

ZAHARIA P. SARDELLELY VERSUS EVANGHELIE ZAPPA
(THE ZAPPA OLYMPICS AND THE DICTIONARY OF THE
ROMANIAN LANGUAGE)

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In 1911, almost five decades after Evanghelie Zappa's death, the *Iris* newspaper published the memories of its founder, Zaharia P. Sardelly, who worked for a short period of time as secretary of the great landowner and philanthropist. By 1854, Zappa was looking for a secretary, and young Sardelly was looking for a safe and well paid job. Sardelly's image of Zappa is without any doubt altered by the passage of the years, but also by the natural need to appear before the posterity in a most favourable light. The Modern Olympic Games, the Grammar and the Dictionary of the Romanian language were born in the mansion of Broșteni between 1854 and 1860. This study brings to light other documentary testimonies that complete, confirm or deny Zaharia Sardelly's observations. Two letters of Zappa to Prim-Minister Ion Ghica (on February 21, 1860 and on March 13, 1860) are provided in Annexes 1–4.

Keywords: Evanghelie Zappa, Zaharia P. Sardelly, Romanian society, social charity in the nineteenth century, *Iris* newspaper.

MEMORIES OF A JOURNALIST

On March 5, 1911 the Bucharest's Greek newspaper *Iris* [Aurora] starts to publish in a serial the *Memories of a Journalist*. At 85 years old Zaharia P. Sardelly talks about his youth years, in order to highlight his activity as private secretary of the great landowner of Wallachia, Evanghelie Zappa.¹ This is why Sardelly consecrates the first two issues to the period of time that he had spent in Zappa's service. The series of memory notes continues with the years spent in Orschowa (today Orșova, in Romania) and in Bucharest, to end with the childhood years spent in Epirus. Fragments regarding Zaharia Sardelly's activity as Zappa's secretary were republished by his son, Aristotle, in a festive issue of the *Iris* newspaper in 1938.²

¹ The serial *Απομνημονεύματα δημοσιογράφου* is published in *The Iris* newspaper between March 6, 1911 (period III no.1), p.1 and June 19, 1911 (no. 16), p. 1.

² On the festive issue no. 58 of the *Iris* newspaper see Dim. V. Iconomidis, "Σημειώσεις διά την ιστορίαν των εν Ρουμανία Ελληνικών εφημερίδων και πρώτων βιβλιοπωλείων", *Μνημοσύνη*, VI, 1976–1977, p. 78.

Biographic data about this family of journalists may be found in Ariadna Camariano-Cioran's book about the merchants and intellectuals originating from Epirus, settled in the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.³ Her research was based on the articles of the journalists Dimitrios Iconomidis, Alkis Myrsinis-Manthos and Demosthenis Grammatopoulos, who collaborated with Greek-language newspapers in interwar Romania. They knew Zaharia's youngest son, Aristotle Sardelly.⁴ Information related to the Sardelly family may also be found in the *Encyclopedia of Romania*, published by Lucian Predescu in 1939. The articles about Zaharia Sardelly and his sons, Alcibiades and Aristotle, must have been written on the latter's indications.⁵

We are corroborating Sardelly's testimonials about Zappa with other historical sources, such as the diplomatic reports of the Greek consuls in Bucharest and Zappa's correspondence with the Romanian authorities.

THE SCHOLAR ZAHARIA P. SARDELLY [Ζαχαρίας Π. Σαρδέλλης]

Sardelly was born 1826⁶ in Papingo village, situated 60 km North-East from Ioannina between the mountain rocks of Pindus. Sardelly's house was close to Saint George Church.⁷ Papingo was part of a distinct tax and legal entity, called *Koinon ton Zagorision*, with its headquarters in Ioannina. The Ottoman authorities controlled the 60 villages of Pindus by local notables.⁸

We do not know much about the schools where the future journalist went to. Among the women in the village, only his mother and aunt were literate.⁹ In 1915, in a biographic note, published in the *Iris* newspaper by Aristotle Sardelly, we find out that his father had studied at the Faculty of Letters of Athens University.¹⁰ It was perhaps in his student years that he obtained the Greek citizenship.

In 1849, Zaharia Sardelly, on the recommendation of his uncle, Polychronios Fourtunas, a great merchant and landowner of Turnu Severin, was invited to teach at the Greek school of Orschowa.¹¹

³ Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *L'Épire et les Pays Roumains*, Ioannina, 1984, p. 219.

⁴ Dim. V. Iconomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 74–79; Alkis Myrsinis-Manthos, “Ηπειρώται δημοσιογράφοι στη Ρουμανία”, *Ηπειρωτική Εστία*, 22, no. 245–246, 1972, p. 529–541; Demesthene Grammatopoulos, “Περί της ιστορίας του ελληνικού εν Ρουμανία τύπου”, *Ηπειρωτική εστία*, XXIX, no. 342–343, 1980, p. 935.

⁵ Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României*, Bucharest, 1999 (first edition 1939), p. 758.

⁶ Lucian Predescu, *op. cit.*, p. 758.

⁷ *Η Iris*, III, no. 10, 8 May 1911, p. 1.

⁸ On the Ottoman rule in Epirus, see Mihail Kokolakis, *Το Ύστερο Γιαννιωτικό πασαλίκι. Χώρος, διοίκηση και πληθυσμός στη Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ηπειρος, 1820–1913*, Athens, 2003.

⁹ *Η Iris*, no. 16, 19 June 1911, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Η Iris*, no. 150, 22 March 1915, p. 1.

¹¹ *Η Iris*, no. 4, 25 March 1911, p. 1. About the Greek community of Turnu Severin, see Paula Scalcau, *De la Papingo la Turnu Severin*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 33–40.

The Greek school of Orschowa was situated in the church courtyard. In the only Orthodox church of the town, students were singing in a choir in Greek language, to the right, and in Romanian and Serbian languages, to the left. The Greek language was necessary to carry out trading activities¹², so the students were not only Greek, but also Germans, Hungarians, Wallachians, Serbians.¹³

Sardelly was not happy with the fee received from the school committee, so after some time he resigned.¹⁴ In 1850, his uncle, Christodoulos Ghiuli, Polychronios Fortuna's brother-in-law, invited him to spend Easter together at his estate in Balta Verde, by the Danube, downstream from Severin. Through the merchant Ioannis Pantazopoulos, Sardelly sent to his family, in Papingo, 100 florins that he had saved from his salary as a teacher.¹⁵

One day Sardelly joined lawyer Dimitrache Gheculescu (Gheka family from Papingo) to Horezu monastery. The lawyer had to settle a case related to some thieves who had robbed the monastery. On that occasion, the young teacher visited the old library of the monastery built by the prince Constantine Brâncoveanu in the late seventeenth century.¹⁶ Here he met the prior Hrisanthos Penetis, originating from Andros, who recommended him to the Princess of Wallachia, Elisabeta Știrbei. When he came back to Severin, Sardelly gathered as many recommendations as possible from his uncle, Fortouna, to the Greeks of Bucharest, namely Ghermani, Stamatiadi, etc.

In November 1852, after five days on the road leading from Severin to Bucharest, Sardelly reached the capital city, where he stayed at Karakas Hotel (which became Victoria in 1911, on 4 Șelari street).¹⁷

Thanks to the recommendation of the archimandrite of Hurez monastery, Sardelly was received in audience at the Palace. Through the princess Elisabeta Știrbei, the young man was hired as a teacher of Aglaia, daughter of the son-in-law of Costache Ghica, Eugène Poujade, consul of France in Bucharest between 1843 and 1854.¹⁸

In these years, Sardelly used to live at Șerban Vodă Inn (today the site is occupied by the National Bank of Romania). Several friends used to meet in his house, such as brothers Athanasios and Constantinos Xenocratos, to read together and to comment the Greek newspapers¹⁹.

By 1854, Sardelly became secretary and counsellor of Zappa (διδάσκαλος και ιδιαίτερος αὐτοῦ γραμματεὺς).²⁰

¹² See Johann Georg Kohl, *Austria: Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Danube: Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina, and the Military Frontier*, London, 1844, p. 277–278.

¹³ *H Ἱρις*, no. 4, 25 March 1911, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *H Ἱρις*, no. 5, 3 April 1911, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *H Ἱρις*, no. 5, 3 April 1911, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *H Ἱρις*, no. 1, 6 March 1911, p. 1.

**THE *BOYAR* EVANGHELIE YAPPAS
(Ευαγγέλης Ζάππα)**

Evangelie Zappa was born in 1800 at Lamporo (Labovë e Madhe, district Gjirokastrë in Albania). His life is described by Anastasios Goudas, a Greek doctor, who edited, between 1869 and 1876, a series of volumes about the great men of the nation which had an outstanding success, although only 8 of the 12 estimated volumes were published.²¹

Goudas records that the inhabitants of Lamporo spoke the Albanian language.²² Dimitrie Bolintineanu also points out that Zappa is Albanian.²³ Maria Cociu (Κότσης), who came to Bucharest in 1865 to settle her brother Evangelie's inheritance, declares before the Ilfov Court that she cannot speak other languages than Albanian.²⁴ The Albanian identity of Zappa is neglected by V.A. Urechia, who, in 1867, to emphasize the Romanian movement in the Balkans, categorically states that the great donor of the Romanian Academy was a Romanian from Epirus.²⁵ Aromanian-speaking inhabitants of the Balkan southern lands, also known as Macedo-Romanians or Vlachs, were considered by the Romanians as being part of their nation.²⁶

Zappa comes from a rich merchant family. According to Goudas, the Great Benefactor [Μεγάλος Ευεργέτης] of Greece was self-taught: 'he did not go that much to school' [Γράμματα ὀλίγιστα ἐγίνωσκεν].²⁷ His school was the army. When he was 13, Zappa learnt how to handle weapons in the service of Ali Pasha.²⁸ After 1821, the young soldier fought against the Ottomans under the command of Markos Botsaris, one of the leaders of the Greek revolutionaries. Goudas reveals anecdotes about Zappa's feats of arms during the Greek War of Independence.²⁹

²¹ About Goudas's work, see, K. Th. Dimaras, *Σύμμικτα, Α' Από την παιδεία στη λογοτεχνία*, edited by Alexis Politis, Athens, 2000, p. 181–186.

²² Anastasios N. Goudas, *Βίοι παράλληλοι. Των επί της αναγεννήσεως της Ελλάδος διαπρεσβάντων ανδρών*, Athens, 1870, v. III, p. 319.

²³ Dimitrie Bolintineanu, *Opere II, Romane. Însenmări de călătorie*, edited by Teodor Vărgolici, Bucharest, 2006, p. 1161.

²⁴ *Acte în procesul V. Zappa*, Bucharest, 1894, p. 17. Regarding the Albanian identity of Zappa, see also Sava Iancovici, "Relations roumano-albanaises à l'époque de la renaissance et de l'émancipation du peuple albanais", *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, IX, 1, 1971, p. 26.

²⁵ V.A. Urechia, *Opere complete – Discursuri Academice*, s. II, vol. 2, Bucharest, 1882, p. 5.

²⁶ On the Aromanians see Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Die Aromunische Frage: ihre Entwicklung v. den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest (1913) u. die Haltung Österreich-Ungarns*, Böhlau, 1974; Gheorghe Zbucea, *O istorie a românilor din Peninsula Balcanică (secolele XVIII–XIX)*, Bucharest, 1999; Nicolas Trifon, *Les Aroumains, un peuple qui s'en va*, La Brussière, 2005; Vladimir Crețulescu, "The Aromanian-Romanian National Movement (1859–1905): An Analytical Model", *Balcanica Posnaniensia. Ius Valachicum*, XXII/1, 2015, p. 99–119.

²⁷ Anastasios Goudas, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 320.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 328–329.

His family in Lamboro suffered losses, but after the end of the war, the situation remitted and the soldier was able to come back home.³⁰

Zappa was not happy with living in Epirus, which was still under Ottoman ruling after 1821, so, around 1834, he decided to settle down in Wallachia.³¹ In this autonomous Principality, that was formally ruled by the Sultan, the immigrants coming from the South-Danubian regions of the Ottoman Empire were carrying out various activities, from grain trade in the Danubian ports to landholding and mill trade. In those years, the value of farm lands was small, and investments in this sector seemed certain and profitable. Zappa's target consisted in boyar estates and convent estates from the Bărăgan region. The accounts in the archives of merchant Ioan St. Stamu show the connections through various trades of monastic and boyar networks to each other.³² The first properties that Zappa leased were the Fundeni rural estate of the Mihai Vodă monastery and the Budești estate of boyar Iancu Manu. In 1837 followed the estates Luica, Căscioarele, Odaia and Făureni of the Cotroceni monastery. In 1844, Zappa bought from the Pitar Ioan Al. Filipescu the Broșteni Noi property which he had held on lease since 1842.³³ The Broșteni estate was full of forests and mills, being crossed by Ialomița River. Zappa's lands gradually extended.³⁴ Most of those were in Ialomița County in Bărăgan plain towards the Danube meadows. After certain estimations, the total area of Zappa's estates summed up about 15 000 acres.³⁵

The mansion of Broșteni is the symbol of the economic and social power of this great landowner.³⁶ Today, we may see only a fragment of the inner wall and the gate. Dimitrie Bolintineanu, in *The Journey of the Prince of the United Principalities to Constantinople in 1860*, describes the manor as being 'a big house, enclosed by walls', with 'a garden with the most likeable fruits and flowers'. Here, three miles (almost 57 km) away from the capital city, Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 330.

³¹ According to Goudas, Zappas settled in Wallachia in 1831, Anastasios Goudas, *op. cit.*, p. 332. However, Zappas in his book (1847) writes that he has been dealing with agriculture in Romania for 13 years, so in 1834. See 'Preface', *Τρέντουρας ή Κήφην, όστις περιορίζεται εντός του κύκλου της Βλαχίας, εμπειρέχων πειραματικός παρατηρήσεις περί του σιταροσοταριού και τάξεις των Μουλκίων. Trântorul care se mărginește în cercul României coprinzător de observații din cercare asupra semănării grâului și orânduieiii asupra moșiilor de Evanghele Zappa, tradusă în românește* [The Hornet who Lives on the Territory of Romania. With Experimental Observations about the Sowing Wheat and the Management of the Zappa's Estates], Bucharest: Ιωσιφ Κοπαίνγγ, 1847, p. 5.

