NICOLAE MAVROS. THE LIFESTYLE OF A WALLACHIAN BOYAR OF GREEK ORIGIN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Nicolae Mavros (1786–1868), one of the educated high-ranking boyars in Wallachia, was General Inspector of the Danube quarantine (1832–1855) and President of the Archaeological Committee (1864–1868). This study is about Mavros's lifestyle, family, land proprieties, and public carrier. Our research focuses mainly on the networks of family and friends in Wallachia, Moldavia, Russia, and Greece. We have found documents concerning Mavros in various funds held by National Historical Archives in Bucharest and Romanian Academy Library, such as the Metropolis of Ungro-Wallachia, the Chancellorship for Foreign Affairs in Wallachia, the Quarantine Committee and the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction. We have also used information from the archives of his sons, Ion Cantacuzino and Ion Ghica.

Keywords: Nicolae Mavros, boyar lifestyle, Danube quarantine, archaeology, Wallachia.

REDISCOVERING A FORGOTTEN WALLACHIAN BOYAR

Nicolae Mavros, General Inspector of the Danube quarantine and one of the most important donors of the Museum of Antiquities, was a remarkable and influential personality from the 1830s to the 1860s. The first attempt of historiographic recovery of Nicolae Mavros was endeavoured by Pompei Gh. Samarian, a pioneer in the history of Romanian medicine.[1] His study from 1934 is based on the archived fund of the physician Ion Cantacuzino, Mavros' grandson. In another work, in 1938, Samarian quotes from Mavros' *Memoirs*, which he assumingly had found in the physician's collection.[2] We would like to specify that we have not found the documents referred to by Samarian neither in the funds of Cantacuzino family preserved in the National Historical Archives, nor in the archives of Dr. Cantacuzino held by the Romanian Academy Library. Another corpus of documents revealing Mavros consists in the reports of the foreign consuls, published in the collection of Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Almost three decades ago, with a scientific rigor, Professor Andrei Pippidi carried out a wide research regarding the archaeological concerns of Mavros as the collector of

[1] Pompei Gh. Samarian, "Nicolae Mavros (1781–1868)", *Revista științelor medicale*, no. 4, 1934, p. 416–453.
[2] Idem, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc 1775–1834*, v. II, Bucharest, 1938, p. 202.

antiquities, when he made an inventory of a wide range of historical sources, such as issues of documents, memoirs, newspaper articles, etc.[3]

However, so far, only few historians have been concerned about his life and work. Why so? The founders of the Modern Romania detached themselves from Mavros because of his pro-Russian feelings. Secondly, few documents issued by him have been preserved. Today, the historian may use letters, wills, lease contracts and other documents related to his family's property in the fund of his son-in-law, Ion C. Cantacuzino, existing at the Historical National Archives in Bucharest.[4] The National Historical Archives hold documents related to Mavros in other funds as well, such as the Metropolis of Ungro-Wallachia, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine (the Chancellorship for Foreign Affairs in Wallachia), the Quarantine Committee and the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction. In the correspondence fund of one of his other sons-in-law, Ion Ghica, preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy, we consulted 9 letters in French language, all written and sent by Mavros.[5]

FAMILY AND EDUCATION

Mavros family, probably originating from the Aegean islands, immigrated to Odessa in the late eighteenth century, during the colonization of the new Russian territories by Empress Catherine the Great.[6] Nicolae Mavros' father, Ianache, distinguished himself firstly as merchant in Odessa, then he settled down in the Principalities, where he was raised to the boyar's rank of hetman (hatman).[7] In the nineteenth century, there was another branch of the family that founded a house of merchants in Odessa, one of the most powerful in this flourishing port of New Russia.[8]

[3] See the article of Andrei Pippidi, "Nicolae Mavros. Locul său în viața politică și intelectuală", published in 1992 in *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 32, 1992, p. 107–118, republished in Marian Coman, Ovidiu Cristea, Ovidiu Olar, Radu G. Păun, Andrei Timotin (ed.), *Andrei Pippidi mai puțin cunoscut. Studii adunate de foștii săi elevi cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*, Iași, 2018.

[4] http://arhivelenationale.ro/site/download/inventare/Cantacuzino-Ion-C.-1628-1906.-Inv.-1288.PDF

[5] Biblioteca Academiei Române [The Romanian Academy Library] = RAL, Correspondence Ion Ghica, S 53 (12)/DLXVIII.

[6] Alexander Alexeevici Bobrinski, in his work on the Russian nobility, claims that at the late seventeenth century Georges Mavros could have emigrated from Malta to Moldova, where he became Prince. The author has used false information available from the Russian general Dimitri Mavros, Nicolas's son. See, А. Бобринский, *Дворянские роды*, внесенные в Общий *гербовник*, Saint Petersburg, 1890, v. II, p. 739. Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea română dintre Prut și Nistru*, Bucharest, 1943, v. II, p. 195. A. Bezviconi refers to The Enciclopedia of the Russian Empire, edited by F.A. Brogauz and I.A. Efron, *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Эфрона* (ЭСБЕ) – *универсальная энциклопедия на русском языке* , Petersburg, 1890–1907, v. XXXV.

[7] Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris, 1983, p. 338.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 338; Βασίλης Καρδάσης, *Έλληνες ομογενείς στη Νότια Ρωσσία, 1775–1861*, Athens, 1998, p. 206.

A descendent of the Biazi-Mavros family was Jean Psycharis (1854–1929), a famous neo-Hellenist from Sorbonne.[9]

The merchant Ianache married Maria (1750–1840), born in Athens, daughter of the Great postelnic Nicolae Ventura from Wallachia and of a descendent of the Greek family Soutzo [10], who gave him three children: Nicolas (Nicolae), Alexandra (Lexandra) and Michel (Mihalache). Maria, who became a widow around the year 1800, lived with her children in the Mihai-Vodă district in Bucharest, on the right bank of Dâmbovița River.[11]

Nicolae Mavros, born in 1786[12], distinguished himself as one of the most learned boyars of his generation. The young man spoke the languages of the Ottoman rulers, but also of the Russian governors that had occupied the Principalities between 1806 and 1812. He learnt the French language from Maxime Beaupoil, Marquis de Saint-Aulaire, secretary of Constantin Ipsilanti, Prince of Wallachia between 1802 and 1806.[13] At the end of the nineteenth century, Émile Picot, former secretary of Prince Charles in his first ruling years, used to speak with great admiration to his Romanian guests in Paris about the linguistic abilities of the Wallachian boyar: "he was the only man that could speak French the way it was spoken in the eighteenth century".[14] Mavros used his mother tongue, the Greek language, to keep the inventories and the ledgers of Călinești estate. Likewise, his personal deeds and the property deeds of Călinești estate – preserved in the archives of Ion C. Cantacuzino – are written down in Greek language.

FIRST MARRIAGE

The marriage to the daughter of the influent ban Dumitrache Ghica, Pulcheria/ Porfiritsa (1800?–1879), introduced Mavros into the aristocracy. This marriage lasted for about five-six years. In 1817, after five or six years of marriage, Pulcheria Ghica, by means of a complaint sent to Prince of Wallachia Ioan Caragea, asked for the divorce from comis Mavros and the return to her dowry to ban Grigore Ghica, her elder brother, son of the late Dumitrache. In the fund of Metropolis of Wallachia preserved in the National Historical Archives, I found the separation trial file of the Mavros spouses. In August 1817, the Metropolitan, Nectarie, the bishop of Argeș, Iosif, and the bishop of Buzău, Constantie, met at the Metropolitan Seat, on the prince's request, in order to hear the involved parties and their witnesses. The document, signed by the superior hierarchs of Wallachia, was written in Greek language. The file also

[9] Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea română dintre Prut și Nistru… op. cit.*, p. 196.

[10] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, 408 and 416 (see her tombstone inscription from the Saint Nicolas' s church in Moara Domnească)

[11] Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros… op. cit.*, p. 418.

[12] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 408 (Mavros tombstone inscription from Călinești (Prahova district).

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 408.

[14] *Ibidem*, p. 408–409; see Nicolae Iorga, *O viață de om așa cum a fost*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 131.

contains a late re-transcription of this decision in Greek language, joined by a translation into Romanian language. In her plea, Pulcheria complained of her "insufferable and tyrannical" marriage, preferring "the harshest punishments rather than living together with" her husband. The husband was accused of violent and manipulating behaviour: "since he was rotten to the core and had acquired bad habits from spending too much time with soldiers during the past war, and since he did not possess that much wealth of his own to satisfy all his debauchery, he started squandering her dowry, and, by sweet talk and by cajoling her, he always managed to shut her up whenever this subject came to discussion".[15] Departing from this statement, we assume that the marriage began around the years 1811–1812, in the final years of the Russian-Ottoman war. If we take this hypothesis into account, Pulcheria Ghica is likely to have been born before the year 1800. Boyar daughters usually got married around the age of 14–15, and boys around 18–20.[16] Summoned before the court, Nicolae Mavros denied any accusation, reiterating his feelings of love for his wife: "he had no argument of defence in his favour other that he did not take a wife with the purpose to desert her". However, the facts presented by Pulcheria, and later by her mother, Elena, born Razu, cast an unfavourable light upon Nicolae Mavros: "firstly, from the very heavy insults addressed to her mother and his mother-in-law, to the denigration and beating of the one whom he called his beloved wife, until the savage and cruel behaviour towards the men and women in his service, whom he forced under threats and by repeated beating to testify against her and to declare that she was an adulteress". His mother-in-law, the only witness of the accusation, who was living with them at their estate, where her son-in-law was the county prefect (ispravnic), fully supported her daughter's stand. Mavros allegedly insulted her, calling her "bawd" (codoșcă), and one night, she said, she heard some horrifying shrieks from the young couple's bed chamber. It seems that Ion Codoratos, Grigore Ghica's secretary, had been severely beaten by the jealous husband, who had expected him to confess about his wife's relations with one Craioveanu. Mavros, although denying his mother-in-law's accusations, admitted having hit a slave woman (a gipsy) that night, as it stood in his way. After "being given a few days for reconciliation", on the second trial date before the court, only the plaintiff was present, Mavros justifying his absence by indisposition due to medical reasons. According to the law, the superior hierarchs gave the spouses the term of six months for reconciliation, declaring themselves "unable of uniting them by force". [17]

[15]Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale [Central National Historical Archives] = CNHA, Metropolis of Wallachia, CCCLXII/2, f. 1, „Λέγει, ὅτι ὁ σὺζυγός της διεφθαρμένος τις ὧν περὶ τὰ ἤθη ἐκτῆς μετὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πολλῆς συμπεριφορᾶς του ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος πολέμου, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐξ ἰδίας διαπάνης νὰ θεραπεύση τὰς ἀσωτίας του, ἄρχισε νὰ καταναλίσκη καὶ τὴν προῖκά της καὶ μὲ κολακευτικούς τρόπους νὰ τὴν ἀποκοιμίζη, ὁσάκις τὸν ἐπρόβαλε περὶ τούτου".

