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**LA PRÉSENCE FRANÇAISE
DANS LE SUD-EST EUROPÉEN
À L'ÉPOQUE MODERNE (XVIII^e–XX^e SIÈCLES)**

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FRENCH POLITICAL THOUGHT IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE. PATTERNS AND LIMITS OF RECEPTION*

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French political thought in its liberal and republican expressions from the Enlightenment to the twentieth century formed the broader framework within which the aspirations of cultural and political change, modernization and individual and national liberty in the societies of Southeastern Europe were articulated. Exemplary exponents of liberal and radical political reflection who wrote under the impact of the ideas of the French Revolution included primarily Adamantios Korais and Rhigas Velestinlis and the anonymous author of *Hellenic Nomarchy* (1806) among the Greeks and D. Sturdza and Ionică Tăutu among the Romanians. Quite late in his life A. Korais discovered the importance of the writings of Benjamin Constant, several of whose works are present in Korais' s library at Chios and bear the marks of his study. He was particularly interested in Constant's probably most important work, *De la religion*, which he read and annotated.

Arguments from French liberalism were used in support of constitutionalism and the rule of law in the new nation states of the Balkans, while translations of Tocqueville's works contributed to the enunciation of political criticism in Greece and Romania. The apex of the appeal and impact of French liberal and constitutional ideas in Southeastern Europe came with the 1848 revolutionary movement in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. In the twentieth century two towering personalities in political and intellectual life in Greece and Romania, Eleftherios Venizelos and Nicolae Iorga, acknowledged both the critical significance of the contribution of France in the attainment of the national aspirations of their respective countries and the weight of French civilization in shaping their cultural traditions since the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Enlightenment, liberalism, republicanism, French Revolution, rule of law, French political thought.

Since the period of the Enlightenment in the long eighteenth century, France as the metropolis of the Lights, *les Lumières*, provided the model of revival and reconstruction to the societies of Southeastern Europe, at the time under the yoke of Ottoman despotism. Scholars and merchants, all forward-looking members of society in the region and in the diaspora, looked to France as a guide and a source of inspiration in visualizing and striving for a better future for their communities and their people. The French Revolution added to this model of cultural change and social improvement the idea of France as a symbol of freedom and as the protagonist of the liberation of peoples from autocracy.

* I am grateful to my friends Roxane D. Argyropoulos and Andrei Pippidi for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper and to Mihai Țipău for his help.

It was in the context of such expectations and ambitions, that political thought, French liberal political thought more specifically, became a major agency in ideological change and a motivation for political action. At the time of the French Revolution, no one expressed these hopes and emotions better than Adamantios Korais, the Greek classical scholar resident in Paris, for whom, at a moment of enthusiasm in the year 1800, the French and the Greeks – and obviously beyond the Greeks all other freedom-loving ethnic and national communities in the Balkans – would enlist in the struggle for freedom as a unitary nation:¹

Nation généreuse & digne d'admiration, ô François ! Les Grecs seuls peuvent vous égaler en courage ; supporter, comme vous, les fatigues & les privations de toute espèce. Le Grecs réunis aux amis, aux défenseurs de leur liberté aux intrépides François, n'ont besoin d'aucun autre secours. Liés par une amitié indissoluble, les deux peuples n'en sont plus qu'un ; ce ne sont plus des Grecs ou des François qui combattent pour la cause de la liberté ; c'est la nation Gallo-grecque. Tous ensemble ils s'écrient : « que l'horrible servitude disparaisse de la terre ! que son nom même soit à jamais anéanti ! Vive la liberté ! »

The idea of the «nation Gallo-grecque» remained a constant legacy in the liberal tradition that emerged in Balkan political thought under the influence of French ideas, obviously not as a practical political project but as a symbolic formulation of intellectual and political attitudes and predispositions. No one articulated and transmitted French ideas and political values more fully than Rhigas Velestinlis, the foremost exponent of revolutionary radicalism in Southeastern Europe. In his Enlightenment project in the last decade of the eighteenth century, Rhigas emerges as the quintessential representative of the French Revolution in Southeastern Europe. He had been born at Velestino, the ancient Pherae, in Thessaly in Greece but matured politically and developed his intellectual and political projects in the principality of Wallachia and in Vienna.²

Rhigas's books and political projects constitute the most eloquent testimony of the extent of French influence but more importantly illustrate the creative ways in which this influence was adjusted in order to serve the needs of political and intellectual change in Southeastern Europe. In 1790 Rhigas published his first two books in Vienna, both of them translations and adaptations of original sources from French Enlightenment literature. One book was a Greek adaptation of six love stories from Restif de la Bretonne's *Contemporaines mêlées*, published under the evocative title *School of delicate lovers*. Through these love stories Rhigas primarily criticizes the extreme forms of inequality and emotional oppression as well as the multiple social prejudices attached to it that prevailed especially in the Phanariot

¹ See Ἰσμία πολεμιστήριον τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ ἐλευθερίας μαχομένων Γραικῶν/*Chant de guerre des Grecs qui combattent en Egypte pour la cause de la Liberté* [Paris] 1800 (reprinted : Athens 1983), p. 16. For a revealing contextualization of the work see Philippos Iliou, Ἰσμία πολεμιστήριον. Ἀνώνυμο ἔργο τοῦ Κοραΐ, Athens: ELIA, 1982.

² See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution. The making of Modern Greece*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 200–229.

society with which he became familiar in the Danubian principalities.³ The other book, *A florilegy of physics*, presented a dialogue between master and student on natural phenomena and expounded the new natural science of the Enlightenment in order to combat the extensive forms of superstition and irrational fears prevailing in traditional society. One of Rhigas's main sources in the work was the great *Encyclopédie* of the French Enlightenment.⁴

Later on in his publication programme, Rhigas participated in a major translation project of the multi-volume work of Abbé Barthélemy *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*. He translated and wrote comments upon the parts of the work referring to his native region of Thessaly.⁵ In the same year Rhigas also published a translation of the short story "La bergère des Alpes" by citizen Marmontel as he calls him, noting that the author had just been elected member of the Senate of the French republic and adding as an epigraph to the work Marmontel's famous declaration: "the sacred love of homeland has its nest in the heart and the heart never ages".⁶

Nevertheless, the most imposing witness of the weight of French political thought in Rhigas's work is provided by his revolutionary pamphlet, published in 1797 in Vienna. In this work, entitled, "New political constitution for the inhabitants of Rumeli, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean Islands and Wallachia-Moldavia", Rhigas attempts an adaptation of the Jacobin constitution of 1793 in order to lay the foundations of a republic in which all nationalities, ethnic, religious and racial groups in Southeastern Europe would coexist as free and equal citizens following the overthrow of despotism. Following an appeal to revolution in its preamble, Rhigas's *Constitution* recreates its French original with a Declaration of the rights of man and citizen in thirty-five articles and the main constitutional text in 124 articles exactly like the French original. He also adds an annex to the Constitution describing the flag of the new republic on the model of the tricolore of the French republic, but with different colors, red, signifying the sovereignty of the new state, white, stating the justice of the rising against tyranny, and black, symbolizing the willing self-sacrifice of the citizens for freedom and country.⁷

³ See Rhigas Velestinlis, *Άπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα*, Vol. I, ed. by P.S. Pistas, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000.

⁴ Rhigas Velestinlis, *Άπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα*, Vol. II, ed. by C. Petsios, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000.

⁵ Rhigas Velestinlis, *Άπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα*, Vol. IV, ed. by Anna Tabaki, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000.

⁶ Rhigas Velestinlis, *Άπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα*, Vol. III, ed. by Ines di Salvo, introduction Anna Tabaki, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000, p. 133.

⁷ Rhigas Velestinlis, *Άπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα*, Vol. V, ed. by Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2002. For a discussion of Rhigas's radical political thought see Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "An Enlightenment perspective on Balkan cultural pluralism. The republican vision of Rhigas Velestinlis", *History of Political Thought* XXIV, 2003, p. 465–479 and for the broader ideological context see idem, "Republican aspirations in Southeastern Europe in the Age of the French Revolution", in idem, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy. Studies in the culture and political thought of Southeastern Europe*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1994, p. 275–285 (Study V).

Rhigas represents the apex of the achievements produced by the dialogue between indigenous Balkan and French political thought and of the possibilities immanent in this dialogue for the future of Southeastern European culture. Other representatives of Balkan radicalism in the Age of Revolution developed more complex visions in carrying further on the dialogue with French thought. In this connection one could mention the Moldavian patriots Dimitraki Sturdza or Ion Tăutu and their republican projects at the time of the French Revolution, especially Sturdza's "Plan for an aristo-democratic republic". Their inspiration from French political thought did not blind them to the excesses of the French Revolution as it is clear in the political thought of Ion Tăutu.⁸ In this regard Tăutu stands close to Adamantios Korais. The most important political theorist among the exponents of Balkan radicalism, nevertheless, has remained veiled by a canopy of anonymity. The anonymous patriot, who under the pseudonym "Anonymous Hellene" authored the *Hellenic Nomarchy*, the most significant monument of political reflection in the Greek Enlightenment, had to come to terms with the disappointed expectations connected with Napoleon's policies toward the enslaved nations of Europe, including the peoples of the Southeastern regions of the continent, where his agents and his armies had cultivated the illusion that liberation might come through his intervention in the area. Disappointment of the hope of Napoleonic support, nevertheless, nurtured in the peoples of Southeastern Europe a more mature vision of their future based on self-reliance and preparation of their liberation movements by means of the mobilization of their own resources and initiatives.⁹

The dialogue with French political thought, however, remained the central theoretical axis in the elaboration of the vision of freedom and in the appraisal of the prospects of national revival. The pages of *Hellenic Nomarchy* testify to this dialogue through extensive allusions and references to the work of Montesquieu, whose indictment of despotism provided powerful ammunition to the patriotic author. The vision of freedom was endowed with a pronounced dimension of social criticism and an appeal to the value of equality sustained by the reading of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹⁰

⁸ See Keith Hitchins, *The Romanians 1774–1866*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 136–137; Vlad Georgescu, *Political Ideas and the Enlightenment in the Romanian Principalities (1750–1831)*, Boulder, East European Quarterly, 1971, p. 72–73, 120–123, and *passim*, and *idem*, *Mémoires et projets de réforme dans les Principautés roumaines, 1769–1830*, Bucharest, AIESEE, 1970, p. 12–13, no. 49; P. M. Kitromilides, "Republican aspirations in Southeastern Europe", p. 276–277. Also, Andrei Pippidi, "Balkan Hinterlands: The Danubian Principalities", in *The Greek Revolution. A Critical Dictionary*, ed. by P. M. Kitromilides and C. Tsoukalas, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021, p. 26.

⁹ *Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία ἣτοι λόγος περὶ ἐλευθερίας*, Italy 1806 (reprinted: Athens 1976), p. 219–221. See further, P. M. Kitromilides, "From Republican patriotism to National Sentiment. A Reading of Hellenic Nomarchy", *European Journal of Political Theory* 5, 2006, p. 50–60.

¹⁰ P. M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, p. 234–259. On the reception of Montesquieu and Rousseau more broadly in the thought of the Greek Enlightenment, see Roxane D. Argyropoulos, *Diversité des Lumières dans la pensée grecque. Idées et innovations (XVIII^e – XIX^e siècles)*, Paris, Champion, 2014, p. 34–48, and *passim*.

The heritage of French political thought and the prestige of French culture remained inexhaustible sources of inspiration to all those in Southeastern Europe who looked forward to a European and liberal future for their societies. Such predispositions accompanied the liberation struggles of the peoples of Southeastern Europe, especially the Greeks and the Romanians. The ideas of French liberalism provided the political language to the supporters of constitutionalism and the rule of law in the newly liberated nation-states of the Balkans. This is especially evident in Greece, in the writings and arguments of Nicolas I. Saripolos, professor of constitutional and international law in the University of Athens.¹¹

A characteristic illustration of the ideological function of French liberalism in the clamouring for civil liberties and constitutional reform in Greece was the translation in 1846 of Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, shortly after the original publication in 1840.¹² Tocqueville's translation by Constantinos Irakleidis strengthened the ideological ammunition of the opposition to monarchical arbitrariness, especially among liberal students of the newly founded University of Athens. It would be very instructive to trace the translations of Tocqueville's work in other Balkan languages as an indicator of the expansion and growth of liberal political reflection. The appeal of Tocqueville's ideas in Romanian intellectual life according to Professor Alexandru Zub was not felt in the "generation of 1848", but it had to wait until later, when, toward the end of the nineteenth century Mihai Eminescu discovered the significance not only of *Democracy in America* but also of Tocqueville's critical work on the French Revolution.¹³

These developments were closely connected with the echoes of the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Western and Central Europe in the Southeastern corner of the continent. The revolutionary year brought unrest in Greece and student demonstrations in Athens, but the major Southeastern act of the revolutionary drama in 1848 was staged in the Danubian principalities.¹⁴ Bucharest became a focal point of the 1848 revolution in Southeastern Europe. The revolutionary movement in Wallachia was primarily the work of the "generation of 1848", as it has been aptly described by John C. Campbell, writing in 1944 while the centennial of the revolution was approaching.¹⁵ The "forty-eighters" were a group of Romanian intellectuals trained in Paris, who had brought back to Wallachia and Moldavia French political ideas as

¹¹ On N. I. Saripolos and the significance of his legal and political thought see the several specialized studies collected in *Νικόλαος Ι. Σαρίπολος*, ed. by G. Kasimatis, Athens, Greek Parliament Foundation, 2011.

¹² *Περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας κατὰ τὴν Ἀμερικὴν*, transl. by Constantinos Irakleidis, Athens, 1846.

¹³ Alexandru Zub, *Reflections on the Impact of the French Revolution. 1789, de Tocqueville, and Romanian Culture*, Iasi, The Center for Romanian Studies, 2000, p. 133–152, especially p. 140–144 on Eminescu.

¹⁴ Keith Hitchins, *The Romanians 1774–1866*, p. 231–272. See also, more recently, in a comparative Balkan perspective, P. M. Kitromilides, *Aux origines des nationalismes balkaniques. La Révolution française et le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Athens, EFA, 2021, p. 80–81.

¹⁵ John C. Campbell, "The Influence of Western Political Thought in the Romanian Principalities, 1821–1848. The Generation of 1848", *Journal of Central European Affairs* IV, 1944, p. 262–273.

they were shaped by opposition to the July monarchy of King Louis-Philippe. They included Alexandru Golescu, Nicolae Balcescu, Ion Ghica, Dumitru and Ion Bratianu, C.A. Rosetti, and Mihail Kogalniceanu, who, although trained in Germany, was equally infused with French political ideas.¹⁶

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the revolution of 1848 in the Danubian principalities was the high point of the impact of French liberal political thought on politics and culture in Southeastern Europe in the 19th century.¹⁷ Similar ideological functions were fulfilled by French political thought at another turning point in the historical evolution of democratic liberalism in Southeastern Europe, in this case with the convocation of the Greek National Assembly in 1862–1864. The Assembly was convened following the overthrow of King Otho and it was charged with drafting a new constitution for Greece. In the debates, which produced the most liberal constitution in Europe at the time, French political thinkers were often cited by orators. One of the most frequently invoked names in the debates on freedom in the state and the rule of law was that of Benjamin Constant.¹⁸

For the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, French influence remained the most decisive factor in the production of a modern culture in Southeastern Europe. The Danubian principalities, which in 1866 formed the United Principalities and in 1878 the sovereign kingdom of Romania, were characterized with considerable accuracy as “French cultural provinces” in Eastern Europe.¹⁹ Toward the end of the nineteenth century, on the occasion of the first performance of a work by Ipsen in Greece, literary critic and commentator Grigorios Xenopoulos hailed the development as a sign of growing pluralism, because until then he remarked, “in the literary domain we have been no more than a province of France”.²⁰

The understanding of Greece and Romania as “cultural provinces” of France should not be construed as a form of sterile cultural dependence nurturing just a regional provincialism. On the contrary, cultural ties with France in both countries and also in the rest of Southeastern Europe, in Serbia and Bulgaria, provided always channels of critical thought and stimulation to creativity in the arts and sciences. This is particularly evident in the response to the currents of modernism emanating from

¹⁶ K. Hitchins, *The Romanians 1774–1866*, p. 234–235 and more broadly Al. Zub, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, p. 45–61. Also, K. Hitchins, “Romanian Liberalism (1821–1866)”, *Key Concepts of Romanian History*, ed. by V. Neumann and A. Heinen, Budapest, CEU Press, 2013, p. 107–130. It might be relevant to add that Mihail Kogalniceanu had begun his law studies at Lunéville in Lorraine in 1834–1835 but decided to leave for Berlin in order to counter claims by French journalists that Moldavia was becoming a second France. I owe the revealing detail to Andrei Pippidi.

¹⁷ On this important subject see further Klaus Bochmann, “The Concept of Patriotism in Romanian Culture”, and Edda Binder Iijima, “The Concept of Constitution in the History of Romanian Legal Thought”, *Key Concepts of Romanian History*, p. 85–93 and 298–303.

¹⁸ P. M. Kitromilides, “European political thought in the making of Greek liberalism. The Second National Assembly of 1862–1864 and the reception of John Stuart Mill’s ideas in Greece”, *Parliaments Estates and Representation* 8, 1988, p. 11–21, at p. 15–16.

¹⁹ J. C. Campbell, “The Influence of Western Political Thought in the Romanian Principalities...”.

²⁰ P. Moullas, “Σχέσεις της νεοελληνικής με την ευρωπαϊκή λογοτεχνία (1830–1920)”, *Δελτίο της Εταιρείας Σπουδών* 2, 1978, p. 58.

France in poetry and in painting in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.²¹ To relate this story even in bare outline would amount to writing the complete cultural history of Southeastern European national societies – and obviously this cannot be realistically undertaken in the context of this lecture.

I should remain within the framework of political thought and will attempt to illustrate the continuing prestige and cultural authority of France as perceived by two towering figures in the politics and intellectual life of Greece and Romania in the early part of the twentieth century, Eleftherios Venizelos and Nicolae Iorga. Venizelos, who could be considered, without risking a serious exaggeration, the maker of twentieth-century Greece, never in his career failed to reflect and appraise the prospects that French models and the French experience could offer to the modernization of Greece. The institutional experience of France was invoked by Venizelos as a “shining guide”²² in debates in the Greek parliament over the revision of the Greek constitution in 1911, while during his last premiership in 1928–1932 Venizelos managed to establish the Greek Council of State on the model of the French Conseil d’État as a mechanism for better serving the needs of citizens in their relations with the state and a more efficient way in the adjudication of administrative justice.

Venizelos furthermore never failed to acknowledge Greece’s broader debt to France.²³

The Greek Nation does not forget that France was one of the founders of its independence and that at times of misfortune up until now has discovered in her the faithful and disinterested protector of its neglected national rights.

Such feelings could be understood to echo and carry on into the twentieth century Korais’s old idea of “la Nation Gallo-grecque”. In the interwar period Venizelos acknowledged that from France emanated additionally a new current of political thought of much broader significance, which extended a serious invitation to reflect responsibly on the future of Europe. He possessed the maturity of political judgment to appreciate that the idea of a future united Europe, which in the inter-war period was almost prophetically articulated by French prime minister Aristide Briand, held the best promise of “doing away with war” and entering upon a march toward the “United States of Europe”. That idea, in Venizelos’s judgment was the best hope for the future of the nations of Europe and of the world at large.²⁴

²¹ See *Paris – Athènes 1863–1940*, Athens, National Gallery – Alexander Soutsos Museum, 2007 for several studies illustrating the impact of French modernism on Greek painting. The influence of modern French painting on Romanian art had been already lovingly examined by Henri Focillon, *La peinture aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles. Du réalisme à nos jours*, Paris, 1928, p. 422–428.

²² See *Ta κείμενα του Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου*, ed. by S.I. Stephanou, Athens, The Liberal Club, 1981, Vol. I, p. 258.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 625–626, from an interview to London General Press in October 1929. See also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 544–547: Venizelos’s address to the League of Nations on 7 September 1929. On this important subject see further Dimitris Kitsikis, “La Grèce et le projet Briand”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 12, 1965, p. 203–217 and C. Svolopoulos, “L’attitude de la Grèce vis-à-vis du projet Briand d’union fédérale de l’Europe”, *Balkan Studies* 29, 1988, p. 29–38.

Nicolae Iorga in turn, the greatest historian of Southeastern Europe and Romanian prime minister in 1931–1932 was one of the most authoritative proponents of the idea of France as the model and source of inspiration in the development of Romanian culture since the Middle Ages. In the historical thought of N. Iorga, Medieval France as a civilization had dominated Southeastern Europe in the broadest geographical sense, from Transylvania to Cyprus, and in this role, it provided the soundest foundation for the future of the region as part of Europe.²⁵ In Iorga's thought this was the major premise of the argument that Southeastern Europe was a space of civilization quite distinct from oriental despotism which dominated politically in the region since the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period. The Romanian lands, on account of their extensive cultural and political ties with France since the Middle Ages, ties that had their distant foundation in the common latinity of the two civilizations, had, according to Iorga, a special mission in exemplifying the European character of Southeastern Europe. This special mission was also expressed in the international policy of the Romanian kingdom and its place in the alignments of the First World War. Iorga stated so much in the prefatory note in his work *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains* in 1917:²⁶

Le but de l'auteur, ancien élève des écoles de France, est seulement de faire savoir au public français que la politique actuelle de la Roumanie n'est pas une improvisation, ni un caprice, qu'elle répond à des anciennes traditions et suit le chemin indiqué par le développement historique.

Iorga's admiration for France as the pinnacle of European civilization and his faith in the deeper organic unity that attached Romania to European and in particular to French civilization is recorded in many of his works.²⁷ This attitude, nevertheless, went hand-in-hand with a wide-ranging criticism of French Enlightenment thought and of the French Revolution. Like Korais long before him, he admired the depth of judgment of Montesquieu but he despised Voltaire and had a poor opinion of Rousseau as a misguided utopian thinker. The significance of Iorga's judgment of the French Revolution has been discussed authoritatively twenty years ago by Professor Alexandru Zub in an important work for which we are all greatly in his debt.²⁸

Iorga's reservations vis-à-vis the French Revolution did not of course blind him in front of the significance of French culture and political thought more specifically for modern civilization, especially in connection with the promotion of the cause of

²⁵ See for instance, among many other of his writings, N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie*, second edition, Bucharest, 1940, p. 75–90 and more characteristically idem, *France de Chypre*, Paris, 1931 (reprinted 1966).

²⁶ N. Iorga, *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains*, Jassy, 1917, p. VI.

²⁷ See especially N. Iorga, *Idées et formes littéraires françaises dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe* (Paris, 1924), ed. by Virginia Blinda, Brăila, Istros, 2022, for a perceptive exposition of the subject with many insightful observations. For a broader discussion of Iorga's reflections on the unity of European history and Romania's place in it see Hans-Christian Maner, "The Notion of Europe from the Perspective of Romanian Historical Studies", in *Key Concepts of Romanian History*, p. 232–239.

²⁸ Al. Zub, *Reflections on the Impact of the French Revolution*, p. 83–118.

freedom in the modern world. His judgment is clearly stated in his important work on the history of Balkan states:²⁹

[...] des penseurs politiques français commencèrent à parler aux nations égarées, déchirées par les factions, empêchées de trouver la base solide de leur développement et de persévérer dans la voie des réformes fondamentales et de l'éducation morale [...], de la possibilité de gagner leur indépendance [...]

* * *

It is time perhaps to bring this wide-ranging itinerary full circle by going back to our point of departure, the political thought of Adamantios Korais, with whose enthusiasm for France as a harbinger of freedom for humanity we began. Our survey has mostly focused on the ideological uses of the multiple symbolisms that radiated from the idea of France in charting the collective trajectories of the societies of Southeastern Europe. We should now raise the question how theoretically coherent and credible these ideological uses could be considered. Korais's work offers perhaps the most promising material upon which to attempt to test this question.

For over forty years from the early 1790s to his death in 1833, Korais elaborated a theory of freedom as the framework of civilized life in modern society. The theoretical project was intended as a blueprint for the preparation of subjected Greek society and by extension all subjugated nationalities in Southeastern Europe for advent to free national life, for a transition from the condition of subject communities defined in religious terms to independent nation-states.

In elaborating his theory of freedom Korais drew primarily on French political thought. His point of departure was his hatred of despotism, an attitude sustained decisively by his reading of Montesquieu. To this attitude was added his criticism of Jacobinism and of the excesses of the Terror during the French Revolution as a modern form of despotism. To a considerable extent his appraisal of the politics of the French Revolution was articulated through an appeal to the ideas of Condorcet.³⁰

Korais identified philosophically and politically with the critics of Jacobinism and later on opponents of Napoleon's dictatorship, the philosophical group of the *Idéologues*. By following their ideas and on the strong groundwork of Montesquieu's arguments, he insisted that freedom in modern society could only be built on cultural foundations, a deep and extensive intellectual transformation of societies that would cultivate mature individuality and prepare people for free citizenship through systematic modern education.³¹

²⁹ N. Iorga, *Histoire des Etats balkaniques à l'époque moderne* (Bucharest, 1914, 2nd ed. 1925), ed. by Andrei Pippidi and Andrei Timotin, Brăila, Istros, 2018, p. 227.

³⁰ See P. M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, p. 176–189, and idem, *Aux origines des nationalismes balkaniques*, p. 37–54.

³¹ Korais's relevant arguments are outlined in his *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'homme le 16 Nivôse, an XI* (6 Janvier 1803), Paris, 1803. On the significance of Korais's political thought and his literary and philosophical projects see the collection, *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment*, ed. by P. M. Kitromilides, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2010.

Of special theoretical interest and quite revealing of Korais's intellectual outlook is his use of Montesquieu's ideas in criticizing David Hume's arguments on national characters. His response to this argument suggests the extent and depth of Korais' integration into Enlightenment intellectual debates. What the reading of Montesquieu offered to Korais was the possibility to propose a multi-causal explanation of phenomena in human society, an explanation combining moral and material causes against what he judges as Hume's one-dimensional moral causality.³²

Korais remained a faithful reader of French political thought to the end of his days. In the 1820s, amidst all the emotions and active engagements in the politics of the Greek war independence, he developed an interest in the work of Benjamin Constant, the most authoritative voice of political liberalism at the time. Korais possessed several of Constant's works, which survive in his library at Chios. He read with interest Constant's commentary on Filangieri but he primarily immersed himself in the great treatise *De la Religion*, of which he read all three volumes of the original edition. We even possess the receipt, dated 10 October 1825, of the purchase of volume II from J. J. Paschoud, "Libraire à Paris".³³

This reading was obviously connected with Korais's active interest in questions of religion in the last decade of his life. What is rather perplexing, however, is the absence of Constant's most famous political work from among Korais's books. The 1819 lecture, *De la liberté des anciens comparée à celle des modernes* does not seem to have attracted Korais's interest. Also worth-noting is the fact that despite his well-documented reading of Constant's works in the 1820s there is no reference to any of those works in Korais's writings of this period. He continued citing Jeremy Bentham's works for instance and he actively promoted the project for a Greek translation of Daunou's *Essai sur les garanties individuelles*, but he totally failed to enter into any form of intellectual dialogue with Benjamin Constant. The explanation of this failure may be simple and straight forward or perhaps more complex and searching. It seems, nevertheless, that the time of Constant's moment, "le moment Constant", had not yet come in the political traditions of Southeastern Europe. As already noted, that moment had to wait until the 1860s.

Thus the pattern and limits of the reception of French political ideas by Adamantios Korais and next to him by the other towering figure in the intellectual history of Southeastern Europe, Nicolae Iorga, and further by many others, illustrate in their complexity and selectivity but also as reflections of individual intellectual strivings in the service of the common good, the broader struggle of the societies of Southeastern Europe for progress, liberty and justice, ideas they had been learning for the greatest part of their modern history primarily from French political thought.

³² See "Discours préliminaire", in his edition, *Traité d'Hippocrate des airs, des eaux et des lieux* [...] par Coray, Paris, 1800, reprinted in Adamantios Korais, *Προλεγόμενα στους αρχαίους Έλληνες συγγραφείς*, Vol. IV, Athens, MIET, 1995, p. 551–556.

³³ P. M. Kitromilides, "Adamantios Korais reader of Benjamin Constant. An illustration of the transfer and reception of political ideas", *Annales Benjamin Constant* 46, 2021, p. 43–63.

IORGA ET FOCILLON, HISTOIRE D'UNE AMITIÉ

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This article publishes for the first time the correspondence between Romanian historian Nicolas Iorga (1871–1940) and French cultural diplomat Henri Focillon (1876–1943). The deep relationship between these two scholars, one of whom was a leading intellectual in European culture of his time and the other the founder of French art history, is evidenced by the moving letters they exchanged over a period of some twenty years. These previously unpublished documents reflect a close collaboration that, far beyond their intellectual encounters, enhances their shared effort to resist the rise of Hitlerism. Focillon, in particular, demonstrates his solidarity with Romanians and his great concern not to lose this country to the Germans.

Keywords: Iorga, correspondence, Focillon, France, Romania.

Lorsqu'on regarde la place essentielle que tiennent les rapports personnels entre les savants ou les artistes, en donnant une incitation à leurs propres travaux, il y a un type de témoignages qui éclairent la psychologie de tels grands esprits autant que l'histoire de leur labeur à travers l'espace et le temps. C'est la correspondance écrite, dont nous devons regretter qu'elle soit à présent en train de disparaître, remplacée par les rapides messages électroniques d'un laconisme appauvrissant. Au milieu du siècle passé, les échanges intimes de réflexions sur la qualité du développement intellectuel des contemporains étaient toujours au rang de sources pour un historien. L'exemple que nous avons choisi est particulièrement expressif. La relation entre Nicolas Iorga et Henri Focillon s'intègre dans un mouvement culturel plus large, celui du rapprochement franco-roumain à l'époque de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres.

Qui est Focillon ? Inutile de le rappeler à ceux qui connaissent ses études d'histoire de l'art, dont l'exploration s'étendait de Raphaël jusqu'à Hokousai, ainsi que son activité créatrice de points d'appui stratégiques autour de la Société des Nations. Né en 1881 à Dijon, sa carrière qui s'était développée à Lyon dans les musées et à l'Université, aboutira à la Sorbonne en 1923¹.

Suite à l'échange de voyages d'études visant à grouper autour de la France des amitiés roumaines, il fut convié pour des conférences à Cluj. Désormais il s'est

¹ André Chastel, *Le centenaire d'Henri Focillon. L'univers des formes*, « Le Monde », 9 août 1981 ; Louis Grodecki, *Bibliographie Henri Focillon*, Yale University Press, 1963 ; André Chastel *et al.*, *Henri Focillon*, Paris, 1984.

attaché à la Roumanie pendant une vingtaine d'années, de 1922 à 1940, tant qu'il y trouvait la profonde affection d'un ami avec lequel il pouvait partager agissements et pensées. Car, disait-il, « cheminer seul sur les routes de notre pays et de notre esprit, c'est risquer de se confiner à de vieilles certitudes. Il nous faut quelque grand compagnon, un grand voyageur de l'espace et du temps, qui, venu d'une contrée amie et des plus hautes régions de l'intelligence, précise le trait et avive la touche de notre paysage spirituel »². Nous verrons tout de suite envers qui la dette sera ainsi reconnue.

Les amis roumains d'Henri Focillon furent nombreux. Parmi eux il faudrait rappeler les noms de George Oprescu, de Vasile Pârvan, du docteur Jean Cantacuzène (grand collectionneur d'art), du peintre Jean Steriadi et encore bien d'autres, grâce auxquels les liens de la Roumanie avec la France se sont étendus et consolidés. Focillon lui-même s'en rendait bien compte puisqu'il avoue : « mes soucis roumains ne sont pas un épisode d'amitié, mais une passion constante »³.

Ce qui amenait Focillon en Roumanie, en tant que chargé de mission par le Quai d'Orsay, c'était le projet de planter un institut français à Bucarest. Afin de préparer le terrain, il rencontrait Nicolae Iorga et l'avait assuré « des sentiments bien sincères d'un Français qui aime votre grand pays et qui admire l'œuvre de votre vie »⁴. Auteur d'une *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains* écrite avant la fin de la guerre, Iorga avait été depuis 1919 élu correspondant à l'Académie des Inscriptions, invité à enseigner au Collège de France, de sorte qu'il est reçu, à partir de 1921, professeur agrégé à la Sorbonne⁵. Cette place officielle allait lui permettre de revenir chaque année à Paris, où il avait fondé un foyer roumain de recherches. En même temps, pour faire connaître aux Roumains la France, son paysage et son passé, il ébauchait en 1922 *În Franța. Drumuri ale unui istoric (En France, voyage d'un historien)*.

Pour cette histoire des intellectuels qui est déjà devenue un champ de recherches autonome⁶ à la croisée des histoires politique, sociale et culturelle, la correspondance échangée entre les membres d'un tel groupe est importante. Il en existe une première preuve par le très beau volume de la « Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art » où Radu Ionescu avait rassemblé, il y a trente ans, tous les messages adressés par Focillon à G. Oprescu d'un bout à l'autre de cette période⁷.

² Henri Focillon, *Témoignage pour la France*, New York, Brentano's, 1945, p. 77.

³ Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine, fonds des manuscrits, correspondance Iorga, vol. CCCXXII, f. 330, 1925.

⁴ Bucarest, ce 22 avril, lettre en ma possession.

⁵ Félicitations de Charles Diehl, Maurice Croiset et Sébastien Charléty que j'ai publiées « Manuscriptum », 3, 1971, p. 61–65. Deux séries de leçons : « La Pénétration des idées de l'Occident dans l'Europe orientale au XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles » et « La pénétration des idées de l'Occident dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe ». Sur leurs sujets et leur date, lettre de Mario Roques du 4 mai 1922, en ma possession.

⁶ Michel Trebitsch, Marie-Christine Granjon (sous la dir. de), *Pour une histoire des intellectuels*, Paris, Édition Complexe, 1998.

⁷ Série Beaux-Arts, tome XXIX, 1992, *Lettres de Henri Focillon à Georges Oprescu*, préface, texte établi et notes par Radu Ionescu.

Que subsiste-t-il encore des sources qui nous livrent le dialogue entre Focillon et ses amis roumains ? A part des bribes insignifiantes ailleurs, il existe au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères à Paris des masses de documents concernant l'activité des institutions françaises chargées d'accroître le rayonnement culturel en Roumanie⁸. Au premier rang des universitaires français associés – bon gré, mal gré – à Focillon dans le rapprochement des deux pays il y avait Mario Roques (1875–1961), le créateur de l'enseignement du roumain à Paris⁹. L'estime éprouvée à son égard par N. Iorga est témoignée par leur correspondance¹⁰ et par les articles de presse que Iorga publiait pour relever la tâche remplie par Roques¹¹.

Naturellement, les plus bourrées d'informations sont les lettres échangées entre Focillon et Iorga, dont nous allons examiner le contenu, en le comparant à d'autres témoignages contemporains.

Le legs des papiers de Focillon a eu une histoire compliquée, étant déposé et classé à Paris, à la Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie « Jacques Doucet ». Ces archives ont été ensuite rendues à M. Jurgis J. Baltrusaitis, le petit-fils et héritier de Focillon. En attendant une réponse à ma demande de les consulter, il m'a fallu en 1993 recourir aux lettres destinées à Oprescu (RRHA) où il est souvent question de l'ami commun. C'est en 2011 que M. Baltrusaitis m'a fait parvenir en photocopies 20 lettres de Iorga, 2 cartes-postales et une carte de remerciement, pour lesquelles je lui dois ma profonde gratitude, sans oublier Mlle Claire Tissot qui avait rangé ce fonds de documents. Ce qui a été plus malaisé à retrouver ce sont les lettres envoyées par Focillon, dont la plupart sont éparpillées dans le gigantesque fonds Iorga de la section de Manuscrits à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, tandis qu'il fallait chercher certaines autres dans la collection de famille dont je suis l'héritier. Qu'il me soit permis d'avouer que, dans les maisons de mon enfance, tous les recoins étaient encombrés de malles, de coffres, de valises et de boîtes à chapeaux et que ces bagages pansus, qui avaient l'air de revenir d'un long voyage, étaient bondés de lettres¹². En outre, le journal personnel de Iorga, *Memorii*, comme qui dirait aide-mémoire, incomplètement publié en huit volumes de 1923 à 1938, et celui de sa femme (inédit) s'accordent à marquer les visites de

⁸ Un emploi assidu de ces documents, qui portent sur toute l'histoire de l'Institut Français de Hautes Etudes à Bucarest (1924–1948) se trouve dans le livre d'André Godin, *Une passion roumaine*, Paris-Montréal, L'Harmattan, 1998. Cf. idem, *La correspondance d'Alphonse Dupront et de Jean Marx (9 avril 1932 – 9 mars 1940)*, «Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome», CVII, 1995, no. 1, p. 207–411.

⁹ A l'Ecole Normale Supérieure dès 1901, aux Hautes Etudes en 1903 et aux Langues Orientales depuis 1907, avant de prendre la direction de l'Institut de Philologie roumaine à la Faculté de Lettres de Paris.

¹⁰ Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, ms.6152, onze lettres de 1921 à 1933 ; Académie Roumaine, correspondance Iorga, vol. 325, f. 446, le 9 mai 1925. Voir Andrei Pippidi, *Moștenirea pierdută : N. Iorga și Mario Roques*, « Revista Istorică », IV, 3–4, 1993, p. 321–330.

¹¹ *La școală d-lui Mario Roques*, « Ramuri – Drum drept » XVII, 1–15 février 1923, et *Un vechiu prieten*, « Neamul Românesc », 7 décembre 1924.

¹² Je ne peux assez remercier ma collègue Raluca Tomi qui travaille depuis neuf ans à ranger ces lettres, éparses de 1900 à 1940.

Focillon ou sa présence à chaque entrevue à l'étranger. « Le professeur Focillon, de Lyon, homme sincère et bon, très intéressé par les choses d'art roumaines »¹³. Cette note de Iorga dans son journal de 1922, à la date du 25 avril, montre déjà l'effet de la première rencontre, lorsqu'ils avaient visité ensemble le couvent de Cernica.

La première mission de Focillon avait été de créer un Institut français d'enseignement supérieur en Roumanie et ce projet avait besoin du soutien de quelqu'un qui puisse le soutenir puissamment. Iorga a, tout de suite, offert sa collaboration à un projet qui eut installé à Bucarest « un foyer permanent de civilisation française », pour « raffermir notre alliance de race entre votre noble nation et notre reste de romanité orientale, sur laquelle on pourrait se fonder mieux que sur n'importe quelle combinaison et improvisation diplomatique »¹⁴.

Mais, comme il fallait mettre au point l'organisation de l'Institut qu'on inaugurerait, il y a eu une réunion du comité roumain de patronage pour fixer les conditions du statut, qui impliquaient autant la diplomatie que les échelons supérieurs de l'enseignement dans les deux pays. On plaça provisoirement les bureaux du futur Institut (place Lahovary, un logement prêté par le docteur Cantacuzène, en attendant l'emplacement actuel sur le Boulevard Dacia acquis en 1928). Lorsque, en 1940, il faudra créer un Institut allemand à Bucarest, Iorga y opposera le souvenir de « celui que les sympathies les plus sincères avaient assisté dès le début, avec le programme voulu par les fondateurs, parmi lesquels il y avait notre vieil ami, M. Focillon »¹⁵. Certaines immixtions gênantes des partenaires protecteurs avaient pourtant suscité l'opposition de Iorga autrefois: « la pensée française ne doit pas faire fonction de dressage »¹⁶. Mais, en guise de conclusion, Focillon s'exclame : « J'aime Iorga, sa verve géniale, son patriotisme profond, son activité inlassable. Il s'intéresse avec passion à ce que nous voulons faire... Je vous dirai même que les violences et les susceptibilités de son caractère me plaisent. »¹⁷ A son tour, il s'était entremis pour introduire Iorga à Lyon, où ses conférences sur l'art populaire roumain et le reflet littéraire du vécu paysan lui assureront le doctorat d'honneur. De son côté, l'invité se plaît à noter : « J'assiste au cours fort intéressant de Focillon qui assemble un large public »¹⁸. Quant à l'« accueil unique » préparé par son hôte, Iorga s'est montré reconnaissant le 27 janvier « à l'historien de l'art, à celui auquel toute beauté de la nature et de la création humaine parle un langage intime »¹⁹. En échange, Iorga voudra être présent en mars 1924 à la Sorbonne à l'ouverture du cours de Focillon. Il était déjà à Paris depuis janvier, comme il en avait pris l'habitude; il y tint deux cours, « Idées et

¹³ N. Iorga, *Memorii*, III, p. 300 = ms. XIII, p. 40.

¹⁴ Lettres du 6 et du 30 décembre 1922.

¹⁵ *Institute...*, « Neamul Românesc », XXXV, 84, 13 avril 1940.

¹⁶ Lettre du 31 mai 1924.

¹⁷ RRHA, p. 14, lettre de Bucarest, le 17 juin 1923.

¹⁸ *Memorii*, XIV, le 22 janvier 1923.

¹⁹ À l'occasion de l'exposition documentaire qui a accompagné le colloque Focillon en 1993, on a pu voir cette carte postale. Voir *Memorii*, XIV, et RRHA, p. 9–10.

formes littéraires françaises dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe » et « Le Romantisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe »²⁰. Ces dix leçons ne l'empêcheront pas de céder à une invitation de l'Association française pour la Société des Nations qui sollicitait ses vues sur « La Conception roumaine de la Paix ». La veille, un Comité France-Orient l'avait consulté sur « Les prévisions économiques en Roumanie ». Sur ce, il doit revenir en mai à Lyon où on l'attendait pour le doctorat²¹.

Focillon allait retourner en Roumanie, du 8 au 23 juin, quand il fut accompagné par Iorga, qui lui faisait visiter des musées et l'atelier du peintre Arthur Verona, il parla de l'art français contemporain, il inaugura une exposition du portrait français, il subit des dîners officiels et des discours, il mit au point les détails d'organisation pour l'Institut qu'on venait d'ouvrir. À l'inauguration, il y a eu la présence du roi Ferdinand et celle d'universitaires français distingués pour lesquels Emmanuel de Martonne, le géographe attiré par la Roumanie, a livré « un exposé tout particulièrement intéressant ». Parmi plusieurs attentions de haute courtoisie, Focillon avait eu le privilège d'un entretien d'une heure avec la reine Marie. En bonne anglaise, elle estimait le talent d'Oscar Wilde, mais refusait de suivre le parcours « anormal » de l'art moderne chez Picasso²². Le sujet est revenu le lendemain dans une conférence de Focillon à la Fondation Carol. Le public de la matinée suivante a mécontenté Iorga qui y a vues « des femmes du monde riche. Elles se donnent l'air de triompher par la culture française qu'elles singent sans la comprendre »²³.

Une seconde occasion d'estimer la complexité des relations culturelles franco-roumaines fut la grande Exposition d'Art Roumain Ancien et Moderne, ouverte en 1925 à Paris dans les salles du Jeu de Paume²⁴. Après des articles parus dans la presse française spécialisée, l'art roumain allait être introduit au public par des études de Focillon lui-même (« L'Art et l'histoire en Roumanie »)²⁵, de Georges Balș et de Jean Cantacuzène – deux aristocrates roumains respectés pour leurs belles collections d'art. La rédaction définitive du catalogue allait revenir à Focillon à la proposition de Iorga, lequel participait très activement à ces travaux, en tant que président de la Commission des Monuments Historiques²⁶. Focillon, à

²⁰ Publiés en 1924 à Paris et, récemment, édition par Virginia Blînda, Brăila, Istros, 2022.

²¹ « Réception profondément émouvante pour les nouveaux docteurs de l'Université (Cantacuzène et moi) », dans *Memorii*, XIV.

²² « J'ai passé près d'elle avec Iorga une heure charmante » (RRHA, 15, lettre de Bucarest, le 17 juin 1923). Témoin de l'entretien, l'aide de camp de la reine, le colonel N. Condiescu l'a gardé dans son journal inédit, aimablement communiqué par Mme Jeanne Condiescu. Iorga, *Memorii*, IV, p. 89, a trouvé la causerie « vive et intéressante ».

²³ Encore une fois, il faut recourir au manuscrit des *Memorii* XIV, où tout ce séjour est consigné quotidiennement.

²⁴ Exposition d'art roumain ancien et moderne. Catalogue des œuvres exposées, Paris, 1925.

²⁵ Voir la liste de ces textes chez Remus Niculescu, « Henri Focillon et l'art roumain », RRHA, XXXI, 1994, p. 27–28.

²⁶ « Son buste se pavane dans la première salle... Il a l'air d'un des Sept Sages de la Grèce » (Focillon à Oprescu, le 29 mai, RRHA, p. 25). Il s'agit du portrait par le sculpteur Oscar Han, le no 171 du catalogue.

la suite de ses pèlerinages en Roumanie, s'était persuadé que l'ancien art du paysan de cette terre enrichissait la civilisation médiévale européenne. L'Exposition, qui a duré du 25 mai au 15 septembre, a atteint le but qu'on visait, celui de consacrer la valeur spirituelle et culturelle de la Roumanie, ce qui pouvait aussi influencer l'opinion politique française. A ce sujet l'on possède un témoignage essentiel, la lettre de Focillon qui explique en détail la part qu'il a eue à l'organisation de l'Exposition. Ses vues sur le caractère du travail qu'il envisageait le 6 avril relèvent de sa méthode scientifique, constamment comparée à celle qu'il admirait chez Iorga. C'est de cette étroite collaboration qu'était partie leur amitié. Celle-ci venait de valoir une décoration roumaine à Focillon, de sorte que cette relation avait également un aspect diplomatique.

Cependant, les difficultés surgies ont provoqué une grande irritation : conflit causé par la concurrence avec une autre exposition, « L'Art du peuple roumain », devant avoir lieu au Musée Rath à Genève. Cette initiative, qui revendiquait de précieuses pièces destinées à l'exposition de Paris, provenait d'Alexandre Tzigara-Samurçaș, contre lequel Iorga guerroyait depuis 1919, car cet historien de l'art, formé à Munich, avait été associé au régime de l'occupation allemande à Bucarest. Il était maintenant directeur du Musée d'Art National de Bucarest et directeur de la Fondation royale Carol, de sorte qu'il refusa de prêter ses icônes et ses fresques, afin de les garder pour l'exposition qui allait s'ouvrir à Genève aussitôt après la fin de celle de Paris »²⁷. Devant ce remue-ménage, Focillon s'est employé de toutes ses forces à défendre son projet initial et il réussit à clore l'incident²⁸. Il se vante même que, en fin de compte, le remboursement des dépenses s'est monté à 63 000 frs. Iorga constate à quel point on a occupé l'espace public français : « Jamais la Roumanie n'a eu un succès d'estime comme celui qui lui est venu de cette splendide exposition qui vous doit tant »²⁹.

De surcroît, attiré dans cette mésaventure par son amitié pour Iorga, Focillon l'était aussi à cause d'encore une dispute roumaine, pour une chaire d'histoire de l'art à l'Université de Bucarest, sollicitée à la fois par son autre ami, G. Oprescu, et par Tzigara ! Ce dernier parvint à prolonger pendant trois ans ce harcèlement, jusqu'à la victoire obtenue par Iorga et Focillon.

Une autre composante du panorama roumain intéressait également Focillon par les échos des milieux politiques. A propos des écarts de la conduite privée de l'héritier du trône, on peut se demander « quand est-ce qu'il deviendra mûr, cet

²⁷ Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii*, ed. C.D. Zeletin, IV, București, 2007, avec ses « Expoziția românească la Paris », *Convorbiri literare*, LVII, iulie-aug. 1925, et « Expoziția românească din Geneva », *ibid.*, LVIII, ianuarie-februarie 1925. L'exposition de Genève a occupé les salles du Musée Rath du 18 septembre au 15 octobre. Voir aussi les lettres d'Em. Bucuță et G.D. Mugur, *Documente literare*, ed. Gh. Cardaș, I, București, 1971, p. 385–394.

²⁸ Lettres de Focillon à Iorga (conservée à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie, CCCXXII, 12, p. 329–330) et à Oprescu, RRHA, vol. cité, p. 30. Participation de Iorga dans ses lettres à Focillon les 1^{er} et 30 mai et dans ses *Memorii*, XV, 12 et 27 mars, de Paris.

²⁹ Lettre du 12 septembre, de Vălenii de Munte.

enfant ? »³⁰ Mais lorsque le prince Carol se mêle d'intervenir dans l'affaire de l'Exposition: « Ah, mon cher, je vous en prie, mettez-vous en république ! »³¹ En effet, le conseil royal ayant écarté Carol de la succession, on va entendre Focillon déclarer : « votre pays est sauvé d'un tyran capricieux ». ³²

L'année 1926 passe, résumée ainsi par Focillon : « J'ai voyagé, j'ai travaillé à Genève, je viens de faire une tournée en Hollande pour me rafraîchir les yeux aux plus mouillés des paysages et me chauffer le cœur aux plus dorés des Rembrandt »³³. A travers ces épanchements nous entrevoyons l'existence harassante d'un grand travailleur. Il enseignait à la Sorbonne, qui l'avait appelé à succéder à Emile Mâle, il peinait pour achever *La peinture au XIX^e siècle* et il s'engage de plus en plus dans l'activité du Comité des Lettres et des Arts de la Société des Nations. Là surtout, dans un domaine qu'il a ouvert aussi à son ami Oprescu, dont il a fait un secrétaire de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle, ses démarches visent à préserver les valeurs de la liberté contre des périls croissants. Pour répliquer au mot de Valéry : « Nous autres civilisations, nous savons désormais que nous sommes mortelles »³⁴, il dit : « La civilisation, c'est l'inquiétude. Elle doit, sans cesse, être remise en question »³⁵.

L'angoisse n'est pas moindre chez des écrivains comme le sont tous les deux. Car ils s'interrogent sur l'effet de leurs écrits sur un public capable de les comprendre. Le premier à avouer de tels soucis, Focillon : « Vous savez que j'écris avec facilité. Eh bien, ce travail facile est en réalité le terme d'un effort horrible, d'une fièvre et d'une inquiétude qui ne me laissent point de repos. Quelle amère bataille que de faire un livre ! On l'écrit le jour ; la nuit il vous habite et il vous réveille, trempé de sueur. On finit par le hair ». ³⁶ En parallèle avec sa perspective adressée à Oprescu, Focillon va recevoir à son tour, de Iorga, une confession semblable: « Depuis deux ans j'ai la timidité, presque le remords du livre que je viens de faire. Je n'ose pas l'ouvrir. Sa responsabilité paraît m'écraser. J'aurais désiré n'avoir pas eu le courage de le faire partir et j'aurais préféré tenir pour moi ces quelques volumes dans lesquels j'ai mis le résultat d'une longue et dure étude. » Il est presque invraisemblable que ce soit *l'Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*, dont les deux premiers tomes, concernant l'antiquité et le Moyen Age, étaient sortis en 1927, tandis que le quatrième ne va s'arrêter qu'aux dernières nouvelles politiques. Encore faut-il compléter cette bibliographie par deux œuvres préliminaires, en roumain : *Développement des institutions politiques et sociales de*

³⁰ Ma grand'mère, qui n'aimait pas Carol, s'en est souvenue longtemps (notice dans son journal, le 5 mars 1933).

³¹ Le 4 septembre 1925, lettre citée ci-dessus.

³² N. Iorga, *Memorii*, XV, p. 95, 22 janvier 1926.

³³ Lettre à Iorga, le 6 janvier 1927, à l'Académie, CCCXLIII, 41.

³⁴ Paul Valéry, *Variété*, Paris, 1924, p. 11.

³⁵ Henri Focillon, *Témoignage pour la France*, p. 27. Voir ses contributions aux volumes publiés par l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle : *Pour une Société des Esprits et Civilisations : Orient-Occident, Génie du Nord-Latinité*.

³⁶ Le 4 août 1926, p. 37, RRHA, p. 37.

l'Europe (3 vols, 1920–1922) et *Eléments d'unité du monde médiéval, moderne et contemporain* (3 vols, 1921–1922). Pour remercier Focillon de ses encouragements, Iorga a ajouté : « Lorsque les épreuves des deux derniers volumes me seront communiquées, je considérerai leur lecture moins comme un devoir pénible »³⁷. Donc, Focillon reprend, pour conseiller de ne pas se rendre à des jugements malveillants : « J'ai là près de moi vos beaux livres, avec l'ardeur et la fermeté de votre pensée, et je vous remercie affectueusement de m'en faire part. Veuillez être assuré qu'ils sont lus comme ils doivent l'être, et plume en main »³⁸. Lui-même souhaitait achever le tome II de sa *Peinture* et il réunissait des documents sur *L'art des sculpteurs romains* : « Je suis attelé à un livre de Moyen Age, qui vous intéressera et où je livre au public, non des réflexions ou de la critique, mais la clef d'un système que je crois sérieusement avoir découvert. Si je ne me trompe pas, eh bien, je serai récompensé de mes efforts de ces six dernières années. » Et il ajoute : « La difficulté d'un raisonnement historique véritable paralyse l'érudition pure, et la stricte archéologie. Je voudrais soumettre à votre jugement une sorte d'étincelante preuve de ce que j'avance – une série de beaux textes – mais a posteriori. Si je ne vous ennue pas, je vous conterai mon histoire, et les détours que j'ai faits avant de trouver la route royale – si du moins ce n'est pas encore une traverse ! »³⁹

Dans sa réponse, Iorga se réjouit d'apprendre davantage sur les recherches de son ami : « Je suis très intéressé à votre synthèse. Y aurait-il quelque rapport de côté avec celle dont je porte le poids ? »⁴⁰

En 1928, Focillon allait revoir Iorga à Paris en mars et il reviendra en automne en Roumanie. Ayant assisté à l'Académie Roumaine à la conférence d'Iorga sur d'anciens portraits de princes roumains⁴¹, à l'Université il tiendra leçon sur « le Paysage au Moyen Âge ».⁴² Immanquable au programme, la visite à Văleni lui donne l'occasion, le 21 octobre, de remettre son livre, qui venait de paraître, sur la peinture moderne, dédié « A mon cher et bon maître, le Professeur Iorga, avec mon affection fidèle »⁴³.

De leurs rencontres, qui se sont succédées assez régulièrement, il y en a eu une, en 1930, que Focillon s'amuse à raconter : « J'ai entrevu Saint Nicolas. Il a eu la vraie gentillesse, ne passant que vingt-quatre heures à Paris, de sauter chez nous pour nous dire bonjour... Iorga a quitté ma demeure à huit heures et demie environ, après avoir peint un large tableau de son *Amérique*, dont il est enchanté. Je n'ai même pas pu, comme les interlocuteurs des dialogues de Platon, intercaler un

³⁷ Lettre du 13 mai 1927 de la collection Baltrusaitis.

³⁸ Le 4 décembre 1927, Académie Roumaine, fonds mss Iorga, CCCXLI 239.

³⁹ Lettre du 29 septembre 1928, même fonds, CCCXLIV 90.

⁴⁰ Lettre du 7 octobre 1928 de la collection Baltrusaitis.

⁴¹ *Portrete și lucruri domnești nou-descoperite*, in « Memoriile Secțiunii istorice », seria III, tom IX, 1928. Le 18 octobre est la date dans *Memorii*, XVII.

⁴² Le 2 novembre, « le soir, belle leçon de Focillon à l'Université sur le Paysage au Moyen Age » selon Iorga dans son Journal (*Memorii*, XVII).

⁴³ *La peinture, XIX^e et XX^e siècles, du réalisme à nos jours*, Paris, 1928. Iorga en a fait le compte-rendu dans *Revista Istorică* XIV, 1928, p. 414–417. Voir aussi RRHA, p. 49, par l'auteur.

« oui, par Jupiter ! » ou « Non, certes, o Socrate » car il a tout enfilé d'un seul dactyle, sans reprendre haleine. C'est ce qu'on appelle être plein de son sujet ». Cette euphorie était le résultat d'un grand voyage aux Etats-Unis et ces impressions ne tarderont pas à former encore un livre⁴⁴.

L'admiration portait sur l'énergie et l'inlassable construction culturelle américaine qui eussent fourni un grand exemple aux projets de Iorga pour l'avenir de son pays. Telle qu'elle était, ébranlée par la crise économique, ainsi que par l'instabilité politique, la Roumanie inquiétait ses alliés. Le besoin de débrouiller cet écheveau était ressenti précisément en France avec laquelle la guerre et l'après-guerre avaient resserré les relations. Déjà en 1928, Focillon faisait allusion aux espérances de voir Iorga accéder à de hautes responsabilités politiques. Dès qu'il sera chargé de former un gouvernement de personnalités au-dessus des partis, des technocrates, parmi lesquels il avait choisi le docteur Cantacuzène comme ministre de la Santé, Iorga reçoit cette lettre de Focillon : « Nous nous unissons pour vous envoyer nos graves, profondes et respectueuses pensées d'amitié. Vous n'avez jamais été un érudit de cabinet. Si vous êtes grand historien, c'est que vous appartenez à l'action et que vous avez toujours *agi* votre pensée... Vous avez porté dans les affaires publiques un idéalisme nourri des plus nobles exemples. Au moment où vous êtes investi des plus hautes fonctions, nous sommes fiers et émus de penser que c'est à un maître de nos études qu'il appartient désormais, non d'écrire seulement l'histoire de son peuple, mais de la faire... A Paris, nos amis et moi, nous pensons à vous avec recueillement et avec joie. Que le Ciel soutienne vos entreprises ! Vous ferez le bien, vous écrirez un grand chapitre de votre grande vie. »⁴⁵ Aussitôt, très touché par l'exaltation avec laquelle on lui ouvre la voie, Iorga a remercié ses amis : « Sans me faire d'illusions sur tout ce qui peut m'attendre, je chercherai à faire de mon mieux, prêt à céder la place à quiconque pourrait affronter avec plus de chances une situation aussi difficile. »⁴⁶

Focillon en rend compte à Oprescu : « J'ai reçu une très belle lettre de Iorga. Il fera du bien au pays, j'en ai la conviction. C'est un de ces hommes que le commandement suprême développe et qui ne respirent bien que sur les hauteurs »⁴⁷.

Cependant, ce gouvernement n'a pas résisté plus de treize mois aux conséquences financières de la crise internationale, accrues par les intrigues des politiciens roumains. Malgré cet échec, Iorga pouvait trouver aisément matière suffisante, voire abondante, de satisfaction dans les hommages renouvelés à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire. Par exemple, en 1931, il a reçu le doctorat d'honneur à la Sorbonne. S'y est joint, avec deux ans de retard, le riche

⁴⁴ RRHA, p. 64–65. Viendront sept conférences, *America și românii din America*, Vălenii de Munte, 1930. On peut comparer avec Henri Hauser, un historien de la même génération, *L'Amérique vivante*, Paris, 1923. Focillon va découvrir les Etats-Unis en 1933.

⁴⁵ Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine; fonds Correspondance Iorga, CCCLXIX, 277, le 22 avril 1931.

⁴⁶ Le 26 avril 1931 (collection Baltrusaitis).

⁴⁷ RRHA, p.73, le 18 mai.

recueil de *Mélanges* qui témoignait de l'estime des savants français⁴⁸. Focillon ne manqua pas d'y contribuer par son article sur les « Origines monumentales du portrait français »⁴⁹. Outre ses autres études qui mettaient en évidence des aspects de la statuaire médiévale, il avait publié *L'Art des sculpteurs romans* (1931). Plus tard, en 1938, il y ajoutera une œuvre nouvelle, *Peintures romanes des églises de France*, où il étudie un style iconographique déployé aussi en Catalogne et en Italie méridionale. Pour sa méditation *Sur la notion de style* son nom fut rattaché au recueil dédié à la mémoire de Vasile Pârvan par les savants roumains.

Ce n'est qu'une des directions où nous sommes entraînés par l'activité de Focillon pendant cette période. Sa croissance a répondu au contexte historique qui grandissait les forces de la presse et de l'opinion internationale, Focillon s'attache avec autant d'intérêt aux questions pratiques. Ainsi, toujours résolu à promouvoir l'Institut français de Bucarest, Focillon a recommandé à Iorga le nouveau directeur, nommé en 1932 : « Vous aimerez, j'en suis sûr, en Dupront, les plus belles qualités d'esprit et de caractère et les plus hautes aptitudes à la vie intellectuelle »⁵⁰. La mémoire de cet exceptionnel personnage vient d'être ranimée par le livre de Stefan Lemny.⁵¹ Le nouveau directeur poursuit sans relâche ses desseins de contacts culturels en s'appuyant sur la confiance de Focillon et de Iorga⁵². Les problèmes se posaient à ces deux amis d'une manière analogue. Rapprochés ils le sont aussi par la fonction que la famille Focillon remplit pendant trois ans en entourant de leur affectueuse attention les progrès de Madeleine (Magda) Iorga, jeune peintre qui étudie à Paris en élève de Jean-Paul Laurens. Les distinctions que reçoit Focillon, en tant qu'animateur du dialogue entre la Roumanie et le monde, sont dues à l'influence politique de Iorga, qui s'était déroulée plus ou moins à partir de 1930 selon les rapports de celui-ci avec Carol, revenu de l'exil⁵³. De temps en temps, ces destins auxquels nous nous sommes attachés se croisent. Focillon se laisse aller à cristalliser des souvenirs : « Ma mémoire conserve l'image de Valeni ; je revois la belle demeure, le paysage fier et fin, les grands paniers de pommes où nous puissions avec une insouciance paradisiaque, et ces grandes icônes nocturnes et dorées, que vous aviez découvertes, comme un perpétuel pécheur de trésors ».⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga par ses amis de France et des pays de langue française*, Paris, 1933.

⁴⁹ La réponse de Iorga, le 26 février 1933 : « Vous y avez donné une de ces larges pages de pensée profonde et nouvelle, dont vous avez fait tant profiter la science et qui m'ont toujours attiré et retenu pour les vérités qu'elles affirment et par les suggestions qui s'en détachent ».

⁵⁰ Lettre du 17 juillet 1932, qui m'a été signalée par Mme Raluca Tomi.

⁵¹ Stefan Lemny, *Alphonse Dupront, De la Roumanie*, Paris, 2023.

⁵² André Godin, *Une passion roumaine*, p. 39–115.

⁵³ Lettre de Focillon à Iorga, Paris, 10 juin 1930 : les journaux français ont relaté un discours de Iorga à l'Assemblée Nationale (« c'est la voix d'un poète et d'un homme d'Etat »). Voir Nicolae Iorga, *Discursuri parlamentare*, IV, éd. Georgeta Filitti, p. 362–368.

⁵⁴ Venise, ce 18 juillet 1934, Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine, correspondance Iorga, vol. 410, f. 49. Vălenii de Munte était une bourgade où Iorga avait accueilli, près de sa maison de campagne, des réunions annuelles d'intellectuels, une typographie et, pour l'enseignement secondaire féminin, des équipes de collégiennes.

Il ne faudrait pas croire que ce commerce de vie agréable avec l'ami accueillant ait supplanté l'ancien choix d'une doctrine personnelle des lois de la synthèse esthétique. Focillon y travaillait depuis longtemps. Cette méditation quasi intime qu'est *La vie des formes*, mûrie pour l'essentiel lorsqu'il en avait fait l'aveu à Iorga en 1928, a été présentée pour la première fois le 22 février 1933 à Paris dans une conférence à l'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie. L'Association pour l'Etude des Arts faisait ainsi la connaissance des recherches les plus profondes de Focillon. Devant ses auditeurs, le poète érudit des pierres de la France médiévale révélait son audace créatrice. Le livre sera publié un an plus tard.

L'occasion était fournie à Iorga, qui était alors présent à Paris, de dire son opinion. Il n'en est pas resté trace. Un commentaire est pourtant venu de Roumanie, quoiqu'écrit par un Français. En 1934, des amis de Vasile Pârvan, notamment ses anciens élèves, sont parvenus à publier un recueil d'études d'histoire et d'archéologie en hommage à celui dont l'enseignement demeurait exemplaire. Parmi eux, Jérôme Carcopino a trouvé l'occasion d'inscrire, à propos d'une épitaphe thrace, son hommage : « Henri Focillon sur la notion de style ». Les auteurs ainsi réunis formaient une sphère incertaine et mouvante, mais la présence de Carcopino témoigne sa sensibilité à la philosophie de Focillon⁵⁵.

Pour sa part, Iorga fait à travers l'histoire du monde un voyage qui n'est pas accompagné par la nécessité de présenter toujours la même perspective. Celle-ci se configure diversement selon les époques et à l'intérieur d'espaces différents. D'autres surcharges s'ajoutent : avant de commencer sa grande *Histoire des Roumains*, dont les dix volumes seront achevés en 1940, Iorga entreprend une autre construction, qui sera *La place des Roumains dans l'histoire universelle*⁵⁶. La même vocation de bâtir une synthèse totale le ramène, pendant ces années, dans un domaine qui était le sien depuis 1907 et auquel il avait attaché son nom par le congrès de 1924 : il écrit *l'Histoire de la vie byzantine* (I–III, Bucarest, 1934). C'est justement la lecture de cette œuvre qui va attirer l'intérêt de Focillon à tel point que nous lui devons une analyse où le paradigme de « la vie des formes » a pris sa place. La lettre qui remercie l'auteur pour son « présent magnifique et amical » est un document exceptionnel parce qu'elle réunit parfaitement et sincèrement un jugement d'ordre professionnel et la sympathie humaine.⁵⁷ Il s'agit de la haute qualité littéraire, mais surtout de la conception de l'historien. « Ce que j'admire », dit Focillon, « c'est non seulement le juste relief que vous donnez à cette *formidable* matière érudite dans la familiarité de laquelle vous avez vécu, et que l'on sent présente derrière chaque phrase, mais une conception de l'histoire qui est toute vivante... où l'homme et sa psychologie animent tout ». Le regard avance sans s'arrêter, sinon pour relever des passages : « C'est peut-être le tome III qui m'a fait l'impression la plus forte et donné le plus vif sentiment de nouveauté, bien que, dans cette histoire de la *Vie byzantine*,

⁵⁵ *În memoria lui Vasile Pârvan*, București, 1934, p. 138–147.

⁵⁶ Trois volumes, Bucarest, 1935–1936.

⁵⁷ De Maranville, maison des Focillon à la campagne, le 7 août 1934, lettre que je possède.

tout soit fort et vif, comme la vie même. Les chapitres sur la chevalerie byzantine, sur le jacobin Andronic, sur le cinquième acte du drame sont admirables, entre autres. Il me semble que je vois bien ce que vous avez voulu nous donner... Vous nous le montrez comme si vous en étiez le contemporain ».

Pourtant, c'est vers ses contemporains réels que Iorga doit se tourner, pour se défendre, dans les nombreuses querelles déclenchées par son gouvernement, autant que pour les questions qu'il se pose sur soi-même au point de son existence qu'il a atteint, au faîte de sa carrière. Son autobiographie⁵⁸ a accompli un témoignage incomparable de l'époque traversée jusqu'alors. On a rarement peint de façon plus animée les voyages, les portraits (avec une grande vérité des traits de caractère), le spectacle du parlement et du palais royal, les heureuses surprises des bibliothèques. Il y a même un endroit de ce livre qui éclaire sa considération pour Henri Focillon, « fin connaisseur de tous les arts, ainsi que penseur original à la recherche de leurs principes ». Nous avons la preuve certaine que Iorga a eu, constamment, l'intention formelle d'utiliser ses notes quotidiennes en vue d'un compte-rendu final qui le justifierait, tout en hésitant de raconter tous ses succès personnels.

1933 est un tournant dans les deux vies que nous poursuivons. Pour Focillon, toujours pris par son travail à la Société des Nations, auquel s'ajoutera la mission qu'il reçoit à New-York, ses communications avec la Roumanie sont plus espacées, sauf à travers les lettres qu'il échange avec Oprescu. Sans être accablé sous le poids des nouvelles politiques, les bruits de guerre avec l'Allemagne acquérant chaque jour plus de consistance, il conservait le désir de revenir en Roumanie, à laquelle il fallait susciter en Amérique une propagande favorable : « Je m'occupe à présent d'un cycle de conférences-radio sur la Roumanie. Cher pays d'hommes de cœur et d'hommes d'esprit ! »⁵⁹

Quant à Iorga, à part ses cours à la Faculté d'Histoire de Bucarest et à l'Académie Commerciale, il remplit annuellement, en janvier-février, sa fonction de professeur agrégé à l'Université de Paris, sa présence aux séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions jouissant de la prérogative de membre associé. A ce qui semblerait le programme régulier d'un savant très occupé, il faut ajouter textes, comptes rendus et chronique pour les deux revues scientifiques dont il est le fondateur et le principal auteur. Le rôle public de Iorga, exercé aussi à l'Institut culturel français, se heurtait à la censure dans la presse et à la radio, car il s'était érigé comme le grand adversaire de l'Allemagne et de ses alliés. L'éloquence avec laquelle il défendait les frontières assiégées se rattachait à son but personnel de servir de guide au peuple roumain et de l'aider à prendre conscience de son identité historique. Ses articles manifestaient également une noble solidarité avec la France. Le jour où le sort de la campagne de France était scellé, Iorga télégraphiait à ses confrères de l'Académie des Inscriptions : « A ces heures difficiles, je suis avec vous »⁶⁰. Focillon lui avait écrit d'Amérique: « Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire

⁵⁸ *O viață de om – așa cum a fost*, I–III, București, 1934.

⁵⁹ RRHA, p. 111–112, lettres de mars 1939.

⁶⁰ Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus, 1940, p. 235.

quels sentiments m'animent lorsque je pense à nos patries, qui se fondent pour nous dans le même amour. La mienne vous est redevable des sentiments que vous lui portez, dont vous lui donnez un témoignage admirable, et qu'elle vous rend de tout son cœur »⁶¹. Afin de renforcer leur résistance commune, Focillon enverra à Paris une préface à la traduction en français du vieux livre de Iorga sur la France. Ces pages vont paraître après leur mort, à tous les deux, dans un recueil, *Témoignage pour la France*, auquel conviendrait pareillement le titre que Bernanos donnait, de son exil brésilien, à ses appels aux Français, *Ecrits de Combat*. Une autre voix se fait entendre, celle de Dupront, dans la lettre où il rend l'émotion créée à la conférence de la veille par le contraste entre la médiocrité lâche du milieu politique et la force hautaine de Iorga (le 12 mai 1940). La sensation est encore plus vive chez Focillon, quand il écrit à Oprescu: « Dites à notre maître que je l'aime et l'admire plus que jamais; tant que de tels hommes seront plantés debout, comme lui, en pleine tempête, espèce de menhirs indestructibles, nous avons le devoir d'espérer »⁶².

L'activité débordante et multiple de Iorga ne peut maîtriser les circonstances douloureuses qui bouleversent le pays: les provinces perdues (sans la résistance réclamée par Iorga); le changement de régime qui, chassant le roi Carol, installe à sa place un général prêt à servir d'allié subalterne d'Hitler; enfin, en novembre 1940, le tremblement de terre. Iorga, prédicateur constamment en chaire, est rejeté par l'Université dont il était le plus ancien professeur; on lui enlève aussi la parole à la radio. Des feuilles quotidiennes l'attaquaient, la poste lui apportait des menaces de mort, personne ne fit un geste pour empêcher l'assassinat de Iorga par les fascistes roumains, qui suivit en novembre 1940. Focillon écrit: « Nous avons traversé des heures mortelles, en songeant à celui qui n'est plus, à notre vieux maître, à notre parfait Ami »⁶³.

La foudroyante nouvelle était déjà diffusée et, à l'Académie des Inscriptions, c'est Mario Roques qui prononça l'éloge funèbre disant la douleur éprouvée par le monde savant.⁶⁴ Focillon, pour honorer la mémoire du patriote roumain, tint un discours aussi fort et poignant que *La Marcia per la morte di un eroe* (décembre 1940). L'année suivante, quand il était mourant lui-même, il voulut inaugurer à New-York un Séminaire Iorga à l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, fondée et dirigée par lui. Cette allocution, qui met fin à l'histoire d'une belle affinité élective, rappelle des souvenirs pour conclure: « Iorga fait partie à jamais de l'histoire de la Roumanie et de l'Europe; non seulement comme un grand homme et comme un grand esprit, mais comme une de ces forces naturelles sans lesquelles il n'est pas possible de comprendre une race et une tradition »⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Taft Hotel; New Haven, Conn., ce 27 janvier 1940. Je conserve cette lettre, probablement la dernière.

⁶² Le 31 août 1940, RRHA, p. 117.

⁶³ Le 5 janvier 1941, RRHA, p. 117.

⁶⁴ *Nicolas Iorga, l'homme et l'œuvre* (ed. D.M. Pippidi), Bucarest, 1972, p. 13–19.

⁶⁵ *Témoignage pour la France*, p. 47.

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I. Focillon à Iorga (Collection Iorga-Pippidi)

Bucarest, ce 22 Avril [1922]

Monsieur et cher maître,

Les précieuses paroles de bienvenue que notre ami M. Opresco m'a transmises de votre part m'ont profondément touché, ainsi que les beaux livres que vous m'avez envoyés et que je suis fier de tenir de vous. Je ne voudrais pas quitter Bucarest sans vous présenter mes compliments, mais je sais aussi que votre vie est remplie par de grands et utiles devoirs. J'espérais vous saluer hier à la Légation de France, mais, si vous le voulez bien, j'irai vous voir mardi, et je m'informerai de l'heure à laquelle je suis assuré de vous déranger le moins.

Veillez trouver ici, je vous prie, Monsieur et cher maître, l'assurance des sentiments bien sincères d'un Français qui aime votre grand pays et qui admire l'œuvre de votre vie.

Henri Focillon

**II. Focillon à Iorga (Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Collection des Manuscrits, Correspondance Iorga, CCC, f. 110)**

Cluj, ce 28 avril 1922, f. 110

Mon cher Maître,

Je ne suis pas près d'oublier les heures charmantes et pleines que j'ai passées près de vous à Bucarest, et je tiens à vous le dire dès mon arrivée à Cluj. Vous m'avez fait vivre et sentir avec force toute l'histoire de votre grand pays, et notre déjeuner dans le jardin du monastère était une de ces harmonies éphémères dont le souvenir enchante la mémoire. Merci. Vous m'avez fait beaucoup d'honneur et vous m'avez donné une grande joie, celle de voir et de sentir qu'un homme d'état et un historien de votre taille était dans toute la force du terme un maître homme, et c'est la plus grande noblesse. Je vous prie de croire, mon cher maître, à tous mes sentiments d'amitié et de gratitude et, bien que je n'aie pas l'honneur d'être connu de Madame Iorga, comme j'ai été son hôte, très gracieusement traité, au cours de notre charmant déjeuner, je vous prie de bien vouloir mettre à ses pieds tous les respectueux hommages d'un Français qui admire son mari et son pays,

Henri Focillon

III. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Bucarest, ce 3 mai 1922

Cher collègue,

Vos lignes, que je trouve à mon retour du Banat, me rappellent non seulement la belle journée passée dans la compagnie d'un homme dont j'estime hautement le savoir et le talent, mais aussi cet échange de jugements et d'impressions qui forment une liaison durable entre ceux que le hasard a rapprochés et qui doivent certainement se revoir. Pour ma part j'y suis bien décidé, et quelques heures dans votre splendide ville de Lyon (moins l'asiatique pompe de Fourvières) serviront essentiellement à me faire encore mieux connaître et aimer ce beau pays de France qui a les arbres, les fleurs et les âmes du nôtre.

J'ai rencontré à Timișoara et Lugoj des Français et des Françaises qui étaient comme vous, plus indulgents que nous-mêmes à ce qui, par la fatalité de nos vicissitudes, nous manque. De cette dernière ville j'ai rapporté des brins de lilas bleu offerts par une jeune fille avec ces simples et touchantes paroles: « Acceptez-les de la part d'une Française ».

Bien que n'ayant pas eu le plaisir de connaître Madame Focillon – et j'espère bien l'accueillir dans notre maison à votre passage par Bucarest – je vous prie de lui dire que nous joignons, ma femme et moi, avec nos meilleures salutations pour vous, le désir sincère qu'elle remporte de ce pays le même souvenir que, jusqu'ici, il a pu vous laisser.

N. Iorga

IV. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Bucarest, ce 6 décembre 1922

Cher Monsieur et collègue,

Je ne pourrais pas vous dire combien m'a touché comme Roumain la bienveillante reconnaissance du rôle que notre nation a eu dans le développement de l'art dans ces lointaines et dangereuses régions de l'Orient où elle vit en exilée. C'est par les mérites que nous avons pu nous gagner dans les domaines de la civilisation que repose dans l'opinion éclairée du monde européen notre avenir, qui, nous le savons bien, devant passer par de nouvelles et dures épreuves, a besoin d'une autre sympathie que celle, intéressée et passagère, de la diplomatie parfois ignare.

Votre appréciation sur ce que M. Balș et moi avons pu donner pour faire connaître ce qui a été réalisé en fait d'art dans notre pays m'est extrêmement

agréable⁶⁶. Vous savez bien les doutes que tout auteur honnête conserve sur l'utilité de son ouvrage, d'autant plus que chaque jour lui montre des lacunes et que la conception même varie au gré de l'information nouvelle. On sent parfois le besoin d'être consolé sur les insuffisances qui, bien que souvent fatales, n'en restent pas moins douloureuses. Les paroles que vous consacrerez à l'Art Roumain seront parmi les plus précieux témoignages qu'on aura rendus à notre travail.

Vous rappelez-vous encore la noble petite chapelle de Cotroceni ? Je la décrirai volontiers, comme je vous l'avais dit, pour une revue d'art française. Etant à Paris en janvier, vous pourriez me donner une indication à Fontenay-aux-Roses, 48, Rue des Châtaigniers, où nous avons installé une école qu'il vous faudra visiter⁶⁷. Nous pourrions travailler aussi à la réussite de votre projet qui donnerait à Bucarest un foyer permanent d'intellectualité française. Le premier et très modeste Musée d'art roumain auprès de notre Ecole sera installé dans peu de temps : il attendra votre visite et votre jugement.

En attendant de vous revoir – qui sait ? Peut-être à Lyon, où je pourrais donner une conférence ou deux – je vous prie de croire aux sentiments d'amitié toute spéciale et la profonde considération que je vous porte,

N. Iorga

V. Chabot à Iorga (Archives Iorga-Pippidi)

Université de Lyon, Faculté des Lettres

Lyon, le 23 déc. 1922

Monsieur et très honoré Collègue,

La Faculté des Lettres de Lyon a été heureuse de connaître le projet dont vous aviez bien voulu entretenir M. Focillon et qui vous permettrait de venir ici pour faire une ou deux conférences.

J'ai mission de vous dire en son nom qu'elle tiendra à honneur de vous accueillir comme son hôte et de convier à vos conférences, non seulement ses étudiants et les auditeurs habituels de ses cours mais le public lui-même : nombreux seront ceux qui voudront entendre la parole de l'éminent professeur et érudit, du grand historien et du grand ami de la France, en même temps que d'un maître de la parole.

Nous avons en effet particulièrement à cœur de contribuer pour notre part à servir la cause de l'amitié franco-roumaine dont vous êtes avec tant d'éclat dans votre pays et dans le nôtre même le représentant et le protagoniste.

⁶⁶ N. Iorga, G. Balș, *Histoire de l'Art roumain ancien*, Paris, 1922. Gheorghe Balș (1868–1934), architecte, spécialiste des monuments historiques.

⁶⁷ Petre Țurlea, *Școala română din Franța*, Bucarest, Editura Academiei Române, 1994.

Permettez- moi d'ajouter, Monsieur et très honoré Collègue, que c'est pour moi le devoir le plus agréable que d'être auprès de vous l'interprète de notre Faculté. Je garde précieusement et avec reconnaissance le souvenir de l'accueil que vous avez fait vous-même, il y a bientôt trois ans, à la délégation de l'Université de Lyon, du bienveillant et cordial empressement que vous avez mis à nous recevoir, soit à Bucarest soit à Cluj, non seulement comme collègue mais comme Président de la Chambre⁶⁸ à nous guider dans des visites du plus haut intérêt à des établissements scientifiques, à des monastères ou à des palais dont votre science commentait les richesses avec une incomparable autorité et avec tant de bonne grâce.

Je vous serais très reconnaissant si vous vouliez bien dire dès qu'il vous sera possible à M. Focillon ou à moi-même à quel moment vous comptez venir à Lyon et quels sujets vous vous proposez de traiter.

Et je vous prie, Monsieur et très honoré Collègue, d'agréer l'expression de ma haute considération et de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

L. Chabot

VI. Focillon à Iorga (Archives Iorga-Pippidi)

9, rue Lt Colonel Prévôt
tél. Vaudrey 1-6 8

Lyon, 24 décembre

Mon cher Maître,

Votre lettre me rend bien heureux puisqu'elle m'annonce votre voyage en France et votre venue à Lyon. Je me suis permis d'en faire part à notre Doyen M. Chabot et à mes collègues, et vous avez dû recevoir ou vous allez recevoir sous peu une lettre d'invitation de notre Université. J'espère que vous voudrez bien nous faire le grand honneur, à ma femme et à moi, d'être notre hôte à Lyon. Vous serez reçu dans notre demeure comme un Maître et comme un ami et vous y trouverez des souvenirs de votre beau pays.

Votre projet d'étude sur Cotroceni n'est pas tombé dans l'oreille d'un sourd, comme on dit chez nous, et j'ai sur le champ écrit à Théodore Reinach,⁶⁹ voïvode de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts.

La fin de cette année rappelle à ma mémoire tous les événements heureux qui l'ont embellie. Vous savez à quelles journées de choix et à quels amis parfaits je pense en ce moment. Tous mes vœux pour vous, mon cher maître et pour votre chère famille belle et nombreuse et pour votre famille intellectuelle, plus nombreuse encore, pour votre beau pays, pour l'amitié de notre France et de notre Roumanie. Je vous serre les mains avec tout le respect de l'amitié.

Henri Focillon

⁶⁸ En 1919–1920.

⁶⁹ Théodore Reinach (1860–1928), philologue français.

VII. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Bucarest, le 30 décembre

Monsieur et cher collègue,

Merci pour l'occasion que vous me donnez, avec un si charmant sentiment d'amitié pour mon pays, de parler aux étudiants et au public de Lyon sur ces choses de chez nous qui ont eu le don d'attirer votre attention et de mériter parfois cette sympathie dont nous vous sommes si reconnaissants.

J'ai reçu la lettre de M. le Doyen et je n'ai pas tardé de lui témoigner ma gratitude.

Dans votre maison amicale, dont vous nous permettez – car ma femme m'accompagne – de franchir le seuil en hôtes, nous aurons le loisir de causer sur les meilleurs moyens de raffermir cette alliance de race entre votre noble nation et notre reste de romanité orientale, sur laquelle on pourrait se fonder mieux que sur n'importe [quelle] combinaison et improvisation diplomatique pour garantir l'existence même de cette civilisation de l'humanité qui n'a peut-être jamais été exposée à des dangers plus menaçants.

J'apporterai probablement aussi des vues du pays, même des photographies de Cotroceni, fût-ce seulement pour fournir des preuves à l'appui de ma thèse en fait d'art roumain.

Que la Nouvelle Année vous apporte tout ce dont est digne votre cœur et qu'elle dédommage votre pays, tant soit peu, de ses immenses sacrifices dont vient en si grande partie notre unité nationale aussi !

Veuillez me croire bien sincèrement votre ami

N. Iorga

VIII. Focillon à Iorga (Collection Iorga – Pippidi)

9, rue Lt Colonel Prévôt
tél. Vaudrey 1-6 8

Lyon le 4 janvier 1923

Mon cher maître et ami,

Sachant que vous allez venir à Lyon, chacun se dispute l'honneur de vous posséder. Puis-je vous prier de ne pas vous engager pour le déjeuner du 24, jour où je réunis quelques amis en votre honneur ? Je m'excuse et je vous remercie et je vous prie de présenter mes meilleurs compliments à Madame Iorga, ainsi que de croire à tous mes sentiments d'amical respect

Henri Focillon

IX. Chabot à Iorga (Archives Iorga – Pippidi)

Cabinet du Doyen

Faculté des Lettres de Lyon

Lyon, le 8 janvier 1923

Monsieur et très honoré Collègue,

En vous remerciant encore de votre réponse, je tiens à vous dire combien j'ai été sensible aux termes de votre lettre. Vous parlez de la parenté qui rapproche nos deux pays dans la famille latine avec une émotion pieuse qui est aussi la nôtre : vous en parlez en historien qui, grâce à la science, a revécu mieux que personne les épreuves du passé, en homme d'action aussi qui travaille de tout son cœur et avec tout son talent à préparer un grand avenir.

Unis dans le même sentiment et la même confiance, nous ferons de notre mieux ici pour collaborer avec vous en vous recevant à la Faculté et organisant vos conférences, en conviant nos étudiants et nos concitoyens à venir vous entendre.

M. Focillon m'a donné la bonne nouvelle que Madame Iorga vous accompagnerait. Nous serons heureux de l'accueillir avec vous et vous voudrez bien être dès maintenant mon interprète en lui offrant mes très respectueux hommages. Nous espérons, Madame Chabot et moi, que vous nous ferez tous deux l'honneur de venir, tout simplement et dans une maison encore en deuil, dîner chez nous le mardi soir 23 janvier.

Je vous serai reconnaissant de me dire dès que vous le pourrez quel jour et à quelle heure vous arriverez à Lyon, et à quel moment il vous conviendrait de parler. Les conférences comme les vôtres ont lieu ici d'ordinaire vers 3 heures, mais nous serions heureux de déférer à vos convenances.

Agréez, je vous prie, Monsieur et très honoré Collègue, l'expression de ma sympathie la plus distinguée et cordialement dévouée

L. Chabot

X. Focillon à Iorga (Archives Iorga – Pippidi ;

télégramme adressé M. Jorga,

48, rue Châtaigniers, Fontenay-aux Roses ;

timbré 11 1 23)

Herriot et Ville Lyon heureux vous recevoir vous prient avancer voyage et être à Lyon lundi matin⁷⁰. 22 seul jour Herriot à Lyon réception organisée, amitiés

Focillon

⁷⁰ Edouard Herriot (1872–1957), homme politique radical-socialiste, maire de Lyon.

XI. Focillon à Iorga (Collection Iorga – Pippidi)

Lyon, 14 janvier

Ma femme et moi nous nous réjouissons à la pensée de vous avoir bientôt et nous sommes tout à fait heureux que Madame Iorga veuille bien accepter notre invitation. Nous ferons en sorte que votre séjour à Lyon vous laisse un bon souvenir.

J'ai communiqué votre dépêche à la Municipalité. La ville vous recevra lundi à déjeuner. Nous sommes très touchés que vous ayez consenti à avancer d'un jour votre venue parmi nous. Vous avez d'excellents trains qui vous mènent à Lyon dimanche soir ou lundi matin. Vous serez tout à fait aimable de m'envoyer l'heure de votre arrivée. Notre Doyen m'a fait part des sujets de vos conférences : ils sont admirables. C'est la plus riche matière qui soit et vous êtes le Maître capable de la traiter avec le plus d'autorité. Nos journaux sont malheureusement en grève, mais vous aurez un bel auditoire. Votre nom est à lui-même et à lui seul la propre publicité.

Merci encore, mon cher Maître. Trouvez ici, je vous prie, l'assurance de ma respectueuse amitié, avec tous mes hommages et les meilleurs compliments de ma femme pour Madame Iorga.

Henri Focillon

XII. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Ecole Roumaine en France

Siège : Fontenay-aux-Roses (Seine)

48, rue des Châtaigniers

15 janvier 1923

Cher collègue et ami,

Nous partirons de Paris dimanche soir et, arrivé à Lyon le matin (train de 7, 16), je reverrai mon ancien compagnon d'excursion à Cernica, le monastère au lac paisible et aux arbres en fleurs. Votre programme me dirigera, et je vous suis bien reconnaissant d'avoir voulu tous honorer mon pays, que j'ai cependant si peu qualité de représenter. J'essaierai au moins de communiquer ce que la Roumanie peut donner comme thèmes d'art et de littérature pour la grande civilisation universelle qui commencera sans doute après ces jours de grandes inquiétudes.

Veillez me croire, cher collègue et ami, votre bien dévoué et agréez les salutations de ma femme. Elle remercie bien Mme Focillon, à laquelle je vous prie de présenter mes bien respectueux hommages.

N. Iorga

XIII. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Ecole Roumaine en France
48, rue des Châtaigniers
Fontenay-aux-Roses (Seine)

le 19 mai 1923

Monsieur et cher ami,

Au moment de quitter la France dont l'amitié, qu'on me témoigne si largement, m'y retiendra toujours et me sera un continuel motif, ajouté à bien d'autres, de lui être utile dans les limites de ma situation modeste et de mes faibles moyens, je vous prie encore une fois de croire que parmi les quelques qualités qui excusent mon très mauvais caractère se trouve celle de n'oublier pas. Et, cela étant, vous êtes, par tout ce que vous avez fait pour la nation à laquelle j'appartiens, par votre bonne hospitalité en ma faveur, parmi ceux qui me resteront inoubliables.

Vous voudrez bien présenter mes compliments à Mme Focillon et agréer, avec le meilleur souvenir de ma femme, l'expression de ma cordiale sympathie et de la plus haute estime,

N. Iorga

XIV. Focillon à Iorga

(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Collection des Manuscrits, CCCIX, 1, 44-45)
9 rue du Lt Colonel Prévôt Lyon

Ce 1^{er} juillet 1923

Mon cher Maître et ami,

Je vous ai quitté avec beaucoup d'émotion. Quand je refais en pensée mon voyage de juin, je vous revois et vous retrouve partout. Vous en avez été l'inspiration et le conducteur caché comme Hermès qui mène les âmes à la lumière. C'est qu'avec vous je m'en sens une. Hélas, le retour la dévore et elle se dissipe dans les airs ! Mais il m'en reste assez pour me rappeler chacune de vos attentions affectueuses, non de haute courtoisie seulement, mais d'amitié. Et quand je parle d'attentions, je veux dire que vous m'avez rendu tout clair et facile. Près de vous il me semble que je vis un conte, qui n'en est pas un. – Vous avez besoin de voir le ministre ? Très bien. Le voici. Il sourit, il promet et (miracle) il écoute. – Vous désiriez exposer vos projets aux hommes les plus connus du royaume ? Parfait. Prenez donc place à ce banquet où ils se sont réunis pour vous. – La longueur de nos rues et la difficulté des parcours pour un étranger vous sont une gêne ? – C'est entendu. L'auto vous attend à la porte. – Vous souhaitez présenter vos hommages à notre reine, qui est charmante ? Mais regardez là, s'il vous plaît, elle vous attend, dans son salon de musique, le voici, avancez... Ce jeune officier qui paraît

intelligent et sympathique. Eh bien, venez, qu'attendez-vous ? Il veut vous présenter au Roi de Serbie⁷¹. Ainsi vont vos grâces, grandes et petites, et qui me sont toutes précieuses. J'ai l'air de les prendre comme ça, avec naturel et sans m'embarrasser, mais vous savez bien qu'au fond j'en suis pénétré et que je sais, mon cher maître, tout ce que je vous dois et d'abord, sûrement, le bienfait de quelques idées claires. Vous avez mis en lumière pour moi quelques principes sur la qualité d'une influence morale, sur le sens de vrais échanges d'idées, sur le danger du *simili* que je n'oublierai pas.

Je suis rentré à Lyon un peu las. J'y ai réglé quelques affaires, et je vais partir pour Paris, après avoir mis mes idées bien au net : c'est dire que je penserai encore beaucoup à vous. Je vous tiendrai au courant des strophes, des antistrophes et des épodes : l'essentiel c'est que le chant du cœur s'élève vers le ciel. Avec ou sans l'aide de la Théotokos et de la Panagia, ce chant retentira.

Le nom si doux de Valeni de Munte (que nous aimons entendre prononcé par Mademoiselle votre fille) a bercé les meilleures heures de notre retour. A ce propos, permettez-moi de vous raconter une petite histoire. Un de mes amis rencontre le poète Paul Claudel (actuellement ambassadeur au Japon), qui marmonnait je ne sais quoi entre ses dents : Quel petit air grondez-vous là ? dit l'ami. Je ne gronde pas d'air, dit Claudel. Je répète cette phrase : Monsieur le sous-préfet de Bourgneuf, Monsieur le sous-préfet de Bourgneuf – et pourquoi donc ? – C'est que je la trouve bien ronde, bien fraîche et qu'elle parfume la bouche.

Eh bien, moi, je vais me répétant : Valeni de Munte, Valeni de Munte. Comme je voudrais que les Dieux me permettent d'aller vous y saluer, sur le penchant de votre colline, au plein cœur de la patrie !

Au revoir, mon cher maître. Ma femme et moi, nous vous envoyons toutes nos pensées fidèles ainsi qu'à Madame Iorga, que nous aimons et respectons de cœur. Merci, merci encore, et à bientôt une vraie lettre.

Henri Focillon

XV. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

31 mai 1924

Cher collègue et ami,

Vos lettres me sont toujours un réconfort par l'amitié qui les inspire et, j'ajoute, par l'exquise beauté d'une forme que notre époque ne connaîtra bientôt plus, tellement elle est retenue par des considérations de simple intérêt manifesté dans des formules de cinématographe. Il y a toute une belle tradition de votre noble France qui se conserve dans ces pages, d'une droiture et d'une émotion qui sont vous – même.

J'ai besoin, absolument besoin, de ces témoignages de bonté, de cette appréciation dont se nourrit, quoiqu'en dise une certaine fierté, tout élan de la

⁷¹ Alexandre Ier (1888–1934), régent en 1918, roi en 1921, venait d'épouser en 1922 la princesse Marie de Roumanie.

pensée qui n'est jamais destinée à rester intimement solitaire. Je mène une vie dure, dans un chaos barbare de passions déchaînées avec le seul but des banales satisfactions de vanité, chaque jour il y a des liens qui se brisent. Les nouveaux surtout sont d'une féroce insociabilité et d'un sans gêne qui m'effraie. De mon temps, – nous devons commencer à parler ainsi – on était bête et bon. Maintenant, la critique politique et autre est une variété de gaz asphyxiants qui déconcerte ainsi qui sont élevés dans la tradition de la franche et honnête baïonnette.

L'Institut est inauguré. Le roi, présent aussi à tel cours de l'abbé Breuil⁷², qui en a été très touché, a parlé d'une façon charmante. De Martonne⁷³ a donné un exposé tout particulièrement intéressant. Notre ami Pangratti⁷⁴ a fini en accordant à M. Herriot les prémices de la présidence du Conseil : à travers l'Europe l'âme de ce rude lutteur que nous avons trouvé a dû vibrer, peut-être frémir.

Je n'aime pas l'arrangement de cette chère machine. Le même recteur annonce *urbi et orbi* qu'il s'agit d'une vraie Université fédérée – liée organiquement à la nôtre. C'est desservir par excès de zèle notre idée. Ce qu'il faut ce n'est pas l'immixtion toujours gênante dans la mécanique de l'enseignement roumain. La pensée française, représentée par des maîtres comme vous et de Martonne et les scientifiques du premier ban, ne doit pas faire fonction de dressage. Nous en avons assez du nôtre...

Je me sépare difficilement de vous en vous envoyant notre meilleur souvenir et en vous priant de présenter mes hommages à Mme Focillon et de dire un mot de sympathie à votre fille.

N. Iorga

XVI. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Ecole Roumaine en France
50, rue des Chataigniers
Fontenay-aux-Roses (Seine)

18 mars 1925

Cher ami,

Permettez-moi de vous recommander bien chaleureusement Mlle Hélène Popea⁷⁵, peintre roumain de Transylvanie, dont l'art de nuances aura, j'espère, le don de vous plaire.

Veuillez agréer mes meilleures salutations amicales,

N. Iorga

⁷² Henri Breuil (1877–1961), archéologue français.

⁷³ Emmanuel de Martonne (1873–1955), géographe français.

⁷⁴ Ermil Pangrati (1864–1931), ingénieur et mathématicien, recteur de l'Université de Bucarest.

⁷⁵ Elena Popea (1879–1941) aura une exposition en octobre 1928, après une page favorable en « Beaux-Arts », 1 juillet 1928, p. 205.

XVII. Focillon à Iorga

(Archives de l'Académie Roumaine,
Collection des Manuscrits, CCCXXIII, 123–124)

Paris, ce 6 avril 1925

Mon cher maître et ami,

Bien que je vous ai répondu, je vous dois encore une lettre car mon télégramme est bien laconique. Ce mien était-il même clair ? Oui, je l'espère, mais j'éprouve le besoin de le commenter, c'est-à-dire de causer une fois de plus avec vous. Vous me demandez si l'arrangement de l'exposition des objets d'art religieux ancien incomberait aux délégués de la Commission des Monuments Historiques et je vous ai répondu par un nom – pas comme les matelots d'Orient, qui, ne connaissant qu'un mot de notre civilisation, mais lequel ! répondaient au Salem d'Henri Heine en criant Napoléon ! – mais simplement : – Bénédite ! Vous savez que l'Exposition Roumaine fait en quelque sorte partie d'un couple, que toutes ces manifestations ont lieu dans un musée national, car le Jeu de Paume est une dépendance du Luxembourg et, dans l'intervalle des expositions, c'est notre musée de la peinture étrangère contemporaine, musée non seulement dirigé dans toute son activité, mais créé par Bénédite. Il est bien difficile de lui retirer un honneur qui, dans le cas présent, lui est particulièrement précieux, car vous avez pu vous rendre compte, en lui parlant chez moi, combien cette exposition lui est à cœur. Il a toujours organisé ces expositions et jusqu'à présent elles lui ont obtenu le plus vif succès. Vous pouvez avoir confiance en lui pour la qualité de la présentation, auprès d'un public qu'il connaît bien et dont il est aimé. Quant au reste – à part les mesures et votre désir de voir l'orfèvrerie religieuse figurer à l'exposition, dont je vous ai fait part – je dois vous dire que je ne sais rien de ce qui se passe à Bucarest. La Société des Amis de la Roumanie a eu, sur ma suggestion, l'initiative de cette exposition. Nous ne pensions pas la faire cette année, à cause de la brièveté des délais. Le prince héritier a repris cette idée et, la renonciation aux Arts Décoratifs étant décidée, on a pensé qu'il fallait faire coïncider les deux manifestations. Le Prince m'a fort aimablement proposé la dictature, sous forme de commissariat général. J'ai décliné cet honneur, ne voulant pas être commissaire, même de police, et ne pouvant m'emparer du pouvoir de M. Stoenesco, désigné pour organiser la participation aux Arts Décoratifs, et Bénédite mon ami, j'ai accepté de travailler avec lui, en demandant d'ailleurs pour ce triumvirat des pouvoirs effrayants. Voilà l'équipe parisienne à Bucarest, il doit y avoir, il y a certainement un comité, et ce comité doit, je pense, travailler d'accord avec la Commission des Monuments Historiques. Notre ami le Professeur Cantacuzène, qui porte, comme vous, cette exposition dans son cœur, s'en occupe. Il est des fondateurs des Amis. Il a accueilli les premiers « tressaillements ». Ma dernière lettre, postérieure à une autre que

j'avais écrite au sujet des garanties, étant une adjuration relative à une personnalité que vous connaîtrez, dont nous avons parlé et qui n'est point souhaitée ! Votre énergique retour me met l'âme un peu en repos sur ce point.

Je passe tout naturellement au caractère de l'exposition, à ce qu'elle doit être : une belle image en raccourci de l'art roumain, et non pas un diminutif de salon de peinture, non plus, d'ailleurs, qu'une galerie ethnographique de costumes. La salle d'honneur (celle du fond, le tabernacle, la plus belle) aux arts religieux, puis des peintures, des dessins, des gravures, flanqués de documentation, enfin la première grande salle d'entrée, consacrée aux arts populaires, présentés non comme un pittoresque chaos danubien ou comme un art du peuple, - quelques très beaux tapis, une vitrine de céramique, quelques pièces de bois sculpté et aux murs, entre les tapis, encadrées comme des choses très précieuses qu'elles sont, à la manière des plus délicates miniatures, des broderies. Ainsi, nous serrons le flot des peintres et imagiers entre deux forteresses inexpugnables : l'art paysan, l'art religieux. Mais nous ne devons pas perdre de vue un instant que l'Exposition roumaine succède à des expositions où ont régné Rembrandt et Holbein, et qu'elle doit être établie sur le principe de l'exquis.

J'éprouvais le besoin de vous écrire tout cela, oubliant que je parle à un maître illustre, mais me rappelant que vous m'honorez du nom d'ami, que vous êtes mon maître en roumanisme et que nous ne pouvons pas au pas penser ces choses là au même rythme. Et maintenant, songez à mon inquiétude. Le temps passe. Je souhaite passionnément le succès de cette entreprise. Je suis loin. Mais que le diable m'emporte si tout ne marche pas, et à temps !

Je vous adresse une prière. La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne, dirigée par Dezarrois, adjoint de Bénédict, m'a demandé d'écrire pour annoncer l'Exposition, pour faire connaître la Roumanie et l'art roumain ancien à ses lecteurs, (qui connaissent déjà, j'en suis sûr, les merveilles de votre pays, par vos beaux livres). Elle m'a prévenu le 5 pour donner l'article le 10. J'ai dû différer mon départ pour des vacances dont j'ai grand besoin, Permettez-moi d'emprunter à votre Art Roumain les éléments de l'illustration, Du côté de l'éditeur, cela ne souffre pas de difficulté. Mais je ne peux rien faire sans votre agrément. Comme nous sommes dans les hâtes – sans qu'il y ait de ma faute : car Dezarrois s'est aperçu soudain qu'un article ferait bien. Télégraphiez-moi : Non, si une raison s'oppose à cet emprunt. Je vous le déclare cyniquement : je prendrai votre silence pour un consentement formel. Malgré le peu de temps dont je dispose, – quelques heures – je voudrais que cet article vous fît plaisir. Je suis tout plein de relectures que j'ai faites de vous.

Enfin, mon cher maître et ami, votre gouvernement vient de me cravater en rouge et en bleu, et je suis profondément touché de ce grand honneur. Permettez-moi de le relier à votre amitié, qui en est certainement responsable, car votre nom, votre sympathie, les souvenirs qu'elle m'a donnés, sont au cœur de mes sentiments roumains. Je sais que cet ordre a une haute signification, mais, par delà les chancelleries, c'est vous que je vois.

Nous n'oublierons pas les bonnes heures que vous avez bien voulu nous donner à Paris, Madame Iorga, mademoiselle votre fille et vous. Veuillez, je vous prie, mon cher Maître et Ami, leur présenter avec nos meilleurs souvenirs mes respectueux hommages et, après, ma fidélité d'amitié,

Henri Focillon

En relisant ma lettre, je ne la trouve pas ce qu'elle devrait être. Excusez-moi, et recevez mon amitié. Je suis accablé par mes veilles.

XVIII. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)
Valenii-de-Munte'

14 avril 1925

Monsieur et cher ami,

Je vous ai aussitôt répondu que j'accepte volontiers votre proposition, si flatteuse pour les auteurs de « L'Art roumain ». C'est encore une grande preuve d'amitié que vous donnez à mon pays.

J'ai insisté moi-même pour que l'arrangement revienne à M. Bénédite seul, auquel nous resterons très obligés de nous avoir sacrifié une partie de son temps précieux. On s'occupe à rassembler les objets et je veillerai à ce qu'on ne vous envoie pas de la pacotille encombrante et des objets n'ayant qu'un intérêt archéologique, historique ou purement local.

Regrettant de ne pas être là au moment où notre art sera présenté à un public si justement exigeant par des maîtres en fait de science et de goût, je vous prie d'agréer, avec mes salutations amicales, l'expression de notre profonde gratitude et d'être l'interprète de mes sentiments de respect auprès de Madame Focillon à laquelle ma femme adresse un sympathique souvenir.

N. Iorga

XIX. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

1^{er} mai 1925

Cher collègue

Merci des bonnes nouvelles que vous me donnez. Présenté par vous, ce vieil art roumain pourra être estimé sans qu'on suppose que c'est le sentiment d'un Roumain, pour ce que sa nation a pu donner à la civilisation générale, qui parle.

Vous voulez me séduire par votre aimable invitation de venir vous aider dans ce que vous connaissez, du reste, si bien, à Paris, où vous savez qu'est resté quelque chose de mon cœur. Eh bien, je résiste. Il y a tant de choses accumulées pendant mon absence, des devoirs si pressants auxquels je ne peux et ne veux me dérober. Sans compter les commandements et les hasards d'une vie politique à laquelle je suis si intimement mêlé.

Mais vous avez le savoir et la haute distinction de M. Balș et le dévouement, l'expérience spéciale, si vaste, de notre secrétaire, M. Draghiceanu⁷⁶. Avec leur concours, vous et vos éminents collègues, MM Bénédite, auquel vous voudrez bien me rappeler, et Dezarrois (qui a, de moi, une notice qu'il pourrait oublier) vous arriverez à réaliser une noble pensée d'amitié pour la Roumanie, dont on vous sera dument reconnaissant.

Ma femme se réunit à moi pour vous témoigner, à vous et à Madame Focillon, les sentiments de très cordiale sympathie que vous connaissez bien. Verra-t-on ici votre charmante fille ?

N. Iorga

XX. Iorga à Focillon
(Archives Baltrusaitis)
Adunarea Deputatilor

Bucuresti, le 30 mai 1925

Cher collègue et ami,

Je vous remercie chaleureusement d'avoir pensé à moi au moment où vous manqueriez une exposition qui est le produit de votre science et de votre goût.

La joie que j'ai ressentie à la nouvelle que vos efforts ont abouti a été assombrie par le malheur inopiné qui vient de vous ravir un éminent collaborateur et un bon ami en la personne de ce maître dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'art qui a été M. Bénédite.

En attendant le moment où on vous reverra en Roumanie, je vous prie de nous aider à pouvoir gagner pour mon école de Vălenii-de-Munte le concours de Mademoiselle Odette Girard, professeur à Neuilly-sur-Seine, qui vous demandera peut-être votre appui. Un mot de vous au Ministère de l'Instruction, auquel je me suis adressé, suffira.

Veuillez transmettre à Madame Focillon mes respectueux hommages, avec les compliments de ma femme, et me croire votre bien dévoué ami

N. Iorga

⁷⁶ Virgil Drăghiceanu (1879–1964), archéologue et historien de l'art roumain ancien, peintre, secrétaire de la Commission des Monuments Historiques.

XXI. Focillon à Iorga

(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits, CCCXXII, 12, 329–330)

[août 1925 ? Lyon]

Mon cher Maître et ami,

Je tiens à vous mettre au courant de ce qui se passe, dans la mesure où je le sais, c'est-à-dire tardivement et mal. Je rentre à Paris, et j'y serais revenu plus tôt si la santé de ma femme, qui aurait encore besoin de repos, me l'avait permis.

Vos instructions ont été transmises sur le champ à M. Dezarrois, Secrétaire Général de l'Exposition et Conservateur du Musée où elle s'est faite. Il m'en a accusé réception, m'a promis de les faire respecter, mais il ajoute que M. Tzigara est à Paris, qu'il a tous les « papiers » et les ordres du Prince pour transporter une partie de l'exposition à Genève. Les peintures et le trésor d'Arges ne font pas partie de cet envoi⁷⁷.

Je reçois d'autre part cette dépêche de Draghiceanu. J'ai immédiatement répondu par la même voie en lui maintenant sa délégation et en l'invitant expressément à faire respecter vos instructions. De quel droit l'ai-je ainsi « maintenu » catégoriquement ? Au droit de l'amitié et de l'urgence. J'ai, en outre, télégraphié de nouveau à M. Dezarrois pour lui renouveler l'interdiction de la Commission des Monuments Historiques, en ajoutant qu'une décharge de votre dépôt ne pouvait nous être donnée que par une personnalité qualifiée, c'est-à-dire votre mandataire, c'est-à-dire Draghiceanu. Ce dernier est parfait de tact, de savoir, de fermeté. Je ne m'explique pas comment il a pu être amené à cette décision. Ou plutôt si : il a été mis en présence du fait accompli – l'enlèvement. Mais je pense qu'il ne laissera pas partir les caisses contenant les objets prêtés par la Commission⁷⁸, et je cours à Paris chercher des détails. C'est incroyable. Notre ami Oprescu, qui pense que l'Exposition à Genève est idiote, avec Tzigara, et qui a agi pour l'empêcher, m'a écrit pour me l'annoncer, est navré. Il pense, comme Dezarrois, comme moi, comme nous tous, que ce Monsieur, qui a complètement raté son effet à Paris, où je l'ai maintenu à sa place, c'est-à-dire la dernière, ou plutôt hors-série, et qui en est

⁷⁷ L'esclandre qui allait suivre engageait deux expositions simultanées, l'une à Paris et l'autre à Genève : la première organisée en France avec la Commission roumaine des Monuments Historiques, tandis que la seconde, sous le nom du Musée National d'Art Populaire, était due à l'influence de son directeur auprès du palais royal. Les lettres suivantes ne cessent de rappeler l'ancien rôle de celui-ci comme préfet de police à Bucarest en 1917, ce qui a eu bien des conséquences sur le plan des institutions. Alexandre Tzigara-Samurcaș (1872–1952), historien d'art et organisateur de musées d'ethnographie.

⁷⁸ Iorga a consenti enfin de prêter une partie des objets qui avaient été présentés au Jeu de Paume, se rendant à l'intervention de N.P. Comnène, ministre de Roumanie en Suisse (N. Iorga, *Correspondență*, ed. Ecaterina Vaum, II, Bucarest, 1986, p. 42).

furieux, veut se rattraper à Genève. Il a sans doute obtenu pleins pouvoirs du Prince. On ne m'a rien dit. Je n'ai reçu, depuis un mois et demi, aucune communication de votre gouvernement ou du comité roumain. Votre télégramme, puis la lettre d'Oprea, ont commencé à m'éclairer. Tzigara, arrivé avant la fin de l'Exposition, a mis l'absence des honnêtes gens à profit.

Je ne vous dirai pas que je regrette d'avoir préparé cette exposition, mais, si j'avais su la présence de T. que j'ai tout fait pour empêcher, j'aurais remis l'affaire en délibération, comme on dit. Je ne comprends pas comment un gouvernement peut déléguer auprès des Français l'homme qui s'est dit son agent auprès de l'ennemi. Mais à quoi bon répéter tout cela ? Vous me l'avez dit avec une énergie que je n'oublie pas et à laquelle je songe souvent. Quand j'ai vu débarquer cet homme sur le quai de la Gare du Nord (tout le monde s'était entendu pour me cacher son arrivée) mon sang n'a fait qu'un tour (et ce n'est pas tout-à-fait une formule), il était trop tard pour arrêter notre travail. J'aurais pu me retirer ; alors, soyez-en pleinement convaincu, il s'étalait.

J'ai de tout cela, et de quelque autre reste, que je vous dirai, une sorte d'amertume que je ne veux pas vous dissimuler. Je pourrais me dire : l'Exposition a magnifiquement réussi dans un moment où son succès importait extrêmement, à une belle heure de la vie de Paris et de l'Europe. – Elle est terminée : Le reste ne me concerne plus ! Mais j'ai trop à cœur tout l'entour des choses, leur atmosphère, les sympathies et les amitiés qui s'y mêlent en profondeur pour ne penser autrement. Mes soucis roumains ne sont pas un épisode d'amitié, mais une passion constante. Et je ne suis pas calmé d'agir pour votre pays et pour le nôtre. Draghiceanu a dû vous télégraphier et voilà pourquoi je ne vous ai pas télégraphié sa dépêche. J'ai fait tout pour arrêter ou limiter le mal, et je quitte Loctudy. L'Exposition a fait 62 mille francs de recettes. C'est beau. C'est tout ce que je sais des comptes.

Nous vous envoyons, mon cher maître et ami, ainsi qu'à Madame Iorga, toutes nos pensées de fidèle et respectueuse amitié

Henri Focillon

XXII. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Vălenii-de-Munte, 14 septembre 1925

Mon cher ami,

Merci encore une fois pour tout ce que vous nous avez donné et pour ce que vous continuez à faire pour nous. Jamais la Roumanie n'a eu un succès d'estime comme celui qui lui est venu de cette splendide exposition qui vous doit tant. Un récent article dans le « Correspondant » me prouve combien que les amitiés que vous avez partout se reflètent sur cet art que vous aimez tant et sur le pays qui se fait honneur de l'avoir créé.

Il y a eu, en effet, une lutte continuelle, acharnée, pour empêcher des usurpations que je ne pouvais pas permettre, et j'ai été soutenu dans mon opposition par toute la Commission que je préside. Elle avait la responsabilité des objets et de leur présentation. Je l'ai affirmé fortement à qui devait le savoir et paraissait l'avoir, pour un moment, oublié. Il a compris et j'ai été prié, par émissaire spécial, de permettre que nos trésors aillent à Genève. J'ai ajouté : sous la garde de qui de droit. Je sais qu'on a fini par agir de cette façon. Draghiceanu accompagnera notre lot ; quant à l'autre, ce n'est pas mon affaire, bien que je partage vos idées sur le manque de sens de cette résolution. Il paraît cependant que l'intention était bonne, mais, malheureusement, il s'est trouvé, comme toujours, quelqu'un pour en paver l'enfer. Je n'aime pas à écrire son nom.

L'innommable n'a pas manqué de nous lancer ses traits – *telum imbelles et sine ictu* – dans les « Convorbiri ». ⁷⁹ Je ne lis pas la revue, mais un de mes collaborateurs de la Commission me signale l'attaque. Faites comme moi : *non legitur*. Encore une fois, merci de tout cœur. Vous avez fait une belle œuvre, inoubliable. Vous le sentez bien et avez raison d'en être fier, sous tous les rapports.

Veuillez transmettre mes hommages et les compliments de ma femme à Madame Focillon. Et croyez-moi votre bien dévoué

N. Iorga

XXIII. Iorga à Dezarrois

(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits, CCCXXXIII, 62, à André Dezarrois)
Ecole Roumaine en France
50 rue des Châtaigniers Fontenay aux Roses (Seine)

17 janvier 1926

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous remercie bien de la façon dont se présente ma courte notice. Si je trouve de l'inédit sur les peintres, je m'empresserai de le communiquer à votre splendide revue (la Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne).

Je ne peux pas finir sans me rappeler, comme président de la commission des monuments historiques de Roumanie, la si grande part que vous avez eue à l'exposition du Jeu de Paume, et vous en exprimer par cette voie aussi, et personnellement ma reconnaissance.

Veuillez me croire, cher Monsieur, votre très sincèrement dévoué

N. Iorga

Le volume des communications au Congrès de l'histoire de l'art, qui contient aussi quelques pages de moi, serait-il déjà paru ?

⁷⁹ Tzigara était directeur de la revue « Convorbiri literare ».

XXIV. Focillon à Iorga
(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits, CCCXLIII, 41)
26 rue des Fossés St Jacques

Paris, le 6 janvier 1927

Mon cher Maître et ami,

Permettez-moi de vous souhaiter, comme on dit, la bonne année et aussi la bienvenue, puisque nous avons la joie d'apprendre que vous arrivez. Nous vous attendrons. Vous voici, et nous en sommes bien heureux. Hélas, j'ai à me reprocher d'être resté bien longtemps sans vous écrire, au cours d'une année qui a été chargée pour vous de soucis et de travaux. Elle a été pour moi particulièrement cruelle en deuils d'amitié. J'ai vu partir à peu de jours d'intervalle les meilleurs et les plus anciens amis de mon cher père et ces chagrins nouveaux rendaient l'ancien plus vif et plus douloureux. J'ai voyagé, j'ai travaillé à Genève, je viens de faire une tournée en Hollande, pour me rafraîchir les yeux aux plus mouillés des paysages et me chauffer le cœur aux plus dorés des Rembrandt. Mais cet abrégé d'une année de vie en quatre ou cinq paragraphes n'est rien du tout, qu'une série de brefs épisodes. Lundi prochain, je suis pris par un cours public, qui a lieu à la même heure que la vôtre. Mais je tâcherai de m'évader à la fin, pour aller vous porter mes respects et mes amitiés. Je pars le lendemain pour une Commission de la S.D.N. Elle ne me réjouit pas autrement, puisqu'elle retarde le plaisir que j'aurai à vous voir autrement qu'entre deux portes.

Veuillez, je vous prie, mon cher Maître et ami, présenter nos meilleurs souvenirs et tous mes hommages à Madame Iorga et agréer, avec tous nos bons vœux pour tous et pour les vôtres, l'expression de mon amitié,

Henri Focillon

XXV. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Bucarest, 13 mai 1927

Cher ami,

Votre belle lettre m'a fait infiniment de bien.

Depuis deux ans j'ai la timidité, presque le remords du livre que je viens de faire. Je n'ose pas l'ouvrir. La responsabilité paraît m'écraser. J'aurais désiré n'avoir pas eu le courage de le faire partir et j'aurais préféré tenir pour moi ces quelques volumes dans lesquels j'ai mis le résultat d'une longue et dure étude.

Le silence qui se fait depuis quelque temps autour de mes essais de synthèse m'inquiète. Je me demande si je n'ai perdu avec le temps les quelques qualités qui

me donnaient des appréciateurs lorsque j'étais jeune, s'il n'y a pas des obscurités dans l'idée et une certaine pesanteur, dont on se gêne de me parler, dans la forme. Et comme, à mon âge, on ne peut plus changer...

Ainsi ai-je relu et ai-je fait lire par les miens vos lignes, d'une si parfaite compétence et d'une si amicale chaleur. Cela m'encourage. Lorsque les épreuves des deux derniers volumes me seront continuées, je considérerai leur lecture moins comme un devoir pénible qu'il me faut accomplir, – ayant péché, – jusqu'au bout.

Merci de tout cœur, très simplement.

Attendant le plaisir exquis de causer avec vous à Paris, je vous assure de mes sentiments les plus dévoués. A mes hommages pour Madame Focillon se joint le meilleur souvenir de ma femme, pour vous deux.

N. Iorga

Je vous enverrai mes quelques lignes sur « Raphael »⁸⁰. Je prépare quelque chose sur la ... [le reste manque]

XXVI. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

4 novembre 1927

Cher collègue et ami,

Hier soir, Oprescu a été recommandé par la commission, dont j'étais membre, comme professeur de « civilisation française » à l'Université de Bucarest.

Aussitôt son beau travail sur Géricault publié,⁸¹ j'ai pu accomplir envers lui un acte de justice auquel il s'ajoutait un souvenir de vous deux.

Espérant vous revoir, si l'Université de Paris ne me ferme pas ses portes, je vous prie de croire à mon affection bien sincère.

N. Iorga

XXVII. Focillon à Iorga

(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits CCCXLI 239)
26, Rue des Fossés St Jacques (Ve)

Paris ce 4 décembre 1927

Mon cher Maître et Ami,

Je suis bien heureux, comme vous pouvez le penser, de la bonne nouvelle que vous me faites l'amitié de m'annoncer dans une lettre qui dit tout – et votre souci

⁸⁰ Henri Focillon, *Raphael*, Paris, Nilsson, s.d. Iorga en publiera un compte-rendu en *Revista istorică*, XIII, 1927, p. 76–77.

⁸¹ Géricault, *La Renaissance du Livre*, Paris, 1927.

scientifique et votre sentiment de la justice et votre affection, à laquelle vous savez que je suis particulièrement sensible et fidèle. Je crois profondément qu'Opresco fera honneur à son maître, à nos études, au haut enseignement roumain. J'ai bien de la joie à penser que son *Géricault* vous a plu ; c'est ce qui a été écrit de mieux sur ce difficile sujet, et c'est une œuvre toute originale par le constant recours aux sources et par la qualité de l'interprétation. Et j'y aime aussi cette espèce de ton sévère qui reflète une belle personnalité morale.

J'aime trop la Roumanie et j'ai trop de confiance dans son avenir pour vous dire quoi que ce soit sur les derniers événements, moi qui suis loin et qui ne peux interpréter que de l'extérieur⁸². Mais vous sentez qu'il y a chez vos nombreux amis de France et d'Europe beaucoup de sentiments très forts qui convergent vers vous. Si la puissance magnétique est une force, vous êtes entouré de la nôtre comme d'un nimbe. Veuillez excuser cette image d'un médiéviste.

J'ai là, près de moi, vos beaux livres, avec l'ardeur et la fermeté de votre pensée, et je vous remercie affectueusement de m'en faire part. Veuillez être assuré qu'ils sont lus comme ils doivent l'être, et plume en main. Mais ce commerce que j'ai avec vous par vos travaux ne diminue pas l'impatience que nous avons de vous voir, que l'Université de Paris vous ferme ses portes (ce sont vos propres termes) vous n'y pensez point ! Nous sommes fiers de vous, et nous n'abandonnons pas ces fiertés-là ! La question ne se pose pas. Nous nous réjouissons de vous voir et de vous entendre en février, puisque c'est la date que vous avez choisie.

Mon cher Maître et Ami, je vous prie d'agréer avec mes meilleurs souvenirs et tous mes hommages d'amitié pour Madame Iorga, l'expression de ma gratitude pour la bonne nouvelle que vous m'annoncez, et dont vous êtes non seulement le messenger, mais l'artisan, avec ma respectueuse affection !

Henri Focillon

XXVIII. Iorga à Focillon

(Archives Baltrusaitis, carte postale)

Palace Hotel, Madrid, 12 mars 1928

Mon cher ami,

De cette ville des trésors d'art dont vous êtes aujourd'hui l'un des interprètes les plus illustres, un mot d'amitié se dirige vers celui qui m'a été toujours, dans son doux pays, celui auquel j'ai plus aimé confier l'intimité, parfois douloureuse, de mon âme.

Au revoir, et portez-vous bien !

N. Iorga⁸³

⁸² L'allusion aux troubles causés par la grève de Grivița, brutalement réprimée, laisse entendre que l'idéal d'un gouvernement Iorga serait réalisable.

⁸³ Le voyage des époux Iorga en Espagne sera suivi par un livre.

XXIX. Focillon à Iorga

(Archives de l'Académie Roumaine,
Collection des Manuscrits, CCCXL VI 48–49)
A Prague Institut Ernest Denis 6 Ostrovni ul.

