retrouvent en Valachie. Pas seulement le logothète (le plus haut fonctionnaire de la chancellerie, ayant comme subalternes le second et le troisième logothète; plus tard ça veut dire simplement lettré). *Kephalia,* sous Mircea l'Ancien, en effet le gouverneur de Dristor (Silistra), en pays bulgare, *stolnik*, traduit du grec à travers le slavon, ce qui signifie « chef de la table », *strator*, fonction militaire que j'ai trouvé dans un document inédit de 1497, *primikirios* – « primichir » dans le vocabulaire du dix- huitième siècle – toutes ces dignités ont eu la même origine. Pour d'autres, leur titre bulgare (*boila* ou *zhitar* = jitariu) a laissé trace dans des noms de famille en Roumanie jusqu'à présent. Un article sur le titre impérial des sultans employé au XVe siècle dans les actes slaves mentionne deux formules (*gospodstvo mi, authentia mi* = « domnia mea ») qui se retrouvent en Valachie d'abord en slavon et ensuite en roumain. Un tel document ottoman rédigé en slavon est publié ici par Biliarsky qui l'a découvert parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. C'est une lettre de Bayazid II à Mathias Corvin, envoyée en 1486 au roi de Hongrie pour s'excuser du meurtre d'un seigneur serbe, incident qui met en lumière les relations entre ces grands États où les réfugiés balkaniques exerçaient une influence politique importante.

La partie finale de ce recueil, fondée sur les sources de la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle, évoque un fragment d'histoire de la région d'entre le Danube inférieur et la mer. Ainsi se dresse l'image de Dobrotitch, le despote de Kaliakra, qui parvint à forger une puissance pontique par ses interventions dans la politique byzantine à côté de la Bulgarie et de Gênes. Ajoutons que les travaux de Biliarsky sur la dynastie de la Dobroudja au XIVe siècle expliquent les ressources militaires et la stratégie politique d'Ivanko (Jean Terter), depuis toujours allié des Génois, dont son père avait été un *pravus et crudelis inimicus.* Le traité avec Gênes conclu en mai 1386 à Péra par Costa et Tcholpan, les représentants d'Ivanko, est un document de la plus grande valeur qui a été souvent commenté depuis le XIXe siècle, mais des aspects essentiels sont signalés ici par une analyse juridique. Pour suppléer à l'insuffisance d'information dans le texte, on le compare à des documents qui avaient réglé les relations de l'Empire bulgare avec Venise et Dubrovnik. Cette fois-ci, on examine les attributions du consul génois sur le territoire de la *Dobroudja* en tant que chef de la colonie locale, ainsi que les dispositions pour la situation de la *loggia* et de l'église catholique. Les droits et privilèges assurés ainsi aux Génois en Dobroudja, y compris l'allèment des taxes dues pour le commerce, prouvent que Gênes se réservait un statut extra-territorial. La forme latine dans laquelle la source a été conçue suppose aussi une influence culturelle.

Désormais, nous aurons appris faits et interprétations, mais aussi une leçon de méthode.

Andrei Pippidi

Mihail MITREA (ed.), *Tradition and transformation. Dissent and Consent in the Mediterranean.* Proceedings of the 3rd, CEMS International Graduate Conference, Kiel, Solivagus-Verlag, 2016, 273 p., 3 figures.

This finely edited volume originated in a conference entitled *Tradition and Transformation: Dissent and Consent in the Mediterranean* organized at the Central European University in 2013. It features eleven separate studies, following an introductory essay by the volume's editor, Dr. Mihail Mitrea. Apart from the papers by conference participants, the volume includes a contribution by Dr. Mihailo St. Popović presented at the International Symposium "Before and After the Fall of Constantinople," Belgrade, 2012. The major theme of the volume highlights the particularity of the Mediterranean zone as harbor of competing forms of cultural and religious universalism. By focusing on "dynamics of appropriation, transformation and development" outlined in the introduction, the volume assumes a contextual view of the belief systems that crystalized around the Mediterranean from Late Antiquity to the early modern period. The studies are organized chronologically with abundant footnotes accompanying each paper. In addition to a summarizing introduction, the editor provides the expected list of abbreviations and contributor biographies. The following provides highlights from the eleven rich and rewarding papers.

The volume starts with an excellent essay called "Tradition and Transformation in Ancient Jewish Cosmology and Biblical Interpretation," by Nicholas Ellis, author of *The Hermeneutics of Divine Testing: Cosmic Trials and Biblical Interpretation in the Epistle of James and Other Jewish Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015). The essay is dedicated to understanding how Jewish monotheism engages with the source of evil as God retains the functions "of judge, defence council, and prosecutor", which in the surrounding polytheistic cultures are assigned to various divine figures. Ellis identifies three approaches that structure the biblical interpretation and cosmology in the Jewish sources of early Antiquity. First, the Book of Jubilees 'externalizes divine agency into cosmic forces' by recasting the biblical narrative within an explicit demonic paradigm. The second interpretative option unfolds "in the anthropology of Ben Sira, who removes responsibility for evil from the divine person and embeds it within the human condition" (p. 28). Whereas Jubilees conceives a demonic power residing on the *yetzer* of the hearth – the 'place of person's thoughts and decisions' –, Ben Sira refuses to acknowledge "an external evil agent within the 'fall' tradition" (p. 30). Finally, the rabbinic literature illustrates the third interpretative option by instituting "the concept of the evil *yetzer* as a reified agent of testing" which, within Jewish tradition, further internalizes cosmic evil (p. 33). According to Ellis, the assimilation of the human *yetzer* to a quasi-demonic figure residing within the human person and the mitigation of Satan's role represent the distinctive features of rabbinic cosmology (cf. p. 35). Overall, Ellis uncovered "developing instantiations of Jewish thought" which struggled to diffuse the dualistic implications of a prominent Satanic figure.

In a rich and stimulating contribution ("Uses and Misuses of the Common Concepts Strategy in Emperor Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*"), Máté Veres pinpoints a novelty within Platonist anti-Christian polemics in Julian's application of the theory of common concepts (κοινὴ ἔννοια or φυσικὴ ἔννοια – 'naturally arising concept') in his *Contra Galilaeos*. In addition, he explores Emperor Julian's motivations (and pitfalls) for embedding his anti-Christian stance within this philosophical framework. As Veres notes, the theory of common concepts originates in the Stoic understanding of rationality as the natural disposition of rational beings to form concepts from ordinary sense perceptions. The natural origin of these concepts secures their (veridical) epistemic status and enables them "to serve as criteria by which we judge the truth of further impressions and theoretical statements" (p. 43). As Veres argues, Julian's application of the Common Concepts Strategy aimed to deprive Christians from claiming a share in rationality since their position could not be measured by relation to common concepts. In particular, he points out that Julian anchors his criticism in the origin of the concept of god described as arising 'by nature and not from teaching' (cf. p. 46). The contention that we possess a concept of god by nature at a preliminary level of insight is in Julian's view demonstrated by "the common consensus of both nations and individuals" and the "universal yearning for the divine." On this basis, Julian contends that Christians corrupted their natural

disposition to grasp the divine by positing sources of knowledge that override rational considerations as is the appeal to faith and revelation. Finally, Veres convincingly argues that Julian's resort to common concepts "can be seen as countermove against the Christian appropriation of the same doctrine," preeminently illustrated by Origen of Alexandria (cf. p. 50–52). Highlighting its unique compatibility with Greek philosophical tradition, this theory dovetails Julian's well-known condemnation of Christian appropriation of Greek culture.

In the third essay ("The Iconography of the Mithraic Tondo from Salona Revisited"), Nirvana Silnović endeavors to revisit the interpretation of a Mithraic votive marble relief from Salona depicting the scene of tauroctony encircled by a peculiar sequence of aquatic animals. Starting with a detailed survey of previous interpretations in which she dismisses the association of its aquatic iconography with the symbolism of the seven-grade structure of initiation, Silnović meticulously uncovers in the Salonitan tondo "a coherent and complex narrative" underpinned by "a sort of a Mithraic 'bricolage'" (p. 67). Summoning a rich evidence on the symbolism of water in the Greek and Roman religious cultures, Silnović argues that the puzzling aquatic symbolism of the tondo evokes the "multivocality of the Mithraic symbols" prone to speak "different cultures simultaneously" (p. 68). She associates the selection of aquatic animals on the Mithraic tondo with their ascribed healing properties and capacity "to enhance the apotropaic powers of the tauroctony" (p. 74). Observing the blending of eclectic religious symbols, Silnović considers the Salonitan tondo to be reminiscent of "the refined late antique culture in which one can trace overlappings of different discourses regardless of religious boundaries" (p. 75).

The chapter by Hajnalka Tamás ("Martyrdom and Episcopal Authority: The Bishop-Martyr in Pannonian Hagiography") is one of the volume's strongest. Addressing the construction and appropriation of episcopal authority through hagiographical discourse, Tamás applies a literary, theological and audience-oriented analysis to two late antique Pannonian *passiones*, the *Passio Quirini Sisciani* (BHL 7035–8) and the *Passio Irenaei episcopi Sirmiensis* (BHL 4466). She exposes the absence of any positive attitude towards secular authority which "can be understood in relation to the emerging competition between an incipient, yet effervescent episcopal authority and secular authority" (p. 85). TAMÁS underscores that the sacrificial perception of martyrdom as the earnest desire to follow Christ even unto His passion (*imitatio Christi*) "is constantly re-iterated, mediated, and transmitted through the *sacerdo*s and ultimately through the bishop" (p. 86). Her careful examination shows that these hagiographical narratives "were likely to secure the adherence of large Christian communities to a rather strict episcopal authority [...]" (p. 91). In framing the interaction between bishop and Christian community, Tamás forcefully concludes that these *passiones* formulate "the closest expression of apostolic succession in a hagiographical text" (p. 89).

The subsequent essay by Jessica I. O. van 't Westeinde ("Questioning Authority: Christian Education Leading to Lay Participation in Doctrinal Debates") is devoted to Jerome's pedagogical paradigm and its influence on lay participation (members of the Roman aristocracy) in the momentous doctrinal debates of their times. She insightfully highlights the interdependence of 'expert level education' and social aspects – "consciousness of social status, a sense of (collective) belonging" – in relation to expressing dissent towards authorities and active engagement in doctrinal debates (cf. p. 101). Westeinde concludes that education was a means that enabled the faithful not only to apprehend (orthodox) doctrine, but even to define it (p. 114).

Maël Goarzin ("Presenting a Practical Way of Life through Biographical Discourse: The Examples of Gregory of Nyssa and Marinus") attempts to explain the fondness for biographical discourse in late antiquity. He explores three biographical works written in Christian and Neoplatonic contexts, namely Gregory of Nyssa' *vitae* of Moses and Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Marinus' *vita* of Proclus. Goarzin shows that biographical discourse regardless of its philosophical affiliation parades "an ideal, but nonetheless practical way of life" meant to ignite and guide the reader's own quest for virtue.

A well-argued contribution to this volume, by Nikoloz Alekside ("The Murder at Mount Kangar: The Oral Narratives of the Caucasian 'Schism'") is dedicated to understanding the ecclesiastic schism that occurred between the Armenians and Georgians in the early seventh century, on which this scholar has also recently published an expanded version, *The Narrative of the*

Caucasian Schism: Memory and Forgetting in Medieval Caucasia (Leuven: Peeters, 2018). Examining the oral accounts and the textual layers informing the Caucasian Schism narrative, Alekside convincingly shows that the representation of the Schism is embedded and contingent upon the articulation of the religious identities (i. e. Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian) in the region in the Middle Ages. Foremost, the remembrance of the schism is retained in radically different ways in the Georgian and Armenian cultural memory. While the Chalcedonian Georgians almost fully ignore the occurrence of a Schism, the non-Chalcedonian Armenians pin down the Schism to the events connected with the Katholikos Abraham (607–615) in Armenia and Katholikos Kyrion (ca. 599–614) in Iberia, when a certain bishop Peter was stoned by the Georgians near Mount Kangar for his non-Chalcedonian belief. Going back to a Georgian oral tradition, this story was discovered by the Armenian Bishop Uxtanēs of Sebasteia (*ca.* 935–1000) who was commissioned to create a scholarly account of the Georgian 'apostasy.' But, as Alekside argues, the story recorded in the Georgian tradition had nothing to do with the Schism but alluded to a series of dramatic events that occurred in fifth-century Iberia, during the reign of King Vaxt'ang Gorgasal (the Wolf-Head, d. 502). 'Encapsulating in itself the alleged Georgian treachery,' the Armenian tradition incorporated the story of Peter's stoning in the Schism narrative (p. 148). From ALEKSIDE careful exploration we learn that the medieval perception of the sixth-century Caucasian religious history aimed to explain the present political state of affairs and to sustain the continuity of ethno-religious identities. It remains, however, noteworthy that in the national narratives the remembrance of the Schism (still) constitutes 'a central interpretative schema' for understanding the formation of the Christian Caucasian cultures.

Jonas J. H. Christensen ("Three Deaths in Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Diēgēsis Merikē* II") offers a fascinating discussion surrounding three events in the autobiographical work *Diēgēsis Merikē* (*A Partial Account*) of Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–*ca.* 1269). The *Diēgēsis Merikē* consists of two parts. The second is an amplification of the first, which must have originally constituted a stand-alone document. The first book was finished in May, 1264, the second — in April, 1265. Christensen convincingly shows that the new information provided in the second part exposes a careful refashioning designed to enhance Blemmydes' ascetic image and secular status. Christensen illustrates this point by analyzing the episodes describing the deaths of Blemmydes' parents and of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1221/1222–1258). He reveals that Blemmydes keenly vindicates his ascetic holiness by overemphasizing his threefold renunciation: of family and blood, of material possessions and of earthly life and honors.

Annika Asp-Talwar ("Bad Luck and Divine Protection–Religions and Biography in the *Periēgēsis* by Andrew Libadenos") explores the *Periēgēsis* of Andrew Libadenos, a Constantinopolitan intellectual who lived and worked in Trebizond (*ca.* 1340–1361). *Periēgēsis* is a generic hybrid which combines elements from hagiography, autobiography, embassy report and travel account. ASP-TALWAR addresses the structure and content of the *Periēgēsis* for uncovering the reasons behind its composition and the emphasis placed on the role of religion. Discerningly, she reveals that apart from showcasing Libadenos' eventful life filled with travel and learning, the *Periēgēsis* modulates the author's apology for having participated in the large-scale rebellion of 1355 against Alexios III, the ruler of Trebizond.

Christian Hoffarth's essay "Rewriting *Ecclesia Primitiva*: Peter of Olivi's Image of Early Christianity and the Formation of Dissent in the Western Mediterranean around 1300" offers a rich and insightful reading of medieval exegetical re-writings of the early Christian community of goods (cf. Acts 2: 44–45 and 4: 32–35), on which this scholar has also recently devoted a monograph, *Urkirche als Utopie. Die Idee der Gütergemeinschaft im späteren Mittelalter von Olivi bis Wyclif* (Hamburger Studien zu Gesellschaften und Kulturen der Vormoderne 1, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016). Analyzing the Franciscan poverty controversy, Hoffarth traces the understanding of *ecclesia primitiva* as a non-hierarchical and all-embracing community of use to Peter of John Olivi's (1247/8–1298) exegetical writings. Endorsed by Michael of Cesena (*ca.* 1270–1342) and William of Ockham (*ca.* 1285–1347) this understanding that rejected the idea of a socio-ecclesiastical hierarchy between religious and laity contradicted both the traditional image of the early Church and the previous Franciscan tradition. According to Hoffarth, Olivi's rewriting of early Christianity's history impregnated the apocalyptic expectations of salvation and the heterodox ideologies of the time (p. 209).

The last contribution to the volume by Mihailo St. Popović ("South-East European Princesses, Christian Renegades and Early Ottoman Statehood in the Balkans: State of Research and New Perspectives") examines the impact of Christian renegades in the early Ottoman administration and statehood and the Ottoman marriage policy in the Balkans at the end of the fourteenth century, a topic on which this scholar wrote a monograph, *Mara Branković. Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert* (Mainz-Ruhpolding: Franz Philip Rutzen Verlag 2010). He indicates that the high percentage of Christian renegades in high Ottoman offices impacted the usage of languages in Ottoman administration as testified by the official usage of Serbian for diplomacy in the Empire. In addition, Popović documents a process of integration of the local elites into the Ottoman state designed "to form centers of integration and platforms of diplomatic contacts" (p. 225).

While reflecting the diversity of the subjects explored at the conference, the volume is well balanced featuring six papers on Late Antiquity and five on the Middle Ages which cover both the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean region. The volume corresponds to a more general trend in scholarship which moves away from notions of decay and decline toward processes of appropriation and transformation. In a nutshell, Dr. Mihail Mitrea produced an excellent volume which underscores through relevant case studies the diverse religious, philosophical, political and exegetical backgrounds that structure and define orthodoxies.

Mircea Duluş

Ovidiu CRISTEA, Liviu PILAT (eds), *From Pax Mongolica to Pax Ottomanica. War, Religion and Trade in the Northwestern Black Sea Region (14th–16th Centuries),* Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2020, 321 p.

It takes a long title to show the content of this book, which is collecting quite a dozen studies to investigate the evolution and transformation of the Northern Black Sea area for the period between the implantation of the Genoese in that region and the end of the Levantine colonies. An overview is given by the editors in the introduction, where various aspects (political, religious, commercial and also cultural) are treated as a network. Romanian scholars needed this opportunity to exchange with foreign colleagues the information resulted from their researches.

It is self-evident that the first author whose name should arise here was Șerban Papacostea. His presence assures the starting-point of this volume. We can read now his last article on *The Genoese in the Black Sea*, a synthesis that put an end to a capital work. It is equally true that his personal example and his solicitude to disciples have created a historical school on this topic. The following to be added to the list of contributors is Roman Hautala, the distinguished historian of Franciscans' and Dominicans' missionary work in the 13th–14th centuries. Scavenging new sources, he has revealed the extension eastwards of that activity which penetrated into the Golden Horde territory. For instance, since Rubruck's time we know about such attempts of Catholic missionaries. Successes and failings are meticulously reconstituted: among other sites of the Friars Minor, Vicina and Maurocastro are mentioned. We come across both of these in the chapter on trade centers, by Laurențiu Rădvan. This author pickled the main dates from the history of Cetatea Albă: he could have also mentioned what I wrote in 1998 about the 1440 inscription. Equally discussed is that other Moldavian fortress, Kilia, until 1484, bringing out accurate figures on wares and money. Șerban Marin, the Romanian archivist who has the best knowledge of the Venetian chronicles, collected their more or less detailed accounts of the loss of Tana which dispossessed Venice of that market-place (1343–1348). The commercial activity in the Black Sea carried on during the Timurid era, despite the furious agitation in this area produced by Timur's wars against the Golden Horde and the Ottoman Sultan, is the subject masterfully studied by Nagy Pienaru from 1385 to 1440.

Stefan S. Gorovei, whose position in the works on medieval Moldavia is prominent, did return here to his most cherished hero, Stephen the Great, for bringing forward some observations and

hypotheses. They concern the prince's Black Sea policy, a matter which he reshaped twenty years ago, integrating the new information collected around Mangup (Theodoro), the principality ruled by the family where Stephen made his second marriage in 1471. Those Palaeologi (– Asanoi and – Zamblakoi) were one of the branches of the imperial dynasty dispersed almost everywhere in the Byzantine Commonwealth, but a stream of genealogical researches have concatenated the short life of this princess to projects to expand the influence of Moldavia over Chazaria or Gothia. As early as 1458, a Genoese document displayed the three dominant forces in Crimea: the khan of the Tatars, the prince of Theodoro with his brothers and the community of Moncastro (Cetatea Alba) under its prince (Stephen of Moldavia). The lord of Theodoro possessed a vast Parathalassia, land by the sea as far as Chersonesos. Gorovei convincingly argues that Stephen hoped to establish a borderline to confront the Ottomans which would have included both his Moldavia and the neighbouring Crimean territory. Equally interesting is the next chapter, by Danuta Quirini-Poplawska. It opens the task to analyse the part taken by Poland in the struggle for hegemony over the Black Sea. After the peace treaty concluded in 1479 between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, the fall of Otranto determined new endeavours to oppose the Turkish attacks. Therefore, Genoa, since the loss of Caffa, was ready to join an anti-Ottoman coalition launched by the Pope, and even the very active Genoese merchants of Poland made efforts to attract the Jagiello kingdom to this crusade. While King Mathias of Hungary gave military affairs his attention in Bosnia and in the Danubian region of Serbia, Stephen of Moldavia intervened in Wallachia to eject the Turks from there and impose a ruler against them (To add Stefan Andreescu, *Din istoria Mării Negre. Genovezi, români și tătari în spațiul pontic în secolele XIV–XVII*, București, 2001, p. 145–150). Crimea was also aimed by the Genoese Republic for a recovery of its lost colonies and this coincided with Stephen's projects. Important sources confirm a support for the projected expedition was gained from the Tatar khan as well. Such negotiations continued till 1484, but failed to reach a concrete result. Poland is again present in the picture Liviu Pilat presents of the diplomatic complications in the same region during the last ten years of the century, after the 1486 Moldavian-Ottoman peace. The correspondence between Crimea and Muscovy attests their collaboration against Poland, and Stephen was involved in this alliance which depended upon the proper control of the Ottoman Empire

The role of the Zaporozhyan Cossacks in the conflicts which developed between Poland and the Ottomans is pointed out by Dariusz Milewski. He carefully follows the destructive actions across Moldavia in 1574–1592, as they were provoked by various pretenders to this throne. Since 1583 several plunder expeditions invaded the Black Sea coast. The assaults of the Cossacks reached Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania until 1596 when they were suppressed by the Polish authority. The Balkans, at the end of the century, were merely choosing between evils: the strength of Ottoman rule was slightly decreasing, the Habsburgs, after making peace with Poland, augmented their force in Hungary against the Turkish pressure. Ovidiu Cristea and Ovidiu Olar summarize the "Long War", trying to reconstruct the history of the events in the Black Sea area. A remarkable addition they bring to interpretation comes from a Venetian manuscript describing the part played by Meletios Pigas, *quasi* patriarch of Constantinople, in 1597, when he negotiated a truce with the rebel prince of Wallachia, Michael the Brave himself. This search of a diplomatic solution was for a while the attitude of some Ottoman ministers. A flow of Ottoman documents is punctually examined by Michał Wasiucionek for understanding the official languages, models and practices adopted (and evolved) in the Crimean and Moldavian chanceries.

This labour of erudition will certainly arise wide scholarly attention.

Andrei Pippidi

Steve TIBBLE, *The Crusader Strategy. Defending the Holy Land*, New Haven and London, Yale
   University Press, 2020, p. 353 + XVIII

    The conquest of Jerusalem on the 15th of July 1099 was considered a miraculous victory,
representing the divine confirmation for the crusading movement. However, soon the rulers of the
newly established Christian states realised that God alone could not protect their territories. They had
to devise a plan in order to survive. For a long time, the Crusaders were considered to be hot-headed
rulers and blood-thirsty fighters, whose main interest was to rage war against the Muslims. Steve
Tibbles attempts to restore the reputation of the Franks: they were competent rulers who developed
and implemented various strategies which ensured their survival against all odds.
    The author divides the 12th century into five parts, each corresponding to a certain strategy.
The first kings of Jerusalem understood that their kingdom could only survive if it had access to the
Mediterranean ports in order to establish a connection with the West by which a continuous stream of
recruits and money could flow towards the Holy City. Also, they had to annihilate the danger posed
by the Fatimid caliphate, as the caliph from Cairo controlled most of the Palestinian ports. The
`coastal strategy` led to negotiations with the Italian city-states, which could provide the necessary
fleet for naval operations. Also, the Franks started to build new castles and use them as bridgeheads
for future attacks. Raymond of Toulouse coordinated his attacks against Tripoli from the castle of
Mont Peregrinus, which had been built at only 3 kilometres from the city. Further south, the prince of
Galilee and the king of Jerusalem built two castles, Toron and Scandelion, which were used to tighten
the grip around Tyre. This strategy worked: Tripoli was captured in 1109 and Tyre in 1124.
    After the capture of the coastal ports, the Franks turned towards the hinterland. They planned
to capture the main Muslim cities from Syria, which would offer them protection against further
attacks, but also the possibility to expand their borders. More land meant more knights from Europe
who could settle in the Orient. Aleppo (1124–1125, 1138), Shaizar (1138–1157) and Damascus
(1129, 1149) were besieged repeatedly, but without success. The plans were good, but the Franks did
not have access to enough engineers and recruits in order to conquer the powerful fortifications of the
Muslim cities. Thus, they had to ask for help from foreign rulers, like the Byzantines, the Latins from
Europe or the Armenians. The presence of heterogeneous contingents among the Franks did not
provide the necessary cohesion for long-term campaigns. Thus, neither the Syrian expedition of John
II Komnenos, nor the Second Crusade led to the conquest of the great Syrian cities. The County of
Edessa was the only crusader state which managed to expand its borders deep into Muslim territory.
However, the fall of Edessa in 1144 proved that the hinterland strategy could be implemented only if
all of the Crusader states were ready to cooperate and the frontiers were extended gradually from
north to south. The various disputes between the princes of Antioch and the counts of Edessa together
with the lack of Christian fortresses in the territories south of Edessa meant that the county could not
have been defended against a powerful enemy.
    The danger posed by Zengi led Fulk I of Jerusalem to develop another strategy which was meant
to secure the southern territories of the kingdom and to offer the king the possibility to campaign more in
the North. The First Crusaders missed the opportunity to conquer Ascalon in 1099 due to a quarrel
between Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse. The city-port was used to assist the Fatimid
army during the five invasions which were launched from Egypt between 1099–1105. Over the years,
more and more Egyptian recruits arrived in Ascalon which meant that the garrison itself was capable of
launching devastating attacks against the southern parts of the Latin kingdom. Thus, Fulk decided to
build some castles around Ascalon in order to block any attempts of the Fatimids to reach Jerusalem:
Bethgibelin (1134), Ibelin (1141) and Blanchegarde (1142). In 1150 the Templars decided to tighten the
grip around Ascalon and built the castle of Gaza. The `Ascalon strategy` met with success. In 1153
Baldwin III conquered Ascalon, the last Fatimid outpost in Palestine.
    The conquest of Ascalon left Egypt open to attack from the North. Baldwin III understood that
the best way to protect the Christian states was to block any attempts of the Muslim rulers to unite
Syria with Egypt. The `Egyptian strategy` was implemented by Amalric I who led 6 expeditions into
Egypt between 1163–1174. The attempts to extend the Latin authority into the Nile valley represented

the apogee of the crusading strategy in the 12th century. In 1167 the army of the Latin kingdom entered Alexandria and forced the Fatimid caliph to sign a peace treaty. Next year the Franks arrived at Cairo, but the caliph convinced them to return home by paying 1 million drams. If they had conquered the Fatimid capital, then Egypt would not have united with Damascus and Aleppo. There were also other reasons for the failure of this strategy. Although Amalric was bold enough to invade Egypt, he did not have enough troops to defend the northern territories of Outremer. Nür al-Din besieged and conquered many Christian castles, thus the king of Jerusalem had to use his resources to protect the frontiers of his kingdom.

The failure to conquer Egypt forced the Latin rulers to use their resources in order to protect their frontiers. The `frontier strategy` was implemented between 1170–1187 and consisted of building new castles or upgrading old ones. It represented an opportunity for the military orders to use their resources to build state-of-the-art castles, which meant also that they could attain more power and influence in the Latin states. The Franks were out of options, thus this reactive policy, defending the frontiers, was their last attempt to protect their lands against Saladin. Initially, it seemed that this strategy bore fruits, but after the destruction of the Templar castle at Vadum Iacob, Saladin started to push more into the Christian territories. Finally, in 1187 he defeated the Franks at Hattin and conquered Jerusalem. The frontier strategy was a logical choice given the circumstances, but it did not offer a solution against Saladin's attacks: the resources of the Latin kings were limited. Although Guy of Lusignan gathered a powerful army, numbering around 20.000 men, he could not afford to lose: „The Muslim forces only needed to win once. Regardless of strategy, the Franks needed to win every time" (p. 269).