³² *Documente economice din Arhiva Casei Comerciale Ioan St. Stamu (1714–1876)*, Bucharest, 1983–1987, v. I–II.

³³ Gheorghe Drăguliu, *Evanghelie Zappa. Aspecte inedite din viața, din activitatea și din inițiativa reînființării Jocurilor Olimpice. Culegere de articole*, București, 2014, p. 54

³⁴ Zappa bought Ulești, Grindași, Valea Măcrișului, Cioran, Slujitori, Cegani (in Ialomița County), Meteleu (in Buzău County), Balăceanu (in Râmnicu Sărat County) and others. See the list of all proprietaries, Biblioteca Academiei Române, Secția Manuscrise [Romanian Academy Library, Direction of Manuscripts] = RAL Zappa Archive, A 458.

³⁵ Gheorghe Drăguliu, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

(1859–1866) and his entourage made a halt, on their way to Galați. The Prince and the other guests were welcomed by 20 servants.³⁷ In this house, where Russian generals and governors had been hosted, Constantine Zappa, executor of Evanghelie, also received, around 1870, Anastasios Goudas, his cousin's biographer.³⁸

THE BIRTH OF AN IDEA

In one of their first meetings, Zappa supposedly asked Sardelly to give an opinion on *Τρέντουρας ή Κηφήν / Trântorul* [The Hornet], a bilingual book published in 1847 that was written by Zappa or by his private secretary.³⁹ The book is in fact the Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon's parable of the bees and hornets by which Zappa condemns his leaseholder (arendăși) compatriots ('Epirotes, Albanians'), who envied him for his farming success⁴⁰.

Noutsos Zoupaniotis (Zapanioti), an Epirot merchant, who had sublet from Zappa the Oltenița estate, property of the former reigning prince Alexander Ghica, refused to pay his portion of the rent.⁴¹ On Zappa's request, Aga Iancu Manu – chief of police between 1843 and 1848 – arrested and imprisoned the debtor. Some enemies accused Zappa of robbing his compatriot. They kept asking themselves 'how did it come that the ruling authority does not investigate this man and how he got so much money'. Zappa firmly stated that he has not defrauded anyone, he has not found any 'treasure', he simply experienced efficient methods to seed the wheat.⁴²

Zappa criticized the scornful attitude of mind of the Greeks towards the Romanians/Vlachs. The target was clear: 'particularly yourselves, who came from the neighbouring European Turkey to dwell here, you have the duty to love the Romanians, because you are different from the other foreigners dwelling here, by the various disturbances and happenings that you endured in time, when the Romanian principality was your home and provided you a living and wealth'.⁴³

³⁷ Dimitrie Bolintineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 1161.

³⁸ Anastasios Goudas, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

³⁹ *Τρέντουρας ή Κηφήν, όστις περιορίζεται εντός του κύκλου της Βλαχίας, εμπεριέχων πειραματικός παρατηρήσεις περί του σιταροσταριού και τάξεις των Μουλκίων. Trântorul care se mărginește în cercul României coprinzător de observații din cercare asupra semănării grâului și orânduiei asupra moșiilor de Evanghele Zappa, tradusă în românește* [The Hornet who Live on the Territory of Romania. With Experimental Observations about the Sowing Wheat and the Management of the Zappa's Estates], Bucharest: Ιωσιφ Κοπαϊνγγ, 1847.

⁴⁰ Nicolae Postolache, *Evanghelie Zappa, de la Broșteni la Atena... op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴¹ *Trântorul...*, p. 18 (Romanian edition).

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 16 (in Romanian), 17 (in Greek).

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 8,9 (in the Romanian edition: 'și mai ales voi câți ați venit din învecinata Turcie Europeană și hălăduiți aici, sunteți datori a iubi pe români, pentru că vă osebiți de ceilalți streini cari hălăduiesc aici, din pricina trebuințelor feluritelor apăsări și întâmplări ce ați avut după timp, și țara românească a fost patria voastră și v-a asigurat ființa vieții și a stării voastre'); p. 7 (in Greek edition: 'κατ'εξοχήν δὲ τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτὴν χρεωστεῖται σεις οἱ ἐκ τῆς γειτονουῶσης Ευρωπαϊκῆς Τουρκίας ἐδῶ παρεπιδημοῦντες, οἱ ὅποιοι ἐξαιρεῖσθε τῶν ἄλλων ἐδῶ ξένων κατοίκων διὰ τὰς ἀνάγκας καὶ

Ironically, Zappa tells how he met another ‘hornet – a little teacher, secretary of an old hornet, displaying a pipe that was longer than himself’. This assistant of a ‘Balkan’ landholder, threatened Zappa that, by his polemic tale, ‘you will lose the right to opinion, and you will be despised both by us, and by Romanians’.⁴⁴

Without any doubt, this happening incident Zappa’s image among his compatriots.⁴⁵ Zappa quickly realized the negative impact of the book on his social relations in the Wallachian society. In August 1852, the *Vestitorul românesc* [The Romanian Herald] newspaper published a Proclamation, signed by Zappa, by which he tried to clarify his relations with the Romanian and Greek landholders. His target did not concern ‘particularly all landholders, like you understood, but only those who, without thinking any further, without considering the others’ hard work and perseverance’, hurried to make accusations and calumnies. Further, the Proclamation addresses his compatriots, whom he recalls his contribution to the Greek war. His sacrifice, a proof of his care for his Country and Patriots, should be enough for them, writes Zappa, ‘not to think that my answer or way of thinking would involve them’.⁴⁶

The negative echo of Zappa’s book among Greeks seems not to have faded after the publication of the note in the Bucharest newspaper. Sardelly asserts that *The Hornet* ‘produced a big scandal among the Greeks in Bucharest, who asked me to write a disclaimer in *Imera tis Smyrni*’ which was in fact *Efimeris tis Smyrnis*, a publication that appeared between 1849 and 1855.⁴⁷ According to Zaharia P. Sardellis, Zappa’s book was a disgrace, an offense brought to his compatriots, so the author agreed to publish a disclaimer in the Greek newspaper of Izmir⁴⁸.

We bear in mind Zaharia Sardelly’s remark: ‘such deeds could only be forgotten by a grand gesture made for the Nation’ [Τοιαύται δημοσιεύσεις δὲν πλῆνονται παρὰ μόνον διὰ μεγάλης τινος εὐεργεσίας πρὸς τὸ Ἔθνος].

In those years, Zappa was facing other troubles as well. In 1855, Sultan Abdulmejid asked for the expulsion of Evanghelie Zappa and of other three Greek subjects, accused of pro-Russian feelings and of espionage during the Crimean

καταδρομὰς ὅπου κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς ἐκ περιστάσεων ἐλάβετε. Καὶ αὕτη ἡ Βλαχία ἐστάθηκε πατρὶς σας, ἡ οποία σᾶς ἐξησφάλησε τὴν ὑπαρξιν ζωῆς τε καὶ καταστάσεως).

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 38–39 (in Romanian edition ‘o să vă pierdeți toată opinia, și o să vă desprețuim atât noi cât și românii’); p. 39–40 (in Greek: ‘καθότι θὰ χάσητε ὅλην τὴν ὑπόληψιν σας καὶ ἐξεντελισθῆτε τόσον ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς, ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτοὺς Βλάχους’).

⁴⁵ This aspect has been notified by Nicolae Iorga and other scholars who were in charge with this work produced by the landholder from Epirus. See N. Iorga, “Un arendaș despre arendași”, *Revista Istorică*, nr. 11–12, 1919, p. 236–237. Gheorghe Drăgulin, *op. cit.*, p. 18–19; Sava Iancovici, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁶ *Vestitorul Românesc*, no. 64, 13 August 1852, p. 156.

⁴⁷ In Greek: ‘Το βιβλίον εἶχε προξενήσῃ μάλιστα ἀγκανάκτησιν παρὰ τοῖς ἔλλησι τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου, οἱ τίνες με παρεκάλεσαν νὰ γράψω ἀναίρεσιν, ἥτις ἐδημοσιεύθη εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Σμύρνης’. On the *Imera tis Smyrnis* newspaper, see Sp. Makrymihalos, “Ἡ ἐκδοσις τῆς εφημερίδος ἡμέραν τῆς Τεργέστης στα 1855. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνέκδοτη ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ ἰδρυτοῦ τῆς Σμυρναίου λογιῶν καὶ δημοσιογράφου”, *Ὁ Ἐρασιεὺς*, VIII, no. 43, 1970, p. 11.

⁴⁸ *Ἰρις*, no. 7, 17 April 1911, p. 1.

war. Zappa escaped punishment thanks to the intervention of the secretary of the Greek general consulate in Bucharest, Constantine Fostiropoulos.⁴⁹

THE IDENTITY PROFILE OF A GREAT BENEFACTOR [Μεγάλος Ευεργετης]

In the nineteenth century the Greeks who became wealthy abroad donated large amounts for the building of schools, academies, hospitals and other cultural institution in Greece. Most of scholars agree that these benefactors of Greece wanted not only to show their patriotism, but to find new business opportunities and to ensure themselves a future political career in Athens.⁵⁰

In the ‘hagiography’ of the Greek patriots⁵¹, Anastasios Goudas glorifies Zappa for his modest, even austere, way of living.⁵² The author suggests that this trait, common to all Great Benefactors of the past, is rare among contemporaries.⁵³

Zappa, as a fighter in the Greek War of Independence, enjoyed a certain citizen status in Greece.⁵⁴

In order to buy Broșteni estate, Zappa submitted a document on December 19, 1844 to the sub-administration of the Oltenița district, by which he renounced any foreign protection.⁵⁵ However, Zappa’s statement could not have any legal power, because the acquisition of the ‘narrow’ naturalization by administrative means did not provide political rights, therefore neither would it provide the right

⁴⁹ Ιστορικά Αρχεία του Υπουργείου των Εξωτερικών – Κεντρική Υπηρεσία [Greek Foreign Office Historical Archives] = GFOHA, box 36.5/1855, Fostiropoulos’s report (Bucharest) to Greece Foreign Affair Minister, 17 September 1855 (no. 1808).

⁵⁰ Eurydiki Sifneou, ‘Επαγγελματική ηθική και κοινωνική αγαθοεργία των Ελλήνων επιχειρηματιών στη Νότια Ρωσσία’, *Τα Ιστορικά*, vol. 32, 2000, p. 114–119. On the phenomenon of charity in Modern Greece, see: Dimitris Arvanitakis, “Ευεργετισμός: δεδομένα και προβλήματα”, in Δημήτριος Αρβανιτάκης (ed.), *Το φαινόμενο του ευεργετισμού στη νεώτερη Ελλάδα (πρακτικά Ημερίδας)*, Athens 2006, p. 28; Vaso Theodorou, “Ευεργετισμός και όψεις της κοινωνικής ενσωμάτωσης στις παροικίες, 1870–1920”, *Τα Ιστορικά*, no. 7, 1987, p. 151; Alexandra Anastasiadou, ‘Ο ηρωϊκός ευεργετισμός ως συνεκτικός πολιτισμικός παράγοντας μεταξύ των λαών της Δύσης και της καθ’ ημάς Ανατολής’, <http://users.sch.gr/amalsk/Arheio/6Issue/HpeirotikosEvergetismos.pdf>.

⁵¹ The concept of „hagiography of patriotism” used by Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transition to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890)*, Brill, 2013, p. 195.

⁵² Anastasios Goudas, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

⁵³ Maria X. Hatzioiannou, “Εθνικοί Ευεργέτες. Τα πρόσωπα και η ιστορία τους. Από τους αδελφούς Ζώσιμα στον Ανδρέα Συγγρού. Η ιστορία των εθνικών ευεργετών”, in *Μνήμη Άλκη Αγγέλου. Τα άφθονα σχήματα του παρελθόντος*, πρακτικά Γ’ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, 3–6 Οκτωβρίου, 2002, Thessaloniki, 2004, p. 402 and 405.

⁵⁴ On the citizenship in Greece, see Elpida K. Vogli, *‘Έλληνες το γένος’. Η ιθαγένεια και η ταυτότητα στο εθνικό κράτος των Ελλήνων (1821–1844)*, Herakleion, 2007.

⁵⁵ *Acte în procesul V. Zappa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

to land property. According to the Organic Regulation of 1831, the fundamental law of the Principality, electoral rights could be obtained by a foreigner only by legislative procedure. Likewise, renunciation and return to foreign protection was very common even for the natives.⁵⁶

In *The Hornet*, Zappa introduces himself as an ‘old soldier of a poor country, without schooling, now working the earth and being a landholder’.⁵⁷ His ascension on the hierarchic ladder of nobility was quick: *pitar* in 1846, *serdar* in 1850 and *paharnic* in 1853.⁵⁸

In his book on agriculture, Zappa states that the workers on his estates lived better than the neighbouring ones due to the modern harvesting technology and methods, by using farming products, introduced by him⁵⁹. However, Zappa’s relations with the peasants seem to have been harsh. In 1843, the inhabitants of Luica village asked the Minister of the Interior Affairs ‘to make this tyrant stop oppressing us’.⁶⁰

The image depicted by Sardelly is hardly positive. Zappa was a fierce, bold, unpredictable man, ready to change his mind from one moment to the next; he was full of humour, but also very proud, with generous tendencies, that could defy the mere sense of prudence. On several occasions, Sardelly used his great skills of manipulator with Zappa. One day, the landowner sold a young gipsy slave from Broșteni estate. Her family implored the master not to send her away, but it was useless. Eventually, the master was convinced by Sardelly’s insistence.⁶¹ Zappa’s cruelty towards the peasants remained engraved in the collective memory of Broșteni villagers. In 1972, the village priest, Gheorghe Petre, in a letter to the priest Gheorghe Drăgulin, remembered the rumour circulating among peasants, that under the walls of the mansion demolished in 1943, human bones had allegedly been found.⁶²

Either way, Evanghelie Zappa left his descendants a memory that cannot be destroyed.