Paris ce 29 septembre 1928

Mon cher Maître et Ami,

Nous nous réjouissons d'aller vous voir bientôt à Bucarest, pour trop peu de temps, hélas, et je commence par m'en excuser, ainsi que de la date, que j'aurais voulu reculer, pour éviter d'arriver au mauvais moment des examens universitaires. Il ne m'a pas été possible de choisir : à Paris l'on m'a pressé en alléguant le « sommet » de notre Institut cette année, et comme, d'autre part, j'ai à diriger les chantiers de notre nouvelle bâtisse, avenue de l'Observatoire, je suis cruellement serré. Je pense être à Bucarest vers le milieu d'octobre, après un court séjour à Cluj, venant de Prague, où je dois assister au Congrès des Arts Populaires, non comme une lumière de cette science, mais comme l'un des pères de cette solennité. J'espère bien, d'ailleurs, avoir la joie de vous y rencontrer, si quelque souci plus haut ne vous retient pas en Roumanie. Que de choses n'aurai-je pas à vous dire, mon cher Maître et Ami ! Cet été, à la Société des Nations, montant sous une chaleur effrayante la pente qui va d'Oulchy à Lausanne j'entendais des hommes intelligents, sensibles et bien informés, me parler de vous, de votre rôle et de l'avenir des formations politiques roumaines dans des termes qui vous eussent fait plaisir et qui m'en faisaient, certes. D'ailleurs, où que vous soyez, dans le silence de votre belle bibliothèque ou sur le champ de bataille de l'action publique ! Votre définition est toujours constante et ne se dément pas. Pour moi, je suis un peu dégoûté par la multiplicité des petites affaires qui surplombent et investissent mon travail. Le tome II de ma *Peinture*⁸⁴ paraîtra cet automne, et je suis attelé à un livre de Moyen Age qui vous intéressera et où je livre au public, non des réflexions ou de la critique, mais la clef d'un système que je crois sérieusement avoir découvert⁸⁵. Si je ne me trompe pas, eh bien, je serai récompensé de mes efforts de ces six dernières années. La difficulté d'un raisonnement historique véritable paralyse l'érudition pure. Je voudrais soumettre à votre jugement une sorte d'étincelante preuve de ce que j'avance – une série de beaux textes – mais à posteriori. Si je ne vous ennue pas, je vous conterai mon histoire, et les détours que j'ai faits avant de trouver la route royale, – si du moins ce n'est pas encore une traverse !

⁸⁴ *Le premier tome, La peinture au XIX^e siècle, le retour à l'antique, le romantisme* (Paris, 1927) avait son compte rendu par Iorga, *Revista istorică*, XIII, 1927, p. 402–406, avec les plus grands éloges pour une profonde connaissance du sujet et pour le talent littéraire, « d'une originalité surprenante ». Focillon s'en vantait à Oprescu: « La matière que je brosse est formidable. Il faut que je ramasse en quelques pages des hommes comme Delacroix, Corot, Daumier, Turner, Constable, Whistler et que je touche aussi la note juste pour des légions d'hommes obscurs, pleins de talent » (RRHA, p. 49).

⁸⁵ Il s'agit de *La vie des Formes*, dont un premier essai sera prêt en 1933.

Mon cher maître et ami, je vous prie d'agréer, avec tous nos souvenirs de bonne amitié et tous mes hommages pour Madame Iorga, l'expression fidèle de mes sentiments d'affectueux respect,

Henri Focillon

XXX. Iorga à Focillon
(Archives Baltrusaitis)

Vălenii-de-Munte, 7 octobre 1928

Mon cher ami,

Je crains que cette lettre n'arrive après votre départ de Prague, où, à ma place, vous aurez eu le plaisir douteux de revoir le sieur Tzigara, qui vient d'inaugurer à Bucarest l'exposition d'art français, allant ensuite déjeuner à la Légation de France : la Légion d'Honneur pourrait orner la poitrine de ce vieil ami de votre grande patrie.

Je ne reçois qu'aujourd'hui vos lignes toujours aussi belles que bonnes et je m'empresse de vous envoyer en toute hâte cette réponse.

Nous vous attendons. Aussitôt après votre arrivée, envoyez-moi un mot ici, à Vălenii-de-Munte, où je reste jusqu'à la fin du mois. Je viendrai aussitôt : à l'ami se réunira le doyen, car mes collègues m'ont fait l'honneur de m'accorder leur présidence. J'aurais pu mourir avant cette distinction ; heureusement on s'est un peu pressé !

Je suis très intéressé à votre synthèse. Y aurait-il quelque rapport de côté avec celle dont je porte le poids ? Ce serait une consolation pour bien d'injustices, même de chez vous, celles que je ressens le plus.

Croyez-moi, mon cher ami, votre toujours dévoué et veuillez présenter mes hommages à Madame Focillon.

N. Iorga

XXXI. Iorga à Focillon
România
Adunarea Deputaților

București, 23 mars 1929

Cher ami,

Mille remerciements pour tout ce que Mme Focillon et vous prodiguez à notre fille. Elle m'a tout dit et vous pensez combien elle vous est reconnaissante.

Espérant que vous serez remis bientôt de votre maladie, je vous prie de croire à ma gratitude

N. Iorga

La photographie de Constantza vient – vous l'avez deviné – de nous.

XXXII. Catherine Iorga à Marguerite Focillon
(Archives Baltrusaitis)

Bucarest, le 25 mars 1929

Chère Madame Focillon,

Mille remerciements pour toutes les bonnes choses que vous dites de Madeleine et surtout pour tout ce que vous faites pour elle, vous et M. Focillon.

Je suis très contente d'apprendre que même en si peu de temps elle a pu faire des progrès, pourvu que les appréciations de M. Laurent ne soient pas de la courtoisie.

Vous trouvez que nous devons la laisser encore un bon temps à Paris ?

Nous avons beaucoup regretté que M. Focillon était malade et nous lui souhaitons une bonne santé. Mon mari lui a écrit une lettre et je vous ai envoyé une photographie qu'on lui a fait à Constantza.

Pour le moment, nous sommes très occupés avec le mariage de mon fils aîné⁸⁶, qui aura lieu le 21 avril ; je regrette beaucoup que Madeleine ne puisse pas être présente, elle aussi, mais, comme ils feront un voyage à Paris après leur mariage, vous leur permettrez de vous rendre visite, accompagnés par elle.

Désireuse d'avoir de vos nouvelles, et surtout de bonnes nouvelles, et en vous remerciant encore une fois pour toutes vos gentilleses, je vous assure de nos meilleurs sentiments d'amitié. Mon affection pour Hélène.

Catherine N. Iorga

XXXIII. Iorga à Sir Eric Drummond
(Archives Baltrusaitis, lettre officielle à Sir Eric Drummond⁸⁷)

6th July 1929

Dear Sir Drummond,

I thank you for the so good appreciation of my former pupil and young colleague Oprescu. He is now Professor in Bucharest but only for the Chair which was founded by the French Ministry. For the other, not having presented himself for the oral proofs, the decision was adjourned. Following your desire, I write to him to dissuade his intention of becoming an ordinary Professor. For his lectures as Professor of French Art, he has only a certain number of lectures yearly to give.

I remain, dear Sir Drummond, yours very sincerely,

N. Iorga,
Rector of the University

⁸⁶ Mircea Iorga (1901–1965), ingénieur, a épousé Vera Bohățiel.

⁸⁷ Sir Eric Drummond (1876–1951), comte de Perth, secrétaire général de la Société des Nations en 1920–1933, ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Rome.

XXXIV. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

7 octobre 1929

Cher ami,

Voici la lettre que je viens de recevoir.

Vous pensez bien quelle offense la décoration de Tzigara pourrait être pour toute l'opinion honnête et patriotique du pays.

Pourriez-vous dire un mot pour empêcher cette chose monstrueuse : mettre la Légion d'Honneur à côté de l'aiguille de cravate donnée par Guillaume II ?

Croyez, cher ami, à mes meilleurs sentiments de cordialité,

N. Iorga

XXXV. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis, carte postale de Tarragone)

25 novembre 1929

Mon cher ami,

De Barcelone⁸⁸ et de tout ce littoral catalan où vous auriez recueilli des documents d'art si nouveaux, nous avons dirigé plus d'une fois notre pensée vers vous et vers Mme Focillon. Agréez-en le témoignage

N. Iorga et C.N. Iorga

XXXVI.

Focillon à Iorga
(Archives de l'Académie Roumaine,
Correspondance Iorga
26, rue des Fossés Saint Jacques

Paris, ce 10 juin 1930

Mon cher maître et ami,

La bonne et affectueuse lettre de Madame Iorga nous faisait pressentir quelque événement heureux pour nous. Une lettre du Président du Comité de la

⁸⁸ A l'occasion du Congrès international d'histoire de l'art, N. Iorga visitait la Catalogne. Il a écrit « O mică țară latină – Catalonia și Expoziția din 1929 – note de drum și conferințe ». Editura Casa Școalelor, 1928.

Fondation Ferdinand Premier m'apprend que le prix annuel de cette Fondation vient de m'être attribué. Ai-je besoin de vous dire ma profonde émotion, partagée par les miens, ma gratitude qui va naturellement et d'abord à vous ? Que de souvenirs déjà nous unissent ! Les voilà couronnés par un bienfait – sans parler des autres, car je n'oublie rien des témoignages d'amitié que, par vous, notre Roumanie m'a donnés. J'en suis bien fier, mais, cette fois, confus aussi, car doit-on récompenser l'affection qui part du cœur et qui en est l'expression naturelle ? Je regarde avec inquiétude mes travaux, et je m'aperçois que j'en ai bien peu fait. Vous en jugez autrement, et je m'incline devant le jugement de mon cher maître et Ami. Je vous remercie de tout cœur et vous aime bien.

Je ne veux rien ajouter de plus pour le moment. Nous suivons avec émotion la grande phase historique que traverse la Roumanie. Le *Temps* a donné votre discours à l'Assemblée Nationale ; nous en avons ressenti les accents avec profondeur.⁸⁹ C'est la voix d'un poète et d'un homme d'Etat.

Nous nous unissons pour vous envoyer toutes nos pensées d'affection à vous, à Madame Iorga, à tous les vôtres. Permettez-moi de vous embrasser, avec affection et avec respect,

Henri Focillon

XXXVII. Focillon à Iorga
(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits,
Correspondance Iorga, vol. 369, f. 277)

Ce 22 avril 1931,

Mon cher Maître et Ami,

Nous nous unissons pour vous envoyer nos graves, profondes et respectueuses pensées d'amitié. Vous n'avez jamais été un érudit de cabinet. Si vous êtes grand historien, c'est que vous appartenez à l'action et que vous avez toujours « agi » votre pensée, soit que vous fissiez revivre des époques très éloignées de nous, soit que vous rappeliez aux Roumanies dispersées leur antique lien et leur devoir d'union. Vous avez porté dans les affaires publiques un idéalisme nourri des plus nobles exemples. Au moment où vous êtes investi des plus hautes fonctions, nous sommes fiers et émus de penser que c'est au maître de nos études qu'il appartient désormais, non d'écrire seulement l'histoire de son peuple, mais de la faire. Nul ne pourrait mieux que vous hausser la politique au niveau où nous la respectons chez les anciens et chez les grands hommes d'Etat. Je

⁸⁹ N. Iorga, *Discursuri parlamentare*, IV, p. 362–369.

ne veux pas vous envoyer de félicitations. A Paris, nos amis et moi, nous pensons à vous avec recueillement et avec joie. Que le Ciel soutienne vos entreprises ! Vous ferez le bien, vous écrirez un grand chapitre de votre grande vie.

Je vous salue avec respect et avec ma constante affection,

Henri Focillon

XXXVIII. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)
Présidence du Conseil des Ministres

26 avril 1931

Mon cher ami,

Parmi tout ce que les amitiés anciennes et nouvelles, m'ont envoyé pendant ces jours des suprêmes épreuves, il n'y en a pas de lignes qui soient plus belles de pensées et plus chaudes de sentiment que les vôtres. De pareilles preuves d'amitié soutiennent et encouragent.

Sans me faire d'illusions sur tout ce qui peut m'attendre, je chercherai à faire de mon mieux, prêt à céder la place à quiconque pourrait affronter avec plus de chances une situation aussi difficile. Mais aujourd'hui le tour de sacrifice est le mien.

Croyez, mon cher ami, à mes sentiments de profonde amitié.

N. Iorga

XXXIX. Focillon à Iorga
(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits,
Correspondance Iorga, vol. XXIII)
26, rue des Fossés Saint-Jacques

Paris, ce 17 juillet 1932

Mon cher Maître et Ami,

Il manquerait à notre amitié si, au moment où notre ami M. Dupront part pour Bucarest, où il succède à Paul Henry comme directeur de notre Institut⁹⁰, je ne le chargerais pas de mes fidèles et respectueuses pensées pour vous. Puis-je vous prier de bien vouloir l'accueillir comme vous accueillez tous les jeunes savants qui viennent travailler en Roumanie ? Je sais bien que c'est, d'avance, chose faite. Mais je veux vous dire aussi en quelle haute estime nous tenons tous Dupront et quels espoirs nous fondons sur lui.

⁹⁰ Paul Henry, secrétaire, puis directeur, de 1925 à 1932, de l'Institut français de Bucarest.

Tous ses maîtres à l'Ecole Normale et à l'Ecole de Rome, M. Diehl⁹¹, M. Mâle⁹², le considèrent comme un homme de premier ordre. A la tête d'une maison à laquelle vous savez combien nous sommes attachés je crois bien que nous avons mis ce que nous avons de mieux. Je voudrais que vous preniez cette lettre, non comme une « introduction » courtoisement élogieuse, mais comme un témoignage d'une qualité plus profonde et bien réfléchie. Vous aimerez, j'en suis sûr, en Dupront, les plus belles qualités d'esprit et de caractère et les plus hautes aptitudes à la vie intellectuelle. Ce que vous estimez le plus, chez nous, il l'a, je vous assure, et je me réjouis de penser qu'il continuera à Bucarest l'œuvre que vous avez approuvée et pour laquelle nous sommes si fiers d'avoir votre concours, votre active amitié.

Je vous écris le jour des élections roumaines. Quelle qu'en soit l'issue, vous êtes vous-même, c'est-à-dire un chef, une force spirituelle qui dépasse les partis et dont nous avons besoin, non seulement en Roumanie (je dis nous, comme un vrai Roumain), mais partout où l'esprit travaille et combat.

Je vous prie d'agréer, avec tous nos souvenirs d'amitié et tous mes respectueux hommages pour Madame Iorga l'expression sincère de mes sentiments fidèles,

Henri Focillon

XL. Iorga à Focillon (Archives Baltrusaitis)

Ecole Roumaine en France
50, rue des Châtaigniers,
Fontenay-aux-Roses (Seine)

26 février 1933

Très cher ami,

Non seulement vous avez bien voulu collaborer à un livre vers lequel reviendra tant de fois mon souvenir reconnaissant, mais vous y avez donné une de ces larges pages de pensée profonde et nouvelle dont vous avez fait tant profiter la science et qui m'ont toujours attiré et retenu par les vérités qu'elles affirment et par les suggestions qui s'en détachent⁹³.

Croyez, très cher ami, à la gratitude qui s'ajoute pour cette nouvelle preuve d'amitié à toute la sympathie que je vous porte et veuillez remercier de ma part Mme Focillon pour sa présence,

N. Iorga

⁹¹ Charles Diehl (1859–1904), historien de la culture byzantine.

⁹² Emile Mâle (1862–1954), historien de l'art médiéval français.

⁹³ *Origines monumentales du portrait français*, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga par ses amis de France et des pays de langues française*, Paris, 1933, p. 259–286.

XLI. Focillon à Iorga

(Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine,
Section des Manuscrits,
Correspondance Iorga, vol. 410, f. 49)

Venise, Académie Roumaine ce 18 juillet 1934

Mon cher Maître et Ami,

Combien je suis heureux d'être à la fois, et grâce à vous, à Venise et en Roumanie ! Dans le beau palais de Santa Fosca⁹⁴, je me retrouve « au pays ». Les images pendues au mur, les tapis, et je ne sais quel air de noblesse et de cordialité, tout me rappelle les vieilles terres du Danube, dont si souvent je fus l'hôte et dont je demeure un peu l'enfant. Merci de m'avoir donné cette joie et de m'avoir rappelé ces souvenirs, auxquels je demeurerai fidèle. Et je remercie aussi notre chère amie Magda de tous les soins dont elle m'enveloppe de loin. Je sens partout sa main amicale et la finesse de sa bonté.

C'est pour moi un chagrin d'être aux Etats Unis, lorsque vous venez donner vos belles leçons à la Sorbonne. Mais il n'en sera pas toujours ainsi. Si nous nous retrouverons, j'aimerais alors vous porter mon amitié en Roumanie, mais je ne puis encore former que des projets incertains. Ma mémoire conserve l'image de Valeni ; je revois la belle demeure, le paysage fier et fin, les grands paniers de prunes où nous puissions avec une insouciance paradisiaque, et ces grandes icônes nocturnes et dorées que vous avez découvertes, comme un perpétuel pécheur de trésors !

Mes séances de travail sont pleines d'intérêt, mais un peu encombrées par la vanité des parleurs, dont chacun, détenant la vérité absolue, oublie qu'elle doit conserver le caractère d'une brève confidence. Nous sommes reçus avec faste et gentillesse par vos amis d'Italie. Mais, le soir venu, Opresco et moi (Opresco, ce Dace intrépide, qui fait toujours tant d'honneur à votre enseignement et au pays), nous nous retrouvons avec bonheur dans les hautes salles, pleines d'ombre transparente, du Palazzo Iorga.

Il me semble que je vais vous voir entrer et déjà j'entends votre voix.

Veuillez dire à Madame Iorga que je pense à Elle avec beaucoup de respect et d'affection. Je me sens son hôte dans cette demeure et dans cet appartement. Et vous, mon cher Maître et Ami, acceptez, une fois encore, toutes les pensées déférentes et toute l'amitié du nomade au cœur fidèle,

Henri Focillon

⁹⁴ 2214 de Venise était le palais Correr-Revedin, transformé en 1930 en Casa Romena, foyer historique et artistique.

XLII. Focillon à Iorga (Académie ?)

Maranville (Hte Marne) ce 7 août 1934

Mon cher Maître et Ami,

Me voici de retour de Venise et de cette « Casa Rumena » d'où je vous écrivais il y a peu de jours vous dire toute ma gratitude d'y avoir été si bien accueilli. J'ai décrit à ma femme (qui n'avait pu m'accompagner, malheureusement) le palais, le grand appartement que votre amicale bonté m'avait fait réserver et où il me semblait que j'étais près de vous, enfin ce quartier charmant de Santa Fosca, où respire toute la gaie poésie de l'éternelle Italie. J'ai eu le plaisir de retrouver à la Casa Rumena notre collègue Banesco⁹⁵ en pleine exploration d'archives. Nous avons parlé du pays, du pass', du présent, de nos études, de nos maîtres.

Notre petite réunion d'un « Comité de la S.D.N. » n'est pas de celles, assurément, qui feront régner sur l'Europe la sagesse et la paix, mais nous avons été accueillis avec galanterie par les Italiens. Vous le dirai-je ? A leurs fêtes nocturnes, d'ailleurs belles et charmantes, je préférerais les causeries du soir, à Santa Fosca. Que n'étiez-vous là, pour les conduire et pour les animer !

Ma femme me fait part, à mon retour, d'une bien aimable lettre de Madame Iorga, mais j'y vois avec chagrin que vous n'aurez sans doute pas reçu la lettre que je vous écrivais fin mars du bateau qui m'emportait en Amérique. Ma femme l'a lue et se rappelle bien que j'ai pris soin de confier ma missive au bateau de Plymouth, pour que vous l'ayez plus vite et pour que vous sachiez sans tarder combien j'avais été sensible au présent, magnifique et amical, de l'Histoire Byzantine.

J'avais déjà presque dévoré la première partie, l'Empire œcuménique. Mais depuis j'ai lu, non sans fiches, l'Empire moyen et l'Empire latin, et ce que j'admire, comme aux premiers jours, c'est seulement le juste relief que vous donnez à cette *formidable* matière érudite dans la familiarité de laquelle vous avez vécu et que l'on sent présente derrière chaque phrase, mais une conception de l'histoire, qui est toute vivante, tout humaine je veux dire, où l'homme et sa psychologie animent tout. Quand je lis des œuvres, d'ailleurs bien faibles, de nos confrères, j'ai le sentiment que je circule dans un désert planté d'innombrables stèles de faits, mais d'où l'homme est à jamais banni. Et quels hommes ne faites-vous pas vivre !

C'est peut-être le tome III qui m'a fait l'impression la plus forte et donné le plus vif sentiment de nouveauté, bien que dans cette histoire de la *Vie* byzantine, tout soit fort et vif, comme la vie même. Le chapitre sur la chevalerie byzantine, sur le jacobin Andronic, sur le cinquième acte du drame soit admirable, entre autres, il me semble que je vois bien ce que vous avez voulu nous donner, le vif sentiment de l'actualité et de la vitalité de ce grand parti. Vous nous le montrez comme si vous en étiez le contemporain.

⁹⁵ Nicolae Bănescu, (1878–1971, București) historien roumain.

Excusez, je vous prie, mon cher Maître, ces souvenirs et ces impressions d'un ignorant à qui vous en avez tant appris. Dans ma dernière lettre de Venise je vous disais mon regret, notre regret, d'être aux Etats-Unis lorsque vous venez en France. Il y a quelque chose en effet que la correspondance la plus ouverte et la plus sincère ne saurait donner. La vie de l'amitié n'est pas faite que d'écriture. Elle comporte un partage des joies et des chagrins. J'ai profondément senti la mort de votre vénérable mère. Je la revois, à Valeni, dans sa dignité presque séculaire et dans toute sa bonne grâce. Ce souvenir m'est présent. Moi aussi j'ai bien aimé ma mère et je suis encore déchiré de l'avoir perdue.

Henri Focillon

XLIII. Focillon à Iorga (Archives Iorga-Pippidi)

Pour le professeur Iorga
Taft Hotel, New Haven, Conn.

Ce 27 janvier 1940

Mon cher et illustre Ami,

Je ne veux pas envoyer à notre ami Iancoulesco⁹⁶ la préface que j'ai eu la joie et l'insigne honneur d'écrire pour un grand livre, sans y joindre la vive expression de mon attachement pour vous et pour la Roumanie. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire quels sentiments m'animent lorsque je pense à nos patries, qui se fondent pour nous dans le même amour. La vôtre m'a tant donné, et d'abord votre amitié. La mienne vous est redevable des sentiments que vous lui portez, dont vous lui donnez un témoignage admirable et qu'elle vous rend de tout son cœur. Puissiez-vous vous maintenir dans la dignité et la paix ! Puisse votre destin s'accomplir sans que vous ayez à saisir l'épée ! Mais, s'il le faut, vous la prendrez, comme nous, d'un cœur résolu. Pour nous tous, c'est un réconfort puissant de vous savoir où vous êtes, force du pays.

J'ai tâché de mettre dans mes modestes pages mon émotion et mon admiration. C'est une dette de gratitude et d'amitié. Elle n'est pas encore pleinement acquittée. J'ai encore beaucoup à dire sur Iorga et sur son œuvre.

J'ai recopié ma préface aux Etats-Unis où je suis en mission et où je resterai encore quelque temps. C'est *nécessaire*. Si le pays (le nôtre) est menacé ou en péril, je reviens. Et fasse le ciel que je puisse bientôt aller vous embrasser, chaussée Bonaparte, au lendemain d'une victoire qui rétablira l'ordre de l'esprit ! J'ai grande confiance – en vous comme en nous.

Accueillez, je vous en prie, pour vous et pour votre chère famille, tous les vœux, toutes les pensées profondément fidèles de vos amis

Henri Focillon

⁹⁶ Victor Ianculescu, administrateur de Școala Română de Fontenay 1924–1947.

Au cas où mon écriture donnerait de la peine au typographe, et d'abord à mon cher Ami Iorga, ou bien s'il fallait une légère retouche ou un raccord pour que tout soit bien harmonique, mon ami Mouton⁹⁷, de l'Institut Français, pourrait vous servir de secrétaire, et il en sentirait tout l'honneur, même pour un travail de trois minutes. Comme je suis loin et que je dois penser à tout, j'ai suggéré à Iancoulesco notre cher Ferdinand Lot⁹⁸ pour le même objet, si le livre s'imprime en France. Mais non. Valeni de Munte est là.

Tout à vous

H. F.

⁹⁷ Jean Mouton, directeur de l'Institut français 1941-1945, auteur de *Journal de Roumanie: 29 août 1939 – 19 mars 1946: la II^e guerre mondiale vue de l'Est*, L'Age d'Homme, 1991.

⁹⁸ Ferdinand Lot (1866–1952), historien français qui habitait à Fontenay près de l'Ecole roumaine.

« HISTOIRE DE L'ALBANIE »
DE L'ABBÉ JEAN-CLAUDE FAVEYRIAL

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Abbot in the Lazarist Order, Jean-Claude Faveyrial left a manuscript sketch of the history of the Albanians from antiquity to the last decades of the 19th century. He wrote it, most likely, in the period 1884–1889. The interest of knowing this writing, edited in 2001 by Robert Elsie, lies in the attempt to provide a chronological sequence of general Balkan events in which to find the few certain facts known about the Aromanians and Albanians. He mainly exploits the notes of Western travellers, Hammer's history of the Ottoman Empire and the book of Aravantinos. The wealth of facts gathered would require establishing the sources (which are most often missing) or verifying the existing references. As the edited text shows, it would seem that the author was further from the final version than Robert Elsie assumed. The work retains its importance as a testimony of an intellectual deeply involved in the realities of the second half of the 19th century.

Keywords: Ecclesiastical history, medieval and modern history, Albanians, Aromanians, Balkan region.

Abbé Jean-Claude Faveyrial de l'Ordre des Lazaristes est l'auteur, à la fin du XX^e siècle, d'un des premiers essais historiques sur les Albanais – à son avis, le tout premier¹. Il se propose de donner un aperçu de la Péninsule Balkanique, des Albanais y compris, allant de l'Antiquité à sa contemporanéité immédiate. La visite faite en 1884 dans le sud de l'Albanie, dans la ville de Korça, lui donna l'idée de

¹ C'est aussi l'avis admiratif de son éditeur, le regretté historien canadien Robert Elsie (*Introduction*, p. x), opinion reprise par Michel Roux dans sa critique du livre en *Balkanologie. Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires*, VII, 2003, 2, p. 229–230. Elsie mentionne, pourtant, une œuvre publiée en même temps concernant l'histoire des Albanais, *Le istorie albanese* de Francesco Tajani, parus à Salerne en 1886. Comme on peut le constater, d'un point de vue strictement chronologique, le travail de Faveyrial peut difficilement être qualifié de premier. Il ne s'agit pas ici de s'arrêter au livre de Tajani, dont on peut néanmoins montrer qu'il commence par la présentation de l'Albanie caucasienne, pour laquelle l'auteur s'évertue à trouver des rapports avec l'Albanie balkanique. L'Italo-albanais Francesco Tajani se réfère largement à l'histoire des colonies d'*Arbereshes*, à ce qu'il paraît, pas toujours avec la rigueur souhaitée et attendue (voir, par exemple, les critiques de Cirillo Korolevskij, « Le vicende ecclesiastiche dei paesi italo-albanesi della Basilicata e della Calabria. II. Plátaci », *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, IV, 1934, p. 209, la note ; Giacomo Sacco, *Storie e immagini di una minoranza arbëreshë : Vena*, Libri dell'Associazione in lingua Arbëreshë, p. 6, https://digilander.libero.it/vjna/STORIE_immagini.pdf). Cependant, ses jugements ne sont pas toujours ignorés ; voir Arshi Pipa, « Gli Italo-albanesi e la tradizione greco-byzantina », *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XVI, 1978, 2, p. 242.

développer un ouvrage qui rassemblerait et rendrait accessibles au grand public les informations historiques variées qu'il avait glanées depuis la sixième décennie du XIX^e siècle :

C'est alors que nous vint la pensée d'étudier, aux clartés de l'histoire, un peuple qui présentait de si beaux types, offrait tant de grandeur, inspirait tant d'estime.

Malheureusement personne, du moins à notre connaissance, n'a écrit son histoire. Force nous a donc été de noter patiemment nous-mêmes les faits relatifs à l'Albanie que nous trouverions épars dans les historiens et les documents étrangers.

Qu'est-il a résulté de ce long et pénible travail ? La série incomplète sans doute, mais série enfin de faits, les uns civils, les autres religieux, que nous pouvons mettre aujourd'hui sous les yeux du lecteur (*Préface*, p. xiii).

On peut y voir, osons le dire, l'enthousiasme du dilettante assidu². Faveyrial caractérise lui-même son œuvre, à plusieurs reprises, comme une esquisse :

Quant aux faits historiques enregistrés par nous, facilement on verra que plus nombreux à certaines époques, ils sont vraiment trop rare en d'autres. Mais la faute en est à l'absence de documents, non pas à nous. Tout ce que nous pouvions faire, c'est de fouiller nous-mêmes dans le plus d'histoires possible, laissant à des plus heureux le soin de compléter notre *ébauche*³ (*Préface*, p. xv)⁴.

En 2001, Robert Elsie a édité le manuscrit de l'histoire, qui, selon lui, est à un stade de rédaction avancé, mais non définitif. Cette forme, sur laquelle la page de titre de l'édition nous informe que l'éditeur a établie et présentée⁵, fut publiée en 2004 en traduction albanaise avec un titre légèrement modifié⁶. Nous trouvons dans l'*Introduction* de Robert Elsie peu de renseignements concrets sur le manuscrit et sur le travail proprement-dit de sa publication. Nous apprenons (*Introduction*, p. ix) que le manuscrit fut rédigé entre 1884 et 1889 (période qu'on peut déduire,

² Sur le dévouement avec lequel l'abbé Faveyrial s'est consacré à la connaissance de l'histoire du Sud-Est de l'Europe, en particulier des Aroumains et des Albanais, voir les souvenirs d'un contemporain : Ioan Nenițescu, *De la românii din Turcia europeană. Studiu etnic și statistic asupra armânilor cu aproape una sută de gravuri și o hartă etnografică*, București, Institutul de arte grafice Carol Göbl, 1895, surtout p. 309 et suiv. Il parle également des manuscrits des ouvrages que Faveyrial lui avait montrés. Concernant l'étroite collaboration de Faveyrial avec Apostol Margarit, on peut consulter Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromânească. Evoluția de la origini până la Pacea de la București (1913) și poziția Austro-Ungariei*, traducere autorizată de Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1994 (Biblioteca de istorie a României).

³ Ou encore : Reprenons maintenant l'histoire d'Albanie. À l'époque où on est *cette esquisse historique*, les Grecs n'ont plus rien en Italie ; Après *cette esquisse de faits politiques* accomplis dans la Serbie albanaise ; Cette proclamation contiendrait *une esquisse historique* sur le passé de cette nation ; *L'esquisse* que nous faisons de l'histoire albanaise (chapitres 32, 54, 119, 124).

⁴ Malheureusement, les références aux documents ou écrits anciens ou récents ne sont que rarement faites avec toute la rigueur nécessaire, ou sont complètement absentes.

⁵ *Historie de l'Albanie de Jean-Claude Faveyrial*, édition établie et présentée par Robert Elsie, Peja, Dukagjini Balkan Books, 2001, xviii + 426 p.

⁶ Zhan Klod Faveirial, *Historia (më e vjetër) e Shqipërisë* (= L'histoire – la plus ancienne – de l'Albanie), përktheu Gent Ulqini, Tiranë, Plejad, 2004.

d'ailleurs, de quelques mentions chronologiques dans le texte⁷), qu'il montrerait l'écriture de plusieurs mains, étant plein de corrections et d'additions de la main de l'auteur. Une explication concernant les principes de l'édition était, donc, d'autant plus nécessaire, compte tenu de la mise en page du manuscrit. Une présentation comparative, soit succincte, avec les autres deux manuscrits intitulés *Histoire valaque* (1891) et *Histoire de la presque île d'Illyrie* (non daté) qui se trouveraient eux aussi dans l'archive de l'abbé Jean-Claude Faveyrial conservée à la Maison Mère de la Communauté des Missionnaires Lazaristes à Paris, où ont été découverts par le Père Yves Danjou (Elsie, *Introduction*, p. viii, ix), aurait été très utile afin d'en éclaircir les rapports : le présent travail se réfère, à son tour, aux mêmes sujets, c'est à dire à l'ensemble de la Péninsule Balkanique, aux Roumains du sud du Danube et aux Albanais. C'est facile à remarquer que la place octroyée aux Albanais dans le livre sur leur histoire est moins large que celle visant les Roumains du sud du Danube (nommés constamment Valaques)⁸. Surtout d'un point de vue chronologique, il faut observer aussi que les derniers chapitres de l'*Histoire de l'Albanie* (116–119) ne semblent former une séquence logique ni avec le reste du livre ni entre eux. Un d'eux comprend des notes sur les actes synodaux de l'époque de saint Clément d'Ohrid, un autre, la traduction du firman de 1870 du Sultan approuvant la fondation de l'Exarchat bulgare, le troisième, des notes sur la zone antique autour de l'actuelle Ohrid (Lychnidos). Seul le dernier chapitre revient au sujet du livre contenant, en traduction, sans aucun commentaire, une proclamation aux Albanais faite par la société culturelle *Drita*, active dans la colonie de Bucarest. Significativement, la datation, plus qu'incomplète, **le 2 de ce mois** (quelle année, quel mois?), montre que l'auteur n'est pas revenu sur ses feuilles pour fournir les éclaircissements attendus⁹. Nous sommes devant l'une des rares preuves de l'intérêt avec lequel Faveyrial a dû suivre l'intense activité

⁷ Il faut noter que le livre de Tajani, publié alors que Faveyrial écrivait le sien, lui était, probablement, inconnu.

⁸ Après avoir affirmé en 2001 dans l'introduction de l'édition, comme on l'a vu, qu'à côté du manuscrit de l'*Histoire de l'Albanie*, les archives de l'abbé Faveyrial contenaient également le manuscrit de l'*Histoire des Valaques* et celui de l'*Histoire de la Péninsule illyrienne*, Robert Elsie regrette, dans un article publié en 2003, que les deux manuscrits aient été perdus (*për fatin e dorëshkrimeve të tjera të Faveyrialit, fjala vjen për një Histori e Vllehërve, 1891 [dhe] një Histori i Gadishullit Ilirik nuk dihet. Të paktën, Historia e Shqipërisë, pra historia e parë e Shqipërisë e shkruar ndonjë herë, u shpëtua*). Le sort des autres manuscrits de Faveyrial, notamment une *Histoire des Valaques* de 1891 et une *Histoire de la péninsule illyrienne*, est inconnu. L'*Histoire de l'Albanie*, la première histoire de l'Albanie jamais écrite, a au moins survécu), sans apporter de précisions sur ses deux affirmations contradictoires et sur la date de la perte des deux manuscrits, Robert Elsie, « Zhan-Klod Faveyrial dhe Manastiri në historiografinë shqiptare », *Bota shqiptare*, Rome, 5–18 décembre 2003, p. 14, <http://www.elsie.de/pdf/articles/A2003FaveyrialManastir.pdf> Étant donné la manière dont il a formulé la phrase, on peut se demander s'il a jamais vu les deux manuscrits en question.

⁹ Il pourrait s'agir de l'*Appel* publié le 16 avril 1889 par le journal *Squipetari* de la société *Drita* dirigée par Nikolla Naço (Cătălina Vătăşescu, « Activitatea intelectuală şi culturală a albanezilor din România (1844–1912) », dans Al. Duţu (coord.), *Intellectualii din Balcani în România (Sec. XVII–XIX)*, culegere îngrijită de Eugen Stănescu, Studii istorice sud-est europene, II, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1984, p. 169, note 48). En fait, 1889 est l'année où Elsie suppose que Faveyrial a cessé d'écrire.

culturelle initiée à cette époque même par la colonie albanaise de Roumanie. Le fait qu'il ait eu sous les yeux l'appel qu'il reproduit intégralement prouve qu'il avait des liens au moins avec les rédactions des journaux albanais parus en Roumanie ; la rareté des échos dans son livre sur ce qui se passait dans la diaspora albanaise est donc tout à fait inattendue.

Jean-Claude Faveyrial (1817–1893) passa un demi-siècle dans l'Empire ottoman comme missionnaire de la Congrégation des Lazaristes, cherchant à réaliser l'union des orthodoxes (Bulgares, Aroumains et Albanais) avec Rome. Il vécut à Constantinople et à Monastir (Bitola), collabora avec Apostol Margarit à l'ouverture d'écoles roumaines et enseigna le français et la philosophie au lycée aroumain de Monastir¹⁰.

Abbé Faveyrial propose d'emblée une histoire des manifestations de la vie religieuse qui lui semble relativement plus facile de retracer (*Préface*, p. xiii). Son ouvrage observe la diffusion du christianisme dans les Balkans, à partir de l'unité de la province romaine *Illyricum*¹¹. L'attention particulière accordée, dans l'organisation ecclésiastique de l'Empire romain, à cette province devrait expliquer aussi, à son avis, la continuité structurelle dans l'activité de l'archevêché Justiniana Prima, suivie de celle de l'archevêché d'Ohrid. La très probable christianisation des Albanais dès l'époque apostolique eut lieu, selon Faveyrial, dans les limites de la province d'*Illyricum*. L'histoire ecclésiastique ultérieure des Albanais s'inscrirait, donc, dans cet espace dont le livre de Faveyrial entend mettre en évidence les caractéristiques. Les aspects essentiels de cette reconstruction hypothétique concernent les Valaques et les Albanais. Les témoignages, s'il en existe, de l'environnement de leur vie religieuse devraient compenser la pauvreté des données de l'histoire sociale et politique. Le passage que nous citons ci-dessous est un exemple de la façon dont Faveyrial imagine la vie sociale dans les premiers siècles après l'arrivée des Slaves dans la péninsule.

Le pays étant presque inhabité, les Slaves s'y jetèrent en masse. Seule l'Albanie devra à ses montagnes stériles et à ses gorges étroites de garder ses habitants, les uns Valaques, les autres Albanais. [...] Mais les Bulgares n'étaient pas instruits, et sans les Valaques restés dans les montagnes au temps des invasions, ils eussent été facilement victimes de l'astuce byzantine. Après avoir donc servi aux Bulgares de conseillers et de secrétaires, les Valaques méziens les initieront peu à peu aux principes de la religion chrétienne et les dirigeront vers les cours de Rome et d'Allemagne (p. 101).

Représentant du catholicisme missionnaire, Faveyrial considère les Albanais et les Valaques capables de restaurer l'unité primordiale de l'Église¹², malgré la

¹⁰ Robert Elsie, *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, 2^e éd, Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth, UK, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2010 (Historical Dictionaries of Europe, 75), s.v. Faveyrial.

¹¹ Voir, par exemple, le passage suivant qui met en évidence sa supposition que l'unité indigène a été renforcée par la romanisation et la christianisation : *Illyrien de naissance, Constantin fait un seul état de l'Illyrie romanisée, c'est-à-dire de la Thrace, de la Mésie, de l'Albanie et de la Macédoine au centre, de la Dacie au nord et de la Grèce au sud* (p. 100).

¹² Parfois, à côté des Valaques et des Albanais, il fait une mention spéciale des Bulgares catholiques, dont il orthographie le nom *polikians* (p. 314). Sur les tentatives des Aroumains pour se rapprocher de Rome, voir Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromânească*, p. 58.

conversion progressive et massive des Albanais à l'Islam (*Préface*)¹³. À son avis, le Patriarcat d'Ohrid aurait conservé tout au long de son histoire des éléments essentiels qui assuraient sa proximité avec l'Église de Rome (p. 92), tandis que Byzance aurait provoqué le Grand Schisme uniquement pour détacher l'Illyrie de l'Église de l'Occident (p. 95).

L'Empire romain d'Orient et sa succession sont perçus comme le facteur de désintégration de cette unité à la fois religieuse (culminant avec le schisme de 1054) et culturelle. Ainsi, Faveyrial construit son exposé tout entier en adoptant la théorie de la confrontation entre le grec et le latin à l'intérieur de l'Empire romain d'Orient, depuis la séparation des parties orientale et occidentale jusqu'au VII^e siècle, avec des conséquences qu'il considère d'une gravité et d'une durée extrêmes :

... devenue province du vaste empire romain et s'étendant, y compris la Macédoine et l'Épire, de l'Adriatique à la mer Noire, l'Illyrie vécut plus que de la vie commune à toutes les autres, à la France, à l'Angleterre, à l'Espagne, à l'Italie. C'est dans cette vie commune qu'elle prit la forme romaine et contracta les habitudes qui en eussent fait le bras oriental de la civilisation chrétienne sans les intrigues anti-chrétiennes de l'esprit byzantin (Chapitre 10, *Romanisation de l'Illyrie*, p. 35)¹⁴.

Cette théorie de la confrontation est née au XIX^e siècle, siècle de l'éveil des nationalités luttant pour l'affirmation de leurs langues vernaculaires et leurs droits politiques¹⁵.

L'Empire ottoman, à son tour, est présenté principalement comme un facteur d'unité politique, surtout au cours de ses derniers trois siècles d'existence. Le jugement favorable des Ottomans repose également sur le fait que Faveyrial leur

¹³ Par son intérêt tout spécial pour l'histoire ecclésiastique des Albanais et de la zone sud-est européenne, J.-Cl. Faveyrial pourrait s'avérer être un précurseur de Milan Šufflay (« Šufflay, Milan », en *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2025. Pristupljeno 12.5.2025. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/sufflay-milan>). Voir, par exemple, les deux volumes de documents édités par M. Šufflay avec L. Thallóczy et K. Jireček : *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, I (344–1343), II (1344–1406), Vienne, Adolph Holzhausen, 1913, 1918 ; voir aussi Milan v. Šufflay, « Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien. Die orthodoxe Durchbruchszone im katholischen Damme », dans *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, zusammengestellt von L. von Thallóczy*, I, München und Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1916, p. 188–281 ; « Sredovječni katolički nasip na Jadranu i njegova golema pukotina », dans Milan Šufflay, *Srbi i Arbanasi*, Biblioteka Arhiva za arbanasku starinu, jezik i etnologiju, Istoriska serija, knj. I, Beograd, Izdanje Seminara za arbanasku filologiju, 1925, p. 83–105.

¹⁴ Afin de souligner l'incapacité permanente de l'Empire byzantin à défendre l'espace romanisé au sud du Danube contre toute invasion, depuis les Avars et les Goths jusqu'aux attaques ottomanes, Faveyrial s'appuie sur un passage qu'il tire des *Études historiques sur les Valaques du Pinde* (voir Dim. R. Rosetti, *Secolul al XIX-lea. Dicționarul contemporanilor*, ediția I, Bucurest, Editura lito-tipografiei « Populara », 1897, p. 124, s.v. Apostol Mărgărit ; le titre complet de l'ouvrage et le nom de l'auteur figurent aussi chez Vasile Diamandi-Amnicesanu, *Românii din Peninsula Balcanică*, București, Tiparul Universitar, 1938, p. 222 : Apostol Mărgărit, sous le pseudonyme Valaque Epirote, *Études historiques sur les Valaques du Pinde*, Constantinople, 1880.

¹⁵ Voir H. Mihăescu, *La romanité dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Bucurest, Editura Academiei Române, 1993, p. 340, avec bibliographie.

attribue l'origine gauloise (p. 183)¹⁶. Il faut souligner que selon lui, l'occupation ottomane représentait en réalité le salut des Albanais de l'assimilation :

Quant à l'occupation même de l'Albanie par les Ottoman-Galates, si pénible ait paru dans le temps au patriotisme albanais, nous verrons bientôt que sans elle, la race albanaise disparaissait sous les flots envahissants de la race slave (p. 186)¹⁷.

Il ne faut pas négliger la compréhension avec laquelle Faveyrial semble considérer le crypto-christianisme, un phénomène particulièrement répandu parmi les Albanais catholiques convertis à l'islam (voir surtout le chapitre 79).

En l'absence de toute démonstration ou référence bibliographique, Faveyrial défend l'idée de la présence des Albanais dans la Péninsule avant les Grecs en appelant à la thèse de leur origine pélasgique et affirmant aussi la parenté étroite des Illyriens avec les Pélasges (p. 3)¹⁸. Le sujet des ancêtres Pélasges des Albanais revient fréquemment dans le livre. Il est présent aussi dans les écrits des représentants du mouvement albanais d'émancipation nationale de l'époque. On voit un exemple dans la proclamation que Faveyrial publie en traduction dans le dernier chapitre de son livre et dont nous avons fait mention ci-dessus. Il convient de souligner ici que l'activité de Faveyrial coïncide avec l'intensification de l'activité culturelle de la colonie albanaise de Roumanie, ayant de nombreux points communs.

En ce qui concerne la langue, bien que la théorie de son origine pélasgique ne puisse être soutenue, l'observation que les Albanais du nord et ceux du sud parlent le même idiome et appartiennent au même peuple (p. 16) est importante, car à l'époque circulait également l'idée qu'il s'agissait de deux langues différentes. Même s'il parle d'un seul et même peuple, le livre traite, alternativement, de l'histoire albanaise du nord et du sud séparés par la ligne tracée par le Schisme. De temps à autre,

¹⁶ Sur l'origine gauloise de Galates et sur leur migration vers l'Asie Mineure à travers les Balkans voir Joshua J. Mark, « Galatie. Définition », en *World History Encyclopedia. En français*. Traduit par Babeth Étienne-Cartwright, publié le 24 octobre 2019, avec bibliographie (<https://www.worldhistory.org/trans/fr/1-867/galatie/>)

¹⁷ Faveyrial anticipe ainsi la pensée de Hasan Kaleshi (« Das türkische Vordringen auf dem Balkan und die Islamisierung – Faktoren für Erhaltun der ethnischen und nationalen Existenz des albanischen Volkes », dans *Südosteuropa unter dem Halbmond: Untersuchungen über Geschichte und Kultur der südosteuropäischen Völker während der Türkenzeit. Prof. Georg Stadtmüller zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Peter Bartl éd., München, 1975, p. 125–138) et d'Armin Hetzer (« Buchwesen in Albanien », *Balkan Archiv*, n.F., 9, 1984, p. 181 et suiv.), qui, à leur tour, soutiendront plus tard les conséquences favorables que la domination ottomane aurait eues pour la préservation de l'identité ethnique des Albanais. Sur la similitude entre les opinions de Faveyrial et de Kaleshi, voir aussi le compte-rendu de Bartl, p. 716.

¹⁸ Il n'y a pas d'ouvrage linguistique dans la bibliographie du livre. Les références aux travaux de G. von Hahn, qui avait avancé en 1854 l'hypothèse de l'origine pélasgique des Albanais par l'intermédiaire de la langue illyrienne, thèse ultérieurement soutenue par les représentants du renouveau culturel albanais, sont absentes. Sur la théorie de l'origine pélasgique et son écho parmi les intellectuels albanais du XIXe siècle, voir Mahir Domi, « Probleme të historisë së formimit të gjuhës shqipe, arritje dhe detyra », *Iliria*, 13, 1983, 1, p. 7. L'étude de Domi est une synthèse très utile des résultats de recherche concernant l'histoire de la langue albanaise obtenus pendant la période où notre auteur recueillait ses informations et permet de remarquer plus facilement les lacunes de ses explications.

cependant, Faveyrial fait place à des observations sur la civilisation commune des Albanais du Nord et du Sud :

[En 1880, après le Congrès de Berlin] bien que la Chimara soit entièrement isolée et séparée des autres montagnes, les commissaires ont cru devoir recommander pour ce district le même régime exceptionnel, attendu qu'il est peuplé exclusivement de montagnards chrétiens orthodoxes, dont les mœurs et les coutumes ressemblent entièrement à celles des montagnards albanais [catholiques] (p. 366).

Le contenu du terme *Albanais* est expliqué d'une manière simplificatrice et entachée d'anachronisme :

Nous avons vu que l'empereur Dioclétien était natif de Dioclée, par conséquent Albanais. L'empereur Anastase le fut aussi. Il naquit à Dyrrachium en 430 (p. 45)¹⁹.

La question de la chronologie des étapes de l'histoire de la langue albanaise et de l'époque à partir de laquelle on peut parler de cette langue proprement-dite est loin des préoccupations de Faveyrial. Selon lui, dans la zone de l'Adriatique à la mer Noire, à l'arrivée des Slaves, il y avait :

la population illyrico-romaine ou romanisée, c'est-à-dire les Albanais, les Valaques, les Thraces et les Mésiens (p. 57).

Il connaît l'œuvre de Johann Thunmann, puisqu'il le mentionne, mais pas pour ses affirmations sur l'histoire de l'albanais, mais seulement lorsqu'il s'agit de l'édition qu'il avait faite du dictionnaire de Kavallioti.

L'emploi fréquent de l'ethnonyme Albano-Valaque suggère la situation approximativement similaire de ces deux populations, ou, aux yeux de Faveyrial, même une association de longue date : *l'élément albano-valaque* ; *l'armée albano-valaque* (au IX^e siècle, p. 84²⁰) ; *les Albano-Valaques de Macédoine et d'Albanie* (pendant l'Empire byzantin, p. 103) ; *Basile Bulgaroctone s'en empare sur les Albano-Valaques en 1015* (p. 383) ; *Grecs et Monténégrins sont encore moins ennemis de l'empire Ottoman que de la race albano-valaque* (au commencement du XIX^e siècle, p. 308) :

[...] les troupes dites macédoniennes chez les chroniqueurs byzantins étaient exclusivement recrutées en Macédoine et en Albanie, et qu'on qualifiait indistinctement de macédoniennes les troupes recrutées parmi les Valaques et les Albanais, ces peuples étant mêlés et souvent ensemble depuis l'époque romaine (p. 104).

¹⁹ Sur les lacunes de cette interprétation, voir aussi le compte rendu de Peter Bartl dans *Südost-Forschungen*, 63–64, 2004–2005, p. 716.

²⁰ L'ethnonyme composé apparaît aux chapitres 24, 25, traitant de l'expansion de l'Empire bulgare sous le tsar Samuel sur le territoire albanais actuel. Le chapitre 24 porte même le titre de *Royaume albano-valaque de Prespa*. Faveyrial ne mentionne ici non plus aucune source pour son récit.

On retrouve aussi souvent la dénomination *albano-roumaine*, pour laquelle l'auteur ne donne jamais une explication détaillée :

Quant aux Bulgaro-Slaves, nous avons dû en faire mention plusieurs fois, et cela pour rappeler d'abord les circonstances où ils ont remplacé en Macédoine et en Mésie la *race albano-roumaine* (*Préface*, p. xvi).

Quant à l'époque moderne, contemporaine de l'auteur, son opinion sur la nécessité de l'union entre Albanais et Aroumains s'inscrit dans un courant fort soutenu à la fois par une partie des intellectuels aroumains²¹ et par une partie importante des représentants du mouvement culturel albanais visant l'indépendance²² :

Vu cependant que l'instruction est devenue un besoin universel, nous avons la *race albano-valaque* en assez haute estime pour croire qu'elle aussi ouvrira les yeux, rougira de son effondrement politique et que, au lieu de laisser par testament ou par donation des fonds aux écoles parasites de la Grèce, on les consacrera à la fondation d'écoles nationales et à l'impression de livres nécessaires au peuple de ce pays (p. 99)²³.

La formation d'une culture moderne albanaise et valaque dans la propre langue représentait, aux yeux de Faveyrial, un désir essentiel identique à satisfaire en quête d'une solution politique qui assurerait l'établissement d'un État autonome. La nécessité d'abandonner le grec comme langue de culture pour promouvoir la propre langue est exprimée dans les mots de Mihail Boiagi, l'auteur en 1813 de la grammaire aroumaine (p. 99).

Certaines de ses affirmations méritent aussi d'être rappelées comme témoignages de la circulation des idées à l'époque. On nous dit que les Roumains de Meglen *ne parlent que le Valaque danubien* (p. 111). Dans un autre endroit, il parle des *Valaques carpathiens* pour les distinguer de ceux des Balkans (p. 141).

De nombreux chapitres traitent de l'arrivée des Slaves et de l'histoire de leur voisinage avec les Valaques et les Albanais. Faveyrial propose également un aperçu historique de leur christianisation oscillant entre Rome et Constantinople. Il s'attarde longuement sur les guerres entre les Byzantins et les Slaves.

²¹ Concernant les débuts de la collaboration entre les intellectuels aroumains et albanais, voir l'étude approfondie de N.-Ș. Tanașoca, « România, aromânii și Liga albaneză de la Prizren în lumina corespondenței lui Ioan D. Caragiani cu Ion Ghica și Apostol Margarit », dans Mihai E. Ionescu, Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca (coord.), *Al doilea război balcanic (1913). Masa rotundă «100 de ani de la Al Doilea Război Balcanic»*, 9 septembrie 2013, București, Editura Militară, 2014, p. 40–73, où le Père Faveyrial est également mentionné. Voir aussi Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromânească*, p. 62 et suiv.

²² Pour les idées de Nikolla Naço, un important représentant de la colonie albanaise de Bucarest à la fin du XIX^e siècle, sur la création d'un État albano-aroumain sur le modèle de la Suisse voir Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening. 1878-1912*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 148 ; plus récemment, Majlinda Peza-Perriu, Ilirjana Kaceli (Demirlika), « Activities of the Albanian Diaspora in Romania in Support of the Albanian National Cause », *Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie*, XXVII, 2 (42), 2022, p. 106.

²³ Il est regrettable que nous n'apprenions pas, comme nous aurions pu l'espérer, des détails sur la collaboration entre les mouvements culturels albanais et aroumain, notamment en ce qui concerne l'ouverture d'écoles et l'impression de livres dans leur propre langue.

L'absence, la plupart du temps, de mentions et de références documentaires précises devrait inciter à les chercher ou à la vérification des sources. L'éditeur du manuscrit, malheureusement, ne semble pas avoir eu cette intention. La bibliographie à la fin du livre ne semble pas être celle de l'auteur, mais celle que l'éditeur a reconstituée, et elle est restreinte par rapport à ce que le texte suggère avoir été consulté. L'identification, dans la mesure du possible, des sources aurait dû être accompagnée d'une vérification minutieuse des références, lorsqu'elles existent, afin de garantir la lecture correcte du manuscrit. Par exemple, dans le récit (tiré de *l'Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* de Hammer) d'un épisode dans lequel, en 1695, une délégation d'habitants de Scutari se plaint au sultan de la tyrannie du gouverneur suivant la coutume orientale de porter des nattes enflammées sur la tête, au lieu de *nattes* il est écrit *notes*, et c'est très probablement parce que l'éditeur n'a pas compris le mot exactement. Cependant, dans la traduction française du livre de Hammer que Faveyrial a consultée, le mot correct apparaît, accompagné de l'explication de la coutume²⁴. Une mauvaise lecture rend le moment incompréhensible et cache le sens de la coutume.

Pour les événements auxquels il suppose que la population albanaise des territoires faisant partie des États slaves, aux IX^e–XI^e siècles, aurait pu prendre part, Faveyrial accorde une confiance totale à la Chronique de Dioclée (p. 73, 87, 114) ; il remet tout le temps en question les sources byzantines ou les rejette et même les ironise (par exemple, Anne Comnène, p. 113, 114).

Une bonne partie du livre il s'efforce de décrire – avec les quelques données fournies par les lectures des auteurs qu'il ne nomme généralement pas – les relations complexes de la noblesse albanaise, dans la période antérieure à la domination ottomane, avec les États slaves qui comprenaient les territoires habités par les Albanais et avec les États fondés par différents souverains occidentaux. Son style est toujours passionné, particulièrement critique envers les États orthodoxes, à savoir l'Empire byzantin et les royaumes serbes. Une place particulière est occupée par l'histoire des relations entre Albanais et Monténégrins, qui explique également les événements des dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle (surtout, les chapitres 103, 113).

Une des hypothèses de Jean-Claude Faveyrial nécessite une tentative de clarification, d'autant plus qu'elle est également reprise par des travaux récents :

Jetons maintenant un coup d'œil sur une hérésie qui ravagea l'Illyrie toute entière plusieurs siècles durant. Il est question du manichéisme. En Bulgarie on nomme ses partisans Bogomiles, en Asie Pauliciens, en France Albigeois, et *en Italie on nomme Albanais ceux qui vont propager le manichéisme en Albanie et en d'autres pays* (p. 124).

²⁴ Des détails sur l'histoire de cette coutume dans le nord de l'Albanie et dans l'Empire ottoman peuvent être trouvés dans les récits de voyage de Franz Nopcsa (voir Cătălina Vătășescu, « Note pe marginea manuscrisului *Die Bergstämme Nordalbanien und ihr Gewohnheitsrecht* al lui Fr. Baron Nopcsa, în traducere albaneză », dans Cătălina Vătășescu, Penka Danova, Constantin Iordan, Andrei Eșanu (éd.), *Istorie, cultură și politică în Sud-estul Europei. Două colocvii internaționale*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2017, p. 125–128, où l'on trouve également des parallèles avec la coutume dans les Pays roumains).

Les commentaires de Faveyrial ne manquent pas d'affirmations sur l'existence du bogomilisme dans le nord et le centre de l'Albanie, fondées uniquement sur des ouï-dire²⁵, sur lesquels il n'insiste pas. Son argument selon lequel le bogomilisme a dû se propager aux Albanais est que le passé de bogomiles expliquerait leur conversion massive à l'islam. L'affirmation selon laquelle les Manichéens d'Italie étaient appelés Albanais, pour laquelle il ne cite aucune source, semble être tirée de l'*Histoire de Constantinople* de Du Cange²⁶. La théorie selon laquelle il y aurait eu des manichéens d'origine albanaise en Italie provient probablement de la présence dans les documents du XII^e–XIII^e siècles d'une *Ecclesia albanensis*. Cette église de Desenzano, au bord du lac de Garde, groupant les ainsi nommés *Albanenses*, représente une des six factions cathares de Lombardie et suit le rite slave de l'hérésie²⁷. Son nom provient de celui de l'évêque Albano. Il est vrai qu'il est difficile de distinguer les deux origines possibles du nom : soit le nom (assez répandu chez les Français et les Italiens) du saint Alban, fêté par l'Église le 22 juin, soit, moins probable, le surnom d'Albano, indiquant l'origine ethnique de l'évêque. Quoiqu'il en soit, il s'agit de l'Église des disciples de l'évêque Albano²⁸, et non de celle d'un groupe hérétique originaire d'Albanie. Nous avons insisté sur le sujet de la diffusion du bogomilisme parmi les Albanais car, bien que les preuves manquent, l'hypothèse de Faveyrial – fondée uniquement sur le nom *Albanenses*, en Lombardie – est reprise dans les ouvrages contemporains. Robert Elsie, l'éditeur de Faveyrial, sans indiquer l'œuvre de celui-ci, bien qu'il ne soit pas convaincu de

²⁵ L'empereur Alexis Comnène fit brûler à Constantinople le moine Basile, chef des Bogomiles bulgares (1110). **Ceux qu'on avait découvert dans la haute Albanie peu avant l'époque où nous sommes arrivés ne furent pas traités plus bénignement. [...] En 1869, l'Egoumène de Saint Naoum nous disait qu'on appelle encore Bogomiles les Albanais de Mocra-Gora (Motagnes humides) situées à l'ouest du lac d'Ochride. Cependant ils ne sont plus Manichéens, mais les appellerait-on encore Bogomiles s'ils ne l'avaient pas été ? [...] Est-il possible qu'en Albanie ceux qui les premiers embrasseront l'islamisme n'y aient pas été préparés par les doctrines manichéennes ?** Étant donné qu'il y avait des Slaves, mais aussi des Albanais, à Mokra Gora, cette preuve de la présence du bogomilisme dans la région ne suffit pas à attribuer également l'hérésie à la population albanaise.

²⁶ Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français*, Paris, De l'Imprimerie royale, 1657, p. 342 (on y trouve également le récit de la réaction dure d'Alexis Comnène envers les Bogomiles que nous avons mentionnée dans la note antérieure) ; voir aussi Du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm. Niort, L. Favre, 1883–1887, t. 1, col. 162b, s.v. *Albanenses* 'Hæretici' (<http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr>). Les travaux du Ch. Du Cange n'apparaissent pas dans la bibliographie.

²⁷ Chrisitne Thouzellier, « Cathares », <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/cathares>

²⁸ Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez, « L'expansion du catharisme en Italie », en Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez, *Les catharismes. Modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008 (<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.3688>). En plus de citer le document qui enregistre le nom de l'évêque Albanus et montre que la communauté avait pris de lui son nom, Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez donne d'autres exemples d'églises cathares en Italie portant le nom de l'évêque local, et on peut voir que ce processus de dénomination forme une série.

la possibilité d'une propagation du bogomilisme aux Albanais, ne l'exclut pas, en se basant sur l'existence de l'*Ecclesia Albanensis* au nord de l'Italie²⁹.

Les chapitres 79 et 99 montrent la connaissance de Faveyrial des anciens auteurs catholiques albanais, de leurs œuvres et activités, des lieux où ils ont servi : Pjetër Bogdani³⁰, Pjetër Budi, Frang Bardhi (François Bianchi), Pjetër Mazreku, Gjon Muzaka, le prélat italien Francesco Mario da Lecce. La traduction de Buzuku n'avait pas encore été redécouverte. Il connaît également le contenu des décisions du synode tenu en 1703. Les connaissances sur l'ancienne culture catholique albanaise sont complétées par celles sur l'activité des érudits aroumains, en particulier ceux de Moscopole (voir, par exemple, le chapitre 88).

Le livre de Faveyrial, témoin averti du temps dans lequel il vit, mérite d'être lu comme le fruit du travail d'un intellectuel profondément impliqué dans les mouvements du Sud-Est de l'Europe. La qualité de l'ouvrage réside dans le fait qu'il fournit l'impulsion nécessaire à l'étude.

²⁹ Robert Elsie, *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, p. 55, 56 ; issue du livre de Faveyrial, même s'il n'est pas mentionné, l'idée de l'adoption du bogomilisme par les Albanais n'est pas exclue non plus par Radu-Cosmin Săvulescu, qui cite le dictionnaire de Elsie : *O istorie a creștinismului albanez din vremurile apostolice până la căderea comunismului*, Craiova, Editura Asdreni, 2024 (Albanica), p. 94.

³⁰ Concernant le rôle des anciens livres d'église catholiques en albanais et leur conservation, il est intéressant d'entendre l'histoire de la conversion d'un Albanais musulman au christianisme. Faveyrial raconte qu'en 1866, un chrétien de Dibra lui raconta qu'un albanais musulman avait trouvé un tel livre chez lui (Faveyrial suppose qu'il s'agissait du *Cuneus Prophetarum* de Bogdani) et qu'après l'avoir lu, il fut convaincu des vérités chrétiennes qu'il contenait, ayant l'intention de convertir aussi d'autres personnes.

UN CHOIX PERSONNEL TRANSFORMÉ EN MISSION
GOUVERNEMENTALE:
L'ACTIVITE DU D^R CAROL DAVILA (1828–1884) EN ROUMANIE

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Carol Davila's pioneering work in the health field has often been read by contemporaries and posterity through a political point of view. One of his fundamental goals was the establishment of medical education and the education of Romanian specialists. This "nationalization" of Romanian medicine was concretely supported by France. Opponents of French influence in the Principality accused Davila of occult interests, but in Romania his work was perceived as a gesture of patriotism. Although his presence in Bucharest does not appear to have been the result of direct negotiations between the Romanian and French governments, from the outset he was seen by his contemporaries as a true agent of the latter, an opinion he himself shared.

Keywords: Dr. Carol Davila, Romanian healthcare system, National School of Medicine and Pharmacy (School of Surgery) of Bucharest, French influence in the Romanian Principalities.

« On ne parlera jamais assez de Carol Davila¹ » – c'est sur cette phrase que le docteur G.Z. Petrescu achevait, en 1930, son volume publié en hommage au centenaire² de la naissance du D^r Davila. Au-delà de la nuance émotionnelle, pleinement justifiée par la typologie du discours où ils s'inscrivent, les mots du docteur G.Z. Petrescu sont toujours d'actualité. C'est qu'ils renvoient à un sujet de réflexion historique dont le traitement, bien que riche, ne fait que stimuler la tentation de le revisiter. Les pages qui suivent s'articulent autour de quelques thèmes très présents dans l'historiographie roumaine : le rôle de Carol Davila comme fondateur de la médecine moderne roumaine, l'influence française dans les Principautés à la moitié du XIX^e siècle, le projet politique de Napoléon III et son rapport avec le projet politique roumain. L'idée de les revisiter nous a été suggérée par le même G.Z. Petrescu, qui définissait l'activité de Carol Davila comme une

¹ D^r G. Z. Petrescu, *Carol Davila (1828–1884)*, Bucarest, 1930, p. 74.

² Comme les données concrètes sur les origines de Carol Davila manquent, y compris son certificat de naissance, et que sa famille et ses biographes ont avancé plusieurs variantes, les autorités préférèrent, semble-t-il, une solution de compromis et célébrèrent son centenaire en 1930.

mission *culturelle, humanitaire* et, ajouterons-nous, politique, puisqu'elle était mise sur le compte du gouvernement français et du prince régnant valaque :

« Docteur en médecine de la Faculté de Paris [...], il était attiré pour remplir une haute mission culturelle et humanitaire que, sur la recommandation du Gouvernement français, le Prince régnant de Valachie lui avait confiée. [...] Il devait pourvoir aux moyens de combler les immenses lacunes d'une institution dépourvue de personnel et de matériel. Le Service de santé n'existait pour ainsi dire pas. Il résolut de le créer de toutes pièces³ ».

Ce qui nous intéresse donc, c'est de voir dans quelle mesure, comment et pourquoi les contemporains de Carol Davila et Davila lui-même ont pu percevoir son activité pionnière dans le domaine sanitaire comme une mission civilisatrice, grosse de conséquences politiques sur le devenir historique des Principautés. Précisons d'emblée que les sources et les informations que nous convoquerons sont, dans une grande mesure, connues des spécialistes. Notre propos est d'en donner, dans la perspective énoncée ci-dessus, une autre lecture qui, bien que n'étant pas entièrement nouvelle, n'a jamais été présentée comme ayant constitué le cadre fondamental de l'activité du docteur Carol Davila.

Dès les premières décennies du XIX^e siècle, l'europanité que les Roumains commencent à revendiquer et à mobiliser au sein d'un vaste projet de renaissance nationale, culturelle et politique sur lequel nous n'insisterons pas, évoque prioritairement le modèle français. Ce n'est pas un hasard si les premiers professionnels de l'espace public – juristes, ingénieurs, médecins, mais surtout enseignants – s'étaient formés, grâce aux bourses offertes par la Curatelle des écoles (donc à l'initiative de l'État), dans l'espace universitaire français. Or, le modèle français de civilisation incluait une composante hygiénique et sanitaire, aux effets politiques importants.

À la moitié du XIX^e siècle, dans le contexte de la guerre de Crimée, l'effort de la France pour se familiariser avec les caractéristiques de l'espace européen soumis, d'une façon ou d'une autre, à l'autorité ottomane, mais aussi pour essayer une europanisation sanitaire minimale de cet espace, s'intensifiera. Les années 1854–1858 marquent la parution, notamment à Paris, d'un important nombre de récits de voyages rédigés par des médecins, y compris des médecins militaires⁴. On peut mentionner les ouvrages des D^{rs} Joseph Melcon Beyran, Jean Champouillon, Camille Allard ou Joseph Caillat. L'ouvrage du D^r Beyran, diplômé de la Faculté de médecine de Paris et chirurgien en chef de l'Hôpital Yedi-Koulé de Constantinople, fait l'objet d'un rapport signé par deux rapporteurs français qui proposent d'envoyer cette contribution au ministre de la Guerre (en l'assimilant donc aux rapports officiels) et témoigne du rôle d'exportateur culturel que l'école médicale française avait assumé dans les Balkans:

³ D^r G. Z. Petrescu, *Charles Davila et l'influence française sur la médecine roumaine*, Bucarest, 1930, p. 8–9.

⁴ Pour une analyse plus détaillée, voir Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, « L'hygiène, un modèle européen de la modernité balkanique et sud-est européenne au XIX^e siècle », dans A. Balcheva, Y. Bibina (éd.), *Roads and Trails of the Europeanism in the Balkans*, Sofia, 2014, p. 191–211.

« Dans la haute position médicale qu'il occupait à Constantinople, il s'est souvenu de ce qu'il doit à la France, à cette France qui lui a ouvert les sanctuaires de la science et l'a admis au nombre de ses fils adoptifs ; il quitte son poste et vient publier à Paris, dans notre langue, tous les documents qu'il croit devoir être utiles à notre armée⁵ ».

En 1855, le Dr Jean Champouillon publiait ses propres observations dans un ouvrage portant sur la rive droite du Danube et sur la Dobroudja. L'enjeu global de la connaissance détaillée des zones danubiennes de l'Empire ottoman reste la nécessité de les moderniser à l'occidentale, compte tenu d'un certain appétit manifesté déjà par les Ottomans pour des connaissances scientifiques, considérées comme étant propres à la civilisation occidentale⁶.

La même vocation civilisatrice, assumée cette fois-ci officiellement par le gouvernement français, se trouve à l'origine de la mission confiée en 1855 aux ingénieurs Léon Lallane et Jules Michel, ainsi qu'au docteur Camille Allard. La mission avait eu pour objectif d'ouvrir une voie de communication entre le Danube et la mer Noire, autre que le delta du Danube, contrôlé à l'époque par les Russes implantés à Ismaïl et Reni :

« Cinq cents ouvriers valaques, bulgares, cosaques et turcs furent employés [...] quand nous quittâmes la Dobroutcha, nous avons pu assister à une sorte de résurrection de tout le pays. L'impulsion donnée par la France n'a pas été perdue [...] et [...] cette dernière ville [Kustendie / Constanța] [...] pourrait devenir le centre d'une civilisation dont nous avons vu la naissance⁷ ».

La vocation civilisatrice que la France avait assumée, dès les premières décennies du XIX^e siècle, par rapport à l'espace européen de l'Empire ottoman, devient une composante du projet international de Napoléon III. La politique d'encouragement des nationalités a une valeur programmatique pour Napoléon III. Le diplomate français Hyppolite Desprez, en cherchant une réponse à la controverse empires-nations dans l'Europe centrale et orientale pour trouver un fondement au positionnement politique de la France devant les évolutions de cette région, considérait que la solution serait la consolidation de l'Autriche et de l'Empire ottoman. Le renforcement des autonomies locales pouvait aboutir à les transformer dans une barrière efficace contre la Russie⁸. Hippolyte Desprez considérait que les empires réformés pourraient agir comme protecteurs efficaces des nationalités⁹. C'est lui qui met en avant plusieurs projets à l'égard de l'organisation politique des principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie.

⁵ Dr J.-M. Beyran, *La Turquie médicale au point de vue des armées expéditionnaires et des voyageurs [...] suivi d'un vocabulaire scientifique et militaire*, Paris, 1854, p. 73.

⁶ J. Champouillon, *Voyage médical en Orient*, Paris, 1855, p. 39.

⁷ Dr C. Allard, *Mission médicale dans la Tartarie-Dobroutcha*, Paris, 1857, p. 6.

⁸ G. Leanca, « Empires et nations dans la stratégie diplomatique du Second Empire : quelques observations autour des écrits d'Hippolyte Desprez », *Analele Științifice ale Universității « Al. I. Cuza » din Iași* (nouvelle série) Histoire. t. LVI–LVIII, 2010–2012, p. 242–243.

⁹ Idem, « Vellités impériales, occupations militaires et modernité : les Principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie à la veille de la construction nationale », *ibid.*, t. LX, 2014, p. 430–431.

De l'autre côté, la guerre de 1828–1829 entre l'Empire ottoman et la Russie avait permis à celle-ci la mise en pratique d'une nouvelle stratégie frontalière, accompagnée de transformations profondes des principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie. Les mesures hygiéniques prises afin de faire face aux épidémies de choléra ou de peste justifient l'image des principautés comme « cordon sanitaire » méridional de l'Empire russe¹⁰. La prise de possession des raïas situés sur la rive gauche du Danube correspond à l'invention d'une frontière très précise à l'intérieur de l'Empire ottoman, et la création des premiers corps d'armée dans les deux principautés y est inextricablement liée¹¹. Jusqu'au traité de Paris de 1856, l'objectif de la diplomatie française quant aux Principautés est précisément « à veiller sur la question de savoir si la Russie [est] sortie des limites du traité d'Andrinople » (réponse du ministre Bastide interpellé par un député le 17 juillet 1848 au sujet de la révolution de Valachie). En revanche, l'enjeu de la diplomatie française après 1856 est de maintenir cette fois-ci la position ottomane dans les deux principautés dans les limites confiées par le traité d'Andrinople. Le Quai d'Orsay soutient la réorganisation des principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie compte tenu de l'unité ethnographique des Moldaves et des Valaques, sans cependant soutenir l'indépendance ou le détachement de la nouvelle entité de l'Empire ottoman¹².

Dans tout ce projet politique dynamique et compliqué, le projet sanitaire occupe une place importante pour tous les acteurs politiques. Les quarantaines sur la rive gauche du Danube créent non seulement un filtre sanitaire, mais aussi une barrière vue par les Russes comme la limite entre « civilisation » et « barbarie »¹³. Mais, au point de vue sanitaire, la civilisation, c'était le modèle médical occidental, et l'impulsion donnée par la Russie s'avéra une arme à double tranchant. Il existe une relation très claire entre les idéaux modernisateurs (et, parfois, nationaux) et le modèle médical occidental. Il n'y a pas de contradictions entre l'emprunt à la science occidentale dominatrice et l'émergence d'un nationalisme et des idéologies de la libération. Bien au contraire, avec quelques nuances, le schéma s'applique à tous les pays dans la même situation. L'adoption de la médecine occidentale s'accompagne de l'adhésion au nationalisme¹⁴. Recourir à la médecine moderne était aussi faire acte politique en faveur de la modernisation et paradoxalement de l'émancipation.

En plus, la politique sanitaire des Principautés et certains aspects concrets de la politique internationale s'interpénètrent. Un rapport diplomatique rédigé sans doute en Valachie en 1850 décrivait ainsi le régime quarantenaire instauré par les Russes sur le Danube :

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 423–424.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 424–425.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

¹⁴ P. Bourdelais, O. Faure (coord.), *Les nouvelles pratiques de la santé, acteurs, objets, logiques sociales (XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles)*, Paris, 2005, p. 19.

« Celui pratiqué aujourd'hui dans les diverses Administrations de la Quarantaine et du port à Galatz et à Ibraïla a été introduit tacitement par les commissaires de santé russes installés depuis ce printemps dans chacune des échelles des Principautés [...] Des mesures aussi préjudiciables au commerce et aux intérêts du pays [...] sont donc mise en pratique par la voie de l'arbitraire, dans laquelle Messieurs les Commissaires Russes ont pris un libre essor, ne faisant en cela que remplir fidèlement les instructions supérieures, qui leur recommandent expressément de déployer tout le zèle possible à susciter toute sorte d'entraves pour paralyser les opérations commerciales de ces ports [...] en leur confiant cette mission : celui d'étouffer le commerce des Principautés¹⁵ ».

La question des quarantaines est d'ailleurs explicitement signalée dans les notes diplomatiques du consul de France à Bucarest : « L'immixtion des Russes dans l'administration intérieure des Principautés par la création des quarantaines est connue et, si l'établissement de ces quarantaines a été un bienfait pour la Moldo-Valachie, ç'a été aussi un moyen d'influence habilement calculé¹⁶ ». Mais au-delà des aspects économiques, bien notables, le régime des quarantaines avait aussi une signification politique. Quelques semaines plus tard, dans le contexte des troubles déclenchés par les Bulgares et secrètement entretenus par la Russie, le même consul rapportait à son supérieur : « J'ai dit au Prince que l'accueil fait en Valachie, à la demande du commissaire russe, dans les quarantaines qui sont sous une administration russe, aux Bulgares fugitifs, serait presque une reconnaissance des Principautés comme provinces russes¹⁷ ».

C'est sur cette toile de fond des intérêts des grandes puissances que les Roumains essayaient de servir discrètement leurs intérêts nationaux, sans léser les grands empires voisins, mais en s'appuyant sur la France et sur son attitude favorable aux petites nations. Une note diplomatique de décembre 1849 mentionnait l'intention du prince régnant de développer l'enseignement national afin de doubler l'éducation française pour laquelle optaient les élites autochtones et qui fâchait la Russie :

« Il [le Prince Stirbey] m'a entretenu de son nouveau plan d'études et j'ai vu que son but principal en fondant une éducation nationale, était à la fois de former des hommes capables de prendre part aux affaires et de faire disparaître une des causes de mécontentement de la Russie, qui a vu toujours avec déplaisir les jeunes gens des Principautés aller achever en France une éducation dont bien peu, d'ailleurs, ont su profiter¹⁸ ».

Une année et demie plus tard, le prince Stirbey décidait, sans doute à la suite des pressions des Russes, de supprimer les chaires de français de Valachie, mais de continuer, cette fois-ci à la suite des pressions françaises, de faire payer les

¹⁵ N. Iorga, *Mărturii istorice privitoare la viața și domnia lui Știrbei-Vodă*, vol. II – (suite de « Corespondența lui Știrbei-Vodă », I), Bucarest, 1905, p. 612–613 (document du 12 juillet 1850).

¹⁶ Idem, *Corespondența lui Știrbei-Vodă*, vol. I – *Corespondența politică*, Bucarest, 1904, p. 163 (document du 8 juin 1850).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167 (document du 29 juin 1850).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84–85 (document du 7 décembre 1849).

professeurs par le gouvernement et de les retenir ainsi au pays ; le consul Poujade informait son supérieur de ce que cette mesure n'affecterait nullement la francophilie des Roumains :

« Il paraît que ma lettre au Prince Stirbey, au sujet des professeurs français, a produit quelque sensation, car les choses sont restées dans le statu-quo, et les professeurs, qui avaient craint de se voir supprimer leur traitement, continuent à le percevoir, sans professer il est vrai, mais ils sont chargés de travaux par le Gouvernement valaque, et ils se montrent assez satisfaits de cette trêve, qui assure leur présent, sans engager l'avenir. Cependant ma conviction est que le Prince a résolu de ne pas rétablir les chaires de français, parce qu'il a reçu des injonctions à cet égard » ; néanmoins, « Les goûts et les sympathies des Moldo-Valaques sont trop décidés en faveur de la France [...] et les conditions géographiques se sont seules opposées à ce que notre influence politique et matérielle soit ici toute-puissante »¹⁹.

Faire appel à des spécialistes venus de France n'avait d'ailleurs rien de nouveau. La même correspondance diplomatique du consul à Bucarest rappelle que le prince régnant avait demandé en 1850 qu'on lui envoie des spécialistes en eaux et forêts, ce qui avait eu pour résultat l'arrivée à Bucarest de trois personnes qui seraient « pour trois ans à la solde du Gouvernement valaque »²⁰. Mais la pénurie de professionnels frappait bien des branches de l'administration, y compris le domaine sanitaire. Un mémoire diplomatique d'avril 1853 sur l'état de la Valachie et les réformes entreprises rappelle que :

« L'organisation du service sanitaire devenue de jour en jour d'une importance majeure, est en voie de recevoir les perfectionnements réclamés par les besoins. [...] Il faut, sans aucun doute, du temps et de la persévérance pour compléter l'organisation de tous ces établissements et en attendre les résultats désirés ; car, sans parler d'une foule d'obstacles [...] une grande difficulté c'est le manque d'hommes capables de professer »²¹.

C'est dans ce contexte qu'arrivait à Bucarest, la même année 1853, Carol Davila. Les détails de son recrutement demeurent obscurs mais, pour ses contemporains, il était évident que Davila faisait partie d'une mission gouvernementale, résultat d'accords au sommet entre les gouvernements roumain et français. L'histoire de l'arrivée du D^r Carol Davila à Bucarest, telle qu'elle semble s'être répandue parmi ses contemporains, fut consignée, transmise et perpétuée par le D^r C.D. Severeanu (1840–1930), ancien élève de Davila, dans ses *Souvenirs*. Nous rendons intégralement le passage en question parce que, bien qu'historiquement erroné et contenant des informations fausses, il permet de comprendre la manière dont les contemporains perçurent l'arrivée à Bucarest du D^r Carol Davila et, par la suite, son activité.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 171 (document du 4 juillet 1850).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 230 (document du 5 juillet 1851).

²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 266–268 (document du 15 avril 1853).

« L'hospodar Știrbei fut un homme très intelligent et qui avait l'esprit d'organisation. C'était un austrophile, si bien qu'il était très ouvert aux innovations. Știrbei constata, entre autres, que l'armée souffrait du manque d'un service sanitaire, mais qu'il n'y avait personne pour en organiser un, étant donné que le pays ne comptait que peu de médecins étrangers et d'officiers de santé ayant appartenu aux armées étrangères, et quelques aventuriers venus pour y vivre comme dans un pays barbare. Pour mettre sur pied un service sanitaire, Știrbei avait donc besoin d'un homme instruit ; pour en avoir un, il ne pouvait s'adresser qu'à la France, vu les sympathies qui liaient les Français et les Roumains. En plus, Napoléon III, qui avait de la sympathie pour les Roumains, venait de monter sur le trône de France. Știrbei, qui avait fait ses études en France, avait lui aussi beaucoup d'amour pour ce pays et, s'il était austrophile, il ne l'était que par nécessité politique. D'ailleurs, entre le peuple roumain et les Allemands, il n'y avait aucun lien de sympathie. Le consul français à Bucarest était un certain Béclard, dont le père était doyen de la faculté de médecine de Paris, alors que lui, il avait épousé une fille de Barbu Catargiu. C'est par l'entremise de Béclard que Știrbei obtint que le doyen de la faculté de médecine de Paris publie un avis annonçant que la Perse et la Valachie avaient chacune besoin d'un docteur en médecine. En Valachie, c'était pour le poste de médecin en chef de l'armée et médecin du prince ; en Perse, pour celui de médecin du shah. Deux jeunes Français, Davila et Tholozan, venaient de terminer leurs études. En voyant l'annonce, ils convinrent d'accepter et de s'y présenter. Tholozan, plus vaniteux et exerçant un certain ascendant sur Davila, choisit la Perse ; Davila préféra la Valachie. On vit plus tard que Tholozan fit davantage de science, et que Davila s'occupa davantage d'organiser. Une fois arrivé au pays, Davila fut présenté par le consul Béclard au prince Știrbei. Celui-ci, voyant que Davila était un homme instruit et intelligent, le prit en affection et ne lui refusa rien pour l'organisation des services sanitaires militaires et civils, lesquels étaient si mal en point qu'on pourrait dire qu'ils n'existaient même pas²² ».

Un demi-siècle plus tard, G. Brătescu démontrait que « dans toute cette relation, seule semble vraie l'affirmation que le prince Barbu Știrbei a eu l'initiative d'embaucher un médecin français dans le service sanitaire de l'armée roumaine. Le reste des détails ne sont que de simples improvisations » : Béclard n'était pas devenu consul à Bucarest, son père n'était pas non plus doyen de la faculté de médecine de Paris (c'est son frère, Jules-Auguste Béclard, qui l'était), et le fameux avis n'est signalé nulle part ailleurs ; nous ignorons donc « les circonstances dans lesquelles Davila apprit que le gouvernement de Bucarest était à la recherche d'un médecin²³ ». En revanche, le recrutement de Carol Davila semble avoir été dû au Dr Picolo, mentionné dans une lettre de Davila comme facteur de décision et correspondant à Paris de la Curatelle des écoles de Bucarest²⁴. Brătescu rappelle encore une coïncidence significative. À l'été de 1852, C.A. Rosetti partait de Paris à Nantes, où il aura pu connaître et apprécier le Dr Guépin, qui fut le tuteur et l'un des premiers mentors de Carol Davila. Le même été, Davila s'était lui-même rendu à Nantes, si bien « qu'il paraît fort possible que la liaison établie par celui-ci [C.A. Rosetti] avec le Dr Guépin ait influencé dans une certaine mesure la décision

²² C. D. Severeanu, *Din amintirile mele, 1853–1929 [Souvenirs, 1853–1929]*, édité avec une introduction, des notes, des indices et illustrations choisies par Constantin Rezachevici, Bucarest, 2008, p. 4–5.

²³ G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, Bucarest, 1979, p. 99.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

prise à ce moment-là par le doctorant [Carol Davila] »²⁵. Ce, d'autant plus que, une fois arrivé à Bucarest, Davila entretenait d'excellentes relations avec C.A. Rosetti.

Nous ne manquerons pas d'ajouter à cette coïncidence une autre, tout aussi suggestive. Pour pouvoir terminer ses études au plus vite et occuper son poste à Bucarest, Carol Davila renonça au sujet premier, bien plus théorique, de sa thèse, et le remplaça par une dissertation sur la prophylaxie de la syphilis, un sujet abordé déjà par le D^r Guépin, mais très proche des sensibilités de Barbu Știrbey, lequel avait fondé les hôpitaux départementaux temporaires pour les maladies vénériennes (afin de combattre la syphilis dans les villages), qu'il voulait transformer en institutions permanentes de médecine générale.

D'autre part, le D^r Brătescu assure qu'il n'y eut jamais de pourparlers ni de correspondance entre les gouvernements français et roumain où il soit question de faire venir à Bucarest un médecin français, et que toute la responsabilité pour la sélection et l'embauche du médecin français incombait au D^r Nicolae Picolo. Celui-ci avait dès 1843 été nommé par le prince Gheorghe Bibescu correspondant rétribué des jeunes Roumains qui faisaient leurs études à Paris, mais il aura sans nul doute rempli des missions comme celle qui nous intéresse ; ainsi, il signa en 1844 le contrat par lequel l'ingénieur Jean-Baptiste Marsillon s'engageait à entreprendre des travaux d'approvisionnement en eau et de canalisation²⁶.

Bien que, malgré l'imaginaire créé ultérieurement, sa présence à Bucarest ne semble pas avoir été le résultat de négociations directes entre les deux gouvernements, Carol Davila fut d'emblée perçu et se considéra lui-même comme un fonctionnaire / agent gouvernemental français, dans les conditions spéciales créées par la guerre de Crimée. Même sans une mission officielle initiale, « la présence d'un citoyen français dans les rangs de l'armée roumaine avait presque l'air d'un défi²⁷ » dans le contexte de l'occupation russe des Principautés et de l'imminence d'une guerre entre les Russes et les Ottomans soutenus par la France. Alors qu'une partie de ses concitoyens se disposaient à quitter les Principautés, le D^r Davila, qui se considérait comme un fonctionnaire français, pensait pouvoir obtenir une sorte de dispense pour continuer son activité à Bucarest en cas d'une guerre entre la France et la Russie, et offrir, en vertu de sa profession et de sa position, des soins médicaux à ses compatriotes. Dans une lettre du 23 juillet / 5 août 1853, il écrivait :

« Tant que le pavillon tricolore flottera au consulat, il va de soi que je reste. D'autres fonctionnaires français pourront partir avant, si leur mission devient impossible ; la mienne étant d'une autre nature, je reste à mon poste aussi longtemps que possible. Reste à savoir ce que je dois faire si, dans les éventualités politiques, la France déclarait la guerre à la Russie. [...] Quoique je sois officier non combattant, je crois que je ne puis rester au service d'un gouvernement en guerre avec le mien, sans une *permission spéciale du ministre* [souligné dans le texte]. D'autre part, je crois qu'à cause de la nature de mes fonctions, le ministre pourrait me

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103–104.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

donner une permission spéciale de rester à mon poste, puisqu'en cas de guerre, mes compatriotes trouveraient mes soins et ma protection²⁸ ».

Si, au début, le Dr Davila entretenait de bonnes relations avec les officiers russes, et même avec le prince Mikhaïl Gortchakov, commandant en chef des armées russes du Danube, en mars 1854, il fut écarté de la commande du Service de santé de l'armée (et remplacé par un médecin recommandé par les Russes), sous le prétexte d'un congé de maladie, nécessaire à la suite de problèmes de santé assez graves que le Dr Davila avait eus à l'époque. En juin 1854, la Turquie autorisait l'Autriche à participer à l'occupation des Principautés, et les Russes durent se retirer. À l'automne de 1854, le prince Barbu Știrbei, qui avait été obligé à quitter le pays, revient sur son trône et, au début du mois d'octobre 1854, il signe la renomination de Carol Davila à la tête du Service de santé de l'armée. C'est à la même époque qu'arrivait à Bucarest le nouveau consul de France, Léon Béclard. Le rôle que le Dr Severeanu lui attribuerait plus tard dans sa relation de l'arrivée en Valachie de Carol Davila fut sans nul doute lié aux origines de la famille du consul (originaire d'Angers, où Carol Davila avait commencé son apprentissage en pharmacie) et à la présence, au sein de cette famille, de médecins de notoriété (le père de Léon, Pierre-Augustin Béclard, professeur de la Faculté de médecine de Paris, son frère, Jules-Auguste Béclard, professeur et doyen, en 1881, de cette faculté). Le pharmacien Ollivier, dans l'officine duquel Davila avait commencé son apprentissage, lui écrivait au début de 1833 : « M. Béclard est le fils aîné du célèbre anatomiste de Paris, né à Angers et ayant encore de la famille là-bas. Le frère du consul est agrégé à la Faculté de médecine de Paris, où il jouit même d'une certaine réputation²⁹ ».

Les conditions de l'occupation militaire, bien que l'occupant ait changé, n'étaient pas de nature à améliorer le sort du Français Carol Davila, perçu par les nouvelles autorités militaires comme agent de la France ayant pour mission d'introduire en Valachie un modèle politique français. Le 15 février 1856, le général Coronini, commandant en chef des forces autrichiennes d'occupation, envoyait un rapport accusant l'existence et la propagation de la « gallomanie » parmi les officiers valaques, à commencer par le fils même du prince régnant, le spathaire Gheorghe Știrbei, lequel subissait l'influence néfaste du Dr Carol Davila :

« Celui-ci [Gheorghe Știrbei] a reçu son éducation à Paris, il a servi dans l'armée française, et ce n'est pas tout. Le jeune prince, bien qu'il ne soit pas notre ennemi, n'a à notre égard aucune disposition amicale, aucun sentiment de gratitude et de considération, et se trouve sous l'influence d'un jeune homme, un certain Davila, qui vit ici depuis quelques années comme

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 151; le texte a été repris de l'article de J. Vier, « Un Breton d'adoption, grand médecin de Roumanie, le docteur Carlos Davila. Documents inédits », *Annales de Bretagne*, t. 66, n° 2, 1959, p. 172–173.

²⁹ Cité par G. Brătescu, *Tineretea lui Carol Davila*, p. 178. La traduction a été faite d'après la version roumaine donnée par G. Brătescu ; nous n'avons malheureusement pas eu accès à l'original français de la lettre.

médecin en chef de l'Armée ; en recourant aux artifices de son art, sous des formes soit alléchantes, soit impétueuses, ou à toutes sortes de fanfaronnades, ce jeune homme ne cesse de gagner du terrain. Il s'est sans doute donné pour but d'introduire ici, peu à peu, les institutions françaises³⁰ ».

Chose curieuse, l'épisode se répétera, dans des termes quasi identiques, plus de dix ans plus tard, au moment où Davila sera considéré comme un instrument de la même influence française auprès du jeune prince Carol. En novembre 1868, le comte Keyserling, envoyé par Bismarck à Bucarest afin de défendre les intérêts allemands, transmettait dans un rapport :

« M. Saint-Pierre a, en son temps, présenté à Düsseldorf comme l'homme de la situation un charlatan, un médocastre, très estimé ici (ou espion français ?), sans que cela puisse être motivé autrement qu'ainsi : M. Davila, auparavant presque inconnu, ou alors connu mais sans aucun renom, a flatté au dernier moment [la] vanité personnelle [de Saint-Pierre], afin que celui-ci lui donne sa protection et le recommande auprès du nouveau prince, après qu'il a trompé, sinon trahi, au moment du danger, l'ancien "régent" Cuza, à qui il devait tout. L'intimité où ce M. Davila vécut par la suite avec le Palais et le prince Carol porta préjudice à ce dernier dans l'opinion de beaucoup de gens de bonne volonté³¹ ».

Nous ne nous sommes pas demandé, et nous ne nous demanderons pas, si Davila aura été chargé de quelque mandat secret confié par les autorités françaises. Son arrivée dans les Principautés ne semble pas avoir été le résultat d'une mission officielle. Qu'il appelât ultérieurement, en profitant d'un contexte extrêmement favorable, au soutien officiel de la France pour son projet lié à l'enseignement médical, ou qu'il fût un vecteur de l'influence culturelle française, au sens large, dans l'espace roumain, nous semble aller de soi, vu ses origines, sa formation et le fait qu'il demeura jusqu'en 1866 exclusivement citoyen français. La position qu'il se construisit, celle de chef du service de santé militaire et, plus tard, civil, le plaça très près du pouvoir. Il jouit certainement de l'appréciation et du soutien de trois princes régnants (Barbu Știrbei, Al. I. Cuza et Carol I^{er}) et d'un caïmacam (Alexandru Ghica, lui aussi ancien prince régnant), et ses contemporains le perçurent comme un personnage influent. À preuve, son ascension rapide, en 1875, au sein de la franc-maçonnerie roumaine qui, à l'époque, était encore placée sous l'obédience du Grand Orient de France. Une lettre de motivation adressée à ce dernier offre une explication : « Parmi les précautions jugées nécessaires étaient aussi celles de mettre à la tête de notre Atel[ier] un homme influent. Nous avons trouvé, non sans peine, le frère Davila, personnage très influent et en même temps dévoué au bien public et illustré par son passé³² ».

Un objectif fondamental du D^r Carol Davila fut de jeter les bases de l'enseignement médical et de doter l'espace roumain de spécialistes roumains.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

³¹ D. Berindei, *Date privind viața lui Carol Davila*, dans G. Brătescu, *Din tradițiile medicinei și ale educației sanitare. Studii și note*, Bucarest, 1978, p. 335.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

Cette « nationalisation » de la médecine roumaine jouit du soutien de la France comme composante du projet politique de Napoléon III. Dans l'espace roumain, elle fut perçue comme un geste patriotique, qui fit que son initiateur entra au panthéon national. Dans son esquisse biographique du D^r Carol Davila, le D^r D. Grecescu, ancien élève de son école, évoque

« parmi nos illustres et immortels patriotes [...], un étranger d'origine française, devenu un véritable Roumain dans son âme et dans ses actions », et conclut en opinant que celles-ci « ont fait que son nom demeure immortel et figure parmi ceux de nos grands patriotes qui, dans les temps difficiles pour le pays, de grande pénurie et de misère, combattirent ensemble pour la liberté, la culture, l'indépendance et le bien de la patrie roumaine³³ ».

La création d'un enseignement médical roumain fut facilitée par l'existence d'embryons de structures de ce type, créés à partir de 1842. Cette année-là, Nicolae Kretzulescu, frais émoulu docteur en médecine à Paris, inaugurait à l'hôpital Colțea, avec le soutien du prince Alexandru Ghica (futur caïmacam, qui soutiendra aussi Davila), une petite école de chirurgie afin de faciliter ultérieurement l'accès des meilleurs élèves « à l'étude de la médecine [...] dans une des académies d'Europe³⁴ ». Faute d'élèves, l'école de Colțea cessa son activité en 1847, en dépit d'une tentative de création d'une école moyenne, pour cadres auxiliaires, sous la direction des D^{rs} Vartiadi et Rissdörfer³⁵. En 1853 fut adoptée la « Loi pour l'extension des établissements sanitaire et pour l'amélioration du service médical » et fut ouverte à l'hôpital « Filantropia » une nouvelle école de petite chirurgie – cette fois-ci, sous la direction du D^r Polizu –, mais qui ne fonctionna malheureusement que de nom³⁶. Parallèlement, il existait à Bucarest, pour les officiers de santé et les infirmiers de l'Armée, une espèce d'école sanitaire militaire créée par le prince Știrbei en octobre 1850³⁷. En 1851, l'école et l'hôpital militaire déménagèrent dans les locaux de l'hôpital « Mihai-Vodă » où, en 1853, Carol Davila devint médecin en chef. En 1854, après avoir repris son poste, Davila procéda à la réorganisation de l'école en proposant au prince régnant d'unir les deux écoles de petite chirurgie de Bucarest. Les cours de la nouvelle école commencèrent en 1855, mais ce n'est qu'une année plus tard, en 1856, que Barbu Știrbei signa le décret d'organisation de l'École de chirurgie de « Mihai-Vodă ». Le Dr Carol Davila fut nommé médecin en chef (*supradoctor*) de l'armée, son contrat fut renouvelé pour six ans et son salaire doubla³⁸. Le programme de l'école indique, à commencer par son nom même, la direction de développement souhaitée par son initiateur (« Programme général pour

³³ D^r G. Grecescu, *Schițare din viața și activitatea Generalului Doctor Carol Davila*, Bucarest, 1903, p. 5 et 28.

³⁴ Cité par G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, p.190 (*Curierul românesc* n° 8 du 26 janvier 1842).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

l'école de chirurgie de « Mihai-Vodă », en conformité de celui des écoles secondaires de France »³⁹). Une année plus tard, le « Règlement de l'École nationale de médecine et de pharmacie » (août 1857) gardait la même orientation, qu'il détaillait dans les termes suivants :

« Art. 4 – Dans l'École nationale de médecine et de pharmacie l'enseignement des sciences médicales sera complet et se fera sur la base du programme des écoles de France, tel qu'il a été accepté (Décret n° 455 du 6/18 mars 1856) ; Art. 5 – L'école roumaine ne délivrera pas de diplôme de docteur en médecine : elle enverra ses meilleurs élèves à la Faculté de Paris, pour obtenir ce diplôme [...] ; Art. 6 – L'école se réserve le droit de délivrer à ses élèves [...] les diplômes et titres scientifiques correspondant aux titres d'officiers de santé, de maîtres en pharmacie et de vétérinaires.⁴⁰ »

Pour revenir au moment 1856 (l'École de chirurgie), l'initiative de Carol Davila était, pour les Roumains, l'équivalent d'un geste de patriotisme, puisqu'elle allait suppléer « au manque, tant militaire que civil, de personnel patriotique⁴¹ ». *Le Courrier de Bucarest* mentionnait que la nouvelle école était « une institution sur le modèle des écoles secondaires de France, et dont les élèves suiv[ai]ent les mêmes cours et pass[ai]ent les mêmes examens qu'en France⁴² », et le Dr Severeanu se souvenait que « l'uniforme des élèves était identique à celui de l'École du Val-de-Grâce de Paris⁴³ ».

À l'été 1856, peu après sa création, l'école de chirurgie se retrouvera au centre d'un scandale⁴⁴ qui liera son nom à celui du consul français à Bucarest, Bécclard. Bien que plausible, l'anecdote n'est consignée nulle part ailleurs, étant originellement racontée par le même Dr Severeanu. Celui-ci dit que :

« Tous les cours étaient publics, mais les dissections se faisaient en cachette, si bien que, lorsqu'il apprit par hasard que les élèves disséquaient les cadavres, le ministre de la Guerre, le colonel Odobescu, russophile impénitent, ordonna qu'en 24 heures on évacuât l'école de la cour de l'hôpital et que l'on cessât de pratiquer des dissections anatomiques sur des cadavres de soldats. Le directeur de l'école, le docteur Davila, se rendit chez Bécclard, le consul français, et lui communiqua la disposition du ministre. Bécclard télégraphia à son tour au gouvernement français, qui répondit que l'École de médecine sous la direction du Français Davila fût désormais fondée par le gouvernement français. Le docteur Davila communiqua à Alecu Ghica, le caïmacam du pays, la disposition du gouvernement français. Le caïmacam fit tout de suite venir Odobescu et ordonna que l'école restât sur place et permit de pratiquer des dissections sur les cadavres des soldats⁴⁵ ».

³⁹ Dr G. Grecescu, *Schițare din viața și activitatea ...,* p. 36.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ Cité par G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, p. 204 (*Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, n° 12–13/28 mars 1856).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 206 (*Le Courrier de Bucarest*, nr. 79).

⁴³ C.D. Severeanu, *Din amintirile mele ...,* p. 8.

⁴⁴ Cet incident apparaît chez V. Gomoiu, qui le présente comme raconté par Severeanu. L'alarme avait été donnée par la mère d'un soldat décédé dans l'hôpital, laquelle ayant retrouvé, soit toute seule, soit sur l'indication de quelqu'un, le cadavre profané de son fils, avait demandé la fermeture immédiate de l'école (G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, p. 219 note 2) ; l'épisode a été par la suite repris dans beaucoup d'ouvrages sur Carol Davila.

⁴⁵ C. D. Severeanu, *Din amintirile mele ...,* p. 7–8.

Le Dr Brătescu commente cet épisode ainsi : « Nous ignorons quelle est la part de vérité et la part de légende dans cette relation ; mais il est certain que Béclard montra un intérêt constant à l'école de Davila⁴⁶ ».

Dans le contexte international des années 1856–1857, où la France se montrait de plus en plus intéressée par le sort des Principautés, la diplomatie française se montra disposée à offrir un soutien effectif à l'école de médecine de Bucarest. Dès novembre 1856, celle-ci était présentée par le docteur Davila à son ancien tuteur, le docteur Guépin, comme « une œuvre utile à une nation entière⁴⁷ ». Au printemps de l'année suivante, *le Moniteur universel* (n° 105 du 25 avril 1857), gazette officielle de l'Empire, publiait un article élogieux sur cette institution⁴⁸. Davila avait, semble-t-il, obtenu une promesse de soutien de la part du représentant de la France dans la commission des grandes puissances, le baron Charles-Angélique de Talleyrand-Périgord, arrivé à Bucarest en juillet 1856 et dont Davila avait déjà fait la connaissance en mars 1853 à Weimar, dans la maison de Franz Liszt⁴⁹. Le 12 août 1856, dans une lettre adressée à la comtesse de Charnacé, fille de la comtesse d'Agoult, Davila avouait : « J'ai fait mon devoir dans la mesure de mes forces. [...] J'ai organisé une école de chirurgie qui, d'après la promesse de Monsieur de Talleyrand, recevra sa sanction dans le congrès de Bucarest »⁵⁰.

Le 24 juillet 1857, Talleyrand envoie de Bucarest une lettre personnelle au comte Walewski, ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Empire français, où il se déclarait totalement favorable à la démarche qu'entreprenait Béclard, en vue de faire équivaloir les diplômes délivrés par l'École de chirurgie de Bucarest avec ceux des écoles secondaires de médecine de France (cela permettait aux élèves roumains de s'inscrire à la Faculté de médecine de Paris afin d'obtenir un doctorat en médecine). À la lettre du diplomate était joint un mémoire de Davila concernant l'utilité de l'établissement qu'il avait fondé et qu'il dirigeait⁵¹. Le mémoire fut publié dans *Naționalul* (n° 20 du 13 février 1858) :

« Cet institut [...] est une preuve supplémentaire des penchants et des bonnes dispositions naturelles qui caractérisent tous les états de ce pays [...]. Notre école ne délivrera que des diplômes d'officiers de santé et, en se considérant comme une simple colonie détachée de la faculté de Paris, c'est de cette faculté que dépendra la consécration de nos efforts. Un décret impérial, qui donnerait à notre jeune école le privilège sollicité, produirait l'effet le plus heureux sur notre jeunesse [...]. Un tel décret serait pour les Roumains, dans les circonstances actuelles, un encouragement inestimable, qui les ferait s'élever, par l'étude, à la hauteur de la civilisation européenne qui s'est faite l'arbitre de leurs destinées⁵² ».

⁴⁶ G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, p. 219–220.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 222. Traduit d'après la version roumaine donnée par G. Brătescu.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 223 et p. 225–226 respectivement.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵⁰ H. Perticari-Davila, *Le Général Dr. Carol Davila. Sa vie et son œuvre d'après sa correspondance. Ouvrage publié à l'occasion de son centenaire par les soins de sa fille [...]*, Bucarest, 1930 ; dans l'édition que nous avons consultée, les pages ne sont pas numérotées, si bien que nous nous contenterons d'indiquer seulement la date de la correspondance en question.

⁵¹ G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, p. 226.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 226.

Quelques mois plus tard, le 15 avril 1858, Davila informait le Comité sanitaire des démarches qu'il avait entreprises à Paris, par l'intermédiaire du consul français de Bucarest :

« [...] et lorsque je vis que les élèves avaient progressé dans leurs études selon mon désir, je rédigeai un rapport, en présentant par le menu détail l'organisation [de l'école], et je l'expédiai par l'entremise de S.E. le consul général de France ; c'est à la suite de cette démarche qu'un décret fut donné à Paris portant sur cette école⁵³ ».

Le décret en question, émis le 8 août 1858, fut communiqué au consul Béclard et puis aux autorités de Bucarest. Il fut suivi, le 15 août 1858, d'un décret semblable, donné par le roi de Sardaigne, Victor-Emmanuel II. Ainsi, les élèves de l'École de médecine et de pharmacie de Bucarest étaient, au bout de quatre ans et après avoir passé tous leurs examens, autorisés à continuer leurs études pour obtenir un doctorat (ou *laurea*) dans toutes les universités de ces deux États. Tous ces documents évoquent l'École de médecine et de pharmacie de Bucarest – désignation fictive, destinée à conférer plus de prestige à l'École de chirurgie de Bucarest, car tel en était le nom officiel⁵⁴. Le Dr Brătescu souligne également qu'il s'agit d'une mesure exceptionnelle, puisque jamais auparavant ni après on n'émit à Paris de décision semblable en faveur d'une institution d'enseignement médical étrangère⁵⁵.

En décembre 1858, Davila adressait à Alexandru Ghica un mémoire sur les besoins de l'établissement qu'il dirigeait, et justifiait la nécessité de son développement ainsi : « Peu à peu, la Roumanie cessera d'avoir besoin de médecins étrangers ; par conséquent [...], Bucarest deviendra le centre du progrès et des études supérieures pour l'ensemble des pays roumains »⁵⁶.

La France a explicitement assumé le projet du docteur Carol Davila : à preuve, en juillet 1858, celui-ci se vit accorder la Légion d'honneur au grade de chevalier, et au banquet donné par Béclard à l'occasion de la fête nationale française, Davila fut l'hôte d'honneur et reçut « les compliments unanimes de ses compatriotes », selon le rapport du consul au ministre Walewski⁵⁷.

En dehors des questions de prestige et d'influence culturelle, la France avait aussi un intérêt très concret dans le développement d'un service sanitaire roumain selon les standards européens. En avril 1859, la France et le Piémont (qui avaient déjà signé des accords permettant aux élèves de l'École de chirurgie de Bucarest de compléter leurs études médicales) déclarèrent la guerre à l'Empire des Habsbourg. Cuza reçut de Napoléon III des indications secrètes sur la mobilisation de l'armée roumaine, afin de créer une pression supplémentaire sur les armées des Habsbourg et les empêcher de se concentrer exclusivement sur la zone lombarde. On organisa donc

⁵³ Cité par G. Barbu, *Carol Davila și timpul său*, Bucarest, 1958, p. 357.

⁵⁴ G. Brătescu, *Tinerețea lui Carol Davila*, p. 227, n. 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 227–228.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

le camp moldo-valaque de Florești, dont le service de santé fut confié à Carol Davila ; le camp fonctionna jusqu'au mois de septembre, quand il fut levé⁵⁸.

On peut soupçonner que la présence de Carol Davila à la tête du service sanitaire de l'armée n'était pas seulement l'option de Cuza, mais aussi celle de la France. Bien qu'arrivé dans les Principauté depuis de longues années, Davila continuait d'être citoyen français, et les militaires français présents chez nous l'appréciaient et, au besoin, lui auraient ouvertement donné leur appui. À preuve, l'épisode inédit, de 1861, du duel entre Davila et le sous-lieutenant Apostolescu. Instrumentalisé par une partie des militaires roumains de haut rang, hostiles à Davila, l'incident produisit une intense activité télégraphique entre les deux capitales roumaines, Iași et Bucarest. Dans ce contexte, Cezar Librecht, chef du service de renseignements de Cuza, mentionnait une intervention de la mission militaire française en faveur de Davila : un télégramme de Librecht prévenait Cuza de ce que les membres de la mission menaçaient de s'en aller, considérant comme injuste l'attitude de militaires roumains envers Davila⁵⁹.

Après 1866, Davila se concentre sur la transformation de l'École nationale de chirurgie et de pharmacie en Faculté de médecine. Le parcours ne fut pas dépourvu d'animosités entre Davila et une partie de ses confrères, que mécontentaient sa position dominante et son intention de promouvoir par concours (c'est lui qui introduisit cette pratique dans les Principautés) en tout premier lieu des médecins issus de l'École de chirurgie. Dans ce contexte, Davila présente sa démission. Le document en question renvoie aux années passées au service du corps médico-sanitaire roumain et à sa position initiale de membre d'une mission officielle française : « Il y a presque douze ans que je fus nommé directeur de l'École de médecine ; à l'époque, je faisais partie de la première mission française amenée au pays par le Prince Știrbei⁶⁰ ». Bien que, on l'a déjà vu, son arrivée dans les Principauté ait été tout au plus une démarche semi-officielle (à en juger par la position du docteur Picolo d'employé du gouvernement valaque), Davila fut perçu dans l'imaginaire public de l'époque et bien longtemps après, comme étant un agent officiel de la France. Sa démission fut reportée jusqu'à l'approbation du budget de la nouvelle institution, ce qui se passa en même temps que la signature du décret de création de la Faculté de médecine, le 15 février 1867. Le nom de celle-ci restera à jamais lié à celui du docteur Carol Davila.

Le retardement de la transformation de l'école en faculté, inscrite dans la *Loi de l'instruction publique* du 25 novembre 1864, mais réalisée au bout de quelques années, était interprété par le docteur Grecescu au début du XX^e siècle comme étant dû aux efforts de Davila pour doter de professeurs roumains la nouvelle institution d'enseignement : « Il désirait temporiser en attendant que les docteurs roumains reviennent de l'étranger⁶¹ ». Quant aux médecins qui exerçaient dans les Principautés avant l'arrivée de Davila, voici ce qu'en disait le D^r Grecescu :

⁵⁸ G. Barbu, *Carol Davila ...*, p. 162 et suiv.

⁵⁹ D. Berindei, *Date privind viața lui Carol Davila ...*, p. 332.

⁶⁰ Cité par G. Barbu, *Carol Davila ...*, p. 261, n. 34.

⁶¹ D^r G. Grecescu, *Schițare din viața și activitatea ...*, p. 23.

« Il y a avait des docteurs au pays, des docteurs étrangers, la plupart des Grecs, des Allemands, des Juifs, voire des Bulgares qui s'étaient implantés chez nous. À l'époque, les seuls médecins roumains étaient le docteur Krețulescu et le vieux docteur Polizu, et la Valachie, étant très en retard, ne pouvait former des docteurs⁶² ».

Le jugement de Grecescu n'épargne pas les médecins étrangers, considérés comme « des médiocrités médicales, des Grecs, des Allemands et des Juifs qui cherchaient à faire croire que les Roumains étaient inaptes aux études médicales⁶³ ». C'est toujours dans ces termes nationaux qu'il juge le remplacement à la tête du service sanitaire, pendant une brève période en 1864, de Davila par le docteur Glük, « de nationalité juive⁶⁴ », bien que, dans ce cas, l'origine du personnage a dû compter moins que le conflit opposant Davila et Kogălniceanu⁶⁵. Il est tout aussi vrai que Davila lui-même interprétait en des termes péjoratifs les origines juives de son rival. Dans une lettre à sa femme, il écrivait :

« Monsieur Glük sera à l'Éphorie⁶⁶ !... Un juif baptisé représentera les fondateurs des hôpitaux, on rend l'administration des biens et l'on nomme un tel misérable pour qu'il puisse s'enrichir. [...] Il paraît que le grand homme [Kogălniceanu] est plus puissant que jamais et que tout doit céder devant sa volonté. Amen⁶⁷ ».

Alors que le monde médical des Principautés avait réellement été dominé par les médecins étrangers⁶⁸, la nouvelle école médicale qui, en plus, permettait à ses élèves de parfaire leurs études en France ou en Italie, visait explicitement à roumaniser ce domaine. Le règlement de l'École nationale de médecine et de pharmacie de 1857 prévoyait clairement les *conditions d'acceptation* des élèves : « Les concurrents doivent avoir été nés ou naturalisés Roumains et renoncer à toute protection étrangère⁶⁹ ». Cette condition, parfaitement explicable dans le cas du personnel sanitaire militaire, s'appliquait à tous les candidats, bien que le but déclaré de l'école fût « de former des officiers de santé et des pharmaciens pour le service sanitaire de l'armée, des hôpitaux et des districts [...] et des vétérinaires

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶⁵ Pour les rapports tendus entre Carol Davila et Mihail Kogălniceanu, voir D. Berindei, « Despre relațiile dintre Carol Davila și Mihail Kogălniceanu », *Ocotirea sănătății în R.P.R.*, VI (1956), n° 3 (juillet – septembre), tiré à part.

⁶⁶ Curatelle des hôpitaux.

⁶⁷ H. Perticari-Davila, *Le Général Dr Carol Davila ...*, lettre sans date, dans la XIIIe section – *Lettres diverses*, 1854–1884, datant de 1864–1865 (plus probablement), époque où le Dr Glük figure parmi les éphores des hôpitaux civils.

⁶⁸ Pour l'origine étrangère des médecins des Principautés pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, voir, entre autres, L. Trăușan-Matu, *De la leac la rețetă. Medicalizarea societății românești în veacul al XIX-lea*, Bucarest, 2011, p. 98 : « les médecins venus dans les Principautés étaient à 62% des juifs de la Galicie ; les autres étaient des Allemands, des Grecs, des Hongrois, des Français et des Transylvains ».

⁶⁹ Dr. G. Grecescu, *Schițare din viața și activitatea ...*, p. 39.

pour les campagnes⁷⁰ ». Le nombre des élèves était de 110, dont 40 pour l'armée, 50 pour les districts (« chaque sous-administration aura au moins un médecin ») et 20 pour la pharmacie⁷¹.

En 1866, après l'arrivée du prince Carol, Davila devenait lui-même citoyen roumain en recevant la naturalisation⁷². Jusqu'alors, il s'était considéré, en sa qualité de citoyen français et en vertu des rapports entretenus avec les représentants diplomatiques de la France, non seulement comme un vecteur de la civilisation française, mais quasiment comme un fonctionnaire de l'État français. Lors d'un autre conflit avec une partie de ses confrères autochtones, dans le contexte de modifications apportées à la législation sanitaire, qu'il voyait plutôt comme une tentative de l'évincer et de politiser le service sanitaire, Davila remit un mémoire au ministre de la Guerre, en mentionnant explicitement que c'était le gouvernement français qui l'avait envoyé en mission, et que cette mission n'avait pris fin qu'avec l'obtention de la citoyenneté roumaine, qui le transformait en membre de plein droit de la haute administration roumaine :

« MM. les D^{rs} Fotino et Severin [...] ont parlé dans leur qualité de sénateurs et non de médecins militaires [...]. Ces initiateurs prétendent qu'ils ont imité la loi française, quand notre loi actuelle en diffère sur ce point principal. La nouvelle loi française, qui est une loi administrative et non sanitaire, assure au Service Sanitaire un comité consultatif [...] présidé par l'Inspecteur général du Service Sanitaire qui, ayant le grade de général de division, représente l'unité de direction, d'action et de responsabilité. Notre loi, au contraire, exige un conseil médical supérieur irresponsable, sans présidence, que celle du ministre [...] De telles dispositions de loi ne se sont encore vues nulle part. Je sers l'armée depuis le 13 mars 1853, jour où je suis venu dans le pays, envoyé en mission par le gouvernement français pour organiser le Service Sanitaire. [...] En 1866, par décret de S.M. le Roi, alors prince Charles de Roumanie, [...] on m'a voté à l'unanimité des corps législatifs, la naturalisation [...] comme récompense nationale, pour les éminents services apportés au pays [...]. Dès ce moment, ma mission de la part du gouvernement français a pris fin et je suis devenu citoyen roumain, de cœur et de fait [...]. Depuis 22 ans et plus, je suis Inspecteur général du Service Sanitaire Roumain. Si cette fonction est supprimée, [...] je considère ce fait comme mon élimination indirecte des rangs de l'armée⁷³ ».

Officielle ou officieuse, la mission de Carol Davila dans les Principautés avait été une réalité incontestable tant pour lui-même que pour ses contemporains. Elle s'inscrivait dans le courant général de diffusion de l'influence française en Europe de l'Est, et son succès fut entériné par la remise, par deux fois, de la Légion d'honneur au docteur Carol Davila. Dans la préface au volume de correspondance publié par sa fille, celle-ci rappelle un épisode significatif, qui aurait eu lieu à l'occasion du départ de Davila pour les Principautés : « En partant pour la Roumanie, en 1853, M. Bordillon, préfet de Maine-et-Loire, écrivit au D^r Guépin,

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷³ H. Peticari-Davila, *Le Général Dr. Carol Davila ...*, Rapport adressé au Ministre de la Guerre, s.d.

qui fut le tuteur de mon père : “Recommandez bien à Davila de se considérer là-bas comme les *missi dominici* de la civilisation ; il a en ce sens charges d’âmes” »⁷⁴. Les deux décorations reçues démontrent qu’il aura parfaitement rempli cette mission aux yeux des autorités françaises.

En 1882, ses amis diplomates français, qui avaient plaidé pour sa cause, voyaient la Légion d’honneur au grade de commandeur comme une reconnaissance de son activité, mais aussi comme un geste réparateur envers cet agent ad-hoc des gouvernements français, que son pays d’adoption semblait avoir placé dans un cône d’ombre :

« Monsieur le Médecin Inspecteur-Général et cher compatriote, J’ai pu contribuer à obtenir une réparation. Sur ma proposition, M. le Président de la République Française, vous a nommé commandeur de la légion d’honneur, par décret du 24 décembre. Nul ne sera plus content que moi de vous voir porter cette décoration que vous méritez depuis si longtemps, et je me félicite d’avoir eu la bonne fortune de pouvoir, en signalant à la fois et vos succès à la France et l’oubli dans lequel on les avait laissés, obtenir la réparation qui vous était due⁷⁵ ».

Cette reconnaissance publique et prestigieuse de la part de sa patrie d’origine eut une énorme importance pour Davila qui, malade et approchant de la fin de sa vie, réaffirmait son appartenance culturelle française. En janvier 1883, il écrivait à son fils : « J’avoue que cela m’a fait un grand plaisir ! C’est un souvenir de la patrie. Dans nos idées françaises, une telle récompense grandit l’âme⁷⁶ ».

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, *Le Général Dr. Carol Davila ...*, Préface.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Ministère de la Guerre, Paris, 28 déc. 1882, signature indéchiffrable.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Carol Davila à son fils Alexandre, début janvier 1883.

LA DIPLOMATIE CULTURELLE DE LA FRANCE DANS LE ROYAUME DES SERBES, CROATES ET SLOVÈNES/YOUGOSLAVIE, 1918-1939

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This study deals with the French cultural diplomacy in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians/Yugoslavia, country created after the World War I on the basis of Franco-Serbian military alliance during the war and the French diplomatic support to victorious Serbia at the Paris peace conference in 1919/20. Cultural diplomacy is seen as a part of broader French political and economical action in Eastern Europe in order to organise the small newly created countries into the French field of interest in the anti-German perspective. The role of Italy, French ally and rival in Eastern Europe during the all period between the two World Wars is also taken into account. The French cultural diplomacy in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia had two aspects: the symbolical and the concrete aspect. Its aim was to spread the positive feelings towards France in the ex-Austro-Hungarian regions of the Kingdom, where France was unknown or seen as an enemy and to maintain the pro-French attitude of the majority of Serbs. The aim was to contribute to the “interior equitation and strengthening” of the new ethnically and religiously heterogeneous country by the means of culture used as a “soft power”. The French cultural diplomacy in the Kingdom SCS/Yugoslavia is analysed in its local, regional and European context and in its short and long term perspective.

Keywords: France, Serbia, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Yugoslavia, international relations, cultural diplomacy, soft power.

INTRODUCTION

Ce travail¹ est une étude de l'aspect culturel des relations entre la France et le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes (RSCS)/Yougoslavie (RY) de la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale à la fin des années 1930, ces années durant lesquelles l'Europe plongeait dans une nouvelle guerre mondiale meurtrière. En 1929, après une décennie de crise interne, le RSCS devint la Yougoslavie et changea la nature de son régime politique. Cette année-là marqua un tournant, lorsque les premiers signes de la grande crise économique mondiale commencèrent à modifier le climat des relations internationales qui, en 1939, aboutit au déclenchement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

¹ Ce travail s'appuie sur : Stanislav Sretenović, « French cultural diplomacy in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians in the 1920's », *European Review of History*, volume 16, no. 1, 2009, p. 33–47.

Dans le cadre des relations inégales et asymétriques entre la France et le RSCS/Yougoslavie dans les années 1920 et 1930, il convient d'accorder une attention particulière à l'aspect culturel, parce qu'il est étroitement lié aux aspects politiques, militaires et économiques de ces rapports. Ces quatre aspects se sont mutuellement influencés et transformés au cours de l'histoire, et chacun mérite d'être considéré avec le même degré d'importance.

La culture, dans son sens le plus large de production, distribution et consommation d'objets symboliques au sein d'une société, a été un facteur de détermination des relations entre la France et le RSCS/R Y parce qu'elle a contribué à façonner les mentalités, à donner une orientation au sentiment public et même à influencer les décisions politiques. Elle était à la fois un enjeu et un champ d'affrontement entre différents groupes d'influence impliqués dans la politique interne et externe du RSCS/R Y et de leurs idéologies antagonistes.

L'importance de la culture dans les relations entre la France et le RSCS/R Y s'explique par la position de l'Etat slave du sud sur la scène intérieure et internationale: le RSCS/R Y était à l'époque de sa création un État nouveau et, de ce fait, fragile et à l'avenir incertain. A presque quatre vingt dix pour cent agricole, il englobait des territoires habités par des Serbes, des Croates et des Slovènes, des peuples aux religions, traditions et expériences du passé différentes. Dans la construction de sa cohésion nationale, le modèle français pouvait jouer un rôle utile.

La victoire de la France et de ses alliés à l'issue de la Première Guerre mondiale n'était pas seulement une victoire militaire, mais, aux yeux des nations nouvellement créées à l'époque, c'était aussi le triomphe de la liberté et de la démocratie sur « l'autocratie et la barbarie allemandes ». Aux yeux des nouvelles nations d'Europe centrale et des Balkans, la France était la gardienne et le modèle ; sa langue était un symbole de prestige et ouvrait les portes du « monde civilisé ». Son histoire et ses valeurs politiques étaient une référence et un objectif à atteindre. Mais la culture était aussi un champ de confrontation entre différentes influences et ce, nulle part plus que dans l'Europe centrale et dans les Balkans de l'entre-deux-guerres. La longue présence des grands empires historiques avait profondément marqué le comportement des populations, créant certaines réticences à l'égard de la France. Le gouvernement français souhaitait renforcer les sentiments d'amitié et de sympathie à l'égard de la France dans les nouveaux petits États de l'Est. Sa politique étrangère culturelle pouvait soutenir son influence dans un pays, renforçant ainsi sa position politique en Europe sur le long terme.