Although it purports to speak about crusading strategy in general, Tibble's book focuses mainly on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Although the king of Jerusalem was the official suzerain of Outremer, up to a point the counts of Edessa and the princes of Antioch faced different enemies than those of the Latin monarchy. The main enemy of the Antiochene princes was the Byzantine Empire, far more powerful that the local emirs, while the Edessan counts had to navigate through a complex web of alliances and wars in order to maintain their authority over a territory where the Latins represented only a minority. Certainly, many times the course of action was established together with the Latin kings, but Steve Tibble's perspective may promote the idea that everybody followed the strategy of the monarchs from Jerusalem. However, Steve Tibble's book has the merit of emphasizing how the Franks managed to survive for such a long time and to develop such various and complex strategies: the fact that Jerusalem was conquered only in 1187 is a proof for their boldness and ingenuity in finding various ways to attempt to counter the growing power of their enemies.

David Neagu

Dieter FAHL, Sabine FAHL, Christfried BÖTTRICH (eds.), *Die Kurze Chronographische Paleja*, vol. 1: *Kritische Edition mit deutscher Übersetzung*, unter Mitarbeit von Michail Šibaev und Ivan Christov; vol. 2: *Einführung, Kommentar, Indices*, unter Mitarbeit von Evgenij Vodolazkin und Tat'jana Rudi, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2019, 734 p. + 801 p.

These two volumes represent the concrete results of a five-year project supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG), bearing the title "Die 'Kratkaja Chronografičeskaja Paleja' – byzantinisch-slavische Überlieferungen im Kontext der europäischen Historienbibeln" (2013–2018). The editors, Dieter Fahl, Sabine Fahl and Christfried Böttrich, all three from the University of Greifswald, had previously published (in 2015 and 2017) their edition and translation of *Jacob's Ladder* within the confines of this same project, but it is this publication that stands as the crowning achievement of their efforts.

The text, known as the *Short Chronographic Palaea* (Краткая хронографическая Палея) is one of the numerous variants in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* of the *Palaea Historica*, a Byzantine text

originally written at the end of the 9th century, recounting the events of the first books of the Old Testament, with supplementary details coming from other sources (notably from apocrypha). Unlike the *Palaea Interpretata*, which had a more polemical character, the *Palaea Chronographica* is defined by the influence that chronographs had on it: as a result, this text depicts biblical events from Creation to the reign of King Solomon but continues up to the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (919–944), ending with his death.

The first volume contains the critical edition of the *Palaea Chronographica*, based on the six manuscripts known to date, namely manuscripts nr. 1434 and 1436 from the Pogodin Collection of the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg (from the early 1440s and 1590 respectively), manuscript nr. 24.5.8 from the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg (from the 1470s), manuscript nr. 1 from the S.O. Dolgov Collection of the Russian State Library in Moscow (late 15th – early 16th century), manuscript nr. 551 from the Collection of Joseph-Volokolamsky Monastery at the Russian State Library in Moscow (mid – 16th century) and folio IV.603 from the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg (mid – 17th century). As noted by the editors in their presentation of the editing principles in the introductory part of the second volume, the basis of the Old Slavonic text consists in an improved version of the 2006 *editio princeps* by Eugene Vodolazkin.

The Old Slavonic text and its critical apparatus are accompanied by their respective German translations on the opposite page, an option which allows its reader to focus on the contents of the text *per se*, while also being made aware of alterations that go beyond variants of the same word (such as днехъ versus днеи): one example is in the depiction of the Flood in the Genesis, where only one manuscript correctly refers to the Ark's resting place as Mount Ararat (на горах Араратьскыхъ, *auf dem Ararat-Gebirge* in the German translation), and not as the Arabian Mountains (на горах Аравитских, *Aravit* in the German version of the corresponding footnote). Additionally, the editors saw fit to use a different font to underline the interaction between the compiler of the *Short Chronographic Palaea* and his direct sources.

The edition and translation are accompanied by an *index nominum* compiled by Ivan V. Christov (Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"), who deserves credit for the manner in which he ordered the names. While it may seem obvious that he opted to sort them alphabetically based on their modern and more recognizable forms (in the case of the biblical names, by using the transcriptions from the *Ökumenisches Verzeichnis der biblischen Eigennamen* from 1983), he also provides the reader with the *loci* for every name variant that was actually used in the text. The name variants themselves are also included in the alphabetical index, which is immensely helpful in identifying some of the anthroponyms in the *Palaea Chronographica*.

The second volume opens with a detailed introduction which provides an overview of the context (both in terms of literary history and theology) that saw the writing of the *Short Chronographical Palaea*, providing an ample discussion of its sources, its dating system, and its reception. The lion's share is obviously represented by the prodigiously abundant commentary of the text of the *Short Chronographic Palaea*, counting almost 600 pages by itself. It is here that the editors' efforts are best seen, and it would not be exaggerated to claim that the commentary rivals the critical edition and its translation in its potential value to future readers and philologists. Also annexed to the second volume is the description of the aforementioned manuscripts from the S.O. Dolgov and Joseph-Volokolamsky Monastery collections, courtesy of Mikhail Alekseyevich Shibaev (National Library of Russia). This is also the only portion of the edition that is not written in German, but in Russian. The final part of this volume is dedicated to an *index locorum*, divided in several categories, including biblical writings, Jewish writings, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, Apostolic Fathers, patristic literature, historiography and chronography, hagiography, liturgical literature, homilies, and council acts.

This edition is nothing if not inspiring in the thoroughness of the editors' efforts: by providing access to the Old Slavonic text, its translation, and its abundant commentary, these two volumes have earned the right to be described as a definitive edition and an indispensable instrument to future specialists.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Christfried BÖTTRICH, Dieter FAHL, Sabine FAHL (eds.), *Von der Historienbibel zur Weltchronik.*
    Studien zur Paleja-Literatur, Greifswalder Theologische Forschungen, Band 31, Leipzig,
    Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020, 408 p.

        This volume is one of the results of the eponymous conference that took place – between
September 28 and September 30, 2017 – at the Alfried Krupp Institute for Advanced Study in
Greifswald. The contributions of the 21 scholars from Germany, France, Russia, Ukraine, Slovenia,
Bulgaria, England, Sweden, and the United States have a common aim: to discuss various aspects of
the European phenomenon of historical (or popular) Bibles, while also analysing the manner in which
biblical historiography and chronography interacted. This same conference was, per the editors'
words, the pinnacle of the 5-year long German Research Foundation (DFG) project dedicated to the
interpretation and editing of the *Short Chronographic Palaea*, which led, in 2019, to the publication
of the two-volume critical edition (accompanied by a German translation and an abundant
commentary) helmed by the editors of this present volume.

        The opening contribution belongs to one of the three editors, Christfried Böttrich (University
of Greifswald), who provides a most helpful overview of the historical Bible genre, from the Judaic
"Rewritten Bible" and the rabbinic literature to its various forms in Western Europe (the *Biblia
Historiale* and the *Rhymed Chronicle*) and Eastern Europe (the *Palaea*). Martin Rösel (University of
Rostock) pens an article on the chronological system of the Greek version of the *Genesis* and on the
discrepancies with the Hebrew text, suggesting in the end that the translator had chosen the year 5000
anno mundi as the first year of the Second Temple in order to relate the chronology with the idea of
the Jubilees, whereby every 50th year must be hallowed. The author proposes, alternatively, that this
change was made in order to reconcile the biblical chronology with the Egyptian tradition mirrored by
Manetho, which claimed that the historical pharaohs had reigned for approximately 3000 years
(which, per the older chronology, would greatly precede the founding of Egypt by Ham after the Flood).

        William Adler (North Carolina State University), who has already contributed an English
translation of the *Palaea Historica* in 2013, writes on the textual translation of the Greek text
following his continued experience in making what will be the second edition after Vasiliev's in
1893. Whereas Vasiliev only used two manuscripts and was aware of three other witnesses, Adler has
identified more than 20 manuscripts, the majority of which are relatively complete and at times
textually superior to those used by Vasiliev: it is about these manuscripts that he writes in his
contribution for this volume, also including a list of these manuscripts in the appendix – a decision
that will be most welcome until the publication of this much-awaited edition. Jannis Niehoff
Panagiotidis (Freie Universität Berlin) writes on the place of the *Palaea Historica* in Byzantine
literature, with emphasis being given to the linguistic aspects of the text, whereas Emmanouela
Grypeou (Stockholm University) discusses the relationship between the *Palaea Historica* and the
Jewish parabiblical tradition and the possible Christian intermediary sources. Jan Dochhorn (Durham
University) dedicates a comparative study to the Christian adaptation and reception of the *Vita Adae
et Evae,* while Martin Meiser (Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken) writes on the 12th-century
Biblia Scholastica by Petrus Comestor and its rapports with the Jewish tradition.

        Paolo Odorico (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris) brings a previously
ignored Byzantine text to the fore, namely a *Commentary of the Hexaemeron* attributed to Eustathius
of Antioch and printed in a 1629 book containing his works. Following the discovery that this writing
had, in fact, not belonged to Eustathius, it had been relegated to his *spuria* in Migne's *Patrologia
Graeca* and had therefore not attracted much attention. However, as shown by the author, this text
contains a heretofore unknown chronicle. This same text is discussed by Caroline Macé (Akademie
der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen), who argues that it is, to date, the only known witness to the Greek
text of Philo's *De animalibus,* otherwise preserved only in Armenian. The second of the three editors
of this volume, Dieter Fahl (University of Greifswald), writes on the fragments of this same chronicle
by Pseudo-Eustathius that were used in the *Short Chronographic Palaea*, providing ample
comparative examples. The *Short Chronographic Palaea* is also the subject of Tetiana Vilkul's
(National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) article, which focuses on the story of the invitation of the

Varangians to Rus'. Alen Novalija (Ljubljana) dedicates his text to the Serbian transmission of the *Palaea Interpretata* (*Толковая Палея*), namely to the single non-Russian manuscript, stemming from the Serbian Imperial Lavra of Hilandar, for which he provides a codicological description, including a description of its exact contents. The aim of Julian Petkov's (University of Heidelberg) paper is to identify and evaluate the major apocalyptic sources in the corpus of the *Palaea* literature, concluding that the *Palaea* itself was given a revelatory imprint through the insertion of Jewish apocalypses (via Christian adaptations), enhancing its argumentative scope through the inclusion of ancient reports of otherworld journeys, mystical prayers, and visionary predictions about the future of mankind.

Ivan Dorfmann-Lazarev (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main) provides the sole article on Armenian Christian art, namely referring to the representations of Adam in the church of the Holy Cross (built between 915 and 921 by the first king of Vaspurakan, Gagik Arcruni) on Akdamar Island and in a pseudepigraphal homily on *Genesis*. It should be noted that the author's photographs are included in the annex and have been printed in excellent quality. Tatyana V. Anisimova (Russian State Library, Moscow) pens one of the two Russian articles in this volume, dedicating it to the use of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Old Russian chronographs and providing a most consistent comparative table in the appendix. The third of the editors of this volume, Sabine Fahl (University of Greifswald), brings a solid contribution to the debate around the textual tradition of *Jacob's Ladder* (which, as mentioned in the *Introduction*, benefited from a new edition and translation in the early years of the aforementioned project) in the three versions of the *Palaea Interpretata* and thus proposing a new *stemma* of the evolution of this text. The final article – and the second of the two Russian contributions – belongs to Eugene Vodolazkin and Tatiana Rudi (Saint Petersburg), who write on the textual tradition of the *Short Chronographic Palaea*, also providing a *stemma* of its manuscripts.

With regard to the book's format, some observations need to be made: first of all, as noted in the *Introduction*, the contributions are published in the four most widespread languages in modern academia, namely in English, French, German, and Russian. One fairly obvious result of this editorial option is that none of the 21 contributions have an abstract in one of the other three academic *linguae francae*, as it is assumed that an informed reader will have little trouble reading these chapters. Additionally, the editors note that, due to the linguistic heterogeneity of the authors' contributions, the bibliographies used by each of them are placed at the end of their respective articles. This choice will no doubt be most helpful to philologists who are interested in the individual contributions.

All in all, the value and the importance of this volume cannot be overstated: here we find a collection of some of the most recent academic writings on a subject that has rightfully attracted the attention of researchers. One can only be thankful for the success of the project that contributed not only to the publication of this particular group of papers, but also to the edition and translation of texts that will go on to be valuable instruments to all future scholars.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Petre Ş. NASTUREL, *Études d'histoire byzantine et post-byzantine*, eds. Emanuel Constantin Antoche, Lidia Cotovanu and Ionuţ-Alexandru Tudorie, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I", 2019, 1021 p.

The eighth volume of the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes* (series coordinated by Andrei Pippidi and Andrei Timotin) brings to the reader the quintessence of the scientific work of a well-known Romanian scholar, Petre Ş. Năsturel. In over 1000 pages, the editors (Emanuel Constantin Antoche, Lidia Cotovanu and Ionuţ-Alexandru Tudorie) selected from more than five decades of publishing activity the most relevant contributions of the historian. It was not an easy task. The articles, most of them in French, published initially in various periodicals and volumes, were more or less accessible today. Their subjects reflect the multiple and various areas of interest of

their author. However, they have in common some distinguishing features: the thorough argumentation, the in-depth study of the historical material available and the pursuit of discovery unknown sources or to give new, often ingenious and unexpected, solutions to old problems.

Medieval history, Byzantine history, Medieval and Early Modern Romanian literature, Post-Byzantine Greek sources, Mount Athos and the Romanians, the Vlachs (Aromanians) are just some of the topics in the book. The editors' selection offers a well-structured image of Năsturel's ideas. It includes some of the historian's most influential studies some of them on much debated subjects, along with lesser-known (but not less documented) articles.

In total, the volume brings together eighty-one studies, structured according to their topic in eleven units. As an introduction, the book opens with a short "Homage" to Petre Ş. Năsturel by Boško I. Bojović, providing also some information about the preparation of the edition. We learn that the idea of the book started before the author's death, and for many studies, he made the necessary corrections himself. The same introductory text informs the reader that co-authored texts, such as those written with Nicoară Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Dan Ioan Mureşan and Matei Cazacu, were not included in the volume. Two exceptions are a study about the dynastic foundations on Mount Athos, co-authored with Boško I. Bojović (p. 599–626), and another, with Ion-Radu Mircea about the ascendency of Despina, wife of Neagoe Basarab (p. 815–819). Along with previously published texts, the book includes also a previously unpublished communication presented in a scientific symposium in Konitsa, Greece in 2002.

The first thematic unit deals with the medieval history of the Lower Danube and Black Sea region, especially the Italian merchants and the Ottoman advance in Dobrudja in the 15th century. Of great interest are the edition and the study of a Greek inscription from Silistra mentioning the name of the Wallachian prince Mircea the Elder (cel Bătrân) in 1407/1408 (p. 23–33).

A second unit is representative for the Năsturel's researches in geography and toponymy in the Byzantine sources, mainly in the same area of Lower Danube, but also in Walachia and Transylvania. Among the sources of these studies are the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Ioannes Kinnamos, Anna Komnena and the Greek portolan chart of Leiden. From the various identifications of interest is that of Lesser Preslav, placed by the author at Păcuiul lui Soare. A special attention deserves the extensive discussion and argumentation for localizing on the map Vicina, an important center of Genoese Black Sea trade. Examining the available evidence, as well as the previous theories, Năsturel places the town at Isaccea, at (or around) Tulcea or perhaps in a nearby place obscured by the alluviums of the Danube.

Another unit reflects the author's interest in the Romance language and culture in the South Eastern Europe. A short but rich in ideas article express his position in one of the most debated possible traces of Romance language in Byzantine literature: "Quelques mots de plus à propos du τόρνα φράτρε de Théophylacte et de Théophane" (p. 139–145). The author accepts that the Byzantine texts provide a trace of what will become a Romance language. It should be noted that in this case Năsturel's approach is based on the study of the different manuscripts of the relevant texts (facsimiles are also provided), and not only on the published editions.

A number of studies focus on the Balkan Vlachs (Aromanians) during the middle and late Byzantine period. Thorough research of the Byzantine literature reveals many mentions of representatives of this ethnic group: from the Ῥωμᾶνοι of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, to the ἄποικος Ῥωμαῖων in a document of John Apokaukus, Metropolitan of Naupaktos in 13th century (facsimile on page 172) and the more common Βλάχοι in earlier or later texts. The later stages of the history of the Vlachs in the Byzantine and Bulgarian space up until the Ottoman conquest are the subject of another article. Another source analyzed mentions the Vlachs in the fortress of Corone (Κορώνη) in 16th century, an occasion for the author to examine their presence in Peloponnese.

Four studies are dedicated to political ideology and collective representations. First of them is one of the best-known (and also most debated on) contributions of Petre Ş. Năsturel to the history of the Romanian medieval political ideas: "Considérations sur l'idée imperiale chez les Roumains" (p. 248–265, with illustration). First published in 1973 (in the periodical Βυζαντινὰ, in Thessaloniki), the study had its starting point from an unusual appellative used by Manuel of Corinth for the Romanian

prince Neagoe Basarab "βασιλεῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ". The author considers that the phrase was not just a merely flattering style but it bears deeper significations in terms of political ideas of the Greek (and also Romanian) Post-Byzantine world. Beyond the discussions that the article has generated, with followers and critics of the ideas expressed, its presence in the volume is important for the overall scientific contribution of Petre Ş. Năsturel. In the same unit relevant for the history of ideas is a previously neglected phrase in the *Patriarchal History* mentioning Dionysius II of Constantinople as both "Emperor" (βασιλεῦς) and Patriarch in 1546.

A fifth unit of the book focuses on ecclesiastical matters: institutions, rituals and cult objects. Its fourteen studies include various researches on different topics such as: a Latin reminiscence in the era of Slavonic Liturgy, Romanian Christianity during the barbaric invasions, bishop lists of the Metropolis of Vicina, the partition of the Metropolis of Hongrovlachia (1370), the Union of Florence and Moldavia, a Byzantine source for the Metropolis of Roman (Moldavia), the foundation of the Metropolis of Proilavon etc. Another study proposes a date (1370) for the Byzantine frescoes of Curtea de Argeş. Very interesting is the study of the so-called *Journal* of the canonical travels of the Metropolitan of Hongrovlachia Neophytos II the Cretan (18th century), not least for the short fragment of the yet unpublished Greek original (p. 465–471, the Greek text at p. 469). Another fragment of Neophytos' *Journal* can be found, in another context, at p. 898–900. An edition of the full text of this important historical source, in its Greek original (with some additions in Romanian), remains an imperative of Modern Greek studies in Romania.

"Romanian donations to the Holy Places of Orthodoxy" is the topic of the following group of twelve articles, reflecting a constant scientific interest, not only of the author, but also of the Romanian historical science in general. Among the notable studies, one can mention that about the origins of the relations of the Romanian with Mount Athos and the icon of Saint Athanasius the Athonite donated by a prince named Vladislav. Petre Ş. Năsturel publishes the Greek inscription on the icon and addresses the main opinions about the identity of Vladislav. The conclusion is that the inscription can be dated in the 14th (and not the 16th century), and the prince is Vladislav I (1364–1377). The inscription contains one of the earliest mentions of the much-debated particle Iω in front of the prince's name, in the expanded form (Ἰωάννης), but still bearing the abbreviation mark over the letter Omega. Several of the studies in the volume develop the topic of the relations of the Romanians with Mount Athos, one of them containing no less than ten "contributions" on the subject (p. 525–555). It was intended to complete the information already presented in the volume *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains (Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIVe siècle à 1654)*, Rome, 1986. The same is true for the following substantial study featuring another fifteen contributions to the relations between the Romanians and Mount Athos (p. 557–598).

A distinct unit of the book brings together four studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine embroidery. Art history and Greek or Slavonic epigraphy are once again fields in which the author proves his skill, just as he does in history or linguistics.

Yet another proof of the author's multidisciplinary formation and scientific interests is the eighth unit of the book containing hagiographical researches. Very important is the edition of the inscriptions of the *martyrion* of Niculiţel, and the identification of the martyrs with the names mentioned in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* for Noviodunum. Other studies have as subjects: the *Acts* of Saint Sabbas the Goth, the authorship of the Slavonic *Martyrium* of Saint John the Younger (15th century), formerly attributed to Gregory Tsamblak, Saint Spirydon the Younger of Tarnovo, the cult of Saint Nicholas in Romania and a fresco of the Romanian Neo-Martyr John the Walachian (17th century) painted in 1783 in the catholicon of the Xeropotamou Monastery at Mount Athos.

Nine studies belong to the field of Byzantine, Post-Byzantine and Medieval Romanian genealogy and prosopography. Among them there are even some smaller (but not less important) contributions called "Minutiae variae" (p. 821–827), based on new epigraphic evidence.

Late Medieval and Early Modern Greek epigraphy was often a largely neglected field of research both in the past and in recent times. The study of the inscriptions belonging to this period was not in most cases a priority for the historians. As a result, many important sources were ignored, forgotten or even lost altogether. It was not the case of Petre Ş. Năsturel. His studies and editions of

the Post-Byzantine and Early Modern Greek inscriptions brought surprising results. Many of the studies of the newly published collection are based on such epigraphic sources.

Another unit of the book is dedicated to medieval official documents and literature. It is here that one can find an interesting study about the first official documents in Greek in Wallachia and Moldavia. The first Greek chrysobull of a Romanian prince is considered by the author to be that of Radu Mihnea for the *postelnic* Pătraşco, issued on June 20, 1623. The text of the document is published along with other two, more recent Greek documents issued by Şerban Cantacuzino (1682) and Constantin Duca (1702) (p. 860–862). Of special interest is the study of the *Life of Saint Niphon*, based also on a previously unpublished manuscript from Meteora (some fragments of the Greek text at p. 893–898).

Towards the end of the volume, one cannot ignore two contributions on a much-debated topic: the *Teachings* of Neagoe Basarab for his son Theodosie, the language of their original and their authorship. In his "remarks" on the Greek, Slavonic and Romanian versions of the text, Petre Ş. Năsturel proposes new solutions to old questions and tries to find a middle ground among the existing theories. According to the author, only the second part could be attributed to Manuel of Corinth, and it was translated from Greek in Slavonic. The original of the first part was written in Slavonic in Wallachia.

A last unit of the book presents a series of contributions on etymology, personal and collective names, mainly from Byzantine texts. Among others, of interest is the Byzantine adjective ὑφειλτόν, present only in Sphrantzes' historical writing and its similarity with the Romanian "filtă", with the same meaning, "cipher writing".

It is evident that many of Petre Năsturel's ideas have the potential to generate fruitful historical debates in the future. The eighth volume of the *BIESEE* series brings together the main directions of his research and, if only for this reason, it is a much needed restitution.

Mihai Ţipău

Jannic DURAND, Dorota GIOVANNONI, Emanuela CERNEA, Iuliana DAMIAN (eds.), *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand*, In Fine éditions d'art, Louvre éditions, Paris, 2019, 87 p.

In the summer of 2019, the Palace of Louvre hosted an exhibition which gathered a significant selection of late medieval and early modern liturgical textiles, coming from several Romanian collections, such as the National Museum of Art and the National Museum of History in Bucharest or the monastic treasures of Putna, Suceviţa, and Holy Three Hierarchs (Trei Ierarhi) in Iaşi. On this occasion, the museum published a catalogue that aimed to contextualize the objects on display in a broader tradition of late and post-Byzantine embroidery from the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. The volume *Broderies de tradition Byzantine en Roumanie, du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand* comprises a series of introductory studies, in addition to the customary catalogue entries.

In the introduction, Jannic Durand states that the exhibition was meant to bring some salient pieces of post-Byzantine embroidery to the attention of Western scholars and the general public[1]. However, in the international context of Romania's presidency of the European Union and the Romanian-French cultural season in 2019, the exhibition acquired an explicit political dimension. According to Durand, the central element of both the curatorial discourse and the associated publication was the liturgical banner depicting the enthroned figure of St. George, donated by the voivode Stephen III of Moldavia (1457–1504) to Zograf Monastery on Mount Athos. Considered a masterpiece of its genre, the banner of Stephen the Great was also regarded as a symbol of the alliance between the Romanian Kingdom and France during World War I. The introduction evokes the state ceremonies that took place in Paris, in June 1917, when French authorities handed this

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[1] J. Durand, "Introduction", in J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie, du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand*, Paris, 2019, p. 12–15.

precious object to a Romanian delegation. A few months earlier, the banner had been taken from its original site by a Franco-Russian expedition, on the pretext of safekeeping. Referring to these events, Jannic Durand constructs a relation of symbolic symmetry between the early 20th-century political instrumentalization of medieval art and the present-day exhibition at the Louvre.

This preamble is followed by Matei Cazacu's paper, which offers a brief introduction to the medieval history of Romanians covering the time span between late antiquity and the 17th century[2]. Within the framework of national discourse, this rather conventional survey presents a selection of major political events, such as the late medieval foundation of Wallachia and Moldavia or the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, drawing some parallels with literary and artistic phenomena from the Romanian provinces.

Written by Emanuela Cernea and Iuliana Damian, the next chapter contains a comparative overview of late and post-Byzantine liturgical embroideries produced in Moldavia and Wallachia between the 14th and the 17th centuries[3]. Dating from the last quarter of the 1300s, the earliest surviving examples illustrate the appropriation of Byzantine and Balkan – especially Serbian – iconographic models and craftsmanship. South-Eastern European formulas were replicated and adapted by local workshops throughout the following centuries. Analysing the repertory of conserved embroideries, the authors identified several chronological clusters correlated with the artistic patronage of voivodes like Mircea the Elder (r. 1386–1418), Neagoe Basarab (r. 1512–1521), Șerban Cantacuzino (r. 1678–1688), or Constantine Brâncoveanu (r. 1688–1714) in Wallachia, and Alexander the Good (r. 1400–1432), Stephen the Great (r. 1457–1504), Jeremiah Mogila (r. 1595–1600; 1600–1606), Simeon Mogila (r.1606–1607), or Vasile Lupu (r.1634–1653) in Moldavia. The final part of this study stresses the social implications of luxury embroidery production, an enterprise that has been traditionally attributed to female artisans, usually of noble condition.

The largest section of this book consists of thirty-five catalogue entries dedicated mainly to textile artefacts, but also to post-Byzantine icons, historical documents, and photographs. Each article contains a transcript of the Greek and Old Slavonic inscriptions and a comprehensive list of bibliographical references. The epigraphic repertoire was elaborated by an interdisciplinary team of Romanian philologists (Ruxandra Lambru, Alexandru Mareș, and Zamfira Mihail) and art historians (Oana Iacubovschi and Ștefania Dumbravă). The exhibited objects have been divided in four thematic categories, accompanied by introductory texts. The first group focuses on the embroidered banner offered by Stephen the Great to Zograf Monastery in the last years of his reign (ca. 1500)[4]. A selection of early 20th – century documents, placed alongside this textile piece, testify to its complicated itinerary during the Great War. This problem is examined by Cristina Tătaru, whose presentation adds further details regarding historical restorations alongside a general commentary of the iconographic type of enthroned martyrs[5]. The remaining sections concern three other categories of post-Byzantine embroidery: clerical vestments[6], liturgical veils[7], and, finally, burial covers[8]. The characteristics of each typology are summarized in the preliminary considerations of Jannic Durand and Dorota Giovannoni[9].

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[2] M. Cazacu, "Les principautés roumaines à la fin du Moyen Âge", in J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 16–19.

[3] E. Cernea, I. Damian, "La broderie de tradition byzantine en Roumanie (XIVe–XVIIe siècle)", in J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 20–25.

[4] J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, cat. 1–6, p. 28–33.

[5] C. Tătaru, "La bannière liturgique d'Étienne le Grand", in J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 26–27.

[6] J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, cat. 7–21, p. 36–54.

[7] *Ibid.*, cat. 22–28, p. 58–67.

[8] *Ibid.*, cat. 29–34, p. 70–77.

[9] J. Durand, "Panoplie sacerdotale", in J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.)*, op. cit.*, p. 34–35; J. Durand, "Panoplie liturgique et étoffes sacrées décoratives", J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 55–56; J. Durand, D. Giovannoni, "Couvertures de tombeaux et portrais funéraires", J. Durand *et aliae* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 68–69.

Beyond any doubt, the thirty-five case studies and the associated epigraphical corpus are the principal contributions of this catalogue, which is very likely to become a useful instrument for future studies on Wallachian and Moldavian embroidery. Nevertheless, from a methodological point of view, the volume has several shortcomings. Although the aforementioned articles refer to recent bibliography for factual information, their mainly descriptive approach did not integrate the performative character and the agency of liturgical textiles, two concepts that had been at the core of Byzantine studies during the last decade. While insisting on terminology and traditional classifications, the authors failed to offer a proper contextualization of late and post-Byzantine embroideries as active elements of the ritual space. Liturgical textiles were originally engaged in a multitude of dynamic interactions with other categories of images (e. g. wall paintings or icons), as well as with the perceptual apparatus of the worshipper, generating a multi-sensorial experience of the sacred[10]. As the display in modern galleries obliterates these aspects, art historians should assume the task of recovering as much as possible from the original coordinates of their reception, in order to provide contemporary viewers with an adequate understanding of late medieval and early modern objects.