In his book, *The Hornet*, Zappa asked his compatriots who envied him for his success to be generous with the Romanian people, and donated their money to charitable causes. Zappa appealed to them for restoration of the country’s capital after the devastating fire in the spring of 1847.⁶³

⁵⁶ Until 1866 there were two routes to naturalization, but only the ‘broad’ one – that was granted by Legislative Assembly – entitled to full citizenship. On the Zappa case and his naturalization in Wallachia see Georges Streit, *L’affaire Zappa. Conflit gréco-roumaine*, Paris, 1894 ; Ștefan Petrescu, *Migrație și ortodoxie în Europa de Sud-Est. De la „destrămarea” societății fanariote la constituirea comunităților grecești în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, Bucharest 2013, p. 163–193.

⁵⁷ *Trântorul...*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵⁸ Gheorghe Drăgulin, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵⁹ *Trântorul...*, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁶⁰ Gheorghe Drăgulin, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶¹ *H’Ipis*, no. 7, 17 April 1911, p. 1.

⁶² Gheorghe Drăgulin, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁶³ *Trântorul...*, *op. cit.*, p. 16 (in Romanian), 17 (in Greek).

Zappa founded and equipped schools and churches in his place of birth, Lamporo, as well as in the villages of his estates in Wallachia. Also the schools of Tepelena, Gjirokastra and Permet received rich resources from Zappa. In these elementary schools of Epirus the pupils, using their mother tongue, were learning the Greek language as lingua franca of the Balkans.⁶⁴ In 1860, the professor Anastas Byku (Pykaios) from Lamia in Greece received money from Zappa to publish the bilingual *Pelasgos* [The Pelasgian] newspaper. According to both Byku and Zappa, the Albanians and Greeks share the same ancient origins, so both the nations should be inseparable.⁶⁵ In 1883, the Albanians from Bucharest claimed the financial support given by Zappa to Naum Veqilharxhi, a militant of the development of Albanian literature in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

THE ZAPPA OLYMPICS

Zappa is known as one of the precursors of the modern Olympic Games.⁶⁷ The idea to revive the antic Olympic Games came alive in Zappa's mind between 1854 and 1856. The poem *Νεκρικός Διάλογος* [Dialogue of the Dead] written in the 1830s by Panayotis Soutsos, evoking the universal spirit of ancient Olympia, was Zappa's source of inspiration⁶⁸. The merits of the great poet were recognized by Zappa, who, through the Greek consul of Bucharest, Spiridon Skoufos, asked that the brothers Alexandros and Panayotis Soutsos should be appointed members of the Olympic Commission of Athens⁶⁹, established by royal decree on August 19, 1858.⁷⁰ The negotiations between Zappa and the Greek authorities are presented in detail by Sardelly in his memories published on 6 of March 1911 in the *Iris* newspaper.

'Captain Zappa' [Καπετάν Βαγγέλης], writes Sardelly, 'was not a man of letters, he only knew how to write and read' [δὲν ἦτο ἄνθρωπος τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐγνώριζεν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ γραφήν μόνον]. The secretary kept talking about the glorious past of the Greeks, producing patriotic feelings in his heart. Zappa wished

⁶⁴ Gelcu Sefedin Maksutovici, *Istoria Albanezilor din România*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 38.

⁶⁵ Cătălina Vătășescu, "Activitatea intelectuală și culturală a albanezilor din România (1844–1912)", in Alexandru Duțu (ed. by), *Intelectuali din Balcani în România sec. XVII–XIX*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 168; Nathalie Clayer, *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais: la naissance d'une nation*, Paris, 2007, p. 200.

⁶⁶ Sava Iancovici, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ The first studies on Zappa's contribution to revival of the Olympic Games were conducted by the American professor David C. Young, *The Modern Olympics: a Struggle for Revival*, Baltimore, 1996; Nicolae Postolache, *Onoare lui Evanghelie Zappa. Olimpism, elenitate și românism*, Bucharest, 1996. Also see the recent study of Horia Alexandrescu, *Olimpiadele lui Zappa*, Bucharest, 2016, p. 57.

⁶⁸ David C. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 20; *Ἡλιος*, July 1833, nr. 2–4; Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis, *Απομνημονεύματα*, Athens, 1894, v. I, p. 377.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15 și 182.

⁷⁰ Nicolae Postolache, *Evanghelie Zappa, de la Broșteni la Atena. Repere europene*, Slobozia, 2004, p. 112; see *Οι Ποιμανόμενοι για τον Ζάππα*, Omonia, București, 2015, p. 67.

for the games to be pan-Hellenic, but the secretary insisted that they were international. The plan drafted by Sardellis in 13 points was written and re-written, because Zappa was always unhappy with the final form. There has also been a dispute between the secretary and the landowner in relation to the addressee. Sardelly insisted that the letter be addressed to the ministry of foreign affairs of Greece, while Zappa wished to address King Otto directly. As soon as he got his master's signature, Sardellis, fearing that he might change his mind, left for Bucharest in the evening. Advised by Zappa to beware of thieves, Sardelly proudly answered he was an Epirote as well, and 'all Epirotes are brave' [Καὶ ἐγὼ ἡπειρώτης, ὅλοι οἱ ἡπειρῶται εἶναι γενναῖοι]. Sardelly stayed at Atena Hotel on Calea Moșilor (former Cernica Inn), owned by Zappa. The envelope was handed to the guarantor of the Greek consulate, Constantine Fostiropoulos, who, instead of sending it sealed to Athens, as he had been advised, opened it to find out the contents of Zappa's proposal.⁷¹ In his report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of April 11, 1856, Fostiropoulos mentioned Zappa's proposal as one of the realizations of his term of office.⁷²

The following days, Constantine Fostiropoulos and his assistant, Georgios Venizelos, were Zappa's guests at Broșteni.⁷³ However, Fostiropoulos' interference in the matter of the donation made Zappa so angry, that he insisted that the diplomat be discharged, moreover, that his report to the Minister be destroyed. On April 18, 1856, Spiridon Skoufos was appointed general consul in Bucharest; he had been prefect and secretary general of the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction.⁷⁴ We do not know to which extent this appointment is related to the deeds told by Sardelly. It is rather the natural consequence of the new international political framework outlined after the signing of the Paris Treaty, in March 1856.

The Foreign Minister of Greece between 1856 and 1859, Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis⁷⁵, who he was descendent of an illustrious Phanariot family related to the Romanian nobility, tells, in his *Memoirs*, how the proposal was received in Athens. King Otto asked Minister 'what that nonsensical letter was about'.⁷⁶ But the Minister showed the King 'that he should not discourage the enthusiasm of that noble patriot'. The landowner from Wallachia was advised to donate the money to

⁷¹ *Η Ήρις*, no. 1, 6 March 1911, p. 1.

⁷² *GFOHA*, box. 36.5/1855, Fostiropoulos's report to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis, 11 April 1856 (no.1493).

⁷³ *Η Ήρις*, no. 1, 6 March 1911, p. 1.

⁷⁴ *GFOHA*, box. 36.5/1856, Royal decree no. 1766, 18 April 1866.

⁷⁵ On Rangavis, see Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis, *Απομνημονεύματα*, vol. I–IV, Athens, 1894–1930; Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis, *Απομνημονεύματα*, ed. by Takis Kayalis, Athens: Vivliorama, 1999; Eugenios G. Zalakostas, "Διαλέξεις περί Ελλήνων ποιητών του ΙΘ' αιώνας. Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής", *Διαλέξεις Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου Παρνασσού*, 6, 1916, p. 5–19; Euthimios Souloyannis, *Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής (1809–1892. Η ζωή και το έργο του*, Athens, 1995; Chaido Barkoula, *Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής (1830–1880): Αλυστροτισμός και Διπλωματία*, unpublished thesis, University of Athens, 2008.

⁷⁶ Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis, *Απομνημονεύματα*, Athens, 1894, vol. I, p. 377.

initiate an Olympics that should promote industry, not sports: ‘I showed him that, in today’s world, nations and people assert themselves not so much through the supremacy of their physical strength and skills, but rather through their intellectual energy and progress’. Rangavis proposed that exhibits were organized in Athens every three years, in order to stimulate agriculture and national industry.⁷⁷ On November 15, 1859 the first Zappa Olympic Games held in Athens.⁷⁸ Rangavis asked Zappa to contribute to the building of a permanent exhibition pavilion. The plans of architect François Boulanger and the estimates were sent to Broșteni for approval. Sardelly gave the consul Spiridon Skoufos 2 000 florins. The bag contained a much larger amount than agreed, but Sardelly gave Zappa back the surplus up to the last penny. The extended negotiations with politicians in Athens irritated Zappa, who used to call them *Καλαμαράδες*. This was a negative appreciation concerning the politicians that talked much, but did nothing. The expression dated since clerks from Bavaria had been brought to Greece, in the early years of the reign of King Otto (1830–1843).⁷⁹

In 1858, the Greek parliament voted a law by which it granted Greek citizenship to the Great Benefactors Apostol Arsachi from Bucharest, Demetrios Bernardakis (Vernardakis) from Sankt Petersburg and Simon Sinas from Vienna. Zappa did not constitute the object of the law because, as a participant in the war for the independence of Greece, he enjoyed citizenship rights. On the other hand, Arsachi, invited by the consul of Greece to take the citizenship oath in accordance with the provisions of the Greek law, politely declined the offer, because he had political ambitions in Wallachia.⁸⁰

Zappa was decorated with the Savior’s Cross [Σταυρός του Σωτήρος]⁸¹. As a sign of gratitude, Rangavis received from Zappa, through Skoufos, a bag containing a few thousands of drachmas. The minister, so as not to use to money for his own benefit, redirected it to financially support the archaeological excavations of the Dionysus theatre, close to the Acropolis.⁸² It is said that Queen Amalia got angry with Rangavis, because she wished to use the money to provide dowry for the poor girls at the establishment she had founded⁸³.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 89. (‘και δη τω παρέστησα ότι εν τοις ενεστώσι καιροίς τα έθνη και τα άτομα διακρίνει ουχι εις όσον βαθμόν άλλοτε, η υπεροχή της σωματικής ρωμής και δεξιότητος, αλλά πολύ μάλλον ή της διανοητικής ενέργειας και αναπτύξεως’)

⁷⁸ Kostis Georgiadis, “Η αναβίωση των σύγχρονων Ολυμπιακών αγώνων”, in *Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες (Αναφορές και Προσεγγίσεις)*, Athens, 2001, p. 91.

⁷⁹ *Η Ήρις*, no. 2, 13 March 1911, p. 1. On the correspondence between Zappa and Rangavis, see Paraskevas Samaras, *Η αναβίωση της Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων στην Ελλάδα 1797-1859*, Athens, 1992, p. 20.

⁸⁰ *GFOHA*, box. 49.1/1858, Greek Consul’s report (Bucharest) to Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 16 April 1858 (no. 1244).

⁸¹ *Η Ήρις*, III, no. 2, 13 March 1911, p. 1.

⁸² Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis, *Απομνημονεύματα*, Athens, 1894, vol. I, p. 382.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 383.

THE DICTIONARY OF THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE

Sardelly wanted to learn the Romanian language when he arrived in Romania, but it was not easy for him to find a grammar and a dictionary.⁸⁴ So Zappa's donation for the writing of a grammar and of the dictionary appeared out of the need of a foreigner to learn the Romanian language.

In 1859 Wallachia was united with Moldavia to form the United Principalities. The standardization of the national language has played a crucial role in the legitimacy of the emerging Romanian nation-state.

The Zappa's proposal for donation was addressed in February 1860 to the Prince of the United Principalities, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and to the Prime-minister Ion Ghica, former Prince of Samos⁸⁵. The plan was drafted by Sardelly, and the translation into Romanian of the donation deed of September 29, 1860 was made by professors George Ioanidi and Dimitrie Pavlidi.⁸⁶

In December 1892, the newspaper *Adevărul* [The Truth], in full campaign of opposing Zappa's testamentary order to the Commission of the Olympics, claimed that, in exchange of the donation to the Academy, Evanghelie Zappa allegedly asked Ion Ghica for tax exemptions for the commodities that he imported. The newspaper even makes a reference to the Zappa archives of the Academy, but none of the letters that we have researched mentions such favours. Besides, Ion Ghica disclaimed at once these accusations by the body of the national-liberal party, *Voința Națională* [The National Will].⁸⁷

In the Archives of Romanian Academy we found a piece of paper without date, which contains, transcribed by pencil, a fragment of a letter from February 21st, 1860 written by the landowner Zappa to the Prim-minister Ghica⁸⁸. The same document proves that Zappa, although he was Iancu Manu's man, was delighted by

⁸⁴ Sardelly used the grammar of Vasilakis. About Romanian Grammars and Romanian conversation guides: Nestor Camariano, "Sur l'activité de la Société littéraire gréco-dacique de Bucarest 1810–1812", RESEE, VI, 1968, I, p. 48 (he mentions a *Greek-Romanian and Bulgarian Manual* (1827) written by *Manole Vasile*, superintendent of Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia; Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Oi Ellinikés κοινότητες στη Ρουμανία τον 19^ο αιώνα*, Athens, 2010, p. 169. The author mentions a *Greek-Romanian Dialogues* (1856) - alphabet, reading rules, declination and conjugation, and a collection of the most commonly used words, phrases and dialogues in Romania: *Dialog greco-român care coprinde: alfabetul, regulile citirei, declinările și conjugările, și o culegere de cele mai întrebuintate vorbe, fraze și dialoguri*. Edited by Visarionu Russou, 3rd edition, Bucharest, 1856, *Αλφαβητάριον Βλάχο-Γραικικόν ή Μικρά γνώσις της Βλαχικής γλώσσης* (p. 91–98). See also Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines (1774–1859)*, Thessaloniki, 1998, p. 282.