Si les aspects politiques, militaires et économiques des relations entre la France et le RSCS/R Y ont été partiellement examinés dans les historiographies française et serbe (et yougoslave), il n'existe aucune monographie complète traitant uniquement des aspects culturels de ces relations. Nous avons donc utilisé des ouvrages traitant de la culture en général. Pour étudier l'importance de « l'idée de France » dans la construction de l'identité nationale yougoslave, nous nous sommes référés en particulier à *The Invention of Tradition* d'Eric Hobsbawm et

Terence Ranger². Nous avons trouvé beaucoup d'inspiration et de données utiles dans le travail d'Albert Salon (1983) qui souligne le rôle des gouvernements français, y compris leurs moyens, agences et représentants, dans la gestion des « politiques culturelles » de la France envers le reste du monde³. Les numéros 24 et 25 de la revue *Relations internationales* ont été consacrés à l'importance de la dimension culturelle dans les relations internationales⁴. Nous nous sommes inspirés dans ce travail des contributions théoriques de Pierre Milza et de Jacques Freymond. Stefano Santoro (2002) analyse la concurrence entre les différentes puissances dans le domaine de la culture dans l'Europe de l'Est de l'entre-deux-guerres, mais sans accorder une attention particulière au cas du RSCS/Yougoslavie⁵. Dans l'historiographie serbe, l'ouvrage en trois volumes de Ljubodrag Dimić sur la politique culturelle du Royaume de Yougoslavie (1996)⁶ est une source particulièrement importante pour le cadre étatique de la politique culturelle, ainsi que pour les influences étrangères sur la littérature et l'art yougoslaves des années 1920 et 1930. Nous avons également consulté des documents aux Archives diplomatiques du ministère français des Affaires étrangères (Quai d'Orsay) à La Courneuve, aux Archives du Service historique de la défense à Vincennes et au Centre des Archives diplomatiques à Nantes. Les documents du Service des Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger, qui était chargé des activités culturelles françaises à l'étranger, nous ont été d'une grande utilité.

Ce travail s'articule autour de deux groupes de questions, concernant respectivement les dimensions symbolique et concrète des relations entre la France et le RSCS/RY. En ce qui concerne la dimension symbolique, nous examinons comment la France a apporté des idées et des références aux relations franco-yougoslaves dans la société du RSCS/RY. La dimension concrète concerne la capacité matérielle et les moyens dont disposait la France pour orienter la politique culturelle dans un pays étranger.

L'ASPECT SYMBOLIQUE DES RELATIONS ENTRE LA FRANCE ET LE RSCS

Quelle est l'importance de la référence française dans le développement de l'identité « yougoslave » ? Qui a créé cette identité ? Quels en étaient les symboles ? Comment la France a-t-elle été perçue dans les différentes nations slaves du sud (celles dites yougoslaves à l'époque) ?

² Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge, N.J., Cambridge University Press, 1983.

³ Albert Salon, *L'action culturelle française dans le monde*, Paris, Nathan, 1983.

⁴ « Culture et relations internationales. » 1, *Relations internationales* 24 (1980); « Culture et relations internationales. » 2, *Relations internationales* 25 (1981).

⁵ Stefano Santoro, « Penetrazione culturale in Europa orientale 1918-1939. Le grandi potenze occidentali a confronto ». *Passato e presente*, 56 (2002), p. 85-114.

⁶ Ljubodrag Dimić, *La politique culturelle du Royaume de Yougoslavie* (en serbe). I-III, Belgrade, Stubovi Kulture, 1996.

L'IMAGE DE LA SERBIE EN FRANCE PENDANT LA PREMIERE GUERRE MONDIALE

Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, le langage des intellectuels français et serbes représentait le soutien militaire de la France à la Serbie, contre des ennemis communs, comme une prolongation « naturelle » des relations d'amitié franco-serbes établies depuis des siècles⁷. Des historiens⁸, géographes et linguistes français tels qu'Ernest Denis, Victor Berard, Emile Haummant et Gaston Gravier ont joué un rôle majeur dans la formulation de ces idées. Dans leurs ouvrages publiés pendant la guerre, la référence au « grand allié » et « protecteur » – la France, occupe une place importante. Les Serbes y sont présentés comme des « frères cadets », suivant l'exemple français dans le cours de l'histoire. Dans l'ouvrage de Victor Bérard intitulé *La Serbie* et publié en 1915, exemple très typique du discours dominant, la France est présentée comme le point de référence de la Serbie depuis le Moyen-Âge, et surtout depuis la Révolution française. Se référant au soulèvement serbe de 1804, Bérard affirme que les Serbes ont été la première nation des Balkans à se soulever contre les Turcs et qu'ils ont donc suivi les Français dans la « conquête des droits de l'homme »⁹. La guerre courante est présentée comme la lutte d'une Serbie « courageuse », « indépendante », « parlementaire », « tolérante et démocratique » pour la libération nationale et l'unification de tous les Slaves du Sud contre « l'Autriche-Hongrie féodale, policière et inquisitoriale »¹⁰. Toutefois l'établissement de parallèles absolus entre la France et la Serbie se trouvaient empêchés du fait de l'association de tous les symboles français au républicanisme alors que les symboles serbes étaient quant à eux rattachés à la monarchie. Pour contourner cette contradiction, le discours de l'élite intellectuelle française insiste sur l'origine nationale de la dynastie des Karadjordjević (contrairement aux autres dynasties balkaniques, d'origine allemande), sur sa proximité avec le peuple, sur les dons militaires de ses membres, sur leur courage et leur héroïsme. Pendant la guerre, le roi Pierre Ier est représenté d'une manière qui sera largement acceptée dans les années suivantes : « Il était assis au milieu des combattants ; il les tutoyait en père ou en grand frère ; il avait repris le fusil, tout comme l'un de nos généraux de la Grande Révolution ; il donnait l'exemple à son armée de « citoyens », tout comme nos généraux-citoyens donnent chez nous l'exemple à notre nation en armes »¹¹.

⁷ Stanislav Sretenović, « Expressions et usages de la francophilie serbe pendant la Première guerre mondiale », dans Florin Ţurcanu (dir.), *Francophilie et germanophilie en Europe sud-orientale à la veille et pendant la Première Guerre mondiale*, Bucureşti, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2015, p. 87–111.

⁸ Idem, « Les universitaires français, l'histoire et la création du Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes », dans Antoine Marès (dir.), *La France et l'Europe médiane. Construction des savoirs savants : institutions, disciplines et parcours (XIX^e–XXI^e siècles)*, Paris, IES, 2019, p. 141–158.

⁹ Victor Berard, *La Serbie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1915, p. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Au cours de l'été 1918, les dirigeants des puissances alliées décident de détruire l'Autriche-Hongrie. Cette décision se reflète dans le discours des diplomates et des hommes politiques. La représentation de la France comme libératrice généreuse et humanitaire et comme porteuse d'idées nouvelles est renforcée. Ce discours soutient le projet d'unification des slaves du sud envisagé par le gouvernement serbe et les émigrés slaves du sud de l'Autriche-Hongrie. À l'occasion de la fête nationale française (14 juillet), célébrée à Corfou par les armées française et serbe, le président du Conseil serbe Nikola Pašić glorifie la Révolution française et le ministre plénipotentiaire de France à la cour serbe, Joseph de Fontenay¹² (1917–1921), déclare que la France et la Serbie luttent côte à côte pour détruire « cette autre Bastille (l'Autriche-Hongrie) qui tient encore enchaînées les Nationalités »¹³. La célébration du 14 juillet 1918 est l'occasion de rendre cette amitié « palpable » de manière symbolique, par la remise de décorations. Le ministre français reçoit la Grande Croix de l'Aigle Blanc, la plus haute décoration que le Prince Régent Alexandre pouvait décerner. Par ce geste, il exprime l'intention d'établir des relations qui garantiront « l'alliance éternelle » entre les deux pays. A cette occasion, le Prince Régent a offert deux déjeuners et a décoré le commandant français Eduard Etienne Picot, son aide de camp depuis 1916, d'une médaille d'or pour le courage, en raison des excellents services de cet officier rendus à la Serbie pendant la guerre¹⁴. D'autre part, le ministre français de l'Instruction publique a décoré plusieurs personnages serbes de hautes décorations françaises telles les Palmes d'Officiers de l'Instruction publique et les Palmes d'Officiers d'Académie¹⁵.

LE MODELE FRANÇAIS ET LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'IDENTITE « YUGOSLAVE » APRES 1918

L'élite intellectuelle du nouveau Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes et ses hommes politiques, avec à leur tête le roi Alexandre Karadjordjević, promeuvent l'idée d'une nation yougoslave. La plupart d'entre eux étaient imprégnés de l'idéologie d'un peuple yougoslave au trois noms (serbe-croate-slovène) et du « yougoslavisme intégral »¹⁶, conçue par l'intelligentsia libérale slave du sud dans la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle. Cette idéologie prônait l'unité des

¹² Vojislav Pavlovic, « Une conception traditionaliste de la politique orientale de la France, le vicomte Joseph de Fontenay, envoyé plénipotentiaire auprès du roi Pierre Ier Karageorgévitch (1917–1921) », *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 193, 1999, p. 69–82.

¹³ Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE), La Courneuve (LC), Série : Z-Europe 1918–1940 (Z-E 18–40), Sous-série : Yougoslavie, dossier : 1 (Youg. 1), Fontenay à Pichon, Corfou, 15 juillet 1918.

¹⁴ AMAE, Z-E 18–40, Youg. 25, Fontenay à Pichon, Corfou, 15 juillet 1918.

¹⁵ AMAE, Z-E 18–40, Youg. 3, Note pour le MAE, Paris, 6 juillet 1918.

¹⁶ Dejan Djokic (ed.) *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea 1918–1992*, London, Hurst, 2003.

Serbes, des Croates et des Slovènes en tant que tribus de la nation yougoslave, une nation en cours de création à l'époque. Elle arguait que seule la volonté des grandes puissances avait divisé les tribus et les avait laissées sans État commun tout au long de l'histoire. Les différences tribales en matière de religion, de coutumes et de développement politique sont le résultat de cette division « forcée ». Si les intellectuels serbes et croates soutenaient ces idées, elles n'étaient pas largement acceptées par la population. De nombreux Serbes considéraient les Croates et les Slovènes comme des étrangers, voire comme des ennemis en temps de guerre parce qu'ils combattaient dans les rangs de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Le ministre plénipotentiaire français J. de Fontenay, grand partisan de l'idée yougoslave, en a apporté une illustration dans un compte-rendu adressé à Paris. Lors d'une visite de Fontenay dans la campagne serbe en 1920, Yves Châtaigneau, futur enseignant du français à l'Université de Belgrade (1920–24), accompagné d'un Slovène, dit à un paysan serbe : « Voici un de vos frères, un Slovène, et un de vos amis, un Français ». Le paysan serbe réagit en protestant : « Non, Français, c'est toi qui est notre frère! »¹⁷.

La création du nouvel État, avec ses nouvelles frontières et sa nouvelle position internationale, a eu des conséquences importantes et durables pour ses habitants. L'uniformisation de l'administration et des systèmes éducatifs et juridiques visait à transformer les différentes nations des Slaves du Sud en une nation serbe-croate-slovène ou « yougoslave ». Le développement de la démocratie électorale dans le RSCS a impliqué les électeurs dans la vie politique de leur pays. Dans une grande partie de l'État (les anciens territoires de l'Autriche-Hongrie), le droit de vote a permis à la majorité de la population d'accéder à la politique pour la première fois. Comme ce droit existait déjà en Serbie depuis 1903, les hommes politiques se sont trouvés confrontés au problème de savoir comment étendre les liens de l'obéissance et de la loyauté politiques existantes à l'ensemble du territoire du pays.

La vie politique du nouvel État a été contrariée par l'absence de constitution pendant une période de trois ans (1918–1921). Des visions concurrentes de la manière dont l'État slave du sud devrait être structurellement constitué ont aggravé les différences nationales. Les Serbes soutenaient la position du Régent Alexandre, qui voulait un État centralisé sur le modèle français, et ils identifiaient entièrement l'État à la nation. Les Croates et les Slovènes s'y opposaient, prônant une conception fédérative inspirée d'un modèle de réforme hérité de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Les partis politiques serbes s'inspiraient du modèle français – Parti radical, Parti démocratique, Parti agraire, Parti républicain – et voulaient accroître leur soutien électoral dans l'ensemble du pays. Les Croates et les Slovènes, quant à eux, soutenaient principalement des partis à forte orientation nationaliste – le Parti républicain des paysans croates et le Parti populaire slovène – qui visaient à s'établir uniquement au niveau croate ou slovène.

¹⁷ Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN), Série : Légation de France à Belgrade, Dossier : 171 (Belgrade 171), Fontenay au Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Service des Œuvres), Belgrade, 2 août 1920.

La constitution adoptée le 28 juin 1921, le jour de la fête orthodoxe « Vidovdan », était censée résoudre tous les problèmes internes. Elle est adoptée par les députés du Parti démocratique, du Parti radical, de l'Organisation musulmane yougoslave, du Parti populaire slovène et de la Ligue des paysans. Toutefois, en raison du boycott des députés croates, elle est adoptée à la majorité simple et non à la majorité qualifiée, comme cela avait été promis pendant la guerre. Selon la constitution dite « de Vidovdan », l'État des Slaves du Sud est une monarchie constitutionnelle, parlementaire et héréditaire. La constitution était fortement centralisatrice. Le roi était le chef de l'armée et pouvait choisir le président du Conseil. Il y avait un parlement à chambre unique, la Skupština, et une administration entièrement sous le contrôle du gouvernement.

LA FRANCE ET « L'INVENTION DE LA TRADITION » DANS LE ROYAUME DES SERBES, CROATES ET SLOVENES/YOUGOSLAVIE, 1918 –1939

Le principal problème de politique intérieure du RSCS/RY est sa cohésion nationale. Avant 1918, les Slaves du Sud n'avaient pas d'unité politique. Après 1918, l'unification résultant de la Première Guerre mondiale est devenue l'événement le plus important sur lequel les fondements du nouvel État ont été posés. Le nouvel État est devenu, à partir de ce moment, le grand symbole de la réalisation de « l'unité nationale » et des « aspirations séculaires » des Slaves du Sud. Dans ces nouvelles circonstances, le nouvel État et son régime devaient être légitimés et le discours et le symbolisme de l'unité nationale devaient être promus par une idéologie largement acceptée par les citoyens. Si l'on se réfère au concept « d'invention de la tradition » d'Eric Hobsbawm, il en ressort que deux pratiques qui ont joué un rôle important dans la diffusion des références françaises, ont joué un rôle significatif pour le « Yougoslavisme » : l'invention des cérémonies publiques d'une part et la « production » de monuments publics d'autre part.

« L'INVENTION » DES CEREMONIES PUBLIQUES

Les célébrations régulières et officielles dans le RSCS/RY de la fête nationale française, le 14 juillet, et de l'anniversaire de l'armistice de Rethondes de 1918, le 11 novembre, reflètent le rôle joué par la France dans l'unification des Slaves du Sud et montrent également à quel point le nouvel État s'appuie sur le « prestige » et « l'importance » de la France pour exprimer sa propre majesté et sa propre puissance.

La légation de France et le gouvernement royal organisaient chaque année des célébrations du 14 juillet à Belgrade et dans d'autres grandes villes du Royaume. Nous analyserons à titre d'exemple les festivités organisées en 1921 à

Subotica, une ville de l'ancienne Hongrie du Sud à majorité catholique slave et forte minorité allemande et hongroise. Subotica était la troisième ville du Royaume, après Belgrade et Zagreb. La célébration a été rehaussée par la présence du commandant général régional, du gouverneur régional, du maire de Subotica et de représentants de la communauté française. Elle a débuté par un *Te Deum* et un office solennel dans l'église catholique. L'entrée était décorée des drapeaux français et du Royaume, un détail symbolique important car le drapeau yougoslave était composé des mêmes couleurs que le drapeau français : bleu, blanc et rouge, mais disposé horizontalement. L'hymne yougoslave et l'hymne français, la Marseillaise, ont été joués à l'entrée et à la sortie de l'église. La ville a été illuminée les 13 et 14 juillet. Les discours du gouverneur régional et du représentant de la communauté française ont rappelé l'assaut de la Bastille et ont évoqué avec émotion l'histoire des sentiments amicaux qui ont uni le peuple serbe à la France dans le passé et qui sont à la base de l'amitié que les Serbes, les Croates et les Slovènes éprouvent pour la France. Cette amitié est présentée non pas comme née dans les salons diplomatiques mais au cœur de la lutte contre un ennemi commun et pour les mêmes valeurs démocratiques. Ce discours a notamment souligné que le roi Pierre Ier Karadjordjević, élève de l'école militaire de Saint-Cyr, a combattu aux côtés des Français pendant la guerre de 1870–71 et que les armées serbes et françaises ont combattu ensemble sur le front de Salonique. Le discours a été accueilli par des applaudissements à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'église. Après le discours, sous l'écusson de la République française aux « couleurs franco-serbes », deux jeunes filles ont recouvert le buste du roi Pierre proche de l'église de pétales de roses, au son de la Marseillaise¹⁸.

Les célébrations de l'anniversaire du 11 novembre 1918 ont souvent eu lieu au cimetière militaire français de Belgrade, inauguré symboliquement le 14 juillet 1923, où l'on glorifiait avec une grande solennité la puissance de l'Etat et la force des relations entre la France et le RSCS/RYS. La célébration du neuvième anniversaire du 11 novembre en 1927 revêt un aspect symbolique important. Elle a été présidée par les représentants de la communauté française, avec à leur tête le ministre plenipotentiaire Emile Dard (1927–1932), et les plus hauts responsables politiques du Royaume, dont les ministres des Affaires étrangères, de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes, un représentant du ministre de la Guerre, et le vice-président de l'Assemblée. Parmi la foule immense qui assistait à la cérémonie, il y avait des vétérans de guerre et des délégations d'élèves de lycées. Un prêtre français a célébré la messe. Dans leurs discours, les représentants serbes ont fait l'éloge des sacrifices consentis par les peuples français et « yougoslave » pour « défendre la civilisation et l'État de droit » pendant la guerre. Le ministre Dard a évoqué le traité d'amitié « franco-yougoslave » signé à Paris ce jour-là, date hautement symbolique. Son discours est moins émotionnel: il confirme la chaleur

¹⁸ CADN, Belgrade 171, Compte-rendu pour MAE, Subotica, 15 juillet 1921.

des relations « franco-yougoslaves » dans le passé et leur attachement aux « idées de paix et d'arbitrage »¹⁹. Le nouveau ton de ce discours reflète les changements intervenus dans la politique générale de la France au cours des années 1920. La diplomatie française cherche désormais à apaiser les tensions italo-yougoslaves, qui sont alors à un point critique²⁰, en jouant sur l'attachement de la France au traité de Locarno de 1925. Le discours des responsables français évolue donc entre références à Versailles (« défense de la civilisation et de l'Etat de droit ») et références à Locarno (« dévouement aux idées de paix et d'arbitrage »).

A Ljubljana, à la frontière italienne, auprès de la société slovène, la France et le gouvernement royal célèbrent le 120ème anniversaire de l'Illyrie napoléonienne²¹. Par cette référence à des Provinces illyriennes, une création éphémère de Napoléon I en Adriatique, la diplomatie culturelle française plongeait plus loin dans l'histoire pour chercher des racines aux relations entre la France et les Slaves du Sud, sans vouloir provoquer l'Italie voisine.

LA « PRODUCTION » DE MONUMENTS

L'assassinat de trois députés croates à l'Assemblée du RSCS, le 20 juin 1928, met fin à la vie parlementaire du Royaume et ouvre la voie à l'instauration d'un régime personnel par le roi Alexandre, le 6 janvier 1929. Avec la détérioration de la situation intérieure du Royaume provoquée par ces assassinats, le symbole de la France en tant que protectrice de l'unité des Slaves du Sud et de leur État a été renforcé dans l'expression artistique. La forme matérielle visible devait être facilement comprise par le public et « rendre éternel » le rôle de la France dans le RSCS en ce moment d'instabilité intérieure. Elle devait également exprimer symboliquement que le Royaume ne perdait pas le soutien de la France en établissant un régime personnel.

Le monument de reconnaissance à la France à Belgrade, envisagé par les Serbes à titre privé et dont l'érection a été décidée par le gouvernement en novembre 1929, est d'abord symbolique par le choix du sculpteur et ensuite par la forme du monument²². Dans un rapport au ministre français des Affaires étrangères A. Briand, le ministre de France à Belgrade E. Dard avoue : « J'ai appuyé personnellement Meštrović, d'abord comme le plus grand sculpteur yougoslave, dont le talent vise à la force et à l'héroïsme ; ensuite, parce que Croatie, et symbolisant ainsi par sa naissance l'union de tous les Yougoslaves autour de la

¹⁹ *Le Temps*, 13 novembre, 1927, p. 2.

²⁰ Pierre Milza, « L'Italie fasciste et les Balkans » *Relations internationales* 104, 2000, p. 397–411.

²¹ Stanislav Sretenović, « Le commemorazioni delle Province illiriche alla frontiera con l'Italia: l'aspetto politico e simbolico delle celebrazioni jugoslave nel 120 anniversario della creazione dell'Iliria napoleonica », *Nuova Rivista Storica*, XCVI, II, maggio-agosto 2012, p. 509–530.

²² Idem, « Le monument à la France à Belgrade. La mémoire de la Grande Guerre au service de l'action politique et diplomatique », *Vingtième siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 115, juillet-septembre 2012, p. 31–44.

France »²³. Inauguré le 11 novembre 1930, le monument représente une grande figure féminine (Marianne) dans une pose héroïque, rappelant aux « Yougoslaves » les sacrifices et les exploits de leur grande protectrice, la France.

Le « somptueux » nouveau bâtiment de la légation française à Belgrade, dont la construction est approuvée par le Parlement français en 1929, n'était pas seulement destiné à des fins diplomatiques, mais aussi à des déclarations symboliques²⁴. Le nouveau bâtiment, de « conception essentiellement française » et conforme à l'époque « la plus élégante » de l'architecture française, exprimait la volonté d'ériger un bâtiment « digne des relations franco-yougoslaves »²⁵. Construit pour glorifier le goût français à l'époque triomphante du premier style mondial que fut l'art déco, l'édifice fut aussi conçu pour représenter la France. En témoignent la présence discrète mais systématique des emblèmes de la République, de la façade aux poignées de porte, des vertus et des richesses de la France, sans oublier les figures symboliques de la France, de Vercingétorix à Marianne en passant par Jeanne d'Arc et Louis XIV. Ce sont des références par lesquelles la Troisième République en France voulait se présenter dans un Royaume allié qui peine à se constituer. Hormis un nombre restreint de gens impliqués dans les relations franco-serbes et yougoslaves, rares sont les personnes de l'époque qui peuvent lire cette symbolique raffinée.

Pour beaucoup d'acteurs des relations franco-serbes, le double assassinat du roi Alexandre I^{er} et de Louis Barthou à Marseille le 9 octobre 1934 marqua symboliquement la fin d'une amitié fondée sur les expériences de la Grande Guerre et plongeant ses racines dans le XIX^e siècle. L'ombre de cette tragédie pesait encore sur les invités le jour de l'inauguration du bâtiment de la légation de France à Belgrade le 21 décembre 1935. Alors que le royaume de Yougoslavie s'éloignait de la France et que l'influence allemande s'y renforçait, les journaux nationaux du royaume, ne donnèrent pas grande publicité à l'événement, à l'exception des quotidiens d'information générale. Le nouvel hôtel, appelé dans la presse « la maison de France », rassembla néanmoins à nouveau l'élite politique et intellectuelle francophile et francophone yougoslave à l'occasion de la fête nationale du 14 juillet 1936 pour célébrer « l'amitié franco-yougoslave » qu'on voulait encore construire²⁶.

Dans un contexte international où beaucoup de contemporains ressentaient un affaiblissement des relations franco-serbes, l'exaltation de la lutte en commun pour le « droit et la liberté » pendant la guerre prit un nouveau souffle le 17 mai 1936, lorsque fut inauguré le buste du maréchal français et voïvode serbe Franchet d'Espèrey, en présence même de l'intéressé²⁷. Ce buste se trouvait non loin de celui

²³ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 75, Dard à Briand, Belgrade, 26 novembre, 1929.

²⁴ Emmanuel Bréon, Stanislav Sretenović, *Ambassade de France à Belgrade/Амбасада Француске у Београду*, Paris, Editions internationales du patrimoine, 2013, 244 p.

²⁵ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 122, Dard à Briand, Belgrade, 10 octobre 1928.

²⁶ « La célébration solennelle du 14 juillet à Belgrade », *Politika*, le 15 juillet 1936, p. 4.

²⁷ Stanislav Sretenović, « Histoire et mémoire des relations franco-serbes : un héritage de la Première Guerre mondiale », in Delphine Evmoon (dir.), *Serbie*, Paris, Le Monde autrement éditions, 2015, p. 144-152.

d'Alphonse de Lamartine, érigé en novembre 1933 par la Société des amis de la France pour commémorer l'écrivain et le diplomate français qui, cent ans auparavant, avait parcouru les terres slaves du sud et laissé dans son *Voyage en Orient*²⁸ un témoignage positif sur les Serbes en lutte pour leur indépendance. C'est encore sous le patronage de Franchet d'Espèrey qu'en 1939, commença la construction à Belgrade d'une église dédiée aux quelque 45 000 soldats français tombés lors de l'expédition de Galipoli et sur le Front de Salonique. Elle ne fut cependant pas réalisée selon les plans initiaux et le mémorial ne vit jamais le jour. Il en reste un édifice connu des Belgradois sous le nom d'« église française ».

LA MISE EN ŒUVRE DE LA POLITIQUE CULTURELLE FRANÇAISE DANS LES RSCS/RV

Quelle était la politique générale du Quai d'Orsay en matière culturelle ? Quelle était l'étendue géographique de sa politique culturelle et qui en étaient les acteurs ?

Quels étaient les domaines, les possibilités et les limites de la politique culturelle française dans les RSCS/RV ? Dans quelles régions et quels milieux l'action culturelle française a-t-elle été menée ? Par quels moyens ? Quel a été le rôle de l'Etat et des associations privées ?

LA POLITIQUE GENERALE DU QUAI D'ORSAY DANS LE DOMAINE DE LA CULTURE

Centraliser la politique culturelle au sein du ministère des Affaires étrangères, trouver un accord entre l'Etat et l'Eglise sur la politique culturelle à l'étranger et faire en sorte que l'action culturelle suive la politique générale du Quai d'Orsay, tels sont les trois grands axes de la politique culturelle générale du Quai d'Orsay au lendemain de la Grande Guerre.

Le gouvernement français était conscient de l'importance de son prestige mondial après la guerre. La propagande politique à court terme pour attirer les pays neutres dans son camp pendant la guerre avait montré ses faiblesses (par exemple en Bulgarie). Le gouvernement a donc décidé d'agir à l'étranger dans le domaine de la culture pour renforcer durablement la sympathie, la solidarité et les relations intellectuelles avec la France. Ce processus, déjà lancé avant la guerre, avait montré l'importance croissante du ministère des Affaires étrangères dans l'organisation et la gestion de la « politique culturelle » extérieure, prenant le relais des initiatives culturelles privées qui avaient prédominé auparavant. Conformément à la nouvelle organisation de ses services, le ministère des Affaires étrangères fait suivre la

²⁸ Alphonse de Lamartine, *Le Voyage en Orieint*, Paris, Charles Gosselin, 1849.

création, en 1910, du Bureau des écoles et œuvres françaises à l'étranger, d'un décret de 1920 créant le Service des œuvres françaises à l'étranger, dirigé par le diplomate Albert Milhaud²⁹. Le nouveau service avait pour mission d'assurer « l'expansion intellectuelle de la France à l'étranger » et de « maintenir ou répandre le bon renom de notre pays hors de nos frontières ».

Le service est organisé au niveau mondial, avec des départements distincts pour l'Europe, le Levant sous contrôle français (Syrie et Liban), les autres territoires du Levant, l'Extrême-Orient et l'Amérique. Chaque service est divisé en trois sections budgétaires, qui gèrent respectivement les crédits destinés aux universités et aux écoles, aux arts et aux lettres, et aux œuvres diverses. Les ambassades et consulats de France à l'étranger contrôlaient l'utilisation de ces fonds pour des actions particulières. Dès sa création, le budget du service n'a cessé d'augmenter pour atteindre le montant de 79 millions de francs français à la fin de l'entre-deux-guerres.

L'action culturelle du Quai d'Orsay vise essentiellement à développer l'usage de la langue française, moyen privilégié d'influence à tous les niveaux³⁰. Il s'agit avant tout de contribuer à la formation des élites humanistes et techniques des pays étrangers et, plus tard, de diffuser la culture française auprès de la population. Les moyens mis en œuvre pour atteindre cet objectif sont l'invitation d'étudiants étrangers en France, l'envoi de professeurs français à l'étranger et la création d'établissements d'enseignement français à l'étranger. Les institutions religieuses françaises bénéficient d'un soutien continu à l'étranger, car les lois de 1905 séparant les écoles religieuses des écoles laïques ne s'appliquent pas à la politique étrangère (« L'anticléricalisme n'est pas un sujet à exporter! »). Les établissements publics comme les lycées, l'Institut français et l'Alliance française et les établissements privés religieux ou laïcs (par exemple: ordre des religieuses de l'Assomption, Mission laïque française, Alliance israélite universelle) sont tous plus ou moins encouragés et financés par le Quai d'Orsay. La diffusion du livre français et les échanges artistiques (théâtre, art, musique) prennent de plus en plus d'importance.

La politique culturelle française suit la politique générale de la France en Europe, qui peut être divisée en quatre périodes: l'immédiat après-guerre (1918–1920); la période qui suit les traités de paix des alentours de Paris (1920–1924) ; « l'ère de Locarno » (1924 – début des années 1930) et le retour de l'influence et de la propagande allemande (début des années 1930–1939).

L'immédiat après-guerre en Europe est marqué par les efforts pour construire la paix durable à la Conférence de Paris. En Europe centrale et dans les Balkans, où la France maintenait une présence militaire, l'instabilité politique était due à la guerre polono-soviétique et à la longue absence de frontières établies. Dans ce contexte d'instabilité persistante après l'armistice, une des premières actions culturelles de la France concernant l'Europe de l'Est et du Sud-Est a été menée sur

²⁹ Stanislav Sretenović, *Francuska i Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1918–1929*, Beograd, ISI, 2008.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

le territoire français. D'abord privée, cette action a été immédiatement encouragée par l'État. En décembre 1918, à la demande des universités françaises, le gouvernement autorise la mise en place de cours gratuits de langues et littératures polonaises, tchèques et serbo-croates à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes de Paris. Quelques mois plus tard, ces cours sont transformés en postes d'enseignement permanents, les crédits nécessaires sont prévus au budget et les intervenants sont choisis parmi les enseignants français compétents. Parallèlement, un Institut des langues slaves est créé à l'Université de Strasbourg³¹.

La deuxième période se caractérise par l'application stricte du traité de Versailles et l'attitude intransigeante de la France à l'égard de l'Allemagne, qui culmine avec l'intervention militaire de la France dans la Ruhr. En Europe de l'Est, la France soutient la création de la Petite Entente et renforce sa pénétration économique par le biais de la société Schneider (Le Creusot). Le gouvernement poursuit sa pénétration culturelle en envoyant des professeurs français en mission à l'étranger avec un double rôle : diffuser l'influence française et tenir Paris informé de la situation générale dans les pays où ils sont envoyés. Dans les années 1920, les professeurs Fortunat Strowski et Ernest Denis de la Sorbonne se rendent respectivement en Pologne et en Tchécoslovaquie³². En 1921, un professeur de l'université de Nancy se rend en Pologne³³ et plusieurs professeurs français sont envoyés en Roumanie pour l'ouverture de l'université de Cluj³⁴. Ces missions montrent les objectifs du Quai d'Orsay : collecter des informations sur la présence allemande et explorer les moyens d'adapter la politique culturelle française aux spécificités régionales. A l'issue de leurs missions, les professeurs devaient remettre des rapports directement au Quai d'Orsay. L'ouverture de départements universitaires et de lycées de la langue française ou d'institutions religieuses françaises fait suite aux missions des professeurs.

Au cours de la troisième période, celle de l'assouplissement des tensions internationales de « l'ère de Locarno », la France s'efforce d'accroître ses investissements, sa présence économique et son influence culturelle en Europe centrale et dans les Balkans. Le Quai d'Orsay fonde plusieurs Instituts français dans les capitales en Europe de l'Est : d'abord à Prague en 1923, puis à Varsovie en 1924 et à Belgrade en 1926/27. Un Institut français est déjà fondé en 1921 à Zagreb³⁵ où la présence de la culture germanique est prépondérante. Leur rôle est plus large que l'échange de professeurs d'université ou la création de lycées. Il s'agit non seulement d'influencer les élites, mais aussi d'agir sur le grand public en organisant de

³¹ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Pologne 268, Ministère de l'éducation nationale à MAE, Paris, 29 mars 1919.

³² AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Pologne, 268, Vice-Consul à MAE, Poznan, 13 novembre 1920.

³³ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Pologne, 268, M. Geny à MAE, Nancy, 30 décembre 1921.

³⁴ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 119, St. Aulaire à MAE, Bucarest, 15 janvier 1920.

³⁵ Stanislav Sretenović, « Institut français de Zagreb entre action culturelle française, société croate et Etat des Slaves du Sud, 1921-1929 », dans Daniel Barić, Edi Milos (dir.), Institut français de Zagreb, Paris, Institut d'études slaves, 2023.

nombreuses conférences et cours de civilisation et de littérature françaises, en ouvrant des bibliothèques françaises et en distribuant des livres en français.

A la fin des années 1920 et au début des années 1930, la politique économique de la France en Europe de l'Est montre ses premiers signes de faiblesse. Les facteurs de proximité géographique et la compatibilité de l'économie allemande hautement industrialisée avec les économies agraires des petits pays d'Europe de l'Est commencent à se faire sentir, ce qui a des conséquences sur la culture. Ainsi, le ministre plénipotentiaire de France à Varsovie en 1930 doit constater avec regret que si l'aristocratie polonaise parle couramment la langue française, ce n'est pas du tout le cas des autres couches de la société. Il note que l'Allemagne fait de gros efforts pour assurer la diffusion de sa langue en Europe de l'Est, avec un grand succès dans les milieux commerciaux³⁶. A partir de l'année 1933, la France devait faire face à la forte propagande de l'Allemagne nazie dans toute la zone géographique allant de la mer Baltique jusqu'à la mer Adriatique et Egée. En Yougoslavie, notamment dans les territoires de l'ancienne monarchie austro-hongroise, l'influence allemande avait des succès considérables parce qu'elle s'appuyait sur la connaissance très répandue de la langue allemande³⁷.

RENFORCER LE RSCS/RV DANS UNE PERSPECTIVE DE LONG TERME

La politique culturelle du gouvernement français dans le RSCS/RV a été conditionnée par la position interne et externe spécifique du nouvel État.

LA POSITION COMPLEXE DU RSCS/RV

La disparition des empires austro-hongrois, allemand, russe et ottoman a fortement transformé les rapports de force européens, notamment le long du Danube et dans les Balkans. Avec le soutien de la France à la Conférence de paix à Paris, un nouvel État yougoslave est formé par le rattachement des territoires slaves méridionaux de l'Empire austro-hongrois au noyau initial de la Serbie. Le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes était un État hétérogène en termes d'ethnicité et de religion. Les Serbes et les Croates partagent une même langue, mais ont des religions et des cultures différentes. La population de plus de douze millions d'habitants se compose d'environ 45 % de Serbes orthodoxes et d'environ 25 % de Croates catholiques. Plus de deux millions de personnes, soit 17 % de la population, appartenaient à des groupes minoritaires non serbes, croates ou slovènes. Nombre d'entre elles, notamment les Hongrois, les Allemands, les Albanais et les Italiens,

³⁶ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Pologne 268, Ministre plénipotentiaire à MAE, Varsovie, 7 septembre 1929.

³⁷ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg., 192, Naggjar à Boncour, Belgrade, 14 mars 1933.

étaient en contact avec leurs États nationaux et donc susceptibles d'être tentées par l'irréductibilisme.

L'économie du RSCS/RYS était également très hétérogène. Le royaume hérite de six zones douanières différentes, de cinq monnaies, de quatre réseaux ferroviaires et de trois systèmes bancaires. La guerre bouleverse les équilibres démographiques et entraîne, notamment en Serbie, d'importantes destructions matérielles. Proportionnellement au nombre d'habitants avant la guerre, la Serbie paie cher sa participation à la guerre.

En ce qui concerne les affaires étrangères, le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes est confronté dès sa création aux aspirations de l'Italie le long de la côte adriatique. La politique italienne devient encore plus menaçante avec l'arrivée au pouvoir de Mussolini en 1922. L'Italie fasciste veut affaiblir le RSCS/RYS et soutient tous les mouvements séparatistes au sein du Royaume³⁸. Elle peut compter sur l'aide de l'Autriche, de la Hongrie, de l'Albanie et de la Bulgarie, pays voisins du Royaume qui sont également « mécontents » des traités à l'issue de la Conférence de la paix de Paris.

Dès son arrivée à Belgrade en décembre 1918, le ministre plenipotentiaire de France J. de Fontenay exprime ses craintes que l'Allemagne ou l'Italie ne profitent de la situation intérieure du RSCS et que leur proximité géographique et les relations culturelles existantes n'influencent économiquement et culturellement la Croatie, la Slovénie et la côte adriatique. Ils pourraient ainsi « démolir les résultats de la victoire alliée ». Il recommande à son gouvernement une action économique et culturelle immédiate pour renforcer le nouvel État.

Cependant, l'action culturelle française n'est pas accueillie favorablement partout dans le RSCS. Dans les anciennes provinces austro-hongroises et surtout en Croatie, elle se heurte à certaines réticences largement répandues, notamment dans l'administration et la presse locales et au sein du clergé local. Ainsi, le consul de France à Zagreb, Jules de Berne-Lagarde (1920–1924), explique que le gouvernement local de Zagreb a refusé, pour des raisons politiques, de reconnaître l'ouverture du consulat français en mai 1920, pourtant ordonnée par l'administration centrale de Belgrade. Qualifiant « d'arrogance austro-hongroise » la tradition culturelle enracinée dans les anciennes régions austro-hongroises, il a déclaré que « dans l'esprit des politiciens, des fonctionnaires et de ce que l'on a convenu d'appeler la société, nous sommes demeurés, au même titre d'ailleurs que les Serbes, 'l'ennemi' que nous avons été et qu'ils ont fait combattre par le peuple croate pendant la guerre »³⁹. Fontenay impute aux activités allemandes souterraines, qui ont trouvé en Croatie un terrain fertile, la responsabilité de ces actes contre l'unité de l'État. Dès janvier 1920, il identifie plusieurs ressortissants allemands engagés dans une activité de propagande visant à inciter « les

³⁸ Stanislav Sretenović, « Two centuries of Italian-Serbian diplomatic relations », *The Review of International Affairs*, LXX, no. 1176, October-December 2019, p. 5–32.

³⁹ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 1, Consul de France à Fontenay, Zagreb, 27 mai 1920.

Yougoslaves à se retourner contre l'Alliance ». Cette campagne de propagande ouverte s'intensifie considérablement quelques mois avant les élections pour l'Assemblée constituante du RSCS, lorsque, notamment dans des journaux de Zagreb comme *Jutarnji list* (Les Nouvelles du matin) et *Agramer Tagblatt*, une campagne de presse tapageuse est dirigée contre la France et la Serbie. Fontenay est certain que Berlin et Budapest ont lancé une action combinée contre le RSCS et soupçonne l'existence d'un soutien plus ou moins caché des comités bulgares et albanais⁴⁰. De plus, il signale que des prêtres catholiques ont lancé une campagne pour inciter l'opinion publique croate à se retourner contre les Serbes orthodoxes et la France laïque.

COMMENT LA FRANCE A-T-ELLE FAIT FACE A CES DIFFICULTES AU SEIN DU RSCS/RYS DANS LE DOMAINE DE LA CULTURE ?

L'action culturelle française dans le RSCS/RYS s'est organisée à deux niveaux: celui de l'administration centrale et celui de l'échelon local. L'administration centrale était considérée comme la base du nouvel Etat et le moyen de diffuser la culture française dans tout le pays. Au niveau de l'Etat yougoslave, la France voulait assurer l'éducation de l'élite francophone, en agissant au sein de l'armée et auprès de la dynastie. Lorsque l'administration centrale n'était pas acceptée en raison des oppositions politiques ou de l'influence concurrente d'autres pays, la France agissait directement au niveau régional. C'est notamment le cas en Croatie, où l'administration centrale est rejetée et considérée comme majoritairement serbe et où l'influence allemande est forte. C'est également le cas à la frontière hongroise et en Serbie du Sud (Macédoine), où le gouvernement de Belgrade et son protecteur, la France, sont peu connus et où la France doit faire face à une augmentation de l'influence italienne.

A) *Au niveau de l'Etat « yougoslave »*

L'action culturelle française vise avant tout à diffuser la langue française, et donc à promouvoir les idées et l'art de vivre à la française. On pense que ceux-ci peuvent contribuer à atténuer les divergences internes du royaume.

a) *L'éducation des élites francophones*

L'éducation des élites francophones s'appuie sur la tradition d'avant-guerre d'envoyer des étudiants serbes en France. Cette tradition s'est renforcée pendant la guerre, lorsque la Serbie était sous occupation et que la France a assuré l'éducation de près de 4 000 élèves et étudiants serbes du secondaire et de l'université. Un grand nombre d'entre eux ont ensuite formé l'élite politique et culturelle serbe.

⁴⁰ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 73, Belgrade, 11 janvier 1921.

Cette tradition a été entretenue après la guerre par la signature de la Convention franco-yougoslave sur les universités et les écoles en mars 1920. Son objectif est d'attirer les étudiants des anciennes régions austro-hongroises et d'éloigner la « jeunesse yougoslave de l'influence des universités allemandes »⁴¹.

La convention prévoit l'envoi de professeurs français en mission dans le RSCS et la mise en place de cours de français. A la suite d'une note du Service des œuvres françaises à l'étranger de la fin 1924, des professeurs universitaires de français sont chargés de cours dans les universités de Belgrade, Zagreb et Ljubljana. Plus d'une dizaine d'enseignants du secondaire sont également envoyés de France, des cours de français sont mis en place dans plus de trente villes du Royaume et près d'une centaine de bourses sont accordées à des jeunes Yougoslaves pour qu'ils complètent leurs études en France⁴².

Outre l'éducation des élites dans le domaine des sciences humaines, la France a contribué à la formation de professionnels médicaux et techniques, dont le nouvel Etat avait un besoin urgent. Ceux-ci sont rentrés dans leur pays avec des connaissances techniques, mais aussi avec une connaissance de la langue française et un grand respect et une forte admiration pour la science et l'ingénierie françaises. Ils étaient également très sensibles au mode de vie français et avaient noué des amitiés personnelles en France.

b) *L'action au sein de l'armée royale*

L'armée, avec la dynastie, était considérée comme l'un des piliers les plus solides du nouveau Royaume. Cependant, elle compte un nombre important d'officiers croates, slovènes et serbes de l'ancienne armée austro-hongroise, formés dans les écoles militaires autrichiennes. Ils se heurtent à l'incompréhension et à la haine de leurs collègues serbes de Serbie, élevés sur le modèle français. Les officiers serbes parlent généralement le français, étudient les règles françaises et lisent les revues militaires françaises et autres publications en français. Les anciens officiers austro-hongrois parlaient surtout l'allemand et suivaient avec grand intérêt les nouvelles en provenance de Berlin⁴³. En 1920, l'attaché militaire français, le colonel Raymond Deltel (1920–1927), fait le tour des garnisons pour recueillir des informations. Il est surpris par le fait que, parmi ces officiers, malgré leur connaissance du français, l'allemand est resté la langue de tous les jours plus que le serbo-croate⁴⁴ ! Il demande au Service des œuvres françaises à l'étranger d'envoyer des livres de propagande française à distribuer aux militaires en guise de cadeaux. Un an plus tard, il demande l'envoi de films français, mieux accueillis que les textes écrits.

⁴¹ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 119, texte de la Convention.

⁴² AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 119, Note du Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Paris, 31 octobre 1924.

⁴³ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 17, Consul de France à MAE, Skoplje, 21 janvier 1920.

⁴⁴ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 17, Deltel au ministère de la Guerre (MG), Belgrade, 14 février 1920.

L'action culturelle est suivie par la remise des décorations françaises. En 1928, le roi Alexandre assiste aux festivités marquant l'inauguration de l'arsenal de Kragujevac, en Serbie centrale, construit avec des fonds français. À cette occasion, M. Lavergne, professeur de français à l'École professionnelle communale, propose au Service des œuvres françaises à l'étranger que le général Živojin Trzibašić, directeur de l'arsenal, soit décoré de la Légion d'honneur. La citation précise que : « Cet officier général a rendu les plus grands services à notre influence. Il a pris la décision de remplacer à l'Ecole professionnelle dépendant de l'Arsenal l'enseignement de l'allemand par celui du français. »⁴⁵

L'armée du RSCS est considérée comme le symbole de la victoire qui a mis fin à la guerre, une signification symbolique soigneusement entretenue par la diplomatie française. En octobre 1928, dans une période de forte tension italo-yougoslave, les Français envoient une délégation diplomatique et militaire importante et nombreuse pour assister aux célébrations du dixième anniversaire à Belgrade de la percée du front de Salonique⁴⁶. Le ministre de France à Belgrade, E. Dard, s'en est montré très satisfait parce que les festivités ont laissé une profonde impression sur le public ce qu'il considérait comme un succès important. Dard estimait que la mission française était plus nombreuse et de plus haut rang que la mission italienne⁴⁷. Alors que l'Italie disposait déjà d'un nouveau bâtiment de sa légation à Belgrade⁴⁸, le ministre français profitait du succès de la délégation française auprès de la population de la capitale pour annoncer publiquement que le nouveau bâtiment de la légation de France à Belgrade serait conçu par des architectes français dans le style français.

c) *L'action culturelle en relation avec la dynastie*

La diplomatie française avait une grande confiance en Alexandre Karadjordjević, prince héréditaire de Serbie. Il assure la régence depuis 1914 à la place de son père Pierre Ier, qui a fait preuve d'une grande énergie au début de la guerre, mais qui est ensuite affaibli par la maladie. A la mort de Pierre, en août 1921, Alexandre monte sur le trône sous le nom d'Alexandre Ier. Patriote serbe, il s'appuie sur son armée pour construire un Etat fort et se fait appeler « roi, chevalier et unificateur »⁴⁹ par ses partisans.

⁴⁵ Service historique de la Défense (SHD), Série : 7N, Dossier : 3208 (7N3208), Note du Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Paris, 23 juin 1928.

⁴⁶ Stanislav Sretenović, « Memory of the break of the Salonika Front: an aspect of Franco-Italian rivalry in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 1918–1929 », dans Srđan Rudić, Antonello Biagini (eds.), *Serbian-Italian Relations: History and Modern Times*, Collection of Works, vol. 28, Belgrade, Institute of History Belgrade, Sapienza University of Rome, 2015, p. 199–213.

⁴⁷ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 122, Dard à Briand, Belgrade, 10 octobre 1928.

⁴⁸ Daria Borghese, Dragomir Acović, Aleksandar Kadujević, *L'ambasciata d'Italia a Belgrado e gli edifici italiani in Serbia e Montenegro*, Belgrado, Draganić, 2005, 115 p.

⁴⁹ Dušan Bataković, *Yougoslavie, Nations, religions, idéologies*, Lausanne, L'Age de l'Homme, 1994.

La question du mariage du roi Alexandre se pose très vite. C'était l'occasion de renforcer la position politique de la France au sein du RSCS, mais aussi de promouvoir son influence culturelle. Cette question illustre bien le fonctionnement de la diplomatie française à cette époque, ses possibilités et ses limites. Le commandant E.E. Picot, aide de camp du régent Alexandre, transmet un message au Quai d'Orsay en avril 1919 signalant « qu'un bruit court que le prince épouserait une princesse italienne »⁵⁰. Les diplomates français entreprennent alors un « lobbying » de près de trois ans auprès de la cour yougoslave. Dans sa réponse au ministre des Affaires étrangères, le ministre à Belgrade Fontenay, estime « qu'il est d'un grand intérêt pour la France de s'occuper de la question du mariage du Régent » et de placer près de lui une jeune fille française pour permettre d'influer l'évolution des territoires serbe, croate et slovène⁵¹. Fontenay pense que l'épouse du souverain peut influencer la cour et même la politique nationale, et que le caractère du prince est la meilleure garantie du maintien de la cause française. Le ministre français en veut pour preuve la force et la qualité des relations personnelles qu'il a nouées avec le Régent. Il insiste également sur la nécessité de décerner une récompense personnelle au chef de l'Etat pour la fidélité exemplaire dont il a fait preuve à l'égard de la France pendant la guerre, mais aussi pour assurer le maintien de l'influence française au sein du RSCS. Fontenay s'est également entretenu de cette question avec le Président de la République, Raymond Poincaré⁵², lors d'une visite à Paris⁵³. Cette proposition est accueillie favorablement au Quai d'Orsay, qui insiste cependant sur le caractère secret de cette affaire⁵⁴. Fontenay s'efforce de réaliser des fiançailles avec la princesse d'Orléans, fille du duc de Guise, mais la princesse française les a refusées, ce qui suscite un vif regret chez les diplomates français⁵⁵, qui poursuivent néanmoins cette idée dans le futur.

Après les négociations politiques entre la Roumanie et le RSCS à Sinaia en 1922, le ministre des Affaires étrangères de Roumanie, Take Ionesco, et son homologue serbe, Momčilo Ninčić, un ami personnel du roi, ont présenté un plan visant à établir des relations familiales entre les dynasties yougoslaves et roumaines, en tant que symbole de l'amitié entre les deux pays. La princesse Marie, fille du roi Ferdinand Hohenzollern, donne son accord pour se fiancer au roi Alexandre. Le nouveau ministre de France à Belgrade, Frédéric Clément-Simon (1921-1924), s'il s'inspire lui aussi de certaines conceptions traditionnelles, reste néanmoins réaliste : « Certes, Hohenzollern et Saxe-Cobourg ne sont pas les mêmes que les Bourbons, mais d'un point de vue politique, ce mariage est bon à nos yeux, car nous encourageons le rapprochement des petites puissances en

⁵⁰ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 25, MAE, note, Paris, 24 septembre 1919.

⁵¹ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 6, Belgrade, 9 avril 1920.

⁵² François Roth, Raymond Poincaré, Paris, Fayard, 2000, 715 p.

⁵³ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 6, Belgrade, 9 avril 1920, page 2.

⁵⁴ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 6, MAE à Fontenay, Paris, 11 avril 1920.

⁵⁵ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 6, Clément-Simon à MAE, Belgrade, 20 janvier 1922.

Europe centrale, où nous entendons conserver à jamais une situation favorable »⁵⁶. Le ministre est toutefois inquiet, parce que la personnalité de la princesse Marie est clairement imprégnée par l'éducation anglaise. Il suggère donc que la France « essaie de sauver la situation » en prenant une place importante dans les cérémonies de mariage. Il suggère que le maréchal Franchet d'Esperey, ancien commandant en chef des forces alliées sur le front de Salonique, soit présent à la cérémonie, et que deux petits navires de guerre descendent le Danube et soient ancrés devant la forteresse de Belgrade, arborant le drapeau français. Enfin, il souhaitait apporter le raffinement du « chic français » à la nouvelle cour, en faisant venir de Paris des meubles pour le palais et des voitures, ainsi qu'une troupe de comédiens français pour jouer à Belgrade. Il avait également en tête un projet plus vaste et à plus long terme. « Je voudrais que l'on prit, dès le début, l'habitude de parler français autour du souverain, ce qui ne peut lui déplaire car le roi aime notre langue comme il aime notre pays. Mais, nous devons, avec adresse, jouer notre partie dans cette affaire, avec discrétion assurément, mais sans perdre des yeux l'objet que nous poursuivons : rattacher profondément ce pays, et d'une façon générale l'Europe centrale, à l'influence française »⁵⁷. Les propositions du ministre plénipotentiaire français sont toutes approuvées et une délégation conduite par le maréchal Franchet d'Esperey et Fontenay, ancien ministre à Belgrade, est envoyée pour assister à la cérémonie. Clément-Simon pense qu'il serait de « bonne politique » de proposer au couple royal de se rendre en France parce que, ainsi, en honorant la nouvelle consort, elle serait incitée à s'ouvrir aux idées et à l'influence françaises⁵⁸.

B) *Au niveau régional : a) en Croatie b) à la frontière hongroise c) en Serbie du Sud (Macédoine)*

Au niveau régional, l'Etat français s'appuie sur les institutions religieuses françaises pour exercer une influence culturelle dans les milieux catholiques. Cette politique est menée dans les régions où l'influence italienne, directe ou indirecte, est présente.

a) Afin de contrecarrer l'activité anti-française et anti-serbe du clergé catholique en Croatie en 1920, Fontenay propose à son gouvernement d'user de l'influence du nonce apostolique dans le RSCS, Monseigneur Francesco Cherubini⁵⁹. Il se met d'accord avec Cherubini pour établir des institutions catholiques françaises en Croatie. Lors de la conférence des évêques catholiques du RSCS, Mgr. Cherubini propose ce projet mais se heurte immédiatement à l'hostilité extrême de Monseigneur Antun Bauer, archevêque de Zagreb, et d'autres archevêques⁶⁰. La décision est

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, page 2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, page 5.

⁵⁸ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 6, Clément-Simon à MAE, Belgrade, 22 août 1922.

⁵⁹ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 43, Ministre plénipotentiaire à MAE, 2 février 1920.

⁶⁰ Documents diplomatiques français (DDF), tome 1, 1920, doc. no. 415, Consul de France à MAE, Zagreb, 28 avril 1920.

néanmoins prise d'ouvrir des établissements religieux français à Sarajevo et à Zemun près de Belgrade, régions à majorité non catholique. Le consul Berne-Lagarde conclut : « Dans ces conditions, il semble que nous devions attendre des temps meilleurs, en ce qui concerne une action à déployer en Croatie, en Slovénie et en Dalmatie et nous attacher à faciliter la réussite des projets qui ont été favorablement envisagés de création d'établissements français de religieuses à Sarajevo et Zemun »⁶¹. En 1921, la position de Mgr. Bauer a changé et il commence à soutenir un groupe de dames de « la meilleure société de Zagreb », qui a soumis au consulat une demande de création d'une institution religieuse française à Zagreb⁶². Le ministre de France souhaite savoir si l'ordre religieux proposé, les Chanoinesses de Saint-Augustin, peut offrir toutes les garanties « sur le plan éducatif et national ». Après avoir reçu une réponse positive du Quai d'Orsay, Clément-Simon conclut que : « Si nous réussissions à fonder dans de bonnes conditions l'établissement dont il s'agit, nous aurons ainsi un moyen d'étendre notre influence intellectuelle sur un milieu qui sans cela nous échappera complètement et qui est jusqu'ici entièrement pénétré de culture germano-autrichienne »⁶³.

b) A Subotica, près de la frontière hongroise et peuplée d'une importante majorité de Slaves, d'Allemands et d'Hongrois catholiques, il a été convenu en 1928 de créer une école religieuse française⁶⁴. La France avait un grand intérêt à le faire car la ville était proche de la Hongrie, où l'Italie exerçait une influence prépondérante politique. Jusqu'alors, sauf par la célébration du 14 juillet 1921 analysée plus haut, la France était pratiquement inconnue dans la région où la culture allemande était dominante et sans opposition.

c) La Serbie du Sud (Macédoine) était également importante dans la diplomatie culturelle française. Elle se trouve sur la principale voie de pénétration italienne dans les Balkans, de l'Albanie à la Bulgarie et la Roumanie⁶⁵. Depuis la période ottomane, la France y avait joué le rôle de protecteur de plusieurs institutions religieuses tels une école gérée par les frères et l'autre par les soeurs Lazaristes à Bitolj (Monastir, Bitola). A la suite de la Grande Guerre, c'est dans cette ville qu'un cimetière d'environ 6.000 soldats français tombés sur le front de Salonique a été construit⁶⁶. Un autre cimetière militaire français se situait à Skoplje (Uskub, Skopje) où se trouvait aussi une école d'Alliance israélite universelle et une école laïque franco-serbe.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg., 43, Clément-Simon à Briand, Belgrade, 9 septembre 1921.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 119, Dard à Briand, Belgrade, 2 novembre 1928.

⁶⁵ Stanislav Sretenović, « La religion et le conflit franco-italien en Macédoine, 1918-1940. Le cas du père Brunetti », in Vojislav G. Pavlović (ed.), *Italy's Balkan Strategies (19th-20th Century)*, Belgrade, Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Special Editions 123, 2014, p. 181-198.

⁶⁶ AMAE, Z-E 18-40, Youg. 1, Clément-Simon à Briand, 28 septembre 1921.

CONCLUSION

Les relations culturelles franco-serbes atteignent leur apogée dans les années 1920. Elles s'appuient sur les bases établies par l'alliance franco-serbe pendant la Grande Guerre et sur les relations affectives mutuelles tissées entre de nombreux émigrés, universitaires, élèves et soldats serbes d'une part et les Français, civils et militaires d'autre part. Ces relations, soigneusement entretenues par les hommes politiques français et serbes de l'époque, revêtaient un aspect à la fois symbolique et matériel, la France jouant un rôle dominant en tant qu'État modèle étendant son influence à l'étranger.

Mais, tous les peuples slaves du sud ne percevaient pas la France de la même manière. Si la France est un modèle pour les Serbes, ce n'est pas le cas pour les Croates. Les différences entre ces deux peuples se sont accrues et l'action de la France pour soutenir la construction d'une identité « yougoslave » et d'une cohésion nationale n'a eu que des résultats limités. Si la « francophonie » et la « francophilie » de la majorité des Serbes est maintenue, l'action culturelle française auprès des Croates s'est heurtée à d'importantes contraintes et n'a jamais dépassé les modestes résultats obtenus par les acteurs officiels de l'action culturelle française et le clergé français dans un milieu très étroit de la communauté académique et des religieux.

Les changements dans l'équilibre international des forces au début des années 1930, ainsi que la crise économique générale, l'affaiblissement de la France et la montée en puissance de l'Italie fasciste et de l'Allemagne hitlérienne, ont marqué un tournant. La France se heurta à des ressources humaines et matérielles limitées pour mener une politique culturelle d'envergure dans le RSCS/RYS et en Europe centrale et balkanique, telle qu'elle a été envisagée à la fin de la Grande Guerre.

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FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY ON THE BALKANS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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The study examines French cultural diplomacy, an element of the policy of maintaining influence, in Eastern Europe and the Balkans after the Second World War, with an emphasis on the 1940s and 1950s (as part of a larger study covering the entire Cold War period). The article reveals what strategies Paris used depending on the national specificities of the targeted country. Parallels and differences are pointed out with particular examples cited. It traces how the different countries have responded to the *modus operandi* of French cultural diplomacy, which has been undertaken with extraordinary dynamism in the region.

Keywords: French Cultural Diplomacy, Cold War, Eastern Europe, Balkans.

The French cultural expansion dates back to the 16th century, later the elite valued the ideas of the Enlightenment as universal and started to “export” them, aiming to include all humanity in them and harmonize thinking and international communication. After 1789, their place was taken by the ideas of the French Revolution. This political line with scientific and educational elements led to overlapping of diplomacy and intelligentsia – from the 16th century philosophers, writers, and scientists were sent to represent France.

French diplomacy took care to legally ensure the inviolability of its cultural institutions. In 1535, a treaty was concluded with the Sublime Porte for the protection of the Christian population, the French language and culture on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, renewed in 1801.¹ The agreements created a favorable environment for the development of French cultural influence.

In the second half of the 19th century, schools of French religious congregations opened in the Ottoman Empire. Although religious education was abolished in France in 1905, given the importance of these institutions for the spread of the influence of French language and culture, their subsidy from the government continued, and in this respect Central and Eastern Europe ranked with the highest priority.² Children and young people of any nationality and religion

¹ Ph. Lane, *Présence française dans le monde. L'action culturelle et scientifique*, Paris, 2016, p. 9, 15, 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

could enroll in them, but Catholic teaching wasn't a compulsory subject³, to put it in another way, the emphasis was placed on learning the French language and promoting French political, scientific and philosophic ideas.

Another, initially unofficial, channel of French cultural influence was the non-governmental organization Alliance Française, established in 1883 in Paris with the mission to further the study of the French language as a means of getting to know French culture. After the First World War, France founded a network of French Institutes and started to participate in the financing of the Alliances.

In the 1930s, given the increasing German militarism and revanchism, the Alliance Française used specific messages into the public events organized by the society. It began to emphasize the image of France as a supporter of peace, as opposed to countries that radiated a threat, and François Chaubet believes that it was exactly this to which the great success of the Alliance Française in Eastern Europe and the Balkans was due.⁴ Another method of more closely representing French culture, academic and technical thought was the "*book policy*" (but not only, periodicals as well), books that were donated by the French government to teachers and libraries, including those of the French Institutes and the Alliances.⁵ An increase in "traditional" events – concerts, exhibitions, theatrical plays, university exchanges, etc., was also planned.⁶

The Second World War wasn't over when Paris, in August 1944, was liberated. A French government was formed and it resumed its role to guarantee European security, including on the Balkans, in view that every contradictory region could trigger another conflict. On the other hand, the Soviets, the Americans and the British already had shown their intention to assume the responsibility of designing the new European order. Thus France hastened to reconcile with its traditional partners.⁷ Paris undertook successive regularization of its relations with Romania (March 1945), Yugoslavia (August 1945), Bulgaria (November 1945) and Albania (December 1945).⁸ Relations with the southern Balkan countries were

³ R. Zăimova, "Le français en Bulgarie dans le contexte de la politique culturelle de la France aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles", *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, 38–39, 2007, p. 151.

⁴ Fr. Chaubet, "L'Alliance française ou la diplomatie de la langue (1883–1914)", *Revue historique*, 632, 2004, 4, p. 777.

⁵ A. Guénard, "Réflexions sur une diplomatie culturelle de la France", *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 65–66, 2002, p. 23, 25; idem, "La politique culturelle française vis-à-vis des Etats Balkaniques dans l'entre-deux-guerres", *Balkan Studies*, 29, 1988, no. 1, p. 152; C. Defrance, "La « Maison du Livre français » à Berlin (1923–1933) et la politique française du livre en Allemagne", in H.M. Bock & G. Krebs (dir.), *Échanges culturels et relations diplomatiques: présences françaises à Berlin au temps de la République de Weimar*, Paris. 2005, p. 172.

⁶ A. Guénard, "Réflexions sur une diplomatie culturelle...", p. 25, 27.

⁷ Idem, "De la reconstruction à l'éviction. Entre 1944 et 1949, une politique culturelle française en Europe centrale et orientale confrontée à l'organisation du Bloc communiste", *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 36, 1994, p. 21.

⁸ P. Nathanaili, "L'Albanie dans la confrontation Ouest-Est 1944–1948", *Revue Historique*, 298, 1997, 2, p. 341; S. Pavelescu, "Entre suspicion et confiance : les relations franco-roumaines dans les deux

complicated. Greece was suspicious of leftist France, where Gaullists ruled along with communists and socialists.⁹ Turkey was gripped by strong anti-Soviet sentiment, and the December 1944 alliance treaty between France and the USSR soured bilateral relations until the establishment of NATO.¹⁰

Paris didn't undermine its efforts to restore and/or maintain French influence even though the country was severely exhausted economically by the war. The position of cultural attaché at the diplomatic representations was created¹¹ and prominent intellectuals were appointed to that post such as Roland Barthes¹² in Romania. The writer Romain Gary¹³ was a counselor and secretary in the French legation in Bulgaria. This decision represents the continuity in the tradition of the Age of Enlightenment, when highly respected scholars and artists were engaged in the mission of spreading French ideas and values.

The renewal of the functioning of French cultural institutions, completely suspended with the start of hostilities in some places or with fewer activities in other, began. The French Institute in the Romanian capital Bucharest resumed its work. The French cultural institutions in Bulgaria didn't stop to run during the war, but they handled the situation in limited material conditions. Even before the signing of the Armistice Agreement, on October 25, 1944, French diplomacy noted: "*It is recommended to immediately renew intellectual influence, strengthen French positions and respond without delay to any request of the Bulgarian society.*"¹⁴ In the academic year 1946/1947, there were 3,000 students studying French language at the French Institute and Alliance Française in Bulgaria. French religious schools covered another 10,000 youngsters.¹⁵ To put it in another way, in just one year after the end of the world military conflict, the enrollments in these institutions reached the pre-war level, which was indicative of the traditional Francophilia and interest in French culture, history and civilization in Bulgaria, as well as of the organizational abilities and quick response (including funding) from Paris and the representatives in Sofia.

Tito's Yugoslavia created particular difficulties for French cultural institutions. In their campaign to eliminate everything labelled as "bourgeois" and "reactionary",

premières décennies de la guerre froide", *Revue historique des armées*, 244, 2006 (en ligne). URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/rha/5982>; K. Todić, *A Traditional Friendship? France and Yugoslavia in the Cold War World, 1944–1969*, A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 2015, p. 41; ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/23, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1944–1949, Bulgarie, vol. 1, p. 97.

⁹ M. Cheze, *La France en Grèce : étude de la politique culturelle française en territoire hellène du début des années 1930 à 1981*, Thèse de doctorat, INALCO, Paris, 2013, p. 213, 215.

¹⁰ G. Zora, *Les relations franco-turques à l'époque du Général De Gaulle (1958–1969)*, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2015, p. 246.

¹¹ Ph. Lane, *Présence française dans le monde...*, p. 22.

¹² An essayist, literary critic, philosopher, and semiotician.

¹³ Born Roman Kacew, a French writer which had won the Goncourt prize.

¹⁴ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/29, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1944–1949, Bulgarie, vol. 24, p. 7.

¹⁵ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/16, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1949–1955, Bulgarie, vol. 47, p. 142.

the authorities refused the renewal of French religious schools and the activities of the French Institutes in Belgrade and Zagreb. The one that continued to exist in Ljubljana was closed in 1947. In the summer of 1945 a French library with a reading room was opened in Belgrade, and Paris hoped that it would grow into a French Cultural Institute in the future. By 1949, the reading room counted more than 300 readers and more than 50 borrowed books per day¹⁶, these modest figures testifying to a fear among the population and surveillance by the secret services.

Another important characteristic of French cultural diplomacy in Eastern Europe was the organization and publication of numerous information materials filled with messages, to put it in another way, conducting an image policy, which in turn would reflect at the cultural level. The definitions “France of the Resistance” (reminiscent of the revolutionary spirit and erasing the awkward Vichy period) or “New France” came into use, which included “Left”. Cultural and information activities were connected.¹⁷

The visits of French artists in Eastern Europe developed rapidly. A large part of the country’s intellectual elite were members of the FCP or sympathized with leftist ideas, which fitted the new regimes of the East. The institutions in Paris, if not deliberately encouraging, didn’t create any obstacles and tolerated the left-wing French intellectuals’ invitations to visit the countries in this region.¹⁸ The process contributed to the strengthening of trust, the invited persons also supporting the image policy of “New France”, since during their meetings they talked about the post-war development of their country. The Eastern European “tour” of the writers Elsa Triolet and Louis Aragon, both members of the FCP, in 1947 was a good example in this context. In Bulgaria, they delivered lectures on the “Writer’s Freedom” (Triolet) and “French Poetry” (Aragon), but also largely responded to questions about the Resistance and the post-war revival of France.¹⁹

In Greece and Turkey, on the contrary, the distinction from the Vichy regime was also sought, but by the continuity of the pre-war image of France, known as the country of romance, grace, freedom, and expression. Thus, in the fall of 1946, Edith Piaf gave a series of concerts in Athens, which were covered in numerous articles in the press.²⁰ French chanson performers had a special place in Turkey too.²¹ In the North, only the “safer”, classical, music was presented. Thus, the

¹⁶ С. Илић, “Француска пропаганда у Југославији. Културна акција Француске у очима УДБ-е 1953. године”, *Годишњак за друштвену историју*. Београд. 2003, № 1–3, с. 268; К. Todić, *A Traditional Friendship?...*, p. 61, 70.

¹⁷ A. Guénard, “Réflexions sur une diplomatie...”, p. 25.

¹⁸ S. Pavelescu, “Entre suspicion et confidence...”; A. Guénard, “Réflexions sur une diplomatie...”, p. 27; idem, “De la reconstruction...”, p. 23.

¹⁹ В. Чичовска, *Международна културна дейност на България, 1944–1948*, София, 1990, с. 202–203.

²⁰ M. Cheze, *La France en Grèce...*, p. 244.

²¹ As a proof of which, see the 1947 “Made in Turkey” vinyl record of Yves Montand. <https://www.ebay.com/itm/185074812645> Later, their songs were translated and adapted in compliance

famous pianist Monique de la Bruchollerie, who performed in the second half of the 1930s in Eastern Europe, resumed her performances in the region in the post-war years.²² These events indicate a flexible and adaptable French cultural diplomacy corresponding to the specific political conditions of different countries.

Alongside the practical measures on the ground, Paris resumed its traditional policy of investing in the Francophile academic and intellectual elite through granting of government scholarships for study and specialization in French universities and institutes. However, due to financial difficulties, lay-offs soon became necessary. In 1946, the French legation in Sofia expressed indignation, but Quai d'Orsay replied that the measure wasn't directed against Bulgaria.²³ This reduction actually covered all countries. In 1947 there were only 30 scholarships approved for Greece, and in 1948 – only 20.²⁴ In 1948, the government in Paris awarded 10 scholarships for Bulgarian students, and in 1949–7, but Sofia stopped applying.²⁵

The strengthening of the French cultural influence was also carried out through written works. In 1946, the French Institute in Sofia organized an exhibition of contemporary French literature (published after 1933) – including academic papers – accompanied by a series of public lectures dedicated to various authors and genres.²⁶ Regular deliveries of French books, newspapers and magazines, “*of which the Bulgarian public was a big fan*”, were undertaken, but due to disagreements (unspecified) with the BNB regarding the method of payment, they didn't last for long.²⁷ Paris renewed French Government Book Donation Program. In 1947, a special commission was created to list titles in view of the post-war changes in Eastern European countries. Its work, negotiations with publishers who had commercial interests of their own, and distribution took time, and when the listed books were finally sent in the fall of 1948 the operation was judged to be ineffective, and the program was abandoned.²⁸

In the field of visual arts, French cultural diplomacy decided to continue from where it had left off: a series of exhibitions of contemporary authors in the second half of the 1930s, but by making additions in compliance with the views of the new political regimes.²⁹ For the exhibition entitled “Contemporary French Painting” in

with the Turkish culture: Ş. Okyayuz, & M. Kaya, “Türkçe Sözlü Hafif Batı Müziğinin Oluşumunda Fransızcadan Çevrilen Şarkılarda ‘Yerli Ve Milli Aşk’a Dair’”, *Çeviribilim ve Uygulamaları Dergisi*, 30, 2021, p. 133–150.

²² A. Guénard, “Art et diplomatie. La France en Pologne et en Tchécoslovaquie entre 1945 et 1951”, *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 24, 2006: <https://www.pantheonsorbonne.fr/autres-structures-de-recherche/ipr/les-revues/bulletin/tous-les-bulletins/bulletin-n-24-art-et-relations-internationales/annie-guenard-art-et-diplomatie-la-france-en-pologne-et-en-tchecoslovaquie-entre-1945-et-1951>.

²³ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/29, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1944–1949, Bulgarie, vol. 24, p. 130–132, 151.

²⁴ M. Cheze, *La France en Grèce...*, p. 230.

²⁵ ЦДА, ф. 16, оп. 6, а.е. 556, л. 1; ф. 143, оп. 7, а.е. 8, л. 2; ДАМВНР, оп. 8п, а.е. 912, л. 23.

²⁶ В. Чичовска, *Международна културна дейност...*, с. 110.

²⁷ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/23, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1944–1949, Bulgarie, vol. 1, p. 131.

²⁸ A. Guénard, “Réflexions sur une diplomatie...”, p. 26; idem, “De la reconstruction...”, p. 25.

²⁹ Idem, “Art et diplomatie...”.

Bulgaria, the works of artists performing in the fields of expressionism, post-impressionism, surrealism, cubism, etc., who were active at the first half of 20th century and later, in the post-war period, were selected. The authors were awarded prizes, some of them belonging to the prestigious School of Paris, and most – in friendly relations with communist artists (such as Pablo Picasso and André Fougeron), sympathizing with the FCP: Yves Alix, Jules Cavaillès, François Desnoyer, Jacques Despierre, Edouard Goerg, Philippe Hosiasson, André Lhote, Roger Limouse, Bernard Lorjou and his wife Yvonne Mottet, André Marchand, André Masson, Roland Oudot, Georges Rouault, Jacques Villon, Henri de Waroquier, the FCP members Albert Marquet, Fernand Léger, Édouard Pignon and Jean Lurçat (tapestry).³⁰ The authorities in Sofia used the exhibition to denounce decadent Western art, but the large number of visitors demonstrated that Bulgarian society didn't share this assessment.³¹

Like the selection of musical artists, the selection of works of art was also careful and thorough, considering the particular host country. In the spring of 1949, the "Exhibition of Works Offered by French Artists in Homage to Greece" was held in Athens.³² The collection included works specially prepared for the event by André Fougeron, Henri Matisse, Marcel Gromaire, François Desnoyer, Georges Braque, Léopold Survage and others. The leading theme was the Greek Resistance during the Second World War. After the end of the exhibition the works were donated to the Greek government.³³

Paris also attached great importance to the presentation of French theatre, although sending troupes required substantial funding. Indeed, sensitive funds must have been needed, since, for example, the theatre of Louis Jouvet ("Théâtre de l'Athénée") in the spring and summer of 1948 gave performances in Poland and Czechoslovakia³⁴, which are closer to France, but didn't reach Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. As the case studies of the scholarships and the Book Donation Program have shown, resources became increasingly limited, as well as the freedom of action. Actually, it should be pointed out that in 1946–1958, only 0.13 % of the state budget was allocated to culture³⁵. Anne Dulphy makes the harsh summary that Paris was conducting a *policy of the weak*³⁶. French diplomacy drew grand plans for the organization of impressive and memorable cultural events, the macro-framework, however, was not targeted this way.

³⁰ Изложба „Съвременна френска живопис“. София. Януари 1949. 72 с.

³¹ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/23, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1946–1950, Bulgarie, vol. 2, p. 44–45.

³² *Exposition des oeuvres offertes par des artistes français en hommage à la Grèce du 17 au 29 avril 1949*, Athènes, 1949, 130 p.

³³ L. Arnoux-Farnoux, "Relations intellectuelles et artistiques entre la France et la Grèce au XX^e siècle. L'action de deux philhellènes, Octave Merlier (1897–1976) et Roger Milliex (1913–2006)", *Rives Méditerranéennes*, 50, 2015, p. 53–64. <https://journals.openedition.org/rives/4798>

³⁴ A. Guénard, "Art et diplomatie...".

³⁵ E. Négrier, *Le ministère de la culture et la politique culturelle en France : exception culturelle ou exception institutionnelle ?*, Montpellier, 2017, 22 p. <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01442310>

³⁶ A. Dulphy, "Introduction", A. Dulphy, R. Frank, M.-A. Matard-Bonucci, et P. Ory (dir.). *Les relations culturelles internationales au XX^e siècle. De la diplomatie culturelle à l'acculturation*. Bruxelles, 2010, p. 27.

At the end of 1947, in the Soviet sphere countries, the “Zhdanovisme” was launched. This was a resistance ideological movement against the harmful bourgeois influence. The subsequent actions also affected French cultural institutions. Romania ordered its delegation to withdraw from the bilateral cultural commission in Paris, and starting at the spring of 1948 up to the fall of the same year all French cultural institutions in the country were closed.³⁷

In Bulgaria, on the contrary, the Alliance Française and the French Institute continued to function unimpeded. As Quai d'Orsay wrote, “*This behavior is mainly explained by the fact that France has many friends in all strata of the Bulgarian society, even among the Communist Party, and it is impossible for a country to tear off once its cultural presence is still so profound in Bulgaria.*”³⁸

However, a threat loomed over French religious schools after the authorities in Sofia announced their intention to introduce secular (and state-controlled) education in Bulgaria. On August 2, 1948, the National Assembly Presidium denounced the School Agreement of 1936 and, according to the notice period provided for in it, the colleges could operate another 9 months, but only for non-Bulgarian students. The French legation suggested that the closure was intended under external pressure and such moves didn't meet the public opinion, as well as that of some of the ruling authorities.³⁹

In fact, this step shall not be regarded as precedent. Religious education was abolished in Turkey in 1924, and recalcitrant schools were closed. In 1936, it was decreed that primary education should be completed in a Turkish public school, and secondary education could be continued in a foreign school, however, Turkish language, History, Geography and Civics should be taught in the Turkish language and by a Turkish teacher.⁴⁰ In Greece, the Papandreou Law of 1931 provided that no children of the Orthodox faith could be permitted to conclude their primary education in other religious schools. Moreover, the Cultural agreement with France of 1938 allowed no religious education at all. It is likely that the schools were preserved by being secularized, as in 1945 the ban on education in “other religious schools” was extended to children up to the age of 14, and in 1948 the ambassador Vaux Saint Cyr wrote of *certain xenophobia*. On the other hand, after the closure of the Italian, German and Romanian institutions, there was a strong influx of students to the Alliance Française and the French Institute, their total number at the end of the 1940s reaching about 18,000 students, later reducing to 10,000 in 1952, due to financial difficulties and the reduction of courses.⁴¹

³⁷ S. Pavelescu, “Entre suspicion et confiance...”; A. Guénard, “De la reconstruction...”, p. 25.

³⁸ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/28, АДМАЕ, Série Z Europe 1944–1949, Bulgarie, vol. 20, p. 179.

³⁹ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/23, АДМАЕ, Série Z Europe 1946–1950, Bulgarie, vol. 2, p. 40.

⁴⁰ E. Aksoy, “Les Établissements d'enseignement français en Turquie des origines à nos jours”, *Synergies Turquie*, 12, 2019, p. 42–43.

⁴¹ M. Cheze, *La France en Grèce...*, p. 269; A. Dulphy, “Enseignement français et francophonie dans les pays du nord de la Méditerranée pendant la IV^e République”, *Relations Internationales*, 115, 2003, p. 359.

The Soviet allies of Eastern Europe gradually began to direct French cultural events to their liking, inviting only communists. Although the FCP wasn't part of the government in Paris and the administration sided right, French diplomacy didn't allow itself to express any negative notes or assessments, preferring to have cultural ambassadors rather than none. Thus, in May 1948, celebrations were organized throughout the region in connection with the 100th anniversary of the events in France (the establishment of the Paris Commune), the core suggestion being how the poor rose up against the rich.⁴²

The artists who were members of the FCP didn't understand and didn't approve socialist realism⁴³, but remained loyal to the freedom of ideas and expression. A good example in this sense is the "progressive" poet Paul Eluard, who is considered the founder of surrealism in the field of poetry.⁴⁴ In April 1950 he visited Bulgaria and delivered a lecture on modern French literature at the University of Sofia, which allegedly contained not quite acceptable findings. The consul in Varna reported that for his next lecture there listeners who didn't know French were mobilized. French diplomacy reported a success of French cultural influence.⁴⁵

The next wave of purges and trials in Eastern Europe with accusations of espionage saw the abolition of Western institutions. The French Institute in Poland was closed in January 1950, later (in April 1951) – in Czechoslovakia, only in Hungary the institution was spared, but strictly controlled by the authorities.⁴⁶ In Bulgaria, this step was put off and it looks like there was a deliberate delay in search for a compromise, so as not to attack the French institutions. At the beginning of 1950, a director of the Alliance Française was to be elected/re-elected and the application of the last one in charge, Alphonse Barthel, was proposed to the Bulgarian government. The authorities made it clear that he was unacceptable because of his "reactionary" views. The cultural attaché, Marcel Eymonen, on his part, suggested a more acceptable option – to elect a Bulgarian. The idea was that, if the authorities believed that they have established control over the activities of the Alliance Française, the association wouldn't be threatened in any way. In

⁴² C. Horel, "La récupération des cultures nationales: le cas de la Hongrie", in J.-Fr. Sirinelli and G.-H. Soutou (dir.), *Culture et guerre froide*, Paris, 2008, p. 30.

⁴³ ДАМБНР, оп. 1^а п, а.е. 439, л. 4.

⁴⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Éluard.

⁴⁵ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/16, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1949 – 1955, Bulgarie, vol. 47, p. 13–18.

⁴⁶ G.H. Mond, "Les relations franco-polonaises après 1945", *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, 16, 1985, n°3, p. 90 ; C. Hayat, "Les relations culturelles franco-tchécoslovaques", *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 8, 1999: <https://www.pantheonsorbonne.fr/autres-structures-de-recherche/ipr/les-revues/bulletin/tous-les-bulletins/bulletin-n-08-chantiers-1999/cecile-hayat-les-relations-culturelles-franco-tchecoslovaques/>; S. Guillaume, "La relance de l'action culturelle française en Pologne aux lendemains de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale 1946–1956", in O. Chaline, J. Dumanowski, and M. Figeac (dir.). *Le rayonnement français en Europe Centrale. Du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, Pessac, 2009, p. 519–529. <https://books.openedition.org/msha/18037>; C. Horel, "La France et la Hongrie : affinités passées et présentes, de saint Martin à Nicolas Sarkozy", *Revue historique des armées*, 270, 2013, p. 9.

February 1950 the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party approved the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Evgeni Kamenov for its chairman.⁴⁷ However, several months passed without a response.

One could suppose that an express Soviet order was received in Sofia that no exception was permissible, as a result of which in August 1950 the French Institute, the Alliance Française, the Information and Press Service of France in Bulgaria were all closed.⁴⁸ The behavior of the above-mentioned Evgeni Kamenov speaks for itself in support of this assumption. The acting Chargé d'affaires, René Chalon, visited him to protest against the violence of the police officers. Kamenov was embarrassed, apologized and "*invited me to come to him as often as I deemed necessary*".⁴⁹ The conciliatory attitude of the Bulgarian diplomat rises the doubt that this act (the closure) wasn't accepted willingly in Sofia, and there have been a concern that it would affect the bilateral Bulgarian-French political relations.

On the contrary, although still a communist hard-liner, Yugoslavia's Tito, after his split with Stalin, needed a Western economic aid and to this end eased his policy a little towards opening to the French cultural presence. In 1952, French Institutes were established in Belgrade, Zagreb, Split and Skopje, but language courses were forbidden. In 1961, an education reform was carried out, which made the study of English and Russian languages compulsory in Yugoslav schools, and the French language lost ground.⁵⁰ And learning a language is generally related to the transfer of ideas, civilization knowledge and ideological influence. Public preferences oriented towards American pop music and film productions.⁵¹

There were no restrictions in Turkey (except the lack of foreign language education in primary schools). French cultural diplomacy, however, operated in a medium of serious Western competition, especially American one. Paris constantly increased the number of scholarships, of French teachers and lecturers, of projected French movies, annually providing performances of a French theatrical troupe and concerts of classical musicians.⁵² According to Paul Garde, however, the English language prevailed in Turkey as well.⁵³

The situation in Greece was similar. In the post-war period Washington developed ambitious programs, more than 200 language centres were established. From the beginning of the 1950s, English became the official language for the Greek public administration. In 1951 French was made optional, while English remained compulsory. The US had a share in the Greek movie industry, which increased their opportunities for cultural influence. As Mathilde Cheze points out, the Greek audience became used to the *Hollywood light plots* and few people

⁴⁷ ЦДА, ф. 16, оп. 8, а.е. 1134, л. 1.

⁴⁸ ДАМВНР, оп. 3п, а.е. 582, л. 6.

⁴⁹ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/16, АДМАЕ, Série Z Europe 1949–1955, Bulgarie, vol. 47, p. 29–30.

⁵⁰ K. Todić, *A Traditional Friendship?*..., p. 133, 240, 276.

⁵¹ Dr. Petrović, *Francusko-srpski odnosi 1800–2010*, Beograd, 2011, p. 302.

⁵² *Documents diplomatiques français*. 1968, Vol. 34/ Tome II, 2 juillet – 31 décembre, Paris, 2010, p. 478–481.

⁵³ P. Garde, "Les Balkans vus de France au XXe siècle", *Esprit*, 270, 2000, p. 30.

attended the French cinema. Since the second half of the 1970s, Paris put efforts in expanding its cultural influence by increasing the number of scholarships, opening new branches of the French Institute in Athens, organizing lectures, exhibitions, concerts, etc. These activities, however, couldn't catch up with the popularity of the American programs.⁵⁴

In Bulgaria, the first Francophonie event after the interruption of the cultural ties was the presentation of the French movie entitled "Without Leaving an Address", in the Bulgarian movie theatres in the fall of 1953. Its plot tackled a social theme that should show the dissolution of the capitalist society⁵⁵, and selections of the sort would continue even later. Still, however, they contained shots of cafes, well-stocked shops, and comfortable homes that questioned official propaganda.⁵⁶ The number of French exhibitions, theatrical plays and concerts increased. It seems that classical music and chansons were favored by the government⁵⁷ as a means of diverting the public interest from British and American rock songs with their unsightly performers⁵⁸. Studying the Russian language was compulsory and Western languages were generally optional. For political reasons, however, predominantly French classes and teachers were tolerated.⁵⁹ Quai d'Orsay's reports emphasized the fact that for a long period of time studying of French in Bulgaria retained an enviable place among other Western languages.⁶⁰ Romania must have maintained the same policy as another French report underlined that "So far Bulgaria, along with Romania, has been one of the Francophonie fortresses in Eastern Europe and on the Balkans".⁶¹

⁵⁴ L. Plassmann, *Comme dans une nuit de Pâques ? Les relations franco-grecques, 1944–1981*, Bruxelles, 2012, p. 86, 87–88, 126, 175, 387, 388 ; M. Cheze, *La France en Grèce...*, p. 258, 314, 348, 369, 374, 414, 422, 442 ; A. Dulphy, "Enseignement français...", p. 359 ; J.E. Miller, *The United States and the Making of Modern Greece: History and Power, 1950–1974*, University of North Carolina Press, 2009, p. 111.

⁵⁵ ЦДА, КМФ-12, инв. № 665/16, ADMAE, Série Z Europe 1949–1955, Bulgarie, vol. 47, p. 189–191.

⁵⁶ M.-P. Rey, "Le cinéma dans les relations franco-soviétiques", in J.-Fr. Sirinelli and G.-H. Soutou (dir.), *Culture et guerre froide*, Paris, 2008, p. 172.

⁵⁷ A response of the French Embassy in Bulgaria in a questionnaire, dating from the beginning of January 1968, indicated a lot of radio programmes with French classical and popular music (Dalida, Yves Montand etc.). Fiche du MAE, la Direction des services d'information et de presse, la Sous-direction de documentation, a.s. la Bulgarie, questions culturelles, le 3 janvier 1968. ADMAE, Série Europe 1961–1970, Sous-série Bulgarie, carton 178.

⁵⁸ Students and young men with long hair and tight pants were persecuted by the security services. Я. Янчева, „Възникване и характерни практики на рок културата в малкия град", in М. Златкова, Б. Петкова, С. Антонов (съст.), *След следващата запетая. 20 години етнология в Пловдивския университет*, Пловдив, 2015, с. 267.

⁵⁹ И. Григорова, "Френската културна политика в България (40-те – 80-те г. на XX в.)", *Дзяло*, 2017, № 10, 27 с. (http://www.abcdar.com/magazine/X/Grigorova_1314-9067_X.pdf)

⁶⁰ Note du MAE, la Direction Générale des affaires culturelles, scientifiques et techniques, a.s. les relations culturelles, scientifiques et techniques franco-bulgares, le 18 septembre 1974. ADMAE, Série Europe 1971–1976, sous-série Bulgarie, carton 3168.

⁶¹ Note de Pol le Gourrière, Ambassadeur de France en Bulgarie, à Son Excellence Monsieur Michel Jobert, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, a.s. la politique culturelle en Bulgarie, Sofia, le 16 novembre 1973. ADMAE, Série Europe 1971–1976, Sous-série Bulgarie, carton 3170.

The development in the first years following the end of the Second World War demonstrates the multifaceted strategy of the French cultural diplomacy, based on several centuries of tradition. Despite the financial difficulties, Paris strived to use all the available mechanisms for the spread of the French language and culture. A feature of this strategy was the selection of artists and works of art that would provoke a favorable response. Therefore, the French cultural events were in line with the pro-Soviet or pro-Western orientation of the Balkan countries. But, as the brief summary of the events from the 1950s onwards shows, the final success depended on the national regulatory mechanisms of the recipients.

**DOBRUDJA AS A BORDER AREA IN THE LATE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE, BULGARIA, AND ROMANIA:
HISTORY AND MEMORY**

Papers presented at the Round Table convened by the Institute
for Historical Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
in collaboration with the Institute
for South-East European Studies,
Romanian Academy, October 10th, 2022, Sofia – Bucharest
(online)

THROUGH THE EYES OF PIONEERS: ACCOUNTS OF MARITIME
SOUTHERN DOBRUDJA IN THE TRAVEL NOTES OF FELIX KANITZ,
KONSTANTIN IRECHEK, THE SHKORPIL BROTHERS AND TODOR
MUMDZHIEV (SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY)

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The text tells about the first explorers of maritime southern Dobrudja in modern times and their observations of the region in the period of the second half of the 19th century. Four narratives of the area are used, those of Felix Kanitz, Constantine Irechek, the Shkorpil brothers (Karel and Hermengild), Todor Mumdzhev.

Keywords: travel notes, maritime southern Dobrudja, Felix Kanitz, Constantine Irechek, the Shkorpil brothers (Karel and Hermengild), Todor Mumdzhev.

The text presents the travel notes of the first explorers of maritime southern Dobrudzha in modern times and their historical and ethnographic observations on the appearance of the region in the period of the second half of the 19th century. Their accounts were written in a liminal period: the transition from the last years of the Ottoman rule to the first two decades of the modern Bulgarian state. Due to the travel notes we can see the social transformations in this part of today's Bulgaria, as a reflection of historic circumstances and new realities in the region. We see not only towns in a transitional period, but also understand about historical and archaeological sites, about which these pioneers in exploration gave their first descriptions.

When we speak of maritime southern Dobrudja, we mean the territory that begins north of today's city of Varna ending with the village of Shabla, about which we have information in the texts under study. The towns along the route, namely Teke, Balchik and Kavarna, receive special attention because they are more populated and since there is more social dynamics out there. We shall cast a glance upon the descriptions of the larger settlements in the area to get an idea of the changes that took place at the border of two epochs in a frontier zone. We will pay our debt by showing our gratitude to the pioneers, the explorers of this marginal region, who with their research laid the foundations for the historical, archaeological, ethnographic and generally scientific study of these Bulgarian lands. The information described, however, remains to become the bridge between past and present in the study and understanding of this particular region.

Four narratives of the area are used, discussed in chronological order. All of them came from under the pen of influential scholars, dedicated explorers, inspired travellers and astute observers of the world around them. These are according to their chronological appearance, Felix Kanitz, Constantine Irechek, the Shkorpil brothers (Karel and Hermengild), Todor Mumdzhiiev. Let us say few words about the authors.

Felix Kanitz (1829–1904) is an Austro-Hungarian erudite, historian, ethnographer, traveler, artist. He was called “Columbus of the Balkans” and made many travels in the Bulgarian lands. He visited Bulgaria 18 times. His activity is of particular importance for the exploration of the Bulgarian lands immediately before the Liberation. His work “Danube Bulgaria and the Balkan. Historical, geographical, ethnographic travel studies from the years 1860–1875”¹, in 3 volumes, was published in the period 1875–1879. In the preface, Kanitz gives a summary assessment of the Bulgarians: the most numerous people in the Balkans, with great mental endowments, industrious and capable. The work is also extremely complete and serious guide to the history, ethnography and geography of the Bulgarian lands in the second half of the 19th century. His geographical map fills the white spaces of the existing maps, including 2300 settlements, 35 monasteries, roads and fortresses. His book brought him a gold medal at the Paris Geographical Congress (1876).² He visited the maritime South Dobrudja in 1872.

Constantine Irechek (1854–1918) was an Austro-Hungarian Czech historian and Slavist. He wrote extensively on Bulgarian and Serbian history. At the age of 22, he became the author of the first academic history of Bulgaria („История на българите“, 1876). After the liberation, at the invitation of the Bulgarian government, he lived and worked in Bulgaria (1879–1884). In 1881–1882 he even held the post of a Minister of Education of the Principality of Bulgaria. Irechek made a great contribution to the organization of educational work in the country, as well as to the establishment of numerous libraries and museums in Bulgaria. During his stay, he loved to travel and to explore the history and ethnography of the land, made several trips around the country, both north and south of the Stara planina mountain, and expressed his observations in his extremely interesting accounts named “Travels in Bulgaria”.³ In 1884 he travelled in Varna and the neighbourhood.

Karel and Hermengild Shkorpil were also of Czech origine, relatives of Irechek, they arrived in Bulgaria soon after 1878. Historians, ethnographers, geologists, encyclopedists, they were among the founders of the Bulgarian archaeology, museology and speleology. The two brothers founded the Varna Archaeological Museum (1888) and the Varna Archaeological Society (1901). They had a remarkable scientific activity and had left numerous publications in

¹ Here we use Ф. Каниц. *Дунавска България и Балканът*, Т. III, ред. В. Паскалева и Н. Марков, София, 1995.

² Феликс Каниц: <https://daritelite.bg/feliks-kanits-2/> (last accessed on October 7, 2022)

³ К. Иречек, *Пътувания по България*, ред. Е. Бужашки и В. Велков, София, 1974.

various scientific fields. Hermengild is the author of the first geological map of Southern Bulgaria and Karel – the discoverer of the remains of the first Bulgarian capital Pliska. The brothers published a book about the geography and archaeology of North-Eastern Bulgaria in 1892.⁴

Todor Mumdzhiiev (1863–1940) was the only Bulgarian among the explorers of maritime southern Dobrudja. For many years he worked as a teacher in Pazardzhik, Plovdiv, Burgas. He was a member of the Pazardzhik revolutionary committee during the Unification of the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia. Mumdzhiiev had a special interest in archaeology. In 1898 he was the director of the school in Balchik and travelled in the neighbourhood in 1898. He was especially fascinated by the shipwreck of the Romanian ship “Meteora” which gave him the impulse to go on the road and see the accident on the spot. Mumdzhiiev followed the most natural human feeling, the curiosity and started eagerly his adventure.⁵

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As Varna is the starting point for to enter into southern Dobrudja, we will give a brief description of this city especially according to Kanitz and Irechek, which will give us the image of this biggest settlement in the area just before and straight after the Liberation of Bulgaria.

Varna

When Kanitz passed through Varna in 1872, he found a predominantly Greek city with its 1300 Greek, 200 Bulgarian, 200 Armenian, 100 catholic and 10 protestant houses. He also counted 800-1000 Muslim households and estimated the whole population of about 18 000 people. Kanitz shared his impressions of a primitive city, with streets unpaved, unlit and dirty; in his words the official buildings had “pathetic architecture.” According to a “medieval custom”, the gates of the city were closed after sunset, the herds returning from grazing walked uncontrollably on the streets. There were neither boulevards nor other “centers of life”, as he puts it, typical for a big city. The port was also too primitive. Kanitz explained the poor condition of the town to the Ottoman officials who were lazy and had no interest in the developing of the environment.⁶

Only twelve years later, when Irechek visited Varna in 1884, he saw quite a different picture: of the whole population of 24 561, 8903 were Turkish, 6721 – Bulgarian, the Greeks coming on the third place, numbering 5367 inhabitants. The city was flourishing. A new port has been built, as also a new customs house. A

⁴ К. и Х. Шкорпил, Североизточна България в географическо и археологическо отношение, София, 1892.

⁵ Т. Ив. Мумджиев, *Катастрофата с „Метеора“ и една екскурзия от Балчик до Калъч-кьой и назад*, Варна, 1898.

⁶ Ф. Каниц, *Дунавска България и Балканът...*, р. 208–212.

new Bulgarian church has been erected, and a new building for the state real high school. Impressive was the city garden with newly planted trees, surrounded by wide asphalt sidewalks. Before the Liberation, the number of Bulgarians in the city was insignificant, but after 1878, many settlers came from Tulcea and other Bulgarian towns.⁷

Tekke

Proceeding northward, Kanitz passed through the village of Tekke (today Obrochishte). Once it had only 20 houses. In 1864, 180 Circassian families were settled there but they fled after the Russo-Turkish war in 1878. East of the village, Kanitz found a dervish monastery, “of such great size as I did not expect outside Constantinople”. The traveller was infinitely surprised, as the monastery was not depicted on any of the maps he was familiar with, but all too soon he realized that he has stumbled upon one of the most famous hotbeds of Muslim religion and Mohammedan piety. The monastery represented separate dervish houses, which were grouped around a magnificent turbe (a Muslim mausoleum or tomb) which was dedicated to Hafuz Khalil Baba. Kanitz found there 18 permanently living dervishes and 8 who were there only temporary. Kanitz was so interested in the religious complex, that he used the opportunity to accept the invitation of the sheikh who took care of the place, and stayed there for the night. In his travel notes Kanitz gave a very detailed information about the place which testified for his deep impression of the spiritual place.⁸

Twelve years later, when Irechek visited Tekke, there was only one dervish left. When Irechek was in the monastery, the signs of ruin were already slowly creeping in: he described a heptagonal building whose roof was missing, and inside “nature had no limit”: plants crawled on the floor of the rooms and birds flitted about undisturbed. The traveler spoke about an utraquist cult (a sanctuary where one exercised different confessional rites) in the turbe where the Christians commemorated St. Athanasius and the Muslims – Akazul Baba.⁹

Balchik

Another place that enters the descriptions of travelers was Balchik. Kanitz claimed that Balchik was a “poor Muslim village” until 1840. But it soon became a town, especially after the Ottomans allowed the Bulgarians to export grain abroad. The city port had a better location than the one in Varna. In 1872 it was predominantly a Turkish town – it had 800–900 Turkish, 400 Tatar, 150 Bulgarian and 50 Greek houses. There were eight mosques and two churches. The small Bulgarian community was wealthy enough to build a new church and a new school in the upper part of the city. Nearby lived the community of the “hardworking

⁷ К. Иречек, *Пътувания по България...*, р. 880–888.

⁸ Ф. Каниц, *Дунавска България и Балканът...*, р. 229–232.

⁹ К. Иречек, *Пътувания по България...*, р. 897–898.

Tatars", settled there in 1860. Turks and Greeks inhabited the lower part of the city close to the customs house and the sanitary service office of the town. Every summer a fair was organized in the town, where livestock was traded. The economy of Balchik relied on the fruit and honey production and also on fishing.¹⁰

When Irechek arrived in Balchik in 1884, there were 680 houses with 3845 inhabitants. The city was located on terraces sloping down to the sea level. At that time, a wide road was built with many serpentine paths down to the port. The Turks and the Gagauz were the most numerous; Irechek testified that Turkish language was predominant. The Greeks were represented by several wealthy merchants. The Greeks had their own national school and church. The Bulgarians were newcomers. They built two more Christian churches. Among the private buildings Irechek noticed a house of four floors, "a great rarity in the Orient". The export was flourishing, relying mostly on foods and cereals from inner Dobrudja.¹¹

The Skorpil brothers also confirmed the importance of the port of Balchik for the region, but in contradiction to what Kanitz said about the advantages of the location, they argued that the place was deprived of natural conditions to be a port. No steamers docked at these places, and communication between Balchik (and Kavarna) and Varna was done by ordinary small boats.¹²

In 1893 the population of Balchik reached 5137 inhabitants. According to Mumdzhiiev, the city continued to be inhabited by different nationalities (Bulgarians, Gagauz, Greeks, Turks, Tatars, Gypsies). Turkish was still spoken everywhere: on the streets, at school, in church and even in court. However, the road was still the only street while the others were "goat paths". Each ethnos had one primary school, one church or a mosque. He writes also about two Bulgarian churches but, strangely enough, claims that one of them was still under construction. As a teacher and director of the Bulgarian school, Mumdzhiiev confidently states that the task of the Bulgarian teacher in this region was considerably more difficult than that of his colleagues from the interior; the Gagauz students were the majority, they had problems with the Bulgarian language, so the teaching went slower. The population cultivated wheat and grapes, but fishing was a main activity too. The grain trade in the last decade of the 19th century was already in the hands of a Bulgarian merchant, N. Hr. Yuchormansky.¹³

Kavarna

In the book of Kanitz we read that in 1877 the Muslim and Christian populations in Kavarna were almost equal in number. The Muslim community counted 125 Turkish and 60 Tatar houses; the Christian one – 150 Greek and 25 Bulgarian families. The whole population was about 1800–2000 people. The most

¹⁰ Ф. Каниц, *Дунавска България и Балканът*..., p. 234–235.

¹¹ К. Иречек, *Пътувания по България*..., p. 899–902.

¹² К. и Х. Шкорпил, *Североизточна България*..., p. 18.

¹³ Т. Ив. Мумджиев, *Катастрофата с „Метеора“*..., p. 17–28.

progressive and leading were the Greek merchants. The Greek community had a beautiful church and a magnificent school. But in the summer of 1877 a catastrophe happened in Kavarna: a band of invading Circassians and Tatars, set fire to the Christian part of the city, and killed part of the Christian population. It was a cruel slaughter, the number of killed could not be determined. The Greeks and Bulgarians who survived fled and hid at Cape Kaliakra.¹⁴

According to Irechek, Kavarna had 1,479 inhabitants. The town made a good impression with its large streets and old, shady walnuts behind stone fences. But he also mentioned that it was devastated after the Circassian invasion in 1877. The Gagauz population spoke mainly Turkish its knowledge of Greek and Bulgarian limited only to the school education. The Bulgarian school existed with the support of the state, the Greek one - through the sponsorship of the Greek community.¹⁵

At the end of the century Todor Mumdzhiiev called Kavarna a "nice town", with more than 600 houses with large yards and gardens. There was only one planned straight street that led to the port and crossed the city from north to south. Along it there were many solid buildings, shops, cafes, alcohol factories. There were two churches – a Greek and a Bulgarian one. The inhabitants were more than 3000, most of whom were Gagauz, but there were already migrants from Kotel, who made the Bulgarian element to prevail. The livelihood of the population was related to viticulture, fishing and trade in Dobrudja grain. The culture in the town was flourishing: the Bulgarian intelligentsia enjoyed a rich library with a reading room. The local school had a spacious hall in which performances were given. The teachers were the natural leaders of this local community and, according to Mumdzhiiev, most of the good initiatives in the town were due to them.¹⁶

Shabla

According to Mumdzhiiev's observations, the town was different from the other villages in the area. The villagers were well-to-do, their houses were richly furnished and they had extensive yards and gardens. The Shabla marsh provided fish. There was more water, vegetable gardens, vineyards, sheep. There were more than 250 houses (of which no more than 10–15 Gagauz). The young people were described as alert, they had reading room and wanted to make a bigger library. There were 2 teachers and a female one who taught the children in the local school. The church was old, on the verge of collapse, so local villagers worshipped in a room at the Municipal Office.

The sea-coast and lighthouses

Both Kanitz and Irechek knew that the area was rich in historical and archeological monuments, but they were not able to visit all the villages around.

¹⁴ Ф. Каниц, *Дунавска България и Балканът...*, p. 236–239.

¹⁵ К. Иречек, *Пътувания по България...*, p. 903–905.

¹⁶ К. и Х. Шкорпил, *Североизточна България...*, p. 37–40.

The first who systematically explored the South Dobrudja coast were the Shkorpil brothers. To them we owe the first descriptions of the rock complexes in the area, near the villages Kalachköy (Tyulenovo) and Kayabeyköy (Kamen Bryag), those near Bolata area and cape Kaliakra, as well as the first plans and sketches of the whole area. Despite the detailed data given by the Shkorpil brothers, the systematic excavations especially in the Yailata locality near the village of Kamen Bryag began only a hundred years later.

Shkorpil considered the northeastern coast as too dangerous to sail. According to them, the sailing line for large ships was 10–15 km inland from the coast between the Romanian border and Varna Bay. Sea connections between Varna and Balchik were carried out with small local ships, only in low waves and favorable winds.

Shkorpil described the lighthouses on the Black Sea coast – those at Shabla, Kaliakra, the “red” lantern in Varna, and at the cape Galata. Their head administration from the Bosphorus to the Danube estuary was in Constantinople (except the one at Kaliakra, that was administered by Lloyd – cf. Irecek). Each ship payed for their maintenance when entering the port.¹⁷

In the travel notes we can find a hint about the attitude of the Bulgarians to the sea. For example, the Shkorpil brothers reported about the existing among the people oath “to go through the Black Sea”, which means not to return. Mumdzhiiev was more explicit: “It is now criminal on our part to cling only to the land and to keep far away from the sea. It is not as terrible as the legends make it out to be. Much of the coast and waters of the Black Sea are ours, and we must get used to it in order to be able to enjoy its riches.”¹⁸

Piracy

Mainly due to the natural fear of the sea among the population, we don’t have many stories about raids or robberies on sea. But it doesn’t mean they didn’t exist. Mumdzhiiev told an interesting story about the piracy in the region. In fact, the purpose of his travel was curious: he wanted to see the stranded Romanian ship “Meteora”, shipwrecked near the rocks of the village of Kalachköy. The vessel ran aground off the coast on February 10, 1898, and the causes of the crash remained unclear: both human error and objective weather-related causes were suspected. There were 33 passengers on the deck, one of whom drowned, and two of the 54-member crew also died.

In connection with the accident, Mumdzhiiev says that the locals in the area not only witnessed frequent shipwrecks, but even knew how to cause them. The method was as follows: several people gathered on the shore, lit a large fire and began to circle around it, spreading and squeezing their yamurluks/coats with such

¹⁷ К. и Х. Шкорпил, Североизточна България..., р. 3, 16, 19.

¹⁸ К. и Х. Шкорпил, Североизточна България..., р. 21; Т. Ив. Мумджиев, Катастрофата с „Метеора“..., р. 39.

speed that they imitated the light of a lighthouse. The false signal misled the captains, who turned their ships to the dangerous rocks. Even if this information referred to Ottoman times, Mumdzhev assumed that maybe at his time it was still practiced.¹⁹

Conclusion

The story of the four pioneers could be continued and expanded. But we intend to stop here. The presentation of the authors' observations so far is convincing evidence that the availability of such notes on coastal southern Dobrudja is important for the study and understanding of the area. Systematic research on these lands in historical and demographic terms is rare. In the decades since the restoration of Bulgarian statehood, few have ventured on a journey through these places. Due to their considerable remoteness from major urban centres, and the lack of an adequate road transport network, they have long remained outside the interest of researchers. Therefore, these first valuable evidences are a whole wealth for the researcher.

Undoubtedly, what is read in the road notes is the slow change of the ethnic appearance of the settlements, the fruit of historical circumstances. The emergence of the new state had its repercussions: the towns became Bulgarianised, and gradually the Bulgarian community began to dominate the rest of the town. Cities are being upgraded and modernised, new developments are appearing and infrastructure is being improved. However, these changes were more visible in larger cities such as Varna. Smaller towns such as Balchik and Kavarna needed more time due to various reasons (as for example their geostrategic importance, city government, state care etc.).

As for the places prosperous before 1878, their decline began immediately after 1878. The years of Ottoman rule and the traumatic memories of the past do not contribute to continuity, but on the contrary, provoke denial and neglect.

¹⁹ Т. Ив. Мумджиев, *Катастрофата с „Метеора“*..., p. 67–68. In 2021, 123 years after the shipwreck of “Meteora”, another vessel stranded at the coast of Kamen bryag, 5 km south from Tyulenovo. It was released on the 36th day after being stuck on the shore during a difficult operation which lasted seven hours. Up to now the reasons for the shipwreck remains unclear. But the recent events show us that even now, in 21st century, the history is repeating itself. One thing that don't change is the dangerous coast that must be respected.

METROPOLITAN SYMEON OF VARNA AND PRES LAV (1840–1937) AND DOBRUDJA

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Within the Bulgarian Exarchate the Orthodox population of Dobrudja fell into two eparchies: those of Dorostol-Cherven and of Varna-Preslav. The first head of the latter was Metropolitan Symeon (1840–1937), a prominent figure in the Bulgarian ecclesiastical and civil history. Elected for the spiritual leadership of the Varna-Preslav eparchy in 1872, he remained on that service for the extraordinary long period of 65 years until his death in 1937. The paper provides a brief sketch of Metropolitan Symeon's life, as well as an account of his relation to the history of Dobrudja. A description is given of the joint Varna-Preslav eparchy, its borders and territorial span during the years, particularly focusing on its Dobrudja part. There is also an estimation of Metropolitan Symeon's attitude toward his flock living in Dobrudja, based on documents. The presentation covers the arch-hierarch's travels around the region, the church building, the ecclesiastically related ethnic questions, the refugee problem, etc. It concludes with an assessment of Metropolitan Symeon's role in the Dobrudja's past for his long years of service.

Keywords: Dobrudja, Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Bulgarian Exarchate, Eparchy of Varna-Preslav.

Taken from ecclesiastical point of view Dobrudja has always been divided into a few bishoprics. Under the Constantinople Patriarchate during the Ottoman rule, until 1870, there were four eparchies encompassing the territory of Dobrudja: Eparchy of Dorostol (with a cathedral in Silistra), eparchy of Cherven (with a cathedral in Russe / Ruschuk), eparchy of Varna, and in the bordering area on South some settlements lying in the eparchy of Preslav (with a cathedral in Shumen). During the establishment process of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the representatives of the eparchies decided that some mergers should be performed between the smaller eparchies, mostly in order to reduce the administration and maintenance costs. The first of these cases was the merger between the Dorostol eparchy and the Cherven one, where the joint Metropolis of Dorostol-Cherven emerged with a seat in Russe (then commonly referred to as Ruschuk). The other was the Metropolis of Varna-Preslav. The major reason for the merger here was the fact that the Bulgarian Exarchate's authority over the Varna Metropolis was severely attacked by the Constantinople Patriarchate and not completely recognised by the Ottomans. The Bulgarian Exarchate, established formally in 1870, but effectively in 1872, lasted

until 1953, when it was upgraded to Patriarchy. During that time the two Dobrudja eparchies sustained with a very few personal changes of their respective heads, as it may be seen from the table below.

Table 1
Dobrudja in the Bulgarian Exarchate (1870–1953)

Metropolity of Dorostol – Cherven (Seat in Russe/ Ruschuk)	Metropolity of Varna – Preslav (Seat in Shumen, since 1882 – in Varna)
Metropolitan Gregory (1828–1898) – 1872–1898	Metropolitan Symeon (1840–1937) – 1872–1937
Metropolitan Vassiliy (1847–1927) – 1898–1927	Metropolitan Joseph (1900–1988) – 1937–1988
Metropolitan Mikhail (1884–1961) – 1927–1961	

The focus in this paper is on the Varna-Preslav eparchy. Nowadays a significant part of it covers territory in South Dobrudja – mostly within the ecclesiastical district of Dobrich, but also small parts in the Varna and Provadia ones. Before 1878 it had covered basically the same territory plus the town of Mangalia with its vicinity. After the political border between Romania and Bulgaria had been set in 1878 Mangalia went into the Rumanian Orthodox Church. There were no other major administrative changes up to 1913.

Despite its large territory, the Varna-Preslav Metropolity was relatively small in number of people (compared to the other Exarchate eparchies). In its inland part the Muslim inhabitants outnumbered the Christians. The maritime part had notably larger Orthodox population, but it was partitioned on national and ecclesiastical basis. The Bulgarian Exarchate was not supported by the local Greeks and Gagauz. The Greek community here consisted of genuinely Greek local families, mostly in Varna, mingled with Greek newcomers from elsewhere and Hellenized elements of different ethnic background – Bulgarian, Gagauz or other. The Gagauz community, dwelling mostly in the coastal areas of Kavarna and Shabla, as well as in the Varna's vicinity, represents a small ethnic group of Turkic origin, with a language similar to the Turkish. They belong to the Orthodox Christian Church and are generally quite fond of their faith. In the 1860-1870-s they were zealous supporters of the Constantinople Patriarchy in its struggle with the Bulgarian community and Exarchate. This position was due to two major factors: first, their great respect for the Hellenic culture, second, their conviction that the Patriarchate would be the stronger community to lean on, which was very important for small nationalities like theirs. Given the diverse picture of national elements, it was of no surprise that the eparchy would prove a troublesome place for its future shepherd. The choice, made by the supporters of the Exarchate fell on a cleric of exclusive qualities. The first head of the Varna-Preslav Metropolity became Metropolitan Symeon (1840–1937), a prominent figure in the Bulgarian ecclesiastical and civil history.

Map: The metropolies of the Bulgarian Patriarchy (present day span).¹ The Varna-Preslav eparchy is on the North-East corner (coloured in yellowish). The thick green lines mark the metropolity's border; the thin lines mark the ecclesiastical districts.



Metropolitan Symeon was born in 1840 in Burgas as Odiseus Papadopoulos (also Papanikolaos). His father was an Orthodox priest of Bulgarian origin. The family however was deeply Hellenized, largely due to the Greek mother and the social environment in the town. In 1856–1863 Odiseus studied in the High Theological School on the island of Chalki in the Marmara Sea, near Constantinople. During that period, he reassessed his national conscience and built in himself a strong sense of belonging to the Bulgarian nation. There again he developed deep Orthodox faith and affirmed it with a decision to dedicate himself on cleric's service. In 1863 the theology student assumed the spiritual name Symeon at the Chilandar Monastery (Mount Athos). In 1863–1869 Symeon worked as a teacher and publicist, and was largely preoccupied with the Bulgarian ecclesiastical question. In 1869 he became protosyngel of Metropolitan Antim of Vidin. After the election of Antim as Bulgarian Exarch in February 1872, Symeon followed his elder in his service at Constantinople. In the summer of the same 1872 the eparchies within the Bulgarian Exarchate organised elections of their archierarchs. The Exarch's protosyngel was chosen as a metropolitan twice: first in Shumen for the Preslav Metropolity and then in Varna. The two neighbouring eparchies merged into a joint one: Varna – Preslav Metropolity. Within the next few decades Metropolitan Symeon of Varna – Preslav

¹ Source: <https://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/Епархи>

stood out as a leading figure in the Bulgarian ecclesiastical and social life. Very tall physically, endowed with a strong character, bright intellect and wit, he was an easy-to-distinguish person in any meeting or collective activity.

For nearly 40 years (1874–1913) Symeon was a member of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, for a few terms being its chairman and almost all of the time its key representative with a decisive voice in the Synodal affairs. Following the foundation of the Bulgarian state in 1878 the hierarch played also an important political role as a member of the Bulgarian National Assembly (in the period 1879–1883), for a short time even as its chairman. After 1913 Metropolitan Symeon dedicated himself largely on serving his own eparchy, although he remained highly influential figure in the spiritual matters on a national level. During his long life he went into constant struggles in the name of the Orthodox Church and its interests, very often against the pressuring secular state, but also against the hypocrisy and falseness among clergy. He acted also as a benefactor of numerous educational institutions and disadvantaged people, while hiding his role as much as possible. Metropolitan Symeon of Varna-Preslav passed away in Varna on 23rd Oct. 1937 on his 98th year of life and after 65 years of service as archierarch. His funeral procession was attended by unseen before number of mourners.



Photo 1 (from left): Metropolitan Gregory of Dorostol-Cherven, Bulgarian Exarch Antim I, Metropolitan Symeon of Varna-Preslav (1872).

For the whole long time of service Metropolitan Symeon took the responsibility for the Orthodox population in part of Dobrudja and by this he established deep relation with the region's history. It began right from the first meetings. Starting from August 1873 a few Bulgarian Orthodox Communities in Dobrudja asked the metropolitan to visit them, insisting on their many pending problems. Particularly hard were the relations with the neighbouring Gagauz communities, who supported the Patriarchate with great zeal. The response came quickly. In September – October 1873 Metropolitan Symeon travelled on his first eparchial tour to the Dobrudja part of his eparchy. The tour was very successful. The bishop² consecrated four new churches in the vicinity of Balchik and Mangalia, three new chapels (in Kavarna, Durankulak and Karapcha/Krapets), as well as schools and other communal buildings, and ordained new priests. At least two new Bulgarian administrative communities were established under his guidance: in the coastal towns of Kavarna and Mangalia. Everywhere he was welcomed warmly with great expectations for the future. For the next few years, especially in 1874–1875, the eparchial tours of the metropolitan continued, as well as the Church building in strict and broader sense.³

The service of the hierarchy, however, had to deal with several large obstacles, the major of which seemed to be the national controversies. Metropolitan Symeon was well aware of Dobrudja's ethnic diversity. He did not share a radical nationalist mentality. His attitude toward the problem of ethnicity may well be illustrated by a letter from him to archimandrite Joseph (the future Bulgarian Exarch Joseph), dated on 13th May 1875. It represents reflections on the author's visit to Tulcea, i.e. in the neighbouring eparchy, headed then by his close friend Metropolitan Gregory of Dorostol-Cherven. The reason for the trip was a participation in a large ceremonial service, precisely a consecration of a church. Metropolitan Symeon however admitted that he had made the visit also in order to relieve somewhat from the long stay at Constantinople with all the political intrigues and annoyances there. "...I made a trip to Tulcea, where the Highly Reverend Lord (Metropolitan) Gregory, I and the Reverend Lord (Bishop) Clement consecrated the Bulgarian church. The consecration, of course, was implemented magnificently with an extraordinary multitude of Bulgarians, Greeks, Wallachians and Russians. ... All the time of my stay in Tulcea I spent merrily and pleasantly. The Tulceans seemed to me people honourable and noble. They represent well the Bulgarian nationality in a town where almost all the nationalities of the world can be found."⁴

The whole excerpt, especially the two last lines, express a definitely moderate view on the national question. Metropolitan Symeon was not by any means

² Here the term 'bishop' is taken at its broader meaning as 'cleric of the highest rank', which includes metropolitans, archbishops and bishops proper. It is applied at some occasions to Metropolitan Symeon in order to avoid the constant use of his exact title. Note that the English language is less sensitive to the terms of Orthodox Church, compared to the languages of traditionally Orthodox peoples.

³ В. Тонев (ред., съст.), *Извори за историята на Добруджа* (Sources for the History of Dobrudja) 1853–1878, Т. 3. София, Гутенберг, 2001, p. 330–333, 338–340.

⁴ Bulgarian Central State Archive, fund 898 k, op. 2, archive unit 7, sheet 6–7.

indifferent to the Bulgarian national cause. By Tulceans, he means of course the Bulgarian community in that town. But the light, in which he views the nations, is rather mild. Nationality, for him, is a concept interwoven with ethics. Being so, he understands the relations between the different ethnic groups in Tulcea as some kind of noble contest, a fair competition for the reward of honour. This milder attitude put him in a distance from the more belligerent voices among the Bulgarian national leaders. Metropolitan Symeon held the same standpoint as his spiritual father Exarch Antim (although not explicitly verbalized in both cases), that belonging to Orthodoxy is superior to belonging to any national community. As much as the national question concerned the ecclesiastical organisation, he was inclined on a certain concord with the Constantinople Patriarchy.

This inclination at first did not bring a decent result. The atmosphere on the Balkans in 1870-s was highly charged with ethnic controversy, not sparing the Dobrudjan land. For the whole term of 1872–1877 Metropolitan Symeon was struggling for establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate's authority over the Eastern part of his eparchy, colliding with the interests of Constantinople Patriarchy. Soon after the Bulgarian Exarchate was proclaimed and started functioning on a more regular basis, in September 1872 the Patriarchy declared it "schismatic". The conviction was pronounced on the allegation of ethnofyletism. Armoured with this decision, the Patriarchy refused to acknowledge the Exarchate and its cannon rights over the territory, given to the latter by secular power. Where it was possible, the Patriarchal metropolitans retained their offices. One of the contested seats was that of Varna, from where a considerable part of Dobrudja was affected. The Greek metropolitan in Varna could count on the support of those Orthodox Christians, who did not recognise the Exarchate. Although they were not quite numerous, the authority of the Patriarchy gave them considerable strength. The Ottoman administration was reluctant on resolving the issue. It was actually interested in prolonging the Bulgarian-Greek quarrel as a means to control the sultan's subjects. As a result, Metropolitan Symeon never obtained a *berat* (a document granting a high cleric the right to serve on a given territory) for Varna, nor an official recognition as a metropolitan of Varna by the Ottoman state. He was forced to reside in Shumen, where his *berat* and rights as a metropolitan of Preslav were only confirmed. From there he took care as much as he could for the Varna half of his eparchy (including his share of Dobrudja). The semi-recognised position of the metropolitan was a heavy burden on him, especially as he insisted on loyalty as a principle and was particularly strict on following the established rules. On his permanent insistence to assume the full authority granted by the imperial *firman*, he received only ambiguous and unspecified promises. After a few unsuccessful attempts to solve the problem with a legal decision, in 1875 Symeon wrote to the Exarchate with a formal resignation from being metropolitan of Varna. From then on he refused to use this designation in his official title. For the next few years, he formally acted only as Metropolitan Symeon of Preslav. It was a deliberate choice to

show his disappointment for the lack of legal progress on the case. Otherwise, he kept duties for the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the Varna region, administering the clerics and laity there on their spiritual life, church building, communal organisation, etc. The development of the Bulgarian Exarchate continued against the odds.

With the growing political tensions during 1876 this development however had to stop. The breakout of the war in 1877 brought a row of troubles to the Christian population in the region. The Metropolitan was forced to stay in Constantinople because of the political complications around the Exarchate's rule. Later on, the Ottoman authorities decided to keep a close eye on him at the capital city, rather than allowing him to return home and be near his flock. During his absence his eparchy suffered awfully from the chaos and war atrocities.

Table 2
Building and consecration of churches in Dobrudja under Metropolitan Symeon until 1877

Built	Consecrated	Settlement	Name
1866	1873	Town of Balchik	Church "St. Nicolas"
1867	1873	Village of Gargalik (today Vranino)	Church "Holy Trinity"
1864	1873	Village of Sari-Musa (today Smin)	Church "St. Demetrius"
1871	1873	Village of Kapukchii (today Vratarite)	Church "St. Archangel Michael"
1872	1873	Town of Kavarna	Chapel "Holy Theotokos"
1867	1873	Village of Durankulak	Chapel "St. Apostle Peter"
1867	1873	Village of Karapcha (today Krapets)	Chapel "St. St. Cyril and Methodius"
1866	Before 1877	Village of Gelinjik (today Dimitar-Ganevo)	Church "St. Archangel Michael"
1871	Before 1877	Village of Elibey (today Pchelarovo)	Church "St. John Theologian"
?	Before 1877	Village of Deliosmanlar (today Vladimirovo)	Church "St. Archangel Michael"
?	Before 1877	Village of Yushenlii (today Botevo)	Church "St. Prophet Elias"
1872	–	Village of Jafferli yuch-orman (today Trigortsi)	Church "St. St. Cyril and Methodius"
1874	–	Town of Mangalia	Church "St. George"
1874	–	Village of Karamanli (today Karamanite)	Church "Holy Trinity"
1875	–	Village of Gyavur koyusu (today Gurkovo)	Church "St. Demetrius"

While the Russo-Turkish war 1877–1878 was being fought, a large part of South Dobrudja became no man's land. Gangs of Circassians and Muslim bashibozuks raided into the Christian villages and plundered the local people. Great damage was done on all the Christian temples and Church possessions in Dobrudja.