Despite these problematic points, the catalogue *Broderies de tradition Byzantine en Roumanie…* remains a relevant contribution to the topic. Prior to its publication, many of the included embroideries were very difficult to access, especially for international scholars. The volume tried to remediate this deficiency by introducing into the academic circuit comprehensive documentation and high-quality reproductions of several Wallachian and Moldavian textile pieces.

Andrei Dumitrescu
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Александар РАСТОВИЋ, Ивана КОМАТИНА (eds.), *Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба*, Историјски институт Београд, Зборник радова, књ. 42, Београд, Службени гласник, 2020, 464 p.

This publication, which is the 42nd volume in the *Collection of Works* of the Institute of History in Belgrade, published under the supervision of its current director, Aleksandar Rastović, contains a rich collection of papers dedicated to the first Serbian king, Stefan Nemanjić, better known as the First-Crowned (1196–1227). Although it is not immediately apparent from the year of the publication, the editor of this particular book, Ivana Komatina (from the same Institute), points out that these articles were brought about by the 800th anniversary of two crucial events in Serbian history: on the one hand, Stefan's coronation as King of the Serbian Land and the Littoral in the year 1217; on the other, the granting of the rank of autocephalous archbishopric to the Serbian Church owing to the efforts of his brother, Saint Sava, in 1218/1219.

The 24 contributions were divided into three sections. The first of them, *Serbia of Stefan the First-Crowned: State, Ruling Family, Church*, consists of nine papers centred around Stefan's rise to power, offering new interpretations of family relations, the structure and shaping of the state, marital links, social structure, and church relations. Predrag Komatina (Institute of History) writes on the importance of Stefan's *Life of Symeon* in establishing the chronology of changes on the grand župan's throne, while Ivana Komatina discusses the manner in which Stefan the First-Crowned depicted himself as continuing his father's work consolidating the Serbian state. Nebojša Porčić from the University of Belgrade weighs up the arguments concerning the crowning (and thus legitimacy) of Vukan Nemanjić, Stefan's brother, as King of Duklja. The study written by Mirjana Živojinović (member of the Serbian Academy) focuses on the history metochion in Hvosno, founded by then

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[10] See W. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*, Oxford, 2012; B. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2013; R. Betancourt, "The Thessaloniki Epitaphios: Notes on Use and Context", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, vol. 55, no. 2, 2014, p. 489–535.

grand župan Stefan Nemanjić in the beginning of the 13th century, while Đorđe Bubalo (University of Belgrade) contributes to the debate on the exact year of Stefan's death, suggesting 1223 as the likeliest option. Two contributions by researchers from the Institute for Byzantine Studies focus on Stefan's spouses and issue: Srđan Pirivatrić dedicates a study to his short-lived marriage with Eudokia Angelina Komnene and the effects it had on Byzantine-Serbian relations, while Bojan Miljković writes on an unknown daughter from Stefan's third marriage (namely with Anna Dandolo), who is represented on a fresco in Sopoćani. Miloš Ivanović (Institute of History) provides the reader with information on the aristocracy during Stefan's reign, while the final contribution from this section, penned by Radivoj Radić, presents a lesser-known mention of Niš and the "Serbian dukes" (*comites Servie*) from the account of the Third Crusade in the *Chronicle* of Salimbene di Adam.

The second section of this volume, bearing the title *International Relations in Southeastern Europe in the 13th Century*, contains seven papers authored by foreign researchers. The majority of these contributions refer to Hungarian foreign policy: Tamás Körmendi (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) describes the conflict between the two sons of King Béla III of Hungary, namely King Emeric of Hungary and Duke Andrew of Dalmatia and Croatia (the future King Andrew II of Hungary), while also discussing the latter's capture at the hands of his brother in 1203, arguing that the account of Thomas of Split "is no more than literary fiction". The two sons of Béla III also stand at the centre of the study on the relations between the Hungarian kings and the Balkan states written by Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen). Gábor Barabás (University of Pécs) presents the extraordinary case of Andrew II's son, Prince Coloman, whose short-lived kingship of Galicia, from where he was forced to escape only five years into his reign, led to him being named not just Duke, but also *King* of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. Márta Font (University of Pécs) focuses on Rostislav, the son of the Michael, the Prince of Chernigov, who married Anna, the daughter of King Béla IV and was named Duke of Macsó (Mačva).

The second section also contains two contributions from Bulgarian researchers: Ivelin Ivanov (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University) suggests that the Bulgarian-Serbian conflict of 1214–1215 would greatly benefit from a broader perspective which would take the activities of the anti-Serbian coalition into account, while Alexandar Nikolov (University of Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski") describes the status of Bulgaria and Serbia in the papal policy from the turn of the 13th century. A similar theme is discussed by Ivan Majnarić (Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište), who focuses more on the relation between the Nemanjić dynasty and the Papacy at the beginning of the 13th century.

The third and final section of this volume, *Ideological Currents, Society, Economy, Culture*, contains eight papers focus on the cultural side of the reign of Stefan the First-Crowned. One of the key themes of this section is the relationship between the Church and the State: Tihon Rakićević (Studenica Monastery) writes on the manner in which Stefan Nemanja's choice of the monastic life is described in the *Studenica Typikon* and how it led to the medieval perception that the Serbs were a new Israel. Marija Vasiljević (Institute for Balkan Studies) discusses the historiographical dynamic between the two founding brothers of the Serbian Kingdom and Church, noting that, while Stefan's inclusion among the saints was initiated by Saint Sava, the process of canonization was not completed until the 17th century, which meant that Stefan was left in the shadow of the "holy dyad" of Saints Simeon and Sava. Jelena Glušac (Institute of History) writes on the role that the *Nomocanon* of Saint Sava played in creating the symphonic relationship between the State and the Church in the Middle Ages. The following three articles are dedicated to the more concrete aspects of life during the age of Stefan the First-Crowned: Srđan Šarkić (University of Novi Sad) dedicates a study to penal law provisions in the legislations of the first Serbian king, Vujadin Ivanišević (Institute of Archaeology) provides an illustrated presentation of money in the time of the first Nemanjićs, while Vladeta Petrović writes on the creation of urban settlements during the same time frame.

Finally, the last two contributions in this volume concern themselves with the writings of Serbian authors from the 13th century. Ljiljana Juhas-Georgievska (University of Belgrade) writes on the depiction of Stefan the First-Crowned as a literary character in hagiographical works, with particular attention being dedicated to Domentijan's *Hagiography of Saint Sava*, while Viktor Savić

(Institute of Serbian Language) provides a lexicological analysis of Stefan's writings, comparing them to those of his father and his brother.

On the note of the general accessibility of these scientific works to foreign researchers, it needs to be stressed that the overwhelming majority of them were written in Serbian, with only the aforementioned Hungarian and Bulgarian contributions in section II being redacted in English. That being said, each Serbian (or Croatian) article is accompanied by a lengthy summary in English, which means that the vast riches contained in this volume will not be lost on a wider scientific readership.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Татјана КАТИЋ (ed.), *Војнучки дефтер из 1455. године за санџаке Крушевац, Вучитри, Призрен и вилајете Звечан, Јелеч, Рас, Сенице и Ходидед*, Извори за српску историју, књига 17, Османски извори, књига 1, Београд, Службени гласник, 2020, 342 p.

This volume contains the edition of a lesser known defter, which concerns the areas of the *sancaks* of Alacahisar (modern day Kruševac), Vučitrn and Prizren, and the *vilayets* of Zvečan, Jeleč, Ras, Senice and Hodidede. This census concerns the *voynuks* (from the Slavic word *voynik*, "soldier"), Balkan Slavs who were members of special Christian units of the Ottoman army and used to be in the service of medieval rulers and local magnates before being incorporated in the military system of the Empire following the conquest of the Balkans. The author points out that, while Ottoman chroniclers and Western travel writers of the 16th century depicted them more as members of auxiliary military units in charge of horses and mules, the *voynuks* of the 15th century and the early 16th century were actual warriors from the ranks of the petty rural nobility.

This defter, which is kept in the Atatürk Library in Istanbul in the Muallim Cevdet Evrakı collection, with the signature *MCE 36-03*, was completed in the first ten days of March 1455, making it the oldest *voynuk* census to date and, additionally, provides proof that the above-mentioned *sancaks* already existed before the Ottoman conquest of Novo Brdo in June 1455, possibly having been established around the first fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1439.

The first half of this volume, written exclusively in Serbian, contains the author's introductory notes on *voynuks* and on the defter itself, followed by studies on the anthroponymical and toponymical data contained in the census. The text of the defter is first provided in a modern Serbian translation, followed by an alphabetical list of the *voynuks* mentioned throughout the 72 folios. The centrepiece of this volume, separating the two halves, is an excellent facsimile of *MCE 36-03*, which grants direct access to the Ottoman Turkish text to specialists who would otherwise find it difficult to go to Istanbul to consult it personally.

The second half of this volume will most definitely benefit a larger readership specialized in Ottoman Studies, as it is written exclusively in Turkish. While the editor does not provide a Turkish translation of her analytical chapters, the remainder of the first half is perfectly mirrored in the second. Thus, the transcription of the defter is accompanied by the Latin counterpart of the aforementioned alphabetical list of names. This section is followed by an index of the Ottoman place names, which refers both to their mentions in the defter itself and in the author's own study in the first part of the edition.

Finally, as is the case with the volumes published by the Institute of History in Belgrade, the book is accompanied by an English summary, which will mitigate the potential inaccessibility of the author's introductory studies to a reader who does not know Serbian. That being said, as mentioned earlier, the edition is most certainly functional for specialists in Ottoman Studies who want access to the text itself, both in facsimile and in Latin transcription, as well as to the list of *voynuk* names and the toponymical index.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Noel MALCOLM, *Rebels, Believers, Survivors. Studies in the History of the Albanians*, Oxford
University Press, 2020, 492 p.

This volume could have been called *Twenty years of studies on Albania*, as the dates of first
publication of the articles collected here cover two decades, although they are grown out from a much
older project. They tend to focus narrowly upon ideas, arguments and representative men, drawing on
newly unearthed documents with the same careful understanding of the Ottoman Balkans like always
in Noel Malcolm's previous books. The attention to fact and detail plunges in the vision of a context
wide enough to embrace Rome, Vienna and London. A chain of interacted topics extends from the
fifteenth to the twentieth. What a pleasure it must have been to write such a work!

It starts with the impressions of the earliest Western travellers who, being brought to the
Albanian lands by their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, have described places along the Adriatic coast. The
origin of these sources is from Venice, England, France or Germany. Among those pilgrims we
recognize the name of that Arnold von Harff in whose account N. Iorga had discovered words of the
local language which were noted then for the first time (1496). Apart from information about shelters
to be found in ports, such accounts describe the cities of Durres and Vlore, with their old walls, and
sometimes even refer to Roman antiquities. As it is suitable to a region of steep cliffs, scarcely
reached from outside, the population is characterized as prone to war, ready to defend its freedom.
Several anti-Ottoman rebellions are mentioned; even the record of Skanderbeg was kept. The most
telling example of this recurrent warlike behaviour is evidenced by Malcolm when he studies a strong
Catholic clan from Northern Albania, the Kelmendi. Documents concerning this highlander clan
range from the end of the 15th century and its active existence was still confirmed as late as 1911.
Since the 1570s the Kelmendi were involved in revolts against the Turks: the right to carry arms had
been their privilege and, when they refused to pay taxes, they were exempted in exchange for the
service they assumed to guard mountain-passes. Their military force and the chronology of their
combats in 1688–1690 as again in 1737 are established this time with the needed precision.

What is following now is a document of the greatest importance: it was first printed in 2015,
when our RESEE was proud to publish this description of the Ottoman territory in Europe which was
also, as Noel Malcolm took care to indicate, "the earliest surviving general account of Albania to have
been written by an identifiable Albanian author". Antonio Bruni wrote it in Italian in 1596. His life,
revealed here, had begun in the middle of relatives settled in Istria and across the Levant. That Bruti
family took positions at the court of Moldavia, where one of them, Bartolomeo, had a major influence on
the prince, Peter the Lame. The role he played in diplomatic relations with Poland and Pope Clement
VIII aimed at converting the Orthodox inhabitants of the country to Catholicism. The failure of this
project, which should have risen the local forces to assist the Papal and Imperial troops in the anti-
Ottoman war, compelled Peter to take refuge in the Habsburg lands. The exiled prince, who had aspired
to reach Rome before his death, called Bruni to serve him as secretary and legal administrator of his
wealth. Obviously, Bruni had proved his masterful knowledge of the situation both North and South of
the Danube, and this enabled him to answer the requests of information coming either from the Papacy
or from Lazaro Soranzo. The Venetian author specifically referred to Bruni's work, when he mentioned
the tributes paid to the Porte by the Romanian principalities and the fact that the Moldavians were
speaking the same language as the Wallachians and the Vlachs.

In addition to the things said here about problems of the religious life in the South-East, we are
introduced in the field thus opened by further research on other subjects. One is crypto- Christianity
as it developed in Kosovo, through the social coexistence of Catholics and Muslims. Lots of examples
are chosen from the reports of the Catholic missionaries since the seventeenth century. They
witnessed members of the same family keeping each his or her personal practices, Christian or
Muslim, without troubling the common peaceful existence. Within the same home, the daughters
might conserve the Christian faith, while Islam was imposed to the sons. Compatibilities which
shocked the Western observers even more were the participation of Muslims to the celebration of
Christian festivals or the use of Muslim names by Catholic Albanians, such shares being widespread
for magical purposes. The same method is applied in order to discover relevant material about folk-

religion in the archives of Inquisition tribunals (Barcelona, Venice, Udine, Malta, Lisbon, Naples and, for Sicily, Madrid). Frequent are the cases of apostasy from Christianity, the investigation being indispensable for returning to Christianity. The conversion to Islam had usually been motivated by social reasons (enslavement, forced recruitment of Christian boys, desire to escape taxes on non-Muslims). The most striking documents are the interrogations of women. In almost all cases, forgiveness was conditioned by a slight penitence. The origin of the people who required absolution draws a map of the northern Albanian areas. The figure to whom another chapter is dedicated in this volume has been a scholar and teacher who interpreted to his flock the Word of God and upheld their courage in organizing the armed resistance against the Ottoman army in 1689. Pjeter Bogdani wanted to be a prophet. His book that gets the chance to be penetratingly analysed here is called "Cuneus prophetarum". Noel Malcolm provides an accurate perspective of the views held by Bogdani while he drove his sermons into a crusade. The Catholic Archbishop had decided to teach the core of his doctrine in the native tongue of the faithful. Acquainting the unlearned members of his Church to the most basic truths of their religion aimed also at preventing them from being attracted to Islam or to Orthodoxy. The next step was to open for the Muslims the way of conversion to Christianity. Malcolm is studying the phases of composition of the text, from 1675 to 1683. He argues that, till the 1685 printing of the book, the amplified version was influenced by the adoption of the expensive printing-house of Padua and by the 1683 victories which might have stirred Bogdani's hopes of seeing Constantinople conquered. It is part of this interplay of beliefs and readjustments of ideas already present in the preceding pages that we turn now to the last year of Bogdani's life, 1689–1690, when he welcomed the arrival at Prizren of an Austrian detachment. Uprisings occurred in Kosovo and the role which religion played in them, as well as the part taken by Albanians and Serbs, have been debated from many angles. The large emigration that followed the rapid withdrawal of the Habsburg troops will be given an excessive importance by historians, for political reasons. The exact scale and ethnic character of the population movements in Kosovo, which have grown into the theory saying that the escape of the Serbian insurgents caused a breakthrough of the Albanians, are brought to discussion by Noel Malcolm. It leads to a confrontation of three mutually influenced versions: they are parallel, but contradictory, in Serbia, in Albania and where the Ottoman tradition is still alive.

Pointing out bias of other authors can be, we know, an entertainment as it seems when a book on the Napoleonic wars in Greece which tried to apply Edward Said's rhetoric of Orientalism is critically considered by Malcolm. A larger and deeper analysis of "myths of Albanian national identity" he is construing in the chapter where, one after another, are commented the indispensable primary ideas: oldest origin and priority, ethnic and cultural homogeneity, permanent national resistance against the Ottomans and indifference to religion. I'm afraid the first three of these leading claims can be found also in Romanian official culture.

An implication of the Albanian lands in the balance of forces in international politics was never more visible than when France and Britain tactical calculated about bargaining on fragments of the Ottoman Empire. This happened, of course, in the Napoleonic period since the Russian occupation of Corfu and for as long as a strategic importance was attached to the territory dominated by Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The subject of Ali Pasha is amply treated by Noel Malcolm in a study based on a mass of documentation in British archives. This wealth contains the papers of agents who permanently informed about Ali: Leake, Morier, or ambassadors to the Porte or even an unexpected name, Hudson Lowe, who commanded in the Ionian Islands before being sent to Saint Helen. All these reports are confronted to the correspondence of French diplomats, among whom Pouqueville himself, equally attentive to the lies of the fascinating pasha.

The diplomatic attitudes of the Great Powers toward the question of Albanian awakening are mirrored in the activity of the British consuls in Prizren and Shkoder as soon as the Berlin Congress closed. In their interpretation of the Albanian situation, some favoured the Serbian claim on the region, others disliked the cession of certain places to Montenegro, but also suspected the Catholic propaganda to hasten the creation of an Italian protectorate. Among the solutions evoked there was also to establish an Albanian autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire. Those years of the late imperial era, towards the end of the century, saw appearing in Albania many dreamers of a

possible national state, either pursuing an intangible crown, like a Spanish descendent of Skanderbeg or Albert Ghika, or generous idealists. One of them was unknown until Noel Malcolm discovered his manuscript, "La mia vita in Albania". The author, Lazer Tusha, born in 1861, died probably soon after writing it when he was twenty. As it is, it's the first autobiography spontaneously written by an Albanian. It described what was seen by him in his country, mainly around Shkoder or, once, in a short journey to Italy. What is exceptional is the literary sensibility already formed in the Catholic seminary and the enlightening capacity to describe in detail the countryside as well as the town.

On the figure of Ernesto Cozzi (1870–1926) there is much more to add. An Italian from Trento, then in Austria-Hungary, his education as a missionary fortified him for a dramatic fate, but, instead of Africa, he devoted his life to Albania. This vocation of priest led him in several parishes where he displayed a charitable activity, which stimulated also, through contacts with both Christians and Muslims, his intellectual work. He conceived an investigation of the laws, customs and beliefs in Northern Albania. His ethnographical interests, already esteemed by the great scholar Carl Patsch, came to publication of articles in scientific journals of the most prestigious. However, this work did not continue when the region was devastated by the first Balkan war: the siege of Shkodra in 1912–1913. Cozzi believed that the Albanian people had a right to be well governed; he attempted to negotiate with the Austrian government, then with the king of Montenegro without success. This implication in political affairs receded till complete disillusion in the last years of his life, when he was called to fulfil higher tasks of his ecclesiastical duty: Apostolic Delegate and archbishop in partibus. As such, he engaged an energetic campaign to reform the Albanian Catholic Church of the pathetic conditions of which he had a personal experience. Although his ethnographical work was never completed, reconsidered as it is now by Noel Malcolm, it deserves a great respect.

Closing this volume, in front of 125 pages of industrious notes, one would want to read again each of the studies collected here. But the most precious gift reserved at the end is the list of archival manuscripts.

Andrei Pippidi

South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean: Proceedings of the session held at the 12ᵗʰ International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019), ed. by Ioana FEODOROV, Brăilam Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei "Carol I", 2020 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 11), 323 p.

La collection « Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes » nous offre une nouvelle publication réunissant les contributions des participants au 12ᵉ Congrès international des études sud-est européennes, dédié aux interactions culturelles entre l'Orient et les pays d'Europe de l'Est et du Sud-est. Bien que le thème ait retenu l'attention des chercheurs depuis fort longtemps, de vastes pans de cet ample domaine de recherche demeurent en effet à défricher. L'ouvrage adopte une organisation thématique, chacune des trois sections offrant des « case-studies » régionaux dédiés au sujet retenu. L'accent est ici mis plus résolument que dans la plupart des ouvrages antérieurs comparables sur l'Orient chrétien, les recherches actuelles sur « l'Orient » faisant preuve d'un intérêt nouveau pour les communautés chrétiennes d'un Empire ottoman conçu davantage comme le cadre d'interactions complexes entre cultures différentes que comme une société strictement musulmane. Quiconque étudie les sociétés des pays du Sud-est et de l'Est européen sait combien il peut être délicat et artificiel de les définir comme « occidentales » ou « orientales », l'héritage byzantin agissant ici comme un liant hypothéquant toute solution de continuité réelle entre Orient et Occident de par sa tradition de coexistence avec le monde islamique et les diverses confessions chrétiennes que celui-ci abrite. L'historiographie anglo-saxonne a forgé pour rendre compte de cette relation complexe le terme fort adapté d'*entanglement* qui restitue au mieux le haut degré d'imbrication des différents éléments constitutifs de l'identité culturelle des sociétés évoluant sous domination ottomane. L'art, la littérature,

les traditions ecclésiastiques, la théologie, ainsi que la vie matérielle, des sociétés post-byzantines (y compris celles des régions moyen-orientales perdues par l'empire dès le VIIe siècle) transcendent à l'évidence l'opposition Orient/Occident.

Cet amalgame spécifique d'influences commence à se constituer très tôt comme l'illustre le cas des communautés chrétiennes de Perse abordé ici à travers la formation de l'école théologique de Nisibe – dont émergea plus tard la célèbre « école d'Antioche » – par B.V. Vesa (*Theology and Education in the Church of Persia. A General Perspective*). Néanmoins, le volume s'intéresse avant tout aux sociétés européennes, notamment balkaniques, destinées à passer sous domination ottomane. La réception des traditions orientales – chrétiennes comme musulmanes – en Serbie occupe donc une place des plus importantes dans le recueil. Serbie et Bulgarie furent les premiers États de l'Europe de sud-est à se poser en concurrents et héritiers du modèle politico-religieux orthodoxe incarné par l'Empire byzantin. Sous la dynastie des Nemanjides, la Serbie s'attacha à émuler la dignité impériale en mettant l'accent sur la piété, voire la sainteté, de sa famille souveraine. Les récits relatifs aux pèlerinages en Terre Sainte de St Sava de Serbie, membre de la famille princière, illustrent la mise en place des liens privilégiés de la Serbie avec les Lieux Saints. Cette présence « physique » de St Sava dans les hauts lieux du culte chrétien est ainsi étudié par A.Z. Savić (*Athos – Jerusalem – Sinai : Peregrinations and Identities in the Lives of St Sava of Serbia*) qui examine la façon dont ces voyages renforcèrent l'intégration de la Serbie à un « Orient » étendu du Mont Athos jusqu'au Sinaï et la Palestine, théâtre de la vie terrestre de Christ. Ce processus d'intégration est décrit pour les « terres ruthènes » – de la Rus' ancienne à l'Ukraine des XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles – par Vitalii Tkachuk dans le cadre d'une étude des translations de reliques et de la diffusion du culte de divers saints (*Eastern Christian Relics in Ukraine in the Late 17th and 18th Centuries*). Ce processus de formation d'« espaces sacrés » propres et leur intégration à l'oikoumène de la tradition chrétienne orientale concerne tout particulièrement les pays de la *Slavia christiana* (Serbie, Rus', Ukraine) mais les concepts et hypothèses qui ressortent de ces études intéresseront directement les spécialistes d'autres régions impliquées dans des processus de même nature.

Bien entendu, la dimension spécifiquement chrétienne des traditions byzantines ne fermait pas les sociétés slaves qui en avaient hérité aux influences des autres cultures. À l'époque moderne, la culture serbe s'ouvre ainsi aux influences musulmanes : Ljiljana Stošić (*Islamic Influences and Orientalism in Serbian Art and the Balkans*) analyse la façon dont les artistes serbes adoptent les particularités de l'iconographie musulmane, ainsi que leurs modes de représentation du monde musulman. Les traditions artistiques géorgiennes retiennent de leur côté l'attention de N. Kavtaria (*A New Type of Georgian Ecclesiastical Book: The Illuminated Gulani Manuscripts of the 16th–18th Centuries*) qui met en exergue dans l'illumination des manuscrits produits en Géorgie des spécificités non seulement byzantines mais également perses et ottomanes. Ces influences musulmanes se retrouvent jusque dans la décoration des textes liturgiques (tels que le *Gulani*) de tradition byzantine et géorgienne.

Les interactions complexes des sociétés chrétiennes et musulmanes, entre conflits et emprunts réciproques, sont également au cœur des articles de St. S. Panayiotou et Teymour Morel. Le premier (*Cross-Cultural Interaction in Arab-Byzantine Relations: Re-Examining Hagiographical Sources*) s'intéresse aux interactions entre Byzantins et musulmans du VIIe au Xe siècle, telles qu'elles transparaissent des sources hagiographiques. Quant à Teymour Morel, il étudie la diffusion des textes philosophiques de tradition aristotélicienne au sein des élites de l'Empire ottoman, y compris phanariotes (*Asʿad al-Yānyawī et la tradition philosophique arabo-islamique : Une étude sur le manuscrit Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi 5842*).

Radu Dipratu élargit l'enquête à une composante de l'« Occident » européen qui demeura indépendante politiquement de l'Empire ottoman en offrant une étude des relations entre la Porte et Venise, république maritime dont les colonies étaient imbriquées comme des éléments de marqueterie au sein de l'espace ottoman. Le bon déroulement de son activité mercantile nécessitait donc des pourparlers constants avec la Porte et l'auteur s'intéresse spécifiquement aux accords réglementant les actes de piraterie (*The Valona Affair [1638]. Its Ensuing Anti-Piracy Nişan*). Cette contribution qui éclaire d'un

jour nouveau l'ampleur des relations entre « Occident » européen et Empire ottoman fournit en addenda les textes encore inédits des accords de 1639 et 1670 entre Venise et l'Empire ottoman. On regrettera juste que l'édition ne soit pas appuyée sur des reproductions photographiques des documents.

G. Roper aborde pour sa part la question essentielle des emprunts technologiques du monde ottoman au monde occidental et de leur impact sur la culture « musulmane » en étudiant la façon dont l'introduction de l'imprimerie permit la diffusion auprès d'un large public de toute une gamme de textes de vulgarisation (*The Publication of Arabic Popular Texts in the 19th Century*).

Une section du volume est intégralement consacrée à l'histoire des contacts entre Orient et Occident à l'occasion de voyages, expéditions militaires, ainsi qu'aux interactions imposées par un acteur de celles-ci à un autre. Sont ainsi abordées par Ş.V. Marin les expéditions militaires des croisés vénitiens des côtes balkaniques à la Palestine en passant par les îles de la Méditerranée orientale. L'auteur analyse les descriptions des expéditions dans les chroniques en s'appuyant tant sur les sources publiées que sur divers manuscrits (*The Geography of the Venetian Crusades. Between Terra Santa and the Balkans*). Pour sa part, P. Auchterlonie (*English Captivity Narratives from North Africa as Popular Texts*) propose une étude des souvenirs de captivité d'Anglais retenus au Maroc, lesquels durent s'adapter à la vie en Orient. Leurs souvenirs font coexister la condamnation des « tyrannies » et des cruautés auxquelles leurs ennemis les soumirent avec la description des réalités « exotiques » dont ils furent les témoins.

D'autres contributions s'intéressent aux voyageurs orientaux qui visitèrent les contrées « occidentales ». Ainsi en est-il de l'article de P. Fahmé-Thiéry dédié aux figures de Būlus al-Zaʿīm (dit Paul d'Alep) et Hanna Dyâb, deux chrétiens d'Alep en Syrie dont les écrits reflètent leur découvertes de mondes bien différents de leur Syrie natale (*Écriture de récits de voyage. Autour de Paul d'Alep, de Makarios al-Zaʿīm et de quelques autres voyageurs orientaux*). L'auteur s'attache avant tout à répondre à la question cruciale de la justification par les auteurs eux-mêmes de leur décision de coucher par écrit leurs impressions et découvertes. Il ressort de l'étude que le récit censé ouvrir les horizons du lecteur est également un important outil de définition de soi, de construction de son rapport à « l'autre », tel qu'on le rencontre au-delà des frontières du monde connu. Le lecteur trouve ainsi dans les récits des voyageurs orientaux une forme d'autoportrait et de mise en scène de la vie intérieure de l'auteur.