⁸⁵ On the Zappa donation see Dorina N. Rusu, "Evanghelie Zappa", in *Patrimoniul Academiei Române, Donatori și donații, 1860–1948*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 2012 (1st edition, 2008), p. 39–44.

⁸⁶ *Η Τρίς*, no. 7, 17 April 1911, p. 1. On Pavlidi, see Cornelia Papacostea, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines...*, p. 260, 343.

⁸⁷ *Adevărul*, no. 1388, 20 December 1892, p. 2; Arhiva Academiei Române = RAA, Zappa Archive, v. 2, p. 128v.

⁸⁸ Zappa provided instructions for making the Dictionary. This fragment was published by Dorina N. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 97–98. See also the note 100.

Ion Ghica's political ideas. In a letter to Zappa, Ghica drew his attention to a provision of the Organic Regulation that prevented land owners to create ponds on navigable ways, such as Ialomița, warning him to fulfil his duty to his adoptive country. Zappa asked for the minister's indulgence, declaring that he would anyhow leave his fortune to the Romanian State.⁸⁹ This piece of paper does not bring much light on the relation between Zappa and Ghica. But in the same file we found the inventory of a precious fund: *Zappa Foundation and the Beginnings of the Romanian Academic Society, 1860–1867*. The inventory was drafted in 1880 by the Academy registrar, Ion Bianu. The file no. 383/1860 including 144 documents was handed over to the Romanian Academy by the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction.⁹⁰ The archivist Oana Popescu graciously helped us with a pile of various documents regarding Zappa's donation, Cuza's donation and the founding of the Academic Society. We have found all the documents that had once been included in the file number 383/1860. For instance, there is here the petition of February 3rd, 1860 sent to Prince Cuza, by which Zappa proposes the donation for the writing of the Romanian dictionary and of the grammar.

Among these documents we also found two letters addressed by Evangelie Zappa to Ghica (the original in Greek language, a copy in Greek and the translation into Romanian). In the letter to Ghica from February 21st, 1860, Zappa expressed his gratitude towards the prince's friendly attitude: 'The way how you were interested in me and the great feelings you have for the country delighted me so, that I have no words to express my gratitude and the love I carry for Your Highness'. Zappa was directly interested as the railroad towards Brăila port passed through his estates, through Urziceni and Slobozia, places densely inhabited and rich in agricultural products. He wanted the stations to be many and close to each other, so that he may transport the wheat to the Danube access scaffolds of Brăila and Hârșova in good conditions and without losses.⁹¹ At the time, the country was hectic with the railway fever. Even if numerous projects were made and debated, before 1869 nothing was actually put into practice in this regard.⁹²

In another letter to Ghica of March 13th, 1860, Zappas exposed his political ideas. This letter clearly shows that the two had the opportunity to meet face to face in order to agree on the donation. Zappas was advised by a friend to go to Bucharest to see the Minister. Ghica's political ideas conquered Zappas entirely, as he opposed both the social radicalism of the revolution of 1848, and the absolutist monarchy: 'I am Your Highness's friend, although it is the first time that we have met, I take interest in Your Highness's works, and it is my wish that they are accomplished in the best way possible; here is why. Being already accustomed to the constitutional government of Greece, I did not find enjoyable the past absolutist

⁸⁹ RAA, vol. 1/ 1860–1880, p. 1.

⁹⁰ RAA, vol. 1, p. 2.

⁹¹ RAA, Historic Documents /varia, 18th–19th centuries, Zappa.

⁹² Dan Berindei, *Societatea românească în vremea lui Carol I (1866–1876)*, Bucharest, 2002, p. 67.

system, that generated the 1848 system, which was completely opposite to the former one, the management of which was an obvious degradation, making me think, Alas! How unfortunate both for us and for our country, to endure these two systems, which, being hostile to one another, will bring destruction to our society; as we can no longer see the remedy, not even the means to contain the evil; so, deep down inside my soul, I was sorrowful. A friend of mine was saying that Iancu Ghica, as it turned out, was of a contrary opinion to these two systems and to the Russian ruling; and so I listened to him with satisfaction, because I liked what I heard, but couldn't believe it.⁹³

Zappa was closely interested in the agrarian reform. The liberal and radical politicians asked for a quick settlement of the land ownership issue, by redistributing large properties to landless peasants. However, Zappa was against such a direction. He also disliked the measures taken by Prince Barbu Știrbei (1849–1854), by which the gipsy slaves from private estates had been set free: 'You are more aware than me of the contrary behaviour of Știrbei, so I would only like to recall his different projects regarding people's status, which, although small, were enough to generate so much hatred against him, like no other, as it has come to our knowledge'.⁹⁴

On this occasion, Zappa sends Ghica's wife fresh products from his estate: 30 live quails, 1 package of fresh cheese, 3 pots of sour cream, 3 pots of fresh butter, 60 big quinces from Asia to make jam, 15 kilograms of barley. Prince Ghica also receives in this package Zappa's book on seeding and on farming methods.⁹⁵

The total donation amount for the dictionary of Romanian language was of 5 000 gold florins (157 000 lei)⁹⁶. According to the testamentary provisions, the beneficiary would receive every year 1 000 florins, through the Greek diplomatic authorities.⁹⁷ In 1866, the Literary Society was founded, which in 1867 became the Romanian Academic Society. This institution supported with Zappa's money the publication of the Romanian language dictionary, work produced by August Treboniu Laurian and Ion C. Massimu.⁹⁸ Likewise, awards have been organized for the translators of the great masterpieces of universal literature.

The authors of the Dictionary, members of the Transylvanian School, sought to purify the language by removing non-Latin elements.⁹⁹ Zappa was of a different opinion. In the letter to Ghica from February 21st, 1860, he supported the use of the vernacular language: 'when the time is right for you – you have to give orders to

⁹³ Idem, 13 March 1860.

⁹⁴ RAA, Historic Documents /varia, 18th–19th centuries, 13 March 1860.

⁹⁵ Idem, 21 February 1860.

⁹⁶ Idem, 22 November 1860 (payment receipt, Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction).

⁹⁷ RAL, Manuscripts, Zappa Archive, A 2011, f. 15, 16, 20, 21.

⁹⁸ Gh. Sion, "Dicționarul român: Premiul Zappa", *Revista Carpaților*, II, nr. 1, 6, 1861; Romanian Academy published: A.T. Laurian și I.C. Massimu, *Dicționarul limbii române*, Bucharest, 1877; *Gramatica limbii române*, vol. I. *Analitica*, Blaj, 1869; vol. II. *Sintactica*, Sibiu, 1877.

⁹⁹ Lucian Boia, *Romania, Borderland of Europe*, London, 2001, p. 84.

the professors and the village teachers both here and in Moldavia to go together around the villages to gather all the words in order to make this work, words, phrases, idioms, songs, fairy tales, technical names, tools, the names of different things, namely, trees, grasses, flowers, plants, insects, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, metals, and so on, the words, the phrases, idioms, songs and fairy tales, minerals; almost without exception they will record the words as they just heard them; afterwards they have to send the words to the editorial board of the dictionary in order to make them known to the public, and that way all people should be able to comment on this work'.¹⁰⁰

In 1922, Ion Bianu, in a speech at the highest cultural forum, stated that the Zappa Fund was 'the headstone that the Academy was set on'.¹⁰¹ That was the first donation to the Academy, and in terms of value, it has not been exceeded even by the Donation made by King Carol I. In 1867, at the inauguration of the Academic Society, the donor's bust was placed in the session room as a sign of gratitude.¹⁰² The bust – probably the work of Ioannis Kossos¹⁰³ – was given to the Academy by Constantine Zappa, as executor of his cousin.¹⁰⁴

At the ceremony of August 1st, 1867, which took place in the Costache Gr. Ghica's house, situated facing Cișmigiu Gardens – the entrance from Valter Mărăcineanu Square –, Romanians from all the regions across the borders have been invited, as well as numerous dignitaries. Constantine Zappa, although invited, did not attend the event, because the telegram did not arrive in due time.¹⁰⁵ The event organized at the Academy is presented in detail in the report written by the Greek consul, Stamatios Ghionis, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece on September 5th, 1867.¹⁰⁶ In the inaugural speech, V.A. Urechia, Director General of the Ministry of Cults and Public Instructions, stated that the purpose of Zappa's testamentary order was to cultivate the Romanian language among the Romanians of Macedonia: 'Zappa had only one true wish, to see the unification,

¹⁰⁰ RAA, Historic Documents /varia, 18th–19th centuries, 21 February 1860.

¹⁰¹ Ion Bianu, *Pomenirea donatorilor Academiei Române, cuvânt rostit de Ion Bianu în ședința plenară de la 1 iunie 1922*, Romanian Academy, 1922, p. 20. In 1922 the donation amount was of 624 000 lei. See, *Academia Română, Acte de fundațiune*, Bucharest, 1932.

¹⁰² Nicolae Postolache, *Evanghelie Zappa, de la Broșteni la Atena...op.cit.*, p. 87; *Actele și serbarea națională a inaugurării Societății pentru Gramatica și glosariul limbii române*, Bucharest, 1867. Dan Berindei, "Înființarea Societății Literare (Academică) și sesiunea din 1867", *Studii*, IX, no. 5, 1956, p. 21–44; On the Zappa Donation, see Dan Berindei, "Proiecte de înființare a unei societăți academice în vremea lui Alexandru Ioan Cuza", *Studii și articole de istorie*, no. 3, 1961, p. 223.

¹⁰³ Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, "La vie culturelle de la communauté grecque de Bucarest dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle", *RESEE*, 7, no. 2 (1969), p. 318.

¹⁰⁴ Arhiva Academiei Române = RAA, Documente istorice varia, secolele XVII–XIX, 7 May 1866, Zappa to Minister of Cults and Public Instruction.

¹⁰⁵ Nicolae Postolache, *Evanghelie Zappa, de la Broșteni la Atena...*, p. 86; BAR, Manuscrite, Archive of Zappa, A 2011, f. 4.

¹⁰⁶ *GFOHA*, box 36, 36.5/1867, the Greek Consul in Bucharest to Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 9 August 1867, no.1249.

the merging of the Macedonian-Romanian dialect with the language of Trajan Romania'.¹⁰⁷ The Greek consul in Bucharest characterized these statements as 'theatrical' and 'demagogical', with the sole purpose to sustain 'xenophobia, particularly the anti-Greek sentiment'. According to his opinion, these assertions attempted to distort the public attention from the international scandal raised by the persecution of the Jewish population.¹⁰⁸ In the spring of 1867, the Minister of Interior Affairs, Ion C. Brătianu, had launched an aggressive anti-Jewish policy, ordering the expulsion of the Jews from the countryside.¹⁰⁹

FROM ZAPPA'S SECRETARY TO THE FOUNDER OF THE *IRIS* NEWSPAPER

After the year 1860, we do not know by which circumstances Sardelly was no longer in Zappa's service. We find out several issues about the problematic relationship of the landowner with his secretary from the report drafted by the general consul of Greece in Bucharest, Stamatios Ghionis, sent to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in March 1866. In 1860, Zappa fired Sardelly, accusing him of having intimate relations with one of his housemaids. It seems that the relationship between the two lovers went on even after Sardelly left the estate. Ghionis noted that Sardelly 'continues to live immorally and even have children with her, while in his country, in Ioannina, he has a wife and legitimate children'.¹¹⁰

Sardelly was married around 1860 and had three children. His elder son, Alcibiades, born on June 11, 1862, in Bucharest, studied at the Greek High-School Venieri of Galați and then at the Faculty of Law of Athens.¹¹¹ Angelica, Zaharia Sardelly's only daughter, married Constantine Petrescu-Carambulea, bachelor of the Faculty of Law of Bucharest, owner of Cuparu estate, situated close to Găești.¹¹² The couple had a daughter, Olga-Virginia¹¹³. Sardelly used to spend very much time at their mansion in Cuparu, to mourn at the tombs of his son-in-law (1896), of his grand-daughter (1899) and of his elder son (1907). A few years later,

¹⁰⁷ V.A. Urechia, *Opere complete... op. cit.*, p. 5

¹⁰⁸ *GFOHA*, box. 36.5/1867, the Greek Consul in Bucharest to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 9 August 1867 (no. 1249).

¹⁰⁹ Victor Neuman, "Probleme ale emancipării evreilor reflectată în cultura română modernă", in Alexandru Zub (ed. by), *Identitate/alteritate în spațiul românesc: culegere de studii*, Iași, 1996, p. 299.

¹¹⁰ *GFOHA*, box. 49.2/1866, Consul's report (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 14 March 1866.

¹¹¹ In 1906, the government issued a decree banishing the 'unwanted' Greek subjects, including the journalists. Among them was Alcibiades Z. Sardelly. Information related to the Sardelly family, in *Interogatoriu pentru stabilirea identității*, 6 February 1906, in Arhivele Municipiului București, Prefectura Poliției Capitalei, no. 112, box. 47/1904-1906, f. 42.

¹¹² *H Iptis*, II, no. 1109, 31 July 1896, p. 1.

¹¹³ *H Iptis*, II, no. 1291, 1 February 1899, p. 3.

after the premature disappearance of her husband and daughter, Angelica married the Romanian officer Roșeanu from Pitești. Her younger brother, Aristotle, born in 1882, studied the law in Athens, obtained Romanian citizenship and got actively involved in the public life in the first half of twentieth century¹¹⁴.