[16] On the marriage law: *Îndreptarea legii, 1652*, Bucharest, 1962, p. 174 (glava 173); M.M. Székely, "Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească", in *Arhiva Genealogică*, IX, 1–2, 1997, p. 65; Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *În șalvari și cu işlic. Biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țara Românească a secolului al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 119.

[17] In Greek, „μαστροπὸν ἀποκαλέσας τὴν εὐγενίαντης"

On the completion of that term, On January 8, 1819, Pulcheria sent to the Prince a new complaint, written in the Greek language[18]. The same hierarchs reunited on July 1, 1818, to rule on their divorce. The decision is formulated as follows: "As the Church cannot find other means but to advise like a good parent […], so as to prevent any other unwanted danger and so as to avoid a worse matter than the initial one, we found that not only were they unable to reconcile, but they detested each other even more and became very cold to one another. Therefore, we allow this way of separation of one from the other. This is how we stand, and we leave the matter of the final decision in your hands".[19] The case of divorce of the Mavros spouses is not singular in that time. Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu shows that, out of the 420 matters of divorce studied for the period between 1750 and 1830, which involved individuals belonging to the broad classes of the boyars and of the merchants, 269 are initiated by women and only 151 by men.[20] Two of the reasons commonly claimed by women were "the bad life" and the "man's bad blood".[21]

The divorce file of the Mavros spouses does not contain the Prince decree (anaphora), as demanded by the procedure set out since the time of Alexandru Ipsilanti's rule (1775–1782).[22] It is likely that the divorce procedure was not completed in 1819. Samarian notes that until 1826 Pulcheria appears with the name Mavros in the reports of the Prussian consul, Ludwig von Kreuchely.[23] During these years, it seems that Mavros, exiled in Transylvania after the insurrection of 1821, still declared feelings of care and affection for his wife. Pompei Gh. Samarian, in his study on Mavros, refers to the letters addressed by the tax collector to his son, the Frenchman Masson, preserved in the archives of Dr. Ion Cantacuzino. In one of the letters, professor Masson praised the beauty of Pulcheria, consoling his employer with luring words, "I believe that she still loves you" (je pense qu'elle vous aime encore).[24]

Although the decision of divorce does not specify any child, the spouses Mavros had at least two, Helen (deceased in 1870)[25] and Dimitrie (1820–1896).[26] In our opinion, considering the evolution of the parents' matrimony, as well as the

[18] CNHA, Metropolis of Wallachia, CCCLXII/2, f. 1.

[19] CNHA, Metropolis of Wallachia, CCLXII/2, f. 2. See the Manuscript no 648 from the Romanian Academy Library, published by Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 423.

[20] Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[21] *Ibidem*, p. 253 ; Violeta Barbu, *"'Ceea ce Dumnezeu a unit omul să nu despartă'. Studiu asupra divorțului în Țara Românească în perioada 1780-1850"*, *Revista istorică*, v. III, no. 11–12, 1992, p. 1148.

[22] Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[23] Ludwig von Kreuchely către von Miltitz, 15 februarie 1823, Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor, Rapoarte consulare prusiene din Iași și București 1763–1844*, ed. by Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1897, v. X, p. 242; P. Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros.... op. cit.*, p. 422.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 422.

[25] Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Famillile boierești și Țara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică și biografică,* vol. III, *Familia Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 590.

[26] Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique… op. cit.*, p. 338. Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea română dintre Prut și Nistru… op. cit*, p. 195; Pompei G. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros… op. cit*, p. 421. He also mentions a third child, Caterina.

alleged correspondence between Mavros and professor Masson, it seems little likely that Dimitrie was born in 1820.

THE FIRST STEPS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Mavros' public life is inseparably connected to Russia. During the Russian-Ottoman wars from 1806–1812, the young man of merely 20 years old was the Turkish interpreter of the Russian generals.[27] During Caragea's rule, Mavros was county prefect (ispravnic) in Wallachia, a profitable office, increased his revenues. In May 1819, shortly after Alexander Sutso ascended the throne, Nicolae Mavros was raised to the rank of postelnic, in charge with the foreign affairs.[28] At the end of 1820, Mavros, returning from a trip to Paris, thought of editing a newspaper in Wallachia.[29] This prospect had the support of the general consul of Russia in Wallachia, Alexandr Pini. At the end of 1819 and the beginning of 1820, the Heterist Nicolaos Skoufos arrived in Bucharest with the same goal, possessing letters of recommendation to Pini from the former Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia, Ignatie, and from count Ioannis Kapodistrias, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.[30]

During the insurrection of 1821, Mavros – who was a close friend of Pini – took refuge in Transylvania, together with him and with other Russian-supporting boyars, such as Iordache Filipescu and Constantin Samurcaș. They wrote a note to Pini, asking Russia to take Wallachia and Moldavia under its protection. But such a fervent supporter of Russia's rights in the Principalities could not be agreed by the Habsburgs.[31] In these circumstances, Mavros took refuge in Odessa, the southern bastion of Russia, a shelter for those who fled the Ottoman retaliation. Some of the refugees later travelled to the Western Europe, others returned to the Principalities or took the path to liberated Greece.[32] While Mavros was living in Odessa, his

[27] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 409. See the report of Austrian consul Fleischhacke to von Metternich, May, 10th 1819, in Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor 1812*–1822, *Corespondența diplomatică și rapoartele consulare austriece 1812–1822*, ed. by. Ion Nistor, XX, Cernăuți, 1940, p. 467.

[29] Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privind istoria României. Rapoartele consulare prusiene de la Iași și București, 1763–1844*, Bucharest, 1897, X, p. 85 (von Miltitz to Kreuchely, December, 11st 1820); Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

[30] See Nestor Camariano, "Από την ιστορία του ελλνικού τύπου. Μια απόπειρα της Φιλικής εταιρείας να εκδώσει εφημερίδα είς τον Βουκουρέστι, Δυο άγνωστα έγγραφα", in *Νέα Ελλάς/Grecia nouă*, May, 6th 1946, no. 78, p. 1–2. Camariano uses information from the reports of the Austrian consul in Bucharest, Fleischhackl, to Metternich, November 23th 1819 and April, 11st 1820 (Hurmuzaki, 1940, v. XX). About Skoufos, see Δέσποινα Κατηφόρη, "Νικόλαος Σκούφος. Σχεδίασμα βιογραφίας", in *Μνήμων*, no. 4, 1990, p. 68–73.

[31] I.C. Filitti, *Opere alese*, ed. by Georgeta Penelea, Bucharest, 1985, p. 94.

[32] Anna Tabaki, "Une famille phanariote en Moldavie et en Grèce", in Florin Marinescu, Georgeta Penelea-Filitti, Anna Tabaki, *Documents gréco-roumains. Le fonds Mourouzi d'Athènes*, Athens-Bucharest, 1991, p. 47.

former wife, Pulcheria, enjoyed all honours at the court of her brother, Prince Grigore Ghica of Wallachia (1822–1826).[33]

SECOND MARRIAGE

In 1827, by an action filed to the Chancellorship for Foreign Affairs (Logofeția Pricinilor Streine), Kyr Ioan(nnis) Nicolopoulos, the bailiff of Alexandru Ghica, Pulcheria's brother, claiming the capacity of Russian *protégé* ("sudit"), complained of a debt owed by Hetman Nicolae Mavros, which represented part of his former wife's dowry.[34] After two years, Nicolopoulos returned with a new action in justice, by which the Hetman was notified that the properties provided by him as security would be brought to the hammer in order to pay his debt, namely Piteasca – Șindrilița estate, with six villages of gipsies from Ilfov county, near Bucharest.[35] But the properties claimed by Nicolopoulos no longer belonged to Mavros. On May 11, 1827, Piteasca estate with the two villages, Găneasa and Șindrilița, bought by Mavros in 1815 from Bălașa Petreasca, the wife of Scarlat Petrescu, had been given to his fiancée, Sevastia Soutzo, the grand-daughter of Mihail Soutzo, Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia on more than one time, between 1783 and 1802,[36] and the daughter of the Great dragoman Alexander Soutzo, decapitated in Constantinople by order of the sultan in 1807.[37] The marriage was completed in Odessa on May 16, 1827 at the Greek church of the Holy Transfiguration.[38] The bride, who was more than 27 years old, could consider herself accomplished next to a husband who had excellent prospects. Alexander I of Russia gifted to the orphan girl with the Munji estate (Manja, Манжи, in the proximity of the Ukrainian settlement Міняйлівка), situated in the valley of Sărata river from southern Bessarabia, in the Akerman county.[39] The property, which is today situated at the border between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, was spreading on the area of more than 4 thousand hectares between Volontirovka village (today, Volintiri) to north-east, and the Crown villages Crown: Copceac (today in the Republic of Moldova), Petropavlivka (Păuleni/Петропавливка, in Ukraine) and Alexandrovka (Олександривка, Ukraine).[40] On the extended pastures of the estate, there was only

[33] Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros…op. cit.*, p. 423.