À rebours des voyages précédents, P. Gerbaldo s'intéresse à la découverte de l'Empire ottoman du XIXe siècle par l'un des premiers « touristes » occidentaux, le peintre et aristocrate italien Grimaldi del Poggetto (*Presque en Orient. Le regard différent sur le Sud-Est Européen d'un voyageur italien : Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto, de Turin à Constantinople*). Le regard de ce personnage sur les pays qu'il traverse frappe tout autant par son « élitisme » que sa vive curiosité. Del Poggetto découvre les Balkans à un moment clef de leur histoire, lorsque, après la Grèce, Serbie, Roumanie, Bulgarie et Monténégro luttent pour leur indépendance politique ou goûtent leurs premiers succès en ce sens. Les aspirations révolutionnaires bouleversent alors les sociétés cosmopolites des Balkans. Les changements culturels sont surtout perceptibles à Bucarest, ce « petit Paris » qui se met rapidement à l'heure de l'Occident.

Le recueil réunit donc des études dont la variété reflète au mieux l'ample palette d'expériences que recouvrirent les contacts et conflits entre « Orient » et « Occident » sur la longue durée. Les sources mises en œuvre révèlent la nécessité de mener de front une double analyse, celle des informations que le voyageur révèle sur les lieux qu'ils traversent et celle de ses réactions et de la sélection qu'il opère dans ses expériences, riches d'enseignement sur sa propre identité. Les études réunies ici offrent donc d'importants enseignements sur les modalités de cette coexistence de différentes cultures dans les sociétés cosmopolites de l'Europe du Sud-est et de l'Est et sur la façon dont leur *entanglement* résulta en un alliage culturel spécifique, plus homogène qu'on ne le postule souvent.

Vera Tchentsova

Culture manuscrite et imprimée dans et pour l'Europe du Sud-Est / Manuscript and Printed Culture in and for South-Eastern Europe, volume édité par Archim. Policarp CHIȚULESCU et Ioana FEODOROV, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I", 2020 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 12), 141 p.

L'histoire du livre et de l'art typographique, sous les multiples aspects qu'ils impliquent, font partie intégrante de l'histoire de la culture et de la spiritualité de l'humanité. Et les études dans ces domaines ont non seulement une longue tradition, y compris l'espace roumain, mais représentent encore une importante direction de recherche.

C'est ce qui met également en évidence le présent volume, qui contient les contributions de spécialistes en l'histoire du livre, imprimés ou manuscrits, d'Europe de l'Est et du Sud-Est, présentées lors de deux réunions scientifiques internationales organisées à Bucarest.

La première partie, *Le livre imprimé comme instrument de changement et de contact*, rassemble sept études fondées sur les communications soutenues au XII⁰ Congrès International d'Études Sud-est Européennes, dans la section *L'imprimerie dans et pour le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, organisée en collaboration avec la Bibliothèque du Saint-Synode et coordonnée par l'Archimandrite Policarp Chițulescu. Le livre est porteur d'idées, de concepts et de messages, promeut des doctrines et des idéologies, religieuses, sociales ou politiques, soutient des apologies ou des polémiques en variés domaines. En plus, le livre imprimé, ayant possibilités de circulation plus étendues, influence les consciences ou détermine certaines attitudes et changements. Ces questions ont été abordées par les études incluses dans ce volume, avec une référence particulière au livre grec imprimé ou traduit, du XVII⁰ au XIX⁰ siècles.

L'archimandrite Policarp Chițulescu, par l'étude de ce volume, continue l'introduction dans le circuit scientifique des informations sur les précieux fonds de livres rares et bibliophiles conservés par la Bibliothèque du Saint-Synode, présentant une partie des livres publiés dans les imprimeries grecques de Venise. Fondées par des familles de Grecs émigrés dans la ville italienne, zone de contact entre civilisations, comme Glykis, Saros, Theodosiou, ces imprimeries ont assuré le livre de culte, mais aussi le livre laïque, pour tout l'espace de spiritualité orthodoxe, qui était sous domination ottomane. Le critère de sélection de ces livres était leur impression avec le soutien financier des princes régnants et des nobles roumains ou d'origine grecque, mais ayant occupé des fonctions politiques dans les Pays Roumains. Ces livres, d'une valeur bibliophile particulière, ont circulé dans le monde orthodoxe et, ce n'est pas par hasard, la plupart proviennent du patrimoine des anciens monastères roumains consacrés aux Lieux Saints.

C'est important de préciser que les élites politiques et ecclésiastiques roumaines ont soutenu l'Église Orthodoxe par des aides financières et, en même temps, par la création d'imprimeries en langue grecque, à Iasi et Bucarest, à partir de la fin du XVII⁰ siècle, qui ont édité des livres destinés aux communautés de l'espace sud-est européen et d'Asie Mineure. En Valachie a également fonctionné la première imprimerie privée, au milieu du XVIII⁰ siècle, celle des frères Lazaru, originaires d'Épire, dont la production éditoriale diversifiée a été étudiée par Daniela Lupu.

Des livres imprimés dans l'espace roumain en langue grecque, œuvres des écrivains byzantins ou grecs post-byzantins, certains qui exprimaient les points de vue de l'Église Orthodoxe dans les controverses religieuses avec le monde catholique et protestant, ont été identifiés dans les collections de la Bibliothèque Apostolique du Vatican par Anca Elisabeta Tatay et Octavian Gordon.

L'œuvre d'un érudit théologien grec de la seconde moitié du XVIII⁰ siècle, Athanasios de Paros, *Apologie chrétienne*, est analysée par Oana Mădălina Popescu, dans la complexité de ses significations, de défendre les valeurs chrétiennes traditionnelles contre les dénigrements de la philosophie des Lumières et de l'athéisme. Sa personnalité et son œuvre, comme théologien et professeur, sont placés dans le contexte du mouvement de renouveau spirituel, qui se manifeste parmi une génération des hommes de l'Église qui ont vécu à cette époque.

Toutefois, les livres des philosophes antiques, réédites au XVIII⁰ siècle, ou celles des penseurs et philosophes modernes, qui propageaient les nouvelles idées des Lumières, traduits en langue grecque, ont contribué au développement de l'esprit national et au mouvements sociaux et politiques dans le monde sud-est européen. De cette perspective, très importante a été l'activité des traducteurs et des éditeurs, comme celle de Dimitrios Darvaris, analysée par Andreea Ștefan, dont les livres ont

été imprimés à Vienne, mais ont circulé dans toute la région des Balkans. Une autre personnalité d'origine grecque qui a activé en diaspora, cette fois dans l'espace roumain, a été Nicolaos G. Dossios, dont l'intense activité éducative, comme professeur à Galati et Iasi, ainsi que ses œuvres philologiques et pédagogiques sont présentées par Dimitrios Kotsikas.

Une importance similaire a également été accordée au livre dans le monde musulman, soulignée par l'étude de Stoyanka Kenderova, qui, en faisant des recherches sur des actes d'héritage ou divers contrats, a identifié les préférences de la société musulmane de Vidin pour certains livres, mais aussi leur prix.

La deuxième partie, *Manuscrits du monde orthodoxe. Destins entrelacés*, rassemble des communications présentées il y a quelques années, lors d'un colloque organisé sous la coordination de Ioana Feodorov, qui sont publiées maintenant en cinq études.

Les manuscrits religieux de Géorgie, rédigés en géorgien et en grec, sont remarquables pour l'art de l'écriture et de l'ornementation avec des miniatures. Conservés dans des institutions publiques en Géorgie et en Russie, les manuscrits présentés ont été élaborés aux XVe, XVIIe ou XVIIIe siècles et contiennent diverses collections de livres liturgiques. En leurs études, Nino Kavtaria, Eka Dughashvili et Ketevan Tatishvili les étudient du point de vue des sources d'inspiration, en ce qui concerne les textes, mais aussi de l'iconographie et de l'enluminure, soulignant les relations particulières que la société géorgienne a eues avec le monde byzantin et post-byzantin, athonite, mais aussi avec l'espace russe.

Le manuscrit de l'*Histoire des Patriarches d'Antioche*, livre rédigé par le patriarche Macarie III Ibn al-Za'im (1647–1672) et conservé à l'Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux de Saint Pétersbourg, est soumis à une analyse historique par Constantin Panchenko, en tant que l'une des rares sources documentaires sur l'histoire de ce siège patriarcal orthodoxe, entre le XVe et le XVIIe siècle.

L'étude qui finalise ce volume est consacrée au livre imprimé en caractères arabes, destiné aux besoins spirituels des chrétiens arabes, leur première imprimerie étant une donation du prince Constantin Brâncoveanu et du métropolite Antim Ivireanul au patriarche d'Antioche Athanase III al-Dabbas. Dans son étude, Serge Frantsouzoff choisit d'étudier les Psautiers, l'un des livres les plus répandus dans cet environnement spirituel orthodoxe, imprimé en caractères arabes en plusieurs éditions, le premier étant imprimé en 1706 à Alep.

Enfin, les éditeurs ont également choisi d'ajouter une *Bibliographie générale*, qui mentionne les principaux livres et articles relatifs aux thèmes abordés dans ces études.

Le livre a été et demeure une source importante de connaissances, de réflexions et de contacts entre les cultures et les civilisations, dont les multiples formes, sens et significations font encore l'objet de recherches approfondies et interdisciplinaires.

Mariana Lazăr

Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică « Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti », *Crestomaţia limbii române vechi*, volumul al II-lea *(1640–1715)* / *Chrestomathie de la langue roumaine ancienne*, tome II *(1640–1715)*, coord. Alexandru MAREȘ, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2020, 379 p.[1]

La chrestomathie du roumain ancien dirigée par Al. Mareș – qui signe aussi les études introductives aux deux volumes publiés jusqu'à présent – est l'œuvre du Département de langue littéraire et philologie de l'Institut de linguistique de Bucarest. Elle est structurée en trois

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[1] L'avant-propos fait l'histoire de l'élaboration du volume : la majorité des textes ont été transcrits dans les années 1986 et 1987 par Violeta Barbu, Magdalena Georgescu, Al. Mareș et Florentina Zgraon ; ils sont accompagnés des résumés et de la bibliographie. Dans la deuxième phase, dans les années 2016 et 2017, la chrestomathie a été complétée par des textes transcrits par Liliana Agache, Cristina-Ioana Dima, Alexandru Mareș, Anca-Mihaela Sapovici, Maria Stanciu Istrate et Emanuela Timotin. Les transcriptions réalisées en 1986 et 1987 ont été revues, la bibliographie des textes a été mise à jour, un *glossaire* et un *index des noms propres* ont été rédigés. À cette dernière étape ont pris part Liliana Agache, Cristina-Ioana Dima, Alexandru Mareș, Anca-Mihaela Sapovici, Cristinel Sava, Maria Stanciu Istrate et Emanuela Timotin. La révision finale est due à Alexandru Mareș, Cristinel Sava, Maria Stanciu Istrate et Emanuela Timotin. Le coordinateur de l'ouvrage est Al. Mareș, qui signe aussi l'*Introduction*.

volumes suivant les périodes de la langue littéraire ancienne : le premier, paru en 1994 et, en 2016, dans une deuxième édition augmentée, couvre la période 1521–1639, le second les années 1640–1715, le troisième, à paraître, la période 1716–1780.

L'introduction au premier volume donne une série de précisions sur le rôle assigné à un ouvrage de telle facture (de contribuer à une meilleure connaissance du développement de la langue et de la littérature roumaine ancienne), sur la nécessité de son apparition exigée par l'élargissement des connaissances sur la littérature ancienne par rapport à ce que les chrestomathies antérieures offraient[2] et sur l'inventaire des écrits donnant l'image de leur diversification et des styles utilisés. La présente chrestomathie prête une attention égale à la langue écrite et à celle parlée. Les textes choisis illustrent la formation et la consolidation des principales variantes régionales du roumain littéraire (dans la première période), l'essor de l'emploi du roumain écrit (dans la deuxième) et la réalisation de la première unification de la langue littéraire (dans la dernière période). Ils ont été écrits soit dans un but culturel et littéraire, soit dans un but personnel, particulier (documents, lettres, annotations). Le critère de leur choix a été linguistique, auquel, parfois, le critère esthétique et celui socioculturel ont été associés. Les fragments des textes reproduits, rendus en transcription interprétative, ont des dimensions semblables et, dans la mesure du possible, ils sont nouveaux par rapport aux chrestomathies précédentes.

Le présent volume embrasse la période 1640–1714[3], achevée avec la mort de Constantin Brâncoveanu et caractérisée par un épanouissement culturel. L'introduction – que nous suivons étroitement – expose, pour commencer, la chronologie de l'ensemble de la production typographique, en mettant en évidence les centres d'impression des trois pays roumains, ainsi que les centres à l'étranger. Par rapport à l'étape antérieure, l'activité se déroule maintenant non seulement en Transylvanie, mais aussi dans la Valachie et la Moldavie. En Valachie il y a des typographies dans le monastère de Govora[4], à Câmpulung, dans le monastère de Dealu près de Târgovişte, à Bucarest, Buzău, Snagov, Râmnic, Târgovişte. En Moldavie, les livres sont imprimés à Iasi. En Transylvanie, ils apparaissent à Bălgrad[5], Sebeş, Sibiu. Ces typographies impriment des livres de droit canon et des lois, des écrits ecclésiastiques, des livres de littérature populaire.

La géographie des livres donne l'image de la circulation des maîtres typographes et met en évidence la rencontre entre l'orthodoxie et d'autres courants confessionnels (le calvinisme, notamment).

La production manuscrite est formée également surtout des écrits religieux. À partir du dernier quart du XVIIe siècle, les écrits religieux en roumain conservés en manuscrit sont nombreux et parfois méconnus même des spécialistes. Les écrits conservés en manuscrit sont d'une diversité accrue par rapport aux livres imprimés.

Une place spéciale dans la littérature du temps occupe l'écriture parénétique de Neagoe Basarab.

L'introduction du volume donne un abrégé utile de l'activité de traduction en roumain à l'époque. Les traductions réalisées à partir des différentes langues slaves sont répertoriées. Le slave cède au fur et à mesure la place à la langue grecque. Les traductions du grec commencent (avec les livres juridiques), en se multipliant avec le temps. Il y a quelques traductions faites du latin. L'activité de Nicolae Milescu Spătarul en tant que traducteur est d'une grande et importante ampleur. Antim Ivireanul a une activité complexe, en tant que typographe et auteur d'écrits originaux et de traductions.

Le travail des copistes se déroule en Valachie et en Moldavie surtout dans les scriptoriums des monastères. En Transylvanie les copistes sont en général des prêtres de villages, soutenus par la communauté villageoise intéressée à avoir les livres de culte nécessaires. Une liste riche en personnalités complète ce chapitre de l'introduction. Les conditions de l'utilisation de l'alphabet latin avec l'orthographe hongroise pour écrire le roumain sont mises en évidence.

[2] L'évaluation des critères qui ont guidé tous les ouvrages antérieurs en est faite.

[3] L'étape 1640–1652 est caractérisée par l'impression de livres homilétiques et de droit canon ; dans la période 1673–1715, le livre religieux se diversifie.

[4] Ici sont parus *Pravila*, le premier livre imprimé en roumain en Ţara Românească (une édition récente est due à Ştefan Găitănaru ; nous signalons sa parution dans ce numéro de la revue), et *Evanghelie învăţătoare*, 1642, dans l'édition critique de 2011 d'Alin-Mihai Gherman.

[5] Sur l'activité de l'imprimerie de Bălgrad, rétablie par Ioan Zoba din Vinţ dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle, voir aussi l'étude introductive d'Alin Mihai Gherman à l'édition critique de son livre *Cărare pre scurt pre fapte bune îndreptătoare*, sur lequel nous revenons dans un compte rendu dans ce numéro de la revue.

C'est la période où la littérature historique apparaît et se développe en roumain. Des chronographes sont traduits. La traduction des romans populaires s'approche des belles-lettres. La littérature en vers fait son apparition. Les travaux lexicographiques sont assez nombreux.

Le nombre de documents émis en roumain par les chancelleries de Valachie et de Moldavie augmente et diminue celui des documents en slavon. Leur diversité est remarquable.

La circulation des produits littéraires se fait du nord au sud, de la Moldavie à la Valachie ; des manuscrits moldaves sont imprimés en Valachie. Les livres imprimés en Moldavie et en Valachie circulent vers Transylvanie plus souvent que ne le font les livres parus en Transylvanie. En ce qui concerne les manuscrits, on remarque qu'en Transylvanie ont migré les traductions moldaves des apocryphes religieux, tout comme des traductions ont migré de Transylvanie vers la Moldavie et la Valachie.

La circulation des lettrés, des typographes, de copistes entre les trois provinces est constamment étudiée. Al. Mareş passe en revue les tentatives de création d'une norme littéraire unifiée et suit le fonctionnement des normes littéraires régionales déjà constituées, ainsi que l'acceptation de certains faits provenant des parlers. Il constate les influences réciproques entre les trois régions historiques. Les trois styles de base du roumain littéraire (belles-lettres, juridico-administratif et technico-scientifique) commencent à consolider leurs structures au cours de cette période.

La chrestomathie contient 91 textes. 85 d'entre eux sont écrit en alphabet cyrillique et 6 en alphabet latin ; 72 sont littéraires, 19 non-littéraires ; 25 proviennent de Valachie, 22 de Moldavie, 20 de Transylvanie ; 5 textes ont été imprimés ou copiés hors des frontières des provinces roumaines. La plupart des textes sont religieux (29 canoniques, 4 apocryphes), en accord avec les tentatives de nationaliser le service divin. Les textes littéraires profanes sont beaucoup plus nombreux que dans la période antérieure, ce qui fait que 39 d'entre eux soient inclus dans la chrestomathie : 12 écrits historiques (7 originaux et 5 traductions), 10 livres populaires, 7 écrits en vers, 4 écrits moraux, 3 travaux didactiques et géographiques, un mémorial, un calendrier, un écrit sur des remèdes populaires (une incantation). Les 72 travaux originaux sont les écrits littéraires les plus représentatifs de la période. Il faut mentionner aussi les 13 documents juridico-administratifs et 5 lettres.

L'ordre des textes dans le livre est strictement chronologique. Chaque texte est précédé d'une description du contenu et suivi de la liste des éditions antérieures et de la bibliographie complète le concernant. Pour faciliter la consultation du livre, dans le sommaire on trouve le lieu d'origine de chaque texte et la date.

L'intention déclarée et réalisée du livre était de donner une image complète du roumain ancien écrit dans les années 1640–1715 en faisant ressortir les particularités des cinq variantes littéraires existantes et les éléments caractéristiques des trois styles qui se sont consolidés après 1640. Cette chrestomathie est un instrument de travail de la plus grande utilité, riche en matériel de langue, en information sur les textes choisis, en offrant des possibilités multiples et diverses de poursuivre des recherches sur l'histoire du roumain littéraire, sur les relations de la culture roumaine avec les cultures du Sud-Est européen.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

Pravila de la Govora, studiu introductiv, studiu lingvistic, ediţie de text şi indice de cuvinte de Ştefan GĂITĂNARU, Piteşti, Editura Universităţii din Piteşti, 2020, 504 p.

En Valachie, le premier livre en roumain a été imprimé en 1640, au monastère de Govora[1], ce qui représente la traduction d'un texte de droit ecclésiastique, contenant des canons, des pénitentiels, des dispositions rituelles, des ordonnances monastiques, etc., ainsi que certaines dispositions de droit civil[2].

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[1] En 1639, il est également apparu à Govora, *Paraclisul Precestii* (Prière à la vierge), en roumain avec des passages en slave (voir N. Drăganu, *Histoire de la littérature roumaine de Transylvanie des origines à la fin du XVIIIᵉ siècle*, édité par Octavian Şchiau et Eugen Pavel, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 150).

[2] Le livre reproduit une compilation sud-danubienne d'origine bulgare (voir Al. Mareş, « A procurat Udrişte Năsutrel originalul străin al *Pravilei de la Govora*? », dans idem, *Scirere şi cultură românească veche*, Bucureşti, 2005, 294–298, avec bibliographie).

L'édition qu'en donne à présent Ştefan Găitănaru contient également un avant-propos de l'éditeur, l'étude introductive (traitant de l'activité de Mihail Moxa et du renouveau culturel sous Matei Basarab[3], avec un aperçu sur les recueils roumains de lois en usage aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles), un chapitre concernant les problèmes de la transcription du texte, une étude de la langue, le texte transcrit et en fac-similé, le glossaire et l'index des mots. L'étude traite aussi de la circulation des manuscrits et des livres imprimés en question entre la Valachie, la Moldavie et la Transylvanie et sur les similitudes et les différences entre *Pravila* de Mihail Moxa et *Pravila aleasă* d'Eustratie Logofătul[4]. À notre avis, la différence la plus importante est la petite place qui est consacrée aux dispositions de droit civil dans *Pravila* de Govora par rapport à *Pravila aleasă*.

Des éditions assez nombreuses que *Pravila* de Govora a connues, Şt. Găitănaru ne mentionne que la première, celle d'Al. Odobescu[5], publiée en 1884, dont il affirme aussi qu'il lui est resté fidèle (p. 5), sans toutefois donner les explications nécessaires en quoi consiste cette fidélité à une édition, dont la transcription, comme il dit lui-même, se fait avec l'orthographe de l'époque[6]. Cette affirmation, ainsi que celle relative à la nécessité de confronter le manuscrit slave à partir duquel la traduction a été faite, le manuscrit roumain et le livre imprimé (p. 5)[7], celle concernant les problèmes soulevés par les incohérences dans les numéros attribués dans l'original aux chapitres thématiques (c'est-à-dire aux paragraphes contenant les dispositions des lois), les solutions choisies dans la ponctuation nécessitaient une présentation beaucoup plus détaillée.

En ce qui concerne les mots et les sens rares, on peut faire quelques remarques qui montrent l'intérêt du texte : *cadeaşte* « porte, balance l'encensoir » est attesté antérieurement à l'attestation retenue par les dictionnaires (provenant de Dosoftei) ; *moaşă soacră-sa*, en série synonymique avec *muma soacră-sa* « belle-mère », tous les deux des mots dialectaux (*moaşă* avec un sens rare) ; *crescutul* (nom provenant du participe), synonyme de *măsură* « âge » (*crescutul de treizeci de ai*) ; *născutul* « Noël » (*postul născutului* ; *prazdnicul născutului*) ; *a frunta* « affronter », très rare selon le Dictionnaire de l'Académie qui l'atteste seulement au XIXe siècle.

Cette édition bénéficie d'une étude linguistique soignée surtout en ce qui concerne la syntaxe et la morphologie et d'une transcription interprétative dont les principes énoncés et appliqués peuvent être comparés au texte en fac-similé de l'original.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

IOAN ZOBA DIN VINŢ, *Cărare pre scurt pre fapte bune îndreptătoare*, édition, notes, étude introductive, glossaire et liste des abréviations d'Alin-Mihai Gherman, transcription du texte hongrois par Kolumbán M. Judit, Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, XXXIII, Alba Iulia, Cognitiv, 2019, 488 p.

Dans une ample introduction intitulée *Un livre, un homme, une époque*, Alin-Mihai Gherman établit la place que le livre, dont il donne l'édition, occupe dans l'activité d'Ioan Zoba de Vinţ[1] et dans la culture roumaine de Transylvanie de la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle, en se proposant de

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[3] Sur cette période voir aussi l'introduction d'Alin-Mihai Gherman à son édition du deuxième livre imprimé en roumain, en 1642, à Govora, *Evanghelie învăţătoare* (Bucarest, 2011) ; cette édition est mentionnée à propos de certaines solutions de transcription que Şt. Găitănaru a adoptées (p. 25).

[4] Pour Eustratie logofătul, *Pravila aleasă*, voir l'édition due à Alin-Mihai Gherman, Bucureşti, 2018.

[5] En ce qui concerne l'histoire de toutes les éditions et, en particulier, l'histoire de l'édition d'Al. Odobescu voir Marius Mazilu, « Pentru o nouă ediţie a *Pravilei de la Govora* (1640) », *Limba română*, LXVII, 2018, 3-4, p. 331-339, avec bibliographie ; l'auteur de l'article en prépare une édition.

[6] Par exemple, en l'absence des précisions attendues, on peut seulement supposer que l'auteur a utilisé lui aussi l'exemplaire utilisé par Odobescu, conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie sous la cote CRV I 39 U. Il ne mentionne que la cote du manuscrit slave et celle du manuscrit roumain, mais pas celle de l'exemplaire imprimé.

[7] Les notes de bas de page de l'éditeur ne contiennent pas de mention du résultat des confrontations de textes.

[1] Vinţu de Jos est un village près de la ville Alba Iulia (Bălgrad, dans les documents médiévaux).

dégager les différents aspects de la relation que ce prêtre orthodoxe a entretenue avec le calvinisme et sur son rôle dans la remise en fonction de la typographie de Bălgrad. En s'appuyant sur le peu de documents conservés[2], Alin Gherman donne une synthèse très utile à la fois sur la personnalité d'Ioan Zoba de Vinţ et sur l'histoire des textes qu'il a fait publier à Sebeş et puis à Bălgrad en tant qu'éditeur, traducteur ou réviseur[3] : *Sicriul de aur* (Le cercueil d'or, 1683), une adaptation ou traduction qui inaugure dans la culture roumaine le discours ecclésiastique funèbre, forme inspirée des traditions occidentales et qui sera cultivée surtout au XVIIIe siècle ; *Cărare pre scurt pre fapte bune îndreptătoare* (Court sentier vers les bonnes actions, 1685) ; *Ceasloveţ care are întru sine slujbele de noapte şi de zi* (Petit livre d'heures qui comprend les services de la nuit et du jour, 1686) ; *Rânduiala diaconstvelor şi cu a văzglăşeniilor care să zic la liturghie şi rânduiala vecerniei cu a utrăniei* (L'ordre des litanies et de leurs achèvements qui sont dits à la liturgie et l'ordre des vêpres et des matines, 1687), en fait, une partie du rituel orthodoxe, fidèlement conservé. Cinq prêches (*cazanii*, à la mort d'un homme, d'une femme, d'un enfant), ayant Ioan Zoba de Vinţ pour auteur, sont attachés à plusieurs exemplaires d'un *Moliftălnic* (Livre de prières) paru en 1689[4] (ils s'inscrivent dans la série de discours funèbres inaugurée par *Sicriul de aur*). *Poveaste la 40 de mucenici* (Histoire des 40 martyrs, 1689) est le seul texte hagiographique imprimé en Transylvanie aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles ; la contribution de Ioan Zoba à l'impression de cette brochure n'est pourtant que supposée[5]. Alin Gherman fait la distinction entre les livres qui soutiennent le culte orthodoxe et les textes d'oratoire funèbre, influencés, eux, par des formes littéraires de la littérature occidentale. Avec ces écrits, Ioan Zoba ouvre une voie nouvelle dans la culture roumaine de son temps. Il faut retenir aussi l'observation d'A. Gherman selon laquelle la possibilité d'une certaine influence des coutumes populaires concernant la communication entre le monde réel et l'au-delà ne devrait pas être exclue[6].

Le livre dont nous avons maintenant l'édition, *Cărare pre scurt*, un texte guidant le bon chrétien, reste isolé, à l'avis de Gherman, dans la culture roumaine jusqu'à 1830. Le ton moderne du discours (comme celui de *Sicriul de aur* aussi) a fait que le livre ait une faible audience à son époque et plus tard ; il ne connaît pas de réimpressions ou de copies manuscrites. Il ne provient pas de la tradition des catéchismes, mais suppose un intermédiaire occidental. Le tirage du livre, aussi, doit avoir été réduit. Cela expliquerait pourquoi il n'y a maintenant que deux exemplaires, un, partiellement conservé, à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine à Bucarest et l'autre à la filiale de Cluj-Napoca de la même bibliothèque[7]. L'exemplaire qui se trouve à Cluj-Napoca appartenait à Timotei Cipariu, qui en a tirait un texte significatif dans ses chrestomathies, *Principia de limbă şi scriptură*, Blaj, 1846 et *Crestomaţie sau Analecte literare*, Blaj, 1858[8]. L'édition présente est basée

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[2] Il met à profit les recherches d'Eva Mârza, Ana Dumitran, Eugen Pavel et Anton Goţia.

[3] Les éditions critiques des textes sont mentionnées dans les notes.