Let us go back to Sardelly's youth years. In November 1862, C.D. Aricescu published *Ode to Greece*, by which it saluted the dethroning of King Otto. The Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza was considered by the opposition press to be a tyrant who would have the same fate as King Otto. Aricescu was indicted and sentenced to prison. The Greeks from the capital city supported the fierce journalist, collecting the necessary money to publish Aricescu's polemic brochure and to pay his fine. For these purposes, a banquet has been organized in Zaharia Sardelly's house.¹¹⁵

We find out in the pages of the *Iris* newspaper that Sardelly made friends with the Romanian liberals Cezar Bolliac, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Ion C. Brătianu and C. A. Rosetti.¹¹⁶ On May 16th, 1891, mourning the death of the leader of the liberal party, Ion C. Brătianu, Sardelly recalled their last meeting. Grieving and sad, Sardelly friendly comforted the former prime-minister, telling him that it was in the nature of the 'Hellenic-Latin race' to forget its benefactors during their lifetime and to make them immortals after their death.¹¹⁷ Brătianu had been a prime-minister for 12 years between 1876 and 1888, and among its achievements, we are mentioning the proclamation of independence of Romania, of the Kingdom and the revision of the Constitution.

Sardelly was actively involved in the life of the Greek community of Bucharest. After dethroning King Otto in 1862, the provisory government organized elections for the Constituent Assembly. Zaharia P. Sardelly's signature is found on the petition of the Greek subjects of Bucharest to the National Assembly of Athens, by which consular authorities were accused of aiming at enforcing the candidature of Constantine Kanaris, the hero admiral of 1821. Ahead of the protesters was Constantine Fostiropoulos¹¹⁸, clerk of the general consulate of Greece between 1846 and 1856.¹¹⁹

In October 1865, Sardelly founded the *Iris* newspaper in Bucharest.¹²⁰ The objective of the newspaper was to militate for the release from under the Ottoman yoke of Epirus, his home land. Subscriptions were made at the consulate and at the

¹¹⁴ Alkis Mysinis-Manthos, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

¹¹⁵ C. Aricescu, *Procesul meu pentru Oda la Grecia*, Bucharest, 1863; Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, *La communaute grecque de Bucarest au XIX^e siècle*, p. 317; *H'Iptis*, no. 104, 13 August 1891, p. 1. See the article *Călătorie prin țară*.

¹¹⁶ Dimitrios Iconomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹¹⁷ *H'Iptis*, no. 933, 16 May 1891, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους, Μικρές Συλλογές Λαδά, [The State Archives of Greece. Lada Archive Elections. Consulates and vice-consulates], box. 51.6, on 23 of December 1862.

¹¹⁹ GFOHA, 35.5/1855, Fostiropulos' s report (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 11 April 1856.

¹²⁰ Dimitrios Iconomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

consular agencies of the country.¹²¹ In the 1890s, Zaharia Sardelly took annual trips, to meet the subscribers of the newspaper.¹²² The director of *Iris* was also the correspondent of Greek newspapers from Greece and from Constantinople.¹²³ In 1868, the general consul in Bucharest, Stamatios Ghionis, claimed that he had given subsidies to Sardelly for several years, and when he stopped giving him as much as he asked for, the journalist started denigrating him without mercy.¹²⁴ Sardelly was inflexible and unwilling to compromise his national principles. In 1874, the Greek consult in Bucharest, Cleon Rizos-Rangavis, asked the Romanian government to expel Sardelly from the country for his hostile press campaign.¹²⁵ A conational even attempted to assassinate him.¹²⁶

We are going to explain in short the beginnings of the complicated Zappa affair. By Evanghelie Zappa's will written on November 30, 1860, the greatest part of his wealth was donated to the Olympic Commission of Athens, established in 1859. Other testamentary provisions referred to the Romanian Academy, to the schools and churches of his estates and of the native village. His relatives received a small part of his fortune.

In March 1863, the landowner had a stroke, but a final diagnosis was set barely in the autumn of 1863 by a team of doctors from Paris. He suffered from general palsy - *paralysie générale*¹²⁷.

In May 1865, Lucas Cociu, son of Maria, Evanghelie Zappa's sister, in a note addressed to the public opinion, disclosed the circumstances leading to his uncle's sickness. Constantine Zappa had been designated by Evanghelie to draft the documents to buy Bălăceanca estate of Râmnicu Sărat County. But, as it was his nature, Evanghelie Zappa allegedly changed his mind. His cousin ignored his objections and made the transaction. The land owner was so upset that he had a stroke. It seems that the witness to this episode was Athanasios, Evanghelie's brother and Lucas Cociu's uncle¹²⁸. However, Cociu's credibility was questioned by Stamatios Ghionis, who, in his report to the Minister of Exterior Affairs of Greece, dating June 12, 1865, stated that this member of the family was governed

¹²¹ Dimitrios Iconomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹²² See the serial of articles *Călătorii din Găești în Mica Valahie* [Trips from Găești to Lesser Wallachia], *H Iric*, no. 1287, 11 October 1899, p. 2; no. 1288, 24 October 1898, p. 2; no. 1298, 24 November 1899, p. 1.

¹²³ *GFOHA*, box 49.2/1866, Ghionis (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 14 March 1866.

¹²⁴ *GFOHA*, box. 49.2/1868, George Venizelos's report (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 3 April 1868.

¹²⁵ *GFOHA*, box. 36.5, 5/1874, Rangavis (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 26 September 1874 (no. 1 550).

¹²⁶ Dimitrios Iconomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹²⁷ *Προζενείον εν Βουκουρέστιω. Συλλογή εγγράφων σχετικά με την υπόθεση Ζάππα*, Athens, 1866, 1892. See the medical report, Paris, on 5 of October 1863, p. 3. ('M Zappa ne parle que les langues russe [actually Romanian] et grecque et ne sait pas un mot de français').

¹²⁸ *GFOHA*, 88.1/1868, Ghionis to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 12 June 1865 (no. 1039): Memoire of Cociu on 5 of May 1865.

by vengeance, as he had been sent away from the estate by Evangelie Zappa because of some financial irregularities¹²⁹.

On June 9, 1865, Evangelie Zappa died at his mansion in Broșteni. Ghionis went quickly there to seal the deeds and the personal belongings of the deceased, according to the regulations of the legal system of foreign subjects¹³⁰. In 1868, the *Iris* initiated a virulent campaign against Evangelie Zappa's cousin and executor, Constantine. He was accused of trying to alter, for his own benefit, the testamentary provisions before being disclosed the piece of news concerning his cousin's incurable illness.¹³¹ In the issue of March 13, 1868, the newspaper published Georgios Katelouzos's confession¹³². A report drafted by the Greek consulate of Bucharest, on May 24, 1868, questions Katelouzos' credibility, who had been hired by Evangelie Zappa to draft the topographic map of an estate. He allegedly has not remained in the land owner's service, being fired at once for requesting a too big a fee.

Katelouzos files the following counts against Constantine Zappa: 1) he allegedly concealed for a long time the seriousness of his cousin's disease with the purpose to regulate his fortune on his own personal behalf¹³³; 2) he allegedly had no reaction to the statements made by V.A. Urechia, who qualified him as Romanian-Macedonian on the occasion of the inauguration of the Academic Society, in 1867¹³⁴; 3) he allegedly slowed down the execution of Evangelie Zappa's will for the benefit of the Olympic Commission¹³⁵. Moreover, in combination with Zappa, he was also the guarantor of the Greek consul of Bucharest, Gheorghios Venizelos, who supposedly made a fortune out of trials and other legal procedures¹³⁶. In a note inserted in Katelouzos' brochure, Sardelly asked himself, rhetorically: 'when has Zappa ever said or promised officially that he would execute his cousin's testamentary provisions?'¹³⁷ In a diplomatic report to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the general consulate of Bucharest explained why Zappa was late in transferring the money for the organization of the Olympics and for the beginning of works for the Olympic Palace. This delay had been caused by Evangelie Zappa's sister, Maria Cociu (Cotsiu), who initiated, in 1865, a trial related to the inheritance, which ended by a family arrangement.¹³⁸

In December 1891, Evangelie Zappa's cousin and executor, Constantine Zappa, also died. The Romanian government, through the Ministry of Estates, filed

¹²⁹ Idem, 12 June 1865, no. 1039.

¹³⁰ Idem, Ghionis to Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 12 June 1865 (no. 1038).

¹³¹ *H Iris*, no. 55, 13 March 1868, p. 1.

¹³² Έκ της εν Βουκουρεστίω Ελληνικής Εφημερίδος 'Ιριδος' Περί του Εθνικού Κληροδοτήματος του Ε. Ζάππα υπό Γ. Κατελούζου, εν Βουκουρεστίω 23 Φεβρουαρίου 1868.

¹³³ *H Iris*, no. 55, 13 March 1868, p. 1.

¹³⁴ Έκ της εν Βουκουρεστίω Ελληνικής Εφημερίδος 'Ιριδος'..., p. 8.

¹³⁵ *H Iris*, no. 60, 17 April 1868, p. 4.

¹³⁶ Έκ της εν Βουκουρεστίω Ελληνικής Εφημερίδος 'Ιριδος'..., p. 4.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹³⁸ GFOHA, 88.1/1868, the Greek Consul (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 24 May 1868 (no. 584).

an action in justice, claiming the nullity of the will of 1860, although no public authority had disputed it for 27 years. The Romanian government's position was clear. According to the Constitution of 1866, no foreigner could be a land owner in Romania. In the opinion of the representative of the Greek government in Bucharest, Ioannis Alexandropoulos, the lack of reasoning and of flexibility of the Romanian government in managing this matter created problems not only to the Greek state, who could not take possession of the huge fortune, but it also threatened the fund destined to the Academy, that was kept in the accounts of the National Bank of Greece.¹³⁹

Before the categorical refusal of the Romanian government to accept the Commission of the Olympics, represented by the Greek state, as part in Zappa's trial, the government of Greece decided to break the diplomatic relations with Romania.¹⁴⁰

The Sardelly were involved in settling these matters through the press body, *Iris*. In 1893, Alcibiades, son of Zaharia Sardelly, director of the newspaper, published an article called, *Αι πολιτογραφήσεις* [Naturalizations], by which he condemned the wave of naturalizations of the Greeks in Romania, who declared themselves as Romanians from Macedonia, to protect their land properties and their business.¹⁴¹ Ioannis Alexandropoulos, the guarantor of the Greek Legation in the period of the diplomatic conflict, between 1892 and 1886, informed the government of Athens of the fact that Alcibiades Sardelly, chief editor of *Iris*, had information which, should it be published, could prejudice the Greek interests. For instance, the lawyer of the Greek party, Constantine Boerescu, was suspected to play a double part in the trial.¹⁴²

This study does not aim at untying the legal knots and the political complications of this famous affair.¹⁴³

The justice has not admitted the claims of the two States, but it admitted the right of their relatives to inheritance. In 1893, Bucharest Court produced its decision in the first instance, confirmed by the Court of Appeal in 1896 and later by the Court of Cassation in 1898.¹⁴⁴

In the meantime, in 1896, the diplomatic relations between Romania and Greece were re-established, and in 1900, the trading convention with the attached protocol was signed, by which it recognized the legal status and the real estate

¹³⁹ GFOHA, box 60.2/1896, Iannis Alexandropoulos (Bucharest) to Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 24 May 1896 (no. 267).

¹⁴⁰ See Constantin Velichi, "Les relations roumano-grecques pendant la période 1879–1911", RESEE, VII, 3, 1969, p. 524.

¹⁴¹ IAYE, box D 60.2/1893, Iannis Alexandropoulos (Bucharest) to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 16 March 1893, no. 989.

¹⁴² Idem, Alexandropoulos to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefanos Dragumis (confidential), 2 April 1893.

¹⁴³ See Laura Ulinici, *Afacerea Zappa și conflictul diplomatic greco-român, 1892–1896*, unpublished PhD thesis, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iasi, 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Delia Comaniciu, *Istoricul dreptului de proprietate acordat streinilor în România: cu o privire generală asupra condițiunei lor juridice*, Bucharest, 1938, p. 137.

patrimony of the Greek communities in the country. To reopen the legal file of Zappa's inheritance, the Greek government had no other chance than to obtain the recognition of the Olympic Commission as a legal entity in Romania. In 1898, the prime-minister D.A. Sturdza (1833-1914) showed receptive, but, fearing any hostile reactions among the national-liberal party, he withdrew the draft law submitted to the Parliament in the last minute.¹⁴⁵ Eventually, in 1901, the government issued a decree by which the Olympic Society was recognized in Romania as a legal entity.¹⁴⁶ In 1903, the Greek State obtained by court the right to the equivalent value of the properties, which were to be sold by auction. The appeal of the Commission of the Olympics to this decision was rejected in 1909.¹⁴⁷ By this solution of compromise, a diplomatic dispute lingering for almost a decade was finally brought to an end. However, the case was never fully closed in court. In 1927, the Greek government sent to Romania a lawyer who was to analyze the extent to which the Commission of the Olympics of Athens could claim the 1/3 share of Evanghelie's wealth, that his late brothers, Apostolos and Christos Zappas, Constantine's nephew, were entitled to.¹⁴⁸ In 1900, the Zappa Fund of the Romanian Academy was regulated. The Academy received 280 000 lei from the National Bank of Greece, giving up on the annual interest rates, paid according to the Greek Legation of Bucharest.¹⁴⁹

CONCLUSIONS

The *Iris* newspaper, although it never appeared as a daily, and its publishing was interrupted several times, for many years, managed to survive for many decades after the founder's death. *Iris* is a family chronicle recording private events, trips, information about friends and close relatives of Zaharia P. Sardelly and of his children. The newspaper is at the same time a guide of the life led by the Greek communities in Romania.

In 1911, almost five decades after Evanghelie Zappa's death, the *Iris* newspaper published the memories of its founder, who worked for a short period of time as secretary of the great landowner and philanthropist. The Modern Olympic Games, the Grammar and the Dictionary of Romanian language were born in the mansion of Broșteni between 1854 and 1860. This study brings to light other documentary testimonies that complete, confirm or deny Zaharia Sardelly's observations.

¹⁴⁵ *GFOHA*, Δ. 60. 2/1898, Zappa Legacy, Greek Legation in Romania to Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11 October 1898 (no. 920).