[34] CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1052, f. 46, September, 28th 1827.

[35] Idem, v. 1055, March, 14th 1829, p. 22.

[36] Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'Or de la Noblesse Phanariote en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Russie et en Turquie, par un Phanariote*, Athens, 1892, p. 104.

[37] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, X/1, p.1–2, the Breach of promise of 11 May 1827, legalized by the Department of Justice in Wallachia (Logofeția Dreptății) in August, 29th 1831.

[38] Idem, X/2, March, 4th 1835. Marriage certificate was certified by Archimandrite Sergios Vyzantios from the Church of Transfiguration.

[39] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/126. According to the Sevastia Soutzo Mavros' will of 11 April 1867 (in Greek), the estate belongs to her daughters.

[40] Idem, VIII/134, December, 2th 1867, p. 1 (lease contract between Sevastia Mavros and Prince Gregori Gagarin).

one building made of stone, covered with reed, with four rooms and a kitchen. The village had a small house made of earth, serving as pub, covered with reed, and other 33 earth houses for bonded peasants. The inventory of the estate also included 8 wells to water the cattle and the sheep.[41] Between 1841 and 1844, the estate was administrated by Countess Ruxandra Stourdza-Edling (1786–1844), whose family originating from Constantinople had taken refuge in Russia many years before.[42] The countess, who had settled for good in Bessarabia in 1822, had received as a gift from Empress Elisabeta Alexeievna the Manzâr estate (Монзырь, today Лісне) as a token of appreciation for the years spent as one of her ladies-in-waiting.[43] A learned and influential lady at the court of Alexander I, the countess was very close to Ioannis Kapodistrias, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.[44] In her last years of life, even though she was living in retreat at her estate from Bessarabia, away from the backstage of the power, the countess showed the same interest in the great personalities of the time. In a letter to Mavros of November 15, 1841, Countess Edling expressed her admiration for Count Pavel Kiseleff, whom she had met shortly before in Odessa.[45] Kiseleff, as chairman with full powers of the councils of state (divans) of Moldavia and Wallachia between 1829 and 1832, during the Russian military occupation, contributed to the administrative reorganization of the Danube Principalities. Nicolae Mavros distinguished himself as one of his closest collaborators. The property of Countess Edling, measuring over 10 thousand hectares, was very close to the estate owned by Sevastia Soutzo.[46]

Theodor Rodocanachis (1797–1882), the richest merchant from Odessa in those times[47], mediated until 1858 the relation between Mavros and his tenants. After the countess' death in 1844, the tenancy of Munji estate was taken over by her brother and heir, Alexandru (1791–1854), the son of the first governor of Bessarabia, Scarlat Stourdza. Alexander Stourdza, as vice-president of the Odessa Agricultural Society, introduced on his estates the Merino sheep, and initiated forestation campaigns of Bugeac steppes.[48] In March 1853, shortly before he died, Stourdza entrusted his businesses to his son-in-law, Prince Eugen Gregorevici Gagarin (1811–1886).[49] In the following years, Mavros would negotiate the signing of a new tenancy

[41] Idem, IX/25, f.1 (circa 1870).

[42] *Mémoires de la comtesse Edling, née Stourdza, demoiselle d'honneur de Sa Majesté l'Impératrice Elisabeth Alexeevna*, Moscow 1888, p. 1.

[43] Stella Ghervas, *A 'Goodwill ambassador" in the post-Napoleonic era. Roxandra Edling-Sturdza on the European scene*, in Glena Sluga, Carolyn James (ed.), *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, London, 2016, p. 160.

[44] Stella Ghervas, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[45] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 5, p. 1.

[46] Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Profiluri de ieri şi de azi*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 45.

[47] On Rodocanachi, see Κώστας Γ. Αυγητίδης, *Θεόδωρος Παύλου Ροδοκανάκης. Μεγαλέμπορος, επιχειρηματίας πλοιακτίτης και τραπεζίτης της Οδησσού*, Athens, 2004.

[48] Ştefan Lupaş, "Despre biblioteca contelui Alexandru Sturdza (cercetare istorico-bibliografică)", in *Tyragetia. Istorie-Muzeologie*, IV, XIX, no. 2, 2010, p. 140; Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Profiluri de ieri şi de azi… op. cit.*, p. 51.

[49] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 65, March, 21st 1853, Stourdza to Mavros, p.1 (in Greek).

contract both with Stourdza's daughter, Maria Alexandrovna, and with the Jewish merchant Rubinstein. In December 1856, through Rodocanachis, Rubinstein personally wrote to Mavros, offering him a bigger amount than Prince Gagarin, but under the same contract conditions as before.[50] Eventually, Mavros sealed the deal with the Jews, although his partners from Odessa, Rodocanachi and his son-in-law, Nikolaos Mavrocordatos, had suggested him to go for Gagarin.[51] The tenancy contract was obtained on the account of the merchants from Bender, Itzko Zissoff and Kitis and Peizik Pereman.[52] The rent was to be paid in two quarterly instalments through the bankers Charles Joachim Ephrussi (1792–1970) from Odesa and Hillel Manoach (1797–1862) from Bucharest.[53] In mid-nineteenth century, 53.2% of the merchants from Odessa were Jews, competing with the Greeks and with the Italians both from the economic, and from the demographic points of view.[54] After the lapse of the ten-year term, in 1867, Mavros renounced the contract with the Jews and retied the older knots with the Stourdza-Gagarin family, through the young Prince Grigori (1840–1921), son of Eugen and of Maria Gagarin.[55]

Mavros had countless land properties in Ilfov, Buzău, Prahova and Teleorman counties in Wallachia, which he gave as dowry to his daughters on occasion of their marriages. Helen, from his first marriage, married the Moldavian writer, Great vornic Alecu Cantacuzino. Maria (1828–1902) and Alexandrina (1830–1926), from his second marriage, became the wives of Ion Cantacuzino and Ion Ghica. The dowry list of Maria Mavros, drafted on April 7, 1842, contains important amounts of money, jewels, as well as Târgul Mizilului estate, together with the settlements Găşteni (Găgeni), Fefeleanca (Fefeleni), Cirişanca (Cireşanu), Bucureasca, Scurteanca and others, located in Saac county (today in Prahova-Buzău counties).[56] The youngest of the family, Paulina (1833–1912), was married twice, the first time to the Russian diplomat Niculae Moukhin Akimoff, and, after her divorce, to Ernest Kotzebue, son of Karl von Kotzebue, who had been for many years the general consul of Russia in Wallachia.[57]

[50] Idem, VIII/88, Rubinstein (Odessa) to Mavros (Bucharest), December, 6/18th 1857, p.1 (in French).

[51] Idem, VIII/ 91, Mavrocordatos to Mavros (in Greek), January, 9th 1857, p. 1.

[52] Idem, VIII/ 97, March, 7/19th 1857, lease agreement, legalized by the Russian Consulate in Bucharest.

[53] Idem, VIII/ 108, April/May, 27 /8 th 1857, p. 1.

[54] Lilia Belousova, "Jewish History as Reflected in the Documents of the State Archives of Odessa Region", *Avotaynu. The International Review of Jewish Genealogy*, XXIII, 3, 2007, p. 45; Steven J. Zipperstein, *Odessa*, in http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Odessa.

[55] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 134, p. 1.

[56] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VI/ 9, p. 1–1v.

[57] Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros…op. cit*, p. 424–425; Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 409, Mihai Dem. Sturdza, *Familiile boiereşti din Moldova şi Ţara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică şi biografică, vol. III. Familia Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 468; *History and Genealogy of Kotzebue Family Completed from General Paul von Kotzebue' s Memories followed by Historical Data about Noteworthy Persons Compared and Completed by his Son Rotislav von Kotzebue*, Paris, 1984, p. 300 and 306.

At his death in 1868, Nicolae Mavros owned a house with two buildings, located in Pitar Moș district, on Herăstrău Street (today, Dorobanți Avenue in Bucharest), two estates in Buzău county, Righineasca and Ciomagile, bought from his mother-in-law, and an estate in Teleorman, Tufeni (Olt county), together with the neighbouring villages, which he has left as inheritance to his only son, Dimitrie, born during his first marriage. The latter had been living for many years in Russia.[58] Dimitri Nicolaevici (Дмитрий Николаевич Маврос) fought under the command of general Alexander Lüders in the repression campaigns of the 1848 revolution from Wallachia and Transylvania and during the Crimean war.[59] In 1876, Tsar Alexander II confirmed him the title of count (Граф), which he had acquired from Emperor Franz Josef of Austro-Hungary[60]. The family of Dimitri Mavros resettled in Tarnovo, its property situated in the Vilna Governorate (guberniya of Vilnius), today located in the north of Byelorussia.[61]

PLACES OF RESIDENCE: MOARA DOMNEASCA AND CALINEȘTI VILLAGES

Further, we are going to debate on two estates, permanent places of residence of the Mavros family between 1830 and 1860. The manor from Moara Domnească village, situated 15 km north-east from Bucharest, is nowadays associated with the Kotzebue family, the descendants of Mavros' daughter, Paulina. Her son, Paul von Kotzebue, married the sculptor Lidia Suhanov, the author of the Monument to the "Heroes of the Air" from Bucharest.[62] The Mavros manor – now demolished – was located at the border of the village, on the left bank of Pasărea River, in a richly forested area. According to the Geographic Dictionary of 1901 drafted by Lahovary, the area of the estate was of 1,480 hectares.[63] In the record book of the Chancellorship of Foreign Affairs, in volume 1059, I found a document which clarifies the circumstances related to the purchase of this estate, neighbouring Găneasa and Șindrilița, villages that Mavros had owned since 1815. On May 30, 1830, the State Councillor Nicolae Mavros, through the General Consulate of Russia, claimed before the Chancellorship of Foreign Affairs the pre-emption right

[58] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VII/65, f. 3 (Mavros' will of 29 November 1862) ; VII/69, inventory of Mavros's movable and immovable assets, April, 4th 1868, p. 1.