[4] La préface (*predoslovie*) qui accompagne ce livre de prières, due également à notre auteur – où, au lieu de sept mystères attendus dans un écrit de l'église orthodoxe, seulement cinq sont mentionnés – a été généralement interprétée comme une reprise de certains aspects théologiques de la doctrine de Calvin. Alin Gherman explique plutôt cet épisode comme une concession formelle au calvinisme, parce que la mention mise en cause apparaît uniquement dans la préface, et non dans le livre (voir la note 1). Voir aussi, sur ce livre de prières publié sous influence calviniste et sur son écho dans des éditions ultérieures à Buzău et Râmnic, N. Drăganu, « Un fragment din cel mai vechi molitvenic românesc », *Dacoromania*, II, 1921–1922, p. 260–261.

[5] N. Drăganu, *Istoria literaturii române din Transilvania de la origini până la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea – Histoire de la littérature roumaine de Transylvanie des origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, édition soignée, préface et notes d'Octavian Şchiau et Eugen Pavel, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 157–159, qui dresse l'inventaire des écrits de Ioan Zoba et donne les équivalents français suivants des titres roumains : Le cercueil d'or (livre de sermons pour les services funèbres) ; Voie courte pour diriger les bonnes actions ; Petit Bréviaire ou Livre d'heures ; Règles des Chants d'Église ; Rituel ; Histoire de 40 martyrs.

[6] Il s'agit surtout de *Iertăciune la oameni morţi* (Pardon pour les morts) ; voir p. XI, note 15.

[7] Entre les deux exemplaires il n'y a pas de différences, preuve que le livre a eu un seul tirage.

[8] La présence d'un fragment de ce texte de Ioan Zoba dans la chrestomathie de Cipariu explique le fait qu'il ne figure pas dans le IIe tome de *Crestomaţia limbii române vechi*, II *(1640–1715)*, Bucarest, 2020, qui a pour principe de ne pas répéter les textes parus dans les chrestomathies précédentes. Dans cette chrestomathie récente apparaissent des fragments de *Sicriul de aur*, dont les deux éditions critiques dues à Anton Goţia (la première en 1984 et la deuxième, enrichie et révisée, en 2008) ne sont pas mentionnées (pour ces indications bibliographiques, voir la note 3 de Gherman).

sur l'exemplaire de Cluj-Napoca, qui, malheureusement, n'est pas complet non plus[9]. Les fautes dans la pagination du livre sont dues probablement aux efforts d'Ioan Zoba pour suivre la forme et l'ordre de son modèle occidental.

Il s'agit d'un texte d'un type inconnu dans la culture roumaine à l'époque, destiné à la lecture individuelle d'un lecteur éduqué, ce qui le rendrait comparable, selon Gherman, uniquement à *Divanul* de Dimitrie Cantemir[10]. Le publique de *Cărare pre scurt* était, donc, bien limité. Ioan Zoba précise qu'il a traduit son livre. Les études de Veress E., Bitay Á., Révész I. ont établi l'original hongrois paru à Sibiu en 1666 (*Kegyes cselekedetek rövid ösvenykeje*), ayant pour auteur István Matkó. À son tour, Matkó indiquait qu'il a traduit une œuvre anglaise[11]. L'original anglais fait l'objet de discussions. Selon Paul Cernovodeanu et, plus tard, Eugen Pavel, il serait question de *The Practice of Piety, directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God* du puritain Lews Bayly (1615). Selon A. Gherman, un modèle beaucoup plus proche semble être le livre d'Arthur Dent, *The plaine-mans path-way to heaven*, imprimé en 1601, ou un livre encore non identifié inspiré par celui d'Arthur Dent[12].

Dans un chapitre spécial de son étude, Gherman n'exclut pas la possibilité d'une rencontre directe et d'une relation personnelle entre Kézdivásárhelyi Matkó István et Ioan Zoba ; les preuves en font pourtant défaut.

L'initiative de ce prêtre orthodoxe de traduire un livre calviniste pourrait être interprétée par son souci de bon pasteur de réconforter ses fidèles, à l'aide d'un livre destiné à chacun d'entre eux, l'Église orthodoxe ayant à l'époque une position fragile en Transylvanie. L'écriture perçoit l'homme dans toutes ses hypostases selon le sexe, l'âge, la condition matérielle, le degré de culture. D'autre part, Gherman avance également une explication sociale : le livre apparaît dans un environnement urbain de personnes libres dans lequel l'individu commence à jouer un rôle de plus en plus important. *Cărare pre scurt* fait partie d'un courant propre au Sud-ouest de la Transylvanie, qui réunit, entre autres, *Lexicon Marsilianum*, *Anonymus Caransebesiensis*, les écrits de Mihail Halici le fils, les psautiers calviniste-roumaines en vers, etc. ; il est question, fort probablement, de l'expression culturelle d'une société urbaine libre à la poursuite d'une place dans les structures de la Principauté transylvaine. Ce courant a un pendant dans la région du Sud-est, autour de Brașov, dans la culture d'un autre groupe de la population roumaine urbaine et libre, qui donne les traductions des livres populaires et crée une historiographie locale (p. XXXIV et suiv.).

Les idées promues dans *Cărare pre scurt*, à l'avis d'Alin Gherman, ne contredisent pas les dogmes de l'Église orthodoxe, elles sont proches du hésychasme.

A. Gherman observe la grande fidélité du texte roumain par rapport à l'original hongrois et même le fait que Ioan Zoba fait compléter les références de l'original par des citations des textes bibliques. Le texte roumain ne s'écarte en rien de la langue et des formules des textes traditionnels de l'Église orthodoxe, avec l'intention, présumée par l'éditeur contemporain, d'atténuer l'impact du caractère nouveau de son ouvrage.

Il faut retenir du chapitre consacré à la langue dans l'introduction que l'explication de la fluctuation des formes phonétiques et grammaticales réside, selon A. Gherman, dans le fait qu'Alba Iulia se trouve dans une zone d'interférence de plusieurs parlers dacoroumains.

Les mots et/ou significations mentionnés plus bas sont caractérisés par Alin Gherman (p. LXXX–LXXXVI), par un terme plutôt mal choisi, comme « inédits ». On peut être sûr qu'il ne juge pas les termes hérités *fiastru* « beau-fils », *urdina* « aller et venir, courir çà et là » (Damé, *Dictionnaire roumain-français*) ou le sens « bouche » de *rost* comme des nouvelles créations lexicales et sémantiques. Néanmoins, les mots qu'il inclut sur la liste méritent toute l'attention que l'auteur y

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[9] La description et la reconstitution de la structure que devait avoir le livre, aux pages XII et suiv.

[10] Gherman établit constamment des parallèles entre le contenu du livre de Ioan Zoba et les écrits de ses contemporains, Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir, attirant l'attention sur des thèmes communs, la vanité de la richesse mondaine, la lutte entre l'âme et le corps, entre l'âme et le monde extérieur.

[11] Il s'agit de la première influence anglaise, par voie indirecte, sur le roumain (Drăganu, *Istoria – Histoire*, p. 158).

[12] Pour la démonstration de cette hypothèse et pour l'histoire du thème dans la littérature protestante du XVIIe siècle, avec des échos en Transylvanie, voir p. XXI–XXXIV.

porte en les enregistrant séparément. Ce sont, en fait, des mots et des significations qui sont aujourd'hui rares, archaïques, populaires, dialectaux. Nous donnons quelques exemples, tout en utilisant des informations tirées de dictionnaires pour mettre en évidence toute leur importance : *aflătură* « mensonge, rumeur, bruit » ; dans le Dictionnaire de la Académie : *aflare*, hors d'usage, « fable, fausseté » ; *apleca* « allaiter » ; le sens mentionné de ce verbe hérité est discuté en détail par Hasdeu dans son dictionnaire étymologique ; les exemples proviennent des écrits de Cantemir, du texte de la Bible de 1688, des réponses à son questionnaire, etc. (dans le Dictionnaire de l'Académie : *apleca*, avec les exemples et l'explication sémantique de Hasdeu, *aplecare* « allaitement », *aplecat* « allaitement ». Sextil Puşcariu, dans son dictionnaire étymologique, ajoute aroum. *aplecătoare*, megl. *plicătoare* « (brébis, chèvre) qui allaite » ; chez Tache Papahagi on trouve aussi le verbe *apléc*[1] « allaiter ») ; *dihanie* avec le sens « être vivant » est ancien, le sens étant aujourd'hui hors d'usage (Dictionnaire de l'Académie) ; *dosnic* « maussade », populaire (Dict. de l'Acad. ; il faut remarquer que la datation de la première attestation du mot dans les dictionnaires est beaucoup plus tardive, en 1821, et la première attestation du sens en question est de 1862) ; *fălíe*, hors d'usage, « orgueil, fierté » (et « splendeur, pompe » < *făli* « louer ; s'enorgueillir ») est ancien, utilisé seulement dans les premiers textes roumains de Transylvanie et dans les parlers de Transylvanie, Banat, Hongrie (Dict. de l'Acad., qui donne aussi un exemple de Ioan Zoba) ; *făţărie* « dissimulation, hypocrisie », ancien (*Codicele Voroneţean*, Dict. de l'Acad.) ; *fericăciune* « béatitude, félicité » (dans le dictionnaire roumain-français de Fr. Damé ; il est vrai, le Dict. de l'Acad. a des exemples puisés seulement à *Sicriul de aur* et *Anonymus Caransebesiensis*) ; *împizmi* « contredire, se disputer, faire malgré » apparaît, à côté de *împizma*, dans le Dict. de l'Acad., qui envoyait à *pizmă* « envie » (la nouvelle série du dictionnaire n'enregistre pourtant les dérivés, donnant seulement la locution qui est à leur origine : *a se lua / a se pune în pizmă* « se disputer »).

L'édition donne le fac-similé sur la page de gauche et la transcription sur la droite, ce qui est d'une grande utilité pour le lecteur.

L'édition et l'étude introductive, venant de l'un des chercheurs les plus avertis de la culture roumaine de Transylvanie aux XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles, complètent la perspective sur ce phénomène et ouvrent de nouvelles voies d'investigation.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

Leonidas RADOS, *Un cărturar de altădată: Constantin Erbiceanu (1838–1913)*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 2020, 475 p.

The personality of Constantin Erbiceanu (1838–1913) marks the beginnings of the scholarly study of Modern Greek culture in Romania. His scientific works, as well as his translations and editions of Greek historical sources opened the path for future research in this field and by the next generations of Romanian Neo-Hellenists. Even if from by modern scientific standards one can find weaker points in his scholarly approach, Erbiceanu's work remain nevertheless important even today. Many of Erbiceanu's editions of Greek sources are still the most recent ones more than a hundred years later. In the last years, Erbiceanu's activity was revaluated and a number of his works were published in critical editions. Various scholarly contributions offered a much-detailed image of his place in Romanian historical writing.

Leonidas Rados, researcher at the "A.D. Xenopol" Institute of History of the Romanian Academy in Iaşi, offers a much-awaited biography of Constantin Erbiceanu focusing on his subject's personality, background and work. The author, specialized in cultural history, is one of the most appropriate scholars to make such a biographical approach. For almost two decades, he studied the subject of his book, making use of both published and unpublished material, from Romanian and Greek archives and libraries. The results of some of Rados' researches on Erbiceanu, mainly about his formative years in Iaşi and Athens and his academic career, were previously published in scientific journals. These articles are the starting point for a detailed biography of Erbiceanu provided now by

the author. The book is also a documented reading for anyone interested in Romanian cultural life during the second half of the 19th and the beginnings of the 20th century.

The book's "Introduction" deals with a number of topics: a biographical synopsis, the older and more recent critics of Erbiceanu's work and its revaluation, errors in previous biographies and a review of the sources used by the author. Among these sources, a starting point was Erbiceanu's autobiographical essay, published in 1914. Other relevant documents came from the Erbiceanu's family archive, kept by the last direct descendent of the Hellenist, Constantin Laurenţiu Erbiceanu. The family archive was also the source for an important part of the previously unpublished illustration of the book. The research for the book was not an easy task according to the author, given the fact that even printed 19th century material, such as complete series of some periodicals, is not always readily available in libraries.

The first chapter presents Constantin Erbiceanu's childhood and his primary and secondary school years. One of the most important corrections to older biographies is the year Erbiceanu was born. Based on a handwritten note (reproduced also in facsimile at page 28) by his father, the priest Ion Ionescu of Erbiceni, Constantin was born on August 5th, 1838. The year 1835, previously mentioned. After studies in Sârca (a village near Erbiceni) and Târgu Frumos, the young Erbiceanu attended the theological seminary in Socola (1849–1858). Some of the records of his presence there are presented in the book and published in facsimile. More information is provided to the reader about the organization and the curricula of the Socola seminary. It is there that the future scholar acquired his first knowledge of Greek and Latin. Not so clear are the facts about Erbiceanu's studies at the high school in Iaşi, as no archival records were found.

The studies of Constantin Erbiceanu at the Theological School of the new founded University of Iaşi (1860–1864) are the subject of the second chapter. For economical support during his studies Erbiceanu might had a state scholarship (no definite information is available about it) and a paid scribe position at the Metropolis of Iaşi. The author uses archival documents, both public and from Erbiceanu's personal papers and manuscripts to provide the reader with an image of the academic life of the Theological School in the 1860's. In 1864, just before the closing of the school due to the decreasing number of professors and students, Constantin Erbiceanu obtained his graduation document.

The book follows the studies of Constantin Erbiceanu during the years of his presence in Greece, where he attended the Theological School of the University of Athens (1865–1867). Researches in Greek archives allowed the author to find his subject's traces in the capital of Greece and to offer an image of the higher theological education there at the time.

Related with Erbiceanu's presence in Greece is an interesting episode of book history, the question of his ownership of a lavishly decorated Byzantine manuscript. The 12th century book, known today as the Jaharis Gospel Lectionary, is part of the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York since 2007[1]. A well-documented monograph on the manuscript was published in 2009 by John Lowden, Professor at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London (*The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary. The Story of a Byzantine Book*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009). Even if Erbiceanu's signature and identity was already identified in 1959 by Charles Astruc, a number of errors are present in Lowden's English translation of the accompanying Greek note, translation also referred to in the Romanian book. A close inspection of the original Greek note in the manuscript (now available on line) reveals its content. It is written in two types of ink probably by two different individuals. It reads in black ink: Τὸ παρὸν Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπάρχει ἐμοῦ. Τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξ ἰδίων μου ἀγόρασα. Ἐν ἔτει 1866 Αὐγ(ούστου) 12 (there is also an erased word, probably a name); and in purple ink: Κωνσταντίνος Ἐρβιτσιάνου (Ἐκ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους). The year is also erased and replaced by "1866" in purple ink. Only the note in purple ink can be attributed to Constantin Erbiceanu, the letters reminding the

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[1] For the first mention in Romania of Erbiceanu's relation with the manuscript see Mihai Ţipău, "Contribuţiile lui Constantin Erbiceanu la studierea izvoarelor greceşti ale istoriei Ţărilor Române", *Academica*, XXIV, 1–2, 2014, 279–280, p. 39–40. The manuscript bears also a handwritten note (dated 1707) of Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, known for his relations with the Romanian Principalities.

Cyrillic ones. The text informs the reader that someone (the person whose name was erased) owned the book he had bought at his own expenses. However, the correct reading of the inscription does not solve some of the questions regarding the ownership of the book and its provenance. It does not necessary prove (although it might at first sight suggest it) a visit of Erbiceanu at Mount Athos (then part of the Ottoman Empire) in 1866. Maybe future research will be able to provide more answers.

After a short stay in Paris, and an attempt to obtain a scholarship for continuing his studies in a Western university, Erbiceanu returns in Iaşi, as professor at the Theological Seminary "Veniamin" in Socola (1868–1886). Leonidas Rados' account of Erbiceanu's didactical activity is thorough, based also on a rich archival material. During his stay in Iaşi Erbiceanu publishes a periodical review, *Revista Teologică*, as well as other articles describing his study of old Greek manuscripts.

The author explores Erbiceanu's family tradition of Constantin's links and involvement with the cultural society Junimea. The conclusion is that, albeit possible, there are no scientific proofs for such connections.

Erbiceanu's career continues from 1885 in Bucharest, where he will be eventually employed in four important professional positions: professor at both the Central Theological Seminary and the Theological School of the University, director of the Printing Press for Ecclesiastical Books and editor of the periodical *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*. In 1896 he was elected dean of the Theological School and in 1897 he was appointed substitute professor of Greek at the Philological and Philosophical School. His activity, his achievements and the appraisals and critics by his contemporaries are thoroughly presented in the biography.

The sixth chapter (p. 299–371) contains a critical approach of Erbiceanu's published works: books, translations, editions, public conferences and thousands of pages of articles in periodicals. Among the books, the most relevant are *Istoria Mitropoliei Moldaviei şi Sucevei* (*The History of the Metropolis of Moldavia and Suceava*) and *Cronicarii greci carii au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă* (*The Greek Chroniclers who wrote about Romanians during the Phanariote Period*), both published in 1888.

Among the books published by Erbiceanu around the turn of the century, the *pièces de résistance*, in the author's words, are *Viaţa şi activitatea literară a Protosinghelului Naum Râmniceanu* (*Life and literary activity of Protosyncellus Naum Râmniceanu*), *Priviri istorice şi literare asupra epocei fanariotice* (*Historical and literary views about the Phanariote era*) and *Bibliografia greacă* (*Greek Bibliography*)[2].

Another chapter of the biography deals with the recognition of Erbiceanu merits by his contemporaries. With the support of the influent Dimitrie A. Sturdza, Erbiceanu became corresponding member of the Romanian Academy in 1890 and received the full membership in 1899. In various occasions, he donated to the Academy an important number of printed books and manuscripts.

Erbiceanu was an honorary member of the prestigious Greek Philological Society in Constantinople (the illustration of the diploma in the family's archive is at p. 411) and of the Society of Medieval Studies in the same city (diploma at p. 415, from the same archive). The author is almost certainly right in supposing that the responsibility for inviting Erbiceanu in at least the second scholarly society belongs to Manuil Gedeon[3]. Beside the foreign recognition, Erbiceanu received from King Charles I the greatest Romanian orders, such as the Star of Romania and the Crown of Romania.

A well-documented chapter of the biography (p. 421–446) presents the family life of Constantin Erbiceanu, including his image in the letters of family members and some information about some notable descendents. The last chapter is a short *Epilogue* to the Hellenist's life, including also some critical views of his contemporaries about Erbiceanu.

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[2] See the new edition Constantin Erbiceanu, *Bibliografia Greacă sau cărţile greceşti imprimate în Principatele Române în epoca fanariotă şi dedicate domnitorilor şi boierilor români. Studii literare*, editor's note, established text and notes by Mihai Ţipău, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2020.

[3] For the relations of Erbiceanu with Gedeon see Mihai Ţipău, Constantin Erbiceanu et l'historiographie grecque dans les Principautés Roumaines, in Andrei Timotin (editor), Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie. Bilan historiographique, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I", 2019, p. 173–183.

An English *Abstract* and an *Index* of names conclude the substantial biography of Constantin Erbiceanu. A bibliography of the unpublished and published sources would have been useful for the reader and, as it becomes clear from the hundreds of footnotes, it would have been a substantial one. Also useful for the reader would have been the full text of many important documents mentioned in the text. Perhaps reasons of typographical space dictated the decision not to include a bibliographical list or documents published *in extenso*. However, these and some other minor, mostly editorial, oversights do not affect the overall value of the book. It is a well-written and well-documented biography of one of the pioneers of the Modern Greek Studies in Romania, or, in Leonidas Rados' words, the "first Romanian Neohellenist".

Mihai Ţipău

The Greek Revolution: a critical dictionary edited by Paschalis M. KITROMILIDES and Constantinos TSOUKALAS, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, London, 2021, 770 p.

The Greek liberation war, as the editors of this dictionary put it, gave a new impetus to the age of revolutions and restored the confidence of liberal spirits throughout Europe. One was curious how would the anniversary of 200 years since the inception of that event be marked by the peaks of the scientific community dealing with modern Hellenism. Almost all the primary sources had been properly edited and a series of monographs pertaining to more than one trend of history writing or generation of Greek or foreign historians exist and claim their part of interpretation. No longer left wondering we have the real pleasure to peruse the masterly *The Greek Revolution:a critical dictionary* edited by Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Constantinos Tsoukalas issued on the very day, i.e. 25 of March, that the Greek Revolution symbolically started in 1821.

Resorting to a formula whose way was pointed by the *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, (ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf), the work under review offers a balanced overview and helps us understand and appreciate the Greek revolution. Besides the topics there is the critical conception, basically an insistence on opening questions which implies challenging sources and previous (massive) contributions through new interpretations and new data.

With each essay-entry an individual contribution in its own right, well-researched and up to date in point of information, one could pick just one subject as one can read the dictionary as a unitary contribution.

An engaging introductory essay (by one of the editors, academician Paschalis Kitromilides) as well as a concluding one (by the other editor, Constantinos Tsoukalas) along with another 44 dictionary entries by 39 authors define the significant contexts, preliminary events, persons, places, events, institutions, ideas, literary works both learned and popular and finally the echoes of the Greek Revolution.

With no intention of wronging any of the contributors or contribution we will comment on a few of them that were nearer to our own researches.

The introductory essay already mentioned is framing the Greek struggle for freedom in European and global history. It was a revolution all right and a successful one among other abortive risings. Alongside the emergence of the kingdom of Belgium, the result of the Greek struggle was an independent and sovereign national state.

Andrei Pippidi's account of the revolt of Tudor Vladimirescu is particularly welcome as it manages outstanding clearness in exposing and interpreting the intricate events taking place around 1821 in the Romanian Principalities, the personality of the revolt's leader. The clear-cut distinction between the local revolt and the Greek revolution seems to meet the author's insightful exigence.

Slobodan Markovic's contribution reminds the Serbian revolt's exemplary character for the Greeks and makes an attempt at re-numbering the south-Slavic participants.

An illuminating summarising account of the variegated Greek diaspora belongs to Mathieu Grenet.

The Ottoman context of the Greek revolt is covered by H. Şükrü Ilıcak. While some Turkish historians maintained that the Ottoman Empire had never lost the battle on land and it was just a feeble navy that was defeated in the Greek struggle for independence, this contribution draws on the Kaldunian wisdom to which the Sublime Porte resorted in order to prevent complete collapse. The result was a steady reform of its military system and a radical social reshaping.

C. Chatzopoulos' monograph-like analysis of the Philiki Etaireia, the secret society meant to prepare the revolution, through its minute detail research (the place of birth rather Moscow than Odessa and the mediocre quality of its founders) may allow the logical conclusion that the society was a creation or at least was greatly helped by the Russian secret interests.

A special mention is due to the rest of the entries written by Paschalis Kitromilides. There are those dedicated to the territories that never or much later "made it" into the Greek state. A forgotten chapter of the Greek Revolution as abortive, Crete was a territory of revolt with outbreaks at almost every decade between 1770 to its liberation in 1869. Cyprus saw any hope of successful revolt sunk with the martyrdom of bishop Kyprianos on the 9th of July 1821.The state of the art contribution on Enlightenment cannot be really praised for its dense contents in concision and it is sure to add readership to the dictionary. As a main contributor to the full deciphering of the Greek and South-East European Lights the author seems to have forgotten nothing from this intricate puzzle made of annoyingly small and difficult to decode pieces.

Eleni Angelomatis-Tsougarakis has an enlightening entry on the Ionian Islands, which were never part of the Ottoman Empire and served both as a source for human resources and a refuge place for those who took part in the Greek Revolution and for their victims. Home to Capodistria, (a statesman of distinction whose life was symbolically laid at the foundation of the political order he had created, see Ioannis Stefanidis' contribution) it was equally home to Vassileios Karavias who led the first naval battle of the Greek revolution on the 7th of March 1821 on the Danube.

Basil Gounaris draws on what is now and used to be in the antiquity Macedonia. Helped by a special map his contribution is very complex with as a conclusion the fact that Macedonia was a necessary and beneficial sacrifice for the overall revolutionary cause as it served as a diversion for what was going on in the South.

The entry on Mesolonghi is among the short ones as the place and the events linked to it are so well-known. In the author's (Markos Karasarinis) remarkable opinion besides its being a proper war-battle scene Mesolonghi was the place where the rivalries and the cleavages of the participants in the Greek revolution showed. Closely linked to this is the contribution on philhellenism belonging to Roderick Beaton in which a thesis the author has exposed in a book is reiterated, namely the crucial, ignored so far, role played by Lord Byron in the making of the new Greek state.

In point of who were those who took part in the Greek revolution, Roxani Argyropoulos account finds definitely less educated than illiterate people. Nevertheless the former's influence was intense. The learned found the strength to get engaged in politics and journalism for both internal needs and for the outer world.

Literature eases understanding society. Peter Mackridge focuses his attention on the making of two poets, namely Andras Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos. Both born in Zakynthos and indebted to Italian culture they bore in their own work the dawn of modern Greek literary expression discovering Greek and using it felicitously.

The concluding and conclusive essay by Constantinos Tsoukalas places the anniversary of two hundred years since the beginning of the Greek revolution in its actual context, which is in his opinion to which we subscribe anything but normal. A minute description and analysis of all the making parts of the phenomenon under scrutiny help prevent ill-meant or unsubstantiated prejudices against Greece. The Greek revolution was successful "by means of symbols, values and ideas" and should stay for ever and not just locally for the restoration of European culture against non-Western values.

A final summary chronology charts the progression of the movement by indicating the date, the main figures involved, the political or society events. The list of contributors makes one aware once more of each contributor's scientific identity. The final Index is the indispensable key into the whole dictionary.

The book is illustrated by 13 maps specially designed for this edition that accompany the texts, of which two are general maps (The Ottoman Empire in 1800 and the Balkan Peninsula in 1830). Photos (43 in number) and coloured reproductions of famous paintings 30 in number) follow suite.

The dictionary under review is published by most prestigious editions and was obviously peer-reviewed. Still a few slight inaccuracies slipped the attention of its authors and editors. Thus the supreme scientific forum of Romania was never the Romanian Academy *of Sciences* but the Romanian Academy. Tudor Vladimirescu was a peasant who become a small land-owner but never a bandit (see p. 411) as in fact an article in this very dictionary so very well reveals (Pippidi, p. 19–30). There is regrettable confusion in the work under review between two adjectives i.e. Vlach and Wallachian which designate different actual or historical populations (p. 411).

This reference will be valued by all seeking a state of the art information about the Greek revolution. The sincere hope of its editors, one infers after the perusal, is to have substantiated the contents announced by the title well enough as to make it a classical history topic to get into history handbooks. They also meant their contribution as a way of presenting an image of Greece planned to penetrate broad international audiences and able to counter an ever-fluid tendency of perceiving "small states" with destinies more than once designed "elsewhere".

Lia Brad Chisacof

Romanians and Poles on Move from 1848 to 1944, ed. by Dan BERINDEI, Andrei PIPPIDI, Ioan BOLOVAN, Cluj Napoca, Editura Academiei Române, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2019, 187 p.

Rien de plus impressionnant dans cette guerre, si pleine de malheurs, que l'exode des réfugiés. C'est le constant d'un témoin des événements de 1916, lorsque les troupes des Pouvoirs Centraux s'approchaient de Bucarest. L'évacuation de la population civile dans le Moldavie a pris les dimensions d'une véritable tragédie humanitaire, un sujet négligé par l'historiographie roumaine. Encouragées par le succès de l'offensive russe en Galicie, les autorités roumaines venaient à peine de décider l'entrée en guerre (en août 1916). On a constaté alors, parmi d'autres, l'importance de l'infrastructure ferroviaire pour la mobilité des troupes roumaines. Résultat de la politique de sécurité menée par l'État roumain durant le règne de Carol Ier, la configuration des chemins de fer du Vieux Royaume ne favorisait pas une offensive en Transylvanie. En plus, avant de lancer une attaque, il faut bien s'assurer de pouvoir se défendre. Les autorités roumaines ont ressenti, en l'espace de quelques semaines seulement, la vérité douloureuse de ce constat.