¹⁴⁶ *Desbaterile Adunării Deputaților*, 1901–1902, 22 ianuarie 1902, ședința din 20 decembrie 1901, p. 235; Ion Bulei, *Conservatori și conservatorism în România*, București, 2000, p. 276.

¹⁴⁷ Delia Comaniciu, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁴⁸ *Υπουργείο Γεωργίας, Τμήμα Κληροδοτημάτων και σχολαζούσαι κληρονομία*, Θ. Γ. Τσηκουράκου, National Typography, Athens, 1930.

¹⁴⁹ Ion Bianu, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

As a journalist, Sardelly distinguished himself as a fierce supporter of the Greek idea in the Balkans, and ‘the eastern confederation’ [η Ανατολική ομοσπονδία], the slogan of his newspaper in the first years of publication, was seen rather in terms of confrontation than of cooperation between nations. Sardelly believed in the danger of Slavic dominion, opposed by the Greek-Romanian cooperation.¹⁵⁰

Zaharia Sardelly, in his spiritual testament, published in *Iris* on September 13, 1913, makes a confession of faith: ‘I preserved untainted my nationality, rejecting the citizenship that has been offered to me by the Romanian authorities’.¹⁵¹

Sardelly died on September 20, 1913 in Găești. The entire Romanian press and the Greek newspapers in the country have sent telegrams of condolences.¹⁵²

Annex no. 1: Letter of Evanghelie Zappa to Ion Ghica, 21 February 1860 (the original in Greek)

Μυριοσέβαστέ μοι Πρίγκηψ,

Ὁ τρόπος τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ περιποιήσεως, καὶ τῶν Μεγάλων ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰσθημάτων της, με ἔθελξαν τόσον, ὥστε δὲν ἔχω λέξιν νὰ ἐκφράσω τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ ἀγάπην, ὑφ’ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτητός της ἐμπνέομαι. ἀλλὰ μόνον εὐχομαι ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς καὶ καρδιάς, ἵνα ὁ πανάγαθος Θεός! Τῇ χαρίσει ζωὴν καὶ ὑγείαν πρὸς πραγματοποιήσιν αὐτῶν.

Ἐπιστρέφων ἐνταῦθα, εἶδον ἰχνογράφημα παρὰ τινι φίλῳ μου περὶ τοῦ σιδηροδρόμου ὃν οἱ Μηχανικοὶ προλαβόντως ἐσχεδίασαν, καὶ ὅστις μοὶ φαίνεται διέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀκατοίκητα μέρη καὶ οὐχὶ ἐντελῶς ἐπωφελεῖ διὰ τὸν τόπον. Καθ’ ὅτι ἀπὸ Ὀμπιλέστι μέχρις Σλομποζίας εἶναι το Μπαραγάνι, ἀκατοίκητον διόλου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σλομποζίας μέχρις Ἰβραΐλας, ἐκτεταμένας πεδιάδες καὶ ὀλίγον κατοικημένα. Ἐπομένως, μεσημβρινῶς αὐτοῦ, ὅπου εἶναι τὰ παραδουνάβια κτήματα καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῶν, τὰ προϊόντα τὰ ἐξάγουν καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦ Δουνάβεως πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅπου θὰ ἔχωμεν καὶ ἀτμόπλοια Βορειο- Δυτικῶς αὐτοῦ, τὰ μέρη δὲν εἶναι τόσον κατοικημένα.

Δι’ αὐτὸ καθυποβάλλω εἰς τὴν σκέψιν τῆς Ἐκλαμπρότητός της, ἐάν τῇ φανῇ ἐπωφελέστερον διὰ τοῦς ἀκολουθούς λόγους, νὰ χαραχθῇ αὐτός διὰ Οὐρζιτζενίου, ἐνθα νὰ συνδεθῆται μὲ τὸν σιδηρόδρομον τῆς Χέρσοβας, ἔχων σταθμὸν τὴν Σλομποζίαν. Ἡ γραμμὴ αὕτη, ἐκτὸς ὅπου εἶναι δεξιά καὶ ἀριστερὰ κατοικημένα, ἐχαράχθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατοίκων ἔκπαλαι ὡς δρόμος μέγας, σύντομος, καὶ κοινωνικώτατος μεταξύ Βουκουρεστίου καὶ Ἰβραΐλας, καὶ τὸν ὅποιον καθιέρωσεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, ἥτις εἶναι μητὴρ τῆς Σοφίας. Καὶ μόνον ὅπου εἶναι ἄπειροι πόδοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ιάλομιτζας, ὡς τοῦ Λουίτζιου, Μάλον, Κρασανίου, Ρασίου, Καζανεστίου, Τζουκίνας, Σλομποζίας, κινήτοί, καὶ ἐκτὸς ὁ ἐδικὸς μου στερεὸς εἰς πάλους, οὐδεὶς ἐπέσυρε τὴν προσοχὴν τῶν κατοίκων, παρὰ ὃ ἄνω ῥηθεὶς δρόμος διὰ τοῦ Οὐρζιτζενίου μ’ ὄλην τὴν τρομερὰν λάσπην τῆς λούνγκας αὐτοῦ.

Τώρα δὲ ἐξαιρουμένων τῶν παραδουνάβιων καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων αὐτῶν κτημάτων, τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη μέχρι τῶν προπόδων τῶν βουνῶν, τὰ διασχίζει σχεδὸν κατὰ μῆκος ἀπὸ Βουκουρεστίου μέχρι τῆς Ἰβραΐλας. Καὶ ἅπανα ἡ ἐξαγωγή καὶ ἡ εἰσαγωγή θέλει γίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ δρόμου τούτου, χωρὶς νὰ ἐξοδεύσωμεν καὶ πολλὰ, διότι τὸ ἐλικοειδὲς τοῦ δρόμου ἀπὸ Βουκουρεστίου διὰ Σλομποζίας εἰς Ἰβραΐλαν, παραβαλλόμενον μὲ τὸ κατ’ εὐθεῖαν διὰ Οὐρζιτζενίου ἐκεῖσε, καὶ μὲ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Χίρσοβας, ἀπὸ Σλομποζίας μέχρι τοῦ Οὐρζιτζενίου, δὲν ἔχομεν ν’ αὐξήσωμεν περισοτέραν ἔκτασιν παρὰ ἓν ἕκτον 1/6 τζίρκα τοῦ νῦν μελετουμένου δρόμου διὰ Σλομποζίας εἰς

¹⁵⁰ See Olga Cicanici, *Presa de limbă greacă din România în veacul al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 132.

¹⁵¹ ‘Διετήρησα τὴν ἐθνικότητά μου ἀμόλυντον, ἀποποιηθεὶς ἄλλην ἰθαγένειαν, προσφερθεῖσαν μοὶ ὑπὸ ἐπισήμων ἐγχωρίων’, Dimitrios Iconomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁵² *H Iris*, no. 110, 20 October 1913, p. 1.

Ἰβραίλας καθὼς τοῦτο δύναται να πληροφορηθῆ καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοπικοῦ χάρτου ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν μετρῶνται αὐτὰ μὲ τὸν διαβήτην πρὸς γνῶσιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἥτις καίτοι μικρά, μᾶς παρέχει ὅμως μεγάλας ὠφελείας εἰς τὸν τόπον, καὶ τῆς ὁποίας τα ἔξοδα θέλουν πληρωθῆ πολλαπλασίως ἐκ τῶν ἀφθόνων ἐξαγωγῶν καὶ εἰσαγωγῶν τῶν προϊόντων ἅς ὁ δρόμος αὐτὸς θέλει ἔχει διὰ παντός. Καὶ ἐκτὸς τούτου ὅταν ἐπεκταθῆ καὶ κανένας κλάδος διὰ Μπουζέου ἢ Πλοέστι, ἢ ταρινή αὐτῆ προσθήκη θέλει συντέμνει τὸ διάστημα αὐτῶν τῶν μερῶν.

Μόλον ὅπου ἐγὼ εἶμαι τῆς ιδέας, ὅπου ὅταν χαραχθῆ ὁ δρόμος διὰ Οὐρζιτζενίου εἰς Ἰβραίλας, ἢ ὁποία ἔχει ἀνάγκην τῆς συγκεντρώσεως μᾶλλον τῶν προϊόντων εἰς αὐτήν, διότι τὴν ἐξαγωγήν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Χίρσοβαν τὴν κάμνει δι' ἀτμοπλοίων καὶ φορτηγῶν μέσου Δουνάβεως, ἐπεκταθῆ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κλάδος ἀπὸ Βουκουρεστίου μέχρι Ὀρσοβας, ὡς μοι εἶπεν ἡ ἐκλαμπρότης τῆς, εἶναι ἀρκετότατος μόνον αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος, ὡς διασχίζων τὸν τόπον σχεδὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ν' ἀπορροφήσῃ ὅλα τὰ προϊόντα τῶν μεσογαίων καὶ τὰ μεταφέρει ἔνθα ἡ χρεία ταὸ καλέσεν, εἰς Ἰβραίλαν ἢ Χίρσοβαν, χωρὶς νὰ ἔχωμεν ἀνάγκην ἐπεκτάσεως ἄλλου κλάδου καὶ ἂν ὑπάρχῃ καμμία ἀμφιβολία ἢ διχογνωμία τῶν Μηχανικῶν περὶ τούτου καὶ τῆ φανῆ κατάλληλον νὰ στηριχθῶσι ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ζώσης, καὶ πραγματικῶς παρούσης τῆς πρὸς περισσοτέραν κατάληψιν καὶ ἐγκρίνη ὅτι δύναμαι νὰ χρησιμεύσω καὶ ἐγὼ εἰς τοῦτο, εἶμαι ἔτοιμος ὅταν προστάξῃ, ὥστε νὰ προληφθῶσιν ὅλα τὰ κατάλληλα μέτρα καὶ τεθῶσιν ὑπὸ ὄριμον σκέψιν πρὸ τῶν εργασιῶν, διότι ἀφοῦ ἅπαξ στρωθῆ ὁ δρόμος, δὲν δυνάμεθα πλέον νὰ διορθώσωμεν τὸ λάθος του. ἐπομένως ὁ σιδηρόδρομος οὗτος πρέπει νὰ ἔχῃ πολλοὺς καὶ πλησίον σταθμούς, διότι ἡμεῖς ἐξάγομεν γεννήματα ἅτινα ἐκτὸς ὅπου θέλουν περιποιηθῆν διὰ νὰ μὴ χαλάσῃ εἰς τὸν δρόμον, εἰσὶν ὀγκωδέστατα καὶ παρέχουν δυσκολίας εἰς τὴν μεταφορὰν, τὰ ὁποία μόνον οἱ ῥηθέντες σταθμοὶ θέλουν βοηθήσει τὸν σιδηρόδρομον νὰ μεταφέρει εἰς καλὴν κατάστασιν, εὐκόλως καὶ ταχέως ἔνθα ἡ χρεία τὸ καλέσεν.

Ζητῶ συγγνώμην, ἐκλαμπρότατε! ἐάν εἶναι λανθασμένη ἡ γνώμη μου αὐτή, ἥτις δὲν ἀποβλέπει εἰς ἄλλο, εἰμὴ τὰ δυὸ ταῦτα μεγάλα ἔργα ἅτινα ἡ ψυχὴ μου εὐχεται, σιδηρόδρομον καὶ ἐθνικὴν τράπεζαν, ἐπιθυμῶ ν' ἀρχίσουν καὶ νὰ γίνωσιν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν ἀνευ ἐλλείψεως καὶ λάθους ἐπὶ τῆς πρωθυπουργίας τῆς, ὡς τῆ ἐξέφράσθη καὶ διὰ ζώσης.

Ἐπομένως τὴν παρακαλῶ νὰ μὴν λησμονήσῃ ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν, νὰ σπουδάσῃ καὶ τινὰς φρονίμους ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας, τοῖς ὁποίοις νὰ πλησιάσῃ μὲ τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ εὐγενικὸν αὐτῆς τρόπον διὰ νὰ μᾶς χρησιμεύσῃ ἐν καιρῷ. Καὶ πλησίον τῶν ἀπειραρίθμων φροντίδων τῆς ἅς ἐνθυμηθῆ καὶ τὴν ἀνάπτυξιν τῆς ιδέας τοῦ συνδέσμου τῶν ἐθνικοτήτων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, τόσον πρὸς τὴν Αὐτοῦ Ὑψηλότητα, ὅσον καὶ ἀλλαγῶν ἔνθα ἐγκρίνει, διότι αὕτη καὶ μόνη εἶναι ἡ σωτηρία ἡμῶν διὰ τὸ μέλλον.

Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τοῦ λεξικοῦ καὶ τῆς γραμματικῆς ὅταν τῆς φανῆ κατάλληλος ὁ καιρὸς, νὰ δοθῶσιν διαταγαὶ τόσον ἐνταῦθα, ὅσον καὶ εἰς Μολδαβίαν εἰς ὄλους τοὺς καθηγητὰς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ὅπως περιέληθῃ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὅλα τὰ χωρία τῆς ἐπαρχίας μετὰ τῶν διδασκάλων τῶν χωρίων καὶ συλλέξῃ ὅλας τὰς λέξεις, τὰς συντείνουσας εἰς τὴν ἀποπεράτωσιν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου, δλδ. λέξεις, φράσεις, ἰδιοτισμοὺς, ἄσματα, παράμυθια, μύθους, τεχνικὰς λέξεις, τῶν ἐργαλίων αὐτῶν ὀνοματολογίας διαφόρων δένδρων, χόρτων, ἀνθῶν, φυτῶν, ἐντόμων, ζώων, πτυνῶν, ἐρπετῶν, ἰχθίων, μετάλλων, ὀρυκτῶν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι ἄλλο ἀνεξαίρετως ἀπαντήσωσιν εἰς διαφόρους τόπους, γράφοντας ταῦτα ἀπαράλλακτα ὅπως τὰ εὐρωσιν, καὶ διαβιβασώσιν εἰς τὴν κεντρικὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς συνθέσεως ὅπως τὰ τυπώσῃ, καὶ δημοσιεύσῃ πρὸς γνῶσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἵνα ὁ βουλομένος κάμῃ τὰς παρατηρήσεις του πρὸς φωτισμὸν τοῦ ἔργου.