[59] Idem, VIII/ 92, 10 ianuarie 1857, Mavros to Mavrocordat (Odessa).

[60] Gheorghe G. Bezeviconi, *Profiluri de ieri și de azi…op. cit.*, p. 19.

[61] http://www.lida.info/imeniya-lidskogo-uezda-imenie-tarnovo-tarnovshhizna/

[62] Victoria Dragu Dimitriu, *Povestea unei familii din București, Grecenii*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 202–208; Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Familiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească. Cantacuzinii… op. cit.,* p. 468; Radu Greceanu, "Un general pribeag și opera sa: Rostislav von Kotzebue (1910–1993)", *Arhiva Genealogică*, V (X), no. 3–4, 1998, p. 111–118.

[63] G.I. Lahovari, C.I. Brătianu, G. Tocilescu, *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României,* v. IV, Bucharest, 1901, p. 371.

in his capacity as neighbour.[64] In 1824, Moara Domnească estate was bought by Biv Vel Ban Barbu Văcărescu from Zoița Cantacuzino. Mavros had not exerted any pre-emption right before the Ban, because he probably had priority, as neighbour and relative of the seller.[65] But the situation was completely different in 1829. In 1827, the estate had become the property of Dumitrache Sorescu, "the bailiff [vătaf] of the Ban's court, in charge with all his affairs". He bought Moara Domnească after making many improvement's, increasing its value, as he had done with other of the Ban's properties. Out of his care, the state had been enclosed by fences, and provided with a mill, inn and stables.[66] In Mavros' opinion, "it is entirely unlikely for a vătaf to have such a possession"[67], and, since he "was prevented by his governing duties", he could not manage to regulate the matter in the legal term of one year and a half, stipulated in order to prescribe the protimis (preference).[68] If the inquiry had proven "governing in ill faith and with ruse" by Sorescu, the written proof demonstrating the sale (zapis) would have been cancelled, and the estate could have been bought by Mavros directly from its former owner, for half the price, naturally.[69]

Călinești estate was bought by Mavros family in 1846. More precisely, on February 11, 1846, captain Costache Călinescu sold the estate to Hetman's wife Helen Geraki, settled in Athens, for the considerable amount of 4,800 florins.[70] Soon after the deal was closed, on April 6, 1846, the new owner issued a propriety deed in favour of Sevastia Mavros upon an essential condition. Her aunt would receive 300 florins each year until she died.[71] Several years later, in 1851, Sevastia Mavros, maintaining the conditions set by her aunt, gifted the estate to her daughter, Maria Cantacuzino.[72] The purchase of this estate in Prahova area controlled by Cantacuzino family, suggests a premeditated act of Mavros. Călinești neighboured Măgureni to the north, the estate owned by the father of his son-in-law, Constantine Cantacuzino, and to the east, on the other bank of Prahova, it neighboured Florești, the estate owned by Luxitsa Cantacuzino, the latter's sister-in-law. Florești will become the property of her son, Gheorghe Grigore Cantacuzino, alias "the Nabab".

Călinești estate became the family residence and also a burial place. By testament, Mavros decided that he should be deposited in the crypt of the chapel located in the park of the estate, and that the earthly remains of his daughter, Sofia

[64] CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1059, p. 22.

[65] On the pre-emption right, see Valentin Al. Georgescu, *Preemțiunea în istoria dreptului românesc*, Bucharest, 1965.

[66] CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1059, p. 22.

[67] *Ibidem*, p. 25.

[68] Valentin Al. Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

[69] CNHA, Logofeția Pricinilor Streine, v. 1059, p. 23.

[70] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box II/29, p.1 ; Almost 104,000 Euro today, see the historical currency converter, https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html.

[71] Idem, II/57. (6, 519 Euro today)

[72] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box II/ 106.

(1832–1838), of his mother, Maria Ventura, and of his mother-in-law, Maria Soutzo, should be brought from Moara Domnească to Călinești.[73] This wish has not been granted by the executors. The chapel built next to the manor, which is now a ruin, was built by the Austrian architect Carl Hartel.[74] In the chapel, at the entrance, to the right, there is the tomb of Nicolae Mavros, and to the left, that of his wife, Maria Soutzo. In the chapel yard, there lie the spouses Ion and Maria Cantacuzino, the owners of the estate, their daughter, Maria, and her husband, Mihail C. Soutzo, and their grandson, Alexandru Romalo, dead at the age of four, the son of Constantsa Cantacuzino.

Who was Elena Gheraki, who helped the Mavros family purchase Călinești estate? The mother of Sevastia Suțu, Maria, had two sisters settled in Athens, Helen Geraki and Zoe Rizos Rangavis, the daughters of postelnic Eustachie Lapithi.[75] Nicolae Mavros, Sevastia Soutzo's husband, was in charge with managing the wealth that the aunts from Athens had in Wallachia. Zoitsa was married to postelnic Ioannis Rizos-Rangavis. Their son, Alexander Rizos Rangavis (1809–1892), became a minister, diplomat and professor of the University of Athens.[76]

The relatives from Romania and from Greece exchanged mail and visited each other regularly. The aunts from Athens annually received from Nicolae Mavros the money from leases, sales of estates and from other rights that they were entitled to. These commissions were earned without interruption even during the war, when relations were difficult, and when mail was no longer operating regularly. In 1854, during the War of Crimea, with great efforts, Mavros succeeded in paying his obligations to his aunt Zoe Rangavis and his cousin "kyr Alecu" (Alexander Rizos-Rangavis), her son.[77]

In 1843, Mavros travelled to Athens to buy Tufeni estate, property of Helen Geraki.[78] In 1846, Helen Geraki came to Wallachia to buy Călinești estate on behalf of Mavros family. The aunt had travelled to Wallachia before, in the summer of 1839, as her nephew, Alexander Rizos Rangavis (1809–1892), tells us in his *Memoirs*.[79] They reached Galati by navigating on the Danube on a ship

[73] Idem, box VII/65, f. 4.

[74] Idem, The Documents of the Călinești estate, V/ 8, f. 15; Today the Mavros manor houses a Centre for Persons with Disabilities.

[75] Idem, X/7, July, 18th 1835, Agreement between the sisters Maria, Zoe and Helen to give to Sevastia, their nephew, a sum of money, inheritance from their mother.

[76] Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'or. De la noblesse phanariote et des familles princières de Valachie et de Moldavie*, Athens, 1904, p. 104, 132.

[77] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VIII/ 70, April, 9th 1854.

[78] Idem, VII/ 65, f. 3.

[79] Αλέξανδρος Ραγκαβής, *Απομνημονεύματα*, v. I–IV, Atena, 1894–1930; Alexandros Rizos – Rangabe, *Απομνημονεύματα*, ed. by Τάκης Καγιάλης, Athens, 1999, v. I, p. 58. On the life and the political activity of Rangavis, see: Ευθύμιος Σουλογιάννης, *Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής 1809–1892. Η ζωή και το έργο* του, Athens: Arsenidis 1995; Χάιδω Μπαρκούλα, *Αλεξάνδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής (1830–1880): Αλυτρωτισμός και Διπλωματία*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Athens, 2008; on

belonging to the Austrian company, spending several days in quarantine in the port. In principle, no person was exempted from these obligations, regardless of their social position and of their personal relation with the high dignitaries of Wallachia.[80] But, thanks to the personal intervention of cousin Nicolae Mavros, the general inspector of the Danube quarantine, the relatives from Athens enjoyed all the comfort and attention of the staff.[81]

Mavros hosted them at his manor from Moara Domnească.[82] By virtue of the influent dignitary, one of those days, the guest from Greece was invited to a dinner party offered by Alexander Ghica, Prince of Wallachia between 1834 and 1842. From this event, Rangavis recalls a scene which seems to have intrigued him a lot. During dinner, Mavros openly manifested his affection and tenderness for a lady that was seated to the Prince's left. The mystery was elucidated to Rangavis by the *fairest* (ὡραιοτάτη) Mariţica Ghica, born Văcărescu, the prince's sister-in-law, and the future wife of Gheorghe Bibescu.[83] Said lady was Pulcheria Ghica, Mavros' first wife, the prince's sister, re-married to Vladimir Blaremberg.

After many years, in 1874, Alexander Rangavis travelled once more to Romania, where he was received at Călineşti by the numerous family of Mavros-Cantacuzino. Visiting Nicolae Mavros' tomb from the chapel of the manor, Rangavis had the possibility to read the funerary inscription that he had written in good memory of his cousin. The Wallachia of 1874 was so different from that of 1839. The young generation of the family had become a stranger to Greece and to the Greek culture. Maria Cantacuzino's son, of only 10 years of age, the future physician Ion Cantacuzino (1863–1934), would not even hear of his Greek origins. Furthermore, the boy was learning ancient Greek following the Erasmus system, which was different from the modern pronunciation of the language.[84]

In the autumn of 1875, the younger son of the ambassador of Greece in Germany, Alexander Rangavis, married the grand-daughter of Mavros, Eliza (Lisa/Lizica), daughter of Paulina and of the Russian diplomat, Nicolae Mouhin (Мухин). In a letter written from Berlin to his grand-mother Sevastia Soutzo in Bucharest, in November 1875, the young Alexander expressed his intention of passing through Bucharest, joined by Lizica, in their way to Athens. He wished to visit his numerous relatives of whom he knew many stories from his father and from his brother Kleon, minister of Greece in the capital city of Romania.[85] In the

the Phanariot origins, see Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'or. De la noblesse phanariote et des familles princières de Valachie et de Moldavie…op. cit.*, p. 169.