Ce petit volume peut représenter un point de départ dans la compréhension des dimensions de la mobilité et du phénomène de dislocation de la population civile lors d'un conflit militaire. *Romanians and Poles on Move from 1848 to 1944* est le produit d'une session de la Commission mixte d'histoire polono-roumaine, déroulée en septembre 2017 à Cluj Napoca. La problématique de la Grande Guerre y est présentée d'une manière attractive, à travers une analyse comparée des sociétés roumaine et polonaise. Par exemple, Andrzej Dubicki discute le phénomène d'évacuation de la population civile sur le front de Galicie. Même s'il y avait eu des simulations d'une telle évacuation, en prévision d'un conflit militaire entre l'Allemagne et la Russie, la réalité avait dépassé les attentes des autorités tsaristes. L'image du chaos de l'évacuation de la population civile des zones abandonnées par l'armée russe à l'été 1915 est similaire à celle qu'offrira la Roumanie à la fin de 1916. Afin d'évaluer les dimensions de ce phénomène, Joanna Gierowska-Kałłaur analyse le cas des habitants de Vilnius, « une ville plutôt exotique pour les Roumains, mais extrêmement proche des cœurs des Polonais ». Ioan Bolovan s'intéresse aux effets de l'intervention des militaires roumains en

Transylvanie auprès de la population locale, durant les premières semaines des opérations. Environ 80.000 Roumains de Transylvanie ont décidé de se joindre aux troupes roumaines, au moment de leur retrait de Transylvanie, par crainte des éventuelles mesures répressives prises par les autorités austro-hongroises. Leurs propriétés ont été confisquées, alors que des milliers de Roumains de Transylvanie ont été enfermés dans des camps de concentration. Ioan Cârja étudie la question de la loyauté à l'égard de la monarchie austro-hongroise, à travers une analyse comparée entre la Transylvanie et la Galicie, deux provinces ex-austro-hongroises, avec une expérience historique similaire. Les Roumains de Transylvanie et les Polonais de Galicie ont participé à la Grande Guerre, se sont enrôlés dans l'armée austro-hongroise, au nom de leur loyauté envers la monarchie. Cependant, les horreurs de la guerre ont rapidement conduit à une crise de cet engagement envers la dynastie des Habsbourg, en faveur d'une loyauté croissante à l'égard de leur propre nation.

Les limites chronologiques de ce volume sont fixées par les contributions du prof. Andrei Pippidi et d'Ela Cosma (sur les différents aspects de la révolution de 1848), tout comme celle de Petru Otu (sur le thème des réfugiés polonais en Roumaine durant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale). Ce volume est un bon exemple de l'utilité du dialogue scientifique entre des historiens issus de pays liés par un vécu commun de l'histoire.

Daniel Cain

Daniela BUȘA, Venera ACHIM, Bogdan POPA, Nicolaeta ROMAN, Raluca TOMI, *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea* (*Foreign Travellers about the Romanian Principalities in the Nineteenth Century*), new series v. XI (1877–1878), Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing 2020, 688 p.

The volume *Foreign Travellers about the Romanian Principalities*, released by the Publishing House of the Romanian Academy in excellent graphic conditions, publishes the notes of 30 travellers from Europe, America and even Australia who witnessed the Russian-Ottoman war in 1877 and 1878.

In the introductory study, Daniela Bușă, senior research of the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute and the editor of the present volume, makes several methodological considerations that the selection and the processing of these sources relied on. Thus, we find out that, out of 30 travellers included in the volume, 18 (more than half) are military, of which 2 are doctors. Another predominant socio-professional category is represented by war correspondents and documentary artists (6). Most travel notes were published by the authors a few years after the events, either in their own volumes or in the form of travel letters and impressions in the newspapers of the time. This volume also includes texts that remained unpublished until recently, as is the case of the Finnish Victor Edward Ludwig Tuderus (1852–1925). The manuscript, preserved at the Helsinki University Library (Helsingfors Universitets Bibliotek), was not fully published until 2009.

These texts capture the atmosphere of the time, different aspects of the Romanian society, and they offer, from various points of view, valuable information about the military operations on the Danube and in Bulgaria. We even have accounts from the Ottoman camp, as is the case of Sir Charles Ryan Snodgrass (1853–1926), a prominent figure in Australia's military and medical community, who, as a military doctor in the sultan's army, took part in the battles of Vidin and Pleven in 1877. There are 7 authors included in this volume, whose testimonies have remained completely unknown to Romanian historiography. One such interesting case is the Russian Dmitre Ivanovich Ilovaysky (1832–1920), an ardent pan-Slavist historian, who goes "out of curiosity" to the Bulgarian battlefield to find out on site about the progress of the war in the Balkans. Likewise, the accounts of the Russian Colonel I.I. Elets are published in the Romanian language for the first time. The information he provides is particularly valuable, not only in terms of military operations, but also in terms of descriptions of people and places. Here we find valuable information about Ottoman Dobrudja shortly after the occupation of the territory by the Russian army. Some testimonies are very little known in Romania and not only, particularly because of the language of restricted circulation in which they were published, while others

have already enjoyed a remarkable scientific interest (see, for example, the studies of Radu Rosetti, Raoul Bossy, Nicolae Iorga, Cornelia Bodea, Dumitru Vitcu and so on).

Press correspondents, illustrators, and photojournalists published extensive reports in major newspapers in Europe and the United States. Many of them were reserve officers with solid military knowledge. Their media coverage was often based on strategic information gathered from military sources. If a special correspondent is not indiscreet, he will not get any information, and if he is indiscreet, he risks being shot, emphasizes the American Washington Carroll Tevis (1829–1900), correspondent of *The New York Times* (p. 170), whose reports were partially republished by Cornelia Bodea in the 1970s. But indiscretion could be severely punished, as was the case with the journalist Frederick Boyle, from *Standard*, who was suspected of espionage and expelled by Russian military authorities. Press correspondents provide the public with interesting information on the procedures for obtaining access permits in the front area, on travelling preparations, on how they prepared their equipment and the uniform, as well as other details about their daily work. Similar testimonies, but which are naturally not the subject of this volume, can be found with the journalist Alexandru Ciurcu from *L'Orient*, probably the only Romanian press correspondent who arrived in the middle of military operations in Pleven and elsewhere. Among the travellers selected in this volume, we also find the Consul-General of Greece in Bucharest, Cleon Rizo Rangabe (1842–1917), who, joined by other diplomats, travelled to the Pleven battlefield on November 22, 1877, to celebrate the victory against the Ottomans.

The volume offers the Romanian-language reader direct access to primary information. Many copies of the works printed more than 100–150 years ago are unique and are preserved in libraries in different countries, not being accessible online. The collective of authors from "Nicolae Iorga Institute of History" of Bucharest undertook a thorough work to identify the sources and to research the life and work of travellers.

The translation or translation processing work for the texts already published in the Romanian language, and the documentation work for the biographical file of the travellers was carried out as follows: Daniela Bușă (for Aubaret Gabriel, Cleon Rizo Rangabe, Alfred de Caston, Armand Belin, Apollo Mlochowski Belina, Gunnar Solfest Flood, Anton Reinhold von Alfthan, Victor Edward Ludwig Tuderus, G.W. Eklund, Sergeant Major Lemminkäinen, Alex Lindfors, W. Palander, A.W. Lindgren, Marius Sophuus Frederik von Hedemann, Ferdinand-Emanuel von Wahlberg, Vsevolod Mihailovici Garsin), Venera Achim (Vladimir Mihailovici Wonlarlarski), Bogdan Popa (German sources of Richard Friedrich Albert von Pfeil und Klein-Ellguth and Gottfried Waldstedt), Nicoleta Roman (Emil Sayn Wittgenstein Berleburg, Charles Ryan Snodgrass, Archibald Forbes), Raluca Tomi (Marco Canini, Dick de Lonlay, Frédéric Kohn-Albrest), Marin Stroia, to whom we owe the translation of the Russian sources (Konstantin Nicolaevich Favrikodorov, Dmitre Ivanovich Ilovaysky, Vasili Vasilievich, I.I. Elets), Daniel Gicu (Washington Caroll Tevis), Bogdan Mateescu (Frederick Boyle).

The volume is enriched with over 100 pages of illustrations (photographs and drawings from the photographic archives of the Library of the Romanian Academy, made by Carol Popp de Szathmari (1812–1887), Franz Duschek (1830–1884), Nicolae Grigorescu (1838–1907), Emil Volkers (1831–1905), and drawings published in prestigious publications of the time, belonging to the German painter Wilhelm Camphausen (1818–1885) in *Die Gartenlaube*, the French journalist Dick de Lonlay (Georges Hardouin, 1846–1893) in *Le Monde Illustré*, the Russian military officer, painter and writer Nikolay Nikolaevich Karazin (1842–1908) in *Illustrirovnnaia hronika voinî*, the Romanian architect Filip Montoreanu (1839–1891) in *Le Monde Illustré*; we also notice a gallery of photo-portraits of war correspondents, officers, and soldiers).

Ştefan Petrescu

Emile Picot, secrétaire du Prince de Roumanie. Correspondance de Bucarest, 1866–1867, édition critique par Cécile FOLSCHWEILLER, Paris, INALCO presses, 2020, 305 p.

On n'espérait plus retrouver encore des lettres inédites d'Emile Picot (1844–1918), le savant français dont on connaît l'attachement pour la Roumanie, témoigné autant par ce qu'on avait déjà

publié de sa correspondance privée que par certains de ses travaux d'histoire littéraire. En outre, c'est à lui qu'on doit, dès le début (1875) l'enseignement officiel du roumain à Paris, à l'Ecole des langues orientales. La chaire qu'il détînt jusqu'en 1909 fut un centre de sociabilité des Roumains en même temps qu'on y a toujours déployé la connaissance de la culture roumaine. Lorsqu'en 1924 l'Ecole roumaine en France recevait ses premiers étudiants, l'un d'eux, N. Georgescu-Tistu, demanda à son professeur de lui recommander un sujet de thèse, on lui signala un fonds de lettres à la Bibliothèque Nationale, contenant des papiers de Picot. N. Iorga, qui allait donner la même idée à Marcel Emerit, avait lui-même connu Picot, à Paris en 1892, et il en a conservé le plus respectueux souvenir pendant un demi-siècle. Or, il se trouve que Picot devait cet élément de sa personnalité à un hasard de sa première jeunesse, quand, par une amie de famille, Mme Cornu, on lui avait assigné le poste de secrétaire d'un prince allemand qui venait d'être appelé au trône de Roumanie. Un début de carrière tout à fait inattendu. En 1866, le nouvel Etat formé par l'union encore incertaine de la Valachie et de la Moldavie, de surcroît tributaire à l'Empire ottoman, avait été gouverné sept ans par un Moldave dont la succession, refusée par Philippe de Saxe-Cobourg, avait été échu par les élections parlementaire et populaire à un Hohenzollern. Celui-là, Charles, auprès duquel Picot va travailler directement, est apparenté à Napoléon III, qui le recevait à Compiègne, et Hortense Cornu appartenait à l'entourage de l'empereur auquel elle a demandé de soutenir cet officier prussien qui aura besoin d'un secrétaire français. De l'année passée par Emile Picot à Bucarest sont issus l'édition par Georgescu-Tistu des lettres déposées à la B.N. (dans les Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France et dans un volume publié en roumain chez la Fondation Bratianu en 1925–1926) ainsi que les travaux de Marcel Emerit en 1937–1939, qui se rapportent à Picot à travers Mme Cornu. La correspondance produite par cet épisode de la biographie d'Emile Picot est maintenant enrichie d'encore une moitié de pièces inédites sur la centaine de lettres contenues dans le volume où Mme Folschweiller y a joint l'introduction et les notes nécessaires. Je me permets de signaler la présence de 58 lettres d'Emile Picot dans la collection Vratislav Bogisic de Cavtat, en Croatie : une visite à ce musée pourrait fournir un acquis considérable à la connaissance du savoir philologique et historique de Picot.

Ce qu'on peut à présent c'est seulement glaner les impressions du jeune homme au fur et à mesure qu'il pénètre au pays à découvrir. La première ville aperçue est Turnu Severin déjà douée de l'éclairage au gaz. Le voyage sur le Danube lui a valu de connaître sur le bateau l'ancien prince Stirbey et son neveu Georges Bibescu ; ainsi, Picot rencontrait déjà le sommet de l'aristocratie roumaine. Dès le lendemain de son arrivée à Bucarest, il allait être reçu par son patron duquel il remarque « son air bon et doux et sa candeur presque naive » (Charles était pourtant plus âgé que Picot de dix ans). La vue de la capitale manque de chaleur. Les maisons sont basses et irrégulièrement construites, sans art comme sans alignement. Cet assemblage de petites bâtisses est, si l'on veut, quelquefois pittoresque, mais ce qui est affreux ce sont les rues, suite de vallées et de montagnes où l'on est secoué à rendre l'âme ». L'appartement de deux pièces destiné au secrétaire se trouve au Palais, mais ce bâtiment non plus « n'a pas fort bonne apparence à l'extérieur ; les murs en sont délabrés et la cour n'est guère supérieure pour le pavage aux rues voisines, mais l'intérieur est décoré avec un assez grand luxe. Les pièces sont grandes et le mobilier devrait être tout à fait somptueux si l'argent qui a été bien des fois voté pour le renouveler ou l'augmenter avait toujours reçu la destination qu'il aurait dû avoir ». Cette référence à la corruption fait voir que la réputation du pays était déjà bien établie. Quoique touchant régulièrement ses appointements, Picot ne faiblit jamais la vigilance avec laquelle il surveille les affaires d'argent autour de lui et ne peut voir sans indignation la malhonnêteté des Français. Les Roumains le mécontentent par leur bavardage, qui serait « le plus grand malheur des administrations du pays », mais il ajoute : « chacun veut être ministre, sénateur, député, occuper en un mot une fonction publique quelconque ». Tel que le font voir les lettres adressées à ses parents et à sa soeur, Emile Picot était pétri de la plus bourgeoise morale, économe et voué au travail. Il rapporte fièrement sa besogne quotidienne à Cotroceni : « Je dépouille presque chaque jour une quantité considérable de journaux français, belges, anglais et même allemands » ; les dépêches relatives à la Roumanie devaient être conservées et classées. L'information ainsi accumulée lui permettait de connaître le contexte international et les diverses relations à l'étranger entretenues par l'opposition de l'intérieur. La position qu'il occupait auprès du prince Charles, il la partageait avec un secrétaire allemand qui assurait la liaison avec le père de Charles, le prince Charles-Antoine,

et arborait donc une influence inattaquable. C'est justement contre ce réseau prussien qu'on attendait à Paris un cautionnement. Pour écarter la méfiance au sujet de la politique menée en Roumanie, Picot ira jusqu'à envisager la publication d'un organe du gouvernement en roumain et en français (pour les vingt mille habitants du pays qu'il estimait capables de le lire). En même temps, il envoyait des rapports chiffrés à Paris. La correspondance officielle qu'il était censé rédiger on l'expédiait au chah de Perse, à l'empereur du Brésil, ainsi qu'aux Etats Unis (pour en établir un consulat général à Bucarest). Il eut l'honneur d'accompagner le prince à Constantinople, pour la visite protocolaire exigée par l'investiture ; d'autres contacts diplomatiques n'allaient pas tarder, avec la Grèce, la Serbie et le Monténégro. La liste des journaux, consignée encore une fois par Picot : trois français, un anglais, un italien, deux feuilles bulgares, deux turques, deux arméniennes, cinq grecques et, pour les Juifs, une en espagnol, manifeste le caractère bariolé de l'espace balkanique.

Les lettres réunies ici nous font comprendre la situation à l'intérieur du pays, parce que nous sommes au principal centre de jonction des informations, le palais princier. Pourtant, l'attitude personnelle de Charles compte peu, car il est retenu par la Constitution « insensée » que les libéraux disent démocratique. Le temps dont disposent les ministres roumains est vite fini : de ceux employés par Couza il y en avait 90 survivants, parce que, tant que les principautés restaient séparées, de 1859 à 1862, la Moldavie et la Valachie gardèrent chacune son propre gouvernement, souvent défait et refait. Certains hommes sont cités avec estime par Picot : Ion Ghica et le docteur Davilla, tandis que Kogălniceanu, Bolliac et Ion Brătianu se trouvent dans le camp adverse. Les rivalités et les rancunes étaient avivées par la presse avec une violence non censurée. De sorte que la crise sociale, économique et politique est continuellement en délibération en cette première année du règne de Charles Ier. Le sombre tableau que retrace Picot dénonce la vénalité de la justice et pose la question de l'enseignement réduit à chercher des instituteurs dans le rang des soldats ; l'instruction secondaire eût dû recourir à des gens intelligents et éduqués en France, mais inutilisables à cause de leurs convictions révolutionnaires. En rapport avec la question des bourses à l'étranger, Picot défendait la supériorité de l'enseignement français qu'il voulait offrir comme modèle aux Roumains ; ici surgit la dispute avec le secrétaire allemand qui, naturellement, tentait d'entraîner le prince dans l'initiative contraire. Une difficulté plus directement accusée était celle de choisir entre une mission militaire française sur le Danube et un dispositif semblable que la Prusse était prête à envoyer pour rendre l'armée roumaine solide et disciplinée. La confusion et le désordre persistaient dans l'armée : plus que nul autre des aspects critiqués par Picot, celui-là lui semblait exiger une réforme radicale sur des bases nouvelles. Lors d'un défilé solennel des troupes, « les hommes marchaient au hasard, sans chercher à garder les rangs, et les officiers n'avaient même pas le soin de commander qu'on portât les armes au chef de l'Etat » – ceci à dix ans avant la Guerre d'Indépendance !

L'attention prêtée aux paysans dont on fera des soldats comporte un intérêt d'ethnologue pour les coutumes populaires, mais aussi le calcul des produits de la récolte, pourvu qu'elle ne soit compromise par la sécheresse, car trop de fêtes interrompent le travail. « Je ne sais », dit-il, « s'il y a un meilleur placement pour les capitalistes que la propriété foncière en Roumanie ». Les randonnées à travers le pays en compagnie du prince lui ont permis d'apprécier l'exploitation des salines et de voir les villes de Galați, de Ploiești et de Pitești. Admirer la nature en Moldavie ou au pied des montagnes s'ajoute au profit des excursions. Sauf quelques monastères de Valachie, il n'a guère aperçu de monuments historiques, quoiqu'il eut entendu parler des fouilles d'Odobescu à Pietroasa. Cependant, la Dobroudja des antiquités romaines ne l'a pas attiré, quoique, justement en juin 1867, il accueillait à Bucarest son beau-frère, Ernest Desjardins (1814–1886), chargé de l'importante mission scientifique qui a causé *son Voyage archéologique et géographique dans la région du Bas-Danube*. Picot possédait lui-même une formation d'épigraphiste, mais la visite de Desjardins a stimulé deux autres préoccupations qu'ils partageaient : étudier le projet d'un canal aux bouches du Danube et éclairer l'opinion publique européenne sur la situation des Juifs en Moldavie. Les plaintes de ceux-ci, soulevées par des abus de l'autorité et par une presse engagée dans la voie antisémite, ont provoqué la colère de l'Alliance israélite universelle. Pour atténuer la tension, Picot s'est impliqué comme intermédiaire, mais il s'ensuivit une telle remontrance de la part du prince qu'il dut donner sa démission.

Les années suivantes, beaucoup moins représentées dans ce recueil, ne cessent pas de refléter les efforts du jeune Etat roumain de s'affirmer sur le plan international. D'abord les inquiétudes au sujet d'une rumeur selon laquelle on eût entamé des démarches pour transformer la Roumanie en empire, « aux dépens de l'Autriche », donc l'indépendance et l'union avec la Transylvanie. C'était embrasser d'un seul regard l'évolution à laquelle il faudra un demi-siècle pour aboutir. En attendant, Picot s'apprêtait à entreprendre son édition de la chronique d'Ureche (1878) pour laquelle il désirait « rechercher les documents moldaves qui se trouvent dans les archives polonaises ». Le nouvel objet de ses études se serait rattaché à une monographie linguistique (« un ouvrage complet sur le roumain »). Il se dirigera ensuite vers des thèmes de l'Italie et de la France médiévale. Le premier chapitre de sa vie est désormais clos, seul le souvenir demeure.

D'un bout à l'autre, la correspondance d'Emile Picot, dûment pourvue de notes, évoque la première heure de la Roumanie vécue par un témoin qui ne s'y sentait pas un étranger.

Andrei Pippidi

War, Peace and Nationalbuilding (1853–1918), editor Biljana VUČETIĆ, Belgrade, The Institute of History, Roma: Sapienza University of Rome, Research Center CEMAS; Beograd, 2020, 407 p.

Le nationalisme a été l'un des phénomènes majeurs de l'histoire européenne du long dix-neuvième siècle. Tous les mouvements nationaux du Vieux Continent ont eu comme point commun la lutte pour l'indépendance et l'unité nationale. Le développement des institutions étatiques, la démocratie, le progrès économique et culturel des nouveaux pays européens ont été conditionnés par leur émancipation de l'influence impériale austro-hongroise, ottomane ou russe. De nombreux défis et obstacles ont entravé cette route vers la cristallisation nationale. Malgré l'existence d'une historiographie considérable qui traite ces problématiques, le nationalisme reste un sujet d'actualité pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de l'Europe du Sud-Est. La preuve en est le présent volume, issu de la collaboration entre l'Institut d'histoire de Belgrade et l'Université Sapienza de Rome. Son enjeu, tel que formulé par les éditeurs, est de saisir les changements politiques, sociaux et culturels ayant traversé la société européenne entre la Guerre de Crimée et la conférence de la Paix de 1919. La focale y est placée sur l'espace sud-européen, particulièrement sur la Serbie, la Roumanie, la Bulgarie et l'Empire Ottoman.

On découvrira, à la lecture, davantage qu'une histoire politique ou diplomatique. L'impact de l'héritage ottoman et austro-hongrois, l'histoire des communautés et des élites locales etc. représentent les éléments constitutifs de l'identité nationale dans les Balkans. D'autres critères d'analyse de ce phénomène sont envisageables. Par exemple, les historiens magyares Gábor Demeter, Zsolt Bottlik et Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics font une analyse comparée des erreurs et des abus commis par les cartographes qui ont illustré, au XIXe siècle, la diversité ethnique de la Péninsule Balkanique. Les biais d'interprétation des données statistiques ont transformé les cartes ethniques dans de véritables instruments politiques, mobilisés pour défendre les différentes causes nationales. Aleksandra Vuletić s'intéresse au rôle de la statistique dans la vie de l'État moderne serbe. Ainsi, vers les années 1850, les données statistiques étaient-elles lues dans une clé historique, gagnant, pour cause, les attributs d'une idéologie nationale. Vers 1900, la statistique commence à être perçue comme un indicateur des conditions sociales et moins comme un outil qui servirait à atteindre des objectifs nationaux. L'analyse de l'identité nationale serbe est complétée par des recherches sur les monuments funéraires érigés le long des routes. Vladimir Jovanović et Biljana Vučetić discutent cette forme populaire de conservation de la mémoire dans les campagnes. Ces monuments en pierre ont d'abord été construits afin de préserver la mémoire des soldats tombés lors des guerres menées entre 1876 et 1918. Situés à l'extérieur des cimetières, à la croisée des chemins ou près d'une source d'eau, ces monuments se distinguent du reste des monuments funéraires serbes par leur message et leur richesse visuelle. D'autre part, Georgeta Fodor et Maria Tătar-Dan s'interrogent sur la naissance des

stéréotypes masculins et féminins dans le contexte des changements politiques, sociaux et économiques de la société roumaine aux alentours de la Grande Guerre.

En conclusion, la lecture des vingt-deux contributions scientifiques recueillies dans ce volume s'avère bien agréable, voire incitante par endroits.

Daniel Cain

Крај великог рата: пут ка новој Европи, ур. Александар РАСТОВИЋ, Миљан МИЛКИЋ, Историјски институт – Институт за стратегијска истраживања, Београд 2020, 372 p.

Comme partout ailleurs, le Centenaire de la Grande Guerre a représenté une période d'effervescence pour les historiographies nationales de l'Europe du Sud-Est. À cette occasion on a organisé des conférences et des tables rondes, on a publié des travaux de synthèse et édité de nombreux recueils d'études scientifiques. Ce fut également un bon moment de « modernisation » de certaines historiographies locales, et plus particulièrement de ralliement aux tendances actuelles de l'historiographie occidentale. Même si une partie de cette production historiographique ne dépasse pas les frontières d'une approche traditionnaliste, où l'histoire n'est que rarement analysée dans un contexte régional, il y a aussi quelques heureuses exceptions. Selon ses éditeurs, ce volume constitue une « nouvelle contribution importante à l'éclairage et à l'interprétation collective du passé ». *Крај великог рата: пут ка новој Европи* rassemble les contributions de 20 historiens (de Serbie, Slovénie, Hongrie, Autriche, Allemagne et Russie), organisées autour des derniers mois de la Grande Guerre en Europe centrale et du Sud-Est. Sauf les trois études consacrées à l'armée austro-hongroise, ainsi qu'au haut commandement de l'armée allemande, la focale y est placée sur l'armée serbe et le rôle de la Serbie dans la création de l'État Yougoslave. Cet intérêt est explicable, vu l'impact de la Grande Guerre sur la société serbe. Les statistiques montrent une véritable tragédie démographique. Avec une population de 4,5 millions d'habitants en 1914, le Royaume Serbe a perdu en quatre ans de guerre plus de la moitié de sa population masculine âgée de 18 à 55 ans.

La diversité thématique du volume est considérable : des opérations militaires, à la démobilisation, aux négociations diplomatiques et aux mouvements sociaux, jusqu'à la mémoire de la Grande Guerre. L'approche principale reste celle d'une histoire événementielle. Il y a des contributions qu'on saurait encadrer dans ce que Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau définissait comme « la sortie de la Grande Guerre ». En voici quelques exemples : Miljan Milkić analyse le processus de démobilisation de l'armée serbe à travers une catégorie spécifique–les prêtres militaires. Blaž Torkar et Vladimir Prebilič évaluent les dimensions de la dissolution de l'armée austro-hongroise après la conclusion de l'armistice de Villa Giusti : au début de novembre 1918, environ 400.000 soldats avaient transité le territoire slovène, la plupart en train. Le vide de pouvoir créé par la division de l'Autriche-Hongrie est discuté par les études de Milan Gulić (sur l'entrée de l'armée serbe en Dalmatie) et par Aleksandar Životić (sur le conflit entre les rebelles monténégrins et l'armée serbe, au tout début de 1919). Aleksandar Lukić s'intéresse à la circulation des idées républicaines parmi les hommes politiques serbes dans les premières années de l'État Yougoslave. Un autre phénomène représentatif de cette période est analysé par Ana Stolić, qui retrace le lien entre la mémoire de la guerre de la population féminine et le mouvement pour l'émancipation des femmes et l'obtention de droits politiques au Royaume des Serbes, des Croates et des Slovènes. En conclusion, nous sommes devant un volume qui mérite pleinement l'attention des historiens qui s'intéressent à la problématique de la Grande Guerre dans l'espace Sud-Est européen.

Daniel Cain

Dopo la Grande guerra. Violenza, Stati e società tra Adriatico orientale e Balcani, a cura di Alberto BASCIANI, *QUALESTORIA. Rivista di storia contemporanea*, Anno XLVIII, N.ro 1, Giugno 2020, 254 p.

After the excellent volume *L'Illusione della Modernità. Il Sud-Est dell'Europa tra le due guerre mondiali* (Rubbetstino, Soveria Mannelli, 2016), Alberto Basciani returns with this edited issue to the comparative problem of the interwar history of the countries of South-Eastern Europe, but this time limited itself to the subject of political violence. Addressed and in the volume mentioned this topic appears in this issue multifaceted reflected from the different perspectives of the five authors who contribute articles.

Although the title of this issue refers to the subject of political violence, it is dedicated only to one section (p. 13–97), the rest of the volume being occupied by papers at a 2019 conference held in Trieste, *Le culture politiche dell'Alto Adriatico nella prima metà del Novecento* (p. 124–208), as well as smaller sections containing reviews (p. 215–250), a discussion on political will/*volontarismo* in history (p. 209–214) , and two articles based on documentary funds, but the purpose of which is to underline the tragic and irrational violence that wars of any kind have on societies (p. 98–123). The heterogeneity of the sections of this special number is not explained by the editor in the introduction (p. 7–12), Basciani limiting to the chapters of only the first section of the volume. Relative to this section Basciani emphasizes the common point of papers, namely conflicts and tensions at the microsocial level fueled both by the imperfection of the international legislation that initialled the peace after the First World War, but also by the state of uncertainty, fear, famine of the populations of southeastern Europe at that time (p. 8–9).