After the war, in the Autumn of 1878 Metropolitan Symeon sent two of his priests to survey and to document the condition: Fr. Stephen Alexov into the Hadjioglu Pazardjik district and Fr. Ivan Russev into the Balchik and Mangalia districts.⁵ Their simply written reports, submitted to the metropolitan in September – October 1878 revealed a tragic picture of devastation, demolition and loss. Here are some short excerpts from them: *“Church ‘St. St. Cyril and Methodius’ in the village of Jaferli-Yuch-Orman⁶, built 1872, not consecrated yet – now in the war plundered to the last and burnt. Saved nothing, except one book, and ruined to the foundation... Church ‘St. Demetrius’ in the village of Giavur Kuyusu⁷, built 1875, not consecrated yet – plundered and burnt. Only naked walls remained. Saved one-two icons, but nothing else.”*

Another trouble came from the new political distribution of the Dobrudja lands, which affected the Church work. With Northern Dobrudja going into the Kingdom of Romania, the eparchies of Dorostol-Cherven and Varna-Preslav faced changes in span and control. The Bulgarian community in Mangalia warned Metropolitan Symeon about violation of their established order in the end of 1878. The metropolitan reacted quickly with a paper, addressed to his superior authority – the Bulgarian Exarch Joseph in January 1879. The Exarch responded with an order to protest officially at the Romanian administration about the violation of his rights as a metropolitan.⁸ It was obvious, nevertheless, that the border was to become permanent, so Mangalia was no more likely to retain its previous statute as a part of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Soon it went under the spiritual authority of the Romanian Church. Apart from this, Metropolitan Symeon had the great consolation that his spiritual rights over the Varna half of his eparchy were now firmly established. The previous obstacles fell immediately after the Bulgarian state came into being and the hierarch had the full right to act again as Symeon of Varna and Preslav.

The next years were spent on recovery. In 1880–1912 there followed a renewal of the church construction in South Dobrudja with a greater scope, especially in the villages. At least 9 village churches in the Metropolitan Symeon's parts of Dobrudja were built in 1880-s plus the completion of works on “St. George” in Hadjioglu Pazardjik (Dobrich), which was consecrated in 1889. In the early 1890-s the ecclesiastical building was somewhat slowed down, but in the second half of the decade the pace was restored with “St. George” in Balchik (1897) and at least 2 new village churches. With the improving economic and social conditions in the beginning of the 20th century (more precisely in 1901–1912) at least 6 churches were built or renovated plus 1 significant chapel erected on the Kaliakra Cape as well as the church “Holy Trinity” in Dobrich.⁹

⁵ В. Тонев (ред., съст.), *Извори за историята на Добруджа* (Sources for the History of Dobrudja) 1853-1878, Т.3. София, Гутенберг, 2001, р. 330–333.

⁶ Today Trigortsi.

⁷ Today Gurkovo.

⁸ В. Тонев, Й. Зарчев (ред.), *Кратка история на Добруджа* (Short History of Dobrudja), Варна, изд. Георги Бакалов, 1986, р. 179.

⁹ Official website of the Metropolis of Varna and Veliki Preslav: <https://www.mitropolia-varna.org/>

Another important process also started after 1878. It was the process of involving the Gagauz Christians within the M. Symeon's flock. "...Metropolitan Symeon has acted with both formal presentations and private letters to ministers, social leaders and various administrators, as well as through personal meetings with them [the Gagauz], in order to make the Gagauz villages Bulgarian [i.e. part of the Bulgarian Exarchate]... and to limit the arbitrary actions and propaganda of the Greek archierarchs and priests in the city of Varna and its district. All this perhaps someday will be presented in the press. The truth, in any case, forces to admit that Metropolitan Symeon persistently, though without noise, has acted to turn his eparchy Bulgarian, while as early as in the first years after our liberation a number of Gagauz villages (Jaferli¹⁰, Jevizli¹¹, Yeni-Kyoy¹², Kestrich¹³, Chaushkyoy¹⁴, etc.) with collective requests to him refused the jurisdiction of the Patriarchy and recognised the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate."¹⁵

The process of inclusion was uneven and hard. The most vulnerable point was the accusation of schism, put by the Patriarchate on the Bulgarian Exarchate. In the village of Kestrich (Vinitsa) near Varna (September 1881 – January 1882) part of the population together with the priest asked Metropolitan Symeon to join his flock. Later on, however, the actions of the Greek Metropolitan Cyril, who had the civil administration's support, threatened to reverse this move. The case forced Metropolitan Symeon to act decisively. He used the most of his authority to bring back the debated parish under the Bulgarian Church. The case brought to the decision to transfer the seat of the Metropolis from Shumen to Varna. The idea was suggested by the Ministry of Confessions and the Bulgarian Exarch. Metropolitan Symeon accepted it as sound and moved his main office into the seaside town.¹⁶

The result came soon. From Varna he could establish a closer link to the local parishes in the contested districts and to react better to the opponents' claims. The closeness to the Gagauz settlements provided for more successful talks between their leaders and the metropolitan. Given the social conditions and political perspectives at the time, the Gagauz population in the region gradually made their turn in favour of integration into Bulgaria. The most active phase of this change happened in 1881–1882 and continued steadily afterwards. Up to the end of the 19th century the inclusion of the Gagauz community into the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was virtually complete. Its respective integration into the Bulgarian society had made a

¹⁰ Today Kichevo.

¹¹ Today Oreshak.

¹² Today Kumanovo.

¹³ Today Vinitsa, administrative unit within the city of Varna.

¹⁴ Today General Kantardjievo.

¹⁵ Архим. Михаил, *Високопреосвещенияят митрополит Симеон като епархийски архиепирей* (The Highly Reverend Metropolitan Symeon as an Eparchial Archiearch), in *Сборник в чест на Варненский и Преславский митрополит Симеон* (Volume in honour of Metropolitan Symeon of Varna and Preslav), Sofia, Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, 1922, p. 69.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70–71.

significant progress. The authority of the Constantinople Patriarchy in the region was obviously diminishing. Around the turn of the centuries only few church communities of small size remained in Dobrudja under their (essentially Greek) Metropolitan of Varna. These were the groups with hard-line Greek national conscience in Balchik and Kavarna, plus a handful of people in Dobrich.

Now, as the national tide had turned from Greek to Bulgarian supremacy, a new trouble for the metropolitan emerged from the society's bottom. It was the Bulgarian nationalist zeal to clear up all the Greek influence in the country.¹⁷ The sources, which produced this attitude were various, including rage against "the Greek uppity", convulsive reaction of the Greek-Bulgarian hostility over the mixed regions in the Ottoman provinces of Macedonia and Thrace, conflicting economic interests in the seaside region, etc. Beyond all these stood the sharply irritated feeling of "national pride". The spirit of Anti-Greek sentiment became visible in 1905 all over the Bulgarian Black Sea coast and elsewhere, ignited by the news of Greek activities against Bulgarians in the Ottoman Macedonia. In the next year it materialised in pogroms on Greek property and other actions of hatred. A highly radicalised bunch of people, grouped under the title of "Rodolyubets" ("Fatherland-lover") appeared in Varna in 1906 and its first cause was the campaign to prevent the new Greek metropolitan from coming to Varna. Soon it started to act as a coordinating centre for the anti-Greek activism in the South Dobrudja, too. The movement did not bear any official liabilities and acted against the law indeed, but it drew audacity from the prevailing nationalist sentiment on a mass social scale. Actions included occupation of the remaining Greek churches and banishment of the Greek clergy. In Balchik, for example, the local Greek priest was mounted on a donkey and expelled with a warning to not get back in town.¹⁸

The sharp phase of the ethnic collision happened while Metropolitan Symeon was far from the eparchy, preoccupied with the Holy Synod's work in Sofia. On the news from home, he attempted to calm down the nationalist fervour. The occupied temples by the "Rodolyubets" had been offered to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, but the metropolitan declined. He forbade his priests to serve there or to enter into possession of property, which is not their own. The immediate effect of his orders was a large 'patriotic' gathering in Varna, where the mob issued a declaration reproaching the hierarch. It implied that the metropolitan had betrayed his people and was provided with an ungracious warning that the local spiritual head 'might face certain eventualities' on his return. Yet Metropolitan Symeon was not someone to get scared easily. The state authorities also decided to intervene, though very carefully. Soon afterwards the most ardent nationalistic elements were tempered and the spirits were successfully calmed down. Nothing

¹⁷ В. Георгиев, Ст. Трифонов (съст., ред.), *История на българите в документи* (History of the Bulgarians in Documents), Т.1, 1878–1912, Ч. 1., София, Просвета, 1994.

¹⁸ The information was provided to the author by residents of Balchik and is based on the retained, but fading local memory of the events.

particularly “eventual” happened to the bishop when he came back home. The Greek churches were restored to their respective owner, at least it was done so in Varna. In a long term, however, the problem was not sufficiently resolved. The Greeks in Bulgaria suffered a heavy blow indeed. The Greek Metropoly of Varna shrank to the Varna Greek community only, while the other parishes in Dobrudja basically disappeared. The Bulgarian – Greek controversy remained open until 1914, when another nationalist surge erased the last sustaining Greek parishes in Varna. Probably it was not the way that the honest metropolitan wanted to resolve his ecclesiastical argument with the Constantinople Patriarchy.

In 1913–1918, for quite short time in grand historical terms, the political border in Dobrudja changed its line several times. What Metropolitan Symeon could do in those turbulent years was to take care for the flock in the settlements under his spiritual guidance. He organised a large social work for the relief of the refugees, the army invalids, the widows and orphans, etc. and put his protosyngel archimandrite Mikhail (the future Metropolitan of Dorostol-Cherven) in charge of it. After the Autumn of 1918, when the whole Dobrudja went under Romanian rule, the old hierarch had to face again with the loss of large part of his eparchy, and this time the loss seemed to last long, if not permanently. The emerging problems that he had to deal with included the refugee problem and the Dobrudja political question. Varna became a focal point of refugee waves from Dobrudja, as well as such coming from elsewhere. This situation affected the social work of the Metropoly, as a lot more care now had to be put in order to relieve the needy brethren from the flock. The catastrophic defeat of the Bulgarian national ideal also had deep implications on a spiritual level. A disparate revolutionary trend appeared as a means to resolve the Dobrudjan question, a political movement, in which the nationalist cause was tangled with the growing leftist tide, shouting for a social revolt. This movement soon found a reason to rebel, strangely indeed, against Metropolitan Symeon. The whole campaign failed in quite short terms, but it was an important manifestation of the different spirits, debating on the Dobrudja’s historical fate. As such, the case will be discussed in detail in another paper. For the present one it is enough to highlight the dignity, by which the metropolitan went past the accusations and remained firmly in the service of his spiritual flock.

In the last years of his life, Metropolitan Symeon often provided interesting and insightful memories from his past experience. In them we find sometimes valuable sources about life in Dobrudja, as well. An excellent example is a memoir, which describes the attitude of the Bulgarians to the sea. It was written on request of the Bulgarian National Maritime Concord, an organisation for promotion of awareness about the sea. It is a reflection of his first eparchial tour in 1873 in the village of Karapcha (Krapets). Here is an excerpt from it:

“... I wanted to have a walk to the sea, so I told my hospitable host: ‘Dyado Valtchane’¹⁹, I was born in a seaside town, I have lived for long years in Constatinople, I love sea, let’s have a walk along the shore’. “Let it be” said Dyado Valtchan. We went there. The shore near Karapcha was high. There wasn’t any sign that the Karapcha people dealt with the sea. There was no path in order to go down to the water... Nearby in the sea a small ship was spreading her sails and was heading to the north. I told my friend: ‘Hey, Dyado Valtchane, I wish I were on that ship, stretching on the deck, to be blown by this calm wind...’ Dyado Valtchan, steering his eyes into me, looked at me rigidly and then said: ‘I am wondering on your mind, Lord Bishop!... But, in turn, do you know what I think about this?’ “What?”, I asked him. ‘All this space, which my eye can get, if it were soil to let my plough to work, what a glorious job it would be.’”²⁰

The small witty story was provided by the bishop to explain the reserved attitude towards any kind of sea experience of the Bulgarian population, greatly attached to its farming life and living. Although the region’s name here is not particularly mentioned, it apparently refers to Dobrudja, where the episode takes place. It may well be conceived as an account of the Dobrudja people, then predominantly occupied by agriculture.

Metropolitan Symeon served as a church shepherd for Dobrudja for an extraordinary long term. His service spanned a few large historical periods and encompassed great many spiritual, social and political changes. The present paper can only render a brief sketch of those years and the related moments of importance. Certain problems, especially ones covering the later part, are worthy of longer study and hopefully such studies will take place soon. The most significant moment to outline here, in the conclusion, is the metropolitan’s view on the phenomenon of nation. In time of burning national passions Symeon of Varna and Preslav stands out as one of the few distinctive Balkan leaders with a moderate national sense. Being a convinced advocate of the Bulgarian national rights, especially in his youth, he was at the same time deeply devoted to the tradition of Orthodoxy. As he was entering into his mature years and later, into his old age, he gradually became a conservative in the noble ethical sense of this term. Within the elaborate picture of nationalities in Dobrudja, this was a wise and valuable stand. It is true that Metropolitan Symeon’s tempered positions could not prevent the ethnic clashes and boiling conflicts. Yet, his moderate guidance saved the general course of events from worse endings. If one thing is to be appreciated here, it is the moral example, that Metropolitan gave in putting the eternal values of the Orthodox faith above the temporary profits of worldly politics and dealing.

¹⁹ *Dyado* (Bulgarian) – old man, grandfather. In Bulgarian language “dyado” is a respectful address to an older man. The final – e added to the name is a vocative form.

²⁰ *Списание Морски съговор* (Maritime Concord Magazine), Varna, 1925, № 2, p. 13.



Ivan Mrkvicka, Portrait of the Highly Reverend Symeon, 1904.
Reproduction in: *Houdozhestvena kultura Magazine*, 2, №12, February 1911, p. 20.

FROM EMPIRE TO NATION STATE: THE GREEK COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN DOBRUDJA (1878–1880)

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This article is focused on relationship between the Orthodox Christian Churches (Greek and Bulgarian), and the secular administration in the late 1870s. After the annexation of the region by the Romanians, the *Ottoman raya* become Romanian citizen. The Greeks in the cities of Constanța, Tulcea, and Sulina sought to ensure the exclusive property and possession of their churches that had belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Christian community in the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Romania, Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, Bulgarian Exarchate, Greek communities in Dobroudja.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

I encountered difficulties in researching this topic due to the scarcity of historical sources. Many archives of the Greek communities, but also of the local authorities of Dobrudja were destroyed during the two World Wars. At the Constanța County Directorate of the National Archives there is a fund called the Greek Community, but the information about the period that concerns me in this paper is extremely scarce. Searching on the website of the National Archives, I found that there may be a consistent archive fund of Sulina Town Hall, but, due to the pandemic, it was not possible for me to get documented on this topic, neither here, nor in other cities in Dobrudja. Three years ago, I visited Sulina, where I was deeply impressed by the poor condition of the Greek St. Nicholas church. I do not know if in the meantime restoration work has been done. As regards the community archive from Sulina, I found out from a local source that, between 1945 and 1948, with the emigration of Greek merchants from the town, all church and school documents, library, etc. were burnt outside, in the middle of the courtyard. Dimitris Kontogeorgis, a Greek historian, recently published a study on archival sources concerning Greek communities in Dobrudja. He also concludes that the historian does not have much to work with.¹ However, for this study, I identified two archive funds that deal with the issue of Greek communities in Dobrudja in the

¹ Dimitrios M. Kontogeorgis, “Ερευνητική αποστολή στη Ρουμανία. Ελληνικές κοινότητες (1829–αρχές 20ού αι.). Καταστατικά-Σύλλογοι-Ταυτότητες. Εισαγωγικές παρατηρήσεις”, *Εώα και Εσπέρια*, 7, 2007, p. 393–397.

early years of the Romanian administration: the fund of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs from the National Archives of Bucharest, and the diplomatic reports preserved in the Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens.

SEVERAL DEMOGRAPHIC AND ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS: FROM OTTOMAN SUBJECT TO ROMANIAN CITIZEN

For start, I am going to present several demographic considerations. How many Greeks lived in Romanian Dobrudja in 1878? The information is contradictory and depends on who collects it and for what purpose. After all, until 1878, how can be defined “nationality” in the Ottoman Empire? A Greek could simply be an Orthodox Christian subject, an *Ottoman raya*, or he could be protégé of a foreign power (usually Greek or British).

In 1878, there were three important cities in Dobrudja: Constanța, Tulcea and Sulina. The Greeks were a dynamic element, but they did not represent the majority in these cities, except in Sulina. At that time, Tulcea was the most important trading centre of the province. The city’s population grew steadily from 6,000 in 1842 to 39,000 in 1875. According to the Greek vice-consul in Tulcea, I.A. Pileinidis, in 1866, the Greeks represented at most 6% of the population, about 2,000, of which 500 were “foreign subjects”, generally Greeks.²

The Greeks (nationality-origin) according to report of Tulcea Prefecture, 1888
(5, 155 Greeks regardless of citizenship in the Tulcea county³)

Settlements	Population	Greeks	%
Tulcea	15, 711	1, 997	12.71
Sulina	3, 986	2, 399	60.19
Alibechioi village	410	409	99.76
(all Greek inhabitants were Romanian subjects)			

Most of the Greek subjects, that is, those who had a Greek passport, dealt in the grain trade. They were originally from the Ionian Islands, mainly from Kefalonia (and many of them had businesses in England and in other parts of Europe and the East). According to Andreas Papadopoulos Vretos, a Greek consul in Varna, around 1856, in Constanța lived about 1,500 Orthodox Christians, half of the city’s population, of which only 500 (16, 67%) were Greek (*rayas grecs*).⁴ According to the 1899 census, in Sulina, the headquarters of the European Danube Commission, lived almost 2,000 Greek subjects, representing at most 40% of the population. The Greeks

² Dimitrios M. Kontogeorgis, “Σύσταση και οργάνωση ελληνικών κοινοτήτων στη Ρουμανία. Η περίπτωση του Τζιούρτζιου και της Τούλτσας (β’ μισό του 19ου αι.)”, *Μνήμων*, 28, 2006–2007, p. 222.

³ Virgil Coman (ed.), *Dobrogea în Arhivele românești (1597–1989). Profesorului Stoica Lascu la 60 de ani*, Bucharest, 2013, p. 125–129.

⁴ André Papadopoulos Vretos, *La Bulgarie ancienne et moderne*, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 186.

in Constanța represented 6.03%, in Mangalia, 5.57%⁵, in Tulcea, a little more than 3%.⁶ There was also a small Greek rural community in Alibeichioi (today, Izvoarele), situated close to Tulcea, which was probably constituted as a result of the migration from the first decades of the nineteenth century in the aftermath of the Russian-Ottoman wars. However, there is very little information available to the historian about this community⁷. We can estimate that, between 1880 and 1900, the Greeks represented almost 3% of the total population of Dobrudja. The population growth of the Greeks from 4,000 to 9,000, as in the case of other ethnic categories, was due almost exclusively to migration.⁸

By the law of organization of Dobrudja from 1880, all the inhabitants, that were Ottoman subjects, became subjects of the Romanian state, except for those who held foreign passports. But the inhabitants of Dobrudja were treated in a discriminatory manner in relation to the other Romanian citizens. Romanian political parties made the Bulgarian danger look worse in front of the public opinion. Only after 40 years the inhabitants of Dobrudja will receive full civil rights, including the right to representation in the Romanian parliament.⁹ As we saw earlier, an important part of the Greeks in Dobrudja constituted Greek subjects. The interests of the Greek subjects were in the hands of the Greek consular authorities. In the 1830s and 1840s, Greek consulates were established every where throughout the Ottoman Empire where Greeks lived. In the proximity of Dobrudja, Greek consulates were established in Varna in 1845, in Balchik in 1846. In Tulcea, a vice-consulate was established in 1846, and in Sulina, in 1856.¹⁰

THE RUM-MILLET IN DOBRUDJA

From a religious point of view, the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire were organized in Rum-millet, and the leader of this community was the

⁵ Leonida Colescu, *Recensământul general al populației. Rezultate definitive*, Bucharest, Eminescu, 1905, p. 382.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 448.

⁷ C. Brătescu, "Câteva notițe despre grecii din satul Albeichioi județul Tulcea", *Analele Dobrogei*, 10, 1929, 1–2, p. 269–272; Nichita Bonjug, "Note asupra grecilor din satul Ferdinand", *Analele Dobrogei*, 15, 1934, 1–2, p. 273–289; Narcisa Știucă, *Comunitatea greacă din Izvoarele (județul Tulcea)*, in Jakob Albert Zsolt, Peti Lehel (ed.), *Procese și contexte social-identitare ale minorităților din România*, Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities & Kriterion Publishing, 2009, p. 277–299.

⁸ Vasile M. Kogălniceanu, *Dobrogea 1879–1909. Drepturi politice fără libertăți*, Bucharest: Socec, 1910, p. 45.

⁹ Constantin Iordachi, *Citizenship, Nation and State-Building: The Integration of Northern Dobrogea into Romania 1878-1913*, Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, 2002, p. 43, 59–60.

¹⁰ Dimitrios M. Kontogeorgis, *Έλληνες υπήκοοι και γρακοί ραγιάδες. Εθνικές ονομασίες και πολιτικά διακυβεύματα στις ελληνικές παροικίες της οθωμανικής Δοβρουτσάς (1856–1877)*, in vol. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, Anastasia Papadia-Lala, Katerina Nikolaou, Vangelis D. Karamanolakis (ed.), *Έλλην, Ρωμός, Γρακός. Συλλογικοί προσδιορισμοί και ταυτότητες*, Athens, Eyrasia, 2018, p.465.

Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Dobrudja was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan church of Drystra (whose headquarters were in Silistra). After 1860, especially with the official recognition of the Bulgarian exarchate by the sultan Abdülaziz in 1870, the Bulgarians started organizing their own religious life.¹¹

Many Bulgarians in Dobrudja recognized the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian metropolitan church of Dorostol and Cherven (today Dorostol – Silistra), with the seat in Ruse.¹² In the 1870s, both Greek and Bulgarian metropolitans were fighting for control of the same territory: the Greek Dionysios of Silistra and Grigorii, the Bulgarian metropolitan of Dorostol. Dionysios was born in Stagiades (Thessaly) in 1803, and in 1851 consecrated Metropolitan of Silistra. He died in 1879 in Romania and was buried at the Cernica monastery near Bucharest.¹³ Grigorii Nemtsov (1828–1898) was born in Soroca in Russian Bessarabia, which made him be liked by a small part of the Romanian community. For instance, in April 1873, the Romanian community from Somova village, near Tulcea, in a letter to the Metropolitan Grigorii, asked him for support against the Greek Dionysios (this letter is preserved in the fund of the Metropolitan Church of Ruse). Particularly in Tulcea, the Bulgarians were very well organized, providing money for church and school.¹⁴ However, until 1878, the supporters of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople remained the majority in Dobrudja among Orthodox Christians. According to Baron Willem d'Hogguer who used Russian sources (in 1877–1878), the Patriarch's group was the majority among Orthodox Christians: 31,726 out of 55,056, or 57.62%.¹⁵ This success is largely due to the work of Dionysios, who did everything in his power to keep the Orthodox Christians together, and more particularly to temper the national zeal of the Greeks. At the urging of the Greek metropolitan, the Greeks from Tulcea and Constanța used in their Community Statutes the term of *Greek Orthodox Community* (γραικική), and not Hellenic (ελληνική), to emphasize their autonomy from Greece. On the other hand, Article 30 of the Statute of the Community from Tulcea granted the Greek Vice-Consul the position of President of the Community, which was contrary to Ottoman laws.

¹¹ Adrian Rădulescu, Ion Bitoleanu, *Istoria Dobrogei*, Constanța: Ex-Ponto, 1998, p. 395; Paraskevas Konortas, *Οθωμανικές θεωρήσεις για το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο. Βεράτια για τις προκαθημένες της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας (17^{ος} – αρχές 20^{ου} αιώνα)*, Athens, Alexandria, 1998, p. 244, 274; Daniela Kalkandjeva, *The Bulgarian Orthodox Church*, in Lucian N. Leuștean, *Orthodox Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Southeastern Europe*, Fordham University Press, 2014, p. 164–201.

¹² Zina Markova, *Българската екзархия (1870–1879)*, Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Publishing, 1989, p. 113–119.

¹³ Tudor Mateescu, «Les Dioceses Orthodoxes de la Dobroudja sous la domination ottomane», *Balkan Studies*, 13, 1972, p. 293; M. D. Ionescu, *Dobrogea în pragul veacului al XX-lea. Geografia matematică, fizică, politică și militară*, Bucharest, Socec, 1904, p. 641.

¹⁴ Idem, *Documente privind istoria Dobrogei (1830–1877)*, Bucharest, 1975, p. 282–283.

¹⁵ Baron d'Hogguer, *Informațiuni asupra Dobrogei starea ei de astăzi resursele și viitorul ei*, Bucharest, Socec, 1879, p. 45 (*Renseignements sur la Dobrodja*, Bucharest, 1880).

The members of the Greek community could not have chosen as a leader the diplomatic agent of a foreign power.¹⁶

THE GREEK CHURCHES DURING THE ROMANIAN RULE

In March 1879, Dobrudja became part of the Romanian bishopric of the Lower Danube. From that moment on, any authority over this territory from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church stopped. It is clear that their attention was focused more on the dioceses of Ottoman Macedonia, and less on the dioceses of Romania and Serbia – in the Bulgarian case (Nish, Pirot), which they considered lost anyway.

With the establishment of the Romanian administration, including in the religious sphere, the Romanians claimed to have property rights over the churches that had belonged to the Bulgarians and the Greeks. The Consul General of Greece in Bucharest, Kleon Rangavis (1842–1914), and later his successor, Markos N. Dragoumis (1840–1904), did everything they could to defend the rights of the Greeks over the church wealth from Dobrudja.

Let us analyze the case of the St. Nicholas church from Cernavodă (it was built in 1860). The parish priest of the St. Nicholas church was, beginning with 1872, Dimitrie Chirescu (1842–1890), who spoke all the languages of the communities in the city.¹⁷ Around the middle of the nineteenth century, Cernavodă was a village, but, with the inauguration of the Constanța-Cernavodă railway in 1860, it began to acquire certain economic importance. However, the town barely reached 2,000 inhabitants in 1878. The Greek community was small, but rich enough not to lose the wealth of the only Orthodox church in the city.¹⁸ In 1872, the Bulgarians gave up church in exchange for a monetary compensation. The services were held bilingually, in the left aisle, they were singing in Romanian language, and in the right aisle, they were singing in Greek language.¹⁹

In 1879, the Greeks gave up this church in favour of the Romanians, but refused to hand over the money that was in the cashier's desk at that time. The money – a significant amount of 4,000 francs – ended up in the custody of the Consulate General of Greece. In a report from February 1880, the Greek members of the parish council proved that the committee that had built the church had consisted of 10 members, 6 of whom were Greeks who covered the expenses

¹⁶ Dimitrios M. Kondogeorgis, “Σύσταση και οργάνωση ελληνικών κοινοτήτων στη Ρουμανία. Η περίπτωση του Τζιούρτζιου και της Τούλτσεας (β' μισό του 19ου αι.)...”, p. 227.

¹⁷ Lavinia Dumitrașcu, “Amintiri din copilărie și adolescență. Dimitrie D. Chirescu din «dinastia» Chireștilor din Cernavodă”, *Analele Dobrogei*, 1, 2019, p. 231–242.

¹⁸ Ioan Mușat, *Istoricul orașului Cernavodă*, Bucharest, Viața literară, 1938, p. 46; M.D. Ionescu, *op. cit.*, p. 642.

¹⁹ Ioan Mușat, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

related to the project in a proportion of three quarters.²⁰ The conflict between the Romanians and the Greeks ended only in the fall of 1880. On September 26/October 8, 1880, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vasile Boerescu, recommended Mihail Kogălniceanu, the Minister of the Domestic Affairs, to close the matter in order to avoid a trial that would have disturbed the Romanian-Greek relations. The Greeks gave the church to the Romanians, but kept their money.²¹

The situation of the Greek churches in Tulcea, Constanța and Sulina was completely different. These churches were preserved by the Greeks, particularly since their founders and church administrators were wealthy merchants, many of them Greek subjects from Kefalonia. Their material contribution to the building of the churches could not be disputed. However, in December 1879, the town halls of these cities asked the Greek communities to comply with the regulations of the Romanian Orthodox Church of 1874, regarding the organization of the parish councils.²² In January 1880, the community in Sulina refused to appoint a parish council that had only three members, one of whom was delegated by the Town Hall.²³ The Consul General of Greece, Rangavis, met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Interim Affairs of Cults, Vasile Boerescu, and with the Minister of Domestic Affairs, Mihail Kogălniceanu, to discuss this matter. Kogălniceanu telegraphed the Prefecture of the Tulcea count. His position was very clear on “private churches”: “the provisions on the constitution of the parish councils apply only to communal churches, and private churches have full freedom to manage themselves in accordance with their statutes”.²⁴ This statement of the Romanian minister can be considered a first step towards the recognition, in 1901, of the legal personality of the Greek communities in Romania. The committee of the Greek churches obtained a regime of autonomy in relation to the municipal authorities and the Romanian bishop: they appointed priests and managed the church’s revenues. The priests owed the Romanian bishop spiritual obedience only. There were four Greek churches in Romanian Dobruđa in the late of the nineteenth century: St. George in Mangalia (it was built in 1832, demolished in 1956), the Annunciation Church in Tulcea (1848–1854), St. Nicholas in Sulina (1863), the Church of the Transfiguration in Constanța (1863–1868).²⁵

In the letter to the Primate Metropolitan of Romania, Calinic Miculescu (1875–1886), of December, 1879, the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III called on

²⁰ National Archives of Romania, Ministry of Interior Affairs fund (no. 320), box 5/1880, report of the Greek Community of Cernavoda, on February 15/27, 1880, p. 76–77.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 213.

²² *Ibidem*, The Town Hall to the Greek community of Sulina, on December 15, 1879, p. 90.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 57: letter of the Greek Community of Sulina to the Town Hall, on 11 January, 1880.

²⁴ Historical Archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 76.1/1880, Rangavis to Theodoros Deligiannis (no. 51), on January 29, 1880; National Archives of Romania, Ministry of Interior Affairs fund (no. 320), box 5/1880, Kogălniceanu to Prefecture of Tulcea, March 17, 1880.

²⁵ Vicentios Kourelarou, *Οι εκκλησίες των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Ρουμανίας τον 19^ο αιώνα*, Thessaloniki, Kyriakidis, 2008.

Romanians to recognize the specific rights of the Greek Orthodox communities in Dobrudja, not only in religious matters, but also in educational matters.²⁶ By order of the Greek government, in 1884, the Greek minister in Bucharest, Markos Dragoumis, undertook to examine the legal issue of the rights of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Dobrudja. In his opinion, the Treaty of Berlin relating the civil rights for all religious communities in the former Ottoman territories of the Balkan States could not be claimed in relation to the Greeks and the Bulgarians. The term used in Article 44 was *communions* (religions, cults), not *communautés* (communities). The Romanians, Greeks and Bulgarians belonged to the same cult. Dragoumis was of the opinion that the Ecumenical Patriarch should not have exercised any jurisdiction over the Greek communities outside of Greece and the Ottoman Empire, where his authority could not operate. In his opinion, the Greek communities in Romania should have first addressed the Synod of the Church of Greece whenever they needed priests.²⁷

CONCLUSION

In 1870, Sultan Abdülaziz recognized the Bulgarians' right to constitute a confessional community (millet) different from that of the Greeks (rum). In the next years the Bulgarian and Greek Orthodox Christians communities (millets) functioned following a national logic (phyletism), incompatible with the imperial one. In this context, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, and later the Romanians, each sought to reorganize their religious life following the criterion of belonging to a national community. But, with the establishment of the Romanian administration in Dobrudja, the Romanian Orthodox Church tried to restore the unity of the Orthodox Christians under the name of ethnophyletism. As we saw in this article, the Greeks, who did not represent a large community and did not threaten in any way the supremacy of the Romanian element in Dobrudja, like the Bulgarians, obtained from the Romanian authorities, without any objection, a privileged regime for their religious communities.

²⁶ Historical Archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, box 76.1/1880, Markos Dragoumis, on September 15/27, 1880.

²⁷ Idem, aak 1894, Markos Dragoumis to Alexandros A. Kontostavlos, on September 17/29, 1884 (no. 592).

THE “INQUIRY” AND AMERICAN RESEARCH ON THE BALKAN BORDERS (1918)

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This paper examines the work of the American “Inquiry” during World War I, focusing on its research and recommendations concerning the postwar borders of the Balkan states, with a special focus on the Romanian-Bulgarian boundary in the region of Dobrudja. Based on materials from the Yale Inquiry Papers – an archival collection that includes draft reports and internal documents – the study reconstructs the biographies and views of key members of the Balkan study committee (Clive Day, William S. Monroe, Albert Sonnichsen, and William S. Ferguson, among others). The paper highlights the diverse and often conflicting perspectives within the committee, shaped by personal biases and varying degrees of familiarity with the region. Through an analysis of internal reports, especially those authored by Day and Monroe, the article details the competing ethnic, economic, and strategic arguments that informed American proposals for the postwar peace settlement. An appendix includes a full transcript of one of Clive Day’s reports on Dobrudja.

Keywords: Dobrudja, Romania, Bulgaria, Balkans, American “Inquiry”, World War I.

This paper is based on preliminary research in the Yale Inquiry Papers, an amalgamation of documents dealing with the activity of the American commission that, in the final years of World War I, prepared maps, reports and recommendations to help US diplomats at the coming peace conference.¹ The Yale Inquiry Papers consist largely of duplicate material of the more complete ‘original’ collection housed in the National Archives’ repositories in Washington DC.² However, as the Yale collection includes draft materials from among Clive Day’s documents, it also allows historians to better understand the academic process that resulted in the production of the final reports used in Paris, in 1919, by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

Starting from several reports from the Yale Inquiry Papers, this article will provide some biographical information on the members of the study committee for the Balkans assembled to work as part of the Inquiry, as well as to detail their views on the postwar borders of Balkan states. Special emphasis is given to the

¹ Description of *The Inquiry Papers* collection, online at <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4421> (accessed on 22 October 2023).

² See *Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Inventory of Record Group 256*, compiled by Sandra K. Rangel, Washington, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1974, online at <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/foreign-policy/related-records/rg-256-inventory.pdf> (accessed on 22 October 2023).

Romanian – Bulgarian boundary in the region of Dobrudja, one of the thorniest issues for American researchers and statesmen alike. The appendix makes one of the reports on Dobrudja available to all interested scholars.

THE STUDY COMMITTEE FOR THE BALKANS

By 1917, allied governments started to invest additional resources not only to win the war, but also to prepare for winning the coming peace. With nationalism as the driving force of a global war, knowledge about the history, literature, economic relations or political aspirations of belligerent nations around the globe was regarded as essential in galvanizing their support both during the conflict and at its end. By late 1917, academic centers for producing expert knowledge needed for the coming peace congress were fully functional in France, Great Britain and the United States. Governments recruited some of their most eminent scholars, who were invited to collect, organize and synthesize critical information into handbooks for the confidential use of their diplomats. Each of these scholarly groups relied on vast networks of experts and had access to some of the best research resources available in those times.³

The American team, the Inquiry as it came to be known, worked in the reading rooms of the New York Public Library under the academic supervision of philosopher Sidney Edward Mezes (1863–1931). The team later moved to the offices of the American Geographical Society and worked under the coordination of geographer Isaiah Bowman (1878–1950).⁴ The group divided its activity into five fields of analysis, representative for an internationalist approach to the new world order: the powers (friends, enemies, neutrals); debatable areas and unfortunate peoples (from Alsace-Lorraine to the Jews and the nationalities of Eastern Europe); international business; international law; and international cooperation.⁵

The Balkan Peninsula was such a ‘debatable area’ inhabited by ‘unfortunate peoples’ and several experts were appointed to study the region’s complex historical disputes and propose solutions as to its future organization. The study committee for the Balkans was led by historian Clive Day (1871–1951).⁶ He had studied in Berlin

³ See for instance Lawrence Emerson Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917–1919*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963, and Olivier Lowczyk, *La fabrique de la paix: du Comité d’études à la Conférence de la Paix, l’élaboration par la France des traités de la Première Guerre Mondiale*, Paris, Economica. Institut de Stratégie comparée, 2010.

⁴ Neil Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt’s Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 2003, p. 113–138.

⁵ Gelfand, *The Inquiry*, p. 347.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58–60. References to the Austro-Hungarian and Balkan study groups in Tibor Glant, ‘The Inquiry and the Paris Peace Conference: American Preparations for Peace and the Future of Hungary, 1917–1920,’ in *Minority Protection. Joint Special Issue of the Institute for the Protection of Minority Rights and the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University*, Budapest, Institute for the Protection of Minority Rights, 2020, p. 85–124, here 94–98.

and Paris and got a PhD in Yale in 1899. When he joined the Inquiry, Day was Professor of Economic History at Yale, and his special assignments emphasized commercial relations in Europe.⁷ In this capacity, he authored reports on the organization of the Austro-Hungarian economy or the commercial relations of imperial Russia, Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, Poland or Galicia.⁸

Day's team consisted of several scholars who had some form of direct knowledge of South-East Europe. Three of them seem to have shaped the early priorities of the study committee: William (Will) S. Monroe, Albert Sonnichsen and William S. Ferguson. I will briefly introduce them in the next paragraphs.

William S. Monroe (1863–1939) was an expert in Education who taught at the College of Montclair in New Jersey, an institution where he also served as director. Monroe was a graduate of Stanford University and he had also studied in Leipzig, Jena, Paris or Grenoble. He spent some time as visiting professor at institutions in the US, but also in Prague, Sofia and the Middle East. Monroe published two travelogues about his stays in the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria,⁹ which turned him into an authority in Balkan history and politics. In the study committee for the Balkans, Monroe was the leading expert on Bulgaria and he authored several reports on its boundaries, past, present and future.¹⁰

Albert Sonnichsen (1878–1931) was a journalist, writer and adventurer who had travelled widely to report to the American public on the world's various conflicts. By early twentieth century he got to the Balkans, where he became supportive of the Bulgarian revolutionaries' cause. This resulted in the publication of a volume entitled *Confessions of a Macedonian Bandit* (New York, Duffield & Company, 1909). When he joined the Inquiry, Sonnichsen was working for the US immigration office, vetting Slavic immigrants arriving to America. In Day's team, his main works concerned the Macedonian question.¹¹

William S. Ferguson (1875–1954) was a Canadian-born scholar. He had a PhD from Cornell University (1899), and he later studied or taught in Germany and in Greece (1913–1914). Although his main academic interests touched on Classical History (he would later be Professor of Ancient History at Harvard University), Ferguson was recruited to provide expertise on modern Greek history and politics.¹²

⁷ *Obituary Record of Graduates of the Undergraduate Schools Deceased during the Year 1951–1952*, New Haven, Yale University, 1969, 10–11, online at http://mssa.library.yale.edu/obituary_record/1925_1952/1951-52.pdf (accessed on 23 October 2023).

⁸ *Records of the American Commission*, p. 36, 41, 71, 76.

⁹ W.S. Monroe, *Turkey and the Turks; an Account of the Lands, the Peoples, and the Institutions of the Ottoman Empire*, Boston: L.C. Page and Company, 1907, and *Bulgaria and Her People, with an Account of the Balkan Wars, Macedonia, and the Macedonian Bulgars*, Boston: Page Co., 1914.

¹⁰ Frank M. Cordasco, 'Will S. Monroe (1863–1939): The First Professor of Education at Montclair,' *Peabody Journal of Education*, 42, 1, 1964, p. 32–34.

¹¹ See biographical details in the description of the Albert Sonnichsen Papers preserved at the New York Public Library, <https://archives.nypl.org/mss/2817>, accessed on 23 October 2023.

¹² Gelfand, *The Inquiry*, p. 59–60.

Other members of the Balkan study committee included Paul Monroe (1869–1947), George Rapall Noyes (1873–1952), Leon Dominian (1880–1935) and Max Sylvius Handman (1885–1939), each of them tasked to cover a certain question, nation or state. Handman, for instance, was a Romanian-born American citizen, who migrated to the US in the early twentieth century. He had studied in several American and European universities (including in Paris and Berlin) and received a PhD from the University of Chicago. When he joined the Inquiry, he was teaching Sociology at the University of Texas and his special assignments concerned Romania.¹³

The team was eclectic, and working together proved very challenging. Members were selected based on their knowledge of South-East Europe, provable by their residence in at least one Balkan country, their knowledge of local languages and publication of scholarly texts relevant for the history and current situation of the Balkans. However, their expertise was oftentimes disputed and subjective. Dominian, for instance, was constantly assailed by colleagues who complained of his pro-Greek bias.¹⁴ W.S. Monroe was well-known for his philo-Bulgarian views. His book, taken by many as an authority on Bulgarian issues, was full of anti-Greek clichés, with the Greeks portrayed as ‘perfidious, and thieves.’¹⁵ The main idea of the study committee was to look at the Balkans from all these various perspectives, and thus get to less-prejudiced and hopefully more objective conclusions.

The study committee was in contact with other experts in Balkan history and politics. In the documents I analyzed, three authors seem to be considered as leading authorities in connection with the Bulgarian – Romanian border: James David Bouchier (1850–1920), Jacob Gould Schurman [sometimes spelled Shurman] (1854–1942) and John Campbell White (1884–1967).

An Irish journalist and political activist, Bouchier was another famous philo-Bulgarian. He had long lived in Sofia and was extremely influential in the Anglo-Saxon world. His articles and his extensive relations were sympathetic for Bulgaria and the Bulgarians, and Bouchier tried to use his influence to support the Bulgarian cause at the coming peace conference. The Inquiry’s archives refer to a couple of his letters and recommendations.¹⁶

Schurman was a Canadian-born American scholar and diplomat, with a respected career as a Professor of Literature and Philosophy at Cornell University, where he served as President since 1892. Schurman was US ambassador to Greece in 1912–1913, and his knowledge of Balkan politics made him extremely well placed to provide such expertise.¹⁷

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58–59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁵ N.J. Cassavety, ‘Bulgaria’s Case: A Reply to Professor R.A. Tsanoff’, *The Journal of Race Development* 9, 1918, 2, p. 145–156.

¹⁶ *Balkan Peninsula*; (a) Letter from J.D. Bouchier to Will S. Monroe on Ethnic Frontiers; (b) Memorandum from R.H. Markham to J.D. Bouchier on Political Situation in Bulgaria. By Will S. Monroe. 12 June 1918. References to the former in Monroe, *Balkan Peninsula*, part IV, Proposed Balkan Frontiers, 1 March 1918, 80–84 in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

¹⁷ J.G. Shurman, *Some Notes on Balkan Problems*, 31 December 1917.

White came from a diplomatic background and was a busy student of South-East European politics. The Yale Papers include several of his letters to the Inquiry with his thoughts on the past and future of the Balkans. His recommendations rested on long-term historical evolutions in the region, given that 'Balkan empires have been mostly ephemeral creations. Alexander's Empire was the expression of his own genius and Greek civilization; the mediaeval Bulgar and Serb Empires were unable to preserve their extent for more than two or three generations. The Byzantine Empire was a civilization, a city, and an administrative organization. It fought and controlled varying portions of the Peninsula, but its roots were never grounded there. On the other hand, the Balkans have served as the high road for the Turkish pressure towards the west, even as the Teutons now regard them as the high road to the east. In view of this fact a balance of power within the Balkans is peculiarly liable to be upset by pressure from without.'¹⁸ Thus, as he concluded in a Memorandum sent to the Inquiry in early 1918, 'any Balkan settlement must do a certain amount of violence to ethnic considerations.'¹⁹

The study committee relied on many other pieces authored by academic collaborators based in the US or in allied states in Europe. Serbian geographer and ethnologist Jovan Cvijić (1865–1927) was extremely influential in relation to Serbia's national aspirations,²⁰ whereas the international status of the Danube was minutely analyzed by legal expert Joseph Perkins Chamberlain (1873–1951) or Orientalist Louis Herbert Gray (1875–1955).²¹ Exchanges with British scholars to the likes of Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich (1843–1929) at the Royal Geographical Society or with the historians associated with the Department of Political Intelligence of the British Foreign Office provided Day's team with the Britons' views on the Balkans' past and present.²²

PROPOSED BALKAN BOUNDARIES

As Victor S. Mamatey clearly showed in his article, the American Government looked closely at Balkan politics during World War I. Their sympathy with Bulgaria had some strategic underpinnings, as Sofia was viewed as 'the weakest link in the chain of Germany's allies whose removal from the Central Alliance might expedite victory.'²³ Already in late 1917, President Woodrow

¹⁸ J.C. White, *Memorandum on the Balkan Question*, 1, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

¹⁹ White to Colonel House, Washington, 15 January 1918, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

²⁰ See Jeremy W. Crampton, 'The Cartographic Calculation of Space: Race Mapping and the Balkans at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919', *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, 5, 2006, p. 731–752.

²¹ Constantin Ardeleanu, *The European Commission of the Danube, 1856–1948: an Experiment in International Administration*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2020, p. 1–8.

²² See the list of documents in *Records of the American Commission*, p. 43–51.

²³ Victor S. Mamatey, 'The United States and Bulgaria in World War I', *The American Slavic and East European Review* 12, 1953, 2, p. 233.

Wilson (1856–1924) received some ‘broad considerations’ from his advisers that concerned five main issues with the future of the Balkan borders: 1) Southern Dobrudja was ‘almost wholly Bulgarian in character, and should be returned’ to Bulgaria; 2) the Ottoman – Bulgarian boundary should follow a slightly improved version of the Enos – Midia line, as proposed in 1913; 3) Bulgaria’s southern boundary should stretch from Enos to the Gulf of Orfano (or Strymonian Gulf) along the Aegean coast; 4) The best way of securing Serbian access to the sea was through Thessaloniki, which would acquire some form of international control, to also guarantee the rights of ethnic minorities in Macedonia; 5) Independent Albania was ‘almost certainly an undesirable political entity’, and its territory was to be partitioned between Serbia and Greece.²⁴

Slight variations of these five issues stood at the basis of the Inquiry’s research of the Balkans in 1918. Several documents drafted by Clive Day directed the study committee towards these problems.²⁵ The second edition of Day’s summary report already included some interesting preliminary remarks on how the American scholars based their recommendations. As recent conflicts in the Balkans had completely changed the ‘racial (ethnic) distribution of peoples’ in some of the highly contested areas as Macedonia, the Aegean Littoral and the Dobrudja, in their reports the American experts disregarded, in most instances, racial reasons for boundary changes, so that ‘only economic, geographic and political factors remain.’²⁶

The five important issues that the study committee analyzed in detail concerned: 1) Dobrudja; 2) Constantinople and the Straits; 3) the Greek – Bulgarian boundary; 4) Southern Albania; and 5) Northern Albania. For each of them, they also prepared maps (two for the southern Albanian question and a block diagram for Constantinople). Before moving on to detail the recommendations for Dobrudja, I will briefly refer to the American views on the other four sensitive points. The issue of Constantinople and the Straits was a combination of the point on the Ottoman – Bulgarian boundary and the future status of the Ottoman capital, given current opinions to have it organized as a ‘neutralized state’, ‘under international supervision, with frontiers which need not be drawn according to military considerations.’ The boundary between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire was to follow the Midia – Enos line, leaving the Adrianople region to Bulgaria: ‘Adrianople economically belongs with Bulgaria, as history has shown, since the city declined when cut off from it.’ As for the international state, it needed some more crucial infrastructure, such as waterworks to provide the population with drinkable water. The Greek – Bulgarian boundary was to run along a rough and thinly inhabited mountain crest, leaving the entire basin of the lower Struma River as an economic unit to Bulgaria. Greece was granted some good military positions

²⁴ *Ibid.*: 240, note 29.

²⁵ C[live] D[ay], *Preliminary Report on the Balkan Boundaries*, undated, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

²⁶ Clive Day, *Boundaries in the Balkans*, 2nd ed., undated, 1, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

to secure the defense of Thessaloniki, which could be granted to Greece, but under international control. The Southern Albanian issue concerned disputes between Greece and Albania. Again, 'economic unit' appears as a keyword, and given the poor transportation infrastructure of the region 'partition of this unified territory is inadmissible'. The Northern Albanian issue (the border with Montenegro) was as complicated, and the report refers to the non-divisibility of tribal lands beyond some other religious considerations.²⁷

THE ROMANIAN – BULGARIAN BOUNDARY IN DOBRUDJA

The future of Dobrudja was one of the most complex issues and the Inquiry produced several reports on the Romanian – Bulgarian border in that region. Besides Day, W.S. Monroe played a central role in this. Monroe authored a report on the 'Acquisition of Balkan States at the end of the Second Balkan War', one on 'Balkan Peninsula Religious toleration; Effect of the stipulation of the Treaty of Berlin in Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania that religion should be free'²⁸ and several special reports on Dobrudja.

In the more general report on the *Boundaries in the Balkans* coordinated by Clive Day, the author made ample references to the making of the Romanian – Bulgarian border in 1878, when Russian support secured Bulgaria with an advantageous position at Silistra. The 'principle of the straight line' was followed towards the Black Sea, but with a couple of divergences, 'apparently for unimportant topographical reasons.' The 1878 boundary, Day considered, posed some difficulties, including from an ethnic perspective, 'but according to the showing of most authorities, it conforms approximately to such an ethnic separation.' Day then detailed the disputes that led, in 1913, to Romania's participation to the Second Balkan War and the conclusion of the Treaty of Bucharest. The new border was, for the American historian, a bad one. It ran 'within 24 miles of Ruschuk and 12 of Varna, transferring 3,000 square miles of territory and a population of 247,000, among whom were 134,000 Bulgarians and 6,000 Rumanians.' As bad was the Treaty of Bucharest in 1918, which 'imposed upon Romania a frontier which ran within five miles of both Constantza and Chernavoda, and transferred to Bulgaria, by comparison with the line of the Treaty of Berlin, about 900 square miles of territory with a population of about 80,000 among whom were three or four times as many Rumanians as Bulgarians.' Day's conclusion was clear: 'The frontiers of 1913 and 1918 may be discarded, as not resting in either case upon the willing consent or the balanced advantages of both parties.'²⁹

²⁷ Day, *Boundaries in the Balkans*, 3rd (final) edition, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

²⁸ Also preserved in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

²⁹ Day, *Boundaries in the Balkans. The Dobruja*, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8 (see the entire document in the Appendix).

The report continues with discussions on Silistra, which Day believed should remain in Bulgarian territory due to economic and military arguments. 'Silistria does not seriously threaten Rumania, for it has the broad Danube before it, while it is distant fifty miles in a direct line from Chernavoda, with a series of marshy lakes intervening. It has always been a position suited for the defense of the lands at the south and not for attack directed toward the north. In the hands of Rumania, however, it would become a military bridge-head threatening likewise at a distance of fifty miles, but with no special barriers intervening, the railway from Rustchuk to Varna.' Economically, Romania had railway lines going to Oltenița and Călărași, while Bulgaria had none to either Tutrakan or Silistra. Commercially, 'Silistria is the market town for a considerable Bulgarian area, within a radius of twenty or twenty-five miles, from which it should not be separated.' The defense of the Constanța railway was crucial, as it was the 'eastern outlet for the trade and travel of Wallachia. The defense of this railroad is concerned with a possible approach from the frontier due south of it, especially along the line of the new railroad from Varna through Dobritch to Mejidia. Improvement in the military sense can then be obtained by pushing the eastern part of the line of the Treaty of Berlin to the southwestward'.³⁰

Day thus suggested 'to remove the western end of the frontier away from Silistria so as to pass through Lake Garlita or even through Lake Oltena. The indentation of the line can be straightened out, and then the east end be swung southward to pass through Lake Kartal, or even to a point near Cape Shabla. These adjustments could be arranged on a basis of equal value of land and equal population. A large part of the population is still Turkish and Tartar, and there are many Bulgarians on the Rumanian side near Silistria; few Romanians, however, dwell on the Bulgarian side south of Mangalia.' An alternative line was that from Popina to Lake Shabla, which would be a good borderline. However, it 'would separate Silistria from a portion of its market territory, and would transfer to Rumania a considerable Bulgarian population'.³¹ Thus, Day's recommendations seem rather neutral and based on equitable principles.

In a different paper, Monroe summed up all opinions that had to do with the Dobrudja border. He and several other experts (White, Schurman and Bouchier) are cited as agreeing to the restoration of Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. For this he quoted ethnic, economic and historic reasons: '1. Ethnic reasons. (a) The people are Bulgarian, where they are not Turks. (b) There were practically no Romanians in this part of the Dobrudja before 1913. 2. Economic reasons. (a) The area represents the best developed Bulgarian agricultural lands. (b) Bulgarian labor and capital have brought about this advanced state of agriculture. (c) The farms represent small holdings and not large estates as in Rumania. (d) The loss of the Dobrudja has greatly injured the port of Varna. 3. Historic reasons: Its retrocession

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

to Bulgaria "would revive a European decision which ought not to have been set aside by the treaty of Bucharest" (Bourchier). 4. Slight suggested modifications of the line before 1913. (a) Follow the decision of the Conference of Petrograd (March 1913) and award Silistria and a small circumjacent territory to Rumania (Bourchier). (b) Follow the frontier as it existed before 1913 to a point near Garlita and thence through Ostrov to the Danube, restoring to Bulgaria the suburbs of Silistria (Monroe).³²

Other scholars also submitted reports on the Romanian – Bulgarian border in the Dobrudja. In an ethnographic survey submitted on 14 March 1918 to the committee on anthropology, Frederick L. Hoffman stressed the strategic importance of the region. The population of Dobrudja 'can hardly be of importance in determining the future political fate of this country, since the mouth of the Danube must necessarily go with the remainder of the drainage basin and apparently, as a matter of right, to Roumania'.³³ William Howell Reed, the author of several reports on various Romanian provinces, argued the same in a document entitled 'The Dobrudja'. Reed showed that Dobrudja and Constanța had proven to be of 'distinct economic value' to Romania, but he also believed that Bulgaria should unquestionably receive Silistra.³⁴

ON AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE BALKANS

Another interesting element that results from several documents preserved in the Yale Inquiry Papers has to do with the support for the Bulgarian cause shown by several American experts. W.S. Monroe was one of them. He was in contact with several American supporters of Bulgaria and included for the consideration of the Balkan study committee their letters. One of them was a note entitled 'Certain Favourable Features of the Situation in the Balkans' by R.H. Markham, the director of the American School at Samokov.³⁵

In one of his reports, Monroe detailed the American influence in the Balkans, which from his personal observation was 'confined to Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania'. This was mainly the result of the role of American schools, such as the American Institute established at Samokov in 1861. 'Large numbers of these young men [graduates of the school] came to America to complete collegiate, technical, and professional courses' and 'many occupy responsible positions in the public

³² Monroe, *Balkan Peninsula*, part IV. Proposed Balkan Frontiers, 1 March 1918, 80–84 in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8. Also cited in Bernard Cook, 'Wilson's Inquiry Group and the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria', *Macedonian Review* 4, 1999, p. 87–88.

³³ Cook, 'Wilson's Inquiry Group', p. 89–90.

³⁴ William Howell Reed, *The Dobrudja*, received 16 April 1918; Cook, 'Wilson's Inquiry Group', p. 90.

³⁵ The context in Cook, 'Wilson's Inquiry Group', p. 86–87.

service of Bulgaria.’ The same was true for the American School for Girls at Samokov, deeply involved in education, social and religious issues in Bulgaria. A similar influence was visible in Macedonia, with a school in Monastir, and in Albania, at Korçë and Elbasan. The influence of the Robert College in Istanbul was unquestionable, as ‘practically all the first statesmen of the new kingdom of Bulgaria [are] educated at Robert College’ and ‘many Ambassadors and Consuls to foreign countries [are] Robert College men’, as it was also the case for civil servants.³⁶

Clear evidence of American influence was, Monroe believed, the extraordinary decrease in illiteracy in Bulgaria. The percentage of illiterate recruits in the Bulgarian army decreased from 90 per cent in 1878 to 5 per cent in 1913. Moreover, the Bulgarians showed a ‘greater religious tolerance, as in no country in the Balkans (Albania excepted) do the non-Orthodox peoples enjoy larger measures of religious freedom.’ Bulgaria displayed a better development of public works; in agriculture, for instance, American farming implements were used more than in any other Balkan state, whereas the waterworks and railways were developed with the expertise of ‘Bulgars educated in American technical schools’. Not least of all, Bulgaria showed a ‘larger measure of democracy’, given that it was the only Balkan state without ‘restrictions on male suffrage’ and that it secured a proportional political representation for minorities.³⁷

CONCLUSIONS

In line with the recommendations of the Inquiry’s study committee for the Balkans, the American diplomats proposed in 1919 that an ethnic border be drawn between Romania and Bulgaria, a compromise between the lines of 1878 and 1913. However, the European victors were less willing to deprive their Romanian ally of a territory it possessed before the war. In the end, Romania received the contested territory in Southern Dobrudja, to the disappointment of the Inquiry’s coordinator, Isaiah Bowman, who on 1 December 1919 warned that the Treaty of Neuilly ‘guaranteed future war.’³⁸

As for the experts themselves, some of them employed their knowledge in future academic projects. Day, for instance, used his South-East European expertise in 1920, when he was invited to teach a course on the *Question of the Balkans* at the recently established ‘Institute of International Education’ in New

³⁶ W.S. Monroe to Dr. Bowman and Mr. Lippmann, *American Influence in the Balkans*, in *The Inquiry Papers*, Box 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ See details in Sherman David Spector, *Rumania at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study of the Diplomacy of Ioan I.C. Bratianu*, New York, Bookman Associates, 1962, and Cook, ‘Wilson’s Inquiry Group’.

York, an institution that started from the idea that educational exchange would incite increased cooperation between nations.³⁹ The Preface to Day's course syllabus explained his focus on past historical events, as they 'are still and will doubtless continue to be active factors in making history.' Also, students had access to good historical literature, whereas 'books on questions of the day are more frail in texture, are full of subjective judgments, and are apt to mislead the beginner.'⁴⁰

Appendix

Clive Day, *Boundaries in the Balkans. The Dobruja*

Historical

Silistria and the Dobruja

Silistria is located at one of the limited number of points where the approach of firm ground on the low left bank of the lower Danube toward the high bank makes possible an easy crossing and the building of twin towns. With Ruschuk, Shumla, and Varna, it formed, before 1878, part of the famous defensive 'Turkish quadrilateral,' which several times encountered the shock of Russian invasion. Because of its central position, Silistria had been made chief town of a Turkish vilayet which extended between the Danube and the Balkans from the river Isker to the Black Sea. East and south of Silistria lay the Dobruja, a rolling steppeland, fertile but arid, inhabited in 1878 mainly by Turks and Tartars, with important proportions in some areas of Bulgarians and Rumanians. A large part of the Dobruja was included in the Sanjak of Tulcha, northeast of a line which left the Danube one mile west of Rasova, and pursued an approximately straight course to the Black Sea at a point five miles north of Mangalia. The Turkish government had already permitted the building of railroads between Chernavoda and Constantza, and between Ruschuk and Varna. The former was not connected with Bucharest, but the latter communicated by ferry and railroad through Giurgevo with the Rumanian capital. Both Constantza and Varna were unimproved ports of good possibilities, while Mangalia was distinctly inferior.

Treaty of San Stefano

It was provided in the Treaty of San Stefano (Article VI) that the Sanjak and Tulcha should be detached from the Vilayet of Silistria and given to Rumania in exchange for southern Bessarabia, which was to be ceded to Russia. In the negotiations which led up to the Treaty of Berlin the considerations were advanced that Rumania was not receiving full value in the exchange, which, furthermore,

³⁹ Chay Brooks, 'The Apostle of Internationalism: Stephen Duggan and the Geopolitics of International Education', *Political Geography* 49, 2015, p. 64–73.

⁴⁰ Day, *The Question of the Balkans*, Syllabus No. 5, New York, Institute of International Education, 1920, p. 3.

was being imposed upon her against her will, and that she ought to be able to build a bridge from Calarashi to Silistria as part of a direct road to the sea at Mangalia. Russia, mindful of the strength of the 'quadrilateral,' insisted that Silistria should pass to Bulgaria with the remaining three fortress towns, and also as a trading town for the local population.

Treaty of Berlin

The resulting compromise gave Rumania such a position for a bridge-end as to bring the frontier within eight hundred yards of the limits of Silistria, and so to intercept the main road to Varna and give Rumania the commanding redoubt of Arab Tabia, one mile from the town. The Russian representative on the Boundary Commission refused agreement until in 1880 an adjustment was made which released the Varna road, and the works at Arab Tabia were presently dismantled. The remainder of the frontier was drawn to an agreed point on the Black Sea coast, five miles south of Mangalia, so as to 'hold as nearly as possible to the principle of the straight line.' Nevertheless, two considerable divergences were permitted, apparently for unimportant topographical reasons. Both indentations were in the Rumanian direction, and the larger carried the frontier eight miles toward the Constantza – Chernavoda line, leaving the minimum distance only twenty miles.

1880 to 1912

Some uneasiness between Rumania and Bulgaria persisted until 1885, when the attitude of the former during the Serbo-Bulgarian war led to a state of good feeling, which continued uninterruptedly until 1912. The Turkish and Tartar population on both sides of the line declined slowly, while the Bulgarian and Rumanian proportions increased until they were distinctly dominant in their respective areas. The line is far from demarcating the Bulgarians precisely from the Rumanians, but according to the showing of most authorities, it conforms approximately to such an ethnic separation.

Conference at St. Petersburg, 1913

When, late in 1912, the success of the Balkan Alliance against Turkey promised noteworthy increase of territory to the states south of the Danube, Rumania also began to desire enlargement. The only feasible possibility was the pushing of the Dobruja line in the Bulgarian direction. Extremists suggested that the whole 'quadrilateral' be surrendered, which would have taken from Bulgaria an area of about 6,500 square miles, with a population of about 600,000, including her third and fourth cities in size, which are her chief riverain and her chief maritime ports: the problem of defense would also have become very difficult for her. Though exasperated by such claims of extremists, and by the suggestion that Rumania demanded compensation for not attacking Bulgaria when she engaged in

war against Turkey, the Bulgarian government consented to conversation on the subject at St. Petersburg in April and May, 1913, between Bulgarian and Rumanian representatives, with assistance from the ambassadors of six Great Powers. The information at hand indicates that the Bulgarians offered part of the town of Silistria, elimination of the two salients of the line and a removal of its west and southwestward five miles so as to run through Lake Kartal. The Rumanians asked for a line from Popina on the Danube to Cape Kaliakra, though earlier suggestions had included Kavarna and even Balchik. After the Bulgarians had objected on the ground of the defense of Varna, the line proposed by Rumania was carried to a point north of Cape Shabla. The council of ambassadors resolved on May 8 that Silistria and an area extending about three kilometers around its limits should be given to Rumania. It does not appear that more than this was agreed upon, although the *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales* of May 16, 1913, published a statement to the effect that the Rumanian proposal as modified had been signed on May 10.

Lines of 1913 and 1918

Before action had been taken on this basis, the Second Balkan War broke out. Rumania invaded Bulgaria, and at the Peace of Bucharest August 10, 1913, obtained a new frontier, imposed upon Bulgaria, which ran within 24 miles of Ruschuk and 12 of Varna, transferring 3,000 square miles of territory and a population of 247,000, among whom were 134,000 Bulgarians and 6,000 Rumanians. This remained the legal frontier until May 18, 1918, when another treaty of Bucharest imposed upon Romania a frontier which ran within five miles of both Constantza and Chernavoda, and transferred to Bulgaria, by comparison with the line of the Treaty of Berlin, about 900 square miles of territory with a population of about 80,000 among whom were three or four times as many Rumanians as Bulgarians. The remainder of the Rumanian Dobruja was transferred at the same time to the Central Powers, and negotiations were undertaken, though without result, for the acquisition of the whole by Bulgaria. The frontiers of 1913 and 1918 may be discarded, as not resting in either case upon the willing consent or the balanced advantages of both parties.

Discussion

Disposition of Silistria

Two standpoints may be used in considering modifications of the Dobruja boundary, according as it is proposed to proceed on a basis of equality of transfer, or of the cession of some advantages by Bulgaria to Rumania. In favor of the former solution stands the fact of the long period of good relations between the two countries while possessing this common frontier. Rumania has connected Bucharest with Constantza by a railway link and a great bridge at Chernavoda, and has improved the port vastly. In consequence there is no prospect of a bridge at Silistria or a line by this route to Mangalia. Silistria does not seriously threaten

Rumania, for it has the broad Danube before it, while it is distant fifty miles in a direct line from Chernavoda, with a series of marshy lakes intervening. It has always been a position suited for the defense of the lands at the south and not for attack directed toward the north. In the hands of Rumania, however, it would become a military bridge-head threatening likewise at a distance of fifty miles, but with no special barriers intervening, the railway from Rustchuk to Varna. Rumania has lines already to Oltenitza and Calarashi, opposite to Tutrakan and Silistria, while Bulgaria has none to either of the latter points. Economically Silistria is the market town for a considerable Bulgarian area, within a radius of twenty or twenty-five miles, from which it should not be separated.

Defence of Constantza railroad

Undoubtedly the Chernavoda – Constantza railroad is of very great importance to Rumania, though henceforth the centrally located Danubian ports seem likely to have a more rapid development. It will probably always remain the main eastern outlet for the trade and travel of Wallachia. The defense of this railroad is concerned with a possible approach from the frontier due south of it, especially along the line of the new railroad from Varna through Dobritch to Mejidia. Improvement in the military sense can then be obtained by pushing the eastern part of the line of the Treaty of Berlin to the southwestward.

Suggested changes

It might be well to remove the western end of the frontier away from Silistria so as to pass through Lake Garlita or even through Lake Oltena. The indentation of the line can be straightened out, and then the east end be swung southward to pass through Lake Kartal, or even to a point near Cape Shabla. These adjustments could be arranged on a basis of equal value of land and equal population. A large part of the population is still Turkish and Tartar, and there are many Bulgarians on the Rumanian side near Silistria; few Romanians, however, dwell on the Bulgarian side south of Mangalia.

Alternative line at southwest

The principal argument in favor of placing the whole line farther southwest is that the principle of equidistance might well be applied to the defense of the Chernavoda – Constantza and Ruschuk – Varna railways. The modified Rumanian proposal for a line from Popina to Lake Shabla would meet this criterion exactly. Against it may be urged the considerations that it would separate Silistria from a portion of its market territory, and would transfer to Rumania a considerable Bulgarian population.

BULGARIAN LANDOWNERS AND THE ROMANIAN ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTHERN DOBRUDJA (1918–1940)

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The final accession of Southern Dobrudja to the Romanian state after 1918 put the local Bulgarian elites in an extremely difficult and delicate position. This caused many of the Dobrudja *chiflikchii* – large landowners – to occupy various political positions in an attempt to preserve their influence and wealth. Some joined Romanian political parties and tried to balance their new political networks with their patriotic feelings. Others had more radical positions – some emigrated to Bulgaria and lost their property in Dobrudja, others joined the communist party and took the path of class struggle, regardless of their origin. Loyalties were rarely clear-cut and interests often were often intertwined, as was the history of interwar South Dobrudja.

Keywords: Dobrudja, interwar period, chifliks, large land estates, Bulgaria, Romania, elites

Up until the Balkan wars and WW1, Dobrudja was a borderland province of, initially, limited importance (compared to other territories with Romanian and Bulgarian populations). But after that it quickly turned into one of the most crucial focal points that played a major role in the nation-building strategies of both Romanians and Bulgarians. Both countries mobilized armies of historians, journalists, writers, diplomats, lawyers and all sorts of activists to defend their respective national causes.¹ The two countries approached the Dobrudjan dispute with similar arguments, with mutual stereotypes, mistrust and a sense of superiority, which in turn undermined the already small desire for understanding within Dobrudja itself.

As the Dobrudja activist Hristo Kapitanov noted in his diary: “With the high shamelessness of the ignorant, the Romanians present us in the blackest colors and mostly always get annoyed with our barbarism.” Deprived of ethnic arguments, the Romanian propaganda often saw their county as a civilizer and a representative of Western Europe, while the Bulgarians as primitive Balkans.²

¹ A. Kurkina, “Words and Wits: A Territorial Debate and the Creation of an Epistemic Community in Interwar Dobrudja (1913–1940)”, *East European Quarterly*, 44, 1–2, March–June 2016, p. 53–76.

² Б. Нягулов, “Малцинственото движение на добруджанските българи в Румъния (1919–1940)”, in А. Кузманова, П. Тодоров (ред.), *История на Добруджа*, Т. IV, Фабер, Велико Търново, 2007, с. 434.

In “The annals of Dobrudja”, for example, I.N. Roman referred to the Bulgarians in general, summing up all the negative traits they had been supposed to possess: absolute barbarity, uncivilized character, ferocity, cruelty, and brutality. Bulgarians were generally presented as an opposite to Romanians: the degree of radicalism of these “descriptions” varied depending on the author’s writing style. The Bulgarian counterparts of Roman adopted a very similar strategy of portraying Romanians and, conversely, they had to face the same dilemma of destroying the remains of neutral and positive images of the preceding periods. In 1921, for instance, Stiliyan Chilingirov wrote about his impressions of Romania and its inhabitants: “Romania is the least cultivated country in the whole of the Balkan peninsula. She seems to be a vulgar and dressed-up prostitute, who eats *mamaliga* while she does not even bother to put on a blouse under the corset of her dress”.³

But apart from official propaganda, on a local level, identities were much more complex. The re-annexation of Southern Dobrudja by Romania after the end of the First World War was logically accepted as a national catastrophe by the majority of the Dobruja Bulgarian population. Bulgarian cultural and educational organizations and churches were closed, a Romanian administration was installed, and colonists began to arrive quickly. However, Romania recognized the existence of a Bulgarian minority, unlike Yugoslavia or Greece, and quickly included Bulgarians as representatives in Romanian parties.

The most influential Romanian party at the time, the National Liberal Party (NLP), included two Bulgarians in its lists as early as 1919. One of them was the big landowner haji Vasil Holevich who was elected senator. In his analysis of the Bulgarians, participants in Romanian political parties, Blagovest Nyagulov points out that they can most often be called “the conservatives in the Bulgarian minority movement in Dobrudja” because they come from the wealthiest strata of Bulgarian society.⁴

Exactly such a representative was the mentioned haji Vasil Holevich, owner of a large chiflik farm near Kavarna. Among the other Bulgarians who have participated in the Romanian parliament over the years were the brothers Hristo, Boris and Matei Stefanovi, owners of Holevich’s neighboring farm in the village of Duranlar/Belgun, the large landowner from Dobrich Tsonko Penkov and the Kavarna farmer and merchant Jordan Mahalnishki. Actually 1/3 of all 17 Bulgarian members of Parliament, at least from those whose biographies I managed to find, were big landowners.

It is logical that the desire to preserve property and wealth should have been a strong motive for the cooperation of those landowners with the Romanian parties and for the compromises they made with the Romanian authorities. Capital has no nationality, something we can see well in today’s conditions of globalization, and logically Bulgarian landowners could relatively easily integrate into the power circles in Romania not only because of their material status, but also because of their social mobility, their cultural and social capital, etc. So although in the status

³ A. Kurkina, “Words and Wits...”, p. 67–68

⁴ Б. Нягулов, “Малцинственото движение на добруджанските българи в Румъния...”, с. 440.

of a national minority, the big landowners were able to quite easily join the class of the Romanian already predominantly Moshier elite.

A good example about this is haji Vasil Holevich's son – Zachari. During WWI he was a part of the Romanian army and was involved in the major battles in the defense of Oituz and Argeş from the armies of Gen. Mackenzen, as in the Romanian offensive 1917 at Mărăşeşti. Holevich later received a “Romanian Star” medal for his participation in the victory, as well as with commemorative crosses from Mărăşeşti, the Carpathians and Oituz.⁵

As a war hero, he was well respected by the Romanian authorities when he returned to Dobrudja. In the 1920s, Zachari became a member of the Tax Commission for the region Kavarna and Shabla, as well as the Temporary District Commission, which approved the administrative Kaliakra County budget. As a war veteran, Holevich also served on the recruiting committee in Kaliakra County.

From 1925 Zachari also participated in the diocesan assembly of Constanţa Eparchy and as its member he was summoned in 1926 in Bucharest for the Electoral College for the election of bishops and archbishops.⁶

So, there was undoubtedly a line of compromise in the behavior of some Bulgarian landowners. For this reason, Bulgarians who had become part of Romanian parties were often criticized by their compatriots in Dobrudja and by emigrant activists for betraying national interests and serving their personal causes. This became one of the reasons for the apparent conflict in the Bulgarian circles in the 1920s between the so-called “Party members” (participating in Romanian parties) and the “minoritari”, i.e. supporters of the idea of an independent Bulgarian party, which was eventually founded in 1928, but without much success.⁷

But while “minoritari”'s criticism often sounded reasonable, beyond political confrontation, the reality was much more complex. The inclusion of Bulgarians in Romanian parties was not only an attempt to adapt to the system, but was also a tactic recommended by the Bulgarian legation in Bucharest, which had maintained active contact with all prominent Bulgarian political figures in Dobrudja.⁸ In this sense, I would try to emphasize the far more complex and nuanced role that Bulgarian landowners had in the period, which was certainly not limited to class cooperation with the Romanian elite.

I think that the case of the whole Stefanovi family is indicative of the very diverse roles that landowners played in the period. Related to Holevich, Stefanovi were among the most influential Bulgarian politicians in the period.

The older brother, Matei Stefanov used to be a member of the Democratic Party in Bulgaria, then director of a bank branch. When Dobrudja came under

⁵ Holevich Archive (unpublished), undated letter by Zachary Holevich to the Roman Minister of Agriculture.

⁶ Holevich Archive (unpublished), Zachary Holevich's tax record, Bazargic, Dobrich, 23 february 1924.

⁷ Б. Нягулов, “Партийци“ и/или „миноритарии“ – единство и разединение на българските малцинствени дейци в Добруджа”, *Добруджа*, 13, 1996, с. 93

⁸ Б. Нягулов, “Висшия съвет на българите в Румъния 1927–1929”, *Векове*, 1990, бр. 4, с. 27–28.

Romanian rule, Stefanov was on the editorial board of the Bulgarian newspaper *Kurier/Courier* (1927) and then on *Dobrudjanski glas / Dobrudjan Voice* (1935–1938). In 1928 he entered the Romanian parliament as a member of the National Peasants' party, where he tried to wage a serious struggle against the Law on New Dobrudja from 1924. As an MP, he lobbied for the sending of Bulgarian representatives to the Congress of European National Minorities in 1929 as a way to gain support "from outside" against the law.⁹ Subsequently, he was chairman of the Bulgarian Cultural Society in Dobrich.¹⁰

During the rule of the National Peasants' Party, Stefanov participated together with Stefan Penkov in a commission appointed by the Minister of Agriculture, Ion Mihalache, which prepared amendments to the Law of 1924 on the agrarian reform in Southern Dobrudja. The two Bulgarian MPs were in constant contact with the Bulgarian Minister Plenipotentiary in Bucharest, Svetoslav Pomenov, and were trying to push the thesis that the "thirds" should be returned to the owners.¹¹ However, the Romanian majority in the commission did not accept the idea, and started considering paying the thirds to their former owners.¹² In 1931, Stefanov was expelled from the party together with Tsonko Penkov after internal scandals regarding the post of prefect of Kaliakra district. On the other side of the barricade stood another relative of Holevich, Simeon Nikolenko. He had strong pro-Romanian positions, evident even from the romanization of his surname.¹³

Matei Stefanov's case is I think indicative of the way landowners were participating in Romanian political life both as a way to protect their status, but also to achieve certain Bulgarian minority goals. This is even more obvious in the case of Matei's younger brother – Hristo. In 1927 he was elected chairman of the Chamber of Agriculture in Bazargic district. In 1928 he joined the National Taranist/Peasant Party and in 1930 he was elected a senator with the promise that he would work for the change of the Law on New Dobrudja from 1924, and also for the disarmament of the colonists and for the cultural and educational rights of the Bulgarian population. His choice was the result of a rare union between "party members" and "minoritari". However, only a cosmetic amendment to the Law on New Dobrudja was voted, there were new repression for cultural and educational organizations. So Stefanov was quickly criticized by the "minoritari", who saw it as a big mistake to trust him as a candidate instead of raising their own.¹⁴

⁹ Б. Нягулов, "Добруджанските българи в конгресите на европейските национални малцинства", *Добруджа* 7, 1990, с. 94.

¹⁰ G. Ungureanu, *Problema Cadrilaterului în contextul relațiilor româno-bulgare (1919–1940)*, Brăila, Istros – Muzeul Brăilei, 2009, p. 147.

¹¹ The Law of 1924 stipulated that land owners in Southern Dobrudja had to give up one third of their landed property to the state.

¹² Б. Нягулов, "Добруджанските българи в румънския парламент (1919–1940)", *Studia Balcanica* 24, Изследвания в чест на професор Веселин Трайков, Sofia, 2003, с. 258.

¹³ C. Tudor, *Administrația românească în Cadrilater (1913–1940)*, Călărași, 2005, p. 230.

¹⁴ Б. Нягулов, "Убийството на Христо Стефанов – лично отмъщение или политически атентат?", *Добруджа* 8, 1991, с. 200.

However, in 1931 Stefanov worked actively to hold a unifying congress of the Bulgarian minority in Dobrich, together with the minority activist Lyuben Stanchev, who was also from a family of wealthy landowners. However, on the eve of the congress, Stefanov was killed by the Aromanian colonist Ion Patoni. According to Blagovest Negulov, the Romanian nationalist organization Aktsiunya Rumyanaska had a role in the murder, as Hristo Stefanov was one of the few figures who could play a mediating role in relations between the disputing groups in the Bulgarian community. He was well accepted by the minoritari, and also showed sympathy for some leftist ideas.¹⁵

It was the social and economic capital of a big landowner that gave him the opportunity to play such an intermediary role. And if this social mobility was usually a privilege, in times of crisis it could also be a curse – as it turned out in the case of Stefanov, killed at the age of 43. His family published a telling obituary in Bulgaria, which the Romanian authorities forbade to be distributed in Dobrudja. I quote from the obituary: *“His boundless devotion to his native land, his kindness, straightforwardness and strong-willed character showed him as a selfless servant and a zealous warrior against the unjust and the wicked, which is why his enemies, the Tsintsari [Aromanians], had long ago targeted him and, when he was most needed, they took him away from us. In front of your fresh grave, let us commit ourselves to the service of the ideal that consumed your life.”*¹⁶

Stefanov's death became a symbol of all the violence that the Bulgarian population suffered from the Romanian government. In 1941 a memorial plaque was placed at his place of death in Dobrich, and in 1942 the nearby village of Ayorman was renamed Stefanovo. His assassination was also particularly indicative of the fact that the landowners' strategy to participate in Romanian politics not only did not yield much result but could also have fatal consequences. Close or not to power, in an era of sharpened nationalism, families like Holevich and Stefanov were first perceived as representatives of the Bulgarians in Dobrogea, and only then as Romanian politicians.

The landowners' mediating role could also be seen in the Supreme Council of the Bulgarians in Romania, established between 1927 and 1929 in Bucharest. The Council was formed under the direct supervision of the Bulgarian legation and its founding memorandum stated that it continued to support “the practice of belonging to the various Romanian political parties of the more prominent Bulgarians, always maintaining a strict relationship between them and the council to achieve the possible maximum benefits in favor of the Bulgarian population”. The mentioned landowners Matei Stefanov and Zachari Vassilev Holevich, son of haji Vasil, entered the Council. The Supreme Council helped to legalize the Bulgarian school boards as Bulgarian Cultural Societies (*BKO*), and also dealt with the church issue. Gradually, the Cultural societies displaced the Supreme Council and it ceased to be active.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 202.

¹⁶ Holevich Archive (unpublished), Hristo Stefanov's obituary, 20 September 1931.

¹⁷ Б. Нягулов, Висшия съвет на българите в Румъния 1927–1929, *Векове*, 1990, бр. 4, с. 27–28

In the 30s, it was the Cultural societies that organized Bulgarian school and cultural activity, and actually mediated between the Bulgarian state and the Romanian authorities. The landowners Matei Stefanov and Tsonko Penkov were leading figures in BKO Dobrich. The situation in Kavarna was quite similar – first Zachari Genov Holevich was chairman, and then Yordan Mahalnishki. Another landowner, Zachari Vassilev Holevich, the president's cousin, was among the members and donors, buying one of the buildings for the school in Kavarna. His son Vasil was a teacher and secretary in the school.¹⁸

Another school building was bought with money from Mahalnishki, and the landowners regularly invested personal funds to fill in the gaps in the BKO budget. Holevich and Mahalnishki successfully mediated with the local Romanian authorities so that the BKO could celebrate Bulgarian national holidays and could hold cultural events in Bulgarian.¹⁹

According to contemporaries, Holevich and Mahalnishki were extremely resourceful and tactful with the Romanian authorities and enjoyed great authority among them. Mahalnishki also served as mayor of Kavarna (1922–1925) and a senator from the NLP (1927). But like Hristo Stefanov, Mahalnishki also suffered from his position as a mediator. In 1940, all available grain from his mill and its warehouses was confiscated by the retreating Romanian government, and in 1945 he was sentenced to 15 years in prison by the new Bulgarian communist government.²⁰

So far, I hope I have managed to illustrate two of the main lines of behavior of the Bulgarian landowners in the period – let's call them the line of adjustment and the line of compromise between personal and Bulgarian national interests. We must note that there was another, most radical position – the line of hard resistance. As its representatives we can point out figures such as Boris Stefanov, brother of Matei and Hristo, who, despite his origin as a wealthy landowner, followed the path of the communist idea.

Constantin Argetoianu, finance and then interior minister in Avarescu's government (1920–1921) and one of the staunchest enemies of communism in Romania, described Boris Stefanov in the following way, typical of the attitude of the Romanian elite towards the communists: “*a Bulgarian from Kadrilatera with the appearance of a butcher, a brutal fanatic with no pretense or compromise. You can't talk to him, not just because he doesn't know Romanian, but because there's nothing to understand from him [...] If Moscow gave the order, he would kill his mother and father.*”²¹

Boris Stefanov had an extremely curious biography that deserves a separate study. He studied at the men's high school in Varna, where he was greatly influenced by his older sister Anna, a member of the Bulgarian Social Democratic

¹⁸ Holevich Archive (unpublished), Vasil Z. Holevich's memories, 1985.

¹⁹ А. Каранфилов, *Истини и заблуди за българското културно общество в Каварна*, Контур, Варна, 2002, с. 44.

²⁰ А. Каранфилов, *Каварненските кметове някога и сега*, Варна, 2003, с. 72–75.

²¹ G. Ungureanu, *Problema Cadrilaterului în contextul relațiilor româno-bulgare (1919–1940)*, p. 127.

Party. Before the wars, Stefanov became close to Christian Rakovsky, as well as to Georgi Bakalov, prominent Bulgarian communist leaders. During the First World War he was mobilized in the Romanian army, but spent most of his time in officers' prisons and prison camps.²²

In 1913, the demobilized Bulgarian soldiers returned to their homes in Dobruja suddenly as Romanian citizens. „That's how I became a Romanian citizen and that's where my political activity in the ranks of the Romanian socialists began,” Stefanov wrote in his memoirs.²³

In 1920, he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Socialist Party. As a MP in the same year, he became one of the leaders of the general strike in Romania from October. Because of this, he was arrested and imprisoned in Jilava prison, where he remained until 1922. A trial took place, in which Stefanov was also accused of terrorist activity. After a reaction from European public opinion, a political amnesty was reached.²⁴

After his release from prison, he wrote the Romanian Communist Party's program on the agrarian question, in which he advocated the complete and immediate abolition of private land ownership and its distribution to the peasants. In 1924 he was again convicted and for 20 years he worked and lived illegally. In 1924–1925, he was a representative of the RCP in the Balkan Communist Federation in Vienna, but he lived in Moscow, and on several occasions illegally returned to Bulgaria and Romania. In 1926 he was arrested and tried for treason. In 1928, he was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment, which made him famous for the international communist movement. In the same year, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International elected him in absentia as a member of the International Control Commission. The authorities moved him to five different prisons for his communist activities. In 1933, he was released from prison and went to live with his family in Moscow, where he worked together with Georgi Dimitrov as deputy head of the Balkan Secretariat of the Communist International under the pseudonym Ivan Draganov.

In 1934 he became general secretary of the RCP, remaining in the position until 1940. During the Second World War, his son Ivan Draganov (bearing the illegal name of Stefanov as a political emigrant) died as a Soviet partisan in the Medvedev's detachment. After the end of the war, Boris returned to Bulgaria together with his wife Penka Moralieva.²⁵

Tinyo Hadjitinev, had a similar fate. He had a large chiflik and a mill in the present-day village of Tvarditsa, but advocated left-wing ideas, even as a member of BKO Kavarna. After the liberation of Dobrudja, he was arrested by the Bulgarian authorities for communist activities and relocated in the Vratsa region.²⁶

²² *Добруджанска трибуна*, 25 октомври 1983, XL, брой 124.

²³ Н. Димов, „Борис Стефанов и румънското революционно движение,” *Исторически преглед*, 1983, бр. 5, с. 76.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, с. 78.

²⁵ *Работническо дело*, бр. 29825, октомври 1983.

²⁶ А. Каранфилов, *Истини и заблуди за българското културно общество в Каварна*, с. 102.

The cases of Boris Stefanov and Hadjitinev are yet another proof that Bulgarian landowners were far from reacting only in terms of their class affiliation with the Romanian government. Some balanced between class and their national identity. Others choose the political ideal and stood against their own material interest.

The case of Petar Gabe, the father of the famous Bulgarian poetess Dora Gabe, was interesting in that regard. Already after the Second Balkan War, Gabe proved to be an uncompromising opponent of the new Romanian government. Because of his book “Romania in Dobrudja (1913–1916). Survey” and other articles, the Romanian court sentenced Gabe to death in absentia, confiscated his large chiflik in South Dobrudja, his personal library and archives. Gabe never returned to his farm and ended his life in poverty in Sofia, from where he continued his activities against the Romanian government. In 1927 he was visited by a representative of the Romanian legation in Sofia, who offered him to stop writing against Romania, and in return his political and civil rights would be restored and his property returned. Gabe refuses.²⁷

Peter Gabe’s idealism was rare then, and it is also rare now. In most cases, choices were rarely black and white and single-layered. The Bulgarian landowners in Dobrudja were at the same time in a privileged position to be able to easily integrate into the Romanian state and participate in political life, but on the other hand they had to balance with their own national feelings, local patriotism, and older relations with the Bulgarian state. The whole complexity of the situation gave birth to different lines in their behavior, which often mixed and overflowed into each other.

These lines of behaviour were often influenced by personal relationships, which logically made choosing a side difficult and called into question a number of loyalties. Such inter-ethnic relationships gave birth to one of the most popular love stories in Dobrudja in the period under investigation – between the mayor of Balchik Octavian Moşescu and a wealthy Bulgarian farmer’s daughter Penka Dobрева. Their marriage became the inspiration for a popular Romanian novel, but also for a serious internal rift in the Bulgarian family, as Penka’s two brothers were members of BKO Balchik.²⁸ The Craiova Treaty of 1940 put an end to the complex tangle of class, national and personal interests. In the case of people like Penca Moşescu, however, this necessitated a new life in Bucharest and a complete separation from her Bulgarian relatives and place of birth.

The “catastrophic age”, as Eric Hobsbawm amply labeled the interwar period, left its mark on everything, including the rare cases of Bulgarian-Romanian cooperation and understanding.²⁹

²⁷ Цв. Недков, Петър Габе – общественик и политик, *Добруджа*, 11, 1994, с. 189–190.

²⁸ The title of the novel is “Maica Domnului de la mare” by Emanoil Bucuța (1930), Л. Боя, *Балчик. Малкият рай на Велика Румъния*, София, 2014, с. 97; П. Тодоров, К. Пенчиков, *Извори за историята на гр. Балчик (1878–1941)*, Варна, 2003, с. 135.

²⁹ E. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991*, London, 2001, p. 108.

**140 YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN
ROMANIA AND GREECE (1880–2020)**

Papers presented at the conference convened by the Institute
for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy
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140 YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIA AND GREECE (1880–2020)

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The 140 years of Romanian-Hellenic diplomatic relations represent a long journey the two countries have undertaken together, despite facing some temporary obstacles that led to the interruption of diplomatic relations for short periods of time. Generally speaking, the relations between Romania and Greece have been positive, with both being interested in exploring new opportunities for cooperation and becoming more actively involved in international issues that concern them directly. Since the end of communism, diplomatic relations between the two countries have intensified, and today they are stronger than ever.

Keywords: Constantin Esarcu, Markos Dragoumis, Titu Maiorescu, Eleftherios Venizelos, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Konstantinos Karamanlis.

It is a well known fact that relations between these two nations goes back to ancient times. Greeks and Romanians were always together throughout history, collaborating more or less according to the international context of the respective era

During the years of Ottoman Occupation, a great number of Greeks found shelter in romanian areas, where they worked, mostly, in commerce. At the beginning of the 19th century, Greeks and Romanians joined their efforts against the Turks, the actions of Filiki Eteria (Society of Friends) taking place mainly in Moldova and Romania. After a hard struggle, in 1830, the Greek nation state was born, the first independent state of the Balkans, which would constitute an example for the rest of the states in this area. It was the beginning of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Immediately, the Greek state established diplomatic offices in Romanian areas, in order to defend greek interests, which were active in specific zones. From February 1835, the Greek Kingdom began to be represented by one General Consul in Iași and one General Consul in Bucharest from 1941.¹ For 45 years, between 1835 and 1880, a dialogue was conducted through the agencies of Vice Consules, Consuls and General Consuls, appointed in different romanian cities.²

¹ Constantin N. Velichi, “Atena”, in *Reprezentanțele diplomatice ale României*, vol. 1, 1859–1917, București, Editura Politică, 1967, p. 325.

² Georgeta Filitti, *1880–2010, Mereu împreună, România – Grecia, 130 de ani de relații diplomatice*, București, Editura Suvenir, 2010, p. 8.

After Romanian independence in 1878, Romania made it possible to build a policy that would pursue the interests of the new state externally. By law of February 12th, 1879 Romania established nine embassies abroad, among them one in the greek capital, with representational, economic and juridical powers. Constantin Esarcu, a man of high culture, educated in Paris, was appointed on December 28th, 1879 as the head of the Legation in Athens with the title of resident minister, who on February 11th/23th, 1880 was received by King George to present the letters of accreditation.³

Subsequently, Greece sends, in May 1880, Markos Dragoumis (1881–1885) as resident minister in Bucharest. Moreover, in 1880 the first Romanian Consulates were opened in Greece, in Piraeus, Ioannina and Thessaloniki (Salonic)⁴, as well as two honorary consulates in Patra and in the island of Corfu, with the responsibility of protecting the interests of the state and Romanian companies.

The first effect of opening the Romanian Legation in Athens was the ratification of a trade and navigation Convention that came into force in May 1880, for seven years. The establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations and implicitly the initiation of commercial exchanges would influence in a positive way the evolution of the two states.

Despite the fact that relations followed an ascending line, the first greco-romanian dispute appeared in 1892, which would degenerate relations between Athens and Bucharest. The reason was the question of the inheritance of Evangelos Zappas. Owner of a large fortune in Romania⁵, Zappas left a legacy that, after the extinction of the first generation of descendants, it created a long process between the greek and the romanian state. According to the romanian laws of that period, real estate could not be bequeathed to foreign citizens, given that the ownership was conditioned on romanian citizenship. The different points of view expressed by the two governments led to the interruption of relations between the two states, following that the interests of Greeks in Romania were taken over by Rusia, while those of Romania in Greece by Italy.⁶

Greek government took the initiative and relations were resumed on July, 19th 1896, occasion that brought the reopening of some Romanian Consulates in Piraeus. The approach between these two states was necessary and due to this difficult situation outlined in the Balkans, of Bulgaria being accused of willing to annex Macedonia, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire and Dobrogea.⁷

The political rapprochement also led to the signing of a Greco-romanian commercial Treaty on December 6th, 1900, which regulated issues related to import, export, property protection etc. Greece exported to Romania, especially citrus fruit

³ Constantin N. Velichi, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

⁴ Georgeta Filitti, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵ Vezi Horia Alexandrescu, *Olimpiadele lui Zappa*, București, Editura Vivaldi, 2016.

⁶ Radu Tudorancea, *Relațiile româno-elene în perioada interbelică*, București, Editura Omonia, 2011, p. 23.

⁷ Spyridon Sfetas, “Cadrul istoric al relațiilor politice greco-române (1866–1913)”, in *Interferențe româno-elene (secolele XV–XX)*, Iași, Fundația Academică A.D. Xenopol, 2003, p. 201.

and olive oil and imported from Romania cereals and construction wood. In a special protocol, as an annex to the Treaty, the greek communities were recognised as juridical and legal persons: Braila, Calafat, Constanța, Galați, Giurgiu, Mangalia, Tulcea și Sulina.⁸

At the beginning of the 20th century, the situation in Macedonia, where eight different populations existed, was very intense and chaotic, a fact that could have led to a war among these nations. Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs had armed detachments fighting for supremacy in this important province. Vhachs of this zone, mostly those of the Manastir Vilayet, were attacked by the Greek partisans and were accused of spreading Romanian propaganda. On April, 24th representatives of romanised Vlachs submitted a memorandum to the Ecumenical Patriarchate requesting that the Vlach communities would be recognised as independent ones, they could have the right to build churches and perform the sacred rituals using the Vlach language. The Holy Synod rejected the memorandum on May 3rd, 1904, while Patriarch Joachim III, who numerically evaluated them as a group of 100.000 people, considered the whole matter as a political move of the Romanian government and made a reference to the greek national identity of the Vlachs. Under these circumstances, Romanian government addressed the Sultan through the Romanian Ambassador in Constantinople, Alexandru Lahovary, and with the diplomatic support of Austria-Hungary, Italy and Germany, on May 9th/ 22nd, 1905 Sultan issued a decree (imperial irade) that acknowledged the Aromanians of the Ottoman Empire as a nation with rights equal to those of the other Christian groups in the empire. This decision triggered a harsh reaction both of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek government. Greece affirmed that the Vlachs had nothing in common with the Romanians. Then the Romanised Vlachs began to cooperate with Bulgarian comitages against the groups of the Greek partisans bringing new bloodshed.⁹ As a result of these events, an anti-Greek sentiment had grown in Romania, many Greeks were expelled. The deterioration of the relations eventually led to the termination of the diplomatic relations between the two states, in July 1906.

After five years, in June 1911, bilateral diplomatic relations were re-established contributing to the improvement of the political climate in the Balkans.

In the years 1911–1912 balkan states, began to cooperate more closely via secret agreements, in order to implement their national aspirations, building up alliances the Ottoman Empire. In October 1912 the first Balkan War broke out. Armed of the four balkan christian states (Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece) managed to defeat the Ottomans, driving them out of the balkan peninsula after many centuries. Romania did not participate in this war, yet encouraged the Greeks in their actions. After this war, Greece became an important power in the

⁸ Stelian Brezianu *et al.* (ed.), *Relațiile româno-elene, O istorie cronologică*, București, Editura Omonia, 2003, p. 218.

⁹ Spyridon Sfetas, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

Balkans, changing the balance of power in this troubled region,¹⁰ with hundreds of unsolved problems.

Bulgaria willing to prove to be a great military force, but also to impose the bulgarian point of view in the Balkans attacked all of a sudden, on June 29th, 1913 and therefore, triggering the second Balkan War against Serbia and Greece. Montenegro, Romania and the Ottoman Empire coalesced against Bulgaria. In one month, Bulgaria was completely defeated (July 31st, 1913). At the peace Conference of Bucharest, Titu Maiorescu supported Eleftherios Venizelos, establishing friendly relations between the two heads of the governments. Romania supported greek territorial claims and Greece pledged to respect the rights of the Aromanians. The Bucharest Treaty (August 1913) doubled the territory and population of Greece, giving strength and new hope to the greek population.

It seemed that a period of peace would follow, but in reality, Balkan Wars hastened the outbreak of the World War I. The pretext of this war was the the Sarajevo bombing, yet the real causes were the imperialist tendencies of the great powers.¹¹ The war, they were engaged in, caused multiple and complex problems for the states of southeastern Europe, each acting according to national interests. Greece and Romania remained neutral at first, despite the strong pressure by both the military blocs, which were competing for supremacy. Romania in 1916 and Greece in 1917 joined the side of the Entente, having been reassured about their national ideals. The two friendly states, part of the same military bloc, collaborated especially regarding the attitude towards Bulgaria. Entente's victory in 1918 allowed two countries to be among the victorious.

During the Peace Conference of Paris (1919) the Greek Prime Minister, Eleftherios Venizelos and the Romanian Prime Minister Ionel Brătianu, prominent personalities of the european political scene, worked together at certain moments given that between Greece and Romania there were no differences to be resolved. The only issue that concerned the Romanians, throughout this period, was the fate of the Aromanians in the greek Kingdom, although Venizelos was trying to solve this problem,¹² so as to enjoy the support of the romanian government.

After the tragic Greco-Turkish war of 1919–1922, Greece faced considerably serious problems that would deeply mark the country in the years to come. During the Lausanne Peace Conference (1923) the romanian delegation spoke in favour of maintaining Greece's sovereignty over western Thrace without a referendum,¹³ proving once again the solidarity between the two countries.

On March 21st, 1928 the ministers of foreign affairs, Titulescu and Mihalakopoulos, signed in Geneva, a Pact of non-aggression and arbitration between Romania and Greece, with which the contracting parties would be obliged

¹⁰ Eleni Gardika-Katsiadaki, “Ο συσχετισμός των δυνάμεων και η Ελλάδα μπροστά στη Συνθήκη του Βουκουρεστίου”, in *Η Συνθήκη του Βουκουρεστίου και η Ελλάδα*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1990, p. 42.

¹¹ Spyridon Sfetas, *Εισαγωγή στη Βαλκανική Ιστορία, (1453–1918)*, Τόμος Α, Θεσσαλονίκη, Εκδόσεις Βάνιας, p. 509.

¹² Constantin Iordan, *Venizelos și românii*, București, Editura Omonia, 2010, p. 207.

¹³ Stelian Brezianu, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

not to attack, not to resort to territory invasion and not to declare against each other. Venizelos wanted this Pact „*to be the beginning of the rapprochement among the Balkan countries through similar pacts, with a wider content*”.¹⁴

A special moment in the history of greek-romanian relations was the visit of Prime Minister Venizelos to Romania in August 19th until August 22nd, 1931. The senior Greek official had meetings with the Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Iorga, who was also the president of Romanian Association of Friends of Greece, and had also met the Kings of Romania. Several agreements were signed, including the Convention on commerce and navigation, accompanied by a protocol regarding the clause for the most-favoured nation.¹⁵

During the period 1930–1934, four balkan conferences were held regarding the rapprochement among the countries of the area. The positive results of these meetings would culminate in the signing of the Pact of Balkan Understanding in Athens on February 9th, 1934 among Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania. Ministers of foreign affairs declared „*firmly determined to ensure the respect of the existing contractual commitments and the maintenance of the territorial order, currently established in the Balkans*”.¹⁶ Until 1939 relations between Greece and Romania evolved showing regard for this regional entity, and as a result on January 1st, 1939 diplomatic relations between these two states were raised to the rank of Embassy.¹⁷ The first Ambassador of Romania in Greece was Radu Tr. Djuvara, from February 24th, 1939 until November 15th, 1940.

The outbreak of the World War II would interrupt this upward progression, even leading to a 15 year termination of relations (1941–1955) for these two friendly countries. Greece and Romania followed separate routes being in opposite political-military blocs. Despite the fact that Romania was a forced ally of the Reich, manifested itself not as an enemy but as a friend in need of Greece.¹⁸

In Greece shortly after the expulsion of the German occupiers (October 1944), a devastating Civil War broke out (1946–1949), which further complicated the situation in Greece and the Balkans. After the end of the Civil War, around 11.500 Greek refugees found shelter to the hospitable land of Romania, where they had access to all the economic and social values of romanian society (1949–1989).

After numerous meetings and negotiations between the two governments, they reached an agreement. On August 25th, 1956 they signed agreements, that provided the restoration of public relations.¹⁹ At the end of the sixth decade, greek-romanian relations were at a satisfactory level, a fact confirmed by the Greek

¹⁴ Radu Tudorancea, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁵ Constantin Iordan, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

¹⁶ Stelian Brezianu, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

¹⁷ Radu Tudorancea, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁸ Georgeta Filitti, *România – Grecia, Relații istorice, Documente din arhiva Legației române din Atena*, București, Editura Demiurg, 1977, p. 15.

¹⁹ Evantia Bozgan, Ovidiu Bozgan, “Restabilirea relațiilor româno-elene, între interes național și politică de bloc”, in *Analele Universității București, Istorie*, 2000, p. 102.

minister of foreign affairs, Evangelos Averof, who, in April 1960, during parliamentary debates, mentioned: “...we have good relations with Romania, because Romania shows consistency with respect to its obligations and understanding in terms of economic relations”.²⁰

The years of Georgios Papandreou’s government (1963–1965), negotiations between the two countries took place regarding the compensation that Romania had to pay for the nationalisation of greek assets after 1945.²¹ Despite the fact that there had been no agreement in this matter, at the 9th Congress of the PCR in July 1965, N. Ceaușescu mentioned: “we appreciate the positive evolution of relations between our country and Greece, in the spirit of friendship that always existed between our people”.²²

From August 31st to September 2nd, 1966 the Romanian Prime Minister Ion Gheorghe Maurer visited Athens, accompanied by the Minister of foreign affairs, Corneliu Mănescu. He was the first Prime Minister from the communist bloc to visit Athens and as it was normal, this specific visit was in the centre of attention, both of the political factors and of the Greek and international media. At the end of the visit, nine agreements were signed, including the one regulating the suspended economic relations.²³

During the military dictatorship in Greece (April 21st – July 23rd, 1974), the military government felt more and more isolated due to the hostile attitude of the western states and was increasingly orientated towards the socialist states, particularly Romania, that wanted to play an increasing important role in the Balkans. There was an intense exchange of visits at ministerial level between the two countries, having in the centre of attention the bilateral relations and balkan collaboration.

The dictatorship’s collapse in July 1974 and the restoration of democracy constituted a new starting point for Greece’s foreign policy. Prime Minister K. Karamanlis would try an opening towards the neighbouring balkan states, seeking to bring his country out of the isolation it was during the years of the dictatorship, but also aiming to find allies in the dispute with Turkey. Karamanlis started his balkan tour making the first stop in Bucharest on May 26th–27th, 1975. It was the first visit of a Greek Prime Minister after the World War II. The excellent relations between Greece and Romania became clear on the “Joint Solemn Declaration” signed by the President N. Ceaușescu and Prime Minister K. Karamanlis.²⁴ After a three year postponement, on March 26th until March 29th, 1976 the successful visit

²⁰ Sotiris Wallden, *Ελλάδα και Ανατολικές Χώρες 1950–1967: οικονομικές σχέσεις και πολιτική*, vol. I, Οδυσσέας, Αθήνα, Ίδρυμα Μεσογειακών Μελετών, p. 129.

²¹ Stelios E. Perrakis, “Η εξωτερική πολιτική της Ένωσης Κέντρου (1963–1965)”, in P. Petridis, G. Anastasiadis, *Γεώργιος Παπανδρέου – 60 χρόνια παρουσίας και δράσης στην πολιτική ζωή*, University Studio Press, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1994, p. 536.

²² Sotiris Wallden, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

²⁴ K. Svolopoulos, *Η ελληνική πολιτική στα Βαλκάνια 1974–1981*, Αθήνα, Ελληνική ευρωεκδοτική, 1987, p. 61.

of N. Ceaușescu and his wife took place in Athens. The discussions with Prime Minister K. Karamanlis and President Konstantinos Tsatsos covered a very wide range of topics including bilateral relations and the situation in the Balkans. Finally, a „Long-term economic cooperation agreement” was signed, which enormously contributed to the development of Greek-Romanian relations.²⁵

From November 2nd to November 4th, 1982 Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu made his first visit to Bucharest and his second visit a year later (December 17th–18th, 1983). All the documents signed on the occasion of these high-level meetings were necessary and important instruments for the development and diversification of bilateral relations between the two friendly countries that continued at an upward pace until the collapse of the communist regime in Romania (December 1989).

Romanian revolution of December 1989 was an important event in this part of Europe. Significant was the visit to Bucharest on January 19th, 1990 of the Greek minister of foreign affairs at that particular period, Antonis Samaras, the first official visit of a foreign dignitary to Romania immediately after the events of December 1989.

The desire of the officials from Bucharest to reintegrate the country as quickly as possible into the European political and cultural space led them to get closer to Greece. This fact explains the frequent contacts and meetings at all levels between 1990 and 2007, namely until Romania’s admission to the European Union. The number of official visits (presidents, prime ministers, ministers of foreign affairs, ministers, parliamentarians etc.) from both sides, is very large, difficult to present in this paper.

During the period 2008–2020 high-level contacts between the two countries can be compared to the ones of the previous period. Greece would go through an acute economic and financial crisis that lasted almost ten years. In this period of time, many negative changes are observed in all areas, which have harmed the international image of the country. Romania will orient itself more towards the West.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on a brief presentation of the Romanian-Greek diplomatic relations from the day of their establishment in 1880 up to this time, it appears that a steady and sincere collaboration has been established by the two countries. The Romanian-Greek collaboration at multiple fields is a positive example for all the countries in the region.

Currently, membership in the same international organisations as the tradition of old relations gives a special status to Greece’s relations with Romania, a materialisation of the principle for which numerous of Romanian and Greek politicians and diplomats militated.

²⁵ Ion Brad, *Întâlniri de taină în Grecia*, Fundația Europeană Titulescu, București, p. 290.

THE GREEK DIPLOMACY AROUND ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE (1874–1885)

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This article is focused on the Greek-Romanian relationship and analyses the main diplomatic topics between 1870 and 1880, before and after Independence of Romania: 1) the consular jurisdiction, 2) the issue of the monasteries dedicated to the Holy Places, 3) the Aromanian issue in the Balkans, 4) and the legal status of the Greek communities in Dobruja. Our article provides information about the activity of two Greek diplomats in Bucharest: Kleon Rizos Rangavis (1874–1880) and Markos Dragoumis (1880–1885). We specifically used the diplomatic records of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs in Athens.

Keywords: Greek-Romanian diplomatic relationship, consular jurisdiction, Greek communities in Romania, Kleon Rizos Rangavis, Markos Dragoumis.

We propose in this article to discuss the main issues that the Greek diplomatic representatives in Bucharest had to face between 1870 and 1880, before and after the proclamation of the Romanian State Independence.

TWO DIPLOMATS IN BUCHAREST

The Consulate-General in Bucharest, set up in September 1834.¹ But in 1874, for the first time, the Greek government appointed a career diplomat as Consul-General in Bucharest.² This fact reflects a change in the attitude of the Kingdom of Greece towards the Principality of Romania. Kleon Rizos Rangavis (1842–1917) was the son of Alexander Rizos Rangavis (1809–1892), a former Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ambassador in Constantinople, and future ambassador in Berlin.³ Kleon Rangavis at only 32 years of age already had a rich diplomatic

¹ Constantine Velichi, “Les relations roumano-grecques durant la période 1866–1879”, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 1970, no. 3, p. 525.

² Ιστορικό Αρχείο του Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών (Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives), Κεντρική Υπηρεσία, Central Department, 35.6/1874, General Consulate to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 8 January 1874 (no. 37).

³ Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'or. De la noblesse phanariote et des familles princières de Valachie et de Moldavie*, S. Vlastos, Athens, 1904, p. 104, 132; Χάιδω Μπαρκούλα, *Αλεξάνδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής (1830–1880): Αλυτρωτισμός και Διπλωματία* (Alexandros Rizos Rangavis 1830–1880: Irredentism and Diplomacy), PhD thesis, University of Athens, 2008.

record, passing through various positions in Washington, Mexico, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Copenhagen. We may find information about his activity in the public service in his personal archive, preserved at Gennadius Library in Athens.⁴ Kleon Rangavis also distinguished himself as a playwright and poet. In 1877, he published *Julian the Apostate: Dramatic Poem in Five Parts* (Ιουλιανός ο Παραβάτης, ποίημα δραματικών μέρη πέντε). Extremely harsh criticism of this work, considered as an interference in the Christian dogma, reached the parliament, where there were voices calling for the dismissal of the consul from Bucharest.⁵

In February 1878, the great powers recognized Romania's Independence. The Greek General Consulate in Bucharest was thus elevated to the rank of Legation. On July 20, 1880, Markos Dragoumis (1840–1909), a descendant of a merchant family from Constantinople, of Macedonian origins, who had distinguished itself in the 1821 Revolution, was appointed the Minister resident of Greece in Bucharest.⁶ In 1861, Dragoumis, a graduate of legal studies in Paris, author of a thesis on the foreigners' condition in France (*De la condition civile de l'étranger en France*), occupied his first diplomatic position in Paris in 1861. Throughout three decades of his career, Dragoumis was a diplomat in St. Petersburg, Vienna, Alexandria and Bucharest. Between 1903 and 1906 Dragoumis published the *Bulletin d'Orient* to inform Europeans about the territorial claims of the Kingdom of Greece to the Ottoman territories.⁷ In 1889, with the fall of his younger brother, Stefanos (1842–1823), a Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of Charilaos Trikoupis (1832–1896), Markos' diplomatic career came to an end. His archive, and particularly that of his brother, Stefanos Dragoumis, from Genadius Library, contains a rich correspondence and many documents related to the diplomatic service.⁸ Dragoumis' presence in Bucharest is linked to the fate of Trikoupis governments. Appointed to this position in the summer of 1880, Markos Dragoumis would be removed in December 1880, shortly after the change of government. He would return to Bucharest as Minister plenipotentiary in 1882, once Trikoupis resumes the power of the office. Between 1880 and 1882, Dimitris Razis and later Stamatios A. Antonopoulos will function as Ministers plenipotentiary and Envoys extraordinary to Bucharest.⁹

⁴ Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασικών Σπουδών-Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη (American School of Classical Studies at Athens), αρχείο Κλέων Ρίζος Παγκαβής, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/kleon-rangavis-papers>

⁵ Ιουλιανός ο Παραβάτης, ποίημα δραματικών μέρη πέντε, Athens, Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Πέτρου Πέρρη, 1877; K. Th. Dimaras, “Ιουλιανού τέλος”, in *Σύμμικτα Α' Από την παιδεία στην λογοτεχνία* (Anthology. From education to literature), ed. by Alexis Politis, Athens, Σπουδαστήριο Νέου Ελληνισμού, 2000, p. 182–183.

⁶ Constantin Velichi, *op. cit.*, p. 511; The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, 19.5/1880. 8 May 1880.

⁷ Maria Georgiadou, Constantin Carathéodory, *Mathematics and Politics in Turbulent Times*, Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, 2000, p. 19.

⁸ <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/markos-n-dragoumis-finding-aid>

⁹ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Aak/ Z, 24 December 1880 (no. 517/117); Aak/ G, 7/1882, Antonopoulos to Charilaos Trikoupis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Central Department, 27 September 1881 (no. 786/169).

Greek diplomats in Bucharest	
Constantinos Sakelarios	1834
Ioannis Rizos	1835
Triandafylos K. Patsouris	1849
G. Calistratis	1850–1853
George Voinescu	
Georgios Sakelaridis	
Mihail Schinas	1853
Constantinos Fostiropoulos	1855
Spiridon Skoufos	1856
Stamatios Ghionis	the 1860s
George Venizelos	
Alexandros Manos	1872
Kleon Rangavis	1874
Dimitris Razis	1880
Stamatios Antonopoulos	1882
Markos N. Dragumis	1882
Mihail Duruttis	1885

DIPLOMATIC AGENDA:

1. Consular Jurisdiction

In accordance with the capitulations regime of the Ottoman Empire, the consulates of the foreign powers had the authority to grant the status of *protégé* to non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, who thus enjoyed fiscal and legal privileges. This practice was implemented in the Romanian Principalities with the establishment of foreign consulates, even though the Islamic law had never been enforced in these countries.¹⁰ However, after the proclamation of independence in 1877, the Romanian government no longer tolerated such practices. Through the Romanian Legation in Athens, set up in 1880, the Romanian government began to check the authenticity of the citizenship certificates submitted by the Greeks from Romania.¹¹

In the 1870s Kleon Rangavis was involved in defending consular jurisdiction. To this end, in 1878, he negotiated with the Romanian government the convention of navigation and trade, in force until 1887, which protected the interests of thousands of Greek subjects, many of them grain traders in the Danube ports.¹²

¹⁰ On the Consular jurisdiction in the nineteenth-century Romania, see, Mircea Malița, “A Century of Political and Diplomatic Action for Abolition of the Consular Jurisdiction in Romania”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 6, 1965, 4, p. 591.

¹¹ Article in *La Liberté Roumaine*, in Gennadius Library. Stefanos Dragoumis Fund, box. 14.1, 29 October/10 November 1887, p. 22.

¹² Constantine Velichi, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

However, most of the Greek *protégés* did not have a Greek passport, as they originated in the Ottoman lands, Macedonia or Epirus. In a diplomatic report to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rangavis was of the opinion that “for no reason can we remove from the consular register those who are not subject to the Greek law, as they represent nine tenths of our protégés”. Consequently, in order to prevent the pressures of the Romanian government, Rangavis proposed that the Jews were eliminated from among their *protégés*.¹³

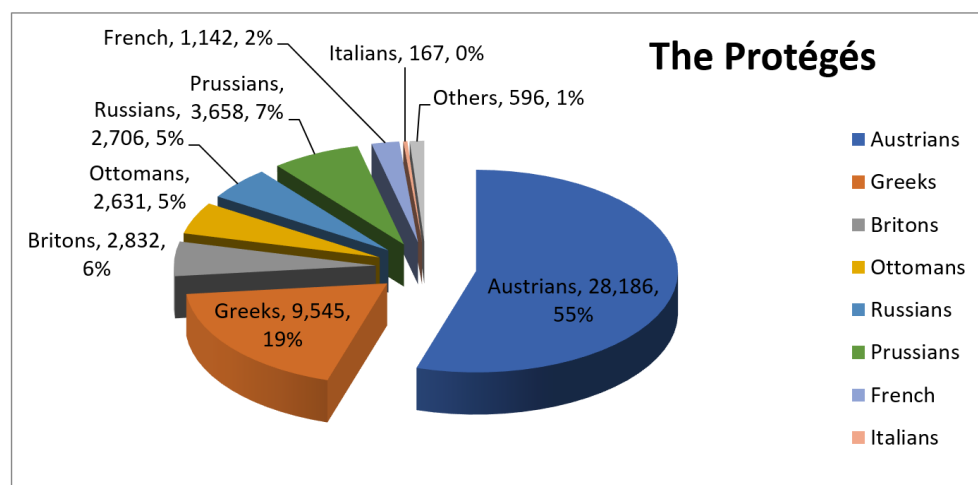
The foreign consulates on the Romanian territory had their own courts and budgets. The Consuls collected stamp duties from the Greek subjects for various services, such as for the issuance of residence certificates, for notarization of wills, of bequests, but also for all the commercial contracts concluded between the Greek subjects. Starting with the 1860s, as the Romanian State claimed its sovereignty rights before the international community, the foreign subjects started being submitted to the same regime of duties and taxes, the same as all the Romanian citizens. Under these circumstances, the Greek Minister in Bucharest, Markos Dragoumis, proposed in a report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens that the multitude of consular fees should be replaced by a unique stamp duty, regardless of the provided services.¹⁴

The 1865 Census:

Legal status	Population	% of total population
Romanians	4 373 534	
<i>Protégés</i>	51 457	1, 18%

¹³The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box. 49.2 /1874, Rangavis to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Athens, 5 April 1874 (no. 541). About the naturalisation law, see Ελπίδα Κ. Βόγλη, „Ελληνες το γένος”-η ιθαγένεια και η ταυτότητα στο εθνικό κράτος των Ελλήνων 1821–1844 (Greekness – citizenship and identity in the nation state of the Greeks), Herakleion, 2007, p. 246 și 364; Renée Hirschon, “Identity and the Greek State: Some conceptual Issues and paradoxes”, in Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, Basingstoke, MacMillan Press – New York, St. Martin’ Press, 1999, p. 169–170.

¹⁴ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box 11,1/1/1882, Themata Ithagenias (Citizenship issue), Greek Legation in Bucharest to Charilaos Trikoupi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 22 June 1882 (no. 460).



2. The Diplomats as leaders of the Greek communities in abroad

The establishment of Greek consulates in the Danube Principalities in the 1830s provided emigration with an important point of support in protecting the economic and cultural interests. In the 1860s, the Greek subjects built churches and schools in several towns and cities along the Danube, but how could these institutions may have been protected by the Romanian law? Was the Romanian State willing to recognize the legal personality of these foreign communities? In the opinion of Rangavis and of other Greek diplomats from Romania, the matter of the legal personality of the institutions constituted by the Greek communities could have been settled only by transferring their property to the Greek State.¹⁵ Around 1874, Rangavis, as Consul-General and President of the Greek community in Bucharest, initiated an action for the construction of the church and school in this city.¹⁶ In 1883, Markos Dragumis resumed this project, being supported by the bankers Nicholas Chrysovelonis and Christofi Zerlendis, but also by the great landowners Constantine Zappa and Gregory Soutsos.¹⁷ This action was completed only in 1900, with the building of the current Palace of the Greek Embassy and the nearby church.¹⁸ In 1896, the former Greek diplomat from Bucharest, Kleon

¹⁵ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, 76.1b/1875, Rangavis to Alexander Kontostavlos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 19 April 1876 (no. 4857, confidentially).

¹⁶ Idem, 77.2/1874, Rangavis to Ioannis Delianis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 24 May 1874 (no. 883).

¹⁷ Regarding the meeting at Greek Consulate of 4 June 1883, see The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box B 29, 5a/1890, 26 September 1889, Mihail Dourutis to Stefanos Dragoumis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (no. 1252).

¹⁸ Evangelia N. Georgitsioian, "Le Palais de l'Ambassade et l'Eglise grecque de Bucarest", *Buletinul Societății de Studii Neoeleene* 1999, p. 209–218.

Rangavis, had been sent to Bucharest to negotiate a trade convention and a protocol to protect the legal interests of the Greek communities in Romania.¹⁹ This endeavour was completed in 1900, by signing a trade agreement and an annexed protocol setting out the legal status of the Greek communities in eight port cities to the Black Sea and to the Lower Danube.²⁰

3. The issue of the monasteries dedicated to the Holy Places and the Aromanian issue

In the context of Romania's diplomatic battle for the recognition of independence by the great powers in 1878 and 1880, the Greeks tried to bring up the issue of the Greek monasteries dedicated to the Holy Places of the Orient that had been secularized by the Prince Alexander John Cuza in 1863. The Greek Ambassador in Berlin, the father of the Consul-General of Bucharest, Alexander Rizos-Rangavis, in a conversation with D.A. Sturdza (1833–1914), a former Finance Minister who represented the Romanian government in the negotiations with Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), the Chancellor of the German Empire, seemed skeptical of Greece's chances to achieve a positive outcome in this matter. In the opinion of the Romanian and German diplomats, but also of Alexander Rangavis, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had blocked any round of negotiations on this topic for 15 years. According to the testimony of Rangavis, during his office as ambassador in Constantinople, he unsuccessfully urged the Patriarch Gregory VI (1867–1871), to accept the ransom for the confiscation of monastic property. But the Patriarch could not unilaterally accept the Romanian government's proposal for compensation; he could only do so in cooperation with the other interested parties, namely together with the other patriarchs of the East that had dedicated monasteries in Romania.²¹

In the opinion of the Greek consul from Bucharest, Kleon Ragavis, the Romanians conditioned the settlement of the monastery business on the Greek concessions in the Aromanian matter. The Romanians considered the Romance-language people of the Balkans, as an integrating part of their nation. In 1880, though a gesture of generosity towards the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Romanian government allegedly entered in the state budget subsidies for "the Greek schools and churches from the East." In a report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece in April 1880, Rangavis confessed that he had been surprised by

¹⁹ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box 8, 1.5/1901, Kleon Rangavis to Alexandros Skouzes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 10 November 1896 (no. 490).

²⁰ *Desbaterile Adunării Deputaților* (The Official Gazette of the Parliamentary Debates: The Chamber of Deputies), meeting on 20 December 1900, p. 251.

²¹ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box 76.1/1880, Alexander Rangavis (Legation in Berlin) to Charilaos Trikoupis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 76.1/1880, 9/21 April 1880 (no. 76).

this gesture, initially considering it a “typographical error.” The Patriarchate of Constantinople immediately rejected the offer, finding it humiliating and offensive.²² In 1880, Greece found itself directly involved in the affair of the monasteries from the East, once they annexed the Ottoman Thessaly. Four Meteora Monasteries owned properties in Romania that had been confiscated under Cuza's ruling.²³ For instance, the Coșun-Bucovăț Monastery (Craiova) was dedicated by Pârvu clucer in 1588 to Varlaam Monastery, the second biggest monastic settlements of Meteora.²⁴ In a report to the Greek government, Markos Dragoumis, ambassador in Bucharest, proposed three solutions: 1) to initiate an intercessory of the monasteries from Thessaly to the Romanian Orthodox Church, 2) to initiate bilateral diplomatic consultations between Romania and Greece, and 3) to have an intervention by the Greek government before the great powers signing of the Treaty of Berlin. In Dragoumis' opinion, Greece should not have acted hastily; it should have waited for the right moment, because otherwise it would have caused the anger of the Romanian public opinion “to the detriment of other Greek interests”. It was obvious that “no Romanian politician, regardless of the party, would have dared to propose the granting of monetary compensation to Greece”.²⁵

The annexation of Thessaly by Greece generated a wave of protests in Bucharest.²⁶ On March 23, 1880, the Bucharest Greek-language newspaper *Sylloghoi* published an article signed by a “distinguished Hellen”, who, “having sincere sympathies for this country [Romania], conveys to us from a capital of Europe”, his opinions on the Aromanian matter.²⁷ Who was the author? In July of 1880, Alexander Rangavis, the Greek Minister in Berlin, recommended to the new minister in Bucharest, Markos Dragoumis, to read the article published in a Bucharest publication, which proved that the “Macedo-Vlahs” are Greek and that “there is no kinship with the Dacians”.²⁸

²² Idem, Rangavis (General Consulate) to Charilaos Trikoupis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), box. 76.1/1880, 5 April 1880 (no. 444).