[80] Georgeta Filitti, "Organizarea carantinelor în epoca regulamentară", in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Hist*., I, 14, 1969, p. 34.

[81] Alexandros Rizos - Rangabe, *Απομνημονεύματα… op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 71.

[82] *Ibidem*, p. 73

[83] *Ibidem*, p.73.

[84] Alexandros Rizos – Rangabe, *Απομνημονεύματα…*, vol. IV, p. 128: "Εἰς τῆς εξοχῆς ταύτης τὸ ἐκκλησίδιον ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος τοῦ κ. Μαύρου, φέρων τὸ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπίγραμμα, ὅ πρὸ χρόνων εἶχον συντάξῃ ἐγώ". The tomb inscription was published by Professor Pippidi in 1992, Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

[85] CNHA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, X/ 19, p. 1, November 5/13th 1875 (Berlin).

first months of 1876, Sevastia Soutzo received news from Athens from the newly-weds to whom she had sent 10 thousand francs as a wedding gift. She was corresponding with her grand-son in Greek and with her grand-daughter in French. In one of her letters, Lisa wrote to her grand-mother with great delight of her new home, but she also confessed that she found it difficult to learn Greek: "Je commence à apprendre le grec que je trouve une langue magnifique, mais bien difficile".[86] As shown in a letter written by Eliza's husband, she had been very close to her Mavros grand-parents, who had shown great love to the girl's mother, after divorcing the girl's father and after they both returned to Bucharest.[87]

NICOLAE MAVROS, GENERAL INSPECTOR OF THE DANUBE QUARANTINE

The Russian-Ottoman war of 1826 and Russia's victory in 1828 reinstated the Principalities under the occupation of Emperor Alexander I. Nicolae Mavros, as chief of Pavel Kiseleff's chancellery, was member of several committees for reforming the various institutions of the country. In Moldavia, this influential position in Kiseleff's administration was heldby Nicolae Soutzo.[88]In 1830, together with Alexander Ghica, Ştefan Bălăceanu, Barbu Ştirbei and Gheorghe Bibescu, Mavros was in charge with liquidating the debts of the Ephorate of the Charities (Eforia făcatoare de bine), and later, together with the same Bălăceanu, with his brother, Constantine, with Mihalache Ghica and Simeon Marcovici, he was the co-author of a report regarding the abolition of the tax privileges for the boyar' s clientele, called *scutelnici* and *posluşnici*.[89] Together with Barbu Ştirbei, he proposed measures to redistribute the revenues earned by monasteries in the use of the country.[90] In the autumn of 1831, Kiseleff sent Mavros to Constantinople to negotiate the legal status of the Principalities in accordance with the provisions of the Petersburg Convention, passed on April 14, 1830.[91]

One of Kiseleff's most important reforms consisted in securing the border of the Principalities with the Ottoman Empire, by organizing a so-called sanitary cordon with 9 points of control on the Danube.[92] In a letter written in 1833 to Alexei

[86] Idem, X/ 20, Lisa to grand-mother, February, 14th 1876, p. 1.

[87] Idem, X/ 21, 1, Alexander to grand-mother, March, 16/28th 1876, p. 2.

[88] Eugen-Tudor Sclifos, "Raporturile domnitorului Moldovei Mihail Sturdza cu Rusia", *Tyragetia*, vol. VIII, nr. 2, 2014, p. 114. On the relationship between Rusia and the Danubian Principalities, see, Radu Mârza, "Rusia şi Principatele Române în epoca Regulamentelor Organice", *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 9, I, 2005, p. 83–91.

[89] Ioan C. Filitti, *Les Principatés Roumaines sous l'occupation russe (1828–1834). Le Règlement Organique. Étude de droit public et d'histoire diplomatique*, Bucharest, 1904, p. 68.

[90] *Ibidem*, p. 220.

[91] *Ibidem*, p. 220.

[92] Victor Taki, "Between Polizeistaat and Cordon Sanitaire: Epidemics and Police Reform during the Russian Occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia*, 1812–1834*", in *Ab Imperio. Studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Space*, 4 (2008), p. 86.

Fiodorici Orlov, the minister of Russia in Constantinople, Pavel Kiseleff specified: "I regard Danube as a border of the Russian Empire".[93] Therefore, the quarantine had rather a political function than a sanitary one.[94] On accordance with the provisions of the Organic Regulation of Wallachia – the first fundamental law of organization of the country – , "the biggest inspector will be elected by the ruler of this principality together with the General Consul". Mavros was also inspector general of the quarantine stations organized by the Russians in the city-ports of Moldavia.[95]

In 1832, this office was occupied by Nicolae Mavros, who was 46 years old. The high dignitary attended the official ceremonies, wearing the uniform of the Russian diplomats, and in his correspondence he used the title of "Conseiller d'Etat actuel de S.M. l'Empereur de Russie" (Current State Councillor of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia). He was called "The General", as the title of State Councillor (статский советник) was equivalent, in the hierarchy of the Russian civil administration, of the highest military rank.[96]

The Danube border of the Principalities was under the close watch of Russia. On April 7, 1842, the General Consulate of Russia interceded with the Quarantine Committee to determine them to open the borders between Wallachia and Serbia, as there had already been several quarantine points between the latter and the Ottoman Empire.[97] Following this intercessory, the quarantine term was substantially reduced from three days to 24 hours.[98]

Through the Quarantine Committee, the authorities controlled the circulation of persons and of goods on the Danube line.[99] On August 12, 1832, by a regulation passed by the Quarantine Inspectorate, the British subjects were ordered to present their passport at the quarantine point, and not only their identity cards. The passengers' names were registered in the registration book, and these lists were later transmitted to the county government.[100] Another regulation concerned the crossing of the Danube by people living in Turkey. In the circular letter sent by the Quarantine Committee to the

[93] Ion Filitti, "Corespondența consulilor englezi din Principate", *Analele Academiei Române*, II, XXXVIII, Istorie (1916), p. 54 (address of 8 June1833).

[94] See travel impressions of the French Felix Pigeory and the Scot James Henry Skeene, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, ed. by Daniela Bușă, Bucharest 2009, v. V, p. 576, 597.

[95] Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, v. I, Bucharest, 1944, p. 82, article 188 the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, and the Organic Regulation of Moldavia, p. 281, article 183.

[96] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

[97] CNHA, Comitetul Carantinelor, box 1268/1842, Russian Consulate to Quarantine Committee, April, 7th 1842, p. 2.

[98] Idem, the Council of Quarantine Committee to Diplomatic Agency of Serbia in Bucharest, August, 3rd 1842, p. 10.

[99] About quarantine organization, see, Constantin Ardeleanu, *Gurile Dunării – O problemă europeană. Comerț și navigație la Dunărea de Jos în surse contemporane (1829-1853)*, Brăila, 2012, p. 75–78; Idem, *The European Commision of the Danube, 1856–1948*, Leiden, 2020, p. 32–44 (chapter I).

[100] CNHA, Comitetul Carantinelor, box 2383/1832, p. 434: the General Inspectorate to the Brăila's Quarantine, August, 12th 1832.

establishment directors, dated August 31, 1833, based on the order of the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Vorniciei din Lăuntru), no person coming from the Ottoman territories would be allowed to pass into the principality, unless they possessed a travel document or unless they had someone living in the country to vouch for them, a person who would be brought before the director to testify as such.[101]

Specific regulations are passed for the goods as well. Many merchants complained of the abusive regime that they were subject to.[102]For example, we are presenting the case of Triandafil Paciurea, one of the most important Epirote merchants of Wallachia.[103] The merchant passed through Zimnicea point from Şiştov tens of tons of sumac, necessary to process the morocco leather, which he was to send to various places from Walachia and from Transylvania. The goods had not been stored in satisfactory conditions. The director of quarantine had been teasing for a long time both him, and the merchant of the quarantine. Paciurea's man, Margaritis, "νέος γραικός τίμιος καὶ γιος καλῶν γονέων" [an honest young Greek coming from a good family], had allegedly been beaten by the quarantine director, being accused of overcharging the products. On July 12, 1839, in a complaint sent to Mavros, Paciurea claimed significant damages.[104] Grigore Zossima, secretary of the Bucharest Quarantine Committee, received the order to travel to Zimnicea in order to acknowledge the issues that the merchant was complaining about, merchant who "left Zimnicea and came to me to make a plaint", as Mavros stated.[105] In the report of September 16, 1839, Zossima acknowledged that the merchant intended to pass much more goods than the warehouse could hold – that had a capacity of 80 chariots per day.[106] Although the goods had been exposed to bad weather, the inspector was unable to hold the director liable. He had not received the order to build other sheds in the quarantine. And the accusation that the director had "all sorts of relations" with persons from Şiştov was unfounded. In conclusion, he found "only omissions, but no violations". Paciurea received the permission to build, in the perimeter of the quarantine, a warehouse to shelter his sumac.[107]

The general inspector of quarantine was responsible for the maintenance of the boats patrolling along the river. According to the provisions of the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, one third of the militia forces were deployed to stand guard on the Danube[108], both infantry and cavalry that used armed boats in their assignment. But, because of shortages, out of the 18 boats provided by the Organic

[101] Idem, 2636/1833, p. 31. The Circular of the Quarantine Committee to the Directors of quarantine posts (order of the Minister of Interior Affaires, August, 31st 1833.