Παρακαλῶ ἔχετε τὴν καλωσύνην, ἵνα διὰ τῆς Ὑμ. Ἐκλαμπρότητος εἰσακουσθῆ ἡ παράκλησίς μου πρὸς τὴν Σεβαστὴν ὑμῶν Πριγκειπέσσαν, τῆς ὁποίας φιλῶ τὰς χεῖρας τῆς, ὅπως εὐαρεστηθῆ νὰ δεχθῆ τὰ κάτωθεν σημειωμένα προϊόντα ἐκ τῶν κτημάτων ἐνὸς φίλου, ὅστις σέβεται καὶ θέλει σεβασθῆ ἀμφοτέροις ἐφ' ὄρου ζωῆς.

Λάβετε καὶ τὸ ατελὲς πονημάτιον ὅπου τῆς εἶπα εἰς τὸ βλαχικὸν μέρος ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 50 καὶ 76 περὶ τῆς καθαρίσεως τοῦ σιταροσπαρμοῦ, καὶ καλλιτέρευσιν τῶν ζώων διὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀρρένων. Ἡ Ἐκλαμπρότης τῆς θέλει ἀναπτύξῃ τὴν ἰδέα ταύτην ὡς παρέχουσαν μεγάλας ὠφελείας εἰς τὸν τόπον.

Μένω μετὰ βαθυτάτου σεβασμοῦ.

Τῆς Ἐκλαμπρότητος τῆς ὀ εὐπειθέστατος
 Εὐαγγελ. Ζάππας
 Σήμερον ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνέγνων μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τὰ δύο ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐκλαμπρότητος τῆς Κύρια
 Ἄρθρα τῶν ἡμερῶν Αἰῶνος, καὶ φιλοπάτριδος Ἑλληνοσ, ἅτινα τὰ ἐσημείωσα διὰ ἐρυθροῦ
 μολυβδοκοκκιδίου, καὶ τὰ περικελείω ὅπως τὰ ἀναγνώσῃ χάριν περιεργείας.

30 περπελίτζαις ζωνταναίς
 1 ἔν δέμα τυρίταζέτικο
 3 οὐάλλαις σμεντένα
 3 οὐάλλαις βούτυρο ταζέτικο
 3 γουρουνόπουλα βυζακτάρια
 60 κυδώνια μεγάλα τῆς Ἀσίας διὰ γλυκό
 15 κιλὰ κριθάρι.

Τῆ 21 Φεβρουαρίου 1860, Μπροστένη

Annex no. 2. Letter of Evanghelie Zappa to Ion Ghica, 21 February 1860 (in Romania translation).

Prea-Respectabile Print,

Modul cu care v-ați interesat de mine și marile sentimente ce purtați patriei, m-au încântat într-atâta încât nu am cuvinte ca să-mi exprim recunoștința și dragostea de cari sunt însuflețit pentru Măria-voastră. Doresc numai din adâncul sufletului și inimii mele ca prea bunul Dzeu să vă dăruiească viață și sănătate pentru făptuirea lor.

Reîntorcându-mă aici am văzut un desen la un prieten al meu, referitor la calea ferată, pe care mecanicii de curând au proiectat și care precum mi se pare trece prin unele părți nelocuite și nu tocmai pe deplin folositoare acelor locuri. De oare-ce de la Obilești până la Slobozia este Bărăganul, cu desăvârșire nelocuit, ear de la Slobozia până la Brăila sunt câmpuri întinse și puțin locuite. Prin urmare, pe deoparte, spre meză-noapte, unde sunt moșiile de pe lângă Dunăre și satele din apropierea lor, produsele se exportă și acum prin Dunăre, necum atunci când vom avea și vapoare; ear pe de altă parte, spre NV, locurile nu sunt așa locuite.

Drept aceea supun la aprecierea Măriei-voastre dacă vi se va părea mai avantajos pentru cuvintele de mai la vale, ca linia să se tragă prin Urziceni, unde să se facă joncțiune cu linia din Hârșova, cu stațione la Slobozia. Această linie, afară că pe ambele laturi este locuită, e trasă de mult de locuitorii înșiși ca un drum mare, prescurtat și foarte comunicabil între București și Brăila și pe care l-a consfințit nevoea, care este mama înțelepciunii, și cu toate că sunt nenumărate poduri peste Ialomița, precum sunt cele mișcătoare de pe Luici, Mal, Crasani, Rasi, Cazaniște, Ciuchina și Slobozia, în afară de al meu care e solid nici unul n-a atras atențiunea locuitorilor decât drumul sus pomenit care trece prin Urziceni cu tot grozavul noroiu de pe lunca sa.

Ear acum, exceptându-se moșiile de pe lângă Dunăre și satele din apropierea lor, restul până la poalele munților e străbătut aproape în lățime de la Bucuresci până la Brăila. Și totu importul și exportul se va face și prin acest drum, fără să cheltuim mult, fiindcă cotitura drumului de la Bucuresci prin Slobozia la Brăila comparându-se cu drumul drept care duce tot acolo prin Urziceni, și cu adaosul drumului spre Hârșova, de la Slobozia până la Urziceni, nu vom avea de adăugat mai multă distanță decât 1/6 circa din drumul ce e în studiu și care trece prin Slobozia la Brăila, după cum se poate vedea aceasta și în harta locală a ambelor părți – căci aceste se măsoară cu compasul – spre cunoașterea deosebirei, care, deși mică, ne prezintă însă mari foloase pentru acele locuri, și ale căreia cheltuieli se vor plăti înzecit din abundantele exporturi și importuri a productelor pe cari le va avea acest drum pentru totdeauna. Și în afară de aceasta când se va întinde ramură prin Buzeu sau Ploesci, acest adaos de acum va scurta distanța acestor părți.

Deși totuși eu sunt de părere, că, când va fi făcut drumul prin Urziceni la Brăila, care simte trebuință de a concentra mai mult produsele într-însa, pentru că exportul lor la Hârșova îl face cu vapoare și corăbii prin mijlocul Dunărei - și se va prelungi și cealaltă ramură de la București la Orșova, după cum mi-a spus Măria-văastră, va fi foarte îndestulător numai acest drum, ca unul care străbate țara prin mijloc, ca să poată absorbi produsele părților centrale și a le aduce ori-unde va fi trebuință la Brăia sau la Hârșova, fără a simți nevoia de-a prelungi vreo altă ramură. Iar dacă este vr'o îndoială sau neînțelegere între mecanici în privința aceasta și vă va părea oportun ca acestea să fie sprijinite și verbal, fiind în adevăr în fața Măriei-voastre, pentru o lămurire mai mare, (sunt gata îndată ce va porunci) și va crede că și eu pot să fiu de ceva folos, sunt gata îndată ce va porunci, astfel încât să se prevină toate măsurile eficace și să fie supuse la o chibzuială matură înainte de începerea lucrărilor, deoarece, odată drumul așternut, nu mai vom putea să-i îndreptăm greșeala. Prin urmare această cale ferată trebuie să aibă multe și apropiate stațiuni, pentru că noi exportăm cereale cari, afară că trebuie îngrijite ca să nu se strice pe drum, mai sunt de mărimi și greutateți considerabile și prezintă multe dificultăți în transportul lor, și cari numai stațiunile sus pomenite vor veni în ajutorul trenului ca să le poată transporta în stare bună cu ușurință și iuteală ori-unde va fi trebuință.

Cer iertare, Măria-voastră, dacă această a mea părere este greșită, care nu țineste altceva decât la acele două mari opere, pe cari sufletul mi le dorește, adică drum de fer și bancă națională; și aș vrea să se facă cât se poate fără lipsuri și greșeli sub ministerul Măriei voastre, precum m-am și exprimat și verbal.

Prin urmare vă rog să nu uitați întrucât e cu putință a consulta și pe unii mai pricepuți din fiecare județ tratați tot cu aceeași manieră nobilă, care vă caracterizează, ca să se poată servi la timp și pe lângă nenumăratele sale ocupațiuni, aducă-și aminte și de susținerea și dezvoltarea ideii confederației naționalităților din Orient, atât față de Înălțimea sa (Vodă), cât și acolo, unde va crede de cuviință, pentru că această singură idee e mântuirea noastră în viitor.

Întrucât privesc redactarea dicționarului și a gramaticii, când vi se va părea timpul oportun, să se dea ordine atât aici cât și în Moldova tutulor profesorilor districtelor pentru ca fie-care din ei să parcurgă toate satele districtului dimpreună cu învățătorii sătesci și să adune toate vorbele cari ar putea contribui la săvârșirea acestei lucrări, adică cuvintele, zicerile (frasele), idiotismele, cântecele, basmele, fabulele, numirile tehnice și a sculelor lor, numele diferitelor lucruri și anume de arbori, erburi, flori, plante, insecte, animale, paseri, reptile, pesci, metale, minerale, și tot ce fără excepție vor găsi în diferite locuri, scriindu-le întocmai cum le vor găsi, și să le trimită la administrația centrală a redacțiunii pentru ca să le tipărească și să le facă cunoscute publicului, ca fie-care care doarece să potă face observările sale spre a lumina această lucrare.

Vă rog să aveți bunătatea ca prin Măria-voastră să fie ascultată rugăciunea mea către respectata noastră Prințesă, căreia îi sărut mâna, ca să binevoască a primi cele mai la vale semnate produse din moșile unui prieten, care vă respectă și vă va respecta pe amândoi în totă viața.

Primiți și incompleta carte despre care am amintit în partea românească sub no. 50 și 76 despre curățirea semănăturilor de grâu și îmbunătățirea animalelor prin rasa cea mai bună de masculi. Măria-voastră va contribui la răspândirea acestei idei ca una de la care țara poate trage folose mari.

Rămân cu cel mai profund respect,

A Măriei-vostre
Cel mai supus
Evangel. Zappa

Astăzi am primit și am citit cu entuziasm cele două articole pentru Măria-văastră a gazetelor Secolul și a Elinului Iubitor de Patrie, pe cari le-am semnat cu un creion roșiu, și le alătur aici ca să le citiți numai din curiozitate.

30 prepelițe vii
 1 pachet de brânză próspătă
 3 ole de smântână
 3 ole unt próspăt
 3 purcei de lapte
 60 gutui mari din Asia pentru dulceăță
 15 chile de orz

21 februarie 1860, Broșteni.

Annex no. 3. Letter of Evanghelie Zappa to Ion Ghica, 13 March 1860 (Greek original)

Μυριοσέβαστέ μοι Πρίγκηψ,

Σὰς εὐχαριστῶ διὰ τὴν τιμὴν ἦν με τὸ ἀπὸ 26 παρελθόντος συνοδευμένον καὶ με τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ σιδηροδρόμου, μᾶς ἐκάματε, τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ κανονισμὸς εἶναι ἀξιόλογος, καὶ δὲν ἀμφιβάλλω ποσῶς, ὅτι ἡ ἔθνοσυνέλευσις θέλει τὸ παραδεχθῆ παμνηφεῖ. Οἱ λόγοι οἵτινες μ'ἐπαρακίνησαν νὰ σὰς εἶπω ἵνα περάσῃ ὁ σιδηροδρόμος ἀπὸ Οὐρζιτζένι, ἐνθα νὰ συνδεθῆ με τὸν δρόμο τῆς Χίρσοβας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς βλέπω τώρα εἰς τὸν χάρτην, ἐὰν ἐγκριθῆ νὰ περάσῃ, πρέπει νὰ διαιρεθῆ εἰς δύο κλάδους καὶ διευθυντῆ ὁ εἰς αὐτῶν εἰς Ἰβραίλας καὶ ὁ ἄλλος διὰ Βουζέου εἰς Φωξάνιον, ἐκτὸς ὅπου εἶναι καὶ συντομώτερος ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄλλους κλάδους ὡς φαίνεται εἰς τὸ σχέδιον, ἀλλὰ εἶναι καὶ ἀνάγκη νὰ ἀπεράσῃ ἀπὸ Μεσόγεια, διὰ νὰ ἔχη πολλὰς μεταφοράς, δυνάμει τῶν ὁποίων νὰ σκεπάσῃ 4 ἢ 5% καὶ διὰ τὰ ὁποῖα, ἐὰν δὲν προιγγυθῆ ἡ Κυβέρνησις, συμπερραίνω, δυσκόλως θέλομεν εὑρεῖ μετόχους νὰ τὸ δεχθοῦν. Μεταφορὰν λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς πρὸ πάντων γεννημάτων ἔχομεν, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων μόνον ὁ δρόμος οὗτος δύναται νὰ ἐξαγῆ πλεיותרὰ ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλον, τὰ ὁποῖα μᾶς φέρουν καὶ πλοῦτη, καὶ δι'αὐτὸ τὸ κατ'ἐμὲ, τὸν δρόμον ἀπὸ Πλοέστι μέχρι Βουζέου τὸν θεωρῶ πάντῃ περιττόν, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενον τὸ διάστημα τοῦτο νὰ σκεπάσῃ οὔτε 2%, καὶ ἀντ'αὐτοῦ εἶναι κάλλιον ν'ἀποκατασταθῆ ὁ Σωσῆς, ὅστις εἶναι καὶ ἀρχινισμένος, καὶ ὅσον οὕτω τελειώνη. Διὰ τοὺς λόγους τοῦτους καὶ διὰ ἄλλους φρονῶ, ἐὰν σὰς φανῆ ὀφέλιμον νὰ συζητηθῆ μετὰ προσοχῆς ἢ καλιτὰ αὐτοῦ παρούσης τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητός σας, διὰ νὰ φωτισθῆτε ἐντελῶς περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ κοινῶ συμφέροντος ὅπου εἶναι καὶ ἡ μόνη ἐπιθυμία σας.