²³ *Εγγραφα περί του μοναστηριακού ζητήματος* (Documents on the monastery issue), Athens 1893, circulate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Greek ministers in abroad, p. 11.

²⁴ See Ion Donat, *Fundațiunile religioase ale Olteniei*, p. I, *Mănăstiri și schituri* (Religious Foundations of Oltenia, p. I: Monasteries and Sketches), Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1937, p. 32.

²⁵ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box 29, 5/1882, Dragoumis to Charilaos Trikoupis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 30 November 1882 (no. 760, confidentially).

²⁶ Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromânească – Evoluția ei de la origini până la Pacea de la București (1913) și poziția Austro-Ungariei*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 1994, p. 55–57 (first edition in Greman, *Die Aromunische Frage. Ihre Entwicklung von den Urprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest und die Haltung Österreich-Ungarns*, Vienne); Gheorghe Zbucă, *O istorie a românilor din Peninsula Balcanică (secolele XVIII–XIX)*, Bucharest, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 1999, p. 55.

²⁷ *Σύλλογοι*, 23 February/6 March 1880, no. 1218, p. 1.

²⁸ Gennadius Library in Athens, Marcos Dragoumis Fund, box 3, 6, Alexander Rangavis to Dragoumis, 14/26 July 1880, p. 231.

The Greeks in Dobruja

By the Peace Treaty of Berlin of 1878, Greece received Thessaly from the Ottomans, and Romania received Dobruja. Dobruja was inhabited by a mosaic of ethnicities and religions. The matter of the Greeks from Dobruja became an important topic on the agenda of bilateral relations.²⁹ The ethnic communities that had constituted the Christian-Orthodox unity (Rum millet) under the Ottoman rule began to dispute their rights over churches and their wealth.³⁰ Kleon Rangavis and later Dragoumis became involved in defending the rights of the Greeks against the Romanians and the Bulgarians over the church wealth in Dobruja. In some cases, they were successful, in others, they failed. For example, in Cernavoda, after a heated conflict between the Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian vestrymen of the Orthodox churches, the former gave in to the latter in exchange for compensation.³¹ The Orthodox Church of Tulcea was preserved by the Greek merchants, mostly Greek citizens from Cephalonia, whose contribution to the building of the settlement was undeniable. On May 22, 1880, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Interim Affairs of Cults, Basile Boerescu (1830–1883), declared these places of worship from the towns and cities of Dobruja, built on the expense of the Greek merchants, as *églises particulières*. These churches operated in a regime of autonomy in relation to the municipal authorities and the Romanian bishop. The vestrymen of the churches were in charge with the management of revenues and with the appointment of the clerical staff, who owed the bishop only spiritual obedience.³² By order of the Greek government, in 1884, the Greek minister in Bucharest, Markos Dragoumis, undertook to examine the extent to which the Greek state and the Patriarchate could claim the Treaty of Berlin to intervene in favour of the Greek communities from Dobruja.³³ There is a paragraph (article 44)

²⁹ See Ștefan Petrescu, “The Greeks and Romania’s Minority Policy”, RESEE LIII, 2015, p. 226–227.

³⁰ D.M. Kontogeorgis, “Έλληνες υπήκοοι και γραικοί ραγιάδες. Εθνικές ονομασίες και πολιτικά διακυβεύματα στις ελληνικές παροικίες της Οθωμανικής Δοβρουτσάς (1856–1877)” (Greek subjects and Greek rayas and political stakes in the Greek communities of the Ottoman Dobrudja 1856–1877), in Olga Katsiardi-Hering, Anastasia Papadia-Lala, Katerina Nikolaou kai Vagelis Karamanolakis (ed.), “Έλλην”, “Ρωμιός”, “Γραικός”: Συλλογικοί προσδιορισμοί και ταυτότητες (“Greek”, “Romios”, “Grecos”: Collective Designations and Identities), Athens, Evrasia 2018, p. 477–494; Constantin Iordachi, *Citizenship, Nation and State-Building: the Integration of Northern Dobrudja in Romania 1878–1913*, Pittsburgh, 2002.

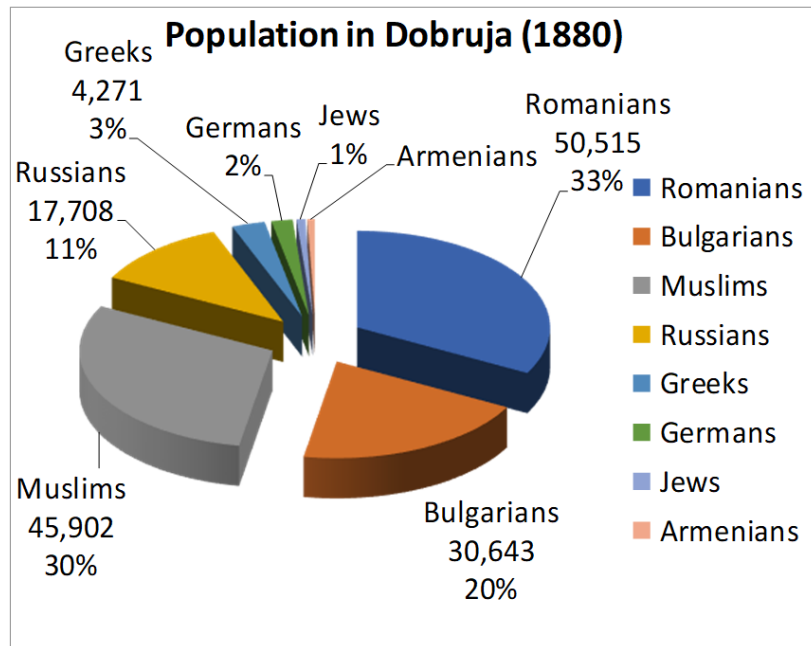
³¹ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box 76.1/1880 rangavis, 1 December 1879 (no. 1535).

³² Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, Ministerul de Interne (no. 320), The State Archives of Romania, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, box. 5/1880, the Minister of Cults and Public Instruction to Minister of Internal Affairs, on March 14, 1880. The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box aak/1894, Rangavis to Charilaos Trikoupi, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 22 May/3 June 1880.

³³ The Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives, Central Department, box aak/1894, Dragoumis to Alexandros A. Kontostavolos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 17/29 September 1884 (no. 592).

in the Berlin Treaty that grants civil rights to the members of all religious communities in the Balkan States. But these provisions did not include the Greek or Bulgarian Orthodox in Romania, who, like most Romanians, were automatically subjects of the Romanian Orthodox Church.³⁴

The presence of a large number of Greek merchants in the Danube Principalities – Wallachia and Moldova – justified the establishment of the Consulate General of Greece in 1834, on the background of organizing the first diplomatic missions in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe. In this communication, we pointed out the particular interests of the Greek diplomacy in Romania in the 1870s and 1880s. The Greek diplomatic representative in Bucharest endeavoured to set the general framework for defending the Greek national interests after the proclamation of Romania's independence, such as the issue of the monastic estates, the Aromanian issue and the affairs of the Greek communities in Romania.



³⁴ *Ibidem.*

ROMANIAN WRITERS DIPLOMATS IN GREECE

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The present article is a comprehensive account on the literary Romanian diplomats accredited to Greece. Their personalities and writings of which some were inspired by the Greek sojourn are definitely telling for the history of Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations. Often forgotten or ignored these writers-diplomats who conscientiously observed the interests of their country, were more vocal and recorded to a greater degree and in various manners the impressions left by their missions.

Keywords: Romanian-Greek diplomatic relations, writer-diplomats, literature inspired by a Greek sojourn.

This is an account on the literary Romanian diplomats sent to Athens ever since the beginning of the diplomatic relations between Romania and Greece¹. Looking at their personalities and writings of which some were inspired by their stay in Greece, this is meant to be a fresh new turn in the way we think about the history of Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations. Usually looked at through the events harboured by the missions, the personalities who are diplomatically vested are often forgotten or ignored.

The instance of the writers – diplomats is maybe more interesting than that of the professional diplomats as they are more vocal and record to a greater degree and in various ways the impressions left by their missions.

Dumitru Constantin Olănescu-Ascanio (1849–1908)

The first Romanian diplomat writer sent to Greece was Dumitru Constantin Olănescu-Ascanio. He studied in his home town Focșani, in Bucharest, in Iași as well as in Germany and France. He had a PhD in law and was employed as a prosecutor.

Close to prime minister Mihail Kogălniceanu, he entered the diplomatic corps as a secretary of the Romanian Legation of Istanbul. The ambassador was Dumitru Brătianu one of the Brătianu of the first generation, whom Olănescu

¹ See Florin Stan, Apostolos Patelakis, *140 de ani de la stabilirea relațiilor diplomatice româno-elene (1880–2020)* (140 years from the establishment of Greek-Romanian relationships), UER Press Editions, 2022.

admired and on whom he was to write later: “extremely honest and cherished by the Sultan more than any other ambassador”.

In 1878 Ollănescu was appointed first a director and then secretary general of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1886, he was chargé d'affaires in Vienna. On the 31st of January 1889 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Athens. His mission came after Constantin Esarcu's brilliant stage which assured a high quality to the Romanian-Greek relations.² Olănescu-Ascanio enjoyed a quiet kind of stay which allowed him to get on with his writing. In June 1892 he was joined for a short while by Duiliu Zamfirescu³ appointed as a second secretary of the Legation (he had held the same position in Rome). As the two were came from the same city, Focșani, they spent quality time together. Zamfirescu described his friend as “tânăr, frumos, fericit” (young, handsome, happy) and made him a muse for one of his characters in the novel *Lydda*.

Ollănescu retired from the diplomatic service for good in 1892, when the Greek government broke its relations with Romania because of the Zappa episode. Olănescu-Ascanio's reports published in the *Green Book on the Zappa incident* are an invaluable stuff.

He published poems, prose, plays, translations (he translated Horace, Catullus, Victor Hugo, François Coppée, Ivan Tourgheniev, Eduard Douwes Dekker (Multatuli)) articles and essays. His most enduring contributions were his short-stories of which „Fata spânzuratului” (The daughter of the man who hang himself) is the most interesting. The traces left by his Greek mission are to be found in *Burdumba*⁴ whose action takes place in what is today northern Greece (Lykovrissi a village in the vicinity of Dikelia) where young men of all the Balkan ethnicities become outlaws because of the persecutions by the Ottomans:

But from among them and above them all were Burdumba and N these children of freedom who lived by themselves-almost without any other law but their own free will-in the middle of a desert and savageness and for them the natural tendencies were just a guide for living; these fierce repellents of injustice and unloyalty-as they saw and reckoned them- they were indomitable and passionate fighters for the fame of power and manliness who so many times had faced death these men without a limit in good or evil; these pagans that just believed in what awed them and bewitched their senses.

The prose showcases the good knowledge Ollănescu had of the Greek folklore and traditions.

He found recognition and was received in 1893 in the Romanian Academy at the same time with the well-known German researcher of the Romanian language Gustav Weigand. He was a member of the Italian Multi-language Academy, of the Paris International Literary Society Paris, of the Romanian Geographical Society and of the Athens Literary Assembly.

² Florin Stan, Apostolos Patelakis, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³ See further in this text.

⁴ See Florin Berindeanu (ed.), *D.C. Ollănescu-Ascanio, Poezii, Teatru, Proză*, București, Editura Minerva, 1988, p. XVIII–XIX.

He ranged, as his editor thought⁵, among those writers “whose creation is not so much an achievement in itself but a necessary phase in the evolution of literature a half-way moment of resetting and reorganization of forces after a moment of a plenary manifestation of values and preparing, with punctiliousness and generosity the next one”. One of his plays was translated in Greek⁶ and his contribution on the Romanian theatre *Teatrul la Români* (the theatre of the Romanians) was mentioned in a history of the modern Greek theatre⁷.

Duiliu Zamfirescu

He was born in 1858 as the son of the tenant farmer Lascăr Zamfirescu and to Sultana (born Mincu) and was the nephew of an architect who ranges among the national treasures of Romania, Ion Mincu.

He was a student at the “Matei Basarab” high-school in Bucharest and read law at the Bucharest University graduating in 1880. He then produced a poem, *Levante și Kalavryta* in the manner of Byron dedicated to Kalavryta the first Greek town liberated from under the Ottomans. *Kalavryta weeps in the shadow. The Greek is laughing; he is mad*

In 1867 he was initiated in the free masonry „Steaua României”. He functioned as a prosecutor and a barrister.

His diplomatic career started in 1885 when he was hired by Ministry for Foreign Affairs after sitting in an assessment test.

In 1885 he authored a historical play *Thargelia of Milet* set in the time of the Atreides. In 1888 he was appointed Legation secretary in Rome where he was to stay until 1906. His position in Athens was short-lived (July-November 1892) then followed Brussels (1892–1894).

A first “effect” of his stay in Athens was a poem, *Pe Acropole* (On the Acropolis) written in 1893 in which he confesses his pessimism as to the Greek and Roman past:

...But the moon plunges on the vast peace of the sea...
The bridge is broken; the past is overthrown to the ground.
Pericles, Minerva depart... Without her, no matter what you do,
The Parthenon is but a vault of a tomb.

The poem was read in an open meeting in 1893 at the prestigious *Junimea* literary society. The famous literary critic Titu Maiorescu sent the author a letter⁸ in which he expressed his delight and Alexandru Odobescu remembered knowing it by heart.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. XXII.

⁶ I.e. *Κωμοδία μονόπρακτος*, translated by G. Moschakis, «Αττικό Μουσείο» Editions (*apud* Ciprian Suci, *Στα βήματα των Ρουμάνων συγγραφέων στην Ελλάδα* [Tracing the Romanian Writers in Greece], Thessaloniki, Antonios Stamoulis Editions, 2017, p. 259–260).

⁷ Γιώργης Ζωίδης, “Το θέατρο της Φιλικής Εταιρίας”, *Επιθεώρηση Τέχνης*, 100, 1963, p. 260–297 (*apud* Ciprian Suci, *Στα βήματα των Ρουμάνων συγγραφέων στην Ελλάδα*).

⁸ On March the 7/19 1893.

After spending 18 years in Italy as a chargé d'affaires in 1906, he went back to Romania and was employed as a general secretary in Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

His aim was to encompass in his work the two major tendencies of 19th century Romanian literature – “art for art’s sake” theorized by Titu Maiorescu and the “art with a message” advocated mainly by the Marxist literary critic Dobrogeanu-Gherea. In 1909, Zamfirescu was received in the Romanian Academy, and delivered a speech about the influence of a trend called *Poporanism* (the people’s trend) and of traditionalism in literature, showing his disapproval for both. A fragment of it read:

“I do not go as far as to state that the peasants’ soul is not at all interesting to literature; that would be, as to my mind all of nature is interesting. Despite this, the greatest critics and the greatest creators of human characters do not deal with simple souls, because they are as uneventful as insignificance itself.”

Zamfirescu opposed the use of folklore for direct inspiration, which made literary critic Titu Maiorescu, among others, defend folk literature and its supporters and reject Zamfirescu.

It was in the same 1909 that Zamfirescu was appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary and the Romanian Kingdom’s Envoy to the Danube Commission. His *Furfanțo* volume of short stories and his novel *Lydda* were both printed in 1911. He was discharged from his diplomatic post in 1913, at a time when Titu Maiorescu became prime-minister of a Conservative Party cabinet – this occurred after a Romanian Army officer reported statements made by Zamfirescu, which he alleged were unpatriotic. Reportedly, Maiorescu never gave Zamfirescu a chance to explain himself.

During WWI, as a consequence of the occupation of southern Romania by the Central Powers, Zamfirescu followed Romanian authorities in their refuge to Iași. In 1918 he became a founding member of the People’s Party, led by General Alexandru Averescu, and edited the paper of the movement, *Îndreptarea*. Under the second Averescu cabinet, Zamfirescu served as Foreign Minister in March–June 1920, and then as President of the Chamber of Deputies.

His novel *Lydda* is the first epistolary novel of the Romanian literature. It was written over a long period (1890–1898) and started as a theatrical play. It was somehow inspired by Paul Bourget’s *Le Disciple* (written in 1889 and one of prime-minister William Gladstone’s favourite books), and drew on the balance between existence and ideas. A widowed doctor lives on the reminiscences of his wife. He has an English daughter-in-law and after the death of his son he gradually discovers her. As a misogynist he is convinced that the young lady could not understand Plato whose *Symposium* he was reading to her. Gradually though he fell for her charming personality.

The novel has several descriptions of Greece of which we quote⁹:

In proportion as the coasts of the Peloponnese are green Megarida and Attica are arid. There is not a single blade of grass there.

We get into the restaurant. Surprise, surprise! An air from the times when the knyaz was in his prime, with table cloths stained with wine; with pilaf made with mutton, with peasants wearing the national costume, with evzonoi wearing fustaneles; with very civilized gentlemen; – a most intriguing mixture of things and people. The language, lively and here as in Patras, was crossing above the tables:

– Dos mas ten katálogon, bre!

– Paidí den éhomen kohliária!

– Ton logariasmon!

And I, as I did not know how to order, was punished by God with a mutton pilaf, that I will remember till the the end of my life.

When we regained the train, my travel fellow was tucking his moustache as a he-cat would do. One could tell that he had found something to his liking. I almost told him: hey was this the utel della Anglida? But, as I saw his satisfaction, I let him make his digestion.

We finally departed. After a few minutes we were crossing the canal. Here, the gentleman in the train would expect me fall face down. I would fall face down in admiration: provided I had a reason. I did have one, linked to the past, my thoughts went to the wall built by the Greeks during the Persian invasion in order to defend the Peloponnese against Xerxes; to the Islamic games celebrated in the temple of Neptune. To Caesar, Caligula and Neron, who had tried to dig the channel meant to unite the gulf of Corinth with the Saronic gulf- a channel the honourable general Türr was now about to put an end to. How strangely some names associate: Caesar, Caligula, Neron and Türr.

There is little I can say on the channel as such. An immense cut in the ground, seen from the train speed, heaps of sand, hurriedly built houses dryness again, once more the yellow dust of clay.

Making an entrance in Greece itself, the train left the Western coast of the Lepanto gulf and went to Eastern coast of the Aegina gulf, winding at times through the sea side and at times among rocky hills, on which the fir-tree grows. Here and there one can see the blue water, surrounded from all the sides by shores, as if they were Lake Como. One cannot realize how did the sea reach here. Had it not been so hot, the beauty of the place would be more attractive. For the first time I have the impression of a nature full of grace, as Taine saw it, in the glorious times of the past. I imagine that in winter the shores get green, and maybe then, from the depths of 2000 years, the echo of Pericles' people life reaches us.

Megara!

Written in the train timetable.

Where is Megara? Which Megara? That heap of houses built with clay?...

On the left, on a sunbathed coast, on which the wind has laid the sand of the dessert in the heat of summer a cluster of cabins hide. That was the capital of Megara, the rival of Athens, the first founder of Byzance!

Megara!...

Tears come to my eyes when I think of what it used to be and what I see now. My strongly optimistic nature is penetrated by the morphine of dire thoughts and I feel like lamenting with the poet:

E fieramente mi si stringe il core,

A pensar come tutto al mondo passa,

⁹ Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Opere I. Integrala romanelor*, ed. Ioan Adam, Georgeta Adam, Bucharest, Academia Română, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2015, p. 1037–1045.

*E quasi orma non lascia*¹⁰
 I turn my sight to the sea. Ahead! ... and evviva Roma! There everything stands like a beacon.

We are leaving. The gentleman in the train is silent. And rightly so.

Eleusis!

One cannot see anything. So much the better. The mysteries of Demeter's wandering, who was looking for her daughter Proserpine, stay a real mystery. It is quite strange how this Demeter never got to be Demeter, as it would be right. Is our Romanian saying "The mother of earth" anything in common with ghi-mitir¹¹? Or rather this concept, In the Romanian folklore has nothing to do with Cybelle, and is merely a local image, like the mother of forest?

The train is running. The clay gets upwards in enormous heaps. The dust is yellow, the field is yellow, the mountains are yellow.

We draw near Athens.

A strange unrest pervades me. Athens. I get crossed with my own self that I am hot and I am not enthusiastic enough. Here are the classical mountains. Which one could be Hymettus, which Parnassus, which Pentelic? Now the train runs in an opposite direction. I cannot understand anything. I get out on the waggon's platform and take my head out of the train's rail, for me to grasp where the station lies...

And...

Please God, free your servant, my eyes have seen the light of your face.

Against the translucent background of the blue sky, the Parthenon profiles its elegant lines, lift on the Akropolis, as if an unknown hand had gradually driven it into light.

Never until that moment something which had resulted of human fantasy had not moved me so profoundly.

The train made it into the station, a shanty wooden barrack, set in the middle of some sand. A good friend of mine of the Legation, young, handsome and happy, was waiting for me on the quay, and thus with the brilliant image of the Parthenon on my mind and with the full joy of seeing my friend again, I alighted from the waggon in the strident squeaks of the locomotive, at Máxima, which looked mad with happiness after reaching its destination.

My friend took me quickly to the coach and off we went to town.

Was I not happy! ... My good and joyful friend seemed more serene than ever; The Parthenon was standing in front of my eyes with all the brightness of his beauty; the couch in which we were flying was elegant. I had the clear understanding of the aesthetic intensity of the moment; youth in our hearts, elegance in our immediate life, the purest classicism in the surrounding contours.

But in that point any suggestion of the Greek antiquity came to a halt.

Today, as I remember the whole impression Athens left in my heart, I seem to understand even better the enthusiasm of my kind English woman: ranking with the esthetic emotions, seeing the Parthenon may have the same effect a major misfortune or an exaggerated happiness in the order of moral emotions, in the sense that it suddenly sets an opinion that nothing may darken in the whole rest of one's life.

Can one though live by an unique impression or a sole opinion? Of course not, and mainly not, for an optimist like myself, who believes that life is interesting; interesting just because variegated, because it is, just like nature of which it is part, for ever new.

Coming back to Athens – with the exception of the Akropolis, and the still standing three temples, the Parthenon, the Erechtheion and the Propylea; with the desolate ruins of Dionysus' theatre resting on its margins; with the temple of Theseus, short and dumped in the ground; with the elegant columns of Jupiter the Olympian's temple, which stand alone on the

¹⁰ A fragment from Giacomo Leopardi, *La sera del dì di festa*.

gloomy banks of classical Ilissus – the rest is the new town, in which there is no link between the present world and that world. The monuments of the past seem to have recessed far from the actual life, clad in the gloomy clothes of time. In the dry field of Jupiter's temple, a fallen column has spread its marble tambours the one alongside the other, like round pieces of ivory on a chess table. No one dares touch them for fear they suddenly turn into dust.

Here are, in a haste, impressions from Greece and from Athens and Attica.

Teodor Scorțescu (1893 –?)

He was born in Iași as the son of Alecu and Paulina. He read law in Iași and started his diplomatic career in October 1921, as an attaché in the Romanian Legation of Istanbul, whence in 1922 he was transferred to the Athens legation. In 1923 he was recalled to the central Ministry for Foreign Affairs, where he functioned up to 1928. He was afterwards appointed in Ankara (1928), Helsinki and Riga (1930–1936), Prague (1937), Bern (1939), Vatican (1940). In 1942 he was general consul in Istanbul. In 1930 he married in Vienna princess Livia Borghese.

In 1944, while he was chargé d'affaires ad-interim by the Italian government he was recalled in Romania. He ignored the recall and in 1946 was demitted for insubordination after which he lived in Sicily, and after 1950 emigrated to Argentina.

He was a poet, with a début in 1914, a prose writer and a playwright.

His mission in Athens prompted his novel *Popi*, published in the periodical „Viața românească” in 1929 and as a separate book in 1930. Here is its plot summary:

A young Romanian is being sent to Athens on a banking mission in the very moment when the Gounaris government was stepping down and Greece was torn between the followers of King Constantine and those of Venizelos. He meets Popi, a young divorcee, a royalist, who often confronts her own family where there are followers of the prime-minister Venizelos. The Romanian banker is chaperoned by Spyros, a waiter by trade, very gifted in many ways among which a beautiful musical voice Popi accepts the Romanian man's court, but, would like to receive musical tokens. As he lacks any musical talent, the man hires Spyros who falls for Popi and keeps it a secret. His love is almost reciprocated but the Romanian can find an Achilles heel. Spyros was a supporter of Venizelos and the Romanian sets up a scene in which he accuses Spiros to be a royalist. The Greek man protested – Me a royalist? ... Long live Venizelos! The whole of Greece are on his side!” Popi, a devout royalist, was disgusted by Spyros' political convictions and fell in the arms of the Romanian lover.

Antoine Bibescu (1878–1953)

In between here we must notice an absence, i.e. that of Antoine Bibescu (born 1878). His début as a diplomat as counsellor of the Romanian legations in Paris and Sankt Petersburg. By 1914 Antoine was appointed First Secretary of the

Romanian Legation in London. In 1919 he married Elisabeth Bibescu, one of the daughters of former British prime-minister Herbert Asquith. Soon afterwards he was appointed minister to Washington D.C. (1920–1926) as Minister of the Romanian Legation and in Madrid (1927–1931). In 1926 he was appointed to Athens only that he refused the position promising he would take it later. Himself a writer, mainly a playwright, he became famous for his friendship with Marcel Proust whom he allegedly told into becoming a writer¹² as well as with Mihail Sebastian the famous Romanian playwright who wrote at least one of his plays (*Steaua fără nume*) at Bibescu's domain at Corcova in the Dolj county .

Eugen Filotti (1896–1975).

He was the son of Nicolae Filotti a military pharmacist and Aurelia, daughter to a famous Jewish doctor, Joseph Felix. Filotti was a diplomat, journalist and literary translator. Between 1906 and 1914 he was a student of the “Gheorghe Lazăr” High School in Bucharest. In 1913, he began work in press where he was covering foreign news. In 1914, for two years he took up pharmacy at the University of Medicine. With Romania's entering WWI in 1916, he interrupted his studies and was employed as a military pharmacist. After WWI he renounced his pharmacy studies and read law at the University of Bucharest and graduated in 1922.

He spent another few years in the press producing articles and essays for the important periodicals *Adevărul* and mainly for the *Cuvântul liber* which among others supported the Romanian avant-garde. In opposition with the leftist radicals, who had an eye for the soviet experiment the important intellectuals of the *Cuvântul liber* envisaged an ideal place of Romania among the European nations. Filotti was a voice:

“Under the helmet of orthodoxy and that of tradition some authors brandish the static ideal frozen in hieratic Byzantine-Moskowite forms of a primitive culture, without an evolution and without any horizon. Our own cultural ideal is dynamical, earning for multiplication, novelty, fecundity. Not in hanging to a sterile and in many respects imaginary tradition not in pursuing the local character ... do we see the purpose of our generation's unrest ... The cultural significance we mean to promote is European. Our light comes from the West.

In rendering this country more Western ... do we see the salvation... If it were to be a statement, we cannot only see an active and productive one: affirming our genius and our specific way of being in European cultural forms... For us there is no contradiction and no, incompatibility between the European and the Romanian character. Our sole sacred wish is to harmonize the Romanian character with the rhythm of contemporary life... This life... we ask it detached of rustic Balkanism, Asian character, archaism and simplism which unfolds its existence between the church yard and the local tavern...

We hold a better opinion about our people than all the traditionalists taken together and that is the reason why we wish to see it making at last an entrance in Europe. There are

¹² See Marthe Bibesco *Au bal avec Marcel Proust*, Paris, 1929. and Mihai Dimitrie Sturza, *Aristocrați români în lumea lui Proust* (Antoine Bibescu, Martha Bibescu, Anna de Noailles, Elene Bibescu), Humanitas Editions, Bucharest, 2016.

*ever since the Atlantic up to our borders, many nations which succeeded to be European without losing anything of their specific ethnical spirit. Why would there be need of a irrelevant and useless isolation?*¹³

Starting 1927 he was employed by the Romanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He was press attaché in Prague (1927–1930) then a Press Director in the Ministry, minister plenipotentiary in Turkey (1935–1936), in Greece (1934–1936), Bulgaria (1936–1938), and Hungary (1940–1944). During his difficult mission in Budapest where the Holocaust was in full swing he issued transit visas for the Jews. He was secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1944–1945. Afterwards he was forced to retire and focused mainly on literary translations some of which were outstanding. He translated William M. Thackeray, (*Henry Esmond*), Richard Petzoldt, (*Richard Strauss's life, Haendel's life*) – A.J. Cronin, (*Shannon's Way, The Citadel*), Mihail V. Alpatov, (*Art History*, vol. 2), Kenneth Clark, (*The Art of the Landscape*), Charles Sterling, (*Still-life Painting: From Antiquity to the Present*), Fritz Martini, (*The History of German Literature*), Georg Lukacs, (*The Aesthetics*, vol. I), Wilhelm von Bode (*Die Meister der holländischen und vlämischen Malerschulen*), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, (*Elective Affinities*, (re-published till 2001) and *The Sorrows of Young Werther*), Dominique Sourdrel, Janine Thomine, (*The Civilization of Classic Islam* (I–II).

Constantin Gane (1885–1952)

He was born in Botoșani and died in 1962, in the prison of Aiud as a political prisoner.

Constantin Gane was a member of one of the oldest Romanian families who came from Maramureș to Moldavia alongside a prince called Bogdan in the 14th cent. He read law in Germany, where he got a PhD in Rostock. Back in Romania in 1910 he was for 15 years a barrister in Botoșani in northern Moldavia and in Bucharest. In 1913 he was a volunteer in the military campaign in Bulgaria, and afterwards in the 1916–1918 war.

He became and stays famous thanks to a pioneering work beautifully written as it concerned the biographies of many Romanian princesses, namely *Trecute vieți de doamne and domnițe* (The past lives of young and older princesses) (vol. I was awarded a prize by the Romanian Academy).

In 1940 and 1941 before the relations were interrupted between Romania and Greece he was the Romanian ambassador in Athens.

Written way before (i.e. in 1926) his mission in Greece was the prose *Intamplarea cea mare* (The big event), a travel account. Much indebted to reality and every day life Gane produced memorable descriptions with a comic proclivity of monuments of the antiquity or on classic education. The text hints subtly to the

¹³ Eugen Filotti – “Europeism sau românism” in *Cuvântul liber*, 2nd series, no. 1, p. 2–4 and no. 2, p. 18–19.

so-called Vlach issue by the presence of the guide called Celea, a typical name of that community of which we can say that has lacked and still lacks an established and homogenous ethnic and homogenous identity because of the high degree of mobility which is characteristic for it¹⁴ and as it has been stressed because of its being remote from Romania with which it shares the language.

Why should you be in Athens sir? I am travelling there for our cause, but you, what are you looking for there?

I am going, is my reply, for the other cause. The cause the our minds were imbued in school with old stories that, ooch, as one is a stupid child at that age, they penetrate your mind and would not consider leaving.

– Clasicism, really?... Do you know what you are going to see? Stones!

– Most probably ... only they are white. White by the light of the sun in Attica, white out of the dazzling white which has erupted through the centuries from the Hellenic genius.¹⁵

My heart is beating... and I really do not know whether its beating or the proximity which dissipated the fog. I start construing forms... God! Could one see it from here? As if it were ... God, god!... blue from so much blood suddenly twitching in temples, I snatch Celea's arm and ask him in a faint voice...

There ... at the foot of the Lycabetus... something is luring...!

I do not dare say the word, I kind of fear a profanation, and he hits my cheek with it.

– The Acropolis.

– Itself!....

– You don't mind in the least, do you, Mr. Celea?...

– I mind human pain. The stones have no heart.

– They have in fact Mr. Celea! The heart of those who carved them. The sight of those who looked at them. Hidden in their pores are griefs, joys, endeavours. Or the common soul of a people!... As for these, they hold a part of each of them. The civilized humankind wrought itself a soul from the hearts of the Athens stones!

– Ba-ba went the sheep.¹⁶

Francisc Păcurariu (1924–2004)

He was son to Efrim Păcurariu and Maria (born Szabo).

He was a student of the high-school „G. Barițiu” in Cluj and then read medicine in the there University. He stayed in Cluj during the Hungarian occupation of 1940–1944 as a medical student, did graduate but never took a medical practice licence. In 1948 he joined the diplomatic corpse and between (1948–1952) his was a councilor at the Romanian Legation in Belgrade.

Between 1952–1956 he was deputy director then director of the Press Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. At the same time he was a lecturer at the Chair of Romanian and Universal Literature at the Institute for International Relations. Păcurariu was councilor at the Romanian Embassy in Budapest between 1956–1958 i.e. during the Hungarian anti-communist uprising of which he left

¹⁴ See Peter Mackridge, Eleni Yannakakis, *Contemporary Greek Fiction in a United Europe*, Legenda, European Humanities Research Centre University of Oxford, 2004, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Întâmplarea cea mare*, p. 152.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

some impressive reminiscences and in Rome between 1958 and 1959. In the interval 1959–1963 he was extraordinary envoy and plenipotentiary ambassador to Argentina. In that capacity he was a deputy member of the Romanian delegation for the jubilee session of UN in 1960. The mission was an occasion to author an impressive series dedicated to South America and its different literatures namely “Introducere în literatura Americii latine”¹⁷ (1965), “Schیțe pentru un portret al Americii latine”¹⁸ (1966), “Scriitori latino-americani”¹⁹ (1966), “Nepoții șarpelui cu pene”²⁰ (1967), “Profiluri hispano-americane contemporane”²¹ (1968), “Individualitatea literaturii latino-americane”²² (1973), “Antologia literaturii pre-columbiene”²³ (1973). Director of the Press Direction in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1963–1968); Romanian ambassador in Athens and Nicosia (1969–1973), then director for Culture and Press in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Păcurariu was Secretary of the Romanian national committee for the UNESCO. He retired in 1975.

As a student in occupied Transylvania Păcurariu was an editor at *Tribuna Ardealului* (1940–1944), then at the *Înfrățirea* in Târgu Mureș, (1944–1945) then he was an editor for the Transylvania section of *România Liberă* (1945–1946). He was also an editor of the *Lupta Ardealului* issued anew in liberated Cluj (1946–1947).

His debut in poetry was in 1938, in *Luceafărul*, a periodical of the high school he was attending in Cluj. His editorial debut in poetry was in an anthology i.e. Gh. Dăncuș, *Versuri din Transilvania Nordică* (Poetry from Northern Transylvania) (1941). In 1944 the copies of his volume were destroyed during a fascist Hungarian action. He was to publish poetry again much later *Priveliștile lumii* (The Sights of the World) (1967), *Ochean simplu* (Simple Field Glass) (1972), *Răzvrătirea desenatorului de cercuri* (The Revolt of the Circle Designer) (1974) and *Solstițiu de iarnă* (Winter Solstice) (1977). A retrospective of his entire poetical work was *Omul bântuit de cuvinte* (The man haunted by the words) (1980).

His prose debut was in 1957 then followed a series of novels of which one was called “Ultima călătorie a lui Ulise” (Ulysses’ Last Passage) (1976) a crime prose in which the Greek title had no immediate relevance but an ironical one. A criminal was caught and he was walking free for a last time.

In 1988 he published a historical monograph *Românii și maghiarii de-a lungul veacurilor: paralelisme, interferențe, convergențe și contradicții în cursul istoriei*²⁴

¹⁷ In translation: An introduction to the literature of Latin America.

¹⁸ (Sketches for a portrait of Latin America).

¹⁹ (Latin American writers).

²⁰ (The grand-children of the feathered serpent).

²¹ Contemporary Hispanic American Profiles.

²² The individuality of the Latin American Literature.

²³ (The Anthology of pre-Columbian literature).

²⁴ (The Romanians and the Magyars in centuries; parallel ways, interferences, convergences and contradictions along history) published by *Minerva* Editions, Bucharest, 1988.

Ion Brad (1929–2019)

Born in Pănade, Sâncel, the county of Alba, son to Traian and Cornelia Brad, Ion Brad was a poet, an essay writer, novelist, memorialist and translator. His early poetry (1950–1960), was marked by socialist realism only to become afterwards a neoclassical poetry written in the Romanian Transylvanian tradition.

He graduated from the „Sfântul Vasile cel Mare” high school in Blaj. He read Romanian philology in the University of Cluj-Napoca between 1948–1952. After functioning in Cluj for a few years as a secretary of the Romanian Writers’ Union in 1955 he moved to Bucharest as an editor-in-chief of a periodical for children, *Cravata roșie*. In 1958 he became editor of the literary periodical *Luceafărul*. In 1961–1963 he was secretary of the Romanian Writers’ Union. Between 1969–1974 he was vice-minister for culture. In 1974 he was appointed ambassador to Greece where he witnessed the re-establishment of democracy. His was a long and fruitful such mission, a good occasion of meeting the Greek literary community and translate from their works²⁵ His works were also translated into Greek²⁶. It was also an occasion to visit Mount Athos which inspired his novel *Muntele Catârilor* published in 1980.

Between 1965–1989 he was a member of the then Romanian Parliament for the district of Bucovina. Between 1984–1990 he was the director of the “Nottara” theatre in Bucharest.

After retiring in 1990 he focused mainly on his memoirs of which six volumes [*Secvențele începutului* (The Sequences of the Beginning), 2001, *Avatarurile democrației* (The Adventure of Democracy), 2002, *Elogiul nechibzuinței* (Homage to senselessness) 2003, *În umbra zeilor* (In the Shadow of the Gods) 2003, *Zonă de cutremure* (Earthquakes Zone), 2004, *Final cu prelungiri*, (Ending with extensions) 2005, were dedicated to his mission in Greece. A precis was published in Greece as *Μυστικές συναντήσεις στην Ελλάδα*²⁷]. The rest was dedicated to the people and circumstances his generation of writers went through in communism.

²⁵ See his *Melancolia Egeei, Poeți greci contemporani* (Contemporary Greek Poets), Selection, translation, preface and introductions by Ion Brad, Univers Editions, Bucharest, 1987, 252 p. The poets translated in the anthology are Manolis Anagnostakis, Kostas Asimakopoulos, Evangelos Averof-Tossizza, Rita Boumi-Pappas, Maria Karaïanni, Dimitris Doukaris, Odyseas Elytis, Anestis Evangelou, Milli Gregou, Lia Hatzopoulos-Karavia, Panayotis Kanellopoulos, Maria Kendrou-Agatopoulou, Dimosthenis Kokkinos, Iannis Koutsoheras, Nikos Kranidiotis, Constantin Lotris, Menelaos Loudemis, Pandelis Prevelakis, Dimos Rendis-Ravanis, Iannis Ritsos, Ilias Simolpoulos, Manos Spyridakis, Mihail Stasinopoulos, Lidia Stefanou, Constantinos Trypanis. Constantin Tsatsos, Ioana Tsatsos, Panayotis Tsoutakos, Leandros Vranoussis, Nikiforos Vrettakos, Lamros Zogas.

²⁶ *Πόρινα άλογα*, translation and preface Menelaos Loudemis, “Dorikos” Editions, 1975, *Ποήματα*, preface by Konstantinos Tsatsos, translations by, 21 translators, Krinos Editions, Athens, 1982 with a review by G.D. Hourmouziades, «Επικαιρότητες. Ανθολογία Ion Brad», in the prestigious *Νέα Εστία*, tome 1.332, p. 55.

²⁷ Editions Epikentro, Salonica, 2007.

His prose was dedicated to the convulsions caused by communism to different social and religious categories and communities of the Romanian society such as the peasants (*Descoperirea familiei* (Discovering one's family), 1964 and *Ultimul drum* (The last journey) 1973 or the Greek catholic priests that had to either declare themselves Orthodox or give up priesthood (*Raiul răspopiților* (The Paradise of the former priests), 1978).

His lyricism was imbued by a bias to Greek mythology ever since the 60^{ies}. If we are to think of the way in which the Greek myths were instrumentalized let us remember that in the tragedies they were used to challenge violent rage and in encouraging values and abilities essential to rational, and compassionate relationships²⁸. Ion Brad's approach is of a familiarity with this universe which can get the poet as far as identifying himself with a certain deity as is the complicate *Polyphemus*:

*I confront the night which is nevertheless coming
Like a dark forest of destinies
A lonely time pervades me
Advancing embalmed nobody knows whence
A silence of unrest that digs
In my body a cradle or a grave...
I am all eyes of leaves and fear
Myself the blind Polyphemus (Polyphemus)*

The appropriation may touch a well-known ancient Greek site as is the Castalia spring:

*Are you delved in a mountain or in my ribs?
Do you purify me of demons and noxes
Or just of myself?
Are these just tears or simply stars
In my weeping?*

Or a temple:

*With old tears I welcome you.
Laughing is not like me.
I am the scoundred temple which rejects
The last beloved priest.
From now on it is the just the width which sings
From the white marbles chips. (With old tears)*

Familiarity with the ancient world reminds the Cristian God:

*Merciless Zeus is sending
The curse of old age.
I am trembling. I fear
Did he look in our eyes? (De senectute)*

²⁸ See Emily Katz Anhalt, *Enraged, why violent times need ancient Greek myths*, Yale University press 2017, p. 3.

All in all the poet feels part of the ancient world:

*Beautiful songs! And plays! And retinue!
When the gods were testing us
A youth in which you were blooming
And I was still descending from heaven
All young people are now trees
Looking north and calling their elfs
But me I am heading with my eyes
Like the bronze charioteer of Delphi. (Auriga)*

Eugen Uricariu (born in 1946 in Buhuși northern Moldavia).

A graduate of the “King Ferdinand” high School in Bacău. He then followed a military school, “Ștefan cel Mare” in Câmpulung Moldovenesc and passed his baccalauréat in 1964. He read literature at the “Babeș-Bolyai” University in Cluj-Napoca and graduated in 1974.

He was among the founders of the prestigious literary periodical as quite anti-establishment *Echinox* and was its first editor-in-chief.

His début was in 1974 with a prose, *Despre purpură*, with a second title “fantastical prose”. Between 1971–1989 he was an editor of the literary periodicals *Ateneu* based in Bacău and *Steaua* based in Cluj.

In 1990 he moved to Bucharest, where he was deputy editor-in-chief of the literary periodical *Luceafărul*.

In 1992 he was appointed cultural attaché of the Romanian embassy in Athens. The mission was short-lived.

In 1992 he was appointed to Rome, as a deputy of the Accademia di Romania, in 2003 State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The fragment chosen from his prose is telling for his take on prose and the role of prose-writing in society:

“Miss Sofie, there is such a close link between me and this war, that I have to assume it, I suppose this is the word, isn’t it?, overtly: because of it I have no choice, it has no other choice because of me. As I exist, alike me so many other millions, tens, hundreds of millions, the war is happening, miss. It is being made because we the humans exist. We are superior animals, obviously. I am studying, do you understand; I have studied and go on studying animals. The animals of the same species do not kill each other, they oust each other, they accept the victors, but do not kill each other. Apparently our superiority had as a start the moment when we conscientiously went over this, how should I put it, this psychological threshold – the interdiction of crime. They do not understand that it is allowed, we do. And, for me not to be killed, I take part in the war on the side of my flock. Does my answer satisfy you ?”

Caius Traian Dragomir (born 1948)

Son of Polixenia (née Negreanu), and Coriolan Dragomir, a veterinarian. He attended the “Radu Greceanu” high school in Slatina, graduating in 1956, and read

medicine at the Bucharest University of Medicine between 1957 and 1963. He functioned as a medical doctor and a researcher. He was head of the laboratory at the “Victor Babeş” Institute in Bucharest (1971–1989) and afterwards a director. He was also general director of the Institute for Geriatrics “Ana Aslan” as well as a professor of biopsychology at the “Carol Davila” University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Bucharest (1995–1997). In 1971, he got a PhD in Medical Sciences.

Between 1985 and 1987, he received a Fulbright scholarship to study the philosophy of science at the North Carolina University in the US. In 1998, he was elected a member of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

After 1990 he was involved in an intense political and public activity: secretary of state, head of the Department of Public Information of the Romanian Government (1991–1992), independent candidate for the presidency of Romania (1992), ambassador of Romania to France (1994–1997). Between 2001–2004 he was an ambassador in the Hellenic Republic.

His début in poetry was in 1981 with a volume *The Intimacy of the verb* most telling for his lyric personality and his favourite themes, which roughly speaking are the great themes of philosophy.

His debut in prose, a poetic such prose was *Treatise on the technique of renunciation* (1982).

His five volumes of essays (1992–1997), entitled *The Psychology of Freedom* and the *Psychology of Slavery*, *The Current Political Transition*, *The Indiscriminate Body and Spirit*, *Joseph and Ruben* highlight Dragomir’s perspective, i.e. integrative and encyclopaedic blending psychoanalysis, Platonism and the consciousness of evolution, degradation and the division of human identity by the various cultures always suggesting constructive ways of interacting as a tentative therapy.

A fragment from a poetical prose is significant for the way in which ancient Greek myths are re-considered or internalized.

It would have seemed that he wanted to bring her from thence.

Make her cherish the here, in his own world, her whole being, rejoice the fact that she is alive, co-present to this world.

Did not stand true.

His world was her.

He had wanted to meet her. Where he could see her again was his motherland. Motherland is always one person. Maybe two or three. To the most five – six persons. Or maybe not persons but the surroundings of their close nature. And these specific persons through their apostle-like light lumina on all those they call compatriots.

– You, beloved compatriot of mine, the compatriot of my only love!

Euridice had made her way on he further side.

They gave her back to him with no difficulty.

The dim king did not seem dim in the least. He had the light smile of the connoisseur, but leaves the other learn by himself. A real god:

– Is it worth ?

She followed him to the extent they could speak alone to the extent she could identify the actual identity.... (Orfeu in Infern).

Grete Tartler (born in 1948)

A graduate of the Department for Oriental Languages of the Bucharest University and of the Violin Department of the Conservatory „Ciprian Porumbescu”. Has a PhD in philosophy with as a theme “The Utopia of estrangement in the Islamic Middle Ages”²⁹. She was employed by the Romanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs from 1992 to 2008. Cultural attaché and first secretary in Vienna (1992–1995), worked in 1996 for the Cultural Department of Ministry for Foreign Affairs, was an ambassador in Copenhagen and Reykjavik (1997–2001), finally plenipotentiary minister in Athens (2002–2006).

One of her poems is an eloquent self – portrait in which the Greek experience proper or the Greek part of her vast culture can be retraced:

*I could be using ancient Arabic words,
or Persian, or words of the sensual Homeric Greek,
or fragments of Egyptian blue glass German porcelain,
or the Latin snow flakes of Mount Soracte,
fragments of English bricks, Danish oars,
or Charlemagne's velvet coat;
all these are no pretension, I accrued them
in conformity with the sound, colour and form,
I have learnt them a lifelong,
most of them I have used (in dialogues,
monologues – makes no difference).
I am disclosing them... (Parlando)*

If the above was a good opportunity for perusals than what would their ultimate sense be? The image of Greece pervading the quotations we have chosen is telling for an admiration of its classical past (Duiliu Zamfirescu, Nicolae Gane, Ion Brad, Caius Traian Dragomir) and the beauty of its landscape. Vigil eyes do not miss a reality near from home. So Turkish remnants (the outlaws in Ollănescu's prose and the impressions of the Greek ports in Duiliu Zamfirescu) and the lasting problem of the minorities of which the Vlachs were a sensitive point in the Romanian Greek relations (as suggested by Nicolae Gane and the semi-fictional character Celea). The dilemma of following the (Byzantine) tradition or go for the more prestigious cultural trends of Western Europe for the Romanian culture to become more world conspicuous is yet another theme linked to the diplomats we have traced (see Filotti). Last but not least was a concern for the preservation of popular culture which was an important problem for the writers of the last decades of the 19th cent. only to become a topos in Romanian literature (Ollănescu was a connoisseur of folklore, Zamfirescu kind of despised it).

Ranging from the late 19th cent. (Ollănescu-Ascanio) up to the beginning of the 21st cent. (Caius Traian Dragomir, Eugen Uricariu, Grete Tartler) taking aboard

²⁹ Published under the title *Înțeleptul singuratic*, Humanitas Editions, Bucharest, 2006.

a major novelist (Duiliu Zamfirescu), a Romanian born and living mostly abroad diplomat and writer (Antoine Bibescu), a novelist that was forgotten for a long time (Theodor Scorțescu), an important journalist and translator (Eugen Filotti), an author famous for one book (Nicolae Gane), a neo-classicist poet with a debut in the '50^{ies} (Ion Brad), a prolific novelist, poet and historian (Francisc Păcurariu) the cast we have examined have enabled we hope a more nuanced and reflective history of the Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations (which were quite good although interrupted thrice in the course of their history, i.e. in 1892, 1906³⁰ and 1940–1945) considering the intellectual and artistic configuration as well as the achievements of the protagonists.

³⁰ See Ionuț Nistor “Problema aromână și cauzele ruperii relațiilor româno-elene”, *Analele Asociației naționale a Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova*, nr. 8, Chișinău, 2008.

ASPECTS OF GREEK-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN THE TROUBLED YEARS 1933–1948

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This study explores the evolution of Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations from 1933 to 1948, a period marked by regional instability, shifting alliances, and minority issues. Despite early cooperation through inter-Balkan initiatives and economic agreements, tensions arose over the Aromanian (Vlach) minority in Greece. The authoritarian regimes of Metaxas in Greece and Carol II in Romania deepened political and ethnic divisions. During WWII, Romania's alliance with the Axis and Greece's occupation strained ties further, with arrests and deportations of romanised Vlachs heightening diplomatic rifts. Post-war efforts to restore relations failed amid the Cold War's onset, culminating in Romania's protest against Greece's treatment of its Vlach minority. The article highlights the fragility of regional alliances under nationalist and totalitarian pressures.

Keywords: Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations, Metaxas, Carol II, Vlachs.

On the occasion of the 140th anniversary (1880–2020) since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece and Romania, the study concerns an overview of bilateral diplomatic relations from 1933 to 1948.

Starting from 1933, aim of the Greek and Romanian government was to maintain a positive atmosphere, resulting in the signing of a non-aggression and arbitration Pact on March 21st, 1928¹ and an agreement in August 1931², which recognised the Greek communities of Romania as legal entities.

Both governments sought to play a pivotal role in establishing peace throughout southeastern Europe. In the context of a wider inter-balkan cooperation, the 1st Balkan Conference was held in Athens in 1930, the 3rd Balkan Conference in Bucharest two years later and the last in Thessaloniki in November 1933.³ Moreover, after the signing of the Balkan Entente (Balkan Pact) on February 9th, 1934, the commercial relations between Greece and Romania made significant progress.

¹ Sp. Sfetas, *Introduction to Balkan History. From Interwar to the End of the Cold War (1919–1989)*, vol. II. Thessaloniki, Vaniat, 2011, p. 199; B. Kollaros, *The minority policy of Eleftherios Venizelos*, PhD thesis, Athens, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, 2015, p. 342, 343.

² M. Petre, “Școlile românești din Grecia și cele elene din România în perioada 1918–1946”, *Revista Arhivelor*, LXXX, no. 1–2, 2003, p. 286.

³ Fl. Stan & Ap. Patelakis, *140 de ani de la stabilirea relațiilor diplomatice româno-elene (1880–2020)*, București, UER Press, 2020, p. 33–36.

The factor that at times complicated the foreign policy of both countries was the Aromanian Question. The group of Aromanians / Vlachs of Greece were divided into graecoman and romanised Vlachs. The graecoman Vlachs received Greek education and were loyal to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople; On the other hand, the romanised Vlachs were influenced by the Romanian national movement, received Romanian education and supported the foundation of Romanian schools and churches in the Balkans.⁴

The Aromanian Question was for many decades a matter of diplomatic exchange.⁵ For Greece, the legal basis for the educational and church autonomy of the romanised Vlachs was the correspondence between Venizelos and Maiorescu, which was attached to the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913. Aiming for the strengthening of relations between Greece and Romania and the concurrent diplomatic isolation of Bulgaria, Venizelos accepted the concession for an expanded autonomy of the romanised Vlachs of Greece and was bound to the written agreement. At that time, Venizelos needed the support of the Romanian government regarding issues such as the incorporation of Kavala, Northern Epirus and the Aegean islands by the Greek state,⁶ since that March of 1913 Romania had opposed the incorporation of Northern Epirus by the Greek state.⁷

Thus, despite the friendly relations between the two countries, after the imposition of the 4th of August regime (Metaxas' regime) in 1936 and the measures taken by Ioannis Metaxas concerning the non Greek-speaking populations of Greece, the Romanian government raised formal objections. This new approach considered the terms of the Treaties on the education autonomy of the romanised Vlachs to be violated.⁸

In particular, in the context of the ideology of defensive nationalism that prevailed with the Metaxas' regime, Greek supremacy was projected over any ethnic, linguistic or religious minority. Among the measures imposed by Metaxas' regime was the prohibition of the use of all foreign idioms and languages. Despite the fact that the Metaxas' regime did not ignore the Greek national consciousness of the vast majority of the Vlachs, however the public use of the Vlach language was prohibited

⁴ Sofia Iliadou-Tachou & Domna Michael, 'Identity's Configuration during the era of Nationalism. The case of the Pelagonian Vlachs', in *The Proceedings of the 30th Panhellenic Conference of History*, ed. Foteini Toloydi, Thessaloniki, Greek Historical Society, 2010, p. 153–169.

⁵ Vasilios Kollaros, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 141–142.

⁶ V. Vlasidis, "Consequences of the Demographic and Social Re-arrangements on the Vlach-speaking element in Greek Macedonia (1923–1926)", *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* 36, 1998, p. 156.

⁷ Chr. Vittos, *National Division and French Occupation (1915–1920)*, Thessaloniki, Olympos, 2008, p. 427.

⁸ L. Divani, *Greece and Minorities. The System of International Protection of the League of Nations*, Athens, Kastaniotis, 1999, p. 116; L. Divani, "The stillborn Principality of Pindus: Why the Koutsovlachs of Greece did not respond to the Italo-Romanian propaganda", in *Macedonia and Thrace (1941–1944). Occupation-Resistance-Liberation*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1998, p. 200.

under the penalty of fines, imprisonment and deportation.⁹ Thus, based on the no. 12.277/1936 command of the General Administrator of Macedonia, arrests had been made for public use of the Vlach language, while pressure had been exerted on families because of their children's attendance at Romanian schools.

The response of the political leadership of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Romanian government's formal objections concerning the violations of the treaties was that the measures did not affect the Vlachs.¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that due to the Greco-Romanian economic relations and in contrast to the harness of the imposed measures against the Slav-speaking population of Greece, the measures did not affect the orderly operation of Romanian schools. Metaxas himself had sent a letter to the General Governor of Epirus region after a Romanian school principal was fined for speaking Vlach in public. In his letter, Metaxas recalled the existence of international treaties, recommending that the spread of the Greek language should be done by raising the national sentiment and not by threatening.

At the same time, after the return of King Carol II in Romania, the Romanian political parties had also been marginalised and Carol II had the absolute sovereignty.¹¹ Governments alternated, while Karol II tolerated the action of the Iron Guard under Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. Among the most ardent supporters of this fascist organization were the Macedo-Romanian Associations and many romanised Vlachs of Greece,¹² for whom the Greek Ambassador in Bucharest, K. Kollas recommended that the Greek government keep them under surveillance for public safety reasons.

Some years later, on February 1937, King Carol II of Romania issued a Royal Decree establishing a new consular office in Pireus for further strengthening the commercial relations of the two countries. In 1939 the upgrading of diplomatic relations led to the establishment of a first class Romanian Embassy in Athens. The first Romanian Ambassador in Greece was Radu Djuvara.¹³

At that time, the common feature was that in both countries parliamentarism had been sidelined. For Greece, since August 4th, 1936 with Metaxas' regime. For Romania, since February 10th, 1938 with the royal dictatorship of Carol II and the extermination of his political competitors, the leaders of Iron Guard. They were arrested on charges of treason, sentenced to ten years in prison and executed while being transferred to another prison.

In 1939 Metaxas visited Bucharest at the Conference of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Pact, where both leaders of Greece and Romania expressed

⁹ S. Iliadou-Tachou, A. Andreou & A. Tanampasi, 'The Romanian schools in Macedonia (1939–1949)', in *Proceedings of the 31th Panhellenic Historical Conference*, ed. Foteini Toloudi, Thessaloniki, Greek Historical Society, 2011, p. 259.

¹⁰ Divani, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 116–118; Divani, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 201.

¹¹ Sfetas, *op. cit.*, p. 181–188; Divani, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 202; Divani, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 119.

¹² Divani, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 121; Divani, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 204.

¹³ Stan & Patelakis, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

their strong opposition to the Bulgarian expansionist plans in southern Dobruja, Macedonia and western Thrace.¹⁴

After the declaration of World War II, the member states of the Balkan Pact preferred neutrality to involvement, something that they expressed at the Conference of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Pact in Belgrade in February 1940. However, after the Greco-Italian War was declared, not only the delicate Balkan balance changed, but also the diplomatic relations of Greece and Romania.

At the same period, King Carol II of Romania had been forced to leave the country and on September 14th, 1940 Marshal Antonescu came to power bringing the Iron Guard into government.¹⁵ Ion Antonescu declared a military dictatorship with Horia Sima, who was head of the Iron Guard after Codreanu's assassination, as vice president of the new government. Subsequently, after the declaration of Greco-Italian War, the national – legionary state of Romania sided with Mussolini raising the issue of minorities to the Greek government.¹⁶ On November 23rd, 1940 Antonescu signed the Tripartite Pact and Romania became an ally to the Axis powers.

In November 1940, immediately after the declaration of Greco-Italian War, Metaxas' regime decided to make many arrests, many of whom were students and teaching staff of the Romanian schools. They were accused of anti-national and conspiratorial action, an accusation that caused the intense dissatisfaction of the Vlach population in its majority. While members of the same families were fighting for Greece, others were being arrested and deported as "internal enemies".¹⁷

The Romanian government, assuming the role of the protector of the exiled romanised Vlachs, immediately denounced the Greek actions as dangerous through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mikhail Antonescu, and the Romanian Embassy of Athens.¹⁸ These statements aimed at internationalising the issue by also presenting its educational dimensions. The Romanian Ambassador of Athens, Constantine Gane, later visited the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, N. Mavroudis, who assured him about the safety of the exiled emphasizing that he would not accept any intervention¹⁹ from the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁰

¹⁴ Stan & Patelakis, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁵ K. Tsopanidis, "The Iron Guard of Romania. The legion of the Archangel Michael and its role in the World War II.", *Military History* 7, 2002.

¹⁶ Divani, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 123.

¹⁷ Ath. Chrysochoou, *The Occupation in Macedonia. The action of Italian-romanian propaganda. III*. Thessaloniki, Society of Macedonian Studies, 1951, p. 13.

¹⁸ A. Berciu-Drăghilescu & M. Petre, *Școli și biserici românești din Peninsula Balcanică. Documente (1918–1953)*, vol. II, București, Editura Universității din București, 2006, p. 411.

¹⁹ Berciu-Drăghilescu & Petre, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 412. On January 8th, 1941 the Romanian Ambassador in Athens, Gane, visited the camp of Corinth for a second time. There, 45 people asked for his intervention to the greek government, in order to leave Greece and to immigrate to Romania. Berciu-Drăghilescu & Petre, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 416.

²⁰ According to no. 57/12/174/43 document of February 10th, 1941 of the Aliens Directorate, on February 5th, 1941 two officials of the Romanian Embassy in Athens handed over to the Commandant of the camp of Corinth money together with a list of names-recipients. All were granted the amount of 1.000 drachmas except for Z. Araia, who received 2.000 drachmas. See Chr. Vitos, *Grevena during Occupation and Guerilla Warfare*, Thessaloniki, Art of Text, 2000, p. 96.

Simultaneously, Romanian public opinion was outraged by the deportation of the Vlachs and therefore, on the first Sunday of December a large protest was organised in Bucharest.²¹

According to a telegram of the Romanian Embassy in Athens, on March 14th, 1941 the exiled Vlachs of Epirus and Macedonia, who were confined in a camp in Corinth, were 265.²² Then the Greek government decided to transfer the Vlach prisoners to the islands of Chios, Lesbos and Crete.²³ They remained displaced until the occupation of Greece by the Axis powers in April 1941, when they were liberated.

A month later, in March 1941 the former ally of Greece, Romania, had allowed German troops to pass through Romanian territory heading for Greece.²⁴ Therefore, on June 24th, 1941 the Greek government – in – exile in Cairo decided to recall the Greek Ambassador from Romania, K. Kollas and to officially break diplomatic relations between the two countries.

During the period of Triple Occupation in Greece, Italians' aspirations of attracting the Vlach population and establishing an autonomous Vlach state²⁵ in the Pindus area led by Alcibiades Diamandi had been rewarmed.²⁶ Italy's capitulation in 1943 marked the end of Italy's claim to the Vlachs of Greece, while the Romanian authorities invited Diamandi to Bucharest in the summer 1942 and never allowed him to return to Greece.²⁷ The specific decision of the Romanian authorities was directly linked to Alcibiades Diamandi's double role, along with romanised Vlachs' emotional detachment from Romania and their association with Italy.

Another aspect of Occupation period was the food shortage. The Romanian government's contribution was crucial in providing food assistance to financially shattered Greece. Although the occupying government of Greece had received harsh criticism²⁸ for authorising the importation of food from Romania, a cause of the increasing number of students at the Romanian schools. It is worth mentioning that Antonescu's regime had concluded an internal loan of 50.000.000 lei to provide its assistance to Greece,²⁹ which would end up, first of all, in students and teaching personnel of the Romanian schools and the monks of Mount Athos and secondly, in the rest of the Greek people.

²¹ K. Vrazitoulis, "Displaced Vlachs during War of 1940", 2017. *Ipeirotikos Agon*. www.agon.gr/news/160/ARTICLE/35688/2017-01-17.html.

²² Berciu-Drăghilescu, Ad. & M. Petre, *Școli și biserici românești din Peninsula Balcanică. Documente (1918–1953)*, vol. I, Bucharest: University of Bucharest editions, 2004, p. 575.

²³ Vrazitoulis, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Stan & Patelakis, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁵ S. Karavis, *The Italian Occupation in Greece (1941–1943). The policy of enforcement and repression by the XI army*, PhD thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2015, p. 190, 191; D. Konstantinidis, *Operation Panther. Germans invade and set fire to Pindus*, Trikala, Dimourgia, 2011, p. 31.

²⁶ Iliadou-Tachou & Andreou & Tanampasi, *op. cit.*, p. 260–261.

²⁷ Divani, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 209.

²⁸ K. Tsioumis, *Minorities in Greece. Greek minorities in the Balkans*, Thessaloniki, Stamoulis, 2008, p. 69–71; Divani, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 210.

²⁹ Chrysoschoou, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

When Greece was liberated from Nazi Occupation, a new approach was made concerning the promotion of relations between the two countries. In February 1945 George Papandreou's government proposed to the Romanian government the restoration of diplomatic relations, which had been interrupted after the recall of the Greek Ambassador from Bucharest. This proposal was not accepted, while the Romanian diplomatic delegation of Greece withdrew to Turkey.

A few months later, on November 27th, 1945, as part of the "cleansing" process against Nazi collaborators, the Greek government through the Ministry of Education decided the closing of Romanian schools, the confiscation of their equipment and the deportation of teachers of Romanian nationality.³⁰ During the Occupation period, many teachers of the Romanian schools were targeted by the forces of E.A.M.-E.L.A.S.³¹ because of their collaboration with the Occupation forces.

The two countries had now been alliance members in two different Cold War coalitions, United States of America and the Soviet Union. Thus, this decision was made known to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Yugoslav Embassy in Bucharest³² and finally, the deportation of the Romanian teachers took place at the end of October 1946.³³

At the same time, the delicate Balkan balance became more complicated with the declaration of the Greek Civil War, which lasted until 1949. During these years, Greek-Romanian relations entered a new phase of coldness and, eventually, non-existence. Therefore, on January 22nd, 1948 the government of People's Republic of Romania decided to issue a Note verbale entitled: "Note of Protest against the monarcho-fascist government of Athens".³⁴ In this note the Plastiras' government was accused of violating the terms of the Bucharest Treaty as well as violation of other international law treaties. The demands of the Romanian government were: a. The cessation of persecution of the members of the romanian minority. b. Securing compensations for confiscated school equipment. c. The re-opening of Romanian schools and churches in Greece, while, in case of destruction of these buildings, compensation based on their objective value.

Until 1955 the two countries had to follow their own path according to the orders of the opposing politico-military blocs.

³⁰ Iliadou-Tachou & Andreou & Tanampasi, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

³¹ E.A.M.-E.L.A.S. means National Liberation Front – Greek Peoples' Liberation Army. National Liberation Front was an alliance of various political parties and organizations, which fought to liberate Greece from Axis Occupation. It was the main movement of greek resistance during the Occupation of Greece and a communist dominated left-wing resistance organization.

³² Romanian teacher shad earlier met with the Yugoslav Ambassador in Thessaloniki. See Berciu-Drăghilescu & Petre, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 613, 614.

³³ Telegram of Ștefan Costinto the President of Romanian Cabinet. Berciu-Drăghilescu & Petre, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 622.

³⁴ *Notă de protest adresată de Guvernul român Guvernului monarho-fascist de la Atena*. See Berciu-Drăghilescu & Petre, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 648, 649.

GREEK-ROMANIAN RELATIONS DURING THE COLD WAR

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The object of this publication is to focus to the Greek-Romanian bilateral relations during the Cold War, focusing not on the state, but on the individual and the societal levels. The main sources for this article are the Service of the Diplomatic and Historical Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry and the General Archives of the Greek state in Thessaloniki. The main issues were the status of Romanian communities in Greece after the end of the WWII and the closure of the churches and schools, the compensations for the Greek properties confiscated in Romania, the Romanian fugitives in Greece, the issue of manning of the Romanian monasteries in Greece, the relations between relatives and families and the chances to study in Romania for the Greeks.

Keywords: Cold War, Greek-Romanian relations, Romanian communities in Greece, Romanian monasteries in Greece, fugitives, family relations.

INTRODUCTION

The Greek-Romanian relations have not been studied as meticulously as Romania's relations with other Balkan states. The concern of most of the existing studies is the bilateral relations over the issue of the Koutsovlahoi. In recent years, Romanian scientists have studied the Greek-Romanian bilateral diplomatic and political relations and several studies have been published.¹ There are less published studies by Greek scientists² as they prefer the study of bilateral relations within the Balkan framework.³

¹ Ion Brad, *Întâlniri de taină în Grecia*, Fundatia Europeana Titulescu, București, 2009; Stelian Brezeanu a et alias, *Relațiile romano-elene, O istorie cronologică*, București, Editura Omonia, 2003; Georgeta Filitti, *Romania-Grecia. Relații istorice. Documente arhiva Legatiei romane din Atena (1941–1947)*, București, Editura Demiurg, 1997; Georgeta Filitti, *1880–2010, mereu împreună, Romania Grecia, 130 de ani de relații diplomatice*, Brașov, Editura Suvenir, 2010; Constantin Iordan, *Venizelos se romanii*, București, Editura Omonia, 2010; Radu Tudorancea, *Relațiile romano-elene în perioada interbelică*, București, Editura Omonia, 2011.

² Florin Stan, Apostolos Patelakis, 140 de ani de la stabilirea relațiilor diplomatice romano-elene (1880–2020), București, UER Press, 2020; Apostolos Patelakis, Consulatul General al Romaniei la Salonic. Doua decenii de la înființare (1994–2014), Editura UER Press, București, 2014; Spyridon Sfetas, “Cadrul istoric relațiilor politice greco-romane 1866–1913”, in Leonidas Rados (ed.), *Intereferente romano-elene Secolele XV–XX0*, Iasi, Fundația Academica A.D. Xenopol, 2003; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Anna Tabaki (eds), *Relations Gréco-Roumaines: Interculturalité et Identité Nationale/Greek-Romanian Relations: Interculturalism and National Identity*. Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2004; Paschalis Pechlivanis, “An Uneasy Triangle: Nicolae Ceaușescu, the

The object of this publication is to research the Greek-Romanian bilateral relations during the Cold War, focusing not on the state, but on the individual and the societal levels. The main sources for this article are the Service of the Diplomatic and Historical Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry and the General Archives of the Greek state in Thessaloniki. The research extends from 1944 until 1980, and not up to the end of the Cold War, as the material in the Historical Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry after this date, is still not accessible to researchers. Additionally, international bibliography has been used for this paper.

This study aims to show how the 2nd World War, the Greek Civil War and Romania's transition to a People's Republic had affected the living conditions, as well as the activity and movement of the people in Greece and Romania. In addition, it aims to show that these changes were not choices made by the state, by the society or the individual, but they were consequences of the Cold War that had dominated Europe and had created new conditions for everyone. The departing of the Greeks of Romania to Greece after Romania's transition to a People's Republic and the settlement of the Greek communist refugees in Romania after 1948 are excluded from this study, as researching each of these two, exceeds the limits of an article published in a scientific journal.

THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ERA

Traditionally, Greece has had friendly and multi-levelled cooperative relations with Romania that did not want to damage in their bilateral relations. However, the two countries fought for opposing sides during World War II. Their diplomatic relations ended in June 1941. After the end of the war, the two countries joined different political and military entities. More specifically, Romania was seized by the soviet army in August 1944. The soviet forces occupied Romanian territory until 1956. In March 1945, the communist Petru Groza, with the support of the soviet forces, was appointed Prime Minister while the communists controlled all the important ministries. In the November 1946 elections, the Bloc of the Democratic Parties (BPD), which was under the control of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) won with 69,8 %; the elections were conducted in conditions that did not guarantee the people's free political expression. Archives confirm suspicions at the time that the election results were, in fact, falsified.⁴ Romania was officially

Greek Colonels and the Greek Communists (1967–1974)”, *The International History Review*, 43, no. 3, 2021, p. 598–613. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2020.1764609>

³ Christos Giallouridis, Stelios Aleifantis (eds), *Τα Βαλκάνια στο σταυροδρόμι των εξελίξεων*, Athens, Roes, 1988; Alexis Alexandris, Thanos Veremis (eds), *Βαλκάνια: από τον διπολισμό στη νέα εποχή*, Athens, Gnosi, 1994; Georgios Christidis, *Τα κομμουνιστικά Βαλκάνια: εισαγωγή στην εσωτερική και εξωτερική πολιτική στην Αλβανία, Βουλγαρία, Γιουγκοσλαβία και Ρουμανία την περίοδο 1945–1989*, Thessaloniki, Vanias, 2003; Georgios Kouvertaris, Petros Siousouras (eds.), *Τα νέα Βαλκάνια: από τη γεωπολιτική της μετάβασης στην προοπτική της ευρωπαϊκής ολοκλήρωσης*, Athens, Irodotos, 2007.

⁴ Stephen Fischer Galati, *20th Century Rumania*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1991, p. 104. Tom Gallagher, *Theft of a nation. Romania since Communism*, London, C. Hurts & Co, 2005, p. 47.

transitioned to a People's Republic with the constitution of 13 April 1948, which was a near-copy of the 1936 constitution of the USSR.

After the end of the Axis forces occupation of Greece (1941–1944), Civil War broke out. The first phase was the Dekemvriana (Δεκεμβριανά-December events) that started on 3 December 1944 in Athens. The war was waged between Greek government army and gendarmes, with the support of British forces, against the EAM-ELAS (National Liberation Front-Greek People's Liberation Army forces that were under the control of the Greek Communist Party (GCP – KKE)). The battle lasted 33 days and resulted in the defeat of the EAM. The next phase started in 1946 when GCP boycotted the general elections and established the Democratic Army of Greece (Δημοκρατικός Στρατός Ελλάδος – Democratic Army of Greece) (DSE) from former ELAS guerrillas. The US decided to support the Greek government in its fight against the communist rebel forces. This was done with the Truman Doctrine. It was a pronouncement by U.S. President Harry S. Truman on March 12, 1947, declaring immediate economic and military aid to the Greek government because he was “threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by communists.”⁵ It was the beginning of the Cold War. The Greek Civil War ended in August 1949 with the defeat of the communists with many Greek communists finding refuge in Romania.⁶

Even though the two countries were suspicious of each other, their long tradition of good diplomatic relations eased the tension and paved the way for growing cooperation in the following years. Greece's initiative to start economic cooperation with communist states helped towards that end. In September 1952, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) convened in Geneva with the presence of many countries for the development of international trade.⁷ The Greek side sought to reach an agreement with Poland regarding product exports. The two states signed a clearing agreement in Vaduz, Liechtenstein on October 22, 1952. The Contracting Parties were the Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Polish Chamber of Commerce of Warsaw. On January 11, 1954, a trade and payment agreement was signed, which replaced the 1952 chambers' agreement.⁸ At the same time, Greece signed trade agreements with all

⁵ US Library of Congress, The Truman Doctrine, President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947.

⁶ For the Greek political refugees in Romania see Apostolos Patelakis, *Razboiul civil din Grecia (1946–1949) si emigrantii politici greci in Romania (1948–1982)*, Targoviste, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2017.

⁷ The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) was established on 28 March 1947 in order to “Initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe,” as well as to “maintain and strengthen the economic relations of the European countries, both among themselves and with other countries of the world”.

⁸ Vlasidis Vlasidis, “Establishing relations with my ideological enemy: Polish People's Republic and the Kingdom of Greece (1948–1974)”, in *Proceedings of the conference 1018–2018: A millennium of Polish-Greek diplomatic contacts. 1000 years of Greeks in Poland*, Wrocław, The Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the University of Wrocław (in print).

the Eastern Bloc countries, except Albania.⁹ In particular, talks with the Romanian side lasted from 23.04 – 19.05.1954 in Bucharest and led to the signing of the economic agreements.¹⁰ This was due to Greece's will to boost trade, but also to Romania's determination to establish political and economic relations with other countries, regardless of their political system, as it was expressed in December 1955 at the 2nd PCR Conference.¹¹ The two countries agreed in November 1955 to restore diplomatic relations beginning in 1956¹² and the two embassies were established in January 1957.¹³ Up until May 31st 1950, Greece's interests in Romania were served by the Swiss embassy in Bucharest.¹⁴ The service was not provided on a humanitarian basis but for a substantial fee.¹⁵

THE ISSUE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNITIES IN GREECE

The first issue that the two countries had to deal with at the end of World War II, was the Romanian communities in Greece¹⁶ and the Greek populations of Romania. Greece attempted to settle the issue of the Romanian communities in such a way that it wouldn't be a subject of bilateral negotiations and it wouldn't cause acts of revenge against their members.

The members of the Romanian communities in Greece, especially those that during the 1941–1944 Occupation had emerged not just as Romanians but also as supporters of the Axis and Germany, felt unprotected after the occupation of Romania by the Soviets and Germany's unconditional surrender. Romania's transition to a People's Republic dismissed any hopes they had that Romania might help them or

⁹ Sotiris Wallden, *Ελλάδα και Ανατολικές χώρες 1950–1967: Οικονομικές σχέσεις και πολιτική*, Athens, Odysseas-Foundation of the Mediterranean Studies, vol. I, p. 82–83.

¹⁰ Wallden, *Ελλάδα*, p. 83.

¹¹ Fische-Galati, "Romania under Communism. From People's Democracy to Stalinist republic (1948–1965)", in Dinu Giurescu, Stephen Fischer Galati (eds.), *Romania. A Historic Perspective*, p. 448.

¹² Diplomatic and Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece (YDIA)/Central Service (KY), 1955, fond 17/ sub fond 7, General Director Archive, Records of the discussions between Greece and Romania - Establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece and Romania, Athens November 30, 1955.

¹³ Patelakis, *Razboiul*, p. 274.

¹⁴ YDIA/KY, 1949, 17/1, Relations between Greece and Romania. Legation de Suisse Bucarest, Pieces justificatives, 1949. YDIA/KY, 1949 28/2, Protection of the Greek interests in Romania by Switzerland due to the discontinuation of Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations. Budgets, Expenditures, Employees, January 1st, 1948 to 31st December 1949.

¹⁵ YDIA/KY, 1950, 43/1, Detailed reports and expenses of the Swiss Embassy in Bucharest for the protection of the Greek interests. YDIA/KY, 1950, 43/2, Legation de Suisse, Division speciale, Bucarest, Interets Grecs Decompte du 2e trimestre annee 1950. YDIA/KY, 1950, 43/3, Vouchers 2454–2551, account of the Greek interests, Receipts July 1st – September 30th 1950, Collections, Bucarest-Romania. YDIA/KY, 1950, 43/4, Expenses of the Swiss Embassy for the protection of the Greek interests in Romania from April 5th to June 30th, 1950.

¹⁶ Greece Romania exchange of notes on treatment of Kutzo Vlachs in Greek territories, signed in Bucharest, 5th August, 1913.

that Greece would once again recognise the status of the Romanian communities, on the basis of the interwar period. Therefore, there were two options for them: either migrate to Romania or re-integrate into the Greek society, not as Romanians but as Greek citizens. The first solution was impossible since the new leaders in Romania saw them as ideological enemies and representatives of the old fascist regime. A potential migration to Romania would have brought severe consequences on them. Some of them tried to leave Greece for Romania, but there is no information for their departures. Thus, all the others had to negotiate with the Greek state.

The Greek state made sure to integrate the Occupation period Romanians into the Greek society on its terms. In 1947, the Greek police started an investigation to get information from local authorities on how many and which priests had emerged as Romanians during the Occupation period, whether they had transformed their churches from Greek-orthodox to Romanian-orthodox, and also, whether their cases have been brought to court and the nature of their verdict.¹⁷ It wasn't difficult to get the information, since the authorities had a 1944 list of 32 priests and teachers as salaried employees from Romania.¹⁸ In any case, most of them had stopped their activity and, according to the Greek archival sources, by 1947 the Romanian churches and schools in Thessaloniki, Kilkis and Katerini have stopped operating.¹⁹ Either way, the Greek state did not intend to punish or to deport the teachers and priests that were salaried employees of Romania during the 1941–44 Occupation. Of the total number of priests and teachers, 40 people were referred to court but in the end, they did not go to trial. According to the sources, by 1947 most of these 40 teachers and priests had left the country, but it is not clear whether they were deported or departed out of their own will.²⁰

Following that, the Greek authorities applied pressure on all those that were listed as Romanians, to state whether they wanted to be registered as Romanians or Greeks. The situation in Romania did not show evidence that they were going to receive help from their country. Therefore, on 6 June 1948, two months after Romania's transition into a People's Republic, the Romanians from Veria, in a public statement declared that their separation from the Greek nation was a mistake of their ancestors and that they were severing every link to Romania.²¹ On the 1st of

¹⁷ General State Archives [of Greece] – Historical Archives of Macedonia (GRGSA-IAM). Collection of the Hellenic Police, General Directorate of the Aliens (ADM), 281.02_000670, Apostolos Grevenitis, Director of the General Center of the Aliens to all Centers of the Aliens and Gendarmeries in Grevena, Veria, Edessa, Florina and Sidirokastro, no. 82/I/13/Ia, Thessaloniki, August 2nd, 1947.

¹⁸ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Priests and teachers of the Romanian schools in Macedonia in February 1944.

¹⁹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Konstantinos Mavroeidis to Aliens Center, no. 14/I.15, Kilkis August 13th, 1947. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Polyzogopoulos to Aliens Center, no. 6/10/1a, Thessaloniki September 16th, 1947. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Polyzogopoulos to Aliens Center, no.33/10/1a, Thessaloniki October 13th, 1947. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Michalis Papoutsakis to Aliens Center, no. 37/26/1, Katerini October 1st, 1947.

²⁰ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Report Vougiouklakis, Director of Aliens Center of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, May 26th, 1947.

²¹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Nikolaos Vlachos, director of Veria Gendarmerie to Supreme Directorate of Gendarmerie of Macedonia, no. 37/10/6, Veria, July 10th, 1949.

July 1949, 184 Vlach speakers [Aromanian speakers], in a joint letter to the Bishop of Veria, requested to abstain from the autonomy provided by the Treaty of Bucharest and to return to the Greek church. On that same day, the former Romanian community of Veria surrendered the church in Exo Panagia [ΕξωΠαναγιά] a village that has been Romanian since the Ottoman era, including its accessories, to the settlements of Kato Vermio, Koumaria and Xirolivado. In essence, there were no more Romanian church and Romanians. Only a few Romanian teachers disagreed and one Romanian priest, Papastergiou Goumas, refused to officiate in Greek, while father Koli Petri was officiating in Greek. Hatzigogos and Zamanis, who were influential figures in the Romanian communities, played a very important role in their conversion.²² After that, the Greek state issued orders to the lower state authorities, to treat well the former Romanians and not vindictively.²³

The Greek state wanted to end the issue with as little publicity as possible. It was better to deport the unrepentant Romanian teachers to Romania. The rest had to be appointed to Greek schools in other areas and their treatment by the authorities should never be hostile. Romanian priests had to integrate into the local dioceses as Greek priests.²⁴ All the priests and teachers that were salaried employees of the Romanian state during the Occupation, faced challenges in the next few years, during the first period of the Cold War. Most of them were Greek citizens that had never travelled to Romania. Some were old and died while others had already departed to Romania. At the beginning of the 1950s, there were still 47 people in Thessaloniki, four in Kastoria and one in Grevena. Officially, they were still employees of the Romanian government but they were idle since Romanian schools and churches were no longer operating. They were just waiting to get their salaries from the Romanian state.²⁵

This way, the Greek state essentially, managed to end the Romanian issue without it spreading internationally. Romania's influence in the former Romanian communities had disappeared. Romanian theological books and the *Biserica Orthodoxa Romina* journal were only arriving in the former Romanian villages of

²² GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Letter to Alexandros, Bishop of Veria and Naoussa, Veria July 1st, 1949. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Nikolaos Vlachos, director of Veria Gendarmerie to Supreme Directorate of Gendarmerie of Macedonia, no. 37/10/6, Veria, July 10th, 1949.

²³ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Apostolos Xanthopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Interior, no. 82/1/2/21 e, Thessaloniki November 18th, 1951.

²⁴ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Apostolos Xanthopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Interior, no. 82/1/2/21 e, Thessaloniki November 18th, 1951.

²⁵ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, Report of the priest, teachers and employee of the Romanian schools. GSGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Konstantinos Vorres director of Aliens Center of Macedonia and Thrace to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 82/1/2/21b, Thessaloniki February 2nd, 1952. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, E.Zakkas, director of Thessaly's Aliens Center to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 8/310/1, Volos, August 19th, 1950. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Apostolos Xanthopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Interior, no. 82/1/2/21 e, Thessaloniki November 18th, 1951.

Edessa and Veria in the following years (1955, 1958), but this did not constitute a problem for the Greek state, as the books did not reach the recipients.²⁶

In 1957, the Romanian ambassador requested information on the Romanian churches and cemeteries that operated in Greece before the war, on which Romanian churches were still operating and where, as well as how many priests were still alive.²⁷ Additionally, he put forward the issue of the reopening of the Romanian church in Veria, since the Greek church in Bucharest had already been operating once again, but to no avail.²⁸ Even though the ambassador's efforts elated the old Romanian priests and teachers who were expecting to receive their belated salaries, the Romanian state did not take any action in that direction.²⁹

The Romanian diplomats were allowed to travel all around Greece and meet with Greek citizens, Vlachs and non-Vlachs. They were, of course, under the surveillance of the Greek State Security. The Greek state was not worried about the calls to re-establish Romanian communities with schools and churches, or the activity of the Romanian diplomats. Actually, in 1978, the Thessaloniki State Security Office reported that embassy and consulate diplomatic employees never got involved with the issue of the establishment of schools and churches and that they showed impeccable behaviour at all times.³⁰

THE ISSUE OF ROMANIAN AND GREEK PROPERTIES

On the contrary, Greece was worried about whether Romania was going to ask for compensation for the schools and churches that were operating before the war and were the property of the Romanian state. This is the reason the Greek state in 1961 was seeking information from the local authorities about which Greek schools and churches were housed in buildings that belonged to the Romanian state.³¹ Greece did not want to get into an offsetting procedure between Romania's properties in Greece and the properties of the Greeks in Romania. The problem remained open and the Greek side was ready to negotiate the issue of the buildings that used to house the Romanian schools and churches.³²

²⁶ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Serafim Kotoulas, director of Veria Gendarmerie to State Service of Information, no. 128/120/2a, Thessaloniki August 15th, 1956. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Konstantinos Georgiopoulos to Veria's Police Department, no. 33/12/8a, Thessaloniki November 24th, 1958.

²⁷ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Konstantinos Makriniotis to State Service of Information, no. 38?X/6a, Athens May 31st, 1957.

²⁸ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Dionysios Dimakopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Interior, no. 35/12/7, Thessaloniki July 16th, 1957.

²⁹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000670, Alexios Rodakis, director of Veria's Gendarmerie to Ministry of Interior, no. 128/5/26a, Veria August 18th, 1957.

³⁰ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Thessaloniki's State Security to Ministry of Public Order, Thessaloniki March 31st 1978.

³¹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000661, Andreas Kranis, Ministry of Interior to Gendarmerie Directorates, no. 8651/157066, Athens December 1st, 1961.

³² YDIA/KY, 1963, 95/8, Romanian religious relations with Greece, Romanian churches in Greece, Athens January 10th, 1960 and Romanian schools in Greece, Athens August 27th, 1963.

However, the Romanian side did not show any interest in the future of the Romanian properties in Greece. In the talks that took place in Bucharest, in November 1962 on the future of the Greek properties that have been nationalized, the Romanian side did not put forward a compensation claim for the properties of the Romanian communities in Greece, probably because the Greek properties in Romania were of much greater value (Romanian Greeks estimated it on \$20,000,000 and the Greek side on \$8,000,000) while Romania was willing to pay only \$400,000.³³

Greeks in Romania, at the beginning of the Cold War, were divided into two groups: the old Greeks that had migrated in Romania in the 18th and the 20th centuries from other areas, including Asia Minor and Bulgaria, and the Greek Civil War refugees. The first group was around 30,000 people and the second 11,500 people.³⁴ In 1948, the communist regime confiscated the properties of the old Greeks³⁵ forcing many of them to leave the country, while at the same time, it offered every option of social integration to the Greek refugees from the Greek Civil War.³⁶ The settlement of the old Greeks from Romania in Greece and the nationalisation of their properties was a very important issue for the Greek state and Greece kept putting forward their compensation claims for the loss of their properties. In fact, in April 1956, the first meeting for economic reparations took place in Romania, where it was agreed that Romania would settle the outstanding economic issues of the period prior to 1939.³⁷ In the end, the issue was settled in 1966, with an agreement over the outstanding economic issues – part of which were the compensation claims, which was signed during Romania's Prime Minister, I.G. Maurer, official visit to Greece. \$3,500,000 of compensations were paid through clearing.³⁸ A common Greek-Romanian committee was set to determine the amount of the compensations that checked and implemented the agreement.³⁹

ROMANIAN MONASTERIES AND SKETAE

Romania's transition to a People's Republic in 1948 and the severing of Greek-Romanian diplomatic relations, had serious consequences to the Romanians'

³³ YDIA/KY, 1963, 73/4, Directorate of Financial Affairs, Pending Greek claims and Compensations against other countries, Athens March 18th, 1963.

³⁴ Konstantinos Dinas, Ciprian Cuciu, Andreas Chatzipanagiotidis and Yorgos Christidis, *Η ελληνόγλωσση εκπαίδευση στη Ρουμανία και τη Βουλγαρία*, Rethymno, 2011, p. 33.

³⁵ YDIA/KY, 1948, 159/3, Economic affairs in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Holland and Czechoslovakia, Law for the nationalization of the properties in Romania. YDIA/KY, 1948, 182/12, Deposits of Greeks from Romania – Release of assets of Greek citizen after their return, March 1st 1947 – November 30th, 1948.

³⁶ Patelakis, *Războiul*, p. 201.

³⁷ YDIA/KY, 1958, 7/3, Case laws for the compensations. Agreement between Greece and Romania concerning the settlement of pending economic issues between two countries since 1939, August 25th, 1956. See also newspaper *Ελευθερία*, 28.03.1956, p. 6, 17.08.1956, p. 6, 25.08.1956, p. 6.

³⁸ Stan, Patelakis, *140 de ani*, p. 46.

³⁹ YDIA/KY, 1966, 56/3, Join Romanian-Greek committee for compensations. Reports.

relations with Mount Athos [Άγιο Όρος – Agio Oros]. The same thing also happened to the other countries that transformed into soviet satellites. The Greek state was trying to prevent the settlement of new monks from the communist states into Mount Athos monasteries, to block the spread of communist ideas.⁴⁰ In 1949 there were 489 foreign monks in Mount Athos, 173 of whom were of Romanian descent and lived mainly in sketae and cells, not in the monasteries. By 1953, their number had insignificantly decreased. The Romanian monks were working mainly as artisans, making small wooden items that they would then sell, and also in cultivating the lands of their establishments.

1949

Monasteries	Iveron	1
	Docheiariou	1
	Saint Paul	2
Sketae ⁴¹	Saint John the Baptist (Great Lavra)	28
	Saint Demetrius (Vatopedi)	2
	Saint Demetrius or Lakkoskete (Saint Paul)	39
Cells ⁴²	Great Lavra	9
	Vatopedi	11
	Iveron	1
	Chelandariou	3
	Dionysiou	3
	Saint Paul	2
Kalyvae ⁴³	Pantokratoros	43
	Stavronikita	14
Hesychasteria	Great Lavra	14
Total		173⁴⁴

1953

Sketae	Saint Demetrius (Vatopedi)	2
Cells	Vatopedi	87
Cells	Pantokratoros	39
Monasteries	Esfimenou	1

⁴⁰ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000623, Konstantinos Georgiopoulos, vice-director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Aliens Center of Mount Athos, no. I4/7I/6a, Thessaloniki September 20th, 1951.

⁴¹ The cell is a spacious dwelling, with two or three floors, something like a farmhouse with a small chapel. Each cell is built into the fields of the monasteries and it held by three or more monks. These monks are occupied in farming and handicraft activities.

⁴² The cell is a spacious dwelling, with two or three floors, something like a farmhouse with a small chapel. Each cell is built into the fields of the monasteries and it held by three or more monks. These monks are occupied in farming and handicraft activities.

⁴³ The kalyve is a dwelling like the kellion, only smaller. The monks live there as a family and they occupy themselves in handicrafts.

⁴⁴ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000824, Nikolaos Bafatakis, director of Aliens Center of Mount Athos to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 2/8/1, Karyes September 19th, 1949.

(continued)

	Docheiariou	1
	Saint Paul	3
Sketae	Saint Demetrius or Lakkoskete	34
	Saint John the Baptist	24
Cells	Great Lavra	20
	Chelandariou	2
	Stavronikita	12
	Docheiariou	2
	Dionysiou	3
	Kavos	14
Total		164⁴⁵

The settlement of new monks in Mount Athos was completely blocked as Greece didn't allow it. For their part, Romania did not want to send any new monks either. Therefore, the Romanian monks that already lived in Mount Athos grew old and their numbers kept decreasing. In between 1960–1964, 15 Romanian monks were deceased⁴⁶ and by 1965 there were only 94 Romanian monks left in Mount Athos.⁴⁷

Romanian holy establishments sent requests for the settlement of new Romanian monks but they were turned down by the Greek authorities. In 1960 the *dikaïos* (δικαίος-the head) of the skete (σκήτη) of Saint John the Baptist requested the Abbot of the Great Lavra monastery to allow the return of two Romanian monks that had cloistered in Mount Athos between 1917 and 1920 before they were sent to a glebe in Romania, as they wished to return to the skete.⁴⁸ The Civil Administrator of Mount Athos asked for the request to be granted but we do not know if it was realised.⁴⁹ In 1974, there was a request for the arrival and settlement of 10 Romanian monks in Mount Athos. The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked the Aliens Center if there was any national security obstacle⁵⁰ and received a negative response for the settlement of the Romanian monks, as even though it would improve the situation in the Romanian establishments, it would also cause complaints about unequal treatment from the Bulgarians and the Russians. In that case, the Greek authorities would have to allow also the settlement of Slav monks

⁴⁵ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000824, Ioannis Kontouris, Vice Director of Mount Athos Gendarmerie to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 2/8/3, Karyes February 3rd, 1953.

⁴⁶ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000824, Georgios Reppas, director of Aliens Center of Mount Athos to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 2/6/15b, Karyes September 5th 1964.

⁴⁷ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000824, Aliens Center of Mount Athos to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 4/25/12, Karyes November 22nd, 1965.

⁴⁸ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000809, Veniamin Poppas *dikaïos* of Saint John the Baptist skete to Great Lavra monastery, February 3rd, 1960.

⁴⁹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000809, K. Konstantopoulos, director of Mount Athos to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 1832, Karyes September 22nd, 1960.

⁵⁰ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000809, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to State Service of Information, no. 7261/62/AS611, Athens September 18th, 18.09.1974.

from the communist states.⁵¹ Therefore, it was impossible to boost the number of monks in the Romanian establishments.

There were also very few Romanian citizens who visited Mount Athos during that era. According to the Aliens Center, in between 1975–1980, there was one visit, that of Professor Mihai Nicu in August 1975,⁵² two visitors in October 1976⁵³ and two Romanian priests visited the Iviron monastery and the skete of Prodroimos in October 1976.⁵⁴ There were two more Romanian visitors on January 1977.⁵⁵ We believe that there were more visitors but they visited Mount Athos with a special permission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for cultural or scientific reasons.

ROMANIAN FUGITIVES IN GREECE

During the Cold War, Greece was the ideal place to go to for many Europeans as they fled from the communist regime in their countries. The first fugitives from Romania in Greece were recorded in 1948. The cause was the enforcement of the communist regime in Romania, the property seizures and the restriction of freedom. The persecution of the middle class and the intellectuals took place in all the communist countries, including Romania. Historians, writers, teachers, professors were labelled bourgeois nationalists and were prosecuted. They were the main victims of the purge.⁵⁶ Also, 80.000 farmers, who refused to participate in the collectivization, were labelled class enemies, were persecuted and displaced.⁵⁷ Organizations related to international bodies, like the boy scouts, were banned and so did the operation of the Romanian Greek Catholic churches in 1948, as they recognised the Pope as the head of the Church.⁵⁸ Finally, there were persecutions against armed resistance groups that were active in Romania towards the end of the 1940s. Some of them were friendly to the Germans, but most wanted the liberation of Romania from the Americans and the West. In fact, a Greek

⁵¹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000809, Vasilis Bithas, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Public Order, no. 14/115/10g, Thessaloniki September 30th, 1974.

⁵² GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000171, Political Affairs Service to Director of Mount Athos, Thessaloniki August 4th, 1975.

⁵³ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000171, Ilias Fotopoulos, Vice-director of Aliens Center to Vice Directorate of Police of Thessaloniki, no.14/92/639a, Thessaloniki November 9th, 1976.

⁵⁴ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000171, Dionysios Karydakakis, director of Chalkidi 's Gendarmerie to Ministry of Public Order, no. 25/5/159-b, Polygyros November 19th, 1976.

⁵⁵ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000171, Ioannis Trypis, director of Aliens Center to Vice Directorate of Police of Thessaloniki, no. 14/92/643a, Thessaloniki February 2nd, 1977.

⁵⁶ Galati, *Rumania*, p. 112–113.

⁵⁷ Galati, *Rumania*, p. 123; R.J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth century*, London New York, Routledge, 1994, p. 271; Dennis Deletant, *Ceausescu and the Securitate, Coersion and Dissent in Romania, 1965–1989*, London, Hurst & Company, 1995, p. 9, 18.

⁵⁸ Crampton, *Eastern*, p. 267. Galati, *Rumania*, p. 112. Dennis Deletant, *Ceausescu and the Securitate, Coersion and Dissent in Romania, 1965–1989*, London, Hurst & Company, 1995, p. 11.

Catholic priest, Eusebius Cutcan, was the leader of one of the groups that were exterminated towards the end of the 1950s.⁵⁹ Many Romanian refugees fled to neighbouring Yugoslavia and Hungary in 1948. Yugoslavia, due to its common border and its expulsion from Cominform, continued to welcome and accommodate the majority of the fugitives in the following years.⁶⁰ On the contrary, Romanian refugees were not welcomed in Hungary since they signed an agreement with Romania in 1950, for the mutual exchange of fugitives.⁶¹ A few Romanian fugitives reached Greece as stowaways in merchant ships. However, most of the refugees that fled the following year travelled through Yugoslavia to arrive in Greece.⁶² All of them were political refugees and asylum seekers. The Greek authorities arrested and questioned the fugitives to ascertain whether they were Romanian citizens of Greek origin or Romanians and if they were communist agents.⁶³

There are dozens of files on fugitives in Greece in the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are files for the years 1950,⁶⁴ 1951,⁶⁵ 1952⁶⁶ and 1953⁶⁷ specifically for the Romanian refugees. Greece was a country with extensive borders with Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and after 1949, it was the most loyal US ally in the region. Most fugitives to Greece during the 1950s were from Yugoslavia -it is unclear why- and in the following years, there were Albanians, Bulgarians, some of Turkish origin, Yugoslavians, but also Czechoslovakians and East Germans. Among them, there were also Romanian fugitives, however, they were fewer compared to everyone else. The fugitives would cross the borders and surrender to the military or the police border and countryside control units.⁶⁸ These units would transfer them to the foreign nationals' centres that were established in several cities (Ioannina, Kastoria, Serres, etc). They would photograph them,

⁵⁹ Dorin Dobrinu, "Historicizing a Disputed Theme: Anti-Communist Armed Resistance in Romania", in Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), *Stalinism Revisited*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009, p. 317, 322, 333.

⁶⁰ YDIA/KY, 1954, 7/1, Yugoslav-Romanian relations. Memorandum for the conditions of the Romanian refugees in Yugoslavia (January 1st-December 31st 1954).

⁶¹ YDIA/KY, 1950, 71/8, Military information for Romania. Report for a Hungarian-Romanian Agreement for the bilateral repatriation of the fugitives, October 3rd, 1950.

⁶² YDIA/KY 1949, 31/2, Romania, Greek Embassy in Belgrade to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade October 12th, 1949.

⁶³ YDIA/KY, 1951, 67/5, Romania, Romanian refugees. Thessaloniki's State Service of Information to Ministry of Interior, Thessaloniki August 17th 1951. YDIA/KY, 1951, 67/5, Apostolos Xanthopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Interior, no. 82/1/2/20 a, Thessaloniki November 9th, 1951.

⁶⁴ YDIA/KY, 1950, 67/8, Actions of political fugitives. Conditions of the refugee camps, December 1950.

⁶⁵ YDIA/KY, 1951, 67/5, Romania, Romanian refugees.

⁶⁶ YDIA/KY, 1952, 4/8, Romanian refugees in Greece and in the USA.

⁶⁷ YDIA/KY, 1953, 6/4, Romanian refugees abroad, actions.

⁶⁸ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000176, Konstantinos Vorres, director of Aliens Center to Thessaloniki's Transportation Directorate, no. 17/3/380, Thessaloniki June 4th, 1953. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000176, Nikolaos Bafatakis, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Refugee Camp in Lavrio, no. I5/I3/487, Thessaloniki May 13th, 1966.

document them and transport them to Thessaloniki.⁶⁹ Over there, they would remain in a political refugee camp located in the city centre, which was housed in the building that served as the German school during the Occupation, and still exists today in Vasilissis Olgas 54.⁷⁰ They were granted political asylum and a Greek identity card. After that, they were moved through the Transportation Centre, to Lavrio, located 60 kilometres from Athens, where there was -and still is today- a large refugee aid camp.⁷¹ A few were transferred to Makronisos island, where in previous years there was a camp for Greek communists and after that, for several years, it accommodated political refugees.⁷² Most fugitives did not consider Greece as their final destination. They were transported in various ways mainly to other European countries and USA.⁷³ In any case, some of them remained in Greece as political refugees, and as soon as the human rights conditions in Romania improved, they opted to return to their country.⁷⁴

All of the above show that Greece, a state that was destroyed during World War II and in its aftermath faced a three-year Civil War, couldn't have planned and executed on its own such an operation to aid the fugitives from the eastern bloc. In fact, the planning and the execution have a lot in common with the aid provided for the refugees in Greece today. It is safe to assume that the whole plan was part of a greater American scheme within the Cold War framework, to save the anti-communists, and was a blow to the communist states, meaning that some people fled the communist paradise. This view is actually supported by US representative Charles J. Kerstens. In 1951 Kersten authored the "Kersten Amendment," which directed Congress to appropriate \$100,000,000 annually to "support resistance behind the Iron Curtain".⁷⁵

The known Romanians that arrived in Greece this way were fewer than the Yugoslavs, the Albanians and the Bulgarians. They were middle-aged men and women, without children, with a good education that spoke foreign languages. In fact, one of them was an assistant professor at the University of Bucharest and his

⁶⁹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000176, Nikolaos Bafatakis, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Refugee Camp in Lavrio, no. I5/I3/487, Thessaloniki May 13th, 1966.

⁷⁰ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000176, Konstantinos Vorres, director of Aliens Center to Thessaloniki's Transportation Directorate, no. I7/3/380, Thessaloniki June 4th, 1953.

⁷¹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000176, Konstantinos Vorres, director of Aliens Center to Thessaloniki's Transportation Directorate, no. I7/3/384a, Thessaloniki November 7th, 1953. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000191, Nikolaos Bafatakis, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Refugee Camp in Lavrio, no. I5/I3/487, Thessaloniki December 22nd, 1967.

⁷² GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000176, Konstantinos Vorres, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Aliens Center of Sterea Ellas, no. 86/1043/3, Thessaloniki August 24th, 24/08/1953.

⁷³ YDIA/KY, 1953, 6/4, Romanian refugees abroad, actions. Greek Embassy in Belgrade to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade September 19th, 1953. YDIA/KY, 1952, 4/8, Romanian refugees in Greece and in the USA. "Another Olympic Victory", *New York Times*, August 12th, 1952, p. 18.

⁷⁴ YDIA/KY, 1963, 73/6, Iron Curtain countries. Repatriations and resettlements. Meeting for the repatriation of the political refugees in Greece that was not possible to be settled in Greece, Athens July 1st, 1963.

⁷⁵ Margaret M. Manchester, "Charlie Kersten 's war: a Catholic crusader goes to Congress", *Cold War History* 21, no. 2, 2021, p. 121–138.

wife was a foreign languages tutor.⁷⁶ They were all highly skilled people, who believed that they could fairly easily find employment in the non-communist states.⁷⁷

After 1956, the number of fugitives to Greece had decreased greatly, probably due to the détente in the Cold War and the stabilization of the communist regimes. However, during the military junta years (1967–1974), Greece continued to welcome political refugees from Romania and grant them political asylum.⁷⁸ It can't be determined from the archival sources the reasons that Romanians kept fleeing to Greece and asking for political asylum from a country with a military regime. Perhaps it is related to the tension between Romania and the Soviet Union and its allies, due to the former's refusal to participate in the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia, which brought the country to military preparedness, with continuous exercises and the compulsory military service for the Romanian youth.⁷⁹

ROMANIANS' VISITS TO GREECE

During the 1950s, even though the Greek state was trying to help the anti-communist fugitives and easily grants them political asylum and a Greek identity card, without too many questions, it is suspicious of the officers and the sailors of the Romanian merchant ships that dock in the Greek harbours.

Thessaloniki's Aliens Centre was requesting the crew members' lists before the arrival of the ships to Greece and conducted research with its agents in Romania through correspondence with other foreign national centres. The object of this research was whether the officers and the sailors had good relations with the Greek element in Romania and if they were communists.⁸⁰ When the crews were disembarking the ships, they were under surveillance from the security authorities.⁸¹ The aim of the surveillance was to block any chance of communist

⁷⁶ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000191, Nikolaos Karamouzis, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Refugee Camp in Lavrio, no. 15/13/571, Thessaloniki -/1968.

⁷⁷ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000191, Nikolaos Karamouzis, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Refugee Camp in Lavrio, no. 15/13/577, Thessaloniki January 30th, 1969.

⁷⁸ YDIA/KY, 1968, 13/9, Romania, Given political asylum. YDIA/KY, 1971, 13/7 and 13/8, Romania, relation with Greece according to political fugitives. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000191, Nikolaos Karamouzis, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Refugee Camp in Lavrio, no. 15/13/583a, Thessaloniki May 26th, 1969. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000191, Ilias Tsiaras, director of Refugee camp in Lavrio to Ministry of Public Order, no. 136/219/2a, Lavrio February 1st, 1969, ap. 136/219/2a.

⁷⁹ Dennis Deletant, Ceausescu and the Securitate, Coersion and Dissent in Romania, 1965-1989, London, Hurst & Company, 1995, p. 94.

⁸⁰ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Panagiotis Koutras, director of Thessaloniki's Alien's Center to Central Service of Information, no. 33/10/9b, Thessaloniki November 4th, 1955. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Panagiotis Koutras, director of Thessaloniki's Alien's Center to Vice directorate of the State Security, no. 35/10/10a, Thessaloniki February 14th, 1955.

⁸¹ GRGSA, IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Panagiotis Koutras, director of Thessaloniki's Alien's Center to Vice-directorate of the State Security, no.33/10/11a, Thessaloniki May 20th, 1955. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Dionysios Dimakopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to State Service of Information, no. 33/10/12a, Thessaloniki March 23rd, 1956. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, L. Sakkaris General Director of Port Authority to Port Authorities.

propaganda to the people in Greece and to look into potential recruitments for the anti-communist struggle.⁸² The majority of the sailors were not interested in politics. The only thing they wanted during their time off the ship was to get in touch with the other sex and to do illegal trade, selling caviar and silk, to earn more money.⁸³ The ships that were coming to Greece often were the *Rabdarea* (1947 onwards), the *Constanta*, the *Mangalia*, the *Sulina* and the *Dimitrov*.

During that same period and especially in the 1950s, the Greek authorities were very suspicious of the political beliefs of the Greeks living in Romania that were not necessarily communist refugees. If one wanted to visit Greece and especially his relatives, the Greek authorities check them one-by-one and they would investigate identification, place of birth, the behaviour during their time spent in Greece, the conditions of the departure to Romania and they would ask the Greek authorities to propose the suspension of citizenship if the legal requirements were met.⁸⁴

As time went by this started to change. Already, by 1961 the people that were born in Romania and were Romanian citizens who wanted to visit Greece usually stayed with relatives. The relative in Greece would apply to the state to allow them to visit and would state that he would accommodate them at his home, that they had no intention to reside permanently and that they did not expect state support.⁸⁵ Checks were continuously reducing and by 1973 the Thessaloniki Aliens Center was granting entry and temporary residence permits even to Romanians of Greek origin that were openly in favour of communism and were claiming that life in communist Romania was better than in Greece.⁸⁶ In the 1980s restrictions were further relaxed, especially for Greek expatriates from Romania. Anyone that visited Greece had to carry a valid and certified passport and could stay up to one month. Greek consulates could not certify expatriate passports. The Aliens Center was only checking the right to stay in the country and on the day of departure it would inform the people that they had to leave.⁸⁷

⁸² GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Dionysios Dimakopoulos, director of Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to State Service of Information, no. 33/10/14a, Thessaloniki July 6th, 1956. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Konstantinos Klamaris, director of Thessaloniki's Passport Control Department to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no.4/50/8, Thessaloniki March 3rd, 1957.

⁸³ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Passport Control Office at Thessaloniki's Port to Thessaloniki's Aliens Center, no. 4/50/7, Thessaloniki June 25th, 1956. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000663, Aliens Center of Sterea Ellas to Supreme Directorate of Gendarmerie of Athens, no. 64/I/II, Athens May 4th, 1957.

⁸⁴ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.03_000623, Konstantinos Georgiopoulos, director Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Vice-directorate of Thessaloniki's Gendarmerie, no. 12/10/689/1a, Thessaloniki September 1st, 1953.

⁸⁵ YDIA/KY, 1961, 56/14, Greek-Romanian relations, ARM 410 for the Greeks visiting Romania and Romanian Greece. Visits of Gheorghe Ionescu and Peter Pawidw. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.03_000612, Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Public Order, no. 12/16363/7a, Thessaloniki March 16th, 1984.

⁸⁶ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.03_000612, Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Ministry of Public Order, no. 12/653/5g, Thessaloniki September 24th, 1973.

⁸⁷ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.03_000612, State Security Directorate to Greek Embassy in Bucharest, no. I/698466-106173, Athens April 16th, 1987.

STUDYING IN ROMANIAN UNIVERSITIES

According to Greek archival sources, Greeks have already asked permission to study at the University of Skopje of Yugoslavia at that time in 1957,⁸⁸ and by 1958 there were already several students in universities of other eastern European countries.⁸⁹ Greek sources mention that the first Greek students in Romanian universities go back to 1954, but these are probably political refugees and not students from Greece.⁹⁰ The Greek authorities were worried that while residing in these countries, some students would adopt communist ideas, and thus, they did not approve of all applications.⁹¹ They were not wrong, since there were several cases of this happening. However, by 1959 the two countries signed educational agreements, allowing the exchange of students and sabbatical leaves for university professors and academics, such as K. Zoza; the agreements were renewed and expanded further in 1966.⁹² In the following years, Greek students continued to study in Romanian universities, mainly in Bucharest and Iasi, even during the military junta years in Greece. Even though Greek authorities were trying to control the political views of those that wished to study in Romania, they did not have enough incriminating evidence to deny their transition to Romania.⁹³

There was great interest for studies in Romanian universities by Greeks, perhaps greater than what Romania had to offer. In Thessaloniki there were parents and legal guardians associations of university students in Romania, as well as private tutoring for the Romanian language.⁹⁴ If one wanted to study in Romania in 1977, one would have to meet the requirements of both the Romanian and the Greek side. The candidates would present all their supporting documents at the embassy of Romania in Athens. A first investigation on their political beliefs would take place there. During the selection procedure, the children of the Vlachs and the communists were favoured. If one did not belong in either of these categories, he was called to sign a statement that during his stay in Romania, he wouldn't get politically active. Only then, they would forward his documents to Romania.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, Thessaloniki's Aliens Center to Thessaloniki's State Security Directorate, no. 22/121/2a, Thessaloniki November 19th, 1957.

⁸⁹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, General Directorate of Gendarmerie to Gendarmerie Directorates, no. 10/1150/121, Athens January 30th, 1958.

⁹⁰ Dinas et al., *Εκπαίδευση*, p. 34.

⁹¹ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, General Directorate of Gendarmerie to Gendarmerie Directorates, no. 10/1150/120th, Athens July 18th, 1958.

⁹² YDIA/KY, 1959, 18/9, Romania. Wallden, *Ελλάδα*, Vol. I, p. 320.

⁹³ YDIA/KY, 1971, 13/6, Romania. Relations with Greece. Facts about Greek students in Romania 1969–1971.

⁹⁴ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, Vice-directorate of Thessaloniki's National Security to Ministry of Public Order, no. 2/33/19a, Thessaloniki February 1978.

⁹⁵ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, Vice-directorate of Thessaloniki's National Security to Ministry of Public Order, no. 19/34/13, Thessaloniki, January 18th, 1978.

After the fall of the military regime in 1974 in Greece, there was a growing interest for studies in Romanian universities. The Romanian side was offering 500 vacancies annually, but in 1975 and 1976 the applications were 1500 and by 1977 the Romanian ambassador estimated them in between 5,000 and 6,000. In fact, the Romanian embassy was under pressure from politicians, parties, journalists, businessmen, even intellectuals and artists, to approve the applications of their own children, nephews or supporters.⁹⁶

The Greek police authorities were interested in the relations with the Vlachs in Romania and the ideological indoctrination. They were watching closely the Greek students in Romania whose parents were communists, the members of the Greek Communist Party (GCP), the party officials and all the young Greeks that were travelling often to other communist countries.⁹⁷

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, we could say that Romania and Greece found themselves against their will, in opposing sides, right after World War II and this created a multitude of problems in their relations. These relations did not follow the ups and downs of the Cold War, but they were defined from the will of the two states to solve or not specific problems. Thus, by 1956 and as soon as the two states re-established their diplomatic relations, there was a lot of tension and suspicion. The Greek state stopped recognising the status of the Romanian communities in Greece and made sure that it integrated the Romanian teachers and priests in the Greek public sector. Anyone who did not want to work for the Greek state had to depart for Romania. At the same time, the People's Republic of Romania nationalized the properties of the Romanian Greeks, forcing many of them to migrate to Greece. Greece became a refuge for the political opponents of the communist regime as it provided them with political asylum. Though at the same time it continuously carried out investigations to verify if some of the fugitives were in fact communists. Greece remained a destination for Romanian refugees, even during the military junta years. The Greek authorities put several obstacles to the mobility from Romania to Greece, whether it was for the sailors of Romanian ships that often sailed to the Greek harbours or the relatives of those who had migrated to Greece. In time, however, the obstacles and the inspections faded. The Greek state was not feeling threatened by this mobility any more, or from the will of thousands of Greeks that

⁹⁶ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, Piraeus Aliens Center to Ministry of Public Order, no. 2550, Piraeus January 31st, 1978. Brad, *Întâlniri*, p. 194–195.

⁹⁷ GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, Vice-directorate of Thessaloniki's State Security to Ministry of Public Order, no. 19/34/13, Thessaloniki January 18th, 1978. GRGSA-IAM, ADM281.02_000125, Vice-directorate of Thessaloniki's State Security to Aliens Centers, no. 68/146813/4a, Thessaloniki 21st February 1980.

wished to study in Romania's universities. In this case, the problem was the high number of applications, in comparison to the number of vacancies. The only problem that was never solved, was the manning of the Romanian sketae and cells in Mount Athos. During the whole period under study, the Greek state never allowed the settlement of new Romanian monks in Mount Athos, mainly due to the fear of communist propaganda and less for national reasons; the result being the Romanian sketae and cells getting in danger to run out of personnel.

DEPUIS QUAND EXISTE LE TERME GREC « ΔΙΑΦΩΤΙΣΜΟΣ » ?

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The neologism διαφωτισμός seems to appear in Greek in the second half of the nineteenth century as an adaptation of the terms *Aufklärung*, *Enlightenment* and *Illuminismo*. However, the Greek term is found as early as the twelfth century in the writings of Eustathius of Thessalonica. His unpublished text was first published in an 1832 edition.

Keywords: neologism διαφωτισμός *Aufklärung* Enlightenment Eustathius of Thessalonica 12th century.

À la mémoire de Constantin Dimaras

Le terme « διαφωτισμός » n'existe pas en grec ancien ; c'est « διαφώτισις » qui existe. Dans sa compilation des néologismes créés par les Grecs depuis la prise de Constantinople jusqu'en 1900, Stéphanos Koumanoudis dit avoir trouvé le mot « διαφωτισμός », en date de 1887, sous la plume d'Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos. Koumanoudis y accole d'emblée le terme allemand « *Aufklärung* », suggérant ainsi l'origine probable du mot grec.¹

La date proposée par Koumanoudis (1887) se retrouve sans examen critique dans plusieurs ouvrages, en particulier dans les dictionnaires de la langue grecque moderne, de même que dans le dictionnaire étymologique de G. Babiniotis.²

Certes, le néologisme grec « διαφωτισμός » semble rendre à la perfection les appellations allemande, anglaise et italienne : *Aufklärung*, Enlightenment et illuminismo, comme le rapporte C. Th. Dimaras.³

¹ Στ. Κουμανούδης, *Συναγωγή νέων λέξεων υπό των λογίων πλασθεισών από της Αλώσεως μέχρι των καθ' ημάς χρόνων*, τ. Α', Αθήνα, Τύποις Π.Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1900, p. 287. Cf. réédition avec introduction de C. Th. Dimaras, Athènes, Ermes, 1980.

² Γ. Μπαμπινιώτης, *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας*, Αθήνα, Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας, 2002, p. 499. L'auteur affirme qu'il s'agit d'un μεταφραστικό δάνειο [calque linguistique]. Du même, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας*, Αθήνα, Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας, 2009, p. 365. Cf. *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών – Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη, 1998, p. 370 : « διαφωτισμός », calque linguistique de *Aufklärung*.

³ Κ.Θ. Δημαράς, *Ο ελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*. Ανάτυπον από τον τόμον Ι' της *Μεγάλης Ελληνικής Εγκυκλοπαιδείας*, Αθήνα, 1964, p. 11 et 41. Cf. Κ.Θ. Δημαράς, *Ο Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα, Αθήνα, Ερμής, ³1983, p. 1 et 431.

Pourtant, dans une publication ultérieure, Dimaras met en doute la date de 1887 proposée par Koumanoudis, qu'il juge trop tardive. À une époque où les chercheurs ne disposaient pas des secours de l'informatique, Dimaras avait trouvé au cours de ses lectures le mot « διαφωτισμός » dans un discours de Dimitrios Vernardakis de 1862 : *Λόγος εισιτήριος εις το μάθημα της γενικής ιστορίας εκφωνηθείς τη 20 Ιανουαρίου 1862*.⁴

Grâce à l'informatique, j'ai pu repérer, de mon côté, le mot « διαφωτισμός » dans le dictionnaire encyclopédique de Pétros Gérakakis, imprimé à Smyrne à la même date de 1862: *Λεξικόν Εγκυκλοπαιδείας περιέχον τα κυριώτερα των επιστημών και τεχνών, Συγγραφέν μεν γαλλιστί υπό εταιρείας σοφών ανδρών και τη επιστασία του Ιππότου D'Arteau εκδοθέν, μεταφρασθέν δε κατ' επιτομήν εκ του γαλλικού υπό Π. Γερακάκη και εκδοθέν υπό του αρχιμανδρίτου και ιεροδιδασκάλου Παρθενίου Καισάρεως. Τόμος δεύτερος. Εκ του Τυπογραφείου της Αμαλθείας. Εν Σμύρνη, 1862, p. 451.*

Mais le plus étonnant est qu'une recherche plus poussée par ordinateur m'a permis de trouver le terme « διαφωτισμός » dans un volume imprimé à Francfort-sur-le-Main en 1832 par Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich Tafel et qui s'intitule : *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula... nunc primum edidit Theophil. Lucas Frider. Tafel, Sig. Schmerber, Francfurti ad Moenum, 1832*. Le mot se trouve dans le texte IX [In Ananiam, Azariam, Misaëlem SS martyras], édité en grec pour la première fois, à la page 51 : il est rédigé par l'érudit byzantin Eustathe, évêque de Thessalonique, qui vécut au douzième siècle. La phrase se lit comme suit :

« Τοιοῦτος ὁ διαφωτισμός, δυσὶ λύσεσιν ὡς οἷα καὶ λυχνίας καταλάμπων τὴν τοῦ ἀποροῦντος λογισμοῦ σκότωσιν, ὧν λύσεων ἡ μὲν ἐπιφαίνεται, ἡ δὲ καὶ τι βάθους ἔχει. »⁵

En guise de conclusion : d'une part, on peut considérer qu'à partir de 1832 le mot « διαφωτισμός » circule dans les cercles érudits en Grèce comme dans l'Europe savante. La réputation d'Eustathe, commentateur d'Homère et de Pindare, avait de quoi piquer la curiosité du public grec cultivé. Il est probable qu'une recherche avancée permettrait de trouver le mot « διαφωτισμός » sous la plume d'intellectuels grecs de l'époque, férus de textes médiévaux. Par ailleurs, certes, le terme « διαφωτισμός » a pu longtemps passer pour un parfait calque linguistique des néologismes étrangers, mais il s'agit bel et bien d'un vocable inédit qui précède ces derniers de plusieurs siècles.

⁴ Κ.Θ. Δημαράς, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Αθήνα, Ερμής, ⁵1989, p. ιε' et 463. Cf. aussi Anna Tabaki, *Περί νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού*, Αθήνα, Ergo, 2004, p. 29.

⁵ Cf. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus* [...] accurate J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiæ Græcæ Tomus CXXXVI*, 1865, p. 296 c. L'éditeur Migne traduit : « sequens elucidabit explanatio, duabus solutionibus tanquam facibus illustrans obscuræ sententiæ caliginem : quarum quidem solutionum una clara est, altera quid profundi habet. » *Ibid.*, p. 295, 10. La *néologie de forme* « διαφωτισμός » (XII^e si.) acquiert la valeur de *néologie de sens* après sa divulgation en 1832, dans la foulée du texte d'Immanuel Kant, « Was ist Aufklärung ? » (1784). Cf. Jean Dubois *et al.*, *Dictionnaire de linguistique*, Paris, Larousse, 1989, p. 334–335 : néologie.

STUDY OF THE ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS № 36 AND 39 OF THE MASHTOTS MATENADARAN

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The second collection of Armenian fragments in Mashtots Matenadaran consists of 2258 items, which are valuable in quantity and scientific significance. This rich collection was primarily compiled from historically leaves in the Matenadaran manuscripts, separating the relics of older manuscripts. Additionally, some fragments were brought from Vaspurakan and Taron in 1915-1916, and materials were collected by scientific expeditions in various regions of Armenia in 1930-1936. Furthermore, several hundred fragments were purchased or received as gifts from diverse individuals. By manuscript fragments, we mean individual parts of old manuscripts that have not survived entirely. These fragments can be found in relatively new manuscripts as leaves and sometimes as covers or book bindings. This article focuses on the Armenian manuscript fragments № 36 and 39 of Mashtots Matenadaran. In this article, our task is to conduct a thorough archaeological, manuscript, and art examinations of the mentioned fragments.

Keywords: fragment, garf-leaves, manuscript, Gospel, Mashtots Matenadaran, marginal, semi-altar, century, decoration.

When dealing with manuscripts and even old printed books, we sometimes encounter manuscript fragments from an earlier period. By manuscript fragments, we mean individual parts of old manuscripts that have not survived entirely. These fragments can be found in relatively new manuscripts as leaves and sometimes as covers or book bindings¹. This article focuses on the Armenian manuscript fragments № 36 and 39 of Mashtots Matenadaran.

Before discussing the Armenian manuscript fragments № 36 and 39, it's significant to provide a brief overview of the manuscript fragments. The second collection of Armenian fragments in Mashtots Matenadaran consists of 2258 items, which are valuable in quantity and scientific significance. This rich collection was primarily compiled from historically leaves in the Matenadaran manuscripts, separating the relics of older manuscripts. Additionally, some fragments were brought from Vaspurakan and Taron in 1915–1916, and materials were collected by scientific expeditions in various regions of Armenia in 1930–1936.

¹ G. Muradyan and A. Topchyan, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscript Fragments of the Mekhitarist Library in Vienna*, Yerevan, 2012.

Furthermore, several hundred fragments were purchased or received as gifts from diverse individuals².

In recent years, the description of this valuable collection has begun at Mashtots Matenadaran. Cataloguing of the fragments started in 2013 under the direct leadership of Gevorg Ter-Vardanean³. Most of the fragments, as previously mentioned, are former garf-leaves separated from their complete manuscripts in the early part of the last century. The garf-leaves are treated as separate manuscripts and described using the questionnaire developed for the full manuscripts. They possess unique characteristics, which created the “Questionnaire for the description of fragments” after a preliminary examination of the necessary material⁴. The number of a fragment begins with its designation (for example, “Gospel”), followed by the date. If it was a manuscript leaf previously, the relevant information is drawn from the Mashtots Matenadaran’s brief “Main Catalogue”, including the manuscript number, title, scriptorium, date, names of the scribe, painter, compiler, and recipient or client (if known), along with the material and dimensions. Next, details such as the number of pages, dimension, line size, font, number of columns (single column, two columns, or three columns), column spacing, number of lines, line height, letter height, line spacing, punctuation, miniatures, overall condition, drawings, scrawls, and stamps are documented. The complete decoding of the fragment text is provided afterwards. To indicate particular features of the text, following symbols are used: hard-to-read or illegible parts are restored in square brackets []. A square bracket on either side, [or], indicates that a portion of the text is missing due to a cut or tear. The slashes (///) signify illegible areas of the fragment.