[102] Georgeta Penelea, "Relaţiile economice dintre Ţara Românească şi Transilvania în epoca regulamentară (1829-1848)", *Studii şi materiale de istorie modernă*, v. IV, 1973, p. 11.

[103] See CNHA, Ioan Stamu fund, box XV/51.

[104] CNHA, Comitetul Carantinelor, box 2031, p. 9: Paciurea to Mavros, July 12th 1839 (in Greek)

[105] Idem, box 2031/1839, Mavros to serdar Grigore Zossima, September, 2nd 1839, p. 10.

[106] Idem, box 2031/1839, p. 48.

[107] *Ibidem,* 2031/1839, the Zossima' s report to Mavros, September, 16th 1839, p. 48–49.

[108] Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Regulation (article 184), despite Mavros' interventions, only three boats were operational in 1848, which were not even properly equipped. In the autumn of 1848, in his report to the Căimăcămia (regency) of Wallachia, Mavros asked for 12 gunboats "for the specific protection of the sanitary cordon"[109]. In 1851, seven boats are allotted to 7 quarantines.[110]

Although the Quarantine Committee coordinated its activity following the orders of the head of the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Departamentului Treburilor din Lăuntru) and according to the activity carried out by the army, as the three of them were under the command of the prince, unlikely the latter two, Mavros, as the trusted man of Russia, could not be removed from his position.[111]Many feared him, so Mavros was kept outside the system of elective positions of the Principality. In the autumn of 1842, Mavros found himself excluded together with other 16 uncomfortable boyars from the list of voters for the election of the Prince ruler.[112]

The office of inspector of quarantine was very well paid. Beside the income earned in relation to his job and from administrating the estates, like other public dignitaries, Mavros also dealt with lease-holding the revenues of the State. In 1842, the people's assembly entrusted him with the lease-holding of the customs, which he renounced after a few months in favour of Constantine Cantacuzino (c1790–1877), the future father-in-law of his daughter.[113] Thanks to the privileged position as inspector of quarantine, in 1839, Mavros obtained from Prince Mihail Stourdza the license to export cereals to Moldavia.[114] As shown in a letter from 1859 addressed by Mavros to his son-in-law Ion Ghica, his connection in Moldavia had been for many years aga Vasile Bucșănescu.[115]

THE BATTLE OF HIS SONS-IN-LAW FOR THE THRONE

In September 1848, after the suppression of the revolution, Constantine Cantacuzino was appointed regent (caimacam) of Wallachia. His ambitions of becoming a ruler prince were supported by his son's father-in-law, Nicolae Mavros. But the news of Barbu Știrbei's coming to the throne in the summer of 1849 completely spoilt their plans.[116] Mavros ordered the director of quarantine from Brăila,

[109] CNHA, Vornicia din Lăuntru Fund, box 932/1848, report of 27 November 1848, p. 2.

[110] Idem, box 932/1848: the Prince's decree of 28 February 1851, p. 16.

[111] Ion Filitti, *Domniile române sub Regulamentul Organic 1834-1848*, Bucharest, 1916, p. 142.

[112] *Însemnările Androneștilor*, ed. by I. Corfus, Bucharest, 1947, p. 94.

[113] Sergiu Iosipescu, *Constantin Cantacuzino (1790/93 – 7 decembrie 1877), caimacam al Țării Românești*, in v. Mihai Dim. Sturdza (ed. by), *Familiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească, v. III, Familia Cantacuzino…op .cit.*, p. 246.

[114] Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria României*, ed. by D.A. Sturdza and C. Robescu-Vartic, v. V, supplement I, Bucharest 1894, p. 647–648 (April, 25th 1838).

[115] RAL, Correspondence Ghica, S 53 (7)/DLXVIII: Mavros to Ghica, March, 7/19th 1859.

[116]Sergiu Iosipescu, *Constantin Cantacuzino (1790/93 – 7 decembrie 1877), caimacam al Țării Românești... op. cit.*, p. 247.

Ștefan Schina, and Major Grigore Lăcusteanu to stop the Prince, who was arriving from Constantinople, from disembarking. Severely reprimanded by the Prince in a private audience, Mavros, to prove his innocence to him, did not hesitate to scold in public the director of quarantine, as if the order had come from elsewhere.[117]

In 1853, Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire and occupied the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. On June 10, 1854, two months before replacing the Russian troops with the Austrian ones, Nicolae Mavros, after receiving the salary of inspector for one year, went on vacation to Vienna.[118] His office was terminated by the Austrian troops on October 27, 1854.[119]

In 1856, once with Știrbei's removal from the throne, the princely hopes of the Mavros-Cantacuzino family were revived. In a report to the English Ambassador in Constantinople, Lord Stratford of Radcliffe, the consul from Bucharest, Robert Gilmour Colquhoun, expressed his concerns about the possible appointment as regent (caimacam) of Constantine Cantacuzino, behind whom acted no other than the influential Mavros.[120] In the years that followed, Mavros changed his direction towards the son of the former caimacam, his son-in-law, Ion C. Cantacuzino.[121] But the ambitions of the Cantacuzino family conflicted with the interests of the other son-in-law, Ion Ghica, the prince of Samos. This is Ghica's story of how he was courted by Mavros. Around the year 1845, Ghica, barely returning from Paris, was determined to candidate for a member of the legislative assembly of Wallachia. His chances were minimal, as he was suspected of having revolutionary ideas. But he received a help that he had not hoped for from the general inspector of quarantine, who pleaded for his cause before the Prince Gheorghe Bibescu. Mavros, delighted by the noble education of the young man and by the fame of Ghica family, conceived a very well thought-out plan. Ghica capitulated after several preparatory visits paid by the governess of Mavros family, Miss Botty, and after the unexpected invitation to the party organized to celebrate the birthday of Mavros' daughter.[122] The marriage of Ion Ghica to Alexandrina Mavros offered protection to the members of the revolutionary "Frăția"

[117] Grigore Lăcusteanu, *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, ed, by Ioan C. Filitti, Bucharest, 2015, p. 212.

[118] CHNA, Serviciul Sanitar (Sanitary Service), box 75/1854, p. 1.

[119] *Ibidem*, box 2/1855, p. 60, Ministery of Interior Affaires to Sanitary Committee, November, 10th 1860.

[120] *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor. Corespondență diplomatică engleză*, Bucharest, 1983, v. VII, June/July, 29 /11th 1856, p. 14.

[121] *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor, Corespondența politică 1855-1859*, Bucharest, v. III, 1963, p. 217 and p. 169; *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor. Corespondență diplomatică engleză*, vol. VI, Colquhom to Malmesbury, report of 17/29 January 1859, p. 891. Ioan Cantacuzino was one of the three candidates to the Wallachian Throne for the national and unionist Party, Colquhoun to Bulwer, January/February 20th /1st 1859, p. 899.

[122] Ion Ghica, *Opere*, ed. by Ion Roman, Bucharest: Romanian Academy, Museum of Romanian Literature, 2017, v. III, Ion Ghica to Alexandru G. Golescu Negru, July, 14th 1849, p. 852–853.

(Brotherhood) society. Ghica often met his political friends in Mavros' house.[123] At the beginning of 1848, Nicolae Bălcescu, fearing the searches, thought that the best place to hide the Statute of Frăția Society was the basement of the house of almighty Mavros. In 1856, *Bourdon's Algebra*, between the covers of which the precious document had been concealed, disappeared in the fire that consumed Mavros' house situated in Jignița suburb.[124] In that same year, Mavros' house from Constantinople was also burnt to ground.[125] In this house located in Arnavutköy neighbourhood, Ion Ghica lived after leaving Wallachia, in the first months of 1848. This property was owned by Sevastia Soutzo, inherited from her mother, the daughter of Postelnic Eustatie Lapithis.[126]

In the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Ghica had the support of the great vizier, Mustafa Reșid Pasha (1880–1858), and of the influential Lord Stratford of Radcliffe. Between 1855 and1858, Ghica has lived in Samos as Prince (*ηγεμόνας* or *τοποτηρητής*). Beginning with 1832, the island enjoyed its autonomy in relation to the sultan.[127] Ion Bălăceanu, a close friend of Ghica's, was impressed by the love of the inhabitants for their Prince and Princess. Bălăceanu and the French officers that joined him in this journey were very warmly received at the palace by Sasha Ghica, Mavros' daughter. The guests had such a wonderful time that one of the French officers eloped with the governess of Ghica family, much to the Princess' despair.[128] After Russia's defeat in the Crimean war and after the signing of the Treaty from Paris, the political emigrants started to return to the country one by one. But Ghica remained in Samos and in Constantinople, initiating an ardent political correspondence with his relatives and friends from the country. Ghica hoped to obtain the office of caimacam or the position of candidate to the throne[129]. In a letter dated February 23, 1858, the father-in-law advised the son-in-law to be prudent and conciliating in the political relations, inserting a paragraph in Greek language in the text written in French language [ἡ κατάστασις τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ πολιτική απαιτεῖ συμβιβαστικὸν τρὸπον καὶ μέσα διαλλεκτικά]. In his opinion, Wallachia – after the corrupt regimes of Bibescu and Știrbei, needed competent men, therefore the prince had to seriously consider coming back home. Ghica's

[123] On the relationship between Ghica and the revolutionary movement in Wallachia, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Le Protectorat du Czar ou la Roumanie et la Russie. Nouveaux documents sur la situation européenne. Témoin oculaire des événements qui se sont passés en Valache de 1828 à 1849*, Paris, 1850, p. 35, 37–38; Angela Jianu, A *Circle of Friends: Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840–1859*, Leiden-Boston, 2011; Nicolae Isar, *Din Istoria generației de la 1848. Revoluție, exil, destin istoric*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 180–200.