The section that opens the volume has a theoretical framework configured in the chapter of Giulia Albanese, *La brutalizzazione della politica: una categoria storiografica in crisi*?. The central concept of "brutalization of the politics" brought to the attention in the late 1980s by two of the most important historians of the interwar fascist movements, George Mosse and Emilio Gentile, is operationalized by second concepts such as "brutalization of consciousness" and "banalization of politics" (p. 14). In the 2000s a whole series of historians (such as Fabio Fabbri, Claudio Pavone, Mark Mazover) developed these concepts in a consistent theoretical framework (p. 17–18). The four chapters that follow and complete the section address in this theoretical framework the cases of four Southeast European states Yugoslavia (Stefano Petrungaro), Romania (Stefano Santoro), Bulgaria (Daniel Cain) and Albania (Fabio Bego). The framework of the facts and the circumstances mentioned in these chapters are relatively well-known in the literature. The appeal, however, to the original archival data, to the newspapers of that era as well as the fact that the authors work with materials in the original language of the cases addressed to them having a different mother tongue (rare in the history of the South East European states that is written especially at the level of primary documents by native historians), brings a fresh light to the interwar period.

Chapters of the next section, signed by Giulia Ianuzzi, *Il collezionista di guerre future. A percorso nelle collezioni di Diego de Henriquez presso i Civici musei di Trieste*, and Aurelio Slataper, *Cefalonia: una storia non condivisa*, even if it does not fit into the theoretical scheme of "brutalization of the politics", develops the irrational and downright absurd aspects that political violence takes in contexts where its control is difficult or even impossible like wars. The first chapter contains the biography and works of a former World War II combatant Diego de Henriquez (1909–1974). Born in Trieste, Henriquez did not have a particular biographical trajectory until he enlisted in 1941 in World War II, when in contact with the horrors of the fighting he began to gather different types of materials illustrating these horrors. After the end of the war, the unrest sought upon its destructive and absurd content was reflected in his interest in literary and futurological works concerning the essence of the violence of war itself, Henriquez keeping a diary on the subject and conceiving few unfinished works. After his death, he leaves all these collections to the municipality of Trieste, which on their basis establishes a civic museum of the struggle for peace, *Civico museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez"*. Slataper's chapter concerns the fate of the 12,000 Italian soldiers on the island of Cefalonia after Italy's exit from World War II with the signing of the armistice on 8 September 1943. With the Italian army disintegrated at the leadership level, the troops

of Cefalonia remain locked together with the German ones on the island. The Germans surrender their weapons, but the Italians delay, so that soon the relationship between the former allies deteriorates and explodes on 12 September when the commander of the Italian troops, General Antonio Gandin, receives from the general command in Rome the order to consider the Germans enemies (p.114). Violent fighting takes place until 22 September, ending with the victory of the German side. Over the next two days, 2,600 Italian soldiers are executed. They are in addition to the 1,300 who had fallen during the 10 days of fighting, as well as the 1,300 who later died in the prison camp (p. 117). The moral responsible for this slaughter is General Gandin whose duplicitous attitude threw the Italian troops in front of the German ones. However, in the years immediately following his image was rehabilitated, it was not until the 1970s that data and information about his nefarious role appeared.

Although the volume edited by Basciani is almost entirely in Italian (except for the chapters of Cain and Bego) and as such more difficult to incorporate into the international bibliography, the unique background of analyzed materials, national and local archives, the press of the era, memoirs, as well as the balanced perspective of interpretation makes this volume an indispensable reference for any scholar interested in the interwar history of South East Europe.

Stelu Şerban

Theodosis PYLARINOS, *Antonis Mystakidi Mesemvrinos*/ Θεοδόσης Πυλαρινός, Αντώνης Μυστακίδης Μεσεβρινός, bilingual edition, translated in Romania by Elena Lazăr, Bucharest, Omonia, 2020, 321 p.

In 1942, Antonios Mystakidis (1908–1979) published the book *Μηχαήλ Εμινέσκου, ο μεγαλοφυής ρουμάνος ποιητής* (*Mihai Eminescu, the Genius of Romanian Poetry*), the first study dedicated to the Romanian poet in Greece. According to Theodosios Pylarinos, *emeritus professor* of neo-Greek literature at the Ionian University, Mystakidis can be considered today one of the most important ambassadors of the Romanian-Greek cultural relations in the twentieth century, even if his work continues to be largely ignored by researchers from the two countries. After 1960, Mystakidis also distinguished himself as an ardent supporter of cultural relations between Greece and Sweden.

The five chapters deal with the life and intellectual environments of the countries where Mystakidis lived and worked. The first chapter is dedicated to his intellectual formation in interwar Romania and to the years of searching and turmoil in Nazi-occupied Greece. The second chapter introduces us to the world of the Greek diaspora in Egypt before the crisis of the Suez Canal and the protectionist and nationalist measures of Colonel Nasser's regime. The third chapter presents Mystakidis' work as a tenured professor at the Lund University, in Sweden, and as a visiting professor at the University of Copenhagen. The fourth chapter is dedicated to his masterpiece, the series of volumes *Rigas' Notebooks* (*Τα τετράδια του Ρίγα*). The last chapter analyzes the impact and reception of Mystakidis' work among researchers and specialists in neo-Greek literature and philology.

In order to develop this study, Pylarinos identified all the studies of Mystakidis, scientific and popularization studies, press articles, forewords and extensive notes on the works he republished. However, this book also captures aspects of Mystakidis' family life, circle of friends and professional environment. This is due to the huge archive funds preserved in Athens and Nicosia, namely at the E.L.I.A (Literary and Historical Archive of Greece) and at the Research Centre of Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus. Mystakidis, particularly in the last decades of his life, showed special interest in Cyprus, through regular visits, conferences, articles in the press on the island.

Born in Thessaly, the Mystakidis family originally came from the town of Nesebar, ancient Mesembria, hence the pseudonym Mesevrinos, with which he used to sign his studies. During his childhood, the Mystakidis family moved to Bucharest, where Antonios graduated from the Department of Classical Languages. He first worked as a teacher in the schools of Greek communities

in Romania. In 1940, at the age of 32, the young professor volunteered for the Greek army to fight against the Albanians and their ally, Benito Mussolini.

His literary debut occurred in 1926, with the short story *Christmas at the Mill*, published in the school magazine *Luceafărul* from Bucharest. Collaborations in cultural newspapers followed, especially in the Greek-language newspapers in Bucharest, such as the daily *Ethnos*, where translations of Romanian poetry, art chronicles and articles about the organization of Greek communities in Romania were published. Mystakidis also translated several Greek prose writers into Romanian; we mention Dimitrios Vikelas, the author of the short story *The Enraged*, and Grigorios Xenopoulos, the writer of the novel *The Red Rock* (1933).

As a teacher at the Ambetios School (1953–1956) in Cairo, Mystakidis edited the series "Literary Library for Young People". He published literary fiction in *demotic* Greek (the vernacular language), and strongly advocated the abandonment of *Katharevousa*, the official and literary language. This firm position on the issue of language also reveals the left-wing ideological orientation of Mystakidis.

His appointment to the chair of neo-Greek language and literature at Lund University in 1956 marked a new beginning in his career. Here, he began the publication of the first six volumes of the series *Rigas' Notebooks*, but also of 8 volumes in the *Hellenic-Scandinavian Library* series. These last volumes dealt with translations and literary and historical studies on Greek-Swedish relations. We mention the volume of Mystakidis, dedicated to the Greek translations of the poet Edith Södergran (1892–1923).

Chapter IV deals with the 26 volumes, entitled *Rigas' Notebooks*, which established Mystakidis as publisher and literary writer. These are studies of popularization of Greek history and literature. Many of the volumes bear the artistic imprint of the publisher; the covers in this series were his own inspirations and creations. The first volumes started appearing in 1968 in Sweden, and after 1974, they were published in Greece and Cyprus. Mystakidis, author of the first volume, *Royalty in Greece*, expounded anti-dynastic, democratic ideas, specific to left-wing political circles. In his opinion, the Crown was the source of the evil that had engulfed Greece under the colonel's dictatorship; the authoritarian tendencies of the Greek kings, beginning with Constantine the First, eroded the democratic system.

The volumes in *Rigas' Notebooks* series are edited in a monotonic system. This shows the obvious intention of the publisher to conquer a wide audience, in a simple language, for everyone to understand. His linguistic ideas are expounded in *The Betrayed Language* (1973), a plea for the *demotic* language, and also a political manifesto against the censorship and linguistic excesses of the military dictatorship in Greece. The first edition of the book did not circulate freely in Greece, but only from hand to hand, especially in the academic environment. After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, the book was well received, especially by the left-wing press, and the author was invited to give lectures on the subject. Mystakidis also published other books dealing with the issue of the vernacular language. *The Betrayed Language* promotes an inflectional, orthographic, phonetic and accentuation model, in accordance with the theories of the philologist Yannis Psyharis (1888). Mystakidis adopted the monotonic system, militated for the abandonment of the diphthongs αυ, ευ, transforming them into af, av (τελεφταίο), for the simplification of double consonants (άλος) and so forth.

Pylarinos makes numerous references to Mystakidis' correspondence with personalities from all over the Greek world. An important part in his life played the musicologist and folklorist Stavros Karakakis, with whom he has a long friendship, the sociologist Dimosthenis Daniilidis and the linguist Yannis Kakridis, an ardent supporter of the monotonic system. Mystakidis' letters to his relatives from Greece, Nesebăr and Bucharest are also interesting. For example, we find in this correspondence that, in the 1950s, Maria Marinescu Himu had addressed Mystakidis' sister to help her publish a study of the Greek translations of Eminescu's poems (p. 66).

The book highlights Mystakidis' contribution to the teaching of Greek language and literature as tools for promoting Hellenism throughout the world. Mystakidis was also a forerunner of the monotonic system that has prevailed in Greece in the past decades. The work is also enriched with 12 pages of illustrations from the funds of Mystakidis archives.

Ştefan Petrescu

Pr. Paul MIHAIL, *Jurnalul călătoriei de studii în Grecia, la Muntele Athos şi la Constantinopol (1931)* = *Το ημερολόγιο του ταξιδιού σπουδών στην Ελλάδα, το Άγιο Όρος και την Κωνσταντινούπολη (1931)*. Îngrijire de ediţie: Mihai Ţipău. Traducere în limba greacă: Mihai Ţipău, Ştefan Petrescu. Cuvânt introductiv: Elena Lazăr, Bucureşti, Editura Omonia, 2020, 400 p.

Fondées en 1991, les éditions Omonia sont bien appréciées par les spécialistes à travers les nombreuses publications concernant la littérature et la culture de la Grèce moderne ou l'histoire des relations gréco-roumaines. Une maison d'édition de qualité, grâce à la passion de celle qui est son âme : Elena Lazăr, traductrice assidue du grec en roumain et auteure de plusieurs travaux de référence sur la littérature et la culture hellènes. C'est grâce à son intérêt aussi que le journal du prêtre et historien Paul Mihail (1905–1994) bénéficie maintenant d'une belle édition, réalisée par Mihai Ţipău, spécialiste de l'historiographie post-byzantine et de l'époque phanariote. L'édition contient également une traduction du journal en grec, réalisée par Mihai Ţipău et Ştefan Petrescu, le dernier, auteur de plusieurs contributions dans le même domaine des études néo-grecques et gréco-roumaines.

L'introduction d'Elena Lazăr (p. 7–9) et plusieurs textes publiés dans le volume apportent des précisions sur la personnalité de l'auteur et sur sa contribution historiographique : la belle évocation signée en 1985 par Virgil Cândea (p. 87–90) ; l'étude de Maria Magdalena Székely et de Ştefan-Sorin Gorovei, qui met en lumière les résultats de leur nouvelle aventure sur les traces des archives vues par Paul Mihail à Constantinople (p. 91–98) ; les impressions du voyage au Mont Athos d'un jeune doctorant, Bogdan Burlacu, quatre-vingt-dix ans après le voyage de Paul Mihail (p. 155–168) ; l'hommage d'Alexe Rău (p. 169–173) et les précisions biographiques et bibliographiques, dont une « fiche bio-bibliographique » du bien connu historien Florin Constantiniu (p. 179–182).

Mais le principal texte du volume est le journal rédigé par Paul Mihail lors de son voyage de quelques mois en Grèce (surtout à Athènes, Thessalonique et au Mont Athos) et, en Turquie (à Constantinople), comme boursier de la Faculté de théologie de Chişinău. Journal riche en témoignages sur la vie de l'auteur pendant ce voyage, sur ses sentiments, ses préoccupations et ses difficultés matérielles. Il nous fait découvrir un jeune intellectuel, fils d'un modeste chantre de Bessarabie, orphelin dès son plus jeune âge, animé par les aspirations les plus enthousiastes pour son instruction culturelle et pour son accomplissement spirituel. L'encouragement du prêtre Gr. Pisculescu, mieux connu dans l'histoire de la littérature roumaine sous le nom de Gala Galaction, a été de bon augure: « Vas-y – lui avait-il écrit le 16 décembre 1930 –, apprends, renforce-toi par la science et la vertu! » (p. 44). L'abnégation du jeune homme de vingt-cinq ans pour accomplir sa mission est impressionnante, surtout quand on constate les difficultés financières auxquelles il s'est confronté, au prix d'être obligé de vendre ses quelques vêtements ou de travailler comme journalier dans le port de Pirée.

Sa quête d'apprentissage (du grec, en premier lieu!) est renforcée par d'autres aspirations profondes : la soif de spiritualité dans l'environnement monacal du Mont Athos, la montagne magique de ses rêves depuis son adolescence, et la frénésie de découvrir de nouvelles sources documentaires sur l'histoire roumaine. Sa passion pour l'histoire a quelque chose d'une dévotion religieuse, lorsqu'il embrasse les pierres les plus anciennes de la religion chrétienne, trouvées dans son chemin (p. 26), où quand l'espoir de découvrir les traces de l'histoire de son peuple le fait pleurer d'émotion (p. 47). Mais le jeune homme, pieux et enthousiaste, se révèle être un vrai combattant pour mettre en lumière de vieux documents oubliés dans des coins inaccessibles. Ses efforts ont été couronnés de succès. Après ses découvertes en Grèce, notamment aux monastères du Mont Athos, il s'est ému devant les centaines de documents entassés dans le Métochion du Saint-Sépulcre à Constantinople, dans une incroyable indifférence. Son constat de 1931 est glaçant : « Aujourd'hui, j'ai fouillé plusieurs armoires, caisses et cachettes recoins, et je suis tombé sur de vieux papiers pourris, déchirés et moisis. Deux caisses remplies de cartes et de titres de propriétés […] dans un état de moisissure totale » (p. 76).

Grâce à ces témoignages, le journal de Paul Mihail devient un document émouvant qui atteste le travail d'un véritable pionnier pour l'exploration des sources roumaines dans les bibliothèques des Balkans, dans les années 1930. Un explorateur obligé de devenir parfois restaurateur : les traces de son travail pour coller les papiers déchirés étaient encore visibles au moment où Ştefan S. Gorovei a revu les mêmes archives. Le fruit le plus précieux de ses recherches sera la publication de plusieurs documents – huit de l'époque d'Étienne le Grand – et l'inventaire minutieux de plus de sept cents

documents entre 1609 et 1863, inventaire publié pour la première fois en 1934, et reproduit dans ce volume (p. 99–153).

Mis à part l'intérêt pour la biographie et l'activité de Paul Mihail, le journal est un précieux témoignage sur le milieu qu'il avait côtoyé lors de ce voyage: des historiens grecs (Dimitrios Simu Balanos, Gheorghios Sotiriou, Linos Politis, Dimitrios Pallas, Ioannis Voghiatzidis), des personnalités de la société ecclésiastique (l'archevêque d'Athènes, Hrisostomos Papadopoulos) ou des personnes qui sortent du commun (comme le fils de l'ancien président et premier ministre de la République Hellène, ou le sculpteur Mihail Tompros) ; des membres de la diaspora roumaine en Grèce qui s'y trouvent afin de poursuivre leurs études (comme l'étudiant Iustin Moisescu, le future patriarche) ou en mission diplomatique, comme Marcu Beza, un autre explorateur persévérant des archives roumaines dans les terres de l'Orient orthodoxe.

Les éditeurs ont eu soin d'apporter les précisions de rigueur afin de faciliter l'identification des personnalités citées. Grâce à leur travail rigoureux, le tableau qui en résulte constitue un panorama de l'ambiance culturelle dont le jeune homme s'est nourri, animé par l'aspiration de servir le dialogue intellectuel et, en particulier, historiographique entre les Grecs et les Roumains. C'est particulièrement pour cette raison que la traduction du journal en grec mérite d'être saluée. Cette édition est ainsi une contribution à la connaissance d'une page de l'histoire des relations sud-est européennes et un hommage à celui qui les a servies avec dévouement.

Stefan Lemny
(BNF, Paris)

Josef SALLANZ, *Dobrudscha. Deutsche Siedler zwischen Donau und Schwarzem Meer*, Potsdam, Deutsches Kulturforum östliches Europa, 2020, 264 p.

The history of the German-speaking populations in present-day Romania is particularly well known through the colonized groups from the mid– 12th century in the south and east of Transylvania, as well as the colonization that took place several centuries later in Banat. Little is known, however, about the German-speaking population in the province between the Danube and the Black Sea, Dobroudja. The volume signed by Josef Sallanz thus makes an important contribution to the history of the Dobroudjan Germans.

Sallanz's concern for this subject is otherwise defining for his entire professional development. Ethnic German from Transylvania, Arad County, Sallanz completed his doctoral studies in human geography in 2007 at the University of Potsdam with the work "Bedeutungswandel von Ethnizität unter dem Einfluss von Globalisierung. Die rumänische Dobrudscha als Beispiel". In addition to this work, he has since been the author and editor of several volumes that revolve around the same subject. The long experience in the study of the history of Dobroudjan Germans is also reflected in the quality and accuracy of the volume in question.

The volume is the fruit of a 2014 research project that combined field work in several Dobroudjan localities where important German communities lived (interviews and informal discussions) with research in state archives (Tulcea and Constanța counties) and local ones. The field research included in addition to 6 localities in Tulcea and 17 in Constanța, in the Romanian part of Dobroudja, and 4 localities in the south of the province, now in Bulgaria. It is worth mentioning that even in the Bulgarian part of Dobroudja there are still in two localities German-speaking people, to which Sallanz interviewed, which was particularly stressed in the introduction of the volume (p. 7–8).

The volume is divided almost equally in two parts. The first follows the decisive moments in the history of the Dobroudjan Germans (p. 27–118). The second part, somewhat more extensive, focuses on some cases and illustrative moments from the everyday life of the Dobroudjan Germans (p. 119–228), with a consistent section on the other ethnic groups in Dobroudja, from the Romanian one, majority, to the few as the Armenians, Italians, Greeks, Circasians. Among them the Aromanians are of particular interest to the Dobroudjan German community. Their colonization in 1940s from

South Dobroudja was carried out in parallel with the evacuation of the German population from Dobroudja, many of the Dobroudjan Aromanian being settled in the former German households (p. 204). Moreover, in some cases the descendants of the colonized Aromanians sought out the descendants of the Germans in whose household they live and keep in touch with them (one case in Tariverde, Tulcea County, p. 202). Parallel to the Aromanians is significant for the history of the Dobroudjan Germans, the Aromanians themselves having a twisted history and a problematic situation today, a fact stressed by the author.

The first part of the book, the one on the history of the Dobroudjan Germans, begins with the three waves of colonization of the Germans that pivot around 1878, the date of the incorporation of northern Dobroudja in Romania and the southern one in Bulgaria, and ends with the period after 1990, in which Sallanz seeks the traces of the Dobroudjan Germans in Germany, but with an interesting distinction between the two former republics, the Federal one, respectively the "Democratic" one. The situation of the Germans left in Dobroudja after 1990 is also pursued at the end of this part. Some subjects in this part are relatively well known, including in Romanian historiography. Others, however, are less well known, such as the three waves of German colonization, especially the first deployed long before 1878 (1841–1857) and which Sallanz reconstructs from sources of oral history and local archives. In this first wave there was a spontaneous migration of Germans from southern Bessarabia started in the winter of 1841 in the village of Akpunar near Măcin, Tulcea County, followed a few years later by the village of Malcoci in the same county, after which the wave of migration reached urban centers such as Tulcea. Poor conditions from the beginning, the Germans living in the *bordeie*, dwellings dug into the ground, common to the entire river of the Lower Danube, but totally different from the German tradition, were changed over time. Key institutions such as the church and the school have been added, which have helped maintain social cohesion and expand the migration network (p. 30).

The second part of the volume follows at the level of detail the social life of the Dobroudjan Germans. Church and school are the first topics pursued by the author. If there are no material traces of the schools at present, most of the churches, both Catholic and Reformat Lutheran, remained in various stages of consolidation (the Dobroudjan Germans were roughly evenly divided between the two Christian denominations). Some of the churches were transferred to the Orthodox cult becoming churches belonging to local parishes, such as the former Reformat church in Tariverde, while others were deserted, today in ruin, the only chance of revival being the projects financed by the European Union (the case of the Roman Catholic Church in Malcoci, p. 131). A number of churches, Catholic and Reformat, were nevertheless recovered and restored with local and national funds, some of them retaining their original destination, such as the Roman Catholic church in Caramurat (today, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Constanța County). Here most believers are Tchangos/*ceangăi*, a heterogeneous Hungarian-Romanian Catholic population from Moldova, among whom small groups were colonized in the interwar years in Dobroudja. The rest of the second part is occupied by spheres of life of the now extinct Dobroudjan Germans, but which the author reconstitutes with one certain nostalgia. Rituals from the cycle of collective holidays (New Year, for example), as well as data on economic life, the social and territorial structure of the localities of the Dobroudjan Germans, are presented, all in a fresh and extremely attractive touch to the non-specialized reader.

Without theoretical pretense, the volume signed by Sallanz is an excellent radiography of both the local history of the Dobroudjan Germans and the material and spiritual inheritance they left in Dobroudja. In an exceptional graphic shape, with older illustrations as well as recent snapshots made by the author during the research, the volume attracts the attention of both specialized researchers and common readers. No less important are the unusual aspects pointed out by the author, such as the presence of Germans in southern Dobroudja. Finally, it should also be noted that the volume deserves a translation into the Romanian language, so that the bibliography in Romanian on Dobroudja can also be enriched with this subject.

Stelu Şerban

Annemarie SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ, Thede KAHL, Biljana SIKIMIĆ (eds.), *Boyash Studies: Researching "Our People"*, Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur, Berlin, 2021, 466 p.

Until recently, an exotic subject, the study of Boyash populations has become in the last two decades a field of academic research rigorous and appropriate to the reality on the ground. The exoticism that marked the early perception of the Boyash populations was justified by their own lifestyle, customs and folklore, having their own identity recognized as such by the rest of the populations they lived with, but at the same time marginal. However, recent works deployed in the paradigm of various academic disciplines of the socio-human sciences has led to their demystification. Thus, on the one hand, as the volume's editors point out in the introductory study, the Boyash's ethnonym is an external categorization, given primarily by researchers who studied groups of this population (p. 13), based on criteria such as the spoken language, an archaic Romanian, the refusal to be identified as part of the Roma / Gypsies groups, as well as a common mythical past related to the territory of present-day Romania. On the other hand, paradoxically, the modernization of nation-states in Central and Southeast Europe, where most Boyashs have been scattered for almost two centuries, as well as the recent phenomenon of globalization has led to cultural contact and confluence of different groups of Boyashs and the creation of a "trans-border Boyash continuum" (Biljana Sikimić), which justifies the delimitation of an autonomous discipline to study this population.

The structure of the volume edited by Sorescu-Marinković, Kahl and Sikimić follows the evolutionary sequences of the study of Boyash populations, still reversing the stages precisely for highlighting the topicality of this research field. The first section of the volume, the introductory one, consists of two chapters, the already mentioned one of the three editors of the volume, followed by a consistent chapter signed by two excellent researchers not only on studies of Boyashs (as they are known in Transylvania) / Rudars (as they are known in southern Romania), but also on studies in Roma, namely Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov. What still illustrates the exotic character of the Boyash populations and connects them to the past as well as to the broader context of the history of the countries in which they are scattered is the spoken language, a subject to which the publishers dedicate the third section of the volume, *The Words We Speak...* (p. 215–352). The topicality of Boyash studies is suggested by placing in the second volume section the theme of the identity of this population under the title *The Dreams We Dream....* Finally, a fourth section brings to light the traumatic fate of the Boyashs caught between the national conflicts of the Central and Southeast European states struggling throughout the 20th century to draw rigid borders and homogenize ethnically populations, but also cases of adaptation over several generations (p. 353–460). The title of the section, *The Roads We Travel...* put in the context of the chapters of the section suggests that the secular pilgrimage of Boyashs, which represented their own history, ended with the modern era marked by the conflicts of nation states.

The chapter signed by Marushiakova and Popov (p. 37–74) reviews exhaustively and in detail the variety of Boyash communities, starting from their main feature, the old Romanian language as a mother tongue, and covering the vast area of migration from the east, the former Union Soviet, in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, to Western Europe and even the USA and Latin America, where their migration dates back long before 1990 (p. 58–60). There is no ethnic unity of the Boyashs even within the national states in which they live, their categorization being a theoretical construct of scholars specialized in this field of research. Paradoxically, however, this extreme diversity of Boyashs and the failure to turn them into homogeneous groups is auspicious, say the authors at the end of the chapter.

The following section focuses on the future identity of Boyashs' groups. Although its subtitle also refers to "occupation and customs", this indication is misleading. The six chapters of the section focus rather on extremely specific aspects of Boyashs' spiritual culture and thus difficult to put in a theoretical and comparative context, such as the celebration of Saint George through the oriental ritual of *Kurban / Gurban*, the first two chapters, or the heterogeneous mythological ethos of the

Boyashs through which they trace their descent from Dacians, the oldest attested population of parts of the territory of present-day Romania, the third chapter. However, these first three chapters are extremely attractive due to the unique field data that their authors, Ileana Benga, Bogdan Neagotă and Sânziana Preda, bring to the forefront and analyze them. Even more important is that these data come from exhaustive ethnographic research conducted in the last two decades in communities of Rudars in southern Romania. All three chapters converge on the idea of a "non-transactional identity" of Boyashs/Rudars (Sânziana Preda). And indeed, the magical practices, connected with the dream world through which spiritual healing is obtained, and related to witchcraft, of the Gurban ritual presented in the first two chapters, bring to light an aspect of the Boyashs' identity that is difficult to "trade". The other three chapters, however, suggest that once on their wanderings that transformed in the recent times in migratory networks, the Boyashs adapted their landmarks of group identity. Madgalena Slavkova convincingly shows how the Boyashs / Rudars in Bulgaria opted for the Pentecostal Christian denomination both in Bulgaria and in recently migrated countries such as Italy and Spain. Olha Kolomyets also highlights the specialization of Boyashs from southwestern Ukraine (Transcarpathia) in folk music. The musical repertoire illustrates their exceptional ability to adapt, along with the pieces of the Ukrainians from Transcarpathia, *Rusynski*, about a third, making room for the Romanian and Ukrainian, equally, as well as to a lesser extent the Hungarian and Gypsy / Roma (p.190). Even more illustrative for the theme of Boyashs' identity is the last chapter of the section signed by Thede Kahl, which follows the fate of a group of Boyashs / Rudars who migrated to Greece during the First World War (1912–1920). Coming from two Romanian cities themselves marginal in the long history of Romania, Brăila and Constanța, it can be assumed that these two cities were nothing more than stations of arrival and departure of Rudars. All the more remarkable is their sedentarization in small localities in the northern half of Greece in the second half of 20th century. Carried out over several ethnographic excursions between 2009 and 2019, the field research focuses on the details of the mother tongue of these Rudars, old Romanian at the base but which assimilated both Balkan lexicon and utterance.

The third section of the volume, somewhat announced by Thede Kahl's chapter, focuses exclusively on the language spoken by Boyashs / Rudars in three areas of their migration, Hungary (chapters signed by Anna Orsós and Mátyás Rosenberg), Bulgaria (Vasilka Aleksova) and Croatia (Petar Radosavljević, Todd L. Price, Hristo Kyuchukov). The theme of the chapters is not exclusively linguistics. Educational policies for teaching Boyashs' language at different levels of schooling are either the main topics in the chapters signed by Orsós and Kyuchukov, or only mentioned, as in the chapter signed by Radosavljević (p. 298–302). An interesting chapter is the one signed by Price in which the author reviews the language difficulties that the translators of the Bible in the language of the Boyashs in Croatia faced. The mother tongue spoken within the family provided, the author emphasizes, solutions for satisfactory linguistic equivalents for overcoming obstacles. The other chapters focus on differentiating the groups of Boyashs / Rudars according to the spoken language, with a special emphasis on different linguistic categories.