First, we provide a brief scientific description of the fragments to present this questionnaire more objectively and enhance understanding of the essay.

Fragment № 36: Gospel of John

11–12th centuries

NUMBER OF FOLIOS: 1 (The fascicle number A has been preserved in the lower margin 1a). MATERIAL: Parchment. DIMENSIONS: 24 × 18.5 cm. WRITING FIELD: 21.5 × 14.7 cm. NUMBER OF COLUMNS: 2. SCRIPT: Oblique rectilinear majuscules. The initial letter is in black and gold. LINE: 21, no WORD SEPARATION.

The approximate date of the writing of the manuscript of the fragment № 36 can only be determined through detailed archaeological, manuscript, and art examination. The primary method involves comparing the fragment’s majuscule writing with that of nearly identical manuscripts. As noted, the line height of the

² “Mayr Tsutsak,” (The Main Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of Mashtots Matenadaran), Vol. I, 1965, p. 195.

³ I express my gratitude to my teacher of blessed memory, Gevorg Ter-Vardanean, a Doctor of Historical sciences, who made significant contributions to Manuscript Study.

⁴ “Mayr Tsutsak,” (The Main Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of Mashtots Matenadaran), vol. VII, Yerevan, 2012, p. 6–7.

fragment № 36 is 1.6 cm, with an individual letter height of 0.6 cm and a line spacing of 0.7 cm. Our dating is approximate and subject to error, as it is based purely on archaeological features, which cannot always be perfectly accurate. We compared the writing style of the fragment with dated manuscript photographs and chronological tables found in the latest archaeological handbook, “Album of Armenian Paleography⁵”, as well as with Gospels dated to the 11th and 12th centuries that are kept in Matenadaran.

After conducting a comparative examination of the oldest Gospels stored in Matenadaran, which have fixed dates, we discovered that the manuscripts most similar to the fragments in terms of appearance and size are MS 275 (dated 1078, scribe: Hovhannes, recipient: Smbat Patrik) (see picture 3), MS 288 (dated 1099, from Alexandria, scribe: clergyman Aharovn, recipient: John), and MS 7635 (dated 11, scribe: Sosthenes). Based on this analysis, the fragment is likely from an unpreserved manuscript Gospel, measuring 24 × 18.5 cm and 25 × 17 cm, dating back to the 11–12th centuries.

The fragments are also valuable due to their miniature decorations. They represent some of the earliest examples of artistic design in the first pages of the Gospels.

The following two fragments show the first pages of the Gospel of John.

The first page of John of fragment № 36 features two frontispiece semi-altars, elaborate first letters, ornamental letters, and a margin ornament crowned with a cross (see Picture 1). The decoration of the first-page composition in Armenian manuscript art began in the early 11th century and continued until the 12th century⁶. The essential components of this composition – the frontispiece, the first letters, the symbol of the evangelist, and the right margin ornament crowned with a cross to mark the lection-remained consistent while becoming richer in content over time⁷.

The entire field of the frontispiece is beautifully ornamented. On the golden background, vegetal and geometrical woven patterns are depicted. Beneath the intricately stylized opening, the title of the corresponding chapter is displayed. Each of the two semi-altars features a well-known pi-shaped (π) decoration positioned above their respective columns: the first semi-altar is labelled Evangelist John, while the second bears the inscription *Gospel of John*. The altars of MM MS 2066 garf-leaf (see Picture 2) resemble the design of the first page of fragment № 36, also based on the stylization of the pi-shaped (π) altar⁸ (see Picture 4). The upper parts of the semi-altars are adorned with angular ornaments crafted from

⁵ See M.E. Stone, D. Kuymjian and H. Lehmann, *Album of Armenian Paleography*, Etchmiadzin, 2002.

⁶ S. Manukyan, Formation of the title page in an Armenian manuscript book, Separate reprint from the journal *The Herald of Social Sciences*, 1991, No. 4, p. 99–100, T. Izmailova, *Armenian miniature of the 11th century*, Moscow, 1979, p. 103–181.

⁷ V. Kazaryan, M. Manukyan, *Matenadaran. Armenian manuscript book of the 6th–14th centuries*, vol. I, Moscow, 1991, p. 69–72.

⁸ I want to thank S. Manukyan, a researcher from the Department of Manuscript Study, for providing the pictures and information about manuscript garf-leaf № 2066.

plant motifs. This design is directly influenced by Byzantine manuscript styles such as the Lectorium altars from the late 11th century, housed in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki (see Picture 4).

There is a partition made of plants in the center of the semi-altars, with a bird depicted face-to-face on each side. This portrayal is inspired by Byzantine art. The earliest examples of bird-like designs can be traced back to the sculptures of the early Christian Byzantine period. One notable example is the relief of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, dating to the 12th century (see Picture 5). Similar to the fragment, this relief also features two mythological birds drinking water with belief from a spring in a face-to-face position.

The right side of the fragment features a vegetal margin ornament adorned with a crowned cross.

The earliest examples of script formation in Armenian manuscripts date back to the 10th century. By the late 11th century, decorated letters began to appear at the first pages of Armenian manuscripts and the beginning of chapters within the Gospel texts, as seen in our fragments. Here, the Gospel of John begins with the phrase “Ի ՄԿԶԲԱՆԷ ԷՐ ԲԱՆՆ – IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD,” where the letter “Ի” is magnificently decorated with gold and silver.

There existed a Gospel and a separate book of evangelical lections in the Byzantine and Latin worlds. In the Armenian tradition, these were summarized into the four Gospels. To visually emphasize and distinguish the beginning of the Gospel lections, Armenian Gospels began utilizing marginal ornaments at the end of the 10th century. These ornaments, while serving a functional purpose, evolved into a significant and integral part of the illustration system in Armenian manuscripts. Initially, the marginal decorations were simple signs featuring geometric patterns, circles, crosses, and various vegetal motifs⁹. Over time, these designs developed, reaching their final form by the 12th century, with different miniature schools producing their versions.

These marginal ornaments were often adorned with crosses on the first pages. In the lower section of the margin ornaments—similar to those found above altars – two birds are depicted symmetrically around a chalice, representing the Christian faith and spiritual rebirth. These birds face each other, and in the center, the chapter number of the Gospel is written in miniscule letter – A.

Now, let us examine the artistic design of the first page of John of fragment № 39, which is markedly different from the first page of fragment № 36.

Fragment № 39 Gospel of John

12–13th centuries

NUMBER OF FOLIOS: 1. MATERIAL: Parchment. DIMENSIONS: 29.5 × 22 cm, WRITING FIELD: 25 × 17 cm. NUMBER OF COLUMNS: 2. COLUMN

⁹ S. Manukyan, *Rubrication in the Illumination System of Armenian Manuscript Gospels*, Abstract, Yerevan, 2008, p. 16.

SPACING: 2.8 cm. SCRIPT: majuscule, sometimes written in red and black ink. LINES: 12. No partition between words, but the FIRST LETTER is distinguished.

CONTENT: Gospel of John (Ch. A, Number 1 – Ch. A, Number 7).

The first page of John's fragment № 39 features a magnificent frontispiece resembling a semi-altar. The ornamentation includes a quilled initial letter and decorative margins crowned with a cross (see Picture 6).

The entire frontispiece is adorned with vegetal and geometric patterns woven into a red base. It has a complex, stylized three-arched opening. On either side of the woven design, there are depictions of crown-bearing sirins¹⁰. In the center of the frontispiece, two birds are symmetrically positioned around a chalice. To the right, there is a vegetal margin ornament, also crowned with a cross.

Stylized vegetal ornaments rise from a jar-like vessel, taking the form of branches and shoots that symbolize the vegetal ideograms of fertility¹¹. An important feature of John's first page is the initial letter, which is illustrated with a quilled capital letter, unlike the first page of fragment № 36. The letter "P" is shaped like a dragon, and an eagle emerges from its mouth. The eagle is a symbol associated with John the Evangelist. The lines that follow the letter "P" read: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God," and they are written using ornaments.

This fragment shares similarities with 13th-century Cilician miniatures in terms of artistic decoration. The colour palette of Cilician miniatures from this period is predominantly red, as seen in this fragment. For example, a 13th-century illustrated Gospel's first page housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York shows close ties to fragment № 39. This manuscript was both written and illustrated in Cilicia by the painter-scribe Grigor (see Picture 7).

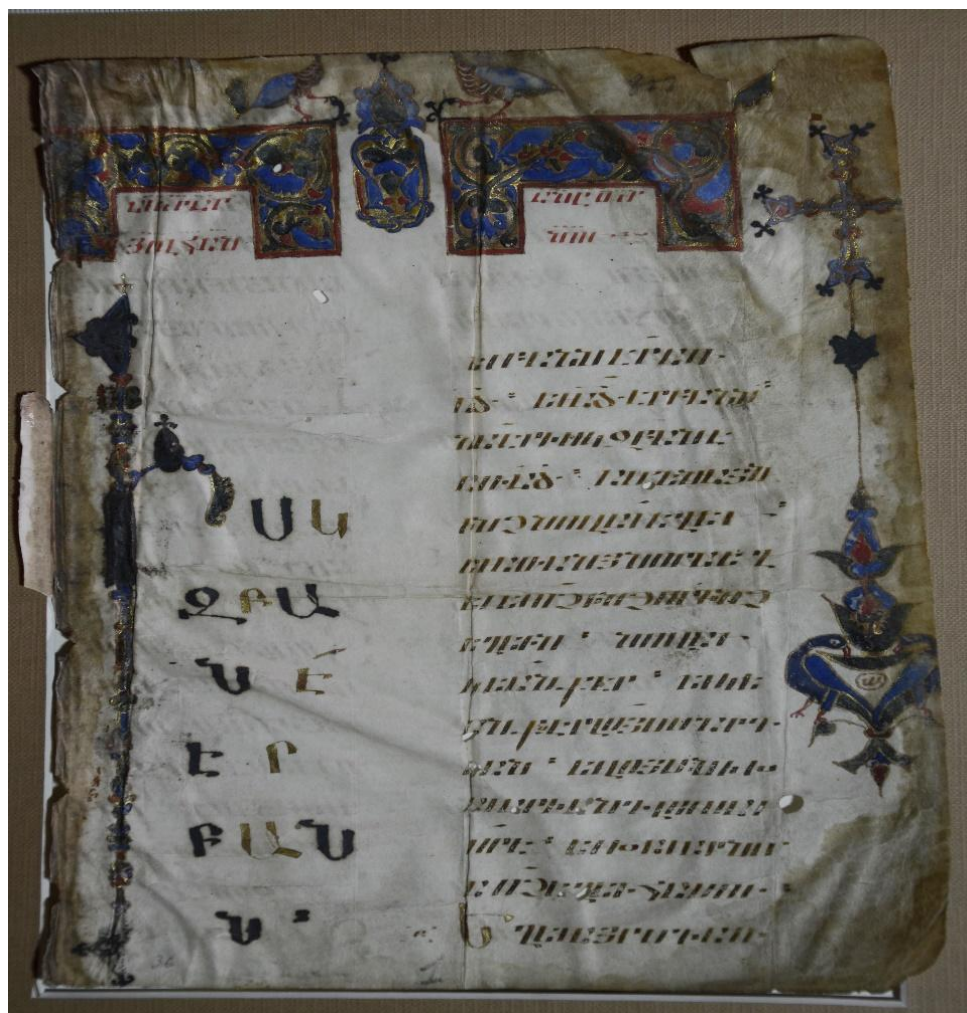
The three-arch design of the altar, the inscription inside, the depiction of sirins, the corner decorations, and the cross-crowned margin ornament closely resemble the design found on the first page of fragment № 39.

Based on the miniature and its similarities to manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries, we can conclude that fragment № 39 corresponds to the first page of one of the earliest manuscript Gospels written in Cilicia. Consequently, this fragment is dated to the late 12th century or early 13th century. Our study of fragment № 39 has led us to identify it as one of the earliest examples of the Cilician school of miniatures.

This article presents a comparative and art analysis of the earliest miniatures, particularly on altars. The stylistic and design features of the first pages of the fragments reflect the oldest traditions of manuscripts known to us. We hope that, in the future, additional fragments will be discovered to enhance our understanding of the early development of Armenian miniature traditions based on the examples we currently have.

¹⁰ Sirins are mythical spirits with the body of a bird and the face of a woman.

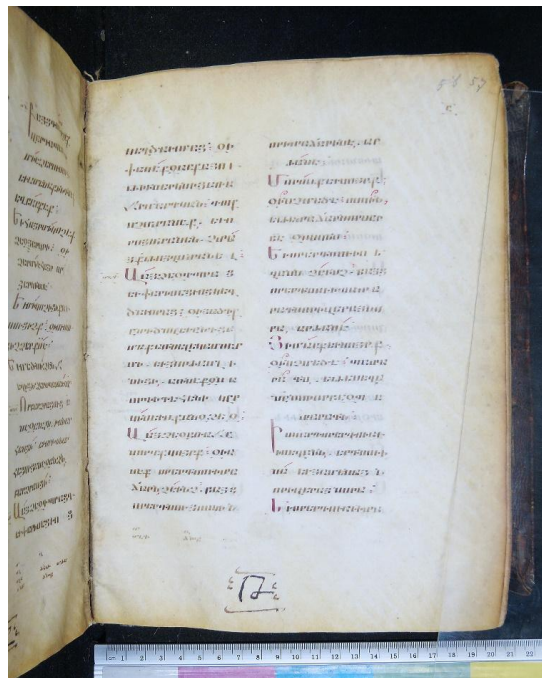
¹¹ A. Mnatsakanyan, *Armenian Ornamental Art*, Yerevan, 1955, p. 2.



Picture 1, Fragment MM № 36.



Picture 2, garf-leave of MM MS 2066.



Picture 3, MM MS 275.

Picture 4, Altar of Lectorium, 11th century, (Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki).



Picture 5, The relief of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, dating to the 12th century.



Picture 6, Fragment № 39.



Picture 7, Manuscript, 13th century, Cilicia, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

NAISSANCE DES QUARANTAINES EN VALACHIE (1830)

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In response to the unpredictable spread of plague and cholera epidemics in Europe and the Middle East, in the early 1830s a cordon sanitaire was established along the southern border of Wallachia. Quarantines and lazarettos were the main means of fighting against the sanitary danger spreading, especially from the southern regions of the Danube. The establishing the first quarantines stations along the Danube frontier was a long and demanding undertaking. It required the careful selection of appropriate locations, as well as the recruitment and on-site training of personnel. Our paper investigated the first efforts of the Wallachian authorities to establish quarantines and enforce sanitary regulations as tools to control the disease spreading through social mobility.

Keywords: quarantine establishment, health regulations, epidemic control, implementation challenges, Wallachia, 1830s.

La mise en place de « quarantaines et lazarets » le long du Danube comme mesure de protection sanitaire contre la propagation des épidémies de peste ou de choléra provenant du sud du fleuve fut prévue par le Traité d'Andrinople, signé le 14 septembre 1829. Dans un délai très court, les autorités des deux principautés danubiennes – la Valachie et la Moldavie – mirent en place, sous la direction et la supervision des autorités russes, les premiers dispositifs modernes de contrôle (quarantaines, lazarets, bureaux d'échange¹) destinés à surveiller rigoureusement la mobilité transfrontalière à la frontière sud de la Valachie. Les plans de ces établissements furent rapidement élaborés, jusque dans les moindres détails, conformément aux instructions inscrites dans le tout premier règlement des quarantaines², ainsi qu'à une série de « recommandations appropriées »³, que les

¹ Les « bureaux d'échange » (*oboare de schimb*, parfois *cantoare de schimb*) ou, pour reprendre le syntagme utilisé par Victor Taki, « cours d'échange » (*curți de schimb*), calque du russe *menovye dvory* (меновые дворы), étaient mis en place juste pour faciliter les échanges commerciaux entre les communautés des deux rives du Danube : Victor Taki, *Rusia și Țările Române. Imperiu, elite și reforme între 1812 și 1834*, Bucarest, Corint, 2024, p. 323. I.C. Filitti (*Principatele Române de la 1828 la 1834. Ocupația rusească și Regulamentul Organic*, Bucarest, Inst. de Arte Grafice « Bucovina », 1934, p. 210) utilise pour ce type de quarantaines du troisième ordre le syntagme *birouri de schimb*.

² *Așezământul carantinesc (l'Institution quarantenaire)*, déc. 1829, 50 articles.

³ Expression utilisée dans SANIC, Fond Ministerul de Interne – Serviciul Sanitar (désormais MI-SS), 1/1830, f. 18.

correspondances interinstitutionnelles⁴ de l'époque conservent comme sources documentaires. Ces dispositifs feront l'objet d'ajustements au cours de l'année 1830, et plus encore dans les années suivantes.

La création du système de quarantaines à la frontière danubienne entre les Principautés roumaines⁵ et l'Empire ottoman aura contribué indirectement à l'assouplissement de la politique sanitaire dans l'Empire russe, le long du Prut et du Dniestr⁶.

Les débuts

Rédigée et annoncée à la fin de l'année 1829, l'*Institution quarantenaire* (*Așezământul carantinesc*) fut le premier document réglant l'organisation et le fonctionnement de nouvelles formes de protection sanitaire le long du Danube : les quarantaines valaques. Elle devint un repère législatif auquel les instructions et/ou les mesures sanitaires ultérieures firent souvent référence dans l'effort de révision continue et d'adaptation de leur contenu aux nouvelles situations d'alerte épidémique. En général, le danger imminent était placé à proximité du territoire valaque, l'apparition et/ou l'expansion de la peste ou du choléra étant inévitablement et fatalement observées, le plus souvent, au sud du Danube. C'est pourquoi le préambule de ces documents (règlements, instructions sanitaires, etc.) justifiait leur rédaction par la nécessité de combattre le risque sanitaire dans la région la plus vulnérable pour la sécurité de la santé publique – les provinces des Balkans. A mesure que l'expérience de la vie et de la mort dans la zone d'épidémie de peste et de choléra devenait une réalité commune en Europe occidentale, du sud-est et de l'est, les informations sur l'état de santé des populations de différentes régions circulent de plus en plus fréquemment (Trieste, Constantinople, Vidin, Cladova, Odessa, etc.).

⁴ *Ibid.*: Divanul Săvârșitor către Spătărie (le Divan exécutif à la Spatharie), Spătăria către Comitetul Precurmării Molivmei (la Spatharie au Comité pour l'enraiment des épidémies), Comitetul către Spătărie (le Comité à la Spatharie), Divanul către ispravnicii de județe (le Divan aux ispravnic de districts), etc.

⁵ Ces dernières années, la littérature sur les quarantaines valaques s'est diversifiée avec la publication d'ouvrages ou d'études sur des thèmes moins étudiés : Constantin Ardeleanu, *O croazieră de la Viena la Constantinopol. Călătorii, spații, imagini, 1830–1860*, Bucarest, Humanitas, 2021; Bogdan Mateescu, *Giurgiu de la cetate la oraș: epoca modernizării (1830–1860)*, București, Integral, Mustang, 2023; Ștefan Petrescu, « Comitetul Carantinelor și controlul documentelor de călătorie în Țara Românească », in Constantin Ardeleanu (éd.), *De la ciuma lui Caragea la holera Balcanică. Epidemii, carantine și sănătate publică în epoca modernă*, Bucarest, Humanitas, 2024, p. 118–133; Victor Taki, *Rusia și Țările Române. Imperiu, elite și reforme între 1812 și 1834*, Bucarest, Corint, 2024; Lidia Trăușanu-Matu, « Povestea carantinei de la Călărași (1784–1863). Arhitectură, rețele sociale și agenți patogeni », in *Urbanitas. Revistă de studii urbane integrate*, 2, 2021, pp. 161–175 ; eadem, « “Biciul holerei” în principatele române. Epidemii, carantină și politici sanitare de la 1830 la 1865 », in Constantin Ardeleanu (éd.), *De la ciuma lui Caragea...*, p. 154–171, etc. On ne saurait ignorer l'importance des recherches antérieures ayant servi de base aux études publiées au cours de la dernière décennie.

⁶ Andrei Emilciuc, « Organizarea și funcționarea cordonului sanitar la hotarele dunărene ale Imperiului Rus (1812–1856) », *Tyrageia*, s.n., vol. XVII [XXXII], n° 2, 2023, p. 21.

Composée de cinquante articles, l'*Institution...* est organisée en huit chapitres traitant de sujets tels que la mise en place des quarantaines et des bureaux d'échange (chap. 1), la structure des locaux des quarantaines (chap. 2) et des bureaux d'échange (chap. 3), la procédure de contrôle des passagers et la désinfection des objets personnels (chap. 4), le protocole sanitaire appliqué dans les bureaux d'échange (chap. 5), l'organisation et la hiérarchie interne des fonctionnaires quarantenaires (chap. 6), la surveillance de la frontière sanitaire (chap. 7) et la responsabilité en cas de non-respect des règles de quarantaines (chap. 8)⁷. La rédaction de l'*Institution...* a sans doute eu lieu à la même époque que l'élaboration des plans et des feuilles descriptives des premières quarantaines danubiennes du cordon sanitaire valaque. La source principale que nous avons utilisée pour rédiger cette étude est un volumineux dossier conservé aux Archives Nationales de Roumanie à Bucarest, enregistré sous la cote du Ministère de l'Intérieur – Direction générale du Service sanitaire, et daté de 1830⁸. Ce dossier contient des règlements et des instructions qui ont servi de base à l'établissement et au fonctionnement des premières quarantaines valaques, des plans, des listes de matériaux, des devis estimatifs des coûts de construction des stations de quarantaine et du coût des substances nécessaires au processus de désinfection, ainsi que des témoignages concernant les incertitudes ou les difficultés apparues lors de l'organisation sanitaire de la frontière sud de la Valachie.

Le texte de l'*Institution...* contenu dans le dossier susmentionné est précédé par une décision de Kisseleff du 31 décembre 1829, qui figure sur un feuillet r^o-v^o non numéroté : « *M. le général-adjutant, à l'attention du Divan exécutif, n^o 12764, 31 décembre 1829.* »⁹ Ce document évoque les commencements de l'organisation du système institutionnel de protection sanitaire le long du cordon établi sur la ligne du Danube, par la nomination d'un grand inspecteur des quarantaines et de deux autres inspecteurs – l'un pour la Grande Valachie, l'autre pour la Petite Valachie ; il fait également état de la sélection du personnel auxiliaire, ainsi que de la présence des fonctionnaires russes. À ce stade de l'organisation, le texte entérinait l'importance du rôle que jouait le chef de l'armée dans la surveillance du cordon sanitaire. En attendant la formation d'un corps militaire structuré, les fonctionnaires russes participaient directement à la mise en place des quarantaines. La surveillance du cordon sanitaire était confiée aux régiments de cosaques :

« Étant donné que la garde territoriale ou l'armée en cours de formation dans la principauté doit être placée sous le commandement du *spathar*, la surveillance des quarantaines lui est également confiée. Toutefois, tant que la formation de ladite garde territoriale n'est pas achevée, l'organisation des quarantaines sera assurée par les fonctionnaires russes, et la surveillance de la ligne quarantenaire est confiée aux régiments cosaques. »¹⁰

⁷ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 1v^o–2v^o, 9r^o–10v^o. Version en russe, f. 27–35.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, avec numérotation ultérieure du feuillet, en crayon rouge, due sans doute à un archiviste, I, vol I.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, r^o–v^o.

Les emplacements choisis initialement pour l'installation des quarantaines furent révisés au cours de l'année 1830, si bien qu'en 1831 ils apparaissent légèrement modifiés¹¹. La même correction s'applique également à la classification de certaines quarantaines. Par exemple, l'établissement de Turnu est mentionné comme bureau d'échange (*obor de schimb*), à savoir comme quarantaine du troisième ordre (1830), mais fonctionnera comme quarantaine du deuxième ordre (1831), alors que celui de Pioa-Pietrii est désigné comme « quarantaine du deuxième ordre »¹², mais fonctionnera comme bureau d'échange. La terminologie reste parfois imprécise, les quarantaines et les lazarets étant associés à des réalités très similaires. Dans les documents administratifs du début de l'année 1830, le terme de « lazaret » est fréquemment employé dans des constructions synonymiques pour désigner en fait les « bureaux d'échange »¹³.

La correspondance des différentes institutions transportent le lecteur d'aujourd'hui à travers une pluralité d'univers qui contribuent à reconstituer des fragments de vie quotidienne, organisés institutionnellement : politiques, sanitaires, sociaux, économiques. Au-delà du pragmatisme situationnel des interdépendances décisionnelles qui sous-tendaient la mise en place du cordon sanitaire avec ses deux composantes (militaire et sanitaire), un aspect presque immatériel a retenu notre attention : l'aspect lexical, linguistique, fascinant par ses contrastes et par des constructions qui suggèrent la disponibilité et la perméabilité à la modernisation du vocabulaire d'une langue qui, en 1830, se servait encore de l'alphabet cyrillique et, plus tard, d'un alphabet « de transition ». Bien que marginale dans le contexte du thème que nous développons, l'analyse de la terminologie, des constructions lexicales et du mélange linguistique de termes autochtones, slaves, grecs, turcs, allemands ou français constitue un riche sujet pour de futures recherches.

Calendrier de la mise en place des quarantaines

L'organisation des stations de quarantaine commença depuis le Bas-Danube en direction du cours supérieur du fleuve, de Brăila à Cerneți. Les plans des quarantaines furent élaborés dans les bureaux de Bucarest du Divan exécutif et du Comité pour l'enraiment des épidémies, avec l'aide des représentants de la puissance protectrice (l'administration russe), et envoyés sur le terrain selon un

¹¹ Voir « Așezământul » (*Institution quarantenaire*, 1830) et « Regulamentul pentru carantine » (*Règlement pour les quarantaines*, 1831) ; « Așezământul » : neuf quarantaines et sept bureaux d'échange (art. 1, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 1v^o) ; « Règlement pour les quarantaines » : trois grandes quarantaines, quatre quarantaines « de deuxième main » et quatre « chantiers d'échange » ; Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, vol. I, Bucarest, Întreprinderile « Eminescu » S.A., 1944, p. 79.

¹² Art. 2, de l'*Institution quarantenaire*, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 1v^o. Le syntagme меновые дворъ (« cours d'échange »), qui apparaît dans les documents rédigés en russe, est traduit par les fonctionnaires valaques tantôt par « lazaret », tantôt par « obor de schimb », f. 18, etc.

¹³ *Ibid.*, f. 19.

calendrier qui était également porté à la connaissance de la Spatharie¹⁴. Un haut fonctionnaire de l'État¹⁵, ainsi que le grand inspecteur de la Grande Valachie, Dumitru Topliceanu, étaient chargés de se rendre le long du Danube pour organiser le système des quarantaines selon les plans dessinés et les « feuillets » détaillant les limites topographiques de ces installations, les bâtiments, leur emplacement et, parfois, les matériaux nécessaires, entre Brăila et Turnu. En Olténie, le *medelnitcher* Petrache Poenaru¹⁶, inspecteur de la Petite Valachie, était responsable de la mise en place des quarantaines et des bureaux d'échange entre Islaz et Cladova-Cerneți. Le calendrier était le suivant :

– Brăila, 1 mars 1830	– Turnu, 30 mars
– Ploaia-Pietrii, 6 mars	– Izlaz, 2 avril
– Călărași, 10 mars	– Bechet, 5 avril
– Oltenița, 15 mars	– Izvoarele, 8 avril
– Giurgiu, 20 mars	– Calafat, 11 avril
– Zimnicea, 24 mars	– Cerneți, 16 avril.

Les quarantaines valaques ne furent pas construites à partir de zéro : le temps limité, la complexité des aménagements de l'espace destiné au contrôle des passagers et des marchandises, les bâtiments pour l'hébergement des voyageurs devant passer une période de « garde sous observation », les magasins pour l'entreposage des effets personnels et des marchandises, l'hôtellerie (*mărchitănia*), les maisons des fonctionnaires supérieurs (commissaire, sous-commissaire, médecin, sage-femme), ainsi que les logements destinés aux rangs inférieurs – y compris la hutte des croque-morts, la salle de fumigation (*afumătoarea*), le parloir (*oborul de vorbă*), la guérite de la garde (*butca caraulei*), etc. – rendaient impossible la construction d'une quarantaine à partir de zéro en deux ou trois mois seulement. Un certain nombre de locaux devaient donc être loués, notamment ceux destinés au logement des commissaires, des gardes et parfois des croque-morts, bien que ces derniers fussent généralement placés à proximité de la salle de fumigation. C'est pourquoi certains plans montrent des logements de fonctionnaires situés à l'extérieur de l'enceinte de la quarantaine. À la fin du mois de mars, Kisseleff nomma dans les quarantaines un fonctionnaire russe et un médecin de la peste pour les passagers, mais aucun logement n'avait encore été prévu pour eux¹⁷. La présence des fonctionnaires russes

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 18r°.

¹⁵ *Colejnic sovetnic* Miloș ou Milos, que nous n'avons pas encore identifié. *Kollejskiy sovetnik* (коллежский советник) = titre dans l'administration civile russe, équivalent au grade militaire de colonel.

¹⁶ Les critères qui ont motivé le choix de Petrache Poenaru étaient succinctement énumérés dans une correspondance datée du 26 février 1830 : « (...) honnête, diligent et zélé dans son service (...) ». Il devait se familiariser avec « les ordres du Gouvernement et le règlement relatif à la mise en place et au service des quarantaines », ensuite se présenter au mois de mars à Islaz pour « mettre en place les quarantaines aux endroits prévus » et donner « les instructions nécessaires » accompagné de deux hauts fonctionnaires d'État (le grand trésorier et le susnommé Miloș), MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 5.

¹⁷ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 300.

dans les quarantaines les plus importantes – Galați, Brăila, Călărași, Zimnicea, Calafat et Turnu – était considérée comme temporaire et servait à guider les fonctionnaires locaux, afin d'éviter les dysfonctionnements pouvant résulter d'une méconnaissance du flux d'activités propres aux quarantaines¹⁸. Les critères de sélection de ces fonctionnaires étaient liés à l'expérience acquise dans des activités similaires exercées dans les quarantaines russes au cours des années précédentes.

L'emplacement de la future quarantaine était choisi en fonction de plusieurs critères essentiels : sa proximité avec le Danube, l'existence de bâtiments à louer ou appartenant à l'État (« restés à la disposition des autorités »)¹⁹ leur état (fonctionnels ou nécessitant des réparations), la possibilité d'aménager des espaces utiles (entrepôts), s'ils n'existaient pas déjà, l'intensité de la mobilité transfrontalière et des échanges commerciaux avec les habitants de l'autre rive du Danube, etc. Le terme qui, dans les documents, est utilisé pour marquer l'emplacement d'une quarantaine est celui de « confins » : les confins étaient la limite d'un espace séparant des mondes, des religions, des intérêts géopolitiques ou économiques, la santé et la maladie, la vie et la mort, le désir de passer de l'autre côté et la répression de ce désir. Ainsi, en février 1830, dans la correspondance entre les différentes institutions de l'État, il est question de la nécessité de lancer un projet de « mise en place de quarantaines sur les confins du Danube »²⁰. Leur mise en place fut précédée par l'élaboration de plans, de feuilles descriptives recensant les matériaux nécessaires ou les bâtiments déjà existants, et par des visites sur le terrain visant à vérifier la compatibilité entre ces projections et les conditions réelles.

À Brăila, une équipe composée de membres du Comité pour l'enraiment des épidémies et de représentants des autorités locales – dont le commandant militaire et le préfet (*ispravnic*) de la ville – entreprit, au début du mois de mars 1830²¹, de chercher un emplacement adéquat « avec maisons et passage convenables »²². Leur attention se porta sur les entrepôts et les maisons turques inhabitées, situés dans le périmètre du port et abandonnés après la restitution à la Valachie de l'ancien raïa. Ici, apparemment, ce n'était pas l'existence d'immeubles appropriés ou pouvant être réparés, ou les petits bâtiments à construire qui posaient problème, mais l'approvisionnement en matériaux nécessaires, étant donné que la ville était située dans une zone de plaine dépourvue de forêts. Le transport des branchages, des planches pour les clôtures ou les portails, du bois pour les poteaux, des étais, etc., augmentait le coût des matériaux nécessaires à l'aménagement de la quarantaine de Brăila, puisque ceux-ci devaient être acheminés depuis Galați ou Focșani. À cela s'ajoutait la pénurie de main-d'œuvre, car à l'époque il n'y avait dans toute la région de Brăila que deux maçons et douze charpentiers, « et encore ceux-là

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1/1830, f. 372v^o, 373r^o, 425.

¹⁹ Brăila, *ibid.*, f. 73r^o. Voir les quarantaines de Brăila, Giurgiu, Turnu, anciens rayas turcs, et le régime des propriétés turques (maisons, magasins, boutiques).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 18 (le Divan exécutif au Grand spathar).

²¹ Le rapport est daté du 6 mars 1830.

²² MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 73.

[étaient] pauvres et sans crédit, au point qu'on ne [pouvait] leur confier la moindre somme d'argent »²³. Une solution pour réduire les coûts élevés de l'aménagement de cette quarantaine consistait à faire venir des ouvriers de Galați, « car ils étaient proches », ainsi qu'à récupérer des matériaux des maisons turques délabrées. Le rapport adressé au Comité par l'inspecteur de la Grande Valachie, D. Topliceanu, était daté du 6 mars et comportait en annexe un devis des matériaux nécessaires, des moyens de transport (charrettes), des coûts liés à la main-d'œuvre (manœuvres, maçons, charpentiers), ainsi qu'une feuille descriptive de la quarantaine et son plan²⁴.

La situation se compliqua au cours de l'année 1832, lorsqu'un certain Hussein Aga, kapoudji-bacha du Sultan, réclama la restitution de plusieurs bâtiments – maisons, entrepôts et échoppes – qu'il avait possédés à Brăila²⁵ avant la guerre russo-turque de 1828–1829. Hussein avait l'intention de vendre ces propriétés, qui avaient entre-temps été intégrées au site de la quarantaine. Sa demande fut transmise à Kisseleff par l'intermédiaire de l'ambassadeur de Russie à Constantinople, Apollinaire Petrovitch Bouténieff²⁶. Le Conseil administratif de Valachie fut chargé d'éclaircir « cette affaire »²⁷ dans les plus brefs délais, puisque les intérêts de l'État étaient en jeu et que ces intérêts étaient négociés par le représentant russe auprès de la Sublime Porte. L'enquête fut lancée à la suite d'un ordre envoyé par le Ministère de l'Intérieur (*Vornicia din Lăuntru*) à l'administration du district de Brăila: il s'agissait de déterminer le statut réel des bâtiments et les circonstances²⁸ dans lesquelles ceux-ci avaient été incorporés au patrimoine immobilier de la quarantaine. Finalement, la situation fut clarifiée sur la base de preuves financières antérieures et moyennant un dédommagement versé pour un magasin²⁹; il fut conclu que la station de quarantaine avait été « construite aux frais de l'État en 1830 »³⁰. En mars 1832, l'organisation de la quarantaine de Brăila, selon les plans initiaux³¹, était achevée, à l'exception du *perigavor*³².

²³ *Ibid.*, f. 73.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 73–77.

²⁵ SANIC, *Vornicia din Lăuntru* (ministère de l'Intérieur) 309 (desormais VdL 309), 229/1832, f. 1–2.

²⁶ Apollinaire Petrovitch Bouténieff (Аполлинарий Петрович Бутенёв ou Бутёнев), diplomate russe, ambassadeur de Russie à Constantinople (1829–1843 et 1856–1858) et au Vatican (1843–1855).

²⁷ Décision apparaissant sur le f. 2, VdL 309, 229/1832.

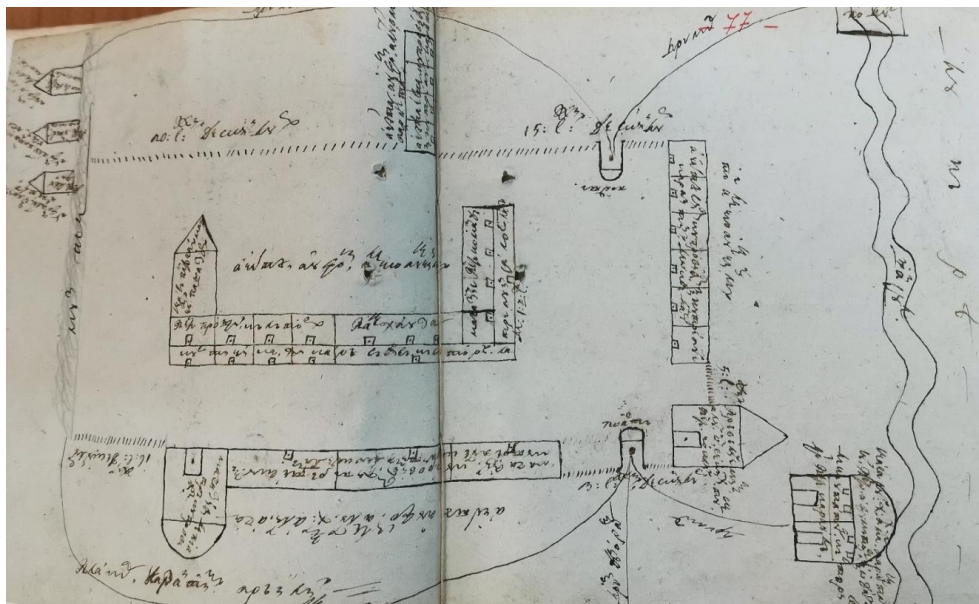
²⁸ Vente à l'encan ou à l'amiable, à qui ils avaient été vendus et pourquoi ils avaient été transformés en quarantaine, *ibid.*, f. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 8–9. En fait, le dédommagement concernait plutôt le contenu du magasin – plein d'aliments pour l'armée impériale, datant du temps de la guerre et que le Comité pour l'embellissement de la ville de Brăila avait vendus. Le montant du dédommagement reçu par Hussein fut de 8000 piastres, f. 9–11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 5.

³¹ Ces plans ne sont pas datés.

³² Affirmation de Ioan C. Filitti. Le *perigavor* était un espace aménagé avec des matériaux légers (clayons, planches, clôtures) nécessaire « pour pouvoir recevoir avec soin les passagers et les marchandises et les garder à l'œil jusqu'à leur entrée en quarantaine », Ioan C. Filitti, « Primii ani de organizare a Brăilei



Plan de la quarantaine de Brăila
SANIC, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 76v^o-77r^o.

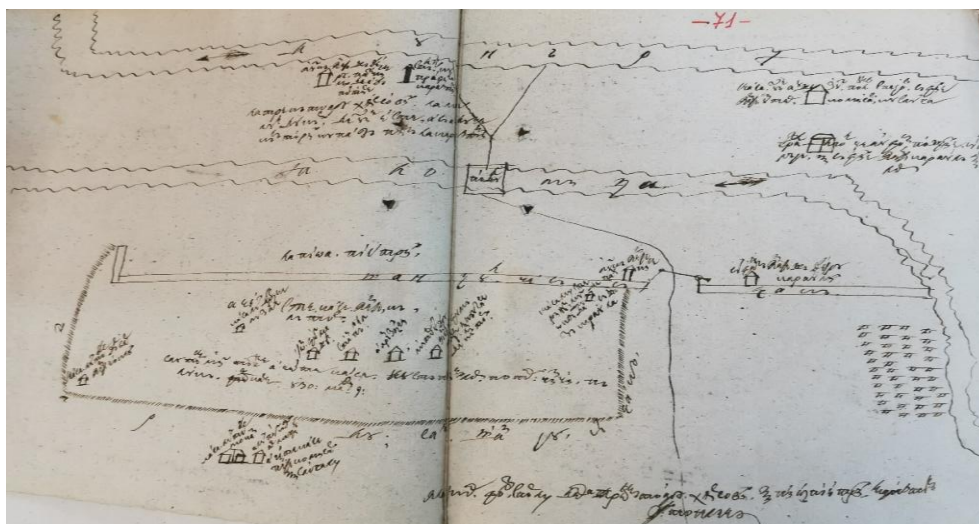
L'établissement de la quarantaine de Brăila fut suivie d'une visite sur le terrain du futur site quarantenaire de Ploia-Pietrii, ce point occupant une position importante dans le mécanisme de transit transfrontalier depuis les territoires turcs de la Dobroudja vers la Valachie. La future quarantaine était, sur le papier, composée de plusieurs enceintes délimitées par des clôtures en branchages et des fossés, à l'intérieur desquelles se trouvaient des maisons louées, des postes d'observation pour les gardes, une salle de fumigation, des barrières, etc. Il était prévu d'installer à l'extérieur de ce périmètre un poste militaire³³ chargé de vérifier les voyageurs, ainsi que les logements du commissaire et du sous-commissaire avec leurs employés (rapport du 9 mars). Ces logements sont placés sur le plan à proximité de l'espace quarantenaire. Sur la rive du Danube, « d'où les voyageurs doivent être conduits sous bonne garde à la station de quarantaine », était figuré un poteau à toit, sur lequel devait être cloué un exemplaire de la loi des quarantaines³⁴.

după eliberarea de sub Turci. Sub ocupația rusă de la 1828 la 1834 », *Analele Brăilei*, an II, n° 1, 1930, p. 14. Une autre signification, mentionnée par C. Velichi, est celle d'« enceinte »: « Lorsque le détachement entrera dans le *perigavor* de la quarantaine (...) », Constantin N. Velichi, *Conspiratorii*, Bucarest, Ed. Albatros, 1979, n., p. 59. Voir également Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Istoria orașului Călărași (Ialomița) de la origini până la 1852*, Bucarest, Institutul de Arte Grafice « E. Marvan », 1931, p. 139–140.

³³ « Forpost » ou « fortpost ».

³⁴ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 69.

Ce point, dont la fonction avait été dès le début conçue comme temporaire (« quarantaine provisoire »³⁵), était principalement destiné aux communications militaires avec la rive droite du Danube³⁶. L'inspection de l'emplacement de la quarantaine fut effectuée par des représentants officiels venus de Bucarest, le rapport de Topliceanu mentionnant l'absence du sous-commissaire et des employés³⁷. Par ailleurs, sur la carte des quarantaines valaques de 1831³⁸, la quarantaine de Pioa-Pietrii ne figure pas, mais celle de Gura Ialomiței, qui se trouvait à très peu de distance, y est indiquée. Selon le « Règlement des quarantaines », inclus dans le Règlement organique (1831), Pioa-Pietrii était considéré comme un point frontalier à faible trafic de marchands et de marchandises, raison pour laquelle une « petite quarantaine pour les échanges, dépendant de celle de Brăila » devait y être mise en place³⁹. Les deux points – Gura Ialomiței et Pioa-Pietrii – étaient interconnectés et assuraient un contrôle rigoureux de la mobilité dans la région. Pour l'année 1832, les informations issues de différents dossiers d'archives concernant le trafic humain transfrontalier dans la zone mentionnent Pioa-Pietrii comme ayant un statut de quarantaine⁴⁰.



Plan de la quarantaine de Pioa-Pietrii
SANIC, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 70v^o-71r^o.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 11, 201.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 68.

³⁸ *Almanahu Statului din Prințipatul a toată Țara Romanească din anul 1837*, Buda, Kr. Tipograf, 1837, jointe à la fin du volume.

³⁹ *Analele Parlamentare ale României*, t. I, Bucarest, Imprimeria Statului, 1890, p. 293.

⁴⁰ SANIC, Ministerul de Război (ministère de la Guerre), S. II (désormais MR, S. II), 41/1832, f. 3.

La topographie de la région de Călărași imposait la création de deux zones d'observation et de contrôle: un avant-poste à Vadul Sârbilor, où se trouvait un pont bien connu reliant les deux rives du Danube, et le lazaret, situé au sommet de la colline⁴¹, selon la feuille énumérant « les choses à préparer », datée du 12 mars 1830. Ce document était joint au plan et au rapport de l'inspecteur des quarantaines de la Grande Valachie, qui signalait également la nécessité de fixer des prix maximums en raison de l'augmentation des prix des aliments de première nécessité (pain, haricots, lentilles, oignons, riz) à Călărași. Cette mesure s'imposait pour éviter une pénurie des produits destinés à l'alimentation et au confort minimal (comme les bougies) des voyageurs et du personnel⁴².

En ce qui concerne la base matérielle de la future quarantaine, les huttes qui avaient appartenu aux cosaques – certaines en bon état, d'autres réparables – pouvaient être utilisées comme entrepôts ou comme logements pour le commissaire, le sous-commissaire et les préposés, et d'autres encore pour les passagers. À proximité des points d'entrée devaient être construits des postes d'observation pour les gardes, tant au pont du bras de Borcea, connu comme point de passage « La Vadul Sârbului », qu'à l'entrée de la quarantaine. Il était impossible d'estimer un devis précis, car les espaces existants pouvaient être adaptés pour le stockage des marchandises, ainsi que pour l'hébergement des fonctionnaires et des voyageurs, alors que pour la construction de nouveaux bâtiments, on récupérait les matériaux provenant des huttes dégradées⁴³.

À la fin du mois d'avril 1830, l'emplacement initial de la quarantaine de Călărași fut modifié : comme on estimait qu'elle se serait trouvée trop loin du pont sur le Danube, on décida qu'une meilleure solution était de l'installer à Vadul Sârâriei, « tout près du pont »⁴⁴.

Le long du Danube, la visite suivante sur le terrain fut entreprise à Oltenița, où devait fonctionner, selon les nouvelles règles, un bureau d'échange, comme l'indique le rapport du serdar Topliceanu du 15 mars 1830. Tout comme à Călărași, la topographie de la zone rendait nécessaire l'installation d'un avant-poste à l'embouchure de l'Argeș dans le Danube, un endroit que ceux qui traversaient ici le pont vers ou depuis Turtucaia connaissaient sous le nom de Vadul Gura Argeșului. L'opportunité et les risques liés à l'aménagement d'une petite quarantaine⁴⁵ dans la zone d'Oltenița furent analysés au moyen d'études ultérieures sur place, portant sur la qualité du sol, afin d'écarter le danger d'inondation, un phénomène fréquent dans les territoires frontaliers. Le 14 mai 1830, après avoir consulté les anciens du village⁴⁶, l'ispravnic et d'autres autorités locales annonçaient officiellement

⁴¹ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 88.

⁴² *Ibid.*, f. 87.

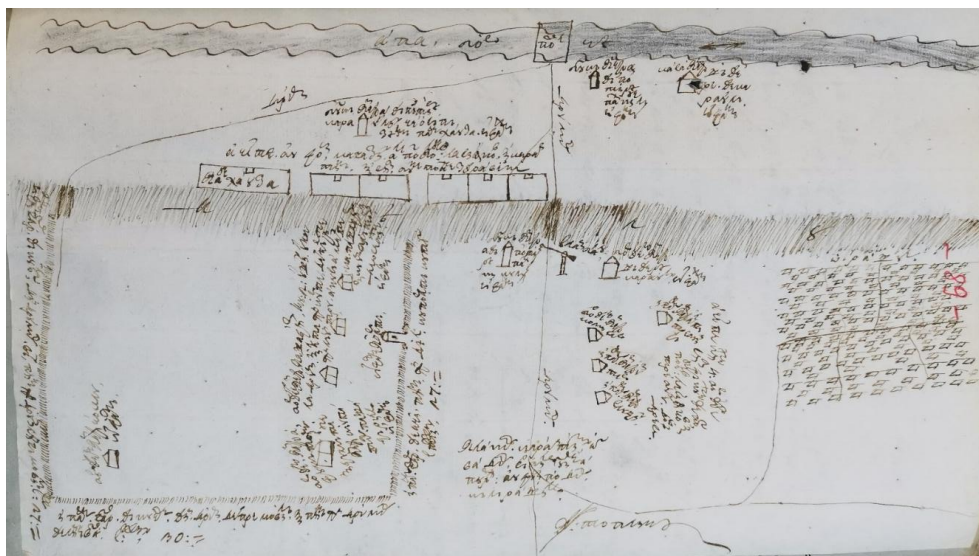
⁴³ *Ibid.*, f. 88.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 420.

⁴⁵ Élaborée vers la fin de l'année 1829, l'*Institution quarantenaire* ne mentionne pas Oltenița parmi les grandes ou petites quarantaines. En revanche, dans les règlements rédigés au début de l'année 1830 Oltenița figure parmi les petites quarantaines.

⁴⁶ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 81r^o-v^o.

l'identification de l'endroit idéal où installer le bureau d'échange : Limbedea Măglii⁴⁷. La veille, trois représentants de la communauté, accompagnés du prêtre, avaient délivré une « attestation »⁴⁸ écrite au nom du village, invoquant leur propre expérience ainsi que celle de la génération précédente, pour certifier que l'emplacement était approprié et à l'abri du danger des crues.



Plan de la quarantaine de Călărași
SANIC, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 89.

Le plan joint à ces correspondances est très détaillé, et les mentions qui y figurent pour désigner la catégorie de l'emplacement utilisent le terme de « quarantaine » : « cet endroit où sera installée la quarantaine s'appelle (...) » ou « le monceau de sel derrière la quarantaine (...) »⁴⁹, « chambres pour les gardes de la quarantaine »⁵⁰. La seule utilisation du terme « cour » (*obor*) sur la carte apparaît pour désigner l'emplacement du parloir, désigné par le syntagme « cour de discussions » (*obor de vorbă*)⁵¹. Seul le rapport de Topliceanu mentionne le statut de bureau d'échange, ce qui est confirmé par le fait que le plan n'indique aucun espace de logement pour les passagers ; n'y figurent que des espaces destinés aux marchandises, une chambre de désinfection par fumigations (ou « fumoir »), ou les

⁴⁷ Lieu non identifié. Sans doute un dérivé lexical désignant un espace géographique dont le nom précédent était « Limba de Măglă » = zone d'accumulation des alluvions en amont du confluent de l'Argeș et du Danube.

⁴⁸ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 82.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1/1830, f. 85v°.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 86r°.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

logements du personnel (administrateur⁵², croque-morts, gardes, etc.). L'imprécision des termes associés aux différents types d'aménagements quaranténaires – quarantaine, bureau d'échange, lazaret – est aujourd'hui aisément compréhensible: le vocabulaire oscillait entre termes archaïques et emprunts nouveaux, et le cordon sanitaire était une réalité inédite. Seule la succession des règlements, l'analyse de la correspondance et l'examen des plans peuvent nous fournir des informations précieuses et pertinentes permettant de comprendre les difficultés de ces débuts.

Pour le port de Giurgiu, la « feuille énonciative des choses à préparer », accompagnée d'un rapport et du plan de la quarantaine, était datée du 21 mars 1830. Les instructions et recommandations concernant la mise en place, le fonctionnement et les accès de la quarantaine de Giurgiu furent données en présence de l'*ispravnic* Manu, du commissaire, du sous-commissaire et des préposés. La quarantaine devait être aménagée dans un périmètre – « à la porte de la douane où se trouve le débarcadère pour les voyageurs qui arrivent »⁵³ – où les bâtiments nécessaires avaient déjà été repérés, la plupart peints en vert : la maison d'Ivan Lazarovici, celle du logothète Andrei « qui n'était pas présent »⁵⁴, celle du douanier Năstase, et une autre au numéro 13, « comportant trois pièces en bon état et sans maître »⁵⁵, etc. Les maisons en bon état étaient destinées au commissaire et au sous-commissaire ; celles nécessitant de petites réparations, aux passagers. Et, dans une fosse à côté de l'une des maisons, devaient être construites quelques cahutes « séparées au milieu par deux entrées munies de portes identiques »⁵⁶.

Le 27 mars 1830, D. Topliceanu envoyait un nouveau rapport à Bucarest au Comité pour l'enraiment des épidémies, annonçant la mise en place de la quarantaine de Zimnicea, en présence des autorités locales (archiviste, *ispravnic*, sous-commissaire, un représentant de la Spatharie, etc.). La « feuille énonciative des choses à préparer pour la quarantaine de Zimnicea » détaillait les espaces et bâtiments (maisons, huttes) à réparer, à redimensionner, en bon état ou à construire, destinés aux passagers et aux fonctionnaires de la quarantaine (commissaire, sous-commissaire, croque-mort, garde, etc.), ainsi qu'aux marchandises⁵⁷. Bien que les protocoles – consignes et instructions « de toutes sortes » – aient été remis par écrit aux employés, la quarantaine ne pouvait pas commencer ses activités concrètes parce qu'elle n'avait pas encore reçu les fournitures nécessaires, mentionnées dès le 24 février dans une correspondance que Topliceanu citait fréquemment pour justifier l'inopérance temporaire du cordon sanitaire au printemps 1830.

⁵² Ce genre d'administrateur (*zmotritel* ou *smotritel*, du russe *смотритель*, « administrateur », « surveillant ») était présent notamment dans les bureaux d'échange *Ibid.*, f. 429. V. aussi *ibid.*, f. 284 (le *smotritel* d'Oltenița), VdL 309: 374/1831 (du *smotritel* de Giurgiu); 338/1832 (le *smotritel* de Ialomița).

⁵³ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 207.

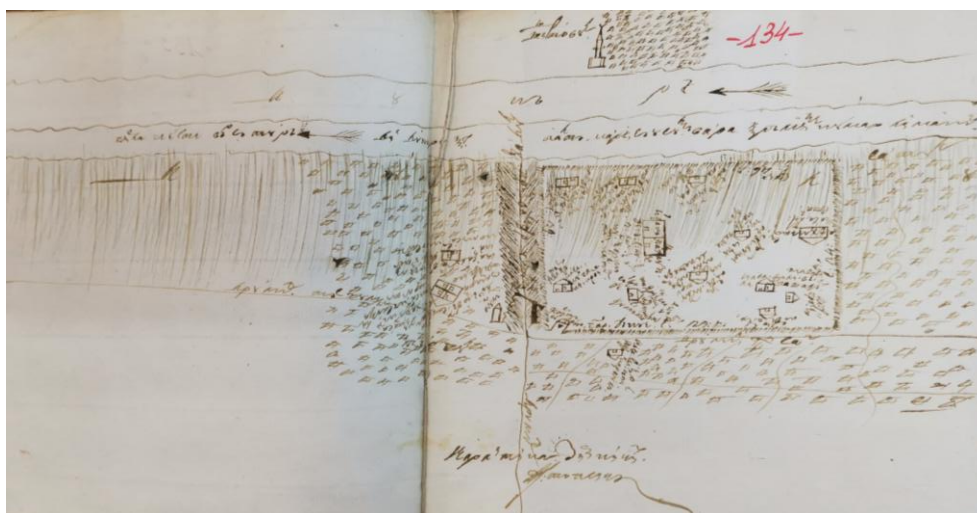
⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 132.

Les précautions prises par l'inspecteur de la Grande Valachie quand il s'agissait d'énoncer les difficultés inhérentes aux débuts de l'organisation des premières stations de quarantaine se manifestaient dans le contexte des nouvelles alarmantes annonçant l'apparition de la peste à Constantinople au cours du mois de mars. Les mesures de protection imposaient l'application rigoureuse des règlements sanitaires le long du Danube, notamment en fixant la durée de la quarantaine à 14 jours et en imposant la fumigation des marchandises et des vêtements des marchands et des voyageurs⁵⁸. La durée de la quarantaine était fixée et, au besoin, ajustée en fonction du contexte épidémique, du statut de la station, du flux de voyageurs, des régions d'origine des passagers, et des intérêts économiques (exportation, importation)⁵⁹.



Plan de la quarantaine de Zimnicea
SANIC, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 134.

Après Zimnicea, les fonctionnaires de l'État se rendirent à Turnu pour marquer la mise en place d'un bureau d'échange qui devait fonctionner selon le plan et la fiche descriptive joints au rapport au Comité (3 avril 1830)⁶⁰. L'absence des autorités locales pour diverses raisons (état de santé, urgences militaires) obligea Topliceanu et le haut fonctionnaire qui l'accompagnait⁶¹ à se rendre à Slatina pour remettre la documentation nécessaire à l'organisation du futur bureau

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 141.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 236 (nouveaux délais, 14 avril 1830)! Les nouvelles instructions concernant la durée de la quarantaine et les procédures de contrôle et de désinfection des personnes et des marchandises étaient transmises par estafette sur toute la ligne du Danube, *ibid.*, f. 237.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 203.

⁶¹ Le même conseiller Miloş.

d'échange. Celui-ci était situé sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne forteresse de Turnu, où l'ancienne caserne devait être réaménagée en quatre espaces distincts, avec des entrées séparées : un entrepôt (« pachauză », de l'allemand *Packhaus*) pour les voyageurs venant avec des marchandises du pays (au nord), un porche, un entrepôt pour ceux venant du sud du Danube (au centre), et une salle de fumigation (au sud) orientée vers le Danube, à proximité de laquelle se trouvait la hutte du croque-mort. La même enceinte abritait deux postes de garde, la maison de l'administrateur (avec un espace destiné à l'hébergement des préposés), le parloir et les ruines de l'ancienne mosquée. Une clôture de branches faisant rideau délimitait le rectangle du parloir « pour éviter que ceux venant de l'autre rive ne se mélangent avec ceux venant du pays »⁶². Entre l'enceinte de ce bureau d'échange et le Danube, à l'intérieur des murs de la petite forteresse « construits en pierre », il était prévu d'installer la cabane du gardien, orientée vers le Danube. Sur l'autre rive, on peut voir l'esquisse de la forteresse de Nikopol, avec sa mosquée. Le bureau d'échange de Turnu était bordé de deux cours d'eau permanents (ouest et sud - l'Olt et le Danube) ; à l'arrière, en direction du village de Măgurele, il y avait « la plaine qu'arrosent l'Olt et le Danube, et qui en été s'assèche »⁶³. En 1831, la station de Turnu est mentionnée dans le « Règlement des quarantaines », avec le statut de quarantaine du deuxième ordre⁶⁴.

La première étape de la mise en place des quarantaines (les visites sur le terrain pour la remise des plans et des feuilles énonciatives) avec la participation de l'inspecteur de la Grande Valachie, d'un haut fonctionnaire de l'État et des autorités locales, fut suivie, au mois d'avril, de l'intervention de la Spatharie pour avoir confirmation de la réception par les quarantaines des fumigants (vitriol, magnésium, sel). Ces matériaux arrivaient dans divers récipients – gros pots, flacons, bouteilles –, les plus petits étant parfois utilisés pour récupérer les substances contenues dans les gros pots cassés en chemin⁶⁵. Les matériaux fumigants étaient pesés et enregistrés, après quoi un accusé de réception était rédigé : « remettant au fonctionnaire un accusé de réception desdits matériaux »⁶⁶.

Les plus grands retards dans l'aménagement de l'espace quarantenaire par rapport au plan initial, étaient dus à l'absence des matériaux de construction nécessaires (bois, branches) et de la main-d'œuvre⁶⁷. Par exemple, l'aménagement de la quarantaine de Călărași avait été confirmé par le rapport de Topliceanu dès le 12 mars 1830, mais le 12 avril le commissaire de la quarantaine annonçait aux autorités de Bucarest que cet aménagement n'était pas encore terminé (le manque de branches pour les huttes rendait inutile la présence des manœuvres). Les délais

⁶² MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 204.

⁶³ Voir le plan du bureau d'échange de Turnu, *ibid.*, f. 206.

⁶⁴ Art. 180, in Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁶⁵ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 218.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 222 (Rapport du commissaire de la quarantaine de Brăila, Pârvu Locusteanu, à la Spatharie, 8 avril 1830).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 218.

supplémentaires fixés par les autorités de Bucarest – en général, d’une semaine – imposaient de trouver rapidement des solutions.

La nouvelle vague de peste qui se propageait depuis Constantinople vers les Balkans imposait d’accélérer la mise en place du cordon sanitaire le long de la frontière danubienne de la Valachie. À la mi-avril 1830, la situation ne semblait pas s’être améliorée dans le périmètre des cinq premières quarantaines déjà aménagées au cours du mois précédent à Brăila, Ploa-Pietrii, Călărași, Oltenița et Giurgiu. Les fonctionnaires de l’État – spathar, ispravnic, commissaires de quarantaine – se dérobaient en attendant des instructions précises et suivies. Le Divan Exécutif fut informé que les ispravnic de districts « n’[avaie]nt toujours pas fait aménager et réparer des locaux quaranténaires »⁶⁸. Il leur était donc ordonné, par l’intermédiaire du Grand spathar, d’intervenir rapidement pour remédier à ces inconvénients, sous peine de sanctions.

Dans le segment danubien de la Petite Valachie, la mise en place des quarantaines fut un processus que ni les autorités locales ni les voyageurs venant du sud du Danube ne semblaient assimiler rapidement, étant donné la diversité des consignes à respecter, d’une part, et des routines acquises au fil du temps, d’autre part. Au cours du mois d’avril 1830, des Serbes, des Bulgares et des Turcs arrivaient à Craiova sans documents attestant qu’ils avaient suivi les protocoles sanitaires (« sans preuve qu’ils ont été mis en quarantaine »⁶⁹), une situation qu’il fallait éviter à l’avenir selon les instructions transmises par Kisseleff. Aucun voyageur venu de l’autre côté de la frontière danubienne ne pouvait circuler librement dans la Principauté « sans avoir fait la quarantaine, et sans que soit indiqué sur les certificats qui leur [étaie]nt délivrés, qu’ils [avaie]nt respecté les règles quaranténaires et [s’étaient] purifiés »⁷⁰. Ces documents étaient délivrés à la sortie de la quarantaine et attestaient que le passager (voyageur, marchand, soldat, etc.) était resté en isolement sanitaire et avait désormais le droit de circuler dans le pays.

En Olténie, l’inspecteur de la Petite Valachie, accompagné de deux hauts fonctionnaires, devait « inaugurer » les emplacements des futures quarantaines, en présence des autorités locales (« les boyards ispravnic »⁷¹), qui ne participaient pas toujours à de pareils événements. Ce fut le cas le 13 avril 1830, à Calafat, où Petrache Poenaru ordonna aux commissaires de s’occuper de l’aménagement de la quarantaine, en l’absence des boyards responsables. La Spatharie rappela à l’inspecteur de la Petite Valachie que « Messieurs les ispravnic⁷² sont tenus par les dispositions de l’Honorable Divan de (...) veiller » à la mise en place de la

⁶⁸ 14 avril 1830, cf. correspondance du Divan au Grand spathar, *ibid.*, f. 230.

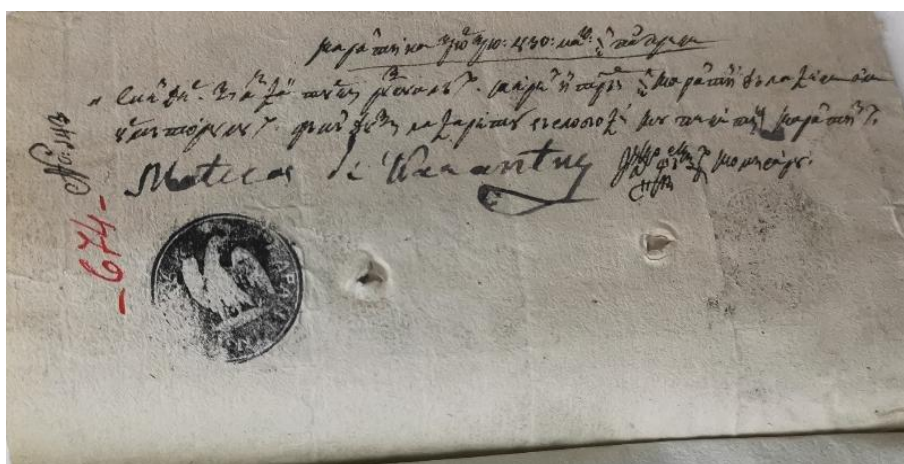
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 232.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* (10 avril 1830, Kisseleff au spathar de Valachie). À son tour, le spathar envoyait une copie des instructions de Kisseleff à l’inspecteur de la Petite Valachie, le medelnitcher Petrache Poenaru, pour qu’elles soient appliquées (24 avril 1830), *ibid.*, f. 233.

⁷¹ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 243.

⁷² Par conséquent, c’étaient les fonctionnaires civils (ispravnic) et non les militaires (commissaires) qui avaient ces attributions.

quarantaine, aussi était-il impératif de révoquer l'ordre en question. Par ailleurs, la correspondance entre Petrache Poenaru et la Spatharie révèle un autre aspect important de l'organisation des quarantaines danubiennes⁷³, à savoir le respect du calendrier fixé pour la mise en place du cordon sanitaire: « vous <P. Poenaru>, d'une part, vous déchargerez les commissaires de ladite tâche et, d'autre part, vous prendrez immédiatement des dispositions pour faire aménager cette quarantaine <Calafat> exactement comme le recommande la réponse officielle qui vous est envoyée au sujet de la quarantaine de Cladova, en veillant à ce que tous les espaces des quarantaines soient prêts dans les délais fixés (...) »⁷⁴.



No 143. Quarantaine de Giurgiu : 14 mai (1)830.

Skendir et Amza, Turcs de Roustchouk, entrés en quarantaine le 10 du mois courant et l'ayant faite, sont libres de partir, munis de ce laissez-passer portant le sceau de la quarantaine.

Commissaire Iancu Fărcășanu.

Certificat de sortie de la quarantaine de Giurgiu, 14 mai 1830⁷⁵
SANIC, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 674.

Les plans des quarantaines et des bureaux d'échange de la Petite Valachie ne sont pas aussi détaillés que ceux de la Grande Valachie. Par rapport aux plans signés par le serdar Topliceanu, apparaissent plutôt comme de timides esquisses dessinées à la hâte et manquant de détails descriptifs importants. L'inspecteur Petrache Poenaru les envoyait à la Spatharie, laquelle, à son tour, lui répondait par une série de remarques concernant l'absence de détails sur la nature des espaces aménagés pour le

⁷³ Le cordon sanitaire danubien avait deux composantes: une composante militaire (les piquets et les avant-postes) et une composante médicale (les quarantaines).

⁷⁴ MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 243.

⁷⁵ Version originale: "No 143. Carantina Giorgio: (1)830 maio în paispre(ze)ce. Skendir și Amza turci rușcali care-i intrat în carantină dă la zece ale următorului făcându-și lazaretu să sloboază cu pecetia carantinii. Iancu Fărcășanu Comisarul".

personnel (à louer ou à construire ?), leur destination (à Calafat la maison de l'administrateur et la hutte du fossoyeur manquaient ; à Bechet on n'avait pas prévu de salle de fumigation, etc.), sur l'état des pièces (réparables, terminées), sur le devis des maisons à louer ou des espaces à construire (huttes)⁷⁶, etc.

Difficultés

Les principaux obstacles à la mise en place des quarantaines, tels que relevés dans les correspondances étudiées, étaient : le manque de matériaux de construction et de fumigants (vitriol, magnésium, sel) la pénurie de main-d'œuvre, l'absence de personnel pour les quarantaines, les conflits d'autorité à l'intérieur des quarantaines, les problèmes de communication, le manque d'implication des autorités locales, en particulier des ispravnic, dans l'organisation et l'inauguration des quarantaines, ainsi que les conditions inappropriées d'hébergement des passagers.

Selon les rapports rédigés par le serdar Dumitrache Topliceanu, la réalité sur le terrain ne coïncidait pas toujours avec ce qui avait été discuté et établi par les autorités de Bucarest. Bien que tous les détails aient été approuvés dès le 24 février 1830, les visites effectuées en mars et avril sur les emplacements des futures stations de quarantaine révélèrent de nombreuses déficiences. Les rapports que l'inspecteur Topliceanu rédigeait et signait à la fin de ses visites commençaient par la phrase : « la mise en place de la quarantaine de ... étant achevée », mais en réalité l'aménagement des espaces quaranténaires se faisait au fur et à mesure, après l'approbation de la documentation et la confrontation de celle-ci avec les facilités logistiques et géographiques des emplacements choisis. En Petite Valachie, la mise en place des quarantaines s'est faite selon les plans reçus de Bucarest, les visites sur le terrain étant l'une des préoccupations de l'inspecteur Petrache Poenaru.

À Brăila, la structure de personnel de la quarantaine, dont les besoins avaient dès le 24 février été communiqués au Comité pour l'enraiment des épidémies, était toujours incomplet au 6 mars : la quarantaine n'avait ni commissaire, ni sous-commissaire, ni gardes, ni préposés⁷⁷.

Le 9 mars 1830, le rapport de Topliceanu sur sa visite à Ploa-Pietrii constatait l'absence de représentants locaux de l'armée et des employés nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de la quarantaine. Bien qu'aucun détail supplémentaire ne soit fourni, on peut supposer que le temps alloué à l'organisation de ce point avait été insuffisant pour permettre à tous les membres du personnel de se présenter à leurs postes, d'une part, et que l'emplacement choisi ne reflétait pas au mieux la réalité du flux transfrontalier sur le terrain, d'autre part. Un autre rapport, du 6 avril, constatait que ni les locaux à l'intérieur de l'espace quarantenaire, ni le fossé n'étaient encore aménagés conformément aux instructions, et que les manœuvres nécessaires aux travaux n'avaient pas été amenés⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 432.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 73v^o.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 216.

Trouver des fonctionnaires et les nommer aux postes convenus pour la surveillance du cordon sanitaire le long du Danube ne fut pas chose aisée au début des années 1830. L'adoption du règlement de fonctionnement des quarantaines (*l'Institution quarantenaire*), suivie de nouveaux projets de révision, fut naturellement complétée par l'identification de fonctionnaires qui prennent en charge les quarantaines. La correspondance de la Spatharie avec le Divan exécutif révèle la réticence de personnes nommées à ces fonctions à accepter les énormes responsabilités impliquées par de tels postes: les derniers articles de *l'Institution* stipulaient que toute infraction aux lois des quarantaines par les fonctionnaires supérieurs ou inférieurs serait punie de mort, de révocation ou corporellement. Cela explique sans doute pourquoi, au printemps de 1830 (3 mai), la Spatharie informait le Divan du semi-échec de cette étape de complétion des postes dans l'espace quarantenaire :

« Certains des fonctionnaires affectés aux quarantaines de la Grande Valachie, selon la note n° 29 envoyée à l'Honorable Divan, étant tombés malades et d'autres refusant d'y aller, la Spatharie, obligée de procéder à de nouvelles nominations, envoie la liste de ces noms afin de les faire connaître, et afin que soient libérés les fonds nécessaires... »⁷⁹.

Le manque d'ouvriers était un autre problème quasi général, que le commissaire de la quarantaine de Călărași reliait à l'inexistence des matériaux nécessaires à la construction des huttes, tels que les clayonnages, ce qui rendait inutile la présence de la main-d'œuvre⁸⁰. Les interventions hiérarchiques – du commissaire auprès de *l'ispravnic* du district – réduisaient à une semaine le délai dans lequel tous les travaux devaient être accomplis à l'intérieur de la quarantaine⁸¹.

Qui plus est, les matériaux de fumigation arrivent avec un grand retard dans les quarantaines et les bureaux d'échange fraîchement mis en place sur la ligne du Danube. Les rapports des commissaires mentionnent fréquemment ces insuffisances tant en Valachie qu'en Olténie.

Une autre difficulté qui se manifesta dans les premiers mois de fonctionnement du cordon sanitaire fut l'incertitude des rapports hiérarchiques dans l'exécution des ordres et des décisions concernant l'application des lois sanitaires. À Giurgiu, l'abus dans l'exercice de la fonction se manifesta par la tentative du médecin de saper l'autorité du commissaire de la quarantaine, à la fin du mois d'avril 1830. Une intense correspondance interinstitutionnelle reconstitue l'objet du conflit et clarifie les limites de compétence des personnages impliqués⁸². En bref, le commissaire avait refusé d'ouvrir la porte du lazaret à un groupe de « visiteurs » à sept heures du matin, deux heures avant l'heure officielle d'entrée

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 22.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 218.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, f. 423–426.

dans la quarantaine⁸³. Le médecin de la quarantaine tenta d'obtenir l'entrée des voyageurs, ordonnant au commissaire Iancu Fărcășanu d'ouvrir les portes, mais celui-ci refusa de le faire, ce qui déclencha toute une rhétorique institutionnelle quant aux compétences respectives des hauts fonctionnaires militaires et sanitaires. Le geste du médecin avait été perçu comme une tentative « pour miner ce qui repos[ait] sur les instructions, de nature à perturber l'ordre établi » et qualifié d'ingérence en violation de procédures déjà connues. L'incident amena le supérieur du commissaire à demander au Comité pour l'enraiment des épidémies des « précisions » sur les devoirs des médecins de quarantaine⁸⁴.

À Zimnicea, les locaux de la quarantaine n'étaient toujours pas terminés/réparés au début du mois d'avril, bien que les *ispravnici* de district chargés de cette mission aient été informés « par écrit (...) à deux reprises qu'ils devaient veiller à l'exécution de ladite réparation »⁸⁵. Le Divan exécutif envoyait des instructions à la Spatharie et fixait un délai de cinq jours pour y remédier. En l'absence du résultat souhaité, les *ispravnici* devaient supporter des conséquences financières : on leur enverrait un « *moumbachir* (exacteur) qui les mette à l'amende »⁸⁶. L'état des locaux affectait aussi bien la mobilité transfrontalière des personnes que les échanges commerciaux, et les sanctions ne semblaient pas assez dissuasives. À la fin du mois d'avril 1830, le conseiller Mavros⁸⁷ précisait, dans une correspondance en français, que les locaux de la quarantaine de Zimnicea n'étaient pas terminés, ce qui portait préjudice aux échanges commerciaux entre les deux rives du Danube⁸⁸. Ce cas n'était pas isolé. À Ploa-Pietrii, les personnes visées par les reproches de Topliceanu concernant l'inachèvement des réparations de certains locaux et de la clôture de la quarantaine étaient également les boyards *ispravnici*, incapables de comprendre l'importance de ces démarches⁸⁹. Les difficultés dans la mise en place des quarantaines – construction de nouveaux bâtiments, réparation des bâtiments anciens ou loués⁹⁰, approvisionnement en matériaux, recherche de main-d'œuvre, etc. – se manifestèrent sur toute l'étendue du cordon sanitaire.

Dans un rapport adressé à la Spatharie de Valachie, l'inspecteur Petrache Poenaru annonçait que, dès le 18 avril 1830, « on a[vait] achevé la mise en place de l'ensemble des quarantaines et bureaux d'échange »⁹¹ de la Petite Valachie.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, f. 424.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 425.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 295.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Il s'agit de Nicolae Mavros (1782–1868), qui, à la fin de l'année 1831, fut nommé par Kisseleff grand inspecteur des quarantaines de la ligne du Danube, avec le titre de conseiller d'État [*statskiy sovetnik* (статский советник), équivalent à celui de major général dans l'armée]. Au printemps 1830, il portait le titre de *colejnic sovetnic*, comme l'indique la décision apposée sur le feuillet 305 du fond MI-SS, 1/1830 : « Carte de întrebare a Cînstîtului Colejnic Sovetnic Mavru (...) ».

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 413 (« qui ne se font aucune idée de l'importance de la chose », Rapport de Topliceanu à la Spatharie, 30 avril 1830).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 412, 413, etc.

⁹¹ Rapport daté du 24 avril 1830, *ibid.*, f. 414.

L'expression « mise en place des quarantaines », utilisée par les représentants des différentes institutions⁹² a un sens très précis, celui d'inauguration des lieux où allait fonctionner une quarantaine ou un bureau d'échange, dans un périmètre où se trouvaient quelques constructions plus ou moins solides, tandis que d'autres devaient être édifiées ou louées. La forme définitive et fonctionnelle d'une quarantaine ou d'un bureau d'échange fut le résultat d'un processus de longue durée, déroulé par étapes, et impliquant même la refonte des plans ou le choix d'un autre emplacement (voir la quarantaine de Turnu ou de Noul Severin). Dans la quarantaine de Calafat, en octobre 1832, les décès n'étaient pas dus à la peste ou au choléra, mais à l'insalubrité des locaux. La mort d'un habitant de Craiova qui revenait de Turquie, causée par les conditions d'hébergement déplorable, sema la panique parmi les passagers qui attendaient de terminer leur période de quarantaine. Le commandant du bataillon sur place décrivait ainsi la scène:

« (...) Depuis six jours, le froid et la pluie ne cessent pas, et toutes les pièces de la quarantaine se trouvent toujours sans fenêtres, sans poêles, sans lits et sans portes, les passagers dormant à même le sol, de sorte que tous souffrent de l'humidité et du froid et sont contraints d'allumer des feux au milieu des pièces, ce qui pourrait provoquer un incendie dans la quarantaine. Je me hâte donc de porter cette information à la connaissance de l'Honorable Commandement, afin qu'il prenne les mesures nécessaires pour que les locaux soient aménagés sans délai car, primo, tous les passagers tombent malades, et, secundo, comme je l'ai déjà dit, il se pourrait qu'un incendie éclate, qui entraînerait de grands dégâts pour les passagers »⁹³.

Le processus de consolidation, de modification ou d'extension des espaces annexes des quarantaines se poursuit dans les années suivantes. En 1832, la décision fut prise d'établir des « bureaux d'exportation » dans les quarantaines de Giurgiu, Zimnicea et Bechet⁹⁴, où le trafic commercial transfrontalier était très intense. À Giurgiu, le plan d'un tel espace prévoyait trois types de « cours » (*oboare*) clôturées – pour le bétail, les produits et le sel –, mesurant 14x9,5 toises⁹⁵, situées à une distance de 21 toises de la rive du Danube. Entre le fleuve et ces cours il y avait une succession d'espaces de protection, disposés parallèlement au fil de l'eau, avec des dimensions et structures variées : « le lieu contaminé entre le parloir et le Danube (29x15 toises), trois espaces rectangulaires disposés en ligne, appelés « parloir (*parlamentar*), parapet (*parmaclie*), palissade de branchages » et séparés par des portes, constituaient le niveau de protection suivant, et la distance entre eux et les « cours » (8 toises), était gardée par des sentinelles ; « l'espace entre le parloir et les cours » avait à sa gauche une maison paysanne à deux pièces « avec leurs poêles,

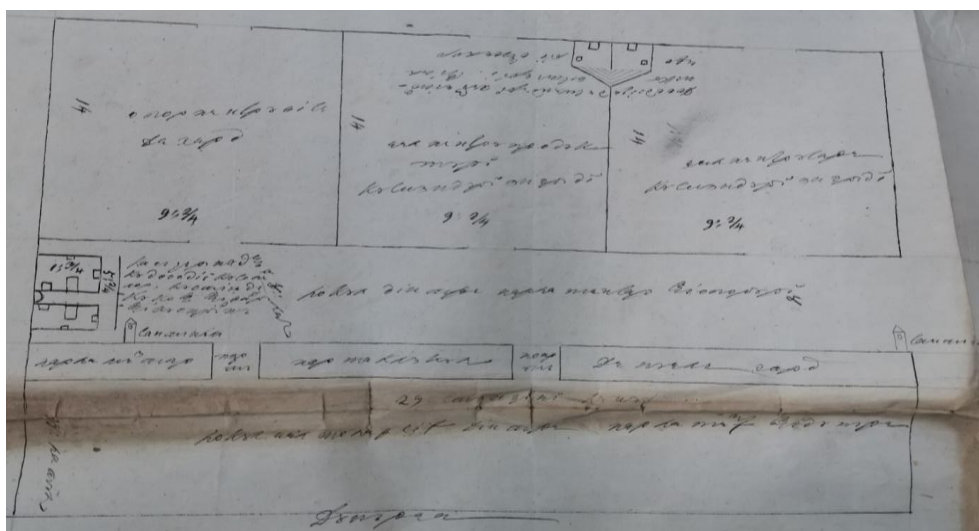
⁹² Comme les deux inspecteurs des quarantaines de la Grande et de la Petite Valachie – Dumitru Topliceanu et Petrache Poenaru –, ou Paul Kisseleff, ou les représentants du Divan exécutif et ceux de la Spatharie, etc.

⁹³ MR, S. II, 41/1832, f. 228.

⁹⁴ SANIC, Comité des quarantaines (désormais CC), 3151/1832, f. 73v°.

⁹⁵ En Valachie, 1 toise (*stânjen*) = 1,9665 m.

une entrée, une cheminée et un porche »⁹⁶. Dans la partie supérieure du plan, entre la cour pour les produits et celle pour le sel, se trouvait une baraque avec « deux petites chambres en planches pour le fonctionnaire du trésor et celui de l'autorité des mines de sel », réparties symétriquement dans les plans des deux enceintes⁹⁷.



Plan du « bureau d'exportation » de Giurgiu
SANIC, CC, 3151/1832, f. 73v°.

Une liste synthétique, dressée au printemps de l'année 1830, comprenait un tableau énumérant les matériaux nécessaires à la construction ou à l'aménagement des espaces, la quantité demandée, la quantité nécessaire et leur prix⁹⁸. La mise en place des quarantaines – lazarets, quarantaines, bureaux d'échange – avait été entamée, et leur fonction était avant tout d'assurer la protection sanitaire de la population de la principauté, en cas d'apparition de foyers de peste ou de choléra dans les territoires des Balkans. L'efficacité du cordon sanitaire fut consolidée par des informations faites aux pachas de la rive droite du Danube, auxquels on demandait de veiller à ce que les habitants de cette région respectent les lois sanitaires⁹⁹. Sur la carte des quarantaines de 1831, trois points de contrôle au sud du Danube apparaissent : Roustchouk, Svichtov et Rahova (Oryahovo)¹⁰⁰, auxquels correspondent ceux de Giurgiu, Zimnicea et Bechet.

⁹⁶ CC, 3151/1832, f. 73v°.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Pour les quarantaines et les bureaux d'échange, MI-SS, 1/1830, f. 154r°-v° (début avril 1830). Original en russe, f. 151, 153r°-v°.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 19v°.

¹⁰⁰ *Almanahu Statului...1837.*

Sans entrer dans les détails concernant la structure de ces dispositifs de protection, notre analyse s'est concentrée sur un sujet très précis, à savoir sur les premières initiatives administratives d'édification du cordon sanitaire.

La mise en place des stations de quarantaine le long de la ligne valaque du Danube fut une expérience audacieuse, qui dut surmonter d'inévitables difficultés. L'analyse de ce processus semble inépuisable à mesure que de nouveaux documents sont identifiés, translittérés et interprétés. Un petit monde, situé à la frontière de grands empires, est contraint d'initier de nouveaux protocoles pour combattre un ennemi invisible, sans forme, auquel n'est associé que l'effrayant visage de la mort. La contagion qui, de temps en temps, revêt des habits nouveaux¹⁰¹, défie l'espace ou le temps et pousse les communautés humaines à redéfinir leur attitude face à la vie.

¹⁰¹ Maladies récurrentes – peste, choléra, d'autres maladies récentes telles que Ebola, SarsCov-2, Covid-19. À partir de 1817, sept pandémies de choléra ont eu lieu, « la dernière étant encore active en dehors de l'Europe », comme l'affirme Alexandre Sumpf dans un article publié au début de la pandémie de Covid-19, voir Alexandre Sumpf, « Le choléra », in *Histoire par l'image* [en ligne], consulté le 04/01/2024. URL: histoire-image.org/etudes/cholera (<https://histoire-image.org/etudes/cholera>).

DOBROGEA'S IRON ROAD TOWARDS ROMANIA: NEGOTIATING THE SALE OF THE BRITISH-BUILT INFRASTRUCTURE IN ROMANIAN DOBROGEA (1878–1882)

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This article examines the complex relationship between the Romanian government and a consortium of British investors regarding the fate of the Constanța – Cernavodă railway in Dobrogea, a province ceded to Romania in 1878. The railway, constructed by a British company (DBSR) in the late 1850s, encountered operational challenges under Ottoman rule and failed to generate the anticipated dividends for its shareholders. After a brief introduction in which I explain the context of its construction and operations in Ottoman times, I provide a detailed analysis of the diplomatic, legal and financial aspects of the negotiations between the agents of the British company and the delegates of the Romanian state. The Romanian government recognised the strategic importance of the railway for the country's economic development and national defence. Following extensive discussions and parliamentary debates, the Romanian state bought the British-built infrastructure in Dobrogea in 1882 for 16.8 million lei, an amount which was greater than the estimate of Romanian experts. I thus claim that the Romanian government acquiesced to the payment of the compensation originally owed by the Porte, with a view to eliminate any further legal complications that might have impeded the implementation of the government's transport masterplan that had Constanța as the country's most important outlet.

Keywords: Dobrogea, Constanța, railway, infrastructure, British capitalists, Romanian diplomacy.

INTRODUCTION

The Treaty of San Stefano, which was signed on 19 February/3 March 1878, included a provision for the cession of Dobrogea by the Ottoman Empire to imperial Russia. As part of a larger agreement regarding war reparations, the Russian government reserved “the right of exchanging” Dobrogea “for the part of Bessarabia detached from her by the Treaty of 1856.”¹ This territorial exchange was subsequently validated by the Treaty of Berlin, signed on 1/13 July 1878. Article 51 of this treaty further stipulated that the Romanian state would assume

¹ Thomas Erskine Holland, *The European Concert in the Eastern Question: A Collection of Treaties and Other Public Acts*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885, p. 343–344.

the rights and obligations of the Ottoman Empire concerning “public works and other enterprises of a like nature” within the transferred territory.²

Article 51 became a central point of contention in the diplomatic discussions on the fate of the Constanța – Cernavodă railway. This infrastructure, built by a consortium of British investors, had been inaugurated in October 1860, but the operation of the railway company under Ottoman rule had faced numerous challenges. The incorporation of Dobrogea by the Romanian state brought with it the complex issue of dealing with the British-run infrastructure.

The present article will analyse the evolving relationship between the Romanian government and investors from 1878 to 1882, culminating in the acquisition of British capitalists’ assets in Dobrogea by the Romanian state. The article will firstly present the situation of the British company in Ottoman times, and then analyse the diplomatic, juridical and financial aspects related to the sale of infrastructure built by British capitalists, using British documents as a primary source.

A COMPLICATED RELATIONSHIP AND A MIXED COMMISSION

Plans for the construction of a canal or railway between the Danube and the Black Sea were proposed as early as the 1830s, when navigation through the Russian-owned Danube Delta was proving particularly difficult. For several years, the Austrian Danube Steam Navigation Company (Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft or DDSG) took its passengers travelling from Vienna to Istanbul along a modernised road from Cernavodă to Constanța. This logistical accomplishment further fuelled plans to build a canal or railway across Dobrogea. Interest in this shortcut resurfaced in 1853, when the navigable depth at Sulina reached an all-time low, apparently as part of Russia’s aim to close the Danube to international traffic completely in order to favour trade with ports in the Ukrainian provinces of the empire. Various plans for a canal were drawn up during these years, but several entrepreneurs considered it more technically and financially feasible to build a railway.³

In 1856, following negotiations with the Porte, the British capitalist Thomas Wilson (1788–1876) obtained the privilege to construct a canal in Dobrogea. However, it soon became apparent that the information upon which Wilson had

² “Treaty between Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia and Turkey for the Settlement of Affairs in the East. Signed at Berlin, July 13, 1878”, *American Journal of International Law* 2, no. 4.1908, p. 419–420.

³ See the history of these projects in Paul Cernovodeanu, “Românii și primele proiecte de construire a canalului Dunăre – Marea Neagră (1838–1856)”, *Revista de istorie* 29, no. 2, 1976, p. 189–209; Stoica Lascu, “Mărturii documentare privind elaborarea unor proiecte ale canalului Dunăre – Marea Neagră”, *Revista de istorie* 37.6.1984, p. 534–555; Constantin Ardeleanu, “Danube Navigation and the Danube–Black Sea Canal (1830–1856)”, *Revista istorică* 23, nos. 5–6, 2012, p. 415–432.

based his project was erroneous. He promptly entered into a consortium of investors spearheaded by engineers Lewis Dunbar Brodie Gordon (1815–1876) and Charles Liddell (1813–1894), who planned to construct a railway. Subsequent negotiations took place in Istanbul, overseen by a young engineer, John Trevor Barkley (1825–1882), who had previously worked in the Ottoman Empire as manager of the coal mines at Ereğli in the Zonguldak Basin on the Anatolian Black Sea coast. Following protracted negotiations, the Ottoman authorities ultimately consented to the railway project, and in the summer of 1857, the Danube and Black Sea Railway and Kustendjie Harbour Company (hereafter DBSR), a limited liability company, was formally registered in London under the provisions of the British Companies Act of 1856. The DBSR's capital was set at £300,000, divided into 3,000 shares of £100 each.⁴

In September 1857, Barkley and representatives of the Ottoman government signed two conventions, which detailed the terms of the concessions offered by the Porte for the construction of the railway and the modernisation of the harbour of Constanța. The first convention granted investors the right to build a railway between Cernavodă and Constanța. The duration of the concession was set at 99 years, and it was stipulated that no other similar infrastructure (canal or railway) could be constructed between the Danube and the Black Sea in that region without the explicit consent of the DBSR. The construction of the infrastructure was to be undertaken at the “cost, risk, and peril” of the company, and the railway was required to be operational within three years from the date of issuance of the firman. A sixth of DBSR's shares were to be reserved for Ottoman subjects, and the company received numerous tax concessions and privileges. Disputes between the signatory parties were adjudicated by a mixed commission, composed of an equal number of arbitrators appointed by the government and the DBSR. The arbitrators appointed an umpire to break the tie, and the decision of the mixed commission was enforceable without the right to appeal. The second convention delineated the conditions for the modernisation of the port of Constanța, which was to be constructed at the expense and risk of the DBSR. The company was entitled to establish and collect lighthouse and other harbour dues from ships benefiting from the harbour infrastructure built in Constanța, with the tariff and harbour regulations requiring approval from the Ottoman government. The harbour and the city were subject to the jurisdiction of the Ottoman government, which also reserved the right to inspect ships entering the harbour.⁵

⁴ See Thomas Wilson, *The Low-lands of the Danube: Their Reclamation by Canal from Rassova to Kustandje, Forming a New Mouth on the Black Sea*, London, Wertheimer and Co., 1855 and Charles Liddell, Lewis Gordon, *Report on the Proposed Railway between the Danube and the Black Sea, (from Tchernavoda to Kustendjie) and the Free Port of Kustendjie*, London, William Clowes, 1857. An excellent analysis of the context in J.H. Jensen, Gerhard Rosegger, “British Railway Builders along the Lower Danube, 1856–1869”, *Slavonic and East European Review* 46 (106), 1968, p. 105–128.

⁵ The conventions are published in Thomas Forester, *The Danube and the Black Sea – Memoir of Their Junction by a Railway between Tchernavoda and the Free Port at Kustendje*, London, Edward Stanford, 1857, p. 215–226.

The terms agreed between the Porte and the DBSR were regarded as extremely stringent by historians John H. Jensen and Gerhard Rosegger. The shareholders were burdened with significant responsibilities, while the Ottoman government offered little in return. The deadlines for finalising the technical plans were very tight, and the construction of the railway within a mere three years, without any assurance of a return on investment and on the investors' own risk, was "almost unique among [railway] arrangements of its kind". The DBSR also accepted considerable limitations to its operational autonomy. The construction of a seaport within only five years, despite the harbour's capacity to generate revenue through taxation, posed another substantial challenge. Investors acquiesced to these limitations on their freedom of action, confident in their ability to operate the railway at a substantial profit. They were so sure of success that the promoters themselves pledged most of the DBSR's initial capital of £300,000.⁶

The construction of the railway commenced in 1858, and its official opening was celebrated at a ceremony in October 1860. The project was overseen by John Trevor Barkley, who had assumed the role of "resident engineer" and who was assisted by three of his younger brothers.⁷ Engineers Liddell and Gordon made frequent visits to Dobrogea to oversee the construction works. Following the opening of the line, John Trevor Barkley became "general manager". His objective was to divert as much as possible of the Danubian grain trade towards the newly constructed infrastructure, thereby capitalising on the challenges related to navigation in the Danube Delta. This region had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire in 1856, and hydraulic improvement works were being carried out at Sulina under the direction of the European Commission of the Danube.⁸

The modernisation of the harbour of Constanța proved more arduous and costly than anticipated by the investors. A significant complication was that the European governments objected to the DBSR's right to collect harbour dues, a privilege granted by the 1857 Convention. The proposed solution was for the Ottoman government to collect the dues, while the British capitalists had to receive a fair compensation. Negotiations to resolve this issue continued, causing considerable frustration among the investors.⁹ Furthermore, the volume of railway traffic failed to meet the investors' expectations, due to variations in grain production in Romania and the various domestic and international political crises that marked the 1860s. Finally, in October 1870, the DBSR and the Ottoman government concluded a new Convention. It stipulated that the Ottoman government would assume full and

⁶ Jensen, Rosegger, *British Railway Builders*, p. 111–112.

⁷ One of the Barkley brothers wrote a detailed narrative of their experience in Dobrogea: Henry C. Barkley, *Between the Danube and the Black Sea; or, Five Years in Bulgaria*, London, John Murray, 1876.

⁸ Details in Constantin Ardeleanu, *The European Commission of the Danube, 1856–1948. An Experiment in International Administration*, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 2020.

⁹ The entire correspondence in The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), Foreign Office, FO 78/3194 (Kustendjie Harbour dues, claim of the Danube and Black Sea Railway and Kustendjie Harbour Co., Vol. 1).

absolute control over the harbour infrastructure, while the DBSR would receive a sum of £112,761 in two instalments, with interest. Constanța was designated a “free port”, and the Porte granted the DBSR free use of the quays for the duration of the concession period. The British investors were to maintain their management of the lighthouse and ensure the harbour remained in good technical condition.¹⁰

However, the advent of this new agreement precipitated further challenges for the British capitalists. In 1871, an envoy from the Ottoman government arrived in Constanța to investigate allegations of anti-competitive practices by the DBSR at the behest of the local merchants. Consequently, the Ottoman authorities assumed full control of the harbour, imposing restrictions on exports by DBSR.¹¹ The investors' attempts to resolve the situation through diplomatic channels proved unsuccessful, and it was not until 1875 that the Ottoman government consented to the appointment of a mixed commission to act as an arbitration tribunal and settle the dispute. Subsequent negotiations focused on the composition of the commission and the arbitration procedure, with the DBSR eager to leverage the Eastern Crisis to their advantage. During this period, the capitalists' representative in Istanbul was Charles Keating Tuckerman, a United States diplomat and former ambassador to Athens. The appointment of the commission was made only in May 1878, at a time when Dobrogea was under Russian occupation and the Treaty of San Stefano had already stipulated the territorial exchange between Dobrogea and Southern Bessarabia. It is also noteworthy that during this period, the DBSR's revenues were inadequate to meet the anticipated dividend expectations of the investors.

THE DBSR AND THE OPPORTUNITIES OF A TERRITORIAL EXCHANGE

The Treaty of San Stefano resulted in a series of unanticipated opportunities for the DBSR. The same John Trevor Barkley, who at the time served as vice-chairman of the Board of Directors after his return to London, was instrumental in advocating for the interests of the British capitalists. In March 1878, he sent a letter to “The Times”, in his capacity as an “expert” on the geopolitics of the Black Sea region, insisting on Great Britain's role in defending British interests in Southeast Europe.¹² Later, in June 1878, when the Great Powers had sent their representatives to the Congress of Berlin, Barkley published another article on “The Danube and European Commerce”. In this latter text, he questioned the perceived importance of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 244–247. A printed version of the 1857 and 1870 Conventions in Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Danube et de la Mer Noire et du Port de Kustendjé (Limitée), *Concession du Chemin de Fer, Concession du Port, 1 Septembre 1857. Convention 10 Octobre 1870*, London, Vacher & Sons, 1878.

¹¹ The Danube & Black Sea Railway and Custendje Harbour Company, *Narrative of the Proceedings and Circumstances which Produced the Company's Claim on the Imperial Ottoman Government*, Constantinople, Office of the “Levant Herald”, 1873.

¹² Cited in “Spirit of the News. The Eastern Question”, *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 7 March 1878, p. 2.

the Danube Mouths for the trade of the Central European countries. For merchants in states such as Hungary, Austria and Germany, the Danube effectively ended at Drencova in the Banat, given the difficulties of trade through the Iron Gates. Romania's exports would indeed suffer if the Russians took control of navigation through the Danube Delta, but fortunately there were more convenient routes along which the export of Romanian grains could proceed. The Danube would be crossed by bridges linking Romania to the seaports of Dobrogea and northern Bulgaria, thus diminishing the value of the Danube route and rendering it relatively irrelevant "to the world at large whether its mouths be navigable or not". Barkley praised the strategic importance of Constanța, asserting that its integration into the Romanian railway network would catalyse the export of a substantial proportion of Romania's and Transylvania's products via this route, gradually replacing transit through Sulina.¹³ His text was criticised by other "experts" for its relativisation of the importance of the Danube Delta, a region where British merchants and shipowners were doing profitable business, and for its relatively favourable tone towards Russia, which was returning as a riparian state on the Lower Danube.¹⁴

In June 1878, Barkley travelled to Berlin to defend the interests of the DBSR by promoting the territorial exchange proposed by Russia and by proposing to the Romanian delegates the purchase of the railway in Dobrogea.¹⁵ The correspondent of a French newspaper noted on 25 June 1878 that Barkley had caused "great excitement" among the European plenipotentiaries. One of the opponents of the territorial exchange, Nică Barbu Locusteanu (1821–1900), noted that the DBSR had made "bad deals" and that "the bankers of Odessa, at the insistence of General Ignatieff, promised Mr. Barkley to buy the line when Dobrogea was incorporated into Romania. The noble businessman has arrived in Berlin and is endeavouring to show the English plenipotentiaries that England has an interest in making Dobrogea a Romanian province". Barkley, the newspaper article continued, had persuaded the British Prime Minister (Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield) to accept this exchange.¹⁶ Barkley also wanted to discuss his proposal with Prime Minister Ion C. Brătianu (1821–1891), who later confessed that he had refused to meet the capitalist.¹⁷

On 2 July 1878, in a memorandum to the Austrian plenipotentiaries, Barkley extolled the virtues of the DBSR railway and the port of Constanța for Austrian interests and especially for Transylvanian trade: "The port of Kustendjie is 13 ½ acres in extent, well sheltered, and having a depth of 22 feet alongside the quays." With an investment of £150,000, it could be enlarged and turned into a first-class

¹³ "Spirit of the News. The Danube and European Commerce", *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 24 June 1878, p. 2.

¹⁴ Diplomaticus, "Alleged Worthlessness of the Danube", *Vanity Fair*, 29 June 1878, p. 388–389.

¹⁵ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered file (Foreign Office to DBSR, London, 14 June 1878).

¹⁶ "Journal des débats politiques et littéraires", quoted in N. B. Locusteanu, *Dobrogea*, București, Typographia Curții, Proprietar F. Göbl, 1878, p. 72–73.

¹⁷ "Rescumpărarea căii ferate Cernavodă – Constanța. Discursul d-lui I. C. Brătianu din Ședința Senatului de la 4 Martie", *Românul*, 10 March 1882, p. 219.

port. It was free from ice at all seasons, and through an agreement with the Ottoman Empire it had become a free port, meaning no customs duties were paid. The town of Cernavodă was in “exceptionally favourable” position to build a bridge, which could be done for up to £500,000. The distance from Constanța to the Transylvanian border, via Bucharest and Ploiești, was less than 240 miles. Thus, the line from Brașov to Bucharest and on to Cernavodă enabled grain and other products from Transylvania to reach Constanța in all seasons. In the case of grain, the cost of transport was 13s 2d per ton, or 2s 10d per quarter. This was a good price for transporting Austrian produce to Great Britain, but also for transporting goods from Central Europe to Persia and Central Asia via Constanța and Trabzon once the Danube bridge was completed.¹⁸

According to a letter from William Tipping (1816–1897), chairman of the DBSR Board of Directors, the investors wanted an annex to the Berlin Treaty to stipulate that unpaid works of up to 750,000 francs carried out in the Ottoman Empire “must be charged to Romania”.¹⁹ Barkley was probably also in contact with Gerson von Bleichröder (1822–1893) and the German capitalists and politicians linked to the Strousberg affair. Beyond such discussions, what was important was the outcome reached by the representatives of the Great Powers. As already mentioned, the Berlin Treaty obliged Romania to accept the territorial exchange, while Article 51 stipulated that the Romanian government would assume the rights and obligations of the Sublime Porte in relation to the public works from Dobrogea.

THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH RAILWAY IN ROMANIAN DOBROGEA

The incorporation of Dobrogea and the role that the railway and the port of Constanța would play in the Romanian state sparked much debate among political and economic elites. Several politicians and journalists objected to the ease with which the government had given up Southern Bessarabia in exchange for an “unhealthy” and “poor” province. Locusteanu was one of the most vehement opponents of this territorial exchange. In speeches in Parliament and in an anti-government pamphlet, he also attacked the British capitalists who were interested in making a profit out of Romania's problems. It was better for the government to invest in the Danube and Romania's Danube ports – which had ensured the country's prosperity – not to throw money at a foreign province. The integration of Dobrogea implied the need to “buy back the Barkley railway, which will not yield half the interest on the capital we are going to invest”.²⁰ Dobrogea was thus given to Romania as “a costly dowry”, a “seductive Dulcinea” for the government's “Don Quixotes.”²¹

¹⁸ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered file (Memorandum for the Austrian plenipotentiaries. Kustendjie and Transylvania, 2 July 1878).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Tipping to Salisbury, London, 29 November 1878).

²⁰ Locusteanu, *Dobrogea*, p. 37.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72–73.

Other authors saw the opportunities of this territorial exchange. The geologist Grigore Cobălcescu (1831–1892) mentioned the importance of the DBSR line for Romania's economic development and insisted on the relative ease with which a bridge across the Danube could be built at Cernavodă. His conclusion was that "Dobrogea is a very rich country with immense resources and we can say without fear of exaggeration that it is complementary to present-day Romania".²²

At the same time, various experts sent by the Romanian government began to draw up reports on the region, including on the situation of the DBSR railway and the port of Constanța. In August 1878, Lieutenant-Colonel Ioan Murgescu (1846–1913), commander of the Romanian Flotilla, drew up a report on the harbour infrastructure of Constanța and made proposals for its modernisation.²³

The future of the province and its linkage to the Romanian mainland were the subject of intense discussions soon after the establishment of the Romanian administration in Dobrogea on 14 November 1878. The very next day, in his speech at the opening of the legislative session, Carol I also mentioned one of Romania's priorities: the rapid connection of "our railway system" with the Cernavodă – Constanța line, a need "imperatively demanded by our political and commercial interests".²⁴

This solution had its opponents, especially in the Danube ports of Brăila and Galați. One of them was the engineer G. Budeanu from Brăila. Budeanu praised the strategic position of the port of Constanța, which was destined to become "the mouth, the main outlet for Romania's exports and imports". He wished that "the railway to be built in Dobrogea must be laid out and connected to our railways in such a way that it can attract as much transit to the East as possible", turning Constanța into a rival of Odesa or Varna. Budeanu sharply criticised the DBSR railway, which had been "a petty business – an unprofitable line" from the start. It had several disadvantages, being threatened by competition from the Ruse – Varna railway, which carried much of the Central European transit trade via Bucharest and Giurgiu. The solution, according to Budeanu, was to build a railway from Brăila/Galați to Constanța, via Măcin and Babadag, with a branch line to Isaccea and Tulcea. The trunk line could "increase the value of grain, fish products, wood and stone in Dobrogea", but "I believe it would [also] satisfy [Romania's] strategic needs" and "would attract [...] the largest possible transit for Constanța".²⁵

²² G. Cobălcescu, "Considerațiuni asupra Dobrogei", *Steaua României*, 4 August 1878, p. 1–2; details in Dumitru P. Ionescu, "Construirea și răscumpărarea liniei ferate Constanța – Cernavodă", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A.D. Xenopol»* 25, no. 2, 1988, p. 210–211, and Ana Maria Diana, Georgeta Lungu, "Construirea și răscumpărarea liniei ferate Constanța – Cernavodă", *Pontica* 20, 1987, p. 270–271.

²³ Valentin Ciorbea, *Portul Constanța 1896–1996*, Constanța, Editura Fundației Andrei Șaguna, 1996, p. 52–53; Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, Lavinia-Dacia Gheorghe, *Trei documente privind situația Dobrogei la 1878*, in Valentin Ciorbea (ed.), *Dobrogea 1878–2008. Orizonturi deschise de mandatul european*, Constanța, Editura Ex Ponto, 2008, p. 232.

²⁴ "Monitorul Oficial", no. 254, 15/27 November 1878, p. 7146.

²⁵ G. Budeanu, "Îmbunătățiri în România trans-dunăreană. Brăila, 28 noiembrie, 1878", *Românul*, 6 December 1878, p. 2. Several projects for building the Danube – Black Sea canal were made in those years: see Lascu, "Mărturii", p. 540–543 and Olivia Rotaru, "Problema construirii unui canal navigabil Dunăre-Marea Neagră în perioada 1878–1918", *Analele Dobrogei*, 2, no. 3, 2020, p. 27–41.

On 14 December 1878, Barkley published an article in “*Românul*”, one of the most influential newspaper in Bucharest, close to the liberal governments of the time. In his long text, Barkley recounted the history of the various projects to link the Danube with the Black Sea by a canal, an ambition that never materialised for physical, financial and commercial reasons. A railway was a better solution and the investors also built a relatively safe port of only about five hectares. “It was small, but its location offered great opportunities for the construction of a large harbour with a moderate relative depth”. A harbour of up to 100 hectares, with an average depth of 6 to 9 metres, was not difficult to build. In such a case, Constanța would be “the most beautiful and sought-after port on the Black Sea, from which the products of Romania and Eastern Austria would be exported to the whole world”. Barkley also alluded to the DBSR railway, praising the technical feasibility of building a bridge across the Danube. It would be possible “to construct with ease and economy lines connecting all parts of the existing railway system” in Romania, especially as the raw materials – “chalk, limestone and sandstone” – were abundant in Dobrogea.²⁶

Barkley's text was thus a direct response to the writings of the DBSR's opponents. After years of extremely difficult relations with the Ottoman authorities, the British capitalists knew that they had a good chance of making a profit from their investment. It was not easy, given the situation in Romania, a state forced to cede part of its territory, but Barkley and the other directors understood that they had to use diplomatic and economic arguments in equal measure, but also to convince public opinion that their line was a bargain for the Romanian state.

AN ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the interval between the signing of the two peace treaties, representatives of the DBSR had sought to advance towards resolving their dispute with the Ottoman authorities. On 2/14 May 1878, the arbitration commission was finally constituted, with the two parties represented by Hasan Fehmi Effendi (1836–1910) and John Henry Fawcett (1831–1898) respectively. The DBSR produced a lengthy document setting out all its claims, which totalled £344,260 without interest. In addition to the financial claims, the DBSR also demanded the return of the land in Constanța and Cernavodă that had been illegally seized, as well as privileged access to the harbour quays. The Ottoman government also had a long list of financial claims, totalling £465,745 without interest. The arbitration commission had to draw up its own rules of procedure and had four months to reach a verdict. The parties were allowed to appoint experts and had to agree on a super-arbitrator or umpire to break any ties.²⁷

The commission does not seem to have met in May 1878, probably awaiting the decision of the Great Powers on the fate of Dobrogea. The situation remained

²⁶ J.T. Barkley, “Dobrogea. D-lui redactore al *Românului*”, *Românul*, 14 December 1878, p. 1–2.

²⁷ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered files (The agreement was signed in Istanbul on 2/14 May 1878).

unclear after the Treaty of Berlin, and it was not until October 1878 that the arbitrators eventually met. The driving force behind their meetings was the DBSR's agent in Istanbul, Tuckerman, who had spent the previous three years trying to resolve this matter, in which he had large direct financial interests.

The tribunal began its work on 15 October 1878, with the French ambassador to Istanbul, Hugues Fournier (1821–1898), acting as umpire. The tribunal's task was to study the correspondence, memoranda and plans provided by the two parties. At the third session, an Ottoman jurist requested that the work of the tribunal be suspended until its jurisdiction was clarified under Article 51 of the Treaty of Berlin. Sources do not indicate whether the Ottoman delegate, Fehmi Effendi, continued to attend meetings after his government's announcement, especially as the tribunal decided (unclear whether in its entirety or by majority vote) to continue its deliberations. The arbitrators claimed that they were discussing a legal matter, not a diplomatic one, so there was no reason to wait. They continued to analyse the DBSR's claims point by point, trying to determine whether the 1857 and 1870 conventions had been violated and what damage had been caused. However, the Ottoman claims were no longer analysed. The work of the arbitrators was complicated by the ambiguous wording of the conventions, but in the end, on 20 January 1879, the tribunal delivered its verdict: the DBSR was to receive financial compensation of £140,000–£160,000, less than half of what it had claimed, as well as the restitution of its lands at Cernavodă and Constanța. As there was no appeal, the sentence became enforceable within 30 days.²⁸ In a long message to the British ambassador, Henry Layard (1817–1894), immediately after the verdict, Tuckerman praised the work of the arbitrators, who had acted in a highly professional manner. All in all, he claimed, it was not a show tribunal, but a rigorous juridical process.²⁹

BETWEEN TWO STOOLS

While the proceedings were underway, Tuckerman continued his diplomatic "war" against the Porte, who claimed that the terms of the Berlin Treaty were clear and that the DBSR would have to seek redress from the new master of Dobrogea, Romania. To Tuckerman, this seemed "an assumption so monstrous and absurd as not to call for discussion", since Article 51 could not be applied retroactively.³⁰

The case was clearly sensitive and complicated. Ambassador Layard sought clarification from the Foreign Office,³¹ but British legal advisers agreed with the Ottoman interpretation: although the decision to settle the dispute by arbitration

²⁸ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (*Sentence arbitrale*, 20 January 1879); the context in *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Tuckerman to Layard, Istanbul, 6 February 1879).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Tuckerman to Layard, Istanbul, 20 January 1879).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Tuckerman to Layard, Istanbul, 4 November 1878).

³¹ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Layard to Tuckerman, Istanbul, 6 November 1878).

had been taken before the war, in the absence of a ruling, "the Porte is relieved from submitting to arbitration", when the territory on which the railway was located no longer belonged to it.³²

British diplomats and legal experts argued that the DBSR should also enter into discussions with the Romanian government to see if it would accept any responsibility to compensate British capitalists on the basis of Article 51.³³ The British government's juridical arguments seemed absurd even to William Tipping, the chairman of the DBSR Board of Directors. According to the Ottoman and British interpretations, the investors had to go to Bucharest with the message: "In before years ere the cession of the Dobrudja to you was thought of, the Porte injured us & impoverished us, but in as much as you have succeeded to all their rights and obligations, you must make good their laches & reimburse us". Tipping believed that Article 51 did not absolve the Porte "from an arbitration upon anterior claims with which Roumania has nothing to do".³⁴

The legal advisers' recommendation also surprised the Foreign Office in London. Senior diplomats had even informally asked the chief legal adviser, James Parker Deane (1812–1902), if he would reconsider the case. Deane supported his previous opinion, so the Foreign Office recommended that the DBSR should open negotiations with the Romanian government, which would most likely reject the request, thus putting pressure on the Porte once again. If no solution could be found, the Great Powers would have to decide "on which of the two stools Mr Tipping is to sit upon".³⁵

From November 1878, the Ottoman and British governments, as well as the DBSR, began to involve the Romanian authorities in the discussions, based on their interpretation of Article 51. On 26 December 1878, the Porte officially informed the Romanian government and the members of the arbitral tribunal that the Ottoman government was no longer interested in the arbitration, and suggested that the Romanians should take part, as per the provision of Article 51.³⁶

It was around this time that Barkley published the aforementioned article in "Românul", signalling the benefits that the Romanian state could derive from the DBSR infrastructure, and showing the willingness of British investors to negotiate the sale of their assets in Dobrogea. Tipping was in Bucharest in December 1878, impressed by the progress of the Romanians, "a most intelligent race domiciled upon an inexhaustible alluvion". When they would build the bridge over the Danube, Constanța was to become the gateway to Romania, Transylvania and the whole of eastern Austria. "This nation of 5,000,000", with Western sympathies and

³² *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Law Officers of the Crown to Salisbury, Temple, 19 November 1878).

³³ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Memorandum from the FO, London, 19 November 1878).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Tipping to Julian Pauncefote, London, 29 November 1878).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (FO to Tipping, London, 29 November 1878).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Layard to the FO, Istanbul, 27 December 1878 and the note of Porte, 26 December 1878). The "Note verbale" of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry is also preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania (AMAE), Constantinople Fund, file 335, unnumbered files (Istanbul, 26 December 1878).

aspirations, had proved its strength at Plevna and could now “hold its head up before the world”. Tipping felt that “we have not cultivated nor patted on the back this people as they deserve, & as our interests require”.³⁷

From the beginning of 1879, the British authorities and the DBSR awaited the Romanian government’s interpretation of Article 51. An important role in the diplomatic negotiations was played by the British Legation in Bucharest, headed by William Arthur White (1824–1891). In several reports sent home in February 1879, White informed his superiors that the Romanians had asked the Porte for documents relating to the DBSR’s claims and that they would make a statement after studying the case.³⁸

To protect the interests of the DBSR, the British government insisted, both in Istanbul and in Bucharest, that the Ottoman Empire and Romania should discuss the investors’ claims between themselves and find a way of compensating the company for the damage they had suffered. The DBSR had arbitrated with the Ottoman Empire and could not make the same claims against Romania. However, the Porte could negotiate with the Romanian authorities to see what obligations existed between the two governments.³⁹

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs postponed issuing a statement until it had received all the relevant documents from Istanbul.⁴⁰ On 26 September 1879, Minister Vasile Boerescu (1830–1883) gave a first response: the government had been informed of the arbitration ruling, but there were still some unclear points. For example, although the Ottoman government had announced that it no longer considered itself a party to the dispute adjudicated by the arbitral tribunal, the ruling ordered the Ottoman government to pay compensation. Another question was whether the Romanian government should have to bear the consequences of a ruling made in 1879, when Dobrogea was already part of Romania, and given that the Romanian government had not been summoned to the tribunal and had not been able to analyse the legality of the DBSR’s claims. It was only a preliminary response, as a careful analysis of the documents received from the Ottoman government and of the legal principles that could provide a solution to this complicated case was required.⁴¹

³⁷ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered files (Tipping to Salisbury, Bucharest, 22 December 1878).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (White to Salisbury, Bucharest, 12 February, 21 February and 26 February 1879); the Romanian authorities continued to request original documents from the Ottoman government as late as 1897. The Romanian government was being sued by private individuals and had only copies of the documents related to Dobrogea. It thus wanted from Istanbul original documents or legalized copies proving its property rights over the land along the line (AMAE, Conventions Fund, file C1). In 1879, the Ottoman authorities had problems in identifying these documents, some kept at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, others at the Ministry of Public Works – AMAE, Constantinople Fund, file 335, unnumbered files (reports from the Romanian Legation in Istanbul, March – May 1879, including a list of the documents received).

³⁹ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered files (FO to Mallet, London, 10 April 1879).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (White to Salisbury, Bucharest, 29 July 1879).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Boerescu to White, Bucharest, 14/26 September 1879).

The British government expected such a response, so the official British position was that the DBSR and British diplomats should continue to press the Porte to implement the arbitration ruling. At the same time, the Ottoman and Romanian governments were to be pressured to resolve the situation by mutual agreement.⁴² Ambassador Layard in Istanbul and Consul General White in Bucharest had to tell the two governments that the delay was already intolerable. But the two governments continued to pass the buck. On 1 December 1879, White wrote that the Romanian delay was also strategic. The Romanian government was interested in developing the port of Constanța and would probably start negotiations to buy the line from the DBSR.⁴³

Another message from Boerescu, dated 24 December 1879, repeated one of the Romanian government's main arguments for distancing itself from the issue: the decision of the arbitral tribunal had been taken after Dobrogea had become part of Romania.⁴⁴ In response, Barkley replied on 28 December 1879 that the Romanians were misunderstanding a simple fact: the question of whether the decision of the arbitral tribunal should be enforced by the Ottoman or the Romanian government under Article 51 of the Treaty of Berlin did not concern the DBSR, but was a matter of mutual relations between the Ottoman and Romanian governments. The British company had refrained from seeking financial compensation from the Romanian government, but they also pointed out that the Romanians had continued in Dobrogea the practices condemned by the tribunal, thereby failing to respect the rights of the DBSR. Barkley offered his interpretation of the situation in which the interested parties found themselves: the DBSR and the Porte had agreed to settle older claims and issues through arbitration; the fact that, by virtue of Article 51, Romania substituted itself for the Sublime Porte in respect of its rights and obligations throughout the ceded territory in no way relieved the Porte and the DBSR of the "obligation" to submit to the decision of the arbitral tribunal. This "obligation" had been assumed by both parties before the conclusion of the Berlin Treaty and "remained equally binding on both parties" after the conclusion of that Treaty. But the Porte, having been ordered by the tribunal to pay compensation to the DBSR, was entitled under the Berlin Treaty to request Romania to take its place and for Romania to enforce that verdict. From the point of view of the British capitalists, the question was whether Romania, by integrating Dobrogea, had also accepted the Porte's obligations to the DBSR.⁴⁵

BRITISH-ROMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SALE OF THE RAILWAY

Barkley's message should be seen within the logic of the negotiations for the eventual acquisition of the line by the Romanian state. But the moment also

⁴² *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (FO to White, London, 27 September 1879).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (White to Salisbury, Bucharest, 1 December 1879).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Boerescu to White, Bucharest, 12/24 December 1879).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Barkley to White, Bucharest, 28 December 1879).

marked a change in the British government's position on Romania's obligations regarding the compensation to be paid to the DBSR. On 9 January 1880, Tipping asked Foreign Minister Salisbury to clarify the British government's official position, which seemed to assert that Romania had "for better & for worse inherited all the rights and obligations of the Porte, including of course the award of the court of arbitration in our case". If there was such an official position on Romania's liability, it was extremely important, as it greatly assisted the capitalists in negotiating the sale of their infrastructure in Dobrogea. Tipping also referred to the fact that Britain, France and Germany had not yet recognised Romania's independence, a fact also linked to the satisfactory resolution of the Strousberg question, thus creating a favourable context for the DBSR's demands to be considered by the Romanian government.⁴⁶

By this time, on 9 January 1880, Barkley was due to meet Dimitrie A. Sturdza (1833–1914), the Minister of Finance who was in charge of solving the litigations connected to the Strousberg question. The meeting between Sturdza and Barkley did not take place, but the British investor sent the Romanian statesman a memorandum setting out the conditions for the sale of DBSR's assets. The company wanted conditions similar to those for the purchase by the state of the railway network in mainland Romania, i.e. an annuity of 1,235,000 francs at 6 per cent interest. The document listed the main benefits DBSR had enjoyed under its agreements with the Porte, but also included a demand that the Romanian government pay £140,000, or about 3,500,000 francs, the amount of compensation set by the Istanbul arbitration tribunal.⁴⁷

Later, in 1882, when Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817–1891), the former Foreign Minister, mentioned in a parliamentary session that, while in Berlin in 1878, Barkley had asked for 12 million lei for the railway, Brătianu claimed that he knew nothing about this offer. But he further confessed that "I saw Mr. Barkley after Bessarabia had been taken from us, and when he spoke to me about buying the railway, I told him that if England would intercede to give us a straight line from Caverna by sea to near Rusciuk [Ruse], then I would buy the railway, no matter how expensive [...]; after I returned to the country, he [Barkley] wanted 28 million lei, and I did not even want to talk to them [the capitalists]".⁴⁸ From such information it is clear that Barkley had been busy negotiating the sale of the railway, both during and after the Berlin Congress.

In early 1880, British diplomatic pressure in Bucharest increased. The Romanians had a financial responsibility in the DBSR case, the government in London claimed. The Romanian government had been informed of the work of the arbitration tribunal and could have participated in the Istanbul meetings. Separately

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (Tipping to Salisbury, Sevenoaks, 9 January 1880).

⁴⁷ Library of the Romanian Academy, Dimitrie A. Sturdza Archive, Manuscripts, XIV Varia, f. 149–150 (Barkley to Sturdza, Bucharest, 9 January 1880).

⁴⁸ "Adunarea Deputaților, Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 15 mai, 1882", *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 117, 15/27 May 1882, p. 2151.

or together with the Porte, the Romanians had to do more, because the obligation to comply with the tribunal's decision had been transferred to the Romanian government. The Porte was the party directly responsible for complying with the ruling, but under Article 51 Romania was bound by the case and had to accept the verdict as a result of the Berlin Treaty. If any part of the verdict contained obligations which Romania disputed, the situation had to be resolved by negotiations between the governments in Bucharest and Istanbul. The British government took the view that the Porte was responsible for paying the full amount, but also that by failing to reach an agreement with the Porte, Romania had also failed to fulfil its obligations under the Berlin Treaty. If the two governments did not work together to resolve the situation, the matter would have to be referred to the Great Powers.⁴⁹

However, the Romanian government rejected such an interpretation. Romania accepted the obligations contained in Article 51, but denied any liability in relation to the ruling that condemned the Porte.⁵⁰ But behind the scenes, discussions continued on the possible acquisition of the infrastructure in Dobrogea. According to British documents, Brătianu also discussed the issue with Lord Granville (1815–1891), who had been Foreign Secretary since April 1880. The Romanian Prime Minister blamed the Ottoman government for the delay, as the Turks refused to discuss the matter in detail.⁵¹

In July 1880, Boerescu offered new arguments as to why the Romanian government believed it had nothing to do with the dispute between the DBSR and the Porte. Invoking the principle of *res inter alios acta*, Boerescu argued that the Romanian state was not responsible for the actions of another government. After taking over Dobrogea, the Romanian state had provided DBSR with all the facilities, exemptions and privileges that the British investors had enjoyed in Ottoman times. The DBSR had sued the Ottoman Empire for losses caused by the fault of the Ottoman authorities, and the verdict was against the Ottoman government, the only one called before the arbitration tribunal. At the time, Boerescu further claimed, the DBSR had not believed that the Romanian government was responsible either. Boerescu also rejected the Ottoman argument that the request for documents was tantamount to accepting responsibility. In any case, it was against constitutional principles for the Romanian state to assume the payment of compensation attributed to another government, and the Porte's efforts resembled "an attempt to obtain diplomatically what it had lost in the courts". If the DBSR had a grievance against the Romanian government, it had to go through the Romanian courts. Boerescu urged the British government to continue to press the

⁴⁹ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered files (FO to Tipping, London, 9 January 1880; DBSR to Salisbury, London, 2 February 1880; the Lord Chancellor to DBSR, London, 4 March 1880; FO to White, London, 17 March 1880).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (White to Salisbury, Bucharest, 15 March 1880).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (FO to Tuckerman, London, 28 May 1880).