[124] Ion Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*, ed by Radu Gârmacea, Bucharest, 2014, p. 404.

[125] Ion Ghica, *Opere…*, v. III, 2017, p. Ghica to Eugène Poujade, June 1856, Samos, p. 961.

[126] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box VI/2, f. 1.

[127] See, Σοφία Ν. Λαΐου (ed. by), *Συνταγματικά κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*, Athens, 2013.

[128] Ion Bălăceanu, *Memoriile unui paşoptist-model. Amintiri politice și diplomatice 1848–1903*, ed by Georgeta Filitti, Bucharest, 2019, p. 68.

[129] See the correspondence of Ghica to his cousin Costache Gr. Ghica, *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor, Corespondența politică 1855–1859*, Bucharest, v. III, 1963, 2/14 august 1858, p. 395.

wife was already in Bucharest with their son Dimitrie, who was making progress in learning the Romanian and Greek languages.[130] In the autumn of 1858, Ghica was returning to Bucharest to be elected deputy in the elective assembly. In a conversation with the English consul, R.G. Colquhoun, Ghica supposedly told him that he intended to renounce the office of governor of Samos Island and that he would not accept to live in the house of his father-in-law, Mavros, who had engaged in supporting Ion Cantacuzino's candidature.[131]

The political projects of Mavros' sons-in-law were outlined during the rule of Alexander John Cuza and in the first years of the rule of Charles I. Under Cuza, Ghica was prime-minister and minister on several occasions. Between June 1866 and February 1867, at the beginning of Carol's rule, in the government led by Ion Ghica, Ion Cantacuzino was minister of justice. In this cabinet, we are also encountering a character that is to become famous, namely the young man D.A. Stourdza.[132] In January 1867, he is to marry Zoe, Ion C. Cantacuzino's daughter, Mavros' grand-daughter.[133]

THE LAST YEARS: LANDLORD AND CHAIRMAN OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE

One of the destinations most preferred by the Mavros spouses was Vienna, where they relaxed listening to the music of Strauss and feeding the fish in Schönbrunn gardens. In a letter to Ion Ghica dated in 1858, Ion Bălăceanu thus mocked the father-in-law of his friend, who was planning to return to the country after the years spent as an emigrant.[134]In 1865, in a letter to Nicolae Mavros, his son Dimitrie, located in Riga, refers to the planned journey of his father to Italy.[135]

We might think that, after so many years of public offices and honours, stricken in years and suffering from gout[136], Mavros would have liked to retreat to

[130] RAL, Correspondence Ghica S 53 (2) / DCXVIII, Mavros to Ghica, February 23rd 1858 (Bucharest); April 14th /26th 1858, S 53 (4) / DCXVIII.

[131] *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor. Corespondenţă diplomatică engleză,…*, v.VII, p. 801, November 11th/23rd 1858, R.G. Colquhoun to H.L. Bulwer: "He express himself to me, determined to keep himself free from all party, and has even refuse to reside with either his Father-in-Law Monsieur de Mavros (who is most activity engaged in canvassing for the interest of his other son-in-Law, Jean Cantacuzène), or any of his numerous relatives here".

[132] Ion Mamina, Ion Bulei, *Guverne şi guvernanţi (1866–1916)*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 14–18, 175–176.

[133] Mihai Dim. Stourdza, *Familiile boiereşti din Moldova şi Ţara Românească…*, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[134] *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor…*, v. III, 1963, Bălăceanu to Ghica, 31 martie 1858, Nice, p. 369: "Il va sans dire que vous ne logerez pas chez Monsieur Mavros et que, pendant les trois mois que vous passerez à Bukarest, Mr. Et M-me Mavros iront goûter les douceurs de la villégiature à Calineşti. A moins (ce qui vaudrait encore mieux) qu'ils ne préférassent aller entendre Strauss à Vienne et donner du pain aux poissons rouges de Schoenbrunn"

[135] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, Dimitri Mavros to his father, Nicolae Mavros, Riga, February, 20th 1865, f. 1v.

[136] Pompei G. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros…op. cit.*, p. 429.

his manor from Călinești to rest. In only a few years, the geopolitical situation of South-Eastern Europe had radically changed. Russia's defeat in the war of Crimea, in 1856, and the unification of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859 foretold the end of the public career of Nicolae Mavros. But he was not the man to quit. With a spectacular gesture, he emerged once more on the public scene. On January 22, 1862, in a letter addressed to the first Legislative Assembly of the Unified Principalities, Mavros donated to the National Museum his collection of statues, bas-reliefs and fragments of Greek and Roman stones, Etruscan vessels, local ceramics, Egyptian antiquities, coins, medals and ancient and Renaissance pendants, and he donated to the National Library his collection of manuscripts and of rare books, of which some were Arabian-Persian, with the purpose to "instruct the Romanian youth, the hope of the future".[137]After this generous gesture, Mavros was co-opted in various public actions, aimed at encouraging and developing the artistic flair in the Principalities. For instance, in February 1864, we find him as member of an evaluation commission of paintings exhibited at Saint Sava Museum. The State was to send artists to the European capital cities to copy famous works of art that would enrich the museum's collection. A list of paintings proposed to be bought by the State is also included.[138] He continued to exert influence especially through his sons-in-law. But his power was limited.

Before 1865, no piece of Mavros' collection had been taken under the custody of the State. The museum did not have areas arranged to exhibit them. Established in 1834, the National Museum was reorganized in 1864.On the donor's proposal, the Minister of Public Instruction, Nicolae Krețulescu, and Prince Alexander John I separated the section of Archaeology and Fine Arts from that of Natural Science and Physics. Thus, in the autumn of 1864, the Museum of Antiquities was established, that would be set up on the ground floor, in the western wing of the new building of the University, facing Academiei Street, where it would operate until 1931.[139] By the summer of 1865, six exhibition rooms have been arranged. In the first room of the museum, called after the donor's name, there was his portrait and a marble plate reading "To General Nicolae Mavros, the First Donor and Founder of the Museum of Antiquities, 1864".[140]

By the princely decree of November 25, 1864, the Archaeological Committee was established, and its chairmanship was given for life to Nicolae Mavros.[141]This structure included honorific members, as well as specialists in the field of

[137] Alexandru Păunescu, Alexandra-Cristina Păunescu, *Din istoria arheologiei românești pe baza unor documente de arhivă*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 28.

[138] CHNA, Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice fund, box. 126/1864, February, 4th 1864, p. 55–57.

[139] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 406; On the Academy Palace see, Nicolae Șt. Noica, *Palatul Universității din București și personalități din lumea constructorilor*, Bucharest, 2014.

[140] CHNA, Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice fund, 163/1865, Museum Curator, Alexandru Russo, to Minister, January, 26th 1865, p. 75; April, 28th 1865, Museum Curator to Minister, p. 274; Grigore Tocilescu, *Catalogul Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 41.

[141] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

archaeology and of preservation of historical monuments, such as Alexandru Odobescu, Augustin Treboniu Laurian, the architect Dan Berindei, the director of the Public Archives, Cezar Bolliac.[142] One of the Committee's duties was to make an inventory of the objects of Mavros' donation and to hand them over to the Museum. Nicolae Mavros personally honoured this duty, in cooperation with the curator of the Museum, Alexandru Russo.[143] Mavros spent the last years of his life in his manor from Călinești and in his house from Bucharest, located on 4 Doamnei Street. In these places of residence, but also in the yard of his manor from Moara Domnească, until his death, many of the stone objects donated to the Museum had remained non-inventoried and unstored.[144] On April 13/25, 1868, the Museum curator was sent by the Ministry to Călinești and Moara Domnească estates to pick up the large stone objects.[145] August Treboniu Laurian was delegated by the same Ministry to take into the custody of the Museum the collection of more than 4,000 coins and medals that were to be inventoried by a team made of Dimitrie Berindei, Mihail Soutzo and Dimitrie A. Stourdza. The last two were related to the Mavros family.[146]

Mavros' interest in archaeology dates at least from the time of Kiseleff's governance. In 1830, Mavros was charged by the Russian general with carrying out archaeological research in the Principalities[147]. His office of inspector of the quarantine helped him participate in the archaeological digging from both banks of the Danube. A passionate archaeologist, but a mere amateur, nevertheless, Mavros did not collect the pieces following specific scientific criteria. We do not know the origin of most of the pieces in his collection. The first acquisitions seem to have been made during the Russian military campaign to the south of the Danube in 1826 and in 1827[148]. Grigore Tocilescu, relying on the old inventory of the Museum, gives us several clues about the origin of the objects. It is certain that some artefacts were personally brought by Mavros from his journeys to Greece, Egypt and Italy, or were bought by his close relatives, such as his son-in-law, Ion

[142] CHNA, Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice fund, box 127/1864, p. 140, 161; box 163, p. 29.

[143] Alexandru Russo has been confirmed in office under the Prince's decree of 10 December 1864, f. 181.

[144] Constantin Moisil, "Colecțiile numismatice și arheologice ale lui Nicolae Mavros și soarta lor", *Cronica numismatică și arheologică*, XII, 1936, p. 196 and 202.

[145] RAL, Ghica fund, box IV, p. 103.

[146] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino Archive, box VII, f. 84, March/April, 29th/11th 1868 (it is signed by V.A. Urechia, director of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Cults. Mihail Soutzo, nephew of Sevastia Soutzo, will marry her daughter, Maria.

[147] Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 407. Alexandru Papadopol-Calimach, *Generalul Pavel Kisselef în Moldova și Țara Românească, 1829-1834 după documente rusești*, Bucharest, 1887, p. 64.