The last volume section revolves around the Boyashs' twisted history in the long 20th century. Three of the five chapters refer to the Boyashs from Croatia (chapters signed by Danijel Vojak, Melody J. Wachsmuth and a group of authors, Marijana Peričić Salihović, Branka Janićijević, Nina Smolej Narančić, Tatjana Škarić-Jurić), the other two to the Boyashs from Serbian Banat (Mircea Măran), respectively to the community of Rudars / Ludars in the Huefarno region, Colorado, USA (Sheila Salo). The chapters signed by Vojak and Wachsmuth follow the traumatic fate of groups of Boyashs caught in the whirlwind of two wars. Whereas, Vojak presents the deportation and disappearance of most of the Boyashs during World War Two by Ustaša's pro-fascist regimes and the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the latter in the annexed Croatian regions, Wachsmuth carries out, on the basis of a field research, a radiography of the individual destinies of Boyashs caught between Croats and Serbs during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia after 1990. The chapters of Măran and Salo have a less traumatic touch, addressing the adaptation and integration strategies of the Boyashs in the

Serbian Banat, respectively the USA. Arriving as bear trainers in circus performances in Austria – Hungary since the 1880s, the Boyashs / Ludars changed over the generations their settling places, occupations, and life patterns, becoming assimilated today in American society. In Serbian Banat, on the other hand, the identity of the Boyashs persists, taking over the identity of the assimilated Romanians, as Măran shows in the case of two rural localities, Novo Selo and Sefkerin. The last chapter falls outside the approaches in the rest of the volume, being an analysis of the DNA of the Boyash population from two Croatian localities.

The volume edited by Sorescu-Marinković, Kahl and Sikimić adds to a consistent series coagulated over the last two decades that puts the theme of Boyashs in an academic and coherent research framework. It lacks a unitary theoretical framework, although some chapters try to go beyond the strictly descriptive approach. However, the field is still in the stage of accumulating data and types of cases, in this direction the volume making notable contributions, such as the cases of the Boyash communities in Greece, Ukraine or the USA.

Stelu Şerban

MUSTAFA ALI MEHMED
(1924–2020)

Mustafa Ali Mehmed was born on 14 December 1924 at Ghiurghenli (Bulgaria) and studied at Medgidia and Bucharest. He was rechercher at the Institute of History "Nicolae Iorga", and then at the Institute of South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, until his retairement.

He was a Turcologist, one of the most knowledgeable editors of Ottoman texts in Romania. He translated massively from Ottoman chronicles, especially those parts that were related to the history of the Romanian countries. He translated and edited several hundred documents issued by Ottoman chancelleries from the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century.

Considering the insufficiency of official documents, Ottoman chronicles are basic sources for studying early Ottoman policy in South-Eastern Europe. This is what Mustafa A. Mehmed and Mihail Guboglu realized in the 60s–80s of the twentieth century and started to edit a large anthology of excerpts from Ottoman chronicles related to the Romanian principalities. This collection was officially initiated by the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy and the Institute of History "Nicolae Iorga", under the title *Turkish chronicles on Romanian countries.*

Mustafa A. Mehmed translated hundreds of Ottoman documents, dated between 1455 and 1812, and published them in three volumes titled *Turkish Documents on the History of Romania* (Bucharest, 1976–1986), preserved at that time in archives and libraries in Romania, Turkey, Bulgaria and Poland. The range of documents included in the three volumes of Ottoman documents is extremely wide: solemn documents issued by the central authorities, as well as letters from the local Ottoman authorities (around the Romanian principalities); diplomatic, administrative or legal acts, as well as reports and petitions. Translating these texts, Mustafa A. Mehmed tried to observe the specific features of original documents, which in most cases are characterized by extremely long phrases. When the continuity of Ottoman text could not be respected, the editor splits it into several phrases to facilitate its tracking and understanding.

Mustafa A. Mehmed was not only an editor of Ottoman documents and chronicles. He has also published a book on the "History of the Turks" (*Istoria turcilor*, Bucureşti, 1976), as well as a long list of studies dedicated to various aspects of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian principalities, in this way putting into value other Ottoman sources (such as, *kanunname* and *risale*).

It should be strongly emphasized the importance of Ottoman documents and chronicles edited by Mustafa A. Mehmed for studying the political, economic,

social and cultural history of the Romanian principalities. In this regard, Mustafa Ali Mehmed wrote: "both by the diversity of information and by their novelty, the volumes of Turkish documents are undoubtedly an important scientific tool for historians, economists, lawyers etc. who are interested in the Romanian principalities' past, generally, in the evolution of Romanian-Ottoman relations, especially" (Mehmed, *Documente turceşti,* III, p. XIX).

His passing away is a heavy loss for Ottoman and Southeast European studies, but his work will last and will be fully used by the Ottomanists.

Viorel Panaite

EMILIAN POPESCU
(1928–2020)

Le 24 août 2020 nous a quitté de façon inattendue le Professeur Emilian Popescu, représentant de marque de la plus âgée génération des historiens roumains actuels.

Né le 20 février 1928 à Orleşti, dans le département de Vâlcea, en tant que fils d'un *cantor* de l'Église orthodoxe, il a fait l'école primaire dans le village natal, puis et les études de séminaire et lycéennes finies par le bacalauréat (1947) à Râmnicu Vâlcea. Le contact étroit avec les langues classiques l'a déterminé de s'inscrire à la Faculté de Théologie de Bucarest, où des personnalités telles que Teodor M. Popescu ou D. Stăniloae étaient en pleine activité. Après l'abolition de la Faculté de Théologie par la « réforme » de l'enseignement de 1948, il s'est transféré à la Faculté de Lettres, qu'il a finie en 1952.

La bonne préparation acquise pour les antiquités gréco-romaines lui a assuré l'entrée en tant que chercheur scientifique dans les Instituts de profil de l'Académie Roumaine, comme celui d'Archéologie, où il a été coopté dans le secteur d'épigraphie, dirigé par le Prof. D.M. Pippidi.

Après avoir soutenu sa thèse de doctorat « Contributions à la géographie historique de l'espace balkano-danubien aux Ve–VIIe siècles » (1970), il a connu une ascension continuelle dans la hiérarchie des degrés scientifiques et universitaires, en qualité de professeur, tout en revenant à son « premier amour », métaphore qui veut dire le transfert en qualité de professeur (1977) à l'Institut Théologique Universitaire de Bucarest (redevenu la Faculté de Théologie Orthodoxe de l'Université de Bucarest après 1989). Durant plusieurs années, il a tenu ici le cours général d'histoire byzantine, en coordonnant des thèses de doctorat dans le même domaine, ainsi que dans celui de l'histoire ecclésiastique. En même temps, il a été professeur associé de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université « Al. I. Cuza » de Jassy, où il a dirigé en égale mesure des thèses de doctorat, mission qu'il a accomplie aussi à l'Université « Babeş–Bolyai » de Cluj.

Boursier de la Fondation « Alexander von Humboldt » de Bonn – Bad Godesberg (1971–1973), ainsi que de l'Institut d'Épigraphie de Lyon (1974–1975), il a fait aussi des stages de documentation à Bonn, München, Paris (« Collège de France ») et Dumbarton Oaks (1986). Il a eu donc la chance de perfectionner sa préparation professionnelle dans des institutions bien connues pour l'étude de l'épigraphie et des Antiquités gréco-romaines, ainsi qu'au Séminaire d'histoire antique du Professeur Johannes Straub à Bonn. Dans les années 1973 et 1979–1981 et durant ses stages de documentation, il a pu travailler avec Jean Pouilloux, Louis Robert et Paul Lemerle.

Membre de la Société Roumaine d'Études Classiques, il a présidé la Commission Nationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Patriarchie Roumaine, en préparant diverses sessions de celle-ci, à Bucarest et dans d'autres centres scientifiques ou religieux de la Roumanie, comme celle du Monastère de Tismana (17–19 sept. 2012), dédiée à la 1700e Anniversaire de la conversion de Constantin le Grand et de l'Édit de Milan. Il a organisé aussi le VIIe Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine de Constanța (9–15 sept. 1977), de même que le Congrès International dédié au « Saints Empereurs Constantin et Hélène », déroulé sous l'égide de la Patriarchie Roumaine (Bucarest, 21–23 mai 2013).

Président de la Société Roumaine d'Études Byzantines depuis 1985 jusqu'en 2013, il a été élu aussi en tant que vice-président de l'Association Internationale d'Études Byzantines (1981–2001).

Jouissant d'un grand prestige non seulement parmi ses compatriotes qu'à l'extérieur de son pays, il a été honoré par des médailles et des plus hautes distinctions accordées par les institutions suprêmes de l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine, étant élu membre correspondent (*socius ab epistolis*) de l'Institut Archéologique Allemand (1979), et membre d'honneur de l'Académie Roumaine (2004).

Archéologue et épigraphiste de bon renom parmi ses *Fachgenossen*, surtout pour les antiquités chrétiennes de Roumanie, avec un spécial penchant pour la Dobroudja, le christianisme roumain du premier millénaire et la continuité daco-roumaine aux soi-disant « siècles obscurs » du Moyen Âge, il a fondé et étayé avec d'arguments valides la thèse de l'apostolicité du christianisme roumain. Ses contributions à l'histoire ancienne de la Roumanie garderont une valeur plénière et incontestable, par ses études épigraphiques concernant l'instruction et l'éducation antique dans les villes pontiques telles que Histria, Apollonia Pontica ou Tropaeum Traiani. Il a su mettre en lumière de façon équilibrée la place et le rôle du christianisme sur le territoire roumain, avec un intérêt à part pour la Scythie Mineure, dans l'ensemble de l'histoire chrétienne des IIIe–VIIe siècles p. Chr., la hiérarchie chrétienne sur le territoire roumain jusqu'au XVe siècle, la géographie historique de la Péninsule Balkanique aux IIIe–VIe siècles. Il a fait des fouilles archéologiques à Histria et Callatis, ainsi que dans le camp romain de Jidova (à Câmpulung Muscel), en apportant de la sorte d'importantes précision concernant la ligne des fortifications *limes Transalutanus*.

Sa liste des travaux scientifiques contient 140 études et d'indispensables livres pour quiconque s'intéresse pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive et du Haut Moyen Âge, car il a édité des sources historiques et de précieux instruments de travail : il s'agit de *Tabula Imperii Romani. Romula – Durostorum – Tomis*, Bucarest, 1969 ; *Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din sec. IV–XIII descoperite în România*, Éd. de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest, 1976, livre honoré avec le prix „Vasile Pârvan" de l'Académie Roumaine ; *Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure*, vol. IV (*Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis*), Éd. de l'Acad. Roumaine – Éd. Basilica (Bucarest) – Diffusion de Boccard (Paris), Bucarest – Paris, 2015. On doit ajouter les synthèses monographiques *Titulatura şi distincţiile onorifice acordate de Patriarhia Constantinopolului mitropoliţilor Ţării Româneşti* (*secolele XIV–XVIII*), Éd. Basilica, Bucarest, 2010 ; *Crucea şi Răstignirea Mântuitorului Iisus Hristos în creştinismul timpuriu*, Éd. Basilica, Bucarest, 2016.

Nous devons souligner son apport au traité d'*Istoria Românilor* élaboré par l'Académie Roumaine, IIe éd., vol. II, Éd. Encyclopedique, Bucarest, 2010, ainsi que les volumes d'études *Christianitas Daco-Romana* (*Florilegium Studiorum*), Éd. de l'Acad. Roumaine, Bucarest, 1994, et surtout *Studii de istorie şi spiritualitate creştină*, 5 volumes, Éd. de l'Académie Roumaine – Éd. Basilica, Bucarest, 2018–2019.

On ne peut point laisser de côté les volumes coordonnés ou soignés par Emilian Popescu, tels que *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* II–VI (en collab.), Éd. de l'Acad. Roumaine et d'autres Maisons d'édition de Bucarest et Jassy, 1991– 2011. La liste peut continuer avec *Euharistirion Patriarhului Daniel al României*, Éd. Basilica de la Patriarchie Roumaine, Bucarest, 2011 ; *Studia Basiliana*, vol. I–III, Éd. Basilica, Bucarest, 2009 ; *Cruce şi misiune. Sfinţii Împăraţi Constantin şi Elena – promotori ai libertăţii religioase şi apărători ai Bisericii,* vol. I–II (en collab.), où on a publié les Actes des sus-mentionnées manifestations scientifiques de Tismana, 17–19 sept. 2012, et Bucarest, 2 –23 mai 2013, Éd. Basilica, Bucarest, 2013 ; *Polychronion Înaltpreasfinţitului Arhiepiscop Casian, la 60 de ani*, Éd. Istros du Musée « Charles Ier » de Brăila, et Éd. de l'Archevêché du Bas-Danube, Galaţi, 2015 (en collab.).

Au-delà de la valeur scientifique de ses contributions, sa sincérité et chaleur humaine le faisait hautement apprécié par ses collègues et collaborateurs, qui lui ont rendu hommage par deux volumes anniversaires, parus en 2003 (à l'Éd. Trinitas de Jassy), et 2020 (à l'éd. Basilica de Bucarest, ce-dernier peu de temps avant sa mort). Son souvenir restera vivant dans les âmes de ceux qui l'ont connu.

Tudor Teoteoi

VIE SCIENTIFIQUE
DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES
2020

I. PROGRAMMES DE RECHERCHE

1) *Témoignages roumains à l'étranger. Créations roumaines et sources sur les Roumains dans les collections à l'étranger.* Collectif de recherche : Ioana Feodorov (coord.), Andrei Pippidi, Andrei Timotin, Mihai Țipău, Daniel Cain. Techno-rédactrice Iuliana Deac.
2) *Histoire des langues et des sociétés traditionnelles dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe.* Collectif de recherche : Cătălina Vătășescu (coord.), Oana Uță Bărbulescu, Simona Nicolae, Cristina Codarcea.
3) *Anthropologie sociale de l'espace sud-est européen.* Collectif de recherche : Stelu Șerban (coord.), Ștefan Dorondel.
4) *Institutions, religion et colonisation dans l'Antiquité grecque.* Collectif de recherche : Vasilica Lungu (coord.), Adrian Robu.
5) *Héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, XIVe–XXe siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Andrei Pippidi (coord.) Petre Guran, Oana Iacubovschi, Mihail-George Hâncu.
6) *Le Sud-Est de l'Europe et la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque ottomane, XVe–XIXe siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Viorel Panaite (coord.), Radu Dipratu, Adrian Tertecel.
7) *Relations de l'Europe du Sud-Est avec le Moyen-Orient et le Caucase.* Collectif de recherche : Ioana Feodorov (coord.), Mihai Țipău, Radu Dipratu, David L. Neagu.
8) *Néo-hellénisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe : érudition, mobilité, modernité.* Collectif de recherche : Lia Brad Chisacof (coord.), Mihai Țipău, Ștefan Petrescu, Simona Nicolae, Marilena Vlad.
9) *Relations interbalkaniques aux XIXe et XXe siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Daniel Cain (coord.), Florin Țurcanu, Virginia Blînda, Ligia Livadă Cadeschi.
10) *Bibliographie critique de la* Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Collectif de recherche : Andrei Timotin (coord.), Mihail-George Hâncu, Oana Iacubovschi, Ștefan Petrescu, Radu Dipratu.

II. PROJETS DE COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE

1) *Ethnicity, People and Environment on the Danube* (2018–2021), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Ethnologie et de Folklore et Le Musée d'Ethnographie de Sofia de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences. Coord. : Stelu Șerban, Petko Hristov.
2) *Les relations ethniques et culturelles dans l'Europe du Sud-Est reflétées dans les langues et les littératures de la région* (2020–2022), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Balkaniques et le Centre d'Études Thraces de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences). Coord. : Cătălina Vătășescu, Lora Taseva.
3) *Dobroudja, région de frontière dans l'Empire ottoman tardif, Bulgarie et Roumanie : Histoire et mémoire* (2020–2022), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de Sofia de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences. Coord. : Daniel Cain, Blagovest Njagulov.
4) *17th Century Historical Sources concerning Moldavia and Ukraine. Research on Paul of Aleppo's Travels of Macarius III, Patriarch of Antioch* (2018–2021), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Orientales „A. Krymsky" de Kiev de l'Académie de Sciences de l'Ukraine. Coord. : Ioana Feodorov, Yulia Petrova.

5) *La cité Orgamé/Argamum et son territoire: archéologie d'un paysage antique* (2020–2022), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut de Recherches Éco-Muséales, Tulcea, et le Musée du Louvre, Paris. Coord. : Vasilica Lungu, Alexandre Baralis.

6) *Documents concerning the relations between East-European countries and the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria) in the 17ʰ century*, projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Orientales de Sankt-Petersbourg. Coord. : Ioana Feodorov, Serges Frantsouzoff.

7) *Culture et histoire à l'Est des Carpathes dans une perspective sud-est européenne : XVIIᵉ–XXᵉ siècles* (2018–2020), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Histoire, d'État et de Droit de l'Académie de Sciences de Moldavie. Coord. : Andrei Timotin, Gheorghe Cojocaru.

8) *Religious rhetoric of power in the Byzantine and Balkan Middle Ages* (2018–2021) (projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de Sofia de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences et l'Institut d'Histoire „Nicolae Iorga" de Bucarest). Coord. : Andrei Timotin, Ivan Biliarsky.

9) *The Byzantine Heritage in Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages* (2019–2021), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Byzantines de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences. Coord. : Andrei Timotin, Srdjan Pirivatrić.

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– Daniel Cain, *Amorul şi revoluţia: întâmplări lumeşti din vremea Marelui Război*, in Daniel Cain, Aneta Mihaylova, Roumiana L. Stantcheva, Andrei Timotin (éd.), *Spre Pământul Făgăduinţei, între Balcani şi Bugeac. Omagiu Doamnei Profesoare Elena Siupiur la împlinirea vârstei de 80 de ani*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2020, p. 359–376.
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V. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES
(CONGRÈS, COLLOQUES, TABLES RONDES)

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– Lia Chisacof, *Diplomaţi români acreditaţi în Grecia care s-au îndeletnicit cu scrisul*, Colloque roumain-grec *150 de ani de relaţii româno–greceşti*, organisé par l'ISSEE, l'Institut d'Études Balkaniques de Thessalonique et le Consulat de Roumanie à Thessalonique, Bucarest, déc. 2020 (en ligne).

– Lia Chisacof, *Rolul limbii greceşti în spaţiul românesc*, Communication – *Zilei Limbii Elene*, Bucarest, 10 févr. 2020.

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– Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Dilemele sistemului sanitar în România modernă. Medicul funcţionar*, Colloque National d'Histoire – Musée National de Cotroceni, Bucarest, mai 2020.

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– Mihail Mitrea, *Saintly models of hesychasm. Hesychastic elements in Philotheos Kokkinos' lives of contemporaneous saints*, Conférence *Saint Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary*, USA, 11 sept. 2020 (en ligne).
– Mihail Mitrea*, From praise to peril: Depictions of Muslims in late Byzantine hagiography,* Communication – *The 19ᵗʰ International Symposium on Science, Theology and Arts (ISSTA 2020),* Alba Iulia, 12 oct. 2020 (en ligne).
– David Linus Neagu*, Hethum I între Imperiul Mongol şi Papalitatea romană (1251–1261),* Communication – *VI International Conference of the Young Researchers in Armenian Studies,* Erevan, 26-28 nov. 2020 (en ligne).
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– Andrei Pippidi, *La personalità e l'opera di Nicolae Iorga nella memoria delle persone e delle istituzioni romene nei decenni post 1989 e il Diario di Iorga riguardante gli anni 1938–1949, pubblicato nel 2018*, Colloque *Ritratto di Nicolae Iorga – storico, uomo di cultura, patriota. A ottant'anni dalla sua tragica scomparsa*, Venise, 27 nov. 2020 (en ligne).
– Andrei Timotin, *Gli studi bizantini nell'opera di N. Iorga*, Colloque *Ritratto di Nicolae Iorga – storico, uomo di cultura, patriota. A ottant'anni dalla sua tragica scomparsa*, Venise, 27 nov. 2020 (en ligne).
– Oana Uţă, Martin Maiden, *Trends in noun plural formation in Istro-Romanian, la Workshop on Tradition and Innovation in the Study and Preservation of Istro-Romanian*, Colloque international *Limba română – modernitate şi continuitate în cercetarea lingvistică*, Bucarest, 20−21 nov. 2020 (en ligne).
– Oana Uţă, *The Romanian language and why Romanists should know about it – Italian's long lost sister* (Visiting Lecturer), Mainz University, 8 juin 2020 (en ligne).
– Marilena Vlad, *Le nom divin. Fonction et limite*, Conférence – Séminaire *Denys l'Aréopagite : Les noms divins*, Université de Fribourg, 17 déc. 2020 (en ligne).

VI. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ORGANISÉES PAR L'INSTITUT

Le 18 décembre l'ISSEE a organisé en ligne, en coopération avec l'Institut d'Études Balkaniques de Salonique et avec le Consulat roumain de Salonique, le Colloque *140 ans de relations diplomatiques entre la Roumanie et la Grèce (1880–2020)*. À ce colloque ont présenté des communications trois membres de l'Institut :
– Ştefan Petrescu, *Diplomaţii greci în România (1874–1885) / Οι Έλληνες διπλωμάτοι στη Ρουμανία στα 1874–1885*.
– Florin Ţurcanu, *Eleftherios Venizelos în scrierile istoricului Nicolae Iorga / Ο Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος στα γραπτά του ιστορικού Nicolae Iorga*.
– Lia Brad Chisacof, *Scriitori români diplomaţi în Grecia / Ρουμάνοι Συγγραφείς–Διπλωμάτες στην Ελλάδα*.

La série des conférences bimensuelles de l'ISSEE a continué au début de l'année, l'activité étant interrompue pendant l'état d'urgence et reprise à partir du mois d'octobre en ligne.
– Arh. Policarp Chiţulescu (Bibliothèque du Saint-Synode), *Noi mărturii româneşti peste hotare : broderii, icoane, cărţi,* 21 janv. 2020.
– Ştefan Petrescu (ISSEE), *Ziarişti români prin ţările Europei de sud-est (1877–1916)*, 11 févr. 2020.

– Stelu Șerban (ISSEE), *Infrastructuri abandonate și renaturare pe malurile Dunării : Belene (Bulgaria) și Cetate (România),* 18 févr. 2020.
– Mihai Țipău, *Jurnalul inedit al soliei la Viena din anul 1688 într-un manuscris românesc de la Academia din Atena,* 13 oct. 2020.
– Viorica Gavril (Université de Bucarest, Faculté d'Histoire), *„Albinele nu dau miere dacă n-au un stupar”: Școala românească din Constantinopol (1905–1911)*, 17 nov. 2020.
– Cătălina Vătășescu (ISSEE), *Termeni privitori la proprietate în codicele de obiceiuri juridice albaneze*, 15 déc. 2020.

La Société Roumaine d'Études Byzantines, qui a son siège dans l'Institut, a continué sa série de conférences mensuelles, dont une partie eu lieu à l'ISSEE et l'autre en ligne :
– Petre Guran (ISSEE), *Ideea ortodoxă. De ce și cum s-a despărțit Biserica bizantină de Imperiul bizantin?,* 28 janv. 2020.
– Alexandru Madgearu (Institut d'Études Politiques de la Défense et d'Histoire Militaire), *Revolta orășenilor din Larisa contra puterii centrale (1066)*, 25 févr. 2020.
– Mircea Duluș (ICUB), *Un (posibil) nou argument din tratatul lui Porfir* Împotriva creștinilor *consemnat de Mihail Psellos in* Opusculul 32 *(„Cu privire la cele spuse în cartea lui Iov că 'diavolul s-a înfățișat și el înaintea Domnului' printre îngerii Săi" – cf. Iov 1: 6),* 27 oct. 2020.
– Andra Jugănaru (Université Aristote de Thessalonique), *O analiză a colecțiilor de scrisori ale Părinților capadocieni folosind teoria rețelelor,* 24 nov. 2020.
– Ioan Alexandru (Université de Cambridge), *Catalogul ereziologic al lui Konstantinos Harmenopoulos: tehnici vechi de etichetare în conflictul isihast?,* 8 déc. 2020.

VII. ACTIVITÉ DIDACTIQUE

Trois chercheurs de l'Institut donnent aussi des cours à la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest : Daniel Cain a donné des cours sur *Politique de pouvoir dans le système international du XIX*[e] *siècle, Conflits ethniques et religieux dans les Balkans (XIX*[e]*–XIX*[e] *siècles)*, *Université et la formation des élites dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe (XIX*[e] *siècle)*. Cristina Codarcea a tenu le cours méthodologique d'*Anthropologie des Balkans*. Viorel Panaite a donné des cours de licence (*Histoire de l'Empire ottoman et des peuples de l'Europe du Sud-Est* ; *Islam et Sud-Est de l'Europe au seuil de l'époque moderne ; Langue turque ottomane*), de master (*Paléographie ottomane ; Langage islamique de la paix et de la guerre*) et un cours pour les étudiants en doctorat (*À propos des archives, des bibliothèques, des livres rares et des documents. De la recherche classique à l'ère de l'internet*).

À la Faculté des Langues et Littératures étrangères de l'Université de Bucarest Simona Nicolae a donné des cours et des séminaires concernant la morphologie du verbe grec et la littérature grecque pendant les périodes impériales, préclassique et classique. Elle a tenu aussi des cours pratiques de byzantinologie et a dirigé des travaux de licences. À la même Faculté, Andrei Timotin et Marilena Vlad ont tenu des cours dans le Programme de Master *Études religieuses – Textes et traditions*.

Ștefan Dorondel a donné le cours *Écoles et tendances en anthropologie culturelle* à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bucarest.

À la Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi a donné des cours de licence (*Politique et gouvernement en Roumanie, XIX*[e]*–XIX*[e] *siècles, Histoire des Roms en Roumanie, Histoire de l'assistance sociale roumaine*) et de master (*Pauvreté et exclusion sociale*). À la même faculté, Florin Țurcanu a soutenu des cours et des séminaires au niveau de licence et de master.

Mihai Mitrea a tenu des cours et des séminaires à la Faculté de théologie orthodoxe de l'Université Babeș–Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca (*Langue grecque ancienne* ; *Histoire et spiritualité de Byzance*) et au Centre de recherche œcuménique de Sibiu (cours de *Langue grecque ancienne*).

Mihail-George Hâncu a donné des cours de vieux slave à l'Institut de linguistique « Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti » de l'Académie Roumaine et à l'École « Dan Slușanschi » de Langues classiques et orientales, organisée par le Centre de recherche œcuménique de Sibiu (à partir de novembre 2020).

À l'École d'été d'architecture et de sciences humaines de Bunești (Mălureni, Argeș), Petre Guran a tenu la série de conférences *Cortul sanctuar : arhetipuri istorice*.

Oana Uță a donné des cours d'histoire de la langue roumaine (*History and Structure of Romanian*, Paper XII lectures : *Early Influences on Romanian – the Greek and the Balkan Sprachbund (linguistic union)*; *Diatopic Variation and the Study of Regional Romanian: phonetics, phnology, and morphology*; *Diatopic Variation and the Study of Regional Romanian: morphology and syntax*) et des cours pratiques de langue roumaine à l'Université d'Oxford.

Cours de langues balkaniques et orientales

L'ISSEE organise des cours de langues balkaniques et orientales notamment pour les chercheurs et les étudiants en doctorat. À partir du mois d'octobre 2020 ces cours se déroulent en ligne.

– Cătălina Vătășescu a donné des cours de langue albanaise (plusieurs niveaux) ;
– Lia Chisacof et Ștefan Petrescu ont tenu des cours de langue néo–grecque (2 niveaux) ;
– Elena Siupiur a donné un cours de langue bulgare ;
– Mihail–George Hâncu a tenu les cours de langue serbe et vieux slave ;
– Radu Dipratu a donné un cours pratique de langue turque ottomane ;
– Ioana Feodorov a tenu un cours de langue arabe.

Direction de thèses

Deux membres de l'Institut dirigent des thèses de doctorat dans le cadre de l'École doctorale de l'Académie Roumaine (SCOSAAR) : Lia Chisacof (2 doctorants) et Ioana Feodorov (1 doctorant). Au mois d'octobre Ion-Andrei Țârlescu a soutenu à l'ISSEE sa thèse de doctorat, sous la direction de Madame Lia Chisacof, sur les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine.

Quatre autres chercheurs de l'ISSEE dirigent des thèses de doctorat à l'Université de Bucarest : Viorel Panaite, Andrei Pippidi et Andrei Timotin à la Faculté d'Histoire et Florin Țurcanu à la Faculté de Sciences Politiques.

Virginia Blînda

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