Ottoman government in Istanbul to resolve the situation, as Romania lacked the capacity to do so: "The modesty of our political role makes such an effort futile, and we are busy fulfilling our own obligations."⁵² It was clear, said White, that after 18 months of discussions, the Romanians were not prepared to take responsibility for compensating the British investors.⁵³

Meanwhile, perhaps as part of its negotiations with the Romanian government, the DBSR sought to resume commercial operations on the Dobrogea line. At the company's General Meeting in March 1880, the directors announced that the DBSR's income in 1879 had been affected by the failure of the maize harvest, but also by drought and high grain prices in Hungary, which had driven trade upstream the Danube. The cost of repairing the railway was also high, as the damage had been greater than previously believed.⁵⁴ The harvest in 1880 was good, so in August 1880 the directors were expecting higher revenues, at least compared to previous years. Explaining the state of negotiations with the Ottoman and Romanian governments, the directors argued that the Romanians should pay at least part of the sums demanded by the Ottoman government, such as the cost of extending the jetties, an infrastructure then owned by the Romanian state.⁵⁵ The DBSR also insisted that the Romanian authorities should return the control of the harbour of Constanța to the British company. The harvest was good in 1880, but the company could not use the quays it had built. In addition, "confusion, anarchy, & bribery" prevailed in the port. All these factors led to the DBSR losing £100 a day for the next four months, until the end of 1880.⁵⁶

THE PURCHASE OF THE DBSR INFRASTRUCTURE

After previous discussions, negotiations for the sale of the railway entered a new phase in October 1880. An agreement must have been reached relatively quickly, and in early 1881 the Ministry of Public Works set up a technical commission to examine the DBSR's assets and assess their value. This commission, composed of engineers Constantin Olănescu (1845–1928) and Spiridon Iorceanu (1835–1903), surveyed the Cernavodă – Constanța railway and the harbour infrastructure at its two termini and studied the archives of the British company. They had a complex task, since it was difficult to assess the unit price of each work, the cost of materials and of labour for an infrastructure built 25 years previously, while "many of the works carried out no longer exist today or have

⁵² TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered files (Boerescu to White, Bucharest, 12/24 July 1880).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (White to Granville, Bucharest, 27 July 1880).

⁵⁴ "Danube and Black Sea Railway and Kustendjie Harbour, Director's Report", *Herapath's Railway Journal*, 13 March 1880, p. 341.

⁵⁵ TNA, FO 78/3195, unnumbered files (The report of the DBSR directors, 3 August 1880, appendix to the report sent by White to Granville, Bucharest, 16 August 1880).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, unnumbered files (DBSR to Granville, London, 26 August 1880).

been partially destroyed". In their estimate, the engineers also took account "the present state of these works, which, from this point of view, generally leave much to be desired". They estimated the value of the British assets at 13,355,881 lei, which was close to what the British company had reportedly spent in Dobrogea: £744,155 or 18,752,706 lei.⁵⁷ The engineers added that this was a maximum amount, "the result of a very approximate block assessment", done in rather complicated conditions. But, more importantly, the engineers insisted that the DBSR's concession clearly stipulated that "the [Romanian] state cannot build or lease a railway from the Danube to the port of Constanța without the consent of the [British] concessionaires".⁵⁸

At the same time, another commission, chaired by Dimitrie Frunză, the engineer who built the Mărășești – Buzău railway, carried out field studies to assess the feasibility of constructing a line from Rasova to Mangalia, thus parallel to the DBSR railway. In January 1882, this commission fixed the route of the railway and calculated its cost at 13,727,081 francs.⁵⁹

In 1881, the jurist Dimitrie Giani (1838–1902) and the engineer Olănescu were sent to London and, with the assistance of the Romanian Legation, "studied the English laws, consulted three great lawyers and obtained written assurances that there was no mortgage on the Constanța – Cernavodă line or on the harbour of Constanța" and that their sale was possible without any inconvenience to the Romanian state. The Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were doing similar research in the Ottoman Empire, to make sure there were no legal constraints with purchasing the British-built infrastructure.⁶⁰

As any purchase had to be approved by the Parliament, on 1 April 1881 the Liberal government submitted a bill to the Chamber of Deputies for buying the DBSR assets. Although the engineers estimated their cost at about 13.3 million lei, the government proposed to pay 16.8 million lei for the British infrastructure. The bill went to the Chamber's Sections and came back to the plenum on 15 June 1881, when the rapporteur, Dimitrie Mărgăritescu, reported that the committee had unanimously voted to reduce the amount to 12,000,000 lei.⁶¹ During the debates in the plenum, the conservative opposition attacked the government's bill and several MPs opposed the purchase on the grounds that the railway was badly built and that it lacked sufficient rolling stock. Prime Minister Brătianu defended the bill, while other MPs supported the construction of the rival line from Rasova to Mangalia. Further conflicting discussions were held on the amount to be paid to the DBSR

⁵⁷ Ciorbea, *Portul Constanța*, p. 53–54.

⁵⁸ Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România, *Din tezaurul documentar dobrogean*, București, Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1988, p. 84–86 (the report of the two engineers).

⁵⁹ Ionescu, *Construirea*, p. 213.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁶¹ "Adunarea Deputaților. Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 15 iunie, 1881", *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 60, 16/28 June 1881, p. 1960–1968.

and the method of payment. On 17 June 1881, the Chamber voted in favour of the purchase, but for the amount of 12 million lei only. The law was submitted to the Senate, but Brătianu requested to postpone its discussion until the autumn session, as “several senators had doubts about the cost and the need of the purchase of the Cernavodă – Constanța railway”.⁶²

The Senate did not begin debating the bill until 1 March 1882, when Vasile Boerescu, as rapporteur, presented the report of the Senate’s Sections. He defended the purchase, given that the DBSR could challenge the Romanian government’s attempts to build a competing line on the Rasova – Mangalia route. In order to avoid a lawsuit and the possible economic difficulties of this more southern line, given that Mangalia did not have the natural and commercial conditions of Constanța, but also that the Danube was much wider at Rasova than at Cernavodă, the Senate’s Committees rejected the project of the Rasova – Mangalia line. Convinced of the need and benefits of purchasing the DBSR line, they proposed to adopt the government’s project and pay 16,800,000 lei for the infrastructure in Dobrogea. Further protests from the opposition followed, with conservative senators stating that the line was expensive and unprofitable. The debates continued over the next few days, with the government’s bill defended by a more disciplined majority. Eventually, the Senate approved the bill with 29 votes in favour and 9 against, accepting the payment of 16.8 million lei.⁶³

The Chamber of Deputies resumed the debate on the bill on 15 May 1882. Once again, the members of the majority were more disciplined to follow the government’s recommendations. The opposition continued its attacks, referring not only on the project’s contents, but also on procedural factors. Petre P. Carp (1837–1919) criticised the increase in expenditure “of 4,800,000 francs over and above the amount accepted and voted by the Chamber of Deputies”. Carp argued that it would be more beneficial to Romanian interests to invest in the expansion of the port of Sulina than in the development of the seaports of Constanța or Mangalia. Kogălniceanu defended the bill, insisting on the necessity and urgency of building a bridge across the Danube at Cernavodă. Given the national importance of the Constanța – Cernavodă line, Kogălniceanu insisted that it should not remain in the hands of a foreign company. Brătianu mentioned that the government was determined to enlarge the harbour of Constanța and had already commissioned the engineer Charles Augustus Hartley (1825–1915) to carry out preliminary studies in Romania’s biggest seaport. Romania’s trade desperately needed Constanța: “The lungs, the mouth through which Romania must breathe, is

⁶² “Adunarea Deputaților. Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 17 iunie, 1881”, *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 62, 18/30 June 1881, p. 2027–2028.

⁶³ “Senatul. Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 1 Martie, 1882”, *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 67, 3/15 March 1882, p. 1007–1022; “Senatul. Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 2 Martie, 1882”, *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 68, 4/16 March 1882, p. 1046–1048 and no. 69, 5/17 March 1882, p. 1061–1067; “Senatul. Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 3 Martie, 1882”, *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 70, 6/18 March 1882, p. 1083–1093 and no. 71, 7/19 March 1882, p. 1112–1114.

the Romanian seaport at Constanța, and Constanța will also be the fortress of Romania's defence; it will be our link with the whole world, through it we will have the greatest communication route for our trade, especially when the neighbouring powers will try to close the gates [of Romania's foreign trade]."⁶⁴ On 21 May 1882, the Chamber of Deputies passed the law for the purchase of the Constanța – Cernavodă line with 47 votes in favour, 23 against and 1 abstention.⁶⁵

The explanation of why the Romanian government and Parliament agreed to pay 3–4 million lei (£120,000–160,000) more than the Romanian engineers had estimated the line to be worth at that time must have been linked to a secret arrangement whereby the Romanian state would also pay what the DBSR had won in the arbitration tribunal at Istanbul. I have not found any documents that clearly mentions such an agreement, but it is clear that the ministers and King Carol must have accepted that this was the best solution to get rid of further legal complications that could have hindered the plans made for developing the port of Constanța.

The law authorised the government to purchase the DBSR's assets for a maximum amount of 16,800,000 lei, including all taxes and commissions for transporting the money to London.⁶⁶ The purchase procedure was completed on 10 December 1882, when the Romanian state took possession of the British-owned assets in Dobrogea.⁶⁷

In London, an Extraordinary General Meeting which convened on 21 August 1882, the sale of the DBSR's assets was approved by the shareholders. Arthur Clark Green, a businessman with financial interests in Britain and Romania (as a representative of the Iron Bridges Company), was to travel to Bucharest to complete the sale and transfer of the DBSR's assets. To ensure that everything went smoothly, he was to be accompanied by chairman Tipping.⁶⁸

Another General Meeting was held in March 1883, chaired by the engineer Liddell. The shareholders confirmed previous decisions and agreed to liquidate the company.⁶⁹ By the end of 1883 most of the proceeds from the sale of DBSR's assets had been paid to shareholders.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ "Adunarea Deputaților, Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 15 mai, 1882", *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 117, 15/27 May 1882, p. 2137–2155.

⁶⁵ "Adunarea Deputaților. Sesiunea ordinară prelungită. Ședința de la 21 mai, 1882", *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 122, 22 May / 3 June 1882, p. 2200–2205.

⁶⁶ *Din tezaurul*, p. 88–89 (Doc. 39, Legea de răscumpărare, 21 mai 1882). Contractul de cumpărare este inclus și în Gelu Dae, *Evoluția căilor ferate dobrogene 1860–1938*, Editura Ex Ponto, Constanța, 2016, p. 281–288.

⁶⁷ Details in Constantin J. Baicoianu, *Handelspolitische Bestrebungen Englands zur Erschliessung der unteren Donau; die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Schwarzen Meerhafens von Constantza einst und jetzt; ein Beitrag zur rumänischen Eisenbahn- und Wasserstrassenpolitik*, München, Berlin, Leipzig, J. Schweitzer Verlag, 1913, appendix 6, p. 69–80.

⁶⁸ "Danube and Black Sea Railway", *London Daily Chronicle*, 22 August 1882, p. 2.

⁶⁹ "Danube and Black Sea Railway", *Railway News*, 10 March 1883, p. 422.

⁷⁰ "Danube and Black Sea Railway", *Herapath's Railway Journal*, 8 September 1883, p. 1080.

CONCLUSIONS

In Romanian historiography and public opinion, the Strousberg affair serves as a quintessential illustration of how unscrupulous foreign entrepreneurs exploited a favourable railway concession to amass substantial financial benefits from the Romanian state. This incident is regarded as a paradigmatic instance of corruption and foreign exploitation in modern Romanian history, underscoring the need for transparency and accountability in government operations.

The purchase of the DBSR infrastructure in Dobrogea is not as well documented as the Strousberg affair, yet it is highly indicative of the significant influence that geopolitical factors, diplomatic negotiations, and financial considerations exerted on the negotiations with the British consortium of investors, represented by John Trevor Barkley. The DBSR's experience in Dobrogea highlights the vulnerability of western investments in peripheral regions facing geopolitical shifts and underscores the necessity for more robust legal frameworks and diplomatic solutions to safeguard investors' interests.

The territorial exchange of Dobrogea, coupled with a stipulation that entrusted Romania with the rights and obligations of the Ottoman Empire concerning "public works and other enterprises of a similar nature" within the erstwhile Ottoman-owned territory, situated the railway and the harbour of Constanța at the nexus of an intricate interplay between the Romanian government, the Ottoman Empire, and British investors. British capitalists played an instrumental role in advocating for this territorial transfer, which presented them with an unexpected opportunity to transform a formerly unprofitable investment into a lucrative enterprise that ultimately compensated shareholders for their investment. The DBSR skilfully navigated the diplomatic terrain and strategically exploited the circumstances to their benefit.

The Romanian government's decision to purchase the railway was driven by its strategic significance for national economic development. However, under the guidance of Prime Minister Brătianu, the ministers in the liberal cabinet opted to negotiate in secret with the British capitalists, steering both the investors and the Parliament towards accepting the purchase of the Dobrogea infrastructure at a higher price than its worth. This approach was adopted to circumvent the potential legal complexities that could have jeopardised the government's objective of transforming Constanța, as Brătianu put it, into "the lungs" of Romania's economy and "the fortress of Romania's defence".

ENTANGLED HISTORIES OF THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH
BETWEEN SULTANS AND POPES¹

La division de l'Église rūm d'Antioche en 1724 et la construction des identités confessionnelles orthodoxe et catholique, sous la direction de Bernard Heyberger, Željko Paša, Ronney el Gemayel, Beyrouth : PIO, CEDRAC 2024 (Textes et études sur l'Orient chrétien, 8), 707 p.

The history of the Christian Church in the East – from the late 16th century to the early 18th century, – can be interpreted within the framework of Nicolae Iorga's well-known concept of *Byzantium after Byzantium*. However, a more accurate expression might be *Empire after Empire*. The book on the 1724 division of the Church of Antioch published under the supervision of Bernard Heyberger, Željko Paša and Ronney el Gemayel, provides a significant contribution to this issue.

To delve into this topic, it is important to begin not with the first pages of the book, but with the final text, which is essential to understand the role of church hierarchs of the ancient patriarchates, and that of the emperor, as discussed by Father Edward Farrugia. In his article, he recalls the canons from the early centuries, noting how Pope Damasus (d. 384) was a “firm believer in the tripod of Petrine sees, on which the Church rests – Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch”. Additionally, canon 3 of the First Council of Constantinople in AD 381 granted the bishop of Constantinople a primacy of honour after the bishop of Rome, as he was occupying the chair in the imperial capital, New Rome. In the following centuries and even into the post-Byzantine era, this canon remained in effect and continued to evolve.

The expression “Empire after Empire” reflects the new reality: the Orthodox Church had to adapt to existence under sultan's rule, without the political patronage and unifying figure of a Christian emperor. During this period, territories once under Byzantine control had fallen under the domination of the Ottoman Empire, bringing about a profound transformation of the Church. The absence of a Christian emperor - who had once embodied confessional unity and exercised authority over the whole Christian community – left a significant void. In terms of a singular political authority over the entire ‘ecumene’, however, the Ottoman sultan effectively assumed this function: all the ancient patriarchates fell under his power, and, as Hasan Çolak characterises it, the church became one of the institutions of the empire – Ottoman

¹ This research is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 883219-AdG-2019-Horizon 2020 – Project TYPARABIC).

empire. At this juncture, it is important to note that the role of the sultan was not difficult to reconcile with broader Christian principles. The Apostle Peter, in his First Epistle (2:17), exhorted believers to “fear God, honour the emperor,” explicitly referring to the pagan emperor. This idea endured within the Church in the Ottoman empire, where it coexisted with the secular authority of non-Christian rulers².

What is particularly compelling in this context, and, in my view, a central focus of the book, is the functioning of the Church's institutional structures in the absence of imperial authority during the “post-Byzantine era”. This issue lies at the core of efforts to reconcile the divisions between the Western and Eastern churches, and is especially relevant to the events of 1724, when the Patriarchate of Antioch –one of Christianity's ancient centres – was forced to navigate the complexities of this period, then was split into Orthodox and pro-Uniate factions and finally separate churches. Analysing how the Patriarchate adapted to the shifting political and religious landscape is crucial to understand the broader ecclesiastical dynamics of the time.

It is therefore unsurprising that Hasan Çolak, in his article on the 1724 separation seen from the Ottoman perspective, highlights the assertion of sultan's administration, as expressed in the *berat* issued that year, that “Frankish clergymen” were leading Orthodox Christians away from their traditional rite, thereby attempting to alter their status and sever their subjection to the sultan. In a sense, this claim was grounded in the reality of the time: the sultan had replaced the Byzantine emperors as the secular ruler and sovereign over the Orthodox, while the Latin Church had its own Holy Roman Emperor and Pope (whatever was relationship between them); each system embodying distinct political and religious authority. Bernard Heyberger, Hasan Çolak, Cesare Santus, Cornel Zwiernie, and other contributors to the volume demonstrate that adherence to the “Frankish rite” was not perceived by the Ottomans as a mere religious conversion but rather as a challenge to imperial sovereignty, implying *crimen laesae majestatis*. From the perspective of the Ottoman administration Rome and Rūm coexisted as two rival “imperial” orders. The texts assembled in the book elucidate various aspects of the coexistence between these two “Romes” within Ottoman territories and their interactions with countries beyond. In addressing this issue, it is essential to consider Juliette Rassi's significant study on confessional terminology – Melkites, Rūm, Greeks, and Orthodox – as interpreted by various scholars, as well as her proposal to adopt more precise appellations *Rūm-Catholic* and *Rūm-Orthodox*.

The Gregorian calendar reform of 1582 marked a formal and visible division between the two churches, Orthodox and Catholic, extending it to the liturgical calendar. In this context of absence of the “Christian emperor” in the Orthodox church, the issues of ecclesiastical synodality and of ecclesiastical primacy became especially pressing, as the formal separation of calendars and churches raised the

² See for example: А.С. Павлов, *Памятники древнерусского канонического права*, ч. 1/(2), *Русская историческая библиотека*, Saint Petersburg, 1908, t. 6, col. 275.

question of who, if anyone, should assume the role of head of the Eastern Church, similar to the Pope's position in the Western Christianity. Both Bernard Heyberger and Constantin Vetochnikov observed that, during this period, the Patriarchs of Constantinople on several occasions appointed hierarchs to the patriarchal seat of Antioch – an independent and ancient Eastern patriarchate. The reflections of the authors provoke future considerations on the role of the patriarch of Constantinople, on how and why it was changing in the Ottoman period and on the influence of these processes on the chair of Antioch. The patriarchs of Antioch, as could be noticed already in the 16th century, tried to find support in Constantinople in order to assure their position in their diocese. From the side of Antiochian hierarchs, as it seems, the patriarchs of Constantinople found support for the projects to introduce primacy in the church approaching in equality to that of the Roman popes (for instance, assisting in negotiations on the foundation of the Patriarchate of Moscow).

Even if this fact shows the growing role of Constantinopolitan hierarchs among their colleagues-patriarchs, the crucial for the Church decisions, however, were taken only with participation of other ancient patriarchs. Thus, the consecration of the Patriarch of Antioch Neophytos (1672–1681) was accomplished with the consent of his peers, as the Patriarch of Jerusalem participated in the assembly. The participation of other patriarchs in the synodal meetings in Constantinople – for example, of Patriarchs Dositheus and Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem, who remained there for extended periods - suggests that maintaining synodality in decision-making partially replaced the traditional role of the Christian emperors in such matters: the decisions in Byzantine times were taken by the clergy and by the emperor.

From one side there was a kind of “intervention” of the ecumenical patriarch in the diocese of Antioch, from the other the important decisions were made and signed in a synodal manner together with the patriarch of Jerusalem. Other church hierarchs could also delegate their powers. The deposition of Cyril VI Tanas in 1724, issued in the name of the ecumenical patriarch, the patriarch of Jerusalem and Sylvester of Antioch, was supported by the petition, addressed to the Ottoman authorities to confirm the taken decision. This procedure demonstrates the “imperial” role of the Sultan in church matters.

However, he faced competition: as early as the beginning of the 16th century, Russian tsars endeavoured to assert a privileged position within the Orthodox world, aspiring to inherit the role of leadership over the Eastern Church once held by the Byzantine emperors. Evgeny Pilipenko analyses how, beginning with the *Spiritual Regulation* of 1721, Russian ecclesiology legitimized the authority of the “sovereign monarch” over the Church, coinciding with proclamation of Peter the Great as emperor. Nevertheless, neither the Muscovite tsars nor the Russian emperors, despite their ambitions, ever received formal recognition from the Eastern Church of the right to assume the position historically held by the Byzantine emperors.

In his introductory article, Bernard Heyberger outlines the gradual differentiation between Latin and Orthodox religious cultures over the century and

a half leading up to 1724. For much of this period, though, it was almost legally permissible for Christians of different denominations to partake in sacraments together, whether in Latin or Orthodox church services, as shown by Cesare Santus. Charbel Nassif in his contribution demonstrates, that even Athanasios III Dabbās, the last Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch before the 1724 separation, is portrayed by various sources as having ambiguous confessional views. It is crucial to understand that the church hierarchs, even within the “Orthodox” camp, made continued efforts to find the way between the two poles, Rome and Constantinople (or Rūm). They sought to negotiate their positions, sometimes expressing their willingness to consider union with the Catholic Church, and in some cases, even presenting to the Roman church authorities their Latin confessions of faith. Heyberger, using incredibly rich archival materials, demonstrates how these cultural and liturgical differences – marked by close ties of one of the factions with the Western world in terms of both economics and culture – had been developing for a long time. However, this fluidity began to diminish progressively.

A crucial moment in this development occurred with the Synod convened in Constantinople in 1722 and attended by three Eastern patriarchs (excluding the Patriarch of Alexandria), which marked the beginning of open conflict between Athanasios Dabbās and the pro-Catholic circles within his community. Heyberger highlights that the decisions made at this synod had far-reaching consequences, leading to the definitive harmonization of rites and liturgical practices within the Patriarchate of Antioch with those of the whole Orthodox Church. This alignment included the liturgical celebrations and the veneration of saints, such as Gregory Palamas, thereby reinforcing uniformity across the Orthodox world. However, this development simultaneously weakened the unity and “cross-confessional interaction”, as termed by Cesare Santus, among Christian communities at a time when they faced significant internal challenges and external pressures. This process marked a turning point in the confessional landscape of the Christian East, as it further deepened the divisions between different Christian groups.

This divergence was not limited to the establishment of parallel ecclesiastical hierarchies but also extended to broader cultural and political distinctions between competing Christian factions. These influential groups often supported rival candidates for the patriarchal throne, aligning themselves also with distinct political agendas. Drawing on rich archival collections in Vatican, Paris, and Beirut, Aurelien Girard illustrates this aspect through the development of Rūm Orthodox and Rūm Catholic monasteries, which received backing either from Ottoman authorities or from wealthy local landowners. Tensions of various kinds – not only theological but also economic and political – are examined in the articles by Sabine Mohasseb Saliba, Souad Slim, and especially those by Carsten Walbinger and Cornel Zwierlein. These authors analyse various points of contention among supporters of union with Rome, highlighting significant differences between the inhabitants of Aleppo and

Damascus of the same confession, which were sometimes as pronounced as those between Rūm Orthodox and Rūm Catholic communities.

The complex interplay of religious and political loyalties thus intensified divisions within the Christian flock. Ottoman authorities supported the Orthodox faction by issuing “imperial” – that is Sultan’s – orders against conversion to Catholicism, prohibiting Catholic missionaries from freely entering the homes of non-Catholics, and restricting the rebuilding of churches, as Zwierlein demonstrates in his contribution. To gain a deeper understanding of these distinctions, Ioana Feodorov’s article offers significant insights through a micro-historical analysis of an individual’s biography, strategies and experiences. Her research explores how Vasili Grigorovich-Barsky, an Orthodox pilgrim from Kyiv, perceived confessional and cultural differences during his travels to the East. Feodorov’s analysis of Barsky’s perception of Uniate Christians, combined with Hilary Kilpatrick’s case study on Arabic poetic texts by Nikolaos al-Ṣā’ig directed against the Orthodox, offers valuable perspectives on the formation of religious and cultural identities. When discussing specific case studies, it is also relevant to mention here the article by Dominika Kovačević-Younes, who notes that, at a certain point, terms related to Palamism – such as the uncreated light – as well as references to the Byzantine emperor, were removed from books published for the believers of the Uniate Church to distance them definitely from Eastern Orthodoxy.

One of the central themes highlighted in this new publication is the growing importance of printed books and polemical literature within the church, in inter-church relations, and in education within Catholic missionary schools. From the 16th century onward, theological polemics were no longer confined to a small, elite circle of clerics and scholars but became accessible to a broader audience through printed materials. Debates over the primacy of the Roman Pope, veneration of saints – such as the contested figure of Gregory Palamas – and liturgical practices became topics of widespread discussion, shaping theological discourse across the Christian world.

Pavel Ermilov, Mikhail Bernatsky, and deeply regretted Constantin Panchenko († 2024) discuss the Eucharistic disputes related to the diocese of Antioch before the separation in 1724, showing how Catholic views gained influence among both clergy and laity. The authors analyse the correspondence of Gerasimos Palladas, Patriarch of Alexandria, with the Christians of Tripoli and Aleppo (ca. 1701–1702). There is no clear explanation as to why the inhabitants of Tripoli initially addressed their letter to a patriarch who was not their canonical hierarch. The Eucharistic controversy (specifically the debate on the Epiclesis) continued in the Eastern Church until the council of 1691. This council ultimately affirmed the Orthodox perspective, which holds that the transformation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ occurs not when the priest pronounce Christ’s words, “*Take, eat: this is My Body [...] Drink of it all of you: this is My Blood...*” (the words of institution), but

rather during the Epiclesis, when he invokes the Holy Spirit to descend and sanctify the bread and wine, making them the Body and Blood of Christ.

The hypothesis proposed by the authors suggests that internal divergences within the Patriarchate of Antioch may have prompted members of the Orthodox community to appeal to a hierarch renowned for his anti-Catholic liturgical reforms. But notably, this reform – the silent recitation of the words of institution and the loud proclamation of the Epiclesis – was condemned in Constantinople in the same year, when response of Gerasimos Palladas has been translated into Arabic and when the Christians of Tripoli and Aleppo wrote their answers, representing opposing perspectives on the matter of the Epiclesis.

The intriguing connection between the Antiochian Christians and the Patriarchate of Alexandria deserves further investigation. It is plausible that Gerasimos Palladas composed his text not in Crete, as proposed by the authors of the article, but more likely in the Romanian principalities, where he resided for extended periods³. If we accept this assumption, it becomes difficult to overlook the simultaneous presence in the same region of Athanasios Dabbās, the former Patriarch of Antioch. Could this simultaneous presence of these two Orthodox hierarchs in the Romanian principalities suggest that their relationship and their shared interest in printing, may have provoked or influenced this correspondence? Alternatively, might it reflect broader efforts by certain representatives of Eastern clergy to assert greater independence from the Patriarchate of Constantinople by appealing to alternative centre of authority, particularly since the patriarch of Alexandria has the title of the “judge of the Universe and pope”? Notably, Gerasimos Palladas appears to have maintained favourable relations with the Sinai monks and those advocating for the autocephaly of Sinai – which necessarily placed him in opposition to factions within Constantinople and Jerusalem resistant to such projects. Future research could shed light on the ways in which theological debates intersected with broader ecclesiastical dynamics in the Orthodox world.

The printing presses established by Orthodox hierarchs in the Romanian principalities and subsequently in Aleppo, were aimed to produce texts that would educate the Orthodox faithful and shield them from Catholic influences. Nevertheless, Catholic cultural elements gradually infiltrated the Orthodox world through the printed books especially after the transfer of the typography to Lebanon, contributing to a broader diffusion of educational and spiritual literature and contributed substantially to the spread of literacy and culture. Bernard Heyberger emphasizes that Arabic books printed at that time were widely used by both Orthodox and Catholic communities in the East, integrating these communities into a “globalized Catholic culture”. In addition to Catholic connections, these presses fostered contact with Protestant circles; for instance, projects of Athanasios Dabbās or Dositheus of Jerusalem, as noted by Heyberger,

³ Ἑλένη Σωτ. Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτά, *Γεράσιμος Β΄ Παλλαδᾶς, Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας (±1625/30–1714). Ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ συγγραφικὸν του ἔργον*, Athens, 2006, p. 63–82.

reflect a significant Protestant influence, particularly given Dositheus's keen interest in expanding Orthodox printing activities. The dynamic is paradoxical, as elements of different traditions became intertwined and interconnected. At the same time, the rise in polemical writings and the volume of publications created a need to enhance rhetorical skills and foster individuals capable of engaging in complex theological debates.

The question of printing press technology in the East, as raised by Philippe Asseily in his contribution, remains highly debatable. He suggests that Arabic types for the Aleppo press, active from 1706 on, were brought from Bucharest by Athanasios Dabbās and later used by Patriarch Sylvestros for his printing press in Beirut. However, the comparison of types in Wallachian and Syrian editions shows it is not necessarily true. According to the author, 'Abd Allāh Zāḥir, a collaborator of Dabbās, established his own press in al-Ḥinšāra, likely with the assistance of Maronites. The types used for this press may have been imported from an Italian, possibly Roman, printing house. Meanwhile, Sylvestros of Antioch transferred his Orthodox printing operations to the Romanian principalities. The issue of whether the movable types in these first Arabic language printing presses were of foreign origin or locally produced by talented typographers or goldsmiths still remains unresolved.

The extensive bibliography, combined with the wealth of previously unknown archival and manuscript sources introduced by the authors to this volume, represents a major contribution to the field of historical research on the Church/Churches of Antioch. This meticulous scholarship not only deepens our understanding of the Christian East but also opens new perspectives for further inquiry. The book stands as an indispensable resource for all researchers of church history, offering a foundational reference for all scholars.

Vera Tchentsova

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**Presentation of Academic Events and Projects Co-organized or Hosted
by the Institute for South-East European Studies**

AN EXHIBITION OF EARLY ARABIC PRINTED BOOKS
AT THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY LIBRARY
CO-ORGANIZED BY THE TYPARABIC PROJECT

The TYPARABIC project hosted by the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian, which received an Advanced Grant from the European Research Council (ERC) for five years (2021–2026), organized on 16–20 June, 2025, an exhibition of Arabic books and manuscripts at the Romanian Academy Library. The curators of the exhibition were Gabriela Dumitrescu, Carmen Albu, Archim. Policarp Chițulescu and Ioana Feodorov, Principal Investigator of the TYPARABIC Project.

TYPARABIC, *Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians. Cultural Transfers between Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Near-East in the 18th Century*, is a project dedicated to the study of the earliest Arabic books printed in Eastern Europe and Ottoman Syria. A multinational team composed of 17 researchers is studying the Arabic books printed in the Romanian Principalities, Aleppo, Constantinople, Khinshāra (Shuwayr, Mount Lebanon), and Beirut. Team members analyse the context and benefits of the printing of Arabic liturgical, patristic, and polemical texts in the Ottoman provinces of the eastern Mediterranean in the 18th century for the Arab Christians attached to the Byzantine-rite Churches. We investigate the links between the Romanian Principalities and other Eastern European states, on the one hand, and Arabic-speaking Christians in the Ottoman Empire, on the other, with an emphasis on the social progress brought in the Near East by the printing culture, to which the Romanians contributed in a crucial way. The research focuses on the transfer of printing technology from Wallachia to the lands ruled by the Sublime Porte, for the benefit of Arabic-speaking Christians, and the outcomes of this connection: several tens of titles of liturgical and polemical printed books.

Whereas in Western Europe the art of printing developed rapidly after the development of the movable type printing press in Mainz by Johannes Gutenberg in 1452, in the Levant, printing became possible much later. In 1610, the Maronite monastery of St. Anthony in Qozhaya (Lebanon) printed the first book in the East, a Book of Psalms with texts in Syriac and Arabic, both in Syriac (not Arabic) type.¹ A century later, in between two terms as Patriarch of the Antiochian Church, Athanasios Dabbās (†1724) travelled to Wallachia, governed by Constantin Brâncoveanu, who was famous for his generous donations to the Eastern Churches. Here, Antim of Iberia, author and translator of theological writings, a genius

¹ Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, Berlin – Boston, 2023 (Early Arabic Printing in the East, I), p. 101.

typographer and a future metropolitan of Wallachia, manufactured punches and cast Arabic typefaces with which he printed two service books with parallel texts in Greek and Arabic: the *Divine Liturgies/Liturgikon* (Snagov, 1701) and the *Book of Hours/Horologion* (Bucharest, 1702). Dabbās then transferred part of the typographic material created by Antim to Ottoman Syria and founded the first printing press in the Middle East in Aleppo. Between 1706 and 1711, he printed here 11 Arabic books, including the *Book of Psalms* and the *Gospel* (1706), the *Octoechos* (1711) and a writing of his own, a treatise on repentance and confession which reflects certain influences of Byzantine literature.²

‘Abdallāh Zākhir, an apprentice in Dabbās’ printing house³, transferred some of the printing tools from Aleppo to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Khinshāra, where he printed in 1734 the first book, *Mizān al-zamān* (*The Balance of Time*), a translation from Italian. Sixty Arabic books of worship and spiritual teachings were printed here in the 18th century, some reproducing books from Aleppo, others, translations of Western dogmatic texts required by the new Greek Catholic Church (Paolo Segneri, Giovanni Pinamonti, Francesco Rinaldi, etc.).

After the schism of 1724 in the Antiochian Church (commemorated in 2024, three centuries later), some of the faithful remained Orthodox while others joined Rome, which later led to the composition of numerous polemical texts defining the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Orthodox. Sylvester of Cyprus, Dabbās’ successor as Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch (in 1724), resumed the printing of Arabic books in Moldavia and Wallachia.⁴ Supported by the Phanariot princes Ioan and Constantin Mavrocordat, Patriarch Sylvester printed seven Arabic books in Iași (1745–1746)⁵ and Bucharest (1747)⁶. The TYPARABIC project team discovered rare copies of the Arabic books printed in Bucharest, including an important collection of canonical and anti-Catholic texts. In 1750, Patriarch Sylvester established an Orthodox Arabic book-printing press in Beirut (Lebanon), at the Monastery of St. George, where a *Book of Psalms* and a *Book of Hours (Horologion)* (1752–1753),⁷ were published, and perhaps the first Arabic printed version of the *Akathistos* to the Mother of God,⁸ recently described by the TYPARABIC team from the only surviving copy.

Archim. Policarp Chițulescu is preparing a systematic, detailed, and richly illustrated catalogue of Arabic books printed between 1701 and 1800 in the Romanian Principalities, Syria, and Lebanon. Another annotated catalogue,

² *Ibidem*, p. 255–262.

³ Constantin A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians Under the Ottomans 1516–1831*, translated by Samuel Noble and Brittany Pheiffer Noble, Jordanville, NY, 2016, p. 378.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 244.

⁵ Mihai Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th-century Christian Orthodox Patriarch*, Berlin – Boston, 2024 (Early Arabic Printing in the East, III), p. 202–210.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 210–223

⁷ Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians...*, p. 247.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 304–307.

authored by Orlin Sabev, presents the production of the first Turkish-language printing press, in Arabic letters, established in Istanbul by Ibrahim Müteferrika, a Muslim convert born in Cluj towards the end of the 17th century.⁹

Team members publish the outcomes of their research in Open Access in a series contracted with the German editor De Gruyter, *Early Arabic Printing in the East (EAPE)*, in which five volumes have already appeared. All can be accessed free of charge in De Gruyter's online catalogue by searching for the series name.

The Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest holds thirteen exemplars of Arabic books that are included in the corpus analysed by the TYPARABIC project team. This collection comprises the two books that were printed by Antim of Iberia and Athanasios Dabbās in Wallachia, the *Divine Liturgies* (Snagov, 1701), with four copies, and the *Book of Hours* (Bucharest, 1702), two copies. In addition, the library holds the *Book of Psalms* and the *Gospel* (1706) printed in Aleppo in 1706, and a rare copy of the double-title book printed by Sylvester of Antioch at Iași in 1746 (Nektarios of Jerusalem and Eustratios Argentis). All these books were exhibited at the recent exhibition.

The recent exhibition *Connections between the Romanians and the Eastern Christians in the Times of Antim the Iberian. Books and manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy*, presented items that demonstrate the help given by the rulers and printers of the Romanian Principalities to the Arab and the Georgian Christians so they could benefit from printing and the progress it encouraged. This major cultural event illustrated the tireless and dedicated work of St. Antim the Iberian towards the transfer of the printing technology to the faithful of the Church of Antioch and the Georgian Christians. The Christian Arabic manuscripts on display revealed the interest of the Romanian clergy and lay scholars in the culture of the Arabic-speaking Orthodox in Ottoman. All the manuscripts and books that were exhibited are being studied by the TYPARABIC project team, which has set as one of its main objectives to highlight the richness of the collections held by the Library of the Romanian Academy and the important corpus of Arabic books printed in the 18th century in the East, which is richer than that of many great libraries in other European capitals. The Arabic books on display will be described in detail in the catalogues, books, and articles that the team members will publish in Open Access by the end of the TYPARABIC project on July 1, 2026.

To find out more about the TYPARABIC project, visit www.typarabic.ro and the Facebook page: typarabic.

Nicholas Bichara

⁹ Orlin Sabev, *The Müteferrika Press*, Berlin – Boston, 2025 (Early Arabic Printing in the East, V), p. 27–33.

KNOWLEDGE IN CRISIS: THE DYNAMICS OF ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERTISE AMIDST RURAL CHANGE

The Institute has recently secured funding for a new research project titled *Knowledge in Crisis: The Dynamics of Environmental Expertise amidst Rural Change* (CR. 382 RURALEX). Funded by the HERA-CHANSE scheme, this initiative is conducted in collaboration with a consortium of six European institutions: Oulu University, Finland (PI: Roger Norum; also the coordinator); University of Oslo, Norway (PI: Alessandro Rippa); University of Sussex, UK (PI: Alice Eldridge); Institute for Southeast European Studies, Romanian Academy (PI: Stefan Dorondel); University of Barcelona, Spain (PI: Camila del Marmol); University of Tallinn, Estonia (PI: Kadri Tüür). The project also involves ten Associate Partners across eight different case studies. It officially commenced on May 1, 2025, and will conclude on April 30, 2028.

Project Objectives and Scope

The overarching goal is to explore how socio-economic and environmental transformations impacting European rural areas evoke a crisis of environmental expertise. This crisis often intensifies existing conflicts. The research focuses on local experts-such as farmers, fishermen, hunters, beekeepers, and indigenous communities-and examines how their long-standing, place-based knowledge is often sidelined in policy-making processes. A key aim is to understand how this crisis of expertise intersects with broader issues like land use change, socio-environmental dynamics, and climate change. Particular attention is given to the nexus of mobility (e.g., out-migration), land abandonment, environmental shifts, and the rise of populism across Europe.

Methodological Approach

While human perspectives are central, the project adopts a multispecies perspective (see, for example, Kirksey and Helmreich 2010; van Dooren, Kirksey and Münster 2016). This involves innovative, mixed methodologies-including *multispecies ethnography* and *multi-sensory deep mapping techniques*. Deep mapping is a spatial and temporal method that captures layered understandings of landscapes and ecosystems, incorporating sounds, memories, music, and oral histories, to reveal how places are shaped and transformed over time (Roberts 2016).

Romanian Case Study

The Romanian team, led by Stefan Dorondel (PI), with researchers Stelu Serban and Svetoslava Toncheva, in collaboration with Oana Popa from the National Museum of Natural History “Grigore Antipa,” (The Romanian Associate Partner),

will conduct fieldwork along the Lower Danube in Romania and Bulgaria, including the Danube Delta. This work will focus on local knowledge about allochthonous (invasive) species, such as Asian carp, zebra mussels, and freshwater shrimps originating from China. The team will explore how these species influence local knowledge systems and food cultures, with a particular focus on the role of Asian carp. Over eight months, they will immerse themselves in the world of fishermen, environmental experts, and biologists from regional and national institutions in Romania and Bulgaria.

Outreach and Dissemination

In addition to publications, the Romanian team will organize the project's inaugural meeting and a final exhibition at the National Museum of Natural History "Grigore Antipa". This event will showcase the knowledge generated across all eight European regions involved-Finland, Italy, Germany, the Azores, Catalonia, Estonia, Southeast Europe (Romania and Bulgaria), and Southeast England.

Impact and Future Perspectives

This project aims to make a significant contribution to global academia by developing new theoretical and methodological tools to study planetary processes. It strives to advance a novel understanding of "crisis", one that inclusively considers non-human actors. Moreover, it seeks to influence policy and practice through the creation of a *White Paper* addressed to the EU Directorate-General for Agriculture (DG Agri), as well as engaging local stakeholders to highlight the importance of rural knowledge across Europe.

Stefan Dorondel

Dan DANA, « *Les inscriptions pour l'histoire* ». *Trente ans de correspondance entre Louis Robert et Dionisie M. Pippidi*, Paris, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2024, 552 p.

« Une longue expérience m'a appris que ce sont précisément les gens surchargés de travail qui sont les meilleurs correspondants : ne vous laissant jamais attendre une réponse, ne négligeant jamais un devoir, sous prétexte d'avoir trop à faire. Tel était Iorga, qui répondait de sa main à des centaines de lettres chaque mois et qui, même étant premier ministre, n'a jamais oublié l'heure de son cours ; tel vous êtes, dont le message est le premier à me parvenir depuis mon retour au pays » (lettre de D.M. Pippidi à L. Robert, n° 98, 10 août 1969). Ces lignes constituent peut-être la meilleure introduction à la lecture de ce volume, qui réunit la riche correspondance (172 lettres) échangée, durant trois décennies (1955–1985), par deux des plus éminents épigraphistes du XX^e siècle : Louis Robert (1904–1985) et Dionisie M. Pippidi (1905–1993). À l'origine de ce projet se trouve le regretté Alexandru Avram (1956–2021), ancien professeur d'histoire grecque à l'Université du Maine et élève de D.M. Pippidi, auquel il avait succédé à la direction des fouilles d'Histria. Il fut secondé dans cette entreprise par Dan Dana, chargé de recherche au CNRS (Laboratoire « Histoire et sources du monde antique ») et spécialiste d'onomastique antique, qui a mené à bien, après la disparition prématurée d'Alexandru Avram, l'édition des lettres.

Il ne s'agit pas d'une première : D. Dana a déjà publié, dans *Il Mar Nero* (11, 2021–2023, p. 367–449), une soixantaine de lettres échangées entre D. M. Pippidi et Jérôme Carcopino entre 1932 et 1968. Quatorze lettres échangées, entre 1932 et 1955, entre D.M. Pippidi et Arnaldo Momigliano ont également paru dans un numéro consacré au savant italien de la revue *Storia della storiografia* (16, 1989, p. 15–33). Quant à la correspondance de Louis Robert, le riche corpus de lettres échangées avec Günther Klaffenbach, directeur des *Inscriptiones Graecae*, fait actuellement l'objet d'une édition par Klaus Hallof et Daniela Summa.

Nul n'était plus légitime pour ouvrir ce volume que Denis Knoepfler, titulaire de la chaire d'Histoire et épigraphie des cités grecques au Collège de France de 2003 à 2014. Son avant-propos offre un portrait lumineux des deux savants et de l'intimité intellectuelle que révèle cette longue et émouvante correspondance ; il retrace également l'histoire récente de l'épigraphie roumaine, demeurée fidèle au double héritage de Dionisie M. Pippidi et de Louis Robert. Le volume se poursuit par une brève présentation de L. Robert (p. 41–44), que l'éditeur a sans doute jugé suffisamment familier aux lecteurs francophones, puis par une ample biographie de D. M. Pippidi (p. 45–173), émaillée de détails précis sur la vie académique et politique de la Roumanie, qui retiendront sans doute plus particulièrement l'attention des lecteurs roumains. Cette biographie est suivie d'une bibliographie fort utile du savant roumain (p. 175–203). L'on peut toutefois regretter l'absence d'une bibliographie des travaux de Louis Robert publiés en Roumanie – notamment dans *Studii clasice* et *Dacia* – dont bon nombre sont cependant mentionnés dans les notes accompagnant l'édition de la correspondance.

Présenter brièvement Louis Robert, savant dont le nom fut, pendant un demi-siècle, quasiment synonyme d'épigraphie grecque, relève, on en conviendra, de l'impossible. Directeur d'études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études à seulement 28 ans, puis professeur au Collège de France à 35 ans, où il succéda à Maurice Holleaux, il fut élu en 1948 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, qu'il présida à deux reprises, en 1956 et en 1966. Auteur d'une œuvre monumentale – 35 livres et plus de 450 articles – qui a profondément marqué plusieurs générations d'hellénistes, Louis Robert a radicalement renouvelé la compréhension de l'histoire des cités grecques à l'époque hellénistique et romaine. Il a également redéfini les frontières de l'épigraphie, discipline qu'il concevait comme inséparable de la philologie, de la numismatique, de l'archéologie et de la papyrologie. Sa personnalité était à la hauteur de son œuvre. À sa disparition, Pierre Hadot formulait

avec simplicité cette conviction : « le souvenir de sa vie et de sa personnalité demeurera pour nous un appel toujours vivant à la rigueur scientifique qui est, en fait, une discipline morale »¹.

À l'autre extrémité d'une Europe divisée par le Rideau de fer, la personnalité de Dionisie M. Pippidi incarnait le même esprit. Sa reconnaissance internationale lui permit de traverser quatre décennies de régime communiste sans être membre du Parti, tout en demeurant professeur à l'Université de Bucarest jusqu'à sa retraite, en 1974. Il fut également directeur de l'Institut d'archéologie entre 1971 et 1981, et membre correspondant de l'Académie roumaine à partir de 1963, n'accédant au statut de membre titulaire qu'en 1990, après la chute du régime. Il présida la Fédération internationale des Associations d'Études classiques de 1974 à 1979, fut élu membre associé de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres en 1975, et reçut le titre de docteur *honoris causa* des universités de Lyon et de Genève. L'organisation du VII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine à Constanța, en 1977, couronna une carrière exceptionnelle, menée dans des conditions peu propices à la recherche scientifique, des conditions souvent difficiles à concevoir pour ses confrères d'Occident. Ses déplacements à l'étranger restèrent rares. En Grèce, par exemple, il ne se rendit que tardivement, à l'instar de son collègue allemand Günther Klaffenbach, qui ne put y séjourner qu'une seule fois au cours de sa vie.

Dans ce contexte, la correspondance avec Louis Robert, tout comme la lecture de ses travaux, revêt pour D.M. Pippidi la valeur d'un antidote quotidien. « Du point de vue scientifique comme au point de vue humain, je considère votre connaissance comme un des grands événements de ma vie », lui écrivait-il en 1965 (lettre n° 49). Cette relation nourrit un travail incessant qui, comme il le confiait déjà en 1959, « m'a plus d'une fois soutenu dans les épreuves de ma vie et aujourd'hui encore il est mon meilleur refuge » (lettre n° 11). Dès les premiers échanges, leurs vues convergent sur ce qu'ils considèrent comme les priorités de la discipline : la nécessité de réaliser des corpus épigraphiques régionaux, où chaque inscription soit accompagnée d'une traduction et d'un commentaire historique permettant de reconstituer, à partir des documents, une histoire générale de la région (lettre n° 3, 1956). La persévérance et la fidélité avec lesquelles tous deux se sont consacrés à cette tâche sont, elles aussi, concordantes.

Lorsque D.M. Pippidi revient à Paris en 1963, après vingt-sept ans d'absence, à l'occasion du VIII^e Congrès d'archéologie classique, Louis Robert se trouve alors en Turquie, où il dirige, de 1956 à 1964, l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul. Le savant roumain doit se contenter de retrouver l'un de ses anciens maîtres, André Piganiol, « plus vif et plus brillant que jamais » (lettre n° 26). Il se lie également d'amitié avec Jean Pouilloux, qui l'invite à donner un cycle de conférences à l'Institut de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, avant de venir lui-même à Bucarest, où il prononcera une communication en 1965 à la Société d'Études classiques. C'est finalement à Bucarest, à l'automne 1965, que D. M. Pippidi rencontre pour la première fois Louis Robert, rencontre qui scellera une amitié sans faille.

À la même époque, Louis Robert s'efforce de faciliter les séjours parisiens de quelques jeunes chercheurs roumains. Ses démarches demeurent sans succès dans le cas d'Emilian Popescu, élève de D.M. Pippidi, qu'il tente en vain de faire venir à Paris pour assister à ses cours à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Elles s'avèrent en revanche fructueuses pour l'indianiste Arion Roșu, exilé à Paris en 1965, à qui il facilite l'intégration dans le milieu scientifique parisien, en le recommandant chaleureusement à Jean Filliozat, qui dirigera par la suite sa thèse de doctorat (lettre n° 54, 1966).

Il n'oublie jamais le grand ami de D.M. Pippidi, le « cher Berza, qui nous fait toujours parvenir régulièrement les publications du *Sud-Est européen* » (lettre n° 110, 1973). Il s'agit bien entendu de la *Revue des études sud-est européennes* (p. 347, n. 568), d'autant plus que D.M. Pippidi faisait partie du comité de rédaction de la revue, mais sans doute également d'autres travaux en langues de circulation publiés sous les auspices de l'Institut d'Études sud-est européennes, susceptibles d'intéresser le savant français. À cette époque, la *Revue* constituait l'un des rares périodiques de l'Académie roumaine où il était encore possible de publier en langues de large diffusion – un fait que

¹ P. Hadot, « Louis Robert (15 février 1904 – 31 mai 1985) », *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1985, p. 82.

D.M. Pippidi ne manquait pas de souligner en pensant à son fils, bien qu'il se fasse peu d'illusions quant à l'avenir : « Mais qu'en sera-t-il quand Berza quittera la direction, ce qui ne saurait tarder ? – Mieux ne vaut pas y penser » (lettre n° 145, 17 avril 1978). Une prophétie bien triste, puisque Mihai Berza mourut quelques mois plus tard.

La lecture des travaux récents de Louis Robert réserve parfois de véritables révélations : « Et puisque nous parlons de lectures enrichissantes, que vous dirai-je de l'étude sur les inscriptions d'Aï Khanoum², sinon qu'une fois de plus vous n'aurez pas fini de nous étonner ? Vraiment, je pense que cette communication est exemplaire et qu'elle sera citée en toute occasion comme une preuve de ce à quoi l'épigraphie peut conduire... à condition d'en sortir » (lettre n° 97, 1969). D. M. Pippidi ne se trompait guère sur l'intérêt que cette recherche majeure allait susciter parmi les hellénistes. Elle fut en effet prolongée par Paul Bernard, directeur des fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan à Aï Khanoum (1964–1979) et titulaire, dès 1980, de la chaire d'archéologie grecque de l'Orient hellénisé à l'EPHE. Louis Robert n'hésita pas à exprimer sa vive satisfaction à l'annonce de cette élection, qu'il avait lui-même activement soutenue (lettre n° 155, 1980). Les découvertes réalisées à Aï Khanoum se révélèrent être les vestiges d'une importante collection de maximes delphiques, copiées à Delphes puis transportées en Bactriane par un disciple d'Aristote, Cléarque de Soles (IV^e siècle av. J.-C.), ainsi que les fragments d'un dialogue philosophique d'inspiration platonicienne, qui pourrait correspondre, selon Pierre Hadot et Enrico Berti, au *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας* d'Aristote. Ces questions ont récemment été réexaminées par Philippe Hoffmann dans deux études importantes, dont la plus récente rend hommage à Paul Bernard³, attestant une fois encore la fécondité de l'étude pionnière de Louis Robert.

L'élection de D.M. Pippidi comme correspondant de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres suscite chez ce dernier une profession de foi et un témoignage de modestie : « C'est sans doute parce que, me connaissant un peu et sachant que les conditions où j'ai dû travailler n'ont jamais été favorables, que vous avez voulu récompenser mon zèle ; à moins que ce ne soit une probité intellectuelle qui ne m'a jamais manqué et qui, au fond, est l'unique qualité dont j'ose me targuer. Quoi qu'il en soit, merci de tout cœur de vous être penché avec intérêt sur une carrière et sur un homme comme il y en a beaucoup, mais qui a eu le privilège de vous approcher et qui, de cette rencontre, est sorti enrichi » (lettre n° 89, 9 décembre 1968). La réponse de L. Robert ne se fait pas attendre : « Vous jouissez de l'estime générale, à la fois scientifique et personnelle, et on a été heureux de vous attacher à l'Académie par ce titre. Il était facile de montrer l'intérêt et la valeur de l'œuvre que vous poursuivez méthodiquement, en reconstituant – pierre à pierre, c'est le cas de le dire – l'histoire ancienne de votre région, et il m'était agréable de montrer ce double aspect de votre œuvre, les inscriptions et l'histoire, ou plutôt les inscriptions pour l'histoire » (lettre n° 90, 15 décembre 1968). L'élection de D. M. Pippidi comme membre associé en 1975 – deuxième Roumain à recevoir cet honneur après N. Iorga en 1932 – vint renforcer ces éloges, auxquels se rallia également Henri-Irénée Marrou, dont la lettre est transcrite à la p. 127.

Dans les années 1960, D.M. Pippidi élabore le projet d'un recueil d'articles de Louis Robert, initialement intitulé *Du Danube à la Propontide*, puis *Des Carpathes à la Propontide*, projet que le savant français accepte volontiers de concrétiser (lettre n° 35, 1964). Plusieurs parties de ce recueil paraîtront d'ailleurs, au fil du temps, dans *Studii clasice*. Ce volume devait s'inscrire dans une collection que D.M. Pippidi envisageait de publier « sous les auspices de l'Institut d'Études sud-est européennes de notre ami Berza », collection qui devait également accueillir « un volume de M-me Bordenache sur l'art provincial de Scythie Mineure » ainsi qu'« un recueil d'études danubiennes de

² L. Robert, « De Delphes à l'Oxus, inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane », *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 112, 3, 1968, p. 416–457.

³ Ph. Hoffmann, « La philosophie grecque sur les bords de l'Oxus : un réexamen du papyrus d'Aï Khanoum », dans J. Jouanna, V. Schiltz et M. Zink (éd.), *La Grèce dans les profondeurs de l'Asie*, Paris, De Boccard, 2016, p. 165–228, suivi d'un entretien avec Paul Bernard, p. 228–232 ; idem, « Les maximes delphiques d'Aï Khanoum : retour sur la base de Kinéas et restitution en 3D de la stèle disparue », *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2017, 3, p. 1103–1151.

Ronald Syme » (lettre n° 74, 1967; voir aussi le post-scriptum de la lettre n° 82, 1968). Finalement, seul ce dernier ouvrage verra le jour sous le titre de *Danubian Papers* (1971) au sein de la collection *Bibliothèque d'Études du Sud-Est européen*, qui restera à l'état d'unique tome, en raison de circonstances indépendantes de la volonté de son initiateur. Cependant, sous l'égide du même institut, une collection presque homonyme renaîtra un demi-siècle plus tard, avec un périmètre thématique et chronologique élargi, en accord avec le programme de recherche de l'Institut. Elle compte aujourd'hui vingt-trois volumes, dont deux consacrés à l'Antiquité: celui de Maria Alexandrescu Vianu, portant sur la sculpture en pierre à Tomis aux I^{er}-III^e siècles, et celui de Vasilica Lungu et Adrian Robu, consacré aux pratiques cultuelles et aux dynamiques religieuses entre le Pont-Euxin et la mer Égée. *Ex ossibus ultor*, comme l'évoque, en citant Virgile, une lettre de 1968 (n° 78).

Dans ces lettres, largement consacrées aux questions épigraphiques et aux projets communs, la vie personnelle des deux savants occupe une place restreinte. Cette réserve s'explique sans doute par leur discrétion naturelle, mais aussi par une nécessaire prudence. Les nouvelles émanant d'intermédiaires suppléaient parfois ces silences. Ainsi, Louis Robert recevait des informations sur son collègue roumain via des amis communs de passage en Roumanie, tels que Pierre Chantraine ou le Père André-Jean Festugière. Lorsque les échanges directs ou les nouvelles indirectes faisaient défaut, les correspondants recouraient parfois à un langage codé. Ainsi, lorsque D.M. Pippidi écrit au savant français que « vos pronostics météorologiques (...) n'ont pas la précision de vos restitutions épigraphiques : le bleu de notre ciel n'a vraiment pas l'air de s'agrandir, du moins pour le moment » (lettre n° 53, 16 janvier 1966), il s'agit d'une allusion voilée à la succession à la tête de l'État roumain après la mort de Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, sur laquelle Louis Robert nourrissait des espoirs rapidement démentis par son correspondant; ce « moment » se prolongera en effet sur un quart de siècle...

La fin de l'année 1982 trouve D.M. Pippidi à la tâche, corrigeant les épreuves du très attendu corpus des inscriptions d'Histria. Ce triomphe scientifique se conjugue cependant avec des épreuves lourdes à porter, liées tant à sa santé qu'à la situation dégradée du pays, alors plongé dans les années les plus sombres de la dictature de Ceaușescu: « Au demeurant, rien ne va : l'état des yeux ne fait qu'empirer, et quant aux conditions de la vie, en général, à peine vaut-il en parler... » (lettre n° 160, 14 décembre 1982). Le corpus parvient à Paris en mai de l'année suivante. La réaction de Louis Robert ne se fait pas attendre: « J'ai lu aussitôt suffisamment de votre *Histria* pour être très heureux que, parmi les plus graves difficultés, vous ayez pu rendre à notre science le service d'achever cette synthèse. Nous avons désormais ce trésor d'inscriptions » (lettre n° 162, 19 mai 1983). Cette lettre figure parmi les dernières d'une correspondance qui, durant trois décennies, aura su triompher des vicissitudes de l'histoire.

Le volume contient également, dans sa dernière partie, une brève correspondance de six lettres échangées entre Louis Robert et Scarlat Lambrino, entre 1929 et 1936, portant principalement sur les inscriptions d'Histria. Ce dernier y succéda à Vasile Pârvan et précéda D.M. Pippidi à la direction du chantier archéologique. Boursier de l'École roumaine en France, fondée par N. Iorga, S. Lambrino bénéficia d'une solide formation épigraphique, initiée sous la direction de V. Pârvan à Bucarest, puis approfondie à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études et au Collège de France auprès de Bernard Haussoullier et Maurice Holleaux. Membre correspondant de l'Académie roumaine dès 1932, directeur des Antiquités de la Dobroudja en 1937, puis à la tête de l'École roumaine de Rome (*Accademia di Romania*) de 1941 à 1947, il fonda également la revue éphémère *Istros. Revue roumaine d'archéologie et d'histoire* (1934-1936), dans laquelle Louis Robert publia trois articles aujourd'hui devenus de rares pièces bibliographiques, heureusement reproduites ici en fac-similé (p. 485-520). L'édition des lettres s'accompagne par ailleurs d'une bibliographie très utile de S. Lambrino (p. 460-467).

Une section riche en précieuses illustrations, ainsi qu'un « index des noms de personnes, de lieux et des sujets », viennent clore ce volume. Sa lecture récompensera amplement non seulement les spécialistes de l'épigraphie grecque, mais aussi, et peut-être surtout, ceux qui souhaitent découvrir un fragment d'histoire vécue – avec ses espoirs et ses désillusions, ses convictions inébranlables et sa ténacité exemplaire –, à travers les échanges entre Paris et Bucarest de deux grands savants du siècle dernier.

Andrei Timotin

Bishara EBEID, *Elias Nisibis, The Book of Demonstration of the Correctness of the Faith (Kitāb Al-burhān ‘alā ṣaḥīḥ al-īmān)*, edition, translation, introduction and comments, Cordoba – Beirut, UCOPress/CNERU – Éditions de l’USJ/CEDRAC, 2023 (Syro-Arabica 11), 546 p.

Bishara Ebeid studied at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome (MA in 2012, first Doctoral degree in 2014). His dissertation on the Christology of Christian Arabic authors was published as *La tunica di Al-Masīḥ. La Cristologia delle grandi confessioni cristiane dell’Oriente nel X e XI secolo* (Rome, 2018), followed by an edition and study of *Elias of Nisibis. Commentary on the Creed (Taḥṣīr al-amānah al-kabīrah)* (Beirut, 2018). In 2019, he obtained his second Doctoral degree from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, with a dissertation on the figure of Pontius Pilate in the New Testament and in apocryphal literature. From 2019 to 2023, he served as a Senior Researcher in the ERC project *FLOS Florilegia Syriaca* at Ca’ Foscari University of Venice. Since April 2024, he has been employed as a tenure-track Assistant Professor at the same university. The book under review here is his second contribution on Elias of Nisibis published with UCOPress/CNERU (Cordoba) and Éditions de l’USJ/CEDRAC (Beirut). His unwavering commitment to the corpus of Elias’s works has yielded significant benefits for scholars and researchers specializing in 10th–11th-century Christian-Muslim relations and the broader context of Christian Arabic scholarship during that era.

As an Eastern author of Christian theological works, Elias of Nisibis has been the focus of research since the late 20th century. He is included in Georg Graf’s renowned *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (vol. II), and several authors have commented on a few of his texts, including Samir Khalil Samir (1991–1992 and 1995), Avril Mary Makhoul (1991), S. Weniger (1994), and Witold Witkowski (1995). To scholars specializing in Eastern Christian literature, the figure of Elias of Nisibis was known through recent literature on his epoch and heritage.¹ The subjects addressed in the *Demonstration of the Correctness of the Faith*, edited and translated by Bishara Ebeid, encompass a range of theological themes: monotheism and the Trinity, the Lord Christ and a refutation of the Jews (Section A/One in the Contents), the proof that Melkites and Jacobites are innovative sects and Jacobites do not deserve to be called *Naṣārā*, the Jacobite and the Melkite Christology and their refutation (Section B/Two), the virtues of the “Easterners”, or “people of the East” (i.e., the faithful of the Church of the East): faith, prayer, fasting, and love (Section C/Three), and the contradictory points between the Church of the East and the “Byzantines” (Section D/Four). This final section is of paramount importance for a comprehensive history of the Eastern Churches, as Elias of Nisibis delineates the dogmas and rituals of the Byzantine-rite Churches as compared to those of the Easterners, going into historic discussions such as *The Byzantines Do Not Own Jerusalem Anymore*.

In Part I, Bishara Ebeid starts by introducing the readership to the life of Elias of Nisibis, the historical context of his time, the three Christian confessions of the East, and Elias’s works (p. 5–22). Here, informed readers who are keen on learning more about the effervescent period of original compositions and essential translations in the early centuries of the second Christian millennium have a good opportunity to expand their knowledge through a well-written and easy-to-read piece of scholarship.

The next three chapters are dedicated to Elias’s work *The Demonstration of the Correctness of the Faith*, preserved in only two manuscripts, one in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, possibly dated to the 13th century – which Bishara Ebeid edited and translated in this book – and the other in the Ġirgī Šarr private collection of Aleppo, inaccessible today. The main points that Ebeid discusses

¹ Francisco del Río Sánchez, “Un debate sobre Elías de Nisibe y el visir Ibn ‘Alī al-Mağribī (417H–1026d.C.)”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 1, 2004, p. 163–184; Grigory Kessel, “A fragment from the lost ‘Book of Admonition(s)’ by Abraham bar Dašandā in *Risāla fī faḍīlat al-‘aḥāf* (‘Letter on the priority of abstinence’) of Elias of Nisibis”, in Martin Tamecke (ed.), *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre: Christliche und islamische Mystik im Orient*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2010, p. 109–130; David Bertaina, “Science, Syntax, and Superiority in Eleventh Century Christian–Muslim Discussion: Elias of Nisibis on the Arabic and Syriac Languages”, *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 22, 2011, 2, p. 197–207.

are the work's authenticity, structure and authorship (p. 23–52), its contents, sources, and derivative literature (p. 53–74), its sources and legacy (p. 75–92). Special sections are dedicated to the unity of the book, a witness of the 14th century, the title, the presumed date of its composition, and grounds for determining its authorship. In describing its contents, Ebeid gives an overview of Elias's Trinitarian Doctrine, his views on the Miaphysite and Chalcedonian Christology – where he delves into polemics against the Jacobites and the Melkites –, the validity of Eucharist, and the Church of the East's Fathers and their Relics. In the last section, Ebeid explores the sources that he identified in *The Demonstration* and its status as a source for subsequent East Syrian texts. His careful reading of *Aṣfār al-asrār* (*The Book of the Mysteries*), one of Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī's works, revealed that this author based his polemics against the Copt Severus ibn al-Muqaffā'a and the Melkite Sa'īd ibn Bīṭriq on the Christology displayed in Elias's *The Demonstration*. As this is not the only case where Elias's work was reinterpreted or quoted (anonymously), Part I ends with the conclusion that "although *The Demonstration* was not transmitted with many manuscripts, it still held great importance for the authors of the Church of the East and their theological formation" (p. 92).

Part II contains the Arabic critical edition, which is based on MS Vat. Ar. 180, and the English translation, on pages 100 to 403, on facing pages. Ebeid states that he took into consideration in establishing the critical edition, only for Section A, chapter 1 (p. 532–540), a fragment of text included in Gianmaria Gianazza (ed.), *Ṣalībā bin Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī* (XIV^e s.), *Aṣfār al-asrār* III (Beirut, CEDRAC, 2023). This part opens with *Methodological Remarks* (p. 95–97), indicating the rules followed by the editor with respect to orthography, the treatment of archaic spelling, grammatical errors and vocalization, verse divisions, conventions, and, finally, comments on the translation. In this respect, it is worth noting that while striving to stay true to the Arabic text, the translator was careful to follow the author's thought and intention. The Arabic text prepared by Bishara Ebeid observes the latest editing requirements used in all their outstanding publications by UCOPress and CEDRAC. As far as I know, these requirements were developed by academics in Beirut with guidance from Fr. Ronney el Gemayel, S.J.

While reading the fluent and agreeable English translation, one must also acknowledge the richness and utility of the comments, annotations, observations, references to Biblical citations, clarifications of terms, and details in the footnotes. These elements elucidate the author's ideas and enrich the points that he puts forward. In instances where the Arabic original is challenging to comprehend, whether due to its structure or its content, the English text is enhanced with supplementary information and clarifications to facilitate understanding of the author's intended message.

This book is a valuable resource for scholars and researchers interested in the historical relations and polemics among the various denominations of the Christian East. It concludes with a comprehensive list of sources and studies, covering a significant portion of the history of Christian Arabic literature until the modern era (*Bibliography*, Part B, p. 512–546).

Ioana Feodorov

Henry R. SHAPIRO, *The Rise of the Western Armenian Diaspora in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire. From Refugee Crisis to Renaissance*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2022, xii + 324 p.

The numerous exoduses of the Armenian people, which led to the establishment of various communities outside the Armenian motherland, Greater Armenia, are well-known topics in the academic world. Whether we speak about the migration of Armenians from the 11th century, which ultimately led to the foundation of the Armenian kingdom of Cilician in 1198, or about the exodus which was determined by the Armenian genocide, historians have analysed in detail these subjects. We have a quite clear picture of the causes that ultimately determined the Armenians to leave their

native territories over the centuries. The present book, however, aims to discuss a subject that is still debated among specialists: the Celali revolts and their impact on Armenians.

Shapiro's book is centered around the historical importance of the Celali revolts. These revolts led to 'The Great Flight', the migration of Armenians from Eastern Anatolia to the western parts of the Ottoman Empire. This migration was a pivotal event that determined the establishment of Armenian communities in various cities and also consolidated the presence of Armenians in Istanbul. Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Armenians established and consolidated their communities in the Western parts of the Ottoman Empire, forming what the author named 'the Western Armenian Diaspora'. During this period, Istanbul emerged as the main cultural and economic centre for the Armenians.

The author divides his book into two parts. The first one, entitled 'Migration and Refugee Crisis', has three chapters and deals with the impact of the Celali revolts on Armenians, the 'Great Armenian Flight', and the establishment of communities in various cities from Western Anatolia and Rumelia. In chapter one, Henry Shapiro discusses the historiography on this topic, the primary sources that were used during his research, and also presents the main hypothesis of this study, that the Celali revolts led to the foundation of the Western Armenian diaspora and also marked a turning point in the cultural history of the Armenians.

The second chapter is dedicated to the epicentre of 'The Great Armenian Flight', the city of Kemah, and the surrounding regions. The author underlines the symbolic importance of this region for Armenians, as it had been linked to Gregory the Illuminator, the first Armenian patriarch and the one who converted the Armenians to Christianity. Therefore, fleeing from a place with such a powerful symbolism would leave a lasting mark on the Armenians who took refuge in the Western parts of the Ottoman Empire. Henry Shapiro argues that the Ottoman historians from the 17th century were not particularly interested in the effects of the Celali revolts on the inhabitants of Eastern Anatolia, and this is a vacuum that is filled by Armenian sources. Authors like Simeon Lehats'i (1584-1639), Grigor Daranaghts'i (1576-1643), or Aṙakel Davrizhets'i (c. 1590-1670) wrote about the terrors and destruction suffered by the Armenians at the hands of the Celalis. Thus, the author wants to emphasize that Turcologists could use Armenian sources to gain a better understanding of the troubled times at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, as the above-mentioned Armenian authors sought various causes that could explain the Celali revolts.

As it would have been impossible to write about all the Armenian communities which had been founded at the beginning of the 17th century by the refugees from Eastern Anatolia, in the third chapter, Henry Shapiro focuses on the city of Rodosto. This is a case study that was used to confirm the author's hypothesis: the Celali revolts were the main factor in the creation of Armenian communities in Western Anatolia and Rumelia. The main sources that were used for this part were Ottoman registers from Rodosto and the history of Grigor Daranaghts'i, an Armenian from Kemah, who became the bishop of the newly founded Armenian community of this city. According to these primary sources, there were virtually no Armenians before the arrival of refugees at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. In the beginning, as many Armenians arrived here, some of them decided to convert to Islam to naturalize themselves, as there were various conflicts between Greeks and Armenians, and Armenians and Turks. The Ottoman authorities did not use the word *zimmi* to designate the Armenians, as they did not form a community, and were only regarded as refugees. However, beginning with the 1620s-1630s, the Armenians started to become more integrated in the social, cultural, and economic life of Rodosto and were regarded, gradually, as a community, like the Greeks. Step by step, the community would become larger, until the Armenians reached ¼ of the total population of the city.

One of the most important aspects of Henry Shapiro's study is the cultural life of the Armenian communities from the Western parts of the Ottoman Empire, and this is the topic of the second part of his book. The fourth chapter is dedicated to Grigor Daranaghts'i, a *vardapet* (doctor of theology) from Vahanshēn Monastery, near Bayburt, who fled his homeland in 1604 and reached Constantinople, eventually becoming bishop of the Armenians from Rodosto. Grigor wrote a *Chronicle* presenting the events of his life and also contemporary Armenian history. Henry Shapiro argues that the purpose of Grigor's work was to build the foundation of the Armenians' intellectual life in diaspora, as they had been forced to abandon their homeland and needed to grow roots in a foreign land. The bishop of Rodosto wrote in Classical Armenian (*grabar*) in order to preserve this

language among the Armenian refugees. As an eyewitness to the disasters that befell the Armenians, Grigor could not be a rigid and distant observer. As it had happened numerous times in Armenian history, he created an imagined 'Golden Age', the time of those holy men that he had met when he was younger, compared to the age that he was living in, dominated by Armenian merchants, always eager to increase their profits, and by pro-Latin Armenian patriarchs of Istanbul, who were ready to collaborate with the Catholics. For someone who had been uprooted from his homeland, Grigor advised the Armenians to look towards Eastern Anatolia and to follow the examples of the Armenian *vardapets* who had lived there.

The last two chapters of the book are dedicated to Eremia K'eōmurchean and his intellectual activities. Unlike Grigor Daranaghts'i, Eremia was the nephew of an Armenian refugee who arrived in Constantinople. Born in 1637 to an influential family from the Ottoman capital, he was not interested in reaching higher ranks in the Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy, but preferred to remain only a *dpir*, a psalm-reader, the lowest rank in the Armenian Church, and to focus on intellectual activities, mainly reading. Eremia was the product of the new Armenian communities which flourished in the Western parts of the Ottoman Empire, and especially in Istanbul, after the end of the Celali revolts: he revived some of the Armenian literary traditions from the Middle Ages through his work *Questions and Answers*, but he also focused on Ottoman history, writing, for example, a *Concise History of 400 Years of Ottoman Kings* and a *Concise History of the Ottoman Kings*, using various Ottoman primary sources. He also promoted a new writing style, focusing on self and place, through his diary and *History of Istanbul*. Both Grigor and Eremia wrote their works according to the needs of their communities, but while the former had an audience who suffered terribly at the hands of the Celalis, the latter was a member of a community that had started to integrate into the Ottoman world. This is the reason why Eremia also wrote in Armeno-Turkish, as his coreligionists were fluent in Turkish, and some also in Armenian, but they were not able to read in Classical Armenian (*grabar*). Therefore, Eremia was indeed the product of a new age, who wrote for a new audience, for the Western Armenian Diaspora, who became more and more integrated into the Ottoman Empire.

Henry Shapiro's book has many merits. First of all, the author argued convincingly that the Celali revolts and the Great Armenian Flight led to the foundation of the Western Armenian Diaspora (Armenians living in Western Anatolia and Rumelia), formed by communities which became integrated in the Ottoman Empire, spoke Turkish daily, were interested in Ottoman history and also used Armeno-Turkish to express the feelings and ideas through prose and poems. Secondly, Henry Shapiro used various primary sources, from Armenian histories and chronicles to Ottoman registers, and argued that Armenian works from the 17th century could be used for studying Ottoman history. Lastly, this book underlines one of the most fascinating characteristics of the Armenian people, one which ensured their survival: adaptability. As the Armenians who migrated from Greater Armenia in the 11th century and settled in Cilicia were able to survive and even flourish in a world dominated by Byzantines, Latins, and Muslims, those living in the 17th century managed to establish communities and prosper in the Western parts of the Ottoman Empire. Of course, the Western Armenian Diaspora did not forget its roots. Still, it developed a *modus vivendi* with the Ottomans and, even more significantly, became one of the most important diasporas of Armenians throughout the world.

David L. Neagu

Octavian-Adrain NEGOIȚĂ (ed.), *Eastern Christians' Engagement with Islam and the Qur'ān. Texts, Contexts and Knowledge Regimes*, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2025, 330 p.

This is the sixth volume of the *European Qur'an* book series published at De Gruyter under the supervision of the principal investigators of the ERC Synergy Project "The European Qur'an. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1150-1850 (EuQu)", Mercedes García-Arenal,

Jan Loop, John Tolan, and Roberto Tottoli.¹ Most of the papers included in this volume were presented at the International Workshop “The Holy Book of the Ishmaelites in the World of Eastern Christianity”, organised at the University of Copenhagen in May 2022, under the auspices of the EuQu Project, as explained by the editor in the Acknowledgements section.

Octavian-Adrian Negoită also provides the first entry of this collective volume, a Prolegomena in which he briefly discusses its main topics and outlines its methodological structure. Crucial is the editor’s clarification regarding the chronological span of the book, which is not indicated in its title or subtitle (similarly, only four of the ten chapters mention the timespan or era that they are dealing with in their titles). Covering almost more than a millennium of Christian-Muslim interactions spread across a vast geography, this *long durée* proposes an alternative to the “decline paradigm”, often used to describe the post-Byzantine intellectual production of Eastern Christians.

Bert Jacobs authors the first chapter of the book, in which he discusses George of B’eltan’s, an eighth-century Syriac author and Patriarch, reply to the concept of *tahrif* (“falsification” – the Muslim allegation that the true Gospel, as transmitted by Christ, has been falsified). The author argues that George’s chapter against Islam, inserted in his *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, is one of the earliest instances where the Qur’an was quoted in Syriac, “a language that hardly any Muslim would be able to read, [meaning that] he clearly wrote for Christians eyes only, and more particularly for learned monks, deacons, priests, and bishops” (p. 19). At a time when Christians were concerned about the increase of conversions to Islam, one of George’s principal arguments for the validity of Christianity over Islam was that people accepted it even if its doctrine was “the most difficult to understand” and it did not offer promises of “earthly lusts” (p. 32). Jacobs’s contribution ends with a critical edition of the text, containing the original Syriac and an English translation.

Barbara Roggema, in the second chapter, analyses two Christian Arabic works of the ninth or tenth centuries, *The Book of Eustathius the Monk* (*Kitab Ustat al-Rahib*) and the anonymous *Questions and Answers, Rational and Divine* (*Masa’il wa-ajwiba ‘aqliyya wa-ilahiyya*). The two authors of these texts argued that the text of the Qur’an actually validates Christianity, highlighting passages that contain a seemingly anti-Islamic doctrine and that describe Christ as the “Word of God”. However, they did not discuss the role of Muhammad, in contrast to other authors of the same period, who supported the idea that his role was simply to convey the Gospels’ message to the pagan Arabs. Roggema concludes that “the most distinctive and fascinating characteristic of their works” is “their linguistic knowledge and agility [that] gave them the opportunity to echo the Qur’ān, to scrutinize its text and its exegesis and to find hidden links to their own tradition” (p. 69). Throughout her contribution, Roggema offers relevant fragments from the discussed works in the main body of text, both in the original Arabic and English translation, as well as three facsimiles as Appendices, thus making it easy for readers to cross-examine her philological interpretations.

A similar approach to the Qur’anic text is found in the next chapter of the volume, penned by Thomas A. Carlson, who examines the works of Eliya of Nisibis, Paul of Antioch, and the anonymous *Letter from the People of Cyprus*, which were produced between 1000 and 1350. In opposition to the texts discussed in the previous chapter, these late medieval authors’ positive readings of the Qur’an also reflect in their evaluations of Muhammad, to whose name they even attach benedictions. These features highlight the development of the strategies employed by Christian Arab authors in their polemics with Muslims. In his conclusions, Carlson captivantly remarks that “the Qur’ān served also as a conduit for reintroducing Christian ideas and debates from late antiquity to the Christians of the late medieval Middle East” (p. 97).

Manolis Ulbricht deals with various anti-Islamic polemical texts preserved in a manuscript at the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos. The author embarks on a parallel comparison between the various Byzantine authors who produced these texts between the seventh and thirteenth centuries. Unfortunately, Ulbricht only gives the fragments in Greek, leaving them inaccessible to untrained readers. He concludes that the Byzantine authors who lived during the iconoclast controversy blamed this heresy on a Muslim influence.

¹ For an up-to-date status of the Project and its publications see <https://euqu.eu>.

The next chapter is coauthored by Zofia A. Brzozowska and the late Mirosław Leszka, and follows the path taken by the anti-Islamic treatise written by the eighth-century Palestinian Michael Synkellos into the Byzantine and Slavic literary tradition. This chapter emphasises the latter topic, tracing how Synkellos's work was first translated into Church Slavonic in the early tenth century in Bulgaria, through another edition in thirteenth-century Serbia and its incorporation, in the same century, into the Ecclesiastical Law of Rus'. Brzozowska and Leszka's chapter offers a fascinating insight into how Islam was perceived in the Balkan intellectual and ecclesiastical milieu before the arrival of the Ottomans. In contrast, the Eastern Slavs of the late Medieval period were much more acquainted with Islam due to its spread in the north-pontic steppes following the Mongol invasions.

Alessandro Gori's contribution takes readers into an area of intense Christian-Muslim contact that is somewhat neglected by the state of the art: modern-day Ethiopia and Eritrea – the *al-Habasha* of Islamic tradition. The chapter mainly tackles the earliest connections between these lands and Islam: their appearance in the Qur'an, the presence of Ethiopic loanwords in Arabic, and the early circulation of the Muslim Holy Book in East Africa. Only in its latter part does it tackle the main topic of this collective volume, discussing translations of the Qur'an into Amharic and Ge'ez. One of the most important conclusions reached in this chapter is that Muslims from *al-Habasha* used the sacred text to demand "respect and esteem... from the rest of the Islamic world" (p. 168). Christians, on the other hand, while having mixed views over the Qur'an "consider it an unavoidable part of their intellectual and cultural spectrum."

The next chapter also begins with a translation of the Qur'an, this time into Armenian. Anna Ohanjanyan's contribution discusses the Armenian *Refutation of the Qur'an* which started to circulate among Armenians in Iran in the seventeenth century, around the same time as Step'anos Lehat's'i's translation of the Muslim Holy Book (from Robert Ketton's Latin edition). While it is well-known that Lehat's'i was the author of the translation of the Qur'an, his authorship of the *Refutation* was more obscure until this masterful demonstration by Ohanjanyan, who refers to it as *Confutatio Alcorani*. These translations occurred within the cultural revival experienced by Iranian Armenians in the seventeenth century, who had deep connections to Western Europe. While it appears that Lehat's'i did not engage himself in anti-Islamic debates, his translation remains the only "solid refutation of the Qur'anic texts in Armenian" (p. 194).

Octavian-Adrian Negoită returns for the eighth chapter of the volume that he edited, with an analysis of a collection of anti-Islamic polemical texts compiled by the Phanariot scholar Nicholas Karatzas under the title *Sarakenika* in the late eighteenth century. After a well-deserved presentation of Karatzas, Negoită embarks on a comprehensive survey of the manuscript's texts, sources and format, arguing that far from being a random collection of related polemical texts, it can be considered a *Summa Saracenica*, as Karatzas chose the most authoritative sources for his compendium. His valuable analysis demonstrates that the author of one of these texts, on the *History of the Birth of Muhammad*, could only be Panagiotis Nikousios, grand-dragoman of the Porte in the second half of the seventeenth century. Then again, the *Sarakenika* does not contain any translations of the Qur'an (not even partial ones), as Negoită explains that this was not a common feature in the Christian East in the early modern period. Instead, polemical authors, although interested in the Muslim Holy Book, "often turned towards authoritative refutations that could provide for them the necessary tools to articulate their own polemical discourse" (p. 227). Before ending his chapter, the author turns to another manuscript, which, although unsigned, he easily attributes to the same Karatzas. While the online catalogue of the library of the University of Ioannina simply mentions that this is a *Miscellaneous historical codex*, Negoită titles this codex *Othomanika* due to the similarity of its composition with *Sarakenika*, although this time the main interest lies not in anti-Islamic polemical texts but in historical pieces relevant to the Ottoman Porte, such as a Greek translation of the then-contemporary treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. In the Appendices of this chapter, Negoită provides readers with some facsimiles of the two codices, as well as a list of works included in *Sarakenika*. One could have only hoped for a similar list for the works included in *Othomanika*.

Nadezhda Alexandrova delves into a comparative analysis between Dimitrie Cantemir's *Kniga Sistima* ("The System of the Muhammadan Religion" – originally written in Latin and printed in Russian, in 1722) and its Bulgarian translation penned by bishop Sofroniy Vrachanski in 1805. The author begins by exploring the two scholars' biographies, identifying similarities related to their anti-Ottoman and pro-Russian political activities and subsequent northern exiles: for the Bulgarian bishop, this meant settling in neighbouring Wallachia, whereas the Moldavian princes sought refuge in Peter the Great's Russia. Alexandrova argues that the main reason behind Vrachanski's translation effort was to provide Bulgarian Christians with a "polemic weapon against those prone to conversion" (p. 261). The bishop's translation was adapted to better suit this need, more strikingly transforming Cantemir's often complicated phrasing into a more "simple and direct Bulgarian" (p. 253), so that even common folk could comprehend its message. Hence, Alexandrova extensively analyses the vocabulary and syntax of Vrachanski's translation, as well as its compositional changes. The author concludes that all of Vrachanski's modifications were meant to create a suitable tool for Bulgarian clerics to employ against the spread of Islam among their flock.

Stefan Schreiner pens the tenth and last chapter of this book, which deals with Russian translations of the Qur'an in the eighteenth century and the first printed Qur'ans in Arabic by a Muslim community, that of the Kazan Tatars. In a time when scholarly contacts with Russian academia continue to be prohibitive, such a contribution to a collective volume is highly valuable. Schreiner offers a clear history of the Muslims, the Qur'an and Arabic studies in Russia up to the early twentieth century, evoking the most important names and contributions to the field. This chapter may very well serve as a guidebook both for students and researchers who wish to expand their scholarship into this cornucopia of Islamic studies, which, unfortunately, remains largely hidden to Western audiences.

The last entry of this volume is Jan Loop's Epilogue, which neatly summarises the ten chapters and puts them into the wider scholarly interest of the EuQu and other related projects that study early-modern interactions between Christianity and Islam. The book ends with a List of Contributors, an Index of Manuscripts and Prints, as well as a general Index of names and places. Bibliographical lists are given after each individual contribution.

Despite appearing intimidating to the non-expert at first glance, this volume manages to offer a pleasant and stimulating read both to students and established scholars across the Humanities. The chapters connect very well, comfortably carrying readers across the fascinating world of interactions between Eastern Christians and the Qur'an, from the early Medieval Middle East to twentieth-century Russia.

Radu Dipratu

Kurt Villads JENSEN and Davide SCOTTO (eds.), *Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (†1320): Missionary to the Near East and Expert on Islam*, Konferenser 112, Stockholm, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2024, 386 p. and 2 fig.

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (c. 1243–1320) was one of the most important Christian authors to engage with Islam in the Middle Ages. A Dominican friar educated in Florence, he set out for the Near East in 1288, living for a time in Baghdad where he studied Arabic and read the Qur'ān. His works reflect both a deep commitment to Christian mission and an intense, critical interest in Islamic theology. His major treatise, *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, offered one of the most influential medieval Christian refutations of Islam, deeply shaping polemical discourse from the fourteenth century to the Reformation and beyond to modernity. Alongside this, Riccoldo authored a travel narrative (*Liber peregrinationis*), theological letters (*Epistolae ad ecclesiam triumphantem*), and a missionary manual (*Libellus ad nationes orientales*), providing a rich landscape of cross-cultural religious engagement. Emerging from a 2017 conference in Stockholm and enriched with later

contributions, the volume edited by Jensen and Scotto gathers leading scholars to explore Riccoldo's writings, historical context, and intellectual afterlife across centuries and geographies.

After a short preface by the editors (p. 7–8), the same Jensen and Scotto author an introduction entitled “Riccoldo as an Author and His Intellectual Afterlife” (p. 9–24). This establishes the intellectual and historical scope of Riccoldo's life and writings. The editors trace his early formation in the Dominican Order, his time in Pisa teaching Aristotelian logic, and his decision to embark on a mission to the East. The chapter analyzes his literary output, emphasizing how each work reflects different rhetorical strategies and theological aims. His *Liber peregrinationis* provides rich ethnographic description; the *Epistolae* blend lamentation with eschatological reflection; the *Contra legem Sarracenorum* draws on older polemics while introducing new methods of Qur'anic refutation; and the *Libellus* offers strategic advice for missionaries. Riccoldo's legacy is traced through its reception in Latin, Greek, and vernacular translations, culminating in its rediscovery and reinterpretation by figures such as Nicholas of Cusa, Luther, and early modern Catholic reformers.

In the first chapter of the book, “Authority versus Personal Experience: What Was New in Riccoldo's Writings?” (p. 27–39), Jensen focuses on Riccoldo's use of authority versus empirical observation in his portrayals of non-Christian peoples. The chapter analyzes sections of the *Liber peregrinationis* that describe Turks, Kurds, and Mongols. Riccoldo often presents first-hand observations—such as Kurdish hospitality amid their supposed barbarity or Turkish women giving birth silently and continuing caravan travel—as both factual and moral illustrations. Yet he also blends in tropes inherited from older Christian and classical sources, including stereotypes about Eastern peoples' cruelty or ignorance. Riccoldo's representation of Mongols includes vivid scenes of drinking, cruelty, and apocalyptic imagery, positioning them as agents of divine punishment. Jensen argues that Riccoldo's descriptions reflect a theological anthropology: other cultures are measured not just by their actions but by how they fit into Riccoldo's Christian vision of salvation history. Next, in her contribution, “*Adoravimus, Christum natum ad modum magorum*: Performance and Theatricality as Narrative Strategies in Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*” (p. 41–64), Susanna Fischer reads Riccoldo's pilgrimage narrative as a performative text in which the author reenacts sacred history for devotional and didactic purposes. The chapter closely examines Riccoldo's accounts of his visits to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, showing how he structures these encounters as liturgical dramas. By weeping at the site of the Nativity or kissing the stone of the Holy Sepulchre, Riccoldo invites readers into a shared emotional journey. Fischer identifies a narrative technique whereby Riccoldo's physical movements mirror biblical actions—such as imitating the Magi or Christ's Passion—thus constructing the pilgrim not only as a visitor but as a witness and participant in divine history. This performative mode is both affective and rhetorical, reinforcing the spiritual authority of the author.

In her turn, Jana Valtrová (“Contextualizing Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's Experience with Religious Conversion”, p. 65–83) situates Riccoldo's conversion strategies within Dominican missionary practices of the thirteenth century. She explores Riccoldo's emphasis on preaching to elites and learning languages, principles outlined in his *Libellus ad nationes orientales*. Riccoldo divides his analysis between Jews, Muslims, Mongols, and Eastern Christians, offering tailored approaches to each group. Valtrová highlights how Riccoldo differentiates between those closest to Catholic truth (Eastern Christians) and those furthest (Mongols), with the paradoxical claim that the latter are often easier to convert. The chapter cross-references other Dominican and Franciscan missionary writings, showing how Riccoldo's advice reflects a growing institutional awareness of cultural and doctrinal complexity in the mission field. The late Jean-Marie Mérigoux – in the memory of whom this book is dedicated – presents in his chapter (“Friar Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Letters to the Church in Heaven*: ‘The Lament of a Camel Driver of Christ’”, p. 85–107) Riccoldo's five *Epistolae ad ecclesiam triumphantem*, interpreted as both theological meditations and spiritual lamentations. Written during or shortly after his time in Baghdad, the letters mourn the fall of Acre (1291) and reflect on the suffering of Christians under Islamic rule. Riccoldo writes in the style of Old Testament prophets, questioning God's justice while affirming faith in divine providence. Mérigoux shows how Riccoldo casts himself as a “camel driver of Christ”, a humble servant navigating

desolation. These texts are pastoral in tone, encouraging perseverance among believers, and reveal Riccoldo's introspective and emotional depth during a time of ecclesiastical crisis.

Next, Daniel Pachurka ("Riccoldo's *Tractatus contra Saracenos* and its Sources: A Refutation of the Prophethood of Muhammad", p. 111–136) argues that Riccoldo's *Tractatus contra Saracenos* is not a wholly original composition but a reworking of Ramon Martí's anti-Islamic polemic. He shows how Riccoldo adapts and condenses Martí's material, modifying arguments for clarity and rhetorical effect. The chapter examines key sections refuting Muhammad's legitimacy, Islamic eschatology, and the Qur'ān's origin. Pachurka offers a textual genealogy, demonstrating how Riccoldo edited out complex philosophical arguments to make the text more accessible to preachers and readers with pastoral duties. This positions Riccoldo as a transmitter and practical theologian rather than a speculative innovator. In his chapter ("Riccoldo's Use of the *Corpus Cluniacense* in the *Contra legem Sarracenorum*", p. 137–164), Anthony John Lappin explores Riccoldo's use of Peter the Venerable's *Corpus Cluniacense*, especially the Latin Qur'ān translated by Robert of Ketton and the commentaries surrounding it. Riccoldo both quotes and reformulates this material in *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, shaping it into a more pointed critique of Islamic revelation and ethics. Lappin argues that Riccoldo's work represents a second wave of medieval Christian Qur'ānic engagement—moving beyond translation to polemical interpretation.

In the eighth contribution of the book ("Topics of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's Latin Glosses to the Arabic Qur'ān [BnF Arabe 384]", p. 165–184), José Martínez Gázquez analyzes Riccoldo's Latin marginalia in an Arabic Qur'ān manuscript (BnF Arabe 384). These glosses offer insights into Riccoldo's reading strategies, his lexical efforts to grasp Arabic terminology, and his theological critiques. The chapter interprets several glosses that challenge Islamic understandings of prophecy, law, and eschatology. These notes suggest Riccoldo was not merely copying received knowledge but engaging dialectically with Islamic text. The presence of these annotations demonstrates an exceptional level of linguistic and theological investment rarely matched by Riccoldo's contemporaries. It follows the contribution of Davide Scotto, "A Spiritual Reaction to Islamic Prosperity: The Power of Sorrow in Riccoldo da Monte Croce's *Letters to the Triumphant Church*" (p. 185–206), in which he focuses on the theme of spiritual grief as a central motif in Riccoldo's *Epistolae*. The chapter argues that Riccoldo's sorrow over Christian suffering under Islam is not merely personal but serves a theological purpose: it frames adversity as divine testing and calls Christians to repentance. Scotto analyzes rhetorical features such as apostrophe, lament, and paradox, showing how Riccoldo simultaneously indicts and affirms God's will. He also interprets Riccoldo's sorrow as a form of theological resilience, transforming emotional pain into missionary motivation.

The chapter by Rita George-Tvrtković, "The Christian Theology of Islam: A Trajectory via Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and Guillaume Postel" (p. 207–221), traces the development of Christian theological attitudes toward Islam by comparing Riccoldo with the sixteenth-century thinker Guillaume Postel. George-Tvrtković demonstrates how Riccoldo's confrontational stance served as a foil for Postel's more inclusive vision of religious unity. While Riccoldo viewed Islam as doctrinally false and spiritually dangerous, Postel saw Islam as part of a providential plan leading to universal reconciliation. This comparative study illustrates the shifting horizons of Christian-Muslim discourse across centuries and intellectual contexts. Next, Jacob Langeloh ("Reasoning with Riccoldo: John of Ragusa's *Fragmentum de Conditionibus Legum*, written at Constantinople [?] c. 1437", p. 225–243) discusses the use of Riccoldo's polemical strategies by John of Ragusa at the Council of Basel. John deployed Riccoldo's typological and legal arguments to support doctrinal positions against Islam. Langeloh examines Ragusa's *Fragmentum*, showing how it integrates Riccoldo's method of appealing to scriptural and rational grounds for Christian superiority. This reception highlights the institutional afterlife of Riccoldo's ideas within ecclesiastical debates.

In his turn, Ulli Roth ("John of Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa Reading Riccoldo: A Chiasmus of Rejection and Approval?", p. 245–275) contrasts Nicholas of Cusa's selective praise of Riccoldo with John of Segovia's deliberate silence. While Cusa cites Riccoldo in his *Cribratio Alkorani* and draws on his arguments, Segovia—who favored a more irenic method—omits him from his writings.

Roth argues that Riccoldo came to represent a style of confrontational polemic that some later thinkers sought to transcend. The chapter contextualizes these responses within late medieval efforts to rethink Christian-Muslim relations amid changing political realities. The chapter by Eduardo Fernández Guerrero, “*Tam falsorum christianorum quam falsigraphorum sarracenorum crimina: Christian Reform and the Contra legem Sarracenorum in the Early Modern Period*” (p. 277–302) traces the use of Riccoldo’s *Contra legem Sarracenorum* in anti-Morisco preaching in post-Reconquista Spain and reformist Venice. Fernández Guerrero uncovers vernacular adaptations and compilations that included Riccoldo’s text, repurposed to support Christian reform and anti-Islamic sentiment. He explores connections with the Venetian writer Paolo Angelo and documents how Riccoldo’s authority was invoked in new polemical and pastoral settings.

Next, Johannes Ehmann, “Luther’s Translation of Riccoldo: A Specific Protestant Reception of a Medieval Tradition of Islam” (p. 303–311) explores Martin Luther’s annotated copy and eventual translation of *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, printed in 1542. Luther used Riccoldo’s anti-Islamic arguments to support his anti-papal theology, equating both the papacy and Islam with Antichrist. The chapter presents marginalia from Luther’s copy and analyzes translation choices, showing how Riccoldo’s polemic was transformed into a weapon of Protestant ideology. Further, Marco Robecchi (“Riccoldo after Riccoldo: The *Liber peregrinationis* and Its Vernacular Translations”, p. 313–330) examines how Riccoldo’s travel narrative was translated into French and Italian, particularly by Jean le Long in the fourteenth century. He traces the manuscript tradition, linguistic features, and editorial decisions that shaped the text’s popular reception. Robecchi also compares Riccoldo with other medieval travel writers like Mandeville and William of Rubruck, situating him within the broader genre of Christian ethnographic writing. Finally, Stefan Schreiner (“Riccoldo da Monte di Croce in an East European Context: Some Remarks on the Reception of Riccoldo’s Works in Russian and Polish Literature and Its Historical Context”, p. 331–382) investigates the Polish and Russian reception of *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, including a Polish Jesuit translation used in sermons against Ottoman influence. He explores its inclusion in a kind of “Polish Bibliander” and references to Riccoldo in Russian theological polemic. The chapter highlights the transmission of Riccoldo’s ideas beyond Western Europe, extending his influence into Orthodox and Catholic Eastern contexts.

This volume represents a major achievement in medieval and early modern religious studies. It places Riccoldo da Monte di Croce at the center of Christian-Muslim intellectual history and shows how his writings were copied, translated, reinterpreted, and contested over centuries. The contributors bring philological rigor, historical depth, and theological insight to the study of Riccoldo’s enduring impact. By integrating textual analysis with broader intellectual trajectories, the book not only illuminates Riccoldo’s writings but also reveals how polemical texts travel, adapt, and transform in different historical and cultural contexts. This is particularly valuable in demonstrating the complexity of medieval Christian thought about Islam, oscillating between confrontation, curiosity, sorrow, and theological systematization. Beyond its scholarly contributions to Riccoldo studies, the volume also opens new directions for research in comparative religion, manuscript transmission, and interfaith rhetoric. It brings attention to how medieval missionary strategies engaged with linguistic learning, ethnography, and performative piety, offering a multi-dimensional model for how religious polemic was lived, written, and reappropriated. For historians of Christianity, Islam, and intellectual history, this collection establishes Riccoldo not only as a formidable polemicist but also as a case study in cross-cultural engagement during a time of profound geopolitical and theological transformation. The book stands as a vital resource for understanding how even premodern Europe conceptualized religious otherness, and how one man’s mission reverberated through centuries of theological and political debate.

Octavian-Adrian Negoită

Stefania MONTEMEZZO, *Networks in the Early History of Capitalism. Merchant Practices in Renaissance Venice*, London and New York, Routledge, 2025, 206 p.

The volume written by Stefania Montemezzo, an economic and social historian from the University of Padua, has as its main theme trade, more specifically the Venetian trade in the Renaissance period, between the First Ottoman-Venetian War (1463–79) and the War of Ferrara (1482–84). We will see that the choice for this period is not casual. More precisely, Stefania Montemezzo takes as case study the commercial activity of three Venetian firms, guided by Marco Bembo, Giovanni Foscari and Alvise Michiel, and tries to define and describe their structures, trade strategies and *modus operandi*.

If the premises by which the author starts are indisputable, meaning the central role played by trade in Venice's economy in the Late Middle Ages, a central question of the book is how the mentioned enterprises, of small- and medium-sized dimensions, with a conservative composure, based mainly on family ties (*fraterne*), were able to remain competitive with larger companies. The anticipated answer of Stefania Montemezzo, which she developed throughout her work, is an active state's interventionism that can substantially help small Venetian enterprises. A very attractive separate debate is how we can define this economical reality, as capitalist or only "capitalistic practices" used in a society predominantly non-capitalist? We announce that the solution adopted by the author, the second, convinced us.

Thus, in the first chapter Stefania Montemezzo begins with an explanation of the structure of Venetian enterprises, the *fraterne*, companies remained based principally on family ties, normally formed by the leader of the family, as resident trader in Venice, who directed the firm with transigent agents in the places of interest for the company. The strong points of this analysis are to have underlined the hierarchical structure of the firms, how their investments were structured, the evolution of accounting practices and most of all the fact that the agents did not limit themselves to work only for the family business, acquiring international market experience, building a solid reputation, establishing relationships and beginning to amass personal wealth. The result pointed out by the author is that the advantages of maintaining this conservative structure is the complete control retained by the family over the company's decisions, allowing all family members to contribute to and benefit from company successes and the capabilities of the patron to retain control over the company by holding a majority of the shares, allowing the reallocation of capital towards new ventures, enhancing the family firms' investment agility. We consider irrelevant the comparison with the Armenian and Indian trade networks from the 17th and 18th centuries.

For arriving, in chapter 2, to a central theme of the book, the relationship between the merchant class and the public institutions, where, as mentioned before, Stefania Montemezzo sustained that only thanks to active support from the state the small and medium companies from Venice remained competitive, is very well pointed out how the state restricted access in the merchant category, protecting a group of few from the danger of many by ensuring to them strongly ties with public institutions. In the same way, the state ensured to merchant a legal framework for the eventual conflicts on one hand, between Venetian merchants, and on the other hand between them and foreigners. In this regard, we greatly appreciated how the author underlined the consuls' role as guarantor of the safety of the Venetian trading business in foreign lands and as intermediaries for merchants spending only limited time in foreign ports. However, we also disapprove the role of support supposedly played by public navigation system: it is true that the state-sponsored sea lines in the studied period knew their apogee. However, as Claire Judde de Larivière pointed out, this is also the beginning of its decay, therefore we ask ourselves how relevant could be a mean if after that it is abandoned.

The third chapter, about the commercial strategies adopted by the companies, along with the fourth, about the use of capital, represent the most interesting part of the work. The first of the two explains very lucidly how Venetian firms adapted when the war disrupted the main focus of the Venetian trade with luxury goods, acquiring them in Levant and distributing them in Western Europe, making the choice of the period studied very intelligent. The found alternative, the frequentation of other Levant ports besides Constantinople to find the same products and, above all, trade with secondary goods such as woollen cloths and olive oil are illustrative to demonstrate the versatility of Venetian merchants.

In the fourth chapter the strong points are the confirmation of the main strategy of the Venetian enterprises, the capital circulation, the author's position that we already said that we approve of the merchants' capitalistic behavior in a medium non-capitalist (where the capitalistic behavior does not involve the means of production), and a very lucid explanation of the functioning of bills of exchange. The weaker points reside in the details of the analysis: a subevaluation of a market considered a very important alternative, in the very period studied by the author, after the end of the First Ottoman-Venetian War, for the Bembo company trade with wine and wheat, the letters of which we had the occasion to read: Constantinople and the Black Sea. In this regard, as Freddy Thiriet illustrated, Constantinople played a prominent role in the Bembo company for the supply of wheat, while, as Alessio Sopracasa and ourselves demonstrated an alternative for the same company was to export Cretan wine in the Black Sea ports to buy other raw materials such as fish, wax or leathers. At the same time, the author had to explain better that, although the financial transactions involving bills of exchange and the involvement of bankers were not used by the foreign merchants of the Mediterranean ports, this did not mean that in the same oriental regions this practices were not used by the same Italians, who in their emporia had bankers and used credit letters to finance them. This is certainly the case in the last years of surviving of the Caffa emporia in the Black Sea, precisely during the period studied by Stefania Montemezzo.

In the last chapter the author analyzes the central role played by the agents naming the central relationship between the patron and the agents 'agency relationship'. This study is based on the only surviving Venetian commercial correspondence, that of the Bembo firm, unfortunately raising the question of how widespread these practices were in Venetian mercantile societies. Similarly, the author leaves us in suspense in explaining which are the big companies with which the three small Venetian ones are compared, only in the conclusion clarifying the fact that they are two companies from Florence, the Datini Society and the Medici Bank.

While the conclusions of Stefania Montemezzo summarize the contents of the book, we can conclude that her work is a very short, but useful, manual of trading practices in the Renaissance Venice. Not using real inedited materials, the author is able to explain to a public that is not familiar with the subject, how did work trade in that period, so we strongly encourage the reading of his work.

Alessandro Flavio Dumitraşcu

Мирослав А. ЛАЗИЋ (ed.), *Рујанско четворојеванђеље (1536/1537): фототипско издање/The Rujan Tetraevangelion (1536/1537): Phototype Edition*, Ужице/Београд, Народна библиотека Ужице/Народна библиотека Србије/Институт за српски језик САНУ, 2024, 687 p.

This volume is a facsimile edition of the Rujan Tetraevangelion (1536/1537), the earliest known tetraevangelion printed in Serbian Slavonic and the first recorded book printed in the territory of today's Serbia. The editor, Miroslav A. Lazić (Institute for the Serbian Language, SASA), has previously made valuable contributions to the study of medieval Serbian print culture, such as his recent monograph on Božidar Vuković.¹ This new edition of the Rujan Tetraevangelion features high-quality color facsimiles of the print, as well as a comprehensive discussion of past scholarship about it. This is yet another addition to the useful series of phototype editions published by Serbian and Yugoslav scholarship, reproducing Serbo-Slavonic prints of the 15th and 16th centuries.² The publication is bilingual (Serbian-English), increasing its accessibility to an international audience.

¹ Мирослав А. Лазич, *Божидар Вуковић: између историје и имажинације* [Božidar Vuković: Between History and Imagination], Београд, Народна библиотека Србије, 2022.

² For a recent list of the available editions of Serbian incunabula and paleotypes, see Ivan N. Petrov, *The Development of the Bulgarian Literary Language*, transl. Marek Majer, Katarzyna Gucio, London, Lexington Books, 2021, p. 134–135.

While this is not the first facsimile edition of the Rujan Tetraevangelion,³ it is the only one to include a full color reproduction of this paleotype. The photographs are based on the most complete copy of the print, which was originally part of Pavel Josef Šafárik's personal collection and is now kept in the National Museum in Prague. The pages were reproduced approximately to their true size, and only minor trimmings were made at the margins of the photographs in order to accommodate the format of the edition. To reconstruct the complete original print, the editor inserted two additional folios (f. 63 and 262) from another copy of the book, which were missing from the Prague copy. Foliation was added digitally, as it was absent in the original.

The editor's introductory study, titled *Рујанско четворојеванђеље између предања и историје/ The Rujan Tetraevangelion: Between Tradition and History*, offers a well-documented review of past research on the Rujan Tetraevangelion, along with a typographic and visual analysis of the print. The analysis includes an extensive discussion of the printing technology used, which has sparked debates among scholars over the time. The editor revisits the opinions and evidence presented by earlier studies, concluding that Teodosije, the monk who oversaw the printing process of the tetraevangelion at the Rujno Monastery, used movable type and a modest manual press, capable of printing only one page at a time. At least four type sets were identified, suggesting they were made from a soft metal like tin, which tended to erode quickly during printing. Wood clichés were used to print the headpieces and initials.

The editor presents the provenance of the known copies of the Rujan Tetraevangelion, providing an interesting insight into the circulation of this print over the last two centuries. Two copies left Serbia during the 19th century: one had been discovered by Vuk Karadžić, who sold it to the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg, while the other was likely acquired by Šafárik during his time in Novi Sad and later brought to Prague. A third copy came into the possession of the SASA Archive at an unknown point during the first half of the 20th century. The National Library in Belgrade obtained another copy of the print in the same period, but it was unfortunately destroyed during the German bombing of Belgrade in 1941. Aside from these, Đorđe Sp. Radojičić discovered two folios of the tetraevangelion in an antique shop after World War II and donated them to the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade. An interesting addition to this discussion might have been an overview of the handwritten notes made by past owners and readers of the book, such on f. 5v and 8v of the Prague copy, which illustrate the circulation of the print prior to the modern period. Overall, the small number of extant copies makes the Rujan Tetraevangelion one of the rarest early Cyrillic prints.

A significant portion of the study focuses on locating the site of the Rujno Monastery, where the book was printed. As the editor notes, the only evidence of its existence is the colophon of the Rujan Tetraevangelion, which mentions that the monastery was dedicated to St. George and located "at the foot of the mount known as Ponikve, on a river called Be[l]ska, in a village named Vrutci" (p. 652). The editor presents the previous attempts to locate the monastery and discusses the medieval sources that provide clues about the religious life of the Rujan region, including several Ottoman defters. As he points out, it is currently thought that the remnants of the Rujno Monastery lie underneath Lake Vrutci near Užice in modern Serbia, since archaeological probing performed in the area revealed the existence of several stone wall structures.

Additionally, the editor revisits some interesting comparisons between the Rujan Tetraevangelion and other early Cyrillic prints. For example, it has long been recognized that some of the headpieces in the Rujan Tetraevangelion are reproductions of the headpieces found in Makarije's Octoechos (1510) and Tetraevangelion (1512). An intriguing case is the headpiece featured on f. 6v of the Rujan Tetraevangelion, which is a mirrored copy of the one on the first page of Makarije's Tetraevangelion. The woodcut includes a small-scale image of a crow with a cross in its beak and a crown, a symbol featured on the coat of arms of Wallachia. The editor notes that the design was manually copied onto a new wooden cliché and then used in printing, hence the mirrored version in the Rujan paleotype. This observation raises an interesting question, as one might wonder whether

³ It was preceded by a black-and-white phototype edition published on the occasion of the paleotype's 450th anniversary: see Лазар Чурчић, Катарина Мано-Зиси (eds.), *Рујанско четворојеванђеље, 1536/1537*, Београд, Републички завод за међународну научну, просветну, културну и техничку сарадњу/Народна библиотека Србије, 1987.

Teodosije intentionally left the Wallachian emblem in the headpiece of the Rujan Tetraevangelion, or he merely copied the original model without considering the symbol's meaning.

To conclude, this new phototype edition stands out for its impeccable graphical presentation, making a high-quality reproduction of the Rujan Tetraevangelion accessible to a broad academic audience. The editor also deserves commendation for his well-articulated synthesis of the vast bibliography concerning this Serbo-Slavonic paleotype. This edition will hopefully advance future research on this paleotype and stimulate further comparisons between the Rujan Tetraevangelion and other early Cyrillic prints.

Teodora Popovici

Eleonora NAXIDOU, Yura KONSTANTINOVA (eds.), *Christian Networks in the Ottoman Empire. A Transnational History*, Budapest, Vienna, New York, CEU Press, 2024, xxvi + 314 p.

This volume focuses on Christian networks in the Ottoman Empire and how they developed the economic, socio-political, religious, diplomatic, intellectual, etc., life of the Christian populations from Southeastern Europe between the 17th and 19th centuries. Instead of arranging the articles in chronological order, the editors decided to group them on the basis of another factor: internal vs. external networks. Internal networks were those that operated within the confines of the Ottoman Empire, while the external ones linked people from within the empire with those living in Europe.

The approaches to the topic of networking vary from case to case. At p. xvi, the editors explain how some authors study the networks from a metaphorical point of view (newspapers, which created an ideological connection with their audiences), a qualitative one (intellectual, revolutionary, or religious networks), or a combination between qualitative and quantitative points of view, in this category falling mainly trade, social, and consular networks. The diversity of approaches to this topic, and the various methodologies and theoretical concepts that were used, place this volume at the border of many fields of research, like Imperial Studies or Transnational History. As the editors emphasize, perhaps this methodological and conceptual diversity represents the originality of this volume (p. xvii).

The first part, entitled "Internal Networks and Their Trans-Balkan Expansion" starts with the study written by Evguenia Davidova, who focuses on commercial networks. The author discusses the relations between centre and periphery, emphasizing that the trade from the Balkans was based on a family business model. This study also argues for the importance of networks in including the Ottoman Empire in the global economy, and also emphasizes its dependency on European capitalism.

Yonca Köksal's study is an example of how networks could be used to understand social and economic development at a micro-historical level. The author focuses on the city of Niš between 1840-1860. While the struggle for the establishment of an independent Bulgarian Orthodox Church fuelled Bulgarian national aspirations, and the Ottoman Empire opened more and more towards European markets, local elites, both Muslim and Non-Muslim, formed alliances in order to get important positions in the local administration.

Ștefan Petrescu's analysis focuses on inter-Christian relations between Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Serbia, focusing on Apostolos Arsakis and how the Wallachian authorities from Bucharest tried to control a vast network of salt merchants, which was created by Miloš Obrenović. The government in Bucharest tried to strengthen the position of the boyars and traders who formed the Salt Trading Company of Wallachia against their Serbian partners, in an attempt to consolidate Wallachia's economic freedom from Constantinople.

The last three studies of the first part focus on the consolidation or, on the contrary, on the disintegration of Christian networks across the Balkans. Stamatia Fotiadou searches for ideological affinities among newspapers published in 1883, on the occasion of Alexander Battenberg's visit to Athens. The study presents how the collective memory of fighting against the Ottomans led to the creation of the concept of Balkanic federalism. On the other hand, Elias Skoulidas argues that, in some

cases, historical developments could contribute to the disintegration of Christian networks. Focusing on Albanian Christian intellectuals, the author observes how in the 1860s they thought of themselves as having a common identity with the Greeks, but a decade later, they supported the creation of an Albanian national state. The first part ends with Zorka Parvanova's study on paramilitary societies. This case study, which presents how, towards the end of the 19th century, Christian paramilitary groups were transformed into national groups, brings other arguments in support of the idea that Christian networks started to disintegrate in the late 1800s and were transformed into national networks.

The second part, entitled "External Networks and Their Intra-Balkan Connections" starts with George Koutzakiotis's study on consular networks in the Balkans. The consulates are considered important factors in the process of consolidating connections between the Balkans and Europe, and also in exchanging ideas and cultural elements between various peoples. The role of the consulates in the process of Europeanization of the Balkans is further cemented by Simeon Simeonov, who argues that these institutions acted as agents of modernization. The Balkan modern states adopted the example of foreign consulates and created their own diplomatic networks; however, while Western consuls were interested mainly in economy and diplomacy, the Balkan ones took care also of social and cultural problems, in an attempt to bring as many benefits to their peoples.

The presence of European influences in the Balkans is also analysed by Eleonora Naxidou, who focuses on four Balkan thinkers who supported the idea of federalism. Besides presenting their group as a product of the circulation of European ideas in the Balkan peninsula, Naxidou emphasizes the characteristics of these Balkan federalists: Christianity's role in unifying the Balkans, the presence of Russian sympathies, the distrust towards Western powers, and the establishment of a political union that would end the desire of the Great Powers to expand themselves in the Balkans.

Elmira Vassileva and Lora Gerd focus on the use of religious institutions to export Western or Russian ideas in the Balkans. Vassileva studies the Protestant American mission in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century and how it was used as a means to transfer ideas and values from the West into the Balkans. Gerd, on the other hand, analyses the soft power diplomacy of the Russian Empire, which used local Orthodox churches, which received donations from the Russian tsar and enjoyed friendly relations with the imperial family, to spread Russian ideas among Orthodox peoples. The volume ends with a study written by Yura Konstantinova, which focuses on the spread of Russian ideas in Bulgaria through commercial networks, as many Bulgarian merchants got rich by consolidating their relations with the Tsarist Empire.

The diversity of approaches to the subject of networking, together with the variety of methodologies and concepts that were employed by the authors, brings us a volume that emphasizes, once again, the importance of internal and external networks for the people living in the Balkan peninsula between the 17th and 19th centuries.

David L. Neagu

Paul of Aleppo's Journal, vol. 1: *Syria, Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Cossacks' Lands*. Introductory study by Ioana Feodorov, Arabic edition and English translation by Ioana Feodorov, with Yulia Petrova, Mihai Țipău and Samuel Noble, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2024 (Arabic Christianity: Texts and Studies 7), xv + 897 p., 23 fig., 4 maps.

For any student or scholar of early modern Eastern Christianity, and Arab Christians in particular, Paul of Aleppo (Būluṣ ibn al-Zaʿīm al-Ḥalabī, 1627–1669) is a famous figure. His *Journal* is widely perceived as a source of paramount importance for the study of various aspects regarding the political, religious, or cultural life of the seventeenth century, from the Ottoman Levant to Muscovy via Eastern Europe. In the rich tradition of Middle Eastern travel literature, few works command as much historical importance as Paul's travelogue. This edition of the Arabic text of the *Journal*, accompanied by an English translation, marks a milestone in both Arab Christian studies and early modern travel literature. This is the first of a planned three-volume series intended to provide the academic community with the

first complete edition of Paul's *Journal* (both the entire Arabic original text and its English translation). This first volume features the initial stages of the journey undertaken by Patriarch Makarios III of Antioch and his entourage between 1652 and 1654 from Ottoman Syria, through Constantinople, and across the territories of the Moldavians, Wallachians, and Cossacks, culminating just as the Syrian travelers cross into the Muscovite lands. This book presents the first complete bilingual Arabic-English edition of Paul's of Aleppo's work, based on the collation of four Arabic manuscripts preserved in Paris (BnF MS Arabe 6016), London (British Library MS *OMS Add* 18427, *OMS Add* 18428, and *OMS Add* 18430), Saint Petersburg (MS B 1230 of the Institute of Oriental Studies), and Kyiv (MS of the National University of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy). By producing a more authoritative Arabic text, Feodorov's diplomatic edition significantly surpasses the partial version of Vasile Radu and the faulty and lacunary English translation of Francis Belfour.

The volume opens with an introductory study by Ioana Feodorov, who is an experienced scholar when it comes to Paul of Aleppo (p. 1–112).¹ Feodorov provides a consistent and engaging contextualization of Paul's stance as a historical figure, chronicler, and cleric, while addressing his dual identity as both an archdeacon in the Church of Antioch and a chronicler of Patriarch Makarios III's times, which situates his narrative within the tense religious and political landscape of the seventeenth-century Eastern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe. This presentation is complemented by a detailed discussion of the Arabic manuscripts used for the critical apparatus and the previous translations into English, Russian, and French, with clear criteria for textual selection and emendation. The philological rigor demonstrated in this process makes this volume a definitive textual edition for future scholarship.

Based on careful collation, the Arabic text includes an extensive critical apparatus that enables readers to trace textual variants. A considerable number of footnotes (more than 1,300) provide indispensable clarifications on philological, historical, and geographical points. This apparatus is essential for navigating Paul's often elliptical style and allusive references, and it reveals Feodorov's familiarity with the multi-confessional and multi-ethnic milieu in which the narrative unfolds. The annotations offer valuable insights into the dynamics of inter-Orthodox relations, the practices of Arab Christianity, and the role of diplomacy and patronage in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman space. The English translation is the first complete rendering of Paul of Aleppo's text into a modern language, and Feodorov and her collaborators successfully balance fidelity to the Arabic original with clarity and readability for a contemporary audience. The translation preserves the rhythm and nuance of Paul's prose, while making it accessible to a readership unfamiliar with Arabic. Importantly, it avoids the pitfalls of earlier translations that either uncritically edited or exoticized the original text. Instead, Feodorov presents Paul as a historically situated observer whose voice is shaped by

¹ Among her many published works on Paul of Aleppo, see I. Feodorov, "The Monasteries of the Holy Mount in Paul of Aleppo's Travels of Makarios, Patriarch of Antioch", *RESEE*, XLVIII, 2010, p. 195–210; ead., "Images et coutumes des Pays Roumains dans le récit de voyage de Paul d'Alep", in Aboubakr Chraïbi (ed.), *Tropes du voyage: les rencontres*, Paris, 2011, p. 221–246; ead. (ed.), *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVII^e siècle: Macaire III ibn al- Za'im et Paul d'Alep (Actes du 1^{er} Colloque international, le 16 septembre 2011, Bucarest)*, Bucharest, 2012; ead., "Termes étrangers dans le vocabulaire politique et social de Paul d'Alep", in *Polychronion. Profesorului Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca la 70 de ani*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 235–242; ead., "'Friends and Foes' of the Papacy as Recorded in Paul of Aleppo's Notes", *RESEE*, L, 2012, p. 233–244; ead. (ed.), *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVII^e siècle: Macaire III ibn al- Za'im et Paul d'Alep (Actes du II^e Colloque international, le 10 décembre 2013, Bucarest)*, Special Issue in *RESEE*, LII, 2014, p. 259–376; ead., "Paul of Aleppo", in Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700–1700. An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb IL, Northern Illinois University Press, p. 252–275; ead., "Les Firang – Francs, Européens ou catholiques? Témoignages d'un chrétien syrien du XVII^e siècle", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* LXXXII, 2016, p. 179–210; Paul din Alep, *Jurnal de călătorie: Siria, Constantinopol, Moldova, Valahia și Țara Cazacilor*, introduction, translation into Romanian and notes by Ioana Feodorov, with the collaboration of Yulia Petrova and Mihai Țipău, Brăila, 2020.

ecclesiastical loyalty, cultural curiosity, and pragmatic diplomacy. One of the remarkable features of this edition is the integration of visual and contextual elements. Maps, timelines, and illustrations enhance the reader's engagement and understanding of the geographical and chronological span of Paul's itinerary. These tools are particularly useful given the *Journal's* sometimes nonlinear narrative structure and the complexity of seventeenth-century Eastern European geography. All these helps grounding Paul's observations in a concrete spatial and historical framework, making this work not only more navigable but also more pedagogically effective.

Feodorov's introductory study and annotations also highlight the *Journal's* interdisciplinary significance. Paul of Aleppo's travelogue is not merely a historical record, but it is a text filled with rich theological, political, and ethnographic information. The narrative describes diverse religious territories, including Muslim regions, and various Orthodox jurisdictions. Paul's comments on liturgical practices, local hierarchies, and interfaith encounters provide valuable data for historians of religion, anthropologists, and scholars of interconfessional diplomacy, which makes the volume a crucial resource not only for Arabists and scholars of Eastern Christianity but also for those interested in the cross-cultural history and religious dynamics of early modern Eastern Europe and the Ottoman world.

Finally, the first volume of Paul of Aleppo's *Journal* by Ioana Feodorov stands as a landmark contribution to the fields of Middle Eastern, Eastern European, Orthodox Christian, and Christian Arab studies. Through her meticulous editorial work, accessible translation, and insightful commentary, Feodorov has rendered a vital historical source intelligible to modern audiences. Scholars of several disciplines will find here a rich and reliable resource for studying the complexities of cross-cultural contact, religious diplomacy, and intellectual exchange in the early modern world. As we await the next volumes, this first installment will undoubtedly serve as the foundation for a renewed engagement with one of the most intriguing travel narratives of the seventeenth century Eastern Christianity.

Octavian-Adrian Negoită

Lucreția PĂTRĂȘCANU, *Cruci ferecate și sculptură miniaturală postbizantină din colecția Muzeului Național de Artă al României. Repertoriu*, coord. éd. Călin-Alexiu Stegerean, éd. Emanuela Cernea et Lucreția Pătrășcanu, București, Muzeul Național de Artă al României, 2024, 384 p.

La récente publication par Lucreția Pătrășcanu du catalogue des croix, icônes et *enkolpia* en bois conservés au Musée national d'art de Roumanie à Bucarest, constitue sans aucun doute une contribution majeure à l'étude de la sculpture sur bois post-byzantine. Dans le cadre de la préparation de l'édition, les collaborateurs du Musée national d'art ont organisé une exposition consacrée aux croix et autres objets liturgiques sculptés en bois issus de leur collection. Le catalogue, toutefois, rassemble un matériel incomparablement plus riche que celui de l'exposition, laquelle mettait en valeur une sélection des pièces les plus remarquables. L. Pătrășcanu recense en tout 240 objets (y compris des fragments d'ornements métalliques) dont les datations s'échelonnent entre le XVI^e et le XX^e siècle. Les deux tiers de ces artefacts sont ici publiés pour la première fois.