[148] See "Călătorie arheologică de Ernest Desjardins", in *Archiva pentru filologie și istorie* XIX,1868, p. 371. The French archaeologist had travelled to Wallachia and the Bulgarian lands in the Danube area for five months in 1867. He published his travel impressions in *Revue Archéologique on Recueil de documents et de Mémoires relatifs a l'Études des Monuments, à la numismatique et à la Philologie de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1868, p. 254–278.

Ghica. For instance, a fragment of a statuette of goddess Aphrodite bears an inscription written in black ink, saying "Αθῆναι ἐν ἔτη 1842"[149]. Ghica reveals that every Tuesday, Mavros used to retreat in his study together with his close collaborators to debate on scientific matters[150]. Mavros was a passionate reader and he surrounded himself with plenty of books. By testament, the books were distributed between his son, Dimitri, and his two sons-in-law, Ion C. Cantacuzino and Ion Ghica. They jointly agreed not to inventory the volumes from the library, as they did with the other assets[151]. Even though we do not know what titles could be found in the general's library, we can form an idea of his literary interests from the last invoice issued by Danielopolou bookstore from Bucharest, where two purchases are mentioned, Dr. Fabre, *Funérailles et inhumation chez les Anciens et les modernes* and Adolphe Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie, du Jurjure, texte Kabyle et traduction*, Paris 1867[152]. The Russian General Dimitri Mavros inherited from his father the passion of collecting things. In 1922, the Russian general's library from Tarnovo manor, in northern Byelorussia, which contained 9 thousand volumes of rare books[153], became the property of Rumyantsev Museum, today the Public Library of Russia[154].

In the last years of his life, Mavros dedicated much of his time to farm works. He remained the administrator of the entire wealth, including of the estates that he had donated to his daughters. Based on an addendum to the donation, Mavros stipulated that the spouses Cantacuzino would not take full possession of these properties before his death and the death of his wife[155]. Moara Domnească was in the same situation, as it was the residence of Mavros' sister, Alexandrina. His son-in-law, Ernest Kotzebue, occupied various positions in the diplomatic system of the Russian Empire[156]. Between 1848 and 1858, Mavros was personally in charge with the administration of the estates owned by Ion Ghica, Ghergani, Larga and Coucourouzi from Dâmbovița county, during his absence from the country. In a letter to his son-in-law, in April 1858, Mavros was complaining of the general climate of instability and uncertainty of the country, which disturbed the relations the owners and the peasants had had so far. The leaders of the instigators were the "communist reformers" (les réformateurs communistes)[157].

[149] Grigore Tocilescu, *Monumentele epigrafice și sculpturale ale Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, II, Bucharest, 1908, p. 560; Andrei Pippidi, *op.cit.*, p. 412–414.

[150] Ion Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri…op.cit.*, p. 404–405.

[151] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box. VII/69, p. 1.

[152] Idem, box VII/68, February, 3rd 1868, p. 1.

[153] *Каталог заповедной библиотеки графа Дмитрия Николаевича Мавроса*. – Vilnius, 1888.

[154] http://www.lida.info/imeniya-lidskogo-uezda-imenie-tarnovo-tarnovshhizna.

[155] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino Archive, box V/ 8, The Documents of Călinești estate, p. 4 (September, 30th 1851).

[156] Rostislav von Kotzebue, *History and Genealogy of the Kotzebue family…op. cit.*, p. 308–309.

[157] RAL, Correspondence Ghica, S 53 (3)/DCXVIII, April, 7th/19th 1858 (Bucharest).

Between 1857 and 1865, Nicolae Mavros has bought several properties consisting in estates, orchards, vineyards and forests, which he joined to Călinești estate. By the donation deed of May 11, 1865, all these properties became the goods of his daughter, Maria Cantacuzino[158]. Călinești-Cătina-Căzănești estate extended from the right bank of Prahova River until beyond Provița River, going up through the vineyards and orchards situated uphill until they reached Filipeștii de Pădure. Mavros was personally in charge with the administration of the estate: he hired people to do various farm works, he hired a vintager for Bălțeni and Mihăileanu vineyards, he took tenants to exploit the forests, etc. In a letter certified by Călinești Town Hall, dated January 30, 1866, the Greek administrator Theodoros Georgiou urgently wrote to Mavros in Bucharest about a series of matters concerning the estate, such as the purchase of pots for the lemon trees by the gardener of the boyar's court, the payment of the debt to vintager Dimitrie Apostolu, and the illegal actions committed by ranger Ilie, who had illegally cut an elm that was approximately ten meters tall[159]. In 1862, Mavros took charge of drawing the borders of the estate. After setting the new borders, the misunderstandings with the neighbours occurred. Mavros did not falter in going to trial with them for various causes and trespasses[160].

In 1865, his daughter, Maria Cantacuzino, the owner of the estate, empowered her father to deal with the parcelling of the lots that would be distributed to the peasants in accordance with the 1864 rural law[161].

In September 1866, Mavros was called by the government to give advice in matters of agriculture. His son-in-law, Ion Ghica, the head of the government, facing a serious crisis of farming products, resorted to his father-in-law with the purpose to join the constituted commission in order to settle these matters. In Mavros' opinion, the government should have centralized from the local authorities all the data concerning the gathered harvests. Thus, sufficient stocks of food would have been created, that would save the population from starvation. These were not new measures. As Mavros said, "it is not long ago that the Principalities were forced to supply the capital city of the Empire"[162].

Nicolae Mavros died in his house of Bucharest on March 23, 1868. The funeral service was held the next day at Sărindar Church[163]. As stated in the beginning, Mavros had two siblings, of whom his sister, Alexandra, survived him one more year. As regards Mihalache, we only know that, between 1810 and 1820, he was in the service of Russia[164]. His sister, Alexandra, widow of paharnic

[158] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box V/8, The Documents of Călinești estate, p. 4 v.
[159] Idem, box IV/ 20, January, 30th 1866, p. 1.
[160] Idem, box IV/19, Mavros to Vice-Prefect, July, 26th 1865, p. 1.
[161] ANIC, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, VII/ 140, 7 aprilie 1865, p. 1.
[162] RAL, Correspondence Ghica, S 53 (9)/DC XVIII, Mavros to Prim-Minister, "Cher fils et ami", September, 20th 1866.
[163] *Trompeta Carpaților*, no. 519, March, 27th 1868, p. 2473 (Cezar Bolliac).
[164] Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Nicolae Mavros…op. cit*, p. 419–420.

Mateiu[165], led a modest life, respecting the Christian teachings, at her manor from Moara Domnească and in her house situated in Gorgani district in Bucharest. She donated money and religious objects to the church from Călinești village and to Pasărea skete from Moara Domnească[166].

CONCLUSIONS

Nicolae Mavros lived for 82 years, in a time of great social and institutional transformations. If, at the beginning of nineteenth century, South-Eastern Europe were under the rule of three empires – Ottoman, Russian, and Habsburg – that were fighting over supremacy, several decades later, the national liberation movements started to show their first results. Greece became an independent state-nation, while Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia were using Russia to break free from the Ottoman Empire. Since the first half of eighteenth century, the Christian-Orthodox subjects of the sultan were looking with hope at the Russian Emperor. The Romanians were no exception. The Russian generals, the commanders of the occupation troops from 1806-1812, 1826–1832, provided jobs and honours to the boyars, as well as the prospect of a new lifestyle. Nicolae Mavros, a Walachian boyar who had built his reputation by his own endeavours, contributed to the building of the Organic Regulation system, as he was the right hand of General Pavel Kiseleff.

For two decades, Mavros was general inspector of the Danube quarantine, some sort of chief of the secret services, who acquired intelligence on everything that was going on in the Balkans. "Friend of the Russians", "Russian subject and spy", "Phanariot", these are some of the names by which he was called by his contemporaries, some being radical revolutionaries who supported the revolution of 1848, others being the opponents to that movement, the so-called "conservatives"[167]. Mavros was therefore regarded with fear and suspicion by all boyar groups.

The lifestyle and ways of thinking changed at an astonishing pace from one decade to the next. The oriental suit made room for the western riding coat. The French language replaced the Greek language in schools and in the conversations from the boyar lounges. Mavros was one of the few learned boyars of his generation. He learnt to speak French – taught to him by a French collector, who fled the Jacobins and found refuge in Wallachia –, which he spoke as well as he spoke Romanian and Greek.

The Union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia under the auspice of France have set the country and the nation on another course, different from the aspirations of Mavros' generation. Supported by his sons-in-law, Mavros continued

[165] CHNA, Ion C. Cantacuzino fund, box VII/39, f. 1.
[166] Idem, box VII/90, f. 22.
[167] Vezi *Aminitirile colonelului Lăcusteanu…op. cit*, p. 211 and Ion G. Valentineanu, *Biografia oamenilor mari scrisă de un om mic*, Bucharest, 1859, p. 110.

to be publicly active. For many years, Mavros had ardently studied archaeology and spent a fortune on his collection of antiquities. The Archaeological Committee, that he chaired for life, as Great Donor of the National Museum, was in charge not only with capitalizing his collection, but also with protecting and preserving the historical monuments of the country.

The information on Mavros' childhood and youth is scarce. Instead of wealth, he inherited an honourable name, good education and a certain inclination towards the practical side of life. Both of his parents were immigrants, coming from Greece to the Principalities. His father was a high-ranking boyar, a hetman, and his mother was the daughter of a boyar of Epirote origins. The professional qualities and perspectives of the young man drew the attention of the rich and noble family of late ban Dumitrache Ghica. His marriage to Pulcheria Ghica, although it ended badly and without much flattery for the husband, propelled him to the first ranks of the boyar class. County Prefect between 1812 and 1817, Mavros gathered a small fortune from collecting taxes, and thus he was able to buy several estates in Ilfov county. His second marriage was happy and full of satisfactions, resulting in many children and providing him with numerous public distinctions and honours.