Ἐγὼ εἶμαι φίλος σας καίτοι τὴν πρώτην φορὰν σὰς εἶδον, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν με ἐνδιαφέρουν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν νὰ γείνουν καλά, καὶ ἰδοὺ διατί, συνειθυσμένος ὢν με τὸ συνταγματικὸν πολίτευμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, δὲν μοι ἐφαίνετο ἀρεστόν τὸ παρελθὸν ἀπόλυτον σύστημα, συνεπεία τοῦ ὁποίου ἐγενήθη τὸ τοῦ 1848 ἐκ διαμέτρου ἀντίθετον τοῦ πρώτου, ὅπερ διὰ τοῦ διευθυνομένου αὐτοῦ ροῦ μ'ἐφαίνετο ἐκαρκινωβάται, καὶ ἔλεγον ἐν ἑμαυτῶ. ὦ! Τὶ δυστυχία εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος με τὰ δύο ταῦτα συστήματα, ἅτινα ἀντιφερόμενα ἀλλήλοις, θέλλουν καταστρέψῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν μας, καὶ δὲν ἔβλεπον εἰς ποίαν νὰ ρίψῃ τις μάτι πρὸς θεραπείαν ἢ τουλάχιστον πρὸς περιστολὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐλυπούμην κατακαρδα. Εἶς φίλος μοι λέγεν, ὅτι ὁ Ἰάνκος Γκίκας ἔμαθα ὅτι εἶναι ἐναντίας γνώμης καὶ τῶν δύο τούτων, καὶ τῆς ῥωσικῆς κατοχῆς. Τὸν ἤκουον με εὐχαρίστησιν διότι με ἄρεξε, ἀλλ'ἐδίσταζον νὰ πιστεύσω. Ἦλθον τέλος εἰς Βουκουρέστιον, ὅπου καὶ ὡς ὑπουργὸς τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν καὶ ὡς πρωθυπουργὸς ἤθελα νὰ κάμω τὸ χρέος μου νὰ σὰς ἰδῶ. Ἐχων καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ φίλου μου, ἐτόλμησα ὡς εἶδετε, καὶ τὴν πρώτην φορὰν, νὰ σὰς ἐκφράσω ἐλευθέρως τὰς ιδέας μου, συνεκεία τῶν ὁποίων εὔρον ἀσυγκρίτως περισσότερα ἀφ'ὅ,τι ἐφανταζόμην εἰς τὴν Ἐκλαμπρότητά της, ὁδῶ, μεγάλα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος φρονήματα, ἀκέραιον χαρακτῆρα διὰ τὴν δοξασίαν ἐναντίον τῶν δύο ῥηθέντων συστημάτων, ἰκανότητα μετὰ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἐνεργείας πλήρη, συνοδευμένη καὶ με τὴν ἀτομικὴν βαρύτητα, ὅπου εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον στοιχεῖον διὰ νὰ δυνηθῆ νὰ σχηματίσῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον κέντρον, ὅπως ἐλκύῃ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὰ διάφορα σώματα, ἢ νὰ σχηματίσῃ βαρύτερον τὸ μέρος τοῦτο διὰ νὰ ὑπερτερῆ τῆς ὑλικῆς καὶ ἠθικῆς βαρύτητος τῶν ἄλλων δύο κομμάτων, καὶ ταῖν ἐπιμονῆν καὶ ὑπονομῆν εἰς πᾶσας τὰς δυσκολίας διὰ νὰ φθάσῃ εἰς αὐτὴν ταῖν Ἀρχήν: λόγον οἵτινες με καθυπεχρέωσαν ἠθικῶς νὰ σὰς εἶπω ἐκουσίως καὶ εἰλικρινῶς, ὅτι καὶ ὡς δορομπάντζος νὰ ἐργασθῶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀρχῆς ταύτης εἶμαι εὐχαριστημένος, μόνον νὰ πραγματοποιηθῆ ὡς ἡ μόνη σωτηρία τῆς

πατρίδος μας. Ταῦτα, Ἐκλαμπρότατε, με συνέδεσαν καὶ θέλουν με συνδέσει μεθ' ὑμῶν μέχρι τοῦ τάφου. Δι' αὐτὸ σᾶς παρακαλῶ νὰ μοι ἐπιτραπῆ, ὅταν μοι φανῆ παρά τῶν ἀσθενῶν μοι σκέψεων, κανέν κατάλληλον μέτρον, ἀποτινόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀρχήν, νὰ τὴν καθυποβάλλω ὑπὸ τὴν ὄριμον κρίσιν σας πρὸς ἀνάπτυξιν, ἐὰν ἤθελεν σᾶς φανῆ ὠφέλιμον διὰ τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἐὰν ἠθέλετε τὸ ἐγκρίνη, ἐπιθυμοῦσα νὰ διαπεράσῃ ἢ νοερά ὑμῶν ὄρασις πέρα τοῦ σημερινοῦ πολιτικοῦ ὀρίζοντος, καὶ προίδη ὅλας τὰς μελλούσας περιπετείας ἐξ ὧν, κατὰ τὸ παρόν, καθυποβάλλω ὑπὸ τὴν σκέψιν σας τὸ τῆς προπριεταῖς, τῆς ὁποίας, ἐὰν ἐξ ἀτυχίας δὲν εὐρέθῃ ἢ κατάλληλος λύσις, ὡς διασχίζον τὸ ἔθνος, θέλει ἀφήσῃ μέγα ἐθνικὸν χάσμα διὰ τὸ μέλλον τὸ ὅποιον δὲν ἐπιθυμῶ νὰ χρονολογηθῇ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας σας.

Γνωρίζετε τὴν πολιτικὴν συμπεριφορὰν τοῦ Στίρμπεη κάλλιον ἡμῶν καὶ δ' αὐτὸ δὲν κάμνω μνεῖαν ἄλλων παρὰ μόνον τῶν διαφορῶν αὐτοῦ προέκτων ἀποτεινόμενα εἰς τὰς καταστάσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἅτινα καίτοι μικρά ἤρκησαν νὰ διεγείρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ τόσον μῖσος ὡς εἰς οὐδένα ἄλλον καθὼς σᾶς εἶναι γνωστόν. Τὰ καλὰ ἄπερ προμελετᾶτε νὰ κάμητε καὶ εἰς τὴν Κυβέρνησιν, καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον, διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῶν, θέλετε τὰ πραγματοποιήσει. Νομίζω εἶναι καλὸν ἐὰν τὸ ἐγκρίνητε, νὰ προφιτάρητε τὴν περίστασιν αὐτὴν τῆς προπριεταῖς με τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτὴν ὀξύτατην ἀγχίνοιάν σας, ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῆτε κέντρον δορυφορούμενος παρὰ πάντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπολαμβάνων τὴν πλειονοψηφίαν τῶν ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει. Ζητῶ συγγνώμην διὰ τὴν ἐνόχλησιν ταύτην, μάλιστα πλησίον τῶν σημερινῶν ἀπειραριθμῶν φροντῖδων σας, ἢ ὁποία προέρχεται ἐκ τῆς ἀνωρήθεισος ἀφοσιώσεως ἡμῶν.

Κασκαβάλια πρόσφατα καὶ περιστερᾶκια, σμεντίνα, βούτυρο ταζέτικο καὶ τυρί, πιστεύω ὅτι πότε καὶ πότε τὰ εὐρίσκεται αὐτοῦ τώρα, δι' αὐτὸ σᾶς στέλνω ὀλίγα ἅτινα παρακαλῶ νὰ εἶναι δεκτά.

Μένω με ὄλον τὸ σέβας.

Τῆς Ἐκλαμπρότητος σας ὁ Εὐπειθέστατος,
Εὐαγγέλιος Ζάππας

Τῆ 13 Μαρτίου 1860, Μπροστένι

Annex no. 4. Letter of Evanghelie Zappa to Ion Ghica, 13 March 1860 (Romanian translation)

Prea-mult respectatul meu Print,

Vă mulțumesc pentru onoarea ce ne-ați făcut trimițându-ne alăturat în scrisoarea din 26 al trecute planul drumului de fer, al cărui regulament e destul de important, și nu mă îndoiesc cătuși de puțin că Adunarea Națională ăi va aproba cu unanimitate. Cuvintele cari m-au îndemnat ca să vă spun în rândul trecut că drumul de fer să trecă prin Urziceni, unde să aibă legătură cu trenul de Hârșova, după cum văd și în hartă nu m-am înșelat, ba ce e mai mult e că și acolo încă, dacă trecerea sa pe acolo va fi aprobată, va trebui să se ramifice în două, din cari o ramură să o apuce spre Brăila, ear cealaltă prin Buzeu la Focșani, în afară că este cea mai scurtă ramură precum se vede în plan, mai satisface și necesitatea că trece prin centrul țarei, de unde pôte avea multe transporturi de cereale, de cari numai drumul acesta va putea să exporte în mai mare cantitate ca ori care altul, și aceste cereale ne aduc și bogățiile, și eată pentru care cuvânt după mine, drumul din Ploesci până la Buzeu e cu totul de prisos, ca unul, a cărui distanță nu pôte acoperi nici măcar 2%; drept aceea aș fi mai nimerit ca în locul său să se facă șoseaua, care e și începută, și în curând pôte să fie gata. Pentru aceste cuvinte și mai multe altele gândesc că, dacă vi s-ar părea de folos să se desbată cu băgare de seamă importanța acestei cestiuni fiind de față Măria-văstră, ca să vă lămuriți pe deplin despre adevărul interesului comun, care e totdeauna și singura dorință a Măriei-văstre.

Eu sunt al M-văstre prieten deși întâia dată ne-am văzut, și lucrările M-voastre mă interesază și vréu ca să se facă cât se poate de bune și eată pentru ce, fiind deja deprins cu guvernul constituțional al Elladei, nu mi se părea plăcut sistemul absolutistic din trecut, care a dat nascere aceluia din 1848, diametral opus celui dintâiu, a cărui direcțiune era o evidentă retrogradare și îmi ziceam cu gândul,

Vai! Ce nefericire atât pentru noi cât și pentru patrie cu aceste două sistemuri, care fiind potrivnice una alteia vor distruge societatea noastră, pentru că nu mai puteam vedea unde era remediul ba nici măcar mijlocul pentru înfrânarea răului, și de aceea eram mâhnit în adâncul sufletului meu. Un amic îmi zicea că Iancu Ghica, după cum am aflat, este de ideea contrară acestor două sisteme și a stăpânirii rusești, și îl ascultam cu mulțumire, pentru că îmi plăcea, dar nu-mi venea să cred. Am venit în sfârșit în București, unde atât ca ministru de interne cât și ca Prim-ministru, trebuia să-mi fac datoria ca să vă văd. Aducându-mi aminte deci și de cele ce mi-a spus prietenul meu, precum ați văzut, am îndrăznit, întâia dată să-mi exprim fără ocol ideea mea în privința căreia am găsit incomparabil mai mult la Măria-vastră decât îmi închipuiam, adică mari idei pentru patrie, neclintită hotărâre în contra suspomenitelor sisteme, o capacitate plină de energie reală, întovărășită de gravitate personală, care constituie cel dintâiu element ca să potă concentra în sine diferitele corpuri, sau ca să atragă în parte sa superioritatea morală și materială, care să desichilibreze greutatea partidelor potrivnice, plus stăruința și răbdarea în toate anevoințele spre a ajunge la putere, toate aceste cuvinte puternice ca să mă îndatorească moralmente ca să vă declar de bună voe și sincer mulțumit sunt chiar ca un dorobanț să muncesc pentru această putere, numai și numai să se realizeze, ca una care este singura mântuire a patriei noastre. Acestea, Măria-vastră, m-au dat legat pentru totdeauna Măriei-voastre până la moarte. Drept aceea vă rog să mi se permită când mi-ar părea – după slaba mea cugetare – că cutare măsură e eficace ca una care poate contribui la această putere, să o supun judecăței mature a Măriei-voastre, spre a fi executată dacă o veți crede în interesul țerei, și dacă o veți aproba aș dori ca vederea mentală a Mvostre să pătrundă dincolo de orizontul politic actual, și să prevadă toate peripețiile viitoare dintre care, în prezent, vă supun la chibzuiala Mvostre cestiunea proprietății, care, dacă nu-i se va găsi potrivita soluțiune ca una care străbate națiunea întrégă, va lăsa o mare lacună pentru viitor, lucru care nu vreau să dateze de la ministerul Mvostre.

Cunoșteți mai bine ca mine purtarea potrivnică a lui Știrbei, și de aceea nu amintesc altceva decât de diferitele lui proiecte referitoare la starea oamenilor, cari deși mici, au fost însă destul spre a deștepta în contra sa atâta ură ca și contra nimenuia altul, după cum ne este cunoscut.

Binefacerile ce premeditați ca să săvârșiți și guvernului și țării și acestor oamnei și rudelor lor, le veți realiza. Gândesc că e bine dacă veți fi de acord ca să profitați de împrejurările ce rezultă din cestiunea proprietății prin a Măriei-Vostre pătrundere ascuțită, ca să vă constituiți în centru și să-i întrebuițați ca pe nisce paznici pe toți aceștia și să aveți majoritatea voturilor în tot cazul.

Cer iertare pentru această supărare, mai ales astăzi, când sunteți împresurat de atâtea nenumărate griji, supărare, care totuși nu provine decât tot din devotamentul nostru de care vi-am amintit mai sus. Cred că cașcavalui prospete, porumbei, smântână, unt prospăt și brânză, când și când aveți și acum și acolo de aceea vă trimit puține cari rog să fie primite. Remân cu tot respectul.

A Măriei-Vostre, cel mai supus, Evanghelie Zappa.

13 martie 1860, Broșteni.

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