Plus de la moitié des œuvres aujourd'hui conservées au Musée sont entrées dans ses collections à la suite de la restitution, en 1956, d'une partie du « trésor roumain » évacué en Russie pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. La collection actuelle regroupe ainsi des objets qui, avant cette évacuation, étaient dispersés entre diverses institutions muséales roumaines, collections particulières et sacristies ecclésiastiques. Parmi les établissements concernés figurent notamment le Musée national des antiquités, fondé en 1865, et le Musée national d'art et d'archéologie Carol I^{er}, dont la création date de 1906. Toutefois, une grande partie des informations relatives à la provenance des objets aujourd'hui catalogués a été perdue lors du transfert en Russie impériale, puis du retour ultérieurement autorisé par les autorités soviétiques. Afin de les reconstituer, L. Pătrășcanu a dû recourir à des inventaires anciens, des descriptions antérieures, ainsi qu'à la documentation conservée

dans les archives. La provenance des objets issus des sacristies de monastères roumains ne peut être établie que sur la base des inscriptions conservées sur les pièces elles-mêmes.

L'ouvrage s'ouvre sur une étude introductive rédigée par l'éditrice (proposée en versions roumaine et anglaise), qui y retrace l'histoire du culte de la Sainte Croix et explicite les usages liturgiques des différents types de croix : croix d'autel, qui identifient symboliquement l'autel au Golgotha, croix de bénédiction et croix processionnelle. L'introduction souligne la variété des objets en bois sculpté et montre la large diffusion des croix dans le monde orthodoxe à l'époque post-byzantine.

Les pièces présentées dans le catalogue remontent au XVI^e siècle. Notamment la plus ancienne croix processionnelle en bois ciselé de la collection fut offerte en 1503 par Étienne le Grand, voïvode de Moldavie, au monastère de Putna, fondation princière de grande importance spirituelle et artistique. Un groupe de croix provenant des ateliers moldaves constitue un ensemble homogène d'une remarquable proximité stylistique.

Les inscriptions en roumain, slavon ou grec, qui comportent parfois des dates et les noms des commanditaires et artisans, font l'objet d'un relevé scrupuleux. Elles présentent un intérêt particulier pour la compréhension des contextes linguistiques et culturels de production. En l'absence de telles indications, la datation des œuvres se fait évidemment incertaine, d'autant plus que les croix en bois ont parfois été réalisées avant l'ajout de leurs parements métalliques, d'où une possible divergence entre les dates de fabrication des différentes composantes des objets, divergence qui, semble-t-il, demeure toutefois limitée. Ces revêtements métalliques ornant les croix, enrichis de pierres précieuses ou semi-précieuses, perles, coraux et émaux polychromes, se révèlent parfois d'une grande finesse. Leur variété stylistique est remarquable et divers exemplaires des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles présentent des décors extrêmement élaborés, certains éléments évoquant la dentelle métallique. Les traditions locales s'enrichissent d'influences ottomanes et européennes.

L'iconographie constitue un autre critère d'analyse, bien qu'elle puisse s'avérer difficile à interpréter d'un point de vue chronologique. En effet, les scènes figurées reproduisent des modèles bien établis, ce qui limite leur valeur comme indicateur de datation ou d'identification des ateliers de production. Le répertoire comprend avant tout des scènes du Nouveau Testament – au premier rang desquelles la Crucifixion et le Baptême du Christ – renvoyant aux grandes fêtes du calendrier liturgique. S'y ajoute des représentations des évangélistes, des prophètes, des saints militaires, des figures impériales isapostoles Constantin et Hélène, ainsi que d'autres saints vénérés dans le monde orthodoxe, tels que Nicolas de Myre. En raison de sa richesse même, le catalogue aurait grandement bénéficié de la présence d'un index des scènes identifiées, ainsi que de reproductions photographiques de plus grand format, permettant de mieux apprécier les détails du traitement iconographique des diverses scènes.

L'auteur a réussi à répertorier douze noms d'artisans identifiés grâce aux inscriptions gravées sur les œuvres. Y sont également nommés divers commanditaires ou donateurs, parmi lesquels figurent des représentants éminents des élites des principautés roumaines : Étienne le Grand, Alexandru Lăpușneanu, Matei Basarab, Șerban Cantacuzène, Constantin Brâncoveanu, ainsi que de hauts dignitaires ecclésiastiques et higoumènes de célèbres monastères.

Il ne fait toutefois guère de doute que la large diffusion de ces objets à l'époque post-byzantine s'explique par leur production dans divers centres du monde orthodoxe : Balkans, Patmos ou Sinaï. Jusqu'à présent, très peu de catalogues de collections de croix d'une telle ampleur ont vu le jour, à l'exception, dans une certaine mesure, des travaux de Marin Brmbolić et Nataša Cerović¹. La majorité des publications existantes se présentent plutôt sous forme d'articles portant sur un nombre restreint d'objets sculptés en bois. Les spécialistes travaillant sur les croix et les icônes ciselées de cette période étaient ainsi contraints de collecter eux-mêmes le matériel comparatif accessible pour dégager les caractéristiques stylistiques des objets les intéressant et proposer des critères de datation, souvent approximatifs. Certaines de ces pièces étaient communément qualifiées de « croix athonites » ou « est-européennes », sans que leur origine exacte puisse toujours être déterminée avec certitude. La parution d'un catalogue aussi vaste met donc à disposition des chercheurs un outil d'une valeur

¹ Nataša Cerović, *Крстови из збирки Народног музеја у Београду : од XIV до XIX века*, Beograd : Narodni muzej Beogradu, 2014 ; Marin Brmbolić, *Крстови из ризнице манастира Хиландара*, Beograd : Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 2016.

considérable et apporte une contribution décisive aux recherches futures sur la sculpture religieuse en bois. Par l'ampleur du corpus rassemblé, cet ouvrage s'impose comme un référentiel incontournable pour les chercheurs s'intéressant à l'art liturgique post-byzantin, à la sculpture ecclésiale sur bois et à la diffusion des pratiques liturgiques dans l'espace orthodoxe.

Vera Tchentsova

Josef WOLF, Wolfgang ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Fliessende Räume. Karten des Donauraums 1650–1800*, Schnell & Steiner, 2017, 424 p.

The present volume was published as a result of the homonymous exhibition organized in Karlsruhe, in the Generallandesarchiv, in July–October 2017, in collaboration with the Institute for Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies in Tübingen. The two institutions are represented by the two editors, namely Wolfgang Zimmermann and Josef Wolf, respectively. As noted in the foreword, the exhibition was intended to travel through other countries in the Danube area as well, namely through Austria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia and Croatia (where it was most recently displayed in Osijek, until the end of March 2025). This exhibition was equally presented during the 12th Congress of South-East European Studies organized in Bucharest in September 2019, then arriving in Galați in July 2020.

As a catalogue of the abovementioned exhibition, this volume offers two perspectives on its subject matter, which are reflected in its two main subdivisions. The first of them, titled *Der Donauraum – Perspektiven der Forschung* ("The Danube Space – Research Perspectives"), contains studies by a number of specialists and researchers, covering various aspects of the study of the Danube's cartography in the 17th and 18th centuries. Andre Gingrich (Universität Wien) opens this series of small articles with his discussion of orientalism. The following two texts focus on the Germanophone lands' relationship with the Turks: Arno Strohmeyer (Universität Salzburg) pens a chapter on the Habsburg Empire's wars against the Ottoman Empire, while the volume's co-editor, Wolfgang Zimmermann, presents the view of the *Türkengefahr* ("the Turkish danger") in the Upper Rhine region, with some attention being given to the figure of Ludwig Wilhelm, Margrave of Baden-Baden (1655–1707), whose victories against the Turks earned him the sobriquet "Türkenlouis". Zsolt G. Török (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest) provides a historical overview of the development of cartography as a science from Ptolemy until the 18th century, while the following two chapters focus more on the cartography of the Danube region and South-East Europe: the other co-editor, Josef Wolf, discusses the maps made in Hungary, in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, in Transylvania and Banat and in Moldavia and Wallachia during the early modern period, while Pinar Emiralioglu (Sam Houston State University) covers the evolution of the Ottoman cartography of South East Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. Robert Born's (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Leipzig) contribution refers to the functionalization of the Ottoman Wars in 19th- and 20th-century East-Central Europe, where the image of the Ottomans was used, for instance, as a negative metaphor for the communists. The final text, penned by Johann Heiss (Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences), focuses on the memory of the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683), which is equally illustrated with passages from various texts dating from between 1685 and 1893. One should, however, bear in mind that the volume is written exclusively in German, with no abstracts or summaries of any nature being provided in English or French.

The second part, titled *Der Donauraum. Perspektiven der Ausstellung*, contains reproductions of the images and maps that were featured during the exhibition per se, divided into five thematic parts. It will perhaps be of great interest to Romanian researchers that the final part was dedicated exclusively to Transylvania and Banat. For each image, the authors provide information on the creator, the publisher, and the person who had paid for the making of said item (*Verfasser, Verleger, Ausgaben*), as well as a description of the image (*Bildbeschreibung*). For the maps, the authors additionally include cartographical information and describe the contents of the map, separately from the presentation of the image itself. The quality of these reproductions is, as one might expect from an exhibition album, remarkable, as it allows the reader to decipher even the small print used for certain locations on the map.

One further chapter is also dedicated to elaborating which map collections were used for the exhibition in Karlsruhe. While it will come as no surprise that each of the two collaborating institutions had contributed with maps from their collections, it is notable that three private collectors were also involved in the project: Mathias Beer from Tübingen, Ovidiu Șandor from Timișoara and the late Ewald Böss from Vienna (who had donated his maps to the Cultural and Documentation Center of the Banat Swabians in Ulm). The annex contains an extensive bibliography, followed by a list of abbreviations, a list of lending institutions and individuals, as well as the list of authors. It is perhaps regrettable that the all-important information pertaining to the institutions that the authors of the various chapters belong to is relegated to the bottom-right corner of the page, as one feels that it may have been worth repeating their affiliation in some form within the chapters they penned (either under the author's name or as a footnote or an endnote). This catalogue also has a very rich index – one dedicated to persons and the other, quite obviously and helpfully, to geographical places.

Although the exhibition has continued to be held in various places along the Danube for the past eight years and might go on to do so in the future, one should not minimize the virtues of the present volume, which will outlast the event it was tied to. The editors' decision to provide detailed descriptions and facsimiles of such excellent quality will be saluted by future readers who might undertake an analysis of Danubian cartography in the 17th and 18th centuries, for they will find here a good selection of cartographical material that they might not immediately have access to on short notice. The studies that compose the first half of the present volume are equally welcome through the expertise that is offered within them, as the reader is given the much-needed context to the rich material presented in the second half of this impressive catalogue.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Edit KIRÁLY, Olivia SPIRIDON (eds.), *Der Fluss. Eine Donau-Anthologie der anderen Art*, Salzburg, Jung und Jung, 2018, 492 p.

This book is the result of a two-year project titled *An der Donau. Ein europäisches Literaturprojekt*, organized between 2015 and 2017 through the collaboration of Institute of Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies in Tübingen and the Institute of Germanic Studies of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. Edit Király works for the latter institute (which she joined in 1991) and is an associated researcher at the Institute of Culture Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, having previously published a monograph on the textual and image representations of the Danube in the 19th century. Meanwhile, Olivia Spiridon is an alumna of the universities of Sibiu, Passau (where, in 2002, she defended her doctoral thesis on German literature from post-war Romania) and Heidelberg. As a researcher of the Institute of Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies in Tübingen (which she joined in 2008), she leads the department for Germanophone Literatures and Cultural Interferences in the Danube Area. It bears mentioning that the two authors went on to collaborate on a further project titled *Reading the Danube. (Trans)national Narratives in the 20th and 21st Centuries*, which took place in 2020–2024 and is to be seen as the successor of the project that led to the publication of the present book, which is represented (alongside its Serbian translation from 2020 and the Hungarian version from 2022) among the newer project's publications on the dedicated website.

This anthology contains excerpts from a rather prodigious number of authors. These seventy writers hail from various countries that the Danube flows through (with very few exceptions, such as the British author Algernon Blackwood or the Italian scholar Claudio Magris, although one might be surprised at the absence of Jules Verne's posthumous novel, *Le Beau Danube jaune*¹). The inherent

¹ Similarly, one could have cited the work that inspired Jules Verne's novel, namely Victor Duruy's travelogue *De Paris à Bucarest*, published in *Le Tour du monde* in 1861 and 1862, with illustrations by Dieudonné Auguste Lancelot, which would in and of themselves have been a worthy addition to this richly-illustrated volume.

diversity in languages is bridged through the use of German translations for each excerpt. Per the authors' words in the closing statements of the introduction, the selection is partially motivated by a number of seminars held within this project, in Budapest. It was during these seminars that students from various Danubian countries discussed (and, one may assume, suggested) some of the excerpts that were included in this volume, with some of their observations being incorporated in the authors' commentaries for each chapter. It should be mentioned that, aside from the mathematically obvious fact that the excerpts are usually no longer than three or four pages, there was no strict limitation of one author – one work – one excerpt. Indeed, Romanian readers will probably be pleased to note that Mircea Cărtărescu is selected four times (one fragment from *Levantul*, one from *Orbitor*, and two separate excerpts from *Ada-Kaleh*) while Jean Bart (Eugen Botez) was chosen to illustrate three consecutive thematic chapters with short passages from his novel, *Europolis*. Other writers from the Romanian region include Ștefan Bănuțescu, Mircea Eliade and Nicolae Iorga, while the Romanian queen Elisabeth (under her literary pseudonym, Carmen Sylva) is equally present with an excerpt from her own travelogue as a “daughter of the Rhine” (*Rheintochters Donaufahrt*).

The final part of this volume consists of a reference section divided into three subsections. The first subsection, titled *Quellenangaben*, is, functionally, the most important, as it contains the actual bibliographical indications for the fragments that were selected for this anthology. It is here that the reader will find out where the various German translations were published and which editions were used by the authors of this volume. Conversely, one would have to raise the objection that this information would also have been welcome as footnotes to each fragment, which is otherwise accompanied by minimal information such as the author, the title and the observation that it is an excerpt. It is perhaps just as unfortunate that the table of contents only indicates the thematic chapters that the authors of the present volume illustrated with these excerpts, without allowing the reader to gain a synoptic view of *what* was selected for each chapter (without simply reading the chapter per se). The *Quellenangaben* are the closest thing to a survey of the selected authors and fragments, which are indeed subcategorized by chapter, although one may regret the lack of an indicator of what pages they are to be found on within this volume (a role that could have been played by an *index nominum*, if there was one). One may only assume that these editorial choices stemmed from the authors' desire to consult each chapter as a multifaceted whole, and not to limit oneself to reading just one of the excerpts.

The second subsection of the reference section provides credits for the images and photographs that pepper this volume (which, one may add, was printed in remarkable quality). Where multiple images stem from a single work, they are grouped together under that bibliographical title, with indications for each page number; the remaining images are ordered by page number, with information pertaining to their website or the collection they stemmed from. Once again, one may regret that similar measures were not applied to the main attraction of the volume, namely the truly rich anthology of texts pertaining to the Danube. Finally, the third subsection is dedicated to *Weiterführende Literatur* (“Further literature”), containing sources (*Quellen*) that were not used for this anthology, documentaries and secondary literature. Their use is, of course, not retrospective, but *prospective*, as these works are not cited within the volume per se but are instead recommended to the reader of this starting point to their research on the Danube's image.

To conclude, it would perhaps be best to describe this volume as kaleidoscopic in its selection of texts representing various aspects of the Danube. The thematic distribution of these fragments was a conscious and salutary option of the two authors, as the reader gains a starting point in the daunting enterprise that is the study of the Danube's image in literature, history and culture as a whole. The commentaries are fairly brief and, while one would have appreciated a more streamlined navigation of the many excerpts, it is doubtless that this anthology is a useful instrument that was first and foremost designed as an introduction to the complex subject that the two authors had dedicated their attention to over the past years.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Коста ЧАВОШКИ, Ђорђе БУБАЛО (eds.), *Законик цара Стефана Душана. Књига V: Румунски превод Законика цара Стефана Душана и Епитимијног Номоканона (1776)*, Београд, Службени гласник, 2021, 450 p.

The present book is the fifth and final volume of a series of editions of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's code of laws from 1349 (henceforth the *Code of Dušan*), published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts starting from 2010. While the previous four volumes focused on the Serbian Slavonic manuscripts (which the editors divided into two groups: the older redaction and the newer redaction), this volume is remarkable through the fact that it offers an edition of a Romanian translation from 1776, conserved in the Romanian manuscript 3093 from the Library of the Romanian Academy. The two main coordinators of the volume are Kosta Čavoški, a member of the Serbian Academy and professor of law at the University of Belgrade, and Đorđe Bubalo (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade).

The first part of this volume consists of three introductory studies. The first of them, penned by Đorđe Bubalo, provides a description of the Romanian manuscript and offers an overview of its reception by the scientific community on both sides of the Romanian/Serbian border. The author underlines that the manuscript's contents had been noted and analyzed by Romanian scholars on several occasions, with the earliest description belonging to Ion Peretz in 1928¹, followed by Ștefan Berechet's mentioning of the manuscript in his own chapter on *Code of Dušan*², also providing short excerpts from the *Penitential Nomocanon* that follows it. The author of the introductory study also notes the publication of several articles on this manuscript in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, starting with the fourth issue from 1968, which included two articles that referred to it. The first of them, penned by Valentin Al. Georgescu³, represented an overview of legal texts from the Romanian Principalities of the 15th–19th centuries, wherein manuscript 3093 was briefly discussed as well. The other, written by Gheorghe Cronț⁴, only referred to the *Code of Constantine and Justinian*, and provided a description of this manuscript and presented its relationship with the Slavonic source text. The latter study would form the basis for Cronț's own introductory chapter to the edition of the *Code of Constantine and Justinian*, which he published in 1971⁵ following his collaboration with the Bulgarian scholar Mihail Andreev. This edition provided the Romanian transliterated text (edited by Cronț) and the Slavonic text of the *Code of Constantine and Justinian* from the so-called Sofia manuscript of the *Code of Dušan* (edited by Andreev), as well as French translations for either version. Finally, one more study pertaining to this manuscript was published in our journal, namely that of Liviu P. Marcu⁶ from 1989.

By contrast, the author of this chapter expresses his surprise at the fact that despite the consistent interest in Stefan Dušan's legislative activity on the other side of the border, this Romanian translation had escaped the attention of several generations of Serbian scholars, who appear to have been unaware of its existence, despite the abovementioned studies having been published in accessible journals and languages. According to Đorđe Bubalo, Biljana Marković was the first Serbian scholar to have acknowledged the existence of this Romanian manuscript in her own study for the edition of the *Code of Constantine and Justinian* in 2007, while Bubalo himself was the first to include manuscript 3093 among the copies of the *Code of Dušan* in the first volume of the present series. The scholarly overview offered by Bubalo gives the reader a very clear context of the importance of this edition for the study of

¹ Ion Peretz, *Curs de istoria dreptului român*, vol. II-2, București, 1928, p. 14–28.

² Șt. Gr. Berechet, *Istoria vechiului drept românesc*, vol. I: *Izvoarele*, Iași, 1933, p. 138–139.

³ Valentin Al. Georgescu, "Présentation de quelques manuscrits juridiques de Valachie et de la Moldavie (XV^e–XIX^e). Contribution à l'études de la reception du droit byzantine en Roumanie, I", *RESEE*, VI, 4, 1968, p. 625–638.

⁴ Gheorghe Cronț, "Le livre de jugement de l'empereur Justinien", *RESEE*, VI, 4, 1968, p. 639–648.

⁵ M. Andreev, G. Cronț, *Loi de jugement. Compilation attribuée aux empereurs Constantin et Justinien, versions slave et roumaine*, Bucarest, 1971.

⁶ Liviu P. Marcu, "Une variante roumaine du code d'Etienne Douchan", *RESEE*, XXVII, 1–2, 1989, p. 145–159.

the *Code of Dušan* in Serbia, while also allowing for the observation that Romanian readers, too, will find interest in this book, given that Andreev and Cronț had only edited the *Code of Justinian* (which is, naturally, excluded from the present edition, given its availability).

The second introductory study belongs to Adina Chirilă and Monica Huțanu (both from the West University of Timișoara), who analyze the linguistic traits of the Romanian translation of the *Code of Dušan* and the *Penitential Nomocanon* (which is equally edited in this volume, as it had been translated together with the *Code* as part of a single text). This analysis is divided into four subsections: orthography and phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary, the fourth of which provides an overview of lexico-semantic fields used throughout the two legal texts. The authors note that the text has traits of the Muntenian variant of Romanian, although there are equally signs that point to a different linguistic area, namely Oltenia. Based on the assumption that this translation is a copy of an early, 17th century translation, they note that it becomes difficult to ascertain how many of the linguistic traits can help identify where the original translation was first written or how much stemmed from the intervention of the copyist. The third introductory chapter is written once again by Đorđe Bubalo, who makes several observations about the numbering of the articles of the legal texts, the Latin transliteration, and the modern Serbian translation which is provided in this edition.

The second section of this book rather remarkably contains a full photographic facsimile of the folios containing the *Code of Dušan* and the *Penitential Nomocanon* (23^v–54^r) in the Romanian manuscript. The images are of excellent quality and may be consulted without any problem by paleographers. The third section contains the edited text of the *Code of Dušan* from both the Romanian manuscript and the Kovilj manuscript from 1726, which is shown to be from the same manuscript branch (which also included the aforementioned Sofia manuscript edited by Cronț and Andreev) as the source text of the Romanian translation. The editors chose to place the Romanian version and the Serbian Slavonic model on opposite pages. The Romanian text is edited in its original Cyrillic script, which is accompanied by the Latin transliteration of the text (both done by Monica Huțanu) and a modern Serbian translation by Biljana Sikimić from the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy. Meanwhile, the text of the Kovilj manuscript, which was initially edited in the fourth volume of this series⁷, was established and translated into modern Serbian by Viktor Savić from the Institute for Serbian Language of the Serbian Academy. Furthermore, in order to create a complete mirror of the edition of the Romanian text, Đorđe Bubalo equally included a Latin transliteration of the Kovilj manuscript. The fourth section contains the edition of the *Penitential Nomocanon*, with the same parallel display as the *Code of Dušan*: while the Romanian text from manuscript 3093 of the Romanian Academy is once again edited and transliterated by Monica Huțanu, then translated by Biljana Sikimić, the parallel Serbian Slavonic text of the Kovilj manuscript is both edited and transliterated by Đorđe Bubalo, while Viktor Savić only provides the modern Serbian translation.

The following section – one of the lengthiest, as it spans over 90 pages – contains Đorđe Bubalo's comparative commentary of the Romanian translation and the Serbian model from the Kovilj manuscript. The editor's commitment to this thorough analysis of the differences between the two versions is admirable, as this chapter discusses each situation, often with parallel quotations from the two manuscripts (both in the Latin transliteration), in the order in which they appear in the text. The editor follows this section up with two extensive tables containing a comparative index of the numbering of the articles of the *Code of Dušan*, showing the correspondence with the standard numbering from the older redaction, made by Novaković (which is presented in order), followed by the numbering from the manuscripts of Sofia and Kovilj, and finally the Romanian manuscript. The second table, which once again has three columns, once again compares the numbering of the articles in the *Code of Dušan*, although they are here presented in their order from the Sofia-Kovilj manuscripts and the Romanian manuscript, with the left-most column showing the corresponding numbers from the standard edition. For the *Penitential Canon*, the editor provided a two-column table which simply compares the Sofia-Kovilj manuscripts' numbering with that of the Romanian

⁷ Коста Чавошки, Ђорђе Бубало, *Законик цара Стефана Душана*, књига IV – том I, Београд, 2015, p. 311–344.

manuscript. These last two tables illustrate the Romanian translation's tendency to break up large articles into multiple ones, which will most certainly help future researchers make textual comparisons between the various editions of the two legal texts.

Finally, the volume also contains two glossaries. The first of them, made by Monica Huțanu, Biljana Sikimić and Đorđe Bubalo, refers to the terms used in the Romanian version of the *Code of Dušan* and the *Penitential Nomocanon*, which are translated into modern Serbian. The Romanian terms are provided in their Latin transcription, which leads to the question of how to interpret and index the orthography of the Romanian words. The editors make a note of this problem and find a rather creative solution for cases where the forms used in the text are different to what one would reconstruct based on modern orthography: in such cases, the latter forms have separate entries (written with a slightly smaller font) that refer their readers to the entries for the orthographical variants from the text itself. The second glossary, penned by Viktor Savić, contains terms from the Kovilj manuscript of the *Code of Dušan*, with the Slavonic terms being once again accompanied by translations in modern Serbian. In the case of orthographical doublets, the main entries for one form contain references to what other variants exist, while the variant form has an entry that refers its reader to the main entry, once again using a smaller font. Here, the editor opted to give more priority to Slavonic forms that were more regional in character (and less archaic), based on the argument that this legal text was vernacular, and thus more likely to reflect traits of the Serbian language. Romanian (and other foreign) readers will have to be warned that, despite the fact this is an edition of a Romanian manuscript, the studies and editorial notes are exclusively written in Serbian, with the sole exception of the Romanian and English summaries at the very end of the volume.

This edition is, beyond any doubt, an extremely important contribution to the study of the Romanian translation and reception of Serbian legal texts. It is clear that the collaboration between Serbian and Romanian scholars has resulted in a thorough analysis of a text that had previously not been edited, unlike the *Code of Justinian* from the same manuscript, which had attracted more interest in the past. What is, perhaps, even more remarkable, is that this Romanian translation had escaped the attention of past Serbian scholars who had studied the *Code of Dušan*'s manuscript tradition, despite manuscript 3093 being repeatedly described and analyzed (however briefly) in Romanian scientific journals, most notably in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*. Nevertheless, through the recent efforts of Serbian scholars such as Đorđe Bubalo and through the fruitful cooperation of researchers from both sides of the Danube, this manuscript has now become available to philologists and legal historians who are interested in the tradition and reception of the famed legal code of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, then – per the title of the *Code* – Emperor of the Serbs, the Bulgarians, of Hungaro-Wallachia, of the Hungarians, of the Dalmatians and of the Albanians.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Dzianis KANDAKOU et Alexandre STROEV, *Les Russes à Paris au XVIII^e sous l'œil de la police*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2024, 738 p.

The present volume is an edition of police reports pertaining to the multitude of Russian aristocrats, diplomats, writers, artists, collectors, Freemasons and adventurers who spent time in Paris during the 18th century. The editors are, on the one hand, Dzianis Kandakou from the Polotsk State University in Belarus and, on the other hand, Alexandre Stroeve, professor at the Department of General and Comparative Literature at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle. It is perhaps interesting to note that, in addition to his keen interest in the Russian community in 18th-century France, the former also defended and published a doctoral thesis on Eugène Ionesco's works in the artistic and ideological context of 20th-century European literature and has had several research and teaching collaborations with the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle starting from 2021. Meanwhile, the books of Alexandre Stroeve have repeatedly featured in the review section of *RESEE*: the most recent of these was a volume he coordinated, which equally referred to the Russian intellectuals' relations with the French

public between the 18th century and the dawn of the 20th century¹. One may also want to draw attention to another one of his editions to be discussed within the pages of our journal, namely that of Charles-Léopold Andreu de Bilstein's reports on the Romanian Principalities, addressed to Catherine II in 1771, a contribution that was reviewed by Andrei Pippidi in 2004².

The editors acknowledge in the introductory pages that this edition was also the fruit of a lengthy collective endeavor equally involving the master's students of General and Comparative Literature from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle of 2011–2013 (when Alexandre Stroeve was also the director of this department). The documents stem from the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France in La Courneuve, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

The two editors pen a consistent introductory study spanning over seventy pages, which is divided into several brief subsections focusing on the *files rouges* of the edited material, which they interpret and corroborate with other published parts of the respective persons' correspondence, thereby reconstructing the stories of Russian travelers in 18th-century Paris and their ties to the French society of the time. Romanian researchers will certainly find interest in the reconstruction of Antioch Cantemir's social circle and his perception of and by the Parisian police and informants, which he depicts in one of his *Satires* in 1743.

The edited documents are presented in chronological order, with each year being afforded its own subsection (which is possibly the best way to organize this material, which stems from different collections). Each note and letter are, of course, accompanied by information pertaining to the current whereabouts of the original document and, if applicable, to the publications where they were previously published. Additionally, the editors provide footnotes in which they identify the persons being referred to, which is especially helpful given the often wide variations in terms of orthography, which would otherwise hinder future researchers in identifying many of these Russian subjects.

It bears, however, mentioning that the editors saw fit to include separate subsections for certain affairs that may be followed across multiple documents. Such is the case of Sergei Pushkin, a sergeant of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, who had been sent in 1760 by Ivan Shuvalov with a delivery for Voltaire, in the form of a package containing a number of books that the French writer required for his *History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great*. The package did not reach its addressee, while the whereabouts of Sergei Pushkin himself were just as unknown. Shuvalov eventually reveals that the package contained the important sum of 2000 ducats, which ends up explaining Pushkin's disappearance, as the sergeant had, in fact, lost the sum due to gambling and was on the run. The documents published in the separate section dedicated to this case help provide a clearer outline to an affair that involved both the French police and a number of Russian diplomats, which the authors summarize in the introductory study.

One minor formal objection may be raised with regards to the table of contents: for instance, the documents of the *Affaire de Sergueï Pouchkine, 1761–1763* are placed after the various documents for the years 1761, 1762, and 1763, but are themselves divided by years. The result is that the table of contents ends up featuring 1761, 1762, and 1763 twice, without it being made clear that the second set refers to the Pushkin affair. While this will, of course, not cause any trouble to a thorough reader who makes proper use of the massive documentary material throughout the volume, it may prove slightly disorienting to researchers who wish to perform pinpointed studies on smaller timeframes, possibly even just limited to one year. Similar disorientation may be drawn from the placing of the *Affaire Jean-François Héron* and its own subsections for 1764 and 1765 after the *general* subsections dedicated to 1764 and 1765. As a result, it may have been better either to make a clearer delimitation of the affairs, possibly by giving them a separate section outside of the chronological flow of the other documents, or at least by making their subsections stand out more in the table of contents.

¹ Mihail-George Hâncu, "Alexandre Stroeve (ed.), Les intellectuels russes à la conquête de l'opinion publique française. Une histoire alternative de la littérature russe en France de Cantemir à Gorki, Paris, Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2019, 368 p.," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. LVII, 1–4, 2019, p. 368–369.

² Andrei Pippidi, "Alexandre Stroeve, Ileana Mihăilă, Ériger une République souveraine, libre et indépendante, Ed. Roza Vânturilor, Bucarest, 2001, 194 p. + 11 ill.," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. XLII, 1–4, 2004, p. 366–367.

In addition to the police reports, the authors annexed a list of Russians who visited Spa between 1757 and 1791, based on the *Liste des seigneurs et dames, venus aux eaux minérales de Spa*, published between 1763 and 1787, as well as Elena Gretchnaia's and Catherine Viollet's work on Francophone Russian diarists, published in 2008³. The popularity of these Belgian mineral springs among Russian travelers was likely due to the fact that Peter the Great himself had stopped to drink from its waters in 1717, following his equally trendsetting voyage to Paris.

Finally, two separate *indices nominum* were included at the end of the present volume. The first of them contains the names of subjects and residents of the Russian Empire, thereby including also Dimitrie Cantemir and Antioch Cantemir. The utility of an index of Russian persons is doubled by the aforementioned orthographic variations in rendering their names in these French documents: to cite just one example, the imperial chancellor Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov, who visited Paris in 1746 and 1764, is referred to as *Barainzoffe*, *Warainzoffe*, *Warainzow*, *Waronzow* or *Woronzow*, whereas his nephew, Aleksandr Romanovich Vorontsov, is referred to during his diplomatic missions in Paris in 1758-1761 and 1764 as *Oronzow*, *Rozoolfe* and *Vorontzow*. The difficulties caused by the mishearing and misspelling of Russian names are such that one must offer the utmost praise to the editors for identifying the majority of the persons being mentioned within the police reports. Inevitably, however, some names remain obscure, in which case the editors simply include the form found within the documents and their minimal description from said texts, between quotation marks. The second index is dedicated to French and other non-Russian names. The two indices obviously allow for an easier navigation of the immense documentary material contained within this edition.

This edition is, beyond any doubt, a very valuable contribution to the study of Franco-Russian relations in the 18th century, as it offers insight into the manner in which Russian citizens were surveilled by the then already infamous Parisian police. These reports equally reflect the daily lives and travails of such foreign visitors, who often struggled with the temptations offered by the French capital and occasionally fell into debt, then having to be rescued by their compatriots and their own networks. One may certainly be intrigued by the stylistic differences between the reports, as some of them were written with the knowledge that the French king Louis XV himself was interested in reading the reports of the *police des mœurs* in the morning. As a result, while the addressee of these informants was, on paper, the lieutenant general of the police, much attention was paid to the quality of their writing, so that they would provide a pleasant read to the curious sovereign.

As the editors themselves note, this otherwise consistent edition is but one of the many fundaments, alongside Russian travelogues, correspondence, diaries, as well as administrative documents such as the lists of passports emitted by the Russian College of Foreign Affairs, the reports of the border police or the lists of Masonic lodges. The editors believe that the already vast documentary material may form the basis for a website that would make all these texts available and would allow for the creation of a database of the Russian travelers from the 18th century, which could then be indexed based on names, toponyms, professions or social networks, and would, in turn, allow for the creation of a *Dictionnaire biobibliographique de Russes en France au XVIII^e siècle*. This edition in itself may also inspire the editing of the ill-conserved (per the editors' words) police sources of the 19th century and those of the 20th century. Based on what was placed on display within the present book, one may only welcome and salute these future avenues of research, which will, in turn, be of great service to other researchers who wish to immerse themselves in the social context of this time period.

Mihail-George Hâncu

³ Elena Gretchnaia, Catherine Viollet (eds.), *Si tu lis jamais ce journal... Diaristes russes francophones*, Paris, CNRS, Éditions, 2008.

Bogdan G. POPESCU, *Imperial Borderlands. Institutions and Legacies of the Habsburg Military Frontier*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2023 (copyright year 2024), 317 p.

Bogdan G. Popescu obtained his PhD in Political Science from the University of Chicago in 2018 and is now an Assistant Professor at the John Cabot University in Rome. Having authored numerous articles in prestigious peer-reviewed journals, this is his first book, originally conceived as a chapter of his PhD thesis. The stated purpose of this book is to analyse how state institutions affected communities in the *long durée*, focusing on how the three-century presence of a military colony on the Habsburg Empire's south-eastern border still influences the social and political involvement of people in present-day Croatia. The author states that the book mainly targets scholars working in political economy, political sociology, and political science.

The author engages in discussions with works on imperialism and colonialism, as he contends that the institutions and practices that the Habsburgs implemented in the military colony between 1553 and 1881 are comparable to the colonial institutions of sea-based empires outside Europe. By doing so, he further argues that this is a primary example of internal colonialism, since the people affected were subjects of the empire, and involved a form of indirect rule, as the colonists could choose their leaders (in opposition to direct rule, which would imply sending officials from the center to the periphery). Another important concept discussed throughout the book is that of extractive institutions, which the author defines as "the transfer of economically valuable resources from the indigenous groups to the imperial center" (p. 33). Moreover, Popescu identifies three components of these extractive institutions: low imperial investment, violence and removal of property, and postulates that people who have been exposed to them "are likely to become alienated from the central state; such alienation is likely to persist over generations, outliving the institutions that created it" (p. 27). More precisely, the author argues that low imperial investment translates into less access to public goods (roads, schools, law enforcement etc.), imperial violence decreases trust in government institutions and limits peoples' ability to participate politically (being less inclined to sign petitions or participate in public demonstrations), while the removal of private property makes people trust outsiders less and family members more.

The book comprises seven chapters. After outlining the main concepts that he deals with in Chapter 1, Popescu presents his theoretical framework in Chapter 2. A general history of the Habsburg military frontier is presented in Chapter 3, followed by a statistical analysis (impressive would be an understatement) in Chapter 4 aimed at proving that "poverty and under-development were constant characteristics of the military colony" (p. 105). The author dismisses some alternative explanations, such as the effects of World War II, the Yugoslav Wars and those of Communist collectivisation and repression. The rich quantitative data used for this Chapter is presented in greater detail in Appendix A.

Chapter 5 discusses the main socio-economic structure of the military colony, the *zadruga*, which represented an extended family or clan ruling over a piece of land, in exchange for which the Habsburgs demanded military service. To demonstrate his working theory, Popescu's case study in this chapter focuses on anthropological work conducted on the Varžić *zadruga*, which was still active in interwar Yugoslavia. Despite some changes (especially concerning women's inheritance rights and land division), the author concludes that family clans in the first part of the twentieth century "still displayed characteristics of *zadrugas* within the military colony including preferences for bequest on the patriline, self-sufficiency, obedience toward authority structures, and communal control over the family's mobile and immobile assets" (p. 164).

Chapter 6 continues the analysis begun in the previous chapter, evaluating to what extent social norms associated with *zadrugas* outlived them. Therefore, Popescu again appeals to statistical data, this time from surveys conducted in 2006, 2010 and 2016, to test several hypotheses. Do people in the former military colony: 1) trust their families more and non-family members less; 2) have a more collectivist outlook; 3) are less likely to take risks and prefer higher job security over higher payment; 4) are more likely to prefer authoritarian political structures and are less likely to question the actions of authorities; 5) are more likely to think that men make better political leaders and

women should do the household chores; 6) trust government institutions less; 7) vote less, and are they likely to engage in protests and demonstrations? The author's conclusions based on historical evidence and modern surveys respond affirmatively to most of these questions, with the noticeable exception of the latter: while people in the former military colony tend to sign fewer petitions and participate less in demonstrations, "there are no obvious effects for voting" (p. 165). As with Chapter 4, there is an Appendix B that presents a supplement to this investigation.

Finally, in Chapter 7, Popescu searches for other systems influenced by the Habsburg military colony and stops at the Russian military colonies, focusing on the Cossacks and the French military colonialism in Algeria. Highlighting both similarities and differences between these systems, the author aims to underscore "the wider significance of the Habsburg colonies demonstrating the processes of imperial incorporation, state-making, and the historical mechanisms by which they can leave an imprint of modern outcomes" (p. 226).

The book ends with an Epilogue that summarises the author's research questions and conclusions, followed by the aforementioned Appendices to Chapters 4 and 6, a Bibliography and an Index.

In order to showcase the global implications of his research, Bogdan G. Popescu searches across history and geography for comparisons with the institutional practices of the Habsburg military colony. Aside from the Russian and French-Algerian case to which he dedicates a separate chapter, the author makes frequent associations throughout his volume with other cases such as the silver extraction in Spanish Mexico and Peru, colonial Japanese investments in Korea, or the ones in Dutch Indonesia and the Belgian Congo. While the results from these examples can corroborate those from the Habsburg military frontier, they ignore the very different historical contexts. This means that the book provides answers as to why regions with diverse backgrounds experienced similar low levels of development, and not why regions with similar backgrounds experienced different patterns and levels of development.

Sure, the comparison between the Habsburg military colony and the Russian ones is very relevant, but Popescu does not address the issue that the area inhabited by the (Zaporozhian) Cossacks was a wild, mostly uninhabited region, impossible for the neighbouring powers to govern until the mid-eighteenth century, and where people sought refuge from central authority. This is exactly the opposite of what the author explains at p. 14 (and elsewhere): "Living at the periphery meant therefore living within the state, rather than outside of it". Delving deeper into the different nature of the Cossack frontier could have provided even more fascinating results to Popescu's inquiries. Similarly, one would have expected the author to focus more on closer historical examples, such as the Uskoks, insufficiently discussed at p. 70 (the author would have benefited from Wendy Bracewell's seminal work), the situation in Banat and Transylvania (briefly discussed), or the neighbouring Venetian Dalmatia (mentioned only once, at p. 84).

Nonetheless, this volume is a most provocative read for its declared intended audience, as well as specialists in other fields, particularly historians. It certainly is a must-read for those interested in the history of the Habsburg Empire and Croatia. However, it is not a casual read, and without serious training in social sciences, one may have a hard time following some of the demonstrations (especially those in Chapters 4 and 6). On the other hand, the book contains numerous maps, figures, and tables, some of them very complex, meticulously created by the author to visually represent his analyses. Employing a sound theoretical framework and a multidisciplinary approach, Bogdan G. Popescu offers convincing arguments for the long-lasting effects of the colonial institutions of a European land-based empire.

Radu Dipratu

Timothy OLIN, *The Banat of Temesvar. Borderland Colonization in the Habsburg Monarchy*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2025, 345 p.

Banat was considered part of Central Europe and a model of organic development and rapprochement with Western Europe for the nation states between which today the historical province is divided, Romania and Serbia¹. Timothy Olin proposes in his book an opposite perspective, seeing in Banat a region of the eastern border of the Habsburg Empire, in which after its conquest in 1718 an experiment of colonization and Europeanization took place, comparable to other worldwide attempts of the 18th and 19th centuries (p. 16). Olin thus aims to highlight the main lines of development of this large-scale project as well as its degree of success. The period on which the volume focuses is that of the Habsburg administration, between 1718 and 1778, the latter being the date of the signing of the act by which the administration of the province was transferred to the Hungarian Diet. From this date onward Banat divided into three counties which integrated into the Hungarian administrative system (p. 42). However, later dates are also pointed out, such as 1787, the date of the signing of the act of official cessation of state support for colonization by Emperor Joseph II (p. 79ff) and 1829, the date of the introduction of the Hungarian language as the official language in the province, which favored the intensification of Magyarisation (p. 21). Also, in the epilogue of the volume, the author traces the evolution of the province from 1848 to the present day (p. 209–232).

The research methodology is excellent and appropriate to the sources and historical periods covered. The sources, for example, are specified and the validity of their data is commented (p. IX–X). The bibliography of the volume is thus clearly divided between archives, published primary sources (including online databases) and secondary sources. For archives data Olin emphasizes the capital importance of the Austrian state archives, which are much richer and better organized than those in Serbia and Romania. Also, for the latter cases, the author mentions the lack of document collections, present instead in the German or Hungarian (for example, the collections of Anton Tafferger and Baróti Lajos, respectively, mentioned in the preface of the volume²). Methodological precautions are also present in the case of using the names of persons or localities as well as ethnic terms. For example, the author uses almost over in the volume for the majority population of the province the terms Wallachs, ethnic Romanians, respectively, Rascians, ethnic Serbs. The German ethnonym is also used with caution, specifying the different places of origin of the colonists.

The seven chapters of the volume are organized on the basis of chronologically followed themes. Chapter I, *Conquest and Construction. Development in the European Borderlands*, presents the historical context starting with the conquest of Banat approached rather as a process with roots starting with 1683, the end of the siege of Vienna with the failure of the Ottoman army, than a fixed date, 1718, the year of the Treaty of Passarowitz. Also, the end of the period is given by the date of the last Austrian-Ottoman war, 1787–1791, but “political developments into the 19th century” are also followed (p. 45ff). The chronology of historical data is backed by the analysis of the ideas that were the basis of the Habsburg program of “Europeanization” of the province. It is emphasized that the doctrine of cameralism was not only an administrative and political organization, but also a program of economic and social development based on the philosophy of mercantilism inspired by France, a country with which at that time the Habsburg Empire was in commercial competition on the European market. Economic protectionism combined the development of domestic economic

¹ Maciej Janowski, Constantin Iordachi and Balazs Trencsenyi, “Why bother about regions: debates over symbolic geography in Poland, Hungary and Romania”, *East Central Europe*, vol. 32, nos. 1–2, p. 5–58, 2005.

² On the other hand, the important collections of Pesty Frigyes are not mentioned (on the importance of these collections see, for example, László Marjanucz, “Administration, Colonization, and Culture”, in Victor Neumann (ed.), *The Banat of Timișoara. A European Melting Pot*, London, Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2019, p. 77–102, or Adrian Magina, “From swamp to blessed land: transforming medieval landscape in the Banat”, in *Banatica*, vol. 25, p. 115–121, 2015).

resources, first of all, the fertile agricultural land, but also the exploitation of mineral resources through the small-scale industries, with the exploitation of environmental resources such as water by land improvement projects. The key factor was the population engaged in this economic program, both numerically and in terms of education, hence the boost of colonization, a process followed in the next two chapters *Security and Loyalty. Colonial Settlement from 1718 to 1829*, respectively, *The Religion and Ethnic (Re)-Construction of Banat*.

Although it is commonly stated in the literature that it was an ethnic group in terms of colonization of Banat, Olin emphasizes that the ethnic label was not a rigid grid for the selection of colonists. It was indeed a German population that at that time was considered a factor of civilization and Europeanization, including other colonization programs, such as those of the British Empire, the Spanish Empire, or the Tsarist Empire, but what mattered in the eyes of the Habsburg administration was the capacity to be loyal to the imperial Crown. Thus, the Christian Catholic religion of the future colonists mattered more than ethnicity (p. 89). Moreover, the Protestant Germans were blocked from colonization and the Hungarians of the same confession were expelled to neighboring Transylvania (p. 91). It was only after the transfer of the administration of the province to the Hungarian Diet that the Protestant colonists, partly Hungarians, were accepted. In addition to the presumed effect of Catholicism on loyalty to the imperial Crown, it was also the competition with the Hungarian Crown, which in neighboring Transylvania was Protestant. The Orthodox Christians did not represent a danger, Olin points out, most of them being Wallachs, who in addition to the immemorial conflict with the Hungarian nobility had also accepted Greek Catholicism. The acceptance of the Catholic confession as a criterion for colonization meant that, in addition to the German majority, other ethnicities to be colonized in the province, such as the Italians, who were assigned an important place in pioneering industries, such as silk (mulberry was introduced in the province for the breeding of silkworms) or the cultivation and processing of rice and hemp (p. 35), the Slovaks, hired in mining and the processing of mineral resources, or the Bulgarian Catholics (p. 98–102). Even the Catholic Germans were not socially and ethnically homogeneous, a fact emphasized by the author in the chapter *Colonial Settlement*. Although most of them came from territories on both banks of the Rhine, from France and from the small German duchies, their cultural and social diversity led that to be colonized by place of origin, and not uniformly. In addition, at least until the 1750s, when Princess Maria Theresa became involved in the colonization policy, some of the colonists came from the poorest Germans, or from the war veterans and invalids, colonized in the area of the border guard regiments, or even from the delinquents brought to Vienna to serve light sentences (the so-called *Wasserschub*, who arrived from Vienna by water, p. 63).

The chapters in the second part of the volume focus on the real effects of the Europeanization program of the Habsburg administration in Banat. In two chapters, *Expectations Fulfilled. Colonists and the Government* and *Settler Culture. Frontier Problems and Solutions* the author looks at how the colonists aligned themselves with the plans and constraints of the state program, while the next two chapters, *Local Responses to the Habsburg Rule I. Migration and Unrest*, respectively, *Local Responses to the Habsburg Rule I. The Making of Serbs out of Rascians*, have as subject the reactions of the populations numerically superior to the colonists, the Wallachs, the majority in the province, the author emphasizes, both at the beginning of the Austrian administration and at the end of it in 1780 (p. 86, 276), respectively, Rascians. Although the expectations of the Habsburg administration were high both in terms of economic performance and as a model of social cooperation, both of which constituting an example that should have been worth to be followed by the Wallachian and Rascian majority, the colonists did not fully meet these expectations. The causes were multiple, Olin specifies, including the quality of the human factor, “poor-quality colonists”, but also the unfavorable natural environment, as well as the large number of diseases contracted by the colonists (p. 122). Even so, however, the differences in the colonists’ way of life were obvious. The “geometric”, “cluster villages” (*Haufendorf*) imposed by the landscape policies of the Habsburg administration differed from the scattered villages of the Wallachs, as did the spacious multi-room houses of the former and built of superior materials, bricks and rammed earth, contrasted with the mono-cameral dwellings of the Wallachs, small and in which grain warehouses and animal spaces were often under the same roof

(p. 133). Other innovations such as the introduction of the triennial rotation (*Dreifelderwirtschaft*) are also mentioned and analyzed. Even in interethnic and interconfessional relations with the majority population, the colonists did not fully meet the expectations of the imperial Crown. In the chapter *Settler culture* the author emphasizes the continuous state of conflict and mistrust between the two groups, a similar situation notes the author with other groups of colonized Germans, in North America, for example, or in the Tsarist Empire (p. 145–147). Beyond the differences in cultural identity, a series of conjunctural factors also contributed to this state, such as diseases caused by the swampy geography of the province, land scarcity and fragmentation, which led to the imposition of rules based on primogeniture, or the precarious assistance of the colonists' elderly population. However, there was a certain compatibility between the German colonists and the Rascian population, especially in the economic field (p. 150). This difference is developed in the last two chapters of the volume. Compared to the Wallachian population, which was viewed with distrust especially after the relative failure of the conversion to Greek Catholicism, the Rascians, ethnic Serbs, tried and succeeded, especially after the French Revolution and the Serb uprisings against the Ottoman rule at the beginning of the 19th century, to gain rights of civic and political representation in the province (p. 203ff). In the Wallachs case the image in the eyes of the authorities was a contrasting one. On the one hand, they were a backward majority, difficult to "Europeanize", but concerned with earning a daily living and accepting the Habsburg rule. On the other hand, there was a violent minority whose members were involved in crime and robbery, and which was at the origin of a series of rebellions that began in the late 1730s and culminated in the much more articulated "Horea-Closca revolt" (p. 185–7, 230).

Timothy Olin's volume represents not only a useful contribution to the international English-language academic literature, as the author himself emphasizes at the beginning of the book, but also a methodological and analytical approach that is very different from the consistent bibliography dedicated to Banat. On the one hand, one can reproach the almost total absence in secondary sources from the bibliographic list of works in Romanian, Serbian and Hungarian, although Olin worked both in the Austrian archives and in those of Romania, Serbia and Hungary. On the other hand, however, the work is part of a recent series that has among its promoters Larry Wolff with his book on Galicia, another peripheral region of the Habsburg Empire, a book repeatedly quoted by Olin, who proposes a different perspective than the center-periphery, with the idea of the "Europeanization" of the periphery. Apparently, normal and common sense, the more complex analysis of this idea shows that in certain cases, such as Banat, the periphery has taken over Western social, cultural and political models, but with adjustments, sometimes even rejecting them in favor of native local models.

Stelu Șerban

Christopher CLARK, *Revolutionary Spring Fighting for a New World 1848-1849*, London, Penguin Books, 2023, 873 p.

Intellectual curiosity and real expertise produced Christopher Clark's panoramic yet detailed account of the European revolutions of 1848. This book researches into the intricacies of what was arguably a pivotal year of the European history. One traditional approach was to view the 1848 movements often referred to as the "Springtime of Nations" (an expression most probably inspired by Ludwig Börne) as a failure rather than a crucial moment in Europe. The 1848 uprisings shaped in fact in a decisive way modern Europe. Managing to bring together the political, social and economic circumstances that stimulated these revolutions is quite a task that Clark fulfilled brilliantly.

His book completes or rather brings to date a long series of contributions that were able to clarify the apparently chaotic yet interconnected events of 1848 only to demonstrate that they were a European phenomenon. Clark's contribution, extremely well researched, differs in that it is human-centred and it did reach large readerships which is ideal for a professional contribution in history.

This last fact and the numerous reviews the book was honoured with both in specialized periodicals and in newspapers and magazines of utmost circulation of the like of *Sunday Times*, *The Economist* or *Daily Telegraph* make yet another such contribution look somehow useless.

Nevertheless, among the complex interconnected narratives of various European countries which rightly made their way into this book is the Romanian one. The Romanian Principalities, the only ones in their area to have experienced a proper 1848 revolution, are well represented with details worth mentioning. Thus, the liberation of the Roma slaves (p. 462–465), is closely followed and explained in local terms. The outstanding role played by a lady, namely Ana Ipătescu is rightly underlined (p. 514–15). So is the contents of the main document of that revolution, the Islaz proclamation. Liberalism in its local guise is properly analyzed and so is the counter-revolution of 1849.

Another outstanding fact is the proper attention paid by Clark (hence his real achievement) to the recent contributions often belonging to a new generation of historians on the theme written in Romanian or in any other language.

Omissions wise of course there were a few facts. Thus, the poem *Deșteaptă-te române* should have been mentioned in the series of significant songs of 1848 as it was published in 21 June 1848.

All in all *Revolutionary Spring Fighting for a New World 1848-1849* cannot be lauded enough for what is in our opinion essential in writing on major historical themes, namely keeping them properly alive to public (as large as possible, the larger the better) attention.

Lia Brad Chisacof

Kapka KASSABOVA, *Anima: A Wild Pastoral*, London, Jonathan Cape Editions, 2024, 367 p.

Kassabova's book she describes in a wonderfully skilled manner her anthropologic experience with one community of shepherds, enabling her to undergo for a few months the intensity, harshness, beauty and isolation of their existence. She witnessed transhumance that seasonal movement of shepherds leading large herds of sheep, along with dogs, an activity supposed to have existed for thousands of years. As she adjusts to the harshness intrinsic to the condition and the rich histories that shaped this Balkan region, Kassabova finds herself drawn deeper into the intricate nets of that specific community.

This contribution is a wonderful way of dipping into metaphor and abstractness phenomena but let us mention that what Kassabova witnessed is a little part of a traditional occupation of the Balkan area which had to undergo in the 19th and 20th centuries the separation of national states from an imperial territory.

From a Romanian perspective Kassabova's object are the *Sărăcăcianii*, *saracaceanii* or *sărăcășenii*, Balkan shepherds (living in Greece, Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria) which up to the thirties of the 20th century were somehow part of the stable sedentary Greek, Albanian or Slavic communities and relied on transhumance. They were first mentioned at the end of the 18th century. Their commercial and cultural headquarters was the small town of Sireacu (Σιράκο), hence their ethnonym (*sireacășeni*, *sărăcășiani*) afterwards perceived under the influence of the Turkish language as *karacatzani*.

The Romanian scholars of the like of Theodor Capidan and Tache Papahagi reckoned that they were a branch of the Aromanians calling themselves *rămâni fărșeroși* which gradually adopted the Greek language as it was the most prestigious in the area. The well-known activist Kosmas of Etolia who ended as a local saint, played an important part in the process as he preached literacy which was implicitly in Greek. The Greek Saracacian idiom does not identify with Greek and keeps for instance closed vowels inexistent in that language.

Lia Brad Chisacof

Dimitris STAMATOPOULOS, *Η Ελληνική Επανάσταση του 1821 και το Πατριαρχείο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Το πρόβλημα της Βαλκάνιας νεοτερικής εθνογένεσης* [The Greek Revolution of 1821 and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The problem of the Modern Nation-Building in the Balkans], Athens, Papazisis Publishing House, 2024, 388 p.

Dimitris Stamatopoulos, the author of the book published by Papazisis Publishing House, is a Professor in Balkan and Late Ottoman History at the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki. The Academy of Athens awarded him the “Andreas Petropoulos” Prize in 2024.

Stamatopoulos offers new perspectives on the Greek Revolution, starting from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Unlike other studies approaching the Greek revolution in the light of the anti-Ottoman movement that broke out in the Peloponnese in 1821 and that led, ten years later, to the formation of the Greek national state, this book is dedicated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and its mission to reconfigure the unity of the Orthodox world in the Ottoman Empire in the first decades of the 19th century. There are two approaches in historiography regarding the involvement of the Patriarchate in the national movement for the liberation of the Greeks from the Ottomans. The first highlights the part played by the Church in preserving national identity. In accordance with this view, Patriarch Gregory V was canonized in 1921 as a martyr and a hero of the “national revival”. The other opinion shows that the Patriarchate firmly condemned the revolution. Since the 15th century, the Patriarchate had been favored with “privileges” by the Sultan, and its association with any form of rebellion against the rulers would have inevitably led it to catastrophe. According to Dimitris Stamatopoulos, who takes up Alexis Tocqueville’s interpretation model, revolutions do not break out because of poverty and deprivation of all kinds or out of the wish for supremacy of one social class over the others, but are rather a consequence of the connection between the concessions made by despotic regimes and the increase of people’s expectations regarding the reforms (the so-called “revolution of rising expectations” theory). In other words, the reforms started by Sultan Selim III, instead of saving the state, made it vulnerable, generating new expectations among the people, discontent everywhere, including within the Ottoman system. For example, Ali Pasha of Ioannina’s goal was to remove the power of the government in Constantinople and to establish his own state, with the help of the French. Historians of the 18th century took up Konstantinos Th. Dimaras’ dichotomous model regarding the polemic between the radical (pro-Western) and the traditionalist (“conservative”) intellectuals of the Enlightenment. Stamatopoulos complements and reassesses this perspective through extensive biographical analyses, which situate the protagonists in relation to each other, in networks of power. The approach seeks to trace how actors engage in certain strategies, how they position and reposition themselves circumstantially from an ideological and political point of view. The dynamics of the circulation of ideas, through the propagation of schools and printing houses, fueled polemics and sharpened confrontations within the Christian Orthodox community, in the main centers of Constantinople, Smyrna and the Peloponnese. Coming up with new analyses and reinterpretations, based on an impressive number of historical sources from Greek, British and Ottoman archives, the author offers us the picture of a complex world, full of contradictions, in which the game of power reversal defines the nature of relationships between people. We extract special information regarding power relations within the Church from the rich correspondence found in the archive of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre at the National Library of Greece. Lord Strangford’s diplomatic reports complement or confirm much of the information we know from the *Memoirs* of the participants in the revolution.

The book has 9 chapters. Chapter 1 reassesses aspects of the Eterist revolution in Constantinople that have been ignored or insufficiently exploited by historians so far. In general, historians’ interest in the events of 1821 in Constantinople stops at the massacres ordered by the Ottomans during Easter. Chapters 2, 3, 4 investigate the networks of clergymen, Phanariots and merchants in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Constantinople, Smyrna and the Danubian Principalities. Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the patriarchs of the 1820s and their efforts to rebuild the relationship with other Orthodox Christians: Bulgarians, Serbs and Romanians. Chapters 8 and 9 analyze the ideological transformations

at the level of the Patriarchate, the impact that the “anonymous Greeks” and their anticlerical pamphlets had. We are talking about a *long-term* process that repositions the Patriarchate in relation to the new ideologies of the 19th century: the nation and the national state.

The central character of the book, Gregory V, patriarch of Constantinople three times, between 1797 and 1821, is studied from the perspective of network theory and analysis. In Stamatoopoulos’ opinion, the power networks of Orthodox Christians in the Empire have a unitary character, penetrating social classes and geographical spaces. The protagonists express pro-French or pro-Russian positions, using the foreign factor only to reach and maintain power. A key part in the formation of these networks was played by the Phanariots, several wealthy families who held high dignities not only in the administrative structure of the Patriarchate, but also in the Ottoman system (grand dragoman and princes of Moldavia and Wallachia). The power play between “philo-French” and “philo-Russians” is treated through the lens of political evolution in France, which, in a span of 30 years, went through spectacular political regimes, from the *Ancien Régime* to the Jacobin republic, from Napoleon’s Empire to the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. Stamatoopoulos insists on the strong ties between Patriarch Gregory and the Soutsos family, the main protagonists of the “philo-French” network in the first decades of the 19th century. In 1818, through the Congress of Aix La Chapelle, Restoration France was readmitted to the international community, and the interests of the French and the Russians coincided for a short time. The “philo-Russians” lost control of the Danubian Principalities and the “philo-French” propelled members of the Soutsos family to the thrones of Bucharest and Iași, and Gregory ascended the throne of Constantinople for the third time. The 1819 Agreement (*Kanunnane*) established that only four Phanariot families had the right to ascend to the throne of the Principalities, the intention being that of completely eliminating the Ypsilantis family, which had taken refuge in Russia. The death of Alexander Soutsos in January 1821 triggered a struggle for survival for Gregory V, who had been elected to protect the Orthodox Christian community in the Ottoman Empire against the Russian influence and the Ypsilantis. The 82-year-old patriarch, who had fought against the Russians all his life, ended up being accused of being a Russophile. The action of Alexander Ypsilantis’ army, which entered the Ottoman territory from Russia, triggered a *system of terror* in Constantinople, according to Lord Strangford, the British ambassador to Constantinople. Four metropolitans and the patriarch were executed, regardless of their affiliation to the pro-French or pro-Russian networks.

Gregory was a pragmatic leader; he attacked both the radical illuminists surrounding Adamantios Korais, and the Orthodox conservatives among the clergy (the so-called *kollyvades*). Through the lens of power struggles between the various factions in Constantinople and not only, the author explains the circumstances that led to the closure of the Philological Gymnasium of Smyrna in 1819. Konstantinos Oikonomos and Konstantinos Koumas, disciples of Korais, established a modern school of Western influence. The reputation of the Gymnasium was appreciated even by Anthimus, the Metropolitan of Smyrna, who, although “conservative” and far from being close to Korais, recommended a cleric from Jerusalem to attend the courses of this institution. The school was closed due to the conflict between Scarlat Calimachi with Alexander Ypsilantis and Alexander Soutsos, involving Patriarch Gregory and Metropolitan Anthimus in this game.

Between 1821 and 1830, 4 patriarchs succeeded each other in Constantinople, 3 of whom were probably Bulgarians. The subtitle of the book refers to the beginnings of the national movements of the Balkan peoples, through the positions they adopted towards the Greek revolution. Chapter 7 deals with the action of Tudor Vladimirescu. The relationship of the princes from the Principalities with the Ecumenical Patriarchate is approached from the point of view of monastic wealth. About a fifth of the Principalities’ land property belonged to the monasteries of the East, and the income from the exploitation of these assets largely fed the treasury of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The conflict arose when the Romanians sought to stop the flow of money to the Phanar, by appointing abbots at the head of monasteries subordinated to Eastern settlements. The anti-Phanariot current that gripped Romanian society in the 19th century can also be explained by this long conflict with the Patriarchate over the issue of monastic assets. Another issue that reconfigured the unity of the Christian Orthodox

community in the Empire was the autocephaly of the Serbian Church. Prince Miloš Obrenović exploited the difficult situation of the Patriarchate in the 1820s to gain full control over the Church. Patriarch Anthimus (1826–1830), former metropolitan of Smyrna and Belgrade, strove to settle all these issues and save the unity of the Church. Anthimus III even tried to bring the Greek rebels back into the bosom of the Church, to offer them forgiveness. New families start grouping around the Patriarchate, many of Armenian and Bulgarian origin, such as the Vogoridis family (the so-called “neo-Phanariots”, as stated by Emmanuel Gedeon). Not only the Patriarchate, but also the Ottoman Empire began to perceive and exploit the ethnic differences within the Orthodox community. In the last two chapters, the author introduces us to the intellectual debate on collective identities, on social conflict. In the polemic, Adamantios Korais and Panayotis Kodrikas approach the issue of the ethnonym differently through the prism of the social and cultural space in which they were formed: *Ellinas versus Graikos*. Panayotis Kodrikas was close to the Phanariots, he was of Phanariot origin and he revolved in their circle, Adamantios Korais was their formidable opponent. But both reject *Romaïos*, the appellation by which they were called by the Ottomans. In reanalyzing the anticlerical pamphlets of the “anonymous authors”, such as *Hellenic Nomarchy* (1806), Stamatopoulos does not insist on the ideological content, but seeks to discover what political interests were behind them. The pamphlets targeted certain metropolitans, so they had a precise purpose in the fierce struggle for power in the *Rum-millet* (the community of Orthodox Christians).

The book has the undeniable merit of broadening the field of research of the Greek revolution of 1821 beyond the frameworks set by national historiography. It is the first monograph dedicated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople after 1821, capturing the complexity of relationships and interests within the Christian Orthodox community during the difficult years of the Greek-Ottoman war.

Ștefan Petrescu

Românii din Peninsula Balcanică în Documentedîn Arhiva Diplomaticăa Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (1913–1972), volum IV, *Grecia* [The Romanians of the Balkans in the Documents of the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], editors: Adina BERCIOU-DRĂGHICESCU, Florin STAN, Bucharest, Editura Etnologică, 2024.

We are pleased to announce the publication of the 4th volume of the series *Romanians in the Balkans*. This volume, published under the auspices of the Macedonian-Romanian Cultural Society, and edited by Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu and Florin Stan, includes documents from the Diplomatic Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs relating to the Aromanian issue and the Romanian-Greek relationship between 1913 and 1972. This volume brings together, in chronological order, 89 documents, mostly unpublished. Only 7 documents cover the end of the World War II and the post-war period. The first document is the report of Alexandru G. Florescu, the minister of Romania in Athens to the Romanian Minister of the Foreign Affairs, Titu Maiorescu, in January 1913, and the last is the address to the Romanian ambassador in Greece, Francisc Păcurariu, in 1972 regarding his trip to Epirus.

We might at this point comment on particular weaknesses in this volume. The volume contains a lengthy introduction on the history of the Greek-Romanian relations and the Aromanian issue. The editors don't explain the concepts of “nation”, “citizenship”, “ethnic community”, “religious community” in the Ottoman Empire (p. 9). The statements such as “they [Aromanians were called by the editors *the Romanians of the Balkans*] wanted equal civil rights to those of other nations in the Ottoman Empire” show us anachronistic misunderstanding of the concept of nation and nationalism in the Balkans. The secondary bibliography is particularly poor; the editors ignore reference studies on the various topics such as the national antagonisms, the collective identities, the rivalry between the Greeks and the Romanians, and the Romanian schools and churches in the Ottoman Empire. We mention the recent contributions of some scholars on a variety of topics (Daniel Cain, Ion Nistor, Radu Tudorancea, Constantin Iordan, Asterios Koukoudis, Iannis Koliopoulos, and many others). In the 1940s, the “Aromanian issue” in Greece was irreparably compromised. The Vlachs (the

“Romanians of the Balkans”) were accused of wartime Nazi collaborationism; their schools and churches had operated in the occupied Greece under the protection of the Nazi regime. Today the Greek State does not officially recognize minorities and historically pressure them to assimilate, especially the Orthodox community. The volume captures the reaction of the Romanian authorities to the Greek persecutions against the Aromanian population in the interwar period. We believe that it is not relevant how many Romanian schools functioned in interwar Greece and before. By 1900 Dimitrie Lăzărescu-Lecanta, the former director of the Romanian school in Ioannina, showed that most of the Romanian schools in the Ottoman Balkans were functioning only on paper. The Romanian government had spent a lot of money to establish an Aromanian Metropolitan Church in Constantinople that never functioned; Romanian schools had been opened in villages, where there were no students. The official language of the Romanian state was used in churches; the Aromanians do not understand Romanian. The schools were rather aimed at the poor population and produced graduates who migrated to Romania.

We refer to the difficulties of selecting the documents from the vastly increased number of the diplomatic records. The publication of historical documents is an effective way of making history vivid. However, in our opinion, the editors failed to make the structure of ideas or arguments clear to the reader and show bias, discrimination, and prejudice towards the Greeks.

This volume contains a list of document summaries and their translation into English. There is an index of persons as well.

Ștefan Petrescu

Islam, Christianity, and Secularism in Bulgaria and Eastern Europe. The Last Half Century, edited by Simeon Evstatiev & Dale F. Eickelman, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2022 (Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, 129), 292 p.

This volume of collected works is the result of the collaboration of Bulgarian and foreign scholars within the framework of the activities developed at the Center for the Study of Religions at the St. Kliment Ohridski University in Sofia, as part of the international research project “Religion and the Public Sphere: Interdisciplinary Approaches”, supported by the Bulgarian National Science Fund (Ministry of Education and Science). In the introduction, signed by the two editors, Dale F. Eickelman and Simeon Evstatiev, the general theme that encompasses all the topics discussed by the ten authors is defined as follows: *On the Eastern Edge of Europe: Christianity, Islam, and the Bulgarian Political Imagination* (p. 1–23). The book proposes to explore the Christian-Byzantine and Muslim-Ottoman “contested easts and pasts” that have shaped notions of religion, politics, and identity in modern Bulgaria (p. 1). This introductory text briefly discusses Bulgaria’s religions, recent interpretations of the historical term *millet* and its applicability to the Bulgarian people, the post-Ottoman path that Bulgaria has followed, especially after the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the book’s focus on Bulgaria as “a crossroads of regions and religions”. The volume ends with an index (p. 279–292).

Part 1, devoted to *Secularism in Bulgaria and Its Region*, comprises three chapters. The two editors sign together Chapter 1: *Byzantine and Ottoman Pasts, Modern Politics. Religious Belongings and Balkan Secularities* (p. 27–48), where they discuss the patterns of religion and identity in the Balkans, with a special focus on Bulgaria. The discussion aims to elucidate the relevance of Byzantine and Ottoman notions in addressing two attributes applied to secularism, *symphonic* and *milletic*, which, according to them, underpin the modern politics of the Balkans, and especially of Bulgaria.

In Chapter 2, Kristen Ghodsee proposes an essay on *Regulating Religious Freedoms in the 21st Century. Nationality, Religion, and Symphonic Secularism* (p. 49–73). The main purpose of this essay is to interrogate the Western attempts to define Eastern Orthodoxy as a fundamentally “undemocratic” religious tradition, based on the examination of three cases against Bulgaria at the European Court of Human Rights, between 1996 and 2011. In this context, the author discusses a theological principle characteristic of Eastern Orthodox Christianity since the Byzantine Empire, *symphoneia*, defined as

“the church-state collaboration wherein temporal and spiritual powers work together to promote religious pluralism” – a principle foreign to the Western norm of secularism.

Simeon Evstatiev proposes a challenging topic in Chapter 3: *Salafism Is Coming. “Balkan” versus “Arab” Islam in Bulgaria under Milletic Secularism*. His aim is to explain the situation of Bulgaria after 1989 in terms of the influence that Islam – in its various forms – has had there. Again, the notion of *milletic* secularism intervenes in a discussion that combines contemporary visions of Islam in Turkey and the Balkans with the earlier vision of Alexander Popović in his seminal *L’Islam balkanique: les musulmans du sudest-européen dans la période post-ottomane* (Berlin, 1986). After a thorough study of Islam and society, Evstatiev has become a recognized authority on Salafism, a topic he has addressed in one of his published books.¹

Part 2, *Christian and Muslim Men and Women under State Atheism and Postsocialist Secularism*, includes four chapters dealing with the parallels between communist atheism and Western secularism in Bulgaria (Momchil Metodiev, p. 115–133), the religious and secular discourse in post-atheist Bulgaria (Daniela Kalkandjieva, p. 134–160), wearing the *hijab* in contemporary Bulgaria (Galina Evstatieva, p. 161–186), and fasting and aging in a Bulgarian Muslim community, as part of a research on Pomaks (Ilia Iliev, p. 187–197). While Bulgarian Muslims’ views on veiling are a fascinating topic in the general discussion of veiling that continues to haunt European media and scholars alike, the reader is left somewhat frustrated by the brevity of Iliev’s account of the Muslim village of Skrebatno in the Western Rhodopes. This field study of a rural community of only 350 people is of great interest to anthropologists and historians of Islam in the Balkans, allowing them to gain insight into the life of Muslim villages in the Rhodopes.

Part 3, *Religion, Publicity, and Concealment in Orthodox-Majority Societies*, refers to *Christian Orthodoxy* (when we consider the Orthodoxy of other religions), with three chapters devoted to aspects of the Orthodox societies in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Angeliki Ziaka discusses *Christian-Muslim Symbiosis and Religious Education in Greece* (p. 201–226), which aims to elucidate the role of religious education and the curriculum development in Greece, while also examining the recent rise of secularism. Ivan Zabaev and Daria Oreshina examine the “federal visibility versus local-level concealment” in the Russian Orthodox Church (p. 227–248), describing the current situation of public and private religion, reinterpreting the conclusions of Jose Casanova in his work *Public Religions in the Modern World* (1st ed., Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

An enjoyable read for anyone interested in Bulgaria and its religious landscape, both Christian and Muslim, as well as for researchers of the peripheries of the Ottoman Empire, this book is a valuable addition to the recent resources published in Eastern Europe on the common roots of European populations and the religious foundations of national states.

Ioana Feodorov

Svetoslava TONCHEVA, *Hora i mechki: Politiki i modeli na suzhitelstvo* [People and Bears: Policies and Models of Coexistence], Izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov” BAN, Sofija, 2022, 176 p.

The book by Svetoslava Toncheva, a researcher at the Institute of Ethnology of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, is the result of an international project coordinated by researchers from Wageningen University, on the topic of convivial conservation and coexistence between people and large predators (*edri hishtmitsi*). As part of the project, Toncheva has carried out a fieldwork in four localities in southern Bulgaria, in the west of the Rhodopes mountains, namely, Jagodina, Arda, Mogilitsa and Gorna Arda, following how the conflict relationship between the locals and the brown bears can be transformed into a relationship of conviviality and living together.

¹ Simeon Evstatiev, *Salafism in the Middle East and the Boundaries of Faith* (2018). His research on Salafism was supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation between 2016 and 2019.

It must be said from the outset that Svetoslava Toncheva's research is not only novel or even exotic in the field of South-Eastern European studies, but also that Toncheva aims to place her research in a theoretical and methodological framework connected to the international academic bibliography on both the broader theme of the nature-culture relationship (authors such as Bruno Latour, William Cronon, Arun Agrawal are cited), as well as from subsequent fields such as environmental anthropology, biological conservation, political ecology. A methodological innovation also worth remembering and which derives from the theoretical framework, is the multispecies ethnography approach, inspired by cultural anthropology (Eben Kirksey, Stefan Helmreich), and adapted to political ecology and environmental anthropology (Laura Ogden, Billy Hall, Kimiko Tanita), to which Toncheva dedicates an entire chapter, the third in volume (p. 62–78).

The volume is divided into four chapters preceded by an introduction (p. 13–20), respectively, followed by a conclusion (p. 145–160). In the first chapter, Toncheva addresses the development of conservationist models throughout history, starting with their early forms and up to current trends. The core of this section is the concept of community based conservation, which also includes the particular case of human – large predator conviviality. The author emphasizes that early conservationist models, in the 1960s, conceptualized the nature as such/*priroda za sebe si*, excluding the relationship with local human communities, which were often seen as acting against nature. It was not until the late 1990s that biologists and naturalists accepted that nature had been and is increasingly influenced by human activities, and that local communities can become key actors in conservation projects. There is even a concept proposed, the “new nature”/*novata priroda* (Emma Marris), which sees nature as a result of human activities and historical contexts (p. 27). The chapter ends with the analysis of the concept of “convivial nature conservation”, inspired by the works of Bram Büscher and Robert Fletcher, as well as by mentioning several projects of this kind carried out in Bulgaria.

The second chapter proposes the deconstruction of the relationship that opposes nature and human. The author's argument is based on the works of environmental historians such as William Cronon, in which it is shown that with the modernist Enlightenment a myth of the “pure/wild nature”/*diva priroda* was created, with which human civilization has little to do but whose responsibility falls the task of protecting and conserving it. Hence, the ideas that underpinned the emergence of the first protected national parks in the mid-19th century and that lasted until the 1970s (the author gives as an example the definition of “wild nature” in the *US National Wilderness Preservation Act* of 1964, p. 44). In this context, Toncheva brings into discussion the critique of the rationalizing ideology of 20th century capitalism, but she draws much more consistently from the conceptions that biologists and naturalists interested in the social context of conservation projects, including that of conviviality, oppose to models based on “wilderness”/*divosta*. The chapter ends with the adaptation of the conviviality framework to the environment of the brown bears in Rhodopes mountains, a region where this bears' population is very dense (around 500 individuals of the total number ranging from 1000 to 2000 in entire Bulgaria). Three basic concepts, patterns of coexistence, local ecological knowledge, and economic factors are outlined.

The third chapter, suggestively entitled *Address to animals/Obrushtane kum zivotnite*, is dedicated to the research methodology, namely multispecies ethnography. Although the shortest of the chapters of the volume, this part is extremely dense theoretically, also proposing a specific methodology, which Toncheva calls “the ethnography of multispecies encounters”/*etnografija na multividoovite sreshiti* (p. 72). Finally, the collected data are also specified, open interviews (30 in the area of Jagodina and 30 in the area of the Arda river) and extended questionnaires, 72 questions (17 in the area of Jagodina). To these is added the participatory observation carried out during several eco-tourism trips in the studied areas.

The longest chapter of the volume is dedicated to case studies (p. 79–144). These are two cases, one in the area of the village of Jagodina, the other in a larger area, which includes three villages on the Bulgarian valley of the Arda River, namely, Arda, Mogilitza and Gorna Arda. The two areas compared were selected by Toncheva based on the type of relationship that the locals have with the nearby brown bear population. While in Jagodina the locals have, despite some isolated situations, a peaceful relationship, of coexistence with bears, in the other area, the relationship is tense, often conflictual. The analysis follows in both cases the lines of the three concepts elaborated in the second chapter: coexistence, local ecological knowledge, and economic factors. The most striking differences

between the two cases are registered, argues Toncheva, in terms of the first concept, the coexistence, cohabitation vs. conflict, respectively, the third, in the case of Jagodina developing a consistent ecotourism network that brings benefits to the locals, while in the case of the Arda valley the intervention of political and administrative factors being necessary to financially compensate for the damage caused by the bears.

Svetoslava Toncheva's volume is one of the few works in the vast field of South-Eastern European studies that aims and succeeds in promoting new disciplines such as environmental anthropology and nature conservation. The book is excellent both in terms of working out the theoretical and methodological framework, and from the point of view of the fieldwork done in the Bulgarian Rhodopes.

Stelu Șerban

Janeta IORDANOVA, *Balgarskata tsarkava i uchilishteto v Bukuresht. Neizvesteni dokumenti*, Izdatelstvo "Leni An", Ruse, 2023, 159 p.

Iordanova's book, a journalist from Rousse, approaches one outward minor theme of the recent history of Southeastern Europe. With almost 6,000 Bulgarians declared in the last census, the Bulgarian national minority seems an insignificant presence in Romania. Moreover, buildings of institutions that were once focuses of the identity of Bulgarians in Romania have either been demolished, in the case of the church and school of Bulgarians in Bucharest, or have passed, abandoned, into the patrimony of the Romanian state, like the splendid Bulgarian church in Brăila.

In Bucharest, the Bulgarian church and school, located in the heart of the city, were demolished in 1988 in order to carry out the plans of urban systematization of the Ceausescu regime. In order to build large esplanades and boulevards that allow viewing the well-known House of the People, today, the Palace of Parliament, old neighborhoods in the city center were demolished, as well as the institutions around which these neighborhoods coalesced, among them the church and the Bulgarian school. However, as Iordanova herself puts it in the volume's foreword, she does not aim to fuel nostalgia for this legacy or even to shed light on the causes of its degradation and disappearance. On the contrary, the focus is on what is still viable and identifiable linked to the past of the two institutions of Bulgarians in Bucharest.

The volume is divided into two unequal sections. The first, which covers three quarters of the volume's content, presents original archival documents about the Bulgarian school and church, documents that Iordanova identified in the archives of Bulgaria and Romania, mainly in the state ones. In the second part, there are five interviews with personalities of the Bulgarian minority in Romania whose lives were intertwined with the life of the Bulgarian church and school in Bucharest, Georgi Ronkov, Luka Velchov, Georgi Calchov, Ecaterina Serban-Guran and Ana Velchov-Romanov.

Without being a historian by profession, Iordanova presents comprehensively the documents found in the archives. For example, the articles of setting the institutions at the end of the 1860s are presented, focusing both on personalities who contributed financially at that time, such as Hristo Georgiev, one of the two famous brothers Hristo and Evlogi Georgiev, great merchants, or archbishop Panaret Rashev, and on the association that established the church and school, a "charitable society"/"dobrodetelna družina". The contribution of ethnic Romanians is also mentioned, such as "K. Roseti", as it is written in the statute of the founding association, most likely Constantin Rosetti, publicist and important personality of Romanian social life, as noted by Iordanova (p. 17). Based on these kinds of documents and with an appropriate interpretation, the history of the two institutions is reconstructed until the years of the communist regime. It is worth remembering the solidity of the connection of Bulgarians in Romania with these two institutions. Their founding association existed for a long time, being disbanded only in the context of the Second World War and the coming of the communist regime, but even after this date, on the basis of informal networks of its members, the consolidation and expansion of the school could be achieved in 1946 (p. 90ff). It is worth mentioning positively, moreover, that although the author does not aim, as I said, to feed historical nostalgia, she

ends the first section of the volume with an essay by the well-known Bulgarian historian Veselin Traikov, written following his visit in the mid-1980s to the Bulgarian church and school in Bucharest.

Although the volume of Iordanova has no academic ambitions, the author mentions the works of the most known specialists in Bulgarian studies, both Bulgarian and Romanian, as she reveals monographs of the two institutions, which, although recent, are difficult to find, being published by small publishing houses or at private expense. This, added to the fact that the author presents novel sources, both archival documents and oral history interviews, makes this volume one excellent piece of work that future publications, including academic ones, must take into account.

Stelu Șerban

Annemarie SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ, Mirjana ĆORKOVIĆ, Mirjana MIRIĆ (eds.), *Vulnerable and Endangered Languages in Europe*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade, 2025, 381 p.

The volume is mostly based on research carried out within the *Vulnerable Languages and Linguistic Varieties in Serbia (VLingS)* project, funded by the IDEAS Program of the Science Fund of the Government of Serbia (2022–2024). Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković was the principal investigator of the project, whose main objective was “to create a sociolinguistic questionnaire that could be used as a tool for assessing the degree of language endangerment and vulnerability and to apply it to a sample of speakers of several minority languages in Serbia” (p. 11). The linguistic minorities considered were Aromanian, Bulgarian Banat, Rusyn Vojvodina, Judezmo (Ladino), Romani, Megleno-Romanian, Vlach and Bayash Romanian.

The volume has no theoretical ambitions, aiming instead to provide a rich database for the elaboration of a set of government policies that protect and preserve the linguistic identity of the aforementioned minorities. In fact, in the last part of the volume, the fourth, the methodology of applying an extended linguistic questionnaire is presented in two chapters by which this database is created according to the model of other similar international databases such as UNESCO *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, *Ethnologue*, and *Endangered Languages Project* (p. 338). The questionnaire is complex and consistent with 151 questions related to 16 issues covering linguistic, ethnic, cultural and institutional dimensions (p. 299, 345–347).

The volume brings together in its twelve chapters as well as in the Introduction a large number of authors, some of them being members of the above-mentioned project, the others having research carried out within similar international projects. The first part of the volume comprises three chapters that follow vulnerable linguistic minorities in a transnational context. The section is opened by the chapter signed by Eva Duran Eppler, Gisela Hagmair, Violeta Heinze and Marie-Therese Sauer, which addresses the transnational use of the “Aromanian language” (the term belongs to the authors). The chapter is based on data collected with the help of 285 responses to the Aromanian version of the questionnaire of the RISE UP project (www.riseupproject.eu), mainly in three countries Greece, North Macedonia and Romania (85% of the total questionnaires). The main objective of the RISE UP project was to determine the possibilities for the revitalization and conservation of five vulnerable languages on the European continent, namely Aranese (Spain, France), Aromanian (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, North Macedonia, Romania, Serbia), Burgenland Croatian (Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic), Cornish (UK), and Seto (Estonia, Russia). As for Aromanian, the authors of the chapter emphasize that the chances of revitalization are small. Aromanian is fully known and used in all social milieus only by a small group of experienced users. Among the obstacles that impede its revitalization and institutionalization are the marginalization of this language in Greece, but also the similarity with Daco-Romanian in Romania (p. 49). The next two chapters of the section deal with the imposition of the Irish language (*Gaeilge*) as the official language of the European Union and the reflection of this status of Irish in the European media (author Anthony Hoyte-West), respectively, the analysis of the processes of obliteration of three vulnerable languages, that of Sorbs in eastern Germany, of the Vlachs in eastern Serbia, and of the Sámi in northern Sweden, as a result of mining policies that led to

the destruction of the local environment of the population groups that speak these languages (author Giustina Selvelli). Hoyte-West emphasizes the long period of time imposed by the EU for acquiring the full status of Irish as an official language (2007–2022) caused by Ireland’s colonial dependence on the Kingdom of Great Britain, hence the predominance of the English language. On the same idea of emancipation from colonial dependence, two other cases are brought into discussion, Cyprus and Malta, former British colonies, current members of the EU, and their attempts to impose their national languages as official within the EU. Selvelli also follows cases of colonial dependence, but the framework of each is the nation state, being rather “internal colonialism” (Michael Hechter). The selection of the cases approached by Selvelli has as criteria their geographical marginality, as well as “environmental injustice” (p. 86), but the theoretical framework, environmental linguistics, constructed by the author makes the comparison valid.

Selvelli’s chapter announces the next section in which the authors address the issue of endangered languages in the context of nation states. The first chapter of the section is authored by Marija Runić, Rossella Montibeler, Pavel Falaleev, the subject being the linguistic identity of the inhabitants of Štivor, a small village established about 150 years ago in Bosnia and Herzegovina by immigrants from the Valsugana valley, Trentino region of northern Italy, who moved after devastating floods. Although culturally and linguistically isolated, Štivor retained its native identity until the early 1990s, when the local population reached 400 people. However, the war in the former Yugoslavia almost destroyed the locality, which was later included in the Republic of Srpska, having 137 people in 2013, of which 57 were Serbs (p. 120). Despite this situation, the authors of the chapter mention projects to revitalize the Venetian language spoken here. The next chapter deals with the Ladin language, Judeo-Spanish spoken by the Sephardic groups in Serbia. The author, Neda Pons, was part of the *VLingS* project team, the research data being collected through the questionnaire presented in the last two chapters of the volume. Although the Sephardic Jews are an extremely small and almost assimilated group in Serbia, hence the small number of respondents to the questionnaire, 14, the Ladino language still enjoys a high social prestige, therefore having chances, the author appreciates, to be revitalized. In the last chapter of the section, Anđela Babić discusses the vulnerabilities of the Bulgarian language spoken by the Bulgarians of the Serbian Banat, all of whom are Catholic. The author discusses the use of language and dialect terms both by appealing to the self-identification of Bulgarian speakers from Banat (their argument that they speak a distinct language is based on “the use of the Latin script and the lack of mutual intelligibility with Bulgarians”, p. 181) and by invoking authors of academic literature (there were attempts to standardize their language in the 19th century, p. 185). And indeed, having arrived in the Serbian Banat as a result of several waves of migration that took place after the Čiprovci Uprising in 1688, the Bulgarians of the Serbian Banat, like those from the Romanian part of the historical province from which the first ones migrated, the author emphasizes, lost contact with the modern Bulgarian language, suffering instead strong influences of Serbian and Hungarian, languages considered more socially and historically prestigious. Babić’s research was also carried out within the *VLingS* project, the data being collected through the questionnaire presented in the volume. The interpretation of the collected data leads Babić to the conclusion that the language of the Bulgarians in the Serbian Banat is in continuous decline. Its transmission through generations is currently almost non-existent, and its speakers use it only in the informal family setting, Serbian or Hungarian being preferred in the public sphere.

The third section of the volume addresses the relationship between the collective identity of “endangered languages” speakers and the projects of formalization, uniformization and institutionalization of these languages. The four chapters present the cases of Romanian speakers in eastern Serbia (Vlachs), two chapters authored by Monica Huțanu and Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković, the Venetian dialect spoken in Rijeka/Fiume, Croatia, author Marko Simonović, and the Romani language spoken by two groups of Roma population living in the suburb of Batajnica in Belgrade, author Mirjana Mirić. In the first of the chapters that deal with the Vlachs case, Huțanu discusses the attempts to formalize the Romanian spoken by this population through four dictionaries, three “Vlach Romanian – Serbian”, and one “Serbian – Vlach Romanian” that appeared starting with 2004. Their authors are familiar and know

the Vlachs culture very well, but without having a strictly linguistic academic background, a fact underlined by the author. Hence the shortcomings of these dictionaries, from methodology and addressability to polemical discussions about whether the Romanian version of Vlachs is itself a language distinct from modern Romanian. In her turn, Sorescu-Marinković starts from a paradox of the Vlach population, namely the difference between the number of those who declare themselves ethnic Vlachs and those who declare that Vlach Romanian is their mother tongue, declaring another ethnicity, most of the time Serbian. The difference has decreased over time, from very large in 1958 (28,047 ethnic Vlachs and 198,861 native Vlach speakers), to relative in 2022, the year of the last census in Serbia (21,013 and 23,216 respectively). For the analysis of this problem, the author uses the data of 160 responses to the *VLingS* project questionnaire addressed to a statistically representative segment of the Vlach population. Mirjana Mirić's chapter is also based on the data collected through the *VLingS* questionnaire. The author notes important differences in the answers to the questionnaire due to the different linguistic and historical characteristics of the two groups of Roma in the suburb of Batajnica, one of them speaking the Sremski dialect of the Romani language, the other the Arli dialect. Other differences lie in the area of origin, the first migrants from Vojvodina and settled in the neighborhood long before the others, who came from southern Serbia. Finally, while the former are Orthodox Christians, the others are Muslims. Thus, beyond the notable similarity of the fact that both groups speak Romani only in the private family milieu, Mirić points out that the Arli group uses the Romani language much more frequently, while the Sremski group tends to replace it even in the family milieu with Serbian. Marko Simonović focuses in his chapter on the analysis of texts written and published in the Venetian dialect of Rijeka, in two publications, *La Voce di Fiume* (texts from 1968–2024) bimonthly in which texts belong to people from the Fiuman diaspora in Italy and the columns of *La Scartaza* (2018–2023), written by the writer Laura Marchig living in Rijeka/Fiume. Currently, only 1374 people declared that they speak Italian in Rijeka at the last Croatian census (this means 1.25% of the entire population of the city), the vitality of the Fumian dialect being actually supported by the population of the Italian diaspora, with 95% of the dialect speakers in Rijeka taking refuge after World War II. The methodology is strictly linguistic, the author following the change the pronunciation of some words, the change the accent and the change of some vowels inside a word, the conclusion being though a more general one, namely that in order to preserve this dialect there must be a balance between the historical linguistic forms and the way the dialect is currently used, especially in the online milieu. The emphasis on respecting a standard form, with roots in the historical past, burdens the spread and transmission from one generation to another of this dialect.

The volume *Endangered Languages* does not have theoretical ambitions, as I said, but it problematizes concepts such as mother tongue, dialect, linguistic variety, ethnicity, linguistic minority, as well as addresses methodological problems raised by the elaboration of public policies on linguistic and ethnic minorities (the sampling, data collection rules, their interpretation). The volume thus constitutes a useful and up-to-date tool as a source of data for researchers interested in ethnic and linguistic minorities in South-Eastern Europe.

Stelu Șerban

Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară / Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, *Relații politice și militare româno-otomano-turce. 1878–1989. Documente / Romanian-Ottoman-Turkish Political and Military Relations. 1878–1989. Documents*, vol. I (1878–1938), coord. Carmen-Sorina RÎJNOVEANU, ed. Manuel STĂNESCU, București, Editura Militară, 2023, 559 p.; vol. II (1939–1989), București, Editura Militară, 2024, 751 p.

Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion d'évoquer, dans les pages de notre revue, la difficulté d'éditer les documents diplomatiques roumains. Avec cette publication, l'Institut d'études de politique de défense et d'histoire militaire rend un véritable service à l'historiographie roumaine, en complétant le travail déficient de l'Institut diplomatique roumain. Nous ne pouvons qu'approuver l'affirmation des

éditeurs selon laquelle « un volume de documents consacré aux relations politico-militaires entre la Roumanie, l'Empire ottoman et son successeur, la République de Turquie, est sans aucun doute une nécessité dans le paysage historiographique actuel ». L'objectif des éditeurs était de mettre en lumière des documents pertinents pour la compréhension des relations diplomatiques et militaires entre les deux États, qui ont été déterminantes pour la sécurité régionale.

Les 764 documents inclus dans les deux volumes proviennent de plusieurs fonds d'archives – les Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, les Archives militaires nationales centrales et les Archives historiques nationales centrales – et couvrent une période chronologique allant du traité de Berlin à l'effondrement du régime communiste. Les documents sont publiés en version originale (roumaine et française) et sont accompagnés d'une étude introductive bilingue visant à contextualiser la dynamique complexe des relations roumano-ottomanes et roumano-turques au cours d'un siècle de transformations politiques. La conclusion des éditeurs est que les questions de sécurité des détroits et de la mer Noire ont fait de la Turquie un acteur essentiel pour la Roumanie. Les bonnes relations avec la Turquie sont donc un élément constant de la politique étrangère de la Roumanie, comme le prouvent les documents publiés dans ces deux volumes. En conclusion, nous disposons ici d'un instrument de travail indispensable pour tout chercheur qui s'intéresse à l'histoire des relations roumano-ottomanes et roumano-turques.

Daniel Cain

**VIE SCIENTIFIQUE
DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES
2024**

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, Mihai Țipău, Daniel Cain, David L. Neagu, Nicholas Bishara. Techno-rédactrice Iuliana Deac.
2. *Continuité, unité, diversité culturelle et linguistique en Europe du Sud-Est (époque médiévale et moderne).* Collectif de recherche : Cătălina Vătășescu (coord.), Oana Uță-Bărbulescu, Cristina Codarcea, Simona Nicolae.
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.).
5. *Littérature byzantine (XI^e–XI^e siècles) : éditions, traductions et études historiques et philologiques.* Collectif de recherche : Simona Nicolae (coord.), Mihail Mitrea, Mircea Dulș.
6. *Tradition byzantine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe (XIV^e–XVII^e siècles).* Collectif de recherche : Petre Guran (coord.), Oana Iacubovschi, Mihail-George Hâncu, Ioan Gabriel Alexandru.
7. *Le Sud-Est de l'Europe et la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque ottomane, XV^e–XIX^e siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Viorel Panaite (coord.), Radu Dipratu.
8. *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, Nicholas Bishara.
9. *Le Néo-hellénisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe : érudition, mobilité, modernité.* Collectif de recherche : Lia Chisacof (coord.), Mihai Țipău, Ștefan Petrescu, Marilena Vlad.
10. *Relations interbalkaniques aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Daniel Cain (coord.), Constantin Ardeleanu, Virginia Blînda, Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, Florin Țurcanu.
11. *Relations de l'Europe du Sud-Est avec l'espace italien (XIII^e–XVII^e siècles) :* Andrei Pippidi (coord.), Alessandro Flavio Dumitrașcu, David L. Neagu.

II. PROJETS EN COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE

1. *Continuity, Unity, Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Southeastern Europe (Medieval and Modern Times)* (2023–2025), 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.
2. *La cité Orgamé/Argamum et son territoire: archéologie d'un paysage antique* (2021–2024), 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.
3. *The Byzantine Heritage in South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* (2022–2025), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Byzantines de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences. Coord.: Andrei Timotin, Srđan Pirivatrić.

4. *Religious rhetoric of Power in the Byzantine and Balkan Middle Ages* (2022–2025), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de Sofia de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences. Coord.: Andrei Timotin, Ivan Biliarsky.
5. *Institutions and Personalities in International Relations in Southeastern Europe, 19th–20th century* (2023–2025), projet de recherche en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Coord. : Daniel Cain, Vladimir Zlatarsky.
6. *In the Spirit of Modernization: State and Society in Southeastern Europe (19th–20th centuries)* (2022–2025), 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.: Stelu Șerban, Alexandre Kostov.
7. *Tangible Things: Restoring Encounters with the Others through Non-european Ethnographic Objects in Central- and Southeastern Europe* (2023–2025), projet de recherche de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Archéologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences. Coord.: Stelu Șerban, Dagnosław Demski.
8. *The bilingual (Church Slavonic-Romanian) Grammar of the 17th century attributed to Staico Grammaticus* (2023–2025), projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Slaves de l'Académie Tchèque des Sciences. Coord.: Mihail-George Hâncu, Vladislav Knoll.

III. LIVRES PARUS

- Constantin Ardeleanu (ed.), *De la ciurma lui Caragea la holera balcanică. Epidemii, carantine și sănătate publică în epoca modernă*, Humanitas, București, 2024, 424 p.
- Constantin Ardeleanu, *Steamboat Modernity. Travel, Transport, and Social Transformation on the Lower Danube, 1830–1860*, CEU Press, Budapest, Viena, New York, 2024, 264 p.
- Lia Brad Chisacof, Simona Nicolae, Cătălina Vătășescu (ed.), *Zamfirei Mihail: Omagiu*, Scriptor – Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2024, 984 p.
- Radu Dîpratu, Samuel Noble (ed.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, De Gruyter, 2024 (Early Arabic Printing in the East, 1), 339 p.
- Oana Iacubovschi, Samuel Noble, Ioana Feodorov (ed.), *Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books: Second Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, De Gruyter, 2024 (Early Arabic Printing in the East, 2), 621 p.
- *Paul of Aleppo's Journal*, vol 1: *Syria, Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia and the Cossacks' Lands*, Introduction by Ioana Feodorov, Arabic edition and English translation by Ioana Feodorov with Yulia Petrova, Mihai Țipău and Samuel Noble, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 2024, (Arabic Christianity: Texts and Studies, 7), 916 p.
- Paul H. Stahl, *Structures sociales en Europe du Sud-Est*, volume édité par Irina Stahl, Stelu Șerban et Andrei Timotin, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila, 2024 (BIESEE 23), 468 p.
- Andrei Timotin et Paul Magdalino (éd.), *Reading the Future in Byzantium and Beyond. New Approaches to the Byzantine Prophetic and Apocalyptic Tradition = Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, nouvelle série, VI (XIII), Heidelberg, 2024, 219 p.
- Mihai Țipău, *Ideologie romană și identitate „națională” în Bizanț în secolele XIII–XV*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2024, 276 p.
- Mihai Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th – Century Christian Orthodox Patriarch*, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter, 2024 (Early Arabic Printing in the East, 3), 444 p.
- Marilena Vlad, *Teofil Coridaleu, Comentariul la Tratatul despre suflet al lui Aristotel. Cartea I. Ediție bilingvă*, stabilirea textului grec, traducere în limba română, introducere, note și glosar, Polirom, Iași, 2024, 296 p.
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IV. ÉTUDES ET ARTICLES PARUS DANS DES RECUEILS ET REVUES SCIENTIFIQUES

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- Constantin Ardeleanu, *Port Infrastructure and Modern Technology in Romania’s Fight against Epidemics in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Workshop *Fighting Pandemics in Southeast Europe: Experts, Infrastructure, and Technologies in the Long 19th Century*, NEC, Bucarest, 17–18 oct. 2024.
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 - Radu Dipratu, *Printing Ottoman Tughras in Early-Modern Europe from François Savary de Brèves to Jean Dumont*, the 55th International Conference ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Oxford, 10 juillet 2024.
 - Radu Dipratu, *Diplomatic and Consular Rivalry in the Ottoman-English Capitulations (ahdname) of the 17th Century*, Workshop international *La protection diplomatique et consulaire en Méditerranée moderne, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle*, Institut National Universitaire Champollion, Albi, 20 sept. 2024.
 - Mircea Duluş, *Testi classici nell'età dei Comeni: da Constantinopoli all'Italia meridionale*, Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro, Dipartimento di Ricerca e Innovazione Umanistica, 26 nov. 2024.
 - Alessandro Flavio Dumitraşcu, *Responsabilitatea instituțională: perspective asupra utilității unui concept în studiul istoriei sud-est europene, secolele XIV–XVI*, Conférence ICUB, Bucurest, 1 nov. 2024.
 - Alessandro Flavio Dumitraşcu, *Câteva documente despre originea tranzitului de vin cretan prin Moldova în secolul al XVI-lea*, Colloque national *Artă și civilizație medievală* (XXIX^e édition), Musée national de Bucovine, Suceava, 6–7 nov. 2024.
 - Ioana Feodorov, *Transfer of the Art of Arabic Printing from the Romanian Principalities to Ottoman Syria, 1701–1753*, Conférence *The Warburg Institute*, Londra, 14 mai 2024.
 - Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Books Printed in the 18th Century in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Greater Syria. New Research Outcomes*, the 45th Conference of MELCOM International, Aga Khan Library, Londres, 14–17 mai 2024.
 - Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing in Bucharest in Ottoman Times for the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch. Recent Findings*, XXXI^e Conférence internationale de l'Union européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Granada (Espagne), 9–14 sept. 2024.
 - Ioana Feodorov, *Tipăriturile Sfântului Antim Ivireanul, element central în proiectul TYPARABIC*, Colloque international organisé par l'Archidiocèse de Râmnic, session du projet TYPARABIC *Antim Ivireanul și epoca lui în cercetarea academică actuală*, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, 24 sept. 2024.
 - Ioana Feodorov, *Probleme ale traducerii Divanului lui Dimitrie Cantemir în și din limba arabă*, au *Symposium international sur la traduction et la retraduction littéraires / Simpozionul internațional despre traducere și retraducere literară*, Union des écrivains roumains, Bucurest, 26 oct. 2024.

- Ioana Feodorov, *Despre legăturile Moldovei cu Patriarhia Antiohiei în secolul al XVI-lea. Patriarhul sirian Ioachim V ibn Dawu în vizită la Rădăuți*, Colloque national *Artă și civilizație medievală* (XXIX^e édition), Musée national de Bucovine, Suceava, 6–7 nov. 2024.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Pioneers of Arabic Printing in the Middle East: Athanasios Dabbās and Sylvester of Antioch*, the 58th Annual Conference of the Middle Eastern Studies Association – MESA (SUA), 14 nov. 2024.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Romanian Journeys of the Patriarchs of Antioch and their Outstanding Outcomes*, à l’Institut théologique ”Saint-Jean Damascène” de l’Université de Balamand, Liban, Liban, 4 déc. 2024 (en ligne).
- Petre Guran, *Pericopa adulterae (John 7, 53–8,11): Historical, Authentic, Subversive!*, Colloque *Tradiția patristică în actualitate*, 3^e édition *Înțelegerea și interpretarea Scripturii la Sfinții Părinți*, Centrul de Studii Patristice Sf. Maxim Mărturistorul al Arhiepiscopiei Iașilor, Iași, 19–20 sept. 2024.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Staico’s Grammar: a 17th – century Romanian Translation of a Grammatical Treatise in a Bilingual Manuscript*, Conférence internationale *Transfer and adaptation: languages and cultures in dialogue (the Balkans from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Times)*, Institut d’Études Balkaniques et Centre d’Études Thraces de l’Académie Bulgare de Sciences, Sofia, 26 janv. 2024.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Iacob și fiii săi: traducerea românească a Paliei istorice în raport cu traducerile slavone și originalul grec*, 30^e édition des „Colloques de Putna”, Putna, 13 juillet 2024.
- Mihail-George Hâncu *”It Was Wallachia. Now It Is Serbia”: On the Image of Two Neighboring Countries in the Writings of David Urquhart*, Congrès national des historiens roumains, 4^e édition, Suceava, 30 août 2024.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Writing between the lines: on the terminology of the first Romanian grammatical text*, Colloque *Mnohojazyčnost a vzdělávání v předmoderní době /Multilingualism and Education in Premodern Europe*, Prague, 19 sept. 2024.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Fragment of the History of Servia (1843): prima istorie anglofonă a Serbiei*, 12^e édition du Colloque international *Études slaves roumaines et dialogue des cultures / Slavistica românească și dialogul culturilor*, Université de Bucarest, 4 oct. 2024.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Parens semper incertus: On Genealogical Fluctuations in the Greek, Slavonic, and Romanian Versions of the “Palaea Historica”*, Conférence internationale *Continuity, Unity, Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Southeastern Europe*, Institut d’Études Balkaniques et Centre d’Études Thraces de l’Académie Bulgare de Sciences, Sofia, 9 oct. 2024.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Le savoir philanthropique au service de l’Orient: Les voyages de Benjamin Appert en Moldavie, en Valachie, en Serbie et en Grèce (1854–1856)*, Colloque international *Du Grand Tour à l’Orient-Express*, INALCO, Paris, 25–26 mars 2024.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Despre unele din institutele filantropice din Europa, Dr. Iulius Barasch, 1853*, Conférence nationale *Antropologia istorică – o disciplină de frontieră și perspectivele sale*, Université Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, 8 juin 2024.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Medici români pe front, 1877–1918. Memorie și memorii*, Congrès national des historiens roumains, 4^e édition, Suceava, 29 août 2024.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Amphorae in their contexts. Orgame: amphorae in funerary contexts*, Conférence du Programme européen Erasmus + DigiAmphorae, Primorsko, 5 juillet 2024.
- Vasilica Lungu, *The earliest archaic amphorae and their distribution in the Istro-Pontic sites: relations between colonies and indigenous sites*, Conférence du Programme européen Erasmus + DigiAmphorae, Sofia, 15 juillet 2024.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Modernizarea învățământului superior în arheologie / Moderniser l’enseignement supérieur en archéologie – Apollonia du Pont et le monde méditerranéen / DigiAmphorae/*, Présentation du projet DigiAmphorae Erasmus +, Université de Bucarest, Société d’études classiques, juillet 2024.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Tomis in Greek Period*, Pontica 57, Constanța, 26 sept. 2024.

- Vasilica Lungu, *Mémoire civique et pratiques religieuses dans les colonies grecques du Pont Gauche (VI^e–I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.). Les rapports avec la métropole*, Colloque international *Táδε πάτρια : mémoire civique et pratiques religieuses entre Méditerranée*, Paris-Nanterre, 8–9 nov. 2024.
- Vasilica Lungu, Ramona Gabriela Andrei, *Tomis: amphorae in the Greek city and other sites of South Dobroudja*, Conférence du Programme européen Erasmus + DigiAmphorae, Primorsko, 5 juillet 2024.
- Mihail Mitrea, *Praising the Fathers in Late Byzantium: Patristic Polyphony and Compositional Technique in Philotheos Kokkinos's Enkomion of the Three Hierarchs (BHG 748)*, Colloque *Tradiția patristică în actualitate*, 3^e édition, *Înțelegerea și interpretarea Scripturii la Sfinții Părinți*, Centrul de Studii Patristice Sf. Maxim Mărturistorul al Arhiepiscopiei Iașilor, Iași, 19–20 sept. 2024.
- David L. Neagu, *Frânci sau romani? Primii cruciați în sursele armenesti*, Conférence de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest, 7–8 nov. 2024.
- David Linus Neagu, *Rome and the War of Succession from Cilicia (1219–1222/1226?)*, à *10th International Conference on Medieval Studies*, „Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Erevan, 28–30 nov. 2024.
- David Linus Neagu, *“And he deceived him by inviting him to a banquet in order to be friends”. The Banquet as a Political Tool in Cilician Armenia*, Session de communications de l'Institut d'Histoire “Nicolae Iorga”, *La masa istoriei. Banchete, serate și recepții*, Bucarest, 5–6 déc. 2024.
- David Linus Neagu, *Istoricii armeni medievali și expansiunea Imperiului Bizantin în Armenia. Studiu de caz: Aristakes Lastiverc'i și Matei din Edessa*, Colloque *Bizanțul și spațiul mediteranean*, Société culturelle byzantine, Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest et Centre d'études byzantines „Sfinții Petru și Andrei”, 14 déc. 2024.
- Simona Nicolae, *L'être linguistique de la liberté et de la non-liberté*, Colloque *Histoire et Mémoire*, Lille – Bucarest, 18–19 mai 2024.
- Simona Nicolae, *Probleme de metrică și prozodie în originalul grecesc și în traducerea Antologiei Palatine*, au *Symposium international sur la traduction et la retraduction littéraires / Simpozionul internațional despre traducere și retraducere literară*, Union des écrivains roumains, Bucarest, 25 oct. 2024.
- Viorel Panaite, *Western unrepresented merchants (protégés) in Ottoman legal and diplomatic view (circa 1600)*, Workshop international *La protection diplomatique et consulaire en Méditerranée moderne, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle*, Institut National Universitaire Champollion, Albi, 20 sept. 2024.
- Viorel Panaite, *Alexandria pe harta comercială a Mediteranei otomane în jurul anului 1600. Perspectivea unui manuscris turcesc de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)*, Conférence de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest, 7 nov. 2024.
- Viorel Panaite, *Alep pe harta comercială a Mediteranei otomane în jurul anului 1600. Perspectivea unui manuscris turcesc de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)*, Colloque d'histoire urbaine et du patrimoine – URBANITAS, 9^e édition, Bucarest, 8 nov. 2024.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *În apărarea proprietății: Societatea Agrară a Marilor Proprietari la 1900*, Colloque national d'histoire, 26^e édition, Musée national Cotroceni, Bucarest, 21 mai 2024.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Povestea unui concept: Bizanț după Bizanț*, Session nationale de communications scientifiques *Rolul muzeelor memoriale în muzeografia românească*, Vălenii de Munte, 5 juin 2024.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Evoluția agriculturii românești în perioada 1864–1907*, conférence à l'Université populaire Nicolae Iorga, Vălenii de Munte, 12 août 2024.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Arendași pe moșiile statului la sfârșitul secolului XIX*, Conférence de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest, 8 nov. 2024.
- Stelu Șerban, *'Migration' of fluvial islands. The case of Bulgarian – Romanian border area, à In, out and in between. Transnational and internal migration in Southeast Europe*, 11th In ASEA Conference, Pștiina, 19–22 sept. 2024.
- Stelu Șerban, Ștefan Dorondel, présentation du projet *State, Communities and Nature of the Lower Danube Islands: An Environmental History (1830–2020)*, Conférence *Centers' encounters. Interdisciplinary research and education: Committing to Earth's Habitability*, Station d'écologie forestière of Université Paris Cité, 3–4 oct. 2024.

- Andrei Timotin, *Noțiuni filosofice, noțiuni religioase în filosofia antică. Probleme de metodă și câteva exemple*, Cycle de conférences : *Conferințele Centrului de filosofie antică și medievală*, Université Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, 21 mai 2024.
- Andrei Timotin, *La place de la Roumanie dans l'histoire des études byzantines*, Session *Passé et avenir des études byzantines*, Monastère de Cozia, 6 sept. 2024.
- Mihai Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th – Century Christian Orthodox Patriarch*, Webinar *Historical Journeys and Legacies of the Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch*, University of Balamand, Liban, 4 déc., 2024 (en ligne).
- Florin Țurcanu, *War Culture and prisoners bodies: Romanian prisoners of war in Bulgaria, 1916–1918*, Conférence *Embodied Histories: Cultural History of, in, and through the Human Body*, International Society for Cultural History, Université de Potsdam, 4–6 sept. 2024.
- Oana Uță-Bărbulescu, *Să-și aducă jupâneasa-ș de la Lugoș – construcții adnominale vs adverbale pentru exprimarea posesiei în română. Care sunt canonice?*, Conférence internationale des professeurs de langue roumaine, 2–15 sept. 2024.
- Oana Uță-Bărbulescu, Martin Maiden, *Comportamentul formelor neutre în -o în sistemul nominal din istroromână*, Conférences de l'Académie Roumaine *Limba română și relația ei cu istoria și cultura românilor*, Bucarest, 28 mars 2024.
- Oana Uță-Bărbulescu, Ștefania Costea, *Notes on the Istro-Romanian nominal domain*, Conférence *Romance Linguistics Circle*, Università di Bergamo, University of Cambridge, Università di Messina, University of Newcastle, University of Oxford, 22 oct. 2024.
- Oana Uță-Bărbulescu, Ștefania Costea, *Flexiunea cazuală între sintetic și analitic. Dovezi din istroromână*, 24^e Colloque international du Département de linguistique (CIDL24), *Abordări ale limbii: date, interpretări, teorii*, Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Bucarest, 16 nov 2024.
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *Despre dicționarul aromân al lui Tache Papahagi în context sud-est european*, Session consacrée à Tache Papahagi – *Ziua culturii naționale*, Institut de Linguistique « Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti », Société Culturelle Macédonienne-Roumaine, 17 janv. 2024.
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *Călătoria lui Dimitrie Bolintineanu la aromâni*, Colloque *Călători rumâni pren țerile streine. Despre însemnările de călătorie scrise de români de-a lungul timpului*, Institut de Linguistique « Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti », Bucarest, 14–15 nov. 2024.

VI. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ORGANISÉES PAR L'INSTITUT

L'ISSEE a organisé son sixième Colloque annuel, *Le Centenaire des congrès des études byzantines (1924–2024). Le congrès de Bucarest (1924) et l'internationalisation des études byzantines*, 4–5 septembre 2024, au Musée National d'Art de Roumanie, en collaboration avec la Société roumaine d'études byzantines et sous les auspices de l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines (AIEB). Le colloque a marqué le centenaire du Congrès organisé par N. Iorga en 1924 à Bucarest. Il a réuni plus de 25 byzantinistes venus d'Europe (Bulgarie, Tchéquie, France, Grèce, Italie, Grande-Bretagne, Roumanie, Espagne et Serbie), ainsi que d'Argentine et des États-Unis, qui ont souligné l'importance du Congrès de 1924 pour le développement des études byzantines. Les conférences inaugurales ont été prononcées par Jannic Durand avec Maximilien Durand, ainsi que par Paul Magdalino. Le colloque a été ouvert par le président de l'Académie Roumaine, Ioan-Aurel Pop, par le président de l'AIEB, Antonio Rigo, et par les directeurs et les présidents des trois institutions organisatrices (Daniel Cain, Andrei Timotin et Călin Stegorean).

À ce colloque ont présenté des communications trois membres de l'Institut :

- Andrei Timotin, *Pourquoi un congrès international des études byzantines. L'argument de N. Iorga*
- Mihail Mitrea, *The Contributions of Oreste Tafrali to Byzantine Studies before and after the First International Congress of Byzantine Studies*
- Petre Guran, *Entre byzantinisme et nationalisme. L'Orthodoxie dans la vision de N. Iorga*

Le colloque a été suivi de la session *Passé et avenir des études byzantines* organisée au Monastère de Cozia, où Antonio Rigo, Petre Guran et Andrei Timotin ont présentée des communications, dans le cadre d'un voyage scientifique aux monastères de Cozia, Curtea de Argeș, Govora, Surpatele et Hurezi.

L'Institut a organisé en coopération avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences la Table ronde *Institutions and Personalities in International Relations in Southeastern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Sofia – Bucarest, 22 novembre 2024 (en ligne). À cette table ronde ont présenté des communications quatre membres de l'Institut :

- Constantin Ardeleanu, *The European Commission of the Danube, the Great Powers and the small Danubian states in 1879–1883*;
- Daniel Cain, *The Rosetti family and their impact on Romanian-Bulgarian relations. The case of Radu Rosetti and Radu R. Rosetti*;
- Metin Omer, *“We are Romanian peasants in all the power of the word...” The Turks and Tatars of interwar Dobrogea in Romanian-Bulgarian relations*;
- Ștefan Petrescu, *The Arsakeion School in Athens, a Balkan Story*.

La série de colloques internationaux du projet ERC TYPARABIC a continué en 2024 avec l'organisation à Bucarest du troisième colloque, intitulé *Towards a Printed-Book Culture In Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Levant*, sous les auspices de l'ISSEE, et accueilli par la Bibliothèque du Saint-Synode, 19–20 mars 2024. Quatre membres de l'Institut ont présenté des communications à cette occasion :

- Nicholas Bishara, *Germanos Farhāt's Works in Manuscripts Preserved in Romanian Collections*
- Radu Dipratu, *“Blessings of the printed work”: Islamic scholars (ulema) and the Müteferrika press in early 18th – century Istanbul*
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Serbian-Romanian Relations in the Typographical Activity of the 16th–18th Centuries*
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Greek Printing in the Danube Principalities in the 19th Century. The Pree at the Mavrogheni Church in Bucharest*.

Dans le cadre du même projet une journée d'étude a été organisée à Paris sur le thème *Premières imprimeries à caractères arabes en Orient chrétien*, à l'occasion de à l'inauguration, dans le cadre du projet TYPARABIC, d'une exposition de livre arabe, à BULAC, bibliothèque de l'INALCO, 27 mai – 25 juillet 2024. La journée d'étude a été organisée à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études le 28 mai 2024.

Lors de la réunion de l'équipe du projet ERC TYPARABIC au siège de l'ISSEE le 27 septembre 2024, notre collègue Mihai Țipău a présenté une communication sur Sylvestre d'Antioche.

L'Institut a organisé, en coopération avec le New Europe College, sur l'initiative de Marilena Vlad et dans le cadre de son projet de recherche financé par UEFISCDI, le colloque international *Order and Hierarchy in Late Antique and Byzantine Thought*, Bucarest, 10 octobre 2024. Deux membres de l'Institut ont présenté des communications à cette occasion :

- Mircea Duluș, *The Areopagitica in Niketas David the Paphlagonian's Hagiographic Writings*
- Marilena Vlad, *Mystery as the Meaning of Dionysius' Hierarchy*.

La série des conférences bimensuelles de l'ISSEE a continué pendant toute l'année, en mode hybride (en présence, au siège de l'Institut, et en ligne) :

- Constantin Ardeleanu (ISSEE), *“Chestia scumpirei peștelui”. Stat, avuție națională și sănătate publică la începutul secolului al XX-lea*, 16 janv.

- Cristina Codarcea (ISSEE), *Episcopia post-tridentină – oameni, instituții, mize, provocări. Episcopia de Nicopole în secolul al XVII-lea*, 30 janv.
- Iulia Nițescu (ICUB), *Mitropolit contestat sau sfânt protector? Evoluția imaginii mitropolitului Ciprian în Moscova secolelor XV–XVI*, 13 febr.
- David Gaunt (University of Södertörn) / Julieta Rotaru (INALCO), *MapRom database (www.maprom.se), a tool for the study of the socio-economic conditions of the Roma slavery in Wallachia*, 20 febr.
- Alina Kondratjuk (ISSEE/TYPARABIC), *The Early Modern Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra Press as a transmitter of artistic ideas and iconographic patterns from West to East*, 27 febr. (en ligne)
- David-Linus Neagu (ISSEE), *Oskan Erevantsi și problema confesionalizării în rândul armenilor*, 12 mars
- Marilena Vlad (ISSEE), *Teofil Coridaleu și tradiția comentatorilor aristotelici*, 26 mars
- Lucia Dragomir (Universită de București), *Complici ai unei utopii. Însoțitorii români ai delegațiilor străine în primul deceniu comunist*, 9 avrîl
- Prof. Lars Karlsson (Universit  Uppsala), *Labraunda. Uppsala University excavations at the Sanctuary of Zeus with the Double Axe at Labraunda in Karia*, 23 avrîl
- Teodora Popovici (Universit  de București), *Activitatea copistului Eustatie Popovici din Alba, interpolator al Cronicii rom nești a lui Gheorghe Brancovici*, 7 mai
- Virginia Bl nda (ISSEE), *”Cuvenita observație”: scrisori și c rți în v mile dun rene (jum tatea secolului al XIX-lea)*, 21 mai
- Metin Omer (Universit  « Ovidius », Constanța), *Politici demografice și construcții identitare regionale: emigrarea turcilor și t tarilor din Rom nia în Turcia*, 11 iuin
- C t lina V t șescu (ISSEE), *Amintiri din I.C. Frimu 9*, 25 iuin
- Florin Turcanu (ISSEE), * n așteptarea r zboiului. Garnizoana din „Capul de pod” Turtucaia  n ultimul an de neutralitate a Rom niei (1915–1916)*, 29 oct.
- Ligia Livad -Cadeschi (ISSEE), *Memorii de r zboi ale medicilor rom ni. Mihai Ștef nescu-Galați (1874–1945)*, 5 nov.
- Andrei Pippidi (ISSEE), *Noi documente despre Bartolomeo Bruti*, 19 nov.
- Viorel Panaite (ISSEE), *Islam, drept și Imperiul otoman. Despre opiniile juridice (fetva) ale marilor muftii (șeyh  l-Islam)*, 17 d c.

La Soci t  Roumaine d’ tudes Byzantines, par les soins d’Andrei Timotin et Mihail Mitrea, a  galement continu  en 2024 sa s rie de conf rences mensuelles (en ligne) :

- Linda Safran (Universit  de Toronto), *An Exceptional Early Byzantine Censer*, 23 janv.
- David Carpen (Universit  de București), *Omiletica  n slujba polemicii teologice: Predicile  mpotriva nestorianismului rostite de Sever al Antiohiei  n Cyr,  n octombrie 514*, 20 febr.
- C t lin-Ștefan Popa (Institut d’Histoire des Religions, Acad mie Roumaine), *Exemple de colofoane  n manuscrise siriace medievale din Ierusalim*, 19 mars
- Christos Malatras (Universit  de K ln), *Hierarchy and order in late Byzantine society*, 16 avrîl
- Gy rgy Ger by (Universit  d’Europe Centrale, Vienne), *Neither Thomas nor Gregory: The vision of God and eschatology*, 14 mai
- Florin Filimon (Universit  de M nster), *Sorting things out: Modes of sortilege and imperial decision-making in the middle Byzantine period*, 18 iuin
- Damian Liviu (Universit  de București), *Athanasius of Alexandria and the oi διαφ povτες in London Papyrus 1914*, 22 oct.
- Mihail K. Qaramah (Universit  “1 Decembrie 1918”, Alba-Iulia), *Reforma liturghiei bizantino-slave  n spațiul rom nesc,  ntre sec. XVI–XVIII*, 26 nov.
- Marie-H l ne Blanchet (Paris), *Gr goire Akindynos au service du patriarche Jean XIV Kal kas? Les enjeux eccl siologiques de la controverse entre Akindynos et Palamas*, 3 d c.

VII. ACTIVITÉ DIDACTIQUE

- Constantin Ardeleanu, professeur, Faculté d'Histoire, Université de Bucarest. À la même faculté, Daniel Cain et Cristina Codarcea sont professeurs associés ; Viorel Panaite, directeur de l'École doctorale d'histoire, a donné aussi des cours ; Radu Dipratu a tenu un cours de *Paléographie turco-ottomane*.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, professeur, a donné des cours de licence et de master à la Faculté de Sciences Politiques. À la même faculté, le professeur Florin Țurcanu a donné 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, Cluj-Napoca.
- Simona Nicolae a donné des cours à la Faculté des Langues et Littératures étrangères de l'Université de Bucarest, Département de langues et littératures grecques romanes, classiques et modernes.
- Oana Uță-Bărbulescu a donné des cours d'histoire de la langue roumaine et des cours pratiques de langue roumaine à l'Université d'Oxford.

Cours de langues balkaniques et orientales

L'ISSEE a continué à organiser des cours de langues balkaniques et orientales, au siège de l'Institut ou en ligne, pour des chercheurs et des doctorants :

- Ștefan Petrescu, le cours de grec moderne
- Radu Dipratu, le cours de turc ottoman
- Mihail-George Hâncu, les cours de serbe et de vieux slave.

Direction de thèses

Quatre directeurs de thèses développent leur activité dans le cadre de l'École doctorale de l'Académie Roumaine (SCOSAAR) à l'ISSEE : Lia Chisacof, Ioana Feodorov, Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi et Cătălin-Ștefan Popa.

Cinq autres chercheurs de l'ISSEE dirigent des thèses de doctorat dans d'autres institutions: Constantin Ardeleanu, Viorel Panaite, Andrei Pippidi et Andrei Timotin à la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest, et Florin Țurcanu à la Faculté de Sciences Politiques de l'Université de Bucarest.

Virginia Blînda

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